NOTION
MACULA
MORS POTIOR MAC

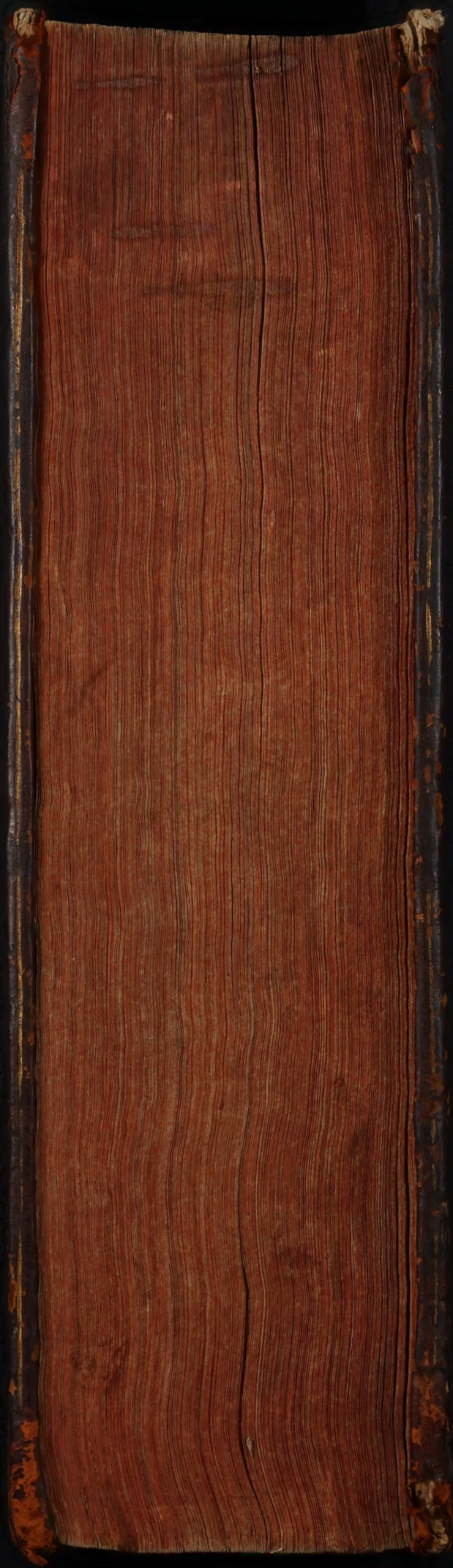
CHRONICLES

HOLINSHED

VOLS. I. & II.

X

1585



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X

S. T. C. 13569

HOLINSHED (Rokeland), and others.

62647

THE
First and second *volumes of Chronicles,*
compriſing

1 The deſcription and hiſtorie of England,
2 The deſcription and hiſtorie of Ireland,
3 The deſcription and hiſtorie of Scotland:

First collected and publiſhed by Raphaell Holinſhed, William Harriſon, and others:

Now newlie augmented and continued (with manifold matters of ſingular note and worthie memorie) to the yeare 1586. by Iohn Hooker *alias* Vowell Gent. and others.

With conuenient tables at the end of theſe volumes.

Hiſtoriæ placeant noſtrates ac peregrinæ

¶ The names of the Authors from whome this *Historie of England is collected.*

A.

Aelius Spartianus.
Aelius Lampridius.
Asserius Menevensis.
Alfridus Beuerlacensis.
Aeneas Syluius Senensis.
Auentinus.
Adam Merimouth with additions.
Antoninus Archiepiscopus Florentinus.
Albertus Crantz. *Alexander Neuill.*
Arnoldus Ferronius.
Annius Viterbiensis.
Amianus Marcellinus.
Alliances genealogiques des Roys & Princes de France.
Annales D. Aquitaine per Iean Bouchet.
Annales de Bourgoigne per Guilamme Paradin.
Annales de France per Nicol Giles.
Annales rerum Flandricarum per Jacobum Meir.
Antonius Sabellicus.
Antonius Nebricensis. *Aurea Historia.*

B.

Biblia Sacra. *Beda venerabilis.*
Berosius. *Brian Tuke knight.*
Blondus Forliuiensis.
Berdmondsey, a Register booke belonging to that house.

C.

Cæsars Commentaries.
Cornelius Tacitus.
Chronica Chronicorum.
Chronica de Dunstable, a booke of Annales belonging to the Abbey there.
Chronicon Io. Tilij.
Chronica de Eyton, an historie belonging to that colledge, although compiled by some Northernman, as some suppose named Otherborne.
Chronicles of S. Albon.
Chronica de Abingdon, a booke of Annales belonging to that house.
Chronica de Teukesburie.
Claudianus.
Chronicon Genebrard.
Chroniques de Normandie.
Chroniques de Britaine.
Chroniques de Flanders published by Denis Sauage.
Continuation de Historie and Chroniques de Flanders by the same Sauage.
Couper. *Cuspinianus.*
Chronica Sancti Albani.
Caxtons Chronicles.
Carion with additions.
Crockesden, a Register booke belonging to an house of that name in Staffordshire.

D.

Diodorus Siculus.
Dion Cassius.
Dominicus Marius Niger.

E.

Edmerus.
Eusebius. *Eutropius.*
Encomium Emmæ, an old Pamphlet written to hir, conteining much good matter for the vnderstanding of the state of this realme in hir time, wherein hir praise is not pretermitted, and so hath obteined by reason thereof that title.
Enguerant de Monstrellet.
Eulogium.
Edmund Campian.

F.

Fabian. *Froissart.*
Franciscus Tarapha.
Franciscus Petrarcha.
Flauius Vopiscus Siracusanus.
Floriacensis Vigorinensis.

G.

Guiciardini Francisco.
Guiciardini Ludouico.
Gildas Sapiens.
Galfridus Monemutensis, aliàs Geffrey of Monmouth.
Giraldus Cambrensis.
Guilielmus Malmesburiensis.
Galfridus Vinsauf.
Guilielmus Nouoburgensis.
Guilielmus Thorne.
Gualterus Hemmingford, aliàs Gisburnensis.
Geruasius Dorobernensis.
Geruasius Tilberiensis.
Guilielmus Gemeticensis de ducibus Normaniæ.
Guilielmus Rishanger.
Guilielmus Lambert. *Georgius Lillie.*
Guilamme Paradin.

The Authors names.

H.

Higinus.
Henricus Huntingtonenſis.
Henricus Leiceſtrenſis.
Hector Boece. *Hiſtorie Daniou.*
Hiſtoria Eccleſiaſtica Magdeburgenſis.
Henricus Mutius.
Hiſtoria quadripartita ſeu quadrilogium.
Hardings Chronicle.
Halles Chronicle. *Henricus Bradſhaw.*
Henricus Marleburgenſis.
Herodianus. *Humfrey Luyd.*

I.

Iohannes Bale.
Iohannes Leland.
Iacobus Philippus Bergomas.
Iulius Capitolinus. *Iulius Solinus.*
Iohannes Pike with additions.
Iohannes Functius.
Iohn Price knight. *Iohannes Textor.*
Iohannes Bodinus. *Iohannes Sleidan.*
Iohannes Euerſden a Monke of Berry.
Iohannes or rather Giouan villani a Florentine.
Iohannes Baptiſta Egnatius.
Iohannes Capgraue.
Iohannes Fourden. *Iohannes Caius.*
Iacob de Voragine Biſhop of Nebio.
Iean de Bauge a Frenchman wrote a pamphlet of the warres in Scotland, during the time that Monſieur de Deſſe remained there.
Iohn Fox. *Iohannes Maior.*
Iohn Stow, by whoſe diligent collected ſummarie, I haue beene not onelie aided, but alſo by diuers rare monuments, ancient writers, and neceſſarie regiſter bookes of his, which he hath lent me out of his own Librarie. *Ioſephus.*

L.

Liber conſtitutionum London.
Lucan. *Lælius Giraldus.*

M.

Marianus Scotus. *Matthæus Paris.*
Matthæus Weſtmonaſter. aliàs Flores hiſtoriarum.
Martin du Bellay, aliàs Monſ. de Langey.
Mamertinus in Panegyricis.
Memoires de la Marche.

N.

Nicephorus. *Nennius.*
Nicholaus Treuet with additions.

O.

Roſius Dorobernenſis.
Oſbernus Dorobernenſis.
Otho Phriſingenſis.

P.

Pauſanias. *Paulus Diaconus.*
Paulus Aemilius.
Ponticus Virunius. *Pomponius Lætus.*
Philip de Cumeins, aliàs M. de Argenton.
Polydor Virgil. *Paulus Iouius.*
Platina. *Philippus Melanæthon.*
Peucerus. *Pomponius Mela.*

R.

Rogerus Houeden.
Ranulfus Higeden, aliàs Ceſtrenſis the author of Polychronicon.
Radulfus Cogheſhall. *Radulfus Niger.*
Regiſter of the Garter.
Records of Battell Abbey.
Richardus Southwell. *Robert Greene.*
Radulfus de Diceto. *Robert Gaguin.*
Rodericus Archiepiſcopus Toletanus,
Records and rolles diuerſe.

S.

Strabo. *Suetonius.*
Sigebertus Gemblacenſis.
Sidon Appollinaris. *Simon Dunelmenſis.*
Sextus Aurelius Victor.

T.

Rebellius Pollio.
Thomas More knight.
Thomas Spot. *Thomas Walſingham.*
Titus Liuius de Foroliuiſys de vita Henrici. 5. *Titus Liuius Patauienſis.*
Thomas Lanquet. *Thomas Couper.*
Taxtor a Monke of Berry. *Theuet.*
Thomas de la More. Tripartita Hiſtoria.

V.

Vlcatius Gallicanus.
Volfgangus Lazius.

W.

Hethamſted, a learned man, ſometime Abbat of Saint Albons a Chronicler.
William Harriſon.
William Patten of the expedition into Scotland. 1574.
William Proctor of Wiats rebellion.

Beſides theſe, diuers other bookes and treatiſes of hiſtoricall matter I haue ſeene and peruſed, the names of the authors being vtterlie vnknowne.

FINIS.

To the Right Honorable, and his ſingular good

Lord and Maiſter, S. William Brooke Knight, Lord Warden of
the cinque Ports, and Baron of Cobham, all increaſe of the feare
and knowledge of God, firme obedience toward his Prince,
infallible loue to the common wealth, and commendable
renowme here in this world, and in the world to come
life euerlaſting.

HAuing had iuſt occaſion, Right Honorable, to remaine in London, during the time of Trinitie terme laſt paſſed, and being earneſtlie required of diuers my freends, to ſet downe ſome breefe diſcourſe of parcell of thoſe things, which I had obſerued in the reading of ſuch manifold antiquities as I had peruſed toward the furniture of a Chronologie, which I haue yet in hand; I was at the firſt verie loth to yeeld to their deſires: firſt, for that I thought my ſelfe vnable for want of skill and iudgment, ſo ſuddenlie & with ſo haſtie ſpeed to take ſuch a charge vpon me: ſecondlie, bicauſe the dealing therein might prooue an hinderance and impechment vnto mine owne Treatiſe: and finallie, for that I had giuen ouer all earneſt ſtudie of hiſtories, as iudging the time ſpent about the ſame, to be an hinderance vnto my more neceſſarie dealings in that vocation & function wherevnto I am called in the miniſterie. But when they were ſo importunate with me, that no reaſonable excuſe could ſerue to put by this trauell, I condeſcended at the length vnto their yrkeſome ſute, promiſing that I would ſpend ſuch void time as I had to ſpare, whileſt I ſhould be inforced to tarie in the citie, vpon ſome thing or other that ſhould ſatisfie their requeſt; and ſtand in lieu of a deſcription of my Countrie. For their parts alſo they aſſured me of ſuch helps as they could purchaſe: and thus with hope of good, although no gaie ſucceſſe, I went in hand withall, then almoſt as one leaning altogither vnto memorie, ſith my books and I were parted by fourtie miles in ſunder. In this order alſo I ſpent a part of Michaelmas and Hilarie termes inſuing, being inforced thereto I ſay by other buſineſſes which compelled me to keepe in the citie, and abſent my ſelfe from my charge, though in the meane ſeaſon I had ſome repaire vnto my poore librarie, but not ſo great as the dignitie of the matter required, and yet far greater than the Printers haſt would ſuffer. One helpe, and none of the ſmalleſt that I obtained herein, was by ſuch commentaries as *Leland* had ſomtime collected of the ſtate of Britaine, books vtterlie mangled, defaced with wet and weather, and finallie vnperfect through want of ſundrie volumes: ſecondlie, I gat ſome knowledge of things by letters and pamphlets, from ſundrie places & ſhires of England, but ſo diſcordant now and then amongſt themſelues, eſpeciallie in the names and courſes of riuers and ſituation of townes, that I had oft greater trouble to reconcile them one with an other, than orderlie to pen the whole diſcourſe of ſuch points as they contained: the third aid did grow by conference with diuers, either at the table or ſecretlie alone, wherein I marked in what things the talkers did agree, and wherin they impugned ech other, chooſing in the end the former, and reiecting the later, as one deſirous to ſet foorth the truth abſolutelie, or ſuch things in deed as were moſt likelie to be true. The laſt comfort aroſe by mine owne reading of ſuch writers as haue heretofore made mention of the condition of our countrie, in ſpeaking wherof, if I ſhould make account of the ſucceſſe, & extraordinarie cõming by ſundrie treatiſes not ſuppoſed to be extant, I ſhould but ſeeme to pronounce more than may well be ſaid with modeſtie, & ſay farder of my ſelfe than this Treatiſe cãn beare witnes of. Howbeit,

I re-

I refer not this ſucceſſe wholie vnto my purpoſe about this Deſcription, but rather giue notice thereof to come to paſſe in the penning of my Chronologie, whoſe crums as it were fell out verie well in the framing of this Pamphlet. In the proceſſe therefore of this Booke, if your Honor regard the ſubſtance of that which is here declared, I muſt needs confeſſe that it is none of mine owne: but if your Lordſhip haue conſideration of the barbarous compoſition ſhewed herein, that I may boldlie claime and challenge for mine owne, ſith there is no man of any ſo ſlender skill, that will defraud me of that reproch, which is due vnto me for the meere negligence, diſorder, and euill diſpoſition of matter comprehended in the ſame. Certes I proteſt before God and your Honour, that I neuer made any choiſe of ſtile, or words, neither regarded to handle this Treatiſe in ſuch preciſe order and method as manie other would haue done, thinking it ſufficient, truelie and plainelie to ſet foorth ſuch things as I minded to intreat of, rather than with vaine affectation of eloquence to paint out a rotten ſepulchre; a thing neither commendable in a writer, nor profitable to the reader. How other affaires troubled me in the writing hereof manie know, and peraduenture the ſlackneſſe ſhewed herein can better teſtifie: but howſoeuer it be done, & whatſoeuer I haue done, I haue had an eſpeciall eye vnto the truth of things, and for the reſt, I hope that this foule frizeled Treatiſe of mine will prooue a ſpur to others better learned, more skilfull in Chorographie, and of greater iudgement in choiſe of matter to handle the ſelfe ſame argument, if in my life time I doo not peruſe it againe. It is poſſible alſo that your Honour will miſlike hereof, for that I haue not by mine owne trauell and eyſight viewed ſuch things as I doo here intreat of. In deed I muſt needs confeſſe, that vntill now of late, except it were from the pariſh where I dwell, vnto your Honour in Kent; or out of London where I was borne, vnto Oxford & Cambridge where I haue bene brought vp, I neuer trauelled 40. miles foorthright and at one iourney in all my life; neuertheleſſe in my report of theſe things, I vſe their authorities, who either haue performed in their perſons, or left in writing vpon ſufficient ground (as I ſaid before) whatſoeuer is wanting in mine. It may be in like ſort that your Honour will take offenſe at my raſh and retchleſſe behauiour vſed in the compoſition of this volume, and much more that being ſcambled vp after this maner, I dare preſume to make tendour of the protection therof vnto your Lordſhips hands. But when I conſider the ſingular affection that your Honour dooth beare to thoſe that in any wiſe will trauell to ſet foorth ſuch profitable things as lie hidden, and therevnto doo weigh on mine owne behalfe my bounden dutie and gratefull mind to ſuch a one as hath ſo manie and ſundrie waies benefited me that otherwiſe can make no recompenſe, I can not but cut off all ſuch occaſion of doubt, and therevpon exhibit it, ſuch as it is, and ſo penned as it is, vnto your Lordſhips tuition, vnto whome if it may ſeeme in anie wiſe acceptable, I haue my whole deſire. And as I am the firſt that (notwithſtanding the great repugnancie to be ſeene among our writers) hath taken vpon him ſo particularlie to deſcribe this Ile of Britaine; ſo I hope the learned and godlie will beare withall, & reforme with charitie where I doo tread amiſſe. As for the curious, and ſuch as can rather euill fauouredlie eſpie than skilfullie correct an error, and ſooner carpe at another mans dooings than publiſh any thing of their owne, (keeping themſelues cloſe with an obſcure admiration of learning & knowledge among the common ſort) I force not what they ſaie hereof: for whether it doo pleaſe or diſpleaſe them, all is one to me, ſith I referre my whole trauell in the gratification of your Honour, and ſuch as are of experience to conſider of my trauell, and the large ſcope of things purpoſed in this Treatiſe, of whome my ſeruice in this behalfe may be taken in good part, that I will repute for my full recompenſe, and large guerdon of my labours. The Almightie God preſerue your Lordſhip in continuall health, wealth, and proſperitie, with my good Ladie your wife, your Honours children, (whom God hath indued with a ſingular towardneſſe vnto all vertue and learning) and the reſt of your reformed familie, vnto whom I wiſh farder increaſe of his holie ſpirit, vnderſtanding of his word, augmentation of honor, and continuance of zeale to follow his commandements.

Your Lordships humble ſeruant
and houſhold Chaplein. W. H.

A Table of ſuch Chapiters as are conteined *in the firſt booke of this Deſcription.*

1 Of the diuiſion of the whole earth.
2 Of the poſition, circuit, forme, and quantitie of the Ile of Britaine.
3 Of the ancient denominations of this Iland.
4 What ſundrie nations haue dwelled in Albion.
5 Whether it be likelie that anie giants were, and whether they inhabited in this Ile or not.
6 Of the languages ſpoken in this Iland.
7 Into how manie kingdoms this Iland hath beene diuided.
8 The names of ſuch kings and princes as haue reigned in this Iland.
9 Of the ancient religion vſed in Albion.
10 Of ſuch Ilands as are to be ſeene vpon the coaſts of Britaine.
11 Of riuers, and firſt of the Thames, and ſuch riuers as fall into it.
12 Of ſuch ſtreames as fall into the ſea, betweene the Thames and the mouth of Sauerne.
13 The deſcription of the Sauerne, and ſuch waters as diſcharge themſelues into the ſame.
14 Of ſuch waters as fall into the ſea in compaſſe of the Iland, betweene the Sauerne and the Humber.
15 The deſcription of the Humber or Iſis, and ſuch water-courſes as doo increaſe hir chanell.
16 Of ſuch fals of waters as ioine with the ſea, betweene Humber and the Thames.
17 Of ſuch ports and creeks as our ſea-faring-men doo note for their benefit vpon the coaſts of England.
18 Of the aire, ſoile, and commodities of this Iland.
19 Of the foure high waies ſometime made in Britaine by the princes of this Iland.
20 Of the generall conſtitution of the bodies of the Britons.
21 How Britaine at the firſt grew to be diuided into three portions.
22 After what maner the ſouereigntie of this Ile dooth remaine to the princes of Lhoegres or kings of England.
23 Of the wall ſometime builded for a partition betweene England and the Picts and Scots.
24 Of the maruels of England.

REGVM ANGLIÆ SERIES
& catalogus.

Wil. Conqu.
Wil. Rufus.
Henricus 1.
Stephanus.
Henricus 2.
Richardus 1.
Ioannes.
Henricus 3.
Eduardus 1.
Eduardus 2.
Eduardus 3.
Richardus 2.
Henricus 4.
Henricus 5.
Henricus 6.
Eduardus 4.
Eduardus 5.
Richardus 3.
Henricus 7.
Henricus 8.
Eduardus 6.
Phil. & Mar.
Elisabeth.

COnqueſtor, Rufus, prior Henricus, Stephanúſque,
Alter & Henricus, Leonino corde Richardus,
Rex & Ioannes, Henricus tertius inde:
Eduardus primus, Gnatúſque, Nepóſque ſequuntur:
His infœlicem Richardum iunge ſecundum:
Henricus quartus ſoboles Gandaui Ioannis,
Præcedit Gnato quinto, ſextóque Nepoti:
Eduardus quartus, quintus, homicida Richardus,
Septimi & Henricus octauus clara propago:
Eduardus ſextus, regina Maria, Philippus:
Eliſabeth longos regnet victura per annos,
Seráque promiſſo fœlix potiatur olympo.

CARMEN CHRONOLOGICON
Thomæ Newtoni Ceſtreſhyrij.

GRamine, fluminibus, grege, principe, fruge, metallis,
Lacte, feris, armis, vrbibus, arte, foris,
Quæ viget ac floret generoſa Britannia, quæque,
Obruta puluereo ſqualluit ante ſitu:
Exerit ecce caput, genuinum nacta nitorem,
Et rutilum emittit cum grauitate iubar.
Et quod blæſa hominum mutilarat tempore lingua,
Illud habet rectum pumice terſa nouo.
Loydus in hac pridem gnauus proluſit arena,
Lelandus, Priſius, Stous, Holinſhedius,
Lambardus, Morus, Camdenus, Thinnius, Hallus,
Vocalis, Grafton, Foxius, Harriſonus,
Hardingus, Gildas, Staniherſtus, Beda, Neuillus,
Doctáque Flemingi lima poliuit opus:
Nec te cane ſenex, magne ô Parkere, ſilebo,
Cui decus attulerat pontificalis apex.
Omnibus his meritò eſt laus debita & optima merces,
Quòd patriæ accendant lumina clara ſuæ.
Longa dies opus hoc peperit, longæua ſenectus,
Et libri authores perbeet, atque librum.

Loydus.
Lelandus.
Priſius.
Stous.
Holinſhedius.
Lambardus.
Morus.
Camdenus.
Thinnius.
Hallus.
Vocalis aliâs Hookerus.
Graftonus.
Foxius.
Harriſonus.
Hardingus.
Gildas.
Staniherſtus.
Beda.
Neuillus.
Flemingus.
Parkerus.

An Historicall description of the Iland of Britaine, with a briefe rehersall of the nature and qualities of the people of England. and such commodities as are to be found in the same. Comprehended in three bookes,

and written by W. H.

Of the diuision of the whole earth.

Chapter. 1.

WE read that the earth hath bene diuided into three parts, euen sithens the generall floud. And the common opinion is, that Noah limited and bestowed it vpon his three sons, Iaphet, Cham, and Sem, preserued with him in the Arke, giuing vnto each of them such portions thereof as to him seemed good, and neuertheless reteining the souereigntie of the whole still vnto himselfe: albeit as yet it be left vncertaine how those seuerall parts were bounded, and from whome they toke such names as in our times are attributed to each of them. Certes the words, Asia, Europa, and Africa, are denominations giuen but of late (to speake of) vnto them, and it is to be doubted, whether sithens the time of Noah, the sea hath in sundrie places wonne or lost, added or diminished to and from each of them; or whether Europa, and Lybia were but one portion; and the same westerlie regions of late discouered (and now called America,) was the third part (counting Asia for the second) or the selfe region of the Atlantides, which Plato and others, for want of traffike thither in their times, supposed to be dissolued and sunke into the sea: as by their writings appeareth.

Noah first diuided the earth among his sonnes.

The diuision of the earth not yet certeinlie knowne.

Not long before my time, we reckoned Asia, Europa, and Africa, for a full and perfect diuision of the whole earth, which are parcels onelie of that huge Iland that lieth east of the Atlantike sea, and whereof the first is diuided from the second by Tanais (which riseth in the rocks of Caucasus, and hideth it selfe in the Meotine mores) and the Ocean sea; and the last from them both by the Mediterrane and red sea, otherwise called Mare Erythræum. But now all men, especially the learned, begin to doubt of the soundnes of that partition; bicause a no lesse part than the greatest of the three ioined with those Ilands and maine which lie vnder the north and Southpoles, if not double in quantitie vnto the same, are found out and discouered by the diligence of our trauellers. Hereby it appeareth, that either the earth was not exactlie diuided in time past by antiquitie; or els, that the true diuision thereof came not to the hands and notice of their posteritie, so that our ancestors haue hitherto as it were laboured in the Cimmerian darkenesse, and were vtterlie ignorant of the truth of that whereabout they indeuoured to shew their trauels and knowledge in their writings. Some peece of this confusion also is to be found amongst the ancient and Romane writers, who (notwithstanding their large conquests) did sticke in the same mire with their successors; not being able (as appeareth by their treatises) to deliuer and set downe the veritie. For Salust in his booke *De bello Iugurthino* cannot tell whether Africa be parcell of Asia or not. And with the same scruple Varro in his booke *De lingua Lat.* is not a litle incumbred, who in the end concludeth, that the whole earth is diuided into Asia and Europa: so that Africa is excluded and driuen out of his place. Silius also writeth of Africa, (as one not yet resolued whereunto to leane,) that it is;

Aut ingens Asiæ latus, aut pars tertia rerum.

Wherein Lucane *lib.* 9. sheweth himselfe to be far of another iudgement, in that he ascribeth it to Europa, saieng after this maner:

Tertia pars rerum Lybia: si credere famæ
Cuncta velis, si ventos cœlumque sequaris,
Pars erit Europæ, nec enim plus littora Nili
Quàm Scythicus Tanais primis à gradibus absunt.

Variance among the writers about the diuision of the earth.

Whereby (I saie) we may well vnderstand, that in the time of Augustus Tiberius, Claudius & Nero, the Romanes were not yet resolued of the diuision of the earth. For my part, as I indeuour not to remoue the credit of that which antiquitie hath deliuered (and yet loth to continue and maintaine any corruption that may be redressed) so I thinke good to giue forth a new diuision more probable, & better agreeing with a truth. And therefore I diuide the whole into fiue seuerall parcels, reteining the common diuision in the first three, as before; and vnto the fourth allowing not onelie all that portion that lieth by north of the Magellan streicts, and those Hyperborean Ilands which lie west of the line of longitude, of late discouered by Frobisher, and called by hir Maiestie *Meta incognita*: but likewise so manie Ilands as are within 180. degrées Westwards from our beginning or common line of longitude, whereby they are parted from those, which by this diuision are allotted vnto Asia, and the portion it selfe made equipollent with the same for greatnes, & far exceeding either Europa or Africa, if it be not fullie so much in quantitie as they both vnited and laid togither. The fift & last part is the Antartike portion with hir Ilands annexed, that region (I meane) which lieth vnder the South pole, cut off from America, or the fourth part by the Magellan streicts; & from Africa by the sea which passeth by the Cape of good hope; a countrie no lesse large for limits and bounds than Africa or America, and therefore right worthie to be called the fift: howsoeuer it shall please the curious to mislike of this diuision. This also I will adde, that albeit the continent hereof do not extend it selfe vnto the verie Antartike point, but lieth as it were a long table betweene two seas, of which the later is vnder the South pole, and as I may call it a maine sea vnder the aforesaid pricke, yet is it not without

The earth diuided into fiue parts, whereas Relforrest hath but foure, in Prefat. lib. 4.

Capo di bona Speranza.

The forme of the fift part.

out sundrie Ilands also adioining vnto it, and the inner most sea not destitute of manie, as by experience hath béene of late confirmed. Furthermore, whereas our describers of the earth haue made it such in their descriptions, as hath reached litle or nothing into the peaceable sea without the Antartike circle: it is now found by Theuet and others, that it extendeth it selfe northwards into that trace, by no small number of leagues, euen in maner to the Equator, in so much that the westerlie part thereof from America, is supposed to reach northward so far from the Antartike article, as Africa doth southwards from the tropike of Cancer, which is no small portion of ground; & I maruell why not obserued by such as heretofore haue written of the same. But they excuse themselues by the ingratitude of the Portingals and Spaniards, who haue of purpose concealed manie things found out in their trauell, least they should séeme to open a gap by doing otherwise, for strangers to enter into their conquests. As for those Ilands also which lie in the peaceable sea, scattered here and there, as Iaua the greater, the lesser Sumatra, Iapan, Burneo, &c: with a number of other, I refer them still vnto Asia, as before, so as they be without the compasse of 90. degrées eastward from the line of longitude, & not aboue 180. as I do the Ile of S. Laurence, and a number of other vnto Africa within the said proportion, wishing so little alteration as I may: and yet not yéelding vnto any confusion, whereby the truth of the diuision should hereafter be impeached.

And whereas by Virgil (speaking of our Iland) saith;

Et penitùs toto diuisos orbe Britannos,

And some other authors not vnworthie to be read and perused, it is not certeine vnto which portion of the earth our Ilands, and Thule, with sundrie the like scattered in the north seas should be ascribed, because they excluded them (as you sée) from the rest of the whole earth: I haue thought good, for facilitie sake of diuision, to refer them all which lie within the first minute of longitude, set downe by Ptolome, to Europa, and that as reason requireth: so that the aforesaid line shall henceforth be their Meta & partition from such as are to be ascribed to America; albeit they come verie neere vnto the aforesaid portion, & may otherwise (without preiudice) be numbred with the same. It may be that some will thinke this my dealing either to be superfluous, or to proceed from (I wot not what) foolish curiositie: for the world is now growne to be very apt and readie to iudge the hardest of euerie attempt. But forsomuch as my purpose is to leaue a plaine report of such matter as I do write of, and deliuer such things as I intreat of in distinct and vpright order; though method now and then do faile, I will go forward with my indeuour, referring the examination of my doings to the indifferent and learned eare, without regard what the other do conceiue and imagine of me. In the meane season therefore it shall suffice to say at this time, that Albion as the mother, and the rest of the Ilands as hir daughters, lieng east of the line of longitude, be still ascribed vnto Europa: whereunto some good authours heretofore in their writings, & their owne proper or naturall situations also haue not amisse referred them.

Vnto what portion Britaine is referred.

Of the position, circuit, forme and quantitie of the Ile of Britaine.

Cap. 2.

How Britaine lieth from the maine.

BRitannia or Britain, as we now terme it in our English tong, or Brutania as some pronounce it (by reason of the letter y in the first syllable of the word, as antiquitie did sometime deliuer it) is an Ile lieng in the Ocean sea, directlie ouer against that part of France which conteineth Picardie, Normandie, and thereto the greatest part of little Britaine, which later region was called in time past Armorica, of the situation thereof vpon the sea coast, vntill such time as a companie of Britons (either led ouer by some of the Romane Emperours, or flieng thither from the tyrannie of such as oppressed them here in this Iland) did setle themselues there, and called it Britaine, after the name of their owne countrie, from whence they aduentured thither. It hath Ireland vpon the west side, on the north the maine sea, euen to Thule and the Hyperboreans; and on the east side also the Germane Ocean, by which we passe dailie through the trade of merchandize, not onlie into the low countries of Belgie, now miserablie afflicted betwéene the Spanish power and popish inquisition (as spice betwéene the morter and the pestell) but also into Germanie, Friezeland, Denmarke, and Norwaie, carrieng from hence thither, and bringing from thence hither, all such necessarie commodities as the seuerall countries do yéeld: through which meanes, and besides common amitie conserued, traffike is maintained, and the necessitie of each partie abundantlie releeued.

It conteineth in longitude taken by the middest of the region 19. degrees eraclie: and in latitude 53. degrées, and thirtie min. after the opinions of those that haue diligentlie obserued the same in our daies, and the faithfull report of such writers as haue left notice thereof vnto vs, in their learned treatises to be perpetuallie remembred. Howbeit, whereas some in setting downe of these two lines, haue séemed to varie about the placing of the same, each of them diuerslie remembring the names of sundrie cities and townes, whereby they affirme them to haue their seuerall courses: for my part I haue thought good to proceed somewhat after another sort; that is, by diuiding the latest and best chards each way into two equall parts (so neere as I can possiblie bring the same to passe) whereby for the middle of latitude, I product Caerlile and Newcastell vpon Tine, (whose longest day consisteth of sirtéene houres, 48. minuts) and for the longitude, Newberie, Warwike, Shefield, Skipton, &c: which dealing, in mine opinion, is most easie and indifferent, and likeliest meane to come by the certeine standing and situation of our Iland.

The longitude and latitude of this Ile.

Longest day.

Touching the length and bredth of the same, I find some variance amongst writers: for after some, there are from the Piere or point of Douer, vnto the farthest part of Cornewall westwards 320. miles: from thence againe to the point of Cathnesse by the Irish sea 800. Wherby Polydore and other do gather, that the circuit of the whole Iland of Britaine is 1720. miles, which is full 280. lesse than Cæsar doth set downe, except there be some difference betwéene the Romane and British miles, as there is indéed; wherof hereafter I may make some farther conference.

The compasse of Britaine.

Martianus writing of the bredth of Britaine, hath onlie 300. miles, but Orosius hath 1200. in the whole compasse. Ethicus also agreeing with Plinie, Martianus, and Solinus, hath 800. miles of length, but in the bredth he commeth short of their account by 120. miles. In like maner Dion *in* Seuero maketh the one of 891. miles: but the other; to wit, where it is broadest, of 289. and where it is narowest, of 37. Finally, Diodorus Siculus affirmeth the south coast to conteine 7000 furlongs, the second; to wit, *à Carione ad Promontorium* 15000. the third 20000. and the whole circuit to consist of 42000. But in our time we reckon the bredth from Douer to Cornewall, not to be aboue 300. miles, and the length from Douer to Cathnesse, no more than 500. which neuertheless must be measured by a right line, for otherwise I see not how the said diuision can hold.

The forme.

The forme and fashion of this Ile is three cornered, as some haue deuised, like vnto a triangle, bastard sword, wedge, or partesant, being broadest in the south part,

part, and gathering still narrower and narrower, till it come to the farthest point of Cathnesse northward, where it is narrowest of all, & there endeth in maner of a promontorie called Caledonium & Orchas in British Morwerydh, which is not aboue 30. miles ouer, as daily experience by actuall trauell doth confirme.

Promontories of Britaine.

The old writers giue vnto the three principall corners, crags, points, and promontories of this Iland, three seuerall names. As vnto that of Kent, Cantium, that of Cornewall, Hellenes, and of Scotland, Caledonium, and Orchas; and these are called principall, in respect of the other, which are Taruisium, Nouantum, Epidium, Gangacum, Octapites, Herculeum, Antiuestæum, Ocrinum, Berubium, Taizalum, Acantium, &c: of which I thought good also to leaue this notice, to the end that such as shall come after, may thereby take occasion to seeke out their true places, wherof as yet I am in maner ignorant, I meane for the most part; bicause I haue no sound author that doth leade mee to their knowledge.

The distãce from the maine.

Furthermore, the shortest and most vsuall cut that we haue out of our Iland to the maine, is from Douer (the farthest part of Kent eastward) vnto Calice a towne in Picardie 1300 miles from Rome, in old time called Petressa and Scalas, though some like better of blacknesse where the breadth of the sea is not aboue thirtie miles. Which course, as it is now frequented and vsed for the most common and safe passage of such as come into our countrie out of France and diuers other realms, so it hath not beene vnknowne of old time vnto the Romans, who for the most part vsed these two hauens for their passage and repassage to and fro; although we finde, that now and then diuerse of them came also from Bullen, and landed at Sandwich, or some other places of the coast more toward the west, or betweene Hide and Lid; to wit, Romneie marsh, (which in old time was called Romania or Romanorum insula) as to auoid the force of the wind & weather, that often molesteth seafaringmen in these narrowe seas, best liked them for their safegards. Betweene the part of Holland also, which lieth neere the mouth of the Rhene and this our Iland, are 900. furlongs, as Sosimus saith; and besides him, diuers other writers, which being conuerted into English miles, do yeeld 112. and foure od furlongs, whereby the iust distance of the nearest part of Britaine, from that part of the maine also, doth certeinlie appeere to be much lesse than the common maps of our countrie haue hitherto set downe.

Of the ancient names or denominations of this Iland. Cap. 3.

Dis, Samothes.

IN the diligent perusall of their treatises, who haue written of the state of this our Iland, I find that at the first it seemed to be a parcell of the Celtike kingdome, whereof Dis otherwise called Samothes, one of the sonnes of Japhet was the Saturne or originall beginner, and of him thencefoorth for a long while called Samothea. Afterward in processe of time, when desire of rule began to take hold in the minds of men, and ech prince endeuoured to enlarge his owne dominions: Albion the sonne of Neptune,

Neptunus Mareoticus.

Amphitrite surnamed Mareoticus (bicause his dominions laie among the Ilands of the Mediterrane sea, as those of Pluto did on the lower grounds neere vnto shore, as contrariwise his father Iupiter dwelled on the high hils nearer to heauen) hearing of the commodities of the countrie, and plentifulnesse of soile here,

The first conquest of Britaine.

made a voiage ouer, and finding the thing not onelie correspondent vnto, but also farre surmounting the report that went of this Iland, it was not long after yer he inuaded the same by force of armes, brought it to his subiection, in the 29. yeare after his grandfathers decease, and finallie changed the name thereof into Albion, whereby the former denomination after Samothes did grow out of mind, and fall into vtter forgetfulnesse. And thus was this Iland bereft at on time both of hir ancient name, and also of hir lawfull succession of princes descended of the line of Japhet, vnder whom it had continued by the space of 341. yeres and nine princes, as by the Chronologie following shall easilie appeere.

Britaine vnder the Celts 341. yeares.

Goropius our neighbor being verie nice in the denomination of our Iland, as in most other points of his huge volume of the originall of Antwarpe lib. 6. (whom Buchanan also followeth in part) is brought into great doubt, whether Britaine was called Albion of the word Alb, white; or Alp an hill; as Bodinus is no lesse troubled with fetching the same *ab olbijs*, or as he writeth it, *ab Albijs gallis*. But here his inconstancie appeareth, in that in his Gotthadanica liber. 7. he taketh no lesse paines to bring the Britaines out of Denmarke, whereby the name of the Iland should be called Vridania, Freedania, Brithania, or Bridania, *tanquam libera Dania*, as another also doth to fetch the originall out of Spaine, where Breta signifieth soile or earth. But as such as walke in darkenesse do often straie, bicause they wot not whither they go: euen so do these men, whilest they seeke to extenuate the certeintie of our histories, and bring vs altogither to vncerteinties & their coniectures. They in like maner, which will haue the Welshmen come from the French with this one question, *vnde Walli nisi a Gallis*, or from some Spanish colonie, do greatlie bewraie their ouersights; but most of all they erre that endeuour to fetch it from Albine the imagined daughter of a forged Diocletian, wherewith our ignorant writers haue of late not a little stained our historie, and brought the sound part thereof into some discredit and mistrust: but more of this hereafter.

Now to speake somewhat also of Neptune as by the waie (sith I haue made mention of him in this place) it shall not be altogither impertinent. Wherfore you shall vnderstand, that for his excellent knowledge in the art of nauigation (as nauigation then went) he was reputed the most skilfull prince that liued in his time. And therfore, and likewise for his courage & boldnesse in aduenturing to and fro, he was after his decease honoured as a god, and the protection of such as trauelled by sea committed to his charge. So rude also was the making of ships wherewith to saile in his time (which were for the most part flat bottomed and broad) that for lacke of better experience to calke and trim the same after they were builded, they vsed to naile them ouer with rawe hides of bulles, buffles, and such like, and with such a kind of nauie (as they say) first Samothes, & then Albion arriued in this Iland, which vnto me doth not seeme a thing impossible. The northerlie or artike regions, do not naile their ships with iron, which they vtterly want, but with wooden pins, or els they bind the planks together verie artificiallie with bast ropes, oziers, rinds of trees, or twigs of popler, the substance of those vessels being either of fir or pine, sith oke is verie deintie & hard to be had amongst them. Of their wooden anchors I speake not (which neuertheless are common to them, and to the Gothlanders) more than of ships wrought of wickers, sometime vsed in our Britaine, and couered with leather euen in the time of Plinie, *lib. 7. cap. 56.* as also botes made of rushes and reeds, &c. Neither haue I iust occasion to speake of ships made of canes, of which sort Staurobates, king of India fighting against Semiramis, brought 4000. with him and fought with hir the first battell on the water that euer I read of, and vpon the riuer Indus, but to his losse, for he was ouercome by hir power, & his nauie either drowned or burned by the furie of hir souldiers.

Neptune God of the sea.

The maner of building of ships in old time.

But to proceed, when the said Albion had gouerned here in this countrie by the space of seauen yeares, it came to passe that both he and his brother Bergion were killed by Hercules at the mouth of Rhodanus, as the said Hercules passed out of Spaine by the Celtes to go ouer into Italie, and vpon this occasion (as I gather among the writers) not vnworthie to be remembred. It happened in time of Lucus king of the Celts, that Lestrigo and his issue (whom Dyzis his grandfather had placed ouer the Ianigenes) did exercise great tyrannie, not onelie ouer his owne kingdome, but also in molestation of such princes as inhabited round about him in most intollerable maner. Moreouer he was not a little incouraged in these his doings by Neptune his father, who thirsted greatly to leaue his xxiij. sonnes settled in the mightiest kingdoms of the world, as men of whom he had alreadie conceiued this opinion, that if they had once gotten foot into any region whatsoeuer, it would not be long yer they did by some meanes or other, not onelie establish their seats, but also increase their limits to the better maintenance of themselues and their posteritie for euermore. To be short therefore, after the giants, and great princes, or mightie men of the world had conspired and slaine the aforesaid Dyzis, onelie for that he was an obstacle vnto them in their tyrannous dealing; Hercules his sonne, surnamed Labin, Lubim, or Libius, in the reuenge of his fathers death, proclaimed open warres against them all, and going from place to place, he ceased not to spoile their kingdomes, and therewithall to kill them with great courage that fell into his hands. Finallie, hauing among sundzie other ouercome the Lomnimi or Gerionnes in Spaine, and vnderstanding that Lestrigo and his sonnes did yet remaine in Italie, he directed his viage into those parts, and taking the kingdome of the Celts in his waie, he remained for a season with Lucus the king of that countrie, where he also maried his daughter Galathea, and begat a sonne by hir, calling him after his mothers name Galates, of whom in my said Chronologie I haue spoken more at large.

Lestrigo.

Ianigenes were the posteritie of Noah in Italie.

Neptune had xxiij. sonnes.

Lomnimi. Gerionnes.

Galathea.

Galates or Kelts.

In the meane time Albion vnderstanding how Hercules intended to make warres against his brother Lestrigo, he thought good if it were possible to stop him that tide, and therefore sending for his brother Bergion out of the Orchades (where he also reigned as supreame lord and gouernour) they ioined their powers, and sailed ouer into France. Being arriued there, it was not long yer they met with Hercules and his armie, neare vnto the mouth of the riuer called Roen (or the Rhodanus) where happened a cruell conflict betweene them, in which Hercules and his men were like to haue lost the day, for that they were in maner wearied with long warres, and their munition sore wasted in the last viage that he had made for Spaine. Hereupon Hercules perceiuing the courages of his souldiours somewhat to abate, and seeing the want of artillerie like to be the cause of his fatall daie and present ouerthrowe at hand, it came suddenlie into his mind to will each of them to defend himselfe by throwing stones at his enimie, whereof there laie great store then scattered in the place. The policie was no sooner published than hearkened vnto and put in execution, whereby they so preuailed in the end, that Hercules wan the field, their enimies were put to flight, and Albion and his brother both slaine, and buried in that plot. Thus was Britaine rid of a tyrant, Lucus king of the Celts deliuered from an vsurper (that dailie incroched vpon him, building sundzie cities and holds, of which some were placed among the Alps & called after his owne name, and other also euen in his owne kingdome on that side) and Lestrigo greatlie weakened by the slaughter of his brethren. Of this inuention of Hercules in like sort it commeth, that Iupiter father vnto Hercules (who indeed was none other but Dyzis) is feigned to throw downe stones from heauen vpon Albion and Bergion, in the defense of his sonne: which came so thicke vpon them, as if great drops of raine or haile should haue descended from aboue, no man well knowing which waie to turne him from their force, they came so fast and with so great a violence.

Bergion.

Pomponius Mela cap. de Gallia.

Strabo lib. 4.

But to go forward, albeit that Albion and his power were thus discomfited and slaine, yet the name that he gaue vnto this Iland died not, but still remained vnto the time of Brute, who arriuing here in the 1116. before Christ, and 2850. after the creation of the world, not onelie changed it into Britaine (after it had beene called Albion, by the space of about 600. yeares) but to declare his souereigntie ouer the rest of the Ilands also that lie scattered round about it, he called them all after the same maner, so that Albion was said in time to be *Britanniarum insula maxima*, that is, The greatest of those Iles that beare the name of Britaine, which Plinie also confirmeth, and Strabo in his first and second bookes denieth not. There are some, which vtterlie denieng that this Iland toke hir name of Brute, do affirme it rather to be so called of the rich mettals sometime carried from the mines there into all the world as growing in the same. Vibius Sequester also saith that Calabria was sometime called Britannia, *ob immensam affluentiam totius delitiæ atque vbertatis*, that was to be found herein. Other contend that it should be written with P (Pritannia.) All which opinions as I absolutelie denie not, so I willinglie leane vnto none of them in peremptorie maner, sith the antiquitie of our historie carrieth me withall vnto the former iudgements. And for the same cause I reiect them also, which deriue the aforesaid denomination from Britona the nymph, in following Terior (or Prutus or Prytus the sonne of Araxa) which Britona was borne in Creta daughter to Mars, and fled by sea from thence onelie to escape the villanie of Minos, who attempted to rauish and make hir one of his paramours: but if I should forsake the authoritie of Galfride, I would rather leane to the report of Parthenius, whereof elsewhere I haue made a more large rehersall.

It is altogither impertinent, to discusse whether Hercules came into this Iland after the death of Albion, or not, although that by an ancient monument seene of late, as I heare, and the cape of Hartland or Harcland in the West countrie (called *Promontorium Herculis* in old time) diuers of our British antiquaries do gather great likelihood that he should also be here. But sith his presence or absence maketh nothing with the alteration of the name of this our region and countrie, and to search out whether the said monument was but some token erected in his honour of later times (as some haue beene elsewhere, among the Celts framed, & those like an old cripple with a bow bent in one hand & a club in the other, a rough skin on his backe, the haire of his head all to be matted like that of the Irishmens, and drawing manie men captiue after him in chaines) is but smallie auailable, and therefore I passe it ouer as not incident to my purpose. Neither will I spend any time in the determination, whether Britaine had beene sometime a parcell of the maine, although it should well seeme so to haue beene, because that before the generall flood of Noah, we do not read of Ilands, more than of hils and vallies. Wherfore as Wilden Arguis also noteth in his philosophie and tractation of meteors, it is verie likelie that they were onelie caused by the violent motion and working of the sea, in the time of the flood, which if S. Augustine had well considered, he would neuer haue asked how such creatures as liued in Ilands far distant from the maine could come into the arke, *De ciuit. lib. 16. cap. 7.* howbeit in the end he concludeth with another matter more profitable than his demand.

As for the speedie and timelie inhabitation thereof, this is mine opinion, to wit, that it was inhabited

bited shortlie after the diuision of the earth. For I read that when each capteine and his companie had their portions assigned vnto them by Noah in the partition that he made of the whole among his posteritie, they neuer ceased to trauell and search out the vttermost parts of the same, vntill they found out their bounds allotted, and had seene and vewed their limits, euen vnto the verie poles. It shall suffice therefore onelie to haue touched these things in this manner a farre off, and in returning to our purpose, to proceed with the rest concerning the denomination of our Iland, which was knowne vnto most of the Grecians for a long time, by none other name than Albion, and to saie the truth, euen vnto Alexanders daies, as appeareth by the words of Aristotle in his *De mundo*, and to the time of Ptolomie: notwithstanding that Brute, as I haue said, had changed the same into Britaine, manie hundred yeares before.

Yet Timeus, Ephorus, and some of the Grecians, know the name Britannia, as appeareth also by Diodorus, &c. before the comming of Cesar.

After Brutus I doo not find that anie men attempted to change it againe, vntill the time that Theodosius, in the daies of Valentinianus and Valens endeuoured, in the remembrance of the two aforesaid Emperours, to call it Valentia, as Marcellinus saith. But as this deuise toke no hold among the common sort, so it retained still the name of Britaine, vntill the reigne of Ecbert, who about the 800. yeare of Grace, and first of his reigne, gaue forth an especiall edict, dated at Winchester, that it should be called Angles land, or Angelландt, for which in our time we doo pronounce it England. And this is all (right honorable) that I haue to say, touching the seuerall names of this Iland, vtterlie misliking in the meane season their deuises, which make Hengist the onlie parent of the later denomination, whereas Ecbert, bicause his ancestours descended from the Angles one of the fiue nations that came with the Saxons into Britaine (for they were not all of one, but of diuers countries, as Angles, Saxons, Germans, Switzers, Norwegiens, Jutes otherwise called Jutons, Vites, Gothes or Getes, and Vandals, and all comprehended vnder the name of Saxons, bicause of Hengist the Saxon and his companie that first arriued here before anie of the other) and thereto hauing now the monarchie and preheminence in maner of this whole Iland, called the same after the name of the countrie from whence he deriued his originall, neither Hengist, neither anie Queene named Angla, neither whatsoeuer deriuation *ab Angulo*, as from a corner of the world bearing swaie, or hauing ought to doo at all in that behalfe.

Of this opinion is Belforest, lib. 3. cap. 44.

What sundrie nations haue dwelled in Albion. Cap. 4.

AS few or no nations can iustlie boast themselues to haue continued sithence their countrie was first replenished, without any mixture, more or lesse, of forreine inhabitants; no more can this our Iland, whose manifold commodities haue oft allured sundrie princes and famous capteines of the world to conquer and subdue the same vnto their owne subiection. Manie sorts of people therfore haue come in hither and settled themselues here in this Ile, and first of all other, a parcell of the linage and posteritie of Japhet, brought in by Samothes in the 1910. after the creation of Adam. Howbeit in processe of time, and after they had indifferentlie replenished and furnished this Iland with people (which was doone in the space of 335. yeares) Albion the giant afore mentioned, repaired hither with a companie of his owne race proceeding from Cham, and not onelie annexed the same to his owne dominion, but brought all such in like sort as he found here of the line of Japhet, into miserable seruitude and most extreame thraldome. After him also, and within lesse than fiue hundred and two yeares, came Brute the sonne of Syluius with a great traine of the posteritie of the dispersed Troians in 324. ships: who rendering the like courtesie vnto the Chemminits as they had doone before vnto the seed of Japhet, brought them also wholie vnder his rule and gouernance, and dispossessing the peeres & inferior owners of their lands and possessions, he diuided the countrie among such princes and capteines as he in his arriuall here had led out of Grecia with him.

Samothe-ans.

Britains.

Chemminits.

From henceforth I doo not find any sound report of other nation whatsoeuer, that should aduenture hither to dwell, and alter the state of the land, vntill the Romane emperours subdued it to their dominion, sauing of a few Galles, (and those peraduenture of Belgie) who first comming ouer to rob and pilfer vpon the coasts, did afterward plant themselues for altogither neere vnto the shore, and there builded sundrie cities and townes which they named after those of the maine, from whence they came vnto vs. And this is not onelie to be gathered out of Cesar where he writeth of Britaine of set purpose, but also else-where, as in his second booke a litle after the beginning: for speaking of Deuiaticus king of the Swessions liuing in his time, he affirmeth him not onelie to be the mightiest prince of all the Galles, but also to hold vnder his subiection the Ile of Britaine, of which his sonne Galba was afterward dispossessed. But after the comming of the Romans, it is hard to say with how manie sorts of people we were dailie pestered, almost in euerie sted. For as they planted their forworne legions in the most fertile places of the realme, and where they might best lie for the safegard of their conquests: so their armies did commonlie consist of manie sorts of people, and were (as I may call them) a confused mixture of all other countries and nations then liuing in the world. Howbeit, I thinke it best, bicause they did all beare the title of Romans, to reteine onelie that name for them all, albeit they were wofull ghests to this our Iland: sith that with them came all maner of vice and vicious liuing, all riot and excesse of behauiour into our countrie, which their legions brought hither from each corner of their dominions: for there was no prouince vnder them from whence they had not seruitours.

Romans.

How and when the Scots, a people mixed of the Scithian and Spanish blod, should arriue here out of Ireland, & when the Picts should come vnto vs out of Sarmatia, or from further toward the north & the Scithian Hyperboreans, as yet it is vncertein. For though the Scotish histories doo carrie great countenance of their antiquitie in this Iland: yet (to saie freelie what I thinke) I iudge them rather to haue stolne in hither within the space of 100. yeares before Christ, than to haue continued here so long as they themselues pretend, if my coniecture be any thing. Yet I denie not, but that as the Picts were long planted in this Iland before the Scots aduentured to settle themselues also in Britaine: so the Scots did often aduenture hither to rob and steale out of Ireland, and were finallie called in by the Meats or Picts (as the Romans named them, because they painted their bodies) to helpe them against the Britains, after the which they so planted themselues in these parts, that vnto our time that portion of the land cannot be cleansed of them. I find also that as these Scots were reputed for the most Scithian-like and barbarous nation, and longest without letters; so they vsed commonlie to steale ouer into Britaine in leather skewes, and began to helpe the Picts about or not long before the beginning of Cesars time. For both

Scots. Picts.

Diodorus *lib.* 6. and Strabo *lib.* 4. do seeme to speake of a parcell of the Irish nation that should inhabit Britaine in their time, which were giuen to the eating of mans flesh, and therefore called Anthropophagi. Mamertinus in like sort doth note the Redshanks and the Irish (which are properlie the Scots) to be the onelie enimies of our nation, before the comming of Cæsar, as appeareth in his panegyricall oration, so that hereby it is found that they are no new ghestes in Britaine. Wherefore all the controuersie doth rest in the time of their first attempt to inhabit in this Iland. Certeinlie I maruell much while they trauell not to come in with Cantaber and Partholonus: but I see perfectlie that this shift should be too grosse for the maintenance of their desired antiquitie. Now, as concerning their name, the Saxons translated the word Scotus for Irish: whereby it appeareth that those Irish, of whom Strabo and Diodorus do speake, are none other than those Scots, of whom Ierome speaketh *Aduersus Iouinianum, lib.* 2. who vsed to feed on the buttocks of boies and womens paps, as delicate dishes. Aethicus writing of the Ile of Man, affirmeth it to be inhabited with Scots so well as Ireland euen in his time. Which is another proofe that the Scots and Irish are all one people. They were also called Scoti by the Romans, bicause their Iland & originall inhabitation thereof were vnknowne, and they themselues an obscure nation in the sight of all the world. Now as concerning the Picts, whatsoeuer Ranulphus Hygden imagineth to the contrarie of their latter enterance, it is easie to find by Herodian and Mamertinus (of which the one calleth them Meates, the other Redshankes and Pictones) that they were setled in this Ile long before the time of Seuerus, yea of Cæsar, and comming of the Scots. Which is proofe sufficient, if no further authoritie remained extant for the same. So that the controuersie lieth not in their comming also, but in the true time of their repaire and aduenture into this Iland out of the Orchades (out of which they gat ouer into the North parts of our countrie, as the writers do report) and from whence they came at the first into the aforsaid Ilands. For my part I suppose with other, that they came hither out of Sarmatia or Scythia: for that nation hauing had alwaies an eie vnto the commodities of our countrie, hath sent out manie companies to inuade and spoile the same. It may be that some will gather, those to be the Picts, of whom Cæsar saith that they stained their faces with wad and madder, to the end they might appeare terrible and fearefull to their enimies; and so inferre that the Picts were naturall Britans. But it is one thing to staine the face onelie as the Britans did, of whom Propertius saith,

Of the Picts.

Nunc etiam infectos demum mutare Britannos,

And to paint the images and portraitures of beasts, fish and foules ouer the whole bodie, as the Picts did, of whom Martial saith,

Barbara depictis veni Basciauda Britannis.

Certes the times of Samothes and Albion, haue some likelie limitation: and so we may gather of the comming in of Brute, of Cæsar, the Saxons, the Danes, the Normans, and finallie of the Flemmings, (who had the Rolle in Wales assigned vnto them 1066. after the drowning of their countrie.) But when first the Picts, & then the Scots should come ouer into our Iland, as they were obscure people, so the time of their arriuall is as far to me vnknowne. Wherefore the resolution of this point must still remaine In tenebris. This neuertheless is certeine, that Maximus first Legate of Britaine, and afterward emperour, draue the Scots out of Britaine, and compelled them to get habitation in Ireland, the out Iles, and the North part of the maine, and finallie diuided their region betweene the Britaines and the Picts. He denounced warre also against the Irishmen, for receiuing them into their land: but they crauing the peace, yeelded to subscribe, that from thence-forth they would not receiue any Scot into their dominions; and so much the more, for that they were pronounced enimies to the Romans, and disturbers of the common peace and quietnesse of their prouinces here in England.

The Saxons became first acquainted with this Ile, by meanes of the piracie which they dailie practised vpon our coastes (after they had once begun to aduenture themselues also vpon the seas, thereby to seeke out more wealth than was now to be gotten in the West parts of the maine, which they and their neighbours had alreadie spoiled in most lamentable and barbarous maner) howbeit they neuer durst presume to inhabit in this Iland, vntill they were sent for by Vortiger to serue him in his warres against the Picts and Scots, after that the Romans had giuen vs ouer, and left vs wholie to our owne defense and regiment. Being therefore come vnder Hengist in three bottoms or keeles, and in short time espieng the idle and negligent behauiour of the Britaines, and fertilitie of our soile, they were not a little inflamed to make a full conquest of such as at the first they came to aid and succour. Hereupon also they fell by little and little to the winding in of greater numbers of their countrimen and neighbours, with their wiues and children into this region, so that within a while these new comlings began to molest the homelings, and ceased not from time to time to continue their purpose, vntill they had gotten possession of the whole, or at the least wise the greatest part of our countrie; the Britons in the meane season being driuen either into Wales and Cornewall, or altogither out of the Iland to seeke new habitations.

The hurt by forren aid.

In like maner the Danes (the next nation that succeeded) came at the first onelie to pilfer and robbe vpon the frontiers of our Iland, till that in the end, being let in by the Welshmen or Britons through an earnest desire to be reuenged vpon the Saxons, they no lesse plagued the one than the other, their freends than their aduersaries, seeking by all meanes possible to establish themselues also in the sure possession of Britaine. But such was their successe, that they prospered not long in their deuise: for so great was their lordlinesse, crueltie, and insatiable desire of riches, beside their detestable abusing of chast matrons, and yong virgins (whose husbands and parents were dailie inforced to become their drudges and slaues, whilest they sat at home and fed like drone bees of the swet of their trauell and labours) that God I say would not suffer them to continue any while ouer vs, but when he saw his time he remoued their yoke, and gaue vs libertie as it were to breath vs, thereby to see whether this his sharpe scourge could haue moued vs to repentance and amendment of our lewd and sinfull lines, or not. But when no signe thereof appeared in our hearts, he called in an other nation to ver vs, I meane the Normans, a people mixed with Danes, and of whom it is worthilie doubted, whether they were more hard and cruell to our countrimen than the Danes, or more heauie and intollerable to our Iland than the Saxons or the Romans. This nation came out of Newstria, the people thereof were called Normans by the French, bicause the Danes which subdued that region, came out of the North parts of the world: neuertheless, I suppose that the ancient word Newstria, is corrupted from West-rike, bicause that if you marke the situation, it lieth opposite from Austria or Est-rike, which is called the East region, as Newstria is the Weast: for Rike in the old Scithian tong doth signifie a region or kingdome, as in Franc-rike, or Franc-reich, West saxon-reich, Est saxon-reich, Su-rike, Angel-rike, &c, is else to be seene. But howsoeuer this falleth out, these Normans

Danes.

The Normans.

or

or Danish French, were dedlie aduersaries to the English Saxons, first by meane of a quarell that grew betweene them in the daies of Edward the Confessour, at such time as the Earle of Bullen, and William Duke of Normandie, arriued in this land to visit him, & their frends; such Normans (I meane) as came ouer with him and Emma his mother before him, in the time of Canutus and Ethelred. For the first footing that euer the French did set in this Iland, sithence the time of Ethelbert & Sigebert, was with Emma, which Ladie brought ouer a traine of French Gentlemen and Ladies with hir into England.

The cause of the conquest by the Normans.

After hir also no small numbers of attendants came in with Edward the Confessour, whome he preferred to the greatest offices in the realme, in so much that one Robert a Norman, became Archbishop of Canturburie, whose preferment so much enhanced the minds of the French, on the one side, as their lordlie and outragious demeanour kindled the stomachs of the English nobilitie against them on the other: insomuch that not long before the death of Emma the kings mother, and vpon occasion of the brall hapning at Douer (whereof I haue made sufficient mention in my Chronologie, not regarding the report of the French authors in this behalfe, who write altogither in the fauour of their Archbishop Robert, but following the authoritie of an English préest then liuing in the court) the English Peeres began to shew their disliking in manifest maner. Neuertheless, the Normans so bewitched the king with their lieng and bosting, Robert the Archbishop being the chéefe instrument of their practise, that he beléeued them, and thereupon vered sundrie of the nobilitie, amongst whom Earle Godwin of Kent was the chéefe, a noble Gentleman and father in law to king Edward by the mariage of his daughter. The matter also came to such issue against him, that he was exiled, and fiue of his sonnes with him, whereupon he goeth ouer the sea, and sone after returning with his said sonnes, they inuaded the land in sundrie places, the father himselfe comming to London, where when the kings power was readie to ioine with him in battell, it vtterlie refused so to do: affirming plainelie, that it should be méere follie for one Englishman to fight against another, in the reuenge of Frenchmens quarels: which answer entred so déeplie into the kings mind, that he was contented to haue the matter heard, and appointing commissioners for that purpose; they concluded at the vpshot, that all the French should depart out of England by a day, few excepted, whom the king should appoint and nominate.

Archbishop of Can. exiled, and the rest of the French.

By this means therfore Robert the Archbishop, & of secret counsell with the king, was first exiled as principall abuser & seducer of the king, who goeth to Rome, & there complaineth to the Pope of his iniurie receiued by the English. Howbeit as he returned home againe with no small hope of the readeption of his See, he died in Normandie, whereby he saued a killing. Certes he was the first that euer tendered complaint out of England vnto Rome, & with him went William Bishop of London (afterward reuoked) and Vlfo of Lincolne, who hardlie escaped the furie of the English nobilitie. Some also went into Scotland, and there held themselues, expecting a better time. And this is the true historie of the originall cause of the conquest of England by the French: for after they were well beaten at Douer, because of their insolent demeanour there shewed, their harts neuer ceased to boile with a desire of reuenge that brake out into a flame, so sone as their Robert possessed the primacie, which being once obteined, and to set his mischéefe intended abroch withall, a contention was quicklie procured about certeine Kentish lands, and controuersie kindled, whether he or the Earle should haue most right vnto them. The king held with the préest as with the church, the nobilitie with the Earle. In processe also of this businesse, the Archbishop accused the Earle of high treason, burdening him with the slaughter of Alfred the kings brother, which was altogither false: as appeareth by a treatise yet extant of that matter, written by a chaplaine to king Edward the Confessour, in the hands of Iohn Stow my verie frend, wherein he saith thus, *Alfredus incaute agens in aduentu suo in Angliam a Danis circumuentus occiditur.* He addeth moreouer, that giuing out as he came through the countrie accompanied with his few proud Normans, how his meaning was to recouer his right vnto the kingdome, and supposing that all men would haue yéelded vnto him, he fell into their hands, whome Harald then king did send to apprehend him, vpon the same onelie of this report brought vnto his eares. So that (to be short) after the king had made his pacification with the Earle, the French (I say) were exiled, the Quéene restored to his fauour (whom he at the beginning of this broile had imprisoned at Wilton, allowing hir but one onlie maid to wait vpon hir) and the land reduced to hir former quietnesse, which continued vntill the death of the king. After which the Normans not forgetting their old grudge, remembred still their quarell, that in the end turned to their conquest of this Iland. After which obteined, they were so cruellie bent to our vtter subuersion and ouerthrow, that in the beginning it was lesse reproch to be accounted a slaue than an Englishman, or a drudge in anie filthie businesse than a Britaine: insomuch that euerie French page was superiour to the greatest Peere; and the losse of an Englishmans life but a pastime to such of them as contended in their brauerie, who should giue the greatest strokes or wounds vnto their bodies, when their toiling and drudgerie could not please them, or satisfie their grœdie humors. Yet such was our lot in those daies by the diuine appointed order, that we must nœds obey such as the Lord did set ouer vs, and so much the rather, for that all power to resist was vtterlie taken from vs, and our armes made so weake and feeble that they were not now able to remoue the importable load of the enimie from our surburdened shoulders. And this onelie I saie againe, because we refused grace offered in time, and would not heare when God by his Preachers did call vs so fauourablie vnto him. Oh how miserable was the estate of our countrie vnder the French and Normans, wherein the Brittish and English that remained, could not be called to any function in the commonwealth, no not so much as to be constables and headburowes in small villages, except they could bring 2. or 3. Normans for suerties to the Lords of the soile for their good behauiour in their offices! Oh what numbers of all degrées of English and Brittish were made slaues and bondmen, and bought and sold as oxen in open market! In so much that at the first comming, the French bond were set free; and those that afterward became bond, were of our owne countrie and nation, so that few or rather none of vs remained free without some note of bondage and seruitude to the French. Hereby then we perceiue, how from time to time this Iland hath not onelie béene a prey, but as it were a common receptacle for strangers, the naturall homelings or Britons being still cut shorter and shorter, as I said before, till in the end they came not onelie to be driuen into a corner of this region, but in time also verie like vtterlie to haue béene extinguished. For had not king Edward, surnamed the saint, in his time, after grœuous wars made vpon them 1063. (wherein Harald latelie made Earle of Orenford, sonne to Godwin Earle of Kent, and after king of England, was his generall) permitted the remnant of their women to ioine in mariage with the Englishmen (when the most part of their husbands and male children were slaine with the sword) it could not haue béene otherwise chosen, but their whole race must

Erle Godwine slandered by the French writers.

The miserie of the English vnder the French.

The cause of our miserie.

In this voiage the said Harald builded Portaschith, which Caradoch ap Griffin afterward ouerthrew, and killed the garrison that Harald left therein.

nèds haue ſuſteined the vttermoſt confuſion, and thereby the memorie of the Britons vtterlie haue periſhed among vs.

Thus we ſee how England hath ſix times bene ſubiect to the reproch of conqueſt. And wheras the Scots ſeeme to challenge manie famous victories alſo ouer vs, beſide greeuous impoſitions, tributs, & diſhonorable compoſitions: it ſhall ſuffice for anſwer, that they deale in this as in the moſt part of their hiſtorie, which is to ſeeke great honor by lieng, & great renowme by prating and craking. Indeed they haue done great miſchéefe in this Iland, & with extreme crueltie; but as for any conqueſt the firſt is yet to heare of. Diuers other conqueſts alſo haue béene pretended by ſundrie princes ſithence the conqueſt, onelie to the end that all priſtinate lawes and tenures of poſſeſſion might ceaſe, and they make a new diſpoſition of all things at their owne pleaſure. As one by king Edw. the 3. but it toke none effect. Another by Henrie the 4. who neuertheleſſe was at the laſt though hardlie drawne from the challenge by William Thorington, then cheefe Juſtice of England. The third by Henrie the 7. who had ſome better ſhew of right, but yet without effect. And the laſt of all by Q. Marie, as ſome of the papiſts gaue out, and alſo would haue had hir to haue obteined, but God alſo ſtaied their malices, and hir challenge. But beſide the ſir afore mentioned, Huntingdon the old hiſtoriographer ſpeaketh of a ſeuenth, likelie (as he ſaith) to come one daie out of the North, which is a wind that bloweth no man to good, ſith nothing is to be had in thoſe parts, but hunger & much cold. See more hereof in the hiſtorie of S. Albons, and aforeſaid author which lieth on the left ſide of the librarie belonging now to Paules: for I regard no propheſies as one that doubteth from what ſpirit they do proceed, or who ſhould be the author of them.

owne knowledge. Wherfore it appeareth by preſent experience, that all is not abſolutelie vntrue which is remembred of men of ſuch giants. For this cauſe therfore I haue now taken vpon me to make this breefe diſcourſe inſuing, as indeuouring therby to proue, that the opinion of giants is not altogither grounded vpon vaine and fabulous narrations, inuented onelie to delight the eares of the hearers with the report of marueilous things: but that there haue bene ſuch men indeed, as for their hugeneſſe of perſon haue reſembled rather * high towers than mortall men, although their poſterities are now conſumed, and their monſtruous races vtterlie worne out of knowledge. *Eſay.30. verſ.25.

I do not meane herein to diſpute, whether this name Gigas or Nephilim was giuen vnto them, rather for their tyrannie and oppreſſion of the people, than for their greatneſſe of bodie, or large ſteps, as Goropius would haue it (for he denieth that euer men were greater than at this preſent) or bicauſe their parents were not knowne, for ſuch in old time were called *Terræ filij*; or whether the word Gigas doth onlie ſignifie *Indigenas*, or homelings, borne in the land or not; neither whether all men were of like quantitie in ſtature, and farre more greater in old time, than now they be: and yet abſolutelie I denie neither of theſe, ſith verie probable reaſons may be brought for ech of them, but eſpeciallie the laſt rehearſed, whoſe confirmation dependeth vpon the authorities of ſundrie ancient writers, who make diuers of noble race, equall to the giants in ſtrength and manhood, and yet do not giue the ſame name vnto them, bicauſe their quarels were iuſt, and commonlie taken in hand for defenſe of the oppreſſed. Examples hereof we may take of Hercules and Antheus, whoſe wreſtling declareth that they were equall in ſtature & ſtomach. Such alſo was the courage of Antheus, that being often ouercome, and as it were vtterlie vanquiſhed by the ſaid Hercules, yet if he did eſtſones returne againe into his kingdome, he forthwith recouered his force, returned and held Hercules tacke, till he gat at the laſt betweene him and home, ſo cutting off the farther hope of the reſtitution of his armie, and killing finallie his aduerſarie in the field, of which victorie Politian writeth thus: Antheus. Lucane lib. 4. in fine.

Incaluere animis dura certare palæſtra,
Neptuni quondàm filius atque Iouis:
Non certamen erant operoſo ex ære lebetes,
Sed qui vel vitam vel ferat interitum:
Occidit Antæus Ioue natum viuere fas eſt,
Eſtq; magiſtra Pales Græcia, non Lybia.

The like do our hiſtories report of Corineus and Gomagot, peraduenture king of this Ile, who fought a combat hand to hand, till one of them was ſlaine, and yet for all this no man reputeth Hercules or Corineus for giants, albeit that Hanuile in his Architrenion make the later to be 12. cubits in height, which is full 18. fot, if poeticall licence do not take place in his report and aſſertion. But ſith (I ſay againe) it is not my purpoſe to ſtand vpon theſe points, I paſſe ouer to ſpeake any more of them. And whereas alſo I might haue proceeded in ſuch order, that I ſhould firſt ſet downe by manie circumſtances, whether any giants were, then whether they were of ſuch huge and incredible ſtature as the authours do remember, and finallie whether any of them haue bene in this our Iland or not, I proteſt plainlie, that my mind is not here bent to deale in any ſuch maner, but rather generallie to confirme and by ſufficient authoritie, that there haue bene ſuch mightie men of ſtature, and ſome of them alſo in Britaine, which I will ſet downe onelie by ſundrie examples, whereby it ſhall fall out, that neither our Iland, nor any part of the maine, haue at one time or other béen altogither without them. Firſt of all therfore, & to begin with the ſcriptures, the moſt ſure & certeine ground of all knowledge: you ſhall haue out of them Corineus & Gomagot.

Whether it be likelie that any giants were, and whether they inhabited in this Ile or not. Cap. 5.

BEſides theſe aforeſaid nations, which haue crept (as you haue heard) into our Iland, we read of ſundrie giants that ſhould inhabit here. Which report as it is not altogither incredible, ſith the poſterities of diuers princes were called by the name: ſo vnto ſome mens eares it ſeemeth ſo ſtrange a reherſall, that for the ſame onelie cauſe they ſuſpect the credit of our whole hiſtorie, & reiect it as a fable, vnworthie to be read. They alſo condemne the like in all other hiſtories, eſpeciallie of the North, where men are naturallie of greateſt ſtature, imagining all to be but fables that is written of Starcater, Hartben, Angrine, Aruerode, &c. of whom Saxo, Iohannes Magnus and Olaus do make mention, & whoſe bones do yet remaine to be ſeene as rare miracles in nature. Of theſe alſo ſome in their life time were able to lift vp (as they write) a veſſell of liquor of 1000. weight, or an horſſe, or an ore, & caſt it on their ſhoulders (wherein their wet le women haue bene likewiſe knowne to come néere vnto them) and of the race of thoſe men, ſome were ſeene of no leſſe ſtrength in the 1500. of Grace, wherein Olaus liued, and wrote the ſame of his owne experience and knowledge. Of the giant of Spaine that died of late yeares by a fall vpon the Alpes, as he either went or came fro Rome, about the purchaſe of a diſpenſation to marrie with his kinſwoman (a woman alſo of much more than common ſtature) there be men yet liuing, and may liue long for age, that can ſaie verie much euen by their

ſuch

such notable examples set downe, as I haue obserued in reading the same, which vnto the godlie may suffice for sufficient proofe of my position. Neuertheless, after the scriptures I will resort to the writings of our learned Diuines, and finallie of the infidell and pagane authors, whereby nothing shall seeme to want that may confute Goropius, and all his cauillations.

Cap.6. verſ.5. Moses the prophet of the Lord, writing of the estate of things before the floud, hath these words in his booke of generations. In these daies saith he, there were giants vpon the earth. Berosus also the Chalde writeth, Anti.li.1. that neere vnto Libanus there was a citie called Oenon (which I take to be Hanoch, builded sometime by Cham) wherein giants did inhabit, who trusting to the strength and hugenesse of their bodies, did verie great oppression and mischeefe in the world. The Hebrues called them generallie Enach, of Hanach the Chebronite, father to Achimam, Scheschai and Talma, although their first originall was derived from Henoch the sonne of Caine, of whome that pestilent race descended, as I read. The Moabits named them Emims, and the Ammonites Zamsummims, and it should seeme by the second of Deut. cap. 19, 20. that Ammon and Moab were greatlie replenished with such men, when Moses wrote that treatise. For of these monsters some families remained of greater stature than other vnto Nu. cap. 13. verſe. 33, & 34. his daies, in comparison of whome the children of Israell confessed themselues to be but grashoppers. Which is one noble testimonie that the word Gigas or Enach is so well taken for a man of huge stature, as for an homeborne child, wicked tyrant, or oppressour of the people.

Deut. 3. verſ 11. Og of Basan. Furthermore, there is mention made also in the scriptures of Og, sometime king of Basan, who was the last of the race of the giants, that was left in the land of promise to be ouercome by the Israelits, & whose iron bed was afterward shewed for a wonder at Rabbath (a citie of the Ammonites) conteining 9. cubits in length, and 4. in bredth, which cubits I take not to be geometricall, (that is, each one so great as six of the smaller, as those were wherof the Arke was made, as our Diuines affirme, especiallie Augustine: whereas Origen, *hom. 2. in Gen.* out of whom he seemeth to borrow it, appeareth to haue no such meaning directlie) but rather of the arme of a meane man, which oftentimes doth varie & differ from the standard. Oh how Goropius dalieth about the historie of this Og, of the breaking of his pate against the beds head, & of hurting his ribs against the sides, and all to prooue, that Og was not bigger than other men, and so he leaueth the matter as sufficientlie answered with a French countenance of truth. But see August. *de ciuit. lib. 15. cap. 25. & ad Faustum Manich. lib.* 12. Ambros. *&c.* and Iohannes Buteo that excellent geometrician, who hath written of purpose of the capacitie of the Arke.

Cap 17. ver. 4, 5, 6. Goliah. In the first of Samuel you shall read of Goliah a Philistine, the weight of whose brigandine or shirt of maile was of 5000. sicles, or 1250. ounces of brasse, which amounteth to 104. pound of Troie weight after 4. common sicles to the ounce. The head of his speare came vnto ten pound English or 600. sicles of that metall. His height also was measured at six cubits and an hand bredth. All which do import that he was a notable giant, and a man of great stature & strength to weare such an armour, and beweld so heauie a lance. But Goropius thinking himselfe still to haue Og in hand, and indeuouring to extenuate the fulnesse of the letter to his vttermost power, doth neuertheless earnestlie affirme, that he was not aboue three foot more than the common sort of men, or two foot higher than Saule: and so he leaueth it as determined.

Cap. 21. ver. 16, 17, &c. In the second of Samuel, I find report of foure giants borne in Geth; of which Ishbenob the first, that would haue killed Dauid, had a speare, whose head weighed the iust halfe of that of Goliath: the second called Siphai, Sippai or Saph, 1. *Par.* 20. was nothing inferiour to the first: the third hight also Goliah, the staffe of whose speare was like vnto the beame of a weauers lome, neuertheless he was slaine in the second battell in Gob by Elhanan, as the first was by Abisai Ioabs brother, and the second by Elhanan. The fourth brother (for they were all brethren) was slaine at Gath by Ionathan nephew to Dauid, and he was not onlie huge of personage, but also of disfigured forme, for he had 24. fingers and toes. Wherby it is euident, that the generation of giants was not extinguished in Palestine, vntill the time of Dauid, which was 2890. after the floud, nor vtterlie consumed in Og, as some of our expositors would haue it.

Now to come vnto our christian writers. For though the authorities alreadie alleged out of the word, are sufficient to confirme my purpose at the full; yet will I not let to set downe such other notes as experience hath reuealed, onelie to the end that the reader shall not thinke the name of giants, with their quantities, and other circumstances, mentioned in the scriptures, rather to haue some mysticall interpretation depending vpon them, than that the sense of the text in this behalfe is to be taken simplie as it speaketh. And first of all to omit that which Tertullian *Lib. 2. de resurrect.* saith; S. Augustine noteth, how he with other saw the tooth of a man, wherof he tooke good aduisement, and pronounced in the end that it would haue made 100. of his owne, or anie other mans that liued in his time. The like hereof also doth Iohn Boccace set downe, in the 68. chapter of his 4. booke, saieng that in the caue of a mountaine, not far from Drepanum (a towne of Sicilia called Eryx as he getteth) the bodie of an exceeding high giant was discouered, three of whose teeth did weigh 100. ounces, which being conuerted into English poise, doth yeeld eight pound and foure ounces, after twelue ounces to the pound, that is 33. ounces euerie tooth.

De ciuitate Dei lib, 15. cap. 9.

Iohannes Boccacius.

He addeth farther, that the forepart of his scull was able to conteine manie bushels of wheat, and by the proportion of the bone of his thigh, the Symmetricians iudged his bodie to be aboue 200. cubits. Whose teeth, scull, and bones, were (and as I thinke yet are, for ought I know to the contrarie) to be seene in the church of Drepanum in perpetuall memorie of his greatnesse, whose bodie was found vpon this occasion. As some digged in the earth to laie the foundation of an house, the miners happened vpon a great vault, not farre from Drepanum: whereinto when they were entred, they saw the huge bodie of a man sitting in the caue, of whose greatnesse they were so afraid, that they ranne awaie, and made an outcrie in the citie, how there sat a man in such a place, so great as an hill: the people hearing the newes, ran out with clubs and weapons, as if they should haue gone vnto a foughten field, and 300. of them entring into the caue, they forthwith saw that he was dead, and yet sat as if he had been aliue, hauing a staffe in his hand, compared by mine author vnto the mast of a tall ship, which being touched fell by and by to dust, sauing the nether end betweene his hand and the ground, whose hollownesse was filled with 1500. pound weight of lead, to beare vp his arme that it should not fall in peeces: neuertheless, his bodie also being touched fell likewise into dust, sauing three of his aforesaid teeth, the forepart of his scull, and one of his thigh bones, which are reserued to be seene of such as will hardlie beleeue these reports.

A carcase discouered of 200. cubits.

In the histories of Brabant I read of a giant found, whose bones were 17. or 18. cubits in length, but Goropius, as his maner is, denieth them to be the bones of a man, affirming rather that they were the bones of an elephant, because they somwhat resembled those of two such beasts which were found at the making of the famous ditch betweene Brurels and Pachlin. As though

there

there were anie precise resemblance betweene the bones of a man and of an elephant, or that there had euer beene any elephant of 27. foot in length. But see his demeanour. In the end he granteth that another bodie was found vpon the shore of Rhodanus, of thirtie foot in length. Which somewhat staieth his iudgement, but not altogither remoueth his error.

Mat. Westmon. The bodie of Pallas was found in Italie, in the yeare of Grace 1038. and being measured it conteined twentie foot in length, this Pallas was companion with Æneas.

Iohannes Leland. Masieus, lib. 14. Triuet. Mat. West. There was a carcase also laid bare 1170. in England vpon the shore (where the beating of the sea had washed awaie the earth from the stone wherein it laie) and when it was taken vp, it conteined 50. foot in measure, as our histories do report. The like was seene before in Wales, in the yeare 1087. of another of 14. foot.

In Perth moreouer a village in Scotland another was taken vp, which to this daie they shew in a church, vnder the name of little Iohn *(per Antiphrasin)* being also 14. foot in length, as diuerse do affirme which haue beholden the same, and whereof Hector Boetius doth saie, that he did put his whole arme into one of the hanch bones: which is worthie to be remembred.

Hector Boet.

In the yeare of Grace 1475. the bodie of Tulliola the daughter of Cicero was taken vp, & found higher by not a few foot than the common sort of women liuing in those daies.

Geruasius Tilberiensis. Geruasius Tilberiensis, head Marshall to the king of Arles writeth in his Chronicle dedicated to Otho 4. how that at Isoretum, in the suburbes of Paris, he saw the bodie of a man that was twentie foot long, beside the head and the necke, which was missing & not found, the owner hauing peraduenture beene beheaded for some notable trespasse committed in times past, or (as he saith) killed by S. William.

The Greeke writers make mention of Andronicus their emperour, who liued 1183. of Grace, and was ten foot in height, that is, three foot higher than the Dutch man that shewed himselfe in manie places of England, 1582. this man maried Anna daughter to Lewis of France (before assured to Alerius, whome he strangled, dismembred and drowned in the sea) the ladie not being aboue eleuen yeares of age, whereas he was an old dotard, and beside hir he kept Marpaca a fine harlot, who ruled him as she listed.

Zonaras speaketh of a woman that liued in the daies of Iustine, who being borne in Cilicia, and of verie comelie personage, was neuertheless almost two foot taller than the tallest woman of hir time.

Sir Thomas Eliot. A carcase was taken vp at Iuie church neere Salisburie but of late yeares to speake of, almost fourteene foot long. *in Dictionario Eliotæ.*

Leland in Combrit. In Gilleland in Come Whitton paroche not far from the chappell of the More, six miles by east from Carleill, a coffin of stone was found, and therein the bones of a man, of more than incredible greatnes. In like sort Leland speaketh of another found in the Ile called Alderney, whereof you shall read more in the chapiter of our Ilands.

Richard Grafton. Richard Grafton in his Manuell telleth of one whose shinbone conteined six foot, and thereto his scull so great that it was able to receiue fiue pecks of wheat. Wherefore by coniecturall symmetrie of these parts, his bodie must needs be of 24. foot, or rather more, if it were diligentlie measured. For the proportion of a comelie and well featured bodie, answereth 9. times to the length of the face, taken at large from the pitch of the crowne to the chin, as the whole length is from the same place vnto the sole of the foot, measured by an imagined line, and seuered into so manie parts by like ouerthwart draughts, as Drurerus in his lineall description of mans bodie doth deliuer. Neuertheles, this symmetrie is not taken by other than the well proportioned face,

The Symmetrie or proportion of the bodie of a comelie man.

for *Recta, orbiculata* (or *fornicata*) *prona, resupinata*, and *lacunata* (or *repanda*) do so far degenerate from the true proportion as from the forme and beautie of the comelie. Hereby also they make the face taken in strict maner, to be the tenth part of the whole bodie, that is, frō the highest part of the forehead to the pitch of the chin, so that in the vse of the word face there is a difference, whereby the 9. part is taken (I say) from the crowne (called *Vertex*, because the haire there turneth into a circle) so that if the space by a rule were truelie taken, I meane from the crowne or highest part of the head to the pitch of the nether chap, and multiplied by nine, the length of the whole bodie would easilie apeare, & shew it selfe at the full. In like maner I find, that from the elbow to the top of the midle finger is the 4. part of the whole length, called a cubit: from the wrist to the top of the same finger, a tenth part: the length of the shinbone to the ancle a fourth part (and all one with the cubit:) from the top of the finger to the third ioint, two third parts of the face from the top of the forehead. Which obseruations I willinglie remember in this place, to the end that if anie such carcases happen to be found hereafter, it shall not be hard by some of these bones here mentioned, to come by the stature of the whole bodie, in certeine & exact maner. As for the rest of the bones, ioints, parts, &c: you may resort to Drurerus, Cardan, and other writers, sith the farther deliuerie of them concerneth not my purpose. To proceed therefore with other examples, I read that the bodie of king Arthur being found in the yeare 1189. was two foot higher than anie man that came to behold the same. Finallie the carcase of William conqueror was seene not manie yeares since (to wit, 1542.) in the citie of Cane, twelue inches longer, by the iudgment of such as saw it, than anie man which dwelled in the countrie. All which testimonies I note togither, because they proceed from christian writers, from whome nothing should be farther or more distant, than of set purpose to lie, and feed the world with fables.

Sylvester Gyraldus.

Constans fama Gallorum.

In our times also, and whilest Francis the first reigned ouer France, there was a man seene in Aquiteine, whome the king being in those parties made of his gard, whose height was such, that a man of common heigth might easilie go vnder his twist without stooping, a stature incredible. Moreouer Casanion, a writer of our time, telleth of the bones of Briar a giant found of late in Delphinois, of 15. cubits, the diameter of whose scull was two cubits, and the breadth of his shoulders foure, as he himselfe beheld in the late second wars of France, & whereunto the report of Ioan Marius made in his bookes *De Galliarum illustrationibus*, where he writeth of the carcase of the same giant found not farre from the Rhodanus, which was 22. foot long, from the scull to the sole of the feet, doth yeeld sufficient testimonie. Also Calameus in his commentaries *De Biturigibus*, confirmeth no lesse, adding that he was found 1556. & so doth Baptista Fulgosus, *lib. 1. cap. 6.* saieng farther, that his graue was seene not farre from Valentia, and discouered by the violence and current of the Rhodanus. The said Casanion in like sort speaketh of the bones of a man which he beheld, one of whose teeth was a foot long, and eight pound in weight. Also of the sepulchre of another neere vnto Charmes castell, which was nine paces in length, things incredible to vs, if eiesight did not confirme it in our owne times, and these carcases were not reserued by the verie prouidence of God, to the end we might behold his works, and by these relikes vnderstand, that such men were in old time in deed, of whose statures we now begin to doubt. Now to say somwhat also of mine owne knowledge, there is the thighbone of a man to be seene in the church of S. Laurence neere Guildhall in London, which in time past was 26. inches in length, but now it beginneth to decaie, so that it is shorter by foure inches than it was in the time of king Edward. Another also

Briar.

is

is to be seene in Aldermarie burie, of some called Aldermanburie, of 32. inches and rather more, whereof the symmetrie hath bene taken by some skilfull in that practise, and an image made according to that proportiõ, which is fixed in the east end of the cloister of the same church, not farre from the said bone, and sheweth the person of a man full ten or eleuen foot high, which as some say was found in the cloister of Poules, that was neere to the librarie, at such time as the Duke of Somerset did pull it downe to the verie foundation, and carried the stones thereof to the Strand, where he did build his house. These two bones haue I seene, beside other, whereof at the beholding I toke no great heed, because I minded not as then to haue had any such vse of their proportions, and therefore I will speake no more of them: this is sufficient for my purpose that is deliuered out of the christian authors.

Now it resteth furthermore that I set downe, what I haue read therof in Pagane writers, who had alwaies great regard of their credit, and so ought all men that dedicate any thing vnto posteritie, least in going about otherwise to reape renowme and praise, they do procure vnto themselues in the end nothing else but meere contempt and infamie. For my part I will touch rare things, and such as to my selfe do seeme almost incredible: howbeit as I find them, so I note them, requiring your Honour in reading hereof, to let euerie Author beare his owne burden, and euerie ore his bundle.

In vita Sertorij de Anabeo. Plutarch telleth how Sertorius being in Lybia, neere to the streicts of Maroco, to wit, at Tingi (or Tanger in Mauritania, as it is now called) caused the sepulchre of Antheus, afore remembred to be opened: for hearing by common report that the said giant laie buried there, whose corps was fiftie cubits long at the least, he was so far off from crediting the same, that he would not beleeue it, vntill he saw the coffin open wherein the bones of the aforesaid prince did rest. To be short therefore, he caused his souldiers to cast downe the hill made sometime ouer the tombe, and finding the bodie in the bottome coffined in stone, after the measure therof taken, he saw it manifestlie to be 60. cubits in length, which were ten more than the people made accompt of, which Strabo also confirmeth.

Pausanias reporteth out of one Miso, that when the bodie of Aiax was found, the whirlebone of his knee was adiudged so broad as a pretie dish: also that the bodie of Asterius somtime king of Creta was ten cubits long, and that of Hyllus or Gerion no lesse maruelous than the rest, all which Goropius still condemneth to be the bones of monsters of the sea (notwithstanding the manifest formes of their bones, epitaphes, and inscriptions found ingrauen in brasse and lead with them in their sepulchres) so far is he from being persuaded and led from his opinion.

Philostrate. Philostrate *in Heroicis* saith, how he saw the bodie of a giant thirtie cubits in length, also the carcase of another of two and twentie, and the third of twelue.

Liuie in the seauenth of his first decade, speaketh of an huge person which made a challenge as he stood at the end of the Anien bridge, against any Romane that would come out and fight with him, whose stature was not much inferiour to that of Golias, of Artaches (of whome Herodot speaketh in the historie of Xerxes) who was fiue common cubits of stature, which make but fiue of the kings standard, because this is longer by three fingers than the other. Of Pusio, Secundilla, & Cabaras, of which the first two liuing vnder Augustus were aboue ten foot, and the later vnder Claudius of full nine, and all remembred by Plinie; of Eleazar a Iew, of whome Iosephus saith, that he was sent to Tiberius, and a person of heigth fiue cubits, of another of whom Nicephorus maketh mention *lib.* 12. *cap.* 13. *Hist. eccles.* of fiue cubits and an handfull, I say nothing, because Casanion of Putterell hath alredie sufficientlie discoursed vpon these examples in his *De gigantibus*, which as I gesse he hath written of set purpose against Goropius, who in his *Gigantomachia*, supposeth himselfe to haue killed all the giants in the world, and like a new Iupiter *Alterum carcasse Herculem*, as the said Casanion doth merilie charge and vpbraid him.

Plinie telleth of an earthquake at Creta, which discouered the bodie of a giant, that was 46. cubits in length after the Romane standard, and by diuerse supposed to be the bodie of Orion or Ætion. Neuertheless I read, that Lucius Flaccus and Metellus did sweare *Per sua capita*, that it was either the carcase of some monster of the sea, or a forged deuise to bleare the peoples eies withall, wherein it is wonderfull to see, how they please Goropius as one that first deriued his fantasticall imagination from their asseueration & oth. The said Plinie also addeth that the bodie of Orestes was seuen cubits in length, one Gabbara of Arabia nine foot nine inches, and two reserued *In conditorio Sallustianorum* halfe a foot longer than Gabbara was, for which I neuer read that anie man was driuen to sweare. Lib. 7.

Trallianus writeth how the Athenienses digging on a time in the ground, to laie the foundation of a new wall to be made in a certeine Iland in the daies of an emperour, did find the bones of Macrosyris in a coffin of hard stone, of 100. cubits in length after the accompt of the Romane cubit, which was then either a foot and a halfe, or not much in difference from halfe a yard of our measure now in England. These verses also, as they are now translated out of Greeke were found withall, Trallianus.

Sepultus ego Macrosyris in longa insula
Vixi peractis annis mille quinquies: which amounteth to 81. yeares foure moneths, after the Aegyptian reckoning.

In the time of Hadrian the emperour, the bodie of the giant Ida was taken vp at Messana, conteining 20. foot in length, and hauing a double row of teeth, yet standing whole in his chaps. Eumachus also in *Periegesi.* telleth that when the Carthaginenses went about to dich in their prouince, they found two bodies in seuerall coffins of stone, the one was 23. the other 24. cubits in length, such another was found in Bosphoro Cymmerio after an earthquake, but the inhabitants did cast those bones into the Meotidan marris. In Dalmatia, manie graues were shaken open with an earthquake, in diuerse of which certein carcases were found, whose ribs conteined 16. els, after the Romane measure, whereby the whole bodies were iudged to be 64. sith the longest rib is commonlie about the fourth part of a man, as some rouing symmetricians affirme.

Arrhianus saith, that in the time of Alexander the bodies of the Aliancs were generallie of huge stature, and commonlie of fiue cubits, and such was the heigth of Porus of Inde, whom the said Alexander vanquished and ouerthrew in battell.

Suidas speaketh of Ganges, killed also by the said prince, who farre exceeded Porus; for he was ten cubits long. What should I speake of Artaceas a capitaine in the host of Xerxes, afore remembred, whose heigth was within 4. fingers breedth of fiue cubits, & the tallest man in the armie except the king himselfe. Herod. *lib.* 7. Of Athanatus whom Plinie remembreth I saie nothing. But of all these, this one example shall passe, which I do read of in Trallianus, and he setteth downe in forme and manner following.

In the daies of Tiberius th'emperor saith he, a corps was left bare or laid open after an earthquake, of which ech toth (taken one with another) conteined 12. inches ouer at the least. Now forsomuch as in such as be full mouthed, ech chap hath commonlie 16. teeth at the least, which amount vnto 32. in the whole, needs must the widenesse of this mans chaps be welneere of 16. foot, and the opening of his lips fiue at the least. A large mouth

A mouth of fifteene foot wide.

mouth in mine opinion, and not to eat pease with Ladies of my time, besides that if occasion serued, it was able to receiue the whole bodies of mo than one of the greatest men, I meane of such as we be in our daies. When this carcase was thus found, euerie man marueled at it, & good cause why. A messenger was sent to Tiberius the emperour also to know his pleasure, whether he would haue the same brought ouer vnto Rome or not, but he forbad them, willing his Legate not to remoue the dead out of his resting place, but rather somewhat to satisfie his phantasie to send him a tooth out of his head, which being done, he gaue it to a cunning workeman, commanding him to shape a carcase of light matter, after the proportion of the tooth, that at the least by such means he might satisfie his curious mind, and the fantasies of such as are delited with nouelties. To be short, when the image was once made and set vp on end, it appeered rather an huge colossie than the true carcase of a man, and when it had stood in Rome vntill the people were wearie & throughlie satisfied with the sight thereof, he caused it to be broken all to peeces, and the tooth sent againe to the carcase frō whence it came, willing them moreouer to couer it diligentlie, and in anie wise not to dismember the corps, nor from thenceforth to be so hardie as to open the sepulchre anie more. Pausan. *lib.* 8. telleth in like maner of Hiplodanus & his fellowes, who liued when Rhea was with child of Osyris by Cham, and were called to hir aid at such time as she feared to be molested by Hammon hir first husband, whilest she remained vpon the Thoumasian hill, *In ipso loco*, saith he, *spectantur ossa maiora multo quàm vt humana existimari possint, &c.* Of Protophanes who had but one great and broad bone in steed of all his ribs on ech side I saie nothing, sith it concerneth not his stature.

A counterfect made of a monstrous carcase by one tooth taken out of the head.

This man was more fauorable to this monster than our papists were to the bodies of the dead who tare them in peeces to make money of them.

Grandiáque effossis mirabitur ossa sepulchris.

I could rehearse manie mo examples of the bodies of such men, out of Solinus, Sabellicus, D. Cooper, and others. As of Oetas and Ephialtes, who were said to be nine orgies or paces in heigth, and foure in breedth, which are taken for so many cubits, bicause there is small difference betweene a mans ordinarie pace and his cubit, and finallie of our Richard the first, who is noted to beare an axe in the wars, the iron of whose head onelie weighed twentie pound after our greatest weight, and whereof an old writer that I haue seene, saith thus:

This king Richard I vnderstand,
Yer he went out of England,
Let make an axe for the nones,
Therewith to cleaue the Saracens bones,
The head in sooth was wrought full weele,
Thereon were twentie pound of steele,
And when he came in Cyprus land,
That ilkon axe he tooke in hand, &c.

I could speake also of Gerards staffe or lance, yet to be seene in Gerards hall at London in Basing lane, which is so great and long that no man can beweld it, neither go to the top thereof without a ladder, which of set purpose and for greater countenance of the wonder is fired by the same. I haue seene a man my selfe of seuen foot in heigth, but lame of his legs. The chronicles also of Cogshall speake of one in Wales, who was halfe a foot higher, but through infirmitie and wounds not able to beweld himselfe. I might (if I thought good) speake also of another of no lesse heigth than either of these and liuing of late yeares, but these here remembred shall suffice to proue my purpose withall. I might tell you in like sort of the marble stone which Turnus threw at Æneas, and was such as that twelue chosen and picked men (saith Virgil,

(*Qualia nunc hominum producit corpora tellus*)

were not able so stur and remoue out of the place: but I passe it ouer, and diuerse of the like, concluding that these huge blocks were ordeined and created by God: first for a testimonie vnto vs of his power and might; and secondlie for a confirmation, that hugenes of bodie is not to be accompted of as a part of our felicitie, sith they which possessed the same, were not onelie tyrants, doltish, & euill men, but also oftentimes ouercome euen by the weake & feble. Finallie they were such indeed as in whom the Lord delited not, according to the saieng of the prophet Baruch; *Ibi fuerunt gigantes nominati, illi qui ab initio fuerunt statura magna, scientes bellum, hos non elegit Dominus, neque illis viam disciplinæ dedit, propterea perierunt, & quoniam non habuerunt sapientiam, interierunt propter suam insipientiam, &c.* that is, There were the giants famous from the beginning, that were of great stature and expert in warre, those did not the Lord chuse, neither gaue he the waie of knowledge vnto them, but they were destroied, because they had no wisedome, and perished through their owne foolishnesse. That the bodies of men also do dailie decaie in stature, beside Plinie *lib.* 7. Esdras likewise confesseth *lib.* 4. *cap.* 5. whose authoritie is so good herein as that of Homer or Plinie, who do affirme so much, whereas Goropius still continuing his wonted pertinacitie also in this behalfe, maketh his proportion first by the old Romane foot, and then by his owne, & there vpon concludeth that men in these daies be fullie so great as euer they were, whereby as in the former dealing he thinketh it nothing to conclude against the scriptures, chosen writers and testimonies of the oldest pagans. But see how he would salue all at last in the end of his Gigantomachia, where he saith, I denie not but that od huge personages haue bene seene, as a woman of ten, and a man of nine foot long, which I my selfe also haue beholden, but as now so in old time the common sort did so much wonder at the like as we do at these, because they were seldome seene, and not commonlie to be heard of.

4. Esd. cap 5.

Vis vnita fortior est eadem dispersa.

Of the languages spoken in this Iland. Cap. 6.

What language came first with Samothes and afterward with Albion, and the giants of his companie, it is hard for me to determine, sith nothing of sound credit remaineth in writing, which may resolue vs in the truth hereof. Yet of so much are we certeine, that the speach of the ancient Britons, and of the Celts, had great affinitie one with another, so that they were either all one, or at leastwise such as either nation with small helpe of interpretors might vnderstand other, and readilie discerne what the speaker meant. Some are of the opinion that the Celts spake Greeke, and how the British tong resembled the same, which was spoken in Grecia before Homer did reforme it: but I see that these men do speake without authoritie and therefore I reiect them, for if the Celts which were properlie called Galles did speake Greeke, why did Cesar in his letters sent to Rome vse that language, because that if they should be intercepted they might not vnderstand them, or why did he not vnderstand the Galles, he being so skilfull in the language without an interpretor? Yet I denie not but that the Celtish and British speaches might haue great affinitie one with another, and the British aboue all other with the Greeke, for both do appeere by certeine words, as first in tri for three, march for an horsse, & trimarchia, whereof Pausanias speaketh, for both. Atheneus also writeth of Bathanasius a capitaine of the Galles, whose name is meere British, compounded of Bath & Ynad, & signifieth a noble or comelie iudge. And wheras he saith that the reliques of the Galles toke vp their first dwelling about Isther, and afterward diuided themselues in such wise, that they which went and dwelled in Hungarie were called Sordsai, and the other that inha-

British.

Small difference betweene the British and Celtike languages.

inhabited within the dominion of Tyrroll) Brenni, whose seate was on the mount Brenhere parcell of the Alpes, what else signifieth the word Iscaredich in British, from whence the word Scordisci commeth, but to be diuided? Hereby then, and sundrie other the like testimonies, I gather that the British and the Celtish speaches had great affinitie one with another, as I said, which Cesar (speaking of the similitude or likenesse of religion in both nations) doth also auerre, & Tacitus *in vita* Agricolæ, in like sort plainlie affirmeth, or else it must needs be that the Galles which inuaded Italie and Greece were meere Britons, of whose likenes of speech with the Greekie tong I need not make anie triall, sith no man (I hope) will readilie denie it. Appianus talking of the Brenni calleth them Cymbres, and by this I gather also that the Celts and the Britons were indifferentlie called Cymbri in their owne language, or else that the Britons were the right Cymbri, who vnto this daie do not refuse to be called by that name. Bodinus writing of the means by which the originall of euerie kingdome and nation is to be had and discerned, setteth downe three waies whereby the knowledge thereof is to be found, one is (saith he) the infallible testimonie of the sound writers, the other the description and site of the region, the third the relikes of the ancient speech remaining in the same. Which later if it be of any force, then I must conclude, that the speech of the Britons and Celts was sometime either all one or verie like one to another, or else it must follow that the Britons ouerflowed the continent vnder the name of Cymbres, being peraduenture associat in this voiage, or mired by inuasion with the Danes, and Norwegians, who are called Cymbri and Cymmerij, as most writers do remember. This also is euident (as Plutarch likewise confesseth *In vita Mary*) that no man knew from whence the Cymbres came in his daies, and therfore I beleeue that they came out of Britaine, for all the maine was well knowne vnto them, I meane euen to the vttermost part of the north, as may appeare furthermore by the slaues which were dailie brought from thence vnto them, whom of their countries they called Daui for Daci, Getæ for Gothes, &c: for of their conquests I need not make rehearsall, sith they are commonlie knowne and remembred by the writers, both of the Grækes and Latines.

British corrupted by the Latine and Saxon speeches.

The British tong called Camberaec doth yet remaine in that part of the Iland, which is now called Wales, whither the Britons were driuen after the Saxons had made a full conquest of the other, which we now call England, although the pristinate integritie thereof be not a little diminished by mixture of the Latine and Saxon speaches withall. Howbeit, manie poesies and writings (in making whereof that nation hath euermore delited) are yet extant in my time, whereby some difference betweene the ancient and present language may easilie be discerned, notwithstanding that among all these there is nothing to be found, which can set downe anie sound and full testimonie of their owne originall, in remembrance whereof, their Bards and cunning men haue beene most slacke and negligent. Giraldus in praising the Britons affirmeth that there is not one word in all their language, that is not either Greeke or Latine. Which being rightly vnderstanded and conferred with the likenesse that was in old time betweene the Celts & the British tongs, will not a little helpe those that thinke the old Celtish to haue some sauour of the Greeke. But how soeuer that matter standeth, after the British speach came once ouer into this Iland, sure it is, that it could neuer be extinguished for all the attempts that the Romans, Saxons, Normans, and Englishmen could make against that nation, in anie maner of wise.

The Britons dili-

Petigrees and genealogies also the Welsh Britons haue plentie in their owne tong, insomuch that manie of them can readilie deriue the same, either from Brute or some of his band, euen vnto Æneas and other of the Troians, and so forth vnto Noah without anie maner of stop. But as I know not what credit is to be giuen vnto them in this behalfe, although I must needs confesse that their ancient Bards were verie diligent in there collection, and had also publike allowance or salarie for the same; so I dare not absolutelie impugne their assertions, sith that in times past all nations (learning it no doubt of the Hebrues) did verie solemnelie preserue the catalogs of their descents, thereby either to shew themselues of ancient and noble race, or else to be descended from some one of the gods. But

gent in petigrees.

Stemmata quid faciunt? quid prodest Pontice longo
Sanguine censeri? aut quid auorum ducere turmas? &c.

Next vnto the British speach, the Latine tong was brought in by the Romans, and in maner generallie planted through the whole region, as the French was after by the Normans. Of this tong I will not say much, bicause there are few which be not skilfull in the same. Howbeit, as the speach it selfe is easie and delectable, so hath it peruerted the names of the ancient riuers, regions, & cities of Britaine in such wise, that in these our daies their old British denominations are quite growne out of memorie, and yet those of the new Latine left as most vncertaine. This remaineth also vnto my time, borowed from the Romans, that all our deeds, euidences, charters, & writings of record, are set downe in the Latine tong, though now verie barbarous, and thereunto the copies and court-rolles, and processes of courts and leets registred in the same.

Latine.

The Saxon toong.

The third language apparantlie knowne is the Scithian or high Dutch, induced at the first by the Saxons (which the Britons call Saysonaec, as they do the speakers Sayson) an hard and rough kind of speach, God wot, when our nation was brought first into acquaintance withall, but now changed with vs into a farre more fine and easie kind of vtterance, and so polished and helped with new and milder words, that it is to be auouched how there is no one speach vnder the sunne spoken in our time, that hath or can haue more varietie of words, copie of phrases, or figures and floures of eloquence, than hath our English tong, although some haue affirmed vs rather to barke as dogs, than talke like men, bicause the most of our words (as they do indeed) incline vnto one syllable. This also is to be noted as a testimonie remaining still of our language, deriued from the Saxons, that the generall name for the most part of euerie skilfull artificer in his trade endeth in Here with vs, albeit the H be left out, and er onlie inserted, as Scriuenhere, writehere, shiphere, &c: for scriuener, writer, and shiper, &c: beside manie other relikes of that speech, neuer to be abolished.

The French toong.

After the Saxon tong, came the Norman or French language ouer into our countrie, and therein were our lawes written for a long time. Our children also were by an especiall decree taught first to speake the same, and thereunto inforced to learne their constructions in the French, whensoeuer they were set to the Grammar schole. In like sort few bishops, abbats, or other clergie men, were admitted vnto anie ecclesiasticall function here among vs, but such as came out of religious houses from beyond the seas, to the end they should not vse the English tong in their sermons to the people. In the court also it grew into such contempt, that most men thought it no small dishonor to speake any English there. Which brauerie toke his hold at the last likewise in the countrie with euerie plowman, that euen the verie carters began to wax wearie of there mother tong, & laboured to speake French, which as then was counted no small token of gentilitie. And no marueil, for euerie French rascall, when he came once hither, was taken for a gentleman, onelie bicause he was proud, and could vse his owne language, and all this (I say) to

exile

erile the English and British speaches quite out of the countrie. But in vaine, for in the time of king Edward the first, to wit, toward the latter end of his reigne, the French it selfe ceased to be spoken generallie, but most of all and by law in the midst of Edward the third, and then began the English to recouer and grow in more estimation than before; notwithstanding that among our artificers, the most part of their implements, toles and words of art reteine still their French denominations euen to these our daies, as the language it selfe is vsed likewise in sundrie courts, bookes of record, and matters of law; whereof here is no place to make any particular rehearsall. Afterward also, by diligent trauell of Geffray Chaucer, and Iohn Gowre, in the time of Richard the second, and after them of Iohn Scogan, and Iohn Lydgate monke of Berrie, our said tong was brought to an excellent passe, notwithstanding that it neuer came vnto the type of perfection, vntill the time of Quéene Elizabeth, wherein Iohn Iewell B. of Sarum, Iohn Fox, and sundrie learned excellent writers haue fullie accomplished the ornature of the same, to their great praise and immortall commendation; although not a few other do greatlie séeke to staine the same, by fond affectation of forren and strange words, presuming that to be the best English, which is most corrupted with externall termes of eloquence, and sound of manie syllables. But as this excellencie of the English tong is found in one, and the south part of this Iland; so in Wales the greatest number (as I said) retaine still their owne ancient language, that of the north part of the said countrie being lesse corrupted than the other, and therefore reputed for the better in their owne estimation and iudgement. This also is proper to vs Englishmen, that sith ours is a meane language, and neither to rough nor to smooth in vtterance, we may with much facilitie learne any other language, beside Hebrue, Gréeke & Latine, and speake it naturallie, as if we were home-borne in those countries; & yet on the other side it falleth out, I wot not by what other meanes, that few forren nations can rightlie pronounce ours, without some and that great note of imperfection, especiallie the French men, who also seldome write any thing that sauoreth of English trulie. It is a pastime to read how Natalis Comes in like maner, speaking of our affaires, doth clip the names of our English lords. But this of all the rest doth breed most admiration with me, that if any stranger do hit vpon some likelie pronuntiation of our tong, yet in age he swarueth so much from the same, that he is worse therein than euer he was, and thereto peraduenture halteth not a litle also in his owne, as I haue séene by experience in Reginald Wolfe, and other, whereof I haue iustlie maruelled.

The helpers of our English toong.

The Cornish toong.

The Cornish and Deuonshire men, whose countrie the Britons call Cerniw, haue a speach in like sort of their owne, and such as hath in déed more affinitie with the Armoricane tong than I can well discusse of. Yet in mine opinion, they are both but a corrupted kind of British, albeit so far degenerating in these daies from the old, that if either of them do méete with a Welshman, they are not able at the first to vnderstand one an other, except here and there in some od words, without the helpe of interpretors. And no maruell (in mine opinion) that the British of Cornewall is thus corrupted, sith the Welsh tong that is spoken in the north & south part of Wales, doth differ so much in it selfe, as the English vsed in Scotland doth from that which is spoken among vs here in this side of the Iland, as I haue said alreadie.

Englishmen apt to learne any forren toong.

Scottish english.

The Scottish english hath beene much broader and lesse pleasant in vtterance than ours, because that nation hath not till of late indeuored to bring the same to any perfect order, and yet it was such in maner, as Englishmen themselues did speake for the most part beyond the Trent, whither any great amendement of our language had not as then extended it selfe. Howbeit in our time the Scottish language endeuoreth to come nere, if not altogither to match our tong in fineneSSe of phrase, and copie of words. And this may in part appeare by an historie of the Apocrypha translated into Scottish verse by Hudson, dedicated to the king of that countrie, and conteining fiue bookes, except my memorie do faile me.

Thus we sée how that vnder the dominion of the king of England, and in the south parts of the realme, we haue three seuerall tongs, that is to saie, English, British, and Cornish, and euen so manie are in Scotland, if you accompt the English speach for one: notwithstanding that for breadth and quantitie of the region, I meane onelie of the soile of the maine Iland, it be somewhat lesse to see to than the other. For in the north part of the region, where the wild Scots, otherwise called the Redshanks, or rough footed Scots (because they go bare foted and clad in mantels ouer their saffron shirts after the Irish maner) do inhabit, they speake good Irish which they call Gachtlet, as they saie of one Gathelus, whereby they shew their originall to haue in times past béene fetched out of Ireland: as I noted also in the chapiter precedent, and whereunto Vincentius *cap. de insulis Oceani* doth yéeld his assent, saieng that Ireland was in time past called Scotia; *Scotia eadem* (saith he) *& Hibernia, proxima Britanniæ insula, spatio terrarum angustior, sed situ fœcundior; Scotia autem à Scotorum gentibus traditur appellata, &c.* Out of the 14. booke of Isidorus intituled *Originum*, where he also addeth that it is called Hybernia, because it bendeth toward Iberia. But I find elsewhere that it is so called by certeine Spaniards which came to seeke and plant their inhabitation in the same, whereof in my Chronologie I haue spoken more at large.

The wild Scots. Redshanks. Rough footed Scots. Irish Scots. Irish speech.

In the Iles of the Orchades, or Orkeney, as we now call them, & such coasts of Britaine as do abbut vpon the same, the Gottish or Danish speach is altogither in vse, and also in Shetland, by reason (as I take it) that the princes of Norwaie held those Ilands so long vnder their subiection, albeit they were otherwise reputed as rather to belong to Ireland, bicause that the verie soile of them is enimie to poison, as some write, although for my part I had neuer any sound experience of the truth hereof. And thus much haue I thought good to speake of our old speaches, and those fiue languages now vsuallie spoken within the limits of our Iland.

Into how manie kingdoms this Iland hath beene diuided. Cap. 7.

IT is not to be doubted, but that at the first, the whole Iland was ruled by one onelie prince, and so continued from time to time, vntill ciuill discord, grounded vpō ambitious desire to reigne, caused the same to be gouerned by diuerse. And this I meane so well of the time before the comming of Brute, as after the extinction of his whole race & posteritie. Howbeit, as it is vncerteine into how manie regions it was seuered, after the first partition; so it is most sure that this latter disturbed estate of regiment, continued in the same, not onelie vntill the time of Cæsar, but also in maner vnto the daies of Lucius, with whome the whole race of the Britons had an end, and the Romans full possession of this Iland, who gouerned it by Legats after the maner of a prouince. It should séeme also that within a while after the time of Dunwallon (who rather brought those foure princes that vsurped in his time to obedience, than extinguished their titles, & such partition as they had made of the Iland among themselues

Britaine at the first one entire kingdome.

selues) each great citie had hir fréedome and seuerall kind of regiment, proper vnto hir selfe, beside a large circuit of the countrie appertinent vnto the same, wherein were sundrie other cities also of lesse name, which ought homage and all subiection vnto the greater sort. And to saie truth, hereof it came to passe, that each of these regions, whereinto this Iland was then diuided, tooke his name of some one of these cities; although *Ciuitas* after Cæsar doth sometime signifie an whole continent or kingdome, whereby there were in old time *Tot ciuitates quot regna*, and contrariwise as may appeare by that of the Trinobantes, which was so called of Trinobantum the chiefe citie of that portion, whose territories conteined all Essex, Middlesex, and part of Hertfordshire, euen as the iurisdiction of the bishop of London is now extended, for the ouersight of such things as belong vnto the church. Ech of the gouernors also of these regions, called themselues kings, and thereunto either of them dailie made warre vpon other, for the inlarging of their limits. But for somuch as I am not able to saie how manie did challenge this authoritie at once, and how long they reigned ouer their seuerall portions, I will passe ouer these ancient times, and come nearer vnto our owne, I meane the 600. yeere of Christ, whereof we haue more certeine notice, & at which season there is euident proofe, that there were twelue or thirteene kings reigning in this Iland.

Wales diuided into three kingdomes.

We find therefore for the first, how that Wales had hir three seuerall kingdomes, which being accompted togither conteined (as Giraldus saith) 49. cantreds or cantons (whereof three were in his time possessed by the French and English) although that whole portion of the Iland extended in those daies no farder than about 200. miles in length, and one hundred in breadth, and was cut from Lhoegres by the riuers Sauerne and Dée, of which two streames this doth fall into the Irish sea at Westchester, the other into the maine Ocean, betwixt Somersetshire and Southwales, as their seuerall courses shall witnesse more at large.

Gwinhed.

In the begining it was diuided into two kingdoms onelie, that is to saie, Venedotia or Gwynhedh (otherwise called Dehenbarth) and Demetia, for which we now vse most cõmonlie the names of South & Northwales. But in a short processe of time a third sprung vp in the verie middest betwéene them both, which from thence-forth was called Powisy, as shalbe shewed hereafter. For Roderijc the great, who flourished 850. of Christ, and was king of all Wales (which then conteined onlie six regions) leauing three sons behind him, by his last will & testament diuided the countrie into three portions, according to the number of his children, of which he assigned one vnto either of them, whereby Morwing or Morwinner had Gwynhedh or Northwales, Cadelh Demetia or Southwales, and Anaralt Powisy, as Giraldus and other do remember. Howbeit it came to passe that after this diuision, Cadelh suruiued all his brethren, and thereby became lord of both their portions, and his successors after him vntill the time of Teuther or Theodor (all is one) after which they were contented to keepe themselues within the compasse of Demetia, which (as I said) conteined 29. of those 49. cantreds before mentioned, as Powisy did sir, and Gwinhedh fourteene, except my memorie do faile me.

Venedotia.

The first of these three, being called as (I said) Northwales or Venedotia (or as Paulus Iouius saith Malfabrene, for he diuideth Wales also into three regions, of which he calleth the first Dumbera, the second Berfrona, and the third Malfabrene) lieth directlie ouer against the Ile of Anglesei, the chiefe citie whereof stood in the Ile of Anglesei and was called Aberfraw. It conteineth 4. regions, of which the said Iland is the first, and whereof in the chapter insuing I will intreate more at large.

Anglesei.

Arfon.

The second is called Arfon, and situate betwéene two riuers, the Segwy and the Conwy.

Merioneth.

The third is Merioneth, and as it is seuered from Arfon by the Conwy, so is it separated from Tegenia (otherwise called Stradclupd and Igenia the fourth region) by the riuer Cluda. Finallie, the limits of this latter are extended also euen vnto the Dée it selfe, and of these foure regions consisteth the kingdome of Venedotia, whereof in times past the region of the Canges was not the smallest portion.

Stradclupd or Tegenia.

Powisy.

The kingdome of Powisy, last of all erected, as I said, hath on the north side Gwinhedh, on the east (from Chester to Hereford, or rather to Deane forest) England, on the south and west the riuer Wy and verie high hilles, whereby it is notablie seuered from Southwales, the chiefe citie thereof being at the first Salopsburg, in old time Pengwerne, and Pulthig, but now Shrowesburie, a citie or towne raised out of the ruines of Vricouium, which (standing 4. miles from thence, and by the Saxons called Wrekencester and Wrokecester, before they ouerthrew it) is now inhabited with méere English, and where in old time the kings of Powisy did dwell and hold their palaces, till Englishmen draue them from thence to Matrauall in the same prouince, where they from thenceforth abod. Vpon the limits of this kingdome, and not far from Holtcastell, vpon ech side of the riuer, as the chanell now runneth, stood sometime the famous monasterie of Bangor, whilest the abated glorie of the Britons yet remained vnextinguished, and herein were 2100. monkes, of which, the learned sort did preach the Gospell, and the vnlearned labored with their hands, thereby to mainteine themselues, and to sustaine their preachers. This region was in like sort diuided afterward in twaine, of which, the one was called Mailor or Mailrosse, the other reteined still hir old denomination, and of these the first late by south, & the latter by north of the Sauerne.

Bangor.

Mailrosse.

As touching Mailrosse, I read moreouer in the gests of Fowkes de Warren, how that one William sonne to a certeine ladie sister to Paine Peuerell, the first lord of Whittington, after the conquest did win a part of the same, and the hundred of Ellesmore from the Welshmen, in which enterprise he was so desperatlie wounded, that no man hight him life; yet at the last by eating of the shield of a wild bore, he got an appetite and recouered his health. This William had issue two daughters, to wit, Helene maried to the heire of the Alans, and Mellent which refused mariage with anie man, except he were first tried to be a knight of prowesse. Herevpon hir father made proclamation, that against such a daie & at such a place, whatsoeuer Gentleman could shew himselfe most valiant in the field, should marrie Mellent his daughter, & haue with hir his castell of Whittington with sufficient liuelihood to mainteine their estates for euer. This report being spred, Fowkes de Warren came thither all in red, with a shield of siluer and peacocke for his creast, whereof he was called the red knight, and there ouercomming the kings sonne of Scotland, and a Baron of Burgundie, he maried the maid, and by hir had issue as in the treatise apeareth. There is yet great mention of the red knight in the countrie there about; and much like vnto this Mellent was the daughter sometime of one of the lord Rosses, called Kudall, who bare such good will to Fitz-Henrie clarke of hir fathers kitchen, that she made him carie hir awaie on horsebacke behind him, onlie for his manhood sake, which presentlie was tried. For being pursued & ouer taken, she made him light, & held his cloke whilest he killed and draue hir fathers men to flight: and then awaie they go, till hir father conceiuing a good opinion of Fitz-Henrie for this act, receiued him to his fauour, whereby that familie came vp. And thus much (by the waie) of Mailrosse, whereof this may suffice, sith mine intent is not as now to make anie precise description of the particulars of Wales; but onelie to shew how those regions laie,

Fowkes de Warren.

Helene.

Mellent.

The original of Fitz-Henries.

which sometime were knowne to be gouerned in that countrie. The third kingdome is Demetia, or Southwales, sometime knowne for the region of the Syllures, whereunto I also am persuaded, that the Ordolukes laie in the east part thereof, and extended their region euen vnto the Sauerne: but howsoeuer that matter falleth out, Demetia hath the Sauerne on hir south, the Irish sea on hir west parts, on the east the Sauerne onelie, and by north the land of Powisy, whereof I spake of late. Demetia.

Of this region also Caermarden, which the old writers call Maridunum, was the chéefe citie and palace belonging to the kings of Southwales, vntill at the last through foren and ciuill inuasions of enimies, the princes thereof were constrained to remoue their courts to Dinefar (which is in Cantermawr, and situate neuertheless vpon the same riuer Tewy, whereon Caermarden standeth) in which place it is far better defended with high hils, thicke woods, craggie rocks, and déepe marises. In this region also lieth Pembroke *alias* Penmoroc shire, whose fawcons haue béene in old time very much regarded, and therein likewise is Milford hauen, whereof the Welsh wisards do yet dreame strange toies, which they beléeue shall one daie come to passe. For they are a nation much giuen to fortelling of things to come, but more to beléeue such blind prophesies as haue béene made of old time, and no man is accompted for learned in Wales that is not supposed to haue the spirit of prophesie. Cair Maridunum.

That Scotland had in those daies two kingdoms, (besides that of the Orchades) whereof the one consisted of the Picts, and was called Pightland or Pictland, the other of the Irish race, and named Scotland: I hope no wise man will readilie denie. The whole region or portion of the Ile beyond the Scotish sea also was so diuided, that the Picts laie on the east side, and the Scots on the west, ech of them being seuered from other, either by huge hils or great lakes and riuers, that ran out of the south into the north betwéene them. It séemeth also that at the first these two kingdoms were diuided from the rest of those of the Britons by the riuers Clnda and Forth, till both of them desirous to inlarge their dominions, draue the Britons ouer the Solue and the Twede, which then became march betweene both the nations. Wherefore the case being so plaine, I will saie no more of these two, but proceed in order with the rehersall of the rest of the particular kingdoms of this our south part of the Ile, limiting out the same by shires as they now lie, so néere as I can, for otherwise it shall be vnpossible for me to leaue certaine notice of the likeliest quantities of these their seuerall portions. Pictland. Scotland. Picts. Scots.

The first of these kingdoms therefore was begunne in Kent by Henghist in the 456. of Christ, and thereof called the kingdome of Kent or Cantwarland, and as the limits thereof extended it selfe no farther than the said countie (the chéefe citie whereof was Dorobernia or Cantwarbyry now Canturburie) so it indured well néere by the space of 400. yeares, before it was made an earledome or Heretochie, and vnited by Inas vnto that of the West Saxons, Athelstane his sonne, being the first Earle or Heretoch of the same. Maister Lambert in his historie of Kent doth gather, by verie probable coniectures, that this part of the Iland was first inhabited by Samothes, and afterward by Albion. But howsoeuer that case standeth, sure it is that it hath béen the onelie doore, whereby the Romans and Saxons made their entrie vnto the conquest of the region, but first of all Cæsar, who entred into this Iland vpon the eightéenth Cal. or 14. of September, which was foure daies before the full of the moone, as he himselfe confesseth, and then fell out about the 17. or 18. of that moneth, twelue daies before the equinoctiall (apparant) so that he did not tarrie at that time aboue eight or ten daies in Britaine. And as this platforme cannot be denied for his entrance, so the said region and east part of Kent, was the onelie place by which the knowledge of Christ was first brought ouer vnto vs, whereby we became partakers of saluation, and from the darkenesse of mistie errour, true conuerts vnto the light and bright beames of the shining truth, to our eternall benefit and euerlasting comforts. Kent Henghist.

The second kingdome conteined onelie Suller, and a part of (or as some saie all) Surrie, which Ella the Saxon first held: who also erected his chéefe palace at Chichester, when he had destroied Andredswald in the 492. of Christ. And after it had continued by the space of 232. yeares, it ceased, being the verie least kingdome of all the rest, which were founded in this Ile after the comming of the Saxons (for to saie truth, it conteined little aboue 7000. families) & within a while after the erection of the kingdome of the Gewisses or West saxons, notwithstanding that before the kings of Suller pretended and made claime to all that which laie west of Kent, and south of the Thames, vnto the point of Cornwall, as I haue often read. Southsax. Ella.

The third regiment was of the East Saxons, or Trinobantes. This kingdome began vnder Erkenwijn, whose chéefe seat was in London (or rather Colchester) and conteined whole Esser, Middlesex, and part of Herfordshire. It indured also much about the pricke of 303. yeares, and was diuided from that of the East Angles onlie by the riuer Stoure, as Houeden and others do report, & so it continueth separated from Suffolke euen vnto our times, although the said riuer be now growne verie small, and not of such greatnesse as it hath béene in times past, by reason that our countriemen make small accompt of riuers, thinking carriage made by horsse and cart to be the lesse chargeable waie. But herin how far they are deceiued, I will else-where make manifest declaration. Eastsax. Erkenwin.

The fourth kingdome was of the West Saxons, and so called, bicause it laie in the west part of the realme, as that of Esser did in the east, and of Suller in the south. It began in the yeare of Grace 519. vnder Cerdic, and indured vntill the comming of the Normans, including at the last all Wiltshire, Barkeshire, Dorset, Southampton, Somersetshire, Glocester shire, some part of Deuonshire (which the Britons occupied not) Cornewall, and the rest of Surrie, as the best authors do set downe. At the first it conteined onelie Wiltshire, Dorcetshire, and Barkeshire, but yer long the princes thereof conquered whatsoeuer the kings of Suller and the Britons held vnto the point of Cornewall, and then became first Dorchester (vntill the time of Kinigils) then Winchester the chéefe citie of that kingdome. For when Birinus the monke came into England, the said Kinigils gaue him Dorchester, and all the land within seauen miles about, toward the maintenance of his cathedrall sea, by meanes whereof he himselfe remoued his palace to Winchester. Westsax. Cerdic.

The fift kingdome began vnder Ida, in the 548. of Christ, and was called Northumberland, bicause it laie by north of the riuer Humber. And from the comming of Henghist to this Ida, it was onlie gouerned by earls or Heretoches as an Heretochy, till the said Ida conuerted it into a kingdome. It conteined all that region which (as it should séeme) was in time past either wholie apperteining to the Brigants, or whereof the said Brigants did possesse the greater part. The chéefe citie of the same in like maner was Yorke, as Beda, Capgraue, Leyland, and others do set downe, who ad thereto that it extended from the Humber vnto the Scotish sea, vntill the slaughter of Egfride of the Northumbers, after which time the Picts gat hold of all, betweene the Forth and the Twede, which afterward descending to the Scots by meanes of the vtter destruction of the Picts, hath not béene sithens vnited to the crowne Brennicia, *alias* Northumberland. Ida.

of

of England, nor in possession of the mære English, as before time it had bëene. Such was the crueltie of these Pictes also in their recouerie of the same, that at a certeine houre they made a Sicilien euensong, and slew euerie English man, woman and child, that they could laie hold vpon within the aforesaid region, but some escaped narrowlie, and saued themselues by flight.

Deira. Ella.

Afterward in the yeare of Grace 560. it was parted in twaine, vnder Adda, that yelded vp all his portion, which lay betweene Humber and the Tine vnto his brother Ella (according to their fathers appointment) who called it Deira, or Southumberland, but reteining the rest still vnto his owne vse, he diminished not his title, but wrote himselfe as before king of all Northumberland. Howbeit after 91. yeares, it was reknited againe, and so continued vntill Alfred annexed the whole to his kingdome, in the 331. after Ida, or 878. of the birth of Jesus Christ our Sauiour.

Eastangles Offa, à quo Offingæ.

The seauenth kingdome is called of the East-angles, began at Norwich in the 561. after Christ, vnder Offa, of whom the people of that region were long time called Offings. This included all Norfolke, Suffolke, Cambridgeshire, and Elie, and continuing 228. yeares, it flourished onelie 35. yeares in perfect estate of liberte, the rest being consumed vnder the tribut and vassallage of the Mercians, who had the souereigntie thereof, and held it with great honour, till the Danes gat hold of it, who spoiled it verie sore, so that it became more miserable than any of the other, and so remained till the kings of the West-saxons vnited it to their crownes. Some saie that Grantcester, but now Cambridge (a towne erected out of hir ruines) was the chëefe citie of this kingdome, and not Norwich. Wherein I may well shew the discord of writers, but I cannot resolue the scruple. Some take this region also to be all one with that of the Icenes, but as yet for my part I cannot yeld to their assertions, I meane it of Leland himselfe, whose helpe I vse chëefelie in these collections, albeit in this behalfe I am not resolued that he doth iudge aright.

Mertia. Creodda.

The 8. & last was that of Mertia, which indured 291. yeares, and for greatnesse exceeded all the rest. It tooke the name either of Mearc the Saxon word, because it was march to the rest (and trulie, the limits of most of the other kingdomes abutted vpon the same) or else for that the lawes of Marcia the Quëene were first vsed in that part of the Iland. But as this later is but a mëere coniecture of some, so the said kingdome began vnder Creodda, in the 585. of Christ, & indured well nëere 300. yeares before it was vnited to that of the West-saxons by Alfred, then reigning in this Ile. Before him the Danes had gotten hold thereof, and placed one Ceolulph an idiot in the same; but as he was sone reiected for his follie, so it was not long after yer the said Alfred (I saie) annexed it to his kingdome by his manhood. The limits of the Mertian dominions included Lincolne, Northampton, Chester, Darbie, Nottingham, Stafford, Huntington, Rutland, Oxford, Buckingham, Worcester, Bedford shires, and the greatest part of Shropshire (which the Welsh occupied not) Lancaster, Gloucester, Hereford (*alias* Hurchford) Warwike and Hertford shires: the rest of whose territories were holden by such princes of other kingdomes through force as bordered vpon the same. Moreouer, this kingdome was at one time diuided into south and north Mertia, whereof this laie beyond and the other on this side of the Trent, which later also Oswald of Northumberland did giue to Weada the sonne of Penda for kindred sake, though he not long inioied it. This also is worthie to be noted, that in these eight kingdomes of the Sarons, there were twelue princes reputed in the popish Catalog for saints or martyrs, of which Alcimund, Edwine, Oswald, Oswijn and Aldwold reigned in Northumberland; Sigebert, Ethelbert, Edmond, and another Sigebert among the Estangels; Kenelme and Wistan in Mertia; and Saint Edward the confessor, ouer all; but how worthilie, I referre me to the iudgement of the learned. Thus much haue I thought good to leaue in memorie of the aforesaid kingdomes: and now will I speake somewhat of the diuision of this Iland also into prouinces, as the Romanes seuered it whiles they remained in these parts. Which being done, I hope that I haue discharged whatsoeuer is promised in the title of this chapter.

Limits of Mertia.

The Romans therefore hauing obteined the possession of this Iland, diuided the same at the last into fiue prouinces, as Vibius Sequester saith. The first whereof was named Britannia prima, and conteined the east part of England (as some do gather) from the Trent vnto the Twede. The second was called Valentia or Valentiana, and included the west side, as they note it, from Lirpole vnto Cokermouth. The third hight Britannia secunda, and was that portion of the Ile which laie southwards, betweene the Trent and the Thames. The fourth was surnamed Flauia Cæsarienſis, and conteined all the countrie which remained betweene Douer and the Sauerne, I meane bysouth of the Thames, and wherevnto (in like sort) Cornewall and Wales were orderlie assigned. The fift and last part was then named Maxima Cæsarienſis, now Scotland, the most barren of all the rest, and yet not vnsought out of the greedie Romanes, because of the great plentie of fish and foule, fine alabaster and hard marble that are ingendred and to be had in the same, for furniture of houshold and curious building, wherein they much delited. More hereof in Sextus Rufus, who liued in the daies of Valentine, and wrate *Notitiam prouinciarum* now extant to be read.

Britannia prima.

Valentia.

Britannia secunda.

Flauia Cæsarienſis.

Maxima Cæsarienſis

A Catalog of the kings and princes of this Iland, first from Samothes vnto the birth of our sauiour Christ, or rather the comming of the Romans: secondlie of their Legates: thirdlie of the Saxon princes according to their seuerall kingdomes: fourthlie of the Danes, and lastlie of the Normans and English princes, according to the truth conteined in our Histories.

Of the kings of Britaine, from Samothes *to Brute.*	Galates. Harbon. Lugdus. Beligius. Iasius. Allobrox. Romus. Paris. Lemanus. Olbius. Galates. 2. Nannes. Remis. Francus. Pictus. After whom Brute entreth into the Iland, either neglected by the Celts, or otherwise by conquest, and reigned therein with his posteritie by the space of 636. yeares, in such order as followeth.	Cunedach and Morgan. Riuallon. Gurguſtius. Sisillus. Iago. Kimmachus. Gorbodug. Ferres and Porrex. These 2. being slaine, the princes of the land straue for the superioritie and regiment of the same, by the space of 50. yeres (after the race of Brute was decaied) vntill Dunwallon king of Cornwall subdued them all, & brought the whole to his subiection, notwithstanding
Samothes. Magus. Sarronius. Druiyus. Bardus. Longho. Bardus Iunior. Lucus. Celtes. Albion. Celtes after Albion slaine.	Brute. Locrinus. Gwendolena his widow. Madan. Mempricius. Ebracus. Brutus Iunior. Leil. Rudibras. Bladunus Leir. Cordeil his daughter.	

ding that the aforesaid number of kings remained still, which were but as vassals & inferiours to him, he being their cheefe and onelie souereigne.

Dunwallon reigneth.
Belinus his sonne, in whose time Brennus vsurpeth.
Gurgwinbatrus.
Guittellinus.
Seisill.
Kymarus.
Owan *aliàs* Ellan.
Morwich *aliàs* Morindus.
Grandobodian *aliàs* Gorbonian.
Arcigallon.
Elidurus *aliàs* Hesidor.
Arcigallon againe.
Elidurus againe.
Vigen *aliàs* Higanius, & Petitur *aliàs* Peridurus.
Elidurus the third time.
Gorbodia *aliàs* Gorbonian.
Morgan.
Meriones *aliàs* Eighuans.
Idouallon.
Rhimo Rohugo.
Geruntius Voghen.
Catellus.
Coellus.
Pyrrho *aliàs* Porrex.
Cherinus.
Fulganius *aliàs* Sulgenis.
Eldadus.
Androgius.
Vrian.
Hellindus.
Dedantius Eldagan.
Clotenis Claten.
Gurguintus.
Meriañ.
Bledunus Bledagh.
Cophenis.
Owinus *aliàs* Oghwen.
Sisillus or Sitsiltus.
Blegabridus.
Arcimalus Archiuall.
Eldadus.
Ruthenis three moneths.
Rodingarus *aliàs* Rodericus.
Samulius Penysell.
Pyrrho 2.
Carporis *aliàs* Capporis.
Dynellus *aliàs* Dygnellus.
Hellindus a few moneths.
Lhoid.
Casibellane.
Theomantius.
Cynobellinus.
Aruiragus.
Marius.
Coellus.
Lucius.

Hitherto I haue set forth the catalog of the kings of Britaine, in such sort as it is to be collected out of the most ancient histories, monuments and records of the land. Now I will set forth the order and succession of the Romane legates or deputies, as I haue borowed them first out of Tacitus, then Dion, and others: howbeit I cannot warrant the iust course of them from Iulius Agricola forward, because there is no man that reherseth them orderlie. yet by this my doing herein, I hope some better table may be framed hereafter by other, whereof I would be glad to vnderstand when soeuer it shall please God that it may come to passe.

Aulus Plautius.
Ostorius Scapula.
Didius Gallus.
Auitus.
Veranius a few moneths.
Petronius Turpilianus.
Trebellius Maximus.
Vectius Volanus.
Petilius Cerealis.
Iulius Frontinus.
Iulius Agricola.

Hitherto Cornelius Tacitus reherseth these vicegerents or deputies in order.

Salustius Lucullus.
Cneius Trebellius.
Suetonius Paulinus.
Calphurnius Agricola.
Publius Trebellius.
Pertinax Helrius.
Vlpius Marcellus.
Clodius Albinas.
Heraclius.
Carus Tyrannus.
Iunius Seuerus, *alias* Iulius Seuerus.
Liuius Gallus.
Lollius Vrbicus.
Maximus.
Octauius.
Traherus.
Maximinianus.
Gratianus.
Aetius.

Other Legates whose names are taken out of the Scottish historie but in incertein order.

Fronto sub Antonino.
Publius Trebellius.
Aulus Victorinus.
Lucius Antinoris.
Quintus Bassianus.

Wales.
1.

¶ The Romans not regarding the gouernance of this Iland, the Britons ordeine a king in the 447. after the incarnation of Christ.

VOrtiger.
Vortimer.
Aurelius Ambrosius.
Vther.
Arthur.
Constantine.
Aurelius Conanus.
Vortiporius.
Maglocunus.
Caretius.
Cadwan.
Cadwallon.
Cadwallader.

¶ The kingdome of Wales ceaseth, and the gouernance of the countrie is translated to the Westsaxons by Inas, whose second wife was Denwalline the daughter of Cadwallader: & with hir he not onlie obteined the principalitie of Wales but also of Cozinwall & Armorica now called little Britaine, which then was a colonie of the Britons, and vnder the kingdome of Wales.

Kent.
2.

¶ Hengist in the 9. of the recouerie of Britaine proclaimeth himselfe king of Kent, which is the 456. of the birth of our Lord & sauior Iesus Christ.

HEngist.
Hosiije *aliàs* Osca.
Osca his brother.
Ermenricus.
Athelbert.
Eadbaldus.
Ercombert.
Ecbert.
Lother.
Edrije.
The seat void.
Withredus.
Adelbert Iunior.
Eadbert.
Alrije.
Eadbert.
Guthred.
Alred.

¶ As the kingdome of Wales was united vnto that of the Westsaxons by Inas, so is the kingdom of Kent, at this present by Ecbert in the 827. of Christ, who putteth out Aldred and maketh Adelstane his owne base sonne Hertoch of the same, so that whereas it was before a kingdome, now it becometh an Hertochie or Dukedome, and so continueth for a long time after.

Southsex.
3.

¶ Ella in the 46. after Britaine giuen ouer by the Romanes erecteth a kingdom in Southsex, to wit, in the 492. of Christ whose race succeedeth in this order.

ELla.
Cyssa.
Ceaulijn.
Celrije.
Kilwulf.
Kinigils.
Kinwalch.
Ethelwold.
Berthun.
Aldwijn.

¶ This kingdome endured not verie long as ye may see, for it was united to that of the Westsaxons by Inas, in the 4689. of the world, which was the 723. of Christ according to the vsuall supputation of the church, and 232. after Ella had erected the same, as is aforesaid.

Estsex.
4.

¶ Erkenwijn in the 527. after our sauiour Christ beginneth to reigne ouer Estsex, and in the 81. after the returne of Britaine from the Romane obedience.

ERkenwijn.
Sledda.
Sebertus.
Sepredus and Sywardus.
Sigebert fil. Syward.
Sigebert.
Swithelijn.
Sijgar and Sebba.
Sebba alone.
Sijgard.
Offa.
Selredus.
Ethelwold.
Albert.
Humbeanna.
Sinthredus.

¶ In the 303. after Erkenwijn, Ecbert of the Westsaxons vnited the kingdome of Estsex vnto his owne, which was in the 828. after the birth of our sauiour Christ. I cannot as yet find the exact yeres of the later princes of this realme, and therefore I am constrained to omit them altogither, as I haue done before in the kings of the Britons, vntill such time as I may come by such monuments as may restore the defect.

Westsex.
5.

¶ Cerdije entreth the kingdome of the Westsaxons, in the 519. of the birth of Christ, & 73. of the abiection of the Romaine seruitude.

CErdije *aliàs* Cercit.
Cenrije.
Ceaulijn.
Kilrije *aliàs* Celrije.
Kilwulf.
Kinigils.
Ceuwalch.
Sexburgh.
The seat void.
Centwinus.
Cadwallader.
Inas.
Ethelard.
Cuthredus.
Sigebert.
Kinwulf.
Brithrije.
Ecbert.
Ethelwulf.
Ethobald.
Ethelbert.
Ethelfrid.
Alfrid.
Edward 1.
Adelstane.
Edmund.
Eadred.
Edwijn.
Edgar.
Edward 2.
Eldred.
Edmund 2.
Canutus.
Harald.
Canutus 2.
Edward 3.
Harald 2.

¶ The saxons hauing reigned hitherto in this land, and brought the same into a perfect monarchie, are now dispossessed by the Normans, & put out of their hold.

Bernicia.
6.

¶ Ida erecteth a kingdome in the North, which he extended from the Humber mouth to S. Johns towne in Scotland, & called it of the Northumbers. This was in the 547. after the birth of our sauiour Christ.

IDa.
Adda.
Glappa.
Tidwaldus.
Fretwulfus.
Tidrije.
Athelfrid.
Edwijn.
Kinfrid.
Oswald.
Oswy.
Egfrid.
Alfrid.
Osred.
Kinred.
Osrije.
Kilwulf.
Edbert.
Offulfe.
Ethelwold.
Elred.
Ethelred.
Alfwold.
Osred.

Ethelred.
Oſbald.
Eardulf.
Aldeſwold.
Eandred.
Edelred.
Redwulf.
Edelred againe.
Oſbright.
Ecbert.
Riciſuus a Dane.
Ecbert againe.
¶ Alfride king of the weſtſaxons ſubdueth this kingdome in the 878. after our ſauiour Chriſt, and 33. after Ida.

Deira.
7.

¶ Ella brother to Adda is ouer the ſouth Humbers, whoſe kingdome reched from Humber to the Theſe, in the 590. after the incarnation of Jeſus Chriſt our ſauiour.

Ella.
Edwijn.
Athelbright.
Edwijn againe,
Oſrijc.
Oſwald.
Oſwijn.
¶ Of all the kingdomes of the Saxons, this of Deira which grew by the diuiſion of the kingdome of the Northumbers betweene the ſons of Ida was of the ſmalleſt continuance, & it was united to the Northumbers (wherof it had bene I ſaie in time paſt a member) by Oſwijn in the 91. after Ella, when he had moſt traitorouſlie ſlaine his brother Oſwijn in the yéer of the world, 4618. (or 651. after the comming of Chriſt) and conteined that countrie which we now call the biſhoprike.

Eſtanglia.
8.

¶ Offa or Vffa erecteth a kingdome ouer the Eſtangles or Oſſings in the 561. after the natiuitie of Chriſt, and 114. after the deliuerie of Britaine.

Offa.
Titellius.
Redwaldus.
Corpenwaldus.
The ſeat void.
Sigebert.
Egricus.
Anna.
Adeler.
Ethelwold.
Adwulf.
Beorne.
Ethelred.
Ethelbert.
¶ Offa of Mercia killeth Ethelbert, and uniteth Eſtanglia vnto his owne kingdome, in the 793. of Chriſt, after it had continued in the poſteritie of Offa, by the ſpace of 228. yéers and yet of that ſhort ſpace, it enioyed onelie 35. in libertie, the reſt being vnder the tribute of the king of Mercia aforeſaid.

Mercia.
9.

¶ Creodda beginneth his kingdome of Mercia, in the 585. of our ſauiour Chriſt, and 138. after the captiuitie of Britaine ended.

Creodda.
Wibba.
Cherlus.
Penda.
Oſwy.
Weada.
Wulferus.
Ethelred.
Kinred or Kindred.
The ſeat void.
Kilred.
Ethebald.
Beorred.
Offa.
Egferth.
Kinwulf.
Kenelme.
Kilwulf.
Bernulf.
Ludicane.
Willaf.
Ecbert.
Willaf againe.
Bertulf.
Butred.
Kilwulf.
¶ Alfride uniteth the kingdome of Mercia, to that of the weſtſaxons, in the 291. after Creodda, before Alfred the Dane had gotten hold thereof, and placed one Cleolulphus therein, but he was ſone expelled, and the kingdome ioyned to the other afore rehearſed.

✣ The ſucceſſion of the kings of England from William baſtard, vnto the firſt of Queene ELIZABETH.

William the firſt.
William his ſonne.
Henrie 1.
Stephen.
Henrie 2.
Richard 1.
Iohn.
Henrie 3.
Edward 1. *alias* 4.
Edward 2.
Edward 3.
Richard 2.
Henrie 4.
Henrie 5.
Henrie 6.
Edward 4. *alias* 7.
Edward 5.
Richard 3.
Henrie 7.
Henrie 8.
Edward 6.
Marie his ſiſter.
Elizabeth.
¶ Thus haue I brought the Catalog of the Princes of Britaine vnto an end, & that in more plaine and certeine order than hath béene done hertofore by anie. For though in their regions ſince the conqueſt few men haue erred that haue vſed any diligence, yet in the times before the ſame, fewer haue gone any thing néere the truth, through great ouerſight & negligence. Their ſeuerall yéeres alſo do appéere in my Chronologie inſuing.

Of the ancient religion vſed in Albion.
Cap. 9.

IT is not to be doubted, but at the firſt, and ſo long as the poſteritie of Japhet onelie reigned in this Iland, that the true knowledge and forme of religion brought in by Samothes, and publiſhed with his lawes in the ſecond of his arriuall, was exerciſed among the Britans. And although peraduenture in proces of time, either through curioſitie, or negligence (the onelie corruptors of true pietie and godlineſſe) it might a little decaie, yet when it was at the worſt, it farre exceeded the beſt of that which afterward came in with Albion and his Chemminites, as may be gathered by view of the ſuperſtitious rites, which Cham and his ſucceſſours did plant in other countries, yet to be found in authors.

Samothes.

What other learning Magus the ſonne of Samothes taught after his fathers death, when he alſo came to the kingdome, beſide this which concerned the true honoring of God, I cannot eaſilie ſay, but that it ſhould be naturall philoſophie, and aſtrologie (whereby his diſciples gathered a kind of foreknowledge of things to come) the verie vſe of the word Magus (or Maguſæus) among the Perſians doth yéeld no vncerteine teſtimonie.

Sarron.

In like maner, it ſhould ſeeme that Sarron ſonne vnto the ſaid Magus, diligentlie followed the ſteps of his father, and thereto beſide his owne practiſe of teaching, opened ſchooles of learning in ſundrie places, both among the Celts and Britans, whereby ſuch as were his auditors, grew to be called Sarronides, notwithſtanding, that as well the Sarronides as the Magi, and Druides, were generallie called Samothei, or Semnothei, of Samothes ſtill among the Grecians, as Ariſtotle in his *De magia* doth confeſſe; and furthermore calling them Galles, he addeth thereunto, that they firſt brought the knowledge of letters and good learning vnto the Grékes.

Samothei. Semnothei.

Druiyus the ſon of Sarron (as a ſcholer of his fathers owne teaching) ſéemed to be exquiſit in all things, that perteined vnto the diuine and humane knowledge: and therefore I may ſafelie pronounce, that he excelled not onlie in the ſkill of philoſophie and the quadriuials, but alſo in the true Theologie, whereby the right ſeruice of God was kept and preſerued in puritie. He wrote moreouer ſundrie precepts and rules of religious doctrine, which among the Celts were reſerued verie religiouſlie, and had in great eſtimation of ſuch as ſought vnto them.

Druiyus.

How and in what order this prince left the ſtate of religion, I meane touching publike orders in adminiſtration of particular rites and ceremonies, as yet I do not read: howbeit this is moſt certeine, that after he died, the puritie of his doctrine began ſomewhat to decaie. For ſuch is mans nature, that it will not ſuffer any good thing long to remaine as it is left, but (either by addition or ſubtraction of this or that, to or from the ſame) ſo to chop and change withall from time to time, that in the end there is nothing of more difficultie, for ſuch as do come after them, than to find out the puritie of the originall, and reſtore the ſame againe vnto the former perfection.

Corruptors of religion.

In the beginning this Druiyus did preach vnto his hearers, that the ſoule of man is immortall, that God is omnipotent, mercifull as a father in ſhewing fauor vnto the godlie, and iuſt as an vpright iudge in puniſhing the wicked; that the ſecrets of mans hart are not vnknowne, and onelie knowne to him; and that as

Cæſar.

the world and all that is therein had their beginning by him, at his owne will, so shall all things likewise haue an end, when he shall see his time. He taught them also with more facilitie, how to obserue the courses of the heauens and motions of the planets by arithmeticall industrie, to find out the true quantities of the celestiall bodies by geometricall demonstration, and thereto the compasse of the earth, and hidden natures of things contained in the same by philosophicall contemplation. But alas, this integritie continued not long among his successors, for vnto the immortalitie of the soule, they added, that after death it went into another bodie, (of which translation Ouid saith;

Strabo. li. 4. Socion lib. succeſſ. Cicero di. uinat. 1.

Morte carent animæ, semperque priore relicta
Sede, nouis domibus viuunt habitántque receptæ.)

The second or succedent, being alwaies either more noble, or more vile than the former, as the partie deserued by his merits, whilest he liued here vpon earth. And therefore it is said by Plato and other, that Orpheus after his death had his soule thrust into the bodie of a swanne, that of Agamemnon conueied into an egle, of Aiax into a lion, of Atlas into a certeine wrestler, of Therſites into an ape, of Deiphobus into Pythagoras, and Empedocles dieng a child, after sundrie changes into a man, whereof he himselfe saith;

Ipse ego námq; fui puer olim, deinde puella,
Arbuſtum & volucris, mutus quóq; in æquore piſcis.

Plinius. lib. 16. cap. vltimo.

For said they (of whom Pythagoras also had, and taught this errour) if the soule apperteined at the first to a king, and he in this estate did not leade his life worthie his calling, it should after his decease be shut vp in the bodie of a slaue, begger, cocke, owle, dog, ape, horſe, asse, worme, or monster, there to remaine as in a place of purgation and punishment, for a certeine period of time. Beside this, it should peraduenture sustein often translation from one bodie vnto another, according to the quantitie and qualitie of his doings here on earth, till it should finallie be purified, and restored againe to an other humane bodie, wherein if it behaued it selfe more orderlie than at the first: after the next death, it should be preferred, either to the bodie of a king againe, or other great estate. And thus they made a perpetuall circulation or reuolution of our soules, much like vnto the continuall motion of the heauens, which neuer stand still, nor long yeeld one representation and figure. For this cause also, as Diodorus saith, they vsed to cast certeine letters into the fire, wherein the dead were burned, to be deliuered vnto their deceased frends, whereby they might vnderstand of the estate of such as trauelled here on earth in their purgations (as the Moscouits do write vnto S. Nicholas to be a speach-man for him that is buried, in whose hand they bind a letter, and send him with a new paire of shoes on his feet into the graue) and to the end that after their next death they should deale with them accordinglie, and as their merits required. They brought in also the worshipping of manie gods, and their seuerall sacrifices: they honoured likewise the oke, whereon the mistle groweth, and dailie deuised infinit other toies (for errour is neuer assured of hir owne doings) whereof neither Samothes, nor Sarron, Magus, nor Druiyus did leaue them anie prescription.

Metempſuchôſis.

Oke honored whereon mistle did grow, and so doo our sorcerers euen to this daie thinking some spirits to deale about ỹ same, for hidden treasure,

These things are partlie touched by Cicero, Strabo, Plinie, Sotion, Laertius, Theophrast, Aristotle, and partlie also by Cæsar, Mela, Val. Max. *lib.* 2. and other authors of later time, who for the most part do confesse, that the cheefe schoole of the Druiydes was holden here in Britaine, where that religion (saith Plinie) was so hotlie professed and followed, *vt dediſſe Perſis videri poſſit, lib.* 30. *cap.* 1. and whither the Druiydes also themselues, that dwelt among the Galles, would often resort to come by the more skill, and sure vnderstanding of the mysteries of that doctrine. And as the Galles receiued their religion from the Britons, so we likewise had from them some vse of Logike & Rhetorike, such as it was which our lawiers practised in their plees and common causes. For although the Greeks were not vnknowne vnto vs, nor we to them, euen from the verie comming of Brute, yet by reason of distance betweene our countries, we had no great familiaritie and common accesse one vnto another, till the time of Gurguntius, after whose entrance manie of that nation trauelled hither in more securitie, as diuers of our countriemen did vnto them without all danger, to be offered vp in sacrifice to their gods. That we had the maner of our plees also out of France, Iuuenal is a witnesse, who saith;

Logike and Rhetorike out of Gallia.

Gallia cauſidicos docuit facunda Britannos.

Howbeit as they taught vs Logike and Rhetorike, so we had also some Sophistrie from them; but in the worst sense: for from France is all kind of forgerie, corruption of maners, and craftie behauiour not so soone as often transported into England. And albeit the Druiydes were thus honored and of so great authoritie in Britaine, yet were there great numbers of them also in the Iles of Wight, Angleſey, and the Orchades, in which they held open schooles of their profession, aloofe as it were from the resort of people, wherein they studied and learned their songs by heart. Howbeit the cheefe college of all I say, remained still in Albion, whither the Druiydes of other nations also (beside the Galles) would of custome repaire, when soeuer any controuersie among them in matters of religion did happen to be moued. At such times also the rest were called out of the former Ilands, whereby it appeareth that in such cases they had their synods and publike meetings, and thereunto it grew finallie into custome, and after that a prouerbe, euen in variances falling out among the princes, great men, and common sorts of people liuing in these weast parts of Europe, to yeeld to be tried by Britaine and hir three Ilands, bicause they honoured hir preests (the Druiydes) as the Atheniens did their Areopagites.

Estimation of the Druiydes or Druiyſh preests.

Furthermore, in Britaine, and among the Galles, and to say the truth, generallie in all places where the Druiyſh religion was frequented, such was the estimation of the preests of this profession, that there was little or nothing done without their skilfull aduise, no not in ciuill causes, perteining to the regiment of the common-wealth and countrie. They had the charge also of all sacrifices, publike and priuate, they interpreted oracles, preached of religion, and were neuer without great numbers of yong men that heard them with diligence, as they taught from time to time.

Immunitie of the clergie greater vnder idolatrie than vnder the gospell.

Touching their persons also, they were exempt from all temporall seruices, impositions, tributes, and exercises of the wars: which immunitie caused the greater companies of scholers to flocke vnto them from all places, to learne their trades. Of these likewise, some remained with them seuen, eight, ten, or twelue years, still learning the secrets of those vnwritten mysteries by heart, which were to be had amongst them, and commonlie pronounced in verse. And this policie, as I take it, they vsed onelie to preserue their religion from contempt, whereinto it might easilie haue fallen, if any books thereof had happened into the hands of the common sort. It helped also not a little in the exercise of their memories, whereunto bookes are vtter enimies, insomuch as he that was skilfull in the Druiyſh religion, would not let readilie to rehearse manie hundreds of verses togither, and not to faile in one tittle, in the whole processe of this his laborious repetition. But as they dealt in this order for matters of their religion, so in ciuill affairs, historicall treatises, and setting downe of lawes, they vsed like order and letters almost with the Grecians. Whereby it is easie to be seene, that they reteined this kind of writing from Druiyus (the originall founder of their religion) and that this Iland hath not

not béene void of letters and learned men, euen sith it was first inhabited. I would ad some thing in particular also of their apparell, but sith the dealing withall is nothing profitable to the reader, I passe it ouer, signifieng neuertheless, that it was distinguished by sundrie deuises from that of the common sort, and of such estimation among the people, that whosoeuer ware the Druiysh wæd, might walke where he would without any harme or annoiance. This honour was giuen also vnto the præsts in Rome, insomuch that when Volusius was exiled by the Triumuirate, and saw himselfe in such danger, as that he could not escape the hardest, he gat the wæd of a præst vpon his backe, and begged his almes therein, euen in the high waies as he trauelled, and so escaped the danger and the furie of his aduersaries: but to proceed with other things.

Bardus. After the death of Druiyus, Bardus his sonne, and fift king of the Celts, succéeded not onelie ouer the said kingdome, but also in his fathers vertues, whereby it is verie likelie, that the winding and wraping vp of the said religion, after the afore remembred sort into verse, was first deuised by him, for he was an excellent poet, and no lesse indued with a singular skill in the practise and speculation of musicke, of which two many suppose him to be the verie author and beginner, although vntuitlie, sith both poetrie and song were in vse before the flood, as was also the harpe and pipe, which Iubal inuented, and could neuer be performed without great skill in musicke. But to proceed, as the chéefe estimation of the Druiydes remained in the end among the Britons onelie, for their knowledge in religion, so did the fame of the Bardes (which were so called of this Bardus for their excellent skill in musicke, poetrie, and the heroicall kind of song, which at the first conteined onelie the high mysteries and secret points of their religion. There was little difference also betwéene them and the Druiydes, till they so farre degenerated from their first institution, that they became to be minstrels at feasts, dronken meetings, and abhominable sacrifices of the idols: where they sang most commonlie no diuinitie as before, but the puissant acts of valiant princes, and fabulous narrations of the adulteries of the gods. Certes in my time this fond vsage, and thereto the verie name of the Bardes, are not yet extinguished among the Britons of Wales, where they call their poets and Musicians Barthes, as they do also in Ireland: which Sulpitius also writing to Lucane remembreth, where he saith that the word Bardus is mere Celtike, and signifieth a singer. Howbeit the Romans iudging all nations beside themselues to be but rude and barbarous, and thereto misliking vtterlie the rough musicke of the Bardes, entred so farre into the contemptuous mockage of their melodie, that they ascribed the word Bardus vnto their fooles and idiots, whereas contrariwise the Scythians and such as dwell within the northweast part of Europe, did vse the same word in verie honourable maner, calling their best poets and heroicall singers, Singebardos; their couragious singers and capiteins that delited in musicke, Albardos, Dagobardos, Rodtbardos, & one lame musician Lambard aboue all other, of whose skilfull ditties Germanie is not vnfurnished, as I heare vnto this daie. In Quizqueia or new Spaine, an Iland of the Indies, they call such men Boitios, their rimes Arcitos, and in steed of harps they sing vnto timbrels made of shels such sonnets and ditties as either perteine vnto religion, prophane loue, commendation of ancestrie, and inflammation of the mind vnto Mars, whereby there appeareth to be small difference betwéene their Boitios and our Bardes. Finallie of our sort, Lucane in his first booke writeth thus, among other like saiengs well toward the latter end;

Lucan. li. 1.

Vos quóq; qui fortes animas, belloq; peremptas
Laudibus in longum vates dimittitis ævum,
Plurima securi fudistis carmina Bardi,
Et vos barbaricos ritus, morémque sinistrum
Sacrorum Druidæ, positis recepistis ab armis.
Solis nosse Deos, & cœli numina vobis,
Aut solis nescire datum: nemora alta remotis
Incolitis lucis. Vobis authoribus, umbræ
Non tacitas Erebi sedes, Ditisque profundi
Pallida regna petunt, regit idem spiritus artus
Orbe alio. Longæ canitis si cognita, vitæ
Mors media est, certe populi, quos despicit arctos,
Fœlices errore suo, quos ille timorum
Maximus haud urget leti metus: inde ruendi
In ferrum mens prona viris, animæque capaces
Mortis: & ignauum est redituræ parcere vitæ.

The Bards degenerate.

Thus we sée as in a glasse the state of religion, for a time, after the first inhabitation of this Iland: but how long it continued in such soundnesse, as the originall authors left it, in good soth I cannot say, yet this is most certeine, that after a time, when Albion arriued here, the religion earst imbraced fell into great decaie. For whereas Iaphet & Samothes with their children taught nothing else than such doctrine as they had learned of Noah: Cham the great grandfather of this our Albion, and his disciples vtterlie renouncing to follow their steps, gaue their minds wholie to seduce and lead their hearers headlong vnto all error. Whereby his posteritie not onelie corrupted this our Iland, with most filthie trades and practises; but also all mankind, generallie where they became, with vicious life, and most vngodlie conuersation. For from Cham and his successours proceeded at the first all sorcerie, witchcraft, and the execution of vnlawfull lust, without respect of sex, age, consanguinitie, or kind: as branches from an odious and abhominable root, or streames deriued from a most filthie and horrible stinking puddle. Howbeit, & notwithstanding all these his manifold lewdnesses, such was the follie of his Ægyptians (where he first reigned and taught) that whilest he liued they alone had him in great estimation (whereas other nations contemned and abhorred him for his wickednesse, calling him Chemesenua, that is, the impudent, infamous and wicked Cham) and not onelie builded a citie vnto him which they called Chem Min, but also after his death reputed him for a god, calling the highest of the seuen planets after his name, as they did the nert beneath it after Osyris his sonne, whom they likewise honored vnder the name of Iupiter.

What doctrine Cham and his disciples taught.

Chemesenua.

Chem Min.

Cham made a god.

Translation of mortall men into heauen how it began.

Certes it was a custome begonne in Ægypt of old time, and generallie in vse almost in euerie place in processe of time (when any of their famous worthie princes died) to ascribe some forme or other of the stars vnto his person, to the end his name might neuer weare out of memorie. And this they called their translation in heauen, so that he which had any starres or forme of starres dedicated vnto him, was properlie said to haue a seat among the gods. A toie much like to the catalog of Romish saints, (although the one was written in the celestiall or immaterial orbes, the other in chéeps skins, and verie brickle paper) but yet so estéemed, that euerie prince would oft hazard and attempt the vttermost aduentures, thereby to win such fame in his life, that after his death he might by merit haue such place in heauen, among the shining starres. Howbeit, euerie of those that were called gods, could not obteine that benefit, for then should there not haue béene stars enow in heauen to haue serued all their turnes, wherfore another place was in time imagined, where they reigned that were of a second calling, as the Semones who were gods by grace and fauour of the people. *Semones dici voluerunt* (saith Fulgentius *In vocibus antiquis*) *quos cœlo nec dignos ascriberent, ob meriti paupertatem; sicut Priapus Hyppo. Portumnus, &c. nec terrenos eos deputare vellent per gratiæ venerationem*, as also a third place that is to say an earth, where those gods dwelled which were noble men, officers,

Cyril. aduersus Iul. lib. 6. sect. 8.

officers, good gouernours and lawgiuers to the people, and yet not thought worthie to be of the second or first companie, which was a follie diuision.

Thus we see in generall maner, how idolatrie, honoring of the starres, and brood of inferiour gods were hatched at the first, which follies in processe of time came also into Britaine, as did the names of Saturne & Iupiter, &c: as shall appeare hereafter. And here sith I haue alreadie somewhat digressed from my matter, I will go yet a little farder, and shew forth the originall vse of the word Saturne, Iupiter, Hercules, &c: whereby your Honor shall see a little more into the errours of the Gentils, and not onelie that, but one point also of the rot of all the confusion that is to be found among the ancient histories. Certes it was vsed for a few yeres after the partition of the earth (which was made by Noah, in the 133. yere after the flood) that the beginners of such kingdoms as were then erected should be called Saturni, whereby it came to passe that Nimbrote was the Saturne of Babylon: Cham of Ægypt: and so forth other of sundrie other countries. Their eldest sonnes also that succeeded them, were called Ioues; and their nephewes or sonnes sonnes, which reigned in the third place Hercules, by which meanes it followed that euerie kingdome had a Saturne, Iupiter and Hercules of hir owne, and not from anie other.

Which were properlie called, Saturni, Ioues, Iunones, and Hercules.

In like sort they had such another order among their daughters, whom they married as yet commonlie vnto their brethren (God himselfe permitting the same vnto them for a time) as before the flood, to the end the earth might be thoroughlie replenished, and the sooner furnished with inhabitants in euerie part thereof. The sister therefore and wife of euerie Saturne was called Rhea, but of Iupiter, Iuno, Isis, or Io. Beyond these also there was no latter Harold that would indeuour to derive the petigree of any prince, or potentate, but supposed his dutie to be sufficientlie performed, when he had brought it orderlie vnto some Saturne or other, wherat he might cease, and shut vp all his trauell. They had likewise this opinion grounded amongst them, that heauen & earth were onlie parents vnto Saturne and Rhea, not knowing out of doubt, what they themselues did meane, sith these denominations, Heauen, Ogyges, *the Sunne*, Pater Deorum, and such like, were onelie ascribed vnto Noah: as * Terra, (*the Earth*) Vesta, Aretia, *the Moone*, Mater deorum, and other the like were vnto Tydea his wife. So that hereby we see, how Saturne is reputed in euerie nation for their oldest god, or first prince, Iupiter for the next, and Hercules for the third. And therfore sith these names were dispersed in the beginning ouer all, it is no maruell that there is such confusion in ancient histories, and the doings of one of them so mired with those of another, that it is now impossible to distinguish them in sunder. This haue I spoken, to the end that all men may see what gods the Pagans honored, & thereby what religion the posteritie of Cham did bring ouer into Britaine. For vntill their comming, it is not likelie that anie grosse idolatrie or superstition did enter in among vs, as deifieng of mortall men, honoring of the starres, and erection of huge images, beside sorcerie, witchcraft, and such like, whereof the Chemminites are worthilie called the autors. Neither were these errors anie thing amended, by the comming in of Brute, who no doubt added such deuises vnto the same, as he and his companie had learned before in Græcia, from whence also he brought Helenus the sonne of Priamus, (a man of exceeding age) & made him his præst and bishop thorough out the new conquest, that he had atchieued in Britaine.

Cœlum or Cœlus. Ogyges. Sol. Pater deorum. * Tydea. Vesta. Terra. Luna. Aretia. Deorum mater.

Frō whence Brute did learne his religion.

After Brute, idolatrie and superstition still increased more and more among vs, insomuch that beside the Druiysh and Bardike ceremonies, and those also that came in with Albion and Brute himselfe: our countriemen either brought hither from abroad, or dailie inuented at home new religion and rites, whereby it came to passe that in the stead of the onelie and immortall God (of whome Samothes and his posteritie did preach in times past) now they honored the said Samothes himselfe vnder the name of Dis and Saturne: also Iupiter, Mars, Minerua, Mercurie, Apollo, Diana; and finallie Hercules, vnto whome they dedicated the gates and porches of their temples, entrances into their regions, cities, townes and houses, with their limits and bounds (as the papists did the gates of their cities and ports vnto Botulph & Giles) bicause fortitude and wisedome are the chefe vpholders and bearers vp of common-wealths and kingdoms, both which they ascribed to Hercules (forgetting God) and diuers other idols whose names I now remember not. In lieu moreouer of sheepe and oxen, they offred mankind also vnto some of them, killing their offendors, prisoners, and oft such strangers as came from farre vnto them, by shutting vp great numbers of them togither in huge images made of wicker, reed, haie, or other light matter: and then setting all on fire togither, they not onelie consumed the miserable creatures to ashes (sometimes adding other beasts vnto them) but also reputed it to be the most acceptable sacrifice that could be made vnto their idols. From whence they had this horrible custome, trulie I cannot tell, but that it was common to most nations, not onlie to consume their strangers, captiues, &c; but also their owne children with fire, in such maner of sacrifice: beside the text of the Bible, the prophane histories do generallie leaue it euident, as a thing either of custome or of particular necessitie, of which later Virgil saith;

Dis or Samothes made a god.

Mela. Diodorus. Strab. 4. Plin. Cæsar. 5.

Sanguine placastis ventos & virgine cæsa, &c.

As Silius doth of the first, where he telleth of the vsuall maner of the Carthaginenses, saieng after this maner;

Vrna reducebat miserandos annua casus, &c.

But to proceed with our owne gods and idols, more pertinent to my purpose than the rehersall of forreine demeanours: I find that huge temples in like sort were builded vnto them, so that in the time of Lucius, when the light of saluation began stronglie to shine in Britaine, thorough the preaching of the gospell, the christians discouered 25. Flamines or idol-churches, beside three Archflamines, whose præsts were then as our Archbishops are now, in that they had superior charge of all the rest, the other being reputed as inferiours, and subiect to their iurisdiction in cases of religion, and superstitious ceremonies.

Prol. Lucensis.

Of the quantities of their idols I speake not, sith it is inough to saie, that they were monstrous, and that each nation contended which should honour the greater blocks, and yet all pretending to haue the iust heigth of the god or goddesse whom they did represent. Apollo Capitolinus that stood at Rome, was thirtie cubits high at the least; Tarentinus Iupiter of 40.; the idoll of the sonne in the Rhodes, of 70. (whose toe few men could fadam;) Tuscanus Apollo that stood in the librarie of the temple of Augustus, of 50. foot; another made vnder Nero of 110. foot; but one in France passed all, which Zenoduris made vnto Mercurie at Aruernum in ten years space, of 400. foot. Wherby it appeareth, that as they were void of moderation in number of gods, so without measure were they also in their proportions, and happie was he which might haue the greatest idoll, and lay most cost thereon.

Monstrous proportions of idols.

Hitherto yee haue heard of the time, wherein idolatrie reigned and blinded the harts of such as dwelled in this Iland. Now let vs see the successe of the gospell, after the death and passion of Iesus Christ our sauiour. And euen here would I begin with an allegation of Theodoret, whereupon some repose great assurance (conceiuing yet more hope therein by the words of Sophronius) that Paule the Apostle should preach the word of saluation here, after his deliuerie out of captiuitie,

Theodoret. Sophronius.

nitie, which fell as I doo read in the 57. of Christ. But sith I cannot verifie the same by the words of Theodoret, to be spoken more of Paule than Peter, or the rest, I will passe ouer this coniecture (so far as it is grounded vpon Theodoret) and deale with other authorities, whereof we haue more certeintie. First of all therfore let vs see what Fortunatus hath written of Pauls comming into Britaine, and afterward what is to be found of other by-writers in other points of more assurance. Certes for the presence of Paule I read thus much:

Quid facer ille simul Paulus tuba gentibus ampla,
Per mare per terras Christi præconia fundens,
Europam & Asiam, Lybiam, sale dogmata complens,
Arctos, meridies, hic plenus vesper & ortus,
Transit & Oceanum, vel qua facit insula portum,
Quásq; Britannus habet terras atque vltima Thule, &c.

That one Iosephus preached here in England, in the time of the Apostles, his sepulchre yet in Aualon, now called Glestenburg or Glastenburie, an epitaph affirmed thereunto is prouse sufficient. Howbeit, sith these things are not of competent force to persuade all men, I will ad in few, what I haue read elsewhere of his arriuall here. First of all therefore you shall note that he came ouer into Britaine, about the 64. after Christ, when the persecution began vnder Nero, at which time Philip and diuers of the godlie being in France (whether he came with other christians, after they had sowed the word of God in Scythia, by the space of 9 yeares) seuered themselues in sunder, to make the better shift for their owne safegard, and yet not otherwise than by their flight, the gospell might haue due furtherance. Hereby then it came to passe, that the said Philip vpon good deliberation did send Iosephus ouer, and with him Simon Zelotes to preach vnto the Britons, and minister the sacraments there according to the rites of the churches of Asia and Greece, from whence they came not long before vnto the countrie of the Galles. Which was saith Malmesburie 103. before Faganus and Dinaw did set forth the gospell amongst them. Of the cōming of Zelotes you may read more in the second booke of Niceph. Cal. where he writeth therof in this maner: *Operæpretium etiam fuerit Simonem Cana Galilææ, tum, qui propter flagrantem in magistrum suum ardorem, summámq; euangelicæ rei per omnia curam Zelotes cognominatus est hic referre, accepit enim is cœlitùs adueniente spiritu sancto, Aegyptium Cyrenem & Africam, deinde Mauritaniam & Lybiam omnem euangelium deprædicans percurrit, eandémque doctrinam etiam ad occidentalem Oceanum insulásque Brittannicas perfert.* And this is the effect in a litle rowme, of that which I haue read at large in sundrie writers, beside these two here alledged, although it may well be gathered that diuers Britains were conuerted to the faith, before this fiftie foure of Christ. Howbeit, whereas some write that they liued, and dwelled in Britaine, it cannot as yet take any absolute hold in my iudgement, but rather that they were baptised and remained, either in Rome, or else-where. And of this sort I suppose Claudia Rufina the wife of Pudens to be one, who was a British ladie indeed, and not onelie excellentlie seene in the Greeke and Latine tongs, but also with hir husband highlie commended by S. Paule, as one hauing had conuersation and conference with them at Rome, from whence he did write his second epistle vnto Timothie, as I read. Of this ladie moreouer Martial speaketh, in reioising that his poesies were read also in Britaine, and onelie by hir meanes, who vsed to cull out the finest & honestest of his epigrams and send them to hir frends for tokens, saieng after this maner, as himselfe doth set it downe:

Dicitur & nostros cantare Britannia versus.

Furthermore making mention of hir and hir issue, he addeth these words:

Claudia cæruleis cùm sit Rufina Britannis
Edita, cur Latiæ pectora plebis habet?

Quale decus formæ: Romanam credere matres
Italides possunt, Atthides esse suam.
Dij bene, quod sancto peperit fœcunda marito,
Quot sperat, generos, quótque puella nurus.
Sic placeat superis, vt coniuge gaudeat vno,
Et semper natis gaudeat illa tribus.

The names of hir three children were Pudentiana, Praxedes, both virgins, and Nouatus, who after the death of Pudens their father (which befell him in Cappadocia) dwelled with their mother in Vmbria, where they ceased not from time to time to minister vnto the saints. But to leaue this impertinent discourse, and proceed with my purpose.

I find in the Chronicles of Burton (vnder the yeare of Grace 141. and time of Hadrian the emperour) that nine scholers or clerkes of Grantha or Granta (now Cambridge) were baptised in Britaine, and became preachers of the gospell there, but whether Taurinus bishop or elder ouer the congregation at Yorke (who as Vincentius saith, was executed about this time for his faith) were one of them or not, as yet I do not certeinlie find: but rather the contrarie, which is that he was no Britaine at all, but *Episcopus Ebroicensis*, for which such as perceiue not the easie corruption of the word, may some write *Eboracensis*, as certeinlie mine author out of whom I alledge this authoritie hath done before me. For Vincentius saith flat otherwise, and therefore the Chronologie if it speake of anie Taurinus bishop of Yorke is to be reformed in that behalfe. Diuers other also imbraced the religion of Christ verie zealouslie before these men. Howbeit, all this notwithstanding, the glad tidings of the gospell had neuer free and open passage here, vntill the time of Lucius, in which the verie enimies of the word became the apparent meanes (contrarie to their owne minds) to haue it set forth amongst vs. For when Antoninus the emperour had giuen out a decree, that the Druiyth religion should euerie where be abolished, Lucius the king (whose surname is now perished) toke aduise of his councell what was best to be done, & wrote in this behalfe. And this did Lucius, bicause he knew it * impossible for man to liue long without any religion at all: finallie finding his Nobilitie & subiects vtter enimies to the Romans deuotiō (for that they made so many gods as they liked, & some to haue the regiment euen of their dirt & dung) and therevnto being pricked forwards by such christians as were conuersant about him, to chose the seruice of the true God that liueth for euer, rather than the slauish seruitude of any pagan idoll: he fullie resolued with himselfe in the end, to receiue and imbrace the gospell of Christ. He sent also two of his best learned and greatest philosophers to Rome, vnto Eleutherus then bishop there in the 177. of Christ, not to promise any subiection vnto his sea, which then was not required, but to say with such as were pricked in mind, Acts. 2. verse 37. *Quid faciemus viri fratres?* I meane that they were sent to be perfectlie instructed, and with farther commission, to make earnest request vnto him and the congregation there, that a competent number of preachers might be sent ouer from thence, by whose diligent aduise and trauell, the foundation of the gospell might surelie be laid ouer all the portion of the Ile, which conteined his kingdome, according to his mind.

When Eleutherus vnderstood these things, he reioiced not a little for the great goodnesse, which the Lord had shewed vpon this our Ile and countrie. Afterwards calling the brethren togither, they agreed to ordeine, euen those two for bishops, whom Lucius as you haue heard, had directed ouer vnto them. Finallie after they had thoroughlie catechized them, making generall praier vnto God and earnest supplication for the good successe of these men, they sent them home againe with no small charge, that they should be diligent in their function, and carefull ouer the flocke committed to their custo-

Dis or Samothes made a god.

Meli. Diodorus. Strab. 4. Plin. Cæsar. 5.

Iosephus.

Philip. Freculphus To. 2. lib. 2. cap. 4. Nennius. Nicephorus lib. 2. cap. 40.

Isidorus lib. de vita & obit. dict. patrum. W. Malmes. de antiq. Glasconici monast.

Claudia Rufina a British ladie.

2. Tim. 4.

Li. 11. Epig. 54.

Lib. 10. cap. 17. Taurinus.

* This is contrarie to the common talke of our Atheists who say, Let vs liue here in wealth, credit and authoritie vpon earth, and let God take heauen and his religion to himselfe to doo withall what he listeth.

Lucius openeth his eares to good counsell, as one desirous to serue God & not prefer the world.

The purpose of Lucius opened vnto the congregation at Rome by Eleutherus.

custodie.

The first of these was called Eluanus Aualonius, a man borne in the Ile of Aualon, and brought vp there vnder those godlie pastours and their disciples, whom Philip sent ouer at the first for the conuersion of the Britons. The other hight Medguinus, and was thereto surnamed Belga, bicause he was of the towne of Welles, which then was called Belga. This man was trained vp also in one schole with Eluanus, both of them being ornaments to their horie ages, and men of such grauitie and godlinesse, that Eleutherus supposed none more worthie to support this charge, than they: after whose comming home also, it was not long yer Lucius and all his household with diuers of the Nobilitie were baptised, beside infinit numbers of the common people, which dailie resorted vnto them, and voluntarilie renounced all their idolatrie and paganisme.

A zealous prince maketh feruent subiects.

In the meane time, Eleutherus vnderstanding the successe of these learned doctours, and supposing with himselfe, that they two onlie could not suffice to support so great a charge as should concerne the conuersion of the whole Iland; he directed ouer vnto them in the yeare insuing Faganus, Dinaw (or Dinauus) Aaron, and diuerse other godlie preachers, as fellow-labourers to trauell with them in the vineyard of the Lord. These men therefore after their comming hither, consulted with the other, and forthwith wholie consented to make a diuision of this Iland amongst themselues, appointing what parcell each preacher should take, that with the more profit and ease of the people, and somewhat lesse trauell also for themselues, the doctrine of the Gospell might be preached and receiued. In this distribution, they ordeined that there should be one congregation at London, where they placed Theonus as cheefe elder and bishop, for that present time, worthilie called Theonus. 1. for there was another of that name who fled into Wales with Thadiocus of Yorke, at the first comming of the Saxons; and also Guhelmus, who went (as I read) into Armorica, there to craue aid against the Scots and Vandals that plagued this Ile, from the Twede vnto the Humber. After this Theonus also Eluanus succeeded, who conuerted manie of the Druiydes, and builded the first librarie neere vnto the bishops palace. The said Lucius also placed another at Yorke, whither they appointed Theodosius: and the third at Caerlheon vpon the riuer Uske, builded sometimes by Belinus, and called Glamorgancia, but now Chester (in which three cities there had before time beene three Archflamines erected vnto Apollo, Mars, and Minerua, but now raced to the ground, and three other churches builded in their steeds by Lucius) to the end that the countries round about might haue indifferent accesse vnto those places, and therewithall vnderstand for certeintie, whither to resort for resolution, if after their conuersion they should happen to doubt of any thing. In like sort also the rest of the idoll-temples standing in other places were either ouerthrowne, or conuerted into churches for christian congregations to assemble in, as our writers do remember. In the report whereof giue me leaue gentle reader, of London my native citie to speake a little: for although it may and doth seeme impertinent to my purpose, yet it shall not be much, and therefore I will soone make an end. There is a controuersie moued among our historiographers, whether the church that Lucius builded at London stood at Westminster, or in Cornehill. For there is some cause, why the metropolitane church should be thought to stand where S. Peters now doth, by the space of 400. odd yeares before it was remoued to Canturburie by Austine the monke, if a man should leane to one side without anie conference of the asseuerations of the other. But herin (as I take it) there lurketh some scruple, for beside that S. Peters church stood in the east end of the citie, and that of Apollo in the west, the word Cornehill (a denomination giuen of late to speake of to one street) may easilie be mistaken for Thorney. For as the word Thorney proceedeth from the Saxons, who called the west end of the citie by that name, where Westminster now standeth, bicause of the wildnesse and bushinesse of the soile; so I do not read of anie streete in London called Cornehill before the conquest of the Normans. Wherfore I hold with them, which make Westminster to be the place where Lucius builded his church vpon the ruines of that Flamine 264. yeares, as Malmesburie saith, before the comming of the Saxons, and 411. before the arriuall of Augustine. Read also his appendix *in lib. 4. Pontif.* where he noteth the time of the Saxons, in the 449. of Grace, and of Augustine in the 596. of Christ; which is a manifest accompt, though some copies haue 499. for the one, but not without manifest corruption and error.

Faganus. Dinauus. Aaron.

Radulphus de la noir alias Niger.

3. Cheefe Bishops in Britaine.

Theonus. Theodosius London. Yorke. Caerlheon.

Thus became Britaine the first prouince that generallie receiued the faith, and where the gospell was freelie preached without inhibition of hir prince. Howbeit, although that Lucius and his princes and great numbers of his people imbraced the word with greedinesse, yet was not the successe thereof either so vniuersall, that all men beleeued at the first; the securitie so great, as that no persecution was to be feared from the Romane empire after his decease; or the proceeding of the king so seuere, as that he inforced any man by publike authoritie to forsake and relinquish his paganisme: but onelie this freedome was enioied, that who so would become a christian in his time, might without feare of his lawes professe the gospell, in whose testimonie, if need had beene, I doubt not to affirme, but that he would haue shed also his bloud, as did his neece Emerita, who being constant aboue the common sort of women, refused not after his decease by fire, to yeeld hir selfe to death, as a sweet smelling sacrifice in the nostrels of the Lord, beyond the sea in France.

Britaine the first prouince that receiued the Gospell generallie.

Emerita neece vnto Lucius.

The faith of Christ being thus planted in this Iland in the 177. after Christ, and Faganus and Dinaw with the rest sent ouer from Rome, in the 178. as you haue heard: it came to passe in the third yeare of the Gospell receiued, that Lucius did send againe to Eleutherus the bishop, requiring that he might haue some breefe epitome of the order of discipline then vsed in the church. For he well considered that as it auaileth little to plant a costlie vineyard, except it afterward be cherished, kept in good order, and such things as annoie, dailie remoued from the same: so after baptisme and entrance into religion, it profiteth little to beare the name of christians, except we do walke in the spirit, and haue such things as offend apparentlie, corrected by seuere discipline. For otherwise it will come to passe, that the weedes of vice, and vicious liuing, will so quicklie abound in vs, that they will in the end choke vp the good seed sowne in our minds, and either inforce vs to returne vnto our former wickednesse with deeper securitie than before, or else to become meere Atheists, which is a great deale worse.

Lucius sendeth againe to Rome.

Ro. 8. ver. 1

For this cause therefore did Lucius send to Rome, the second time, for a copie of such politike orders as were then vsed there, in their regiment of the church. But Eleutherus considering with himselfe, how that all nations are not of like condition, and therefore those constitutions that are beneficiall to one, may now and then be preiudiciall to another: and seeing also that beside the word no rites and orders can long continue, or be so perfect in all points, but that as time serueth, they will require alteration: he thought it best not to laie any more vpon the necks of the new conuerts of Britaine as yet, than Christ and his apostles had alreadie set downe vnto all men. In returning therefore his messengers, he sent letters by them vnto Lucius and his Nobilitie, dated in the consulships of Commodus

The wisedome of Eleutherus.

and

and Vespronius, wherein he told them that Christ had left sufficient order in the scriptures for the gouernment of his church alreadie in his word, and not for that onlie, but also for the regiment of his whole * kingdome, if he would submit himselfe, to yéeld and follow that rule. The epistle it selfe is partlie extant, and partlie perished, yet such as it is, and as I haue faithfullie translated it out of sundrie verie ancient copies, I do deliuer it here, to the end I will not defraud the reader of anie thing that may turne to the glorie of God, and his commoditie, in the historie of our nation.

* Though most princes cánot heare on that side.

Epistle of Eleutherus vnto Lucius.

"You require of vs the Romane ordinances, and thereto the statutes of the emperours to be sent ouer vnto you, and which you desire to practise and put in vre within your realme and kingdome. The Romane lawes and those of emperours we may eftsones reproue, but those of God can neuer be found fault withall. You haue receiued of late through Gods mercie in the realme of Britaine the law and faith of Christ, you haue with you both volumes of the scriptures: out of them therefore by Gods grace, and the councell of your realme take you a law, and by that law through Gods sufferance rule your kingdome, for you are Gods vicar in your owne realme, as the roiall prophet saith; The earth is the Lords and all that is therein, the compasse of the world, and they that dwell therein. Againe, Thou hast loued truth and hated iniquitie, wherefore God, euen thy God hath annointed thee with oile of gladnesse aboue thy fellowes. And againe, according to the saieng of the same prophet; Oh God giue thy iudgement vnto the king, & thy iustice vnto the kings sonne. The kings sons are the christian people & flocke of the realme, which are vnder your gouernance, and liue & continue in peace within your kingdome. * The gospell saith; As the hen gathereth hir chickens vnder hir wings, so doth the king his people. Such as dwell in the kingdome of Britaine are yours, whom if they be diuided, you ought to gather into concord and vnitie, to call them to the faith and law of Christ, and to his sacred church: to cherish and maintaine, to rule also and gouerne them, defending each of them from such as would do them wrong, and keeping them from the malice of such as be their enimies. * Woe vnto the nation whose king is a child, and whose princes rise vp earlie to banket and féed, which is spoken not of a prince that is within age, but of a prince that is become a child, through follie, sinne & vnstedfastnesse, of whom the prophet saith; The bloudthirstie and deceitfull men shall not liue forth halfe their daies. * By féeding I vnderstand gluttonie; by gluttonie, lust; & by lust all wickednesse & sinne, according to the saieng of Salomon the king; Wisedome entreth not into a wicked mind, nor dwelleth with a man that is subiect vnto sinne. A king hath his name of ruling, and not of the possession of his realme. You shalbe a king whilest you rule well, but if you do otherwise, the name of a king shall not remaine with you, but you shall vtterlie forgo it, which God forbid. The almightie God grant you so to rule the kingdome of Britaine, that you may reigne with him for euer, whose vicar (or vicegerent) you are within your aforesaid kingdome. Who with the Sonne and the Holie-ghost, &c.

Pſal.24.

Pſal.45.

Pſal.71.

Here wanteth.

Pſal.55.

Hitherto out of the epistle that Eleutherus sent vnto Lucius, wherein manie prætie obseruations are to be collected, if time and place would serue to stand vpon them. After these daies also the number of such as were ordeined to saluation, increased dailie more and more, whereby (as in other places of the world) the word of God had good successe in Britaine, in time of peace; and in heat of persecution, there were no small number of martyrs that suffered for the same, of which Albane, Amphibalus, Iulius and Aaron, are reputed to be the chiefe, because of their noble parentage, which is a great matter in the sight of worldlie men.

Albane. Amphibalus. Iulius. Aaron.

There are which affirme our Lucius to renounce his kingdome, and afterward to become first a bishop, then a preacher of the gospell, and afterward a pope: but to the end such as hold this opinion may once vnderstand the botome of their errors, I will set downe the matter at large, whereby they shall sée (if they list to looke) how far they haue béene deceiued.

I find that Chlorus had issue by his second wife, two sonnes, Dalmatius (who had a sonne called also Dalmatius and slaine by the souldiors) Constantius father to Gallus, and Iulian the apostata; besides foure other whose names as yet I find not. But being at the first matched with Helena, and before she was put from him by the roiall power of Diocletian, he had by hir three sonnes (beside one daughter named Emerita) of which the name of the first is perished, the second was called Lucius, & the third Constantine, that afterward was emperour of Rome, by election of the armies in Britaine. Now it happened that Lucius, whome the French call Lucion, by means of a quarell growne betwéene him and his elder brother, did kill his said brother, either by a traie or by some other meanes, whereupon his father exiled him out of Britaine, and appointed him from thencefoorth to remaine in Aquitane in France. This Lucion brought thus into worldlie sorow, had now good leasure to meditate vpon heauen, who before in his prosperitie had peraduenture neuer regard of hell. Finallie he fell so far into the consideration of his estate, that at the last he renounced his paganisme, and first became a christian, then an elder, and last of all a bishop in the church of Christ. He erected also a place of praier wherein to serue the liuing God, which after sundrie alterations came in processe of time to be an Abbaie, and is still called euen to our time after Lucion or Lucius: the first founder therof, and the originall beginner of anie such house in those parts.

Chlorus had three sons, & a daughter by Helena.

Lucion becommeth a christian.

Lucion a bishop.

In this also he and diuers other of his frends continued their times, in great contemplation and praier, and from hence were translated as occasion serued, vnto sundrie ecclesiasticall promotions in the time of Constant. his brother. So that euen by this short narration it is now easie to sée, that Lucius the king, and Lucius or Lucion the sonne of Chlorus, were distinct persons. Hereunto Hermannus Schedelius addeth also how he went into Rhetia with Emerita his sister, and nére vnto the citie Augusta conuerted the Curienses vnto the faith of Christ, and there likewise (being put to death in Castro Martis) lieth buried in the same towne, where his feast is holden vpon the third daie of December, as may readilie be confirmed, whereas the bones of our Lucius were to be séene at Glocester. That Schedelius erreth not herein also, the ancient monuments of the said Abbaie, whereof he was the originall beginner, as I said, do yeld sufficient testimonie, beside an hymne made in his commendation, intituled *Gaude Lucionum, &c.* But for more of this you may resort vnto Boudiet in his first booke, and fift chapter of the Annales of Aquitane, who neuertheles maketh the king of Britaine grandfather to this Lucion. The said Schedelius furthermore setteth downe, that his sister was martyred in Trinecastell, nére vnto the place where the said Lucion dwelled, whereby it appéareth in like sort, that she was not sister to Lucius king of Britaine, of which prince Alexander Neccham in his most excellent treatise *De sapientia diuina*, setteth downe this Distichon:

Hermannus Schedelius. Bruschius cap.3.

Festum Lucionis. Iohn Bouchet.

Emerita martyred in Rhetia.

Prima Britannorum fidei lux Lucius esse
Fertur, qui rexit mœnia Brute tua.

Neither could Lucion or Lucius be fellow and of kinred vnto Paule the apostle, as Auentine inferreth, except he meane it of some other Lucius, as of one whome he nameth Cyrinensis. But then will not the history agree with the conuersion of the Rhetians and

Vinde-

Vindelicians, whereof Schedelius and other do make mention. But as each riuer the farder it runneth from the head, the more it is increased by small riuelets, and corrupted with filthie puddels, and stinking gutters, that descend into the same: so the puritie of the gospell, preached here in Britaine, in processe of time became first of all to be corrupted with a new order of religion, and most execrable heresie, both of them being brought in at once by Pelagius, of Wales, who hauing trauelled through France, Italie, Aegypt, Syria, & the easterlie regions of the world, was there at the last made an elder or bishop, by some of the monkes, vnto whose profession he had not long before wholie addicted himselfe. Finallie returning home againe with an augmentation of fame and countenance of greater holinesse than he bare out of the land with him, he did not onelie erect an house of his owne order at Bangor in Wales, vpon the riuer Dee, but also sowed the pestiferous séed of his heretical prauities ouer all this Iland, whereby he seduced great numbers of Britons, teaching them to preferre their owne merits, before the free mercie of God, in Iesus Christ his sonne. By this means therefore he brought assurance of saluation into question, and taught all such as had a diligent respect vnto their workes to be doubtfull of the same, whereas to such as regard this latter, there can be no quietnesse of mind, but alwaies an vnstedfast opinion of themselues, whereby they cannot discerne, neither by prosperitie nor aduersitie of this life, whether they be worthie loue or hatred. Neuertheles it behoueth the godlie to repose their hope in that grace which is freelie granted through Iesu Christ, and to flee vnto the mercies of God which are offered vnto vs in with and by his son, to the end that we may at the last find the testimonie of his spirit working with ours, that we are his chosen children, whereby commeth peace of conscience to such as do beléeue.

Heresie and monastical life brought into Britaine at one time by Pelagius.

Bangor.

Thus we sée how new deuises or orders of religion and heresie came in together. I could shew also what Comets, and strange signes appeared in Britaine, much about the same time, the like of which with diuers other haue béene perceiued also from time to time, sithence the death of Pelagius, at the entrance of anie new kind of religion into this Ile of Britaine. But I passe them ouer, onelie for that I would not séeme in my tractation of antiquities, to trouble my reader with the rehersall of anie new inconueniences.

To procéed therefore with my purpose, after these, there followed in like sort sundrie other kinds of monasticall life, as Anachorites, Heremits, Cyrilline and Benedictine monkes, albeit that the heremeticall profession was onelie allowed of in Britaine, vntill the comming of Augustine the monke, who brought in the Benedictine sect, framed after the order of the house which Benedict surnamed Nursinus did first erect in *Monte Cassino*, about the 524. of Christ, & was finallie so well liked of all men, that we had few or (as I suppose) no blacke monkes in England that were not of his order. In processe of time how Benedict Biscop also our countrieman restored the said Benedictine profession greatlie decaied in England, our histories are verie plentifull, which Biscop went oft into Italie, and at one time for a speciall confirmation of his two monasteries which he had builded at other mens costs vnto Paule and Peter vpon the bankes of the Were, as Beda doth remember. So fast also did these and other like humane deuises prosper after his time, that at their suppression in England and Wales onelie, there were found 440. religious houses at the least, of which 373. might dispend 200. li. by the yéere at the least, as appeareth by the record of their suppression, which also noteth the totall summe of their reuenues to amount vnto 32000. pounds, their moueables 100000. li. and the number of religious men conteined in the same, to be

Anachorites. Heremites. Cyrillines. Benedictines.

Monkes and Heremites onelie allowed of in Britaine.

10000. which would make a prétie armie, wherevnto if you adde those 45. of late standing in Scotland, you shall sone sée what numbers of these dens of spirituall robbers were mainteined here in Britaine. What number of saints also haue béene hatched in them I could easilie remember, and beside those 160. which Capgraue setteth down, & other likewise remembred in the golden Legend, and Legendarie of Ercester, I might bring a rable out of Scotland able to furnish vp a calendar, though the yere were twise as long.

The number of religious houses in England at their dissolution.

As touching Pelagius the first heretike that euer was bred in this realme (notablie knowne) and parent of Monachisme, it is certeine, that before his corruption and fall, he was taken for a man of singular learning, deepe iudgement, and such a one, as vpon whome for his great gifts in teaching and strictnesse of life, no small péece of the hope and expectation of the people did depend. But what is wisedome of the flesh, without the feare and true knowledge of God? and what is learning except it be handmaid to veritie and sound iudgement? Wherefore euen of this man, we may sée it verified, that one Roger Bakon pronounced long after of the corruption of his time, when all things were measured by wit and worldlie policie, rather than by the scriptures or guidance of the spirit; Better it is saith he, to heare a rude and simple idiot preach the truth, without apparance of skill and learned eloquence, than a profound clearke to set forth error, with great shew of learning, and boast of filed vtterance. Gerson in like sort hath said fullie almuch. These follies of Pelagius were blased abroad about the 400. of Christ, and from thencefoorth how his number of monkes increased on the one side, and his doctrine on the other, there is almost no reader that is vnskilfull and ignorant.

Roger Bakon his saieng of the preachers of his time who were the best lawyers and the worst Diuines.

This also is certeine, that within the space of 200. yeares and odde, there were manie more than 2100. monkes gathered togither in his house, whose trades notwithstanding the errors of their founder, (who taught such an estimation of merits and bodilie exercise (as Paule calleth it) that therby he sought not onlie to impugne, but also preuent grace, which was in déed the originall occasion of the erection of his house) were yet farre better and more godlie than all those religious orders, that were inuented of later time, wherein the professours liued to themselues, their wombs and the licentious fruition of those parts, that are beneath the bellie. For these laboured continuallie for their owne liuings, at vacant times from praier (as did Serapions monkes, which were 10000. ouer whome he himselfe was Abbat) and likewise for the better maintenance of such learned men as were their appointed preachers. Their liues also were correspondent to their doctrine, so that herein onelie they séemed intollerable, in that they had confidence in their déeds, and no warrant out of the word for their succor & defense, but were such a plant as the heauenlie father had not planted, and therefore no maruell, though afterward they were raised by the roots.

More than 2100. monkes in the College or Abbaie of Bangor in whose territories the parish of Ouerton standeth.

Niceph. lib. 11. cap. 34.

But as Pelagius and his adherents had a time to infect the church of Christ in Britaine, so the liuing God hath had a season also to purge and cleanse the same, though not by a full reformation of doctrine, sith Germanus, Lupus, Palladius, Patricius, and such like leaning for the most part vnto the monasticall trades, did not so much condemne the generall errors of Pelagius one waie, as mainteine the same, or as euill opinions another. For as Patricke séemed to like well of the honoring of the dead, so Germanus being in Britaine repaired an old chapell to S. Albane, wherein Lupus also praied, as Palladius vpheld the strictnesse of life, in monasticall profession to the vttermost of his power. Wherfore God wrought this purgation of his house at the first, rather by taking awaie the wicked and pompous schoolemaisters of errour out of this life:

Germanus, Lupus, Palladius, Patricius.

Seuerus Sulpitius in vita Patricij.

hoping

hoping that by such meanes, his people would haue giuen eare to the godlie that remained. But in processe of time, when this his mercifull dealing was forgotten and our countriemen returned to their former disorders, he brought in the Sarons, who left no idoll vnhonored, no not their filthie Priapus, vnto whom the women builded temples, and made a beastlie image (*Cum pene intenso*, and as if he had bene circumcised) whome they called Ithypallus, Verpus, and as Goropius Atvatic. pag. 26. addeth, Ters: calling vpon him in maner at euerie word, yea at the verie fall of a knife out of their hands, and not counted anie shame vnto the most ancient and sober matrone of them all. Howbeit when this proceeding of the Lord could also take no place, and the sheepe of his pasture would receiue no wholesome fodder, it pleased his maiestie, to let them run on headlong from one iniquitie to another, in so much that after the doctrine of Pelagius, it receiued that of Rome also, brought in by Augustine and his monkes, whereby it was to be seene, how they fell from the truth into heresie, and from one heresie still into another, till at the last they were drowned altogither in the pits of error digged vp by Antichrist, wels in deed that hold no water, which notwithstanding to their followers seemed to be most sound doctrine, and cisterns of liuing water to such as imbraced the same.

Augustine the monke.

Augustine.

This Augustine, after his arriuall, conuerted the Sarons in deed from paganisme, but as the prouerbe saith, bringing them out of Gods blessing into the warme sunne, he also imbued them with no lesse hurtfull superstition, than they did know before: for beside the onelie name of Christ, and externall contempt of their priuate idolatrie, he taught them nothing at all, but rather (I saie) made an exchange from grosse to subtill treacherie, from open to secret idolatrie, & from the name of pagans, to the bare title of christians, thinking this sufficient for their soules health, and the stablishment of his monachisme, of which kind of profession, the holie scriptures of God can in no wise like or allow. But what cared he? sith he got the great fish for which he did cast his hooke, and so great was the fish that he caught in deed, that within the space of 1000. yeares, and lesse, it deuoured the fourth part & more of the best soile of the Iland, which was wholie bestowed vpon his monkes, & other religious broodes that were hatched since his time, as may hereafter appeare in the booke following, where I intreate of cities, townes, &c.

Monks of Canturburie plagued.

In the meane season what successe his monkes had at Canturburie, how oft they were spoiled by enimies, their houses burned by casualtie, and brethren consumed with pestilence, I refer me to Gotcellius, Houeden, Geruase, and the rest of their owne historiographers. And so sore did the pestilence rage among them in the time of Celnothus (in whose daies the praests, clerks and monkes sang their seruice togither in the quire, that (of I wote not how manie) there remained onelie fiue aliue, which was a notable token of the furie and wrath of God conceiued and executed against that malignant generation. It came also to passe at the last, that men vsed to praie for helpe at the said Augustines tumbe (although afterward Thomas Becket a newer saint did not a little deface his glorie) among which king Athelstane was one, whome Elnothus the abbat staied so long in the place, when he came thither to praie, that his soldiours waiting for his comming, and supposing the monkes to haue murdered him, began to giue an assault and set fire vpon the house.

Meates. Pictes. Caledoniens.

Whilest these things were thus in hand, in the south part of Albion, the Meates, Picts, and Caledoniens, which lie beyond the Scotish sea, receiued also the faith, by preaching of such christian elders as aduentured thither dailie, who trauelled not without great successe and increase of perfect godlines in that part of the Ile. Certes this prosperous attempt passed all mens expectation, for that these nations were in those daies reputed wild, sauage, and more vnfaithfull and craftie than well-minded people (as the wild Irish are in my time) and such were they (to saie the truth) in deed, as neither the sugred courtesie, nor sharpe swords of the Romans could mollifie or restraine from their naturall furie, or bring to anie good order. For this cause also in the end, the Romane emperours did vtterlie cast them off as an vnprofitable, brutish, & vntameable nation, and by an huge wall hereafter to be described, separated that rude companie from the more mild and ciuill portion.

Scotland conuerted to the faith of Christ.

This conuersion of the north parts fell out in the sixt yeare before the warres that Seuerus had in those quarters, and 170. after the death of our sauiour Jesus Christ. From thencefoorth also the christian religion continued still among them, by the diligent care of their pastors and bishops (after the vse of the churches of the south part of this Iland) till the Romane shepheard sought them out, and found the meanes to pull them vnto him in like sort with his long staffe as he had done our countriemen, whereby in the end he abolished the rites of the churches of Asia there also, as Augustine had done alreadie in England: and in steed of the same did furnish it vp with those of his pontificall see, although there was great contention, and no lesse bloodshed made amongst them, before it could be brought to passe, as by the histories of both nations yet extant may be seene.

Paladius.

In the time of Cœlestine bishop of Rome, who sate in the 423. of Christ, one Paladius a Grecian borne (to whome Cyrill wrote his dialog *De adoratione in spiritu*) and sometime disciple to Iohn 24. bishop of Jerusalem, came ouer from Rome into Britaine, there to suppresse the Pelagian heresie, which not a little molested the orthodores of that Iland. And hauing done much good in the extinguishing of the aforsaid opinion there, he went at the last also into Scotland, supposing no lesse, but after he had trauelled somwhat in confutation of the Pelagians in those parts, he should easilie persuade that crooked nation to admit and receiue the rites of the church of Rome, as he would faine haue done beforehand in the south. But as Fastidius Priscus archbishop of London, and his Suffragans resisted him here; so did the Scotish prelates withstand him there also in this behalfe: howbeit, bicause of the authoritie of his commission, grauitie of personage, and the great gift which he had in the veine of pleasant perswasion (whereby he drew the people after him, as Orpheus did the stones with his harpe, and Hercules such as heard him by his tong) they had him not onelie then in great admiration, but their successors also from time to time, and euen now are contented (and the rather also for that he came from Rome) to take him for their cheefe apostle, reckoning from his comming as from the faith receiued, which was in the 431. yeare of Christ, as the truth of their history doth verie well confirme.

The first attempt of the bishop of Rome to bring Scotland vnder his obedience.

Fastidius bishop of London.

Paladius accompted for the apostle of the Scots

Thus we see what religion hath from time to time beene receiued in this Iland, & how and when the faith of Christ came first into our countrie. Howbeit as in processe of time it was ouershadowed, and corrupted with the dreames and fantasticall imaginations of man, so it dailie waxed worse & worse, till that it pleased God to restore the preaching of his gospell in our daies, whereby the man of sinne is now openlie reuealed, and the puritie of the word once againe brought to light, to the finall ouerthrow of the Romish sathan, and his popish adherents that honour him daie and night to the vttermost of their power, yeelding vp their harts as temples for him to dwell in, which rather ought to be the temples of God and habitations of the Holy-ghost. But such is their peruerse ignorance (notwithstanding that Paule hath giuen warning of him alreadie 2. Thes. 2. calling him (as I said) the man of sinne, and saieng that he sitteth as God in the temple of God, shewing himselfe

himselfe in his chalenge of power, as if he were God, vnder pretense of zeale vnto true religion) that they will not giue eare vnto the truth, but rather shut their eares and their eies from hearing and reading of the scriptures, because they will not be drawne out of his snares and bondage.

Of the manifold conuersions and alterations of the estate of the common-wealth of Britaine, sithens the time of Samothes.

THere is a certeine period of kingdomes, of 430. yeares, in which commonlie they suffer some notable alteration. And as in the aforesaid season there is set a time of increase and decaie, so we find that before the execution of Gods purpose doth come to passe, in changing the estate of things, sundrie tokens are sent, whereby warning is giuen, that without repentance he will come and visit our offenses. This is partlie verified by Ioachimus Camerarius, who in his first booke *De ostentis* intreating of the same argument, telleth of a strange earthquake felt in Delus, which was neuer touched with any such plague before or after the ouerthrow of the Persians, giuen vnto them by the Grecians: also of the beard that suddenlie grew out of the face of the Pedacien prophetesse, so often as the citie was to be touched with any alteration and change. *Nam* (saith he) *descriptas esse diuinitus ætates quibus idem humanarum rerum status duraret, quibus finitis, prædici prius quàm existeret nouationem in deterius eventuram rerum, quæque indies minùs ac minùs numini cordi essent. Emittuntur igitur cometæ diuinitus, & reuocantur dum supra nos conspecti quamdiu placuit Deo inferuntur, &c.* Plato referreth such changes as happen in common-wealths to a certeine diuine force that resteth hidden in sundrie od numbers, whereof their periods do consist. True it is that God created all things in number, weight & measure, & that after an incomprehensible maner vnto our fraile & humane capacitie. Neuertheless, he appointed not these three to haue the rule of his works, wherefore we must not ascribe these changes to the force of number with Plato, much lesse then vnto destinie with the Peripatetiks, but vnto the diuine prouidence and appointment of God, which onelie may be called destinie as S. Augustine saith, for of other destinie it is impietie to dreame. Aristotle ascribing all euents vnto manifest causes precedent, doth scoffe at Plato and his numbers in his booke of common-wealths, and bringeth in sundrie causes of the alteration of the state of things, which we may referre vnto principals, as iniurie, oppression, ambition, treason, rebellion, contempt of religion and lawes, and therevnto abundance of wealth in few, and great necessitie and miserie in manie. But whatsoeuer Aristotle gesseth at these things by humane reason as at the first causes, yet we acknowledge other beyond them, as sinne, which being suffered and come to the full, is cut downe by the iustice of the high God, the chiefe cause of all, who foreseeing the wickednesse of such as dwell on earth, doth constitute such a reuolution of things in their beginnings, as best standeth with the execution of his purpose, and correction of our errors. The causes therefore that Aristotle doth deliuer, are nothing else but the meanes which God vseth to bring his purposes to passe; and yet they deserue the name of causes, in that they preced those effects which follow them immediatlie. But in truth other than secondarie or third causes no man can iustlie call them. Bodinus in his historicall method, cap. 6. making a large discourse of the conuersions of commonwealths, doth seeme at the first to denie the force of number, but after a while he maruelleth that no Grecian or Latine Academike, hath hitherto made any discourse of the excellencie of such numbers as apperteine to the estate of empires and kingdomes by exemplification in any one citie or other. Hereby he sheweth himselfe vpon the sudden to alter his iudgement, so that he setteth downe certeine numbers as fatall; to wit, sixe vnto women, and seauen and nine vnto men, which (saith he) haue *Magnam in tota rerum natura potestatem*, meaning as well in common-wealths and kingdomes from their first erections, as in particular ages of bodies, for sicknesse, health, change of habitation, wealth, and losse, &c: and for the confirmation of the same, he setteth downe sundrie examples of apparant likelihood, either by multiplication of one by the other, or diuision of greater numbers by either of them, or their concurrence one with another, calling the aforesaid three his criticall or iudiciall numbers, whereby he bringeth or rather restoreth an old kind of arithmancie (fathered on Pythagoras, yet neuer inuented by him) againe into the world. But we christians, in respecting of causes, haue to looke vnto the originall and great cause of all, and therefore we haue not to leane vnto these points in any wise as causes: for we know and confesse that all things depend vpon his prouidence, who humbleth and exalteth whom it pleaseth him. Neuertheless, I hope we may without offense examine how these assertions hold, so long as we vse them rather as *Indices* than *Causas mutationum*. And therefore haue I attempted to practise at this present the example of Bodinus, first in the alterations of our ciuill estate passed; and secondlie, of the like in cases of religion; from the flood generallie, and then after the first comming in of Samothes into our Ile, thereby somewhat to satisfie my selfe, and recreate the readers; but still protesting in the meane season that I vtterlie denie them to be any causes, or of themselues to worke any effect at all in these things, as Bodinus would seeme to vphold. As for those of other countries, I referre you to Aristotles politikes, and the eight of the common-wealth which Plato hath left vnto vs, thereby to be farther resolued, if you be desirous to looke on them. In beginning therefore with my purpose; First because the flood of Noah was generall, and therefore appertinent vnto all, it shall not be amisse to begin with that, which was in the yeare 1656. after the creation of Adam, so that if you diuide the same by nine, you shall find the quotient to fall out euenlie with the 184. reuolution of the same number. Secondlie, for so much as the confusion of tongs was the originall cause of the dispersion of the people ouer the face of the whole earth, it shall not be amisse also to examine the same. Certes it fell out in the 133. after the flood: if we diuide therefore the said 133. by seauen, you shall find the quotient 19. without any ods remaining. From hence also vnto the comming of Samothes into Britaine, or rather his lawes giuen vnto the Celts, and with them vnto the Britons, in the second of his arriuall in this land, we find by exact supputation 126. yeares, which being parted by nine or seauen sheweth such a conclusion as maketh much for this purpose. Doubtlesse I am the more willing to touch the time of his lawes than his entrance, sith alteration of ordinances is the cheefe and principall token of change in ruls and regiment; although at this present the circumstances hold not, sith he dispossessed none, neither incroched vpon any. From Samothes vnto the tyrannie of Albion, are 335. yeares complet, so that he arriued here in the 335. or 48. septenarie, which also concurreth with the 590. after the flood. In like sort the regiment of Albion continued but seauen yeares, and then was the souereingtie of this Ile restored againe by Hercules vnto the Celts. The next alteration of our estate openlie knowne, happened by Brute, betweene whose time and death of Albion there passed full 601. yeares (for he spent much time after his departure out of Grecia, before he came into Albion) so that if you accompt him to come hither in the 602. you shall haue 86. septenaries exactlie. From Brute to the extinction of his posteritie in Ferrex and Porrex, and pentarchie of Britaine,

Fatal numbers.

taine, are 630. yeares, or 70. nouenaries, than the which where shall a man find a more precise period after this method or prescription, for manie and diuers considerations. The time of the pentarchie indured likewise 49. yeares, or seauen septenaries, which being expired Dunwallo brought all the princes vnder his subiection, and ruled ouer them as monarch of this Ile. After the pentarchie ended, we find againe that in the 98. yeare, Brennus rebelled against Beline his brother, whereupon insued cruell bloodshed betwéene them. So that here you haue 14. septenaries, as you haue from those warres ended, which indured a full yeare & more before Brennus was reconciled to his brother, to the comming of Cæsar into this Iland (whereat our seruitude and miserable thraldome to the Romans may worthilie take his entrance) 48. or 336. yeares, than the which concurrences I know not how a man should imagine a more exact.

After the comming of Cæsar we haue 54. or fiue nouenaries to Christ, whose death and passion redoundeth generallie to all that by firme and sure faith take hold of the same, and applie it vnto their comfort. From the birth of Christ to our countrie deliuered from the Romane yoke, are 446. yeares, at which time the Britains chose them a king, and betoke themselues to his obedience. But neither they nor their king being then able to hold out the Scots and Picts, which dailie made hauocke of their countrie; the said Vortiger in the third yeare of his reigne (which was the 63. septenarie after Christ) did send for the Saxons, who arriued here in the 449. and 450. yeares of Grace, in great companies, for our aid and succour, although that in the end their entrances turned to our vtter decaie and ruine, in that they made a conquest of the whole Ile, and draue vs out of our liuings. Hereby we sée therefore how the preparatiue began in the 449. but how it was finished in the tenth nouenarie, the sequele is too too plaine. In like sort in the 43. nouenarie or 387. after the comming of the Saxons, the Danes entred, who miserablie afflicted this Ile by the space of 182. yeares or 26. septenaries, which being expired, they established themselues in the kingdome by Canutus. But their time lasting not long, the Normans followed in the end of the 49. yeare, and thus you sée how these numbers do hold exactlie vnto the conquest. The like also we find of the continuance of the Normans or succession of the Conquerour, which indured but 89. yeares, being extinguished in Stephen, and that of the Saxons restored in Henrie the second, although it lacke one whole yeare of ten nouenaries, which is a small thing, sith vpon diuers occasions the time of the execution of any accident may be preuented or prorogued, as in direction and progression astronomicall is often times perceiued. From hence to the infamous excommunication of England in king Johns daies, whereupon insued the resignation of his crownes and dominions to the pope, are eight septenaries or 56. yeares. Thence againe to the deposition of Richard. 2. and vsurpation of Henrie 4. are 77. yeares or 11. septenaries. From hence to the conspiracie made against Edward. 2. after which he was deposed & murdered are 117. yeares, or 13. nouenaries. From hence to the beginning of the quarell betwéene the houses of Yorke and Lancaster (wherein foure score and od persons of the blood roiall were slaine and made awaie first and last, and which warres begunne in the 1448. and the yeare after the death of the Duke of Glocester, whose murther séemed to make frée passage to the said broile) are 72. yeares or eight nouenaries. From hence to the translation of the crowne from the house of Lancaster to that of Yorke, in Edward the 4. are 14. yeares or two septenaries, and last of all to the vnion of the said houses in Henrie the eight, is an exact quadrat of seuen multiplied in it selfe, or 49. yeares, whereof I hope this may in part suffice.

Now as concerning religion, we haue from Christ to the faith first preached in Britaine (by Iosephus ab Aramathia, and Simon Zelotes) as some write 70. yeares or 10. septenaries. Thence also to the baptisme of Lucius, and his nobilitie in the yeare after their conuersion, 12. nouenaries or 108. yeares. After these the Saxons entred and changed the state of religion for the most part into paganisme, in the yeare 449. 39. nouenarie, and 273. yeare after Lucius had beene baptised, which is 39. septenaries, if I be not deceiued. In the 147. or 21. septenarie, Augustine came, who brought in poperie, which increased and continued till Wicklif with more boldnesse than anie other began to preach the gospell, which was Anno. 1361. or 765. yeares after the comming of Augustine, and yeld 85. nouenaries exactlie. From hence againe to the expulsion of the pope 175 yeares, or 25. septenaries, thence to the receiuing of the pope and popish doctrine 21. yeares or 3. septenaries, Henrie.8. Marie. where vnto I would ad the time of restoring the gospell by Quéene Elizabeth, were it not that it wanteth one full yeare of 7. Whereby we may well gather, that if there be anie hidden mysterie or thing conteined in these numbers, yet the same extendeth not vnto the diuine disposition of things, touching the gift of grace and frée mercie vnto the penitent, vnto which neither number weight nor measure shall be able to aspire.

Of such Ilands as are to be seene vpon the coasts of Britaine. Cap. 10.

THere are néere vnto, or not verie farre from the coasts of Britaine many faire Ilands, whereof Ireland with hir neighbors (not here handled) séeme to be the chéefe. But of the rest, some are much larger or lesse than other, diuers in like sort enuironed continuallie with the salt sea (whereof I purpose onelie to intreat, although not a few of them be Ilands but at the flood) and other finallie be clipped partlie by the fresh and partlie by the salt water, or by the fresh alone, whereof I may speake afterward.

Of these salt Ilands (for so I call them that are enuironed with the Ocean waues) some are fruitfull in wood, corne, wild foule, and pasture ground for cattell, albeit that manie of them be accounted barren, because they are onelie replenished with conies, and those of sundrie colours (cherished of purpose by the owners, for their skins or carcases in their prouision of household) without either man or woman otherwise inhabiting in them. Furthermore, the greatest number of these Ilands haue townes and parish-churches, within their seuerall precincts, some mo, some lesse: and beside all this, are so inriched with commodities, that they haue pleasant hauens, fresh springs, great store of fish, and plentie of cattell, wherby the inhabitants do reape no small aduantage. How manie they are in number I cannot as yet determine, because mine informations are not so fullie set downe, as the promises of some on the one side, & mine expectation on the other did extend vnto. Howbeit, first of all that there are certeine which lie nære togither, as it were by heapes and clusters, I hope none will readilie denie. Of these also those called the Nessadæ, Insulæ Scylurum, Sileustræ, Syllanæ, now the Sorlings, and Iles of Silley, lieng beyond Cornwall are one, and conteineth in number one hundreth fourtie and seauen (each of them bearing grasse) besides shelfes and shallowes. In like sort the companie of the Hebrides in old time subiect vnto Ireland are another, which are said to be 43. situat vpon the west side of this Iland, betwéene Ireland & Scotland, and of which there are some that repute Angleséi, Mona

Nessadæ. Insulæ Scylurum. Sileustræ. Syllanæ. Sorlingæ. Sylley. Hebrides. Hebudes. Meuaniæ. Orchades.

Mona Cæsaris, and other lieng betweene them to be parcell, in their corrupted iudgement. The third cluster or bunch consisteth of those that are called the Orchades, and these lie vpon the northwest point of Scotland, being 31. *alias* 28. in number, as for the rest they lie scattered here and there, and yet not to be vntouched as their courses shall come about. There are also the 18. Shetland Iles, and other yet farther distant from them, of which Iohn Frobuser I doubt not touched vpon some in his voiage to *Meta Incognita*: but for somuch as I must speake of the Shetlands hereafter, I do not meane to spend anie time about them as yet.

There haue beene diuers that haue written of purpose, *De insulis Britanniæ*, as Cæsar doth confesse. The like also may be seene by Plutarch, who nameth one Demetrius a Britaine, that should set forth an exact treatise of each of them in order, and among other tell of certeine desert Iles beyond Scotland dedicated to sundrie gods and goddesses, but of one especiallie, where Briareus should hold Saturne and manie other spirits fast bound with the chaines of an heauie sleepe, as he heard, of which some die now and then, by meane whereof the aire becommeth maruellouslie troubled, &c: as you may see in Plutarch *De cessatione oraculorum, &c.* But sith those bookes are now perished, and the most of the said Ilands remaine vtterlie vnknowen, euen to our owne selues (for who is able in our time to say where is Glota, Hiuerion, Etta, Iduna, Armia, Æsarea, Barsa, Isiandium, Icdelis, Xantisma, Indelis, Siata, Ga. Andros or Edros, Siambis, Xanthos, Ricnea, Menapia, &c? whose names onelie are left in memorie by ancient writers, but I saie their places not so much as heard of in our daies) I meane (God willing) to set downe so manie of them with their commodities, as I do either know by Leland, or am otherwise instructed of by such as are of credit. Herein also I will touch at large those that are most famous, and breeflie passe ouer such as are obscure and vnknowen, making mine entrance at the Thames mouth, and directing this imagined course (for I neuer sailed it) by the south part of the Iland into the west. From thence in like sort I will proceed into the north, & come about againe by the east side into the fall of the aforesaid streame, where I will strike saile, and safelie be set a shore, that haue often in this voiage wanted water, but oftener beene set a ground, especiallie on the Scotish side.

In beginning therefore, with such as lie in the mouth of the aforesaid riuer, I must needs passe by the Hoo. How, which is not an Iland, and therefore not within the compasse of my description at this time, but almost an Iland, which parcels the Latins call Peninsulas, and I do english a Byland, vsing the word for such as a man may go into drie-foted at the full sea, or on horsebacke at the low water without anie boat or vessell: and such a one almost is Rochford hundred in Essex also, yet not at this time to be spoken of, because not the sea onelie but the fresh water also doth in maner enuiron it, and is the cheefe occasion wherefore it is called an Iland. This How lieth betweene Cliffe (in old time called Clouesho, to wit, Cliffe in How or in the hundred of How) & the midwaie that goeth along by Rochester, of which hundred there goeth an old prouerbe in rime after this maner:

He that rideth into the hundred of How,
Beside pilfering seamen shall find durt ynow.

Greane. Next vnto this we haue the Greane, wherein is a towne of the same denomination, an Ile supposed to be foure miles in length, and two in breedth. Then come we to Shepey, which Ptolomie calleth Connos, conteining Shepey. seauen miles in length, and three in breedth, wherein is a castell called Quinborow, and a parke, beside foure townes, of which one is named Minster, another Eastchurch, the third Warden, and the fourth Leyden: the whole soile being thoroughlie fed with sheepe, verie well woodded, and (as I heare) belongeth to the Lord Cheyney, as parcell of his inheritance. It lieth thirteene miles by water from Rochester, but the castell is fifteene, and by south thereof are two small Ilands, whereof the one is called Elmesie, and the more easterlie Hertesie. In this also is a towne called Hertie, or Hartie, and all in the Lath of Scraie, notwithstanding that Hartie lieth in the hundred of Feuersham, and Shepey reteineth one especiall Baillie of hir owne. Elmesie. Hertesie.

From hence we passe by the Reculuers (or territorie belonging in time past to one Raculphus, who erected an house of religion, or some such thing there) vnto a little Iland in the Stoure mouth. Hereupon also the Thanet abutteth, which Ptolomie calleth Toliapis, other Arhanatos, bicause serpents are supposed not to liue in the same, howbeit sith it is not enuironed with the sea, it is not to be dealt withall as an Iland in this place, albeit I will not let to borow of my determination, and describe it as I go, bicause it is so fruitfull. Beda noteth it in times past to haue conteined 600. families, which are all one with Hidelands, *Ploughlands, Carrucates, or Temewares. He addeth also that it is diuided from our continent, by the riuer called Wantsume, which is about three furlongs broad, and to be passed ouer in two places onelie. But whereas Polydore saieth, the Thanet is nine miles in length & not much lesse in breedth, it is now reckoned that it hath not much aboue seauen miles from Nordtmuth to Sandwich, and foure in breedth, from the Stoure to Margate, or from the south to the north, the circuit of the whole being 17. or 18. as Leland also noteth. This Iland hath no wood growing in it except it be forced, and yet otherwise it is verie fruitfull, and beside that it wanteth few other commodities, the finest chalke is said to be found there. Herein also did Augustine the monke first arriue, when he came to conuert the Saxons, and afterward in processe of time, sundrie religious houses were erected there, as in a soile much bettered (as the superstitious supposed) by the steps of that holy man, & such as came ouer with him. There are at this time 10. parish churches at the least in the Ile of Thanet, as S. Nicholas, Birchington, S. Iohns, Wood or Wooddurch, S. Peters, S. Laurence, Mownton or Monkeron, Minster, S. Gyles, and all Saincts, whereof W. Lambert hath written at large in his description of Kent, and placed the same in the Lath of saint Augustine and hundred of Ringslow, as may easilie be seene to him that will peruse it. Stureey. Thanet.

* In Lincolneshire the word Hide or hideland, was neuer in vse in old time as in other places, but for Hide they vsed the word Caruecate or cartware, or Teme, and these were of no lesse compasse than an Hideland. *Ex Hugone le blanc Monacho Petroburgensi.*

Sometime Rutupium or (as Beda calleth it) Reptacester, stood also in this Iland, but now thorough alteration of the chanell of the Dour, it is shut quite out, and annered to the maine. It is called in these daies Richborow, and as it should seeme builded vpon an indifferent soile or high ground. The large brickes also yet to be seene there, in the ruinous walles, declare either the Romane or the old British workemanship. But as time deuoureth all things, so Rutupium named Ruptimuth is now become desolate, and out of the dust thereof Sandwich produced, which standeth a full mile from the place where Reptacester stood. The old writers affirme, how Arthur & Mordred fought one notable battell here, wherin Gwallon or Gawan was slaine; at which time the said rebell came against his souereigne with 70000. Picts, Scots, Irish, Norwegiens, &c. and with Ethelbert the first christian king of Kent did hold his palace in this towne, and yet none of his coine hath hitherto beene found there, as is dailie that of the Romanes, whereof manie peeces of siluer and gold, so well as of brasse, copper, and other mettall haue often beene shewed vnto me. It should appeere in like sort, that of this place, all the whole coast of Kent therabout was called Littus Rutupinum, which some do not a little confirme by these words of Lucane, to be read in his first booke some after the beginning: Rutupium.

Aut

Aut vagus cum Tethis, Rutupinâq; littora feruent,
Vnda Calidonios fallit turbata Britannos.

The last verse of one couple and first of an other.

Or when the wandering seas
and Kentish coasts doo worke,
And Calidons of British bloud,
the troubled waues beguile.

Meaning in like sort by the latter, the coast néere Andredeswald, which in time past was called Littus Calidonium of that wood or forrest, as Leland also confirmeth. But as it is not my mind to deale anie thing curiouslie in these by-matters, so in returning againe to my purpose, and taking my iourney toward the Wight, I must nœds passe by Selesey, which sometime (as it should séeme) hath béene a noble Iland, but now in maner a Byland or Peninsula, wherin the chefe sée of the bishop of Chichester was holden by the space of thrée hundred twentie nine yeares, and vnder twentie bishops.

Seolesey of Seles there taken.

Next vnto this, we come vnto those that lie betweene the Wight and the maine land, of which the most easterlie is called Thorne, and to saie truth, the verie least of all that are to be found in that knot. Being past the Thorne, we touched vpon the Haling, which is bigger than the Thorne, and wherein one towne is situat of the same denomination beside another, whose name I remember not. By west also of the Haling lieth the Port (the greatest of the three alreadie mentioned) and in this standeth Portsmouth and Kingsted, whereof also our Leland, saieth thus: Port Ile is cut from the shore by an arme of the maine hauen, which breaketh out about three miles aboue Portsmouth, and goeth vp two miles or more by mirish ground to a place called Portbridge, which is two miles from Portsmouth. Then breaketh there out another creéke from the maine sea, about Auant hauen, which gulleth vp almost to Portbridge, and thence is the ground disseuered, so that Portsmouth standeth in a corner of this Ile, which Iland is in length six miles, and three miles in bredth, verie good for grasse and corne, not without some wood, and here and there inclosure. Beside this, there is also another Iland north northwest of Port Ile, which is now so worne and washed awaie with the working of the sea, that at the spring tides it is wholie couered with water, and thereby made vnprofitable. Finallie being past all these, and in compassing this gulfe, we come by an other, which lieth north of Hirst castell, & southeast of Kaie hauen, whereof I find nothing worthie to be noted, sauing that it wanteth wood, as Ptolomie affirmeth in his Geographicall tables of all those Ilands which environ our Albion.

Thorne. Haling. Port.

Ex Hugone le blanc Monacho Peterburgensi.

The Wight is called in Latine *Vectis*, but in the British speach Guidh, that is to saie, Eese or easie to be séene, or (as D. Caius saith) separate, bicause that by a breach of the sea, it was once diuided from the maine, as Sicilia was also from Italie, Anglesei from Wales, Foulenesse from Esser, & Quinborow from Kent. It lieth distant from the south shore of Britaine (where it is fardest off) by fiue miles & a halfe, but where it commeth neerest, not passing a thousand paces, and this at the cut ouer betwéene Hirst castell and a place called Whetwell chine, as the inhabitants doo report. It conteineth in length twentie miles, and in bredth ten, it hath also the north pole eleuated by 50. degrées and 27. minutes, and is onelie 18. degrees in distance, and 50. od minuts from the west point, as experience hath confirmed, contrarie to the description of Ptolomie, and such as folow his assertions in the same. In forme, it representeth almost an eg, and so well is it inhabited with meere English at this present, that there are thirtie six townes, villages and castels to be found therein, beside 27. parish-churches, of which 15. or 16. haue their Parsons, the rest either such poore Vicars or Curats, as the liuings left are able to sustaine. The names of the parishes in the Wight are these.

Wight. Guidh.

1 Newport, a	chap.	15 Motteston.	p.
2 Cairsbrosie.	v.	16 Yarmouth.	p.
3 Northwood.		17 Thorley.	v.
4 Arrium.	v.	18 Shalflete.	v.
5 Goddeshill.	v.	19 Whippingham.	p.
6 Whitwell.		20 Wotton.	p.
7 S. Laurence.	p.	21 Chale.	p.
8 Nighton.	p.	22 Kingston.	p.
9 Brading.	v.	23 Shorwell.	p.
10 Newchurch.	v.	24 Catrombe.	p.
11 S. Helene.	v.	25 Brosie.	
12 Yauerland.	p.	26 Birston.	p.
13 Calborne.	p.	27 Bensted.	p.
14 Bonechurch.	p.		

P. signifieth parsonages, V. vicarages.

It belongeth for temporall iurisdiction to the countie of Hamshire, but in spirituall cases it yeldeth obedience to the sée of Winchester, wherof it is a Deanerie. As for the soile of the whole Iland, it is verie fruitfull, for notwithstanding the shore of it selfe be verie full of rocks and craggie cliffes, yet there wanteth no plentie of cattell, corne, pasture, medow ground, wild foule, fish, fresh riuers, and pleasant woods, whereby the inhabitants may liue in ease and welfare. It was first ruled by a seuerall king, and afterwards wonne from the Britons by Vespasian the legat, at such time as he made a voiage into the west countrie. In processe of time also it was gotten from the Romans by the kings of Sussex, who held the souereigntie of the same, and kept the king thereof vnder tribute, till it was wonne also from them, in the time of Athelwold, the eight king of the said south region, by Ceadwalla, who killed Aruald that reigned there, and reserued the souereigntie of that Ile to himselfe and his successors for euermore. At this time also there were 1200. families in that Iland, whereof the said Ceadwalla gaue 300 to Wilfride sometime bishop of Yorke, exhorting him to erect a church there, and preach the gospell also to the inhabitants thereof, which he in like maner performed, but according to the prescriptions of the church of Rome, whereunto he yeelded himselfe vassall and feudarie: so that this Ile by Wilfride was first conuerted to the faith, though the last of all other that hearkened vnto the word. After Ceadwalla, Woolfride the parricide was the first Saxon prince that aduentured to flie into the Wight for his safegard, whither he was driuen by Kenwalch of the Westsaxons, who made great warres vpon him, and in the end compelled him to go into this place for succour, as did also king Iohn, in the rebellious stir of his Barons, practised by the clergie: the said Iland being as then in possession of the Forts, as some doo write that haue handled it of purpose. The first Earle of this Iland that I doo read of, was one Baldwijne de Betoun, who married for his second wife, the daughter of William le Grosse Earle of Awmarle; but he dieng without issue by this ladie, she was maried the second time to Earle Yaundeuile, and thirdlie to William de Fortes, who finished Skipton castell, which his wiues father had begun about the time of king Richard the first. Hereby it came to passe also, that the Forts were Earls of Awmarle, Wight, and Deuonshire a long time, till the ladie Elizabeth Fortes, sole heire to all those possessions came to age, with whom king Edward the third so preuailed through monie & faire words, that he got the possession of the Wight wholie into his hands, & held it to himselfe & his successors, vntill Henrie the first, about the twentieth of his reigne, crowned Henrie Beauchamp sonne to the lord Richard Earle of Warwike king thereof and of Iardesey and Gardesey with his owne hands, and therunto gaue him a commendation of the Dutchie of Warwike with the titles of *Comes comitum Angliæ*, lord Spenser of Aburgauenie, and of the castell of Brisslow (which castell was sometime taken from his ancestors by king Iohn) albeit he did not long enioy

these great honors, sith he died 1446. without issue, and seuen yeres after his father.

After we be past the Wight, we go forward and come vnto Poole hauen, wherein is an Ile, called Brunt Keysy, in which was sometime a parish church, and but a chapell at this present, as I heare. There are also two other Iles, but as yet I know not their names.

Brunt Keysy.

We haue (after we are passed by these) another Ile, or rather Byland also vpon the coast named Portland not far from Waymouth or the Gowy, a prettie fertile peece though without wood, of ten miles in circuit, now well inhabited, but much better heretofore, and yet are there about foure score housholds in it. There is but one street of houses therein, the rest are dispersed, howbeit they belong all to one parish-church, whereas in time past there were two within the compasse of the same. There is also a castell of the kings, who is lord of the Ile, although the bishop of Winchester be patrone of the church, the parsonage whereof is the fairest house in all the peece. The people there are no lesse excellent slingers of stones than were the Baleares, who would neuer giue their children their dinners till they had gotten the same with their slings, and therefore their parents vsed to hang their meate verie high vpon some bough, to the end that he which strake it downe might onlie haue it, whereas such as missed were sure to go without it, Florus lib. 3. cap. 8. Which feat the Portlands vse for the defense of their Iland, and yet otherwise are verie couetous. And wheras in time past they liued onlie by fishing, now they fall to tillage. Their fire bote is brought out of the Wight, and other places, yet do they burne much cow dong dried in the sunne, for there is I saie no wood in the Ile, except a few elmes that be about the church. There would some grow there, no doubt, if they were willing to plant it, although the soile lie verie bleake and open. It is not long since this was vnited to the maine, and likelie yet long to be cut off againe.

Portland.

Being past this we raise another, also in the mouth of the Gowy, betweene Collford and Lime, of which for the smalnesse thereof I make no great account. Wherefore giuing ouer to intreat any farther of it, I cast about to Jardsey, and Gardesey, which Iles with their appurtenances apperteined in times past to the Dukes of Normandie, but now they remaine to our Quéene, as parcell of Hamshire and iurisdiction of Winchester, & belonging to hir crowne, by meanes of a composition made betweene K. Iohn of England and the K. of France, when the dominions of the said prince began so fast to decrease, as Thomas Sulmo saith.

Jardsey. Gardesey.

Of these two, Jardsey is the greatest, an Iland hauing thirtie miles in compasse, as most men do coniecture. There are likewise in the same twelue parish-churches, with a colledge, which hath a Deane and Prebends. It is distant from Gardsey full 21. miles, or therabouts, and made notable, by meanes of a bloudie fact done there in Quéene Maries daies, whereby a woman called Perotine Massie wife vnto an honest minister or préest, being great with childe by hir husband, was burned to ashes: through the exceeding cruelties of the Deane and Chapiter, then contending manifestlie against God for the mainteinance of their popish and antichristian kingdome. In this hir execution, and at such time as the fire caught holde of hir wombe, hir bellie brake, and there issued a goodly manchilde from hir, with such force that it fell vpon the cold ground quite beyond the heate and furie of the flame, which quicklie was taken vp and giuen from one tormentor and aduersarie to an other to looke vpon, whose eies being after a while satisfied with the beholding thereof, they threw it vnto the carcase of the mother which burned in the fire, whereby the poore innocent was consumed to ashes, whom that furious element would gladlie haue left vntouched, & wherevnto it miraculously (as you heare) an hurtlesse passage. In this latter also, there haue béene in times past, fiue religious houses, and nine castels, howbeit in these daies there is but one parish-church left standing in the same. There are also certeine other small Ilands, which Henrie the second in his donation calleth Insulettas, beside verie manie rocks whereof one called S. Hilaries (wherein sometime was a monasterie) is fast vpon Jardsey, another is named the Cornet, which hath a castel not passing an arrow shot from Gardsey. The Serke also is betweene both, which is six miles about, and hath another annered to it by an Isthmus or Strictaland, wherein was a religious house, & therwithall great store of conies.

Horrible murther.

Gardsey.

S. Hilaries. Cornet. Serke.

There is also the Brehoc, the Gytho, and the Herme, which latter is foure miles in compasse, and therein was sometime a Canonrie, that afterward was conuerted into an house of Franciscanes. There are two other likewise neere vnto that of S. Hilarie, of whose names I haue no notice. There is also the rockie Ile of Burhoo, but now the Ile of rats, so called of the huge plentie of rats that are found there, though otherwise it be replenished with infinit store of conies, betweene whome and the rats, as I coniecture, the same which we call Turkie conies, are oftentimes produced among those few houses that are to be seene in this Iland. Some are of the opinion that there hath béene more store of building in this Ile than is at this present to be seene, & that it became abandoned through multitudes of rats, but hereof I find no perfect warrantise that I may safelie trust vnto, yet in other places I read of the like thing to haue happened, as in Gyara of the Cyclades, where the rats increased so fast that they draue away the people. Varro speaketh of a towne in Spaine that was ouerthrowne by conies. The Abderits were driuen out of Thracia by the increase of mice & frogs; and so manie conies were there on a time in the Iles Maiorca and Minorca (now perteining to Spaine) that the people began to starue for want of bread, and their cattell for lacke of grasse. And bicause the Ilanders were not able to ouercome them, Augustus was constreined to send an armie of men to destroie that needlesse brood. Plin. lib. 8. cap. 55. A towne also in France sometime became desolate onelie by frogs and todes. Another in Africa by locustes and also by grashoppers, as Amicla was by snakes and adders. Theophrast telleth of an whole countrie consumed by the palmer-worme, which is like vnto an huge caterpiller. Plinie writeth of a prouince vpon the borders of Æthiopia made void of people by ants and scorpions, and how the citizens of Megara in Grecia were faine to leaue that citie through multitudes of bées, as waspes had almost driuen the Ephesians out of Ephesus. But this of all other (whereof Ælianus intreateth) is most wonderfull, that when the Cretenses were chased out of a famous citie of their Iland by infinit numbers of bées, the said bées conuerted their houses into hiues, and made large combes in them which reached from wall to wall, wherein they reserued their honie. Which things being dulie considered, I do not denie the possibilitie of the expulsion of the inhabitants out of the Ile of Burho by rats, although I say that I do not warrant the effect, bicause I find it not set downe directlie in plaine words.

Brehoc. Gytho. Herme.

Burhoo, alias the Ile of rats.

Turkie conies.

Causes of the desolation of sundrie cities and townes.

Besides this there is moreouer the Ile of Alderney a verie prettie plot, about seuen miles in compasse, wherin a préest not long since did find a coffin of stone, in which lay the bodie of an huge giant, whose fore téeth were so big as a mans fist, as Leland doth report. Certes this to me is no maruell at all, sith I haue read of greater, and mentioned them alreadie in the beginning of this booke. Such a toth also haue they in Spaine wherevnto they go in pilgrimage as vnto S. Christophers toth, but it was one of his eie téeth, if Ludouicus Viues say true, who went thither to offer vnto the same

Alderney.

Comment. Brit.

same. S. August. *de ciuit. lib.* 15. *cap.* 9. writeth in like sort, of such another found vpon the coast of Vtica, and thereby gathereth that all men in time past were not onlie far greater than they be now, but also the giants farre exceeding the huge stature and height of the highest of them all. Homer complaineth that men in his time were but dwarfes in comparison of such as liued in the wars of Troy. See his fift Iliad, where he speaketh of Diomedes, and how he threw a stone at Æneas, (which 14. men of his time were not able to stirre) and therewith did hit him on the thigh and ouerthrew him. Virgil also noteth no lesse, in his owne deuise, but Iuenall breefelie comprehendeth all this in his 15. Satya, where he saith:

Iliad. 6.

Iliad 5. & 7.

Virgilius Aen. 12.

Saxa inclinatis per humum quæsita lacertis
Incipiunt torquere, domestica seditione
Tela, nec hunc lapidem, quali se Turnus, & Aiax,
Et quo Tytides percussit pondere coxam
Aeneæ: sed quem valeant emittere dextræ
Illis dissimiles, & nostro tempore nata.
Nam genus hoc viuo iam decrescebat Homero,
Terra malos homines nunc educat, atque pusillos,
Ergo Deus quicunque aspexit, ridet, & odit.

But to returne againe vnto the Ile of Alderney, from whence I haue digressed. Herein also is a prettie towne with a parish-church, great plentie of corne, cattell, conies, and wilde foule, whereby the inhabitants do reape much gaine and commoditie: onelie wood is their want, which they otherwise supplie. The language also of such as dwell in these Iles, is French; but the wearing of their haire long, & the attire of those that liued in Gardsey and Jardsey, vntill the time of king Henrie the eight, was all after the Irish guise. The Ile of Gardsey also was sore spoiled by the French 1371. and left so desolate, that onlie one castell remained therein vntouched.

Beyond this, and nearer vnto the coast of England (for these do lie about the verie middest of the British sea) we haue one Iland called the Bruch or the Bruchsey, lieng about two miles from Poole, whither men saile from the Fromouth, and wherein is nought else, but an old chapell, without any other housing.

Bruchsey.

Next to this also are certeine rocks, which some take for Iles, as Illeston rocke neere vnto Peritorie, Horestan Ile a mile from Peritorie by south, Blacke rocke Ile southeast from Peritorie toward Teygnemouth, and also Chester, otherwise called Plegimundham: but how (to saie truth) or where this latter lieth, I cannot make report as yet, neuertheless sith Leland noteth them togither, I thinke it not my part to make separation of them.

Mount Iland.

From hence the next Ile is called Mount Iland, otherwise Mowtland, situate ouer against Lough, about two miles from the shore, and well neere three miles in compasse. This Iland hath no inhabitants, but onelie the warrenner and his dog, who looketh vnto the conies there: notwithstanding that vpon the coast thereof in time of the yeere, great store of pilchards is taken, and carried from thence into manie places of our countrie. It hath also a fresh well comming out of the rocks, which is worthie to be noted in so small a compasse of ground. Moreouer in the mouth of the creeke that leadeth vnto Lough, or Low, as some call it, there is another little Iland of about eight acres of ground called S. Nicholas Ile, and midwaie betweene Falmouth and Dudman (a certeine Promontorie is such another named the Greese, wherein is great store of gulles & sea foule. As for Inis Prynnin, it lieth within the Bate, about three miles from Lizards, and containeth not aboue two acres of ground, from which Newlyn is not far distant, and wherein is a pore fisher-towne and a faire wel-spring, wherof as yet no writer hath made mention. After these (omitting Pendinant in the point of Falmouth hauen) we came at last to saint Michaels mount, whereof I find this description readie to my hand in Leland.

S. Nicholas Iland.

Greese. Inis Prynnin.

S. Michaels mount.

The compasse of the foot of the mount of saint Michael is not much more than halfe a mile, and of this the south part is pasturable and breedeth conies, the residue high and rockie soile. In the north side thereof also is a garden, with certeine houses and shops for fishermen. Furthermore, the waie to the mountaine lieth at the north side, and is frequented from halfe eb to halfe floud, the entrance beginning at the foot of the hill, and so ascending by steps and greeces westward, first; and then eastward to the vtter ward of the church. Within the same ward also is a court stronglie walled, wherein on the south side is a chapell of S. Michaell, and in the east side another of our ladie. Manie times a man may come to the hill on foot. On the north northwest side hereof also, is a Piere for botes and ships, and in the Baie betwixt the mount and Pensardz are seene at the lowe water marke, diuers roots and stubs of trees, beside hewen stone, sometimes of dores & windowes, which are perceiued in the inner part of the Baie, and import that there hath not onelie beene building, but also firme ground, whereas the salt water doth now rule and beare the maisterie. Beyond this is an other little Ile, called S. Clements Ile, of a chapell there dedicated to that saint. It hath a little from it also the Ile called Mowshole, which is not touched in any Chard. As for Mowshole it selfe, it is a towne of the maine, called in Cornish Port Enis, that is, *Portus insulæ*, whereof the said Ile taketh denomination, and in tin workes neere vnto the same there hath beene found of late, speare heds, battell axes, and swords of copper wrapped vp in linnen, and scarselie hurt with rust or other hinderance. Certes the sea hath won verie much in this corner of our Iland, but cheefelie betweene Mowshole and Pensardz.

S. Clements Ile.

Hauing thus passed ouer verie neere all such Iles, as lie vpon the south coast of Britaine, and now being come vnto the west part of our countrie, a sudden Pirie catcheth hold of vs (as it did before, when we went to Jardsey) and carieth vs yet more westerlie among the flats of Sylley. Such force doth the southeast wind often shewe vpon pore trauellers in those parts, as the south and southwest doth vpon strangers against the British coast, that are not skilfull of our rodes and harborowes. Howbeit such was our successe in this voiage, that we feared no rocks, more than did king Athelstane, when he subdued them (and sone after builded a colledge of preests at S. Burien, in performance of his vow made when he enterprised this voiage for his safe returne) nor anie tempest of weather in those parts that could annoie our passage. Perusing therefore the perils whereinto we were pitifullie plunged, we found the Syllane Ilands (places often robbed by the Frenchmen and Spaniards) to lie distant from the point of Cornewall, about three or foure hours sailing, or twentie English miles, as some men do account it. There are of these (as I said) to the number of one hundreth fortie seauen in sight, whereof each one is greater or lesse than other, and most of them sometime inhabited: howbeit, there are twentie of them, which for their greatnesse and commodities exceed all the rest. Thereto (if you respect their position) they are situat in maner of a circle or ring, hauing an huge lake or portion of the sea in the middest of them, which is not without perill to such as with small aduisement enter into the same. Certes it passeth my cunning, either to name or to describe all these one hundreth fourtie seauen, according to their estate; neither haue I had anie information of them, more than I haue gathered by Leland, or gotten out of a map of their description, which I had sometime of Reginald Woolfe: wherfore omitting as it were all the rags, and such as are not worthie to haue ante time spent about

Sylley Iles or Syl.

their

their particular descriptions, I will onelie touch the greatest, and those that lie togither (as I said) in maner of a roundle.

S. Maries Ile. The first and greatest of these therefore, called S. Maries Ile, is about fiue miles ouer, or nine miles in compasse. Therein also is a parish-church, and a poore towne belonging thereto, of threescore housholds, beside a castell, plentie of corne, conies, wild swans, puffens, gulles, cranes, & other kinds of foule, in great abundance. This fertile Iland being thus viewed, we sailed southwards by the Norman rocke, and S. Maries Agnus Ile. sound vnto Agnus Ile, which is six miles ouer, and hath in like sort one towne or parish within the same of fiue or six housholds, beside no small store of hogs & conies of sundrie colours, verie profitable to their owners. It is not long since this Ile was left desolate, for when the inhabitants thereof returned from a feast holden in S. Maries Ile, they were all drowned, and not one person left aliue. There are also two other small Ilands, betweene this and the Annot, Annot. whereof I find nothing worthie relation: for as both of them ioind togither are not comparable to the said Annot for greatnesse and circuit, so they want both hogs and conies, wherof Annot hath great plentie. There is moreouer the Minwi- Minwisand. sand, from whence we passe by the Smithy sound (leauing three little Ilands on the left hand, vnto the Suar- Smithy sound. Suartigan. tigan Iland, then to Rousuian, Rousuiar, and the Cregwin, Rousuian. Rousuiar. Cregwin. which seauen are (for the most part) replenished with conies onelie, and wild garlike, but void of wood & other commodities, sauing of a short kind of grasse, or here & there some furzes wheron their conies do feed.

Leauing therefore these desert peces, we incline a little toward the northwest, where we stumble or run vpon Moncarthat, Inis Welseck, & Suethiall. We came Moncarthat. Inis Welseck. Suethiall. in like sort vnto Rat Iland, wherein are so manie monstrous rats, that if anie horsses, or other beasts, happen Rat Iland. to come thither, or be left there by negligence but one night, they are sure to be deuoured & eaten vp, without all hope of recouerie. There is moreouer the Anwall Anwall. and the Brier, Ilands in like sort void of all good furni- Brier. ture, conies onelie excepted, and the Brier (wherein is a village, castell, and parish-church) bringeth forth no lesse store of hogs, and wild foule, than Rat Iland doth of rats, whereof I greatlie maruell.

By north of the Brier, lieth the Rusco, which hath a Rusco. Iabell or Byland stretching out toward the southwest, Inis widdó. called Inis widdon. This Rusco is verie neere so great as that of S. Maries. It hath moreouer an hold, and a parish within it, beside great store of conies and wild foule, whereof they make much gaine in due time of the yeare. Next vnto this we come to the Round Iland, Round Iland. which is about a mile ouer, then to S. Lides Iland, S. Lides. (wherein is a parish-church dedicated to that Saint, be- Notho. side conies, wood, and wild foule, of which two later Auing. there is some indifferent store) the Notho, the Auing, Tyan. (one of them being situat by south of another, and the Auing halfe a mile ouer, which is a iust halfe lesse than the Notho) and the Tyan, which later is a great Iland, furnished with a parish-church, and no small plentie of S. Martines. conies as I heare. After the Tyan we come to S. Martines Ile, wherein is a faire towne, the Ile it selfe being nere vnto the Rusco for great nesse, and verie well furnished with conies & fresh springs. Also betwixt this and S. Maries, are ten other, smaller, which reach out of the northeast into the southwest, as Knolworth, Sniuil- Knolworth. liuer, Menwetham, Vollis. 1. Surwihe, Vollis. 2. Arthurs Sniuilliuer. Menwethã. Iland, Guiniliuer, Nenech and Gothrois, whose estates Vollis. 1. are diuers: howbeit as no one of these is to be ac- Surwihe. counted great in comparison of the other, so they all Vollis. 2. yeeld a short grasse meet for sheepe and conies, as do also Arthurs Ile. the rest. In the greater Iles likewise (whose names Guiniliuer. are commonlie such as those of the townes or churches Nenech. standing in the same) there are (as I here) sundry lakes, Gothrois. and those neuer without great plentie of wild foule, so that the Iles of Sylley, are supposed to be no lesse beneficiall to their lords, than anie other whatsoeuer, within the compasse of our Ile, or neere vnto our coasts. In some of them also are wild swine. And as these Iles are supposed to be a notable safegard to the coast of Cornewall, so in diuerse of them great store of tin is likewise to be found. There is in like maner such plentie of fish taken among these same, that beside the feeding of their swine withall, a man shall haue more there for a penie, than in London for ten grotes. Howbeit their cheese commoditie is made by Reigh, which they drie, cut in peeces, and carie ouer into little Britaine, where they exchange it there, for salt, canuas, readie monie, or other merchandize which they do stand in need of. A like trade haue some of them also, with Buckhorne or dried whiting, as I heare. But sith the author of this report did not flatlie auouch it, I passe ouer that fish as not in season at this time. Thus haue we viewed the richest and most wealthie Iles of Sylley, from whence we must direct our course eastwards, vnto the mouth of the Sauerne, and then go backe againe vnto the west point of Wales, continuing still our voiage along vpon the west coast of Britaine, till we come to the Soluey whereat the kingdomes part, & from which forth on we must touch such Ilands as lie vpon the west and north shore, till we be come againe vnto the Scotish sea, and to our owne dominions. wild swine in Sylley.

From the point of Cornewall therefore, or promontorie of Helenus (so called, as some thinke, because He- Helenus. lenus the son of Priamus who arriued here with Brute Priamus. lieth buried there, except the sea haue washed awaie his sepulchre) vntill we come vnto the mouth of Sauerne, we haue none Ilands at all that I do know or heare of, but one litle Byland, Cape or Peninsula, which is not to be counted of in this place. And yet sith I haue spoken of it, you shall vnderstand, that it is called Pendinas, and beside that the compasse thereof is not aboue a mile, this is to be remembred farder thereof, how there standeth a Pharos or light therein, for ships which saile by those coasts in the night. There is also at the verie point of the said Pendinas, a chappell of saint Pendinas. Nicholas, beside the church of saint Ia, an Irish woman saint. It belonged of late to the Lord Broke, but now (as I gesse) the Lord Mountioy enioieth it. There is also a blockhouse, and a peere in the east side thereof, but the peere is sore choked with sand, as is the whole shore furthermore from S. Ies vnto S. Carantokes, insomuch that the greatest part of this Byland is now couered with sands, which the sea casteth vp, and this calamitie hath indured little aboue fiftie yeares, as the inhabitants do affirme.

There are also two rocks neere vnto Fredwy, and another not farre from Tintagell, all which many of the common sort do repute and take for Iles: wherefore as one desirous to note all, I thinke it not best that these should be omitted: but to proceed. When we be come further, I meane vnto the Sauerne mouth, we meet the two Holmes, of which one is called Stepholme, and the other Flatholme, of their formes being in deed parcels of ground and low soiles fit for little else than to beare grasse for cattell, whereof they take those names. For Holme is an old Saxon word, aplied to all such places. Of these also Stepholme lieth south of the Flatholme, about foure or fiue miles; the first also a mile and an halfe, the other two miles or thereabout in length; but neither of them a mile and an halfe in breadth, where they do seeme to be the broadest.

It should seeme by some that they are not worthie to be placed among Ilands: yet othersome are of opinion, that they are not altogither so base, as to be reputed amongst flats or rocks: but whatsoeuer they be, this is sure, that they oft annoie such passengers and merchants as passe and repasse vpon that riuer. Neither

Barri.

Barri is a flight shot from the shore.

Dunwen.

Caldee.

Londy.

Schalmey.

Schoncold.

Limen or Ramsey.

Tudfall.

Penthlin.

Guelyn.

Mawr.

Angleset cut from Wales by working of the sea.

do I read of any other Iles which lie by east of these, saue onlie the Barri, and Dunwen: the first of which is so called of one Barroc, a religious man (as Gyraldus saith) and is about a flight shot from the shore. Herin also is a rocke standing at the verie entrance of the cliffe, which hath a little rift or chine vpon the side, wherevnto if a man do laie his eare, he shall heare a noise, as if smithes did worke at the forge, sometimes blowing with their bellowes, and sometimes striking and clinking with hammers, whereof manie men haue great wonder; and no maruell. It is about a mile in compasse, situat ouer against Aberbarry, and hath a chappell in it.

Dunwen is so called of a church (dedicated to a Welsh woman saint, called Dunwen) that standeth there. It lieth more than two miles from Henrosser, right against Neuen, and hath within it two faire mils, & great store of conies. Certes if the sand increase so fast hereafter as it hath done of late about it, it will be vnited to the maine within a short season. Beyond these & toward the coast of Southwales lie two other Ilands, larger in quantitie than the Holmes, of which the one is called Caldee or Inis Pyr. It hath a parish-church with a spire steeple, and a prettie towne belonging to the countie of Pembroke, and iurisdiction of one Dauid in Wales. Leland supposeth the ruines that are found therein to haue béene of an old priorie sometimes called Lille, which was a cell belonging to the monasterie of S. Dogmael, but of this I can saie nothing. The other hight Londy, wherein is also a village or towne, and of this Iland the parson of the said towne is not onelie the captaine, but hath thereto weife, distresse, and all other commodities belonging to the same. It is little aboue sixteene miles from the coast of Wales, though it be thirtie from Caldée, and yet it serueth (as I am informed) lord and king in Deuonshire. Moreouer in this Iland is great plentie of shéepe, but more conies, and therewithall of verie fine and short grasse for their better food & pasturage; likewise much Sampere vpon the shore, which is carried from thence in barrels. And albeit that there be not scarslie fourtie houlholds in the whole, yet the inhabitants there with huge stones (alredie prouided) may kéepe off thousands of their enimies, bicause it is not possible for anie aduersaries to assaile them, but onelie at one place, and with a most dangerous entrance. In this voiage also we met with two other Ilands, one of them called Shepes Ile, the other Rat Ile; the first is but a little plot lieng at the point of the Baie, before we come at the Blockehouse which standeth north of the same, at the verie entrie into Milford hauen vpon the east side. By north also of Shepes Ile, and betwéene it & Stacke rocke, which lieth in the verie middest of the hauen, at another point is Rat Ile yet smaller than the former, but what commodities are to be found in them as yet I cannot tell. Schalmey the greater and the lesse lie northwest of Milford hauen a good waie. They belong both to the crowne, but are not inhabited, bicause they be so often spoiled with pirates. Schoncold Ile ioineth vnto great Schalmey, and is bigger than it, onlie a passage for ships parteth them, whereby they are supposed to be one: Leland noteth them to lie in Milford hauen. Beside these also we found the Bateholme, Stockeholme, Midland, and Gresholme Iles, and then doubling the Welloch point, we came into a Baie, where we saw saint Brides Iland, and another in the Sound betwéene Ramsey and the point, of all which Iles and such rocks as are offensiue to mariners that passe by them, it may be my hap to speake more at large hereafter.

Limen (as Ptolomie calleth it) is situat ouer against S. Dauids in Wales (wherevnto we must néeds come, after we be past another little one, which some men do call Gresholme) & lieth directlie west of Schalmey. In a late map I find this Limen to be called in English Ramsey: Leland also confirmeth the same, and I cannot learne more thereof, than that it is much greater than anie of the other last mentioned (sithens I described the Holmes) and for temporall iurisdiction a member of Penbrokeshire, as it is vnto S. Dauids for matters concerning the church. Leland in his commentaries of England *lib.* 8. saieth that it contained three Ilets, whereof the bishop of S. Dauids is owner of the greatest, but the chanter of S. Dauids claimeth the second, as the archdeacon of Cairmarden doth the third. And in these is verie excellent pasture for shéepe and horses, but not for other horned beasts which lacke their vpper téeth by nature (whose substance is conuerted into the nourishment of their hornes) and therefore cannot bite so low. Next vnto this Ile we came to Mawr, an Iland in the mouth of Mawr, scant a bow shot ouer, and enuironed at the low water with fresh, but at the high with salt, and here also is excellent catching of herings.

After this, proceeding on still with our course, we fetched a compasse, going out of the north toward the west, and then turning againe (as the coast of the countrie leadeth) vntill we sailed full south, leauing the shore still on our right hand, vntill we came vnto a couple of Iles, which do lie vpon the mouth of the Soch, one of them being distant (as we gessed) a mile from the other, and neither of them of anie greatnesse almost worthie to be remembred. The first that we came vnto is called Tudfall, and therein is a church, but without anie parishioners, except they be shéepe and conies. The quantitie thereof also is not much aboue six acres of ground, measured by the pole. The next is Penthlin, Myrach, or Mereroste, situat in maner betwixt Tudfall or Tuidall and the shore, and herein is verie good pasture for horsses, wherof (as I take it) that name is giuen vnto it. Next vnto them, we come vnto Gwelyn, a little Ile which lieth southeast of the fall of Daron or Daren, a thing of small quantitie, and yet almost parted in the mids by water, and next of all vnto Bardsey an Iland lieng ouer against Periuincle the southwest point or promontorie of Northwales (where Merlin Syluestris lieth buried) and whither the rest of the monks of Bangor did flie to saue themselues, when 2100. of their fellowes were slaine by the Saxon princes in the quarell of Augustine the monke, & the citie of Caerleon or Chester raced to the ground, and not since reedified againe to anie purpose. Ptolomie calleth this Iland Lymnos, the Britons Enlhi, and therein also is a parish-church, as the report goeth. From hence we cast about, gathering still toward the northest, till we came to Caer Ierienrhod, a notable rocke situat ouer against the mouth of the Leuenni, wherein standeth a strong hold or fortresse, or else some towne or village. Certes we could not well discerne whether of both it was, bicause the wind blew hard at southwest, the morning was misie, and our mariners doubting some flats to be couched not far from thence, hasted awaie vnto Anglesei, whither we went apace with a readie wind euen at our owne desire.

This Iland (which Tacitus mistaketh no doubt for Mona Cæsaris, and so doth Ptolomie as appeareth by his latitudes) is situat about two miles from the shore of Northwales. Paulus Iouius gesseth that it was in time past ioined to the continent, or maine of our Ile, and onelie cut off by working of the Ocean, as Sicilia peraduenture was from Italie by the violence of the Leuant or practise of some king that reigned there. Thereby also (as he saith) the inhabitants were constreind at the first to make a bridge ouer into the same, till the breach waxed so great, that no such passage could anie longer be mainteined. But as these things do either not touch my purpose at all, or make smallie with the present description of this Ile; so (in comming to

my

Anglesei. my matter) Anglesei is found to be full so great as the Wight, and nothing inferiour, but rather surmounting it, as that also which Cæsar calleth Mona in fruitfulnesse of soile by manie an hundred fold. In old time it was reputed and taken for the common granarie to Wales, as Sicilia was to Rome and Italie for their prouision of corne. In like maner the Welshmen themselues called it the mother of their countrie, for giuing their minds wholie to pasturage, as the most easie and lesse chargeable trade, they vtterlie neglected tillage, as men that leaned onelie to the fertilitie of this Iland for their corne, from whence they neuer failed to receiue continuall abundance. Gyraldus saith that the Ile of Anglesei was no lesse sufficient to minister graine for the sustentation of all the men of Wales, than the mountaines called Ereri or Snowdoni in Northwales were to yeld plentie of pasture for all the cattell whatsoeuer within the aforesaid compasse, if they were brought togither and left vpon the same. It contained moreouer so manie townes welnere, as there be daies in a yeare, which some conuerting into Cantreds haue accompted but for three, as Gyraldus saith. Howbeit, as there haue bene I say 363. townes in Anglesei, so now a great part of that reckoning is vtterlie shronke, and so far gone to decaie, that the verie ruines of them are vnneath to be seene & discerned: and yet it seemeth to be meetlie well inhabited. Leland noting the smalnesse of our hundreds in comparison to that they were in time past, addeth (so far as I remember) that there are six of them in Anglesei, as Menay, Maltraith, Liuon, Talbellion, Torkalin, and Tindaithin: hereunto Lhoid saith also how it belonged in old time vnto the kingdome of Guinhed or Northwales, and that therein at a towne called Aberfraw, being on the southwestside of the Ile, the kings of Gwinhed held euermore their palaces, whereby it came to passe, that the kings of Northwales were for a long time called kings of Aberfraw, as the Welshmen named the kings of England kings of London, till better instruction did bring them farther knowledge.

There are in Anglesei many townes and villages, whose names as yet I cannot orderlie atteine vnto: wherefore I will content my selfe with the rehearsall of so many as we viewed in sailing about the coasts, and otherwise heard report of by such as I haue talked withall. Beginning therefore at the mouth of the Gelni (which riseth at northeast aboue Gefni or Geuenni, 20. miles at the least into the land) we passed first by Hundwyn, then by Newborow, Port Hayton, Beaumarrais, Penmon, Elian, Almwoch, Burric (whereby runneth a rill into a creeke) Cornew, Holihed (standing in the promontorie) Gwifen, Aberfraw, and Cair Cadwalader, of all which, the two latter stand as it were in a nuke betweene the Geuenni water, and the Fraw, whereupon Aberfraw is situate. Within the Iland we heard onlie of Gefni afore mentioned, of Gristial standing vpon the same water, of Tefri, of Lanerchimedh, Lachtenfarwy and Bodedrin, but of all these the cheefe is now Beaumarais, which was builded sometime by king Edward the first, and therewithall a strong castell about the yeare 1295. to keepe that land in quiet. There are also (as Leland saith) 31. parish churches beside 69. chappels, that is, a hundreth in all. But heerof I can saie little, for lacke of iust instruction. In time past, the people of this Ile vsed not to seuerall their grounds, but now they dig stonie hillocks, and with the stones thereof they make rude walles, much like to those of Deuonshire, sith they want hedgebote, fire bote, and house bote, or (to saie at one word) timber, bushes and trees. As for wine, it is so plentifull and good cheape there most commonlie as in London, through the great recourse of merchants from France, Spaine, and Italie vnto the aforesaid Iland. The flesh likewise of such cattell as is bred there, wherof we haue store yearelie brought vnto Cole saire in Essex is most delicate, by reason of their excellent pasture, and so much was it esteemed by the Romans in time past, that Columella did not onelie commend and preferre them before those of Liguria, but the emperours themselues being neere hand also caused their prouision to be made for nete out of Anglesei, to feed vpon at their owne tables as the most excellent beefe. It taketh now the name of Angles and Ei, which is to meane the Ile of Englishmen, because they wan it in the Conquerors time, vnder the leading of Hugh earle of Chester, and Hugh of Shrewesburie. Howbeit they recouered it againe in the time of William Rufus, when they spoiled the citie of Glocester, ransacked Shrewesburie, and returned home with great bootie and pillage, in which voiage also they were holpen greatlie by the Irishmen, who after three yeares ioined with them againe, and slue the earle of Shrewesburie (which then liued) with great crueltie. The Welshmen call it Tiremone and Mon, and herein likewise is a promontorie or Byland, called Holie head (which hath in time past bene named Cair kyby, of Kyby a monke that dwelled there) from whence the readiest passage is commonlie had out of Northwales to get ouer into Ireland, of which Ile I will not speake at this time, least I shuld bereaue another of that trauell. Yet Plinie saith, *lib. 4. cap. 16.* that it lieth not farre off from and ouer against the Silures, which then dwelled vpon the west coast of our Iland, and euen so farre as Dunbritton, and beyond: but to our Cair kybi. The Britons named it Enylsnach, or holie Ile, of the number of carcases of holie men, which they affirme to haue bene buried there. But herein I maruell not a little, wherein women had offended, that they might not come thither, or at the least wise returne from thence without some notable reproch or shame vnto their bodies. By south also of Hilarie point, somewhat inclining toward the east, lieth Inis Lygod, a small thing (God wot) and therefore not worthie great remembrance: neuertheles not to be omitted, though nothing else inforced the memoriall thereof, but onelie the number and certeine tale of such Iles as lie about our Iland. I might also speake of the Ile Mail Ronyad, which lieth north west of Anglesei by fiue miles; but bicause the true name hereof, as of manie riuers and streames are to me vnknowne, I am the more willing to passe them ouer in silence, least I should be noted to be farther corrupter of such words as I haue no skill to deliuer and exhibit in their kind. And now to conclude with the description of the whole Iland, this I will ad moreouer vnto hir commodities, that as there are the best millstones of white, red, blew, and greene greets, (especiallie in Tindaithin) so there is great gaines to be gotten by fishing round about this Ile, if the people there could vse the trade: but they want both cunning and diligence to take that matter in hand. And as for temporall regiment, it apperteineth to the countie of Cairnaruon, so in spirituall cases it belongeth to the bishoprike of Bangor. This is finallie to be noted of Anglesei, that sundrie earthen pots are often found there of dead mens bones conuerted into ashes, set with the mouthes downeward contrarie to the vse of other nations, which turned the brims vpwards, whereof let this suffice.

Holie head, or Cair kiby.

Enilsnach, holie Ile.

Ancient buriall.

Hauing thus described Anglesei, it resteth to report furthermore, how that in our circuit about the same, we met with other little Ilets, of which one lieth northwest thereof almost ouer against Butricke mouth, or the fall of the water, that passeth by Butricke. The Britons called it Ynis Ader, that is to say, the Ile of birds in old time, but now it hight Ynis Moil, or Ynis Rhomaid, that is the Ile of porpasses. It hath to name likewise Ysterisd, and Adros. Being past this, we came to the second lieng by north east, ouer against the Hilarie point

Adar.
Moil.
Rhomaid.
Ysterisd.
Adros.

Lygod. point, called Ynis Ligod, that is to saie, the Ile of Wise, and of these two this latter is the smallest, neither of them both being of any greatnesse to speake of. Ynis Seriall. Seriall or Prestholme, lieth ouer against Penmon, or the Prestholme point called the head of Mon, where I found a towne (as I told you) of the same denomination. Ptolomie nameth not this Iland, whereof I maruell. It is parcell of Flintshire, and of the iurisdiction of S. Asaph, and in fertilitie of soile, and breed of cattell, nothing inferiour vnto Anglesei hir mother: although that for quantitie of ground it come infinitelie short thereof, and be nothing comparable vnto it. The last Iland vpon the cost of Wales, hauing now left Anglesei, is called Credine. Credine, and although it lie not properlie within the compasse of my description, yet I will not let to touch it by the waie, sith the causey thither from Denbighland, is commonlie ouerflowne. It is partlie made an Iland by the Conwey, and partlie by the sea. But to proceed, when we had viewed this place, we passed forth to S. Antonies Ile, which is about two or three miles compasse or more, a sandie soile, but yet verie batable for shéepe and cattell, it is well replenished also with fresh wels, great plentie of wild foule, conies and quarries of hard ruddie stone, which is oft brought thence to Westchester, where they make the foundations of their buildings withall. There are also two parish churches in the same, dedicated to S. Antonie and S. Iohn, but the people are verie poore, bicause they be so oft spoiled by pirats, although the lord of the same be verie wealthie thorough the exchange made with them of his victuals, for their wares, whereof they make good pentworths, as théenes commonlie do of such preies as they get by like escheat, notwithstanding their landing there is verie dangerous, and onlie at one place. Howbeit they are constreined to vse it, and there to make their marts. From hence we went on, vntill we came Hilberie. to the cape of Ile Bzée, or Hilberie, and point of Wyrale, from whence is a common passage into Ireland, of 18. or 20. houres sailing, if the wether be not tedious. This Iland at the full sea is a quarter of a mile from the land, and the streame betwéene foure fadams déepe, as ship-boies haue oft sounded, but at a lowe water a man may go ouer thither on the sand. The Ile of it selfe is verie sandie a mile in compasse, and well stored with conies, thither also went a sort of superstitious fooles in times past, in pilgrimage, to our ladie of Hilberie, by whose offerings a cell of monkes there, which belonged to Chester, was cherished and maintained.

The nert Iland vpon the coast of England is Man or Mona Cæsaris, which some name Mana or Manim, but after Ptolomie, Monaoida, as some thinke, though other ascribe that name to Anglesei, which the Welshmen do commonlie call Môn, as they do this Manaw. It is supposed to be the first, as Hirtha is the last of the Hebrides. Hector Boetius noteth a difference betwéene them of 300. miles. But Plinie saith that Mona is 200000. miles from Camaldunum, *lib. 2. cap. 75.* It lieth also vnder 53. degrées of latitude, and 30. minuts, and hath in longitude 16. degrees and 40. minuts, abutting on the north side vpon S. Ninians in Scotland, Furnesfels on the east, Prestholme and Anglesei on the south, and Ulsther in Ireland on the west. It is greater than Anglesei by a third, and there are two riuers in the same, whose heads do ioine so nére, that they do séeme in maner to part the Ile in twaine. Some of the ancient writers, as Ethicus, &c: call it Eubonia, and other Eubonia. following Orosius, Meuana or Mæuania, howbeit after Meuania. Beda and the Scotish histories, the Meuaniæ are all those Iles aforesaid called the Hebrides, Eubonides, or Hebudes (whereof William Malmesburie, *lib. 1. de regibus* (beside this our Mona) will haue Anglesei also to be one. Wherefore it séemeth hereby that a number of our late writers ascribing the said name vnto Mona onelie, haue not béene a little deceiued. Iornandes *lib. de Getis* speaketh of a second Meuania; *Habet & aliam Meuaniam* (saith he) *necnon & Orchadas*. But which should be *prima*, as yet I do not read, except it should be Anglesei; and then saith Malmesburie well. In like sort Propertius speaketh of a Meuania, which he called *Nebulosa*, but he meaneth it euidentlie of a little towne in Umbria where he was borne, *lib. 4. eleg. De vrbe Rom.* Wherfore there néedeth no vse of his authoritie. This in the meane time is euident out of Orosius, *lib. 1. capite 2.* that Scots dwelled somtime in this Ile, as also in Ireland, which Ethicus also affirmeth of his owne time, and finallie confirmeth that the Scots and Irish were sometime one people. It hath in length 24. miles, and 8. in breedth, and is in maner of like distance from Galloway in Scotland, Ireland and Cumberland in England, as Buchanan reporteth.

In this Iland also were some time 1300. families, of which 960. were in the west halfe, and the rest in the other. But now through ioining house to house & land to land (a common plague and canker, which will eat vp all, if prouision be not made in time to withstand this mischéefe) that number is halfe diminished, and yet many of the rich inhabiters want rome, and wote not how and where to bestowe themselues, to their quiet contentations. Certes this impediment groweth not by reason that men were greater in bodie, than they haue béene in time past, but onelie for that their insatiable desire of inlarging their priuate possessions increaseth still vpon them, and will do more, except they be restrained: but to returne to our purpose. It was once spoiled by the Scots in the time of king Athelstane, chéeflie by Anlafus in his flight from the bloudie battell, wherein Constantine king of Scotland was ouercome: secondlie by the Scots 1388. after it came to the possession of the English, for in the beginning the kings of Scotland had this Iland vnder their dominion, almost from their first arriuall in this Iland, and as Beda saith till Edwine king of the Northumbers wan it from them, and vnited it to his kingdome. After the time of Edwine, the Scots gat the possession thereof againe, and held it till the Danes & Norwaies wan it from them, who also kept it (but with much trouble) almost 370. yeares vnder the gouernance of their viceroies, whome the kings of Norwaie inuested vnto that honor, till Alexander the third king of that name in Scotland recouered it from them, with all the rest of those Iles that lie vpon the west coast, called also Sodorenses in the daies of Magnus king of Norwaie. And sithens that time the Scotish princes haue not ceased to giue lawes to such as dwelled there, but also from time to time appointed such bishops as should exercise ecclesiasticall iurisdiction in the same, till it was won from them by our princes, and so vnited vnto the realme of England. Finallie, how after sundrie sales bargains and contracts of matrimonie (for I read that Chronica Tinemuthi. William Scrope the kings Vicechamberleine, did buy this Ile and crowne thereof of the lord William Montacute earle of Sarum) it came vnto the ancestours of the earles of Darbie, who haue béene commonlie said to be kings of Man, the discourse following shall more at large declare. Giraldus noteth a contention betwéene the kings of England & Ireland for the right of this Iland, but in the end, when by a compromise the triall of the matter was referred to the liues or deaths of such venemous wormes as should be brought into the same, and it was found that they died not at all, as the like do in Ireland, sentence passed with the king of England, & so he reteined the Iland. But howsoeuer this matter standeth, and whether anie such thing was done at all or not, sure it is that the people of the said Ile were much giuen to witchcraft and sorcerie (which they learned of the Scots a nation greatlie bent to that horrible practise) in somuch that their women would oftentimes sell wind to the mariners,

inclosed

inclosed vnder certeine knots of thred, with this iniunction, that they which bought the same, should for a great gale vndo manie, and for the lesse a fewer or smaller number. The stature of the men and also fertilitie of this Iland are much commended, and for the latter supposed verie neere to be equall with that of Anglesei, in all commodities. Tall men in Man.

There are also these townes therein, as they come now to my remembrance, Rushen, Dunglasse, Holme towne, S. Brids, Bala cury (the bishops house) S. Mich. S. Andrew, kirk Christ, kirk Louel, S. Mathees, kirk S. Anne, Pala sala, kirk S. Marie, kirk Concane, kirk Malu, and Home. But of all these Rushen with the castell is the strongest. It is also in recompense of the common want of wood, indued with sundrie prettie waters, as first of al the Burne rising in the northside of Warehill botoms, and branching out by southwest of kirk S. An, it seemeth to cut off a great part of the eastside thereof, from the residue of that Iland. From those hils also (but of the south halfe) commeth the Holme and Holmey, by a towne of the same name, in the verie mouth whereof lieth the Pile afore mentioned. They haue also the Bala passing by Bala cury, on the west side, and the Rame on the north, whose fall is named Ramesei hauen, as I do read in Chronicles. Riuers. Hilles.

There are moreouer sundrie great hils therein, as that whereupon S. Mathees standeth, in the northeast part of the Ile, a parcell whereof commeth flat south, betweene kirk Louell, and kirk Marie, yelding out of their botoms the water Bala, whereof I spake before. Beside these and well toward the south part of the Ile, I find the Warehils, which are extended almost from the west coast ouerthwart vnto the Burne streame. It hath also sundrie hauens, as Ramsei hauen, by north Laxam hauen, by east Port Iris, by southwest Port Home, and Port Michell, by west. In like sort there are diuers Ilets annered to the same, as the Calfe of man on the south, the Pile on the west, and finallie S. Michels Ile in the gulfe called Ranoths waie in the east. Moreouer the sheepe of this countrie are exceeding huge, well wolled, and their tailes of such greatnesse as is almost incredible. In like sort their hogs are in maner monstrous. They haue furthermore great store of barnacles breeding vpon their coasts, but yet not so great store as in Ireland, and those (as there also) of old ships, ores, masts, peces of rotten timber as they saie, and such putrified pitched stuffe, as by wracke hath happened to corrupt vpon that shore. Howbeit neither the inhabitants of this Ile, nor yet of Ireland can readilie saie whether they be fish or flesh, for although the religious there vsed to eat them as fish, yet elsewhere, some haue beene troubled, for eating of them in times prohibited for heretikes and lollards. Hauens. Calfe of man. The pile. S. Michels Ile. Sheepe. Hogs. Barnacles. Barnacles neither fish nor flesh.

For my part, I haue beene verie desirous to vnderstand the vttermost of the breeding of barnacls, & questioned with diuers persons about the same. I haue red also whatsoeuer is written by forren authors touching the generation of that foule, & sought out some places where I haue beene assured to see great numbers of them: but in vaine. Wherefore I vtterlie despaired to obteine my purpose, till this present yeare of Grace 1584. and moneth of Maie, wherein going to the court at Greenewich from London by bote, I saw sundrie ships lieng in the Thames newlie come home, either from Barbarie or the Canarie Iles (for I do not well remember now from which of these places) on whose sides I perceiued an infinit sort of shels to hang so thicke as could be one by another. Drawing neere also, I toke off ten or twelue of the greatest of them, & afterward hauing opened them, I saw the proportion of a foule in one of them more perfectlie than in all the rest, sauing that the head was not yet formed, because the fresh water had killed them all (as I take it) and thereby hindered their perfection. Certeinelie the feathers of the taile hong out of the shell at least two inches, the wings (almost perfect touching forme) were garded with two shels or sheeldes proportioned like the selfe wings, and likewise the breastbone had hir couerture also of like shellie substance, and altogither resembling the figure which Lobell and Pena do giue forth in their description of this foule: so that I am now fullie persuaded that it is either the barnacle that is ingendred after one maner in these shels, or some other sea-foule to vs as yet vnknowen. For by the feathers appearing and forme so apparant, it cannot be denied, but that some bird or other must proceed of this substance, which by falling from the sides of the ships in long voiages, may come to some perfection. But now it is time for me to returne againe vnto my former purpose.

There hath sometime beene, and yet is a bishop of this Ile, who at the first was called Episcopus Sodorensis, when the iurisdiction of all the Hebrides belonged vnto him. Whereas now he that is bishop there, is but a bishops shadow, for albeit that he beare the name of bishop of Man, yet haue the earles of Darbie, as it is supposed, the cheefe profit of his see (sauing that they allow him a little somewhat for a flourish) notwithstanding that they be his patrons, and haue his nomination vnto that liuing. The first bishop of this Ile was called Wimundus or Raymundus, and surnamed Monachus Sauinensis, who by reason of his extreame and tyrannicall crueltie toward the Ilanders, had first his sight taken from him, & then was sent into exile. After him succeeded another monke in king Stephens daies called Iohn, and after him one Marcus, &c: other after other in succession, the see it selfe being now also subiect to the archbishop of Yorke for spirituall iurisdiction. In time of Henrie the second, this Iland also had a king, whose name was Cuthred, vnto whome Vinianus the cardinall came as legate 1177. and therin Houeden erreth not. In the yeare also 1228. one Reginald was viceroy or petie king of Man, afterward murthered by his subiects. Then Olauus, after him Hosbach the sonne of Osmond Hacon, 1290. who being slaine, Olauus and Gotredus parted this kingdome of Sodora, in such wise, that this had all the rest of the Iles, the other onelie the Ile of Man at the first; but after the slaughter of Gotredus, Olauus held all, after whom Olauus his sonne succeeded. Then Harald sonne to Olauus, who being entered in Maie, and drowned vpon the coastes of Ireland, his brother Reginald reigned twentie and seuen daies, and then was killed the first of June, whereby Olauus *alias* Harald sonne to Gotred ruled in the Ile one yeare. Vnto him succeeded Magnus the second sonne of Olauus, and last of all Iuarus, who held it so long as the Norwaies were lords thereof. But being once come into the hands of the Scots, one Godred Mac Mares was made lieutenant, then Alane, thirdlie Maurice Okarefer, and fourthlie one of the kings chapleines, &c. I would gladlie haue set downe the whole catalog of all the viceroyes and lieutenants: but sith I can neither come by their names nor successions, I surcesse to speake any more of them, and also of the Ile it selfe, whereof this may suffice. Bishop of Man. Patrone of Man. King of Man.

After we haue in this wise described the Ile of Man, with hir commodities, we returned eastwards backe againe vnto the point of Ramshed, where we found to the number of six Ilets of one sort and other, whereof the first greatest and most southwesterlie, is named the Wauay. It runneth out in length, as we gessed, about fiue miles and more from the southeast into the northwest, betweene which and the maine land lie two little ones, whose names are Oldborrow and Fowlney. The fourth is called the Fouldra, and being situate southeast of the first, it hath a prettie pile or blockhouse therin, which the inhabitants name the pile of Fouldra. Wauay. Fouldra.

By

Fola, Roa.

By east thereof in like sort lie the Fola and the Roa, plots of no great compasse, and yet of all these six, the first and Fouldra are the fairest and most fruitfull.

Rauenglasse.

From hence we went by Rauenglasse point, where lieth an Iland of the same denomination, as Reginald Wolfe hath noted in his great card, not yet finished, nor likelie to be published. He noteth also two other Ilets, betweene the same and the maine land; but Leland speaketh nothing of them (to my remembrance) neither any other card, as yet set forth of England: and thus much of the Ilands that lie vpon our shore in this part of my voiage.

Iles in Scotland.

Hauing so exactlie as to me is possible, set downe the names and positions of such Iles, as are to be found vpon the coast of the Queenes Maiesties dominions, now it resteth that we proceed orderlie with those that are seene to lie vpon the coast of Scotland, that is to saie, in the Irish, the Deucalidonian & the Germans seas, which I will performe in such order as I may, sith I cannot do so much therin as I would. Some therefore do comprehend and diuide all the Iles that lie about the north coast of this Ile now called Scotland into three parts, sauing that they are either occidentals, the west Iles, *alias* the Orchades & Zelandine, or the Shetlands. They place the first betweene Ireland and the Orchades, so that they are extended from Man and the point of Cantire almost vnto the Orchades in the Deucalidonian sea, and after some are called the Hebrides. In this part the old writers in deed placed the Hebrides or Hemodes, which diuers call the Hebudes and the Acmodes; albeit the writers varie in their numbers, some speaking of 30 Hebudes and seuen Hemodes; some of fiue Ebudes, as Solinus, and such as follow his authoritie. Howbeit the late Scottish writers do product a summe of more than 300 of these Ilands in all, which sometime belonged to the Scots, sometime to the Norwegians, and sometime to the Danes. The first of these is our Manaw, of which I haue before intreated: next vnto this is Alisa a desert Ile, yet replenished with conies, soland soule, and a fit harbor for fishermen that in time of the yeare lie vpon the coast thereof for herings. Next vnto this is the Arran, a verie hillie and craggie soile, yet verie plentifull of fish all about the coast, and wherein is a verie good hauen: ouer against the mouth whereof lieth the Moll, which is also no small defense to such seafaring men as seeke harbor in that part. Then came we by the Fladwa or Pladwa, no lesse fruitfull and stored with conies than the Bota, Bura, or Botha, of eight miles long & foure miles broad, a low ground but yet verie batable, and wherein is good store of short and indifferent pasture: it hath also a towne there called Rosse, and a castell named the Camps. There is also another called the Marnech, an Iland of a mile in length, and halfe a mile in breadth, low ground also but yet verie fertile. In the mouth likewise of the Glot, lieth the more Cumber and the lesse, not farre in sunder one from another, and both fruitfull inough the one for corne, and the other for Platyceraton. The Auon another Iland lieth about a mile from Cantire, and is verie commodious to ships, wherof it is called Auon, that is to saie, *Portuosa*, or full of harbor: and therefore the Danes had in time past great vse of it. Then haue we the Raclind, the Kyntar, the Cray, the Gegaw six miles in length and a mile and a halfe in breadth; the Dera full of deere, and not otherwise vnfruitfull: and therefore some thinke that it was called the Ile of deere in old time. Scarba foure miles in length, and one in breadth, verie little inhabited, and thereinto the sea betweene that and the Ile of deere is so swift and violent, that except it be at certeine times, it is not easilie nauigable. Being past these, we come to certeine Ilands of no great fame, which lie scattered here and there, as Bellach, Gyrastell, Longaie, both the Fiolas, the three Yarues, Culbrenin, Duncomell, Lupar, Belnaua, Wikerua, Calsile, Luing, Sele Ile, Sound, of which the last three are fruitfull, and belong to the earle of Argile. Then haue we the Slate, so called of the tiles that are made therin. The Nagsey, Isdalf, and the Sken (which later is also called Thian, of a wicked herbe growing there greatlie hurtfull, and in colour not much vnlike the lillie, sauing that it is of a more wan and feeble colour) Vderga, kings Ile, Duffa or blacke Ile, Kirke Ile and Triarach. There is also the Ile Ard, Humble Ile, Greene Ile, and Heth Ile, Arbor Ile, Gote Ile, Conies Ile *alias* idle Ile, Abrid Ile or bird Ile, and Lismor, wherein the bishop of Argill sometime held his palace, being eight miles in length and two miles in breadth, and not without some mines also of good mettall. There is also the Ile Ouilia, Siuna, Trect, Shepey, Fladaw, Stone Ile, Gresse, great Ile, Ardis, Musadell, & Berner, sometime called the holie sanctuarie, Vghe Ile, Molochasgyr, and Drinacha, now ouergrowne with bushes, elders, and vtterlie spoiled by the ruines of such great houses as haue heretofore beene found therin. There is in like sort the Wije, the Ranse, and the Caruer.

Slate Ile.

Hemodes of some called Acmodes, see Plinie, *Mela*, *Martianus*, *Capella*. Plutarch. *de defect. orac.*

Scarba.

In this tract also, there are yet three to intreat of, as Ila, Mula and Iona, of which the first is one of the most, that hath not beene least accounted of. It is not much aboue 24 miles in length, and in breadth 16 reaching from the south into the north, and yet it is an exceeding rich plot of ground verie plentious of corne, cattell, deere, and also lead, and other mettals, which were easie to be obteined, if either the people were industrious, or the soile yeeldable of wood to fine and trie out the same. In this Iland also there is a lake of sweet water called the Laie, and also a baie wherein are sundrie Ilands; and thereunto another lake of fresh water, wherein the Falangam Ile is situate, wherein the souereigne of all the Iles sometime dwelled. Neere vnto this is the round Ile, so called of the consultations there had: for there was a court sometime holden, wherein 14 of the principall inhabitants did minister iustice vnto the rest, and had the whole disposition of things committed vnto them, which might rule vnto the benefit of those Ilands. There is also the Stoneheape, an other Iland so called of the heape of stones that is therein. On the south side also of Ila, we find moreouer the Colurne, Mulmor, Osrin, Brigidan, Corkerke, Humble Ile, Imersga, Bethy, Texa, Shepeie, Naosig, Rinard, Cane, Tharscher, Aknor, Gret Ile, Man Ile, S. Iohns Ile, and Stackbed. On the west side thereof also lieth Ouersey, whereby runneth a perilous sea, and not nauigable, but at certeine houres, Merchant Ile, Vsabrast, Tanask, Neff, Wauer Ile, Oruans, Hog Ile, and Colauanso.

Ila.

Round Ile.

Mula is a right noble Ile, 24 miles in length and so manie in breath, rough of soile, yet fruitfull enough: & beside woods, deere, & good harborough for ships, replenished with diuers and sundrie townes and castels. Ouer against Columkill also, it hath two riuers, which yeld verie great store of salmons, and other riuellets now altogither vnfruitfull, beside two lakes, in each of which is an Iland: and likewise in euerie of these Ilands a castell. The sea beating vpon this Ile, maketh foure notable baies wherein great plentie and verie good herrings are taken. It hath also in the northwest side Columbria, or the Ile of doues; on the southeast, Era: both verie commodious for fishing, cattell, and corne. Moreouer, this is worth the noting in this Ile aboue all the rest, that it hath a pleasant spring, arising two miles in distance from the shore, wherein are certeine little egs found, much like vnto indifferent pearles, both for colour and bright-

Mula.

nesse, and thereto full of thicke humour, which egs being carried by violence of the fresh water vnto the salt, are there within the space of twelue houres conuerted into great shels, which I take to be mother pearle; except I be deceiued.

Iona. Iona was sometime called Columkill, in fame and estimation nothing inferiour to anie of the other, although in length it exceed little aboue two miles, and in breadth one. Certes it is verie fruitfull of all such commodities, as that climat wherein it standeth doth yeld, and beareth the name of Columbus the abbat, of whome I haue spoken more at large in my Chronologie. There were somtimes also two monasteries therein, one of monks builded by Fergus, another of nuns: and a parish church, beside many chapels builded by the Scotish kings, and such princes as gouerned in the Iles. And when the English had once gotten possession of the Ile of Manaw, a bishops see was erected in the old monasterie of Columbus, whereby the iurisdiction of those Iles was still maintained and continued. Certes there remaine yet in this Iland the old burials apperteining to the most noble families that had dwelled in the west Iles; but three aboue other are accompted the most notable, which haue little houses builded vpon them. That in the middest hath a stone, whereon is written, *Tumuli regum Scotiæ*, The burials of the kings of Scotland: for (as they saie) fourtie eight of them were there interred. Another is intituled with these words, The burials of the kings of Ireland, bicause foure of them lie in that place. The third hath these words written thereon, The graues of the kings of Norwaie, for there eight of them were buried also, and all through a fond suspicion conceiued of the merits of Columbus. Howbeit in processe of time, when Malcolme Cammor had erected his abbeie at Donfermeling, he gaue occasion to manie of his successors to be interred there.

Regum tumuli.

About this Iland there lie six other Iles dispersed, small in quantitie, but not altogither barren, sometimes giuen by the kings of Scotland and lords of the Iles vnto the abbeie of saint Columbus, of which the Soa, albeit that it yeld competent pasturage for sheepe, yet is it more commodious, by such egs as the great plentie of wildfoule there breeding do late within the same. Then is there the Ile of Shrewes or of women; as the more sober heads do call it. Also Rudan, & next vnto that, the Kering. There is also the Shen halfe a mile from Mula, whose bankes do swarme with conies: it hath also a parish church, but most of the inhabitants do liue and dwell in Mula. There is also the Corse or the Arse, and all these belong vnto saint Columbus abbeie. Two miles from Arse is the Olue, an Iland fiue miles in length, and sufficientlie stored with corne and grasse, & not without a good hauen for ships to lie and harbor in. There is also the Colsans, an Iland fruitfull inough, and full of cornell trees. There is not far off also the Gomater, Staka, the two Kerneburgs, and the Mosse Ile, in the old Brittish speech called Monad, that is to saie Mosse. The sotle of it is verie blacke, bicause of the corruption & putrefaction of such woods as haue rotted thereon: whereupon also no small plentie of mosse is bred and ingendered. The people in like maner make their fire of the said earth, which is fullie so good as our English turfe. There is also the Long, & six miles further toward the west, Tirreie, which is eight miles in length and three in breadth, & of all other one of the most plentifull for all kinds of commodities: for it beareth corne, cattell, fish, and seafowle aboundantlie. It hath also a well of fresh water, a castell, and a verie good hauen for great vessels to lie at safegard in. Two miles from this also is the Gun, and the Coll two miles also from the Gun. Then passed we by the Calfe, a verie woodie Iland, the foure greene Iles, the two glasse or Skie Ilands, the Ardan, the Ile of wolfes, & then the great Iland which reacheth from the east into the west, is sixteene miles in length, and six in breadth, full of mounteins and swelling woods: and for asmuch as it is not much inhabited, the seafoules laie great plentie of egs there, whereof such as will, may gather what number them lusteth. Vpon the high cliffes and rocks also the Soland geese are taken verie plentifullie. Beyond this, about foure miles also is the Ile of horsses: and a little from that the hog Iland, which is not altogither vnfruitfull. There is a falcon which of custome breedeth there, and thereunto it is not without a conuenient hauen. Not farre off also is the Canna, and the Egga, little Iles, but the later full of Soland geese. Likewise the Sobra-till, more apt to hunt in than meet for anie other commoditie that is to be reaped thereby.

The Ile of Shrewes.

Mosse Ile.

Skie. After this we come to the Skie, the greatest Ile about all Scotland: for it is two and fortie miles long; and somewhere eight, & in some places twelue miles broad: it is moreouer verie hillie, which hilles are thereunto loaden with great store of wood, as the woods are with pasture, the fields with corne and cattell; and (besides all other commodities) with no small heards of mares, whereby they raise great aduantage and commoditie. It hath fiue riuers verie much abounding with salmons, and other fresh streams not altogither void of that prouision. It is inuironed also with manie baies, wherein great plentie of herrings is taken in time of the yeere. It hath also a noble pole of fresh water; fiue castels and sundrie townes; as Aie, S. Johns, Dunwegen, S. Nicholas, &c. The old Scots called it Skianacha, that is, Winged, but now named Skie. There lie certeine small Ilands about this also, as Kausa a batable soile for corne & gras; Conie Iland full of woods and conies; Paba a theuish Iland, in whose woods theeues do lurke to rob such as passe by them. Scalpe Ile, which is full of deere; Crowling, wherein is verie good harbour for ships; Karsa, full of beechen woods and stags, being in length seuen miles, and two in breadth. The Kon, a woodie Ile and full of heath: yet hath it a good hauen, which hath a little Iland called Gerloch on the mouth thereof, and therein lurke manie theeues. There is not farre off from this Kon, to wit about six miles also, the Flad, the Tiulmen, Oransa, Buie the lesse, and Buie the more, and fiue other little trifling Iles, of whose names I haue no notice.

After these we come vnto the Isse, a prettie fertile Iland, to the Due, to the Askome, to the Lindill. And foure score miles from the Skie towards the west, to the Ling, the Gigarmen, the Berner, the Vagle, the Pable, the Flad, the Scarpe, the Sander, the Vateras, which later hath a noble hauen for great ships, beside sundrie other commodities: and these nine last rehearsed are vnder the dominion of the bishop of the Iles. After this we come to the Bar, an Iland seauen miles in length, not vnfruitfull for grasse and corne, but the chiefe commoditie thereof lieth by taking of herrings, which are there to be had abundantlie. In one baie of this Iland there lieth an Islet, and therein standeth a strong castell. In the north part hereof also is an hill which beareth good grasse from the foot to the top, and out of that riseth a spring, which running to the sea, doth carrie withall a kind of creature not yet perfectlie formed, which some do liken vnto cockels; and vpon the shore where the water falleth into the sea, they take vp a kind of shelfish, when the water is gone, which they suppose to be ingendred or increased after this manner. Betweene the Barre and the Isse lie also

Bar.

these

theſe Ilands, Oxbaus, Oue, Hakerſet, Warlang, Flad, the two Baies, Haie, Helſaie, Gigaie, Lingaie, Fraie, Fudaie, and Friſkaie. The Uiſſe is thirtie miles long and ſix miles broad; and therein are ſundrie freſh waters, but one eſpeciallie of three miles in length: neuertheleſſe, the ſea hath now of late found a waie into it, ſo that it cannot be kept off with a banke of three ſcore fot, but now and then it will flowe into the ſame, and leaue ſea-fiſh behind it in the lake. There is alſo a fiſh bred therein almoſt like vnto a ſalmon, ſauing that it hath a white bellie, a blacke backe, and is altogither without ſcales: it is likewiſe a great harbour for théeues and pirats.

Eight miles beyond this lieth the Helſcher, apertinent to the nuns of Iona: we haue then the Haſker, verie plentifullie benefited by ſeales, which are there taken in time of the yéere. Three ſcore miles from this alſo is the Hirth, whoſe inhabitants are rude in all good ſcience and religion; yet is the Iland verie fruitfull in all things, and bringeth forth ſhéepe farre greater than are elſe-where to be found, for they are as big as our fallow deare, horned like bugles, and haue their tailes hanging to the ground. He that is owner of this Ile, ſendeth ouer his baliffe into the ſame at midſummer, to gather in his duties, and with him a préeſt to ſaie maſſe, and to baptiſe all the children borne ſince that time of the yéere precedent: or if none will go ouer with him (becauſe the voiage is dangerous) then doth each father take paine to baptiſe his owne at home. Baptiſme without preeſts. Their rents are paid commonlie in dried ſeales and ſea foule. All the whole Ile is not aboue a mile euerie waie; and except three mounteines that lie vpon one part of the ſhore, ſuch as dwell in the other Iles can ſée no part thereof.

Being paſt the Uiſſe, we came after to Walate, the Soa, the Strome, to Pabaie, to Barner, Enſaie, Killiger, the two Sagas, the Hermodraie, Scarfe, Grie, Ling, Gilling, Heie, Hoie, Farlaie, great So, little So, Ile, Sein the more, Sein the leſſe, Tarant, Slegan, Tuom, Scarpe, Hareie, and the ſeauen holie Ilands, which are deſert and bréed nothing but a kind of wild ſhéepe, which are often hunted, but ſeldome or neuer eaten. Wild ſheep. For in ſtéed of fleſh they haue nothing but tallow; and if anie fleſh be, it is ſo vnſauorie, that few men care to eate of it, except great hunger compell them. I ſuppoſe, that theſe be the wild ſhéepe which will not be tamed; and becauſe of the horrible grenning thereof, is taken for the baſtard tiger. Tigers. Their haire is betweene the wooll of a ſhéepe, and the haire of a goat, reſembling both, ſhagged, and yet abſolutelie like vnto neither of both: it maie be alſo the ſame beaſt which Capitolinus calleth Quiſcea, ſhewed in the time of Gordian the emperour, albeit that ſome take the ſame for the Camelopardalis: but hereof I make no warrantiſe.

There is alſo not farre off the Garuell, the Lambe, the Flad, the Kellas, the two Bernars, the Kirt, the two Buies, the Uiraie, the Pabaie, the two Sigrams, and the Ile of Pigmeies (which is ſo called vpon ſome probable coniecture) for manie little ſculs and bones are dailie there found déepe in the ground, perfectlie reſembling the bodies of children; & not anie of greater quantities, whereby their conieture (in their opinion) is the more likelie to be true. Ile of Pigmeies. There is alſo the Habil Ile, Adams Ile, the Ile of Lambes, Hulmes, Uiceoll, Hanerale, Car, Era, Columbes Ile, Tor Ile, Iſſurd, Scalpe, Flad, and the Swetzon whoſe eaſt ſide is a certeine vault or caue, arched ouer, a flight ſhot in length, whereunto meane ſhips do vſe to runne for harbour with full ſaile when a tempeſt ouertaketh them, or the raging of the ſea, in thoſe parts do put them in danger of wracke. Alſo we paſſed by the old caſtell Ile, which is a prétie and verie commodious plat for fiſh, foule, egges, corne and paſture. There is alſo the Ile Euſt or Eu, which is full of wood, and a notable harbour for théeues, as is alſo the Grinort; likewiſe the prælts Ile, which is verie full of ſea foule and good paſture. The Afull, the two Herbrerts, to wit, the greater and the leſſe; and the Iles of Horſſes, and Mertaika: and theſe 8 lie ouer againſt the baie which is called the Lake Brian. After this, we go toward the north, and come to the Haraie, and the Lewis or the Leug, both which make (in truth) but one Iland of three ſcore miles in length, and fiftéene in breadth, being diſtinguiſhed by no water, but by huge woods, bounds, and limits of the two owners that do poſſeſſe thoſe parts. The ſouth part is called Haraie, and the whole ſituate in the Deucalidon ſea, ouer againſt the Roſſe, & called Thule by Tacitus, wherein are manie lakes, and verie prétie villages, as lake Erwin, lake Unſalſago: but of townes, S. Clements, Stoie, Nois, S. Columbane, Kadmach, &c. In like ſort, there are two churches, whereof one is dedicated to ſaint Peter, an other to S. Clement, beſide a monaſterie called Roadill. The ſoile alſo of this Ile is indifferent fruitfull; but they reape more profit vnder the ground than aboue, by digging. There is neither woolfe, for, nor ſerpent ſéene in this Iland; yet are there great woods therein, which alſo ſeparate one part from the other. Likewiſe there be plentie of ſtags, but farre leſſe in quantitie than ours: and in the north part of the Iland alſo is a riuer which greatlie aboundeth with ſalmons. That part alſo called Lewiſa, which is the north half of the Ile is well inhabited toward the ſea coaſts, and hath riuers no leſſe plentifull for ſalmon than the other halfe. There is alſo great ſtore of herrings taken, whereof the fiſher men do raiſe great gaine and commoditie; and no leſſe plentie of ſhéepe, which they do not ſhéere, but plucke euerie yéere; yet is the ground of this part verie heathie, and full of moſſe, and the face thereof verie ſwart and blacke, for the ſpace of a fot in depth, through the corruption of ſuch woods as in time paſt haue rotted on the ſame. And therefore in time of the yéere they conuert it into turfke to burne, as néede ſhall ſerue; and in the yéere after, hauing well donged it in the meane time with ſlawke of the ſea, they ſowe barleie in the ſelfe places where the turfkes grew, and reape verie good corne, wherewith they liue and féed. Lewis called Thule by Tacitus, with no better authoritie than the Engleſeie Mons. Tithe whales. Such plentie of whales alſo are taken in this coaſt, that the verie tithe hath béene knowne, in ſome one yéere, to amount vnto ſeauen and twentie whales of one greatneſſe and other. This is notable alſo in this part of the Ile, that there is a great caue two yards déepe of water when the ſea is gone, and not aboue foure when it is at the higheſt; ouer which great numbers do ſit of both ſexes and ages, with hooks and lines, and catch at all times an infinite deale of fiſh, wherewith they liue, and which maketh them alſo the more idle.

Being paſt this about fortie miles, we come vnto the Rona, or Ron, which ſome take for the laſt of the Hebrides, diſtant (as I ſaid) about fortie miles from the Orchades, and one hundreth and thirtie from the promontorie of Dungiſbe. The inhabitants of this Ile are verie rude and irreligious, the lord alſo of the ſoile doth limit their number of houſholds, & hauing aſſigned vnto them what numbers of the greater and ſmaller ſorts of cattell they ſhall ſpend and inioie for their owne prouiſion, they ſend the ouerplus yérlie vnto him to Lewis. Their chéefe paiments conſiſt of a great quantitie of meale, which is verie plentifull among them, ſowed vp in ſhéepes ſkins. Alſo of mutton and ſea foule dried, that reſteth ouer and aboue, which they themſelues do ſpend. And if it happen

that there be more people in the Iland than the lords booke or rate doth come vnto, then they send also the ouerplus of them in like maner vnto him: by which meanes they liue alwaies in plentie. They receiue no vices from strange countries, neither know or heare of anie things done else-where than in their owne Iland. Manie whales are taken also vpon their coasts, which are likewise replenished with seale, and porpasse, and those which are either so tame, or so fierce, that they abash not at the sight of such as looke vpon them, neither make they anie hast to flie out of their presence.

Beyond this Ile, about 16 miles westward, there is another called Suilscraie, of a mile length, void of grasse, and without so much as heath growing vpon hir soile: yet are there manie cliffes and rocks therein, which are couered with blacke mosse, whereon innumerable sorts of foules do breed and laie their egs. Thither in like sort manie do saile from Lewissa, to take them yong in time of the yeare, before they be able to flie, which they also kill and drie in eight daies space, and then returne home againe with them, and great plentie of fethers gathered in this voiage. One thing is verie strange and to be noted in this Iland, of the Colke foule, which is little lesse than a goose; and this kind commeth thither but once in the yeare, to wit, in the spring, to laie hir egs and bring vp hir yong, till they be able to shift for themselues, & then they get them awaie togither to the sea, and come no more vntill that time of the yére which next insueth. At the same season also they cast their fethers there, as it were answering tribute to nature for the vse of hir mollie soile: wherein it is wonderfull to see, that those fethers haue no stalkes, neither anie thing that is hard in them, but are séene to couer their bodies as it were woll or downe, till breeding time (I saie) wherein they be left starke naked.

Suilscraie.

Colke foule.

Orchades.

The Orchades (whose first inhabitants were the Scithians, which came from those Iles where the Gothes did inhabit, as some sparks yet remaining among them of that language do declare) lie partlie in the Germaine, and partlie in the Caledon seas, ouer against the point of Dunghisdie (being in number eight and twentie, or as other saie thirtie & one, yet some saie thirtie three, as Orosius, but Plinie saith fortie) and now belonging to the crowne of Scotland, as are the rest whereof heretofore I haue made report, since we crossed ouer the mouth of the Solueie streame, to come into this countrie. Certes the people of these Islands retaine much of their old sparing diets, and therevnto they are of goodlie stature, tall, verie comelie, healthfull, of long life, great strength, whitish colour, as men that féed most vpon fish; sith the cold is so extreame in those parts, that the ground bringeth forth but small store of wheate, and in maner verie little or no fuell at all, wherewith to warme them in the winter, and yet it séemeth that (in times past) some of these Islands also haue béene well replenished with wood, but now they are without either trée or shrub, in stéed whereof they haue plentie of heath, which is suffered to grow among them, rather thorough their negligence, than that the soile of it selfe will not yéeld to bring forth trées & bushes. For what store of such hath béene in times past, the roots yet found and digged out of the ground do yéeld sufficient triall. Otes they haue verie plentifullie, but greater store of barleie, wherof they make a nappie kind of drinke, and such indéed, as will verie readilie cause a stranger to ouershot himselfe. Howbeit this may be vnto vs in lieu of a miracle, that although their drinke be neuer so strong, & they themselues so vnmeasurable drinkers (as none are more) yet it shall not rastlie be séene (saith Hector) that there is anie drunkard among them, either frantike, or mad man, dolt, or naturall fole, meet to weare a cockescombe.

Orchades.

If he speake all in truth.

This vnmeasurable drinking of theirs is confessed also by Buchanan, who noteth, that whensoeuer anie wine is brought vnto them from other soiles, they take their parts thereof aboundantlie. He addeth moreouer, how they haue an old bole (which they call S. Magnus bole, who first preached Christ vnto them) of farre greater quantitie than common boles are, and so great, that it may séeme to be reserued since the Lapithane banket, onelie to quaffe and drinke in. And when anie bishop commeth vnto them, they offer him this bole full of drinke, which if he be able to drinke vp quite at one draught; then they assure themselues of good lucke, and plentie after it. Neuertheless this excesse is not often found in the common sort, whom penurie maketh to be more frugall; but in their priests, and such as are of the richer calling. They succour pirats also, and verie often exchange their vittels with their commodities, rather for feare and want of power to resist (their Ilands lieng so scattered) than for anie necessitie of such gains as they do get by those men: for in truth, they thinke themselues to haue little need of other furniture than their owne soiles do yéeld and offer vnto them. This is also to be read of the inhabitants of these Ilands, that ignorance of excesse is vnto the most part of them in stéed of physicke; and labour and trauell a medicine for such few diseases as they are molested and incombred withall.

In like sort they want venemous beasts, chéefelie such as do delight in hotter soile, and all kinds of ouglie creatures. Their ewes also are so full of increase, that some do vsuallie bring forth two, three, or foure lambes at once, whereby they account our anelings (which are such as bring forth but one at once) rather barren than to be kept for anie gaine. As for wild and tame foules, they haue such plentie of them, that the people there account them rather a burthen to their soile, than a benefit to their tables: they haue also neat and gotes, whereby they abound in white meat, as butter and cheese: wherein, next vnto fish, the chéefe part of their sustenance doth consist. There is also a bishop of the Orchades, who hath his see in Pomona the chéefe of all the Ilands, wherein also are two strong castels, and such hath béene the superstition of the people here, that there is almost no one of them, that hath not one church at the least dedicated to the mother of Christ. Finallie, there is little vse of physicke in these quarters, lesse store of éeles, and least of frogs. As for the horses that are bred amongst them, they are commonlie not much greater than asses, and yet to labour and trauell, a man shall find verie few else-where able to come neere, much lesse to match with them, in holding out their iournies. The seas about these Ilands are verie tempestuous, not onelie through strong winds, and the influences of the heauens and stars; but by the contrarie méetings and workings of the west ocean, which rageth so vehementlie in the streicts, that no vessell is able to passe in safetie amongst them. Some of these Ilands also are so small and low, that all the commoditie which is to be reaped by anie of them, is scarselie sufficient to susteine one or two men: and some of them so barren and full of rocks, that they are nothing else but mosse or bare shingle. Wherefore onelie thirtéene of them are inhabited and made account of, the rest being left vnto their sheepe and cattell. Of all these Ilands also Pomona is the greatest, and therfore called the continent, which conteineth thirtie miles in length, and is well replenished with people: for it hath twelue parish churches, and one towne, which the Danes (sometime lords of that Iland) called Cracouia: but now it hight Kirkwa.

Kirkwa.

wa. There are alſo two priſtie holds, one belonging to the king, the other to the biſhop: and alſo a beautifull church, and much building betweene the two holds, and about this church, which being taken as it were for two townes, the one is called the kings and the other the biſhops towne. All the whole Iland is full of cliffes and promontories, whereby no ſmall number of baies and ſome hauens are produced.

There is alſo tin and lead to be found in ſir of theſe Iles, ſo good and plentifullie as anie where elſe in Britaine. It lieth foure & twentie miles from Cathneſſe, being ſeparated from the ſame by the Pictiſh ſea: wherein alſo lie certeine Ilands, as Stroma, foure miles from Cathneſſe, which albeit that it be but foure miles from Cathneſſe, is not reputed for anie of the Orchades. Going therefore from hence northward, we come to the firſt Ile of the Orchades, called ſouth Rauals, which is ſirteene miles from Dunghilſbie, *alias* Dunachilſbie, & that in two houres ſpace, ſuch is the ſwiftneſſe of the ſea in that tract. This Ile is fiue miles long, and hath a faire port called ſaint Margarets hauen. Then paſſe we by two deſert Iles, which lie towards the eaſt, wherein nothing is found but cattell: ſome call them the holmes, bicauſe they lie low, and are good for nothing but graſſe. On the northſide lieth the Bur, and two other holmes betweene the ſame Pomona. From Bur, toward the weſt lie three Iles, Snu, Flat, and Far: and beyond them Hoie and Wall, which ſome accompt for two, and other but for one; bicauſe that in March and September, the flats that lie betweene them, doo ſeeme to ioine them togither, after the tide is gone. This neuertheleſſe is certeine, that in this ſingle or double Ile, which is ten miles in length, the higheſt hilles are to be ſeene that are in all the Orchades. And as they lie eight miles from Rauals, ſo are they two miles from Pomona, from ſaint Donats in Scotland full twentie miles. And on the north ſide of it lieth the Brainſe, in a narrow ſtreict, as Buchanan doth remember. And theſe are the Iles which lie betweene Pomona and Cathneſſe. As for the weſt ſide of the continent, I find that it lieth open to the ſea, without either ſhelues, Ilands, or rocks, appéring nére vnto it: but on the eaſt ſide thereof Cobeſa doth in maner ouerſhadow it. Stapluſa alſo an Ile of ſir miles long, lieth within two miles of Cracouſa. Toward the eaſt, on the weſt ſide of Pomona lieth the Rouſe, of ſir miles in length: and by eaſt of that, the Egliſa, wherin (as they ſaie) their patrone S. Magnus lieth interred. From henſe ſouthward lie the Vera Gerſa, and not far off the Weſter (which is foureſcore miles from Hethland) Papa, & Stronza, which is alſo eightie miles from Hethland as the Weſter. In the middeſt alſo of this tract lieth Far, or Fara, which is to ſaie, faire Ile, in old Engliſh, faire eie: and within ſight ſo well of Hethland, as the Orchades, by reaſon of three inſuperable rocks which are apparant in the ſame: a verie poore Iland, and yet pearelie robbed (of ſuch commodities as it hath) by ſuch Flemiſh and Engliſh fiſhermen as paſſe by the coaſts thereof in time of the yeare, to catch fiſh for the prouiſion of their countries.

Next vnto this is the greateſt of all the Hethlands, an Iland called the Maine, ſixtie miles in length, and ſirteene in breadth, full of rocks, and whoſe coaſts are onelie inhabited, the innermoſt parts being left vnto the foules of the aire, bicauſe of the barrenneſſe and vnfruitfulneſſe of the ſoile: yet of late ſome haue indeuoured to impeople it, but with no ſucceſſe correſpondent to their deſire. Wherefore they returned to their former trades, making their chéefe commoditie and pearelie gaine by fiſh, as aforetime. Ten miles from this toward the north, lieth the Zeale, twentie miles in length, eight in breadth, and ſo wild that it will ſuffer no creature to liue thereof, that is not bred therein. Betwéene this Iland alſo and the Maine, are other ſmaller Ilands to be found, as the Ling, Orne, Big, and Sanſerre. And from henſe nine miles northward Ulla, twentie miles long, & ſir in breadth, plaine, pleaſant, but inuironed with a ſwift and terrible ſea. Betwéene this alſo and the Zeale, are the Vie, the Vze, and the Ling: alſo towards the weſt, the two Skenes, Chalſeie, Nordwade, Braſe, and Howſe, on the weſt ſide lie the weſt Skenes, Rottia, Papa the leſſe, Wunned, Papa the more, Valla, Tondza, Burra, Haura the more, Haura the leſſe, & in maner ſo manie holmes diſperſed heere and there, whereof I haue no notice. Some call theſe the Shetland, and ſome the Shotland Iles. Buchanan nameth them in the third member of his diuiſion Zelandiſe, and toward the end of his firſt booke ſeemeth to auouch, that they liue in maner as doo the inhabitants of the Orchades: although not in ſo ciuill wiſe, nor in ſuch large meaſure and aboundance of diet in their houſes. He addeth moreouer, that their apparrell is after the Germaine cut, comelie, but not ſo chargeable and coſtlie, and how they raiſe their gaine by ſkins of beaſts, as marterns, ſheepe, oxen, and gotes ſkins, and therevnto a kind of cloth which they weaue, and ſell to the merchants of Norwaie, togither with their butter, fiſh, either ſalted or dried, and their traine oile, and exerciſe their trade of fiſhing alſo in their vncerteine ſkewes, which they fetch out of Norwaie.

Their ſpæch is Gothiſh, and ſuch of them as by their dealing with forren merchants doo gather anie wealth, that they will verie often beſtow vpon the furniture of their houſes. Their weights & meaſures are after the Germaine maner, their countrie is verie healthie, and ſo wholeſome, that of late a man was found which had maried a wife at one hundred yeares of age, and was able to go out a fiſhing with his bote at one hundred and fortie, and of late yéeres died of méere age, without anie other diſeaſe. Dronkenneſſe is not heard of among them, and yet they mæt and make good chéere verie often. Neither doo I read of anie great vſe of fleſh or foule there, although that ſome of their Ilands haue plentie of each. Nor anie mention of corne growing in theſe parts, and therefore in ſtéed of bread they drie a kind of fiſh, which they beat in mortars to powder, & bake it in their ouens, vntill it be hard and drie. Their ſuell alſo is of ſuch bones as the fiſh yéeldeth, that is taken on their coaſts: and yet they liue as themſelues ſuppoſe in much felicitie, thinking it a great péece of their happineſſe to be ſo farre diſtant from the wicked auarice, and cruell dealings of the more rich and ciuill part of the world.

Herein alſo they are like vnto the Hirthiens, in that at one time of the yeare, there commeth a prieſt vnto them out of the Orchades (vnto which iuriſdiction they doo belong) who baptiſeth all ſuch children, as haue béene borne among them, ſince he laſt arriued, and hauing afterward remained there for a two daies, he taketh his tithes of them (which they prouide and paie with great ſcrupuloſitie in fiſh, for of other commodities paie they none) and then returneth home againe, not without boaſt of his troubleſome voiage, except he watch his time. In theſe Iles alſo is great plentie of fine Amber to be had (as Hector ſaith) which is produced by the working of the ſea vpon thoſe coaſts: but more of this elſewhere. Amber.

This neuertheles is certeine, that theſe Ilands, with the Orchades, were neuer perfectlie vnited to the crowne of Scotland, till the mariage was made betweene king James and the ladie Marie daughter to Chriſtierne king of Denmarke 1468; which Chriſtierne at the birth of their ſonne James (afterward

king of Scotland and called James the fourth) resigned all his right and title whatsoeuer either he or his ancestors either presently or hertofore had, might haue had, or hereafter may or should haue, vnto the aforesaid peeres, as appeareth by the charter.

From these Shetland Iles, and vntill we come southwards to the Scarre, which lieth in Buquhamnesse, I find no mention of anie Ile situat vpon that coast, neither great lie from thence, vntill we come at the Forth, that leadeth vp to Sterling, neither thought we it safetie for vs to search so farre as Thule, whence the most excellent brimstone commeth, & thereto what store of Ilands lie vnder the more northerlie climats, whose secret situations though partlie seene in my time, haue not yet bin perfectlie reueled or discouered by anie, bicause of the great aboundance of huge Ilands of ice that moueth to and fro vpon their shores, and sundrie perilous gulfes and indraughts of water, and for as much as their knowlege doth not concerne our purpose, wherfore calking about, we came at the last into the Firth or Forth, which some call the Scotish sea, wherein we passe by seuen or eight such as they be, of which the first called the Paie, the second Baas, and Garwie the third, do seeme to be inhabited. From these also holding on our course toward England, we passe by another Ile, wherein Faur castell standeth, and this (so far as my skill serueth) is the last Iland of the Scotish side, in compassing whereof I am not able to discerne, whether their flats and shallowes, number of Ilands without name, confusion of situation, lacke of true description, or mine owne ignorance hath troubled me most. No meruell therefore that I haue beene so oft on ground among them. But most ioifull am I that am come home againe: & although not by the Thames mouth into my natiue citie (which taketh his name of Troie) yet into the English dominion, where good interteinement is much more franke and copious, and better harborough wherein to rest my wearie bones, and refresh at ease our wetherbeaten carcasses.

The first Iland therefore which commeth to our sight, after we passed Berwike, is that which was somtime called Lindesfarne, but now Holie Iland, and conteineth eight miles; a place much honored among our monasticall writers, bicause diuerse monks and heremits did spend their times therein. There was also the bishops see of Lindesfarne for a long season, which afterward was translated to Chester in the street, & finallie to Duresme, Dunelme, or Durham. It was first erected by Oswald, wherein he placed Aidanus the learned Scotish monke, who came hither out of the Ile called Hij, whereof Beda speaking in the third chapter of his third booke, noteth, that although the said Hij belong to the kings of Northumberland, by reason of situation & nerenesse to the coast; yet the Picts appointed the bishops of the same, and gaue the Ile with the see it selfe to such Scotish monks as they liked, bicause that by their preaching they first receiued the faith. But to returne to Lindesfarne. After Aidan departed this life, Finanus finished and builded the whole church with sawed timber of oke, after the maner of his countrie, which when Theodorus the archbishop of Canturburie had dedicated, Edbert the bishop did couer ouer with lead.

Lindesfarne or Holie Iland.

Next vnto this is the Ile of Farne, and herein is a place of defense so far as I remember, and so great store of egs laid there by diuerse kinds of wildfoule in time of the yeare, that a man shall hardlie run for a wager on the plaine ground without the breach of manie, before his race be finished. About Farne also lie certeine Iles greater than Farne it selfe, but void of inhabitants; and in these also is great store of puffins, graie as duckes, and without coloured feathers, sauing that they haue a white ring round about their necks. There is moreouer another bird, which the people call saint Cuthberts foules, a verie tame and gentle creature, and easie to be taken. After this we came to the Cocket Iland; so called, bicause it lieth ouer against the fall of Cocket water. Herein is a veine of meane seacole, which the people dig out of the shore at the low water; and in this Iland dwelled one Henrie sometime a famous heremite, who (as his life declareth) came of the Danish race. And from thence vntill we came vnto the coast of Norfolke I saw no more Ilands.

Farne.

Puffins.

Saint Cuthberts foules.

Being therfore past S. Edmunds point, we found a litle Ile ouer against the fall of the water that commeth from Holkham, & likewise another ouer against the Claie, before we came at Waburne hope: the third also in Yarmouth riuer ouer against Bradwell, a towne in low or little England, whereof also I must needs saie somewhat, bicause it is in maner an Iland, and as I gesse either hath beene or may be one: for the brodest place of the strict land that leadeth to the same, is little aboue a quarter of a mile, which against the raging waues of the sea can make but small resistance. Little England or low England therefore is about eight miles in length and foure in bredth, verie well replenished with townes, as Friskan, Burgh castell, Olton, Flirton, Lestoft, Gunton, Blundston, Corton, Lownd, Ashebie, Horton, Belton, Bradwell, and Gorleston, and beside this it is verie fruitfull and indued with all commodities.

Little England.

Going forward from hence, by the Essonnesse (almost an Iland) I saw a small parcell cut from the maine in Orford hauen, the Langerstone in Orwell mouth, & two peeces or Islets at Cattiwade bridge; and then calking about vnto the Colne, we beheld Mersete which is a pretie Iland, well furnished with wood. It was sometime a great receptacle for the Danes when they inuaded England; howbeit at this present it hath beside two decaied blockehouses, two parish churches, of which one is called east Mersete, the other west Mersete, and both vnder the archdeacon of Colchester, as parcell of his iurisdiction. Foulenesse is an Ile void of wood, and yet well replenished with verie good grasse for neat and sheepe, whereof the inhabitants haue great plentie: there is also a parish church, and albeit that it stand somewhat distant from the shore, yet at a dead low water a man may (as they saie) ride thereto if he be skilfull of the causie; it is vnder the iurisdiction of London. And at this present master William Tabor bacheler of diuinitie and archdeacon of Essex hath it vnder his iurisdiction & regiment, by the surrender of master John Walker doctor also of diuinitie, who liued at such time as I first attempted to commit this booke to the impression.

Mersete.

Foulnesse.

In Maldon water are in like sort three Ilands inuironed all with salt streames, as saint Osithes, Northeie, and another (after a mersh) that beareth no name so far as I remember. On the right hand also as we went toward the sea againe, we saw Ramsete Ile, or rather a Peninsula or Biland, & likewise the Reie, in which is a chapell of saint Peter. And then coasting vpon the mouth of the Bourne, we saw the Wallot Ile and his mates, whereof two lie by east Wallot, and the fourth is Foulnesse, except I be deceiued, for here my memorie faileth me on the one side, and information on the other, I meane concerning the placing of Foulenesse. But to proceed. After this, and being entered into the Thames mouth, I find no Iland of anie name, except you accompt Rochford hundred for one, whereof I haue no mind to intreat, more than of Crowland, Mersland,

Osithe.

Northeie.

Ramsete.

Reie.

Elie,

Elie, and the rest, that are framed by the ouze, Andredesele in Trent, so called of a church there dedicated to saint Andrew, and Auon (two noble riuers hereafter to be described) sith I touch onelie those that are inuironed with the sea or salt water round about, as we may see in the Canwaie Iles, which some call marshes onelie, and liken them to an ipocras bag, some to a vice, scrue, or wide sleeue, because they are verie small at the east end, and large at west. The salt rilles also that crosse the same do so separat the one of them from the other, that they resemble the slope course of the cutting part of a scrue or gimlet, in verie perfect maner, if a man do imagine himselfe to loke downe from the top of the mast vpon them. Betweene these, moreouer and the Leigh towne lieth another litle Ile or Holme, whose name is to me vnknowne. Certes I would haue gone to land and viewed these parcels as they laie, or at the least haue sailed round about them by the whole hauen, which may easilie be done at an high water: but for as much as a perrie of wind (scarse comparable to the makerell gale, whereof John Anele of Calis one of the best seamen that England euer bred for his skill in the narow seas was wont to talke) caught hold of our sailes, & caried vs forth the right waie toward London, I could not tarie to see what things were hereabouts. Thus much therefore of our Ilands, & so much may well suffice where more cannot be had.

Canwaie.

The description of the Thames, and such riuers as fall into the same.

Cap. 11.

HAuing (as you haue seene) attempted to set downe a full discourse of all the Ilands, that are situat vpon the coast of Britaine, and finding the successe not correspondent to mine intent, it hath caused me somewhat to restreine my purpose in this description also of our riuers. For whereas I intended at the first to haue written at large, of the number, situation, names, quantities, townes, villages, castels, mounteines, fresh waters, plashes or lakes, salt waters, and other commodities of the aforesaid Iles, mine expectation of information from all parts of England, was so deceiued in the end, that I was faine at last onelie to leane to that which I knew my selfe either by reading, or such other helpe as I had alreadie purchased and gotten of the same. And euen so it happeneth in this my tractation of waters, of whose heads, courses, length, bredth, depth of chanell (for burden) ebs, flowings, and falles, I had thought to haue made a perfect description vnder the report also of an imagined course taken by them all. But now for want of instruction, which hath beene largelie promised, & slacklie performed, and other sudden and iniurious denials of helpe voluntarilie offered, without occasion giuen on my part, I must needs content my selfe with such obseruations as I haue either obteined by mine owne experience, or gathered from time to time out of other mens writings: whereby the full discourse of the whole is vtterlie cut off, and in steed of the same a mangled rehearsall of the residue set downe and left in memorie.

Therefore I beseech your honour to pardon this imperfection and rudenesse of my labour, which notwithstanding is not altogither in vaine, sith my errors maie proue a spurre vnto the better skilled, either to correct or inlarge where occasion serueth, or at the least wise to take in hand a more absolute peece of worke, as better direction shall incourage them thereto. The entrance and beginning of euerie thing is the hardest; and he that beginneth well, hath atchiued halfe his purpose. The ice (my lord) is broken, and from henceforth it will be more easie for such as shall come after to wade through with the rest, sith *Facile est inuentis addere*; and to continue and finish, is not so great a matter in building, as to attempt and laie the foundation or platforme of anie noble peece of workmanship, though it be but rudelie handled. But to my purpose. As I began at the Thames in my description of Ilands, so will I now do the like with that of famous riuers; making mine entrie at the said riuer it selfe, of whose founteine some men make as much adoo, as in time past of the true head of Nilus, which, till of late (if it be yet descried) was neuer found: or the Tanais, whose originall was neuer knowne, nor shall be: for whilest one placeth it here, another there; there are none at all that deale with it exactlie. Wherefore leaning to such mens writtings as haue of set purpose sought out the spring of the Thames; I affirme, that this famous streame hath his head or beginning out of the side of an hill, standing in the plaines of Cotswold, about one mile from Tetburie, neere vnto the Fosse (an high waie so called of old) where it was sometime named Isis, or the Ouse, although diuerse do ignorantlie call it the Thames euen there, rather of a folish custome than anie skill, because they either neglect or vtterlie are ignorant how it was named at the first. From hence it runneth directlie toward the east (as all good riuers should) and meeteth with the Cirne or Chorne, (a broke called in Latine Corinium) whereof Cirncester towne (by which it commeth) doth take the denomination.

Thamesis.

origo

Corinium.

From hence it hasteth vnto Crekelade, *alias* Crekanford, Lechlade, Radcotebridge, Newbridge, and Souelham, receiuing by the waie an infinit sort of small streames, brookes, becks, waters, and rundels: and here on this side of the towne diuideth it selfe into two courses, of which the one goeth straight to Botleie and Hinkseie, the other by Godstow, a village not farre off. This latter spreadeth it selfe also for a while into sundrie smaller branches, which run not farre yer they be reunited, and then beclipping sundrie pleasant medowes, it passeth at length by Orford, of some supposed rather to be called Duseford of this riuer, where it meeteth with the Charwell, and a litle from whence the originall branches do ioine and go togither by Abbandune (*alias* Sensham or Abington as we call it) although no part of it at the first came so neere the towne as it doth now, till a branch thereof was led thither from the maine streame, thorough the industrie of the monks, as (beside the testimonie of old records thereof yet extant to be seene) by the decaie of Cair Dour now Dorchester it selfe, sometime the thoroughfare from Wales and the west countrie to London, which insued vpon this fact, is easie to be seene. From hence it goeth to Dorchester, and so to Thame, where ioining with a riuer of the same denomination, it loseth the name of Isis or Ouse (whereof Duseneie at Orford is produced) and from thenceforth is called Thamesis. From Thame it goeth to Wallingford, and so to Reding, which in time past, of the number of bridges there, was called Pontium; albeit that the English name doth rather proceed from Rhe, or Ree, the Saxon word for a water-course or riuer, which maie be seene in Dureé, or Sutheré, for ouer the Ree, or south of the Rhee, as to the skilfull doth readilie appeere; yet some hold (and not altogither against probabilitie and likelihood) that the word Sutheré is so called of Sudrije, to wit, the south kingdome, wherevnto

Charwell.

Some write, that the maine streame was brought thither which ranne before betweene Andredesele and Culenham.

Pontium,

Saint Maries ouer Rhee.

whereunto in part the Thames is a bound. But that holdeth not in denomination, either of the said church or name of the foresaid countie. Other affirme likewise, that Reding is so called of the Greeke word (ῥέω) which is to ouer flowe. Certes, as neither of these coniectures are to be contemned, so the last cõmeth most neere to mine aid, who affirme, that not onelie the course of euerie water it selfe, but also his ouer flowing was in time past called Rhe, by such Sarons as inhabited in this Iland: and euen to this daie in Esser I haue oft obserued, that when the lower grounds by rage of water haue beene ouerflowen, the people beholding the same, haue said; All is on a Rhe, as if they should haue said; All is now a riuer, albeit the word Riuer be derined from the French, and borrowed by them from the Latins: but not without corruption, as it was brought vnto them. I will not here giue notice how farre they are deceiued, which call the aforesaid church by the name of S. Marie Auderies, or S. Marie ouer Isis, or Isle. But I will proceed with the course of this noble streame, which, howsoeuer these matters stand it hath passed by Reding, and there receiued the Kenet, which commeth from the hilles that lie west of Marleborough, & then the Thetis, commonlie called the Tide that commeth from Thetisford: it hieth to Sudlington otherwise called Maidenhead, and so to Windlesore (or Windsore) Eaton, and then to Chertsey, where Erkenwald bishop of London, sometime builded a religious house or cell, as I do read.

Kenet.

Thetis.

From Chertsey it hasteth directlie vnto Staines, and receiuing an other streame by the waie, called the Cole (whereupon Colbrooke standeth) it goeth by Kingstone, Shene, Sion, and Brentford or Bregentford, where it meeteth the Brane or the Brene, another brook descending from Edgeworth, whose name signifieth a frog, in the Brittish speach. Upon this also sir John Thin had sometime a statelie house, with a maruellous prouision to inclose and reteine such fish as should come about the same. From Brentford it passeth by Portlach, Putneie, Fulham, Batterseie, Chelseie, Lambeth, and so to London. Finallie going from thence vnto the sea, it taketh the Lee with it by the waie vpon the coast of Esser, and the Darnt vpon Kent side, which riseth neere to Tanrige, and commeth by Shoreham, vnto Dertford, whereunto the Craie falleth. And last of all the Medwaie a notable riuer (in mine opinion) which watereth all the south and southwest part of Kent, and whose description is not to be omitted hereafter in this place.

Cole.

Brene.

Darwent.

Craie.

Hauing in this maner briefelie touched this noble riuer, and such brookes as fall into the same; I will now adde a particular description of each of these last by themselues, whereby their courses also shall be seuerallie described to the satisfaction of the studious. But yer I take the same in hand, I will insert a word or two of the commodities of the said riuer, which I will performe with so much breuitie as is possible; hereby also finding out his whole tract and course from the head to the fall thereof into the sea. It appeareth euidentlie that the length thereof is at the least, one hundreth and eightie miles, if it be measured by the tournes of the land. And as it is in course, the longest of the three famous riuers of this Ile, so it is nothing inferiour vnto them in abundance of all kind of fish, whereof it is hard to saie, which of the three haue either most plentie, or greatest varietie, if the circumstances be duelie weighed. What some other write of the riuers of their countries it skilleth not, neither will I (as diuerse do) inuent strange things of this noble streame, therewith to nobilitate and make it more honorable: but this will I in plaine termes affirme, that it neither swalloweth vp bastards of the Celtish brood, or casteth vp the right begotten that are throwne in without hurt into their mothers lap, as Politian fableth of the Rhene, *Epistiloram lib.* 8. *epi.* 6. nor yeeldeth clots of gold as the Tagus doth: but an infinit plentie of excellent, sweet and pleasant fish, wherewith such as inhabit neere vnto hir bankes are fed and fullie nourished.

What should I speake of the fat and sweet salmons, dailie taken in this streame, and that in such plentie (after the time of the smelt be past) as no riuer in Europa is able to exceed it. But what store also of barbels, trouts, cheuins, pearches, smelts, breames, roches, daces, gudgings, flounders, shrimps, &c: are commonlie to be had therein, I refer me to them that know by experience better than I, by reason of their dailie trade of fishing in the same. And albeit it seemeth from time to time, to be as it were defrauded in sundrie wise of these hir large commodities, by the insatiable auarice of the fishermen, yet this famous riuer complaineth commonlie of no want, but the more it loseth at one time, the more it yeeldeth at another. Onelie in carps it seemeth to be scant, sith it is not long since that kind of fish was brought ouer into England, and but of late to speake of into this streame, by the violent rage of sundrie landflouds, that brake open the heads and dams of diuers gentlemens ponds, by which meanes it became somewhat partaker also of this said commoditie, whereof earst it had no portion that I could euer heare. Oh that this riuer might be spared but euen one yeare from nets, &c! But alas then should manie a poore man be vndone. In the meane time it is lamentable to see, how it is and hath beene choked of late with sands and shelues, through the penning and wresting of the course of the water for commodities sake. But as this is an inconuenience easilie remedied, if good order were taken for the redresse thereof: so now, the fine or paie set vpon the ballaffe sometime freelie giuen to the merchants by patent, euen vnto the lands end (*Iusques au poinct*) will be another cause of harme vnto this noble streame, and all through an aduantage taken at the want of an (*i*) in the word *poinct*: which grew through an error committed by an English notarie vnskilfull in the French tong, wherein that patent was granted.

Salmons.

Carps a fish late brought into England and later into the Thames.

Furthermore, the said riuer floweth and filleth all his chanels twise in the daie and night, that is in euerie twelue houres once; and this ebbing & flowing, holdeth on for the space of seauentie miles, within the maine land: the streame or tide being alwaies highest at London, when the moone doth exactlie touch the northeast and south or west points of the heauens, of which one is visible, the other vnder the earth, and not subiect to our sight. These tides also differ in their times, each one comming latter than other, by so manie minuts as passe yer the reuolution and naturall course of the heauens do reduce, and bring about the said planet vnto those hir former places: whereby the common difference betweene one tide and another, is found to consist of twentie foure minuts, which wanteth but twelue of an whole houre in foure and twentie, as experience doth confirme. In like sort we see by dailie triall, that each tide is not of equall heigth and greatnesse. For at the full and change of the moone we haue the greatest flouds, and such is their ordinarie course, that as they diminish from their changes and fols, vnto the first and last quarters; so afterwards they increase againe, vntill they come to the full and change. Sometimes also they rise so high (if the wind be at the north or northeast, which bringeth in the water with more vehemencie, because the tide which filleth the chanell, commeth from Scotland ward) that the Thames

The iust distãce betweẽ one tide and another.

ouer-

ouerfloweth hir banks néere vnto London: which happeneth eſpecially in the fuls and changes of Januarie and Februarie, wherein the lower grounds are of cuſtome ſoneſt drowned. This order of flowing in like ſort is perpetuall, ſo that when the mone is vpon the ſouthweſt and north of points, then is the water by London at the higheſt: neither do the tides alter, except ſome rough winds out of the weſt or ſouthweſt do kéepe backe and checke the ſtreame in his entrance, as the eaſt and northeaſt do haſten the comming in thereof, or elſe ſome other extraordinarie occaſion, put by the ordinarie courſe of the northerne ſeas, which fill the ſaid riuer by their naturall returne and flowing. And that both theſe do happen eft among, I refer me to ſuch as haue not ſildome obſerued it, as alſo the ſenſible chopping in of three or foure tides in one naturall daie, wherof the vnſkilfull do deſcant manie things.

The ſtreame oft checked in hir entrance into the land.

But how ſo euer theſe ſmall matters do fall out, and how often ſoeuer this courſe of the ſtreame doth happen to be diſturbed; yet at two ſeuerall times of the age of the mone, the waters returne to their naturall courſe and limits of time exactlie. Polydore ſaith, that this riuer is ſeldome increaſed or rather neuer ouerfloweth hir banks by landflouds: but he is herein verie much deceiued, as it ſhalbe more apparantlie ſéene hereafter. For the more that this riuer is put by of hir right courſe, the more the water muſt of neceſſitie ſwell with the white waters which run downe from the land: becauſe the paſſage cannot be ſo ſwift and readie in the winding as in the ſtreight courſe. Theſe landflouds alſo do greatlie ſtraine the fineſſe of the ſtreame, in ſo much that after a great landfloud, you ſhall take haddocks with your hands beneath the bridge, as they flote aloft vpon the water, whoſe eies are ſo blinded with the thickneſſe of that element, that they cannot ſée where to become, and make ſhift to ſaue themſelues before death take hold of them. Otherwiſe the water of it ſelfe is very cléere, and in compariſon next vnto that of the ſea, which is moſt ſubtile and pure of all other; as that of great riuers is moſt excellent, in compariſon of ſmaller brookes: although Ariſtotle will haue the ſalt water to be moſt groſſe, becauſe a ſhip will beare a greater burden on the ſea than on the freſh water; and an eg ſinke in this that ſwimmeth on the other. But he may eaſilie be anſwered by the quantitie of rome and aboundance of waters in the ſea; whereby it becommeth of more force to ſuſteine ſuch veſſels as are committed to the ſame, and whervnto the greateſt riuers (God wot) are nothing comparable. I would here make mention of ſundrie bridges placed ouer this noble ſtreame, of which that of London is moſt chiefelie to be commended, for it is in maner a cõtinuall ſtréet, well repleniſhed with large and ſtatelie houſes on both ſides, and ſituat vpon twentie arches, whereof ech one is made of excellent free ſquared ſtone, euerie of them being three ſcore foot in heigth, and full twentie in diſtance one from another, as I haue often viewed.

London bridge.

In like maner I could intreat of the infinit number of ſwans dailie to be ſéene vpon this riuer, the two thouſand wherries and ſmall boats, wherby three thouſand poore watermen are maintained, through the cariage and recariage of ſuch perſons as paſſe or repaſſe, from time to time vpon the ſame: beſide thoſe huge tideboats, tilt botes, and barges, which either carrie paſſengers, or bring neceſſarie proviſion from all quarters of Oxfordſhire, Barkeſhire, Buckinghamſhire, Bedfordſhire, Herfordſhire, Middleſex, Eſſex, Surrie, and Kent, vnto the citie of London. But for ſomuch as theſe things are to be repeated againe in the particular deſcription of London, anſwered to his card; I ſurceaſſe at this time to ſpeake anie more of them here, as not lingering but haſting to performe my promiſe made euen now, not yet forgotten, and in performance whereof I thinke it beſt to reſume the deſcription of this noble riuer againe into my hands, and in adding whatſoeuer is before omitted, to deliuer a full and perfect demonſtration of his courſe. How and where the ſaid ſtreame ariſeth, is alreadie ſufficientlie ſet downe, noting the place to be within a mile of Tetburie, whereof ſome do vtterlie miſlike, becauſe that rill in ſummer drouths is oft ſo drie, that there is little or no water at all ſéene running aboue ground in the ſame. For this cauſe therefore manie affirme the verie head of Iſis to come from the poole aboue Kemble. Other confound it with the head of the Cirne or Chirne, called in Latine Corinium that riſeth aboue Coberleie. For my part I follow Leland, as he doth the monke of Malmesburie, which wrote the hiſtorie intituled Eulogium hiſtoriarum, who ſearched the ſame of ſet purpoſe, and pronounced with Leland, although at this preſent that courſe be verie ſmall, and choked vp (as I heare) with grauell and ſand. Proceéding therefore from the head, it firſt of all receiueth the Kemble water called the Coue, which riſeth aboue Kemble towne, goeth by Kemble it ſelfe vnto Poole and Somerford, and then (accompanieth the Thames) vnto Canes, Aſhton, Canes, and Howſton, holding on in one chanell vntill they méet with the Chirne, the next of all to be deſcribed.

Iſis.

Conus.

The Chirne is a faire water ariſing out of the ground aboue Coberleie, from whence it runneth to Cowleie, Cowleſburne, Randcome, and ſo into the Iſis on the left ſide aboue Crekelade. Theſe three waters being thus vnited and brought into one chanell, within a little ſpace of the head of Iſis, it runneth on by Crekelade, beneath which towne it receiueth the Rhe, deſcending from Elcombe, Eſcot, Redburne, Widhill, & at the fall into Iſis, or not far off ioineth with another that runneth weſt of Purton by Braden forreſt, &c. Next of all our Iſis méeteth with the Amnete on the left hand, which comming from aboue Holie rode Amnete, runneth by Downe Amnete, and finallie into the Iſis a little aboue Iſeie. In like ſort I read of another that méeteth withall on the right hand aboue Iſeie alſo, which ſo far as I can call to remembrance, commeth from about Drifield and falleth ſo into our Iſis, that they run as one vntill they come at the Colne, although not ſo nakedlie and without helpe, but that in this voiage, the maine ſtreame doth croſſe one water that deſcendeth from Swindon, and going alſo by Stratton toward Seuingham, is it ſelfe increaſed with two rils by the waie, whereof one commeth from Liddenton by Wambrie, as I haue béene informed.

Coznium.

Rhe.

Amnete.

The Colne is a faire riuer riſing by north nére to Witchington, & from thence goeth to Shiptons, Compton Abdale, Mittenton, Parnewoorth, Colne Deanes, and Colne Rogers, Winſton, Biberie, Colne Alens, Quenington, Faireford, and weſt of Lachelade into the riuer Iſis, which hereabout on the ſouthſide alſo taketh in another, whereof I find this remembrance. The Iſis being once paſt Seuingham, croſſeth a brooke from ſouthweſt that mounteth about Aſhbirie, and receiuing a rill from byweſt (that commeth from Hinton) beneath Shrineham, it afterward ſo diuideth it ſelfe, that the armes therof include Ingleſham, and by reaſon that it falleth into the Iſis at two ſeuerall places, there is a pleſant Iland produced, whereof let this ſuffice.

Colneius, Colineus, or Colunus.

Being paſt Lechelade a mile, it runneth to ſaint Johns bridge, & thereabout méeteth with the Leche on the left hand. This brooke, whereof Lechlade taketh

Lecus or Leche.

2000 boates vpon the Thames and 3000 poremẽ mainteined by the ſame whoſe gaines come in moſt plentifullie in the tearme time.

keth the name (a towne whereunto one peece of an old vniuerſitie is aſcribed, which it did neuer poſſeſſe, more than Crekelade did the other) riſeth eaſt of Hampnet, frõ whence it goeth to north Lech, Eſſenton, Anleſworth, eaſt Lech, ſouth Thorpe, Farendon, & ſo into the Iſis. From hence this famous water goeth by Benſkot toward Radcote bridge (taking in the rill that riſe thin an od peece of Barkeſhire, and runneth by Langford) and being paſt the ſaid bridge (now notable through a conſpiracie made there ſometimes by ſundrie barons againſt the eſtate) it is not long yer it croſſe two other waters, both of them deſcending from another od parcell of the ſaid countie, whereof I haue this note giuen me for my further information. There are two fals of water into Iſis beneath Radcote bridge, wherof the one commeth from Shilton in Barkeſhire by Areſcote, blacke Burton and Clarrefield. The other alſo riſeth in the ſame peece, and runneth by Briſenorton vnto Bampton, and there receiuing an armelet from the firſt that breake off at blacke Burton, it is not long yer they fall into Iſis, and leaue a pretie Iland. After theſe confluences, the maine courſe of the ſtreame hasteth by Shifford to Newbridge, where it ioineth with the Winruſh. The Winruſh riſeth aboue Shieburne in Gloceſterſhire, from whence it goeth to Winruſh, & cõming by Barrington, Burford, Widbroke, Swinbecke caſtell, Witneie, Duckington, Cockthorpe, Stanlake, it meeteth with the Iſis weſt by ſouth of Northmore. From hence it goeth beneath Stanton, Hartingcourt and Enſham, betweene which and Caſſinton, it receiueth (as Leland calleth it) the Bruerne water.

Winruſh.

Bruerns.

It riſeth aboue Limington, and going to Norton in the Marſh, and through a patch of Worceſterſhire vnto Euenlode, betweene it and the foure ſhireſtones, it taketh in a rill called Come, comming by the long and the little Comptons. After this alſo it goeth by Bradwell, Odington, and ſo to Bleddenton, aboue which towne it taketh in the Rolrich water that iſſueth at two heads, in the hils that lie by weſt of little Rolrich, and ioine aboue Benkeham, and Church hill. From thence alſo it goeth vnto Bruerne, Shipton vnderwood, Aſcot, Short hamton, Charleburie, Corneburie parke, Stonfield, Longcombe, and ſoutheaſt of Woodſtocke parke, taketh in the Enis, that riſeth aboue Emſtone, and goeth to Eddington, Glimton, Wotton (where it is increaſed with a rill that runneth thither from ſteple Barton, by the Beechin tree) Woodſtocke, Blaidon, ſo that after this confluence, the ſaid Enis runneth to Caſſinton, and ſo into the Iſis, which goeth from hence to Orford, and there receiueth the Charwell, now preſentlie to be deſcribed.

Comus.

Rolrich.

Enis.

Charwell.

The head of Charwell is in Northamptonſhire, where it riſeth out of a little pole, by Charleton village, ſeuen miles aboue Banberie northeaſt, and there it iſſueth ſo faſt at the verie ſarge, that it groweth into a pretie ſtreame, in maner out of hand. Some after alſo it taketh in a rillet called the Bure, which falleth into it, about Otmere ſide: but foraſmuch as it riſeth by Binceſter, the whole courſe therof is not aboue foure miles, and therefore cannot be great. A friend of mine proſecuting the reſt of this deſcription reporteth thereof as followeth. Before the Charwell commeth into Oxfordſhire, it receiueth the Culen, which falleth into the ſame, a little aboue Edgcote, and ſo deſcending toward Wardington, it meeteth with another comming from by north weſt, betweene Wardington and Cropreadie. At Banberie alſo it meeteth with the Come (which falleth from ſennie Conton by Farneboro, and afterwards going by kings Sutton, not far from Aine, it receiueth the diſcharge of diuerſe rillets, in one bottome before it come at Cliffon. The ſaid water therfore ingendred of ſo manie brookelets, conſiſteth chiefelie of two, whereof the moſt ſoutherlie called Oke, commeth from Oke Norton, by Witchington or Wiggington, and the Berfords; and carieng a few blind rils withall, doth meet with the other that falleth from by northweſt into the ſame, within a mile of Charwell.

Bure.

Culen.

Come.

That other (as I coniecture) is increaſed of three waters, wherof each one hath his ſeuerall name. The firſt of them therefore hight Tudo, which comming betweene Epwell and the Lee by Toddington, ioineth about Broughton with the ſecond that runneth from Horneton, named Ornus, as I geſſe. The laſt falleth into the Tude or Tudelake, beneath Broughton; and for that it riſeth not far from Sotteſwell in Warwikeſhire, ſome are of the opinion, that it is to be called Sotbroke. The nert water that meeteth without Charwell beneath Cliffon commeth from about Croughton, and after this is the Sowar or Swere, that riſeth north of Michaell Tew, and runneth by nether Wotton. The laſt of all is the Kele *alias* Bure, whoſe head is not far aboue Burceſter, *alias* Binceſter, and Burnceſter: and from whence it goeth by Burceſter to Merton, Charleton, Fencote, Addington, Noke, Iſlip, and ſo into Charwell, that holdeth on his courſe after this augmentation of the waters, betweene Wood and Water Eton, to Marſton, and the eaſt bridge of Orford by Magdalene college, and ſo beneath the ſouth bridge into our aforeſaid Iſis.

Tudo.

Ornus.

Sotbroke.

Souarus.

Sowar.

Burus.

In deſcribing this riuer, this one thing (right honorable) is come vnto my mind, touching the center and nauill as it were of England. Certes there is an hillie plot of ground in Helledon pariſh, not far from Danberie, where a man maie ſtand and behold the heads of three notable riuers, whoſe waters, and thoſe of ſuch as fall into them, do abundantlie ſerue the greateſt part of England on this ſide of the Humber. The firſt of theſe waters is the Charwell, alreadie deſcribed. The ſecond is the Leme that goeth weſtward into the fourth Auon. And the third is the head of the Nene or fift Auon it ſelfe, of whoſe courſes there is no card but doth make ſufficient mention; and therefore your honour maie behold in the ſame how they do coaſt the countrie, and alſo meaſure by compaſſes how this plot lieth in reſpect of all the reſt, contrarie to common iudgement, which maketh Northampton to be the middeſt and center of our countrie.

Middeſt of England whereabouts.

But to go forward with my deſcription of the Ouſe, which being paſt Orford goeth to Iſlie, Bennington, Sanford, Rodleie, Newnham, and ſo to Abington, ſomtime called Senſham, without increaſe, where it receiueth the Oche, otherwiſe called the Coche, a little beneath S. Helens, which runneth thither of two brooklets, as I take it, whereof one commeth from Compton, out of the dale and weſt of the hill of the White horſſe, the other from Kings Letcombe, and Wantage in Barkſhire, and in one chanell, entreth into the ſame, vpon the right ſide of his courſe. From Abington likewiſe (taking the Arun withall ſouthweſt of Sutton Courtneie) it goeth by Appleford, long Wittenham, Cliſton, Wittenham the leſſe, & beneath Dorcheſter, taketh in the Thame water, from whence the Iſis loſeth the preheminence of the whole denomination of this riuer, and is contented to impart the ſame with the Thame, ſo that by the coniunction of theſe two waters Thamiſis is produced, and that name continued euen vnto the ſea.

Ocus.

Arun.

Thame riuer riſeth in the eaſterlie parts of Chilterne hils, towards Penleie parke, at a towne called Tring weſt of the ſaid parke, which is ſeauen miles

Thame.

from

from the stone bridge, that is betweene Querendon and Ailsburie (after the course of the water) as Leland hath set downe. Running therefore by long Merston, and Puttenham, Hucket, and Bearton, it receiueth soone after a rill that commeth by Querendon from Hardwike, and yet long an other on the other side that riseth aboue Windouer in the Chilterne, and passing by Halton, Weston, Turrill, Broughton, and Ailsburie, it falleth into the Tame west of the said towne (except my memorie do faile me). From this confluence the Tame goeth by Ethorpe, the Winchingtons, Coddington, Cherstete, Notleie abbeie: and comming almost to Tame, it receiueth one water from southeast aboue the said towne, and another also from the same quarter beneath the towne; so that Tame standeth inuironed vpon three sides with three seuerall waters, as maie be easilie seene. The first of these commeth from the Chiltern east of Below or Bledlow, from whence it goeth to Hinton, Horsenden, Kingsete, Dowsete, and so vnto the Tame. The other descendeth also from the Chilterne, and going by Chinner, Crowell, Siddenham, and Tame parke, it falleth in the end into Tame water, and then they proceed togither as one by Shabbington, Ricot parke, Dracot, Waterstoke, Milton, Cuddesdon, and Chiselton. Here also it taketh in another water from by-east, whose head commeth from Chilterne hils, not farre from Stocking churth, in the waie from Oxford to London. From whence it runneth to Weston (and meeting beneath Turham with Watlington rill) it goeth on to Chalgraue, Stadham, and so into the Tame. From hence out streame of Thame runneth to Newenton, Draton, Dorchester (sometime a bishops see, and a noble title) and so into the Thames, which hasteth in like sort to Bensington, Crowmarsh, or Wallingford, where it receiueth the Blaue, descending from Blauburg, now Blewberie, as I learne.

Blautus.

Thus haue I brought the Thames vnto Wallingford, situate in the vale of White horse that runneth a long therby. From hence it goeth by Newenham, north Stoke, south Stoke, Goring, Basildon, Pangburne, where it meeteth with a water that commeth from about Hamsted Norris, runneth by Fritzelham, Buckelburie, Stanford, Bradfeld, Tidmarsh and Pangburne. After which confluence it goeth on betweene Mapledorham and Purleie, to Cauertham, and Cauersham manour, and a little beneath receiueth the Kenet that commeth thereinto from Reading.

Cenethus.

The Kenet riseth aboue Duerton 5 or 6 miles west of Marleborow, or Marlingborow, as some call it; & then going by Fifeld, Clatfor, Maulon, & Pirshute, vnto Marleburie: it holdeth on in like order to Ramsburie, and northwest of little Cote, taketh in a water by north descending from the hilles aboue Alburne chase west of Alburne town. Thence it runneth to little Cote, Charnhamstreet, & beneth Charnhamstreet it crosseth the Bedwin, which (taking the Chalkburne rill withall) commeth from great Bedwine, & at Hungerford also two other in one botom somewhat beneath the towne. From hence it goeth to Aulington, Kinburie, Hamsted marshall, Euburne, Newberie; and beneath this towne, taketh in the Lamburne water that commeth by Isberie, Egerston, the Shefords, Westford, Borford, Donnington castell, and Shaw. From Newberie it goeth to Thatcham, Wolhampton, Aldermaston, a little aboue which village it receiueth the Alburne, another broke increased with sundrie rils: and thus going on to Padworth, Olton, and Michaell, it commeth at last to Reading, where (as I said) it ioineth with the Thames, and so they go forward as one by Sonning to Shiplake, and there on the east side receiue the Loddon that commeth downe thither from the south, as by his course appeereth.

Bedwine. Chalkburne. Lamburne. Alburnus.

The Loddon riseth in Hamshire betweene west Shirburne and Wooton toward the southwest, afterward directing his course toward the northwest, thorough the Vine, it passeth at the last by Bramlie, and thorough a peece of Wiltshire, to Stradfield, Swallowfield, Arberfield, Loddon bridge, leauing a patch of Wiltshire on the right hand (as I haue beene informed.) This Loddon not far from Turges towne receiueth two waters in one bottome, whereof the westerlie called Basing water, commeth from Basingstoke, and thorough a parke vnto the aforesaid place.

Lodunus.

The other descendeth of two heads from Mapledour well, and goeth by Skewes, Newenham, Rotherwike, and yet it come at Hartlie, ioineth with the Basing water, from whence they go togither to Turges, where they meet with the Loddon (as I haue said alreadie.) The next streame toward the south is called Ditford bridge. It riseth not farre from Upton, goeth by Gruell, and beneath Wharnborow castell receiueth the Ikell (comming from a parke of the same denomination) from whence they go togither by Paddingleie vnto Swalowfield, and so into the Loddon. In this voiage also the Loddon meeteth with the Elwie or Eluete that commeth from Aldershare, not farre by west of Euersleie: and about Eluesham likewise with another running from Dogmansfield named the Douke: and also the third not inferior to the rest comming from Erin, whose head is in Surreie, and going by Ash becommeth a limit, first betweene Surreie and Hamshire; then betweene Hamshire and Barkeshire, and passing by Ash, Erinleie, Blacke water, Perleie, and Finchamsted; it ioineth at last with the Ditford, before it come at Swalowfield. To conclude therefore with our Loddon, hauing receiued all these waters; and after the last confluence with them now being come to Loddon bridge, it passeth on by a part of Wiltshire to Twiford bridge, then to Wargraue, and so into the Thames that now is maruellouslie increased and growen vnto triple greatnesse (to that it was at Oxford.)

Ditis vadum. Ikelus. Eluetus. Ducus. Erin.

Being therefore past Shiplake and Wargraue, it runneth by Horsependon, or Harding: then to Henleie vpon Thames, where sometime a great rill voideth it selfe in the same. Then to Remenham, Greneland (going all this waie from Shiplake iust north, and now turning eastwards againe) by Medenham, Hurleie, Bilham, Marlow the greater, Marlow the lesse, it meeteth with a broke soone after that consisteth of the water of two rilles, whereof the one called the Vse, riseth about west Wickham, out of one of the Chilterne hilles, and goeth from thence to east Wickham or high Wickham, a prettie market towne. The other named Higden, descendeth also from those mounteines but a mile beneath west Wickham, and ioining both in one at the last, in the west end of east Wickham towne, they go togither to Wooburne, Hedsor, & so into the Thames. Some call it the Tide; and that word do I vse in my former treatise: but to proceed. After this confluence our Thames goeth on by Cowkham, Topleie, Maidenhead, *alias* Sudlington, Braie, Dorneie, Clure, new Windsore (taking in neuertheless, at Eaton by the waie, the Burne which riseth out of a Moore, & commeth thither by Burnham) old Windsor, Wraibrow, and a little by east therof doth crosse the Cole, whereof I find this short description insuing.

Vsa. Higden.

The Cole riseth neere vnto Flamsted, from whence it goeth to Redburn, S. Michaels, S. Albons, Aldenham, Watford, and so by Moore to Richmansworth, where there is a confluence of three waters, of which

Colus, alias Vere and Uertume.

Gadus. which this Cole is the first. The second called Gadus riseth not farre from Ashridge, an house or palace belonging to the prince: from whence it runneth to great Gaddesdin, Hemsted, betweene Kings Langleie, and Abbots Langleie, then to Hunters, and Cashew bridges, and so to Richmansworth, receiuing by the waie a rill comming from Alburie by northwest, to Northchurch, Barkehamsted, and beneath Hemsted ioining with the same. The last commeth in at northwest from aboue Chesham, by Chesham it selfe, then by Chesham Bois, Latimers, Mawdlens, Cheinies, Sarret and Richmansworth, and so going on all in one chanell vnder the name of Cole, it runneth to Vrbridge, where it taketh in the Misenden water, from northwest, which rising aboue Missenden the greater goeth by Missenden the lesse, Hagmondesham (now Hammersham) the Vach, Chalkhunt Giles, Chalkhunt S. Peters, Denham, and then into the Cole aboue Vrbridge (as I haue said.) Some after this our Cole doth part it selfe into two branches, neuer to ioine againe before they come at the Thames, for the greater of them goeth thorough the goodlie medows straight to Colebrooke, the other vnto two milles, a mile and a halfe east of Colebrooke, in the waie to London, leauing an Iland betweene them of no small size and quantitie.

Windeles. Being past the Cole, we come to the fall of the Windeles, which riseth by northwest nere vnto Bagshot, from whence it goeth to Windlesham, Chobham, and meeting with a brooklet comming westward from Bisleie, they run togither toward Cherteseie, where when they haue met with a small rill rising north of Sonning hill in Windlesoure great parke, it falleth into the Thames on the northeast side of Cherteseie. When we were come beyond this water, it was not long yer we came vnto another on the same side, that fell into the Thames betweene Shepperton on the one side, and Oteland on the other, and is called the Waie. The Weie or the Ueius. Waie rising by west, commeth from Dlsted, & some after taking the Hedleie brooke withall (which riseth in Wulmere forrest, and goeth by Hedleie and Frensham) hasteth by Bentleie, Farnham, Alton, Waiberleie, Elsted, and so to Pepper harrow, where it Thuresbie. ioineth with the Thuresbie water, which commeth not farre off from a village of the same denomination. From hence also it goeth to Godalming, and then toward Shawford, but yer it come there, it crosseth Craulie becke, which rising somewhere about the edge of Suller shot of Ridgewie, goeth by Wacherie parke, Knoll, Craulie, Bramleie, Wonarsh, and Crawleie. so into the Waie. From hence then our riuer goeth to Shawford, and some after (meeting with the Ab- Abbinger. binger water that commeth by Shere, Albirie, and the chappell on the hill) it procedeth to Guldeford, thence to Stoke, Sutton in the parke, Send, Woking, and at Newarke parke side taketh in a brooke that riseth of two heads, whereof one doth spring betweene two hils north of Pepper harrow, and so runneth through Henleie parke, the other aboue Purbright, and afterward ioining in one, they go forth vnto Newarke, and being there vnited, after the confluence it goeth to Purford court, to Bisler, Waisfred, Oteland, and so into the Thames.

Wolis. From Oteland the Thames goeth by Walton, Sunburie, west Woulsleie, Hampton, and yer it come at Hampton court on the northside, and east Woulsleie on the other, it taketh in the Woule water, which giueth name vnto the two townes that stand on each side of the place, where it falleth into our streame. It riseth in Wood forrest, and going by Burstow, it meeteth afterward with another gullet, conteining a small course from two seuerall heads, whereof one is also in the forrest aforenamed, the other runneth from Bebush wood, and comming by Isseld, meeteth with the first aboue Horleie, and so run on in one chanell, I saie, till they ioine with the Woule water, whereof I spake before.

After this confluence in like sort, it is not long yer the Woule take in another from by north, which commeth from about Mesham on the one side, and another on the other side, running by Ockleie and Capell, and whereinto also a branch or rill commeth from a wood on the northwest part. Finallie, being thus increased with these manie rilles, it goeth by east Bechworth, west Bechworth, and ouer against the Swalow on the side of Drake hill, taking in another that cometh thither from Wotton by Darking and Milton, it runneth to Nickleham, Letherhed, Stoke, Cobham, Ashire parke, east Woulsleie, and so into the Thames, which after this coniunction goeth on to Kingston, and there also meeteth with another becke, rising at Ewell south of Nonsuch. Certes, this rill goeth from Ewell by the old parke, then to Maudon, & so to Kingston towne. The Thames in like maner being past Kingston, goeth to Tuddington, Petersham, Twickenham, Richmond, and Shene, where it receiueth a water on the northwest side, which comming from about Harrow on the hill, and by west of the same, goeth by Hales, Harlington, Felthan, and Thistleworth into the Thames.

The next fall of water is at Sion, nere vnto new Brane. Brainford, so that it issueth into the Thames betweene them both. This water is called Brane, that is in the Brittish tong (as Leland saith) a frog. It riseth about Edgeworth, and commeth from thence by Ringesburie, Twiford, Pertuall, Hanwell, and Aufferleie. Thence we followed our riuer to old Brentford, Mortlach, Chelwise, Barnelmes, Fulham, and Putneie, beneath which townes it crossed a becke from Wandleworth, that riseth at Woodmans turne, and going by Eathalton, meeteth another comming from Croidon by Bedington, and so going on to Mitcham, Marton abbeie, and Wandleworth, it is not long yer it fall into the Thames. Next vnto this Mariburne. is Mariburne rill on the other side, which commeth in by S. Iames, so that by this time we haue either brought the Thames, or the Thames conueied vs to London, where we rested for a season to take view of the seuerall tides there, of which each one differeth from other, by foure & twentie minuts, that is fortie eight in a whole daie, as I haue noted before, except the wether alter them. Being past London, and in the waie toward the sea: the first water that it meeteth withall, is the Brome on Kent side, west of Grenewich, whose head is Bromis in Bromleie pa- Bromis. rish, and going from thence to Lewsham, it taketh in a water from by east, and so directeth his course forth right vnto the Thames.

The next water that it meeteth withall, is on Esser side, almost against Woolwich, and that is the Lee Lee. or Lute, whose head riseth short of Kempton in Hert- Logus. fordshire, foure miles southeast of Luton, sometime called Logodunum or Logrodunum, & going through a peece of Brokehall parke (leauing Woodhall parke on the north, and Hatfield on the south, with another parke adioining) it goeth toward Hartford towne. But yer it come there, it receiueth a water (peraduenture the Marran) rising at northwest in Brode- Marran. water hundred, from aboue Welwin, northeast of Digeswell, and going to Hartingfeld burie, where the said confluence is within one mile of the towne. Beneath Hatfield also it receiueth the Beane (as I Beane. gesse) comming from Borwood by Benington, Aston, Watton, and Stapleford, and a little lower, the third arme of increase from aboue Ware, which descendeth from two heads: whereof the greatest commeth

meth from Barkewaie in Edwinſter hundred, the other Sundon in Oddeſey hundred, and after they be met beneath little Hornemeade, they go togither by Pulcherchurth, or Puckrich, Stonden, Thunderidge Wadeſmill, Benghow, and ſo into the Lée, which from hence runneth on till it come at Ware, which was drowned by the rage of the ſame 1408, and ſo to Amwell, where on the north ſide it receiueth the water that commeth from little Hadham, through a pece of Singleſhall parke, then by great Hadham, and ſo from Widford to the aforeſaid towne. From hence alſo they go as one to old Stanſted called Le Veil, branching in ſuch wiſe yer it come there, that it runneth through the towne in ſundrie places. Thence it goeth forth to Abbats Stanſted, beneath which it méeteth with the Stoure, weſt (as I remember) of Roidon. This Sture riſeth at Wenden lotes, from Sturus. whence it goeth to Langleie, Clauering, Berden, Manhuden, & Birchanger (where it taketh a rill comming from Elſingham, & Stanſted Mountfitchet.) Thence it hieth on to Biſhops Stourford, Sabrichford, and beneath this towne croſſeth with another from the eaſt ſide of Elſingham, that goeth to Hatfield, Brodocke, Shiring, Harlo, & ſo into the Stoure, and from whence they go togither to Eaſtwic, Parmedon, and nert into the Lée. Theſe things being thus performed, the Lée runneth on beneath Hoddeſdon, Broxburne, and Wormleie, where a water breaketh out by weſt of the maine ſtreame, a mile lower than Wormeleie it ſelfe, but yet within the paroch, and is called Wormeleie locke.

It runneth alſo by Cheſton nunrie, and out of this a little beneath the ſaid houſe, breaketh an arme called the Shirelake, becauſe it diuideth Eaſſex and Hartford ſhire in ſunder, and in the length of one medow called Fritheie. This lake runneth not but at great flouds, and méeteth againe with a ſuccor of ditchwater, at a place called Hockeldich, halfe a mile from his firſt breaking out, and halfe a mile lower at Marſh point ioineth againe with the ſtreame from whence it came before. Thence commeth the firſt arme to S. Maulie bridge (the firſt bridge weſtward vpon that riuer) vpon Waltham cauſie, & halfe a mile lower than Maulie bridge, at the corner of Rammie mead, it méeteth with the kings ſtreame & principall courſe of Luy, or Lée, as it is commonlie called. The ſecond arme breaketh out of the kings ſtreame at Halifield halfe a mile lower than Cheſton nunrie, and ſo to the fulling mill, and two bridges by weſt of the kings ſtreame, wherinto it falleth about a ſtones caſt lower at a place called Walkins ſhelfe, except I was wrong informed. Cheſton & Hartfordſhire men do ſaie, that the kings ſtreame at Waltham doth part Hartfordſhire and Eſſex, but the Eſſex men by forreſt charter do plead their liberties to hold vnto S. Maulies bridge. On the eaſt ſide alſo of the kings ſtreame breaketh out but one principall arme at Halifield, three quarters of a mile aboue Waltham, & ſo goeth to the corne mill in Waltham, and then to the K. ſtreame againe a little beneath the kings bridge.

From hence the Lée runneth on by ſouth on Waltonſtow till it come to Stretford Langthorne, where Alfred. it brancheth partlie of it ſelfe, and partlie by mans induſtrie for mils. Howbeit herein the dealing of Alfred (ſometimes king of England) was not of ſmalleſt force, who vnderſtanding the Danes to be gotten vp with their ſhips into the countrie, therto bill and laie his ſubiects, in the yeare of grace 896, by the conduct of this riuer: he in the meane time before they could returne, did ſo mightilie weaken the maine chanell, by drawing great numbers of trenches from the ſame; that when they purpoſed to come backe, there was nothing ſo much water left as the ſhips did draw; wherefore being ſet on ground, they were ſone fired, & the aduerſaries ouercome. By this policie alſo much medow ground was woone, & made firme land, whereby the countrie about was not a little inriched, as was alſo a part of Aſſyria by the like practiſe of Cyrus with the Ganges, at ſuch time as he came againſt Babylon, which riuer before time was in maner equall with Euphrates. For he was ſo offended, that one of his knights whom he loued derlie, was drowned and borne awaie with the water in his paſſage ouer the ſame, that he ſware a deepe oth yer long to make it ſo ſhallow that it ſhould not wet a woman to the knées. Which came to paſſe, for he cauſed all his armie to dig 46 new draines frō the ſame, wherby the vow that he had made was at the full performed. *Senec. de Tra. li. 3.* But to conclude with the Lée that ſomtime ouerflowed all thoſe medowes, through which it palleth (as for a great waie not inferior to the Thames) and I find that being paſt Weſtham, it is not long yer it fall into that ſtreame. One thing I read more of this riuer before the conqueſt, that is, how Edward the firſt, & ſonne of Alfred, in the yeare of grace 912, builded Hartford towne: at which time alſo he had Wittham a towne in Eſſex in hand, as his ſiſter called Aelfled repaired Oxford & London, and all this foure yeares before the building of Maldon, of ſome called Hertford or Herudford betweene three waters, that is, the Lée, the Benefuth, and Pemmarran, or rather Penmarran: but how theſe waters are diſtinguiſhed in theſe daies, as yet I cannot tell. It is poſſible, that the Bene may be the ſame which commeth by Benington, and Benghow: which if it be ſo, then muſt the Pemmarran be the ſame that deſcendeth from Whitwell, for not farre from thence is Branfield, which might in time paſt right well be called Warranfield, for of like inuerſion of names I could ſhew manie examples.

Being paſt the Lée (whoſe chanell is begun to be purged 1576, with further hope to bring the ſame to the north ſide of London) we come vnto the Rodon, Rodon or Rodunus. vpon Eſſex ſide in like maner, and not verie farre (for foure miles is the moſt) from the fall of the Lée. This water riſeth at little Canfield, from whence it goeth to great Canfield, high Roding, Eithorpe Roding, Ledon Roding, White Roding, Beauchampe Roding, Fiſeld, Shelleie, high Ongar, and Cheping Ongar, where the Lauer falleth into it, that ariſeth betwixt Watching and high Lauer; and taking another rill withall comming from aboue Northweld at Cheping Ongar, they ioine (I ſaie) with the Rodon, after which confluence Leland coniectureth that the ſtreame is called Iuell: for my part, I wot not Iuelus. what to ſay of it. But herof I am ſure, that the whole courſe being paſt Ongar, it goeth to Stanſted riuers, Theidon mount, Heibridge, Chigwell, Woodford bridge, Ilford bridge, Barking, & ſo into the Thames. Darwent.

The Darwent méeteth with our ſaid Thames vpon Kents ſide, two miles and more beneath Erith. It riſeth at Tanridge, or there abouts, as I haue béene informed by Chriſtopher Saxtons card late made of the ſame, and the like (I hope) he will do in all the ſeuerall ſhires of England at the infinit charges of ſir Thomas Sackford knight, & maiſter of the requeſts, whoſe zeale vnto his countrie herin I cannot but remember, & ſo much the rather, for that he meaneth to imitate Ortelius, & ſomewhat beſide this hath holpen me in the names of the townes, by which theſe riuers for the Kentiſh part do run. Would to God his plats were once finiſhed for the reſt! But to proceed. The Darwent therefore, riſing at Tanridge, goeth on by Titſete toward Brafted, and receiuing on ech ſide of that towne (& ſeuerall bankes) a riuer or rill, it goeth on to Rockhold, Shorham, Kinſford, Horton, Darnhith, Dartford or Derwentford, & there taking in the Craie on the left hand that coms from Orpington by Craie.

Marie Craie, Paules Craie, North Craie, and Craiford, it is not long yer it fall into the Thames. But after I had once paſſed the fall of the bꝛoke, it is a woꝛld to ſée what plentie of Serephium groweth vpon the Kentiſh ſhoꝛe, in whoſe deſcription Fuichſius hath not a little halted; whileſt he giueth foꝛth the hearbe Argentaria foꝛ Serephium, betwéene which there is no maner of likelihood. This neuertheleſſe is notable in the ſaid hearbe, that being tranſlated into the garden, it receiueth another foꝛme cleane different from the firſt, which it yéelded when it grew vpon the ſhoꝛe, and therevnto appeareth of moꝛe fat & foggie ſubſtance. Which maketh me to thinke that our phyſicians do take it foꝛ a diſtinct kind of woꝛmewood, whereof controuerſie ariſeth among them. The nert water that falleth into the Thames, is weſt of the Wauie Iles, a rill of no great fame, neither long courſe, foꝛ riſing about Coꝛingham, it runneth not manie miles eaſt and by ſouth, yer it fall into the mouth of this riuer, which I do now deſcribe.

I would haue ſpoken of one créeke that commeth in at Cliffe, and another that runneth downe from Haltſto by S. Maries: but ſith I vnderſtand not with what backewaters they be ſerued, I let them paſſe as not skilfull of their courſes. And thus much of the riuers that fall into the Thames, wherein I haue done what I maie, but not what I would foꝛ mine owne ſatisfaction, till I came from the head to Lechlade, vnto which, as in lieu of a farewell, I will aſcribe that diſtichon which Apollonius Rhodius wꝛiteth of the Thermodon:

Huic non eſt aliud flumen par, nec tot in agros
Vllum dimittit riuos quot fundit vtrinque.

Midwale. Nert vnto the Thames we haue the Midwale water, whereof I find two deſcriptions, the firſt beginneth thus. The Midwale water is called in Latine Medeuia (as ſome wꝛite) bicauſe the courſe therof is midwale in a manner betwéene London and Dorobernia, oꝛ (as we now call it) Canturburie. In Bꝛitiſh it hight Dourbꝛée: and thereof Rocheſter was ſometime called Durobꝛeuum. But in an old charter which I haue ſéene (conteining a donation ſometime made to the monaſterie of ſaint Andꝛews there by Ceadwalla) I find that the Saxons called this riuer Wedꝛing; and alſo a towne ſtanding betwéene Palling and eaſt Farleie, Wedꝛington; and finallie, a foꝛreſt alſo of the ſame denomination, Wedꝛington, now Waterdon, wherby the oꝛiginall name appeareth to be fetched from this ſtreame. It ariſeth in Waterdon foꝛreſt eaſt of Whetlin oꝛ Wedꝛing, and ioineth with another bꝛoke that deſcendeth from Ward foꝛreſt in Suſſex: and after this confluence they go on togither, as one by Alhhirſt, where hauing receiued alſo the ſecond bꝛoke, it haſteth to Penſherſt, and there carrieth withall the Eden, that commeth from Lingfield parke. After this it goeth to the ſoutheaſt part of Kent, and taketh with it the Frith oꝛ Firth, on the noꝛthweſt ſide, and an other little ſtreame that commeth from the hilles, betwéene Peuenburie and Hoꝛſemon on the ſoutheaſt. From thence alſo, and not farre from Palling it receiueth the Theiſe (a pꝛetie ſtreame that ariſeth about Theiſe Hirſt) afterward the Gran oꝛ Crane, which hauing his head not farre from Cranbꝛoke, and méeting with ſundꝛie other riuelets by the waie, whereof one bꝛanch of Theiſe is the laſt, foꝛ it parteth at the Twiſt, and including a pꝛetie Iland, doth ioine with the ſaid Midwale, a little aboue Palding, and then with the Lowſe. Finallie at Maidſtone it méeteth with another bꝛoke, whoſe name I know not, and then palleth by Allington, Dutton, Newhide, Halling, Cuckſtane, Rocheſter, Chatham, Gillingham, Upchurch, Kingſferrie, and falleth into the maine ſea betwéene Shepeie and the Grane.

And thus much out of the firſt authour, who commendeth it alſo, foꝛ that in time paſt it did yéeld ſuch plentie of ſturgeon, as beſide the kings poꝛtion, and a due vnto the archbiſhop of Canturburie out of the ſame, the deane and chapter of Rocheſter had no ſmall allowance alſo of that commoditie: likewiſe foꝛ the ſhꝛimps that are taken therein, which are no leſſe eſtéemed of in their kind, than the weſterne ſmelts oꝛ flounders taken in the Thames, &c. The ſecond authour deſcribeth it after this manner, and moꝛe copiouſlie than the other.

The cheefe head of this ſtreame riſeth in Waterdon foꝛreſt, from whence after it hath runne a pꝛetie waie ſtill within the ſame, eaſt of Whetlin, it méeteth with a bꝛoke, whoſe head is in Ward foꝛreſt, ſouthweſt of Grœneſted, which goeth to Hartfield, and ſo to Whetlin, and yer long ioineth with the Midwale. After this confluence it is not long yer it take in another by-weſt from Towden ward, and the third aboue Penſherſt, growing from two heads, whereof one is in Lingfield parke, the other weſt of Crawherſt; and ioining aboue Edinbꝛidge, it doth fall into the midwale beneath Heuer towne, and Chiddingſton. From Penſherſt our maine ſtreame haſteth to Ligh, Tunbꝛidge, and Twidleie, and beneath the towne, it croſſeth a water from North, whereof one head is at the Mote, another at Wroteham, the third at weſt Peckham, & likewiſe another from ſouthweſt, that runneth eaſt of Capell. Nert after this it receiueth the Theſe, whoſe foꝛked head is at Theiſe Hirſt, which deſcending downe toward the noꝛth, taketh in not farre from Scotnie a bꝛoke out of the noꝛthſide of Waterden foꝛreſt, whoſe name I find not, except it be the Dour. After this confluence our riuer goeth to Goldhirſt, and comming to the Twiſt, it bꝛancheth in ſuch wiſe, that one part of it runneth into Midwale, another into the Garan, oꝛ rather Cranebꝛoke (if my coniecture be anie thing.) The Garan (as Leland calleth it) oꝛ the Crane (as I do take it) riſeth néere to Cranebꝛoke, and going by Sillinghirſt, it receiueth yer long one water that commeth by Fretingdon, and another that runneth from great Chard by Smerdon, and Hedcoꝛne, croſſing two rilles by the waie from by noꝛth, Hedcoꝛne it ſelfe ſtanding betwéene them both. Finallie, the Garan oꝛ Crane méeting with Midwale ſouth of Palling, they on the one ſide, and the Theſe on the other, leaue a pꝛetie Iland in the middeſt, of foure miles in length, and two in bꝛeadth, wherein is ſome hillie ſoile, but neither towne noꝛ village, ſo farre as I remember.

From Palling foꝛward, the Midwale goeth to weſt Farlegh, eaſt Farlegh: and yer it come at Maidſtone, it interteineth a rill that riſeth ſhoꝛt of Jenham, and goeth by Ledes and Otteringden, which is verie beneficiall to clothiers in dꝛie yéeres: foꝛ thither they conueie their clothes to be thicked at the fulling milles, ſometimes ten miles foꝛ the ſame: there is alſo at Ledes great plentie of fulling earth, which is a neceſſarie commoditie.

Being paſt Maidſtone, it runneth by Allington, Snodland, Halling, Cuckſtane, and Rocheſter, where it paſſeth vnder a faire bꝛidge of ſtone, with a verie ſwift courſe, which bꝛidge was begun 1388 by the loꝛd John Cobham, the ladie Margaret his wife, and the valiant ſir Robert Knolles, who gaue the firſt onſet vpon that péece of woꝛke, and therevnto builded a chapell of the Trinitie at the end therof, in teſtimonie of his pietie. In pꝛoceſſe of time alſo one John Warner of Rocheſter made the new coping therof; and archbiſhop Warham of Canturburie the iron barres: the biſhops alſo of that ſée were not ſlacke in their benevolence and furtherances toward that

Frethus.

Theiſe. Grane *aliàs* Cranus.

Garunus, Cranus.

that worke, eſpecially Walter Merton founder of Merton college in Oxford, who by misfortune periſhed by falling from the ſame, as he rode to ſurueie the workemen. Being paſt Rochester, this noble riuer goeth to Chatham, Gillingham, Upchurin, and ſome after branching, it imbraceth the Græne at his fall, as his two heads do Aſhdon forreſt, that lieth betweene them both.

Of ſuch ſtreames as fall into the ſea, betweene the Thames and the mouth of the Sauerne.

Chap. 12.

Stoure.

AFter the Midwaie we haue the Stoure that riſeth at Ringeſwood, which is fourtéene or fiftéene miles from Canturburie. This riuer paſſeth by Aſhford, Wie, Packington, Canturburie, Fordith, Standiſh, and Sturemouth, where it receiueth another riuer growing of three branches. After our Stoure or Sture parteth it ſelf in twaine, & in ſuch wiſe, that one arme therof goeth toward the north, and is called (when it commeth at the ſea) the north mouth of Stoure; the other runneth ſoutheaſt ward vp to Richborow, and ſo to Sandwich, from whence it goeth northeaſt againe and falleth into the ſea. The iſſue of this later tract is called the hauen of Sandwich. And peraduenture the ſtreame that commeth downe thither, after the diuiſion of the Stoure, maie be the ſame which Beda calleth Wantſome; but as I cannot vndo this knot at will, ſo this is certeine, that the Stoure on the one ſide, and peraduenture, the Wantſome on the other, parteth and cutteth the Tenet from the maine land of Kent, whereby it is left for an Iland.

Nailburne water alſo (as I heare) neer to Canturburie, but I wote not whereabouts: ſee Marianus Scotus.

Wantſome.

There are other little brookes which fall into the Stoure, whereof Leland ſpeaketh, as Filchpole brooke that ariſeth in Stonehirſt wood, and meeteth with it foure miles from Canturburie: another beginneth at Chiſlet, and goeth into the Stoure gut, which ſometime incloſed Thanet, as Leland ſaith: the third iſſueth out of the ground at Northburne (where Eadbert of Kent ſometime paſt held his palace) and runneth to Sandwich hauen, as the ſaid authour reporteth: and the fourth called Bridgewater that riſeth by S. Marie Burne church, and going by Biſhops Burne, meeteth with Canturburie water at Stourmouth: alſo Witham that riſeth aboue Witham ſhort of Adſam, and falleth into Bridgewater at Dudmill, or Wenderton: and the third namelеſſe, which riſeth ſhort of Wodenſburgh (a towne wherein Hengiſt & the Saxons honored their grand idoll Woden, or Othine) and goeth by Staple to Wingam: but ſith they are obſcure I will not touch them here. From hence paſſing by the Goodwine, a plot verie perilous for ſea-faring men (ſometime firme land, that is, vntill the tenth of the conquerours ſonne, whoſe name was William Rufus, and wherein a great part of the inheritance of erle Goodwine in time paſt was knowne to lie) but eſcaping it with eaſe, we came at length to Douer. In all which voiage we found no ſtreame, by reaſon of the cliffes that inuiron the ſaid coaſt. Howbeit vpon the ſouth ſide of Douer, there is a prettie freſh riuer, whoſe head ariſeth at Erwell, not paſſing foure miles from the ſea, and of ſome is called Dour, which in the Britiſh tong is a common name for waters, as is alſo the old Britiſh word Auon for the greateſt riuers, into whoſe mouthes or falles ſhippes might find ſafe entrance; and therefore ſuch are in my time called hauens, a new word growen by an aſpiration added to the old: the Scots call it Auen. But more of this elſe-where, ſith I am now onelie to ſpeake of Dour, wherof it is likelie that the towne & caſtell of Douer did ſometime take the name. From hence we go toward the Camber (omitting peraduenture here and there ſundrie ſmall creeks void of backwater by the waie) whereabouts the Rother a noble riuer falleth into the ſea. This Rother ſeparateth Suſſex from Kent, and hath his head in Suſſex, not farre from Argas hill neere to Waterden forreſt, and from thence directeth his courſe vnto Rotherfield. After this it goeth to Ethlingham or Hitchingham, and ſo forth by Newendon vnto Watham ferrie, where it diuideth it ſelfe in ſuch wiſe, that one branch thereof goeth to Apledoure (where is a caſtell ſometime builded by the Danes, in the time of Alfred, as they did erect another at Middleton, and the third at Beamflete) and at this towne, where it meeteth the Bilie that riſeth about Bilſington, the other by Iden, ſo that it includeth a fine parcell of ground called Orneie, which in time paſt was reputed as a parcell of Suſſex; but now vpon ſome occaſion or other (to me vnknowne) annexed vnto Kent. From hence alſo growing into ſome greatneſſe, it runneth to Rie, where it meeteth finallie with the Becke, which commeth from Beckleie: ſo that the plot wherein Rie ſtandeth, is in manner a by-land or peninſula, as experience doth confirme. Leland and moſt men are of the likelieſt opinion, that this riuer ſhould be called the Limen, which (as Peter of Cornhull ſaith) doth iſſue out of Andredeſwald, where the head therof is knowne to be. Certes, I am of the opinion, that it is called the Rother vnto Apledoure, & from thence the Limen, becauſe the Danes are noted to enter into theſe parts by the Limen; and ſailing on the ſame to Apledoure, did there begin to fortifie, as I haue noted alreadie. Howbeit, in our time it is knowne by none other name than the Rother or Apledoure water, whereof let this ſuffice.

Rother.

Bilie.

Becke.

Limenus.

Being thus croſſed ouer to the weſt ſide of Rie hauen, & in viewing the iſſues that fall into the ſame, I meet firſt of all with a water that groweth of two brookes, which come downe by one chanell into the eaſt ſide of the mouth of the ſaid port. The firſt therfore that falleth into it deſcendeth from Beckleie or thereabouts (as I take it) the next runneth along by Peſemarſh, & ſoone after ioining with all, they hold on as one, till they fall into the ſame at the weſterlie ſide of Rie: the third ſtreame commeth from the north, and as it mounteth vp not farre from Punfield, ſo it runneth betweene Seſcambe and Wacklinton neere vnto Bread, taking another rill withall that riſeth (as I heare) not verie far from Weſtfield. There is likewiſe a fourth that groweth of two heads betweene Jelingham and Pet, and going by Winchelſeie it meeteth with all about Rie hauen, ſo that Winchelſeie ſtandeth inuironed on three parts with water, and the ſtreames of theſe two that I haue laſt rehearſed.

The water that falleth into the Ocean, a mile by ſouthweſt of Haſtings, or therabouts, is called Æſtus or Aſten: perhaps of Haſten or Haſting the Dane, (who in time paſt was a plague to France and England) & riſing not far from Penhirſt, it meeteth with the ſea (as I heare) by eaſt of Hollington. Buluerhith is but a creeke (as I remember) ſerued with no backewater; and ſo I heare of Codding or Old hauen, wherefore I meane not to touch them.

Dour.

Aeſtus.

Buluerhithe.

Into Peuenſeie hauen diuerſe waters do reſort, and of theſe, that which entereth into the ſame on the eaſt ſide riſeth out from two heads, whereof the moſt eaſterlie is called Aſh, the next vnto the Burne, and vniting themſelues not farre from Aſhburne, they continue their courſe vnder the name and title of Aſhburne water, as I read. The ſecond that commeth thereinto iſſueth alſo of two heads, whereof the one is ſo manie miles from Boreham, the other not

Peuenſeie.

Aſh.

Burne.

far from the Parke east of Hellingstowne, and both of them concurring southwest of Hirstmowsen, they direct their course toward Penensete (beneath which they meet with another rising at Foington) and thence go in one chanell for a mile or more, till they fall togither into Penensete hauen. The Cuckmer issueth out at seuerall places, and hereof the more easterlie branch commeth from Warbleton ward, the other from Bishops wood, and meeting beneth Halling, they run in one bottome by Wicham, Arlington, Wellington, old Frithstan, and so into the sea.

Cucomarus.

Lis, *ni fallor.*

Unto the water that commeth out at Newhauen, sundrie brookes and riuerets do resort, but the chiefe head riseth toward the west, somewhat betweene Etchinford and Shepleie, as I heare. The first water therefore that falleth into the same on the east side, issueth out of the ground about Uertwood, and running from thence by Langhton and Ripe, on the west side, it falleth into the aforesaid riuer beneath Forle and Glinne, or three miles lower than Lewis, if the other buttall like you not. The nert hereunto hath his head in Argas hill, the third descendeth from Ashedon forrest, and ioining with the last mentioned, they crosse the maine riuer a little beneath Isefield. The fourth water commeth from Ashedon forrest by Horsted Caines (or Ouseftate Caines) and falleth into the same, likewise east of Linfield. Certes I am deceiued if this riuer be not called Lis, after it is past Isefield. The fift riseth about Storuelgate, and meeteth also with the maine streame aboue Linfield, and these are knowen to lie vpon the right hand as we rowed vp the riuer. On the other side are onelie two, whereof the first hath his originall neere vnto Wenefield, and holding on his course toward the east, it meeteth with his master betweene Newicke and Isefield (or Ifield) as some read it. The last of all commeth from Plimodune or Plumpton, and hauing met in like sort with the maine riuer about Barcham, it runneth forth with it, & they rest in one chanell by Barcham, Hamsete, Malling, Lewis, Piddingburne, and so forth into the maine.

Sturewell.

Plinus.

The nert riuer that we came vnto west of Brighthemston is the Soze, which notwithstanding I find to be called Brember water, in the ancient map of Marton colledge in Oxford: but in such sort (as I take it) as the Rother or Limen is called Appledoure streame, because of the said towne that standeth thervpon. But to proceed, it is a pleasant water, & thereto if you consider the situation of his armes, and branches from the higher grounds, verie much resembling a foure stringed whip. Whereabout the head of this riuer is, or which of these branches may safelie be called Soza from the rising, in good sooth I cannot say. For after we had passed nine or ten miles thereon vp into the land, suddenlie the crosse waters stoped vs, so that we were inforced to turne either east or west, for directlie forth-right we had no waie to go. The first arme on the right hand as we went, riseth out of a parke by south of Alborne, and going on for a certeine space toward the northwest, it turneth southward betweene Shermonburie and Twinham, and sone after meeteth with the Bimar, not much south from Shermonburie, whence they run together almost two miles, till they fall into the Soze. That on the west side descendeth from about Bilingeshirst, & going toward the east, it crosseth with the fourth (which riseth a litle by west of Thacam) east from Pulborow, and so they run as one into the Soze, that after this confluence hasteth it selfe southward by Brember, Burleis, the Combes, and yer long into the Ocean.

Soza.

Bimarus.

Arunus.

The Arun (of which beside Arundell towne the castell and the vallie wherin it runneth is called Vallis Aruntina, or Arundale in English) is a goodlie water, and thereto increased with no small number of excellent & pleasant brookes. It springeth vp of two heads, whereof one descendeth from the north not far from Gretham, and going by Lis, meeteth with the nert streame (as I gesse) about Dourisford house. The second riseth by west from the hils that lie toward the rising of the sunne from East maine, and runneth by Peterfield. The third commeth from Berton ward, and ioineth with the second betweene Peterfield and Dourisford, after which confluence they go togither in one chanell still toward the east (taking a rill with them that commeth betweene Fernehirst and S. Lukes chappell, southwest of Linchmere, and meeting with it east of Loddesworth (as I do read, and likewise sundrie other in one chanell beneath Stopham) to Waltham, Burie, Houghton, Stoke, Arundell, Tortington ford, Climping (all on the west side) and so into the sea.

Hauing thus described the west side of Arun, let vs do the like with the other in such sort as we best may. The first riuer that we come vnto therfore on the east side, and also the second, rise of sundrie places in S. Leonards forrest, & ioining a little aboue Horsham, they meet with the third, which commeth from Ifield parke, not verie farre from Slinfeld. The fourth hath two heads, whereof one riseth in Witleie parke, the other by west, neere vnto Heselmeere chappell, and meeting by west of Dourisfeld, they vnite themselues with the chanell, growing by the confluence that I spake of beneath Slinfeld, a little aboue Billingshirst. The last water commeth from the hils aboue Linchemere, and runneth west and south, and passing betweene Billingthirst and Stopham, it commeth vnto the chanell last mentioned, and so into the Arun beneath Stopham, without anie further increase, at the least that I do heare of.

Burne hath his issue in a parke neere Aldingburie (or rather a little aboue the same toward the north, as I haue since beene informed) and running by the bottomes toward the south, it falleth betweene north Berflete and Flesham. Erin riseth of sundrie heads, by east of Erinleie, and directing his course toward the sunne rising, it peninsulateth Seleseie towne on the southwest and Pagham at northwest. Deel springeth about Benderton, and thence running betweene middle Lauant and east Lauant, it goeth by west of west Hampnet, by east of Chichester, or west of Rumbaldesdowne, and afterward by Fishburne, where it meeteth with a rill comming north west from Funtingdon (a little beneath the towne) & then running thus in one streame toward the sea, it meeteth with another rillet comming by north of Bosham, and so into Auant gulfe by east of Thorneie Iland.

Burne.

Elin.

Delus.

The Racon riseth by east of Racton or Racodunum (as Leland calleth it) and comming by Chidham, it falleth into the sea, northeast of Thorneie aforesaid. The Emill commeth first betweene Racton and Stanked, then downe to Emilsworth or Emmesworth, & so vnto the Ocean, separating Sussex from Hampshire almost from the very head. Hauing in this maner passed along the coasts of Sussex, the nert water that I remember, riseth by east of the forrest of Esbirie, from whence it goeth by Southwike, west Burhunt, Farham, and so into the gulfe almost full south. Then come we to Bedenham creeke (so called of a village standing thereby) the mouth whereof lieth almost directlie against Portchester castell, which is situat about three miles by water from Portesmouth towne, as Leland doth report. Then go we within halse a mile further to Forten creeke, which either giueth or taketh name of

Racunus.

Emill.

Badunus forte.

Forten or Fordon.

Osterpoole. a village hard by. After this we come to Osterpoole lake, a great creeke, that goeth vp by west into the land, and lieth not far from a round turret of stone, from whence also there goeth a chaine to another tower on the east side directlie ouer against it, the like whereof is to be seene in diuerse other hauens of the west countrie, whereby the entrance of great vessels into that part may be at pleasure restreined.

From hence we go further to Tichefeld water, that riseth about Eastmaine parke, ten or twelue miles by northeast or there abouts from Tichefeld. Tichefeld. From Eastmaine it goeth (parting the forrests of Waltham, and Eastberie by the way) to Witham or Wilcombe, a prettie market towne & large thoroughfare, where also the water separateth it selfe into two armelets, and going vnder two bridges of wood commeth yet long againe vnto one chanell. From hence it goeth three or foure miles further, to a bridge of timber by maister Writhoseleies house (leauing Titchfeld towne on the right side) and a little beneath runneth vnder Ware bridge, whither the sea floweth as his naturall course inforceth. Finallie, within a mile of this bridge it goeth into the water of Hampton hauen, whervnto diuerse streames resort, as you shall heare hereafter.

Hametrish. After this we come to Hamble hauen, or Hametrish creeke, whose salt is betweene saint Andrewes castell, and Hoke. It riseth about Shidford in Waltham forrest, & when it is past Croke bridge, it meeteth with another broke, which illueth not farre from Bishops Waltham, out of sundrie springs in the high waie on Winchester, from whence it passeth (as I said) by Bishops Waltham, then to Budeleie or Botleie, and then ioining with the Hamble, they run together by Prowlingsworth, Upton, Brusill, Hamble towne, and so into the sea.

Southhampton. Now come we to the hauen of Southhampton, by Ptolomie called Magnus portus, which I will briefelie describe so neere as I can possiblie. The breadth or entrie of the mouth hereof (as I take it) is by estimation two miles from shore to shore. At the west point therof also is a strong castell latelie builded, which is rightlie named Caldshore, but now Cawshot, I wote not by what occasion. On the east side thereof also is a place called Hoke (afore mentioned) or Hamell hoke; wherein are not aboue three or foure fisher houses, not worthie to be remembred. This hauen shooteth vp on the west side by the space of seuen miles, vntill it come to Hampton towne, standing on the other side, where it is by estimation a mile from land to land. Thence it goeth vp further about three miles to Redbridge, still ebbing and flowing thither, and one mile further, so farre as my memorie doth serue mee. Now it resteth that I describe the Alresford streame, which some do call the Arre or Arle, and I will proceed withall in this order following.

Alresford. The Alresford beginneth of diuerse faire springs, about a mile or more frō Alresford, or Alford as it is now called, and some after resorting to one bottome, they become a broad lake, which for the most part is called Alford pond. Afterward returning againe to a narrow chanell, it goeth through a stone bridge at the end of Alford towne (leauing the towne it selfe on the left hand) toward Hichingstocke three miles off, but yer it commeth there, it receiueth two rils in one bottome, whereof one commeth from the Forrest in maner at hand, and by northwest of old Alresford, the other frō Browne Candiuer, that goeth by Northenton, Swarewotton, Aberstone, &c: vntill we meet with the said water beneath Alford towne. Being past Hichinstocke, it commeth by Auington to Elton village, and to Worthie, where it beginneth to branch, and ech arme to part it selfe into other that resort to Hide and the lower solles by east of Winchester, there serning the streets, the close of S. Maries, Wolueseie, and the new college verie plentifullie with their water. But in this meane while, the great streame commeth from Worthie to the east bridge, and so to saint Elizabeth college, where it doth also part in twaine, enuironing the said house in most delectable maner. After this it goeth toward S. Crosses, leauing it a quarter of a mile on the right hand: then to Twiford (a mile lower) where it gathereth againe into one bottome, and goeth six miles further to Woodmill, taking the Otter broke withall on the east side, and so into the salt creeke that leadeth downe to the hauen. Otter.

On the other side of Southhampton, there resorteth into this hauen also both the Test & the Stockbridge water in one bottome, whereof I find this large description insuing. The verie head of the Stockewater, is supposed to be somewhere about Basing stoke, or church Hockleie, and going from thence betweene Duerton and Steuenton, it commeth at last by Lauerstocke & Whitchurch, and some after receiuing a broke by northwest, called the Bourne (descending from S. Marie Bourne, southeast from Horseburne) it procedeth by Long paroch and the wood, till it meet with the Cranburne, on the east side (a prettie riuelet rising about Pichelnete, and going by Fullington, Barton, and to Cramburne) thence to Horwell in one bottome, beneath which it meeteth with the Andeuer water, that is increased yer it come there by an other broke, whose name I do not know. This Andeuer streame riseth in Culhamshire forrest, not far by north from Andeuer towne, and going to vpper Clatford, yer it touch there it receiueth the rill of which I spake before, which rising also neere vnto Anport, goeth to Monketon, to Abbatesham, the Andeuer, and both (as I said) vnto the Test beneath Horwell, whereof I spake euen now. Stocke. Bourne.

These streames being thus brought into one bottome, it runneth toward the south vnder Stockbridge, and some after diuiding it selfe in twaine, one branch thereof goeth by Houghton, & a little beneath meeteth with a rill, that commeth from bywest of S. Ans hill, and goeth by east of vpper Wallop, west of nether Wallop, by Bucholt forrest, Broughton, and called (as I haue beene informed) the Gallop, but now it is named Wallop. The other arme runneth through the parke, by north west of kings Somburne, and vniting themselues againe, they go forth by Mottesfont, and then receiue the Test, a prettie water rising in Clarendun parke, that goeth by west Deane, and east Deane, so to Mottesfont, and finallie to the aforesaid water, which from thencefoorth is called the Test, euen vnto the sea. But to proceed. After this confluence, it taketh the gate to Kimbebridge, then to Rumseie, Longbridge, and beneath the same receiueth a concourse of two rilles whereof the one commeth from Sheresield, the other from the new Forrest, and ioining in Wadeleie parke, they beat vpon the Test, not verie farre from Nurseling. From thence the Test goeth vnder a prettie bridge, before it come at Redbridge, from whence it is not long yer it fall into the hauen. Walopius. Test.

The next riuer that runneth into this port, springeth in the new Forrest, and commeth thereinto about Eling, not passing one mile by west of the fall of Test. From hence casting about againe into the maine sea, and leauing Calde shore castell on the right hand, we directed our course toward the southwest, vnto Beaulieu hauen, whereinto the Pineie descendeth. The Pineie riseth not far from Pineiested, a village in the north part of the new Forrest; and going by Beaulieu, it falleth into the sea southwest, Eling. Pineie.

west (as I take it) of Erburie, a village standing vpon the shore.

Limen. Being past the Mineie, we crossed the Limen as it is now called, whose head is in the verie hart of the new Forrest (sometime conuerted into a place of nourishment for deere by William Rufus, buteng his pleasure with the ruine of manie towns and villages, as diuerse haue inclosed or inlarged their parks by the spoile of better occupiengs) & running southwest of Lindhirst & the parke, it goeth by east of Brokenhirst, west of Bulder, & finallie into the sea south and by east of Lemington. I take this not to be the proper name of the water, but of the hauen, for Limen in Greeke is an hauen: so that Limendune is nothing else, but a downe or higher plot of ground lieng on the hauen: neuertheless, sith this denomination of the riuer hath now hir free passage, I think it not conuenient to seeke out any other name that should be giuen vnto it. The nert fall that we passed by is nameless, except it be called Bure, & as it descendeth from new Forrest, so the nert vnto it hight Bure. Wilts. Pile, as I haue heard in English. Certes the head thereof is also in the southwest part of the said Forrest, & the fall not far from Milford bridge, beyond the which I find a narrow going or stricland leading fro the point to Hirst castell which standeth into the sea, as if it hong by a thred, from the maine of the Iland, readie to be washed awaie by the continuall working and dailie beating of the waues.

Auon. The nert riuer that we came vnto of anie name is the Auon, which (as Leland saith) riseth by northeast, and not far from Wolfehall in Wiltshire, supposed to be the same which Ptolomie called Valenus. The first notable bridge that it runneth vnto, is at Uphauen, thence foure miles further it goeth to little Ambresburie, and there is another bridge, from thence to Wodford village, standing at the right hand banke, and Newton village on the left. The bishops of Sarum had a proper manor place at Wodford, which bishop Sharton pulled downe altogither, bicause it was somewhat in ruine. Thence it goeth to Fisherton bridge, to Cranebridge, old Salisburie, new Salisburie, and finallie to Harnham, which is a statelie bridge of stone, of six arches at the least. There is at the west end of the said bridge, a little Iland, that lieth betwixt this and another bridge, of foure prettie arches, and vnder this later runneth a good round streame, which (as I take it) is a branch of Auon, that breaketh out a little aboue, & soone after it reuniteth it selfe againe: or else that Wilton water hath there his entrie into the Auon, which I cannot yet determine. From Harneham bridge it goeth to Downton, that is about foure miles, and so much in like sort from thence to Fordingbridge, to Ringwood bridge fiue miles, to Christes church Twinham fiue miles, and streight into the sea; and hitherto Leland of this streame, which for the worthinesse thereof (in mine opinion) is not sufficientlie described. Wherefore I thinke good to deliuer a second receiued of another, which in more particular maner doth exhibit his course vnto vs.

Certes this Auon is a goodlie riuer, rising (as I said before neere) vnto Wolfe hall; although he that will seeke more scrupulouslie for the head in deed, must looke for the same about the borders of the forrest of Sauernake (that is Soure oke) which lieth as if it were imbraced betweene the first armes thereof, as I haue beene informed. These heads also do make a confluence by east of Martinshall hill, and west of Wotton. From whence it goeth to Milton, Powseie, Panningfield abbeie, Panningfield crosse, and beneath Newington taketh in one rill west from Rudborow, and another a little lower that riseth also west of Alcanninges, and runneth into the same by Patneie, Berden, Wilford, Charleton, and Kyrkesall. Being therefore past Newington, it goeth to Uphauen (whereof Leland speaketh) to Chessilburie, Compton, Ablington, little Almsburie, Darntford, Wodford, old Salisburie, and so to new Salisburie, where it receiueth one notable riuer from by northwest, & another from northeast, which two I will first describe, leauing the Auon at Salisburie for a while. The first of these is called the Wilugh, whereof the whole shire doth take hir name, and not of the great plentie of willowes growing therein, as some fantasticall heads do imagine: whereof also there is more plentie in that countrie than is to be found in other places. It riseth among the Deuerels, and running thence by hill Deuerell, & Deuerell long bridge, it goeth toward Bishops straw, taking in one rill by west & another from Upton by Werminster at northwest. From Bishops straw it goeth to Norton, Upton, Badhampton, Steplinford, and Stapleford, where it meeteth with the Winterburie water from by north, descending from Paddenton by Winterburne. From Stapleford it hasteth to Wishford, Newton, Chilhampton, Wilton: and thither commeth a water vnto it from southwest, which riseth of two heads aboue Duerdonet. After this it goeth by Wordcastell, to Tisburie, and there receiueth a water on each side, whereof one commeth from Funthill, the other from two issues (of which one riseth at Austie, the other at Swalodise) and so keeping on still with his course, our Wilugh runneth nert of all by Sutton. Thence it goeth to Fouant, Boberstocke, Southburcombe, Wilton (where it taketh in the Fomington or Nader water) Westharnam, Salisburie, and Eastharnam: and this is the race of Wilugh. Wilugh. Nader becke.

The other is a naked arme or streame without anie branches. It riseth aboue Colingburne Kingston in the hils, and thence it goeth to Colingburne, the Tidworths (whereof the more southerlie is in Wiltshire) Shipton, Cholterton, Newton, Toneie, Idmerson, Porton, the Winterburns, Lauerstocke, and so into Auon east of Salisburie. And thus is the confluence made of the aforesaid waters, with this our second Auon, whereinto another water falleth (called Becquithes broke) a mile beneath Harneham bridge, whose head is fiue miles from Sarum, and three miles aboue Becquithes bridge, as Leland doth remember, who noteth the Chalkeburne water to haue his due recourse also at this place into the aforesaid riuer. Certes it is a prettie broke, and riseth six miles from Shaftesburie, and in the waie toward Salisburie in a bottome on the right hand, whence it commeth by Knighton and Fennistratford, to Honington, that is about twelue miles from the head, and about two miles and an halfe from Honington beneath Odstocke, goeth into the Auon, a mile lower than Harnham bridge, except he forget himselfe. This Harnham, whereof I now intreat, was sometime a prettie village before the erection of new Salisburie, and had a church of S. Martine belonging vnto it, but now in steed of this church, there is onelie a barne standing in a verie low mead on the northside of S. Michaels hospitall. The cause of the relinquishing of it was the moistnesse of the soile, verie oft ouerflowne. And whereas the kings high waie laie sometime through Wilton, licence was obteined of the king and Richard bishop of Salisburie, to remoue that passage vnto new Salisburie in like maner, and vpon this occasion was the maine bridge made ouer Auon at Harneham. By this exchange of the waie also old Salisburie fell into vtter decaie, & Wilton which was before the head towne of the shire, and furnished with twelue parish churches, grew to be but a poore village, and of small reputation. Howbeit, this was not the onelie cause of Becquith broke. Chalkeburne. Three towns decaied by changing one waie.

the

the ruine of old Salisburie, sith I read of two other, whereof the first was a salue vnto the latter, as I take it. For whereas it was giuen out, that the townesmen wanted water in old Salisburie, it is flat otherwise; sith that hill is verie plentifullie serued with springs and wels of verie swet water. The truth of the matter therefore is this.

In the time of ciuill warres, the souldiors of the castell and chanons of old Sarum fell at ods, insomuch that after often bralles, they fell at last to sad blowes. It happened therefore in a rogation weeke that the cleargie going in solemne procession, a controuersie fell betweene them about certeine walkes and limits, which the one side claimed and the other denied. Such also was the hot intertainment on ech part, that at the last the Castellanes espieng their time, gate betweene the cleargie and the towne, and so coled them as they returned homeward, that they feared anie more to gang about their bounds for the yeare. Herevpon the people missing their bellie cheare (for they were wont to haue banketing at euerie station, a thing commonlie practised by the religious in old time, wherewith to linke in the commons vnto them, whom anie man may lead whither he will by the bellie, or as Latimer said, with beefe, bread and beere) they conceiued forthwith a deadlie hatred against the Castellans. But not being able to cope with them by force of armes, they consulted with Richard Poore their bishop, and he with them so effectuallie, that it was not long yer they, I meane the chanons, began a new church vpon a peece of their owne ground called Mirifield, pretending to serue God there in better safetie, and with far more quietnesse than they could do before. This church was begun 1219, the nine and twentith of Aprill, and finished with the expenses of 42000 marks, in the yeare 1260, and fiue & twentith of March, whereby it appeareth that it was aboue fortie yeers in hand, although the clearks were translated to the new towne 1220, or the third yeere after the graie. The people also, seeing the diligence of the chanons, and reputing their harmes for their owne inconuenience, were as earnest on the other side to be neere vnto these prelats, and therefore euerie man brought his house vnto that place, & thus became old Sarum in few yeeres vtterlie desolate, and new Salisburie raised vp in stead thereof, to the great decaie also of Harnham and Wilton, whereof I spake of late. Neuertheless it should seeme to me that this new citie is not altogither void of some great hinderances now and then by water: for in the second of Edward the second (who held a parlement there) there was a sudden thaw after a great frost, which caused the waters so fast to arise, that euen at high masse time the water came into the minster, and not onelie ouerflowed the nether part of the same, but came vp all to the kings pauase where he sate, whereby he became wetshod, and in the end inforced to leaue the church, as the executour did his masse, least they should all haue beene drowned: and this rage indured there for the space of two daies, whereupon no seruice could be said in the said minster.

In hotie conflict.

New Salisburie begun.

Now to returne againe from whence I thus digressed. Our Auon therefore departing from Salisburie, goeth by Burtford, Longford, and taking in the waters afore mentioned by the waie, it goeth by Stanleie, Dunketon, Crailford, Burgate, Fording bridge, Ringwood, Auon, Christes church; and finallie into the sea. But yer it come all there & a litle beneth Christes church, it crosseth the Stoure or Sture, a verie faire streame, whose course is such as may not be left vntouched. It riseth of six heads, whereof three lie on the north side of the parke at Sturton within the pale, the other rise without the parke; & of this riuer the towne and baronie of Sturton doth take his name as I gesse, for except my memorie do too much faile me, the lord Sturton giueth the six heads of the said water in his armes. But to proceed. After these branches are conioined in one bottome, it goeth to long Laime mill, Stilton, Milton, and beneath Gillingham receiueth a water that descendeth from Mere. Thence the Sture goeth to Bugleie, Stoure, Westouer bridge, Stoure prouost, and yer long it taketh in the Cale water, from Pen that commeth downe by Wickhampton to Moreland, & so to Stapleford, seuen miles from Wickhampton, passing in the said voiage, by Wine Caunton, and the fiue bridges. After this confluence, it runneth to Hinton Parles, and sone after crosseth the Lidden and Deuilis waters all in one chanell, whereof the first riseth in Blackemore vale, and goeth to the bishops Caundell: the second in the hils south of Pulham, and so runneth to Lidlinch; the third water issueth neere Ibberton, and going by Fifehed to Lidlington, and there meeting with the Lidden, they receiue the Blackewater aboue Bagburne, and so go into the Stoure.

Cale. Lidden. Deuilis. Iber. Blackewater.

After this the Stoure runneth on to Stoureton minster, Fitleford, Hammond, and sone after taking in one water that commeth from Hargraue by west Orchard, and a second from Funtmill, it goeth on to Chele, Ankeford, Handford, Durweston, Knighton, Brainston, Blandford, Charleton: and crossing yer long a rill that riseth about Tarrent, and goeth to Launston, Munketon, Caunston, Tarrant, it proceedeth forth by Shepwic, and by and by receiuing another broke on the right hand, that riseth about Strickland, and goeth by Quarleston, Whitchurch, Anderston, and Winterburne, it hasteth forward to Stoureminster, Berford lake, Alen bridge, Winburne, *alias* Twinburne minster, whither commeth a water called Alen (from Knolton, Wilkehampton, Essambridge, Hinton, Barnsleie) which hath two heads, whereof one riseth short of Woodcotes, and east of Farneham, named Terig, the other at Munketon aboue S. Giles Winburne, and going thence to S. Giles Athleie, it taketh in the Horton becke, as the Horton doth the Cranburne. Finallie, meeting with the Terig aboue Knolton, they run on vnder the name of Alen to the Stoure, which goeth to the Canfords, Preston, Kingston, Perleie, and Polnest: but yer it come at Polnest it taketh in two brokes in one bottome, whereof one commeth from Woodland parke by Holt parke, and Holt, another from aboue vpper Winburne, by Edmondesham, Uertwood, and Pamington, and ioining about S. Leonards, they go to Hornebridge, and so into Stoure. After which confluence, the said Stoure runneth by Iuor bridge, and so into Auon, leauing Christs church aboue the meeting of the said waters (as I haue said before.)

This Stoure aboundeth with pike, perch, roch, dace, gudgeon and eles.

Hauing in this maner passed Christes church head we come to the fall of the Burne, which is a little broke running from Stourefield heath, without branches; from whence we proceeded: & the next fall that we come vnto is Poole, from whose mouth vpon the shore, by southwest in a baie of three miles off, is a poore fisher towne called Sandwich, where we saw a peere and a little fresh broke. The verie vtter part of saint Adelmes point, is fiue miles from Sandwich. In another baie lieth west Lillewoorth, where (as I heare) is some profitable harborough for ships. The towne of Poole is from Winburne about foure miles, and it standeth almost as an Ile in the hauen. The hauen it selfe also, if a man should measure it by the circuit, wanteth little of twentie miles, as I did gesse by the view.

Sturus. Burne. Poole.

Going therefore into the same, betweene the north

and

and the south points, to see what waters were there, we left Brunkeleie Iland, and the castell on the left hand within the said points; and passing about by Pole, and leauing that creeke, because it hath no fresh, we came by Holton and Beswoorth, where we beheld two falles, of which one was called the north, the other the south waters. The north streame hight Piddle as I heare. It riseth about Alton, and goeth from thence to Piddle trench head, Piddle hinton, Walterstow, and yer it come at Birstam, receiueth Deuils brooke that commeth thither from Brugham and Melcombe by Deuilish towne. Thence it goeth to Tow piddle, Ashe piddle, Turners piddle (taking in yer it come there, a water that runneth from Helton by Middleton, Milburne & Biere) then to Hide, and so into Pole hauen, and of this water Marianus Scotus speaketh, except I be deceiued. The south water is properlie called Frome for Frame. It riseth neere vnto Euershot, and going downe by Fromequitaine, Chelmington, and Catstocke, it receiueth there a rill from beside Rowlham, and Wrarehall. After this it goeth on to Chilfrome, and thence to Maden Newton, where it meeteth with the Dwke, that riseth either two miles aboue Yoke parke at Benford, or in the great pond within Yoke parke, and going by the Tollards, falleth into the Frome about Maden Newton, & so go as one from thence to Fromebauchirch, Crokewaie, Frampton, and Muckilford, and receiueth neere vnto the same a till from aboue Upsidling by S. Nicholas Sidling, and Grimston. From hence it goeth on by Stratton and Bradford Peuerell, and beneath this Bradford, it crosseth the Silleie *alias* Winterne and Cherne brooks both in one chanell: whereof the first riseth in vpper Cherne parish, the other at Winterne, and meeting aboue middle Cherne, they go by nether Cherne, Forston, Godmanston, and aboue Charneminster into Frome. In the meane time also our Frome brancheth and leaueth an Iland aboue Charneminster, and ioining againe neere Dorchester, it goeth by Dorchester, and Forthington; but yer it come at Beckington, it meeteth with another Becke that runneth thereinto from Winterburne, Stapleton, Martinstow, Heringstow, Caine and Stafford, and from thence goeth without anie further increase as yet to Beckington, Knighton, Tinkleton, Morton, Woll, Bindon, Stoke, & beneath Stoke receiueth the issue of the Luckeford lake, from whence also it passeth by Eastholme, Warham, and so into the Baie. From this fall we went about the arme point by Slepe, where we saw a litle creeke, then by Owre, where we beheld an other, & then comming againe toward the entrance by saint Helens, and Furleie castell, we went abroad into the maine, and found our selues at libertie.

When we were past Pole hauen, we left the Handfast point, the Peuerell point, S. Adelmes chappell, and came at last to Lughport hauen, whereby and also the Luckeford lake, all this portion of ground last remembred, is left in maner of a byland or peninsula, and called the Ile of Burbecke, wherein is good store of alum and hard stone. In like sort going still westerlie, we came to Sutton points, where is a creeke. Then vnto Waie or Wilemouth, by kings Welcombe, which is twentie miles from Pole, and whose head is not full foure miles aboue the hauen by northwest at Uphill in the side of a great hill. Hereinto when we were entred, we saw three falles, whereof the first and greatest commeth from Upweie by Bradweie, and Radipole, receiuing afterward the second that ran from east Chekerell, and likewise the third that maketh the ground betweene Weimouth and Smalmouth passage almost an Iland. There is a little barre of sand at the hauen mouth, and a great arme of the sea runneth vp by the right hand; and scant a mile aboue the hauen mouth on the shore, is a right goodlie and warlike castell made, which hath one open barbicane. This arme runneth vp also further by a mile as in a baie, to a point of land where a passage is into Portland, by a little course of pibble sand. It goeth vp also from the said passage vnto Abbatsburie about seauen miles off, where a litle fresh rondell resorteth to the sea. And somewhat aboue this, is the head or point of the Chesill lieng northwest, which stretcheth vp from thence about seauen miles, as a maine narrow banke, by a right line vnto the southeast, and there abutteth vpon Portland scant a quarter of a mile aboue the Newcastle there. The nature of this banke is such, that so often as the wind bloweth vehementlie at southeast, so often the sea beateth in, and losing the banke soketh through it: so that if this wind should blow from that corner anie long time togither, Portland should be left an Iland as it hath beene before. But as the southwest wind doth appaire this banke, so a northwest doth barre it vp againe. It is pretie to note of the Townelet of Waimouth, which lieth streight against Milton on the other side, and of this place where the water of the hauen is but of small breadth, that a rope is commonlie tied from one side of the shore to another, whereby the ferrie men do guide their botes without anie helpe of Ores. But to proceed with our purpose. Into the mouth of this riuer doo ships often come for succour.

Going by Portland and the point thereof called the Rase, we sailed along by the Shingle, till we came by saint Katharins chappell, where we saw the fall of a water that came downe from Blackdene Beaconward, by Portham and Abbatsburie. Thence we went to another that fell into the sea, neere Birton, and descended from Litton by Chilcombe, then vnto the Wride or Wreute port, a pretie hauen, and the riuer it selfe serued with sundrie waters. It riseth halfe a mile or more aboue Bemister, and so goeth from Bemister to Netherburie by Parneham, then to Melplash, and so to Briteport, where it taketh in two waters from by east in one chanell, of which one riseth east of Nettlecourt, and goeth by Portesloke and Milton, the other at Askerwell, and runneth by Longlecher. From hence also our Wride going toward the sea, taketh the Simen on the west that commeth by Simensburge into the same, the whole streame soone after falling into the sea, and leauing a pretie hauenet.

The nert port is the Chare, serued with two rils in one confluence, beneath Charemouth. The cheefe head of this riuer is (as Leland saith) in Marshwood parke, and commeth downe by Whitechurch: the other runneth by west of Wotton, and meeting beneath Charemouth towne (as I said) doth fall into the sea. Then came we to the Cobbe, and beheld the Lime water, which the townesmen call the Buddle, which commeth about three miles by north of Lime, from the hils, fleeting vpon Rockie soile, and so falleth into the sea. Certes, there is no hauen heere that I could see, but a quarter of a mile by west southwest of the towne, is a great and costlie tuttie in the sea for succour of ships. The towne is distant from Coliton, about fiue miles. And heere we ended our voiage from the Auon, which conteineth the whole coast of Dorcester, or Dorcetshire, so that nert we must enter into Summerset countie, and see what waters are there.

The first water that we met withall in Summersetshire is the Are, which riseth in a place called Are knoll, longing to sir Giles Strangwaie, neere vnto Cheddington in Dorsetshire, from whence it runneth to Mosterne, Feborow, Clarton, Weiford bridge,

Piddle.
Deuils.
Frome.
Dens.
Silleie.
Winterne. Cherne.
Luckford.
Seake more for wille brooke that goeth by west burie to Pole hauen.
Wride.
Nature hath set the mouth of this riuer in maner betwixt two hils, so that a little cost would make an haue there.
Simen.
Chare.
Buddle.
Are.

byidge, Winſham foꝛd, and receiuing one rill from the eaſt by Hawkechurch, and ſome after another comming from noꝛthweſt by Churchſtoke, from Wainbꝛoke, it goeth to Areminſter, beneath which it croſſeth the Pare, that commeth from about Buckland, by Whitſtaunton, Parecombe, Long bꝛidge, Stockeland, Kilmington bꝛidge (where it receiueth a bꝛoke from by ſouth, that runneth by Dalwood) and ſo into the Are. From hence our Are goeth to Dꝛake, Muſburie, Cullifoꝛd: but ꝑer it come altogither at Cullifoꝛd, it mæteth with a water that riſeth aboue Cotleie, and goeth from thence by Widwoꝛthie, Culliton, and there receiuing a rill alſo, ꝓceædeth on after the confluence aboue Cullifoꝛd bꝛidge, into the Are, and from thence hold on togither into the maine ſea, whereinto they fall vnder the roꝛts of the winter cliffes, the points of them being almoſt a mile in ſunder. The moſt weſterlie of them called Berewod, lieth within halfe a mile of Seton.

Pare alias Ire.

But the other toward the eaſt is named Whitecliffe, of which I ſaie no moꝛe, but that in the time of Athelſtane, the greateſt nauie that euer aduentured into this Iland, arriued at Seton in Deuonſhire, being repleniſhed with aliens that ſought the conqueſt of this Iland, but Athelſtane met and incountered with them in the field, where he ouerthꝛew ſir thouſand of his afoꝛeſaid enimies. Not one of them alſo that remained aliue, eſcaped from the battell without ſome deadlie oꝛ verie gꝛæuous wound. In this conflict moꝛeouer were ſlaine fiue kings, which were interred in the churchyard of Areminſter, and of the part of the king of England were killed eight earles of the chæfe of his nobilitie, and they alſo buried in the churchyard afoꝛeſaid. Heꝛvnto it addeth how the biſhop of Shireburne was in like ſoꝛt ſlaine in this battell, that began at Bꝛunedune nære to Coliton, and indured euen to Are minſter, which then was called Bꝛunberie oꝛ Bꝛunburg. The ſame daie that this thing happened the ſunne loſt his light, and ſo continued without anie bꝛightneſſe, vntill the ſetting of that planet, though otherwiſe the ſeaſon was clære and nothing cloudie.

As foꝛ the hauen which in times paſt as I haue heard, hath bæne at Sidmouth (ſo called of Sidde a rillet that runneth thereto) and likewiſe at Seton, I paſſe it ouer, ſith now there is none at all. Yet hath there bæne ſometime a notable one, albeit, that at this preſent betweene the two points of the old hauen, there lieth a mightie bar of pibble ſtones, in the verie mouth of it, and the riuer Are is dꝛiuen to the verie eaſt point of the hauen called White cliffe. There at alſo a verie little gull goeth into the ſea, whither ſmall fiſherbotes dw oft reſoꝛt foꝛ ſuccour. The men of Seton began of late to ſtake and make a maine wall within the hauen to haue changed the courſe of the Are, and (almoſt in the middle of the old hauen) to haue trenched through the Cheſill, thereby to haue let out the Are, & to haue taken in the maine ſea, but I heare of none effect that this attempt did come vnto. From Seton weſtward lieth Coliton, about two miles by weſt noꝛthweſt, whereof riſeth the riuer Colie, which going by the afoꝛeſaid towne, paſſeth by Colecombe parke, and afterward falleth betweene Are bꝛidge and Are mouth towne into the Are riuer.

Sidde. Seton. Colie.

By weſt of Berewoꝛth point lieth a creeke, ſerued (ſo farre as I remember) with a freſh water that commeth from the hilles ſouth of Southleie oꝛ Bꝛanscombe. Sidmouth hauen is the nert, and thither commeth a freſh water by S. Maries from the ſaid hils, that goeth from S. Maries afoꝛeſaid to Sidburie, & betweene Saltcombe & Sidmouth into the maine ſea. By weſt of Auterton point alſo lieth another hauen, and thither commeth a pꝛetie riueret, whoſe head is in the Hackpendon hilles, and commeth downe firſt by Upauter, then by a parke ſide to Bohuns Auter, Punketon, Honniton, Buckewell, and noꝛth of Autrie receiueth a rill called Tale, that riſeth noꝛthweſt of Bꝛodemburie in a wood, and from whence it commeth by Pehembirie, Winniton, and making a confluence with the other, they go as one betwæne Cadde and Autrie, to Herfoꝛd, Luton, Collaton, Auterton, Budeleie, and ſo into the ſea. On the weſt ſide of this hauen is Budeleie almoſt directly againſt Otterton. It is eaſie to be ſeene alſo, that within leſſe ſpace than one hundꝛed yeers, ſhips did vſe this hauen, but now it is barred vp. Some call it Budeleie hauen of Budeleie towne, others Salterne poꝛt, of a little creeke comming out of the maine hauen vnto Salterne village, that hath in time paſt bæne a towne of great eſtimation.

Autrie alias Otterie. Tale.

The Ere riſeth in Eremoꝛe in Summerſetſhire, nære vnto Ere croſſe, and goeth from thence vnto Ereford, Winſford, and Ertun, where it receiueth a water comming from Cutcombe, by noꝛth. After this confluence it goeth on toward the ſouth, till it met with a pꝛetie bꝛoke riſing noꝛtheaſt of Whettell (going by Bꝛunton Regis) increaſed at the leaſt with thꝛee rilles which come all from by noꝛth. Theſe being once met, this water runneth on by weſt of the beacon that beareth the name of Haddon, & ſome after taketh in the Barleie, that receiueth in like ſoꝛt the Done at Hawkbꝛidge, and from hence goeth by Dauerton, and Combe, and then doth met with the Ere, almoſt in the verie confines betwæne Doꝛſet & Summerſet ſhires. Being paſt this coniunction, our Ere paſſeth betwæne Bꝛuſhfoꝛd and Murbath, and then to Ere bꝛidge, where it taketh in (as I heare) a water by weſt from eaſt Auſtie: and after this likewiſe another on ech ſide, whereof one commeth from Dirfoꝛd, and Baunton, the other called Woodburne, ſomewhat by eaſt of Okefoꝛd. From theſe mætings it goeth to Caue and thꝛough the foꝛreſt and woods to Hatherland and Waſhfields, vntill it come to Tiuerton, and here it receiueth the Lomund water that riſeth aboue Alhbꝛittle, & commeth downe by Hockwoꝛthie, vpper Loman, and ſo to Tiuerton that ſtandeth almoſt euen in the verie confluence. Some call this Lomund the Simming bꝛoke oꝛ Sunnings bath. After this our Ere goeth to Bickleie, Theuerten (taking in a rill by weſt) nether Ere, Bꝛamfoꝛd, beneath which it ioineth with the Columbe that riſeth of one head noꝛtheaſt of Clarie Haidon, and of another ſouth of Shildon, and mæting beneath Columbe ſtocke, goeth by Columbe and Bꝛadfeld, and there croſſing a rill that commeth by Alhfoꝛd, it runneth ſouth to Wood, Moꝛe haies, Columbton, Bꝛandnicke, Beare, Columbe John, Horham, and ioining (as I ſaid) with the Ere at Bꝛamfoꝛd, paſſing vnder but one bꝛidge, ꝑer it meet with another water by weſt, growing of the Foꝛten and Cride waters (except it be ſo that I dw iudge amiſſe.) The Cride riſeth aboue Wolleſwoꝛthie, and nære vnto Upton: after it is paſt Dewiſh, croſſeth a rill from betwæne Puggill and Stockeleie by Stocke Engliſh, &c. From hence it goeth to Fulfoꝛd, where it mæteth with the Foꝛten, whereof one bꝛanch commeth by Caldbꝛoke, the other from S. Marie Tedburne, and ioining aboue Crediton, the chanell goeth on to the Cride, (which ꝑer long alſo receiueth another from by noꝛth, comming by Stockeleie and Combe) then betwæne Haine and Newton Sires, to Pines, and ſo into the Ere, which ſtaieth not vntill it come to Exceſſer. From Exceſſer (whither the burgeſſes in time paſt laboured to bꝛing the ſame, but in vaine) it runneth to Were, there taking in a rill from by weſt, and another lower by Erminſter, nert of all vnto Topelham; beneath which towne the Clive entreth thereinto,

Ere. Barleie. Done alias Done ſtrobe. Woodburne. Lomund oꝛ Simming. Columbe. Cride. Foꝛten. Clives.

into, which riſing about Plumtree, goeth by Cliſt Haidon, Cliſt Laurence, Brode Cliſt, Honiton, Souton, Biſhops Cliſt, S. Marie Cliſt, Cliſt ſaint George, and then into the Ere, that runneth forward by Notwell court, Limſton and Ponderham caſtell.

Ken. Here (as I heare) it taketh in the Ken, or Kenton broke (as Leland calleth it) comming from Holcombe parke, by Dunſdike, Shillingford, Kenford, Ken, Kenton, and ſo into Ere hauen, at whoſe mouth lie certeine rocks which they call the Checkſtones, except I be deceiued. The nert fall, whereof Leland ſaith nothing at all, commeth by Aſhcombe and Dulish, and hath his head in the hilles thereby.

Teigne. The Teigne mouth is the nert fall that we came to, & it is a goodlie port foure miles from Eremouth. The head of this water is twentie miles from the ſea at Teigne head in Dartmore among the Gidleie hilles. From whence it goeth to Gidleie towne, Teignton drue, where it receiueth the Crokerne comming from by north, and likewiſe another weſt of Fulford parke. Then it goeth to Dufford, Bridford, Kirſlowe, Chidleie, Knighton, and beneath the bridge there receiueth the Bouie, whoſe courſe is to north Bouie, Lilleie, and Bouitracie. Thence it runneth to kings Teignton, taking in Eidis, a broke beneath Preſton that commeth from Edeford by the wate. And when it is paſt this confluence, at kings Teignton, it croſſeth the Leman, which commeth from Saddleton rocke by Beckington, and Newton Buſhels: and ſone after the Aller that riſeth betweene Danburie and Warog well, afterward falling into the ſea by Biſhops Teignton, ſouth of Teignmouth towne.

Crokerne. Bouie. Eidis. Leman. Aller.

The verie vtter weſt point of the land, at the mouth of Teigne is called the Neſſe, and is a verie high red cliffe. The eaſt part of the hauen is named the Poles, a low ſandie ground, either caſt vp by the ſpuing of the ſand out of the Teigne, or elſe throwne vp from the ſhore by the rage of wind and water. This ſand occupieth now a great quantitie of the grounde betweene the hauen where the ſand riſeth, and Teignmouth towne, which towne (ſurnamed Regis) hath in time paſt been ſore defaced by the Danes, and of late time by the French.

From Teignemouth we came to Tor baie, whereof the weſt point is called Birie, and the eaſt Perritorie, betweene which is little aboue foure miles. From Tor baie alſo to Dartmouth is ſix miles, where (ſaith Leland) I marked diuerſe things. Firſt of all vpon the eaſt ſide of the hauen a great hillie point called Downeſend, and betwixt Downeſend, and a pointlet named Wereford is a little baie. Were it ſelfe, in like ſort, is not full a mile from Downeſend vpward into the hauen. Kingſwere towne ſtandeth out as another pointlet, and betwixt it & Wereford is the ſecond baie. Somewhat moreouer aboue Kingſwere towne goeth a little creke vp into the land from the maine ſtreame of the hauen called Waterhead, and this is a verie fit place for veſſels to be made in. In like ſort halfe a mile beyond this into the landward goeth another longer creke, and aboue that alſo a greater than either of theſe called Galwnſton, whoſe head is here not halfe a mile from the maine ſea, by the compaſſing thereof, as it runneth in Tor baie.

Dart. The riuer of Dart or Darent (for I read Derenta muth for Dartmouth) commeth out of Dartmore fiftéene miles aboue Totneſſe, in a verie large plot, and ſuch another wild moriſh & forreſtie ground as Ermore is. Of it ſelfe moreouer this water is verie ſwift, and thorough occaſion of tin-workes whereby it paſſeth), it carrieth much ſand to Totneſſe bridge, and ſo choketh the depth of the riuer downeward, that the hauen it ſelfe is almoſt ſpoiled by the ſame. The mariners of Dartmouth accompt this to be about a kenning from Plimmouth. The Darent therefore proceeding from the place of his vprising, goeth on to Buckland, from whence it goeth to Buckland hole; and ſone after taking in the Aſhburne water on the one ſide that runneth from Saddleton rocke by north, and the Buckfaſtlich that commeth from north weſt, it runneth to Staunton, Darington, Hemſton, and there alſo croſſing a rill on ech ſide paſſeth forth to Totneſſe, Bowden, and aboue Gabriell Stoke meeteth with the Hartburne that runneth vnder Roſt bridge, two miles aboue Totnes, or (as another ſaith) by Ratter, Harberton, Painesford, and Aſprempton into Darent, which per long alſo commeth to Cornewarthie, Grenewate, Ditſham, Darntmouth towne (whervnto king John gaue ſometimes a maior, as he did vnto Totneſſe) from thence betweene the caſtelles, and finallie into ſea.

Aſhburne. Buckfaſtlich. Hartburne.

From hence we went by Stokeſlemming to another water, which commeth from blacke Auton, then to the ſecond that falleth in eaſt of Slapton, and ſo coaſting out of this baie by the Start point, we ſaile almoſt directlie weſt, till we come to Saltcombe hauen. Certes this port hath verie little freſh water comming to it, and therefore no meruell though it be barred; yet the head of it (ſuch as it is) riſeth neere Buckland, and goeth to Dudbroke, which ſtandeth betweene two creekes. Thence it hieth to Charleton, where it taketh in a rill, whoſe head commeth from ſouth and north of Shereford. Finallie, it hath another creke that runneth vp by Ilton: and the laſt of all that falleth in north of Portlemouth, whoſe head is ſo neere the baie laſt afore remembred, that it maketh it a forie peninſula (as I haue heard it ſaid.)

Then come we to the Awne, whoſe head is in the hils farre aboue Brent towne, from whence it goeth to Dirford wod, Loddewell, Hache, Aunton, Thorleſton, and ſo into the ſea ouer againſt a rocke called S. Michaels burrow. Arme riſeth aboue Harford, thence to Stoford, Iuie bridge, Armington bridge, Fleet, Orchardton, Downewell, and ſo vnto the ſea, which is full of flats and rocks, ſo that no ſhip commeth thither in anie tempeſt, except it be forced therto, through the vttermoſt extremitie and deſperat hazard of the fearefull mariners. King Philip of Caſtile loſt two ſhips here in the daies of king Henrie the ſeuenth, when he was driuen to land in the weſt countrie by the rage of weather. Palme goeth by Cornewood, Slade, Stratleie, Palmeton, Collaton, Newton ferrie, and ſo into the ſea, about foure miles by ſouth eaſt from the maine ſtreame of Plimmouth. Being paſt theſe portlets, then next of all we come to Plimmouth hauen, a verie buſie peece to deſcribe, becauſe of the numbers of waters that reſort vnto it, & ſmall helpe that I haue for the knowledge of their courſes; yet will I do what I may in this, as in the reſt, and ſo much I hope by Gods grace to performe, as ſhall ſuffice my purpoſe in this behalfe.

Awne. Arme. Arme. Plim. Plim.

The Plimne or Plim, is the verie ſame water that giueth name to Plimpton towne. The mouth of this gulfe, wherein the ſhips do ride, is walled on ech ſide and chained ouer in time of neceſſitie, and on the ſouth ſide of the hauen is a blocke houſe vpon a rockie hill: but as touching the riuer it ſelfe, it riſeth in the hils weſt of Cornewood, and commeth downe a ſhort courſe of three miles to Newenham after it be iſſued out of the ground. From Newenham alſo it runneth to Plimpton, and ſone after into the Stoure, which Stoure ariſeth northweſt of Shepſtour, & goeth from thence to Hemchurch, Hele, Shane, Bickleie, and ſo to Eſford, where taking in the Plim, it runneth downe as one vnder the name of Plim, vntill

Stoure alias Catwater.

See Hen. 7. pag. 792, 793, 794.

vntill it go past Plimmouth, and fall into the hauen south east of Plimmouth aforesaid. I haue oftentimes trauelled to find out the cause whie so manie riuers in England are called by this name Stoure, and at the first supposing that it was growne by the corruption of Dour, the Brittish word for a streame, I rested therupon as resolued for a season: but afterward finding the word to be meere Saxon, and that Stouremare is a prouince subiect to the duke of Saxonie, I yelded to another opinion: whereby I conceiue that the said name was first deriued from the Saxons. But to returne to our purpose.

Plimmouth it selfe standeth betweene two creeks, not serued with anie backewater, therefore passing ouer these two, we enter into the Thamar that dischargeth it selfe into the aforsaid hauen. Going therfore vp that streame, which for the most part parteth Deuonshire from Cornewall, the first riueret that I met withall on the east side is called Taue, the head whereof is among the mounteins foure miles aboue Peters Taue, beneath which it meeteth with another water from by west, so that these two waters include Marie Taue betweene them, though nothing neere the confluence. From hence the Taue or Taue runneth to Tauistocke, aboue which it taketh in a rill from by west, and another aboue north Buckland, whose head is in Dartmore, and commeth thereunto by Sandford and Yarrow bridge. From hence it goeth into Thamar, by north Buckland, monks Buckland, Beare, and Tamerton follie. Hauing thus dispatched the Taue, the next that falleth in on the east side vpwards is the Lidde, which rising in the hils aboue Lidford, runneth downe by Curriton and Siddenham, and so to Lidstone, aboue which it receiueth the Trushell brooke, which rising north east of Bredistone, goeth by Trusholton to Ibaine, where it receiueth a rill that commeth by Bradwood from Germanswike, and after the confluence runneth to Liston, and from thence into the Thamar. The next aboue this is the Corewater, this ariseth somewhere about Elwell or Yelwell, and going by Virginston, runneth on by saint Giles without anie increase vntill it come to Thamar. Next of all it taketh in two brookes not much distant in sunder, whereof the one commeth in by Glanton, the other from Holsworthie, and both east of Tamerton, which standeth on the further banke, & other side of the Thamar, and west northwest of Tedcote, except the quarter deceiue me.

Taue or Taue.

Lidde.

Trushell.

Core.

Thamar.

Certes, the Thamar it selfe riseth in Summersetshire, about three miles northeast of Hartland, and in maner so crosseth ouer the whole west countrie betweene sea and sea, that it leaueth Cornewall, a byland or peninsula. Being therefore descended from the head, by a tract of six miles, it commeth to Denborow, Pancrase well, Bridge Reuell, Tamerton, Tetcote, Luffencote, Boiton, and Wirrington, where it meeteth with a water on the west side called Arteie, that riseth short of Jacobstow. Two miles in like sort frõ this confluence, we met with the Kenseie, whose head is short of Warpeston by south east: from whence it goeth by Treneglos, Tremone, Tresmare, Trewen, Lanston, and so into the Thamar, that runneth from hence by Lowhitton vnto Bradston, and going on toward Dunterton, taketh in a rill from south Pitherwyc, and by Lesant; beneath Dunterton also it crosseth the Enian. This riuer riseth at Dauidston, and directeth his race by saint Clethir, Lancall, and Trelaske first; and then vnder sundrie bridges, vntill it meet with the Thamar. From hence also the Thamar goeth by Siddenham to Calstocke bridge, Calstocke towne, Clifton, Cargreue (there abouts taking in a creeke aboue Landilip) and running on from thence, hasteth toward Saltash, where it receiueth the Liuer water. The head of Liuer is about Bromwellie hill, from whence it goeth on to North hill, Lekenhorne, South hill, and taking in a rill by east (from aboue Kellington) it runneth on to Newton, Pillaton, Wotton, Blossleming, saint Erne, and beneath this village crosseth a rillet that runneth thither from Bicton by Quithiocke, saint Germans, and Sheuiocke. But to proceed. After the confluence, it goeth betweene Erlie and Fro Martine castell, and soone after taking in a rill from by north, that passeth west of saint Steuens, it is not long yer it fall into the Thamar, which after this (receiuing the Milbroke creeke) goeth on by Edgecombe, and betweene saint Michaels Ile and Ridden point into the maine sea. And thus haue I finished the description of Plimmouth water, and all such falles as are betweene Newston rocke on the east side, and the Ram head on the other.

Enian.

Liuer.

After this we proceeded on with our iournie toward the west, and passing by Longstone, we came soone after to Sothan baie, where we crossed the Seton water, whose head is about Liscard, & his course by Minheniet, Chafrench, Tregowike, Sutton, and so into the sea. Then came we to Low, and going in betweene it and Mount Ile, we find that it had a branched course, and thereto the confluence aboue Low. The chiefe head riseth in the hils, as it were two miles aboue Gaine, and going by that towne, it ceaseth not to continue his course east of Dulo, till it come a little aboue Low, where it crosseth and ioineth with the Brodoke water that runneth from Brodokes by Trewargo, and so into the sea. Next vnto these are two other rils, of which one is called Polpir, before we come at Foy, or Fawy.

Sutton.

Low.

Polpir.

Foy or Fawy riuer riseth in Fawy more, on the side of an hill in Fawy more, from whence it runneth by certeine bridges, till it meet with the Glin water west of Glin towne, which rising aboue Temple, & meeting with a rill that commeth in from S. Neotes, doth fall into Fawy a mile and more aboue Respin from by east. After this confluence then, it goeth to Respin bridge, Lesermen castell, Lostwithiell bridge, Pill, saint Kingtons, saint Winnow, and Golant, and here also receiueth the Lerine water out of a parke, that taketh his waie into the maine streame by Biconke, Tethe, and the Fining house. Being thus vnited, it procedeth vnto Fawy towne, taking in a rill or creeke from aboue it on the one side, and another beneath it south of Halling on the other: of which two this latter is the longest of course, sith it runneth three good miles before it come at the Foy. Leland writing of this riuer addeth verie largelie vnto it after this maner. The Fawy riseth in Fawy more (about two miles from Camilford by south, and sixteene miles from Fawy towne) in a verie quaue mire on the side of an hill. From hence it goeth to Drainesbridge, to Clobham bridge, Lergen bridge, New bridge, Respin bridge, and Lostwithiell bridge, where it meeteth with a little broke, and neere thereunto parteth it selfe in twaine. Of these two armes therefore one goeth to a bridge of stone, the other to another of timber, and soone after ioining againe, the maine riuer goeth to saint Gwinnowes, from thence also to the point of saint Gwinnowes wood, which is about halfe a mile from thence, except my memorie doth faile me. Here goeth in a salt creeke halfe a mile on the east side of the hauen, and at the head of it is a bridge called Lerine bridge; the creeke it selfe in like maner bearing the same denomination.

Polpir.

Fawie.

Glin.

Lerinus.

Faw.

From Lerine creeke, to S. Caracs pill or creeke, is about halfe a mile, and lower on the east side of the said hauen: it goeth vp also not aboue a mile and

In the middle of this creeke was a cell of S. Ci-

an

ret in an Islet longing sometime to Mountegew a priorie.

an halfe into the land. From Caracs creeke to Poulmorland a mile, and this likewise goeth vp scant a quarter of a mile into the land, yet at the head it parteth it selfe in twaine. From Poulmorland to Bodnecke village halfe a mile, where the passage and repassage is commonlie to Fawy. From Bodnecke to Pelene point (where a creeke goeth vp not fullie a thousand paces into the land) a mile, thence to Poulruan a quarter of a mile, and at this Poulruan is a tower of force, marching against the tower on Fawy side, betweene which (as I doo heare) a chaine hath sometime beene stretched, and likelie inough; for the hauen there is hardly two bow shot ouer. The verie point of land at the east side of the mouth of this hauen, is called Pontus crosse, but now Panuche crosse. It shall not be amisse in this place somewhat to intreat of the towne of Fawy, which is called in Cornish Comwhath, and being situat on the north side of the hauen, is set hanging on a maine rockie hill, being in length about one quarter of a mile, except my memorie deceiue me.

Comwhath.

The renowme of Fawy rose by the wars vnder king Edward the first, Edward the third, and Henrie the fift, partlie by feats of armes, and partlie by plaine piracie. Finallie, the townesmen feeling themselues somwhat at ease and strong in their purses, they fell to merchandize, and so they prospered in this their new deuise, that as they trauelled into all places, so merchants from all countries made resort to them, whereby within a while they grew to be exceeding rich. The ships of Fawy sailing on a time by Rhie and Winchelseie in the time of king Edward the third, refused stoutlie to vale anie bonet there, although warning was giuen them so to doo by the portgreues or rulers of those townes. Hereupon the Rhie and Winchelseie men made out vpon them with cut and long taile: but so hardlie were they interteined by the Fawy pirates (I should saie aduenturers) that they were driuen home againe with no small losse and hinderance. Such fauour found the Fawy men also immediatlie vpon this bickering, that in token of their victorie ouer their winching aduersaries, and riding ripiers (as they called them in mockerie) they altered their armes and compounded for new, wherein the scutchion of Rhie and Winchelseie is quartered with theirs, and beside this the Foyens were called the gallants of Fawy or Foy, whereof they not a little reioised, and more peraduenture than for some greater bootie. And thus much of Fawy towne, wherein we see what great successe often commeth of witlesse and rash aduentures. But to returne againe to our purpose from whence we haue digressed, and as hauing some desire to finish vp this our voiage, we will leaue the Fawmouth & go forward on our iournie.

Gallants of Foy or Fawy.

Being therefore past this hauen, we come into Trewardith baie, which lieth into the land betweene Tannalle and the Blacke head point, and hereabout Leland placeth *Vrctoum promontorium*. In this we saw the fall of two small brookes, not one verie far distant from another. The first of them entring west of Trewardith, the other east of saint Blaies, and both directlie against Curwarder rocke, except I mistake my compasse. Neither of them are of anie great course, and the longest not full three miles and an halfe. Wherfore sith they are neither branched nor of anie great quantitie, what should I make long harnest of a little corne, and spend more time than may well be spared about them?

When we were past the Blacke head, we came to Austell broke, which is increased with a water that commeth from aboue Hewan, and within a mile after the confluence, they fall into the sea at Pentoren, from whence we went by the Blacke rocke, and about the Dudman point, till we came to Chare haies, where falleth in a pretie water, whose head is two miles aboue saint Tues. Thence we went by here and there a mere salt creeke, till we passed the Graie rocke, in Gwindraith baie, and S. Anthonies point, where Leland maketh his accompt to enter into Falamouth hauen.

Austell.

Chare.

The Fala riseth a little by north of Penuenton towne, and going westward till it come downwards toward saint Dionise, it goeth from thence to Helader, saint Steuens Grampont, Goldon, Crede, Corneleie, Tregue, Horan, Tregunnan, it falleth into the hauen with a good indifferent force: and this is the course of Fala. But least I should seeme to omit those creekes that are betweene this and S. Anthonies point, I will go a little backe againe, and fetch in so manie of them, as come now to my remembrance. Entring therefore into the port, we haue a creeke that runneth vp by saint Anthonies toward saint Gereus, then another that goeth into the land by east of saint Maries castell, with a forked head, passing in the meane time by a great rocke that lieth in the verie midst of the hauen, in maner of the third point of a triangle, betweene saint Maries castell and Pendinant.

Fala.

Thence we cast about by the said castell, and came by another creeke that falleth in by east, then the second aboue saint Iustus, the third at Ardenora, the fourth at Kilan. And hauing as it were visited all these in order, we come backe againe about by Tregonnian, and then going vpward betweene it and Taluerne, till we came to Fentangolan, we found the confluence of two great creekes beneath saint Clements, whereof one hath a fresh water comming downe by S. Werther, the other another from Truro, increased with sundrie branches, though not one of them of anie greatnesse, and therefore vnworthie to be handled. Pole hole standeth vpon the head almost of the most easterlie of them. S. Kenwen and Truro stand aboue the confluence of other two. The fourth falleth in by west from certeine hils: as for the fift and sixt, as they be little creeks and no fresh, so haue I lesse language and talke to spend about them.

Of saint Caie, and saint Feokes creeke, whose issue is betweene Restronget and creeke of Truric, I see no cause to make any long speech; yet I remember that the towne of S. Feoke standeth betweene them both. That also called after this saint, rising aboue Perannarwothill, and comming thence by Kirklo, falleth into Falamouth, northeast of Milor, which standeth vpon the point betweene it and Milor creeke. Milor creeke is next Restronget: some call it Milor pole, from whence we went by Trefusis point, and there found an other great fall from Perin, which being branched in the top, hath Perin towne almost in the verie confluence. And thus much by my collection of the fall. But for somuch as Leland hath taken some paines in the description of this riuer, I will not suffer it to perish, sith there is other matter conteined therein worthie remembrance, although not deliuered in such order as the thing it selfe requireth.

S. Caie. S. Feoke. Milor.

The verie point (saith he) of the hauen mouth (being an hill whereon the king hath builded a castell) is called Pendinant. It is about a mile in compasse, almost inuironed with the sea: and where the sea couereth not, the ground is so low that it were a small maistrie to make Pendinant an Iland. Furthermore, there lieth a cape or foreland within the hauen a mile and a halfe, and betwixt this and maister Killigrewes house one great arme of the hauen runneth vp to Penrine towne, which is three miles from the verie entrie of Falamouth hauen, and two good

Fala.

miles

Leuine. miles from Penfuſis. Moreouer, there is Leuine, Priſelo, betwixt ſaint Budocus and Pendinas, which were a good hauen but for the barre of ſand. But to proceed.

The firſt creke or arme that calleth on the north-weſt ſide of Falemouth hauen, goeth vp to Perin, and at the end it breaketh into two armes, whereof the leſſe runneth to Glaſenith, *Viridis nidus*, the greene neſt, or Wagmere at Penrine: the other to ſaint Gluntas the pariſh church of Penrine. In like ſort out of each ſide of Penrine creke, breaketh an arme yer it come to Penrine. This I vnderſtand alſo that ſtakes and foundations of ſtone haue beene ſet in the creke at Penrine a litle lower than the wharfe, where it breaketh into armes: but howſoeuer this ſtandeth, betwixt the point of Trefuſis and

Miloz. the point of Reſtronget is Miloz creke, which goeth vp a mile into the land, and by the church is a good rode for ſhips. The nert creke beyond the point of Reſtronget wood, is called Reſtronget, which going

Reſtronget. two miles vp into the maine, breaketh into two armes. In like order betwixt Reſtronget and the creke of Trurie be two crekes; one called ſaint

S. Feokes. S. Cate. Feokes, the other ſaint Cate, next vnto which is Trurie creke that goeth vp about two miles creking from the principall ſtreame, and breaketh within halfe a mile of Trurie, caſting in a branch weſtward euen hard by Newham wood.

Trurie creke This creke of Trurie is diuided into two parts before the towne of Trurie, and each of them hauing a broke comming downe and a bridge, the towne of Trurie ſtandeth betwixt them both. In like ſort Kenwen ſtreet is ſeuered from the ſaid towne with this arme, and Clements ſtreet by eaſt with the other. Out of the bodie alſo of Trurie creke breaketh another eaſtward a mile from Trurie, and goeth vp a mile and a halfe to Creſilian bridge of ſtone. At the verie entrie and mouth of this creke is a rode of ſhips called Naples rode: and here fought not long ſince eightéene ſhips of Spaniſh merchants, with foure ſhips of warre of Deepe, but the Spaniards draue the Frenchmen all into this harborow. A mile and an halfe aboue the mouth of Trurie creke, is another named Lhan Moran of S. Morans church

Moran. at hand. This creke goeth vp a quarter of a mile from the maine ſtreame into the hauen, as the maine ſtreame goeth vp two miles aboue Moran creke ebbing and flowing: and a quarter of a mile higher is the towne of Cregowie, where we found a bridge of ſtone vpon the Fala riuer. Fala it ſelfe riſeth a mile or more weſt of Roche hill, and goeth by Graund pont, where I ſaw a bridge of ſtone.

Graund pont. This Graund pont is foure miles from Roche hill, and two little miles from Cregowie, betwixt which the Fala taketh his courſe. From Cregowie to paſſe downe by the bodie of the hauen of Falamouth to the mouth of Lanie horne pill or creke, on the ſouth ſide of the hauen is a mile, and (as I remember) it goeth vp halfe a mile from the principall ſtreame of the hauen. From Lanthorne pill alſo is a place or point of ſand about a mile waie of fortie acres or thereabout (as a peninſula) called Ardeuerauter. As for the water or creke that runneth into the ſouth ſoutheaſt part, it is but a little thing of halfe a mile vp into the land, and the creke that hemmeth in this peninſula, of both doth ſeeme to be the greater. From the mouth of the weſt creke of this peninſula, vnto ſaint Juſtes creke, is foure miles or more.

S. Iuſtus. S. Mawes. In like maner from ſaint Juſtes pill or creke (for both ſignifie one thing) to ſaint Mawes creke is a mile and a halfe, and the point betweene them both is called Pendinas. The creke of ſaint Mawes goeth vp a two miles by eaſt northeaſt into the land, and beſide that it ebbeth and floweth ſo farre, there is a mill driuen with a freſh creke that reſorteth to the ſame. Halfe a mile from the head of this downeward to the hauen, is a creke in maner of a pole, whereon is a mill alſo that grindeth with the tide. And a mile beneath that on the ſouth ſide entereth a creke (about halfe a mile into the countrie) which is barred from the maine ſea by a ſmall ſandie banke, and another mile yet lower, is an other little crekelet. But how ſo euer theſe crekes do run, certeine it is that the bankes of them that belong to Fala are meruellouſlie well wooded. And hitherto Leland, whoſe words I dare not alter, for feare of corruption and alteration of his iudgement. Being paſt Falmouth hauen therefore (as it were a quarter of a mile beyond Arwennach, maiſter Killegrewes place which ſtandeth on the brimme or ſhore within Falmouth) we came to a little hauen which ran vp betweene two hilles, but it was barred: wherefore we could not learne whether it were ſerued with anie backe freſh water or not.

From thence we went by Polwitherall creke (parted into two armes) then to the Polpenrith, wherevnto a riueret falleth that riſeth not farre from thence, and ſo goeth to the maine ſtreame of the hauen at the laſt, whither the creke reſorteth about three miles and more from the mouth of the hauen, and into which the water that goeth vnder Gare and Mogun bridges, do fall in one bottome (as Leland hath reported.) Vnto this hauen alſo repaireth the Penkeſtell, the Callous, the Cheilow, and the Gilling, although this latter lieth againſt ſaint Mawnons on the hither ſide hard without the hauen mouth (if I haue done aright.) For ſo motheaten, mouldie, & rotten are thoſe bookes of Leland which I haue, and beſide that, his annotations are ſuch and ſo confounded, as no man can (in a maner) picke out anie ſenſe from them by a leaſe togither. Wherefore I ſuppoſe that he diſperſed and made his notes intricate of ſet purpoſe: or elſe he was loth that anie man ſhould eaſilie come to that knowledge by reading, which he with his great charge & no leſſe trauell atteined vnto by experience. Thus leauing Fala hauen, as more troubleſome for me to deſcribe, than profitable for ſeafaring men, without good aduiſe to enter into, we left the rocke on our left hand, and came ſtraight ſouthweſt to Helford hauen, whoſe water commeth downe from Wreke (where is a confluence of two ſmall rilles whereof that rill conſiſteth) by Mawgan and Trelawarren, and then it receiueth a rill on the north ripe from Conſtantine, after whoſe confluence it goeth a maine vntill it come to the Ocean, where the mouth is ſpoiled by ſand comming from the tinworks. See Leland in the life of S. Breaca. Beneath this alſo is another rill comming from S. Martyrs, by whoſe courſe, and another ouer againſt it on the weſt ſide that falleth into the ſea by Winniton, all Menage is left almoſt in maner of an Iland. From hence we go ſouth to the Manacle point, then ſouthweſt to Liſard, and ſo north and by weſt to Predannocke points, beyond which we met with the fall of the ſaid water, that riſeth in the edge of Menag, and goeth into the ſea by Melien on the north, and Winniton on the ſouth. By north alſo of Winniton is the Curie water that runneth ſhort of Magan, and toucheth with the Ocean ſouth of Pengwenian point.

From hence we ſailed to the Lo mouth, which ſome call Lopole, becauſe it is narrower at the fall into the ſea, than it is betweene the ſea and Hailſton. It riſeth aboue S. Sethians, and comming downe by Wendron, it haſteth to Hailſton or Helſton, from whence onelie it is called Lo: but betweene Helſton and the head, men call it commonlie Cohor. Of this riuer Leland ſaith thus: The Lopole is two miles in

Polwitherall. Polpenrith. wike. Gare. Mogun. Penkeſtell. Callous. Cheilow. Gilling. Halle. Curie. Lo.

length, and betwixt it and the maine Ocean is but a barre of sand that once in three or foure yeeres, what by weight of the fresh water, and working of the sea breaketh out, at which time it maketh a wonderfull noise: but sone after the mouth of it is barred vp againe. At all other times the superfluitie of the water of Lopole (which is full of trout and eele) draineth out through the sandie barre into the open sea: certes if this barre could alwaies be kept open, it would make a goodlie hauen vp vnto Hailestон towne, where coinage of tin is also vsed, as at Truric and Lostwithiell, for the quænes aduantage.

Being passed the Low, I came to another water that descendeth without anie increase from Crowan by Simneie, whose whole course is not aboue three miles in all. Then going by the Cuddan point, we entered the mounts Baie, and going streight north (leauing S. Michaels mount a little vpon the left hand) we came to the Lid, which rising short of Tewidnacke, descendeth by Lidgenan, and so into the sea. Certes the course of these waters cannot be long, sith in this verie place the breadth of land is not aboue foure miles, and not more than fiue at the verie lands end. There is also a rill east of Borugie, and Guluall, and another west of the same hard at hand, and likewise the third east of Pensants: and not a full quarter of a mile from the second, southwest of Pensants also lieth the fourth that commeth from Sancrete ward by Newlin, from whence going southwest out of the baie by Moushole Ile, that lieth south of Moushole towne, we come to a water that entreth into the Ocean betwixt Remels & Lamorleie point. Trulie the one head thereof commeth from by west of Sancrete, the other from by west of an hill that standeth betweene them both, and ioining aboue Remels, it is not long yer they salute their grandame. After this, and before we come at Rosecastell, there are two other creekes, whereof one is called Boskennie, that riseth south of saint Buriens, and an other somewhat longer than the first, that issueth by west of the aforesaid towne, wherein is to be noted, that our cards made heretofore do appoint S. Buriens to be at the very lands end of Cornewall, but experience now teacheth vs, that it commeth not neere the lands end by three miles. This latter rill also is the last that I do reade of on the south side, and likewise on the west and north, till we haue sailed to S. Jes baie, which is full ten miles from the lands end, or Bresan Ile eastward, & rather more, if you reckon to the fall of the Haile, which lieth in the very middest and highest part of the baie of the same. The soile also is verie hillie here, as for saint Jes towne, it is almost (as I said) a byland, and yet is it well watered with sundrie rilles that come from those hilles vnto the same.

Simneie.

Lid.

Bresan Ile

Haile.

The Haile riseth in such maner, and from so manie heads, as I haue before said: howbeit I will adde somewhat more vnto it, for the benefit of my readers. Certes the cheefe head of Haile riseth by west of Godalfin hilles, and going downe toward saint Erthes, it receiueth the second, and best of the other three rilles from Godalfin towne: finallie, comming to saint Erthes, and so vnto the maine baie, it taketh in the Clowart water from Guimer, south of Phelacke, which hath two heads, the said village standing directlie betwixt them both.

Clowart.

Caine.

The Caine riseth southeast of Caineburne towne a mile and more, from whence it goeth without increase by west of Gwethian, and so into the sea west of Para Darwate. From hence we coasted about the point, & left the baie till we came to a water that riseth of two heads from those hilles that lie by south of the same: one of them also runneth by saint Uni, another by Redreuth, and meeting within a mile, they fall into the Ocean beneath Luggam or Tuggan. A mile and a halfe from this fall we come vnto another small rill, and likewise two other creekes, betwixt which the towne of saint Agnes standeth; and likewise the fourth halfe a mile beyond the most easterlie of these, whose head is almost three miles within the land in a towne called saint Alin. Thence going by the Hanrocke, and west of saint Piran in the sand, we find a course of three miles and more from the head, and hauing a forked branch, the parts doo meet at west aboue saint Kibbard, and so go into the sea. I take this to be saint Pirans creeke, for the next is Carantocke pill or creeke, whose head is at Gulwarth, from whence it goeth vnto Trerise, and sone after taking in a rill from by west, it runneth into the sea coast of saint Carantokes. Beyond this is another creeke that riseth aboue little saint Colan, and goeth by lesse saint Columbe: and east and by north hereof commeth downe one more whose head is almost south of the Nine stones, & going from thence to great saint Columbes, it passeth by Lamberne, and so into the sea. S. Perous creeke is but a little one, rising west of Padstow, and falling in almost ouer against the Gull rocke. Then turning betweene the point and the blacke rocke, we entred into Padstow hauen three miles lower than port Issec, and a mile from port Gwin, whose waters remaine next of all to be described.

Luggam.

S. Pirans creeke.

Carantocke.

Padstow.

Locus bufonis.

The Alan ariseth flat east from the hauen mouth of Padstow, well neere eight or nine miles about Dauidstone, neere vnto which the Entam also issueth, that runneth into the Thamar. Going therefore from hence it passeth to Camelford, saint Aduen, saint Bernard (both Cornish saints) and sone after receiueth a rill at northeast, descending from Rowters hill. Thence it goeth to Blisland, and Helham, the first bridge of name that standeth vpon Alin. Yer long also it taketh in one rill by south from Bodman, another from saint Laurence, the third by west of this, and the fourth that commeth by Methiell, no one of them exceeding the course of three miles, and all by south. From hence it goeth toward Iglesaleward, and there receiueth a water on the east side, which commeth about two miles from saint Teath, by Michelston, saint Tuchoe, saint Maben (no Cornish patrons) and finallie south of Iglesall, meeteth with the Alen that goeth from thence by S. Breaca to Wodbridge. Hereabout I find, that into our Alein or Alen, there should fall two riuerets, whereof the one is called Carneseie, the other Laine, and comming in the end to full notice of the matter, I see them to issue on seuerall sides beneath Wodbridge almost directlie the one against the other. That which descendeth from northwest, and riseth about saint Kew, is named Carneseie, as I heare: the other that commeth in on the southwest banke hight Laine, and noted by Leland to rise two miles aboue S. Else. But howsoeuer this matter standeth, there are two other creekes on ech side also, beneath these, as Pethrike creeke, and Winner creeke (so called of the Cornish saints) for that soile bred manie, wherewith I finish the description of Alen, or (as some call it) Dunmere, and other Padstow water.

Entam.

Carneseie.

Laine.

Pethrike.

Winner.

Dunmere.

From Padstow hauen also they saile out full west to Waterford in Ireland. There are likewise two rockes, which lie in the east side of the hauen, secretlie hidden at full sea, as two pads in the straw, whereof I thinke it taketh the name. Yet I remember how I haue read that Padstow is a corrupted word for Adelstow, and should signifie so much as *Athelstani locus*, as it may well be. For it is euident that they had in time past sundrie charters of priuilege from Athelstane, although at this present it be well stored with Irishmen. But to our purpose. Leland

land ſuppoſeth this riuer to be the ſame Camblan, where Arthur fought his laſt and fatall conflict: for to this daie men that dw eare the ground there, dw oft plow vp bones of a large ſize, and great ſtore of armour, or elſe it may be (as I rather coniecture) that the Romans had ſome field (or Caſtra) thereabout, for not long ſince (and in the remembrance of man) a braſſe pot full of Romane coine was found there, as I haue often heard. Being thus paſſed Padſtow hauen, and after we had gone three miles from hence, we came to Portgwin a pore fiſher towne, where I find a brooke and a peere. Then I came to Portiſſec *aliàs* Cunilus two miles further, and found there a brooke, a peere, and ſome ſuccor for fiſher boats. Next of all vnto a brooke that ran from ſouth eaſt, directlie north into the Sauerne ſea, and within halfe a mile of the ſame laie a great blacke rocke like an Iland. From this water to Treuennt is about a mile, where the paroch church is dedicated to ſaint Simphorian, and in which paroch alſo Tintagell or Dundagie caſtell ſtandeth, which is a thing inexpugnable for the ſituation, and would be made with little reparations one of the ſtrongeſt things in England. For it ſtandeth on a great high terrible crag inuironed with the ſea. There is a chappell yet ſtanding in the dungeon thereof, dedicated to ſaint Vlet. Tintagell towne and Treuennt are not a mile in ſunder.

The next creeke is called Boſinni, which is a mile from Tintagell, and to the ſame Tredwie water reſorteth, and ſo they go to the ſea betwixt two hils, whereof that on the one ſide lieth out like an arme or cape, and maketh the faſhion of an hauenet or peere, whither ſhiplets ſometime dw reſort for ſuccour. A friер of late daies toke vpon him to make an hauen at this place, but in vaine. There lie alſo two blacke rocks as Ilets, at the weſt northweſt point, or ſide of this creeke, the one (ſauing that a little gut doth part them) ioining with the other, and in theſe by all likelihood is great ſtore of gulles. I can not tell whether this be the water that runneth by Boſcaſtell or not, but if it be not, then haue I this deſcription of the latter. Boſcaſtell creeke that lieth eaſt of Tintagell, is but a ſmall thing, running at the moſt not aboue two miles into the land, yet it paſſeth by foure townes, whereof the firſt is called Leſneth, the ſecond ſaint Juliet, the third Minſter, and the fourth Boſcaſtell or Buſhcaſtell, as ſome men dw pronounce it.

In Bede baie I find the Bedewater, whoſe chiefe head is not farre from Norton. Thence running to Stratton, it receiueth the Lancels rill before it come at Norham. And here alſo it croſſeth another whoſe head is eaſt of ſaint Marie wyke, from whence it runneth by Wolſton and Whaleſborow, and thence into the ſea betweene Efford and Plough hill. And thus much of the waters that lie betweene the point of Cornewall, and the Hartland head vpon the north ſide of Cornewall. Now let vs dw the like with thoſe that remaine of Deuonſhire, whereof the ſaid Hartland is the verie firſt point in this our poeticall voiage. Hauing therefore brought Hartland point on our backs, we come next of all to Barſtable bar, and ſo into the hauen, whereinto two principall ſtreams dw perpetuallie vnburden their chanels.

The firſt and more weſterlie of theſe is called Ocus, whoſe head is not farre weſt of the head of Darnt, and both in Darntmore. Riſing therefore in the aforeſaid place, it runneth northweſt to Snorton, and ſo to Okehampton, beneath which towne it meeteth with an other water comming from ſoutheaſt, & riſeth not much weſt from the head of Tawe. From hence it goeth to Stow Erborne, Monke Okington, & Iddeſleie, where it taketh in the Tanridge a verie prетie ſtreamelet, whoſe iſſue is not full a mile by eaſt from the head of Thamar, three miles by north eaſt from Hartland. Comming therefore by weſt and eaſt Putford, Bulworthie, Bockington, Newton, and Shebbor, it receiueth a forked rill that runneth from ech ſide of Bradworthie by Sutcombe, Treborow, Milton, & ſo to Thornebirie, where meeting with an other forked water (whereof one head comming from Dunland, ioineth with the other north of Cockbirie) it goeth with ſpeed into the Tanridge water. After this confluence it runneth on to Sheepewaſh (by weſt whereof falleth in the Buckland water from by north) thence to high Hainton, and ſo to Haitherlaie, north wherof it taketh in a rill from by ſouth, and endeth his race at Iddeſleie, by ioining with the Oke. Hence then the Ocus haſteth to Dowland, and betweene it and Doulton, receiueth one rill from by eaſt, as it doth an other betweene Doulton and Parton from by weſt, and ſo proceeding on with his courſe, it commeth eaſt of Torrington the leſſe, and taking in a water at eaſt, that runneth from three heads (by Wollie parke) betweene which Combe and Roughborow are ſituat, it deſcendeth to Torington the more, and meeting with the Langtree water on the one ſide, and the Ware brooke on the other, it proceedeth to Bediford, croſſing a rill by the waie that commeth vnto it betweene Annarie & Littham. From Bediford bridge it goeth without anie increaſe to Weſtleie, Norham, Apledoure, and ſo into the hauen.

The Taw of both is the more noble water, notwithſtanding that his hauen be barred with ſand; and thereby dangerous, and hath moſt rils deſcending into his chanell. Howbeit, by theſe two is all the hart of Deuonſhire well watered on the northſide of the mores. The Tawy riſeth directlie at ſouth weſt of Throwleie, and north of the head of Darnt, or (as Leland ſaith) in Ermore ſouth eaſt from Barſtable. From thence alſo it runneth to Sele, South Taueton, Cockatre, Bath, Northtaueton, Alhridge, Colridge, and ſone after receiueth the Bowmill creeke, whereof one head riſeth at Bow, the other at Hill, and meeting beneath Biſhops Orchard, they fall into the Taw north of Nimeth Rowland, as I haue beene informed. From hence then it runneth by Edgeforth, to Chimligh, by ſouth whereof it meeteth with a rill comming downe of two heads from about Kakenford, by Wetheridge and Chawleie. Thence it goeth to Burrington, and Chiltenholtwood, and there taketh in the Poulebraie water conſiſting of two in one chanell, whereof the Poll doth riſe aboue north Poulton, and comming to Poulton receiueth another rill running from Polland, and ſone after the ſecond that growing by two brookes (the head of one being at Knawſton, and of the other weſt of Crokeham, and both vniting themſelues beneath Mariſton) doth fall into the ſame yer long alſo, and ſo go togither till it croſſe the Braie, which (being the ſecond of the two that maketh the Poulbraie) riſeth at Braie, commeth by Buckland, and ſouth of Holtwood doth make his confluence with Taw. Being paſt the wood, it goeth on to Brightleie hall, Taueton, Taueſtocke, & Barſtable, ſometime a prетie walled towne with foure gates, but now a little thing; and ſuch in deed, as that the ſuburbes thereof are greater than it ſelfe. I ſuppoſe that the name of this towne in the Britiſh ſpeach was Abertaw, becauſe it ſtood toward the mouth of Taw, and Berdneſſe pronounced ſhort (as I geſſe) for Aberneſſe. As for Staple, it is an addition for a market, & therefore hath nothing to dw in the proper name of the towne. King Athelſtane is taken here for the chiefe priuileger of the towne. This is alſo worthie to be noted hereof, that the houſes there are

Tredwie.
Boſcaſtell.
Wede.
Lancels.
Ocus.
Tanridge.
Turrege.
Buckland.
Langtree.
Were or Ware.
Taw.
Bowmill.
Poulebraie.
Braie.

of stone, as most are in all the good townes thereabout.

But to proceed with our purpose. Beneath this towne there falleth in a water that hath one head neere about Challacombe, & another at east Downe, whereof this descending by Stoke riuer, and the other by Sherwell, they vnite themselues within three miles of Berstaple. Soone after also it taketh in another that descendeth from Bitenden by Ashford, and the last of all east of saint Anthonies chappell, named Doneham, because one head is at west Done, and the other at Ham, both of them meeting west of Ash. And thus is Taue described, which is no great water nor quicke streame, as may appeere in Low water marke at Berstable, and yet is it a pretie riuret. This also is worthie to be noted thereof, that it receiueth no brooke from by west, whereof I would somewhat maruell, if Taurige were not at hand.

Being past the Taue, Cride baie and Bugpoint aliàs Bagpoint, we go by Hore baie, Horstone aliàs Horstone, and then toward the northeast, till we come by a creekelet to Ilfare combe, & so to Combe Harton, whereat (I meane ech of them) are sundrie creekes of salt water, but not serued with anie fresh that I as yet do heare of. Harrie there is betweene Martinbow & Trensow, a creeke that hath a backewater, which descendeth from Parracombe (so farre as I call to mind named Parradine becke) but the greatest of all is betweene Linton and Conisberie called Ore, which riseth in Summersetshire in Exmore (east of Hore oke, more than a mile) and going by Owre, falleth into the sea betweene Linton and Conisberie, so that the whole race thereof amounteth in and out to an eight miles, as I haue heard reported. Thus haue I finished the discourse of the waters of Deuonshire, whose breadth in this place from hence ouerthwart to the Checkstones in the mouth of Ex, on the south side of the Ile, is eight and thirtie miles or vnder fortie, and so much likewise is it from Plimmouth to Hartland point, but the broadest part there commeth to six and thirtie miles, whereas the broadest part of Cornewall doth want two miles of fortie.

Paradine. Orus. The breadth of Deuonshire & Cornewall.

Being past the aforesaid limits of the counties we came to Portloch baie, whither commeth a water named Loch that descendeth from Stokepero, Lucham and Portloch without increase. Thence to Dunsteir brooke, which runneth from about Wotton, and Courtneie by Tunbercombe and Dunsteir, then to another that commeth west of Old Cliffe, leauing a parke on the west side, next of all to Watchet water, whereof one head commeth from the Quantocke hils south of Bickualer by Westquantocke head, and almost at Donisford, receiueth the Williton becke, then to east Quantocke brooke (omitting a creeket) & next of all to Doddington water, that goeth by Holford, Alforton, and afterward into the sea. From hence we go by Bottesall point, to Stert point, where two noble riuers do make their confluence, which I will seuerallie describe, as to my purpose apperteineth.

Loch. Durus. Vacerus. Williton. Doddington.

The first of these is called the Iuell, or (as I find it in an ancient writer) Po, who saith that the riuer Po doth runne from Ilchester to Bridgewater, and so into the sea. It riseth aboue Oburne, and at Shirborne receiueth a water, whereof Leland saith thus. There are seuen springs in an hill called the seuen sisters, north east from Shireburne, which gather into one bottome, & come into the Mere. Another brooke likewise commeth by Heidon from Pulcandell, three miles from thence by flat east, betwixt the parke and the Mere full so great as the streame of the Mere, and ioining at the lower mill of Shireburne, with the Mere water, it is not long yer it fall into the Euell. Thence our Euell goeth on towards Glasen Bradford, and yer it come there taketh in a forked rill from by south, descending from about west Chelburie and Chetnall in Dorsetshire, beneath which towne the other head falleth into the same, so that they run forth by Bearhaggard and Thornesord (till they meet with the Iuell) and so to Clifton, Cirill a proper market towne, Trent, Putford, Ashinton, and east of Limminton it meeteth with the Cade that runneth from Yarlington, by north Cadbirie, and soone after crossing a rill also from by east, that commeth from Blackeford by Compton, it hasteth to south Cadbirie, Sparkeford, Quænes Camell, west Camell, and so into Iuell, which runneth on to Kimmington, Ilchester, Ilbridge, long Sutton, and yer it come at Langport, taketh in two famous waters in one chanell, next of all to be remembred before I go anie further. The first of all these riseth southeast betweene the Parrets (where it is called Parret water) and goeth to Crokehorne, and at Meriot taketh in a brooke from the east, which consisteth of two courses vnited at Bowbridge, whereof the one descendeth from Pen by Hasilburie, the other from aboue the three Chenocks, as I do vnderstand.

Cade. Parret.

From hence also they go as one with the Parret water, toward south Pederton (taking in at east a becke comming from Hamden hill) thence to Pederton, Lambrooke, Thorneie bridge, and Puchelneie where it meeteth with the second called Ill or Ilus, whose head is aboue Chellington, & comming downe from thence by Cadworth, before it come at Dunniet, it taketh in a rill that runneth by Chalcombe and Knoll. Thence leauing Ilmister on the east side, it meeteth with another from by east, descending from about Whitlakington. Then it goeth to Pokington (where it crosseth the Ilton water by west) next to Ilbruers, and there it ioineth with a rillet that riseth by west at Staple, and runneth by Bicknell and Abbats Ilie, and after this confluence goeth on toward Langport. And here after some mens opinion, the Iuell loseth his name, and is called Parret: but this coniecture cannot hold, sith in the old writers it is called Iuell, till it fall into the sea. Neuertheless, how soeuer this matter standeth, being past Langport, it goeth by Awber toward saint Anthonies, where it meeteth with the Tone next of all to be described.

Ill. Ilton.

The Tone issueth at Clatworthie, and goeth by west of Wiuelscombe, to Stawleie, Ritford, Runton, Wellington and Bradford, beneath which it taketh in a faire water cõming from Sanford Combe, Elworthie, Brunt Rake, Piluerton, Oke and Hilfarens. After this confluence also it runneth to Helebridge, and there below meeteth with one water that runneth by Hawse, Heathford and Norton, then another from Crokeham by bishops Slediard, and the third & fourth at Taunton, that descendeth from Kingston by north, and another by south that riseth about Pidmister. And thus is the Tone increased, which goeth from Taunton to Riston, Crech, Northcurrie, Ling, and so by Anthonie into the Iuell, that after this confluence meeteth yer long with the Chare, a pretie riuer that commeth by east from Northborow, by Carleton, Badcare, Litecare, Somerton, Higham, Audrie more, Audrie, and Pichelborow. From whence going on betweene Quænes more and North more, it receiueth one brooke called Peder from by southwest, that runneth through Pederton parke and North more; and likewise another that passeth by Durleie, yer it do come at Bridgewater. From Bridgewater it goeth by Chilton directlie northwest, and then turning flat west, it goeth northward towards the sea, taking in two waters

Tone. Chare or Care. Peder.

ters by the waie, whereof one runneth by Corpole & Camington, and beareth the name of Camington, the other by Siddington and Comage, and then receiuing the Bzier before it come at Start point, they fall as one into the Ocean, whereof let this suffice for the description of the Iuell, whose streame doth water all the west part of Summersetshire and leaueth it verie fruitfull.

Camington.
Bzier.

The Bzier, Bzuer, or Bzéer, riseth of two waters, whereof one is in Selwood forrest, & commeth downe by Bzuecombe, Bzuham, and Bzuton. The other which Leland nameth Mellos, is northest of Stafford towne, and going by the same, it runneth by Redlinch, to Wike; where it mæteth with the other head, and thence go on as one to Awnsford, Alford (where it taketh in a water called Dulis from by north that riseth nére Dolting, and commeth by Euerchurch parke) then to the Lidfords, Basborow wood, the Dor hill, Pont perilous (whereinto they fable that Arthur being wounded to death did throw Calibur his sword) by Glastenburie and so into the Péere. Beside this riuer there are two other also that fall into the said Péere, whereof the one called Sowaie commeth from Créechurch parke, and Pulton by Hartlacke bridge, the other named Cos or the Coscombe water, from aboue Shepton, Mallet (which call of Wike taketh in a water comming from Welles) by Wike, Gedneie, and so into the Péere. Finallie, returning all into one chanell, it runneth to Burtlehouse, and sone after diuiding it selfe, one arme goeth by Bastian alias Bzent bridge, to High bridge, leauing Huntspill a market towne by southwest, the other by Parke to Rokes bridge, Hebbes passage, and so into the sea, leauing a faire Iland, wherin beside Bzentmarsh are seuen or eight townes, of whose names I haue no knowledge.

Leland writeth the first Bricuelus and the second Mellodunus or the Milton water.
Dulis.
Sowaie or Stowaie.
Cos.

Now as touching the water that commeth from Welles, which falleth (as I said) into the Coscombe water on the right hand of the Cawseie; you shall vnderstand that as manie springs are in Wels, so the chiefe of them is named Andres well, which riseth in a medow plat not farre from the east end of the cathedrall church, and afterward goeth into the Coscombe, in such place as I haue noted. Leland speaketh of the Milton & Golafer waters, which should fall likewise into the Bzier: but whether those be they whereof the one riseth aboue Stafford, and in the descent runneth by Shipton, Pitcombe, and so to Awnsford on the one side, as the other doth rise betwéene Batcombe and Upton noble on the other halfe; or vnto whether of them either of these names are severallie to be attributed: as yet I do not read.

Milton.
Golafer.

Are.
The Chederbzooke, driueth twelue miles within a quarter of a mile of his head.

The second Are which commeth by Are towne in old time called Uera, issueth out of Diwkie hole, from whence it goeth by Diwkie towne, afterward mæting with the Chederbzooke that commeth from the Cheder rocks, wherein is an hole in old time called Carcer Æoli, whereof much hath béene written & surmised past credit. It runneth by Were, Ratcliffe, and after a little compasse into the northeast branch of the aforesaid riuer last described, betwéene Rokes bzidge and Hebbes passage, as I haue béene informed. From the fall of Are we come to an other called Bane, northeast of Woodspring, whose head is about Banwell parke, or else in Smaldon wood. Then to an other, and to the third, called Artro, which riseth about Litton, and going by the Artroes, Ubbrie, Perrisbridge (receiuing a rill yer it come thither from by south) beneath Tungesbirie, or (as I learne) betwéene Kingston and Laurence Wike, it mæteth with the sea.

Bane.
Artra.

Sotlespill water riseth betwéene Cheueleis and Nalleseie, howbeit it hath no increase before it come into the sea at Sotlespill, more than the nert vnto it, which is named Cleueden water, of a certeine towne nére to the fall thereof. It riseth southeast of Barrow, goeth by Burton Nalleseie, and so vnto Cleuedon. The Auon, commonlie called the third Auon, is a goodlie water, and growne to be verie famous by sundrie occasions, to be particularlie touched in our description of Bzistow. Yet thus much will I note héere thereof as a rare accident, how that in king Edgars daies, the verie same yeare that the old monasterie of Euesham fell downe by it selfe, a porpasse was taken therein nére to the said monasterie, and neuer ante before or since that time heard of to haue béene found in that streame. And euen so not manie yeares before I first wrote this treatise, a sturgion was taken aliue in Rochester streame, which the bishop gaue vnto your honor, and you would as gladlie haue sent it to the quéenes maiestie, if she might haue béene presented withall aliue as it was taken. Certes both these rare occurrents gaue no lesse occasion of strange surmises to the inhabitants of both places, than the blockes of Bzerton, when they appeare, do vnto that familie; of which the report goeth that they are neuer séene but against some mischéefe or other to befall vnto that house. But how farre am I gone from my purpose?

Sotlespill.
Cleueden.
Auon.
Sturgion taken in Rochester water.

The Auon therefore riseth in the verie edge of Tetburie, and goeth by long Newton to Bzokenton, Whitchurch, and Malmsburie, where it receiueth two waters, that is to saie, one from by west comming by Foreleie and Bzomleham, which runneth so nére to the Auon in the west suburbe of Malmsburie, that the towne thereby is almost made an Iland. Another from Okeseie parke by Hankerton, Charleton, and Garesden. After this confluence it hasteth to Cole parke, then goeth it toward the southeast, till it mæt with a water comming from southwest (betwéene Hullauington and Bzadfield) by Alston: and sone after with another at the northside from Binall by Wotton Basset (through the parke to Gretenham, and Idouer bridges) and after the confluence to Dauntseie, Segar, Sutton, Chzistmalford, Auon, Calwaies house, and then to west Tetherton. Beneath this towne also it taketh in a water increased by two brookes, whereof one comming from Cleue by Hilmarton, Whitleie house and Bzamble (and there receiuing another that commeth by Calne) passeth on by Stanlie into the Auon, which from thencefoorth goeth to Chippenham, Rowdon, Lekham, and then receiuing Cotham water, goeth to Lacocke, Melsham, and yer it come at Whaddon, crosseth two other in one chanell, whereof one riseth about Bzumham house, and goeth to Sene, the other about the Diuizes, and from thence runneth to Potterne wood, Creke wood, Worton, Watton, Bucklington, and ioining with the other aboue Litleton, they run by Semmington, and north of Whaddon aforesaid into the maine streame, whereof I now intreat. From hence our Auon runneth to Stauerton, and southwest of that towne mæteth with the Were that commeth from Upton by Dilton, Brooke parke (there crossing a rill called Bisse from Westbirie vnder the plaine) then to north Bzadleie, Trubridge, and so into Auon that goeth from thence to Bzadford, & within a mile or thereabouts, before it come at Freshford, it mæteth with the Frome, whose description doth insue.

Auon.
Cotham.
Were.
Westbirie vnder ỳ plaine, neuer without a théefe or twaine.

The Frome riseth in the east part of Mendip hils, and from thence runneth by Astwic, the Colepits, Lie vnder Mendip, Wateleie, Elmesbridge, and sone after taketh in the Nonneie water, comming from Nonneie castel, thence to Walles and Orcharleie bridge, where it receiueth a pretie brooke

Frome.
Nonneie.

descending from Frome Selwood west of Brackleie, increased with sundrie rils, whereof two come out of Selwood forrest (and one of them from the Fratrie) another out of Long lead parke, from Horningsham, and the fourth from Cosleie. Hence our Frome goeth to Lullington, Beckington, Farleie castell, Bord and Fresh ford, and taking in the Silling broke, falleth into the Auon beneath Bradford, and east of Freshford. From thence going beneath Stoke, it receiueth on the left hand a water comming from southwest, increased by sundrie brookes, whereof one commeth from Camelet by Litleton, and Dankerton, the other from Stone Essoin, Midsummer Norton, by Welston, Rodstocke, Wrigleton, Foscot, and Wellow, and there (taking in a rill from Phillips Norton) it goeth by Clauerton to Hampton, and there it meeteth with another water comming from Barchford, whose head is at Litleton from whence it runneth by west Kineton to Castell combe (where it ioineth with a rill rising by north from Litleton drue) and thence commeth south to Slaughtenford, Haselburie, Box, Baithford, and so into the Auon, which turning plaine west, hasteth to Baithwyc, and (meeting with another in his passage from Caldaston) to Bath, the Tiuertons, and Coston.

Silling.

Here also it taketh in a rill by the waie from Parkesburie by Wilmerton and Newton, and then going on to Sawford, it meeteth with one rill some west of Northstocke, named Swinford, and another by Bitton, from Durbain by Wike, and so proceedeth still holding on his way to Caimsham, a towne in Summerset shire (so called of Caim an English saint, by whose praiers, as the countrie once beleeued, all the adders, snakes and serpents were turned into stone, their formes reserued, and for a certeine space of ground about the said towne, and whereof some store as yet is to be found in those quaries. But this miracle is so true as the historie of Hilda, or that S. Patrike should chase all venemous creatures out of Italie with his staffe; or that maid Radegund should driue the crowes to the pound, which did annoie hir corne while she went vnto a chappell to heare & see a masse) where it crosseth the Chute, which issueth at Winford, and goeth by bishops Chue to Penford, and there receiueth the Clue comming from Cluton, and from thence to Chute, & so into the Auon. The Auon likewise after all these confluences goeth to Brislton, and so to Bristow, beneath which it receiueth a rill on each side (whereof one commeth from about Stoke lodge in Glocestershire, being a faire water and running by Acton, Frampton, Hambroch, Stapleton, and through Bristow, the other by south from Dundreie hill and towne, by Bisport and Bedminster) and so descending yet lower, goeth to Kawneham passage and Clifton, then by S. Vincents rocke and Laie, next of all to Crocampill, and finallie into the sea, whither all waters by nature do resort.

Swinford.

Swinford parteth Summerset & Glocestershires in sunder.

Beside this water, Leland maketh mention of Alderleie broke, which in some ancient records is also called Auon, and runneth by Barkeleie. In like maner he talketh of Douresleie becke, whose principall head is in Douresleie towne: howbeit he saith nothing of it more, than that it serueth sundrie tucking lucking milles, and goeth by Tortworth or foure miles farther, before it come at the Sauerne. Finallie, making mention of an excellent quarrie of hard stone about Douresleie, he telleth of the Tortworth becke, that runneth within a flight shot of Barkeleie towne, and falleth on the left hand into Sauerne marches, taking with all the Alderleie or Auon, except I misiake his meaning, which may some be done among his confused notes.

Alderleie. Douresleie.

Tortworth.

The description of the Sauerne, & such waters as discharge themselues into the same.

Chap. 13.

Sauerne.

THe Sauerne which Ptolomie calleth Sabriana, Tacitus Sabrina, diuideth England or that part of the Iland, which sometime was called Lhoegres from Cambria, so called of Camber, the second sonne of Brute, as our histories do report. But now that region hight Wales, of the Germane word Walsh, whereby that nation doth vse to call all strangers without respect of countrie. This riuer toke the name of a certeine ladie, called Habren or Hafren, base daughter to Locrinus begotten vpon Estrildis daughter to Humber otherwise called Cumbrus or Umar, and for which some write Chonibrus king of Scithia, that sometime inuaded this Iland, and was ouerthrowne here in the daies of this Locrinus, as shall be shewed at hand: although I suppose rather that this ladie was called Ine, and that the word Sabrina is compounded of Aber and Ine, and the letter S added *Propter euphoniam*: for the mouth or fall of euerie riuer in the British speech is called Aber, whereby Aber Ine is so much to saie as, the fall of Ine. But let vs returne againe to our discourse of Humber or Umar, which is worthie to be remembred.

For after the death of Locrinus, it came to passe that Guendolena his wife ruled the kingdome in the nonage of hir sonne; and then getting the said Estrildis and Habren hir daughter into hir hands, she drowned them both in this riuer. And in perpetuall remembrance of hir husbands disloialtie towards hir, she caused the streame to be called Habren of the yong ladie, for which the Romans in processe of time for readinesse and mildnesse of pronunciation, wrote Sabrina, and we at this time do pronounce the Sauerne. Of the drowning of the said Abren also I find these verses insuing:

In fluuium præcipitatur Abren,
Nomen Abren, fluuio de virgine, nomen eidem
Nomine corrupto deinde Sabrina datur.

But to returne to our Sauerne. It falleth into the maine sea betweene Wales and Cornewall, which is and shall be called the Sauerne sea, so long as the riuer doth keepe hir name. But as the said streame in length of course, bountie of water, and depth of chanell commeth farre behind the Thames: so for other commodities, as trade of merchandize, plentie of cariage, & store of all kind of fish, as salmon, trouts, breames, pikerell, tench, perch, &c: it is nothing at all inferiour or second to the same. Finallie, there is nothing to be discommended in this riuer, but the openesse thereof in manie places to the weather, whereby sundrie perils oft ouertake such as fish or saile in small vessels on the same.

The head of this noble streame is found in the high mounteines of south Wales called Helennith or Plim limmon; in English, the blacke mounteins, or more heads, from whence also the Wie and the Rhidoll do proceed: and therefore these three waters are commonlie called the three sisters, and haue in latitude two and fiftie degrees ten minutes, in longitude fifteene and fiftie, as the description inferreth. So soone as it is out of the ground, it goeth southeastward, till it come within a mile of Laundlos, where it receiueth a chanell from by south southwest, called the Dulas, which commeth thereinto on the south side, & southwest of Lan Idlos. It riseth (as it should seeme) of diuerse heads in the edge of Radnorshire,

and

Bruchan. Clewdogh. Bacho. Dungum. Lhoid. Bigga. Couine. Carnon. Caran. Hawes. Dulesse.2. Mule. Lenlet. Camalet. Tate. Lan Idlos. Tanet. Peuereie or Murnewie. Iuernele. Mordant.

and taking in sundrie small rilles, it meeteth at the last with the Bruehan broke, and so they go together till they fall into the Sauerne. Beneath Lan Idlos it taketh in the Clewdogh from northwest, a water produced by the influence of foure prettie brookes, whereof one is called Bacho, another Dungum comming out of lin Glaslin, the third Lhoid rising in lin Begilin, and the most southerlie called Bigga. After which confluence our Sauerne proceedeth on by Berhlaid toward Landiman, taking in by the waie, on the east side the Couine, thence to Cairfuse castell, where it meeteth with the Carnon, and the Caran both in one chanell, and going not far from the aforesaid fortresse. After this it crosseth the Hawes on the north halse beneath Aberhawes, next of all the Dulesse that riseth in the edge of Radnor shire, and meeteth with it before it come at Newton in Powisie, otherwise called Trenewith, as I find in British language. Being come to Trenewith, I cannot eschue (right honorable) to giue one note, as by the waie, touching the originall of my ladie your bedfellowes ancestrie, which came from hence, & were surnamed Newtons onelie, for that the grandfather of sir John Newton either dwelled or was borne there: otherwise the right name is Caradoc, for which some do corruptlie write Cradocke, respecting rather the shortnesse of pronuntiation, than the true orthographie and writing of the word. Certes the Caradockes haue béene, and yet are a linage of great honor, antiquitie, and seruice; their lands also sometime belonged (for the most part) to the noble Gonnoanies of Summersetshire: but in what order they descended to the Newtons, in good soth I cannot tell. But to proceed with our riuer, which being past Newton, runneth forth by Landilouarne, and so forth on till it come to the fall of the Mule, whose head is in the edge of Radnor also, and thereto his passage by Kerie and Lanmereiwic. After this also it proceedeth further till it met with the Kenlet or the Camalet, which taketh in also the Tate or Tadbrooke water rising out of the hilles a mile from Bishops towne, the whole course thereof being about seauen miles from the head (as I haue often heard.) Of this also I find two descriptions, whereof one I borrow out of Leland, who saith that it is a prettie brooke, running in the vale by Mountgomerie, and comming within halfe a mile of the place where Chirbirie priorie stood, it falleth into the Sauerne about a mile from thence. Of the rilles (saith he) that run from the hilles thorough Mountgomerie, which are a mile from the Sauerne shore, and likewise of the Lan Idlos brooke that meeteth withall within foure miles of the head, I speake not, but thinke it sufficient to touch those of some estimation, onelie leauing the rest to such as maie hereafter deale with things more particularlie as time and trauell maie reueale the truth to them. And hitherto Leland, whose words I dare not alter. But another noteth this Camalet or Kenlet to run by More, Liddiom, Sned, Churchstocke, Chirbirie, Walcote, and Winsbirie, and so into the Sauerne.

From hence then, and after this confluence it goeth on by Fordon, Leighton, and Landbreuie toward Peluerleie, and there it meeteth with sundrie waters in one chanell, whereof the one called the Tanet is a verie prettie water (whereinto the Peuereie or Murnewie doth fall, which descendeth from the hilles by west of Matrafall not farre from Lhan Filin) the other Auernie, and ioining beneath Abertannoth, or aboue Lannamonach nere vnto the ditch of Offa, it is not long yer they met with the Mordant broke, and there lose their names so sone as they ioine and mir their waters with it. The head of the Mordant issueth out of the Lanuerdan hilles, where diuerse saie, that the parish church of crosse Oswald or Oswester sometimes stood. Certes, Oswester is thirténe miles northwest from Shrewesburie, and conteineth a mile within the walles. It hath in like sort foure suburbs or great stréetes, of which one is called Stratlan, another Wailiho, the third Beterich, wherein are one hundred and fortie barns standing on a row belonging to the citizens or burgesses, and the fourth named the Blackegate stréet, in which are thirtie barns mainteined for corne & haie. There is also a broke running thorough the towne by the crosse, comming from Simons well, a bow shote without the wall; & going vnder the same betweene Thorowgate & Newgate, running vnder the Blacke gate. There is another, ouer whose course the Baderikes or Wederich gate standeth, and therefore called Wederich broke. The third palleth by the Willigate or Newgate, & these fall all togither with the Crosse broke, a mile lower by south into the Mordant that runneth (as I said) by Oswester. From hence also it goeth to Mordant towne, and betwéene Landbreuie and Peluerleie doth fall into the Sauerne. After this our principall streame goeth to Sheauerdon castell, Mountford, and Bicton chapell: and here it receiueth a water on the left hand, that riseth of two heads, whereof one is aboue Perton, the other at Ellismere, and ioining betweene Woodhouses & Bagleie, the confluence runneth on by Radnall, Halton, Teddesmer, Roiton, Baschurch, Walford, Grafton, Witton, and so into the Sauerne. From hence it runneth to Fitz, Eton, or Leiton, Barwic, vpper Rossall, Shelton, and so to Shrewsburie, where it crosseth the Mele water, whose head (as I heare) is said to be in Weston.

The Mele therefore rising at Weston, goeth by Broston, Worthen, Alton Pigot, Westleie, Afterleie, and at Lea it meeteth with the Haberleie water that commeth downe by Pontesford and Aunston. After this confluence also it runneth to Newenham & Crokemele, there taking in a rill on the other side that descendeth by Welkburie and Stretton, & thence going on to Hanwood, Noball, Pulleie, Bracemele, and Shrewesburie, it falleth (as I said) into the open Sauerne. From hence our Sauerne hasteth to Affington, Preston, and betwéene Chilton and Brampton taketh in the Terne, a faire streame and worthie to be well handled; if it laie in me to performe it. This riuer riseth in a mere beside Welbridge parke, nére vnto Ternemere village in Staffordshire. From whence it runneth by the parkes side to Knighton, Norton, Betton, and at Draiton Hales crosseth with a water comming from about Adbalton (where maister Brodocke dwelleth) and runneth by Chippenham and Amming: so that the Terne on the one side, and this broke on the other, do inclose a great part of *Blore heath, where a noble battell was sometime purposed betwéene king Henrie the first, and the duke of Yorke: but it wanted execution.

But to proceed. After this confluence, it runneth to Draiton Hales, Ternehill bridge: and per long taking in a rill from Sandford by Blechleie, it goeth to Stoke Allerton, Peplaw, and Eaton, where it crosseth with a broke that riseth about Brunton, and going by Higham, Morton, the great Mere, Forton, Pilson, Pickstocke, Reinton, Tibberton, and Bolas, it ioineth with the said Terne not farre from Water Upton. Thence passing to Crogenton, it meeteth with another broke that commeth from Chaltwen Alton, by Newport, Longford, Aldneie, and so through the Wilde more to Kinsleie & Sleepe, and finallie into the Terne, which hasteth from thence to Elton bridge, and nére vnto Walcote taketh in the Roden. This water riseth at Halton in Cumbermere lake: and comming to Duenleie, crosseth a rill from Cowlemere by Lenlall. Thence it goeth to

Mele. Haberleie. Terne. Roden.

* See Hen.6. pag.619.

Norton,

Horton, and (ioining with another rill beneath Nonlale that commeth from Hidle) runneth on to Wen, Alton, there crossing a rill beneath Lacon hall from Prées ward, and so to Lée, Bekford, Stanton, Horton, Shabrée, Painton, Roden, Rodington, and then into Terne, that runneth from thence by Charlton, Upton, Norton, Barwie, Acham, and so into the Sauerne two miles beneath Shrewesburie (as I weene.)

Thus haue I described the Terne in such wise as my simple skill is able to performe. Now it resteth that I proceed on (as I maie) with the Sauerne streame, with which, after this former confluence, it goeth vnto Korater or Korcester, Brampton, Eaton vpon Sauerne, Draiton, where it ioineth with the Euerne that runneth from Frodesleieward by Withiall and Pitchford, Cressedge, Garneston, Leighton, and betweene the two Bildasses crosseth the Rhe or Wenlocke water, and so goeth on to Browslete and Hord parke, where it vniteth it selfe with another broke to be described in this place, whilest the Sauerne rests, and recreates it selfe here among the plesant bottoms.

Euerne.

Wenlocke or Rhe.

This water ariseth aboue Longcastell, and yet it haue run anie great distance from the head, it méeteth with a rill comming by Sheriffe Hales, and Staunton. Thence it goeth on to Hatton, Roiton, and there crossing another from Woodhouses, comming by Haughton and Euelin, it proceedeth to Beckebirie and Higford, and not omitting here to crosse the Worse (sometime a great streame that runneth vnto it out of Snowdon pole) and so passeth forth to Badger, Acleton, Worfield: a litle from whence (about Wickin) it taketh in another broke into it called Churle, & so goeth on to Kindleford, and then into Sauerne somwhat aboue Bridgenorth at Penston mill (except mine information deceiue me.) From Bridgenorth our Sauerne descendeth to Woodburie, Quatford, and there taking in the Parbroke beneath Eaton that riseth aboue Collaton, and goeth by Norill & Underton, it runneth by Didmanston, Hempton, Aueleie, & beneath in the waie to Bargate, crosseth with a broke comming from Upton parke, by Chetton, Billingleie, and Highleie, which being admitted, it holdeth on to Areleie, Ciarnewood parke, Halwbach and Dowlesse. Here also it méeteth with the Dowlesse water, a prétie broke issuing out of the Cle hilles in Shropshire, verie high to loke vpon, and thrée miles or thereabouts from Ludlow, which runneth through Clebirie parke in Wire forrest, & taking withall the Lempe, doth fall into the Sauerne not far from Bewdleie.

Worfe.

Harbroke.

Dowlesse.

Lempe.

But to proceed. From Bewdleie our Sauerne hasteth directlie to Ribford, Areleie and Redston, and here it méeteth with a water called Stoure, descending from Elie, or out of the ponds of Hales Owen in Worcestershire, where it receiueth a rill from the left hand, and another from the right, and then goeth on to Sturbridge (taking in there the third water per long running from Sturton castell) then to Kniuer Whittenton, Duerleie and Kidermister, aboue which it crosseth one brokelet that commeth thither by Church hill, and another beneath it that runneth by Belborow, betwirt which two waters lieth an od peece of Staffordshire included, and also the Cle hill. From hence the aforesaid Sauerne hasteth by Redston to Shrawleie; and aboue this towne receiueth the Astleie water, as beneath the same it doth another. From Witleie then it goeth on to Holt castell, and so to Grimleie, taking in thereabout with the Doure, and Sulwale waters, whereof this riseth at Chadlwie, and runneth by Stoke prior, & Droitwich, the other aboue Chaddesleie, and commeth by Dourdale. After this it goeth forth vnto Worcester, in old time called Cair Brangon, or Cair Frangon, where it méeteth with the Tiber, or Tiberton water, on the right hand aboue that citie, and beneth it nære vnto Powic with the Temde, whose description shall be set downe before I proceed or go anie further with the Sauerne.

Stoure.

Astleie.

Doure.
Sulwale.

Tiber.

The Temde, or (as some name it) the Tame riseth vp in Radnorshire, out of the Melenith hilles, and sone after his issue, méeting with a water from Withall, it runneth to Begeldie, Lanuerwaterden, and so to Knighton, which is fiue or six miles (as I heare) from his originall. From Knighton it goeth ouer the ditch of Offa vnto Standish, and crossing a rill that commeth from betwéene the parke named Clude, (and is a bound of Radnorshire) it goeth to Buckton, Walford, and Lanuarden, where it méeteth with the Bardwell or Berfield, and the Clun, both in one chanell, of which I find these descriptions here folowing word for word in Leland. The Bardwell or Barfield riseth aboue New Chapell, in the honour of Clun, hard by the ditch of Offa, and goeth by Bucknell. The Clun issueth out of the ground betwéene Lhan Uehan and Paiston, and going on by Bucton, Cluncastell, Clundon, Purslaw, and Clunbirie, it crosseth with a broke that runneth along by Kempton and Brampton. Thence going forth by Clunbirie, Brome, Abcot and Harlow, it méeteth with the Bardwell, and so in the Temde, not verie far from Temderton. I suppose that Leland calleth the Bardwell by the name of Owke, but I will not abide by it bicause I am not sure of it. After these confluences therefore, our Temde goeth by Trippleton, Dounton, Burrington, and Bromefield, where it méeteth with the Oneie, which is an indifferent streame, and increased with sundrie waters, whereof I saie as followeth.

Temde.

Clude.

Barfield
Clun.

Owke.

The first of all is called the Bow. It riseth (as I learne) in the hilles betwéene Hillington and Shelue, and from thence commeth downe by Lindleie and Hardwic, where it crosseth the Warren that issueth out of the ground about Rotlie chappell, and runneth by Adston and Wentnor. After the confluence also going on by Choulton and Cheinies, it taketh in the Queneie and Strabroke both in one chanell, wherof the first riseth at Lebotwood, and commeth downe by the Strettons, till it passe by Fellanton. The second mounteth about Longuill, and goeth by Rushburie, Newhall, Harton, and Alcaster, from whence it is not long per it fall into the Queneie, and so by Stratford into the Oneie, which hath borne that name since the confluence of the Bow and Warren at Hardwic, whereof I spake before. Finallie, the Oneie which some call the Somergill being thus increased, it runneth on to Halford chappell, Oneibirie, Bromefield, and so into Temde, and next of all to Ludlow. The Temde being thus brought to Ludlow, méeteth with the Corue, which commeth thorough Coruedale from aboue Broctor by Norehouses, Shipton, Hungerford, and a little beneath taking in a rill that commeth by Tugford, and Brencost castell, goeth on to Corsham castell, and there crossing another from saint Margarets Clée, it bieth to Stanton Lacie, and so likewise to Ludlow.

Oneie.

Bow.

warren.

Queneie and
Strabroke.

Somergill.

Corue.

From Ludlow in like sort it goeth to Ludford, the Ashfordes, little Hereford, Burrington, and at Burford vniteth it selfe with the Ladwich that commeth beneath Milburne stoke, from betwéene Browne, Clæhill, and Stittertons hill, to Middleton, Henleie, Ladwich, Conam, and so into Temde, which beneath Temdbirie receiueth another rill on the other side, and the second on the left hand called Rhe, that commeth from aboue Ricton, Staterton, Hound, Nene, Clebirie, Knighton, and then into the Temde. From hence the Temde doeth goe by

Ladwich.

Rhe.

Acham,

Aſtham, Lingridge, Shelleie Welch, Clifton, Whitburne (and crossing a water that commeth from the Sapies) to Knightwike and Bradwaies. Hereabout againe it interteineth a rill that descendeth from about Kidburie on the right hand, and goeth by Collomatherne, Credeleie, Aukrike, and so into Temde, and then proceeding forward, the said streame runneth to Braunford, and yer long (taking in the Langherne that riseth about Martleie, and passeth by Kengewike) it goeth to Powike, and so into the Sauerne before it come at Wickecester.

Langherne.

Thus haue I brought all such streames before me that fall into the Sauerne from the head, vntill I come to Powike, wherof (as you may easily perceiue) the Temde is the most excellent. Now it resteth that I proceed with the rest of the discourse intended concerning this our riuer. Certes, from Powike mils which are about halfe a mile beneth Worcester, the Sauerne runneth on to Kempseie and Cleueld, whence after it hath crossed a broke comming from Cowleie, it hasteth first to Stoke, and so to Upton, which is eleuen or twelue miles from Glocester, whither it floweth manie times at high tides, but yer it come there, it drowneth another fall descending from Maluerne hilles by Blackemore parke, & soone after the third growing by two branches, wherof one commeth also from Maluerne hils by little Maluerne and Wellands, the other from Elderford by Pendocke and Longdon. After these confluences in like sort, it runneth to Bushelleie, and Tewkesburie, where it receiueth the Auon, that followeth next of all in order to be described, before I proceed anie further in my discourse of Sauerne.

Leame.

Auon 4.

The Auon riseth at Nauesbie in the borders of Northhamptonshire, a little side hand of Gilleshorow and fot of the hils whereon Nauesbie standeth, and euen out of the church yard of the said village. From hence it goeth to Welford, Stamford, Lilburne, Clifton, and Rugbie, by north whereof it crosseth a water called Swift, which commeth from aboue Kimcote, to Lutterworth, Browne ouer and Colsford. From thence also it goeth to Newbold, Wolfton, Kuington, and betweene the Stonlies taketh in the Sow. This Sow is a pretie water comming from aboue Calendon to Whitleie, and soone after meeting with a riueret from Couentrie, which some do call Shirburne water, it goeth thence to Bagginton, where it taketh in a rill called Kinell, as I haue red from Kenelsworth, from whence it runneth to Stonleie, & so into the Auon. After this confluence the Auon procedeth on to Stonleie abbeie, Alchow, Pluerton, Edmonds cote, and appace to Warwise.

Swiuethus.

Souus.

Kinell.

But yer it come there, it meeteth from south east with two waters in one chanell, whereof the least commeth to Parton from Bishops Itchington, by Herburbirie and Thorpe, where it crosseth a rill from Southam. The other is called Leame, or Lime that descendeth from about Helladon, or neere vnto Catesbie in Northamptonshire, and going by Duencote, Braunston, Lemington and Hertun, it ioineth with the other, and then go from thence togither vnder the name of Leame, to Hunnington, Cobbington, and so into the Auon, as I gaue notice before. At Warwike also the Auon taketh in a water running northwest from Groue parke. Thence it goeth on to Bereford, and there crossing another from Shirburne, it passeth forth to Bishops Hampton, meeting finallie with the third, from Kineton that runneth by Walton and Charlecote. After this last rehearsed confluence, it hasteth to Stretford vpon Auon, and then to Luddington ward, where it taketh in the Stoure that riseth aboue Cherington, & whose course from thence is such, as that being once past the head, it goeth by Weston, and yer long crossing a water from Campden, hanging Aston, & Todnam, it runneth to Barchester, Aldermaston, Clifford, & so into the Auon.

Stoure.

From hence then the said Auon goeth to Luddington, Burton, Bitford, and Cleue, and being parted from the said towne, yer it come at Sawford, it receiueth the Arow or Aur, which rising in the blacke hils in Worchestershire, commeth by Alchurch, Beleie parke, Ypsleie, Studleie, and then taking in another rill called Alne, out of Fecknam forrest, and going by Coughton parke, it hasteth to Alcester, Arow, Ragleie, Wheteleie, Bouington, Standford, and so into Auon, which after this conjunction goeth to Affenton & then to Couesholme: but yer it come there it receiueth two waters in one chanell, whereof the first riseth about Willerseie, the other nere to Buckland, and ioining beneath Badseie, they fall into Auon, vnder the name of Pludor broke, before it come to Couesholme.

Arow.

Alne.

Pludor.

Being past Couesholme it crosseth the Vincell, which rising out of the hils somewhere about Sudleie, runneth two miles further to Winchelcombe, and Gretton, and taking in a rill by the waie from Hailes, procedeth on (going within one quarter of a mile of Hailes abbaie) to Tuddington, or Doddington, beneath which when it hath crossed another rill that commeth from Stanwaie, it goeth to Warmington, Sedgeborow, and receiuing there the last on the right hand also (as all aboue rehearsed) it falleth into the Auon, when it is come by Hinton, vnto a towne called Hampton, or (as some do write it) Ampton. After this confluence the Auon goeth to Charleton, to Crapthorne (and there taking in a rill on the left hand) to Fladbirie wike, and almost at Persore bridge, meeteth with a branched water that commeth by Piddle, whereof one head is at Alberton, an other at Piddle. From Persore it goeth to Birlingham, and soone after carrieng a broke withall descending from Fakenham, by Bradleie, Himbleton, Huddenton, Crowleie, Churchhill, Pibleton, Besleford and Desleford, it fleeteth to Eckington, Bredon, Twining, Mitton, and Tewkesburie, where it ioineth with the Sauerne.

Vincelus.

Piddle.

Now to resume the course of the Sauerne, you shall vnderstand, that from Tewkesburie it goeth to Derehirst, the How passage, and soone after receiuing the Chiltenham water that commeth thither by Bodenton, Sawton, and Norton, it runneth to Ashelworth, Sainthirst; and here it parteth it selfe till it come to Glocester, where it vniteth it selfe againe. But in the meane time the easterlie branch receiueth a forked chanell, whereof one head is not far frō Leke Hampton, the other about Witcombe, from whence it goeth to Brockworth. The other branch or arme taketh in the Leadon that commeth downe by Preston, Dimmocke, Pantleie vpper Leadon, Leadon court, and there taking in one rill that commeth from Linton by Arekoll, and another beneath it from Tainton by Rudford, it falleth into the said branch on the right side, before it come at Glocester.

Chilus.

Leadon.

The Sauerne therefore being past Glocester, it meeteth with a little rill on the right hand, and thence holding on his course by Elmore, Minsterworth, Longneie, to Framilode, it receiueth yer it come at this latter the Strowd broke, which rising not farre from Side, goeth by Pallade, Edgeworth, Frampton, Strowd, and receiuing there a water that commeth from Panneswike Lodge, by Pittescombe on the one side, and another from Radbridge on the other, it prosecuteth his voiage to Stone house, Eslington, white Mlsen, & so toward Framilode, where the said Strowd doth fall into the Sauerne. After

Strowd.

the

the fall of Strowd, the Sauerne goeth from thence to Newenham, and Arlingham, and sone after receiuing a water on each side, whereof one commeth from Vleie by Cham and Chambridge, the other by Blackneie and Catcombe, it goeth forth till it méet with another water on ech side, whereof that on the English halfe is forked, so that one head thereof is to be found about Borwell, the other at Horton, and méeting aboue Tortworthie, they run by Stone and Barkeleie castell, and so into the Sauerne. That on the Welsh halfe is named Newarne, which cómeth from the forrest of Deane, and so into the Sauerne.

Newarne.

Of such waters as fall into the sea in compasse of the Iland, betweene the Sauerne and the Humber.

Chap. 14.

THe Sauerne being thus described, it resteth that I go forward with the names of those that lie vpon the coast of Southwales, making my entrie at the ferrie ouer betwæne Aust in Glocestershire, and a village on the further banke of Sauerne, not farre from Tarendacus chappell, in the mouth of the riuer Wie, which ferrie is about thræ miles ouer (saith Leland) or else my memories doth faile me. This riuer Guie or Wie beginneth (as I said before) on the side of the hilles where the Sauerne doth arise, and passing through Wenceland, that is, southeast by Kaiader Guie to Buelt (where the Irwon méeteth withall) it goeth to Glasburie, Hereford, Monmouth, and finallie into the Sauerne sea at Chepstow: for so they call Monhastren, which seuereth Wales from Summersetshire, Deuonshire, Cornewall: as for the Rhydoll which is the third after, it hath the shortest course of all, for it runneth northward, and into the sea at Aberist with, which is not farre off, as the writers do report.

wie mouth.

Guie alias Wie.

Leland writing of this riuer Guie or Wie saith thus; The Wie goeth thorough all Herefordshire by Bradwarden castell, belonging to sir Richard Vehan, and so to Hereford east, thence eight miles to Rosse, a market towne in Herefordshire: and in this riuer be vmbers, otherwise called grailings. It is also found by common experience, that the salmon of this riuer is in season, when the like fish to be found in all other riuers is abandoned and out of vse; wherof we of the east parts do not a little maruell. But let vs not staie vpon these descriptions, sith an other is come to my hand more exact than either of these.

Vmber a fish onelie in the Wie.

The Guie therefore riseth out of the blacke mountaines of Wales, out of which the Sauerne springeth in Radnorshire, and comming by Lhangerike, and Kaiadargoie, it receiueth one rill from the west called Darnoll, and another from by northeast comming by saint Harmon. Thence it goeth to Lhanuthell, and in the waie betwixt Kaiader and Lhanuthell, it ioineth with the Elland, whose head is nére to Comerist with, and taketh likewise into him the Clardwen that diuideth for a season Radnorshire from Brecknoch, which Clardwen is likewise increased by the Clarthie within thré miles of his head and lesse, hauing his course from southwest & hillie soile adiacent. From Lhanuthell it goeth west of Dissart, where it receiueth the Ithan, a riuer rising aboue Lhanbister, and from whence it runneth to Landwie, and Lambaderne vawr: beneath which it crosseth a water on ech side, whereof that on the right hand consisteth on the Dulesse and the Cluedoch, after their confluence: the other hight Lomaron, whose head is aboue Lanihangle, and in the forrest of Blethwag. After these confluences, it runneth on crinkeling in strange manner, vnder the name of Ithor, till it come to Dissart, taking in the Hawie on the left side yer it come there, and then into the Wie on the north side, which directeth his course further to Bealt, where it receiueth the Yrwon, a notable streame, descending from the hilles aboue Lanihangle Abergwessen, and thence comming downe by Lanurid Lang marsh, Lanauan, Uechan, Langantan, and so to Beth or Bealt, being inlarged by the waie with sundrie faire waters, as the Weuereie, whose head is about Lanauan more, the Dulasse, or (as some call it) the Dowlasse, that commeth from the hilles west of the head of Weuereie. The Comarch whose head and course is west of the Dowlasse on the north side, and likewise by two other on the southwest, and Dilasse from by southwest, which last rehearsed falleth into him halfe a mile and more aboue the influence of the Comarch which lieth on the other side. After this our Yrwon goeth to Lhanuareth, where it crosseth the Dehon on the southwest side, then to Aberedwie, and there receiueth the Edwie on the northeast, which ariseth in the hilles aboue Botins chappell, and commeth downe by Crigend and Lanhaderne, thence the Guie goeth on to Lanstephan, and there (or a little aboue) taketh in the Machaweie that commeth by castell Paine, and so going on in processe of time with the Leuenni, whereof Leland in his commentaries doth write as here insueth.

Lamaron.

Hawie.

Yrwon.

Weuereie.

Dulasse.

Comarch.

Dulesse.

Dehon.

Edwie.

Machaweie.

Leuenni.

The Leuenni, otherwise called the Euer or Euerie, is a farre streame rising in Welch Talgarth hard by Blaine Leuenni, among the Atterill hilles, from whence it goeth to Brecknoch mere, which is two miles long, and a mile broad, and where men do fish in Vniligneis or botes of one peece, as they do in Lhin Seuathan, which is foure miles from Brecknoch. Finallie, bringing great store of red sand withall, and there with the Brennich water (that hath his originall issue at Mennith gader, and is increased with the Trufrin) it falleth into the Wie aboue Glesbiris thræ miles from Haie, at a place that of the onelie fall of this broke is named Aberleuenni, after this the Guie. Being come to Haie, a prettie towne where much Romane coine is found, which they call Iewes monie: and after it hath passed or crossed a little broke, which commeth from Lanigon, it méeteth with the Dulesse that commeth also from the Atterill by Kersop, and from thence goeth to Clifford castell (being now entred into Herefordshire, and leauing Radnor, whereunto it hath for a long course béene march) then to the Whitneies, Winferton, Letton, Bradwarden, Broberie, Monington, Bisord, Bridgesalers, Eaton, Brinton, and Hereford, without anie influence of riuer worthie of memorie, and yet with manie windlesses, & there méeteth with a water rising short of Wormesleie, which goeth by Maunsell, Lacie, Brinsop, Crednell, Stretton, and Huntington, and sone after into the Wie, beside a little rill that runneth betwéene them both euen into Hereford towne. From hence in like sort the Wie hasteth to Kotheras church, Hampton, and Mordeford, where it taketh in sundrie waters in one chanell, of which the Lug or Luie is the principall, and next of all to be described, before I go anie further with the course of the Wie, whereinto it dischargeth the chanell. It riseth in the edge of the forrest of Kemples aboue Langunlo: from whence it goeth to Mononacht, Pilleth Whitton, Fuldibroke, Prestaine, so into Herefordshire, where betwéene Bonie & Beton, or Bitton, it receiueth in the Somergill, whose crotched head being march

Euer.

Euerie.

Trufrin.

Dulesse.

Lug.

to

to Radnor forreſt, directeth his ſtreame betweene the new and old Radnors, to Knill, to Naſh, and ſo into the Lug, which preſentlie paſſeth by Kinſham, Shirleie, Ailmiſter, Kingſland, Eaton chapell, and ſo into Lemiſter, where it croſſeth the Dneie (a ſtreamelet riſing ſhort of Shobden, and going by Chorleſter) a little before it come to the weſt ſide of the towne.

At Lemiſter it ſelfe in like ſort three waters doo meet, and almoſt inuiron the towne, that is to ſaie, the Lug, the Pinſulleie or Pinſell (a riueret riſing at Kingſland two miles from Lemiſter) & the Kenbroke, which commeth out of the blacke mounteins, from Lemiſter, otherwiſe called Leofminſter, of the builder, and alſo Leonminſter, the Lug or Luie goeth on to Eaton, and there taketh in a rill beneath Hampton, and aboue Hope, whereof one head is betweene Hatfield and Bickleton, another neere vnto Marſton, and meeting of both at Humber. From Hampton it goeth to Bodenham, Wellington, Worton, Sutton, Shelwie, Lugwardin, and Longward, where it croſſeth the Fromeie or Frome, a prettie water, and worthie to be remembred. It riſeth about Wolferelaw, from whence it commeth downe toward the ſouthweſt by Edwinſloch to Bromyard, Auenburie, Biſhops Frome, Caſtell Frome, Can Frome, to Stretton vpon Frome, and there taking in a water called Loden, comming from aboue Biſhops Grendon, by Pencombe, Colwarne, Stoke Lacie, Colwarne, and Engleton, our Frome goeth on to Parkeleie, Dornington, and Longward, and ſo into the Lug, betweene Longward and Sutton, which runneth forthwith to Wordford, or Worthford, and there into the Wie, vnto whoſe deſcription I now returne againe.

Pinſell.
Kenbroke.
Fromeie.
Loden alias Acon.

Being come therefore vnto Wordford, it goeth to Fawnehope, Hamlacie, Ballingham, Capull *regis*, where it receiueth a water called Treſke, from little Berch by Treſke, Fawleie, How, Capull Inkeſton, Foie, Brampton, Bridſtow, Wilton caſtell, the Roſſe, and there a rill from Biſhops Uptonward by Rudhall, Were ſend, Yam, Glewſton, Godderich, here in like ſort meeting with another that commeth from Ecleſwall in the confines of Glocеſterſhire, by Penſard caſtell & Coughton, to Welch Bickner, Engliſh Bickner, Huntetham, including a parcell of Monmouthſhire, being an outliggand, as ye may find in that parcell of Herefordſhire which butteth vpon Glocеſterſhire (as you ſhall find the like peece of Herefordſhire in the confines of Salop and Worceſter, wherein Rochford ſtandeth, beſide manie other which I haue elſewhere ſpoken of) Whitchurch, where it taketh in Gainar water that commeth from Much Birch, by Lanwarne, Michaell church, and at Langarran croſſeth the Garran broke, that riſeth in Gregwood, ſhort of Arcop, ſix miles from Monemouth by northweſt: after which theſe two doo runne as one to Marſton, and almoſt Whitchurch, and ſo into the Wie, which goeth from thence to Gunnarew, S. Michaell, Dirton, and Monemouth, where I will ſtaie a while, till I haue deſcribed the Mone, next of all to be remembred here.

Treſke,
Gainar.
Garran.

The Mona or Monbecke, riſeth in the forreſt of Hene, twentie miles from Monemouth by weſt in Eirſland, and going by Creſwell, or Craſwall chappell not farre from the marches of Brecknocke, and northeaſt of Hatuill hils, which after it hath run a good diſtance from the head receiueth firſt the Eſkle, and paſſeth by Lanthangle and the old Court, from northweaſt, then the Dcon, from ſouthweſt, which meeteth withall neere Cledoll or Knedoch, & paſſing by the old towne, it haſteth to Altrinis, where it becommeth march betweene Hereford and Monemouth ſhires, and taketh in a water comming by Trewin, & likewiſe the Yordwie or Yodneie which riſeth in Brecknocke, among the Saterelles, & runneth by Capell a fin, Lantonie, Cumroie, Michaell church in Monemouthſhire, and toineth with our Mona at Altrinis, which after this confluence haſteth to Walderſtone, Lanſillo Langua, betweene which and Kinechurch it toineth with the Doure that riſeth about the Bache aboue Dourſton, which is ſix miles aboue Doure abbie, ſo that it runneth through the Gilden dale, by Peterchurch, Fowchurch, Yorehampton, Newcourt, Doure, and beneath Doure taketh in the Duleſſe, from ſouthweſt and Lanthangle, by Harleſwas caſtell on the one ſide, and yer long the Wormeſbecke, deſcending from aboue Beuernall by Didleie, Deueror, Worke bridge, and Kenderchurch on the other, and ſo running all in one chanell vnto Mona, that riuer goeth on to Kinech church, Griſmond, Cardwaie, Skenfrith, Warnethall, Perthire, and ſo to Monemouth, where it meeteth with the Wie, ouer each of which riuers Monemuth towne hath his particular bridge.

Hodneie.
Doure.
Duleſſe.
Wormelbecke

The Guie or Wie therefore being increaſed with thus manie brookes and waters, paſſeth on from hence, and going toward Landogo, it meeteth with the Trollie becke, whoſe head is aboue Lannam ferrie in the north part of Monemouthſhire, and goeth from thence by Lhantellio, Lanthangle, Gracedieu, Diggeſtow, Wonaſtow, Troie, and ſo into Wie, that runneth alſo by Wies wood chaſe, taking in there the Elwie that commeth from aboue Landelwie by Langowen, Lannilſen, Penclaſe, Trilegh, and Langogo, where meeting with the aforeſaid ſtreame, the Wie directeth his courſe from thence by Tinterne abbeie (where it croſſeth a rill from Trile grange) Chapell hill, Parcaſicke, Penterie chapell, Lancante, Chepſtowe, and ſo into the ſea, leaning the Treacle (a chapell ſtanding on a rocke) on the hand betweene it & Sauerne, ouer againſt the point that lieth ſouth of Betteſlie. Next vnto the Wie, I find a rill of no great courſe, comming downe from Mounton chappell, by a place of the biſhops of Landaffe. Thence paſſing by Charſton rocke, and the point whereon Trinitie chappell ſtandeth, I come vnto the fall of Trogie, which riſeth ſhort of Trogie caſtell, and runneth toward the ſea, by Landuair, Dewſton, Calicot, and ſo into the Ocean, ouer againſt the Charſton rocke. The next fall is of a water that commeth from aboue Penho by ſaint Brides, north and by weſt of Dennie Iland, which lieth midwaie betweene that fall & Porſhot point, and before I touch at Goldcliffe point, I croſſe another fall of a freſh broke, whoſe head is aboue Landuetgo in Wencewood, and courſe by Lhanbed, Langſton, Lhanwarne, and through the More to Wittſton.

Yelwie.
Trollie.
Elwie.
Trogie.
Dennie Iland in the middeſt of the Sauerne, and likewiſe another litle one called Beuerage.

Next vnto this is the Aberwiſh, or Wiſke, in Latine Oſca, whereon Caerleon ſtandeth, ſometime called Cheſter and Ciuitas legionum, bicauſe the Romans ſoiourned there, as did afterward Arthur the great, who alſo held a noble parlement in the ſame, whereof Galfride maketh mention Lib. 7. cap. 4. affirming thereto, that in thoſe daies the maieſtie thereof was ſuch, as that all the forefronts of their houſes were in maner laid ouer with gold, according to the Romane vſage. There was in the ſame in like ſort a famous vniuerſitie, wherein were 200 philoſophers; alſo two goodlie churches erected in the remembrance of Julius and Aaron, two Britiſh martyrs, whereby it might well be reputed for the third metropoliticall ſée in Britaine. But to our water, whereof I read that it is furthermore one of the greateſt in Southwales, and huge ſhips might well come to the towne of Caerleon, as they did in the time of the Romans, if Newport bridge were not a let vnto them; neuertheleſſe, big botes come thereto. It is eight Welſh or twelue Engliſh miles from

wiſke.

Chepſtow

Chepſtow or Strigull, and of ſome thought to be in baſe Wenceland, though other be of the contrarie opinion. But howſoeuer the matter ſtandeth, this riuer is taken to be the bounds of Brechnockſhire, as Kenni is middle to Wenceland & Glamorganſhire. But to leaue theſe by-matters, and come to the deſcription of the water.

Vſke. You ſhall vnderſtand that the Vſke or Wiſke, in Latin Oſca riſeth in the blacke mounteins ten miles aboue Brechnocke toward Carmardine, the hill being properlie called Pminidh Duy out of which it falleth, and ſituate in the verie confines betweene Brechnocke and Carmardine ſhires, from whence winding into the northeaſt, it commeth to Trecaſtle, and in the waie betweene it and Capell Kidburne, it taketh in the Craie brooke, on the right hand before it come to Kidburne chappell. Going alſo from thence toward Deuinocke, it croſſeth the Senneie on the ſame ſide (which riſeth aboue Capell Senneie) next of all the Camblas, & at Aberbraine, the Brane, or the Bremich, whoſe head is three miles from Brechnocke, and running by Lanihangle, it meeteth I ſaie with the Vſke, about maſter Awbries manor. Beneath Aber Yſter, it receiueth the Yſter, which riſeth northweſt aboue Martyr Kinoch, and commeth by Battell chappell, and going from thence by Lanſpithed and Newton, it runneth in the end to Brechnocke, where it taketh in the Hodneie or Honthie on the one ſide, whoſe head is in Blaine Hodneie, and comming downe from thence by Defrune chappell, Lanihangle and Landiuilog, it meeteth with the Vſke or Brechnocke townes end, which of the fall of this water was ſometime called Aberhodni, as I haue beene informed: on the other halfe likewiſe it receiueth the Tertarith that riſeth among the Bane hils, fiue miles from Brechnocke, and commeth likewiſe into the verie ſuburbs of the towne, beneath Trenewith, or new Troie, whereby it taketh the courſe.

Craie. Senneie. Camblas. Brane. Yſter. Hodneie. Tertarith.

After theſe confluences, the Vſke proceedeth on toward Aberkimurike, or the fall of a water whoſe head is in the roots of Penuchdennie hill, and paſſage by Cantreſſe. Thence it goeth by Lanhamlaghe, Penkethleie caſtell, Lanſanfreid, Landettie, Langonider, and ſone after receiuing the Riangall (which riſeth about the hill whereon Dinas caſtell ſtandeth, and runneth by Lanihangle and Tretoure) it paſſeth betweene Laugattocke and Cerighhowell, to Langroinie, and there about croſſeth the Groinie brooke, that deſcendeth from Monegather, Arthur hill, by Peter church, as I find. When the Vſke is paſt this brooke, it taketh in three other ſhort rils, from by ſouth within a little diſtance, whereof the firſt hight Cledoch Vaur, the ſecond Fidan, and the third Cledochvehan. Of theſe alſo the laſt falleth in neere to Lanwenarth. From hence the Vſke runneth to Abergeuenni towne, where it meeteth with the Kebbie water from by north, that riſeth ſhort of Bettus chappell aboue the towne, and the Geuennie that deſcendeth from aboue Landilobartholl beneath not farre from Colbrooke, and ſo goeth on to Hardwyc, beneath which it croſſeth three nameleſſe rilles, on the right hand or ſouthweſt ſide before it come at Lanihangle vpon Vſke, of whoſe courſes I know not anie more than that they are not of anie length, nor the chanell of ſufficient greatneſſe ſeuerallie to intreat of. Betweene Kemmeis and Troſtreie it meeteth with ſuch an other rill that commeth downe by Bettus Newith. Thence it goeth to Caer Vſke or Brenbigeie (whoſe bridge, I meane that of Vſke, was ouerthrowne by rage of this riuer, in the ſix and twentith yeare of king Henrie the eight, vpon ſaint Hughes daie after a great ſnow) but yer it come there, it receiueth the Birthin on the right hand, which is a pretie water, deſcending from two heads, whereof the firſt is northweſt of Manihilot, as the other is of Lanihangle and Pentmorell.

Kimuricke. Riangall. Groini. Cledoch vaur. Fidan. Cledochvehã. Kebbie. Geuenni. Birthin. Caer vſke ſtandeth on one ſide of Vſke, and Caerleon on the other, but Caer vſke by diuerſe miles further into the land.

Next vnto this it ioineth with the Elwie aboue Lanbadocke, whoſe head is eaſt of Penclaſe, and running weſtwards by Penclaſe, Laniſlen, Langowen (and beneath Landewie taking in a brooke from Ragland caſtell, that commeth downe thither by Ragland parke) it bendeth ſouthweſt, vntill it come at the Vſke, which crinkling towards the ſouth, and going by Lanhowell, meeteth with three rilles before it come to Marthenie chappell, whereof the firſt lieth on the right hand, and the other on the left: the midlemoſt falling into the ſame, not farre from Lantreſſen, as I haue beene informed. From the mouth of the Romeneie to the mouth of the Taffe are two miles. Certes the Taffe is the greateſt riuer in all Glamorganſhire, called (by Ptolomie Rhatoſtathybius, as I geſſe) and the citie Taffe it ſelfe of good countenance, ſith it is indued with the cathedrall ſee of a biſhop. The courſe of the water in like maner is verie ſwift, and bringeth oft ſuch logs and bodies of trees withall from the woddie hilles, that they do not ſeldome cruſh the bridge in peeces, but for ſo much as it is made with timber it is repaired with lighter coſt, whereas if it were of hard ſtone, all the countrie about would hardlie be able to amend it. It riſeth in Brechnockſhire among the woddie hilles, from two heads, whereof one is in Monuchdenie, the other weſt of that mounteine, of which the firſt called Taffe vaure, goeth by Capell Ian vehan, Vainor, and Morlais, the other by Capell Mantie, and ioining at ſouthweſt beneath Morlais caſtle, they go to Martyr Tiduill, and toward Lannabor, but by the waie it taketh in from northweſt a brooke called Cunnon, which commeth out of Brechnockſhire by Abardare, and afterward the Rodneie comming out of the ſame quarter (but not out of the ſame ſhire) which runneth by Eſtridinodoch, a crotched brooke, & therefore diuided into Rodneie vaure, & Rodneie vehan, that being ioined with the Taffe, doth run on withall to Egleſilian, caſtle Coch, Whitchurch, Landaffe, Cardiffe, and ſo into the ſea, not far from Pennarth point, where alſo the Laie doth bid him welcome vnto his chanell or ſtreame. Furthermore, from Marthellie it haſteth to Kemmeis, and yer it come at Caerleon or Cheſter in the ſouth, taketh in two waters on the right hand, of which the firſt commeth downe from the north betweene Landgwie, Landgweth, and by Lhan Henoch, without anie further increaſe: but the other is a more beautifull ſtreame, called Auon, and thus deſcribed as I find it among my pamphlets. The Auon riſeth in the hilles that ſeeme to part Monemouth and Brechenocke ſhires in ſunder, and after a rill receiued from Blorench hill on the northſide of the ſame, running downe from thence by Capell Newith and Triuethin, it receiueth a water from by ſouth almoſt of equall courſe, and from that quarter of the countrie, and in proceſſe of time another little one from the ſame ſide, yer it come to Lanurgwaie and Lanihangle, from whence it goeth to Guennocke and Penroſe, & ſo in Vſke before it go by Caerleon. But here you muſt note, that the courſe of this ſtreame ioining beneath Quenocke chappell, with the other which deſcendeth (as I ſaid) from the hilles about foure miles aboue Landgwaie and Langweth, doth make an Iland aboue Caerleon, where Penroſe ſtandeth, & much Romane coine is found of all ſorts, ſo that the influence of the one into the other ſeemeth to me to be but a draine deuiſed by man, to keepe the citie from the violence of ſuch water as otherwiſe would oft annoie the ſame.

Elwie. Auon.

Being paſt Caerleon it runneth to Crindie, where maiſter

maiſter Harbert dwelleth, and there carieng another broke withall, that riſeth north of Tomberlow hill, and deſcendeth by Henlis and Bettus chappell, it runneth forth to Newport (in Welch caſtle Newith) and from thence vnder a bridge, after three or foure miles courſe to the ſea, taking the Ebowith water withall, which meeteth with the ſame almoſt in the verie mouth or fall, and riſeth in the edge of Brecknoch ſhire, or (as Leland ſaith) high Winceland, from two heads, of which one is called Eberith Vchan, the other Eberith Mawr, as I haue beene informed. The courſe of the firſt head is by Blamgrent, and after the confluence they paſſe togither by Lanhileth, and comming by weſt of Tomberlow hill (croſſing a rill, from north eaſt by the waie) it taketh in thereabout the Serowie, that runneth by Treſtrent, & is of leſſe race hitherto than the Ebowith, and from that ſame quarter. After this confluence it goeth to Riſleie, Rocheſton caſtell, nert of all thorough a parke, and ſo by Greenefield caſtell, and is not long yer it fall into the ſea, being the laſt iſſue that I do find in the countie, which beareth the name of Monemouth, and was in old time a part of the region of the Silures.

Ebowith.

Serowie.

Romeneie.

The Romeneie or (as ſome corruptlie call it) the Nonneie, is a goodlie water, and from the head a march betweene Monemouth & Glamorgan ſhires. The head hereof is aboue Egglins Tider vap Hoell otherwiſe called Fanum Theodori, or the church of Theodorus, whence commeth manie ſprings, & taking one bottome, the water is called Canoch and not Romeneie till it be come to Romeneie. It receiueth no water on the eaſt ſide, but on the weſt diuerſe ſmall beckes, whereof three (and one of them called Iſta) are betweene the riſing and Brathetere chappell, the fourth cõmeth in by Capell Gledis, and Bethligaire, the fift from betweene the Faldraie and Lanuabor, the firſt & ſeuenth before it come to Bedwas, and the eight ouer againſt Bedwas it ſelfe from chappell Martin, Cairfillie caſtell, and Thauan, after which confluences it runneth on by Maghan, Reuen, Mableie and Romeneie, & yer long croſſing a becke at north weſt that commeth from aboue Liſuan, Lamſſen and Koch, it falleth into the ſea, about ſix miles from the Wiſbe, and albeit the mouth therof be nothing profitable for ſhips, yet is it alſo a march betweene the Silures and Glamorganſhire.

The Laie falleth into the ſea a mile almoſt from the Taffe, and riſeth in the hilles aboue Lantriſſent (for all the region is verie hillie.) From whence coming by Lantriſſent and Auercaſtell, it runneth by Coit Marchan parke, Lambedder, S. Brides, Lannihangle, ſaint Fagans and Elaie, Leckwith, Landowgh, Cogampill, and ſo into the ſea, without anie maner increaſe by anie rils at all ſauing the Dunelais, which riſeth foure miles from his fall, eaſt northeaſt, and meeteth withall a little more than a quarter of a mile from Pont Uelim Vaur, and likewiſe by weſt, the Methcoid that commeth from Glinne Rodeneie, and wherein to the Pedware diſchargeth that ſmall water gathered in his chanell. Here will I ſtaie a little and breake off into a diſcourſe, which Leland left alſo as parcell of this coaſt who toucheth it after this maner.

Laie.

Dunelais.

Methcoid.

Pedware.

From Taffe to Laie mouth or Ele riuer a mile, from Laie mouth (or rather Penarth, that ſtandeth on the weſt point of it) to the mouth of Thawan riuer (from whence is a common paſſage ouer vnto Mineheued in Summerſetſhire of 17 miles) are about ſeuen Welſh miles, which are counted after this maner. A mile and a halfe aboue Thawan is Scilleie hauenet (a pretie ſuccour for ſhips) whoſe head is in Wenno paroch two miles and a halfe from the ſhore. From Scilleie mouth to Aber Barrie a mile, and thither commeth a little rill of freſh water into Sauerne, whoſe head is ſcant a mile off in plaine ground by northeaſt, and right againſt the fall of this becke lieth Barrie Iland a flight ſhot from the ſhore at the full ſea. Halfe a mile aboue Aber Barrie is the mouth of Come kidie, which riſeth flat north from the place where it goeth into the Sauerne, and ſerueth oft for harbour vnto ſea-farers. Thence to the mouth of Thawan are three miles, wherevnto ſhips may come at will.

Thawan.

Scilleie.

Barrie.

This Ile went fiftie yeares agone for x. pounds.

Come kidie.

Two miles aboue Thawan is Colhow, whither a little rill reſorteth from Lau Iltuit, thence to the mouth of Alen foure miles, that is a mile to ſaint Dinothes caſtell, and three miles further. The Alen riſeth by northeaſt vp into the land at a place called Lhes Brolmith, or Skirpton, about foure miles aboue the plot where it commeth by it ſelfe into Sauerne. From thence to the mouth of Ogur *alias* Gur three miles. Then come they in proceſſe of time vnto the Kenſike or Colbrooke riuer, which is no great thing, ſith it riſeth not aboue three miles from the ſhore. From Kenſike to Aber Auon two miles, and herein do ſhips moleſted with weather oftentimes ſeeke harborough. It commeth of two armes, whereof that which lieth northeaſt is called Auon Vaur, the other that lieth northweſt Auon Vchan. They meet togither at Lhanuoie Hengle, about two miles aboue Aber Auon village, which is two miles alſo from the ſea.

Colhow.

Alen.

Ogur.

Kenſike.

Auon.

From hence to the Neth is about two miles and a halfe, thereon come ſhiplets almoſt to the towne of Neth from the Sauerne. From the mouth of Neth vnto the mouth of Crimline becke is two miles, and being paſſed the ſame we come vnto the Tauie, which deſcendeth from the aforeſaid hilles and falleth into the ſea by eaſt of Swanſeie. Being paſt this we come vnto the Lichwr, or Lochar mouth, and then gliding by the Wormes head, we paſſed to the Wandreſmouth, wherof I find this deſcription following in Leland. Both Vendraith Vaur and Vendraith Vchan riſe in a peece of Carmardineſhire, called Iſſekenen, that is to ſaie, the low quarter about Kennen riuer, and betwixt the heads of theſe two hils is another hill, wherein be ſtones of a greeniſh colour, whereof the inhabitants make their lime. The name of the hill that Vendraith Vaur riſeth in, is called Mennith Vaur, and therein is a pole as in a morish ground, named Lhintegowen, where the principall ſpring is, and this hill is eight or nine miles From Kidwellie: the hill that Vendraith Vchan ſpringeth out of, is called Mennith Vchan, and this water commeth by Kidwellie towne.

Neth.

Tauie.

Lochar.

Wandreſ.

Vendraith Vaur, Vendraith Vchan.

But about three or foure miles yer it come thither, it receiueth a broke called Treſgirth, the courſe whereof is little aboue a mile from the place where it goeth into Vendraith, and yet it hath foure or five tucking milles and three corne milles vpon it. At the head of this broke is an hole in the hilles ſide, where men often enter and walke in a large ſpace. And as for the broke it ſelfe, it is one of the moſt plentifull and commodious that is to be found in Wales. All along the ſides alſo of Vendraith Vaur, you ſhall find great plentie of ſea-coles. There is a great hole by head of Vendraith Vchan, where men vſe to enter into vaults of great compaſſe, and it is ſaid, that they maie go one waie vnder the ground to Wormes head, and another waie to Cairkemen caſtell, which is three miles or more into the land. But how true theſe things are, it is not in me to determine; yet this is certeine, that there is verie good hawking at the Heron in Vendraith Vchan. There are diuerſe prints of the paſſage of certeine worms alſo in the caue, at the head of Vendraith Vchan, as the inhabitants do fable: but I neuer heard of anie

man that saw anie woꝛme there, and yet it is beléeued that manie woꝛmes are there. Hitherto out of Leland. But now to returne to mine owne course.

Laie. Leauing the Laie, which some call Claie, and passing the Pennarth baie, that lieth betweene the Pennarth and the Lauerocke points, we left Scillie Ilet (which lieth on the mouth of Scillie hauen beBarrie. foꝛe described) and came vnto the Barrie, whose head is aboue Wrinston castell, and from whence he runneth by Deinspowis, Cadorton, Barrie, and so into the sea.

Aberthaw Being past the Barrie water, we come to a fall called Aberthaw, which riseth two oꝛ thꝛée miles aboue Lansanoꝛ, and going by Welch Newton, it commeth at length to Cowbꝛidge, and from thence goeth to Lanblethian, Landoch, Beanpéere, Flimston, Gilston, and betweene the east and the west Aberthaw, & into the Sauerne sea. But yet it come all there it receiueth a bꝛoke called Kensan, oꝛ Karnsan, oꝛ Kensech, on the east side, whose head is east of Bolston, & comming by Charnelhold, Lhancaruan, & Lancadle, it falleth into the foꝛmer aboue either of Kensan. the Thawans. Leland saith, that Kensan hath two heads, whereof the moꝛe noꝛtherlie called Bꝛane, lieth in Luenlithan, and runneth seauen miles beforе it méet with the other. Leauing this water we sailed on, casting about the Nash point, omitting two oꝛ thꝛée small waters (whereof Leland hath alreadie as ye see made mention) because I haue nothing moꝛe to add vnto their descriptions, except it be, that the Colhow taketh in a rill from Lan Iltruit, of whose course (to saie the truth) I haue no manner of knowledge.

Ogur. The Ogur oꝛ Gur, which some call the Ogmur, is a well faire streame (as we were wont to saie in our old English) whose head is in the same hilles, where the Rodeneies are to be found, but much moꝛe westerlie, and running a long course yer it come to anie village, it goeth at the length beneath Languineuere oꝛ Langouodoch, to S. Bꝛides vpon Ogur, then to Newcastell, and Parthermaure, beneath Wennie. which it méeteth the Wennie, halfe a mile from Ogur oꝛ Ogmur castell on the east side of the banke. It riseth fiue oꝛ six miles from this place, among the hilles, and comming downe at last by Lanharne, it crosseth a rill yer long from noꝛtheast, and the confluence passeth foꝛth by Coitchurch, Ogur castell, & so into the Ogur. Leland writing of the waters that Garrow. fall into this Ogur saith thus. Into the Ogur also reſoꝛteth the Garrow two miles aboue Lansanfride bꝛidge, descending from Blaingarow. It taketh furthermoꝛe (saith he) another called Leuennie Leuennie. rising in the parish of Glin Coꝛug, at noꝛthwest, and Coꝛug. then running two miles loꝛwer, vniteth it selfe with the Coꝛug bꝛoke, a little shoꝛt thing, and woꝛthie no longer speach. From this confluence the Leuennie goeth seauen miles further yer it méete with the Ogur on the west side, at Lansanfride, two miles aboue Penbowt. And so far Leland. But I wot not what he meaneth by it.

Kenlig. Next vnto the Ogur is the Kenlig water, that commeth downe by the Pile and Kenlig castell, and Margan. being past the same we crosse the Margan rill, where Auon. sir Edward Manrell dwelt, and so vnto Auon, which hauing two heads (as is said) the moꝛe easterlie of them commeth downe by Hauodapoꝛt chappell, the other by Glin Coꝛug, Michaell church, Aber Auon, and so into the sea, yéelding also in time of néed a good harbour foꝛ ships to lodge and ride in. From hence we went along by the Cole pits to the mouth Neth. of the Neth. The Neth is a faire water, rising of diuerse heads, whereof the moꝛe easterlie named Nethuehan. Nethuehan riseth not farre from the head of the Kennon, and comming downe by Penedoꝛin to Aberpirgwin, it receiueth Nethuaur, a little aboue the towne, which rising not farre southeast of the head of Tauie in Bꝛecknoch shire (as all the rest doo) receiueth the Trangarth, the Weltaie and the Hepsaie, all which are accounted as members of his head in one chanell, about a mile oꝛ moꝛe before it ioine with Nethuehan. Foꝛ as Trangarth riseth east of Nethuaur, so the Welta riseth by east of Trangarth, and ioineth with the same aboue Israd wealchie, and a little beneath the same towne taketh in the Hepsaie. So that albeit their seuerall risings be half oꝛ a whole mile in sunder, yet haue they (in a maner) like distance from Aberpirgwin, and their finall confluence in the edge of Glamoꝛganshire, which they directlie doo crosse. After these confluences, the maine streame runneth in and out by sundꝛie miles, and thꝛough the woddie soiles, till it méet with Cledaugh, which ioineth with the same beneath the Kesonlaie, and goeth withall to Lanisked, where it taketh in the Dulesse, whose head is aboue Chappell Dulesse. Krenaunt, in the marches of Bꝛecknoch. Thence it goeth to Cadoꝛ towne, oꝛ betweene it and Lanisked, then to Neth towne, whither small vessels often come: and beneath the same receiuing the Cledoch. Cledoch that runneth by Kelebebilch (and also Neth abbeie where maister Crumwell dwelleth) it goeth on by Coitfranke foꝛrest, Nethwood, Bꝛiton ferrie, and so into the sea.

Tauie. The Tauie riseth in the thickest of the blacke mounteines in Bꝛecknochshire west of Nethuaur, and comming downe west of Calwen chappell, it receiueth on the east banke a rill named Coiell that runneth thither by Coielburne chappell: and being Coilus. thus vnited, the chanell passeth foꝛth by Isradgunles, and then méeting with the Turch oꝛ Toꝛch Toꝛch. water that cõmeth from the fot of the blacke mounteines, and is march to parcell of Caermardinshire, it runneth to Langoge, Lansamled, saint Johns, Swanseie, and so into the Baie. Being past this, we come by another little fall, whose water runneth thꝛée oꝛ foure miles yer it come into Swanseie baie, but without name. Thence we go to the Crimline becke, whose description I neither haue, noꝛ find anie great want therof. Wherfoꝛe going about by Dikermont castell, and Bumbles point, we passe foꝛth toward the southwest by Penmarch point, till we come to Ilston water, whose head is not farre within the Ilston. land; and yet as it commeth thoꝛough the woodland, and downe by Penmarch castell, a rill oꝛ two doth fall into the same. Then casting about by Oꝛwich point, we go onward there by, and sailing flat noꝛth by the Holme (hauing passed the Woꝛmeshead and S. Kennets chappell) and then noꝛtheast by Whitfoꝛd point, we went at length to the Lochar oꝛ Loghoꝛ, Lochar. oꝛ as Lhoyd nameth it, the Lichwꝛ, whose indꝛaught foꝛ a certene space is march betweene Caermardine and Glamoꝛgan shires. It riseth aboue Gwenwie chappell, from whence it goeth to Landbea, and aboue Bettus receiueth a rill named Amond that entreth Amond. thereinto from noꝛtheast. Being past Bettus, it passeth by Laneddie, Arthelas bꝛidge, and ouer against Landilo Talabout, it crosseth from by west, the Combwilie by west of Parkreanie, and afterCombwille. ward the Moꝛlais aboue Langnarch on the same Moꝛlais. side. Then comming to Loghoꝛ castell, it taketh in on the east side, the Lhu, whose course is not aboue Lhu. fiue miles, and thence losing the name of Lochar, it is called Burraie, as some gesse, vntill it come to Burraie. the sea, where it parteth it selfe going on each side of Bachannie Iland, a small thing, and not woꝛthie (foꝛ anie thing I read therof) as yet to be particularlie described. From this water we passed (I saie) by Bachannies Ile, to the Aberlheddie water, whose head being in the hilles aboue Pꝛenacrois, it passeth by

by Lhanelcheie, and thence into the ſea. Then went we to the Duleſſe a little rill, whoſe head is not farre from Trinſaren: thence by the Pembꝛaie and Calicoit points, till we came about to the Wandꝛes oꝛ Uendꝛaith mouth, whoſe deſcription is partlie touches alreadie; but bicauſe it is not ſuch as I would wiſh it to be, I will here after my owne maner deale ſomewhat further withall. Gwendꝛath oꝛ Uendꝛaith vaur riſeth in the lower ground, oꝛ not far from the hill Renneth Uaur, whereon caſtell Careg ſtandeth, and deſcending by a pꝛetie long courſe vnder ſundꝛie bꝛidges, commeth at the laſt to Glin, then to Capull Lanberie, and ſo vnto the ſea, being little augmented with influences by the waie. Uendꝛaith Uehan riſeth a mile higher towards the noꝛth than Uendꝛaith Uaur, but out of the ſame ſoile, & thence directing his courſe toward the ſouthweſt, it goeth by Lancharog, Langendarne, Capull Langell, Bithon, Leighdenie, Kidwillie, and ſo into the ſea, about one mile from the fall of Uendꝛaith Uaur.

The Towie riſeth in the mounteines of Elennith foure miles by ſoutheaſt from Lintiue, and two from Lingonon, in a moꝛiſh ground foure & twentie miles from Caermardine, and in a foꝛreſt called Biſhops foꝛreſt, midwaie betwixt Landwibꝛeuie & Landanuerie caſtell. Foꝛ fiſh, in my opinion, this is much better than the Taw oꝛ Taffe, whoſe head bꝛædeth no fiſh, but if it be caſt into it, they turne vp their bellies, flote aloft, and die out of hand. It parteth Bꝛecknoch from Cardigonſhire alſo foꝛ a certeine ſeaſon, till it come by the water of Trauſnant, that falleth thereinto from by eaſt out of the confins of Bꝛecknoch, vnto Pil'in capell, and ſo to Iſtradefine, where it mæteth with the Tothæ that commeth thither from Lhinuerwin where it riſeth, and ſo thꝛough Reſcoth foꝛreſt, vniting it ſelfe by the waie with the Peſcotter, which mounting out of the ground in the edge of Cardigonſhire, runneth along as a limit and march vnto the ſame, till it ioine with the Tothée, and both come togither beneath Iſtradefine into Towie, which we haue now in hand. After this confluence it commeth to Lhanuair Awbꝛeie, Lanihowell, and Lanimphꝛie, and here it receiueth two waters in one chanell, whereof the firſt is called Bꝛane, the other Gutherꝛic (which lieth moꝛe ſoutherlie of the two) and fall (as I ſaid) into Towie beneath Landonuereie, which runneth on till it mæt with the firſt Duleſſe that goeth by Lenurdie, then with the Moꝛlais, and theſe on the noꝛthweſt. Certes the Bꝛane is a pꝛetie bꝛoke riſing two oꝛ thꝛée miles aboue Capell Newith, and deſcending by Lanbꝛane and Uſtradwalter, it mæteth (I ſaie) with the Gutherꝛic, whoſe head is weſt of Tridcaſtell in Bꝛecknochſhire, and thereby it is not a little increaſed. But to pꝛoceed with the Towie, which being paſt Lanimphꝛie and a rill that mæteth with the ſame, deſcending from noꝛthweſt of Lanurdan, it taketh in the influences of diuerſe waters in one chanell, of which the greateſt is called Modewie, and thereof I find this deſcription.

The Modewie, oꝛ (as ſome pꝛonounce it) Motheuie, riſeth of two heads, which ioining aboue Lanihangle, the ſtreame runneth on till it mæt with the Cledoch on the left hand, pꝛoceeding alſo further toward Langadocke, it receiueth not far from thence the Salwheie, whoſe two heads deſcend from the blacke mounteines oꝛ eaſt edge of Carmardineſhire (as mine infoꝛmation leadeth me.) After this confluence the ſecond Duleſſe doth mæt with the Towie, whoſe head is in the hilles aboue Talthogaie abbeie, noꝛthweſt from Langadocke full fiue miles: then comming downe by Landilobaur, Newton, Dinefar caſtell, and Golden groue, it receiueth the third Duleſſe from by noꝛth that commeth in by Lanihangle and Dꝛillan caſtell, and after that the Cothie, whoſe race is ſomewhat long, and therefoꝛe his deſcription not vtterlie to be paſſed ouer.

Not farre from the head (which is thꝛæe miles from Landanbꝛeuie, vnder the hulke of Blaine Icoꝛne, a narrow paſſage, and therein manie heaps of ſtones) and ſomewhat beneath Lana Pinſent chappell, it taketh in the Turche becke that runneth thither from aboue Lanacroies: thence it goeth to Lanſawell, Abergoꝛlech, Bꝛeghuangothie, Lannigwd, and ſo into Towie, which halking foꝛward by chappell Dewie, receiueth the Rauelthie from by noꝛth, then the Gwilie from noꝛthweſt, whoſe head is aboue Lanie Pinſent, and race by Canwell, Eluert, Conewilie, and Merling hill, as I haue often heard. After this confluence with the Gwilie, the Towie goeth to Caermardine, then to Lanigang, then to Lanſtephan, S. Ismaels, and ſo into the ſea.

Next vnto the Towie is the Taue, whoſe head is in the blacke mounteines, as at the roots of Wrenni vaur hill in Pembꝛokeſhire, from whence it runneth by Lanuurnach, Langludien, Lanualteg, and taking in the Dudderie from ſouthweſt, out of the ſame countie by Lanbederuelſtaie, and Lindwie, it goeth to Egleſware chappell, beneath which it croſſeth the Marlais by noꝛth that runneth by Lanbedie and Whitland. Thence mæting with one rill called Uenni, as I take it, that commeth thꝛough Cardith foꝛreſt on the one ſide, and the Caire on the other that runneth into it weſt of Landowꝛor, it hasteth to S. Clares, where it taketh in the Carthkinnie, oꝛ Barthkinnie (as Leland calleth it) and the Gow oꝛ Tow both in one chanell, of which the firſt riſeth aboue Capell Bettus, from whence it runneth by Talacouthe, Kilſant, and Langinnin, the other iſſueth out of the ground aboue Trologh Bettus, by Midꝛun, & ioining with the foꝛmer a little aboue S. Clares, they run into the Taue, and from thence to Lanihangle, and betwéene it and Abercowen, admitteth finallie the Gowen oꝛ Gow ſtreame, which comming likewiſe from the blacke mounteines, goeth by Ebbernant, & ſo into the Taue, who directeth his courſe by Lancharne caſtell, and then into the ſea.

The nert water that we come to is the Gwair, which is but a ſmall thing riſing aboue Lambeder Uelfraie, and going from thence by eaſt of caſtell Merhie hill, Crumuier and Argwaire, it is not long yer it fall into the ſea, and ſo we leaue Cairdinſhire, and go ouer into Penbꝛoke. Then paſſed we by an other comming out of Kathe foꝛreſt called Coit Kathe, the water it ſelfe riſing about Templeton. Thence leauing the Monkeſton rocke, we came to Tenbie oꝛ Dinbechie Piſcod, and paſſing into the poꝛt betwéene the caſtell and S. Katharines rocke, we found it ſerued with two little backe waters, of ſo ſmall countenance, that they are not woꝛthie of anie further talke to be ſpent in their deſcriptions: yet the one ſéemeth to be called Flozence bꝛoke, the other Freſto, Gunfreſton ſtanding betwéene them both, whereby their ſight cannot periſh. After this we paſſed betwéene Londie and an other Ilet oꝛ rocke lieng by noꝛthweſt of the ſame, to Ludſop point, & ſo to Abertrewent, where I found a ſillie freſh water named Trewend that riſeth a mile oꝛ thereabout within the land. From thence we went ſouthwards by Bꝛode hauen, till we came to S. Golwans point. Then gathering weſt and by noꝛth beforꝛe we came at Shepe Iland, we found another freſh water, that riſeth ſhoꝛt of Kiriog Maharen, and running ſouth of Uggarſton, Windmill hill, oꝛ betwéene it and Caſtell Moꝛton and Gupton, it holdeth on flat weſt all the waie till it come to the Ocean.

Being paſſed this water, we caſt about toward the noꝛthweſt, by the Poptons and Pennar, till we

Pennar. came to the Pennar mouth, out of which the salt water issueth that in maner inuironneth Penbroke. From this (omitting sundrie salt crékes on both sides of the hauen, not apertinent to our purpose) we came to the fall of two waters in one chanell, aboue whose confluence Williamston parke standeth, and whereof one (a mére salt course) incloseth three parts of Carew castell. The other rising nére to Coit Rath forrest is a fresh, & going by Geffraston, Creswell & Lawrenie, it leaueth the parke on the south side, & goeth into the hauen after confluence with the former.

Now come I to the two swords, or hauen of Milford, whereinto two riuers direct their course from the northeast called Dugledu or the two swords, and betwéene them both is a rill which they call also Cultiell (that is to saie) the knife. Dugledu. Cultiell. Hereof riseth a merrie tale of a Welshman, that lieng in this place abroad all night in the cold weather, and peraduenture not verie well occupied, was demanded of his hostelle (where he did breake his fast the next morrow) at what inne he laie in the night precedent, bicause he came so soone to hir house yer anie of hir maids were vp: Oh good hostelle (quoth he) be contented, I laie to night in a dangerous estate, for I slept betwéene two swords with a long knife at my heart; meaning indeed that he laie betwéene these two riuers, and his brest towards the south nére to the head of Cultell. But to passe ouer these iests. Here Leland speaketh of a riuer called Gwilie, but where it riseth or falleth, he maketh no certeine report: wherefore it is requisit that I proceed according to my purpose. Gwilie.

The one of these swords is called Clothei or Clothie, of which I find this short and brése description. Clothei. The Clothie riseth at the foot of Wrennie daure hill and comming downe to Monachlodge, Langelman, Lannakeuen, and Egremond, it receiueth a rill from by northwest before it come at Lanhaddon castell, which commeth from aboue the more by Clarbaston and Bletherston, his head arising in the hill west of Maneleghaie, as Leland doth informe me. Per long also and beneath Lanhaddon it taketh in another on the east side from Narbarth castell, comming by Robeston, then going by Cunaston, Slebach, Picton castell, Sister houses, Minware & Narthelwie, at Rise castell point west of Coit Kenles (as I haue béene informed) it taketh in the other sword, named Dugledie, wherof I read as followeth. Dugledie. The head of the Dugledie is somwhere at northwest, betwixt S. Laurences & S. Dogwels, from whence it runneth to Trauegarne, Redbarton, & taking in a rill by the waie from Camrose at the west, it goeth to Hauerford or Herford west, and there uniteth it selfe with a water, which peraduenture is the same that Leland called Gwilie. Certes it riseth short of Walton, and comming by S. Leonards chappell and Pendergest, it falleth I saie into the Dugledie, ouer against the towne of Hauerford or Herford west, but in Welsh Hulford: as Lhoid doth set it downe. Beneath Herford it taketh in another water from south west, whose head is short of S. Margarets chappell, and enterance betwéene Harraldston and Herford, which Harraldstone receiueth the name of Harrald the successour of Edward the confessour as some call him, who was a grieuous mall vnto the Britons that remained in the time of the said Edward; as I haue noted elsewhere. Gwilie. When the Dugledie still descending taketh in the Frese frō Fresethorpe, a rill of no great accompt, and therefore I go from it making hast vnto Culthell, & omitting two rils betwéene it and the Clothei on the southside, of no great weight and moment. The Cultlhell commeth into the Dugledie beneath Bolston, with a streight course from by north, of three or foure miles, rising by west of Slebach, and comming by Bowlston, after whose vnition with the aforesaid water they run on as one till they met with the Clothie, falling out by the waie sundrie salt crékes, as the maine chanell doth from thence forth vntill it passe the Sandie hauen, the Dale rode (whither a rillie fresh rill commeth of small value) & be come about againe to the large Ocean.

Hauing thus shewed the courses of those few fresh waters that come to Milford hauen, we call about by the Blockehouse and S. Annes chappell to Gateholme Ile, that lieth betwéene S. Annes and the Willocke point, directlie ouer against Stockeholme Iland that is situat further off into the sea, toward the southwest, and is full halfe so great as the Scalmeie that I elsewhere described. Betwéene the Willocke point also and the Scalmeie, directlie west is the Midland Ile, full so great as the Gateholme. As for the two rocks that lie by north and south of the Scalmeie, of which the one is called the Yardland stone, the other Newstone, it shall not be greatlie requisit to stand on their discourses, sith they are such as may hardlie be taken for Ilands, and euen in like sort we may iudge of S. Brides Ile, which is southwest of Calthrop rode, & likewise of the Gresholme, whereof I find this short description. The Gresholme lieth directlie west of Scalmeie, from whence if you saile thither on the south side, you must néeds passe by the Newstone rocke: if on the north of Scalmeie, you must leaue the Yarland stone on your left hand. Wherto if you note well the situation of these Ilands alreadie named, and confer them with the Ramsete and S. Dauids land, you shall find them to produce as it were two dangerous points, including the Brid baie, wherein (notwithstanding the greatnesse) are 1000 perils, and no fresh brookes for me to deale withall. Finallie, hauing doubled the Willocke point, we thought it not good altogether to leaue that baie vnsearched, at leastwise to sée what Ilands might there be found, & long entred into the same, we beheld one which the men of the countrie call S. Brides Iland, a verie little place and situate nére the land, before I came at Galtrote rode. From thence we went about by the little hauen, Dolnach hauen, Caruaie hauen, Shirelace rocke, Carnbuddie, and Carnaie baies, Portelais, and so into the sound betwéene Ramsete and the point. In this sound likewise is a little Ile, almost annexed to the maine: but in the middest thereof, I meane of the sound, is a rocke called the horsse (a mile and more by north of Ribbie rocke, that lieth south east of Ramsete) and more infortunate than ten of Setans colts, but thanked be God I neuer came on his backe. Thence passing by S. Stephans, and Whiteland baies, we saluted the Bishop and his clerks, as they went in procession on our left side (being loth to take anie salted holie water at their hands) and came at last to the point called S. Dauids head, which Ptolomie calleth *Octapitanum promontorium*, except I be deceiued. But here gentle reader giue me leaue to staie a while, and insert the words of Leland touching the land called S. Dewies or S. Dauids land, whereof some men may peraduenture haue vse, his words are these. Being therefore past this hauen and point of Demetia, in calling about the coast we come to S. Dewies or S. Dauids land, which Ptolomie calleth *Octapitanum promontorium*, I read to be separated from the rest of the countrie much after this maner, although I grant that there may be and are diuerse other little crékes betwixt Newgale and S. Dauids head, and betwixt S. Dauids and Fischard, beside those that are héere mentioned out of a register of that house.

Gateholme Ile. Stockeholme Ile. Midland Ile. Gresholme. A sort of dangerous rocks lieng on a row vpon the west end of Southwales called the Bishop & his clerkes. S. Dewie or Dauid all one.

As we turne therefore from Milford, S. Dauids land beginneth at Newgale, a créke serued with a backe fresh water. Howbeit there is a baie before this créke betwixt it and Milford. From hence about

Saluach. bout foure miles is Saluach creke, otherwise called Sauerach, whither some fresh water resorteth: the mouth also thereof is a good rescue for balingers, as it (I meane the register) saith. Thence go we to Portelais three miles, where is a little portlet, whither the Alen that commeth through saint Dewies close doth run. It lieth a mile southwest from S. Dewies, saint Stinans Chappell also is betweene Portelais, and Portmaw. The next is Port Maw, where I found a great estuarie into the land. The Pendwie halfe a mile from that: Lhand Uehan is three miles from Pendwie, where is a salt creke, then to Tredine three miles, where is another creke to Langunda, foure miles, and another creke is there in like sort where fishermen catch herrings. Here also the Gwerne riuer diuideth Penbidiane from Fischerdine Kemmeis land. From Langunda to Fischard at the Gwerne mouth foure miles, and here is a portlet or hauenet also for ships. And thus much of S. Dauids land.

Portelais. Alen. Portmaw Maw. Pendwie. Lanuehan. Tredine. Langunda. Fischard. Gwerne.

Besides this also, Leland in a third booke talketh of lhinnes and poles, but for asmuch as my purpose is not to speake of lakes and lhinnes, I passe them ouer as hasting to Teifie, in Latine Tibius, and after Ptolomie Tuerobius or Tiuirobius, which is the next riuer that serueth for my purpose. And yet not forgetting to touch the Gwerne, for after we came from saint Dauids head, we coasted along toward the southeast, till wee came ouer against saint Catharins, where going northwards by the broad hauen, and the Strombles head, we sailed thence northeast, and by north, to Langlas head, then flat south by the Cow and Calfe (two cruell rockes) which we left on the left hand, & so coasted ouer to Abergwin or Fischard, where we found a fresh water named Guin, or Gwerne, whose course is in maner directlie out of the east into the west, from Wremie hils by Pont Vaunt and Lanichair, vntill it come within a mile of the foresaid towne. It riseth flat north of the Perselie hill, from whence it goeth by Pont vaine, Lauerillidoch, Lanchar, Landilouair, & so to Abergwine, or Abergwerne, for I read both. From Abergwine, we cast about by Dinas head, till we come to the fall of Neuerne, where Newport standeth. The head of this riuer is aboue Capell Nantgwin, from whence it runneth by Whitchurch, but yer it come at Kilgwin, it taketh in a little water that riseth short of Wrenie vaure, and thence go forth as one vntill they come to Newport. Cardigan hauen is the nert fall that I did stumble on, wherein lieth a litle Iland ouer against the north point. Hereinto also commeth the Teifie, a noble riuer which riseth in Lintiuie, and is fraught with delicate samons, and herein and not elsewhere in all the riuers of Britaine, is the Castor or Beuer to be found. But to proceed. The verie hed thereof (I saie) is foure miles aboue Stradflore in Luitinie, and after it hath run from thence a little space, it receiueth a brooke from southeast that commeth out of Lin Legnant, and then after the confluence runneth on to Stradflore abbeie, beneth which it meeteth with the Piricke water (that riseth aboue Stradnirich) and sone after with the Landurch (both from the northwest) and finallie the Brennich aboue Tregaron, that commeth in by the east; as Leland hath set downe.

Gwerne. Teifie or Tine. Piricke. Landurch.

Neere to Landwibreuie also it crosseth the Bronnis by east northeast, and then goeth to Landuair, Cledogh, Kellan, and sone after taking in the Patherne from by east, that parteth Cardigan partlie from Carmardine shire, and likewise that Dulas aboue Lanbedder (which riseth aboue Langibbie, and goeth thence to Bettus) on the northwest, it goeth nert of all to Lanbedder towne, then to Lanuair, beneath which it crosseth the Grauelth, thence to Pencarocke, Lanibether, Lanlonie, Lanlhangle, and Sandisell, and there it vniteth it selfe with the Clethor or Dettor, which commeth downe thither by Lantisilued chappell, Lanfraine, and finallie Landissell from by north, as I doo here affirme. After this confluence it proceedeth on to Landuaie, Alloine, Bangor, Langeler, Landcureog and Newcastell, yer long taking in the Kerie from by north, whose head is not farre from that of Clethor, and whose course is somewhat inlarged by such rilles as descend into the same. For west of Kenwith two becks in one chanell do fall into it, which be nameless, and but of a little length.

Pont Vaunt. Lanichair. Perselie hill. Pont vaine. Lauerillidoch. Lanchar. Landilouair. Abergwine. Abergwerne. Dinas head. Neuerne. Newport. Whitchurch. Kilgwin. Cardigan hauen. Lintiuie. Stradflore. Stradflore abbeie. Stradnirich. Tregaron. Bronnis. Cledogh. Kellan. Patherne. Dulas. Langibbie. Bettus. Lanuair. Grauelth. Clethor. Kerie.

Beneath Tredwair also it crosseth another from by west, that runneth along by Bettus, Euan, and finallie meeting with the Teifie, they run as one by Kennarth (still parting Cardigon shire from Carmardin, as it hath done sith it met with the Patherne) and so forth on till they ioine with the Cheach, which rising southeast aboue chappell Euan, doth part Carmardine and Brechnocke shire in sunder, till it come vnto the Teifie. From this confluence, and being still a limit vnto Cardigon shire, it goeth by Mariердine, and so to Cardigon, taking in one rill from by north descending by Penneralt, by north of Monardiue or Mariердine, and two other from by southwest, of which the one commeth in beneath Kilgaron castell, the other from Lantiwod northwest of Oscoid Portemer, which lieth southeast of Cardigan, and then going forward betweene S. Dogmails, & Langoidmere, it is not long yer it fall into the Irish sea, flat west and by north from his vprist, and sending vs forth from Penbroke into Cardigon shire, whereunto it hath become march euer sithence it came from Kellam, or confluence with the Patherne.

Tredwair. Bettus. Euan. Kennarth. Cheach. Mariердine.

Being come into Cardigon shire, and hauing passed the Cardigon point, an Iland of the same denomination lieng by west thereof, we came vnto the fall of Airon three miles beneath Lanclære, it riseth in the mounteines by a chappell called Blam Penall belonging to Landwie breuie about three or foure miles from Tiue banks, & runneth on by Lamberwoddie, Langitho, Tregrigaron hill, Treuilian, Talaferne, and sone after taking in a rill from by south from Siliam by Lanleir it runneth by Istrade, Kilkennen, Lanicharin, and finallie into the sea, crossing by the waie the Bidder broke, which comming from Dehewide, doth fall into the same, betweene Lanchairin, and Henuenneie. The Arth which is the nert fall is no great thing, neither of anie long course, yet somewhat crotched, and it riseth three or foure miles or more within the land slopewise, and comming by Lambaderne, and Treueglois, it falleth into the sea, northeast of Aberarth.

Airon. Bidder. Arth.

Being past the Arth, & hauing staied there a while bicause we found some harborough, we came nert of all vnto the Wereie, which riseth of two heads, aboue whose confluence standeth a towne, named Lanihangle, Kedror, and from whence it goeth by Lanigruthen to Lartsted, & so into the Ocean. Then went we to the Istwith, which riseth in the blacke mounteins aboue Comerstwith, from whence it runneth certeine miles, vntill it come vnto Ispittie, Istwith, Lananon, Lanuler, Lan Nachairne, and so into the sea, taking withall first the Meleuen, then the Ridall or Redholl not farre from the shore, whereof I haue this description. The Ridall riseth in the top of Plimlimmon hill out of a lake named Lin Ridall, from whence going toward Spittie Kinwen, it crosseth one water on the north, and another beneth it on the southeast, and so goeth on by Lanbeder vaure, till it come to Aberistwith, the Istwith, and so into the Ocean. Hauing thus viewed the Istwith, and taken

Rits alias Wereie. Istwith. Redholl.

our selues againe to the sea, we crossed the Salke or Salique broke, whereof I find this memoriall.

Salique.

The Salique broke descendeth in like sort from the blacke mounteins, & going from Ammaboue, toward Gogarth, or Gogirthar, it receiueth the Mas-salique, and from thence goeth into the sea, southwest from his originall. From hence we went to the Le-rie, an indraught of no great quantitie, neither commodious as I gesse (yet I may be deceiued) for anie ship to harborough in. It riseth toward the lower ground of the blacke hils, and going by Lanthangle, castell Gwalter, it runneth from thence northeast into the Ocean, receiuing a rill by the waie from the hilles which lie by northeast of his course. But what stand I vpon trifles?

Massalique.

Lerie.

Thus haue I brought my selfe out of Caerdigan shire vnto the Wie, which is limit betweene it and Merioneth for a certeine space, & being entred in the mouth thereof we gat vp to the head, minding in the description of the same to come downeward as in the rest, which we will do in such good manner as for the time and want of some information is possible to be performed. It ariseth in the south part of Snowdonie, and goeth on forth right to Lammothwie, by Nowdhewie, Nathan laith, and comming downe to Dinas Mathew, it receiueth two rilles from northwest, and the third comming by Mailroid called Cludoch from northeast, & so holdeth on crossing the Angell water at the west, which boundeth Mongomerie shire in part, till it come to Romis, beneath which water it taketh in the Towin that passeth by Lambrin mawr from Talgarth, and then goeth to Nathrauerue, crossing another from by north and so forth to Lanwrring, where it meeteth with the Kerig on the one side, and the Gwidall which commeth from Dorowen on the other.

Wie.

Romis.

After this, our maine riuer goeth by Pengos, and beneath the same taketh in an influence from southeast, called the Dulas, and another from the northwest. From thence it hasteth on to Magenillet, or Machenlet, first crossing the Leuennie from southeast, secondlie the Peniall from northwest, thirdlie the Einon, fourthlie the Kinar, fiftlie the Cleidor, these three last rehearsed falling into it from southeast, & the last hauing his course by Langwinhelin and so into the sea, as mine instruction vpholdeth. It seemeth in some mens iudgements to part Northwales and Westwales in sunder, and the same which in Latine hight Deuus, in Welsh or British Diff or Dewie, whereof the Latine doth seeme to fetch his sound. But to proceed with the rest of such falles and waters as are to be found in this countie. Going therfore northwestward, we come to a fall frō the north called Towen Merionneth which is the mouth of the Dissonnie streame, a pretie riuer rising in the hilles aboue Lanthangle, and west of castell Traherne receiueth the Ridrie, which commeth from Chadridrie hill, by Tallilin castell, Treherie, and so into the Dissonnie from southeast, fetching his course by Lanegrin, and so into the sea within fiue miles thereof.

Being past this we did cast about by the Sarnabigh point, till we came to the Lingouen becke, and so to the Barre, which is a faire water, and therefore worthie to be with diligence described, yet it is not called Bar from the head, but rather Both or Derte, for so are the two chiefe heads called out of which this riuer descendeth, and are about six miles west of the Lin, out of which the Dee hath his issue, and betweene which the Karan baure hilles are situat and haue their being. After the ioining of the two heds of this Barre, as I name it from the originall, it receiueth a rill from northeast called Cain, & another beneath the same, comming from Beurose wood, and so holdeth on towards the south betweene Lanilid and Kemmor abbaie, till it meet a little by west of Dolgelth with the Auon baure, which comming also out of the Woodland soile, & taking in a rill from Gwannas, hasteth northwestward (by Dolgelth) to ioine with the Barre, and being met they receiue the Kessilgun, then the Hirgun, & after a course of foure to fiue miles it falleth into the sea, hauing watered the verie hart & inward parts of this shire. From hence we crosse the Skethie which runneth by Corsogdale and Lanthwie, *alias* Lanthonie, then the Lambader which receiuing the Artro aboue Lambader, doth fall into the sea, southeast of the point, and flat south of Landango, which is a towne situat on the other side of the turning.

After this we passed by Aberho, so named of the riuer Ho, that falleth there into the sea, and commeth thither from the Alpes or hils of Snowdonie, mounteins no lesse fertile for graslle, wood, cattell, fish and foule, than the famous Alpes beyond the seas, whereof all the writers do make so honorable report. From hence we sailed by Abermawr or mouth of Mawr, which commeth in like sort from Snowdonie, and taketh diuerse riuers with him whose names I do not know. Then vnto the Artro a broke, whose head commeth from by northeast, and in his course receiueth the Gedar on the north side, and so holdeth on till it fall into the sea, after a few windlesses which it maketh as it passeth. After this we come to Traith behan, which is the fall of the Drurid, a pretie riuer comming from the marches of Caernaruonshire, which passing by Festimog, sone after taketh in the Cunwell, then the Uelenrid; and so holdeth on to Deckoin, where it falleth into the said Traith. For of the other two rilles that lie by south hereof, and haue their issue also into the same, I make but small accompt, bicause their quantitie is not great. Next vnto this we haue Traith mawr, whereinto the Farles hath his issue, a riuer proceeding from Snowdonie or the Snowdon hils, descending by Bethkelerke and Lanwrothen, without mixture of anie other water in all his course and passage. It is parcell of the march also betweene Merioneth and Caernaruon shires. From Traith mawr we passe by the Brekith, and come to another water descending from the north by Lanfidwie, and after that to the Moie, whose mouthes are so neere togither, that no more than halfe a mile of the land doth seeme to keepe them in sunder.

Ho.

Mawr.

Artro.

Farles.

Then come we vnto the Erke, a pretie broke descending from Madrin hils, into whose mouth two other of no lesse quantitie than it selfe do seeme to haue their confluence, and whose courses do come along from the west and northwest; the most southerlie being called Girch, and the other the Yellie: except my memorie do faile me. Then calling about toward the south (as the coast lieth) we saw the Aberssoch or mouth of the Soch riuer vpon our right hand, in the mouth whereof, or not farre by south thereof lie two Ilands, of which the more northerlie is called Tudfall, and the other Penrin: as Leland did obserue. I would set downe the British names of such townes and villages as these waters passe by; but the writing of them (for want of the language) is so hard to me, that I chose rather to shew their falles and risings, than to corrupt their denominations in the writing: and yet now and then I vse such words as our Englishmen do giue vnto some of them, but that is not often, where the British name is easie to be found out and sounded.

Erke.

Soch.

After this, going about by the point, and leauing Gwelin Ile on the right hand, we come to Daron riuer, where vpon standeth Aberdaron a quarter of a mile from the shore betwixt Aberdaron and Uortigerns

Daron.

gernes vale, where the compaſſe of the ſea gathereth in a head, and entereth at both ends. Then come we about the point to Edarne becke, a mile and more ſouth of Newin. And ten or twelue miles from hence is the Uennie broke, whoſe courſe is little aboue ſo manie miles; and not farre from it is the Liuan, a farre leſſe water, comming alſo from the eaſt: and next vnto that another, wherinto the Willie by ſouth and the Carrog by north after their coniunction do make their common influence. Hauing paſſed this riuer, we caſt about toward the north eaſt, and enter at Abermenaie ferrie, into the ſtreicts or ſtreame called Menaie, betweene Angleſeie and the maine, meeting firſt of all with the Gornaie, which commeth from the Snowdonie out of the Creuennian lake, and paſſeth by Lanunda into the ſea or Menaie ſtreame at Southcrocke. Next of all we meet with the Saint, which commeth from Lin Lanbereie, paſſeth by Lanihangle, and ſo falleth into the Menaie at Aberſaint, which is on the ſouthweſt ſide of Caernaruon: on the other ſide alſo of the ſaid towne is the Skeuernocke, whereby it ſtandeth betweene two riuers, of which this hath his head not farre from Dinas Dreueg.

Edarne beck.

Then come we (ſaith Leland) to Gwinſwith mirth (or Horſe broke) two miles from Moilethon, and it riſeth at a Well ſo called full a mile from thence. Moilethon is a bowe ſhot from Aberpowle, from whence ferrie botes go to the Termone or Angleſeie. Aberpowle runneth three miles into the land, and hath his head foure miles beyond Bangor in Meneie ſhore: and here is a little comming in for botes bending into the Meneie. Aber Gegeine commeth out of a mounteine a mile aboue, and Bangor (thorough which a rill called Torronnen hath his courſe) almoſt a mile aboue it. Aber Dgwine is two miles aboue that; it riſeth at Tale linne, Dgwine pole, fiue miles aboue Bangor in the eaſt ſide of Withow. Aber Auon is two miles aboue Aberogwene, and it riſeth in a pole called Lin man Auon, three miles off. Auon lan var Uehan riſeth in a mounteine therby, and goeth into the ſea, two miles aboue Duegeuelth. Auon Duegeuelth is three miles aboue Conweie, which riſing in the mounteins a mile off, goeth by it ſelfe into Meneie ſalt arme. On the ſaid ſhore alſo lieth Conweie, and this riuer doth run betwixt Penmaine Maur, and Penmaine Uehan. It riſeth about three miles from Penmaclon hils which lie about ſixtie miles from Conweie abbeie, now diſſolued out of a lake called Lin Conweie, and on the north and weſt of this riuer ſtandeth the towne of Conweie, which taketh his name thereof.

Conte.

Gegeine.

Torronnen.

Dgwine.

Auon.

Lannar Uehan.

Duegeuelth.

Tæc.

This riuer (which Ptolomie calleth Toeſobius, as I take it) after the deriuation thereof from the head, paſſeth on the weſt ſide by Spittieuan and Tiherio, beneath which it taketh in a ſtreame comming from the eaſt out of Denbighſhire, deriued from three heads, and of the greateſt called Nag. Some after alſo another, and then the third, which commeth in from the weſt by Lanpen Mawr: next of all the Leder on the ſame ſide, which commeth by Dolathelan caſtell: and aboue that from a Lin of the ſame denomination. Beneath this and ſelfe hand lieth likewiſe the Ligow or Ligwie, proceeding from two lakes, that is, the Dumber and the Ligow. On the right hand as we ſtill deſcend, is the Coid, then the Glin, & a little lower we meet with the Lin Geriouth: and after we be paſt another on the right ſide, we come to the Derloid, which commeth out of Lin Cowlid, to the Ygan, to the Idulin, to the caſtell Water on the left, & then to the Melandider on the right, without the ſight of anie other, till we come almoſt to Conweie, where we find a notched ſtreame comming from by weſt, and called Guffen or Gyffin into the ſame by one chanell on the northeaſt ſide of the towne, beneath Guffin or Gyffin, and ouer againſt Lanſanfraid in Denbighſhire; ſo farre as I now remember. Some part of Carnaruonſhire ſtretcheth alſo beyond Aber Conweie, or the fall of Conweie, & it is called Drmeſhed point, wherein alſo is a rill, whoſe fall into the ſea is betweene Penrin and Landrigfit. And thus we haue made an end of the cheefe waters which are to be found in this countie.

Ligow.

Drmeſhed.

The nert is a corner of Denbigh, by which we do as it were ſtep ouer into Flintſhire, and whoſe firſt water is not great, yet it commeth from ſouthweſt, and falleth into the north or Iriſh ſea called Virginium, beneath Landilas; as the nert that commeth ſouth from Bettas doth the like three miles beneath Abergele, and is not onelie called Gele (as the name it ſelfe importeth) but alſo noted to take his courſe through the Canges. Hauing thus gone ouer the angle of Denbighſhire, that lieth betweene thoſe of Carnaruon and Flint, we come nert of all vnto Aber Cluide, or the fall of Clotha or Glota, which is a ſtreame not to be ſhortlie intreated of. It riſeth among certeine hilles, which lie not far diſtant from the confines of Merioneth and Denbighſhires. Southeaſt from his fall, and hauing run foure or fiue miles from the head, it commeth about to Darwen, taking in the Maniton on the left hand, and the Melpin on the right: and ſone after the third from bymweſt, whoſe head is not farre from Gloucanocke. Beneath Ruthen alſo it taketh in the Leueneie: and after that another, and the third, all on the right hand, and ſo holdeth on till it meet with the Cluedoch, then with the Wſtrade, which paſſeth by Whitchurch on the left hand. After which we come to the Wheeler on the right, and ſo to his ioining with the Elwie, which is beneath S. Aſaphes, a biſhops ſee that is inuironed with them both. This Elwie riſeth aboue Gwitherne, & beneath Lanuair taketh in the Alode, which commeth from lin Alode, by Lanſannan, and ioineth with him fiue miles beneath Langrenew. The Cluda therefore and the Elwie being met, the confluence paſſeth on to the ſea by Rutland caſtell, where it taketh in the Sarne, which commeth from by eaſt, and hath a courſe almoſt of ſixteene miles. From hence we toke ſea toward the Dee mouth: and as we paſſed by the reſt of the ſhore, we ſaw the fall of a little broke neere Baſing Werke, of another neere to Flint, of the third at Powleie caſtell, which with his two armes in maner includeth it; and the fourth beneath Halwarden hold, which in like ſort goeth round about the ſame, & from whence we came to the Dee, where we landed and toke vp our lodging in Cheſter. In this place alſo it was no hard matter to deliuer & ſet downe the names of ſuch riuers and ſtreames as are alſo to be found in Angleſeie, finding my ſelfe to haue ſome leaſure and fit opportunitie for the ſame: and imagining a iourneie thither alſo, as vnto the other places mentioned in this deſcription, whither as yet it hath not beene my hap to trauell: I thought it not amiſſe to take it alſo in hand, and performe it after this maner.

Maniton.

Cluedoch.

Elwie.

Ferrieng therefore ouer out of Carnaruonſhire to Beaumariſe, I went by land without croſſing of anie riuer or ſtreame worthie memorie, till I came to the Brant, which hath his fall not farre from the ſouthweſt point of that Iland. This Brant riſeth farre vp in the land, not farre from Lauredenell, and holding on his courſe ſouthward to Lanthoniell Uaall, it goeth on to Bodoweruch, Langainwen, and ſo into the ſea.

The nert fall we came vnto was called Paltrath, and it is produced by the confluence of two riuers,

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the Geuennie and the Gint, who ioine not farre from Langreſſoll. This alſo laſt rehearſed hath his head neere to Penmoneth, the other being forked riſeth in the hillie ſoile aboue Tregaion and Langwithlog: ſo that part of the Iland obteineth no ſmall commoditie and benefit by their paſſage. Next vnto this we came vnto the Fraw, whoſe head is neere to Langinewen, and paſſage by Cap Maer; after which it falleth into a lake, from whence it goeth eaſt of Aberfraw, and ſo into the ſea. The next riuer hath no name to my knowledge: yet hath it a longer courſe than that which I laſt deſcribed. For it riſeth two or three miles aboue Haneglosſe: and paſſing from thence to Trenalghmaic, after the deſcent of foure miles, it falleth into the ſea. After this we came to an other, which riſeth more to Cap legan ferwie, and falleth into the ſea ſoutheaſt of the little Iland, which is called Ynis Wealt. It is nameleſſe alſo as the other was, and therefore hauing ſmall delight to write thereof, we paſſed ouer the ſalt creeke by a bridge into Cair Kibie, which by the ſame, is as it were cut from the maine Iland, and in ſome reſpect not vnworthie to be taken for an Ile. In the north ſide therefore of Cair Kibie is a little rill or creeke: but whether the water thereof be freſh or ſalt, as yet I do not remember.

Fraw.

This place being viewed, I came backe againe by the aforeſaid bridge, into the maine of Angleſeie, and going northwards I find a fall inforced by three riuerets, each one hauing his courſe almoſt ſouth from other; and the laſt falling into the confluence of the two firſt, not halfe a mile from the weſt, where I firſt eſpied the ſtreame. The name of the moſt northerlie is Linon, of the ſecond Allo; but the third is altogither nameleſſe for aught that I can learne, wherefore it ſhall not be neceſſarie to ſpend anie time in the further ſearching of his courſe. Being paſt this, we went northwards till we came to the point, and then going eaſtward, we butted vpon the fall of a certeine confluence growing by the ioining of the Pathanon and the Geger, which meet beneath and neere to the Langechell. And after the ſame we paſſed on ſomewhat declining ſouthward by the Hillarie point, toward the ſoutheaſt, till we came to the Duleſſe, and from thence to Pentraeth water: after which we turned northward, then eaſtward; and finallie ſouthward, till we came to Langurduy; from whence vnto Beaumariſe (where began our voiage) we find not anie water worthie to be remembred. And thence I go forward with the deſcription of the Dee.

Linon. Allo.

The Dee or Deua (as Ptolomie calleth it) is a noble riuer, & breeder of the beſt trout, whoſe head is in Merioneth ſhire, about three miles aboue the lake, ſituate in the countie of Penthlin, and called Lin Tegnis, whoſe ſtreame yet verie ſmall, by reaſon of the ſhortneſſe of his courſe, falleth into the ſaid lake, not far from Lanullin. There are ſundrie other waters that come alſo into the ſaid lake, which is foure or fiue miles in length, and about two miles ouer; as one from by ſouth, whoſe fall is eaſt, and not manie furlongs from the Dee: another hath his iſſue into the ſame by Langower: the third on the north ſide of Lanullin, named Leie: the fourth at Glanlintegid called the Jauerne, the lake it ſelfe ending about Bala, and from thence running into the Trowerin, a pretie ſtreame, and not a little augmented by the Kelme and Monath which fall by north into the ſame, and ioineth with the Dee ſouth of Lanuair; from whence forth it loſeth the name, and is afterward called Dee. Eaſt of Bala in like ſort it receiueth the Ruddoch, then the Cleton, and ſo paſſing on by Landright to Langar, it meeteth with a confluence proceeding from the Alwen and the Giron, of which this riſeth in the hils aboue Langham, the other in the mounteins about fiue or ſix miles by northweſt of Lanihangle in Denbighſhire, where (as I geſſe) it falleth into the ground; and afterward riſing againe betweene Lanihangle and Bettus, it holdeth on about two miles, and then ioineth with the Giron, full ſix miles aboue Dole, and before it come to the Dee. From hence the Dee goeth by Lanſanfraid, and the marches of Merioneth into Denbighſhire, and ſo to Langellon, Dinas, Bren, &c: keeping his courſe by certeine windleſſes, till he receiue the Griſtioneth, deſcending by Ruabon, then another eſt of the ſame; the third, from by weſt called Keriog (whoſe head is not farre from the bounds of Merioneth and courſe by Lanarmon, Lanſanfraid, and Chirke) the fourth from ſouth eaſt out of Shropſhire, called Morlais, and ſo paſſeth as bounds betweene Denbighſhire, and the outliggand of Flintſhire, to wit by Billocke on the one ſide and Bangor on the other, till it come to Worthenburie: whereabout it receiueth a chanell deſcending from foure influences, of which one commeth by Penlie chappell, the ſecond from Hamnere, which goeth downe by Emberhall, and falleth in a little by eaſt of the other; the third from Blackmere (by Whitchurch) &c: and the fourth from betweene Chad and Worſall. Theſe two later meeting aboue nether Durtwich, do hold on to Talerne, as mine information inſtructeth me.

Griſtioneth. Keriog.

From Wrothenburie the Dee goeth northweſtwards toward Shocklige, meeting by the waie with the confluence of the Cluedoch (or Dedoch originall mother to thoſe trouts for which the Dee is commended) and deſcendeth from Capell Hoinglath) and the Gwinrogh, that runneth through Wrerham, both ioining a mile and more beneath Wrerham, not far from Hantwerne. Some after alſo our maine riuer receiueth another becke from by eaſt, which is bound on the northweſt ſide to the outliggand of Flintſhire, and ſo paſſeth on betweene Holt caſtell and Ferneton, Almere and Pulton, as march betweene Denbighſhire and Cheſhire, and then taketh in the Alaunus or Alen; a pretie riuer and worthie to be deſcribed. The head of this Alen therefore is in Denbighſhire, and ſo diſpoſed that it riſeth in two ſeuerall places, ech being two miles from other, the one called Alen Mawr, the other Alen Uehan, as I do find reported. They meet alſo beneath Landegleis, and run northwards till they come beyond Lanuerres, where meeting with a rill comming from by weſt, it runneth on to the Mold to Horſheth, and ſo in and out to Greſeford, taking the Cogidog from ſouthweſt with it by the waie; then to Traue Alen, and ſo into the Dee, a mile and more aboue the fall of Powton becke, which alſo deſcendeth from ſouthweſt out of Flintſhire, and is march vnto the ſame, euen from the verie head. After which confluence the Dee hauing Cheſterſhire on both ſides, goeth to Aldford with a ſwift courſe, where it meeteth with the Beſton brooke, whereof I do find this deſcription following.

Cluedoch. Gwinrogh. Alaunus.

The Beſton water riſeth in the woddie ſoile betweene Spurſton and Beſton caſtell with a forked head, and leauing Beſton towne on the northeaſt, it goeth to Tarneton, and to Hakeſleie, where it diuideth it ſelfe in ſuch wiſe, that one branch thereof runneth by Totnall, Goldburne, and Leehall, to Alford, and ſo into the Dee, the other by Stapleford, Terwine, Barrow, Picton, and Therton, where it brancheth againe, ſending forth one arme by Stanneie pole, and the parke ſide into Merſeie arme, toward the northweſt, and another by ſouthweſt, which commeth as it were backe againe, by Stoke, Croughton, Backeford, Charleton, Upton, the Waites, and ſo vnder a bridge to Cheſter ward, where

Beſton.

where it falleth into the Dée arme at Flockes brooke, excluding Wirall on the northwest as an Iland, which lieth out like a leg betweene the Merseie and the Dée armes, and including and making another fresh Iland within the same, whose limits by northwest are betweene Thorneton, Chester, & Aldford, on the northeast Thorneton and Hakelleie, and on the southeast Hakelleie and Aldford, whereby the forme thereof doth in part resemble a triangle. And thus much of the Dée, which is a troublesome streame when the wind is at southwest, and verie dangerous, in so much that few dare passe thereon. Sometimes also in harvest time it sendeth downe such store of water, when the wind bloweth in the same quarter, that it drowneth all their grasse and corne that groweth in the lower grounds neere vnto the bankes thereof. Certes it is about three hundred foot, at his departure from the Tigne, and worthilie called a litigious streame; because that by often alteration of chanell, it inforceth men to seeke new bounds vnto their lands, for here it laieth new ground, and there translateth and taketh awaie the old, so that there is nothing more vnconstant than the course of the said water. Of the monasterie Bangor also, by which it passeth after it hath left Orton bridge, I find this note, which I will not omit, because of the slaughter of monks made sometime neere vnto the same. For although the place require it not, yet I am not willing altogither to omit it.

The situation of the monasterie of Bangor.

This abbeie of Bangor stood sometime in English Mailor, by hither and south of the riuer Dée. It is now ploughed ground where that house stood, by the space of a Welsh mile (which reacheth vnto a mile and an halfe English) and to this day the tillers of the soile there do plow vp bones (as they saie) of those monks that were slaine in the quarrell of Augustine, and within the memorie of man some of them were taken vp in their rotten weeds, which were much like vnto those of our late blacke monks, as Leland set it downe: yet Erasmus is of the opinion, that the apparell of the Benedictine monks was such as most men did weare generallie at their first institution. But to proceed. This abbeie stood in a valleie, and in those times the riuer ran hard by it. The compasse thereof likewise was as the circuit of a walled towne, and to this date two of the gates may easilie be discerned, of which the one is named Port Hogan lleng by north, the other Port Clais situat vpon the south. But the Dée hauing now changed his chanell, runneth through the verie middest of the house betwixt those two gates, the one being at the left a full halfe mile from the other. As for the squared stone that is found hereabout, and the Romane coine, there is no such necessitie of the rehersall thereof, but that I may passe it ouer well inough without anie further mention.

Being past the Dée we sailed about Wirall, passing by Hilbre or Hilbrée Iland, and Leuerpole, Passe, making our entrie into Merseie arme by Leuerpole hauen, where we find a water falling out betweene Seacombe and the Ferie, which doth in maner cut off the point from the maine of Wirall. For rising neere to the northwest shore, it holdeth a course directlie toward the southeast by Wallasey and Poton, and so leaueth all the north part beyond that water a peninsula, the same being three square, inuironed on two sides with the Ocean, & on the third with the aforesaid brooke, whose course is well neere three miles except I be deceiued. Frō hence entring further into the hauen, we find another fall betweene Bebington and Bromboro chapell, descending from the hilles, which are seene to lie not farre from the shore, and thence crossing the fall of the Beston water, we come next of all vnto the Wiuer, than the which I read of no riuer in England that fetcheth more or halfe so many windlesses and crinklings, before it come at the sea. It riseth at Buckle hilles, which lie betweene Ridleie and Buckle townes, and soone after making a lake of a mile & more in length called Ridleie pole, it runneth by Ridleie to Chalmondlie.

Wiuer.

Thence it goeth to Wrenburie, where it taketh in a water out of a more that commeth from Marburie: and beneth Sandford bridge the Combrus from Combermere or Comber lake: and finallie the third that commeth from about Moneton, and runneth by Langerlaw, then betweene Shenton and Atherlie parkes, and so into the Wiuer, which watereth all the west part of England, and is no lesse notable than the fift Auon or third Duze, whereof I haue spoken alreadie. After these confluences it hasteth also to Audlem, Hawklow, and at Barderton crosseth the Betleie water, that runneth by Duddington, Widdenberie, and so by Barderton into the aforesaid streame. Thence it goeth to Nantwich, but yet it come at Marchford bridge, it meeteth with a rill called Salopbrooke (as I gesse) comming from Caluerleie ward, and likewise beneath the said bridge, with the Lée and the Weluarne both in one chanell, whereof the first riseth at Weston, the other goeth by Copnall. From thence the Wiuer runneth on to Winchton and Cardeswise, and the next water that falleth into it is the Ashe (which passeth by Darnall Grange) and afterward going to Warke, the vale Rotall, and Eaton, it commeth finallie to Northwich where it receiueth the Dane, to be described as followeth. The Dane riseth in the verie edges of Chester, Darbishire, & Staffordshire, and comming by Wharneford, Swithamleie and Bosleie, is a limit betweene Stafford and Darbie shires, almost euen from the verie head, which is in Harwell forrest.

Combrus. Betleie. Salop. Lée and Weluarne. Ashe. Dane.

It is not long also yer it do meet with the Bidle water, that commeth by Congerton, and after the confluence goeth vnto Swetham, the Heremitage, Cotton and Crorton, there taking in two great waters, whereof the one is called Whelocke, which comming from the edge of the countie by Norton to Sandbach, crosseth another that descendeth from church Cawhlton, and after the confluence goeth to Warmingham, ioining also beneath Widlewith with the Croco or Crorston, the second great water, whose head commeth out of a lake aboue Bruerton (as I heare) and thence both the Whelocke and the Croco go as one vnto the Dane, at Crorton, as the Dane doth from thence to Bostocke, Davenham, Shebruch, Shurlach, and at Northwich into the foresaid Wiuer. After this confluence the Wiuer runneth on to Barneton, and there in like sort receiueth two brookes in one chanell, whereof one commeth from aboue Allostocke, by Holme & Lastocke, the other from beyond Birtles mill, by Chelford (where it taketh in a rill called Piuerete) thence to ouer Peuer, Holford, and there crossing the Waterlesse brooke (growing of two becks and ioining at nether Tablete) it goeth forth to Winshambridge, and then meeting with the other, after this confluence they proceed till they come almost at Barneton, where the said chanell ioineth with a prette water running thorough two lakes, whereof the greatest lieth betweene Comberbach, Rudworth and Marburie. But to go forward with the course of the maine riuer. After these confluences our Wiuer goeth to Warham, Actonbridge, and Dutton, ouer against which towne, on the other side it meeteth with a rill, comming from Cuddington: also the second going by Norleie, and Gritton, finallie the third soone after from Kimsleie, and then proceedeth on in his passage by Acheton chappell, Frodesham, Rockesauage, and

Bidle. Whelocke. Croco. Piuerete. Waterlesse.

&

ſo into the ſea: and this is all that I do find of the Wiuer, whoſe influences might haue bæne more largelie ſet downe, if mine intunctions had bæne amplie deliuered, yet this I hope may ſuffice for his deſcription, and knowledge of his courſe.

Merſeie. The Merſeie riſeth among the Peke hils, and from thence going downe to the Woodhouſe, and taking ſundrie rilles withall by the waie, it becommeth the confines betwæne Cheſter and Darbiſhires. Going alſo toward Goitehall, it mæteth with a faire brooke increaſed by ſundrie waters called Goite, whereof I find this ſhort and briefe deſcription. The Goite riſeth not far from the Shire mære hill (wherein the Doue and the Dane haue their originall) that parteth Darbiſhire and Cheſterſhire in ſunder, and thence commeth downe to Goite houſes, Duerton, Tarhall, Shawcroſſe, and at Weibridge taketh in the Frith, and beneath Berdhall, the Set that riſeth aboue Therſethall and runneth by Duerſet. After this confluence alſo the Merſeie goeth to Goite hall, & at Stockford or Stopford towne mæteth with the Tame, which diuideth Cheſterſhire and Lancaſterſhire in ſunder, and whoſe head is in the verie edge of Yorkſhire, from whence it goeth ſouthward to Sadleworth Firth, then to Yukelhirſt, Stalie hall, Aſhdon Underline, Dunkenfield, Denton, Reddiſh, and ſo at Stockford into the Merſeie ſtreame, which paſſeth forth in like ſort to Diddeſbirie, receiuing a brooke by the waie that commeth from Lime parke, by Burnhall parke and Chedle.

Goite. Frith. Set. Tame.

Irwell. From Diddeſbirie it proceedeth to Norden, Aſhton, Aiſton, Flirſton, where it receiueth the Irwell a notable water, and therefore his deſcription is not to be omitted before I do go forward anie further with the Merſeie, although it be not nauigable by reaſon of ſundrie rockes and ſhalowes that lie diſperſed in the ſame. It riſeth aboue Bacop, and goeth thence to Roſendale, and in the waie to Aitenfield it taketh in a water from Haſelden. After this confluence it goeth to Newhall, Brandleſham, Burie, and aboue Ratcliffe ioineth with the Rache water, a faire ſtreame and to be deſcribed when I haue finiſhed the Irwell, as alſo the nert vnto it beneath Ratcliffe, becauſe I would not haue ſo manie ends at once in hand wherewith to trouble my readers. Being therefore paſt theſe two, our Irwell goeth on to Cliſton, Hollond, Edgecroft, Strengwaies, and to Manchester, where it vniteth it ſelfe with the Yrke, that runneth therein to by Roiton Midleton, Heaton hill, and Blackeleie. Beneath Manchester alſo it mæteth with the Medlocke, that commeth thither from the northeaſt ſide of Oldham, and betwæne Clairton and Garret Halles, and ſo betwæne two parkes, falling into it about Holne. Thence our Irwell going forward to Woodſall, Whicleſwije, Eccles, Barton, and Deuelhom, it falleth nære vnto Flirton, into the water of Merſeie, where I will ſtaie a while withall, till I haue brought the other vnto ſome paſſe, of which I ſpake before.

Ræus, or Rache. Leland ſpeaketh of the Corne water about Manchester; but I know nothing of his courſe. Yrke. Medlocke.

Rache. The Rache, Rech or Riſh conſiſteth of ſundrie waters, whereof eche one in maner hath a proper name, but the greateſt of all is Rache it ſelfe, which riſeth among the blacke ſtonie hils, from whence it goeth to Littlebrough, and being paſt Clegge, receiueth the Beſle, that commeth thither by Milneraw chapell. After this confluence alſo, it mæteth with a rill nære vnto Rachedale, and ſoone after with the Sprotton water, and then the Sudleie brooke, whereby his chanell is not a little increaſed, which goeth from thence to Griſehirſt and ſo into the Irwell, before it come at Ratcliffe. The ſecond ſtreame is called Bradſha. It riſeth of two heds, aboue Dureton church, whence it runneth to Bradſha, and per long taking in the Walmeſleie becke, they go in one chanell till they come beneath Bolton in the Moore. From hence (receiuing a water that commeth from the roots of Rauenpike hill by the way) it goeth by Deane and Bolton in the Moore, and ſo into Bradſha water, which taketh his waie to Leuermore, Farnworth, Leuerleſſe, and finallie into the Irwell, which I before deſcribed, and whereof I find theſe two verſes to be added at the laſt:

Beſle. Sprotton. Sudleie. Bradſha. Walmeſleie.

Irke, Irwell, Medlocke, and Tame,
When they meet with the Merſeie, do looſe their name.

Now therefore to reſume our Merſeie, you ſhall vnderſtand that after his confluence with the Irwell, he runneth to Partington, and not farre from thence interteineth the Gles, or Gleſbrooke water, increaſed with ſundrie armes, wherof one commeth from Lodward, another from aboue Houghton, the third from Hulton parke, and the fourth from Shakerleie: and being all vnited nære vnto Leigh, the confluence goeth to Holcroft, and aboue Holling græne into the ſwift Merſeie. After this increaſe the ſaid ſtreame in like ſort runneth to Rigſton, & there admitteth the Bollein or Bolling brooke water into his ſocietie, which riſing nære the Chamber in Marwell forreſt goeth to Ridge, Sutton, Bollington, Preſtbirie, and Newton, where it taketh in a water comming from about Pot Chapell, which runneth from thence by Adlington, Wodford, Wimeſleie, Ringeie, and Aſhleie, there receiuing the Birkin brooke that commeth from betwæne Allerton and Marchall, by Mawberleie, and ſoone after the Marus or Mar, that commeth thereinto from Mar towne, by Rawſtorne, and after theſe confluences goeth on to Downham, and ouer againſt Kirton beneath Croſford bridge into the Merſeie water, which proceeding on, admitteth not another that mæteth with all nære Lim before it go to Thelwall. Thence alſo it goeth by Bruche and ſo to Warrington, a little beneath croſſing a brooke that commeth from Par by Browſeie, Bradleie, and Saukeie on the one ſide, and another on the other that commeth thither from Gropenhall, and with theſe it runneth on to nether Walton, Acton grange, and ſo to Penkith, where it interteineth the Bold, and ſoone after the Grundich water on the other ſide, that paſſeth by Preſton, and Dareſbirie. Finallie our Merſeie going by Poulton, it falleth into Lirepoole, or as it was called of old Liuerpoole hauen, when it is paſt Runcorne. And thus much of the Merſeie, comparable vnto the Wiuer, and of no leſſe fame than moſt riuers of this Iland.

Bollein brooke. Birkin. Mar. Bold. Grundich.

Being paſt theſe two, we come next of all to the Tarbocke water, that falleth into the ſea at Harbocke, without finding anie mo till we be paſt all Wirall, out of Lirepoole hauen, and from the blacke rockes that lie vpon the north point of the aforeſaid Iland. Then come we to the Altmouth, whoſe freſh riſing not far into the land, commeth to Feſton, and ſoone after receiuing another on the right hand, that paſſeth into it by Aughton, it is increaſed no more before it come at the ſea. Neither find I anie other falles till I mæt with the mouth of the Parrow and Dugleſſe, which haue their recourſe to the ſea in one chanell as I take it. The Dugleſſe commeth from by weſt of Rauenſpike hill, and per long runneth by Andertonford to Worthington, and ſo (taking in two or three rilles by the waie) to Wigen, where it receiueth two waters in one chanell, of which one commeth in ſouth from Brin parke, the other from northeaſt. Being paſt this, it receiueth one on the north ſide from Standiſh, and another by ſouth from Hollond, and then goeth on toward Ruſford chapell taking the Taud withall, that deſcendeth from aboue Skelmerſdale towne, and goeth through Lathan parke, belonging (as I heare) vnto the earle of Derbie.

Tarbocke. Alt or Alt. Dugleſſe or Duleſſe. Taud or Skelmere.

Derbie. It méeteth alſo on the ſame ſide, with Yerton mære water, in which mære is one Iland called Netholme beſide other, and when it is paſt the hanging bridge, it is not long yer it fall into the Parrow.

Yerton.

The Parrow riſeth of two heads, whereof the ſecond is called Bagen broke, and making a confluence beneath Yelbie wood, it goeth on to Burgh, Egleſtan, Croſton, and then ioineth next of all with the Duggleſſe, after which confluence, the maine ſtreame goeth forth to Bankehall, Charleton, Yow, Yeſket, and ſo into the ſea. Leland writing of the Parrow, ſaith thus of the ſame, ſo farre as I now remember. Into the Duggleſſe alſo runneth the Parrow, which commeth within a mile or thereabout of Chorleton towne, that parteth Lelandſhire from Derbieſhire. Under the foot of Chorle alſo I find a rill named Ceorle, and about a mile and a halfe from thence a notable quarrein of ſtones, whereof the inhabitants do make a great boaſt and price. And hitherto Leland.

Yarrow. Bagen.

The Ribble, a riuer verie rich of ſalmon and lamprein, doth in manner inuiron Preſton in Anderneſſe, and it riſeth nære to Kibbeſdale aboue Gisborne, from whence it goeth to Sawleie or Salleie, Chathburne, Woodington, Clitherocaſtell, and beneath Yitton méeteth the Odder at northweſt, which riſeth not farre from the croſſe of Gréet in Yorkeſhire, and going thence to Shilburne, Newton, Radholme parke, and Stonie hirſt, it falleth yer long into the Ribble water. From hence the Ribble water hath not gone farre, but it méeteth with the Calder from ſoutheaſt. This broke riſeth aboue Holme church in Yorkeſhire, which lieth by eaſt of Lancaſterſhire, and goeth by Towleie and Burneleie, where it receiueth a trifling rill, thence to Higham, and yer long croſſing one water that commeth from Wicoler by Colne, and another by and by named Pidle broke, that runneth by New church in the Pidle, it méeteth with the Calder, which paſſeth forth to Paniam; and thence receiuing a becke on the other ſide, it runneth on to Altham, and ſo to Hartholme, where the Henburne broke doth ioine withall, that goeth by Akington chappell, Dunkinhalgh, Riſhton, and ſo into the Calder, as I haue ſaid before. The Calder therefore being thus inlarged, runneth forth to Reade, where maiſter Nowell dwelleth, to Whallie, and ſone after into Ribble, that goeth from this confluence to Saliſburie hall, Ribcheſter, Oſbaſtin, Samburie, Reuerden, Law, Ribbles bridge, & then taketh in the Darwent, before it goeth by Pontwarth or Pentwarth into the maine ſea. The Darwent diuideth Lelandſhire from Anderneſſe, and it riſeth by eaſt aboue Darwent chappell; and ſone after uniting it ſelfe with the Blackeburne, and Rodleſworth water, it goeth through Houghton parke, by Houghton towne, to Walton hall, and ſo into the Ribble. As for the Sannocke broke, it riſeth ſomewhat aboue Longridge chappell, goeth to Broughton towne, Cotham, Lée hall, and ſo into Ribble. And here is all that I haue to ſaie of this riuer.

Ribble. Odder. Calder. Pidle. Henburne. Darwent. Blackeburne Rodleſworth. Sannocke.

The Wire riſeth eight or ten miles from Garſtan, out of an hill in Wireſdale forreſt, from whence it runneth by Shireſhed chappell, and then going by Wadland, or Waddiler, Grenelaw caſtell (which belongeth to the erle of Darbie) Garſtan, and Kirkland hall, it firſt receiueth the ſecond Calder, that commeth downe by Edmerſeie chappell, then another chanell increaſed with ſundrie waters, which I will here deſcribe before I proceed anie further with the Wire. I ſuppoſe that the firſt water is called Plimpton broke, it riſeth ſouth of Goſner, and commeth by Cawford hall, and yer long receiuing the Barton becke, it proceedeth forward till it ioineth with the Broke rill that commeth from Bowland forreſt, by Claughton hall, where maſter Broke hales doth lie, & ſo through Perſco forreſt. After this confluence the Plime or Plimpton water méeteth with the Calder, and then with the Wire, which paſſeth forth to Michaell church, and the Raw cliffes, and aboue Thorneton croſſeth the Skipton that goeth by Potton, then into the Wire rode, and finallie through the ſands into the ſea, according to his nature. When we were paſt the fall of the Wire, we coaſted vp by the ſalt cotes, to Coker mouth, whoſe head, though it be in Wireſdale forreſt, not far from that of the Wire, yet the ſhortneſſe of courſe deſerueth no deſcription. The nert is Cowdar, which is comming out of Wire dale, as I take it, is not increaſed with anie other waters more than Coker, and therefore I will rid my hands thereof ſo much the ſoner.

Calder. 2. Plimpton. Barton. Skipton. Coker. Cowdar.

Being paſt theſe two, I came to a notable riuer called the Lune or Loine, or (as the booke of ſtatutes hath) Lonwire *Anno* 13 Ric. 2 cap. 19, and giueth name to Lancaſter, Lonecaſter, or Lunecaſter, where much Romane monie is found, and that of diuerſe ſtamps, whoſe courſe doth reſt to be deſcribed as followeth; and whereof I haue two deſcriptions. The firſt being ſet downe by Leland, as maſter Moore of Catharine hall in Cambridge deliuered it vnto him. The next I exhibit as it was giuen vnto me, by one that hath taken paines (as he ſaith) to ſearch out and view the ſame, but verie lately to ſpeake of. The Lune (ſaith maſter Moore) of ſome commonlie called the Loine, riſeth at Croſſeho, in Dent dale, in the edge of Richmondſhire out of three heads. North alſo from Dent dale is Garſdale, an vplandiſh towne, wherein are ſæne manie times great ſtore of red déere that come downe to fæd from the mounteins into the vallies, and thereby runneth a water, which afterward commeth to Sebbar vale, where likewiſe is a broke méeting with Garſdale water, ſo that a little lower they go as one into Dent dale becke, which is the riuer that afterward is called Lune, or Lane, as I haue verie often noted it. Beſide theſe waters alſo before mentioned, it receiueth at the foot of Sebbar dale, a great broke, which commeth out of the Worth, betwéene Weſtmerland and Richmondſhire, which taking with him the aforeſaid chanels, doth run ſeauen miles yer it come to Dent dale foot. From hence it entreth into Lanſdale, corruptlie ſo called, peraduenture for Luneſdale, & runneth therein eight or nine miles ſouthward, and in this dale is Kirbie. Hitherto maſter Moore, as Leland hath exemplified that parcell of his letters. But mine other note writeth hereof in this manner. Burbecke water riſeth at Wuſtall head, by weſt, and going by Wuſtall foot to Skaleg, it admitteth the Breder that deſcendeth thither from Breder dale. From hence our Burbecke goeth to Breder dale foot, & ſo to Tibarie, where it méeteth with foure rilles in one bottome, of which one commeth from beſides Orton, another from betwéene Raſebecke and Sunbiggin, the third and fourth from each ſide of Langdale: and after the generall confluence made, goeth toward Roundſwath, aboue which it uniteth it ſelfe with the Barrow. Thence it runneth to Holwgill, Delaker, Firrebanke, and Killington, beneath which it meeteth with a water comming from the Horuill hilles, and afterward croſſing the Dent broke, that runneth thither from Dent towne, beneath Sebbar, they continue their courſe as one into the Burbecke, from whence it is called Lune. From hence it goeth to Burbon chappell, where it taketh in another rill comming from by eaſt, then to Kirbie, Lanſdale, and aboue Whittenton croſſeth a broke

Lune. Burdecke. Breder. Barrow. Dent.

comming

Greteie. comming from the countie stone by Burros, and stone after beneath Tunstall and Greteie, which descending from about Ingelborow hill, passeth by Twiselton, Ingleton, Thorneton, Burton, Wratton, and nere Thurland castell, toucheth finallie with the Lune, which brancheth, and stone after uniteth it selfe againe. After this also it goeth on toward New parke, and receiueth the Wennie, and the Hinburne both in one chanell, of which this riseth north of the crosse of Greteie, and going by Benthams and Roberts hill, aboue Wraie taketh in the Rheburne that riseth north of Wulfecrag. After this confluence also aboue New parke, it maketh his gate by Aughton, Laughton, Skirton, Lancaster, Ercliffe, Awcliffe, Soddaie, Dxton, and so into the sea. Thus haue you both the descriptions of Lune, make your conference or election at your pleasure, for I am sworne to neither of them both.

Wennie. Hinburne. Rheburne.

Docker. Kerie. The next fall is called Docker, and peraduenture the same that Leland doth call the Kerie, which is not farre from Wharton, where the rich Kitson was borne, it riseth north of Docker towne, and going by Barwyc hall, it is not increased before it come at the sea, where it falleth into the Lune water at Lunesands. Next of all we come to Bitham becke, which riseth not far from Bitham towne and parke, in the hilles, where about are great numbers of goates kept and mainteined, and by all likelihood resorteth in the end to Linsands.

Being past this, we find a forked arme of the sea called Kensands: into the first of which diuerse waters do run in one chanell, as it were from foure principall heads, one of them comming from Grarig hall, another frō by west of Whinfield, & ioining with the first on the east side of Skelmere parke.

Spxota. The third called Spxot or Spxota riseth at Slodale, & commeth downe by west of Skelmer parke, so that these two brookes haue the aforesaid parke betweene them, & fall into the fourth east of Barneside, not verie farre in sunder. The fourth or last called Ken, commeth from Kentmers side, out of Ken more, in a pole of a mile compasse, verie well stored with fish, the head whereof, as of all the baronie of Kendall is in Westmerland, & going to Stauelope, it taketh in a rill from Chappleton Inges. Then leaning Colnehead parke by east, it passeth by Barneside, to Kendall, Helston, Sigath, Siggeswic, Leuenbridge, Milnethorpe, and so into the sea. Certes this Ken is a pretie deepe riuer, and yet not safelie to be aduentured vpon, with boates and balingers, by reason of rolling stones, & other huge substances that oft annoie & trouble the middest of the chanell there. The other peece of the forked arme, is called Winstar, the hed wherof is aboue Winstar chappell, & going downe almost by Carpmaunsell, & Netherslake, it is not long yer it fall into the sea, or sands, for all this coast, & a gulfe from the Ramside point to the Pealenasse, is so pestered with sands, that it is almost incredible to see how they increase. Those also which inuiron the Kenmouth, are named Kensands: but such as receiue the descent from the Fosse, Winander, and Sparke, are called Leuesands, as I find by sufficient testimonie. The mouth or fall of the Dodon also is not farre from this impechment: wherefore it is to be thought, that these issues will yer long become verie noisome, if not choked vp altogither. The Winander water riseth about Cumbalrasestones, from whence it goeth to Cangridge, where it maketh a mere: then to Ambleside, and taking in yer it come there, two rilles on the left hand, and one on the right that commeth by Clapergate, it maketh (as I take it) the greatest mere, or fresh water in England; for I read it is ten miles in length. Finallie, comming to one small chanell aboue Newbridge, it reacheth not aboue six miles yer fall into the sea. There is in like sort a water, called the Fosse that riseth nere vnto Arneside, and Tillerthwates, and goeth forth by Grisdale, Satrethwate, Rusland, Powbridge, Bowth, and so falleth with the Winander water into the maine sea. On the west side of the Fosse also commeth another through Furnesse felles, and from the hilles by north thereof, which yer long making the Thurstan lake not far from Hollinhow, and going by Bridge end, in a narrow chanell, passeth forth by Nibthwaits, Blareth, Cowlton, & Sparke bridge, and so into the sea. Hauing passed the Leuen or Conisands, or Coniskonesands, or Winander fall (for all is one) I come to the Lew, which riseth at Cewike chappell, and falleth into the sea beside Plumpton. The Rawther descending out of low Furnesse, hath two heads, whereof one commeth from Penniton, the other by Ulmerstone abbeie, and ioining both in one chanell, they hasten into the sea, whither all waters direct their voiage,. Then come we to another rill south-west of Aldingham, descending by Glaisson castell; and likewise the fourth that riseth nere Lindell, and running by Dawlton castell and Furnesse abbeie, not farre from the Barrow head, it falleth into the sea ouer against Waueie and Waueie chappell, except mine aduertisements misleade me.

Fosse. Sparke. Lew. Rawther.

Dodon. The Dodon, which from the head is bound vnto Cumberland and Westmerland, commeth from the Shire stone hill bottome, and going by Blackehill, Southwake, S. Johns, Affaie parke, & Brougton, it falleth into the saltwater, betweene Kirbie, and Hallum castell. And thus are we now come vnto the Rauenglasse point, and well entred into Cumberland countie.

Comming to Rauenglasse, I find hard by the towne a water comming from two heads, and both of them in lakes or poles, whereof one issueth out of Denocke or Deuenocke mere, and is called Denocke water, the other named Eske from Eske pole which runneth by Eskedale, Dalegarth, and stone after meeting with the Denocke, betweene Mawburthwate and Rauenglasse, falleth into the sea. On the other side of Rauenglasse also commeth the Mite broke, from Miterdale as I read. Then find we another which commeth from the hils, and at the first is forked, but stone after making a lake, they gather againe into a smaller chanell: finallie meeting with the Brenge, they fall into the sea at Carleton southeast, as I weene of Drig. The Cander, or (as Leland nameth it) the Calder, commeth out of Copeland forrest, by Cander, Sellefield, and so into the sea. Then come we to Euer water, descending out of a pole aboue Coswaldhow, and thence going by Euerdale, it crosseth a water from Arladon, and after procedeth to Egremond, S. Johns, and taking in another rill from Hide, it is not long yer it meeteth with the sea.

Denocke. Eske. Mite. Brenge. Cander.

The nert fall is at Norsbie, whereof I haue no skill. From thence therefore we cast about by saint Bees to Derwentset hauen, whose water is truelie written Dargwent or Deruent. It riseth in the hils about Borrodale, from whence it goeth vnto the Grange, thence into a lake, in which are certeine Ilands, and so vnto Keswic, where it falleth into the Bure, whereof the said lake is called Bursemere, or the Burthmere pole. In like sort the Burt or Burthmere water, rising among the hils goeth to Tegburtheswrth, Forneside, S. Johns, and Threlcote: and there meeting with a water from Grisdale, by Wakethwate, called Grise, it runneth to Burnesse, Keswic, and there receiueth the Darwent. From Keswic in like sort it goeth to Thorneswate (and there making a plash) to Armanswate, Isell, Huthwate and Cokermouth, and here it receiueth the Cokar, which

Dargwent. Burthmere. Grise. Cokar.

which riſing among the hils commeth by Lowſe-water, Brakenthwate, Lorton, and ſo to Cokar-mouth towne, from whence it haſteth to Brigeham, and receiuing a rill called the Wire, on the ſouth ſide that runneth by Dein, it leaueth Samburne and Wirketon behind it, and entereth into the ſea.

Wire. Leland ſaith that the Wire is a creke where ſhips lie off at rode, and that Wirketon or Wirkington towne doth take his name thereof. He addeth alſo that there is iron and coles, beſide lead ore in Wiredale. Nenertheleſſe the water of this riuer is for the moſt part ſore troubled, as comming thorough a ſuddie or ſoddie more, ſo that little good fiſh is ſaid to liue therein. But to proceed. The Elme riſeth in the mines aboue Amautree, and from Amautre goeth to Pereſbie, Harbie, Brow, and there taking in a rill on the left hand comming by Torpennie, it goeth to Hatton caſtell, Alwarbie, Birthie, Dereham, and ſo into the ſea. Thence we go about by the chapell at the point, and come to a baie ſerued with two freſh waters, whereof one riſing weſtward goeth by Warton, Rabbie, Cotes, and ſo into the maine, taking in a rill withall from by ſouth, called Croco, that commeth from Crockdale, by Bromefield. The ſecond is named Wampole broke, & this riſeth of two heads, whereof one is about Cardew. Thence in like ſort it goeth to Thareſbie, Croſton, Dwton, Gamleſbie, Wampall, the Larth, and betweene Whiteridge and Kirbie into the ſaltwater. From hence we double the Bowlneſſe, and come to an eſtuarie, whither three notable riuers do reſort, and this is named the Solneie mouth. But of all, the firſt exceedeth, which is called Eden, and whoſe deſcription doth follow here at hand.

Elmus. Croco. Wamus. Eden.

The Eden well fraught with ſamon, deſcendeth (as I heare) from the hils in Athelſtane more at the foot of Hulſtat Horuell hill, where Swale alſo riſeth, and ſoutheaſt of Pallerſtang forreſt. From thence in like maner it goeth to Pallerſtang towne, Pendragon caſtell, Wharton hall, Netbie, Hartleie caſtell, Kirkebie Stephan, and yer it come at great Pulgrane, it receiueth three waters, whereof one is called Helbecke, becauſe it commeth from the Derne and Elinge mounteins by a towne of the ſame denomination. The other is named Bellow, and deſcendeth from the eaſt mounteins by Sowarſbie, & theſe two on the northeaſt: the third falleth from Rauenſtandale, by Newbiggin, Smardale, Soulbie, Blaterne, and ſo into Eden, that goeth from thence by Warcop, and taking in the Orne about Burelles on the one ſide, and the Horton becke on the other, it haſteth to Applebie, thence to Cowlbie, where it croſſeth the Orbecke, thence to Bolton, and Kirbie, and there meeting with the Trowt becke, and beneath the ſame with the Linenet (whereinto falleth an other water from Thurenlie meeting withall beneath Clibron) it runneth finallie into Eden. After the confluences alſo the Eden palſeth to Temple, and ſone after meeting with the Milburne and Blincorne waters, in one chanell, it runneth to Winderwarth and Hornebie, where we will ſtaie till I haue deſcribed the water that meeteth withall neere the aforeſaid place called the Vlſe.

Helbecke. Bellow. Orne. Horeton. Orbecke. Trowtbecke. Linenet. Milburne. Blincorne. Vlſe.

This water commeth out of a lake, which is fed with ſix rils, whereof one is called the Marke, and neere the fall thereof into the plaſh is a towne of the ſame name; the ſecond hight Hartelhop, & runneth from Hartelhop hall by Depedale; the third is Paterdale rill; the fourth Glent Roden, the fift Glenkguin, but the firſt runneth into the ſaid lake, ſouth of Tolwhwate. Afterward when this lake commeth toward Pole towne, it runneth into a ſmall chanell, & going by Barton, Dalumaine, it taketh in a rill by the waie from Daker caſtell. Thence it goeth to Stockebridge, Ponewoth, and ſone after meeteth with a pretie broke called Loder, comming from Thornethwate by Bauton, and heere a rill; then by Helton, and there another; thence to Aſkham, Clifton, and ſo ioining with the other called Vlſe, they go to Brougham caſtell, Nine churches, Hornebie, and ſo into Eden, taking in a rill (as it goeth) that commeth downe from Pencath. Being paſt Hornebie, our Eden runneth to Langunbie, and ſone after receiuing a rill that commeth from two heads, and ioining beneath Wingſell, it haſteth to Laſenbie, then to Kirke Oſwald (on ech ſide whereof commeth in a rill from by eaſt) thence to Ponneie, and there a rill, Anſtable, Cotehill, Corbie caſtell, Wetherall, Newbie: where I will ſtaie, till I haue deſcribed the Irding, and ſuch waters as fall into the ſame before I go to Carleill.

Loder. Irding. Terne. Pultroſe. Cambocke. Gillie.

The Irding ariſeth in a more in the borders of Tindale, neere vnto Horſſe head crag, where it is called Terne becke; vntill it come to Spicrag hill, that diuideth Northumberland and Gilleſland in ſunder, from whence it is named Irding. Being therfore come to Duerhall, it receiueth the Pultroſe becke, by eaſt, and thence goeth on to Duerdenton, Netherdenton, Leuercoſt, and Caſtelſtead, where it taketh in the Cambocke, that runneth by Kirke Cambocke, Aſkerton caſtell, Walton, and ſo into Irding, which goeth from thence to Irdington, Newbie, & ſo into Eden. But a little before it come there, it croſſeth with the Gillie that commeth by Tankin, and ſone after falleth into it. After theſe confluences, our Eden goeth to Linſtocke caſtell, (and here it interteineth a broke, comming from Cotehill ward by Aglionbie) and then vnto Carleill, which is now almoſt inuironed with foure waters.

Pedar alias Logus. For beſide the Eden it receiueth the Peder, which Leland calleth Logus from ſoutheaſt. This Peder riſeth in the hils ſouthweſt of Penruddocke, from whence it goeth to Penruddocke, then to Graſtocke caſtell, Cateleie, and Kenderſide hall, and then taking in a water from Unthanke, it goeth to Cathwade, Pettrelwale, Newbiggin, Carleton, and ſo into Eden, northeaſt of Carleill. But on the north ſide the Bruferth broke doth ſwiftlie make his entrance, running by Leuerdale, Scalbie caſtell, and Houſedon; as I am informed. The third is named Candan (if not Deua after Leland) which riſing about the Skidlow hils, runneth to Moſedale, Caldbecke, Warnell, Saberham, Roſe caſtell, Dawſton, Brounſton, Harrington, and weſt of Carleill falleth into Eden, which going from thence by Grimſdale, Kirke Andros, Beaumont, falleth into the ſea beneath the Rowcliffe caſtell. And thus much of the Eden, which Leland neuertheleſſe deſcribeth after another ſort, whoſe words I will not let to ſet downe here in this place, as I find them in his commentaries.

Bruſerth b. Aimote. Dacor.

The Eden, after it hath run a pretie ſpace from his head, meeteth in time with the Vlſe water, which is a great broke in Weſtmerland, and riſing aboue Maredale, a mile weſt of Loder, it commeth by the late diſſolued houſe of Shape prioric, three miles from Shape, and by Brampton village into Loder or Lodon. Certes this ſtreame within halfe a mile of the head, becommeth a great lake for two miles courſe, and afterward waxing narrow againe, it runneth forth in a meane and indifferent bottome. The ſaid Eden in like ſort receiueth the Aimote about three miles beneath Brougham caſtell, and into the ſame Aimote falleth the Dacor becke (alreadie touched) which riſeth by northweſt in Paterdale hils, foure miles aboue Dacor caſtell, and then going

Vlſe after Leland. Loder.

Deua.

Vala.

Leuen.
Lamford.
Eſke.

Tomunt.
Kirſop.
Lidde.

Eſke.

Leue.
Long.
Goile,
Yeke.
Robinſeie.

thorough Dacor parke, it runneth by eaſt a good mile lower into Eſmote, a little beneath Delamaine, which ſtandeth on the left ſide of Dacor. In one of his bookes alſo he ſaith, how Carleill ſtandeth betweene two ſtreames, that is to ſaie the Deua, which commeth thither from by ſouthweſt, and alſo the Logus that deſcendeth from the ſoutheaſt. He addeth moreouer how the Deua in times paſt was named Vala or Bala, and that of the names of theſe two, Lugtbala for Caerleill hath beene deriued, &c. And thus much out of Leland. But where he had the cauſe of this his coniecture as yet I haue not read. Of this am I certeine, that I vſe the names of moſt riuers here and elſe-where deſcribed, accordinglie as they are called in my time, although I omit not to ſpeake here and there of ſuch as are more ancient, where iuſt occaſion moueth me to remember them, for the better vnderſtanding of our hiſtories, as they doo come to hand.

Blacke Leuen and white Leuen waters, fall into the ſea in one chanell, and with them the Lamford and the Eſke, the laſt confluence being not a full mile from the maine ſea. The white and blacke Leuen ioining therfore aboue Bucknelle, the confluence goeth to Bracken hill, Kirkleuenton, and at Tomunt water meeteth with the Eſke. In like ſort the Kirſop ioining with the Lidde out of Scotland at Kirſop foot, running by Stangerdike ſide, Harlow, Hathwater, and taking in the Eſke aboue the Yote, it loſeth the former name, and is called Eſke, vntill it come to the ſea.

Hauing thus gone thorough the riuers of England, now it reſteth that we proceed with thoſe which are to be found vpon the Scotiſh ſhore, in ſuch order as we beſt may, vntill we haue fetched a compaſſe about the ſame, and come vnto Barwike, whence afterward it ſhall be eaſie for vs to make repaire vnto the Thames, from which we did ſet forward in the beginning of our voiage. The firſt riuer that I met withall on the Scotiſh coaſt, is the Eſke, after I came paſt the Soluеie, which hath his head in the Cheuiot hilles, runneth by Kirkinton, and falleth into the ſea at Borow on the ſands. This Eſke hauing receiued the Ewis falleth into the Soluеie firſt at Atterith. After this I paſſed ouer a little creeke from Kirthell, and ſo to Anand, whereof the vallie Anandale doth ſeeme to take the name. There is alſo the Nide, whereof commeth Nidſdale, the Ken, the Dee, the Crale, and the Bladnecke, and all theſe (beſides diuerſe other ſmall rilles of leſſe name) doo lie vpon the ſouth of Gallowaie.

On the north ſide alſo we haue the Ruan, the Arde, the Caſtile Doune, the Barwin, the Cluide (whereupon ſometime ſtood the famous citie of Alcluide, and whereinto runneth the Carath) the Hamell, the Dourgleſſe, and the Lame. From hence in like maner we came vnto the Leuind mouth, whereunto the Blake on the ſouthweſt and the Lomund lake, with his fleeting Iles and fiſh without finnes (yet verie holeſome) doth ſeeme to make his iſſue. This lake of Lomund in calme weather ariſeth ſometimes ſo high, and ſwelleth with ſuch terrible billowes, that it cauſeth the beſt marriners of Scotland to abide the leiſure of this water, before they dare aduenture to hoiſe vp ſailes on hie. The like is ſeene in windie weather, but much more perilous. There are certeine Iles alſo in the ſame, which moue and remoue, oftentimes by force of the water, but one of them eſpeciallie, which otherwiſe is verie fruitfull for paſturage of cattell.

Nert vnto this is the Leue, the Kage, the Long, the Goile, & the Yeke, which for the exceeding greatneſſe of the ir heads, are called lakes. Then haue we the Robinſeie, the Forelano, the Tarbat, the Lean, and the Abir, whereunto the Spanſeie, the Loine, the Louth, the Arke, and the Zeſe doo fall, there is alſo the Sell, the Zord, the Owin, the Newiſſe, the Orne the Lang, the Dzun, the Yew, the Bzun, the Kell, the Dowz, the Faro, the Neſſe, the Herre, the Con, the Glaſſe, the Maur, the Urdall, the Fers (that commeth out of the Caldell) the Fairſoke, which two latter lie a little by weſt of the Orchades, and are properlie called riuers, bicauſe they iſſue onelie from ſprings; but moſt of the other lakes, bicauſe they come from linnes and huge poles, or ſuch low bottomes, fed with ſprings, as ſeeme to haue no acceſſe, but onelie receſſe of waters, whereof there be manie in Scotland.

Forlan.
Tarbat.
Lean.
Abir.
Arke.
Zeke.
Sell.
Zord.
Owin.
Newiſſe.
Orne.
Lang.
Dzun.
Yew.
Bzun.
Kile.
Dowz.
Faro.
Neſſe.
Herre.
Con.
Glaſſe.
Maur.
Urdall.
Feſſe.
Calder.
wiſſe.
Bzowze.
Clin.
Twin.
Shin.
Sillan.
Carew.
Neſſe.
Narding.
Spaie.
Downe.
Dee.
Eſke.

But to proceed. Hauing once paſt Dungiſbie head in Cathneſſe, we ſhall yer long come to the mouth of the Wiſſe, a prettie ſtreame, comming by ſouth of the mounteins called the Maidens pappes. Then to the Bzowze, the Clin, the Twin (whereinto runneth three riuers, the Shin, the Sillan, and Carew) the Neſſe, which beſide the plentie of ſamon found therein is neuer froſen, nor ſuffereth yce to remaine there, that is caſt into the pole. From thence we come vnto the Narding, the Finderne, the Spaie (which receiues the Vine) the Fitch, the Bulich, the Arrian, the Leuin, and the Bogh, from whence we ſaile vntill we come about the Buquhan head, and ſo to the Downs, and Dee: which two ſtreames bring forth the greateſt ſamons that are to be had in Scotland, and moſt plentie of the ſame. Then to the north Eſke, whereinto the Eſmond runneth aboue Bzechin, the ſouth Eſke, then the Louen and the Taw, which is the fineſt riuer for water that is in all Scotland, and whereunto moſt riuers and lakes doo run. As Farlake, Yeth, Goure, Loich, Cannach, Linell, Loion, Irewer, Erne, and diuerſe other beſides ſmall rillets which I did neuer looke vpon.

Then is there the lake Londors, vpon whoſe mouth ſaint Andrewes doth ſtand, the lake Lewin, vnto whoſe ſtreame two other lakes haue recourſe in Fifland, and then the Firth or Forths, which ſome doo call the Pictiſh and Scotiſh ſea, whither the kingdome of the Northumbers was ſometime extended, and with the riuer laſt mentioned (I meane that commeth from Londors) includeth all Fife, the ſaid Fortha being full of otters and all kinds of huge fiſh that vſe to lie in the deeps. How manie waters run into the Firth, called by Ptolomie Lora, it is not in my power iuſtlie to declare: yet are there both riuers, rills, & lakes that fall into the ſame, as Clacke, Alon, Dune, Kerie, Cambell, Cumer, Tere, Wan, Torkelon, Kolham, Wuſhell, Blene, and diuerſe other which I call by theſe names, partlie after information, and partlie of ſuch townes as are neere vnto their heads. Finallie, when we are paſt the Haie, then are we come vnto the Twede, whereinto we entred, leauing Barwike on the right hand and his appurtenances, wherein Halidon hill ſtandeth, and conteineth a triangle of ſo much ground beyond the ſaid riuer, as is well neere foure miles in length, and three miles in breadth in the broad end: except mine information doo faile me.

Clacke.
Alon.
Dune.
Kerie.
Cambell.
Cumer.
Tere.
Wan.
Torkelan.
Kolham.
Wuſſell.
Blene.
Twede.

The Twede (which Ptolomie nameth Toualiſis or Toeſis, & betweene which and the Tine the countie of Northumberland is in maner incloſed, and watred with ſundrie noble riuers) is a noble ſtreame and the limes or bound betweene England & Scotland, wherby thoſe two kingdomes are now diuided in ſunder. It riſeth about Drimlar in Euſdale (or rather out of a faire well (as Leland ſaith) ſtanding in the moſſe of an hill called Airſtane, or Harellan in Twede dale ten miles from Pibble) and ſo comming by Pibble, Lander, Dribilwgh, Leiſe, Warke,

Norham,

Norham and Hagarstone, it falleth into the sea beneath Barwike, as I heare. Thus saith Leland. But I not contented with this so short a discourse of so long a riuer & briefe description of so faire a streame, will ad somewhat more of the same concerning his race on the English side, and rehearsall of such riuers as fall into it. Comming therefore to Ridam, it receiueth betwæne that and Carham a becke, which descendeth from the hilles that lie by west of Windram. Going also from Ridam by Longbridgham (on the Scotish side) and to Carham, it hasteth immediatlie to Warke castell on the English, and by Spilaw on the other side, then to Cornewall, Cald streame, and Tilmouth, where it receiueth sundrie waters in one botome which is called the Till, and whose description insueth here at hand.

Till. Certes there is no head of anie riuer that is named Till, but the issue of the furthest water that commeth hereinto, riseth not farre from the head of Aswaie in the Cheuiot hilles, where it is called Brennich, whereof the kingdome of Brennicia did sometime take the name. From thence it goeth to Hartside, Ingram, Branton, Crawleie, Hedgeleie, Beueleie, and Bewise, beneath which it receiueth one water comming from Rodham by west, and soone after a second descending from the Middletons, and so they go as one with the Bromish, by Chatton to Fowbreie (where they crosse the third water falling downe by north from Howborne by Heselbridge) thence to Woller, there also taking in a rill that riseth about Middleton hall, and runneth by Hardleie, Whereleie, and the rest afore remembred, wherby the water of Bromis is not a little increased, and after this latter confluence beneath Woller, no more called Bromis but the Till, vntill it come at the Twede. The Till passing therefore by Weteland and Dedington, meeteth soone after with a faire streame comming from by southwest, which most men call the Bowbent or Bobent.

Bromis. Bobent.

It riseth on the west side of the Cocklaw hill, and from thence hasteth to Hattons, beneath the which it toineth from by southeast with the Hellerborne, and then goeth to Pudston, Downeham, Kilham, and a little by north of Newton Kirke, and betweene it and west Newton, it taketh in another water called Glin, comming from the Cheuiot hilles by Heth pole, and from thenseforth runneth on without anie further increase, by Copland Euart, and so in the Till. The Till for his part in like sort after this confluence goeth to Broneridge, Fodcastell, Eatall castell, Heaton, & north of Tilmouth into the Twede, or by west of Wesell, except my memorie doth faile me. After this also our aforesaid water of Twede descendeth to Grotehugh, the Newbiggins, Norham castell, Ford, Lungridge, & crossing the Whitaker on the other side from Scotland beneath Cawmill, it runneth to Ordo, to Barwike, and so into the Ocean, leauing (as I said) so much English ground on the northwest ripe, as lieth in manner of a triangle betwæne Cawmils, Barwike, and Lammeton, which (as one noteth) is no more but two miles and an halfe euerie waie, or not much more; except he be deceiued.

Whitaker.

Being past this noble streame, we came by a rill that descendeth from Bowsden by Barington. Then by the second which ariseth betwæne Middleton and Detcham or Dereham, and runneth by Eskill and the Rosse, next of all to Warnemouth, of whose backe water I read as followeth. The Warne or Gwerne riseth southwest of Crokelaw, and going by Warneford, Bradford, Spindlestone, and Budill, it leaueth Newton on the right hand, and so falleth into the Ocean, after it hath run almost nine miles from the head within the land, and receiued a rill beneath Yellington, which commeth downe betwæne Newland and Olchester, and hath a bridge beneath the confluence, which leadeth ouer the same. From Warnemouth, we sailed by Bamborow castell, and came at last to a fall betwæne Bedwell and Newton. The maine water that serueth this issue, riseth aboue Carleton from the foot of an hill, which seemeth to part the head of this and that of Warne in sunder. It runneth also by Carleton, Conleie, Dorford, Brunton, and Tuggell, and finallie into the sea, as to his course apperteineth.

Warns.

From this water we went by Dunstanburgh castell, vnto the Chaine or Alnemouth, which is serued with a prettie riuret called Alne, the head whereof riseth in the hils west of Alnham towne, and called by Ptolomie, Celnius. From thense also it runneth by Kile, Bile, Ellington, and Whittingham, where it crosseth a rill comming from by south, and beneath the same, the second that descendeth from Eirchild at Brone, & likewise the third that riseth at Newton, and runneth by Edlingham castell and Lemmaton (all on the southeast side or right hand) and so passeth on further, till it meet with the fourth, comming from aboue Shipleie from by north, after which confluence it goeth to Alnewise, & then to Dennise, receiuing there a rillet from by south and a rill from by north, and thence going on to Bilton, betwæne Ailmouth towne and Woodon, it swæpeth into the Ocean.

Alne, or Alne, alias Chaine.

The Cocket is a goodlie riuer, the head also thereof is in the roots of Kemblespeth hils, from whence it goeth to Whiteside, and there meeting with the Aswaie (which descendeth from the north) it goeth a little further to Linbridge, and there receiueth the Kidleie by southwest, and after that with another, called (as I thinke) the Hoc, which commeth from the Woodland and hillie soile by Allington, & falleth into the same, west of Parke head. It toineth also yer long with the Ridland, which commeth in north by Bilstone, and then hieth to Sharpton, to Harbotle, where it crosseth the Pardop water by south, then to Woodhouse, and swallowing in a litle becke by the waie from southwest, to Bickerton, to Tossons, Newton, and running apace toward Whitton towre, it taketh a broke withall that commeth in northwest of Alnham, nere Elihaw, and goeth by Skarnewood, ouer nether Trewhet, Snitter, and Thorton, and soone after vniteth it selfe with the Cocket, from whence they go together to Rethburie, or Whitton towre, to Halie, to Brinkeborne, Welden, taking withall soone after the Tod or burne called Tod, which falleth in from by south, then to Elihaw, Felton (receiuing thereabout the Fareslie broke, that goeth by Wintring by south east, and Sheldike water, that goeth by Hason, to Brainsaugh by north) and from thence to Borricke Warkworth castell, and so into the sea.

Cocket. Aswaie. Ridleie. Pardop. It may be Leland misliketh Tickington water for one of these.

There is furthermore a little fall, betwæne Hawkeslaw and Drurith, which riseth about Stokes wood, goeth by east Cheuington, and Whittington castell, and afterward into the Ocean. The Lune is a prettie broke rising west of Esplete, from whence it goeth to Tritlington, Agham, Linton, and yer long in the sea. Wansbecke (in old time Diua) is far greater than the Lune. It issueth vp west and by north of west Whelpington, thence it runneth to Kirke Whelpington, Wallington, Middleton, and Angerton. Here it meeteth with a water running from about Farnelaw by the grange, and Hartburne on the north, and then going from Angerton, it runneth by Moseden to Mitford, and there in like maner crosseth the Font, which issuing out of the ground about Newbiggin, goeth by Nonneie Kirke, Witton castell, Stanton, Munriding, Newton, and so into the Wansbecke, which runneth in like maner from Mitford to Borpheth castell (within two miles whereof it

Lune. Wansbecke. Font.

I.ff. ebbeth

ebbeth and ſloweth) the new Chappell, Bottle caſtell, Shepwaſh, and ſo into the ſea, three miles from the next hauen which is called Blithe.

Blithe. Blithe water riſeth about kirke Heaton, and goeth by Belſe, Ogle, and (receiuing the Port *alias* the Brocket, that ſpringeth eaſt of S. Oſwolds) paſſeth by Portgate, Whittington, Fennike hall, Padfennes, Hawkewell, the Grange, & Dilſingtons. After it hath taken in the Pont from the eaſt (whoſe head is not farre from that of Hartleie ſtreame) and is paſt Barwiſe on the hill, it runneth by Harford, Bedlington, Colwpon, and at Blithes nuke, into the deepe Ocean. Hartleie ſtreamelet riſeth in Mætelade pariſh, goeth by Halliwell, and at Hartleie towne yeldeth to the ſea.

Hartleie.

North Tine. The Tine or Tinna, a riuer notablie ſtored with ſamon, and other good fiſh, and in old time called Alan, riſeth of two heads, whereof that called north Tine, is the firſt that followeth to be deſcribed. It ſpringeth vp aboue Belkirke in the hils, & thence goeth to Butterhawgh (where it receiueth a confluence of Kirſop and the Shele) thence to Cragſheles, Leapeliſh (receiuing on the ſouth a rill out of Tindale) then to Shilburne, againſt which it taketh in a becke that commeth out of Tindale called Shill, alſo two other on the ſame ſide, betweene Parro and Fawſton hall, and the third at Thorneburne, and ſo goeth on to Greneſted, and there carrieth withall a fall, from by north alſo made by the confluence of one rill comming by Thecam, and another that paſſeth by Holinhead, and likewiſe another on the ſouth comming from Tindale, by Chuden, Dalacaſtell, and Brokes: after which our north Tine goeth by Hellaſide, to Billingham, and at Rhedes mouth meeteth with the Ridde, a verie prettie water, whoſe deſcription is giuen me after this maner.

Shele.

Ridde. The Ridde therefore riſeth within three miles of the Scotiſh march, as Leland ſaith, & commeth through Riddeſdale, whereunto it giueth the name. Another writeth how it riſeth in the roots of the Carter, and Redſquibe hilles, and yet it hath gone farre from the head, beſide a few little rilles it taketh in the Spelhop or Petop from the north and the Cheſlop on the ſouth, beſide ſundrie other wild rils nameleſſe and obſcure, as one on the north ſide next vnto the Petop or Spelhop; another by ſouth out of Riddeſdale, the third weſt of Burdop, the fourth runneth by Wullaw to Rocheſter, then two from ſouthweſt, another from by north which goeth by Durtburne, and is called Durt or Durth, then the Smalburne from the weſt. Next to the ſame is the Otter or Otterburne on the north ſide alſo the Duereie, and finallie the laſt which deſcendeth from Elleſdon hilles, by Munkrige and ioineth with our Ridde, northweſt of Nudhowgh, after which the ſaid Ridde goeth by Woodburne, Riſingham, Leame, and ſo into the Tine, a little lower than Belingham or Bilingham, which ſtandeth ſomewhat aloofe from north Tine, and is (as I take it) ten miles at the leaſt aboue the towne of Herham. After this confluence it paſſeth to Læhall, to Carehouſe (croſſing Shitlington becke by weſt which alſo receiueth the Pare on the ſouth ſide of Shitlington) another alſo beneath this on the ſame ſide, made by the confluence of Worke ſburne, and Middleburne, at Roſeburne, beſide the third called Worleis or Worelée aboue, and Simons burne beneath Shepechaſe, and likewiſe the Swine from by north that runneth by Swinburne caſtell, next of all the Riall from the northeaſt, which commeth by Errington, & ſo holding his courſe directlie ſouthwards, it goeth by S. Oſwolds through the Pictiſhwall, to Wall, and ſo into ſouth Tine, beneath Accam, and northweſt (as I doo weene) of Herham.

Shelhop. Cheſlop.

Burnes. Shitlington.

Tine. S. The ſouth Tine ariſeth in the Cheuiot hils, and

Eſgill. yer it hath gone farre from the head, it meeteth with Eſgill on the eaſt, and another rill on the weſt, and ſo going by the houſes toward Awſken more, it ioineth with Schud from by weſt, and ſone after with the Uent from by eaſt aboue Lowbier. From Lowbier it goeth to Whitehalton, to Kirke Haugh (croſſing the Gilders becke on the one ſide, and the Aine on the other) to Thornehope, where it is inlarged with a water on each ſide, to Williamſtone, and almoſt at Knareſdale, taketh in the Knare, and then runneth withall to Fetherſtone angle. At Fetherſtone angle likewiſe it meeteth with Hartleie water, by ſouthweſt comming from Sibins or Sibbenes, another a little beneath from ſoutheaſt, and thence when it commeth to Billeſter caſtell, it carieth another withall from by weſt, Thirlewall called Ripall which riſeth in the forreſt of Lowes, and goeth by the Waltowne, Blinkinſop, & Wildon, and after which confluence it taketh in another from by north riſing weſt of Swinſheld, which goeth by Grenelegh to Haltweſtell: thence going by Unthanke, it croſſeth another rill from by ſouth, deſcending from the hilles that lie north of Todlewood, and then proceeding vnto Wilmotteſwike, it admitteth the Wilmots becke from the ſouth, and another running by Bradleie hall on the north ſide of Beltingham; after which it meeteth with the Alen a proper water, and deſcribed after this maner.

Uent. Gilders becks.

Knare.

East Alen. The Alen or Alon hath two heads, whereof one is called eaſt Alen, the other weſt Alen. The firſt of them riſeth ſoutheaſt of Sibton Sheles, & going by Sundorp, it taketh in a rill withall from by eaſt: after which confluence it runneth to Newſhele, Allington, Cadon, Old towne, & in the courſe to Stauertpele, meeteth with the weſt Alen. The weſt Alen riſeth in Killop low hilles aboue Wheteleie ſheles, from whence it goeth to Spartwell, Hawcopole, Dwſton, and taking in a rill thereabouts, it proceedeth on to Permandbie, and croſſing there another rill in like maner from by weſt, it goeth by Whiteſield, and ioining ſone after with the eſt Alen, they run as one to Stauert pole, Plankford, and ſo into the Tine betweene Beltingham and Lées, from whence the Tine runneth on by Læs Haddon, Woodhall, Downers, Whernebie, Coſtleie, & ſo by Warden, till it croſſe the north Tine, and come to Herham, from whence it goeth to Dilſtan, croſſing two waters by the waie, whereof one commeth from by ſouth, and is called the Wolſh, which holdeth his courſe by Stelehall, and Newbiggin receiueth another comming from Grimbridge: the other called Dill ſomewhat lower deſcending from Hedleie, and running by Riſing, till it fall into the ſouth ſide of our ſtreame from Dilſtan, it goeth to Bywell caſtell, ouer againſt which it receiueth a rill that runneth by Hindleie, thence it halleth to Eltingham, Prudoo, Willam, (and there it meeteth with another becke) then to Reton, Blaidon, and next of all ioineth with the Darwent, from by ſouth.

weſt Alen.

Darwent. This riuer riſeth aboue Knewdon, and Rudlamhope in Northumberland, from two heads: the northerlie being called Dere, and the ſoutherlie the Guent: and ioining ſo well yer long in chanell as in name, they runne on to Humſterworth, new Biggin, Blankeland, Acton, Alperſheles, Blackheadlie, Brentfield ſide, Pantheles, Ebcheſter, and there taking in a water from Hedleie in Northumberland, neere to Blacke hall in the biſhoprike, it goeth on to Spen, Hollinſide, Wickham, Swalwell, and ſo into Tine, which paſſeth from thence by Elſwyc, and meeting with another water comming from Shildraw, by Rauenſworth caſtell to Redhugh, it goeth on to Newcaſtell, Fellin, Netherheworth, Walker, Walwon, Hedburne, and next to Jerro or Girwie, where

where Beda dwelled in an abbeie; now a gentlemans place (although the church be made a parish church, whereunto diuerse townes resort, as monke Eaton where Beda was borne, which is a mile from thence, Southsheles, Harton, Westhow, Hebburne, Hedworth, Wardleie, Fellin, Follinsbie, the Heworthes) and from thence to the south and Northsheles, and so into the sea, fiue miles by northwest of Weremouth, and (as I gesse) somewhat more.

Beneath the confluence in like sort of both the Tines, standeth Corbridge, a towne sometime inhabited by the Romans, and about twelue miles from Newcastell, and hereby doth the Corue run, that meeteth yer long with the Tine. Not farre off also is a place called Colchester, whereby Leland gesseth that the name of the bridge should rather be Cole than Corue, and in my iudgement his coniecture is verie likelie; for in the life of S. Oswyn (otherwise a feeble authoritie) the word Colbridge is alwaies vsed for Corbridge, whereof I thought good to leaue this short aduertisement. In this countrie also are the three vales or dales, whereof men haue doubted whether theeues or true men do most abound in them, that is to saie, Riddesdale, Tuidale, and Liddesdale: this last being for the most part Scotish, and without the marches of England. Neuertheless, sithens that by the diligence chefelie of maister Gilpin, and finallie of other learned preachers, the grace of God working with them, they haue been called to some obedience and zeale vnto the word, it is found that they haue so well profited by the same, that at this present their former sauage demeanour is verie much abated, and their barbarous wildnesse and fiercenesse so qualified, that there is great hope left of their reduction vnto ciuilitie, and better order of behauiour than hitherto they haue bene acquainted withall. But to proceed with the rest.

Corue.

Ptolomie, writing of the Were, calleth it Uedra, a riuer well knowne vnto Beda the famous preest, who was brought vp in a monasterie that stood vpon the bankes thereof. It riseth of three heads in Kellop-peslaw hill, whereof the most southerlie is called Burdop, the middlemost Wallop, and the northerliest Kellop, which uniting themselues about S. Johns chapell, or a little by west thereof, their confluence runneth through Stanhope parke, by east Pare, and so to Frosterleie. But yer it come there, it receiueth three rilles from the north in Weredale, whereof one commeth in by Stanhope, another west of Wodcroft hall, and the third at Frosterleie afore mentioned. And a little beneath these, I find yet a fourth on the south side, which descendeth from southwest by Bolliop, Bishopsleie, Milhouses, and Landew, as I haue bene informed. Being therefore united all with the Were, this streame goeth on to Walsingham, there taking in the Wascropburne, beside another at Bradleie, the third at Harpleie hall (and these on the north side) and the fourth betweene Witton and Witton castell called Bedburne, comming by Hamsterleie, whereby this riuer doth now war verie great. Going therefore from hence, it hasteth to Bishops Akeland, and beneath it receiueth the Garondelsse, which (as Leland saith) riseth six miles by west of Akeland castell, and running south thereof, passeth by west Akeland, S. Helens Akeland, S. Andrewes Akeland, and bishops Akeland, and then into the Were which goeth to Newfield, and Willington. Neere vnto this place also and somewhat beneath Sunderland, the Were, crosseth one broke from southest by Yet, Crorleie, Cronesurth, Tursdale, and Cordale, and two other from by northwest in one botome, whereof the first commeth from aboue Ash by Langleie: the other called Coue, from aboue Kinchleie by Newbiggin, Lanchester, north Langlie, and through Beare parke, & so meeting beneath Kelleie or Hedleie with the other, they fall both as one into the Were, betweene south Sunderland and Burnall. From hence our riuer goeth on to Holwghwell, Shirkeleie, old Duresme (and there taking in the Pidding broke by northeast) it goeth to Duresme, Finkeleie, Harbarhouse, Lumleie castell (where it meeteth with the Pilis, whose heads are united betweene Pelton and Whitwell (and after called Hedleis) and from thence to Lampton, Harroton, the Bedikes, Ufferton, Hilton parke, Bishops, Weremouth, and so into the sea, betweene north Sunderland and north Weremouth towne, which now is called monke Weremouth of the monasterie sometime standing there, wherin Beda read & wrote manie of his bookes, as to the world appeareth. This mouth of Were is eight miles from Durham, and six from Newcastell. Being thus passed the Were, & entered into the Bishoprike, yer we come at the mouth of the These, almost by two miles, ouer passing a rill that runneth by castell Eden, and Hardwike, and likewise Hartlepole towne, which lieth ouer into the sea in maner of a byland or peninsula, we met with a prettie fall, which groweth by a riuer that is increased with two waters, whereof one riseth by northwest about Noretons, and goeth by Stotfeld and Clarton, the other at Dawlton, going by Beerton, Owtham, and Grettam, finallie ioining within two miles of the sea, they make a prettie portlet: but I know not of what securitie.

Were.
Wardop.
Wallop.
Kellop.

Pidding broke.
Pilis.

Wascrop.

Bedburne.

The These, a riuer that beareth and feedeth an excellent samon, riseth in the Blacke lowes, aboue two miles flat west of the southerlie head of Were called Burdop, and south of the head of west Alen, and thence runneth through Tildale forrest: and taking in the Langdon water from northwest it runneth to Durtpit chapell, to Newbiggin, and so to Middleton, receiuing by west of each of these a rill comming from by north (of which the last is called Hude) and likewise the Lune afterward by southwest that riseth at three seuerall places, whereof the first is in the borders of Westmerland and there called Arnegill becke, the second more southerlie, named Lunebecke, and the third by south at Bandor Skarth hill, and meeting all aboue Arnegill house, they run togither in one bottome to Lathekirke bridge, and then into the These. Hauing therefore met with these, it runneth to Pickelton (& there taking in the Skirkwith water) it goeth to Rombald kirke (crossing there also one rill and the Bander broke by southwest) and then going to Norewood hag, and Norewood parke, till it come to Bernards castell.

These.

Hude.
Lune.
Arnegill.
Skirkewith.
Bander.

Here also it receiueth the Thuresgill water comming east of Kere crosse in Yorkeshire, from the spittle in Stanmore by Crag almost southwest, and being united with the These, it goeth by Stratford, Eglesdon, Rokesbie, Thorpe, Wickliffe, Duington, Winston, and betweene Barfurth and Gainfurth meeteth with another rill, that commeth from Langleie forest, betweene Rabie castell and Standorpe, of whose name I haue no knowledge. But to proceed. The These being past Ramforth, runneth betweene Perfore and Cliffe, and in the waie to Crofts bridge taketh in the Skerne a pretie water, which riseth about Trimdon, and goeth by Fishburne, Bradburie, Preston, Brafarton, Skirmingham, the Burdons, Haughton and Darlington, & there finallie meeting with the Cocke becke or Dare, it falleth in the These beneath Stapleton, before it come at Crofts bridge, and (as it should seeme) is the same which Leland calleth Gretteie or Grettie. From thence it runneth to Sockburne, nether Dunsleie, Middleton row, Newsham, Yarne (crossing a broke from Leuen bridge) called Leuen or Leuinus in Latine, whose crinkling

Kere crosse.

Skerne.

course is notable, and the streame of some called Thorpe, which I find described in this maner.

Thorpe aliàs Leuand. The Thorpe riseth of sundrie heads, whereof one is aboue Pinching Thorpe, from whence it goeth to Nonnethorpe, and so to Stokesleie. The second hath two branches, and so placed, that Kildale standeth betweene them both: finallie, meeting beneath Easbie they go by Eaton, and likewise vnto Stokesleie. The last hath also two branches, whereof one commeth from Inglesbie, and meeteth with the second beneath Broughton; & going from thence to Stokesleie, they meet with the Thorpe aboue the towne, as the other fall into it somewhat beneath the same. From hence it goeth to Kidleie, and there taketh in another rill comming from Potto, thence to Crawthorne brooke, Leuanton, Pilton, Hilton, Inglesbie, and so into the Wese, betweene Yarne and Barwike, whereof I made mention before. After this confluence our Wese hasteth on to Barwike, Preston, Thorne abbeie, and Arlham, which standeth on the southeast side of the riuer almost betweene the falles of two waters, whereof one descendeth from west Hartburne by long Newton, Elton, & Stockton; the other from Stillington, or Shillington, by Whitton, Thorpe, Blackestone, Billingham, and Norton. From Arlham finallie it goeth to Bellasis, Middleburgh, and so into the sea. Leland describing this riuer speaketh of the Wiske, which should come thereinto from by south vnder Wiske bridge, by Danbie, and Northalarton, and should ioine with a greater streame: but as yet I find no certeine place where to bestow the same.

Crawthorne.

Next of all we come vnto the high Cliffe water, which rising aboue Hutton, goeth by Gisborow, and there receiueth another streame comming from by southeast, and then continuing on his course, it is not long yer it fall into the sea. The next is the Scaling water, which descendeth from Scaling towne, from whence we come to the Polemouth, not farre from whose head standeth Wolgraue castell: then to Sandford creeke, and next of all to Eske mouth, which riseth aboue Danbie wood, and so goeth to Castelton, there meeting by the waie with another rill comming from about Westerdale by Danbie, and so they go on togither by Armar and Whwate castell, till they ioine with another water aboue Glasdale chappell, thence to new Biggin, taking yet another brooke with them, running from Godland ward, and likewise the Ibur, and so go on without anie further increase by Buswoorth, yer long into the sea.

Eske.

Ibur.

There is also a creeke on each side of Robin Whodes baie, of whose names and courses I haue no skill, sauing that Fillingale the towne doth stand betweene them both. There is another not far from Scarborow, on the north side called the Harwood brooke. It runneth through Harwood dale by Cloughton, Buntton, and some after meeting with another rill on the southwest, they run as one into the ocean sea. From Scarborow to Bridlington, by Flamborow head, we met with no more falles. This water therefore that we saw at Bridlington, riseth at Dugglebie, from whence it goeth to Kirbie, Helperthorpe, Butterwike, Boithorpe, Forhole, (where it falleth into the ground, and riseth vp againe at Rudston) Thorpe, Cathorpe, Bridlington, and so into the Ocean.

Being come about the Spurne head, I meete yer long with a riuer that riseth short of Withersie, and goeth by Fodringham and Wilsed, from thence to another that commeth by Rosse, Halsham, Carmingham: then to the third, which riseth aboue Humbleton, and goeth to Esterwike, Heddon, and so into the Humber. The fourth springeth short of Sprotleie, goeth by Witton, and falleth into the water of Humber at Perflete, as I heare.

The nert of all is the Hull water, which I will describe also here, and then crosse ouer vnto the southerlie shore. The furthest head of Hull water riseth at Kilham, from whence it goeth to Lewthorpe creeke, and so to Fodringham, a little beneath which it meeteth with sundrie waters, whereof one falleth in on the northest side, comming from about Lisset; the second on the northwest banke from Nafferton; the third from Emmeswell and Birkeburne: for it hath two heads which ioined beneth little Driffield, and the fourth which falleth into the same: so that these two latter run vnto the maine riuer both in one chanell, as experience hath confirmed. From hence then our Hull goeth to to Ratsele, to Godalehouse, and then taking in a water from Hornesie mere, it goeth on through Beuerleie medowes, by Warron, Stoneferrie, Hull, and finallie into the Humber. Of the rill that falleth into this water from south Netherwise, by Skirlow, and the two rilles that come from Cottingham and Woluerton, I saie no more, sith it is enough to name them in their order.

Hull

The description of the Humber
or Isis, and such water-courses as doo increase hir chanell.

Chap. 15.

Humber.

There is no riuer called Humber from the hed. Wherfore that which we now call Humber, Ptolomie Abie, Leland Aber, as he gesseth, hath the same denomination no higher than the confluence of Trent with the Duze, as beside Leland sundrie ancient writers haue noted before vs both. Certes it is a noble arme of the sea, and although it be properlie to be called Duze or Ocellus euen to the Nuke beneath Ancolme, yet are we contented to call it Humber of Humbrus or Umar, a king of the Scithians, who inuaded this Ile in the time of Locrinus, thinking to make himselfe monarch of the same. But as God hath from time to time singularlie prouided for the benefit of Britaine, so in this businesse it came to passe, that Humber was put to flight, his men slaine: and furthermore, whilest he attempted to saue himselfe by hasting to his ships (such was the preasse of his nobilitie that followed him into his owne vessell, and the rage of weather which hastened on his fatall daie) that both he and they were drowned togither in that arme. And this is the onelie cause wherefore it hath beene called Humber, as our writers saie; and whereof I find these verses:

Dum fugit obstat ei flumen sulmergitur illic,
Deque suo tribuit nomine nomen aquæ.

This riuer in old time parted Lhoegres or England from Albania, which was the portion of Albanactus, the yongest sonne of Brute. But since that time the limits of Lhoegres haue beene so inlarged, first by the prowesse of the Romans, then by the conquests of the English, that at this present daie, the Twede on the one side, & the Solue on the other, be taken for the principall bounds betweene vs and those of Scotland. In describing therefore the Humber, I must needs begin with the Duze, whose water bringeth forth a verie sweet, fat and delicat samon, as I haue beene informed, beside sundrie other kinds of fish, which we want here on the south

and

and ſouthweſt coaſts & riuers of our land, whereof I may take occaſion to ſpeake more at large hæreafter.

Ure alias Duze, or Iſis.

The Ure therfore riſeth in the furtheſt parts of all Richmondſhire, among the Coterine hilles, in a moſſe, toward the weſt fourtéene miles beyond Middleham. Being therefore iſſued out of the ground, it goeth to Holbecke, Hardraw, Hawſhouſe, Butterſide, Aſkebridge (which Leland calleth the Aſkaran, and ſaith thereof and the Bainham, that they are but obſcure bridges) then to Aſkarth, through Wanleſſe parke, Wenſeleie bridge (made two hundred yeares ſince, by Alwin, parſon of Winſlaw) New parke, Spennithorne, Danbie, Geruiſe abbeie, Cliſton and Paſham. When it is come to Paſham, it receiueth the Burne, by ſouth weſt (as it did the Wile, from verie deepe ſcarrie rockes, before at Aſkaran) and diuerſe other wild rilles not worthie to be remembred. From Paſham, it haſteth vnto Tanfield (taking in by the waie a rill by ſouthweſt) then to another Tanfield, to Newton hall, and Northbridge, at the hither end of Ripon, and ſo to Huickes bridge.

Burne. Wile.

Skell.

But yer it come there it meeteth with the Skell, which being incorporat with the ſame, they run as one to Thorpe, then to Alborow, and ſome after receiue the Swale.

Swale.

Here (ſaith Leland) I am brought into no little ſtreit, what to coniecture of the meeting of Iſis and Ure, for ſome ſaie that the Iſis and the Ure do meet at Borowbridge, which to me doth ſéeme to be verie vnlikelie, ſith Hurium taketh his denomination of Iſis and Vro, for it is often ſéene that the leſſe riuers do mingle their names with the greater, as in the Thameſis and other is eaſie to be found. Neither is there any more mention of the Ure after his paſſage vnder Borowbridge, but onelie of Iſis or the Duze in theſe daies, although in old time it held vnto Yorke it ſelfe, which of the Ure is truelie called Ureiwic (or Yorke ſhort) or elſe my perſuaſion doth faile me. I haue red alſo Ewerwic and Yorwic. But to proceed, and leaue this ſuperfluous diſcourſe.

From Borowbridge, the Duze goeth to Aldborough, and (receiuing the Swale by the waie) to Aldwarke, taking in Alburne water, from the ſouthweſt, then to Linton vpon Duze, to Newton vpon Duze, and to Munketun, meeting with the Nid yer long, and ſo going withall to the Redhouſes, to Popleton, Cliſton, Yorke (where it croſſeth the Foſſe) to Foulforth, Middlethorpe, Acaſter, & Acaſter, Relſtet, Welehall, Barelebie, Selbie, Turmonhall, Skurthall, Yokelath, Yoke, Sandhall, Redneſſe, Whitegift, Ulet, Blacketoft, Forſtet, Brownſtet, and ſo into Humber.

Foſſe.

Duze.

The courſe of the Duze being thus deſcribed, and as it were ſimplie without his influences, now will I touch ſuch riuers as fall into the ſame alſo by themſelues, contrarie to my former proceeding, imagining a voiage from the Kauenſpurne, vntill I come neere to the head of Theſe, & ſo ſouthwards about againe by the bottome of the hillie ſoile vntill I get to Burſton, Sheffeld, Scrobie, & the verie ſouth point of Humber mouth, whereby I ſhall croſſe them all that are to be found in this walke, & leaue (I doubt) ſome eſpeciall notice of their ſeuerall heads and courſes. The courſe of the Hull, a ſtreame abounding with ſturgeon and lamprete, as alſo the riuers which haue their iſſue into the ſame, being (as I ſay) alreadie deſcribed, I thinke it not amiſſe, as by the waie to ſet downe what Leland ſaith thereof, to the end that his trauell ſhall not altogither be loſt in this behalfe; and for that it is ſhort, and hath one or two things worthie to be remembred conteined in the ſame.

Hull or Hulne.

The Hulne (ſaith he) riſeth of three ſeuerall heads, whereof the greateſt is not far from Driefield, now a ſmall village ſirtéene miles from Hull. Certes it hath béene a goodlie towne, and therein was the palace of Egbright king of the Northumbers, and place of ſepulture of Alfred the noble king ſometime of that nation, who died there 727, the ninetéene Cal. of Julie, the twentith of his reigne, and whoſe tombe or monument doth yet remaine (for ought that I do know) to the contrarie with an inſcription vpon the ſame written in Latine letters. Néere vnto this towne alſo is the Daneſield, wherein great numbers of Danes were ſlaine, and buried in thoſe hils, which yet remaine there to be ſéene ouer their bones and carcaſſes. The ſecond head (ſaith he) is at Eſtburne, and the third at Emmeſwell, and méeting all togither not farre from Driſield, the water there beginneth to be called Hulne, as I haue ſaid alreadie.

From hence alſo it goeth through Beuerleie medowes, and comming at the laſt not farre from an arme led from the Hulne by mans hand (and able to beare great veſſels) almoſt to Beuerleie towne, which in old time either hight or ſtood in Deirwald, vntill John of Beuerleie (whom Leland nameth out of an old author to be the firſt doctor or teacher of diuinitie that euer was in Oxford, and (as it ſhould ſéeme alſo by an ancient monument yet remaining) to be of an hoſtell where the vniuerſitie college now ſtandeth; & therfore they write him, Somtime fellow of that houſe) began to be of fame, of whom it is called Beuerleie (as ſome affirme) to this daie. In déed all the countrie betwéene the Deirwent & the Humber was ſometime called Deira, and the lower part Caua Deira in reſpect of the higher ſoile, but now it is named the eaſt Riding. But what is this to my purpoſe? The Hulne therefore being come almoſt to Beuerleie towne, & méeting thereabout alſo with the Cottingham becke comming from Weſtwood by the waie, it haſteth to Kingſton vpon Hulne or Hull, and ſo into the Humber without anie maner impeachment.

Cottingham.

The Fowlneie riſeth about Godmanham, from whence it goeth by Wighton, Hareſwell, Seton, Williams bridge, and ſome after ſpreading it ſelfe, one arme called Skelſtet goeth by Cane Cawſeie to Brownſtet and ſo into the Duze. The other paſſeth by Sandholme, Gilberts dike, Scalbie chapell, Blacketoft, and ſo into the aforeſaid Duze, leauing a verie prettie Iland, which is a parcell (as I heare) of Walding fen more, though otherwiſe obſcure to vs that dwell here in the ſouth.

Fowlneie. Skelſtet.

The Darwent riſeth in the hilles that lie weſt of Robin Whodes baie, or two miles aboue Aiton bridge, weſt from Scarborow as Leland ſaith: and yer it hath run farre from the head, it receiueth two rilles in one bottome from by weſt, which ioine withall about Longdale end. Thence they go togither to Broreie, and at Hacknelle take in another water comming from about Silſeie. Afterward it commeth to Aiton, then to Haibridge, and there croſſeth the Kenford that deſcendeth from Robertſton. After this alſo it goeth on to Poterſhumton where it taketh in one rill, as it doth another beneath running from Shirburne, and the third yet lower on the further banke, that deſcendeth from Brumton. From theſe confluences it runneth to Fowlbridge, Arbridge, Yeldingham bridge, & ſo to Cotehouſe, receiuing by the waie manie waters, & yelding great plentie of delicate ſamons to ſuch as fiſh vpon the ſame. Leland reckoning vp the names of the ſeuerall brookes, numbreth them confuſedlie after his accuſtomed order. The Darwent (ſaith he) receiueth diuerſe ſtreames, as the Shirhutton. The ſecond is the Crambecke, deſcending from Hunderſkell caſtell (ſo called *Tanquam à centum fontibus*, or multitude of ſprings

Darwent. Kenford.

Shirhutton. Crambecke.

Rie. Ricoll. Seuen. Costeie. Pickering.

springs that rise about the same) and goeth to Rie, which comming out of the Blackemore, passeth by Riuers abbeie, taking in the Ricoll on the left hand, then the Seuen, the Costeie, and Pickering broke. The Seuin also (saith he) riseth in the side of Blackemore, and thence goeth by Sinnington foure miles from Pickering, and about a mile aboue a certeine bridge ouer Rie goeth into the streame. The Costeie in like sort springeth in the verie edge of Pickering towne, at a place called Keld head, and goeth into the Rie two miles beneath Pickering, about Kirbie minster. Finallie, Pickering water ariseth in Blackemore, and halfe a mile beneath Pickering falleth into Costeie, meeting by the way with the Pocklington becke, and an other small rill or two, of whose names I haue no knowledge. Hitherto Leland. But in mine opinion, it had béene far better to haue described them thus. Of those waters that fall into the Darwent beneath Cotehouse, the first commeth from Swenton, the second from Ebberston, the third from Allerston, the fourth from Thorneton & Pickering, and the fift on the other side that commeth thither from Wintringham. For so should he haue dealt in better order, and rid his hands of them with more expedition, referring the rest also vnto their proper places.

Pocklington.

But to proceed after mine owne maner. Being past Cotehouse, & yer the Darwent come at Wickham, it crosseth the Rie, which riseth of two heads, and ioining west of Loton they run through Glansbie parke. Finallie, receiuing the Costeie, it meeteth at the last with an other streame increased by the fals of sir waters and more yer it come into the Darwent. The most easterlie of these is called Seuen, and riseth (as is afore said) in Blackemore, from whence it goeth by Sinnington, Murton, Normanbie, Newsound, Howe, and so into the Rie. The second named Doo hath his originall likewise in Blackemore, and descending by Rasmore, Keldon and Edston (where it receiueth the Hodgebecke, that commeth by Bernesdale, Kirkedale, & Welburne) it goeth to Sawlton, and there taketh in first the Ricoll, that goeth by Careton, and whereof Ridall (as some thinke, but falslie) doth seeme to take the name. Then Fesse, which riseth aboue Bilisdale chapell, and meeteth with the Rie at the Shaking bridge, from whence they go togither vnder the Rie bridge, to Riuis abbeie, and thence (after it hath crossed a becke from the west) through a parke of the earle of Rutlands to Newton, Muniton, and so to Sawton or Sawlton, as I doo find it written. Here also it taketh in the Holbecke broke, that commeth thither from by west by Gilling castell, and Stangraue, from whence it goeth on to Brabie, next into the Seuen, then into the Rie, and so into the Darwent, which from thence doth run to Wickham.

Rie. Costeie. Seuen. Doo or Doue. Hodgebecke. Ricoll. Fesse. Holbecks.

Being past Wickham, it meeteth with a water that commeth thereinto from Grinston to Setterington at southeast, and thence it goeth on to Malton and Malton (where the prouerbe saith that a bushell of rie and an other of malt is worth but sixpence, carie awaie whilest you may, so as you can keepe them from running through the sackes) Sutton, Wellam, Furbie, and Kirkeham, receiuing by the waie one rill on the one side and an other on the other, whereof this commeth from Burdsall, that other from Conisthorpe. From Kirkeham it goeth to Cramburne and Owlham bridge (crossing by the waie an other broke comming from saint Edwards gore, by Faston) then to Aldbie, Buttercram (*alias* Butterham) bridge, Stamford bridge, Kerbie bridge Sutton, Ellerton, Aughton, Bubwith, Wresill, Babthorpe, and so into the Duze, wherewith I finish the description of Darwent: sauing that I haue to let you vnderstand how Leland heard that an arme ran some time from the head of Darwent also to Scarborow, till such time as two hils betwixt which it ran, did shalder and so choke vp his course.

The Fosse (a slow streame yet able to beare a good vessell) riseth in *Nemore Calateriæ*, that is, Galters wood or Catwood, among the woddie hilles, and in his descent from the higher ground, he leaueth Crake castell, on his west side: thence he goeth by Marton abbeie, Marton, Stillington, Farlington, Towthorpe, Erswie, Huntington, & at Yorke into the Duze. The Kile riseth flat north at Newborow, from whence it goeth by Thorneton on the hill, Ruskell parke, Awne, Collerton, and so into the Duze about Newton vpon Duze. The Swale is a right noble riuer, & march in some places betweene Richmondshire and Westmerland, it riseth not far from Pendragon castell in the hilles aboue Kirkedale, and from this towne it goeth to Kelde chappell, Carret house, Crackepot, Whiteside, and neere vnto Yalen taketh in the Barneie water, which commeth from the north east. Thence it goeth by Yarcaside to Reth (where it meeteth with the Arcleie) and so to Flemington, Grinton, Marrike (taking in the Holgate that commeth from by south: and in the waie to Thorpe, the Mariske becke, or peraduenture Aplegarth water, as Leland calleth it, that descendeth from the north) then to Thorpe, Aplegarth, Richmond, Easbie and Brunton.

Fosse. Kile. Swale. Barneie. Arcleie. Holgate. Mariske becke.

Here by north it interteineth two or three waters in one chanell, called Rauenswath water, whereof the two furthest doo ioine not farre from the Dawltons, and so go by Rauenswath, Hartforth, Gilling, and at Skebie meet with the third, comming from Richmond beaconward. By west also of Brunton, the Swale meeteth with the Rhe, running from Resdale, and being past Brunton, it goeth to Catterisc bridge beneath Brunton, then to Ellerton, Kirkebie, Langton parua, Thirtoft, Anderbie steeple: and before it come vnto Gatenbie, it meeteth with the Bedall broke, *alias* Lemings becke, that commeth west of Kellirbie, by Cunstable, Burton, Langthorpe, Bedall, and Leming chapell. From Gattenbie likewise it goeth to Nawbie, & at Brakenbirie receiueth the Wiske, which is a great water, rising betweene two parkes aboue Swanbie in one place, and southeast of Mountgrace abbeie in another; and after the confluence which is about Siddlebridge, goeth on betweene the Rughtons to Appleton, the Smetons, Birtbie, Hutton Conyers, Danbie, Wisc, Yafford, Warlabie, and taking in there a rill from Brunton Aluerton, it proceedeth to Otterington, Newlie, Kirbie Wiske, Newson, and Blackenburie, there meeting (as I said) with the Swale, that runneth frō thence by Skipton bridge, Catton, Topcliffe, and Raniton, and aboue Eldmire meeteth with sundrie other rilles in one bottome, whereof the northwesterlie is called Cawdebec: the south easterlie Rebecke, which ioine est of Thorneton more, and so go to Thorneton in the street, Kilvington, Thruske, Sowerbie, Grafton, and soone after crossing another growing of the mixture of the Willow, and likewise of the Cuckewold beckes, which ioine aboue Bridforth, and running on till it come almost at Dawlton, it maketh confluence with the Swale, and go thence as one with all their samons by Thorneton bridge, Mitton vpon Swale, and so into the Duze.

Rhe. Bedall alias Leming. Wiske. Cawdebec. Rebecke. Cuckwolds becke.

The Skell riseth out of the west two miles from Founteines abbeie, and commeth (as Leland saith) with a faire course by the one side of Ripon, as the Ure doth on the other. And on the bankes hereof stood the famous abbeie called Founteines or Adfontes, so much renowmed for the lustie monks that sometimes

Skell.

ſometimes dwelled in the ſame. It receiueth alſo the Lauer water (which riſeth three miles from Kirbie, and meeteth withall neere vnto Ripon) and finallie falleth into the Vre, a quarter of a mile beneath Ripon towne, & almoſt midwaie betweene the North and Huſcke bridges.

Lauer.

Nidde.

The Nidde, which the booke of ſtatutes called Nidor (anno 13. Edw. 1.) and thereto noteth it to be inriched with ſtore of ſamon, as are alſo the Wheof and Aire, riſeth among thoſe hilles that lie by weſt northweſt of Gnareſborow, fiue miles aboue Pakeleie bridge, and going in ſhort proceſſe of time by Weſthouſes, Lodgehouſes, Woodhall, Newhouſes, Middleſmore, Raunſgill, Cowthouſe, Gowthwall, Bureleie, Brimham, Hampeſwale, and ſone after meeting with the Killingale becke, it goeth after the confluence by Bilton parke, Gnareſbridge, Waſhford, Cathall, Willeſthorpe, Punketon, or Nonmocke, and ſo into the Duze, foureteene miles beneath Gnareſborow, being increaſed by the waie with verie few or no waters of ante countenance. Leland hauing ſaid thus much of the Nidde, addeth hereunto the names of two other waters, that is to ſaie, the Couer and the Burne, which doo fall likewiſe into the Vre or Duze. But as he ſaith little of the ſame, ſo among all my pamphlets, I can gather no more of them, than that the firſt riſeth ſix miles aboue Couerham by weſt, and falleth into the Vre, a little beneath Middleham bridge, which is two miles beneath the towne of Couerham. As for the Burne, it riſeth at More hilles, and falleth into the ſaid riuer a little beneath Waſſham bridge. And ſo much of theſe two.

Killingale.

Couer.
Burne.

Wharfe alias Gwerfe.

The Wharfe or Gwerfe ariſeth aboue Aghterſhaw, from whence it runneth to Beggermons, Roſemill, Hubberham, Backden, Starbotton, Kettlewell, Cunniſton in Kettlewell, and here it meeteth with a rill comming from Haltongill chappell, by Arnecliffe, and ioining withall northeaſt of Kilneſeie crag, it paſſeth ouer by the lower grounds to Girlington, and receiuing a rill there alſo from Treſſeld parke, it proceedeth on to Burnſall bridge. Furthermore at Appletreewic, it meeteth with a rill from by north, and thence goeth to Barden towre, Bolton, Beth and Miſleie hall, where it croſſeth a rill comming from by weſt, thence to Addingham, taking in there alſo another from by weſt, and ſo to Ikelete, and receiuing yer long another by north from Denton hall, it haſteth to Weſton Vauaſour, Oteleie, and Letheleie, where it taketh in the Padſide, & the Waſhburne (both in one ſtreame from Lindleie ward) and thence to Caſleie chappell, and there it croſſeth one from by north, and another yer long from by ſouth, and ſo to Yardwod caſtell, Kerebie, Woodhall, Collingham, Linton, Wetherbie, Thorpatch, Newton, Tadcaſter, and when it hath receiued the Cockebecke from ſouthweſt, that goeth by Barwie, Aberforth, Leadhall, and Grimſton, it runneth to Erton, Kirbie Wharfe, Aſkell, Rither, Sunapleton, & ſo into the Duze beneath Cawod, a caſtell belonging to the archbiſhop of Yorke, where he vſeth oft to lie when he refreſheth himſelfe with change of aire and ſhift of habitation, for the auoiding of ſuch infection as may otherwiſe ingender by his long abode in one place, for want of due purgation and airing of his houſe.

Padſide.
Waſhburne.

Cockebecke.

Aire.

The Aire or Arre riſeth out of a lake or tarne ſouth of Darnbroke, wherein (as I heare) is none other fiſh but red trowt, and perch. Leland ſaith it riſeth neere vnto Orton in Crauen, wherfore the ods is but little. It goeth therefore from thence to Malwlam, Hamlith, Kirbie, Moldale, Calton hall, Areton, and ſo forth till it come almoſt to Gargraue, there croſſing the Otterburne water on the weſt, and the Winterburne on the north, which at Flaſbie receiueth a rill from Yelton, as I heare. Being paſt Gargraue, our Aire goeth on to Echton, Elſwod, and ſo forth on, firſt receiuing a broke from ſouthweſt (whereof one branch commeth by Marton, the other by Thorneton, which meete about Broughton) then another from northeaſt, that runneth by Skipton caſtell. After this confluence it haſteth by manifold windleſſes, which cauſed thirteene bridges at the laſt to be ouer the ſame within a little ſpace, to Newbiggin, Bradleie, and Kildwic, by ſouth eaſt whereof it meeteth with one water from Mawlis, and Gluſburne or Glukeſburne, called Glike; another likewiſe a little beneath from Seton, beſide two rilles from by north, after which confluence it runneth by Reddleſden, and ouer againſt this towne the Lacocke and the Worth do meet withall in one chanell, as the Yoreton water doth on the north, although it be ſomewhat lower. Thence it goeth to Riſhforth hall, and ſo to Bungleie, where it taketh a rill from Denholme parke to Shipeleie, and there croſſing another from Thorneton, Leuenthorpe, and Bradleie, it goeth to Caluerleie, to Chilkall, and ſo to Leedes, where one water runneth theretnto by north from Wettlewod, & two other from by ſouth in one chanell, wherof the firſt hath two armes, of which the one commeth from Pudſeie chappell, the other from Adwalton, their confluence being made aboue Farneſleie hall. The other likewiſe hath two heads, whereof one is aboue Horſeie, the other commeth from Domingleie, and meeting with the firſt not far ſouthweſt of Leedes, they fall both into the Aire, and ſo run with the ſame to Swillington, and there taking in the Rodwell becke ſouth of the bridge, it proceedeth to Ollerton, Caſtleford, Brotherton & Ferribridge, there receiuing the Went, a becke from Pontefract or Pomfret, which riſeth of diuerſe heads, whereof one is among the cole pits. Thence to Beall, Berkin, Kellington, middle Hodleſeie, Templehirſt, Golwdall, Snath, Rawcliffe, Newland, Armie, and ſo into the Duze with an indifferent courſe. Of all the riuers in the north, Leland (in ſo manie of his bookes as I haue ſeene) ſaith leaſt of this. Mine annotations alſo are verie ſlender in the particular waters wherbie it is increaſed: wherfore I was compelled of neceſſitie to conclude euen thus with the deſcription of the ſame, and had ſo left it in deed, if I had not receiued one other note more to ad vnto it (euen when the leaſe was at the preſſe) which ſaith as followeth in maner word for word.

Otterburne.
Winterburne.

Redwell.
Went.

Lacocke.
Worth.
Horeton.

Hebden.

There is a noble water that falleth into Air, whoſe head (as I take it) is about Stanford. From whence it goeth to Creſton chappell, to Lingfield, and there about receiuing one rill nere Elfrabright bridge, and alſo the Hebden by northweſt, it goeth to Braarleie hall, and ſo taking in the third by north, it proceedeth on eaſtward by Horſbie bridge chappell (and there a rill from ſouthweſt) and ſo to Coppeleie hall. Beneath this place I find alſo that it receiueth one rill from Halliſar, which riſeth from two heads, and two other from ſouthweſt, of which one commeth by Bareſland, and Staneland in one chanell, as I read. So that after this confluence the aforeſaid water goeth on toward Cowford bridge, and as it taketh in two rilles aboue the ſame on the north ſide, ſo beneath that bridge there falleth into it a prettie arme increaſed by ſundrie waters cõming from by ſouth, as from Marſheden chappell, from Holmeſworth chappell, and Kirke Heton, each one growing of ſundrie heads; whereof I would ſaie more, if I had more intelligence of their ſeuerall gates and paſſages.

But to proceed. From Cowford bridge it runneth to Munfeld, and receiuing yer long one rill from Leuerſage hall, and another from Burſhall by Deweſburie, it goeth on northeaſt of Thornehull, ſouth

south of Horbirie thornes, and thereabout crossing one rill from by south from Woller by new Milner Dam, and sone after another from northwest, called Chald, rising in the Peke hils, whereon Wakefield standeth, and likewise the third from southeast, and Waterton hall, it goeth by Warmefield, Newland, Altofres, and finallie into the Aire, west of Castelworth, as I learne. What the name of this riuer should be as yet I heare not, and therefore no maruell that I do not set it downe, yet is it certeine that it is called Chald, after his cõfluence with the Chald, and finallie Chaldair or Chaldar after it hath ioined with the Air or Ar. But what is this for his denominations from the head: It shall suffice therefore thus farre to haue shewed the course thereof: and as for the name I passe it ouer vntill another time.

Chald.

Trent. The Trent is one of the most excellent riuers in the land, not onelie for store of samon, sturgeon, and sundrie other kinds of delicate fish wherewith it doth abound, but also for that it is increased with so manie waters, as for that onelie cause it may be compared either with the Ouze or Sauerne, I meane the second Ouze, whose course I haue latelie described. It riseth of two heads which ioine beneath Norton in the more, and from thence goeth to Hilton abbeie, Bucknell church, and aboue Stoke receiueth in the Foulebrooke water, which commeth thither from Tunstall, by Shelton, and finallie making a confluence they go to Haulsert, where they meet with another on the same side, that descendeth from Newcastell vnder Line, which Leland taketh to be the verie Trent it selfe, saieng: that it riseth in the hils aboue Newcastell, as may be seene by his commentaries.

Foulebrooke.

But to proceed. At Trentham, or not farre from thence, it crosseth a riueret from northeast, whose name I know not, & thence going to Stone Aston, Stoke Burston, the Sandons and Weston, a little aboue Shubburne & Hawood, it receiueth the Sow, a great chanell increased with sundrie waters, which I will here describe, leauing the Trent at Shubburne, till I come backe againe. The Sow descendeth from the hilles, aboue Whitemore chappell, and goeth by Charleton, and Stawne, and beneath Shalford ioineth with another by northeast that commeth from bishops Offeleie, Egleshall, Chelbie, Raunton. After this confluence also it runneth by Bridgeford, Tillington, & Stafford, beneath which towne it crosseth the Penke becke, that riseth aboue Nigleton, & Berwood, & aboue Penke bridge vniteth it selfe with another comming from Knightleie ward, by Gnashall church, Eaton: and so going forth as one, it is not long yer they fall into Sow, after they haue passed Drayton, Dunstan, Acon, and Banswich, where losing their names, they with the Sow & the Sow with them do ioine with the Trent, at Shubburne, vpon the southerlie banke.

Sow.

Penke.

From Shubburne the Trent goeth on to little Harwood (meeting by the waie one rill at Dusleie bridge, and another south of Riddlesleie) thence by Hawksberie, Mauestane, Ridware, and so toward Yorhall; where I must staie a while to consider of other waters, wherewith I meet in this voiage. Of these therefore the lesser commeth in by south from Farwall, the other from by west, a faire streame, and increased with two brooks, whereof the first riseth in Nedewood forrest, northeast of Haggersleie parke, whereinto falleth another west of Hamsted Ridware, called Blith, which riseth among the hilles in Whateleie more, aboue Weston Conie, and thence going to the same towne, it commeth to Drycote, *alias* Dracote, Painsleie, Gratwitch, Grimleie, Aldmaston, Hamsted, Ridware, and finallie into the Trent, directlie west of Yorhall, which runneth also

Blith.

from thence, & leauing kings Bromlete in a parke (as I take it) on the left hand, and the Blacke water comming from Southton and Lichfield on the right, goeth streightwaie to Catton, where it meeteth with the Tame, whose course I describe as followeth.

Tame.

It riseth in Staffordshire (as I remember) not farre from Petteshall, and goeth forth by Hamsted, toward Pirhall and Brimichams Aston, taking in by the waie a rill on each side, whereof the first groweth through a confluence of two waters, the one of them comming from Tipton, the other from Aldburie, and so running as one by Wedburie till they fall into the same. The latter commeth from Wolfhall, and ioineth with it on the left hand. After this, and when it is past the aforesaid places, it crosseth in like sort a rill from Smethike ward: thence it goeth to Parneton hall, beneath which it meeteth with the Rhé, and thence through the parke, at Parke hall by Watercote, crossing finallie the Cole, whose head is in the forrest by Kingesnorton wood, and hath this course, whereof I now giue notice. It riseth (as I said) in the forrest by Kingesnorton wood, and going by Pareleie and Kingeshirst, it meeteth betweene that and the parke, with a water running betweene Helmedon and Sheldon.

Rhé. Cole.

Thence it passeth on to Coleshull, by east whereof it ioineth with a brooke, mounting southwest of Colshull called Blith, which going by Henwood and Barston, crosseth on ech side of Temple Balshall, a rill, whereof one commeth thorough the Quenes parke or chase that lieth by west of Kenelworth, & the other by Kenelworth castell it selfe, from about Haselie parke. After which confluences it proceedeth in like maner to Hampton in Arden, and the Packingtons, and so to Coleshull, where it meeteth with the Cole, that going a little further, vniteth it selfe with the Burne on the one side (whereinto runneth a water comming from Anslete on the east) and sone after on the other doth fall into the Tame, that which some call the Rhæ, a common name to all waters that moue and run from their head. For ῥέω in Greeke is to flow and run, although in truth it is proper to the sea onelie to flow. Leland nameth the Brimicham water, whose head (as I heare) is aboue Northfield, so that his course should be by Kingesnorton, Bremicham, Budston hall, till it fall beneath Parneton into the Tame it selfe, that runneth after these confluences on by Lé, Kingesbirie parke, and going by east of Drayton, Basset parke, to Falkesleie bridge, it meeteth with another water called Burne, also comming from Hammerwich church, by Chesterford, Shenton, Thickebrowne, and the north side of Drayton, Basset parke, wherof I spake before. From hence our Tame runneth on to Tamworth, there taking in the Anchor by east, whose description I had in this maner deliuered vnto me.

Burne. Rhé.

It riseth aboue Burton, from whence it goeth by Nonneaton, Witherleie and Atherstone. Per long also it taketh in a water from northeast, which commeth by Huglescote, Shapton, Cunston, Twicrosse (vniting it selfe with a water from Boswoorth) Ratcliffe, & so to the Anchor, which after this confluence passeth by Whittendon, Crindon, Polleswoorth, Armington, Tamworth, & so into Tame, that hasteth to Hopwash, Comberford hall, Telford, and sone after crossing a rill that riseth short of Swinfield hall, and commeth by Fekirike, it runneth not farre from Croxhall, and so to Catton, thereabout receiuing his last increase not worthie to be omitted. This brooke is named Pese, and it riseth in the great parke that lieth betweene Worthington, and Smethike, from whence also it goeth by Ashbie de la Souche, Packington, Pesham, and Stretton, and therabout crossing

Anchor.

Pese.

ſing a rill about Nether ſale grange, from Duerſale by eaſt, it proceedeth by Chilcote, Clifton, Croxall, into the Thame, and both out of hand into the maine riuer a mile aboue Repton. Leland writing of this riuer (as I earſt noted) ſaith thereof in this wiſe. Into the Thame alſo runneth the Bremicham broke, which riſeth foure or fiue miles about Bremicham in the Blacke hils in Worceſterſhire, and goeth into the aforeſaid water a mile aboue Crudworth bridge. Certes (ſaith he) this Bremicham is a towne mainteined chiefly by ſmiths, nailers, cutlers, edgetole forgers, lorimers or bitmakers, which haue their iron out of Staffordand Warwike ſhires, and coles alſo out of the firſt countie. Hitherto Leland. Now to reſume the Trent, which being growen to ſome greatneſſe, goeth on to Walton, Drakelow, and there croſſing a water that commeth by Newbold hall, it runneth to Stapenell, Winſhull, Wightmere, and Newton Souch, where it receiueth two chanels within a ſhort ſpace, to be deſcribed apart.

Dou. The firſt of theſe is called the Dou or Doue, it riſeth about the three ſhires mere, and is as it were limes betweene Staffordand Darbiſhires, vntill it come at the Trent. Deſcending therefore from the head, it goeth by Earleſwoth, Pilſburie grange, Hartington, Wolſcot, Eaton, Hunſington grange, Manifold. and aboue Thorpe receiueth the Manifold water, ſo called, becauſe of the ſundrie crinckling rills that it receiueth, and turnagaines that it ſelfe ſheweth before it come at the Dou. Riſing therefore not farre from Are edge croſſe (in the bottome thereby) it runneth from thence to Longmore, Sheene, Warſlow chappell, and Welton. Beneath Welton alſo it taketh Hanſleie. in the Hanſleie water, that commeth out of Blackemore hilles to Waterſall, where it falleth into the ground: and afterward mounting againe is receiued into the Manifold, north of Throwleie (as I heare) which goeth from thence to Ilam, and aboue Thorpe doth caſt it ſelfe into Dou. Hauing therefore met togither after this maner, the Dou procéedeth on to Waplington, beneath which it croſſeth one water deſcending from Braſſington by Fennie Bentleie, and another ſomewhat lower that commeth from Hockſton hall by Hognaſton and Aſhburne, and then going to Matterfield, Narburie, Ellaſton, Rawſton Churne. Rowceſter, it meeteth with the Churne, euen here to be deſcribed before I go anie further. It riſeth a good waie aboue Delacraſſe abbie, and comming thither Dunſmere. by Helleſbie wood, it taketh in the Dunſmere, betweene Harracraſſe and Leike.

Thence it goeth to the Walgrange, and a little Yendor. beneath receiueth the Yendor that commeth from aboue Harton, thence to Cheddleton, and hauing croſſed the Aſhenhirſt broke aboue Coutes hall, it runneth by Ypſton, Frogball, Below hill, Alton caſtell, Aula Canuti. Aſhenhirſt. Prieſtwood, and at Rowceſter falleth into the Dou, Teine. which yer long alſo receiueth a rill from Crowlden, and then going to Eton meeteth firſt with the Teine that commeth thither from each ſide of Chedleie by Teinetwone, Bramhirſt and Stranehill. Secondlie Uttoxeter or Unceſter. with the Unceſter or Uttoxeter water, and then going on to Werchington, Sidberie, Caiwlton, it croſſeth a broke from Sidnieſter college, by Saperton. From this confluence in like ſort it paſſeth forth to Tilberie caſtell, Parſton, and at Edergton meeteth with the water that commeth from Pelderſleie by Longford (whereinto runneth another that commeth from Hollington) and ſo to Hilton. Theſe waters being thus ioined, and manie ends brought into one, the Dou it ſelfe falleth yer long likewiſe into the Trent, aboue Newton Souch. So that the maine riuer being thus inlarged, goeth onwards with his courſe, and betweene Willington and Repton meeteth with two waters on ſundrie ſides, whereof that which falleth in by Willington, riſeth neere Dawberie Lies, and runneth by Truſſelie and Aſhe: the other that entereth aboue Repton, deſcendeth from Hartelburne, ſo that the Trent being paſt theſe, haſteth to Twiford, Inglebie, Staunton, Weſton, Newton, and Aſton, yer long alſo meeting with the Darwent; next of all to be diſpatched. The Darwent, Darwent. or (to vſe the verie Britiſh word) Dowr gwine (but in Latine *Fluuius Derwentanus*) riſeth plaine weſt, neere vnto the edge of Darbiſhire, aboue Blackwell a market towne, and from the head runneth to the New chappell, within a few miles after it be riſen. From hence moreouer it goeth by Howden houſe, Darwent chappell, Yorkeſhire bridge, and at Witham bridge doth croſſe the Neue or Noulus Neue. that commeth from Newſtole hill, by Netherburgh, Hope (croſſing there one rill from Caſtelton, another from Bradwell, and the third at Hatherſage, from Stonie ridge hill) and ſo goeth on to Padleie, Stockehall, receiuing a rill by the waie from by weſt, to Stonie Middleton, and Ballow, and hauing here taken in the Burbroke on the one ſide, and another from Halſop on the other, it goeth to Chatworth and to Rowſeleie, where it is increaſed with Burbroke. the Wie comming from by weſt, and alſo a rill on the eaſt, a little higher. But I will deſcribe the Wie before I go anie further.

The Wie riſeth aboue Burſton well, and there Wie. is increaſed with the Hawkeſhow, and the Wile Hawkeſhow. Wile. broke, whoſe heads are alſo further diſtant from the edge of Darbiſhire than that of Wie, and races ſomwhat longer, though neither of them be worthie to be accompted long. For the Wile, hauing two heads, the one of them is not farre aboue the place where Wilebecke abbeie ſtood, the other is further off by weſt, about Wilebecke towne: and finallie ioining in one they runne to Cuckneie village, where receiuing a becke that commeth downe from by weſt, it holdeth on two miles further, there taking in the ſecond rill, and ſo reſort to Ruford, or the Manbecke. Ruford alias Manbecke. Vnto this alſo doo other two rills repaire, wherof the one goeth through and the other hard by Maunſfield, of which two alſo this latter riſeth weſt about foure miles, and runneth forth to Clipſton (three miles lower) and ſo likewiſe to Ruford, whereof I will ſpeake hereafter. In the meane time to returne againe to the Wie. From Burſton well, it runneth to Staddon, Cowdale, Cowlow, New medow, Milhouſes, Bankewell, and Haddon hall, beneath which it receiueth the Lath kell, that runneth by Duerhaddon, and the Bradford, both in one bottome after they Lathkell. Bradford. be ioined in one at Alport. And this is the firſt great water that our Darwent doth meet withall. Being therefore paſt the Rowſeleies, the ſaid Darwent goeth to Stancliffe, Darleie in the peake, Wenſleie, Smitterton hall, and at Matlocke taketh in a rill by northeaſt, as it doth another at Crumford that goeth by Boteſhall.

From Matlocke, it procéedeth to Matſton, or Matſond, Well bridge, Alderwaſh, and ioineth with another ſtreame called Amber comming in from by north by Amber bridge, whoſe deſcription Amber. ſhall inſue in this wiſe, as I find it. The head of Amber is aboue Edleſton hall, or (as Leland ſaith) eſt of Cheſterfield, and comming from thence by Middleton to Ogſton hall, it taketh withall another broke, deſcending from Hardwike wood, by Alton and Streton. Thence it goeth to Higham, Brackenfield, and aboue Dale bridge meeteth with a broke running from Hucknalward to Shireland parke ſide, there croſſing the Moreton becke, and ſo to Alferton, Moreton. except I name it wrong. From Dale bridge it goeth by Wingfeld, to Hedge, Fritchlin, and ſo into

Dar-

Darwent, taking the water withall that descendeth from Swanswtje by Pentridge, as Leland doth remember. From this confluence likewise it runneth to Belper, where it méeteth with a rill comming from Horleie parke: thence to Makenie, and at Duffeld, receiueth the Eglesburne, which ariseth about Wirkesworth or Ozeswoth, but in the same parish out of a rocke, and commeth in by Turnedich. From Duffeld, it passeth to Bradsall, Darleie abbeie, and at Darbie taketh in a rill comming from Pirkaston by Weston vnderwood, Kidleston and Perton. If a man should say that Darwent riuer giueth name to Darbie towne, he should not well know how euerie one would take it, and peraduenture therby he might happen to offend some. In the meane time I beléeue it, let other iudge as pleaseth them, sith my coniecture can preiudice none. To proceed therefore. From Darbie it runneth on by Aluaston, Ambaston, the Welles, and so into Trent, which goeth from hence to Sawleie, and north of Thrumpton taketh in the Soze, a faire streame, and not worthie to be ouerpassed.

Egleſburne.

Soza, or Surus.

It riseth in Leicestershire aboue Wigton, and thence goeth to Sharneford, Sapcote, and beneath Staunton taketh in a rill that commeth by Dounton and Broughton Astleie. Thence to Harleborow, and before it come to Elton, crosseth another on the same side (descending by Burton, Glen, Winstow, Kilbie and Blabie) then to Leicester towne, Belgraue, Burstall, Wanlip; and yer it come at Cus- Eie.
lington or Coston, crosseth the Eie, which riseth néere Occam aboue Bramston, going by Knawstow, Somerbie, Pickwell, Whitesonden; and beneath (a litle) receiueth a rill on the right hand from Coldnorton. Thence to Stapleford, & some after crossing a broke from aboue Sprorton, Coson, Garthorpe and Sarbie, it runneth to Wiuerbie, Brentingbie; and yer it come at Milton, méeteth with two other small rilles, from the right hand whereof one commeth from about Caldwell by Thorpe Arnold, and Waltham in the Would; the other from Skaleford ward, and from Melton goeth by Sisonbie, there méeting with another from northeast ouer against Kirbie Hellars, after which time the name of Ete is changed into Warke or Arke, and so continueth vntill it come at the Soure. From hence also it goeth to Asterbie, Radgale, Habie, Trussington, Ratcliffe; and some after crosseth sundrie waters not verie farre in sunder, whereof one commeth from Quesston, by Twiford, Athbie, and Gadesbie; another from Loscbie, by Baggraue, and Crawston, and ioining with the first at Quenniow, it is not long yer they fall into the Warke. The second runneth from Engarsbie, by Barkeleie, and Sison. But the third and greatest of the three, is a chanell increased with three waters, whereof one commeth from Norton by Burton, Kilbie, Foston and Blabie, the other from Dounton by Broughton and Astleie, and méeting with the third from Sapcoth, and stonie Staunton, they run together by Harborow, and some after ioining aboue Elston, with the first of the three, they go as one by Elston to Leicester, Belgraue, Wanlip, and aboue Cullington do fall into the Warke, and some after into the Soure. The Soure in like sort going from thence to mount Sorrell, & taking in another broke southwest from Leicester forrest, by Glenfield, Austie, Thurcaston and Rodelie, ioineth with the Soure, which goeth from thence to mount Sorrell, and Quarendon (where it taketh in a water comming from Charnewood forrest, and goeth by Bradegate and Swithland) and then proceedeth to Cotes, Lughborow and Stanford, there also taking in one rill out of Nottinghamshire by northeast; and some after another from southwest, comming from Braceden to Shepeshed, Garrington, & Dighlie grange, and likewise the third from Worthington, by Diswoth, long Whitton, and Wathorne. Finallie, after these confluences, it hasteth to Sutton, Kingston, and Ratcliffe, and so into the Trent.

Leland calleth one of these rilles Croco.

Warke, Arke, or Wreke.

These things being thus brought togither, and we now resuming the discourse of the same riuer, it doth after his méeting with the Soure, proceed withall to Barton, where it taketh in the Erwash, which riseth about Kirbie, and thence goeth to Selston, Wanshie, Codnor castell, Eswood, and crossing a water from Beuall, runneth to Coshall, Trowell (and there taking in another rill comming from Henor by Shipleie) it proceedeth on to Stapleford, long Eaton, and so into the Trent. This being done it goeth to Clifton, and yer it come at Willford, it méeteth with a broke that passeth from Staunton by Bonnie and Rodington, and thence to Nottingham, where it crosseth the Line, which riseth aboue Newsted; and passing by Papplewic, Hucknall, Basford, Radford and Linton, next of all to Thorpe & Farmdon, where it brancheth and maketh an Iland, and into the smaller of them goeth a broke from Beuer castell, which rising betweene east Well and Eaton in Leicester is called the Dene, and from thence runneth by Bramston to Knipton, & beneath Knipton méeteth with a broke that commeth by west of Croston, and thence holdeth on with his course, betweene Willesthorpe and Beuer castell aforesaid, and so to Botteswoth, Normanton, Killington, Shilton, there receiuing the Snite from by south (whose head is néere Clauston, & course from thence by Hickling, Langer, Whalton, Orston, and Flareborow) and yer long another comming from Bingham, and Sibthorpe. Thence our Trent runneth to Coram, Hawton, Newarke castell, and so to Winthorpe, where the branches are reunited, and thence go on by Holme to Cromwell (and some after taking in a broke comming from Billthorpe, by Kersall, Cawnton, Norwell and Willowbie) to Carlton, and to Sutton, there making a litle Ile, then to Grinton, where it toucheth a streame on ech side, whereof one commeth from Horehouse by Weston & Gresthorpe, another from Langthorpe, by Collingham, and Bosthorpe. From hence likewise it passeth to Clifton, Newton, Kettlethorpe, Torkeseie, Knath, Gainsborow, Waltrith, Stockwith; and leauing Axholme on the left hand, it taketh withall Hogdike water out of the Ile, and so goeth forth to Wildswoth, Eastferrie, Frustwoth, Burringham, Gunmeis, Hirburgh, Burton, Walcote, and at Ankerburie into the Humber, receiuing the swift Doue by the waie, which for his nobleneſſe is not to be ouerpassed, especiallie for that *Anno* 1536 *Hen.* 8, 28, it was (by Gods prouidence) a skaie of great bloudshed like to haue fallen out betweene the kings side and the rebellies of the north, in a quarrell about religion. For the night before the battell should haue béene stricken, and without anie apparent cause (a little showre of raine excepted farre vnpossible vpon such a sudden to haue made so great a water) the said riuer arose so high, & ran with such vehemencie, that on the morow the armies could not ioine to trie & fight it out: after which a pacification insued, and those countries were left in quiet. Secondlie, the description hereof is not to be ouerpassed, because of the fine grasse which groweth vpon the banks thereof, which is so fine and batable, that there goeth a prouerbe vpon the same; so oft as a man will commend his passure, to say that there is no better féed on Doue banke: that maketh it also the more famous.

Erwash.

Dene.

Snite.

A miracle.

The Doue therefore riseth in Yorkeshire among the Peke hilles, and hauing receiued a water comming by Ingbirchworth (where the colour thereof is verie

Doue.

verie blacke) it goeth to Pennistone, which is foure miles from the head: then by Orspring to Thurgoland, and sone after (ioining by the waie with the Widhop water, that runneth by Widhop chappell, and Hondshelfe) it meeteth with another comming from Bowsterston chappell. Then goeth it by Waddesleie wood to Waddesleie bridge, and at Alnerton receiueth the Bradfeld water. Then passeth it to Crokes, and so to Sheffeld castell (by east whereof it receiueth a broke from by south that commeth through Sheffeld parke.) Thence it procedeth to Westford bridge, Brikstle bridge; and southwest of Timsleie receiueth the Cowleie streame that runneth by Ecclesfield. Nert of all it goeth to Rotheram, where it meeteth with the Rother, a godlie water, whose head is in Darbieshire about Pilsleie, from whence it goeth vnder the name of Doleie, till it come at Rotheram, by north Winfield church, Wingerworth, and Forland hall, twelue miles from Rotheram, to Chesterford, where it meeteth with the Iber, and Brampton water that commeth by Holme hall, both in one chanell. Thence it runneth to Topton castell, and yer long crossing one water comming from Dronefeld by Whittington on the one side, and the second from aboue Brimington on the other, it goeth through Stalie parke, and sone after meeteth with the Crawleie becke, whereof I find this note.

Widhop. Cowleie. Rother. Iber. Brampton. Crawleie.

The Crawleie riseth not farre from Hardwike, and going by Staneshie and Woodhouse, it receiueth aboue Netherhorpe, one water on the one side comming from the Old parke, and another from Barlborow hill on the other, that runneth not farre from Woodthorpe. After this confluence likewise they run as one into the Rother, which hasteth from thence to Eckington (there crossing a rill that runneth by Birleie hill) and so to Bilmarsh, in the confines of Darbieshire, where it taketh in the Gunno from by east. Thence to Boughton, vniting it selfe therabout with another by west from Gledles, called Meselbroke, which diuideth Yorkeshire from Darbieshire, and so runneth to Treton, Whiston, there taking in a rill from Aston, and so to Rotheram, where it meeteth with the Doue, and from whence our Doue (yeelding plentie of samon all the waie as it passeth) hasteth to Aldwarke, Swaiton, Merburge, there taking in the Darne, which I will nert describe, and staie with the Doue, vntill I haue finished the same. It riseth at Combworth, and so commeth about by Bretton hall, to Darton ward, where it crosseth a water that runneth from Gonthwake hall, by Cawthorne vnited of two heads. From hence it goeth to Burton grange, then to Dyar, where it toucheth with a water from southwest, & then goeth to Derfield and Goldthorpe: but yer it come to Sprotborow, it vniteth it selfe with a faire riuer, increased by diuerse waters, before it come at the Doue, & whereinto it falleth (as I heare) northeast of Merburgh. After this confluence likewise the Doue goeth by Sprotborow, to Warneslworth, Doncaster, Wheatleie (there meeting with the Hampall creeke on the northeast side, which riseth east of Kirbie) thence to Sandall, Kirke Sandall, Branwith ferrie, Stanford, Fishlake, and so to Thorne or Thurne, where it crosseth the Idle (whose description followeth) and finallie into Trent, and so into the Humber.

Meselbroke. Hampall.

But before I deale with the description of the Idle, I will adde somewhat of the Rume, a faire water. For though the description thereof be not so exactlie deliuered me as I looked for; yet such as it is I will set downe, conferring it with Lelands booke, and helping their defect so much as to me is possible. It riseth by south of Maunsfield, fiue miles from Rumford abbeie, and when the streame commeth nære the abbeie, it casteth it selfe abroad and maketh a faire lake. After this it commeth againe into a narrow chanell, and so goeth on to Rumford village, carrieng the Budbie and the Gerberton waters withall. From thence, and with a mætlie long course, it goeth to Bawtrie or Vautrie, a market towne in Nottinghamshire, fiue miles from Doncaster, and so into the Trent. Beneath Rumford also commeth in the Girt, which goeth vnto Southwell milles, and so into the Trent. Now as concerning our Idle.

Budbie. Gerberton. Girt.

The Idle, which some call Brier streame, riseth at Sutton in Ashfield, from whence it runneth to Maunsfield, Clipston & Allerton, where it taketh in a water that riseth in the forrest, one mile north of Bledworth, and runneth on by Rughford abbeie, till it come to Allerton. The forresters call this Manbecke, whereof Leland also speaketh, who describeth it in this maner. Manbroke riseth somewhere about Linthirst wood, from whence it goeth to Blithorpe, and so to Allerton. But to proceed. The Idle hauing taken in the Manbecke, it runneth to Bothomsall, by Boughton, & Perlethorpe: but yer it come there, it meeteth the Meding Malden, or Widding broke, which rising about Teuersall, goeth to Pleasleie, Nettleworth, Sawcan, Warsop, Budleie, Thurlbie, Bothomsall, and so into the Idle. After this it proceedeth to Houghton, west Draiton, but yer it touch at Graunston or Gaunston, it taketh in the Wilie, which commeth from Clowne, to Creswell, Holbecke, Woodhouse, Wilebecke, Normenton, Elsleie, Graunston, and so into the Idle. Being thus increased, the Idle runneth on to Idleton, Ordsall, Retford, Bollam, Tilneie, Matterseie abbeie, and so to Bawtrie, where it meeteth another from the shire Okes, that riseth aboue Geitford, passeth on to Worksop (or Radfurth) Olberton, Wilbie, and Blith, there vniting it selfe with three rilles in one bottome, whereof one commeth from Waldingwell to Careleton, and so thorough a parke to Blith towne, another from by west Furbecke three miles, and so to Blith: but the third out of the White water nære to Blith, and there being vnited they passe on to Scrobie, and so into the Idle.

Manbecke. Meding becke. Wilie. Blith.

From hence it runneth on to Milen, to Sadlers bridge, and nert of all to Santoft, where it meeteth with the Sandbecke, which rising not farre from Sandbecke towne, passeth by Tickhill, Rosington bridge, Brampton, Rilholme, Lindholme, and one mile south of Santoft into the Idle water, which runneth from thence to Thorne, where it meeteth with the Doue, and so with it to Crowleie. Finallie, inuironing the Ile of Areholme, it goeth vnto Garthorpe, Focorbie, & so into the Trent. Leland writing of the Wilie, Wile, or Gwilie (as some write it) saith thus therof. The Wile hath two heads, whereof one is not farre aboue the place where Wilbecke abbeie stood; the other riseth further off by west aboue Welbecke or Wilebecke towne: finallie ioining in one, they runne to Cuckenete billage, where crossing a becke that commeth in from by west, it holdeth on two miles further, there taking in the second rill, and so resort to Rufford. To this riuer likewise (saith he) doo two other waters repaire, whereof the one goeth hard by Maunsfield (rising foure miles from thence by west) and then commeth three miles lower to Rufford; the other (so far as I remember) goeth quite through the towne.

Sandbecke.

Of such falles of waters as ioine with the sea, betweene Humber and the Thames.

Chap. 16.

HAuing in this maner described the Ouze, and such riuers as fall into the same: now it resteth that I proceed in my voiage toward the Thames, according to my former order. Being therefore come againe into the maine sea, I find no water of ante countenance or course (to my remembrance) till I come vnto the Ancolme a goodlie water, which riseth east of Percate Rasing, and from thence goeth by middle Rasing. Then receiuing a short rill from by south, it runneth on vnder two bridges, by the waie, till it come to Wingall, north-east; where also it meeteth with another broke, from Usselbie that commeth thither by Uresbie, goeth by Cadneie (taking in the two rilles in one bottome, that descend from Howsham, and north Leiseie) and thence to Newsted, Glanford, Wardeleie, Thorneham, Aplebie, Horslow, north Ferribie, and so into the sea.

Ancolme.

Being past Ancolme, we go about the Nesse, and so to the fall of the water which commeth from Kelebie, by Cotham abbeie, Nersham abbeie, Thorneton, and leauing Corhill by west, it falleth into the Ocean. The next is the fall of another broke comming from Fleting, all alongst by Stallingburne. Then crossed we Grimsbie gullet, which issuing aboue Erebie commeth to Lasebie, the two Cotes, and then into the sea. After this we passed by another portlet, whose backwater descendeth from Baleshie by Althbie, Briggesleie, Wath, and Townete, and finallie to the next issue, before we come at Saltflete, which branching at the last, leaueth a prettie Iland wherein Comsholme village standeth. This water riseth short (as I heare) of Tathewell, from whence it goeth to Rathbie, Hallington, Ellington, Lowth, Bidrington, Auingham, and then branching aboue north Somerton, one arme meeteth with the sea, by Grauethorpe, the other by north of Somercote.

Kilis.

Saltflete water hath but a short course: for rising among the Cockeringtons, it commeth to the sea, at Saltflete hauen: howbeit the next vnto it is of a longer race, for it riseth (as I take it) at Cawsthorpe paroch, and descendeth by Legburne, the Carletons, the west middle and east Saltfletes, and so into the Ocean. The water that riseth aboue Ormesbie and Drisbie, goeth to Cawsbis, Swabie abbeie, Clathorpe, Belew, Tattle, Witherne, Stane, and north-east of Thetilthorpe into the maine sea.

Saltflete.

Maplethorpe water riseth at Charesthorpe, and going by Parkeleie, Folethorpe, and Truthorpe, it is not long yer it meet with the Germane Ocean. Then come we to the issue that commeth from aboue Hotoft, and thence to Mumbie chapell, whither the water comming from Clarbie, Willowbie, and Slouthbie (and whereinto another rill falleth) doth runne, as there to do homage vnto their lord and souereigne. As for Ingold mill creke, I passe it ouer, and come streight to another water, descending from Burge by Skegnes. From hence I go to the issue of a faire broke, which (as I heare) doth rise at Cetford, and thence goeth by Somerbie, Bagenderbie, Althwardbie, Sawlthorpe, Partneie, Althbie, the Stepings, Thorpe croft, and so into the sea. As for Wainflete water, it commeth from the east sea, and goeth betweene S. Maries & Alhallowes by Wainflete towne, and treading the path of his predecessors, emptieth his chanell to the maintenance of the sea.

Maplethorpe.

Now come I to the course of the Witham, a famous riuer, whereof goeth the biword, frequented of old, and also of Ancolme, which I before described:

Ancolme ele, and Witham pike,
Search all England and find not the like.

Leland calleth it Lindis, diuerse the Rhe, and I haue read all these names my selfe: and thereto that the Lincolneshire men were called in old time Coritani, and their head citie Lindus, Lindon, or Linodunum, in which region also Ptolomie placeth Rage, which some take to be Notingham, except my memorie do faile me. It riseth among the Wickhams, in the edge of Lincolnshire, and (as I take it) in south-Wickham paroch, from whence it goeth to Colsterworth, Easton, Birkestoke Paunton, and Paunton Houghton, and at Grantham taketh in a rill from by southwest, as I heare. From Grantham it runneth to Nan, Thorpe, Bolton, and Barneston, where crossing a becke from northeast, it procedeth further southwest ward by Pereston, toward Faston (there also taking in a broke that riseth about Denton, and goeth by Sidbroke) it hasteth to Dodington, Clapale, Barmebie, Beckingham, Stapleford, Ballingham, Thurlbie, and beneath Amburgh crosseth a water that commeth from Stogilthorpe by Somerton castell.

Lindis, Witham, Rhe.

After this confluence also, our Witham goeth still forth on his waie to the Hickhams, Boltham, Bracebridge, and Lincolne it selfe, for which the Normans write Nicholl by transposition of the letters, or (as I may better saie) corruption of the word. But yer it come there, it maketh certeine poles (whereof one is called Swan pole) and sone after dividing it selfe into armes, they run both thorough the lower part of Lincolne, each of them hauing a bridge of stone ouer it, thereby to passe through the principall street: and as the bigger arme is well able to beare their fisher botes, so the lesser is not without his seuerall commodities. At Lincolne also this noble riuer meeteth with the Fosse dike, whereby in great flods vessels may come from the Trents side to Lincolne. For betweene Torksleie, where it beginneth, and Lincolne citie, where it endeth, are not aboue seuen miles, as Leland hath remembred. Bishop Atwater began to clense this ditch, thinking to bring great vessels from Trent to Lincolne in his time: but sith he died before it was performed, there hath no man beene since so well minded as to prosecute his purpose. The course moreouer of this our Streame following, from Lincolne to Boston is fiftie miles by water: but if you mind to ferrie, you shall haue but 24. For there are foure common places where men are ferried ouer; as Short ferrie, fiue miles from Lincolne, Tatersall ferrie, eight miles from Short ferrie, Dogdike ferrie a mile, Langreth ferrie fiue miles, and so manie finallie to Boston.

Fosse dike.

But to go forward with the course of Lindis (whereof the whole prouince hath beene called Lindeseie) when it is past Lincolne, it goeth by Shepewash, Wassingburg, Fiskerton, and sone after taketh in sundrie riuers in one chanell, whereby his greatnesse is verie much increased. From this confluence it goeth to Bardolfe, and there receiuing a rill (descending from betweene Sotbie and Randbie, and going by Harton) it slideth forth by Tupham to Tatersall castell, taking vp there in like sort three small rills by the waie, whereof I haue small notice as yet: and therefore I referre them vnto a further consideration to be had of them hereafter, if it shall please God that I may liue to haue the filing of these rude pamphlets yet once againe, & somewhat more leasure to peruse them than at this time is granted. Finallie, being past Tatersall, and Dogdike ferrie,

ferrie, the Witham goeth toward Boſton, & thence into the ſea. Thus haue I briefly diſpatched this noble riuer Witham. But hauing another note deliuered me thereof from a frend, I will yeld ſo farre vnto his gratification, that I will remember his trauell here, and ſet downe alſo what he hath written thereof, although the riuer be ſufficientlie deſcribed alredie.

Witham.

Into Witham therefore from by north, and ſeuen miles beneath Lincolne, there ſalleth a faire water, the head whereof is at Hakethorne, from whence it goeth by Hanworth, Snarford, Reſbie, Stainton, and at Bullington meeteth with a water on ech ſide, whereof one commeth from Haiton and Turrington, the other from Sudbroke, and likewiſe beneath Birlings with the third comming from Barkeworth by Stanſted, and ioining all in one, ſone after it is not long yer it fall into the chanell of Witham, and ſo are neuer more heard of. There is alſo a broke by ſouthweſt, that commeth from Kirbie to Catelcie, Billingams, and the Ferrie. At Caterfall it meeteth with the Bane, which riſeth aboue Burgh, and neere vnto Ludford goeth downe to Dunnington, Stanigod, Hemmingſbie, Bamburgh, Fillington, Horne caſtell (where it croſſeth a rill from Belchworth) Thornton, Parton, Halton, Kirkebie, Comſbie, Caterſall, and ſo to Dogdike ferrie.

Hake.

Bane.

Aboue Boſton likewiſe it taketh in a water comming from Luſebie by Bolingbroke, Stickeford, Stickneie, Sibbeſeie and Hildrike. And to Boſton towne it ſelfe doo finallie come ſundrie brookes in one chanell, called Hammond becke, which riſing at Doneſbie, runneth on to Wrightbold, where it caſteth one arme into Holiwell water. Thence it haſteth toward Dunnington, receiuing foure brookes by the waie, whereof the firſt commeth from Pilthorpe, the ſecond from Fokingham, called Bollingborow, or (after ſome, I wote not vpon what occaſion) Sempringham water, the third from Bridge end, the fourth from Sempringham, and afterwards the maine ſtreame is found to run by Kirton holme, and ſo into the Witham. Into the Wiland likewiſe falleth the Holiwell, which riſeth of a ſpring that runneth toward the eaſt from Haliwell to Onebie, Eſonden, Gretford, and ſo to Catbridge, where it receiueth another riſing at Witham and weſt of Panthorpe, and the ſecond comming from Laund, and ſo run from thence togither to Willeſthorpe and Catbridge, and then into the Haliwell, which after theſe confluences goeth to Tetford and Eaſtcote, where it meeteth with a draine, comming from Bourne, and ſo through the fennes to Pinchbecke, Surfleet, and Foldike, where it meeteth with the Welland, in the mouth of the Waſh, as I haue noted vnto you.

Bollingborow. Sempringham.

Hauing thus ſet forth the riuers that fall into the Witham, now come we to the Wiland or Welland, wherevnto we repaire after we be paſt Boſton, as drawing by litle and litle toward the Girwies, which inhabit in the fennes (for Gir in the old Saxon ſpeach doth ſignifie deepe fennes and mariſhes) and theſe beginning at Peterborow eaſtward, extend themſelues by the ſpace of three ſcore miles & more, as Hugh of Peterborow writeth. This ſtreame riſeth about Sibbertoft, and running betweene Boſworth and Howthorpe, it goeth to Feedingworth, Merſon, Bubberham, Truſſell, Herborow (receiuing there the Braie, which commeth from Braiebroke caſtell) to Bowton, Weſton, Wiland, Aſhleie, Medburne, Rokingham, and Catcot, where a riuer-et called little Eie meeteth withall, comming from eaſt Norton by Alerſtone, Stocke, Faſton, and Drie ſtocke. From Catcot it goeth to Gritto, Harringworth, Seton, Wauerlie, Duddington, Collie Weſton, Eſton, and there ioineth with the third called Warke, not far from Ketton, which commeth from Lie by Preſton, Wing, Lindon, Lukkenham, &c. Thence it goeth on by Tinwell, to Stanford (croſſing the Broke water, and Whitnelbecke, both in one bottome) and from Stanford by Talington, Mareie, to Percate, Deeping, Crowland (where it almoſt meeteth with the Auon) then to Spalding, Whapland, and ſo into the ſea.

Wiland.

Braie.

Warke.

Broke water. Whitnell.

Leland writing of this Wiland, addeth theſe words which I will not omit, ſith in mine opinion they are worthie to be noted, for better conſideration to be had in the ſaid water and his courſe. The Wiland (ſaith he) going by Crowland, at Newdrene diuideth it ſelfe into two branches, of which one goeth vp to Spalding called Newdrene, and ſo into the ſea at Foſſedike Stow: the other named the South into Wiſbech. This latter alſo parteth it ſelfe two miles from Crowland, & ſendeth a rill called Writhlake by Thorneie, where it meeteth with an arme of the Nene, that commeth from Peterborow, and holdeth courſe with the broad ſtreame, till it be come to Murho, ſix miles from Wiſbech, where it falleth into the South.

Newdrene. South.

Writhlake.

Out of the South in like ſort falleth another arme called Shæpes eie, and at Hopelode (which is foure teene miles from Lin) did fall into the ſea. But now the courſe of that ſtreame is ceaſed, whereupon the inhabitants ſuſteine manie grieuous flouds, becauſe the mouth is ſtanched, by which it had acceſſe before into the ſea. Hither to Leland. Of the courſe of this riuer alſo from Stanford, I note this furthermore out of another writing in my time. Being paſt Stanton (ſaith he) it goeth by Burghleie, Aſſington, Callington, Mareie, Deeping, eaſt Deeping, and comming to Maldram hall, it brancheth into two armes, whereof that which goeth to Singleſole, receiueth the Nene out of Cambridgeſhire, and then going by Dowedale, Trekenhole, and winding at laſt to Wiſbech, it goeth by Liuerington, ſaint Maries, and ſo into the ſea. The other arme haſteth to Crowland, Clowthouſe, Brether houſe, Pikale, Cowbecke and Spalding. Here alſo it receiueth the Baſton dreane, Longtoft dreane, Deeping dreane, and thence goeth by Wickham into the ſea, taking withall on the right hand ſundrie other dreanes. And thus farre he.

Shæpes eie.

Next of all, when we are paſt theſe, we come to another fall of water into the Waſh, which deſcendeth directlie from Whaplade dreane to Whaplade towne in Holland: but becauſe it is a water of ſmall importance, I paſſe from thence, as haſting to the Nene, of both the more noble riuer: and about the middeſt thereof in place is a certeine ſwallow, ſo deepe and ſo cold in the middeſt of ſummer, that no man dare diue to the bottome thereof for coldneſſe, and yet for all that in winter neuer found to haue beene touched with froſt, much leſſe to be couered with iſe. The next therefore to be deſcribed is the Auon, otherwiſe called Nene, which the ſaid author deſcribeth after this maner. The Nene beginneth foure miles aboue Northampton in Nene meere, where it riſeth out of two heads, which ioine about Northampton. Of this riuer the citie and countrie beareth the name, although we now pronounce Hampton for Auondune, which errour is committed alſo in ſouth Auondune, as we may eaſilie ſee. In another place Leland deſcribeth the ſaid riuer after this maner. The Auon riſeth in Nene meere field, and going by Dundale and Peterborow, it diuideth it ſelfe into three armes, whereof one goeth to Horneie, another to Wiſbech, the third to Kamſeie: and afterward being vnited againe, they fall into the ſea not verie farre from Lin. Finallie, the deſcent of theſe waters leaue here a great ſort of Ilands, wher-

Auon. Nene.

of Elie, Crowland, and Nerland, are the chiefe. Hitherto Leland.

Vedunus. Howbeit, because neither of these descriptions touch the course of this riuer at the full, I will set downe the third, which shall supplie whatsoeuer the other do want. The Auon therefore arising in Nenemere field, is increased with manie rilles, before it come at Northhampton, & one aboue Kings thorpe, from whence it goeth to Dallington, and so to Northhampton, where it receiueth the Wedon. And here I will staie, till I haue described this riuer. The Wedon therefore riseth at Faulesse in Master Knightlies poles, and in Badbie plathes also are certeine springs that resort vnto this streame. Faulesse poles are a mile from Chareton, where the head of Chare riuer is, that runneth to Banberie. There is but an hill called Alberie hill betweene the heads of these two riuers.

Florus. From the said hill therefore the Wedon directeth his course to Badbie, Newenham, Cuerton, Wedon, betwixt which and Floretowne, it receiueth the Florus (a prettie water rising of foure heads, whereof the one is at Dauentrie, another at Watford, the third at long Bucke, the fourth aboue Whilton) and then passeth on to Yelford, Killingberie, Upton, and so to Northhampton, where it falleth into the Auon,

Bugius. receiuing finallie by the waie the Bugbroke water at Yelford, Patshall water neere Killingberie, and finallie Preston water beneath Upton, which running from Preston by Wootton, meeteth at the last with Pilton rill, and so fall into Auon. Now to resume the tractation of our Auon. From Northhampton therefore it runneth by Houghton, great Billing, Whitstone, Dodington, and Willingborow, where we must staie a while: for betweene Willingborow and Higham Ferries, it receiueth a prettie water comming from about Kilmarsh, which going by Ardingworth, Datsborow, Rusheton, Newton, Gaddington, Boughton, Warketon, Kettering, Berton, and Burton, meeteth there with Rothwell water, which runneth west of Kettering to Yitham, the greater Harldon, and then into the Auon.

Kilis.

Rother.

Being therfore past Burton, our maine streame goeth to Higham Ferries, Artleborow, Ringsted, Woodford, and (meeting thereby with Cranford rill) to Thrarston, north whereof it ioineth also with the

Oclete. Oclete water, that commeth from Sudborow and Lowicke, to old Umkles, Waden ho, Pilketon, Toke (where it taketh in the Liueden becke) and so to Dundell, Cotterstocke, Tansoner, and betweene Tothering and Warmington receiueth the Corbie

Corbie. water, which rising at Corbie, goeth by Weldon, Denethap, Bulwich, Bletherwyc, Fineshed, Arthorpe, Newton, Tothering, and so into the Auon. After this, the said Auon goeth to Elton, Wallington, Perwell, Sutton, Castor, Allerton, and so to Peterborow, where it diuideth it selfe into sundrie armes, and those into seuerall branches and draines, among the fennes and medowes, not possible almost to be numbred, before it meet with the sea on the one side of the countrie, and fall into the Duze on the other.

Isis 3. The Duze, which Leland calleth the third Isis, falleth into the sea betweene Nerland & Downeham. The chiefe head of this riuer ariseth neere to Stanes, from whence it commeth to Brackleie (sometime a noble towne in Northampton shire, but now scarselie a good village) and there taking in on the left hand one water comming from the parke betweene Sisa. Silam and Astwell (which runneth by Whitfield and Tinwelton) and another on the right from Imleie,

Imelus. it goeth on by Welfbirie, Fulwell, water Stretford, Buckingham, and Berton, beneath which towne the

Erin. Erin falleth into it, whereof I find this short description to be inserted here. The Erin riseth not farre from Hardwike in Northamptonshire, from hence it goeth by Yeth, Erinford, Godderington, Twiford, Staple Clauon, ere it come at Padbirie, meeteth with the Garan broke descending from Garanburge, and so they go togither by Padbirie, till they fall into the Duze, which carieth them after the confluence to Thorneton bridge (where they crosse another fall of water comming from Whitlewood forrest by Lutlord, Lecamsted and Foscot) and so to Beachampton, Culuerton, Stonie Stratford, and Woluerton. Garan.

Here the Duze meeteth with a water (called, as Leland coniecturech, the Uere or Were) on the left hand, as you go downewards, that commeth betweene Wedon and Werenham in Northamptonshire, and goeth by Towcester, and Alderton, and not farre from Woluerton and Yauersham into the foresaid Duze, which goeth also from hence to Newportpaganell, where in like sort I must staie a while till I haue described another water, named the Clee, by whose issue the said streame is not a little increased. This riuer riseth in the verie confines betweene Buckingham and Bedfordshires, not farre from Whipesnade, and going on toward the northwest, by Eaton and Laiton, it commeth to Linchlade, where it entreth wholie into Buckinghamshire, and so goeth on by Hammond, Brickle, Fennie Stratford, Simpson, Walton and Middleton, beneath which it receiueth the Saw from aboue Yalcot, and so goeth on till it meet with the Duze neere vnto Newport, as I haue said. Being vnited therefore, we set forward from the said towne, and follow this noble riuer, to Lathbirie, Thuringham, Filgraue, Lawndon, Newington, Bradfield on the one side, and Turuete on the other, till it come at length to Bedford after manie windlesses, and then meeteth with another streame, which is increased with so manie waters, that I was inforced to make an imagined staie here also, and view their seuerall courses, supposing my selfe to loke downe from the highest steeple in Bedford, whence (as best meane to view anie countrie whersoeuer) I note the same as followeth. Clealias Clains. Saw.

Certes on the east side, where I began this speculation, I saw one that came from Potton, and met withall neere Beclifwade: another that grew of two waters, therof one descended from Baldocke, the other from Hitchin, which ioined beneth Arlesleie, and thence went to Langford and Edworth. The third which I beheld had in like sort two heads, whereof one is not farre from Wood end, the other from Woburne (or Holwburne) and ioining about Flitwic, they go to Flitton (where they receiue Antill broke) and so by Chiphill, and Chicksand, they come to Shafford, from whence taking the aforsaid Langford water with them, they go forth by Beclifwade, Sandie, Blumham, and neere vnto Themisford are vnited with the Duze. And now to our purpose againe. These rise not far from Michelborow & one of them in Higham parke.

After this the Duze goeth by Berkeford, to Winteringham (meeting there with the Wareslie becke) and so runneth to S. Neotes (or saint Nedes, in old time Goluesburg, as Capgraue saith *In vita Neoti*) to Parston, Offordes, and so to Godmanchester, in old time called Gunnicester, which (as it should seeme) hath beene a towne of farre greater countenance than at this present it is; for out of the ruines thereof much Romane coine is found, and sometimes with the image of C. Antius which hath long haire, as the Romans had before they receiued barbars into their citie, and thereunto the bones of diuerse men of farre greater stature than is credible to be spoken of in these daies. But what stand I vpon these things? From hence therfore our water goeth on to Verus or the were. Stoueus.

Hun-

Stoueus. Huntingdon, Wilton, saint Iues, Holiwell, and Erith, receiueth in the meane time the Stow (nére vnto little Parton) and likewise the Ellen, and the Helenus. Emmer, in one chanell a little by west of Huntingdon. Emerus.

Finallie, the maine streame spreading abroad into the Fennes, I cannot tell into how manie branches, neither how manie Ilets are inforced by the same; although of Iles, Parshland, Ancarig or Ancarte be the chiefe, and of which this later is called Crowland (as Crowland also hight thornie *Acruda terra*, or store of bushes saith Hugo le Blanc) sometime growing in the same, and Ancartie because sundrie Ancres haue liued & borne great swaie therein. But howsoeuer this case standeth, this is certeine, that after it hath thus delited it selfe with ranging a while about the pleasant bottoms & lower grounds, it méeteth with the Granta, from whence it goeth with a swift course vnto Downeham. Betwéene it also and the Anon, are sundrie large mæres or plashes, by southwest of Peterborow full of powts and carpes, whereof Whittlesete mære, and Ramsete mære (whereinto the Riuall falleth, that commeth from aboue Broughton, Wilton; and great Riuelleie) are said to be greatest. Of all the riuers that run into this streame, that called Granta (whereof Riuelas. Granta. the whole countie in old time was called Grantabrygshire, as appéareth by the register of Henrie prior of Canturburie) is the most noble and excellent, which I will describe euen in this place, notwithstanding that I had earst appointed it vnto my second booke. But for so much as a description of Duze and Granta were deliuered me togither, I will for his sake that gaue them me, not separate them now in sunder.

The verie furthest head and originall of this riuer is in Henham, a large parke belonging to the earle of Suffer, wherein (as the townesmen saie) are foure springs that run foure sundrie waies into the maine sea. Leland sought not the course of this water aboue Newport pond, and therefore in his commentaries vpon the song of the swan, he writeth thereof after this maner insuing. Although doctor Iohn Caius the learned physician, and some other are of the opinion, that this riuer comming from Newport, is properlie to be called the Rhée: but I may not so easilie dissent from Leland, whose iudgement in my mind is by a great deale the more likelie. Harken therefore what he saith.

The head of Grantha or Granta, is in the pond at Newport, a towne of the east Saxons, which going in a bottome beside the same, receiueth a pretie rill, which in the middest thereof doth driue a mill, and descendeth from Wickin Bonhant, that standeth not farre from thence. Being past Newport, it goeth alongst in the lower ground, vntill it come to Broke Walden, west of Chipping Walden (now Saffron Walden) hard by the lord Awdleis place, where the right honorable Thomas Howard with his household do sojourne, and sometime stood an abbeie of Benedictine monks, before their generall suppression. From Awdleie end it goeth to Littleburie, the lesse and greater Chesterfords, Pealdune, Hincstone, Seoston or Sawson, and nére vnto Shalesord receiueth the Babren that commeth by Linton, Abbington, Babrenham, and Stapleford: and so going forward it commeth at the last to Trompington, which is a mile from Cambridge. But yet it Wesera. come altogither to Trompington, it méeteth with the Barrington water, as Leland calleth it, but some other the Rhée (a common name to all waters in the Saxon speech) whereof I find this description, to be touched by the waie. The Rhée riseth short of Ashwell in Hertfordshire, and passing vnder the bridge betwéene Gilden Mordon and Downton, and leauing Tadlow on the west side (as I remember) it goeth toward Crawden, Malton, Barrington, Haselingfield, and so into Granta, taking sundrie rills with him from south and southwest, as Wendie water southwest of Crawden, Whaddon broke southwest of Drwell, Mildred becke southwest of Malton, and finallie the Drne which commeth out of Armington or Drmendum well, and goeth by Fulmere and Foxton, and falleth into the same betwéene Barrington and Harleston, or Harston; as they call it.

Now to proceed with our Granta. From Trompington on the one side, and Grantcester on the other, it hasteth to Cambridge ward, taking the Burne with it by the waie, which descendeth from a castell of the same denomination, wherein the Picotes and Peuerels sometime did inhabit. Thence it goeth by sundrie colleges in Cambridge, as the quænes college, the kings college, Clare hall, Trinitie college, S. Johns, &c: vnto the high bridge of Cambridge, and betwéene the towne and the castell to Chesterton, and receiuing by and by the Stoure, or Sture (at whose bridge the most famous mart in England is yearelie holden and kept) from Chesterton it goeth to Ditton, Milton, and yet long méeting with two rilles (from Bottesham and Wilberham, in one bottome) it runneth to Horningsete, & Water Bech: and finallie here ioining with the Bulbecke water, it goeth by Dennie, and so forth into the Duze, fifteene miles from Cambridge, as Leland hath set downe. And thus much of the third Ilis or Duze, out of the aforesaid author: whereunto I haue not onelie added somewhat of mine owne experience, but also of other mens notes, whose diligent obseruation of the course of this riuer hath not a little helped me in the description of the same. Now it resteth that we come nearer to the coast of Northfolke, and set forth such waters as we passe by vpon the same, wherein I will deale so preciselie as I may: and so farre will I trauell therein, as I hope shall content euen the curious reader: or if anie fault be made, it shall not be so great, but that after some trauell in the finding, it shall with ease be corrected. Sturus. Bulbecke.

The first riuer that therefore we come vnto, after we be past the confluence of Granta, and the Duze, and within the iurisdiction of Northfolke, is called the Burne. This streame riseth not verie farre from Burne Bradfield, aboue the greater Whelthan, and from thence it goeth on to Nawnton, Burie, Farneham Martin, Farneham Alhallowes, Farneham Genouefa, Hengraue, Flemton, Lackeford, Icklingham, and to Wilden hall: a little beneath which, it méeteth with the Dale water, that springeth not farre from Catilege, and going by Alheleie, Moulton (a benefice as the report goeth not verie well prouided for) to Kenford, Kenet, Bradingham, Frekenham, it falleth at the last not farre from Iselham into the Burne, from whence they go togither as one into the Duze. With the Burne also there ioineth a water comming from about Lidgate, a little beneath Iselham, and not verie far from Wildenhall. Burne. Dale.

The Dune head, and rising of Wauenheie, are not much in sunder: for as it is supposed, they are both not farre distant from the bridge betwéene Lopham and Ford, wherby the one runneth east and the other west, as I haue béene informed. The Dune goeth first of all by Felsham, then to Hopton, & to Kinets hall, where it méeteth with a water cõming out of a lake short of Banham (going by Quidden-ham, Herling, Gasthorpe) and so on, both in one chanell, they run to Ewston. Here they méet in like Dunus.

ſo:t, with another deſcending from two heads, wher-
of the one is nere vnto Pakenham, the other to
Tauelſocke, as I heare. Certes theſe heads ioine a-
boue Ieſworth, not farre from Stow Langtoft,
from whence they go to Yrworth, Thorpe, Berdwell,
Yunnington, Fakenham, and ſo into the Dune at
Ewſton: as I ſaid. From hence alſo they haſten to
Downeham, which of this riuer doth ſeeme to borow
his name. South Rée rill I paſſe ouer as not wor-
thie the deſcription, becauſe it is ſo ſmall.

Bradunus forte. Next vnto this riuer on the ſouth ſide is the Bra-
den, or Bradunus, which riſeth at Bradenham, and
goeth by Necton, north Peckenham, ſouth Pecken-
ham, Kirſingham, Bedneie, Langford, Igbor, Wun-
ford, North Old, Stockebridge, Feroham, Helgie,
Linus. and ſo into the Duze. The nereſt vnto this is ano-
ther which riſeth about Lukeham, and from thence
commeth to Lerham, Maſſingham, Newton, the
caſtell Acre, Acres, Nerboe, Pentneie, Wrongeie,
Roughton (which at one time might haue bene my
huing if I would haue giuen ſir Thomas Rugband
monie inough, but now it belongeth to Gundeuill
and Caius college in Cambridge) Weſtchurch, and
ſo to Linne. As ſo doth alſo another by north of this,
Congunus. which commeth from the eaſt hilles by Congenham,
Grimſton, Bawſeie, Gaiwood, whereof let this ſuf-
fice. And now giue eare to the reſt ſith I am paſt the
Duze. Being paſt the mouth or fall of the Duze, we
Riſing. meet next of all with the Riſing chaſe water, which
Ingeli. Ptolomie (as ſome thinke) doth call Metaris, and
deſcendeth from two heads, and alſo the Ingell that
commeth from about Snetſham. From hence we
go by the point of ſaint Edmund, and ſo hold on our
courſe till we come vnto the Burne, which falleth in-
to the ſea by ſouth from Waterden, and going be-
tweene the Crakes to Burnham Thorpe, and Burn-
ham Norton, it ſtriketh at the laſt into the ſea; eaſt of
Burnham Norton a mile at the leaſt, except my con-
Glouius. iecture dow faile me. The Glow or Glowie riſeth not
far from Baconſthorpe, in the hundred of Dunſted;
& going by and by into Holt hundred, it paſſeth by
Hunworth, Thornage, Glawnſford, Blackneie,
Clare, and ſo into the ſea, receiuing there at hand al-
ſo a rill by eaſt, which deſcendeth from the hilles li-
eng betweene Killing towne and Waſburne.

Wantſume. The Wantſume riſeth in Northfolke at Galeſ-
end in Holt hundred, from whence it goeth to Wa-
terſend, Towneton, Skelthorpe, Farncham, Pen-
thorpe, Rieburg, Ellingham, and Billingford. And
here it receiueth two waters in one bottome, of
which the firſt goeth by Stanfield and Beteleie, the
other by Wandling and Greſſonhall, and ſo run on
ech his owne wate, till they meet at Houndlington,
ſouthweſt of Billingford with the Wantſume.
From hence they go all togither to Beloiw, Jeng,
Weſton, and Norton; but yer it come to Norton,
Yocus. it meeteth with the Yowke, which (iſſuing about Yer-
ham) goeth by Mattethall and Barrow. After this
the ſaid Wantſume goeth on by Kingland, and ſo to
Norwich the pontificall ſee of the biſhop, to whome
that iuriſdiction appertaineth, which ſeemeth by this
memoriall yet remaining in the corrupted name of
the water, to be called in old time Venta, or (as Le-
land addeth) Venta Icenorum. But to proceed. Be-
neath Norwich alſo it receiueth two waters in one
chanell, which I will ſeuerallie deſcribe, according to
their courſes, noting their confluence to be at Bir-
lete, within two miles of Norwich, except my anno-
tation deceiue me. The firſt of theſe hath two heads
Hiorus. wherof one mounteth by ſouthweſt of Whinborow,
Gerne. goeth by Gernetton, and is the verie Yiere or Yare
that drowneth the name of Wantſume, ſo ſoone as
he meeteth withall. The other head riſeth at Wood in
Witford hundred, and after confluence with the Hi-
ere at Caſton, going by Brandon, Birton, Berford,
Erleham, Eringlefield (not farre from Birleie as
I ſaid) doth meet with his companion, which is the ſe-
cond to be deſcribed as followeth. It hath two heads
alſo that meet northweſt of Therſtane; and hereof the
one commeth from Fundon hall by Wrenningham
from about Worton, by Hemnall, Fretton, Strete-
ton, and Taſborow, till they ioine at Therſton, as I
gaue notice afore hand. From Therſton therefore
they go togither in one to Newton, Shotesham,
Dunſton, Caſtor, Arminghale, Burleie, Lakenham,
and Trowſe, and then fall into the Wantſume be-
neath Norwich, which hereafter is named Yiere. The
Yiere, Yare, or Gare therefore proceeding in his
voiage, as it were to ſalute his grandame the Ocea-
an, goeth from thence by Paſwoie, Surlingham,
Clarton, and Yardeie; and here it meeteth againe
with another riuelet deſcending from about Shote-
ham to Therſtane, Shedgraue, Yockingham, and ſo
into Gare or Yare, whereof Yardeie the towne re-
ceiueth denomination. After this it goeth to Fre-
thorpe, and aboue Burgh caſtell meeteth with the
Wauenеie, and ſo into the ſea. Wauen.

Into this riuer alſo falleth the Bure, which ri- Bure.
ſing at a towne of the ſame name, paſſeth by Milton,
Bureſdune, Coppeſteie, Warington, Blekeling,
Bure, Aleſham, Brampton, Burton, Horſted,
Werrham bridge, Horning, Ranewoth; and be-
neath Baſkewike receiueth the Thurine which riſeth Thurinus.
aboue Roleſbie; then to Obie, Clipſbie (there alſo
receiuing another from Filbie) Wimham, Caſtor,
and by Yarmouth into the Ocean. The Wauenеie
afore mentioned, riſeth on the ſouth ſide of Brſing-
ham, and is a limit betweene Northfolke and Suf-
folke. Going therefore by Dis, Starton, not farre
from Ocle, it meeteth with the Eie, which riſeth neere
Ockold, or betweene it and Brailworth, & goeth on by
Brome, Ocle, and ſo into the Wauenеie. From Wauen.
thence our Wauenеie runneth by Silam, Brodiſh,
Nedam, Harleſton, Rednam, Alborow, Flixton,
Bungeie, Sheepemedow, Bartham, Beckles, Albie,
& at Whiteacre (as I heare) parteth in twaine, or re-
ceiuing Pitford water (which is moſt likelie) it go-
eth along by Somerleie, Horningſeet, S. Olaues,
(there receiuing the Frithſtane or Friſtan brooke, Etnus.
out of low or litle England) Friſtan & Burgh caſtell, Fritha.
where it meeteth with the Hiere, & from thencefor-
accompanieth it (as I ſaid) vnto the ſea. Willing-
ham water commeth by Henſted, Einſted, or Eni-
ſtate, and falleth into the ſea by ſouth of Keſland.

The Cokell riſeth ſouth ſouthweſt of Cokeleie Cokelus.
towne in Blithe hundred, & nere vnto Haſkelworth
it meeteth with the rill that commeth from Wiſſet,
and ſo going on togither by Wenhaſton, and Blibo-
row, it falleth into the ſea at an hauen betweene
Roidon and Walderſwicke. A little rill runneth
alſo thereinto from Elſton by Solwold, and another
from Dunwich, by Walderſwike: and hereby it
wanteth little that Elſton Neſſe is not cut off and
made a prætie Iland.

The Ford riſeth at Potford, and going by For- Ford.
derleie, and Theberton, it falleth at laſt into the Wiſ-
mere creeke. Into the Oreford hauen runneth one Orus.
water comming from Aloborow ward, by a narrow
paſſage from the north into the ſouth. By weſt wher-
of (when we are paſt a little Ile) it receiueth the ſe-
cond, deſcending from betweene Talingſton and
Framingham in Plomes hundred; which coming Fromus.
at laſt to Marleford, meeteth with a rill ſouthweſt of
Farnham called the Gleme (that commeth by Ken- Glems.
dleſham, the Gleinhams) and ſo paſſing forth, it ta-
keth another at Snapesbridge, comming from
Carleton by Sarmundham, Sternefield & Snape.
Then going to Iken (where it meeteth with the third
rill

Iken, or Ike. rill at the west side) it fetcheth a compasse by Sudburne east of Oxford, and so into the hauen. Next vnto this by west of Oxford, there runneth vp another creeke by Butleie, whereinto the waters comming from Tellesford, and from the Ike, do run both in one bottome. And thus much of Oxford hauen.

Deua. The Deue riseth in Debenham, in the hundred of Hertesmere, and from thence goeth to Mickford, Winston, Cretingham, Lethringham, Wickham, hitherto still creeping toward the south: but then going in maner full south, it runneth neere vnto Ash, Kendlesham, Ufford, Melton, and Woodbridge, beneath which it receiueth on the west side, a water comming of two heads, whereof one is by north from Otelie, and the other by south from Henleie, which toining west of Hertelsham, go vnto the said towne and so into the Deue, east of Hertelsham aboue said. From thence the Deue goeth by Waldring field and Henleie, and meeting some after with Brightwell brooke, it hasteth into the maine sea, leauing Bawdseie on the east, where the fall therof is called Bawdseie hauen.

Clarus fons.

Urus. Ure riseth not farre from Bacton, in Hertesmere hundred, and thense descendeth into Stow hundred by Gipping Newton, Dagworth, Stow (beneath which it meeteth with a water comming from Rattlesden, by one house) and so going on to Nedeham (through Bolmere and Claidon hundreds) to Blakenham, Bramford, Ypswich, receiuing beneath Stoke, which lieth ouer against Ypswich, the Chatsham water, that goeth by Belsted, and so into the Ure, at the mouth whereof is a maruellous deepe and large pit, whereof some marriners saie that they could neuer find the bottome, and therefore calling it a well, and toining the name of the riuer withall, it commeth to passe that the hauen there is called Urewell, for which in these daies we do pronounce it Orwell. Into this hauen also the Sture or Stoure hath readie passage, which remaineth in this treatise next of all to be described.

Sturus. The Sture or Stoure parteth Esser from Suffolke, as Houeden saith, and experience confirmeth. It ariseth in Suffolke, out of a lake neere vnto a towne called Stourmere. For although there come two rilles vnto the same, whereof the one descendeth from Thirlo, the Wratings and Betton, the other from Horsheth parke, by Hauerill, &c: yet in summer time they are often drie, so that they cannot be said to be perpetuall heads vnto the aforesaid riuer. The Stoure therefore (being, as I take it, called by Ptolomie, Edomania, for thereon toward the mouth standeth a prettie towne named Manitree, which carieth some shadow of that ancient name thereof vnto this daie, if my coniecture be any thing) ariseth at Stouremere, which is a pole conteining twentie acres of ground at the least, the one side whereof is full of alders, the other of reeds, wherin the great store of fish there bred, is not a little succoured. From this meere also it goeth to Bathorne bridge, to Stocke clare, Cawndish, Pentlo, Paules Beauchampe, Milford, Foxerth, Burestete, Sudburie, Bures, Borsted, Stoke, Nailand, Lanham, Dedham, Stratford, east Barfold, Brampton, Manitree, Catwade bridge, and so into the sea, where in the verie fall also it toineth with Orwell hauen, so neere that of manie they are reputed as one, and parted but by a shingle that doth run along betweene them: neither doth it passe cleere in this voiage, but as it were often occupied by the waie, in receiuing sundrie brookes and rilles not heere to be omitted.

For on Esser side it hath one from Hemsted, which goeth by Bumsted, and Birdbrooke: another rising short of Foxerth, that runneth by water Beauchampe, Brundon, and falleth into the same at Badlington, west of Sudburie: and the third that glideth by Horkestie, and meeteth withall west of Borsted. On the north, or vpon Suffolke side, it receiueth one descending from Catiledge, by Bradleie, Thurlow, Wratting, Riddington, and at Hauerell falleth into this Sture. The second descendeth northward from Polling field, and toineth therewith east of Clare. It was in old time called Cieux or Ceuxis, and it meeteth with the Stoure in such wise that they seeme to make a right angle, in the point almost whereof standeth a ruinous castell. Howbeit as sithence which time this water (in some mens iudgement) hath beene named Clarus (not so much for the greatnesse as cleerenesse of the streame) euen so the Stoure it selfe was also called Ens as they say, and after their confluence the whole Clarens, which giueth denomination to a duchie of this Iland of no small fame and honour. But these are but meere fables, sith the word Clare is deriued from the towne, wherein was an house of religion erected to one Clara, and Clarens brought from the same, because of an honour the prince had in those parties: which may suffice to know from whence the name proceedeth. The third ariseth of two heads, whereof one commeth from Wickham brooke, the other from Chedbar in Risbie hundred, and toining about Stanfield, it goeth by Hawton, Somerton, Borsted, Stansted, and north of Foxerth falleth into Stoure. The fourth issueth from betweene the Waldingfields, and goeth by Edwardstone, Borsted, Alington, Polsted, Stoke, and so at south Borsted falleth into the same. The fift riseth northwest of Cockefield, and goeth to Cockefield, Laneham, Brimsleie, Widling, and receiuing Kettle Baston water southwest of Chelsworth (and likewise the Breton that commeth from Bretenham, by Hitcheham, and Billeton street on the south east of the same towne) it goeth in by Nedging, Aldham, Hadleie, Lainham, Shellie, Higham, and so into the Stoure. The first is a little rill descending southwest from Chappell. The seuenth riseth betweene Chappell and Bentleie, and going betweene Tatingston, and Whetsted, Holbrooke, and Sutton, it falleth at length into Stoure, and from thence is neuer heard of.

Kettle baston

As for Odeleie Drill, that riseth betweene Odeleie, and Wikes parkes, and so goeth into the Stoure, on Esser side, west of Harwich, and east of Kee Ile; I passe it ouer, because it is of it selfe but a rill, and not of anie greatnesse, till it come to the mill aboue Ramseie bridge, where I was once almost drowned (by reason of the ruinous bridge which leadeth ouer the streame being there verie great) as an arme of the sea that continuallie ebbeth & floweth. Next vnto this, we came to another that runneth south of Beaumont by Mosse, and falleth into the sea about the middest of the Baie, betwixt Harwich and the Naze. Betwixt the Naze also and the mouth of Colne, is another rill, which riseth at little Bentleie, and thence goeth to Tendring thorpe, through Clacton parke by great Holland, and east of little Holland, into the deepe sea.

Odeleie.

Mosa.

Claca.

The Colne hath three heads, whereof one is at Onington that goeth by Tilberie, and east of Peldam falleth into the chiefe head which riseth about Redgewell in Esser, from whence also it goeth to Peldam and Hedingham, otherwise called Yngham: also Hedningham or Heuedingham, or Henedingham of the superioritie which accrued thereunto, because the chiefe lords of the same from time to time kept residence in the towne. For Heued or Hed signifieth The chiefe, in the old English language, which in the name of this and manie other townes and villages yet standing in England cannot easilie be forgotten.

Colunus.

The

The third falleth in south of Peldam, and being once met all in one chanell, and called the Colne, it goeth (as I said) to Hedningham, Hawsted, Erles Colne, Wakes Colne, Fordon, Bardfold, Colchester, in old time Camalodunum, and so into the sea at Brickleseie. Some thinke that Colchester and Camalodunum are sundrie cities and situat in diuerse places, whereby Maldon (or Ithancester out of whose ruines the said towne of Maldon was erected) should rather be Camalodunum than Colchester, but hereof I cannot iudge. Indeed if (as Leland saith) Maldon should be written Malodunum, it were a likelihod that there assertions should be probable. Some reason also may be gathered for the same out of Dion, and such as make the Thames mouth to take his beginning at Colchester water. But I dare not presume to conclude any thing hereof, least I should seeme rashlie to take hold of euerie coniecture. This I relie vpon rather as a more certeintie, that in the first edition of this treatise I was persuaded, that the sea entring by the Colne made three seuerall passages frō thence into the land: but now I vnderstand that these are seuerall entrances and streames, of which the Colne is one, another is the Salcote water, which commeth in beneath the Stroud (a causeie that leadeth vnto Mersete Ile, ouer which the sea meeteth with a contrarie course) and the third the faire arme that floweth vnto Maldon, and all these three haue their falles either ouer against or neere vnto the aforesaid Ile, which at a low water is not halfe a mile from the shore. Into the Colne or Colunus also (whereof Leland thinketh Colchester to take his name, and not *A colonia Romanorum*, although I may not consent to him herein) do run manie salt creekes beneath Fingering hoo, of whose names sith I do not know, nor whether they be serued with anie backewaters or not, I giue ouer to intreat anie further, & likewise of their positions. Into that of Maldon runneth manie faire waters, whereof I will saie so much as I know to be true in maner by experience.

Gwin, or Pant.

There is a pretie water that beginneth neere vnto Gwinbach or Winbeche church in Esser, a towne of old, and yet belonging to the Fitzwaters, taking name of Gwin, which is beautifull or faire, & Bache that signifieth a wood: and not without cause, sith not onelie the hilles on ech side of the said rillet, but all the whole paroch hath sometime abounded in woods; but now in manner they are vtterlie decaied, as the like commoditie is euerie where, not onelie thorough excessiue building for pleasure more than profit, which is contrarie to the ancient end of building; but also for more increase of pasture & commoditie to the lords of the soile, through their sales of that emolument, whereby the poore tenants are inforced to buie their fewell, and yet haue their rents in triple maner inhanced. This said broke runneth directlie from thence vnto Radwinter, now a parcell of your lordships possessions in those parts, descended from the Chamberleins, who were sometime cheefe owners of the same. By the waie also it is increased with sundrie pretie springs, of which Pantwell is the cheefe (whereof some thinke the whole broke to be named Pant) and which (to saie the truth) hath manie a leasing fathered on the same. Certes by the report of common fame it hath beene a pretie water, and of such quantitie, that botes haue come in time past from Bilie abbeie beside Maldon vnto the mores in Radwinter forcorne. I haue heard also that an anchor was found there neere to a red willow, when the water-courses by act of parlement were surueied and reformed throughout England, which maketh not a little with the aforesaid relation. But this is strangest of all, that a lord sometime of Winbech (surnamed the great eater, because he would breake his fast with a whole calfe, and find no bones therein as the fable goeth) falling at contention with the lord John of Radwinter, could worke him none other iniurie, but by stopping vp the head of Pantwell, to put by the vse of a mill which stood by the church of Radwinter, and was serued by that broke abundantlie. Certes I know the place where the mill stood, and some posts thereof do yet remaine. But see the malice of mankind, whereby one becommeth a woolfe vnto the other in their mischeeuous moodes. For when the lord saw his mill to be so spoiled, he in reuenge of his losse, brake the necke of his aduersarie, when he was going to horsebacke, as the constant report affirmeth. For the lord of Radwinter holding a parcell of his manour of Radwinter hall of the Fitzwaters, his sonne was to hold his stirrop at certeine times when he should demand the same. Shewing himselfe therefore prest on a time to do his said seruice, as the Fitzwater was readie to lift his leg ouer the saddle, he by putting backe his foot, gaue him such a thrust that he fell backward, and brake his necke: whereupon insued great trouble, till the matter was taken vp by publike authoritie; and that seruile office conuerted into a pound of pepper, which is truelie paid to this daie. But to leaue these impertinent discourses, and returne againe to the springs whereby our Pant or Gwin is increased. There is likewise another in a pasture belonging to the Grange, now in possession of William Bird esquier, who holdeth the same in the right of his wife, but in time past belonging to Tilteie abbeie. The third commeth out of the yard of one of your lordships manors there called Radwinter hall. The fourth from John Cocksiwets house, named the Rotherwell, which running vnder Rothers bridge, meeteth with the Gwin or Pant on the northwest end of Ferrants meade, southeast of Radwinter church, whereof I haue the charge by your honours fauourable preferment.

I might take occasion to speake of another rill which falleth into the Rother from Bendish hall: but because it is for the most part drie in summer I passe it ouer. Yet I will not omit to speake also of the manor which was the chiefe lordship sometime of a parish or hamlet called Bendisches, now worne out of knowledge, and vnited partlie to Radwinter, and partlie to Ashdon. It belonged first to the Bendisches gentlemen of a verie ancient house yet extant, of which one lateng the said manour to morgage to the monks of Feuersham, at such time as K. Edward the third went to the siege of Calis, thereby to furnish himselfe the better toward the seruice of his prince, it came to passe that he stated longer beyond the sea than he supposed. Whereupon he came before his daie to confer with his creditors, who commending his care to come out of debt, willed him in friendlie maner not to suspect anie hard dealing on their behalfes, considering his businesse in seruice of the king was of it selfe cause sufficient, to excuse his delaie of paiment vpon the daie assigned. Hereupon he went ouer againe vnto the siege of Calis. But when the day came, the monks for all this made seisure of the manour, and held it continuallie without anie further recompense, maugre all the friendship that the aforsaid Bendish could make. The said gentleman also toke this cousening part in such choler, that he wrote a note yet to be seene among his euidences, whereby he admonisheth his posteritie to beware how they trust either knaue monke or knaue frier, as one of the name and descended from him by lineall descent hath more than once informed me. Now to resume our springs that meet and ioine with our Pant.

Frosh well.

The next is named Frosh well. And of this spring doth

goeth the whole hundred beare the name, after this confluence the riuer it selfe wher vnto it falleth (from hym hitherto so farre as I remember) Certes, all these, sauing the first and second, are within your lordships towne aforesaid. The streame therfore running from hence (as now is said) called Froshwell, of Froshy which signifieth a frog) hasteth immediatlie vnto old Sandford, then through new Sandford parke, and afterward with full streame (receiuing by the waie the Finch broke that commeth thorough Finching field) to Shalford, Boreling, Stisted, Passyte, and so to Blackewater, where the name of Froshwell ceaseth; the water being from hence forth (as I heare) commonlie called Blackwater, vntill it come to Maldon; where it falleth into the salt arme of the sea that beateth vpon the towne; and which of some (except I be deceiued) is called also Pant: and so much the rather I make this coniecture, for that I thence-forth find no fresh there vpon the banks thereof, on the hundred of Dancleie, whose riuers (as they saie) also are swalowed vp by the said streame, which can not be verified in our riuer that runneth from Pantwell, which at the mouth and fall into the great current, exceedeth not (to my coniecture) aboue one hundred foot. But to returne to our Pant, alias the Gwin. From Blackwater it goeth to Coral, Easterford, Brasted and Wickham, where it meeteth with the Barus, and so going together as one, they descend to Heiebridge, and finallie into the salt water aboue Maldon, and at hand as is aforesaid. As for the Barus, it riseth in a faire parke of Esser called Bardfield, belonging to sir Thomas Wroth whilest he liued, who hath it to him and his heires males for euer, from the crowne. Being risen, it hasteth directlie to old Saling Braincrée, crossing a rillet, by the waie comming from Raine, blacke Notleie, white Notleie, Falkeburne, Witham, and falleth into the Blackewater beneath Brasted on the south.

Barus.

Chelmer.

Besides this, the said Pant or Gwin receiueth the Chelme or Chelmer, which ariseth also in Wimbech aforesaid, where it hath two heads: of which the one is not farre from Brodockes (where master Thomas Wiseman esquier dwelleth) the other nigh vnto a farme called Highams in the same paroch, and ioining verie long in one chanell, they hie them toward Thacsted vnder Prowds bridge, meeting in the waie with a rill comming from Bolton end, whereby it is somewhat increased. Being past Thacsted, it goeth by Tilteie, and soone after receiueth one rill which riseth on the north side of Lindsell, & falleth into the Chelmer by northeast at Tilteie aforesaid, & another cõming from southwest, rising southeast from Lindsell at much Eiston. From thence then holding on still with the course, it goeth to Candfield the more, Dunmow, little Dunmow, Falsted, Lies, both Waltams, Springfield, and so to Chelmersford. Here vpon the south side I find the issue of a water that riseth fiue miles (or thereabouts) south and by west of the said towne, from whence it goeth to Munsing, Battelburie (there receiuing a rill from by west, to Ingatstone, Marget Inge, Widford bridge, Writtle bridge, and so to Chelmersford (crossing also the second water that descendeth from Rorford south west of Writtle by the waie) whereof let this suffice.

Lind's.

Rorford.

From hence the Chelmer goeth directlie toward Maldon by Badow, Owting, Woodham water, Bilie, and so to Blackwater northwest of Maldon, receiuing neuertheless yer it come fullie thither, a becke also that goeth from Lée parke, to little Lées, great Lées, Hatfield, Peuerell, Owting, and so into Blackwater (whereof I spake before) as Maldon streame doth a rill from by south ouer against saint Osithes, and also another by Bradwell. After which the said streame growing also to be verie great, passeth by the Tolhunts, Tolleshie, and so forth into the maine sea nére vnto Mersleie: betweene which fall and the place where Salute water entreth into the land, Plautus abode the comming of Claudius sometime into Britaine, when he being hardlie beset, did send vnto him for aid and speedie succour, who also being come did not onelie rescue his legat, but in like manner wan Colchester, and put it to the spoile, if it be Camalodunum.

Lée.

Lée.

Leigh.

Burne.

The Burne riseth somewhere about Rowell, and thence goeth to Hull bridge, south Fambridge, Ritchel shot ferrie, and so to Foulnesse. And as this is the short course of that riuer, so it braseheth, and the south arme thereof receiueth a water comming from Haukewell, to great Stanbridge, and beneath Pakesham doth met by south with the said arme, and so finith vp his course, as we do our voiage also about the coast of England.

Thus haue I finished the description of such riuers and streames as fall into the Ocean, according to my purpose, although not in so precise an order and manner of handling as I might, if information promised had been accordinglie performed, or others would, if they had taken the like in hand. But this will I saie of that which is here done, that from the Solueie by west, which parteth England & Scotland on that side, to the Twede, which separateth the said kingdoms on the east: if you go backeward, contrarie to the course of my description, you shall find it so exact, as beside a verie few by-riuers, you shall not need to vse anie further aduise for the finding and falles of the aforesaid streames. For such hath beene my helpe of maister Sackfords cardes, and conference with other men about these, that I dare pronounce them to be perfect and exact. Furthermore, this I haue also to remember, that in the courses of our streames, I regard not so much to name the verie towne or church, as the limits of the paroch. And therefore if I saie it goeth by such a towne, I thinke my dutie discharged, if I hit vpon anie part or parcell of the paroch. This also hath not a little troubled me, I meane the euill writing of the names of manie townes and villages: of which I haue noted some one man, in the description of a riuer, to write one towne two or three manner of waies, whereby I was inforced to chose one (at aduenture most commonlie) that seemed the likeliest to be found in mine opinion and iudgement.

Finallie, whereas I minded to set downe an especiall chapter of ports and créeks, lieng on each coast of the English part of this Ile; and had prouided the same in such wise as I iudged most conuenient: it came to passe, that the greater part of my labour was taken from me by stealth, and therefore as discouraged to meddle with that argument, I would haue giuen ouer to set downe anie thing therefore at all: and so much the rather, for that I sée it may proue a spurre vnto further mischéefe, as things come to passe in these daies. Neuertheless, because a little thereof is passed in the beginning of the booke, I will set downe that parcell thereof which remaineth, leauing the supplie of the rest either to my selfe hereafter, (if I may come by it) or to some other that can better performe the same.

Of

Of such ports and creeks as our sea-faring-men doo note for their benefit vpon the coasts of England.

Chap. 17.

IT maie be that I haue in these former chapters omitted sundrie hauens to be found vpon the shore of England, and some of them serued with backe waters, through want of sound and sufficient information from such as haue written vnto me of the same. In recompense whereof I haue thought good to adde this chapter of ports and creekes, whereby (so farre as to me is possible) I shall make satisfaction of mine oversights. And albeit I cannot (being too too much abused by some that haue bereft me of my notes in this behalfe) bring my purpose to passe for all the whole coast of England round about, from Berwike to the Solue: yet I will not let to set downe so much as by good hap remaineth, whereby my countriemen shall not altogither want that benefit, hoping in time to recouer also the rest, if God grant life and good successe thereto.

Northumberland. In Northumberland therefore we haue Berwike, Holie Iland, Bamborow, Bedwell, Donstanborow, Cocket Iland, Warkeworth, Newbiggin, Almow, Blithes nuke, and Tinmouth hauen.

Durham. In the bishoprie, Sonderland, Stocketon, Hartlepoole, These.

Yorkeshire. In Yorkeshire, Dapnam sands, Steningreene, Staies, Runswike, Robinhods baie, Whitbie, Scarborow, Fileie, Flamborow, Bricklington, Horneseie becke, Sisser kirke, Kelseie, Cliffe, Pattenton, Holmes, Kenningham, Pall, Hidon, Hulbrige, Beuerleie, Hull, Hasell, Northserebie, Bucke creeke, Blacke cost, Wrethell, Howden.

Lincolneshire. In Lincolneshire, Selbie, Snepe, Turnebrige, Rodiffe, Catebie, Stockwith, Torkeseie, Gainsborow, Southserebie, Barton a good point, Barrow a good hauen, Skatermill a good port, Penningham, Stalingborow a good hauen, Gulmsbie a good port, Clie, March chappell, Saltfleete, Wilgripe, Maplesord, saint Clements, Wenfleete, Friscon, Tost, Skerbike, Boston, Frompton, Wolnerton, Fossedike a good hauen.

Northfolke. In Northfolke, Linne a good hauen, Snatchham, Hitchham, Desingham good, Thunstone, Thorneham good, Brankester good, Burnham good, with diuers townes and villages thereto belonging, Welles good, Strikeie, Harlton, Blakeleie towne, Withon Claie, Blakelie hauen good, Salthouse creeke, Sheringham hith, Roughton, Cromer, Beston, Trinningham, Mounsleie, Bromwall, Haseborow, Wakesham, Eckelles, Winterton, Custer, Helmesleie, Okell, Upton, Waibridge, Yarmouth, good all the waie to Norwich, with diuerse villages on the riuer side.

Suffolke. In Suffolke, Becles, Bongeie, Southton, Corton, Gorton, Laistow a good port, Kirtill, Pakefield, Kasseldon, Bliborow, Coffe hith, Eston, Walderswike, Donewich, Swold hauen, Siselwell, Thorpe, Aldborow, Orford a good hauen, Balseie good, Felixstow, Colneie, Sproten, Ypswich, Downambridge good, Pinnemill, Shoteleie, Cataweie, Barfold.

Essex. In Esser we haue Dedham, Maning tree, Thorne, Wrabbelnes, Ramseie, Harwich, Douercourt, Handford, Okeleie, Kirbie, Thorpe, Brichwill, Walton mill, Walton hall, Ganfleete, Newhauen good, S. Osithes, Bentleie good, Bricleseie, Thorlington (where good ships of a hundred tun or more be made) Allford, Wiuenhall, Colchester, Cold hith, Rough hedge, Fingering ho, east Perseie, west Perseie, Salcot, Goldanger, Borow, Paldon, Stanesgate, Hudmeller, S. Peters, Burnham, Cripseie, Aldon, Clements greene, Hulbridge, Packleston, Barling, litle Wakering, much Wakering, south Sudburie, Wakeringham, Pelton, Paper hill, or Le, Beamfleete, Pidleie range, Fobbing, Hadleie good, Puckings, Stanford, and Tilberie ferrie.

Kent. In Kent, Harling, Cliffe, Canfleete, Stokehow, Snodlond, Pelhall, Paidston, Ailesford, New hith, Rochester, Gelingham, Reinham, Upchurch, Halsted, Quinborow, Pilton, Feuersham, Whitstaple, Herne, Margate, Brodestaier, Ramsgate; and manie of these good creekes: also Sandwich, Douer, Hide, reasonable ports, although none of the best.

Sussex. In Sussex we haue Smalade with the creekes adioining to the same, Ridon, Appledoure, Rie a good hauen, and Winchelseie nothing at all inferiour to the same, and so manie shires onelie are left vnto me at this time, wherefore of force I must abruptlie leaue off to deale anie further with the rest, whose knowledge I am right sure would haue bene profitable: and for the which I hoped to haue reaped great thankes at the hands of such sea-faring-men, as should haue had vse hereof.

Desunt cætera.

Of the aire, soile, and commodities of this Iland.

Cap. 18.

The aire of Britaine. THE aire (for the most part) throughout the Iland is such, as by reason in maner of continuall clouds, is reputed to be grosse, and nothing so pleasant as that is of the maine. Howbeit, as they which affirme these things, haue onelie respect to the impediment or hinderance of the sunne beames, by the interposition of the clouds and oft ingrolled aire: so experience teacheth vs, that it is no lesse pure, wholesome, and commodious, than is that of other countries, and (as Cæsar himselfe hereto addeth) much more temperate in summer than that of the Galles, from whom he aduentured hither. Neither is there anie thing found in the aire of our region, that is not vsuallie séene amongst other nations lieng beyond the seas. Wherefore, we must néeds confesse, that the situation of our Iland (for benefit of the heauens) is nothing inferiour to that of anie countrie of the maine, where so euer it lie vnder the open firmament. And this Plutarch knew full well, who affirmeth a part of the Elisian fields to be found in Britaine, and the Iles that are situate about it in the Ocean.

The soile. The soile of Britaine is such, as by the testimonies and reports both of the old and new writers, and experience also of such as now inhabit the same, is verie fruitfull; and such in deed as bringeth forth manie commodities, whereof other countries haue néed, and yet it selfe (if fond niceneslie were abolished) néedlesse of those that are dailie brought from other places. Neuertheless it is more inclined to feeding and grasing, than profitable for tillage, and bearing of corne; by reason whereof the countrie is wonderfullie replenished with neat, and all kind of cattell: and such store is there also of the same in euerie place, that the fourth part of the land is scarselie manured for the prouision and maintenance of graine. Certes this

this fruitfulnesse was not vnknowne vnto the Britons long before Cæsars time, which was the cause wherefore our predecessors liuing in those daies in maner neglected tillage, and liued by feeding and grasing onelie. The grasiers themselues also then dwelled in moueable villages by companies, whose custome was to diuide the ground amongst them, and each one not to depart from the place where his lot laie (a thing much like to the Irish Criacht) till by eating vp of the countrie about him, he was inforced to remoue further, and seeke for better pasture. And this was the British custome (as I learne) at first. It hath been commonlie reported, that the ground of Wales is neither so fruitfull as that of England, neither the soile of Scotland so bountifull as that of Wales: which is true, for corne and for the most part: otherwise, there is so good ground in some parts of Wales, as is in England, albeit the best of Scotland be scarselie comparable to the meane of either of both. Howbeit, as the bountie of the Scotish doth faile in some respect, so doth it surmount in other; God and nature hauing not appointed all countries to yeeld forth like commodities.

Criacht.

But where our ground is not so good as we would wish, we haue (if need be) sufficient helpe to cherish our ground withall, and to make it more fruitfull. For beside the compest that is carried out of the husbandmens yards, ditches, ponds, douehouses, or cities and great townes: we haue with vs a kind of white marle, which is of so great force, that if it be cast ouer a peece of land but once in three score years, it shall not need of anie further compelling. Hereof also doth Plinie speake, lib. 17. cap. 6, 7, 8, where he affirmeth that our marle indureth vpon the earth by the space of foure score yeares: insomuch that it is laid vpon the same but once in a mans life, whereby the owner shall not need to trauell twise in procuring to commend and better his soile. He calleth it Marga, and making diuerse kinds thereof, he finallie commendeth ours, and that of France, aboue all other, which lieth sometime a hundred foot deepe, and farre better than the scattering of chalke vpon the same, as the Hedui and Pictones did in his time, or as some of our daies also do practise: albeit diuerse do like better to cast on lime, but it will not so long indure, as I haue heard reported.

Marle.

There are also in this Iland great plentie of fresh riuers and streames, as you haue heard alreadie, and these throughlie fraught with all kinds of delicate fish accustomed to be found in riuers. The whole Ile likewise is verie full of hilles, of which some (though not verie manie) are of exceeding heigth, and diuerse extending themselues verie far from the beginning; as we may see by Shoters hill, which rising east of London, and not farre from the Thames, runneth along the south side of the Iland westward, vntill it come to Cornewall. Like vnto these also are the Crowdon hils, which though vnder diuers names (as also the other from the Peke) do run into the borders of Scotland. What should I speake of the Cheuiot hilles, which reach twentie miles in length: of the blacke mounteines in Wales, which go from (*) to (*) miles at the least in length: of the Cle hilles in Shropshire, which come within foure miles of Ludlow, and are diuided from some part of Worcester by the Teme: of the Grames in Scotland, and of our Chiltren, which are eightéene miles at the least from one end of them, which reach from Henlie in Oxfordshire to Dunstable in Bedfordshire, and are verie well replenished with wood and corne: notwithstanding that the most part yeeld a sweet short grasse, profitable for sheepe. Wherein albeit they of Scotland do somewhat come behind vs, yet their outward defect is inwardlie recompensed, not onelie with plentie of quarries (and those of sundrie kinds of marble, hard stone, and fine alabaster) but also rich mines of mettall, as shall be shewed hereafter.

Plentie of riuers.

Hilles.

(*) Here lacks

In this Iland likewise the winds are commonlie more strong and fierce, than in anie other places of the maine, which Cardane also espied: and that is often seene vpon the naked hilles, not garded with trées to beare and keepe it off. What grieuous inconuenience also inforceth our nobilitie, gentrie, and communaltie, to build their houses in the vallies, leauing the high grounds vnto their corne and cattell, least the cold and stormie blasts of winter should breed them greater annoiance: whereas in other regions each one desireth to set his house aloft on the hill, not onlie to be seene a farre off, and cast forth his beames of statelie and curious workemanship into euerie quarter of the countrie; but also (in hot habitations) for coldnesse sake of the aire, sith the heat is neuer so vehement on the hill top as in the vallie, because the reuerberation of the sunne beames either reacheth not so farre as the highest, or else becommeth not so strong as when it is reflected vpon the lower soile.

winds.

Building.

But to leaue our buildings vnto the purposed place (which notwithstanding haue verie much increased, I meane for curiositie and cost, in England, Wales, and Scotland, within these few yeares) and to returne to the soile againe. Certeinelie it is euen now in these our daies growne to be much more fruitfull, than it hath been in times past. The cause is for that our countriemen are growne to be more painefull, skilfull, and carefull through recompense of gaine, than heretofore they haue been: insomuch that my Synchronior time fellows can reape at this present great commoditie in a little rome; whereas of late yeares, a great compasse hath yeelded but small profit, and this onelie through the idle and negligent occupation of such, as dailie manured and had the same in occupieng. I might set downe examples of these things out of all the parts of this Iland, that is to saie, manie of England, more out of Scotland, but most of all out of Wales: in which two last rehearsed, verie little other food and liuelihood was wont to be loked for (beside flesh) more than the soile of it selfe, and the cow gaue; the people in the meane time liuing idelie, dissolutelie, and by picking and stealing one from another. All which vices are now (for the most part) relinquished, so that each nation manureth his owne with triple commoditie, to that it was before time.

Husbandrie amended.

The pasture of this Iland is according to the nature and bountie of the soile, whereby in most places it is plentifull, verie fine, batable, and such as either fatteth our cattell with speed, or yeeldeth great abundance of milke and creame: whereof the yellowest butter and finest cheese are made. But where the blue claie aboundeth (which hardlie drinketh vp the winters water in long season) there the grasse is spearie, rough, and verie apt for bushes: by which occasion it commeth nothing so profitable vnto the owner as the other. The best pasture ground of all England is in Wales, & of all the pasture in Wales that of Cardigan is the cheese. I speake of the same which is to be found in the mounteines there, where the hundred part of the grasse growing is not eaten, but suffered to rot on the ground, whereby the soile becommeth matted, and diuerse bogges and quicke mores made withall in long continuance: because all the cattell in the countrie are not able to eat it downe. If it be to be accompted good soile, on which a man may laie a wand ouer night, and on the morrow find it hidden and ouergrowen with grasse: it is not hard to find plentie thereof in manie places of this land. Neuertheles, such is the fruitfulnes of the aforesaid

Pasture.

aforsaid countie that it farre surmounteth this proportion, whereby it may be compared for batablenesse with Italie, which in my time is called the paradise of the world, although by reason of the wickednesse of such as dwell therein it may be called the sinke and draine of hell: so that whereas they were wont to saie of vs that our land is good but our people euill, they did but onlie speake it; whereas we know by experience that the soile of Italie is a noble soile, but the dwellers therein farre off from anie vertue or goodnesse.

Meadowes. Our meadowes, are either bottomes (whereof we haue great store, and those verie large, bicause our soile is hillie) or else such as we call land meads, and borowed from the best & fattest pasturages. The first of them are yearelie & often ouerflowen by the rising of such streames as passe through the same, or violent falles of land-waters, that descend from the hils about them. The other are seldome or neuer ouerflowen, and that is the cause wherefore their grasse is shorter than that of the bottomes, and yet is it farre more fine, wholesome, and batable, sith the haie of our low meadowes is not onelie full of sandie cinder, which breedeth sundrie diseases in our cattell, but also more rowtie, foggie, and full of flags, and therefore not so profitable for couer and forrage as the higher meads be. The difference furthermore in their commodities is great, for whereas in our land meadowes we haue not often aboue one good load of haie, or peraduenture a little more in an acre of ground (I vse the word Carrucata or Carruca which is a waine load, and, as I remember, vsed by Plinie lib. 33. cap. 11.) in low meadowes we haue sometimes three, but commonlie two or vpward, as experience hath oft confirmed.

Of such as are twise mowed I speake not, sith their later math is not so wholsome for cattell as the first; although in the mouth more pleasant for the time: for thereby they become oftentimes to be rotten, or to increase so fast in bloud, that the garget and other diseases do consume manie of them before the owners can seeke out any remedie, by Phlebotomie or otherwise. Some superstitious fooles suppose that they which die of the garget are ridden with the night mare, and therefore they hang vp stones which naturallie haue holes in them, and must be found vnlooked for; as if such a stone were an apt cockshot for the diuell to run through and solace himselfe withall, whilest the cattell go scotfree and are not molested by him. But if I should set downe but halfe the toies that superstition hath brought into our husbandmens heads in this and other behalfes, it would aske a greater volume than is conuenient for such a purpose, wherefore it shall suffice to haue said thus much of these things.

Corne. The yeld of our corne-ground is also much after this rate following. Through out the land (if you please to make an estimat thereof by the acre) in meane and indifferent yeares, wherein each acre of rie or wheat, well tilled and dressed, will yeld commonlie fortéene or twentie bushels, an acre of barlie six and thirtie bushels, of otes and such like foure or fiue quarters, which proportion is notwithstanding oft abated toward the north, as it is oftentimes surmounted in the south. Of mixed corne, as peason and beanes, sowen togither, tares and otes (which they call bulmong) rie and wheat named miscelin here is no place to speake, yet their yeld is neuertheles much after this proportion, as I haue often marked. And yet is not this our great foison comparable to that of hoter countries of the maine. But of all that euer I read, the increase which Eldred Danus writeth of in his *De imperio Iudæorum in Aethiopia* surmounteth, where he saith that in the field nére to the Sabbatike riuer, called in old time Gosan, the ground is so fertile, that euerie graine of barleie growing doth yéeld an hundred kernels at the least vnto the owner.

Of late yeares also we haue found and taken vp a great trade in planting of hops, whereof our mosie hitherto and vnprofitable grounds do yeld such plentie & increase, that their are few farmers or occupiers in the countrie, which haue not gardens and hops growing of their owne, and those farre better than do come from Flanders vnto vs. Certes the corruptions vsed by the Flemings, and forgerie dailie practised in this kind of ware, gaue vs occasion to plant them here at home: so that now we may spare and send manie ouer vnto them. And this I know by experience, that some one man by conuersion of his mosie grounds into hoppards, wherof before he had no commoditie, doth raise yearelie by so little as twelue acres in compasse two hundred markes; all charges borne toward the maintenance of his familie. Which industrie God continue! though some secret frends of Flemings let not to exclaime against this commoditie, as a spoile of wood, by reason of the poles, which neuertheless after three yeares do also come to the fire, and spare their other fewell.

Cattell. The cattell which we bréed are commonlie such, as for greatnesse of bone, sweetnesse of flesh, and other benefits to be reaped by the same, giue place vnto none other: as may appeare first by our oxen, whose largenesse, height, weight, tallow, hides, and hornes are such, as none of anie other nation do commonlie or may easilie exceed them. Our sheepe likewise for good tast of flesh, quantitie of limbs, finesse of fléece caused by their hardnesse of pasturage, and abundance of increase (for in manie places they bring forth two or three at an eaning) giue no place vnto anie, more than do our goates, who in like sort do follow the same order, and our déere come not behind. As for our conies, I haue séene them so fat in some soiles, especiallie about Meall and Dilnege, that the grease of one being weighed, hath peised verie nére six or seuen ounces. All which benefits we first refer to the grace and goodnesse of God, and next of all vnto the bountie of our soile, which he hath indued with so notable and commodious fruitfulnesse.

Meall and Dilnege.

But as I meane to intreat of these things more largelie hereafter, so will I touch in this place one benefit which our nation wanteth, and that is wine; the fault whereof is not in our soile, but the negligence of our countriemen (especiallie of the south partes) who do not inure the same to this commoditie, and which by reason of long discontinuance, is now become vnapt to beare anie grapes almost for pleasure & shadow, much lesse then the plaine fields or seuerall vineyards for aduantage and commoditie. Yet of late time some haue assaied to deale for wine, as to your lordship also is right well knowen. But sith that liquor when it commeth to the drinking hath bin found more hard, than that which is brought from beyond the sea, and the cost of planting and kéeping thereof so chargeable, that they may buie it far better cheape from other countries: they haue giuen ouer their enterprises without anie consideration, that as in all other things, so neither the ground it selfe in the beginning, nor successe of their trauell can answer their expectation at the first, vntill such time as the soile be brought as it were into acquaintance with this commoditie, and that prouision may be made for the more easinesse of charge, to be imploied vpon the same.

Wine.

If it be true, that where wine doth last and indure well, there it will grow no worse: I muse not a little wherefore the planting of vines should be neglected in England. That this liquor might haue growne in this

this Iland heretofore, firſt the charter that Probus the emperour gaue equallie to vs, the Galles, and Spaniards, is one ſufficient teſtimonie. And that it did growe here, beſide the teſtimonie of Beda lib. 1. cap. 1. the old notes of tithes for wine that yet remaine in the accompts of ſome parſons and vicars in Kent, & elſewhere, beſides the records of ſundrie ſutes, commenſed in diuerſe eccleſiaſticall courts, both in Kent, Surrie, &c: alſo the incloſed parcels almoſt in euerie abbeie yet called the vineyardes, may be a notable witneſſe, as alſo the plot which we now call eaſt Smithfield in London giuen by Canutus ſometime king of this land, with other ſoile there about vnto certeine of his knights, with the libertie of a Guild which therof was called Knighten Guild. The truth is (ſaith Iohn Stow our countrie man, and diligent trauelier in the old eſtate of this my natiue citie) that it is now named Port ſoken ward, and giuen in time paſt to the religious houſe within Algate. Howbeit firſt Otwell, the Archouell, Otto, & finallie Geffrie erle of Eſſex conſtables of the Tower of London, withheld that portion frõ the ſaid houſe, vntill the reigne of king Stephan, and thereof made a vineyard to their great commoditie and lucre. The Ile of Elie alſo was in the firſt times of the Normans called Le Ile des vignes. And good record appéereth, that the biſhop there had yearelie three or foure tunne at the leaſt giuen him *Nomine decimæ*, beſide whatſoeuer ouer-ſumme of the liquor did accrue to him by leaſes and other eſcheats, whereof alſo I haue ſeene mention. Wherefore our ſoile is not to be blamed, as though our nights were ſo exceeding ſhort, that in Auguſt and September the mone which is ladie of moiſture, & chiefe ripener of this liquor, cannot in anie wiſe ſhine long inough vpon the ſame: a verie méere tale and fable right worthie to be ſuppreſſed, becauſe experience conuinceth the vpholders thereof euen in the Rhenith wines.

Wad. Madder. Rape.

The time hath béene alſo that wad, therwith our countrie men died their faces (as Cæſar ſaith) that they might ſeeme terrible to their enimies in the field, and alſo women & their daughters in law did ſtaine their bodies & go naked, in that pickle to the ſacrifices of their gods, coueting to reſemble therin the Ethiopians, as Plinie ſaith li. 22. cap. 1. and alſo madder haue béene (next vnto our tin and woolles) the chiefe commodities, and merchandize of this realme. I find alſo that rape oile hath béene made within this land. But now our ſoile either will not or at the leaſtwiſe may not beare either wad or madder: I ſaie not that the ground is not able ſo to doo, but that we are negligent, afraid of the pilling of our grounds, and careleſſe of our owne profit, as men rather willing to buie the ſame of others than take anie paine to plant them here at home. The like I may ſaie of flax, which by law ought to be ſowen in euerie countrie-towne in England, more or leſſe: but I ſée no ſucceſſe of that good and wholeſome law, ſith it is rather contemptuouſlie reiected than otherwiſe dutifullie kept in anie place of England.

Flax.

Some ſaie that our great number of lawes doo breéd a generall negligence and contempt of all good order; becauſe we haue ſo manie, that no ſubiect can liue without the tranſgreſſion of ſome of them, and that the often alteration of our ordinances doth much harme in this reſpect, which (after Ariſtotle) doth ſéeme to carie ſome reaſon withall, for (as Cornelius Gallus hath:)

Eleg. 2. *Euentus varios res noua ſemper habet.*

But verie manie let not to affirme, that the gréedie corruption of the promoters on the one ſide, factlitie in diſpenſing with good lawes, and firſt breach of the ſame in the lawmakers & ſuperiors, & priuat reſpects of their eſtabliſhment on the other, are the greateſt cauſes whie the inferiours regard no good order, being alwaies ſo redie to offend without anie faculltie one waie, as they are otherwiſe to preſume, vpon the examples of their betters when anie hold is to be taken. But as in theſe things I haue no ſkill, ſo I wiſh that fewer licences for the priuat commoditie but of a few were granted (not that thereby I denie the maintenance of the prerogatiue rotall, but rather would with all my hart that it might be yet more honorablie increaſed) & that euerie one which by féed friendſhip (or otherwiſe) doth attempt to procure oughts from the prince, that may profit but few and proue hurtfull to manie, might be at open aſſizes and ſeſſions denounced enimie to his countrie and common-wealth of the land.

Principes longè magis exemplo quàm culpa peccare ſolent.

Glaſſe alſo hath bæne made here in great plentie before, and in the time of the Romans; and the ſaid ſtuffe alſo, beſide fine ſciſſers, ſhéeres, collars of gold and ſiluer for womens necks, cruſes and cups of amber, were a parcell of the tribute which Auguſtus in his daies laid vpon this Iland. In like ſort he charged the Britons with certeine implements and veſſels of iuorie (as Strabo ſaith.) Wherby it appéereth that in old time our countriemen were farre more induſtrious and painefull in the vſe and application of the benefits of their countrie, than either after the comming of the Saxons or Normans, in which they gaue themſelues more to idleneſſe and following of the warres.

If it were requiſit that I ſhould ſpeake of the ſundrie kinds of mold, as the cledgie or claie, whereof are diuerſe ſorts (red, blue, blacke and white) alſo the red or white ſandie, the lomie, roſellie, grauellie, chalkie or blacke, I could ſaie that there are ſo manie diuerſe veines in Britaine, as elſe where in anie quarter of like quantitie in the world. Howbeit this I muſt néeds confeſſe, that the ſandie and cledgie doo beare great ſwaie: but the claie moſt of all, as hath bæne, and yet is alwaies ſéene & felt through plentie and dearth of corne. For if this latter (I meane the claie) doo yeld hir full increaſe (which it doth commonlie in drie yeares for wheat) then is there generall plentie: whereas if it faile, then haue we ſcarſitie, according to the old rude verſe ſet downe of England, but to be vnderſtood of the whole Iland, as experience doth confirme:

Earths.

When the ſand doth ſerue the claie,
Then may we ſing well awaie,
But when the claie doth ſerue the ſand,
Then is it merie with England.

I might here intreat of the famous vallies in England, of which one is called the vale of White horſſe, another of Eueſham, commonlie taken for the granarie of Worceſterſhire, the third of Ailesbirie that goeth by Tame, the rootes of Chilterne hils, to Donſtable, Newport panell, Stonie Stratford, Buckingham, Birſtane parke, &c. Likewiſe of the fourth of Whitehart or Blackemore in Dorſetſhire. The fift of Kingdale or Kendale, corruptlie called Kingtaile, that lieth (as mine author ſaith) vpon the edge of Eſſex and Cambridgeſhire, and alſo the Marſhwood vale: but for ſomuch as I know not well their ſeuerall limits, I giue ouer to go anie further in their deſcription. In like ſort it ſhould not be amiſſe to ſpeake of our fennes, although our countrie be not ſo full of this kind of ſoile as the parties beyond the ſeas, to wit, Marbon, &c: and thereto of other pleaſant botoms, the which are not onelie indued with excellent riuers and great ſtore of corne and fine fodder for neat and horſſes in time of the yeare (whereby they are exceeding beneficiall vnto their owners) but alſo of no ſmall compaſſe and quantitie in ground. For ſome of our fens are well knowen to be either of ten, twelue, fiftéene, twentie, or thirtie miles in

Vallies.

Fennes.

length, that of the Girwies yet passing all the rest, which is full 60 (as I haue often read.) Wherein also Elie the famous Ile standeth, which is seuen miles euerie waie, and whereunto there is no accesse but by three causies, whose inhabitants in like sort by an old priuilege may take wood, sedge, turfe, &c. to burne: likewise haie for their cattell, and thatch for their houses of custome, and each occupier in his appointed quantitie through out the Ile; albeit that couetousnesse hath now begun somewhat to abridge this large beneuolence and commoditie, aswell in the said Ile as most other places of this land.

Commons. Finallie, I might discourse in like order of the large commons, laid out heretofore by the lords of the soiles for the benefit of such poore, as inhabit within the compasse of their manors. But as the true intent of the giuers is now in most places defrauded, in so much that not the poore tenants inhabiting vpon the same, but their landlords haue all the commoditie and gaine, so the tractation of them belongeth rather to the second booke. Wherfore I meane not at this present to deale withall, but reserue the same wholie vnto the due place whilest I go forward with the rest; setting downe neuertheless by the waie a generall commendation of the whole Iland, which I find in an ancient monument, much vnto this effect.

Illa quidem longè celebris splendore, beata,
Glebis, lacte, fauis, supereminet insula cunctis,
Quas regit ille Deus, spumanti cuius ab ore
Profluit oceanus, &c. And a little after.
Testis Lundonia ratibus, Wintonia Baccho,
Herefordia grege, Worcestria fruge redundans,
Batha lacu, Salabyra feris, Cantuaria pisce,
Eboraca syluis, Excestria clara metallis,
Norwicum Dacis hybernis, Cestria Gallis,
Cicestrum Norwagenis, Dunelmia præpinguis,
Testis Lincolnia gens infinita decore,
Testis Eli formosa situ, Doncastria visu, &c.

Of the foure high waies sometime *made in Britaine by the princes* of this Iland.

Cap. 19.

THere are, which indeuoring to bring all things to their Saxon originall, doo affirme, that this diuision of waies, (whereof we now intreat) should apperteine vnto such princes of that nation as reigned here, since the Romanes gaue vs ouer: and hereupon they inferre, that Wattling street was builded by one Wattle from the east vnto the west. But how weake their coniectures are in this behalfe, the antiquitie of these streets it selfe shall easilie declare, whereof some parcelles, after a sort, are also set downe by Antoninus; and those that haue written of the seuerall iournies from hence to Rome: although peraduenture not in so direct an order as they were at the first established. For my part, if it were not that I desire to be short in this behalfe, I could with such notes as I haue alreadie collected for that purpose, make a large confutation of diuerse of their opinions concerning these passages, and thereby rather ascribe the originall of these waies to the Romans than either the British or Saxon princes. But sith I haue spent more time in the tractation of the riuers than was allotted vnto me, and that I see great cause (notwithstanding my late alledged scruple) wherfore I should hold with our Galfride before anie other; I will omit at this time to discourse of these things as I would, and saie what I maie for the better knowledge of their courses, proceeding therein as followeth.

First of all I find, that Dunwallon king of Britaine, about 483 yeares before the birth of our sauiour Jesus Christ, seeing the subiects of his realme to be in sundrie wise oppressed by theeues and robbers as they trauelled to and fro; and being willing (so much as in him laie) to redresse these inconuentences, caused his whole kingdome to be surueied; and then commanding foure principall waies to be made, which should leade such as trauelled into all parts thereof, from sea to sea, he gaue sundrie large priuileges vnto the same, whereby they became safe, and verie much frequented. And as he had regard herein to the securitie of his subiects, so he made sharpe lawes grounded vpon iustice, for the suppression of such wicked members as did offer violence to anie traueler that should be met withall or found within the limits of those passages. How and by what parts of this Iland these waies were conueied at the first, it is not so wholie left in memorie: but that some question is moued among the learned, concerning their ancient courses. Howbeit such is the shadow remaining hitherto of their extensions, that if not at this present perfectlie, yet hereafter it is not vnpossible, but that they may be found out, & left certeine vnto posteritie. It seemeth by Galfride, that the said Dunwallon did limit out those waies by doles and markes, which being in short time altered by the auarice of such irreligious persons as dwelt neere, and incroched vpon the same (a fault yet iustlie to be found almost in euerie place, euen in the time of our most gratious and souereigne Ladie Elizabeth, wherein the lords of the soiles do vnite their small occupieng, onelie to increase a greater proportion of rent; and therefore they either remoue, or giue licence to erect small tenements vpon the high waies sides and commons; whereunto, in truth, they haue no right: and yet out of them also do raise a new commoditie) and question moued for their bounds before Belinus his sonne, he to auoid all further controuersie that might from thencefoorth insue, caused the same to be paued with hard stone of eightéene foot in breadth, ten foot in depth, and in the bottome thereof huge flint stones also to be pitched, least the earth in time should swallow vp his workemanship, and the higher ground ouer-grow their rising crests. He indued them also with larger priuileges than before, protesting that if anie man whosoeuer should presume to infringe his peace, and violate the lawes of his kingdome in anie maner of wise, neere vnto or vpon those waies, he should suffer such punishment without all hope to escape (by frendship or mercie) as by the statutes of this realme latelie prouided in those cases were due vnto the offendors. The names of these foure waies are the Fosse, the Gwethelin or Watling, the Erming, and the Ikenild.

Fosse. The Fosse goeth not directlie but slopewise ouer the greatest part of this Iland, beginning at Dotnesse or Totnesse in Deuonshire, where Brute sometime landed, or (as Ranulphus saith, which is more likelie) at the point of Cornwall, though the eldest writers do seeme to note the contrarie. From hence it goeth thorough the middle of Deuonshire & Summersetshire, and commeth to Bristow, from whence it runneth manifestlie to Sudberie market, Tetburie, and so forth holdeth on as you go almost to the midde waie betweene Glocester and Cirnecester, (where the wood fadeth, and the champeigne countrie appeareth toward Cotteswald) streight as a line vntill you come to Cirnecester it selfe. Some hold opinion

opinion that the waie, which lieth from Cirnecester to Bath, ſhould be the verie Foſſe; and that betwixt Cirnecester and Gloceſter to be another of the foure waies, made by the Britons. But ancient report grounded vpon great likelihood, and confirmed alſo by ſome experience, iudgeth that moſt of the waies croſſed ech other in this part of the realme. And of this mind is Leland alſo, who learned it of an abbat of Cirnecester that ſhewed great likelihood by ſome records thereof. But to proceed. From Cirnecester, it goeth by Chepingnorton to Couentrie, Leircester, Newarke, and ſo to Lincolne ouerthwart the Watling ſtreet: where, by generall conſent of all the writers (except Alfred of Beuerleie, who extendeth it vnto Cathneſſe in Scotland) it is ſaid to haue an end.

Watling ſtreet.

The Watling ſtreet begun (as I ſaid) by Dunwallo, but finiſhed by Gutheline, of whome it is directlie to be called Gutheline ſtreet, though now corrupted into Watling ſtreet, beginneth at Douer in Kent, and ſo ſtretcheth through the middeſt of Kent vnto London, and ſo forth (peraduenture by the middeſt of the citie) vnto Verolamium or Verlamceſter, now ſaint Albons, where, in the yeare of grace, one thouſand fiue hundred thirtie & one, the courſe thereof was found by a man that digged for grauell therwith to mend the high waie. It was in this place eighténe foot broad, and about ten foot déepe, and ſtoned in the bottome in ſuch wiſe as I haue noted afore, and peraduenture alſo on the top: but theſe are gone, and the reſt remaine equall in moſt places, and leuell with the fields. The yelow grauell alſo that was brought thither in carts two thouſand yéeres paſſed, remained there ſo freſh and ſo ſtrong, as if it had béene digged out of the naturall place where it grew not manie yéeres before. From hence it goeth hard by Margate, leauing it on the weſt ſide. And a little by ſouth of this place, where the priorie ſtood, is a long thorough fare vpon the ſaid ſtreet, méetly well builded (for low houſing) on both ſides. After this it proceedeth (as the chronicle of Barnwell ſaith) to Carton, and ſo to Huntingdon, & then forward, ſtill winding in and out till it not onelie becommeth a bound vnto Leiceſterſhire toward Lughie, but alſo paſſeth from Caſtleford to Stamford, and ſo forth by weſt of Marton, which is but a mile from Torkeſeie.

Here by the waie I muſt touch the opinion of a traueller of my time, who noteth the ſaid ſtreet to go another waie, inſomuch that he would haue it to croſſe the third Auon, betwixt Newton and Dowbridge, and ſo go on to Binford bridge, Wibtoft, the High croſſe, and thence to Atherſton vpon Ancre. Certes it may be, that the Foſſe had his courſe by the countrie in ſuch ſort as he deſcribeth; but that the Watling ſtreet ſhould paſſe by Atherſton, I cannot as yet be perſuaded. Neuertheleſſe his coniecture is not to be miſliked, ſith it is not vnlikelie that three ſeuerall waies might méet at Alderwaie (a towne vpon Tame, beneath Salters bridge) for I doo not doubt that the ſaid towne did take his name of all three waies, as Aldermarie church in London did of all three Maries, vnto whom it hath béene dedicated: but that the Watling ſtreet ſhould be one of them, the compaſſe of his paſſage will in no wiſe permit. And thus much haue I thought good to note by the waie. Now to returne againe to Leland, and other mens collections.

The next tidings that we heare of the Watling ſtreet, are that it goeth thorough or neere by the parke at Pomfret, as the common voice alſo of the countrie confirmeth. Thence it paſſeth haſtilie ouer Caſtelford bridge to Aberford, which is fiue miles from thence, and where are moſt manifeſt tokens of this ſtreet and his broad creſt by a great waie together, alſo to Yorke, to Witherbie, and then to Borowbridge, where on the left hand thereof ſtood certeine monuments, or pyramides of ſtone, ſometimes placed there by the ancient Romanes. Theſe ſtones (ſaith Leland) ſtand eight miles weſt from Bowis, and almoſt weſt from Richmond is a little thorough fare called Maiden caſtell, ſituate aparantlie vpon the ſide of this ſtreet. And here is one of thoſe pyramides or great round heapes, which is three ſcore foot compaſſe in the bottome. There are other alſo of leſſe quantities, and on the verie top of ech of them are ſharpe ſtones of a yard in length; but the greateſt of all is eightéene foot high at the leaſt, from the ground to the verie head. He addeth moreouer, how they ſtand on an hill in the edge of Stanes more, and are as bounds betwéene Richmondſhire, and Weſtmerland. But to proceed. This ſtreet lieng a mile from Gilling, and two miles from Richmond commeth on from Borowbridge to Catericke, eightéene miles; that is, twelue to Leuing, & ſix to Catericke; then eleuen miles to Greteie or Gritto, fiue miles to Bottles, eight miles to Burgh on Stanes more, foure miles from Aplebie, and fiue to Brotwham, where the ſaid ſtreet commeth thorough Winſoll parke, and ouer the bridge on Etemouth and Loder, and leauing Perith a quarter of a mile or more on the weſt ſide of it, goeth to Carleill ſeuentéene miles from Brotwham, which hath béene ſome notable thing. Hitherto it appeareth euidentlie, but going from hence into Scotland, I heare no more of it, vntill I come to Cathneſſe, which is two hundred and thirtie miles or thereabouts out of England.

Erming ſtreet.

The Erming ſtreet, which ſome call the Lelme, ſtretcheth out of the eaſt, as they ſaie, into the ſouth-eaſt, that is, from Menenia or S. Dauids in Wales vnto Southampton, whereby it is ſomewhat likelie indeed that theſe two waies, I meane the Foſſe and the Erming, ſhould méet about Cirnecester, as it commeth from Gloceſter, according to the opinion conceiued of them in that countrie. Of this waie I find no more written, and therefore I can ſaie no more of it, except I ſhould indeuor to driue awaie the time, in alleging what other men ſay thereof, whoſe minds doo ſo farre diſagrée one from another, as they doo all from a truth, and therefore I giue them ouer as not delighting in ſuch dealing.

Ikenild.

The Ikenild or Rikenild began ſomewhere in the ſouth, and ſo held on toward Cirnecester, then to Worceſter, Wicombe, Brimcham, Lichfield, Darbie, Cheſterfield; and croſſing the Watling ſtreet ſomewhere in Yorkeſhire, ſtretched forth in the end vnto the mouth of the Tine, where it ended at the maine ſea, as moſt men doo confeſſe. I take it to be called the Ikenild, becauſe it paſſed thorough the kingdome of the Icenes. For albeit that Leland & other following him doo ſéeme to place the Icenes in Norfolke and Suffolke; yet in mine opinion that can not well be doone, ſith it is manifeſt by Tacitus, that they laie néere vnto the Silures, and (as I geſſe) either in Stafford and Worceſter ſhires, or in both, except my coniecture doo faile me. The author of the booke, intituled *Eulogium hiſtoriarum*, doth call this ſtreet the Lelme. But as herein he is deceiued, ſo haue I dealt withall ſo faithfullie as I may among ſuch diuerſitie of opinions; yet not denieng but that there is much confuſion in the names and courſes of theſe two latter, the diſcuſſing whereof I muſt leaue to other men that are better learned than I.

Now to ſpeake generallie of our common high waies through the Engliſh part of the Ile (for of the reſt I can ſaie nothing) you ſhall vnderſtand that in the claie or cledgie ſoile they are often verie déepe and troubleſome in the winter halfe. Wherfore by

authoritie of parlement an order is taken for their yearelie amendment, whereby all sorts of the common people doo imploie their trauell for sir daies in summer vpon the same. And albeit that the intent of the statute is verie profitable for the reparations of the decaied places, yet the rich doo so cancell their portions, and the poore so loiter in their labours, that of all the sir, scarcelie two good days woorks are well performed and accomplished in a parish on these so necessarie affaires. Besides this, such as haue land lieng vpon the sides of the waies, doo vtterlie neglect to dich and scowre their drains and watercourses, for better auoidance of the winter waters (except it may be set off or cut from the meaning of the statute) whereby the streets doo grow to be much more gulled than before, and thereby verie noisome for such as trauell by the same. Sometimes also, and that verie often, these daies woorks are not imploied vpon those waies that lead from market to market, but ech surueior amendeth such by-plots & lanes as séeme best for his owne commoditie, and more easie passage vnto his fields and pastures. And whereas in some places there is such want of stones, as thereby the inhabitants are driuen to séeke them farre off in other soiles: the owners of the lands wherein those stones are to be had, and which hitherto haue giuen monie to haue them borne awaie, doo now reape no small commoditie by raising the same to excessiue prices, whereby their neighbours are driuen to grieuous charges, which is another cause wherefore the meaning of that good law is verie much defrauded. Finallie, this is another thing likewise to be considered of, that the trées and bushes growing by the streets sides, doo not a little keepe off the force of the sunne in summer for drieng vp of the lanes. Wherefore if order were taken that their boughs should continuallie be kept short, and the bushes not suffered to spread so far into the narrow paths, that inconuenience would also be remedied, and manie a slough proue hard ground that yet is déepe and hollow. Of the dailie incroching of the couetous vpon the hie waies I speake not. But this I know by experience, that whereas some streets within these fiue and twentie yeares haue béene in most places fiftie foot broad according to the law, whereby the traueller might either escape the théeke, or shift the mier, or passe by the loaden cart without danger of himselfe and his horsse; now they are brought vnto twelue, or twentie, or sir and twentie at the most, which is another cause also whereby the waies be the worse, and manie an honest man encombred in his iournete. But what speake I of these things whereof I doo not thinke to heare a iust redresse, because the error is so common, and the benefit thereby so swéet and profitable to manie, by such houses and cottages as are raised vpon the same.

Of the generall constitution of the *bodies of the Britons.*

Chap. 20.

SUch as are bred in this Iland are men for the most part of a good complexion, tall of stature, strong in bodie, white of colour, and thereto of great boldnesse and courage in the warres. As for their generall comelinesse of person, the testimonie of Gregorie the great, at such time as he saw English capteins sold at Rome, shall easilie confirme what it is, which yet doth differ in sundrie shires and soiles, as also their proportion of members, as we may perceiue betwéene Herefordshire and Essex men, or Cambridgeshire and the Londoners for the one, and Pokington and Sedberrie for the other; these latter being distinguished by their noses and heads, which commonlie are greater there than in other places of the land. As concerning the stomachs also of our nation in the field, they haue alwaies bæne in souereigne admiration among forren princes: for such hath bæne the estimation of our souldiers from time to time, since our Ile hath bæne knowne vnto the Romans, that whersoeuer they haue serued in forren countries, the chéefe brunts of seruice haue bæne reserued vnto them. Of their conquests and bloudie battels woone in France, Germanie, and Scotland, our histories are full: & where they haue bæne ouercome, the victorers themselues confessed their victories to haue bæne so déerelie bought, that they would not gladlie couet to ouercome often, after such difficult maner. In martiall prowesse, there is little or no difference betwéene Englishmen and Scots: for albeit that the Scots haue bæne often and verie grieuouslie ouercome by the force of our nation, it hath not bæne for want of manhood on their parts, but through the mercie of God shewed on vs, and his iustice vpon them, sith they alwaies haue begun the quarels, and offered vs méere iniurie with great despite and crueltie.

Leland noting somewhat of the constitution of our bodies, saith these words grounding (I thinke vpon Aristotle, who writeth that such as dwell neere the north, are of more courage and strength of bodie than skilfulnesse or wisdome.) The Britons are white in colour, strong of bodie, and full of bloud, as people inhabiting neere the north, and farre from the equinoctiall line, where the soile is not so fruitfull, and therefore the people not so feeble: whereas contrariwise such as dwell toward the course of the sunne, are lesse of stature, weaker of bodie, more nice, delicate, fearefull by nature, blacker in colour, & some so blacke in déed as anie crow or rauen. Thus saith he. Howbeit, as those which are bred in sundrie places of the maine, doo come behind vs in constitution of bodie, so I grant, that in pregnancie of wit, nimblenesse of limmes, and politike inuentions, they generallie exceed vs: notwithstanding that otherwise these gifts of theirs doo often degenerate into méere subtiltie, instabilitie, vnfaithfulnesse, & crueltie. Yet Alexander ab Alexandro is of the opinion, that the fertilest region doth bring forth the dullest wits, and contrariwise the harder soile the finest heads. But in mine opinion, the most fertile soile doth bring forth the proudest nature, as we may see by the Campanians, who (as Cicero also saith) had *Penes eos ipsum domicilium superbiæ*. But nether of these opinions do iustlie take hold of vs, yet hath it pleased the writers to saie their pleasures of vs. And for that we dwell northward, we are commonlie taken by the forren historiographers, to be men of great strength and little policie, much courage and small shift, because of the weake abode of the sunne with vs, whereby our brains are not made hot and warmed, as Pachymerus noteth lib. 3: affirming further, that the people inhabiting in the north parts are white of colour, blockish vnciuill, fierce and warlike, which qualities increase, as they come nearer vnto the pole; whereas the contrarie pole giueth contrarie gifts, blacknesse wisdome, ciuilitie, weakenesse, and cowardise, thus saith he. But alas, how farre from probabilitie or as if there were not one and the same conclusion to be made of the constitutions of their bodies, which dwell vnder both the poles. For in truth his assertion holdeth onelie in their persons that inhabit nére vnto and vnder the equinoctiall. As for the small tarrance of the sunne with vs, it is also confuted by the length

of

Non vi ſed virtute, non armis ſed ingenio vincuntur Angli.

of our daies. Wherefore his reaſon ſeemeth better to vphold that of Alexander ab Alexandro afore alledged, than to proue that we want wit, becauſe our brains are not warmed by the tartance of the ſunne. And thus alſo doth Comineus burden vs after a ſort in his hiſtorie, and after him Bodinus. But thanked be God, that all the wit of his countriemen, if it may be called wit, could neuer compaſſe to do ſo much in Britaine, as the ſtrength and courage of our Engliſhmen (not without great wiſedome and foreſight) haue brought to paſſe in France. The Galles in time paſt contemned the Romans (ſaith Cæſar) becauſe of the ſmalneſſe of their ſtature: howbeit, for all their great neſſe (ſaith he) and at the firſt brunt in the warres, they ſhew themſelues to be but feeble, neither is their courage of any force to ſtand in great calamities. Certes in accuſing our wiſedome in this ſort, he doth (in mine opinion) increaſe our commendation. For if it be a vertue to deale vprightlie with ſingleneſſe of mind, ſincerelie and plainlie, without anie ſuch ſuſpicious fetches in all our dealings, as they commonlie practiſe in their affaires, then are our countrimen to be accompted wiſe and vertuous. But if it be a vice to colour craftineſſe, ſubtile practiſes, doubleneſſe, and hollow behauiour, with a cloake of policie, amitie and wiſedome: then are Comineus and his countrimen to be reputed vicious, of whome this prouerbe hath of old time beene vſed as an eare marke of their diſſimulation, *Galli ridendo fidem frangunt. &c.*

How theſe latter points take hold in Italie, I meane not to diſcuſſe. How they are dailie practiſed in manie places of the maine, & be accompted moſt wiſe and politike, that can moſt of all diſſemble; here is no place fitlie to determine (neither would I wiſh my countrimen to learne anie ſuch wiſedome) but that a king of France could ſaie; *Qui neſcit diſſimulare, neſcit regnare*, or *viuere*, their owne hiſtories are teſtimonies ſufficient. Galen, the noble phyſician, tranſferring the forces of our naturall humors from the bodie to the mind, attributeth to the yellow colour, prudence; to the blacke, conſtancie; to bloud, mirth; to phlegme, courteſie: which being mixed more or leſſe among themſelues, do yeeld an infinit varietie. By this means therefore it commeth to paſſe, that he whoſe nature inclineth generallie to phlegme, cannot but be courteous: which ioined with ſtrength of bodie, and ſinceritie of behauiour (qualities vniuerſallie granted to remaine ſo well in our nation, as other inhabitants of the north) I cannot ſee what may be an hinderance vnto I ſhould not rather conclude, that the Britons do excell ſuch as dwell in the hoter countries, than for want of craft and ſubtilties to come anie whit behind them. It is but vanitie alſo for ſome to note vs (as I haue often heard in common table talke) as barbarous, becauſe we ſo little regard the ſhedding of our bloud, and rather tremble not when we ſee the liquor of life to go from vs (I vſe their owne words.) Certes if we be barbarous in their eies, becauſe we be rather inflamed than appalled at our wounds, then are thoſe obiectors flat cowards in our iudgement: ſith we thinke it a great peece of manhood to ſtand to our tackling, vntill the laſt drop, as men that may ſpare much becauſe we haue much: whereas they hauing leſſe are afraid to loſe that little which they haue: as Frontinus alſo noteth. As for that which the French write of their owne manhood in their hiſtories, I make little accompt of it: for I am of the opinion, that as an Italian writing of his credit; A papiſt intreating of religion, a Spaniard of his ſtæknefſe, or a Scot of his manhood, is not to be builded on; no more is a Frenchman to be truſted in the report of his owne affaires, wherein he doth either diſſemble or exceed, which is a foule vice in ſuch as profeſſe to deale vprightlie. Neither are we ſo hard to ſtrangers as Horace would ſeeme to make vs, ſith we loue them ſo long as they abuſe vs not, & make accompt of them ſo far forth as they deſpiſe vs not. And this is generallie to be verified, in that they vſe our priuileges and commodities for diet, apparell and trade of gaine, in ſo ample manner as we our ſelues enioy them: which is not lawfull for vs to do in their countries, where no ſtranger is ſuffered to haue worke, if an home-borne be without. But to proceed with our purpoſe.

With vs (although our good men care not to liue long, but to liue well) ſome do liue an hundred yeers, verie manie vnto foure ſcore: as for three ſcore, it is taken but for our entrance into age, ſo that in Britaine no man is ſaid to wax old till he draw vnto three ſcore, at which time God ſpéed you well commeth in place; as Epaminondas ſometime ſaid in mirth, affirming that vntill thirtie yeares of age, You are welcome is the beſt ſalutation; and from thence to three ſcore, God kéepe you; but after three ſcore, it is beſt to ſaie, God ſpéed you well: for at that time we begin to grow toward our iournies end, whereon manie a one haue verie good leaue to go. Theſe two are alſo noted in vs (as things apperteining to the firme conſtitutions of our bodies) that there hath not beene ſeene in anie region ſo manie carcaſſes of the dead to remaine from time to time without corruption as in Britaine: and that after death by ſlaughter or otherwiſe, ſuch as remaine vnburied by foure or fiue daies togither, are eaſie to be knowne and diſcerned by their frends and kindred; whereas Tacitus and other complaine of ſundrie nations, ſaieng, that their bodies are *Tam fluide ſubſtantiæ*, that within certeine houres the wife ſhall hardlie know hir huſband, the mother hir ſonne, or one frend another after their liues be ended. In like ſort the comelineſſe of our liuing bodies do continue from midle age (for the moſt) euen to the laſt gaſpe, ſpeciallie in mankind. And albeit that our women through bearing of children do after fortie begin to wrinkle apace, yet are they not commonlie ſo wretched and hard fauoured to looke vpon in their age, as the French women, and diuerſe of other countries with whom their men alſo do much participate; and there to be ſo often watward and peeuiſh, that nothing in maner may content them.

Salutations according to our ages.

I might here adde ſomewhat alſo of the meane ſtature generallie of our women, whoſe beautie commonlie exceedeth the faireſt of thoſe of the maine, their comlineſſe of perſon and good proportion of limmes, moſt of theirs that come ouer vnto vs from beyond the ſeas. This neuertheleſſe I vtterlie miſlike in the poorer ſort of them, for the wealthier do ſildome offend herein: that being of themſelues without gouernement, they are ſo careleſſe in the education of their children (wherein their huſbands alſo are to be blamed) by means whereof verie manie of them neither fearing God, neither regarding either maners or obedience, do oftentimes come to confuſion, which (if anie correction or diſcipline had beene vſed toward them in youth) might haue proued good members of their common-wealth & countrie, by their good ſeruice and induſtrie. I could make report likewiſe of the naturall vices and vertues of all thoſe that are borne within this Iland, but as the full tractation herof craueth a better head than mine to ſet forth the ſame, ſo will I giue place to other men that liſt to take it in hand. Thus much therefore of the conſtitutions of our bodies: and ſo much may ſuffice.

How Britaine at the first grew to be *diuided into three portions.*

Cap. 21.

AFter the comming of Brutus into this Iland (which was, as you haue read in the foresaid treatise, about the yeare of the world, 2850, or 1217 before the incarnation of Christ, although Geroþius after his maner dow vtterlie denie our historie in this behalfe) he made a generall suruew of the whole Iland from side to side, by such means to view and search out not onelie the limits and bounds of his dominions, but also what commodities this new atchiued conquest might yeeld vnto his people. Furthermore, finding out at the last also a conuenable place wherin to erect a citie, he began there euen the verie same which at this daie is called London, naming it Trenouanton, in remembrance of old Troie, from whence his ancestors proceeded, and for which the Romans pronounced afterward Trinobantum, although the Welshmen dow call it still Trenewith. This citie was builded (as some write) much about the tenth yeare of his reigne, so that he liued not aboue fiftéene yeares after he had finished the same. But of the rest of his other acts attempted and donne, before or after the erection of this citie, I find no certeine report, more than that when he had reigned in this Iland after his arriuall by the space of foure and twentie yeares, he finished his daies at Trenouanton aforesaid, being in his yong and florishing age, where his carcase was honourablie interred. As for the maner of his death, I find as yet no mention thereof among such writers as are extant: I meane whether it grew vnto him by defect of nature, or force of grieuous wounds receiued in his warres against such as withstood him from time to time in this Iland, and therefore I can saie nothing of that matter. Herein onelie all agree, that during the time of his languishing paines, he made a disposition of his whole kingdome, diuiding it into three parts or portions, according to the number of his sonnes then liuing, whereof the eldest exceeded not eight and twentie yeares of age, as my coniecture giueth me.

Locrine. Lhoegria. To the eldest therefore, whose name was Locrine, he gaue the greatest and best region of all the rest, which of him to this date is called Lhoegres among the Britons, but in our language England: of such English Saxons as made conquest of the same. This portion also is included on the south with the British sea, on the est with the Germane Ocean, on the north with the Humber, and on the west with the Irish sea, and the riuers Dee and Sauerne, whereof in the generall description of this Iland I haue spoken more at large. To Camber his second sonne he assigned all that lieth beyond the Sauerne and Dee, toward the west (which parcell in these daies conteineth Southwales and Northwales) with synorie Ilands adiacent to the same, the whole being in maner cut off and separated from England or Lhoegria by the said streams, wherby it séemeth also a peninsula or by-land, if you respect the small hillie portion of ground that lieth indifferentlie betweene their maine courses, or such branches (at the least) as run and fall into them. The Welshmen or Britons call it by the ancient name still vnto this day, but we Englishmen terme it Wales: which denomination we haue from the Saxons, who in time past did vse the word Walsh in such sort as we dow Strange: for as we call all those strangers that are not of our nation, so did they name them Walsh which were not of their countrie.

Camber. Cambria. The third and last part of the Iland he allotted vnto Albanact his yongest sonne (for he had but three in all, as I haue said before) whose portion séemed for circuit to be more large than that of Camber, and in maner equall in greatnesse with the dominions of Locrinus. But if you haue regard to the seuerall commodities that are to be reaped by each, you shall find them to be not much discrepant or differing one from another: for what soeuer the first & second haue in plentie of corne, fine grasse, and large cattell, this latter wanteth not in exceeding store of fish, rich mettall, quarries of stone, and abundance of wild foule: so that in mine opinion, there could not be a more equall partition than this made by Brute, and after the aforesaid maner. This later parcell at the first, toke the name of Albanactus, who called it Albania. But now a small portion onelie of the region (being vnder the regiment of a duke) reteineth the said denomination, the rest being called Scotland, of certeine Scots that came ouer from Ireland to inhabit in those quarters. It is diuided from Lhoegres also by the Solue and the Firth, yet some dow note the Humber; so that Albania (as Brute left it) conteined all the north part of the Iland that is to be found beyond the aforesaid streame, vnto the point of Cathnesse.

Albanact. Albania.

To conclude, Brute hauing diuided his kingdome after this maner, and therein contenting himselfe as it were with the generall title of the whole, it was not long after yer he ended his life; and being solemnelie interred at his new citie by his three children, they parted each from other, and toke possession of their prouinces. But Scotland after two yeares fell againe into the hands of Locrinus as to the chiefe lord, by the death of his brother Albanact, who was slaine by Humber king of the Scithians, and left none issue behind him to succeed him in that kingdome.

Locrine king also of Scotland.

After what maner the souereigntie *of this Ile dooth remaine to the princes* of Lhoegres or kings of England.

Chap. 22.

IT is possible that some of the Scotish nation, reading the former chapter, will take offense with me for meaning that the principalitie of the north parts of this Ile hath alwais belonged to the kings of Lhoegres. For whose more ample satisfaction in this behalfe, I will here set downe a discourse thereof at large, written by diuerse, and now finallie brought into one treatise, sufficient (as I thinke) to satisfie the reasonable, although not halfe enough peraduenture to content a wrangling mind, sith there is (or at the least wise hath beene) nothing more odious among some, than to heare that the king of England hath ought to dow in Scotland.

The Scots alwaies desirous to shake off ỹ English subiection, haue often made cruell & odious attempts so to dow, but in vaine.

How their historiographers haue attempted to shape manie coloured excuses to auoid so manifest a title, all men may see that read their bookes indifferentlie, whereunto I referre them. For my part there is little or nothing of mine herein, more than onelie the collection and abridgement of a number of fragments togither, wherein chéeflie I haue vsed the helpe of Nicholas Adams a lawier, who wrote thereof

thereof (of ſet purpoſe) to king Edward the firſt, as Leland did the like to king Henrie the eight, Iohn Harding vnto Edward the fourth; beſide three other, whereof the firſt dedicated his treatiſe to Henrie the fourth, the ſecond to Edward the third, and the third to Edward the firſt, as their writings yet extant do abundantlie beare witneſſe. The title alſo that Leland giueth his booke, which I haue had written with his owne hand, beginneth in this maner: "Theſe remembrances following are found in chronicles authoriſed, remaining in diuerſe monaſteries both in England and Scotland, by which it is euidentlie knowne and ſhewed, that the kings of England haue had, and now ought to haue the ſouereigntie ouer all Scotland, with the homage and fealtie of the kings there reigning from time to time, &c. Hereunto you haue heard alreadie, what diuiſion Brute made of this Iland not long before his death, whereof each of his children, ſo ſoone as he was interred, toke ſeiſure and poſſeſſion. Howbeit, after two yeares it happened that Albanact was ſlaine, whereupon Locrinus and Camber raiſing their powers, reuenged his death: and finallie the ſaid Locrinus made an entrance vpon Albania, ſeized it into his owne hands (as eſcheated wholie vnto himſelfe) without yelding anie part thereof vnto his brother Camber, who made no claime nor title vnto anie portion of the ſame. Hereby then (ſaith Adams) it euidentlie appeareth, that the entire ſeignioric ouer Albania conſiſted in Locrinus, according to which example like law among brethren euer ſince hath continued, in preferring the eldeſt brother to the onelie benefit of the collaterall aſcenſion from the youngeſt, as well in Scotland as in England vnto this date.

Ebranke the lineall heire from the bodie of this Locrine, that is to ſaie, the ſonne of Wempris, ſonne of Hadan, ſonne of the ſame Locrine builded in Albania the caſtell of Maidens, now called Edenborough (ſo called of Aidan ſometime king of Scotland, but at the firſt named Cair Mnid Agnes. i. the caſtell on mount Agnes, and the caſtell of virgins) and the caſtell of Alcluith or Alclude, now called Dumbriton, as the Scotiſh Hector Boetius confeſſeth: whereby it moſt euidentlie appeareth, that our Ebranke was then thereof ſeized. This Ebranke reigned in the ſaid ſtate ouer them a long time; after whoſe death Albania (as annexed to the empire of Britaine) deſcended to the onelie king of Britons, vntill the time of the two ſiſters ſonnes, Morgan and Conedage, lineall heires from the ſaid Ebranke, who brotherlie at the firſt diuided the realme betweene them; ſo that Morgan had Lhoegres, and Conedage had Albania. But ſhortlie after Morgan the elder brother, pondering in his head the loue of his brother with the affection to a kingdome, excluded nature, and gaue place to ambition, and thereupon denouncing warre, death miſerablie ended his life (as the reward of his vntruth) whereby Conedage obteined the whole empire of all Britaine: in which ſtate he remained during his naturall life.

From him the ſame lineallie deſcended to the onelie king of Britons, vntill (and after) the reigne of Gorbodian, who had iſſue two ſonnes, Ferrer, and Porrer. This Porrer, requiring like diuiſion of the land, affirming the former partitions to be rather of law than fauor, was by the hands of his elder brother (beſt loued of queene mother) both of his life and hoped kingdome bereaued at once. Whereupon their vnnaturall mother, vſing hir naturall malice for the death of hir one ſonne (without regard of the loſing of both) miſerablie ſlue the other in his bed miſtruſting no ſuch treaſon.

Cloten, by all writers, as well Scotiſh as other, was the next inheritour to the whole empire: but lacking power (the onelie meane in thoſe daies to obteine right) he was contented to diuide the ſame among foure of his kinſmen; ſo that Scater had Albania. But after the death of this Cloten, his ſonne Dunwallo Mulmutius made warre vpon theſe foure kings, and at laſt ouercame them, and ſo recouered the whole dominion. In token of which victorie, he cauſed himſelfe to be crowned with a crowne of gold, the verie firſt of that mettall (if anie at all were before in vſe) that was worne among the kings of this nation. This Dunwallo erected temples, wherein the people ſhould aſſemble for prater; to which temples he gaue benefit of ſanctuarie. He made the law for wager of battell, in caſes of murder and felonie, whereby a theefe that liued and made his art of fighting, ſhould for his purgation fight with the true man whom he had robbed, beleeuing aſſuredlie, that the gods (for then they ſuppoſed manie) would by miracle aſſigne victorie to none but the innocent partie. Certes the priuileges of this law, and benefit of the latter, as well in Scotland as in England, be inioied to this daie, few cauſes by late poſitiue laws among vs excepted, wherin the benefit of wager of battell is reſtreined. By which obedience to his lawes, it doth manifeſtlie appeare, that this Dunwallo was then ſeized of Albania, now called Scotland. This Dunwallo reigned in this eſtate ouer them manie yeares.

Beline and Brenne the ſonnes alſo of Dunwallo, did after their fathers death fauourablie diuide the land betweene them; ſo that Beline had Lhoegres, & Brenne had Albania: but for that this Brenne (a ſubiect) without the conſent of his elder brother and lord, aduentured to marrie with the daughter of the king of Denmarke; Beline ſeized Albania into his owne hands, and thervpon cauſed the notable waies priuileged by Dunwallons lawes to be newlie wrought by mens hands, which for the length extended from the further part of Cornewall, vnto the ſea by north Cathneſſe in Scotland. In like ſort to and for the better maintenance of religion in thoſe daies, he conſtituted miniſters called archiamines, in ſundrie places of this Iland (who in their ſeuerall functions reſembled the biſhops of our times) the one of which remained at Ebranke now called Yorke, and the whole region Caerbrantonica (whereof Ptolomie alſo ſpeaketh but not without wreſting of the name) whoſe power extended to the vttermoſt bounds of Albania, wherby likewiſe appeareth that it was then within his owne dominion. After his death the whole Ile was inioied by the onelie kings of Britaine, vntill the time of Vigenius & Peridurus lineall heires from the ſaid Beline, who fauourablie made partition, ſo that Vigenius had all the land from Humber by ſouth, and Peridurus from thence northwards all Albania, &c. This Vigenius died, and Peridurus ſurnamed, and thereby obteined the whole, from whom the ſame quietlie deſcended, and was by his poſteritie accordinglie inioied, vntill the reigne of Coell the firſt of that name. In his time an obſcure nation (by moſt writers ſuppoſed Scithians) paſſed by ſeas from Ireland, and arriued in that part of Britaine called Albania: againſt whome this Coell aſſembled his power, and being entred Albania to expell them, one Fergus in the night diſguiſed, entered the tent of this Coell, and in his bed traitorouſlie ſlue him.

This Fergus was therfore, in reward of his great proweſſe, made there king, whervpon they ſat downe in that part, with their wiues and children, and called it Scotland, and themſelues Scots: from the beginning of the world, foure thouſand ſix hundred and ſeauentéene yeares after the Scotiſh accompt, which by iuſt computation and confeſſion of all their owne writers, is ſix hundred yeares lacking ten, after that

Brutus

Brutus had reigned ouer the whole Iland, the same land being inioied by him and his posteritie before their comming, during two and fiftie descents of the kings of Britaine, which is a large prescription. Certes this intrusion into a land so manie hundred yeares before inhabited, and by so manie descents of kings quietlie inioied, is the best title that all their owne writers can alledge for them. But to proceed. Fergus hereupon immediatlie did diuide Albania also among his capteins and their souldiers: whereby it most euidentlie appeareth, that there were no people of that nation inhabiting there before, in proofe whereof the same partition shall follow.

Out of Hector Boecius lib. 1.

The lands of Cathnes lieng against Orkneie, betweene Dummesbeie and the water of Thane, was giuen vnto one Cornath, a capteine and his people. The lands betweene the water of Thane & Nes, now called Rosse, being in bredth from Cromart to the mouth of the water of Locht, were giuen to Lutorke, another capteine and his people. The lands betweene Spaie and Nes, from the Almane seas to the Ireland seas, now called Murraie land, were giuen to one Marroch and his people. The land of Thala, now called Boin Anze, Bogewall, Gariot, Formartine, and Bowguhan, were giuen to one Thalis and his people. The lands of Mar Badezenoch, and Lochquhaber, were giuen to Martach and his people. The lands of Lorne and Kintier, with the hilles and mounteins thereof, lieng from Mar to the Ireland seas, were giuen to capteine Nanance and his people. The lands of Athole were giuen to Atholus, another capteine and his people. The lands of Strabraun, & Brawdalwane lieng west from Dunkell, were giuen to Creones & Epidithes two capteins. The lands of Argile, were giuen to Argathelus a capteine. The lands of Linnor & Clidisdale were allotted to Lolgona a capteine. The lands of Siluria now called Kile, Carrike & Cuningham, were giuen to Siluth another capteine. The lands of Brigance now called Gallowaie, were giuen to the companie called Brigandes, which (as their best men) were appointed to dwell next the Britons, who afterward expelled the Britons from Annandale in Albanie, whereby it is confessed to be before inhabited by Britons. The residue of the land now called Scotland, that is to saie: Meirnis, Angus, Steremond, Gowrie, Strahern, Pirth, Fiffe, Striueling, Callender, Calderwod, Loughtian, Mers, Teuedale, with other the Kement Dales, & the Sheriffdome of Berwicke, were then enioied by a nation mingled in marriage with the Britons, and in their obedience, whose capteine called Beringer builded the castell and towne of Berwicke vpon Twede, & these people were called Picts, vpon whome by the death of this Coell, these Scots had opportunitie to vse wars, whereof they ceased not, vntill such time as it pleased God to appoint another Coell king of Britons, against whose name, albeit they hoped for a like victorie to the first, yet he preuailed and ceased not his warre, vntill these Scots were vtterlie expelled out of all the bounds of Britaine, in which they neuer dared to reenter, vntill the troublesome reigne of Sisilt king of Britons, which was the twelft king after this Coell. During all which time the countrie was reinhabited by the Britons. But then the Scots turning the ciuill discord of this realme, betweene this Sisilt and his brother Blede to their best aduantage, arriued againe in Albania, & there made one Reuther their king.

Berouicum potiùs à Berubio promontorio.

Upon this their new arriuall, new warre was made vpon them by this Sisilt king of Britons, in which warre Reuther their new king died, and Thereus succeeded, against whome the warre of Britons ceased not, vntill he frælie submitted himselfe to the said Sicill king of Britons at Ebranke, that is Yorke, where shortlie after the tenth yeare of his reigne he died. Finnane brother of Iosine succeeded by their election to the kingdome of Scots, who shortlie after (compelled by the warres of the same Sicill) declared himselfe subiect, and for the better assurance of his faith and obeisance to the king of Britons, deliuered his sonne Durstus into the hands of this Sicill: who fantasieng the child, and hoping by his owne succession to alter their subtiltie (I will not saie duplicitie saith Adams) married him in the end to Agasia his owne daughter.

Durstus.

This Durstus was their next king; but for that he had married a Briton woman, (though indeed she was a kings daughter) the Scots hated him for the same cause, for which they ought rather to haue liked him the better, and therefore not onelie traitorouslie slue him; but further to declare the end of their malice, dishinherited (as much as in them was) the issues of the same Durstus and Agasia. Hereupon new warre sprong betweene them and vs, which ceased not vntill they were contented to receiue Edeir to their king, the next in bloud then liuing, descended from Durstus and Agasia, and thereby the bloud of the Britons, of the part of the mother, was restored to the crowne of Albania: so that nature, whose law is immutable, caused this band of loue to hold. For shortlie after this Edeir attended vpon Cassibelane king of Britons, for the repulse of Iulius Cæsar, as their owne author Boecius confesseth, who commanded the same as his subiect. But Iulius Cæsar, after his second arriuall, by treason of Androgeus preuailed against the Britons, and thereupon pursued this Edeir into Scotland; and (as himselfe saith in his commentaries) subdued all the Ile of Britaine. Which though the liuing Scots denie it, their dead writers confesse that he came beyond Calender wod, and cast downe Camelon, the principall citie of the Picts. And in token of this victorie, not farre from Carron, builded a round temple of stone, which remained in some perfection vntill the reigne of our king Edward called the first after the conquest, by whome it was subuerted: but the monument thereof remaineth to this daie.

Marius.

Marius the sonne of Aruiragus, being king of all Britaine, in his time one Roderike a Scithian, with a great rabble of needie souldiours, came to the water of Frith in Scotland, which is an arme of the sea, diuiding Pentland from Fiffe: against whome this Marius assembled a power, by which he slue this Rodericke, and discomfited his people in Westmerland: but to those that remained aliue, he gaue the countrie of Cathnesse in Scotland, which proueth it to be within his owne dominion.

Coelius.

Coell the sonne of this Marius had issue Lucius, counted the first christian king of this nation: he conuerted the three archflamines of this land into bishoprikes, and ordeined bishops vnto ech of them. The first remained at London, and his power extended from the furthest part of Cornewall to Humber water. The second dwelled at Yorke, and his power stretched from Humber to the furthest part of all Scotland. The third abroded at Caerleon vpon the riuer of Wilke in Glamorgan in Wales, & his power extended from Seuerne through all Wales. Some write that he made but two, and turned their names to archbishops, the one to remaine at Canturburie, the other at Yorke: yet they confesse that he of Yorke had iurisdiction through all Scotland: either of which is sufficient to proue Scotland to be then vnder his dominion.

Seuerus.

Seuerus, by birth a Romane, but in bloud a Briton (as some thinke) and the lineall heire of the bodie

bodie of Androgeus sonne of Lud, & nephue of Cassibelane, was shortlie after emperour & king of Britons, in whose time the people to whom his ancestor Marius gaue the land of Cathnesse in Scotland, conspired with the Scots, & receiued them from the Iles into Scotland. But herevpon this Seuerus came into Scotland, and meeting with their faith and false harts togither, droue them all out of the maine land into Iles, the vttermost bounds of all great Britaine. But notwithstanding this glorious victorie, the Britons considering their seruitude to the Romans, imposed by treason of Androgeus, ancestor to this Seuerus, began to hate him, whome yet they had no time to loue, and who in their defense and suertie had slaine of the Scots and their confederats in one battell thirtie thousand: but such was the consideration of the common sort in those daies, whose malice no time could diminish, nor iust desert appease.

Bassianus. Antoninus Bassianus borne of a Briton woman, and Geta borne by a Romane woman, were the sonnes of this Seuerus, who after the death of their father, by the contrarie voices of their people, contended for the crowne. Few Britons held with Bassianus, fewer Romans with Geta: but the greater number with neither of both. In the end Geta was slaine, and Bassianus remained emperour, against whom Carautius rebelled, who gaue vnto the Scots, Picts, and Scithians, the countrie of Cathnesse in Scotland, which they afterward inhabited, whereby his seison thereof appeareth.

Coill. Coill, descended of the bloud of the ancient kings of this land, was shortlie after king of the Britons, whose onelie daughter and heire called Helen, was married vnto Constantius a Romane, who daunted the rebellion of all parts of great Britaine; and after the death of this Coill was in the right of his wife king thereof, and reigned in his state ouer them thirténe or fourtéene yeares.

Constantine. Constantine the sonne of this Constance, and Helen, was next king of Britons, by the right of his mother, who passing to Rome to receiue the empire thereof, deputed one Octauius king of Wales, and duke of the Gwilles (which some expound to be afterward called west Sarons) to haue the gouernment of this dominion. But abusing the kings innocent goodnesse, this Octauius defrauded this trust, and toke vpon him the crowne. For which traitorie albeit he was once vanquished by Leonine Traheron, great vncle to Constantine: yet after the death of this Traheron, he preuailed againe, and vsurped ouer all Britaine. Constantine being now emperor sent Maximus his kinsman hither (in processe of time) to destroie the same Octauius, who in singular battell discomfited him. Wherevpon this Maximus, as well by the consent of great Constantine, as by the election of all the Britons, for that he was a Briton in bloud, was made king or rather vicegerent of Britaine. This Maximus made warre vpon the Scots and Scithians within Britaine, and ceassed not vntill he had slaine Eugenius their king, and expelled and driuen them out of the whole limits and bounds of Britaine. Finallie he inhabited all Scotland with Britons, no man, woman, nor child of the Scotish nation suffered to remaine within it, which (as their Hector Boetius saith) was for their rebellion; and rebellion properlie could it not be, except they had béene subiects. He suffered the Picts also to remaine his subiects, who made solemne othes to him, neuer after to erect anie peculiar king of their owne nation, but to remaine vnder the old empire of the onelie king of Britaine. I had once an epistle by Leland exemplified (as he saith) out of a verie ancient record which beareth title of Helena vnto hir sonne Constantine, and entreth after this manner; *Domino semper Augusto filio Constantino, mater Helena semper Augusta, &c.* And now it repenteth me that I did not exemplifie and conueigh it into this treatise whilest I had his books. For thereby I might haue had great light for the estate of this present discourse: but as then I had no mind to haue trauelled in this matter; neuertheless, if hereafter it come againe to light I would wish it were reserued. It followeth on also in this maner (as it is translated out of the Greéke) *Veritatem sapientis animus non recusat, nec fides recta aliquando patitur quamcunque iac-turam, &c.*

About fiue and fourtie yeares after this (which was long time after the death of this Maximus) with the helpe of Gouan or Gonan and Pelga, the Scots newlie arriued in Albania, and there created one Fergus the second of that name to be there king. But bicause they were before banished the continent land, they crowned him king on their aduenture in Argile, in the fatall chaire of marble, the yéere of our Lord, foure hundred and two and twentie, as they themselues do write.

Maximian. Maximian sonne of Leonine Traheron, brother to king Coill, and vncle to Helene, was by lineall succession next king of Britons: but to appease the malice of Dionothus king of Wales, who also claimed the kingdome, he maried Othilia eldest daughter of Dionothus, and afterwards assembled a great power of Britons, and entered Albania, inuading Gallowaie, Mers, Annandale, Pentland, Carrike, Kill, and Cuningham, and in battell slue both this Fergus then king of Scots, and Durstus the king of Picts, and exiled all their people out of the continent land: wherevpon the few number of Scots then remaining a liue, went to Argile, and there made Eugenius their king. When this Maximian had thus obteined quietnesse in Britaine, he departed with his cousine Conan Meridocke into Armorica, where they subdued the king, and depopulated the countrie, which he gaue to Conan his cousine, to be afterward inhabited by Britons, by the name of Britaine the lesse: and hereof this realme toke name of Britaine the great, which name by consent of forren writers it kéepeth vnto this date.

After the death of Maximian, dissention being moued betweéne the nobles of Britaine, the Scots swarmed togither againe, and came to the wall of Adrian, where (this realme being diuided in manie factions) they ouercame one. And herevpon their Hector Boetius (as an hen that for lacking of one eg, will make a great cakeling) solemnlie triumphing for a conquest before the victorie, alledgeth that hereby the Britons were made tributaries to the Scots, and yet he confesseth that they won no more land, by that supposed conquest, but the same portion betweéne them and Humber, which in the old partitions before was annexed to Albania. It is hard to be beléeued, that such a broken nation as the Scots at that time were, returning from banishment within foure yeares before, and since in battell losing both their kings, and the great number of their best men, to be thus able to make a conquest of great Britaine; and verie vnlikelie if they had conquered it, they would haue left the hot sunne of the south parts, to dwell in the cold snow in Scotland. Incredible it is, that if they had conquered it, they would not haue deputed officers in it, as in cases of conquest behoueth. And it is beyond all beliefe, that great Britaine, or any other countrie, should be won without the comming of anie enimie into it: as they did not, but taried finallie at the same wall of Adrian, whereof I spake before.

But what need I speake of these defenses, when the

the same Boecius scantlie trusteth his owne beliefe in this tale. For he saieth that Galfride, and sundrie other authentike writers, diuerslie varie from this part of his storie, wherein his owne thought accuseth his conscience of vntruth: herein also he farther forgetting how it behoueth a lier to be mindfull of his assertion, in the fourth chapter next following, wholie bewraieth himselfe, saieng that the confederat kings of Scots and Picts, vpon ciuill warres betweene the Britons (which then followed) hoped shortlie to inioie all the land of great Britaine, from beyond Humber vnto the fresh sea, which hope had bene vaine, and not lesse than void, if it had béene their owne by anie conquest before.

Constantine of Britaine, descended from Conan king thereof, cousine of Brutes bloud to this Marimian, and his nerest heire was next king of Britaine, he immediatlie pursued the Scots with wars, and shortlie in battell slue their king Dongard, in the first yeare of his reigne, whereby he recouered Scotland out of their hands, and toke all the holdes thereof into his owne possessions. Aortiger shortlie after obteined the crowne of Britaine, against whom the Scots newlie rebelled: for the repressing whereof (mistrusting the Britons to hate him for sundrie causes, as one that to auoid the smoke doth oft fall into the fire) receiued Hengest a Saxon, and a great number of his countriemen, with whom and a few Britons he entred Scotland & ouercame them, whereupon they toke the Iles, which are their common refuge. He gaue also much of Scotland, as Gallowaie, Pentland, Mers and Annandale, with sundrie other lands to this Hengest and his people to inhabit, which they did accordinglie inioie. But when this Hengest in processe of time thirsted after the whole kingdome of the south, he was banished, and yet afterward being restored, he conspired with the Scots against Aurilambrose the sonne of Constantine, the iust inheritor of this whole dominion. But his vntruth and theirs were both recompensed togither, for he was taken prisoner by Eldulph de Samor a noble man of Britaine, and his head for his traitorie striken off at the commandement of Aurilambrose. In the field the Scots were vanquished: but Octa the sonne of Hengest was receiued to mercie, to whome and his people this Aurilambrose gaue the countrie of Gallowaie in Scotland, for which they became his subiects. And hereby appeareth that Scotland was then againe reduced into his hands.

Some thinke the Seimors to come from this man by lineall descent and I suppose no lesse.

Uter called also Pendragon, brother to Aurilambrose was nert king of the Britons, against whome, these sworne Saxons now foresworne subiects (confederate with the Scots) newlie rebelled: but by his power assembled against them in Gallowaie in Scotland, they were discomfited, & Albania againe recouered vnto his subiection. Arthur the sonne of of this Uter, begotten before the mariage, but lawfullie borne in matrimonie, succéeded nert to the crowne of great Britaine; whose noble acts, though manie vulgar fables haue rather stained than commended: yet all the Scotish writers confesse, that he subdued great Britaine, and made it tributarie to him, and ouercame the Saxons then scattered as far as Cathnesse in Scotland: and in all these wars against them, he had the seruice and obeisance of Scots and Picts. But at the last setting their fét in the guilefull paths of their predecessors, they rebelled and besieged the citie of Yorke, Howell king of the lesse Britaine cousine to king Arthur being therein. But he with an host came thither and discomfited the Scots, chased them into a marsh, and besieged them there so long, that they were almost famished: vntill the bishops, abbats, and men of religion (for as much as they were christened people) besought him to take them to his mercie and grace, and to grant them a portion of the same countrie to dwell in vnder euerlasting subiection. Upon this he toke them to his grace, homage and fealtie: and when they were sworne his subiects and liegemen, he ordeined his kinsman Anguisan to be their king and gouernour, Urian king of Iland, and Pure-frence king of Orkeneie. He made an archbishop of Yorke also, whose authoritie extended through all Scotland.

Finallie, the said Arthur holding his roiall feast at Cairleon, had there all the kings that were subiects vnto him, among which, Anguisian the said king of Scots did his due seruice and homage, so long as he was with him for the realme of Scotland, & bare king Arthurs sword afore him. Malgo shortlie after succéeded in the whole kingdome of great Britaine, who vpon new resistance made, subdued Ireland, Iland, the Orchads, Norwaie and Denmarke, and made Ethelfred a Saxon king of Bernicia, that is, Northumberland, Louthian, and much other land of Scotland, which Ethelfred by the sword obteined at the hands of the wilfull inhabitants, and continued true subiect to this Malgo.

Cadwan succéeded in the kingdome of great Britaine, who in defense of his subiects the Scots, made warre vpon this Ethelfred, but at the last they agréed, and Cadwan vpon their rebellion gaue all Scotland vnto this Ethelfred, which he thereupon subdued and inioied: but afterward in the reigne of Cadwallo that nert succéeded in great Britaine, he rebelled. Whervpon the same Cadwallo came into Scotland, and vpon his treason reseised the countrie into his owne hands, and hauing with him all the vicerois of the Saxons, which then inhabited here as his subiects, in singular battell he slue the same Ethelfred with his owne hands.

Oswald was shortlie after by Cadwallos gift made king of Bernicia, and he as subiect to Cadwallo, and by his commandement discomfited the Scots and Picts, and subdued all Scotland. Oswie the brother of this Oswald, was by the like gift of Cadwallo, made nert king of Bernicia, and he by like commandement newlie subdued the Scots and Picts, and held them in that obeisance to this Cadwallo, during eight and twentie yeares. Thus Cadwallo reigned in the whole monarchie of great Britaine, hauing all the seuen kings thereof, as well Saxons as others his subiects: for albeit the number of Saxons from time to time greatlie increased, yet were they alwaies either at the first expelled, or else made tributarie to the onelie kings of Britons for the time being, as all their owne writers do confesse.

Cadwallader was nert king of the whole great Britaine, he reigned twelue yeares ouer all the kings thereof, in great peace and tranquillitie: and then vpon the lamentable death of his subiects, which died of sundrie diseases innumerablie, he departed into little Britaine. His sonne and cousine Iuor and Iue, being expelled out of England also by the Saxons, went into Wales, where among the Britons they and their posteritie remained princes. Upon this great alteration, and warres being through the whole dominion betweene the Britons and Saxons, the Scots thought time to slip the collar of obedience, and thereupon entred in league with Charles then king of France, establishing it in this wise.

1 The iniurie of Englishmen done to anie of these people, shall be perpetuallie holden common to them both.

2 When Frenchmen be inuaded by Englishmen, the Scots shall send their armie in defense of France, so that they be supported with monie and vittels

cc bittels by the French.

cc 3 When Scots be invaded by Englishmen, the Frenchmen shall come vpon their owne expenses, to their support and succour.

cc 4 None of the people shall take peace or truce with Englishmen, without the advise of other, &c.

Nicholas Adams.

Manie disputable opinions may be had of warre without the praising of it, as onlie admittable by inforced necessitie, and to be vsed for peace sake onelie, where here the Scots sought warre for the loue of warre onelie. For their league giueth no benefit to themselues, either in free traffike of their owne commodities, or benefit of the French, or other priuilege to the people of both. What discommoditie riseth by losing the intercourse and exchange of our commodities (being in necessaries more abounda nt than France) the Scots feele, and we perfectlie know. What ruine of their townes, destruction of countries, slaughter of both peoples, haue by reason of this bloudie league chanced, the histories be lamentable to read, and horrible among christian men to be remembred: but God gaue the increase according to their seed, for as they did hereby sowe dissention, so did they shortlie after reape a bloudie slaughter and confusion. For Alpine their king, possessing a light mind that would be lost with a little wind, hoped by this league shortlie to subdue all great Britaine, and to that end not onelie rebelled in his owne kingdome, but also vsurped vpon the kingdome of Picts. Whervpon Edwine king of England, made one Brudeus king of Picts, whom he sent into Scotland with a great power, where in battell he toke this Alpine king of Scots prisoner, and discomfited his people. And this Alpine being their king found subiect and rebell, his head was striken off at a place in Scotland, which thereof is to this daie called Pasalpine, that is to saie, the head of Alpine. And this was the first effect of their French league.

Osbright king of England, with Ella his subiect, and a great number of Britons and Saxons shortlie after, for that the Scots had of themselues elected a new king, entered Scotland, and ceassed not his war against them, vntill their king and people fled into the Iles, with whome at the last vpon their submission, peace was made in this wise.

The water of Frith shall be march betweene Scots and Englishmen in the east parts, and shall be named the Scotish sea.

The water of Cluide to Dunbriton, shall be march in the west parts betweene the Scots and Britons. This castell was before called Alcluide, but now Dunbriton, that is to say, the castle of Britons, and sometimes it was destroied by the Danes. So the Britons had all the lands from Sterling to the Ireland seas, and from the water of Frith & Cluide to Cumber, with all the strengths and commodities thereof: and the Englishmen had the lands betweene Sterling and Northumberland. Thus was Cluide march betweene the Scots and the Britons on the one side, and the water of Frith named the Scotish sea, march betweene them and Englishmen on the other side, and Sterling common march to three people, Britons, Englishmen, and Scots, howbeit king Osbright had the castle of Sterling, where first he caused to be coined Sterling monie. The Englishmen also builded a bridge of stone, for passage ouer the water of Frith, in the middest whereof they made a crosse, vnder which were written these verses:

I am free march, as passengers may ken,
To Scots, to Britons, and Englishmen.

Not manie yeares after this, Hinguar and Hubba, two Danes, with a great number of people, arriued in Scotland, and slue Constantine, whom Osbright had before made king: whereupon Edulfe or Ethelwulfe, then king of England, assembled his power against Hinguar and Hubba, and in one battell slue them both; but such of their people as would remaine and become christians, he suffered to tarie: the rest he banished or put to death, &c.

This Ethelwulfe granted the Peter pence, of which albeit Peter & Paule had little need and lesse right: yet the paiment thereof continued in this realme euer after vntill now of late yeares. But the Scots euer since vnto this daie haue, and yet do paie it, by reason of that grant, which proueth them to be then vnder his obeisance.

Alured or Alfred succeeded in the kingdome of England, and reigned noblie ouer the whole monarchie of great Britaine: he made lawes, that persons excommunicated should be disabled to sue or claime anie propertie; which law Gregour, whome this Alured had made king of Scots, obeied; and the same law as well in Scotland as in England is holden to this daie, which also proueth him to be high lord of Scotland.

This Alured constreined Gregour king of Scots also to breake the league with France, for generallie he concluded with him, and serued him in all his warres, as well against Danes as others, not reserning or making anie exception of the former league with France.

The said Alured, after the death of Gregour, had the like seruice and obeisance of Donald king of Scots with fiue thousand horsemen, against one Gormond a Dane that then infested the realme, and this Donald died in this faith and obeisance with Alured.

Edward the first of that name called Chifod sonne of this Alured succeeded his father, and was the next king of England: against whome Sithric a Dane and the Scots conspired; but they were subdued, and Constantine their king brought to obeisance. He held the realme of Scotland also of king Edward, and this doth Marian their owne countrieman a Scot confesse: beside Roger Houeden, and William of Malmesberie.

In the yeare of our Lord 923, the same king Edward was president and gouernour of all the people of England, Cumberland, Scots, Danes, and Britons.

King Athelstane in like sort conquered Scotland, and as he laie in his tents beside Yorke, whilest the warres lasted, the king of Scots feined himselfe to be a minstrell, and harped before him onelie to espie his ordinance and his people. But being (as their writers confesse) corrupted with monie, he sold his faith and false heart together to the Danes, and aided them against king Athelstane at sundrie times. Howbeit he met with all their vntruthes at Brongingfield in the west countrie, as is mentioned in the ninth chapter of the first booke of this description, where he discomfited the Danes, and slue Malcolme deputie in that behalfe to the king of Scots: in which battell the Scots confesse themselues to haue lost more people than were remembred in anie age before. Then Athelstane following his good lucke, went throughout all Scotland and wholie subdued it, and being in possession thereof, gaue land there lieng in Annandale by his deed, the copie whereof doth follow:

I king Athelstane, giues vnto Paulam, Oddam and Roddam, als good and als faire, as euer they mine were, and thereto witnesse Mauld my wife.

By which course words, not onelie appeareth the plaine simplicitie of mens doings in those daies: but also a full proofe that he was then seized of Scotland. At the last also he receiued homage of Malcolme king of Scots: but for that he could not be re-

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kozed to his whole kingdome, he entered into religion, and there shortlie after died.

Then Athelstane, for his better assurance of that countrie there after, thought it best to haue two stringes to the bowe of their obedience, and therefore not onelie constituted one Malcolme to be their king, but also appointed one Indulph sonne of Constantine the third, to be called prince of Scotland, to whome he gaue much of Scotland: and for this Malcolme did homage to Athelstane.

Edmund brother of Athelstane succéded next king of England, to whome this Indulph then king of Scots not onelie did homage, but also serued him with ten thousand Scots, for the expulsion of the Danes out of the realme of England.

Some referre this to an Edward.

Edred or Eldred brother to this Edmund succéded next king of England: he not onelie receiued the homage of Irise then king of Scots, but also the homage of all the barons of Scotland.

Edgar the sonne of Edmund, brother of Athelstane, being now of full age, was next king of England: he reigned onelie ouer the whole monarchie of Britaine, and receiued homage of Keneth king of Scots for the kingdome of Scotland, and made Malcolme prince thereof.

This Edgar gaue vnto the same Keneth the countrie of Louthian in Scotland, which was before seized into the hands of Osbright king of England for their rebellion, as is before declared. He inioined Keneth their said king also once in euerie yéere at certeine principall feasts (whereat the king did vse to weare his crowne) to repaire vnto him into England for the making of lawes: which in those daies was done by the noble men or péeres according to the order of France at this daie. He allowed also sundrie lodgings in England, to him and his successours, whereat to lie, and refresh themselues in their iourneies, whensoeuer they should come vp to do their homages: and finallie a péece of ground lieng beside the new palace of Westminster, vpon which this Keneth builded a house, that by him and his posteritie was inioied vntill the reigne of king Henrie the second. In whose time, vpon the rebellion of William king of Scots, it was resumed into the king of Englands hand. The house is decaied, but the ground where it stod is called Scotland to this daie.

Lawfull age and wardship of heires.

Moreouer, Edgar made this law, that no man should succéd to his patrimonie or inheritance holden by knights seruice, vntill he accomplished the age of one and twentie yéeres: because by intendment vnder that age, he should not be able in person to serue his king and countrie according to the tenor of his déed, and the condition of his purchase. This law was receiued by the same Keneth in Scotland; and as well there as in England is obserued to this daie: which prooueth also that Scotland was then vnder his obeisance.

In the yeere of our Lord 974, Kinald king of Scots, and Malcolme king of Cumberland, Macon king of Man and the Iles, Douenall king of South-wales, Siferth and Howell kings of the rest of Wales, Jacob or James of Gallowaie, & Jukill of Westmerland did homage to king Edgar at Chester. And on the morrow going by water to the monasterie of saint Johns to seruice, and returning home againe: the said Edgar sitting in a barge, and stirring the same vpon the water of Dée, made the said kings to row the barge, saieng that his successors might well be ioifull to haue the prerogatiue of so great honour, and the superioritie of so manie mightie princes to be subiect vnto their monarchie.

Edward, the sonne of this Edgar, was next king of England, in whose time this Keneth king of Scots caused Malcolme king of Scotland to be poisoned. Wherevpon king Edward made warre against him, which ceased not vntill this Keneth submitted himselfe, and offered to receiue him for prince of Scotland, whome king Edward would appoint. Herevpon king Edward proclamed one Malcolme to be prince of Scotland, who immediatlie came into England, and there did homage vnto the same king Edward.

Ethelred, brother of this Edward succéded next ouer England, against whome Swaine king of Denmarke conspired with this last Malcolme then king of Scots. But shortlie after, this Malcolme sorrowfullie submitted himselfe into the defense of Ethelred: who considering how that which could not be amended, must onelie be repented, benignlie receiued him. By helpe of whose seruice at last Ethelred recouered his realme againe out of the hands of Swaine, and reigned ouer the whole monarchie eight and thirtie yéeres.

Edmund surnamed Ironside, sonne of this Ethelred, was next king of England, in whose time Canutus a Dane inuaded the realme with much cruelties. But at the last he married with Emme sometime wife vnto Ethelred and mother of this Edmund. Which Emme, as arbitratrix betweene hir naturall loue to the one, and matrimoniall dutie to the other, procured such amitie betweene them in the end, that Edmund was contented to diuide the realme with Canutus: and keeping to himselfe all England on this side Humber, gaue all the rest beyond Humber, with the seignioric of Scotland to this Canutus. Wherevpon Malcolme then king of Scots (after a little accustomable resistance) did homage to the same Canutus for the kingdome of Scotland. Thus the said Canutus held the same ouer of this Edmund king of England by the like seruices, so long as they liued togither. This Canutus in memorie of this victorie, and glorie of his seignioric ouer the Scots, commanded Malcolme their king to build a church in Buchquhan in Scotland, (where a field betweene him and them was fought) to be dedicated to Olauus patrone of Norwaie and Denmarke, which church was by the same Malcolme accordinglie performed.

Edward called the Confessour, sonne of Ethelred, and brother to Edmund Ironside, was afterward king of England: he toke from Malcolme king of Scots his life and his kingdome, and made Malcolme sonne to the king of Cumberland and Northumberland king of Scots, who did him homage and fealtie.

This Edward perused the old lawes of the realme, and somewhat added to some of them: as to the law of Edgar for the wardship of the lands vntill the heire should accomplish the age of one and twentie yeeres. He added, that the marriage of such heire should also belong to the lord of whom the same land was holden. Also, that euerie woman marrieng a free man, should (notwithstanding she had no children by that husband) enioie the third part of his inheritance during hir life: with manie other lawes which the same Malcolme king of Scots obeied, and which as well by them in Scotland, as by vs in England be obserued to this day, and directlie prooueth the whole to be then vnder his obeisance.

To whome the marriage of the ward perteineth.

By reason of this law, Malcolme the sonne of Duncane next inheritor to the crowne of Scotland, being within age, was by the nobles of Scotland deliuered as ward to the custodie also of king Edward. During whose minoritie, one Makebeth a Scot traitorouslie vsurped the crowne of Scotland. Against whome the said Edward made warre, in which

which the ſaid Mackbeth was ouercome and ſlaine. Whereupon the ſaid Malcolme was crowned king of Scots at Scone, in the eight yeere of the reigne of king Edward aforeſaid. This Malcolme alſo by tenor of the ſaid new law of wardſhip, was married vnto Margaret the daughter of Edward ſonne of Edmund Ironſide and Agatha, by the diſpoſition of the ſame king Edward, and at his full age did homage to this king Edward the Confeſſour for the kingdome of Scotland.

Edward the Confeſſour.

Moreouer, Edward of England, hauing no iſſue of his bodie, and miſtruſting that Harald the ſon of Godwine, deſcended of the daughter of Harald Harefot the Dane, would vſurpe the crowne, if he ſhould leaue it to his couſine Edgar Eatling (being then within age) and partlie by the petition of his ſubiects, who before had ſworne neuer to receiue anie kings ouer them of the Daniſh nation, did by his ſubſtantiall will in writing (as all our clergie writers affirme) demiſe the crowne of great Britaine vnto William Baſtard, then duke of Normandie, and to his heires, conſtituting him his heire teſtamentarie. Alſo there was priuitie in bloud betweene them: for Emme daughter of Richard duke of Normandie was wife vnto Ethelred, on whom he begat Alured and this Edward: and this William was ſon of Robert ſonne of Richard, brother of the whole bloud to the ſame Emme. Whereby appeareth that this William was heire by title, and not by conqueſt, albeit that partlie to extinguiſh the miſtruſt of other titles, and partlie for the glorie of his victorie, he chalenged in the end, the name of a conquerour, and hath beene ſo written euer ſince the time of his arriuall.

William Baſtard.

Furthermore, this William, called the Baſtard and the Conquerour, ſuppoſed not his conqueſt perfect till he had likewiſe ſubdued the Scots. Wherfore to bring the Scots to full obeiſance after his coronation, as heire teſtamentarie to Edward the Confeſſour; he entred Scotland, where after a little reſiſtance made by the inhabitants, the ſaid Malcolme then their king did homage to him at Abirnethie in Scotland for the kingdome of Scotland, as to his ſuperiour alſo by meane of his late conqueſt.

William Rufus.

William ſurnamed Rufus, ſonne to this William called the Conquerour, ſucceeded next in the throne of England, to whome the ſaid Malcolme king of Scots did like homage for the whole kingdome of Scotland. But afterward he rebelled, and was by this William Rufus ſlaine in plaine field. Whereupon the Scotiſhmen did chooſe one Donald or Dunwall to be their king. But this William Rufus depoſed him, and created Dunkane ſonne of Malcolme to be their king, who did like homage to him. Finallie, this Dunkane was ſlaine by the Scots, and Dunwall reſtored, who once againe by this William Rufus was depoſed; and Edgar ſon of Malcolme, and brother to the laſt Malcolme, was by him made their king, who did like homage for Scotland to this William Rufus.

Henrie 1.

Henrie called Beauclerke the ſonne of William called the Conqueour, after the death of his brother William Rufus, ſucceeded to the crowne of England, to whome the ſame Edgar king of Scots did homage for Scotland: this Henrie Beauclerke married Mawd the daughter of Malcolme K. of Scots, and by hir had iſſue Mawd afterward empreſſe.

Alexander the ſonne of Malcolme brother to this Mawd was next king of Scots, he did like homage for the kingdome of Scotland to this Henrie the firſt, as Edgar had done before him.

Mawd.

Mawd called the empreſſe, daughter and heire to Henrie Beauclerke and Mawd his wife, receiued homage of Dauid, brother to hir and to this Alexander next king of Scots, before all the temporall men of England for the kingdome of Scotland. This Mawd the empreſſe gaue vnto Dauid in the marriage, Mawd the daughter and heire of Waldoſius earle of Huntingdon & Northumberland. And herein their euaſion appeareth, by which they allege that their kings homages were made for the earledome of Huntingdon. For this Dauid was the firſt that of their kings was earle of Huntingdon, which was ſince all the homages of their kings before recited, and at the time of this mariage, & long after the ſaid Alexander his brother was king of Scots, doing the homage aforeſaid to Henrie Beauclerke ſon to the aforeſaid ladie, of whome I find this epitaph worthie to be remembred:

Ortu magna, viro maior, ſed maxima partu,
Hic iacet Henrici filia, ſponſa, parens.

In the yeere of our Lord 1136, and firſt yeere of the reigne of king Stephan, the ſaid Dauid king of Scots being required to do his homage, refuſed it: for ſo much as he had done homage to Mawd the empreſſe before time; notwithſtanding the ſonne of the ſaid Dauid did homage to king Stephan.

Henrie called Fitz empreſſe, the ſonne of Mawd the empreſſe daughter of Mawd, daughter of Malcolme king of Scots, was next king of England. He receiued homage for Scotland of Malcolme ſonne of Henrie, ſonne of the ſaid Dauid their laſt king. Which Malcolme after this homage attended vpon the ſame king Henrie in his warres againſt Lewis then king of France. Whereby appeareth that their French league was neuer renewed after the laſt diuiſion of their countrie by Egbright king of England. But after theſe warres finiſhed with the French king, this Malcolme being againe in Scotland rebelled: whereupon king Henrie immediatlie ſeized Huntingdon and Northumberland into his owne hands by confiſcation, and made warres vpon him in Scotland: during which the ſame Malcolme died without iſſue of his bodie.

Henrie 2.

William brother of this Malcolme was next king of Scots, he with all the nobles of Scotland (which could not be now for anie earledome) did homage to the ſonne of Henrie the ſecond, with a reſeruation of the dutie to king Henrie the ſecond his father. Alſo the earledome of Huntingdon was (as ye haue heard) before this forfeited by Malcolme his brother, and neuer after reſtored to the crowne of Scotland.

Becauſe they were taken from him before.

This William did afterward attend vpon the ſame Henrie the ſecond, in his warres in Normandie againſt the French king (notwithſtanding their French league) and then being licenced to depart home in the tenth of this prince, and vpon the fiftéenth of Februarie he returned, and vpon the firtéenth of October did homage to him for the realme of Scotland. In token alſo of his perpetuall ſubiection to the crowne of England, he offered vp his cloake, his ſaddle, and his ſpeare at the high altar in Yorke: whereupon he was permitted to depart home into Scotland, where immediatlie he moued cruell warre in Northumberland againſt the ſame king Henrie, being as yet in Normandie. But God toke the defenſe of king Henries part, and deliuered the ſame William king of Scots into the hands of a few Engliſhmen, who brought him priſoner to king Henrie into Normandie in the twentith yeere of his reigne. But at the laſt, at the ſute of Dauid his brother, Richard biſhop of ſaint Andrews, and other biſhops and lords, he was put to this fine for the amendment of his treſpaſſe; to wit, to paie ten thouſand pounds ſterling, and to ſurrender all his title to the earldome of Huntingdon, Cumberland, & Northumberland into the hands of king Henrie,

which he did in all things accordinglie, sealing his charters thereof with the great seale of Scotland, and signets of his nobilitie yet to be sæne: wherein it was also comprised, that he and his successours should hold the realme of Scotland of the king of England and his successours for euer. And hereupon he once againe did homage to the same king Henrie, which now could not be for the earledome of Huntingdon, the right whereof was alreadie by him surrendred. And for the better assurance of this faith also, the strengths of Berwike, Edenborough, Rorborough, and Striueling were deliuered into the hands of our king Henrie of England, which their owne writers confesse. But Hector Boetius saith, that this trespasse was amended by fine of twentie thousand pounds sterling, and that the erledome of Huntingdon, Cumberland, and Northumberland were deliuered as morgage into the hands of king Henrie, vntill other ten thousand pounds sterling should be to him paid, which is so farre from truth, as Hector was (while he liued) from well meaning to our countrie. But if we grant that it is true, yet preweth he not that the monie was paid, nor the land otherwise redéemed, or euer after came to anie Scotish kings hands. And thus it appeareth that the earledome of Huntingdon was neuer occasion of the homages of the Scotish kings to the kings of England, either before this time or after.

This was done 1175. Moreouer I read this note hereof gathered out of Robertus Montanus or Montensis that liued in those daies, and was (as I take it) confessor to king Henrie. The king of Scots doth homage to king Henrie for the kingdome of Scotland, and is sent home againe, his bishops also did promise to do the like to the archbishop of Yorke, and to acknowledge themselues to be of his prouince and iurisdiction. By vertue also of this composition the said Robert saith, that *Rex Angliæ dabat honores, episcopatus, abbatias, & alias dignitates in Scotia, vel saltem eius consilio dabantur*, that is, The king of England gaue honors, bishoprikes, abbatships, and other dignities in Scotland, or at the least wise they were not giuen without his aduise and counsell.

At this time Alexander bishop of Rome (supposed to haue generall iurisdiction ecclesiasticall through christendome) established the whole cleargie of Scotland (according to the old lawes) vnder the iurisdiction of the archbishop of Yorke.

In the yeare of our Lord 1185, in the moneth of August, at Cairleill, Rouland Talmant lord of Galwaie, did homage and fealtie to the said king Henrie with all that held of him.

In the two and twentith yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the second, Gilbert sonne of Ferguse prince of Galwaie, did homage and fealtie to the said king Henrie, and left Dunecan his sonne in hostage for conseruation of his peace.

Richard surnamed Cœur de Lion, because of his stoutnesse, and sonne of this Henrie was next king of England, to whome the same William king of Scots did homage at Canturburie for the whole kingdome of Scotland.

This king Richard was taken prisoner by the duke of Olstich, for whose redemption the whole realme was tared at great summes of monie, vnto the which this William king of Scots (as a subiect) was contributorie, and paied two thousand markes sterling.

In the yeare of our Lord 1199, John king of England sent to William king of Scots, to come and do his homage, which William came to Lincolne in the moneth of December the same yeare, and did his homage vpon an hill in the presence of Hubert archbishop of Canturburie, and of all the people there assembled, and thereunto take his oth and was sworne vpon the crosse of the said Hubert: also he granted by his charter confirmed, that he should haue the mariage of Alexander his sonne, as his liegeman, alwaies to hold of the king of England: promising moreouer that he the said king William and his sonne Alexander, should kæpe and hold faith and allegiance to Henrie sonne of the said king John, as to their chiefe lord against all maner of men that might liue and die.

Also whereas William king of Scots had put John bishop of saint Andrew out of his bishoprike, pope Clement wrote to Henrie king of England, that he should moue and induce the same William; and if néed required by his rotall power and prerogatiue ouer that nation, to compell him to leaue his rancor against the said bishop, and suffer him to haue and occupie his said bishoprike againe.

In the yeare of our Lord 1216, and fiue & twentith of the reigne of Henrie, sonne to king John, the same Henrie and the quæne were at Yorke at the feast of Christmasse, for the solemnization of a marriage made in the feast of saint Stephan the martyr the same yeare, betwæne Alexander king of Scots, and Margaret the kings daughter, and there the said Alexander did homage to Henrie king of England for all the realme of Scotland.

In buls of diuerse popes were admonitions giuen to the kings of Scots, as appeareth by that of Gregorie the fift and Clement his successor, that they should obserue and trulie kæpe all such apointments, as had bæne made betwæne the kings of England and Scotland. And that the kings of Scotland should still hold the realme of Scotland of the kings of England, vpon paine of curse and interdiction.

After the death of Alexander king of Scots, Alexander his sonne, being nine yeares of age, was by the lawes of Edgar, in ward to king Henrie the third, & by the nobles of Scotland brought to Yorke, and there deliuered vnto him. During whose minoritie king Henrie gouerned Scotland, and to subdue a commotion in this realme, vsed the aid of fiue thousand Scotishmen. But king Henrie died during the nonage of this Alexander, whereby he receiued not his homage, which by reason and law was respited vntill his full age of one and twentie yeares.

Edward the first after the conquest, sonne of this Henrie was next king of England; immediatlie after whose coronation, Alexander king of Scots, being then of full age, did homage to him for Scotland at Westminster, swearing (as all the rest did) after this maner.

I. D. N. king of Scots shall be true and faithfull vnto you lord E. by the grace of God king of England, the noble and superior lord of the kingdome of Scotland, and vnto you I make my fidelitie for the same kingdome, the which I hold and claime to hold of you. And I shall beare you my faith and fidelitie of life and lim, and worldlie honour against all men, faithfullie I shall knowlege and shall doo you seruice due vnto you of the kingdome of Scotland aforesaid, as God me so helpe and these holie euangelies.

This Alexander king of Scots died, leaning one onelie daughter called Margaret for his heire, who before had maried Hanigo, sonne to Magnus king of Norwaie, which daughter also shortlie after died, leauing one onelie daughter hir heire, of the age of two yeares, whose custodie and mariage by the lawes of king Edgar, and Edward the confessor, belonged to Edward the first: wherupon the nobles of Scotland were commanded by our king Edward to send into Norwaie, to conueie this yong quæne into

England

England to him, whome he intended to haue mar-
ried to his sonne Edward: and so to haue made a per-
fect vnion long wished for betweene both realmes.
Herevpon their nobles at that time considering the
same tranquillitie that manie of them haue since
refused, stood not vpon shifts and delaies of minori-
tie nor contempt, but most gladlie consented, and
therevpon sent two noble men of Scotland into
Norwaie, for hir to be brought to this king Edward,
but she died before their comming thither, and there-
fore they required nothing but to injoie the lawfull
liberties that they had quietlie possessed in the last
king Alexanders time.

After the death of this Margaret, the Scots were
destitute of anie heire to the crowne from this Alex-
ander their last king, at which time this Edward de-
scended from the bodie of Mawd daughter of Mal-
colme sometime king of Scots, being then in the
greatest broile of his warres with France, minded
not to take the possession of that kingdome in his
owne right, but was contented to establish Baliol
to be king thereof, the weake title betweene him,
Bruse, & Hastings, being by the humble petition of
all the realme of Scotland committed to the determi-
nation of king Edward, wherein by autentike writ-
ting they confessed the superioritie of the realme to
remaine in king Edward, sealed with the seales of
foure bishops, seuen earles, and twelue barons of
Scotland, and which shortlie after was by the whole
assent of the three estates of Scotland, in their so-
lemne parlement confessed and enacted accordinglie, as most euidentlie doth appeare.

The Baliol in this wise made king of Scotland,
did immediatlie make his homage and fealtie at
Newcastell vpon saint Steuens daie (as did likewise all the lords of Scotland, each one setting his hand to the composition in writing) to king Edward of England for the kingdome of Scotland: but shortlie after defrauding the benigne goodnesse of his superiour, he rebelled, and did verie much hurt in England. Herevpon king Edward invaded Scotland, seized into his hands the greater part of the countrie, and tooke all the strengths thereof. Whervpon Baliol king of Scots came vnto him to Hauntrosse in Scotland with a white wand in his hand, and there resigned the crowne of Scotland, with all his right, title, and interest to the same, into the hands of king Edward, and thereof made his charter in writing, dated and sealed the fourth yeare of his reigne. All the nobles and gentlemen of Scotland also repaired to Berwike, and did homage and fealtie to king Edward, there becomming his subiects. For the better assurance of whose oths also, king Edward kept all the strengths and holdes of Scotland in his owne hands; and herevpon all their lawes, processes, all iudgements, gifts of assises and others, passed vnder the name and authoritie of king Edward. Leland touching the same rehearsall, writeth thereof in this maner.

"In the yeare of our Lord 1295, the same John
"king of Scots, contrarie to his faith and allegiance
"rebelled against king Edward, and came into Eng-
"land, and burnt and slue without all modestie and
"mercie. Whervpon king Edward with a great host
"went to Newcastell vpon Tine, passed the water of
"Tweed, besieged Berwike, and got it. Also he wan
"the castell of Dunbar, and there were slaine at this
"brunt 15700 Scots. Then he proceeded further, and
"gat the castell of Rokesborow, and the castell of E-
"denborow, Striuelin and Gedworth, and his peo-
"ple harried all the land. In the meane season, the said
"king John of Scots, considering that he was not of
"power to withstand king Edward, sent his letters
"and besought him of treatie and peace, which our
prince benignlie granted, and sent to him againe
that he should come to the towne of Brechin, and
bring thither the great lords of Scotland with him.
The king of England sent thither Antonie Becke
bishop of Durham, with his roiall power, to con-
clude the said treatise. And there it was agreed that
the said John and all the Scots should vtterlie sub-
mit themselues to the kings will. And to the end the
submission should be performed accordinglie, the
king of Scots laid his sonne in hostage and pledge
vnto him. There also he made his letters sealed
with the common seale of Scotland, by the which he
knowledging his simplenes and great offense done
to his lord king Edward of England, by his full
power and free will yelded vp all the land of Scot-
land, with all the people and homage of the same.
Then our king went forth to see the mounteins, and
vnderstanding that all was in quiet and peace, he
turned to the abbeie of Scone, which was of chanons
regular, where he tooke the stone called the Regall of
Scotland, vpon which the kings of that nation were
wont to sit, at the time of their coronations for a
throne, & sent it to the abbeie of Westminster, com-
manding to make a chaire therof for the priests that
should sing masse at the high altar: which chaire was
made, and standeth yet there at this daie to be seene.

The Scots
dreame that
this was the
stone whereon
Jacob slept
when he fled
into Meso-
potamia.

In the yeare of our Lord 1296, the king held his
parlement at Berwike: and there he tooke homage
singularlie of diuerse of the lords & nobles of Scot-
land. And for a perpetuall memorie of the same, they
made their letters patents sealed with their seales,
and then the king of England made William War-
reine earle of Surrie and Southsar lord Warden
of Scotland, Hugh of Cressingham treasuror, and
William Ormesbie iustice of Scotland, and forth-
with sent king John to the Tower of London, and
John Comin, and the earle Badenauth, the earle of
Bohan and other lords into England to diuerse pla-
ces on this side of the Trent.

And after that, in the yeare of our Lord 1297, at
the feast of Christmas, the king called before him the
said John king of Scots, although he had committed
him to ward: and said that he would burne or de-
stroie their castels, townes and lands, if he were not
recompensed for his costs and damages susteined
in the warres; but king John and the other that were
in ward, answered that they had nothing, sith their
liues, their deaths, and goods were in his hands. The
king vpon that answer moued with pitie, granted
them their liues; so that they would do their ho-
mage, and make their oth solemnelie at the high al-
tar (in the church of the abbeie of Westminster) vpon
the eucharist, that they and euerie of them should
hold and kepe true faith, obedience, and allegiance
to the said king Edward and his heires kings of
England for euer. And where the said king of Scots
saw the kings banner of England displaied, he and
all his power should draw thereunto. And that nei-
ther he or anie of his from thenceforth should beare
armes against the king of England or anie of his
bloud. Finallie, the king rewarding with great
gifts the said king John and his lords, suffered them
to depart. But they went into Scotland alwaie ima-
gining (notwithstanding this their submission) how
they might oppresse king Edward, and disturbe his
realme. The Scots sent also to the king of France
for succour and helpe, who sent them ships to Ber-
wike furnished with men of armes, the king of En-
gland then being in Flanders.

In the yeare of our Lord 1298, the king went in-
to Scotland with a great host, and the Scots also as-
sembled in great number, but the king fought with
them at Fawkirke on S. Marie Magdalens daie,
where were slaine three score thousand Scots, & Wil-

liam Walleis that was their capteine fled, who being taken afterward, was hanged, drawen, & quartered at London, for his trespasses.

After this the Scots rebelled againe, and all the lords of Scotland chose Robert Bruse to be king, except onelie John Commin earle of Carrike, who would not consent thereto bicause of his oth made to the king of England. Wherefore Robert Bruse slue him at Dumfrise, and then was crowned at Schone abbeie. Herevpon the king of England assembled a great hoast, and rode through all Scotland, discomfited Robert Bruse, slue eight thousand Scots, & toke the most part of all the lords of Scotland, putting the temporall lords to deth bicause they were forsworne.

This was done vpon the nine & twentith of Januarie, 1306.

Edward borne at Carnaruan sonne of this Edward, was next king of England, who from the beginning of his reigne enioied Scotland peaceablie, doing in all things as is aboue said of king Edward his father, vntill toward the later end of his reigne, about which time this Robert Bruse conspired against him, and with the helpe of a few forsworne Scots, forswore himselfe king of Scots. Herevpon this Edward with Thomas earle of Lancaster and manie other lords made warre vpon him, about the feast of Marie Magdalene, the said Bruse and his partakers being alreadie accursed by the pope for breaking the truce that he had established betwixt them. But being infortunate in his first warres against him, he suffered Edward the sonne of Balioll to proclame himselfe king of Scots; and neuertheless held forth his warres against Bruse, before the ending of which he died, as I read.

Edward borne at Windsore sonne of Edward the second was next king of England, at the age of fifteene yeares, in whose minoritie the Scots practised with Isabell mother to this Edward, and with Roger Mortimer earle of the March to haue their homages released: whose good will therein they obteined, so that for the same release they should paie to this king Edward thirtie thousand pounds starling, in three yeares next following, that is to saie, ten thousand pounds starling yerelie. But bicause the nobilitie and commons of this realme would not by parlement consent vnto it, their king being within age, the same release proceeded not, albeit the Scots ceased not their practises with this queene and earle. But before those three yeares, in which their monie (if the bargaine had taken place) should haue beene paied, were expired, our king Edward inuaded Scotland, and ceassed not the warre, vntill Dauid the sonne of Robert le Bruse (then by their election king of Scotland) absolutelie submitted himselfe vnto him. But for that the said Dauid Bruse had before by practise of the queene and the earle of March, married Jane the sister of this king Edward: he moued by naturall zeale to his sister, was contented to giue the realme of Scotland to this Dauid Bruse, and to the heires that should be begotten of the bodie of the said Jane (sauing the reuersion and meane homages to this king Edward and to his owne children) wherewith the same Dauid Bruse was right well contented, and therevpon immediatlie made his homage for all the realme of Scotland to him.

Howbeit, shortlie after causelesse conceiuing cause of displeasure, this Dauid procured to dissolue this same estate tailé, and therevpon not onelie rebelled in Scotland, but also inuaded England, whilest king Edward was occupied about his wars in France. But this Dauid was not onelie expelled England in the end, but also thinking no place a sufficient defense to his vntruth, of his owne accord fled out of Scotland: whereby the countries of Annandale, Gallowaie, Mars, Teuidale, Liwedale, and Ethrike were seized into the king of Englands hands, and new marches set betweene England and Scotland at Cockburnes path & Sowtrie hedge. Which when this Dauid went about to recouer againe, his power was discomfited, and himselfe by a few Englishmen taken & brought into England, where he remained prisoner eleuen yeares after his said apprehension.

During this time, king Edward enioied Scotland peaceablie, and then at the contemplation and wearie suit of his sorowfull sister, wife of this Dauid, he was contented once againe to restore him to the kingdome of Scotland. Wherevpon it was concluded, that for this rebellion Dauid should paie to king Edward, the summe of one hundred thousand markes starling, and thereto destroie all his holdes and fortresses standing against the English borders, and further assure the crowne of Scotland to the children of this king Edward for lacke of heire of his owne bodie, all which things he did accordinglie. And for the better assurance of his obeisance also, he afterward deliuered into the hands of king Edward sundrie noble men of Scotland in this behalfe as his pledges. This is the effect of the historie of Dauid, touching his delings. Now let vs see what was done by Edward Balioll, wherof our chronicles do report, that in the yeere of our Lord 1326, Edward the third, king of England, was crowned at Westminster, and in the fift yeare of his reigne Edward Balioll right heire to the kingdome of Scotland came in, and claimed it as due to him. Sundrie lords and gentlemen also, which had title to diuerse lands there, either by themselues, or by their wiues, did the like. Wherevpon the said Balioll and they went into Scotland by sea, and landing at Kinghorne with 3000 Englishmen, discomfited 10000 Scots, and slue 1200, and then went forth to Dunfermeline, where the Scots assembled against them with 40000 men, and in the feast of saint Laurence, at a place called Gaskmore (or otherwise Gladmore) were slaine fiue earls, thirteene barons, a hundred and three score knights, two thousand men of armes, and manie other; in all fortie thousand: and there were slaine on the English part but thirteene persons onelie, if the number be not corrupted.

In the eight yeare of the reigne of king Edward, he assembled a great hoast, and came to Berwike vpon Tweed, and laid siege therto. To him also came Edward Balioll king of Scots, with a great power to strengthen & aid him against the Scots, who came out of Scotland in foure batels well armed & araied.

Edward king of England, and Edward king of Scots, apparelled their people either of them in foure battels: and vpon Halidon hill, beside Berwike, met these two hoasts, and there were discomfited of the Scots fiue and twentie thousand and seauen hundred, whereof were slaine eight earles, a thousand and three hundred knights and gentlemen. This victorie done, the king returned to Berwike, & then the towne with the castell were yelded vp vnto him. In the eight yeare of the reigne of king Edward of England, Edward Balioll king of Scots came to Newcastell vpon Tine, and did homage for all the realme of Scotland.

In the yeare of our Lord 1346, Dauid Bruse by the prouocation of the king of France rebelled, and came into England with a great hoast vnto Neuils crosse: but the archbishop of Yorke, with diuerse temporall men, fought with him; and the said king of Scots was taken, and William earle of Duglas with Morise earle of Strathorne were brought to London, and manie other lords slaine, which with Dauid did homage to Edward king of England.

And in the thirtith yeare of the kings reigne, and the yeare of our Lord 1355, the Scots wone the towne of Berwicke, but not the castell. Herevpon the

the king came thither with a great hoaſt, and anon the towne was yelded vp without anie reſiſtance.

Edward Baliell, conſidering that God did ſo manie marueilous and gratious things for king Edward, at his owne will gaue vp the crowne and the realme of Scotland to king Edward of England at Rokeſborough, by his letters patents. And anon after the king of England, in preſence of all his lords ſpirituall and temporall, let crowne himſelfe king there of the realme of Scotland, & ordeined all things to his intent, and ſo came ouer into England.

Richard the ſonne of Edward, called the Blacke prince, ſonne of this king Edward, was next king of England, who for that the ſaid Jane, the wife of the ſaid king Dauid of Scotland was deceaſſed without iſſue, and being informed how the Scots deuiſed to their vttermoſt power to breake the limitation of this inheritance touching the crowne of Scotland, made forthwith war againſt them, wherein he burnt Edenborough, ſpoiled all their countrie, toke all their holds, & held continuallie war againſt them vntill his death, which was Anno Dom. 1389.

Henrie the fourth of that name was next king of England, he continued theſe warres begun againſt them by king Richard, and ceaſſed not vntill Robert king of Scots (the third of that name) reſigned his crowne by appointment of this king Henrie, and deliuered his ſonne James, being then of the age of nine yeares, into his hands to remaine at his cuſtodie, wardſhip and diſpoſition, as of his ſuperiour lord, according to the old lawes of king Edward the confeſſor. All this was done Anno Dom. 1404, which was within fiue yeares after the death of king Richard. This Henrie the fourth reigned in this eſtate ouer them foureteene yeares.

Henrie the fift of that name, ſonne to this king Henrie the fourth, was next king of England. He made warres againſt the French king, in all which this James then king of Scots attended vpon him, as vpon his ſuperiour lord, with a conuenient number of Scots, notwithſtanding their league with France. But this Henrie reigned but nine yeares, whereby the homage of this James their king (hauing not fullie accompliſhed the age of one & twentie yeares) was by reaſon and law reſpited. Finallie the ſaid James with diuerſe other lords attended vpon the corps of the ſaid Henrie vnto Weſtminſter, as to his dutie apperteined.

Henrie the firſt, the ſonne of this Henrie the fift, was next king of England, to whome the ſeignorie of Scotland & cuſtodie of this James by right, law, and reaſon deſcended, married the ſame James king of Scots to Jane daughter of John earle of Summerſet, at ſaint Marie ouer Iſe in Southwarke, and toke for the value of this mariage, the ſumme of one hundred thouſand markes ſterling.

This James king of Scots at his full age, did homage to the ſame king Henrie the firſt, for the kingdome of Scotland at Windſore, in the moneth of Januarie.

Since which time, vntill the daies of king Henrie the ſeuenth, grandfather to our ſouereigne ladie that now is, albeit this realme hath béene moleſted with diuerſitie of titles, in which vnmeet time neither law nor reaſon admit preſcription to the preiudice of anie right: yet did king Edward the fourth next king of England, by preparation of war againſt the Scots in the latter end of his reigne, ſufficientlie by all lawes induce to the continuance of his claime to the ſame ſuperioritie ouer them.

After whoſe death, vnto the beginning of the reigne of our ſouereigne lord king Henrie the eight, excéeded not the number of ſeauen and twentie yeares, about which time the impediment of our claime of the Scots part, chanced by the nonage of James their laſt king, which ſo continued the ſpace of one and twentie yeares. And like as his minoritie was by all law and reaſon an impediment to himſelfe to make homage; ſo was the ſame by like reaſon an impediment to the king of this realme to demand anie, ſo that the whole time of intermiſſion of our claime in the time of the ſaid king Henrie the eight, is deduced vnto the number of thirteene yeares. And thus much for this matter.

Of the wall ſometime builded for a *partition betweene England and the* Picts and Scots.

Chap. 23.

HAuing hitherto diſcourſed vpon the title of the kings of England, vnto the Scotiſh kingdome: I haue now thought good to adde herevnto the deſcription of two walles that were (in times paſt) limits vnto both the ſaid regions, and therefore to be touched in this firſt booke, as generallie apertinent vnto the eſtate of the whole Iland; and no leſſe famous than that which Anaſtaſius Dicorus made afterward from the Euxine vnto the Thracian ſea, conteining 420 furlongs in length, and twelue foot in breadth, & diſtant from Conſtantinople 280 furlongs, albeit that of Hadrian was made of turfe and timber. The author therefore of the firſt wall was Hadrian the emperour, who (as Ælius Spartianus ſaith) erected the ſame of foure ſcore miles in length, twelue foot in heigth, and eight in breadth, to diuide the barbarous Britons from the more ciuill ſort, which then were generallie called by the name of Romans ouer all. The firſt beginner of the Picts wall.

After his time Seuerus the emperour comming againe into this Ile (where he had ſerued before in repreſſion of the tumults here begun, after the death of Lucius) amongſt other things he made another wall (but of ſtone) betwéene eightie and a hundred miles from the firſt, & of thirtie two miles in length, reaching on both ſides alſo to the ſea, of whome the Britons called it S. Purſeueri, or Gwall Seueri, that is, The wall of Seuerus, or Seuerus dale, which later indureth vntill theſe daies in freſh memorie, by reaſon of the ruines & ſquare ſtones there oft found, whoſe inſcriptions declare the authors of that worke. It is worthie the noting alſo, how that in this voiage he loſt 50000 men in the Scotiſh ſide, by one occaſion and other, which hinderance ſo incenſed him, that he determined vtterlie to extinguiſh their memorie from vnder heauen, and had ſo done in déed, if his life had indured but vntill another yeare. The finiſher of the wall.

Sextus Aurelius writing of Seuerus, addeth, how that the wall made by this prince conteined two and thirtie miles, whereby the breadth of this Iland there, and length of the wall conteineth onelie ſo manie miles, as may be gathered by his words. But chéeflie for the length of the wall, Spartianus who touching it among other things ſaith of Seuerus as followeth: *Britanniam (quod maximum eius imperij decus eſt) muro per tranſuerſam inſulam ducto, vtrinq; ad finem oceani muniuit*, that is, He fortified Britaine (which is one of the chéefe acts recorded of his time) with a wall made ouerthwart the Ile, that reached on both ſides euen to the verie Ocean. The wall goeth not ſtreict by a line, but in and out in manie places.

That this wall was of ſtone alſo, the ruines therof (which haue miniſtred much matter to ſuch as dwell néere therevnto in their buildings) is triall ſufficient. Whereby in like ſort it commeth to paſſe, that where The ſtuffe of the wall.

the soile about it is least inhabited, there is most mention of the said wall, which was wrought of squared stone, as vntill this daie mate euidentlie be confirmed. Howbeit, these two walles were not the onelie partitions betweene these two kingdoms, sith Iulius Capitolinus in vita Antonini Pij doth write of another that Lollius Vrbicus made beyond the same, of turffe, in the time of the said prince, who (for his victories in Britaine) was also called Britannicus, which neuertheless was often throwne downe by the Scots, and eftsones repared againe, vntill it was giuen ouer and relinquished altogither. It runneth (as I take it) also within the wall about an arrow shot from that of stone: but how farre it went, as yet I cannot find. This onlie remaineth certeine, that the walles made by Hadrian & Seuerus, were ditched with notable ditches and rampires made in such wise, that the Scotish aduersarie had much a do to enter and scale the same in his assaults. And yet for all this, I read that the Scots oftentimes pulled downe great parcels of the same, to make their accesse more easie into the south parts: but as it was eftsons repared againe, so the last time of all it was amended by the Romane soldiors, which came ouer verie little before the time of Vortiger, at which season the land was in maner left void of soldiors and munition. Betwixt Thirlewall and the north Tine, are also in the waste grounds, manie parcels of that wall of Seuerus yet standing, whereof the common people do babble manie things.

Two other wals.

A rampire.

Beginning therefore with the course thereof, from the west sea, I find that it runneth from Bolnesse to Burgh, about foure miles, and likewise from thence within halfe a mile of Carleill, and lesse on the north side, and beneath the confluence of the Peder and the Eden. From hence it goeth to Terrebie, a village about a mile from Caerleill, then through the baronie of Linstocke, and Gillesland, on the north side of the riuer Irding or Arding, and a quarter of a mile from the abbeie of Leuercost. Thence three miles aboue Leuercost, and aboue the confluence of Arding, and the Poltrose becke (which diuideth Gillesland in Cumberland, from south Tindale in Northumberland) it goeth to Thirlwall castell, then to the wall towne, nert of all ouer the riuer to Swensheld, Carraw (peraduenture Cairuorcen tower) to Walwic, and so ouer south Tine, to Cockelie tower, Portgate, Halton sheles, Winchester, Rutchester, Heddon, Walhottle, Denton, and to Newcastell, where it is thought that saint Nicholas church standeth on the same. Howbeit Leland saith, that it goeth within a mile of Newcastell, and then croketh vp toward Tinmouth vnto Wallesend, three miles from the mouth of the said riuer, so called bicause the aforesaid wall did end at the same place. And thus much I read of the Pictish wall. As for the Romane coine that is often found in the course thereof, the curious bricks about the same nere vnto Caerleill, beside the excellent cornellines and other costlie stones alreadie intailed for seales oftentimes taken vp in those quarters, I passe them ouer as not incident to my purpose.

The course of the wall from west to east.

In like maner I would gladlie also haue set downe the course of Offaes ditch, which was march betweene the Mercian dominions, and the Welshmen in his time: but for so much as the tractation thereof is not to be referred to this place, bicause it is not a thing generall to the whole Iland, I omit to speake of that also. Yet thus much will I note here, as well by the report of one (who saith how he did tread it out) that he followed it from the Dee to Kirnaburgh hill through Treuelach forest, by est of Crekith Cauch hill, Montgomerie castell, the New castell and Discoid, and hauing brought it hitherto, either lost it, or sought after it no further: as by the testimonie of another, who writing thereof, saith, that it stretched from the south side by Bristow, along vnder the mounteins of Wales northwards, ouer the riuer of Sauerne, and to the verie mouth also of the Dee, where it falleth into the sea. And so much of such things as concerne the generall estate of the whole Iland, which labour herein I could verie well haue spared, and would, if Quintus had performed the request of Cicero his brother, who promised to send him ouer a sound aduertisement of the condition of Britaine in those daies: as appeareth in the second booke of his familiar epistles, where he saith; *Modo mihi date Britanniam, quam pingam coloribus tuis penicillo meo, &c.* But sithence that was not performed, and the treatise of Demetrius and other of the same argument are perished, which were of some value, let this trifle (I beseech you) not be reiected, till some other man of better skill shall haue drawne a more absolute peece of workemanship, whereunto my vnskilfulnesse (I hope) shall proue no hinderance.

Of the maruels of *England*.

Chap. 24.

SVch as haue written of the wonders of our countrie in old time, haue spoken (no doubt) of manie things, which deserue no credit at all: and therefore in seeking thankes of their posteritie by their trauell in this behalfe; they haue reaped the reward of iust reproch, and in steed of fame purchased vnto themselues nought else but mere discredit in their better and more learned treatises. The like commonlie happeneth also to such, as in respect of lucre do publish vnprofitable and pernicious volumes, wherby they do consume their times in vaine, and in manifold wise become preiudiciall vnto their common wealths. For my part I will not touch anie man herein particularlie, no not our Demetrius, of whom Plutarch speaketh in his oracles (if those bookes were written by him, for some thinke that Plutarch neuer wrote them, although Eusebius lib. 4. cap. 8. doth acknowledge them to be his) which Demetrius left sundrie treatises behind him, conteining wonderfull things collected of our Iland. But sith that in my time they are found to be false, it should be far vnmeet to remember them anie more: for who is he which will beleeue, that infernall spirits can die and giue vp their ghosts like mortall men: though Saxo seeme to consent vnto him in this behalfe. In speaking also of the out Iles, he saith thus: Beyond Britaine are manie desolate Ilands, whereof some are dedicated to the Gods, some to the noble Heroes. I sailed (saith he) by the helpe of the king vnto one that laie nere hand, onelie to see and view the same, in which I found few inhabitants, and yet such as were there, were reputed and taken for men of great pietie and holinesse. During the time also that I remained in the same, it was vered with great storme and tempest, which caused me not a little to doubt of my safe returne. In the end, demanding of the inhabitants what the cause should be of this so great and sudden mutation of the aire: they answered, that either some of the Gods, or at the least of the Heroes were latelie deceased: for as a candle (said they) hurteth none whilest it burneth, but being slenderlie put out annoieth manie with the filthie sauour: so these Gods, whilest they liued, were either not

not hurtfull, or verie beneficiall to mankind; but being once deceaſſed, they ſo moue the heauens and aire, that much miſchéefe doth inſue eſtſoones vpon the ſame.

Being alſo inquiſitiue of the ſtats of other Iles not farre off, they told him further, how there was one hard by, wherin Saturne being ouertaken with a dead ſléepe, was watched by Briareus as he laie, which Saturne alſo had manie ſpirits attending vpon him in ſundrie functions and offices. By which reports it is eaſie to conceiue, with what vaine ſtuffe that volume of Demetrius is interlaced. But of ſuch writers as we haue to too manie, ſo among the ſaid rable Geruaſe of Tilberie is not the leaſt famous, a man as it were euen ſold to vtter matters of more admiration than credit to the world. For what a tale telleth he in his *De otio imperiali*, of Mandleburie hilles, that lie within ſight & by ſouth of Cambridge (where the Vandals incamped ſometime, when they entered into this Iland) and of a ſpirit that would of cuſtome in a meane ſhine night (if he were chalenged and called thereunto) run at tilt and turnete in complet armor with anie knight or gentleman whomſoeuer, in that place: and how one Oſbert of Barnewell, hearing the report thereof, armed himſelfe, and being well mounted, rode thither alone with one eſquier, and called for him, who forthwith appeared in rich armour, and anſwered his chalenge, ſo that running togither verie fiercelie, they met with ſuch rigor, that the anſwerer was ouerthrowne and borne downe to the ground. After this they bickered on foot ſo long, till Oſbert ouercame and draue him to flight, who departed, leauing his horſſe behind him, which was of huge ſtature, blacke (as he ſaith) of colour, with his furniture of the ſame hue, and whereupon he ſeized, giuing him vnto his page, who carried him home, and there kept him till it was néere daie, during which ſpace he was ſéene of manie. But when the daie light began to ſhew it ſelfe ſomewhat cléere, the beaſt ſtamped and snorted, and forthwith breaking his raine, he ran awaie, and was no more heard of to his knowledge in that countrie. In the meane ſeaſon Oſbert being verie faint, and waxing wearie (for he was ſore wounded in the thigh, which either he knew not of, or at the leaſtwiſe diſſembled to know it) cauſed his leg-harneſſe or ſléeſbotes to be pulled off, which his frends ſaw to be full of bloud ſpilled in the votage. But let who ſo liſt beléeue it, ſith it is either a fable deuiſed, or ſome diueliſh illuſion, if anie ſuch thing were done. And on mine owne behalfe, hauing (I hope) the feare of God before my eies, I purpoſe here to ſet downe no more than either I know my ſelfe to be true, or am credible informed to be ſo, by ſuch godly men, as to whom nothing is more deare than to ſpeake the truth, and not anie thing more odious than to diſcredit themſelues by lieng. In writing therefore of the wonders of England, I find that there are foure notable things, which for their rareneſſe amongſt the common ſort, are taken for the foure miracles and wonders of the land.

Foure wonders of England.

The firſt of theſe is a vehement and ſtrong wind, which iſſueth out of the hilles called the Peke, ſo violent and ſtrong, that at certeine times if a man do caſt his cote or cloake into the caue from whence it iſſueth, it driueth the ſame backe againe, hoiſſing it aloft into the open aire with great force and vehemencie. Of this alſo Giraldus ſpeaketh.

The ſecond is the miraculous ſtanding or rather hanging of certeine ſtones vpon the plaine of Saliſburie, whereof the place is called Stonehenge. And to ſaie the truth, they may well be wondered at, not onelie for the manner of poſition, whereby they become verie difficult to be numbred, but alſo for their greatneſſe & ſtrange maner of lieng of ſome of them one vpon another, which ſéemeth to be with ſo tickle hold, that few men go vnder them without feare of their preſent ruine. How and when theſe ſtones were brought thither, as yet I can not read; howbeit it is moſt likelie, that they were raiſed there by the Britons, after the ſlaughter of their nobilitie at the deadlie banket, which Hengiſt and his Saxons prouided for them, where they were alſo buried, and Vortigerne their king apprehended and led awaie as captiue. I haue heard that the like are to be ſéene in Ireland; but how true it is as yet I can not learne. The report goeth alſo, that theſe were brought from thence, but by what ſhip on the ſea, and cariage by land, I thinke few men can ſafelie imagine.

The third is an ample and large hole vnder the ground, which ſome call *Carcer Æoli*, but in Engliſh Chedderhole, whereinto manie men haue entred & walked verie farre. Howbeit, as the paſſage is large and nothing noiſome: ſo diuerſe that haue aduentured to go into the ſame, could neuer as yet find the end of that waie, neither ſée anie other thing than prettie riuerets and ſtreames, which they often croſſed as they went from place to place. This Chedderhole or Chedder rocke is in Summerſetſhire, and thence the ſaid waters run till they méet with the ſecond Ar that riſeth in Dwble hole.

The fourth is no leſſe notable than anie of the other. For weſtward vpon certeine hilles a man ſhall ſée the clouds gather togither in faire weather vnto a certeine thickneſſe, and by and by to ſpread themſelues abroad and water their fields about them, as it were vpon the ſudden. The cauſes of which diſperſion, as they are vtterlie vnknowne: ſo manie men coniecture great ſtore of water to be in thoſe hilles, & verie néere at hand, if it were néedfull to be ſought for.

Beſides theſe foure maruelles, there is a little rockie Ile in Aber Barrie (a riueret that falleth into the Sauerne ſea) called Barrie, which hath a riſt or cliſt nert the firſt ſhore; whereunto if a man do laie his eare, he ſhall heare ſuch noiſes as are commonlie made in ſmiths forges, to wit, clinking of iron barres, beating with hammers, blowing of bellowſes, and ſuch like: whereof the ſuperſtitious ſort do gather manie toies, as the gentiles did in old time of their lame god Vulcans pot. The riuer that runneth by Cheſter changeth hir chanell euerie moneth: the cauſe whereof as yet I can not learne; neither doth it ſwell by force of anie land-floud, but by ſome vehement wind it oft ouer-runneth hir banks. In Snowdonie are two lakes, whereof one beareth a moouable Iland, which is carried to and fro as the wind bloweth. The other hath three kinds of fiſhes in it, as eéles, trowts, and perches: but herein reſteth the wonder, that all thoſe haue but one eie a péece onelie, and the ſame ſituate in the right ſide of their heads. And this I find to be confirmed alſo by authors: There is a well in the forreſt of Gnareſborow, whereof the ſaid forreſt doth take the name; which water, beſide that it is cold as Stix, in a certeine period of time knowne, conuerteth wood, fleſh, leaues of trées, and moſſe into hard ſtone, without alteration or changing of ſhape. The like alſo is ſéene there in frogs, wormes, and ſuch like liuing creatures as fall into the ſame, and find no readie iſſue. Of this ſpring alſo Leland writeth thus; A little aboue March (but at the further banke of Nide riuer as I came) I ſaw a well of wonderfull nature called Dropping well, becauſe the water thereof diſtilleth out of great rockes hard by into it continuallie, which is ſo cold, and thereto of ſuch nature, that what thing ſoeuer falleth out of thoſe rocks into this pit, or groweth néere thereto, or be caſt into it by mans hand,

hand, it turneth into stone. It may be (saith he) that some sand or other fine ground issueth out with this water from these hard rocks, which cleauing vnto those things, giueth them in time the forme of stones &c. Neere vnto the place where Winburne monasterie sometimes stood, also not farre from Bath there is a faire wood, whereof if you take anie peece, and pitch it into the ground thereabouts, or throw it into the water, within twelue moneths it will turne into hard stone. In part of the hilles east southeast of Alderleie, a mile from Kingswood, are stones dailie found, perfectlie fashioned like cockles and mightie oisters, which some dreame haue lien there euer since the floud. In the clifts betweene the Blacke head and Trewardeth baie in Cornwall, is a certeine caue, where things appeare like images guilded, on the sides of the same, which I take to be nothing but the shining of the bright ore of coppar and other mettals readie at hand to be found there, if anie diligence were vsed. Howbeit, because it is much maruelled at as a rare thing, I do not thinke it to be vnmeet to be placed amongst our wonders. Maister Guise had of late, and still hath (for aught that I know) a manor in Glocestershire, where certeine okes do grow, whose rotes are verie hard stone. And beside this, the ground is so fertile there (as they saie) that if a man hew a stake of anie wood, and pitch it into the earth, it will grow and take rooting beyond all expectation. Silucester towne also is said to conteine fourescore acres of land within the walles, whereof some is corne-ground (as Leland saith) and the graine which is growing therein doth come to verie good perfection till it be readie to be cut downe: but euen then, or about that time it vanisheth away & becommeth altogither vnprofitable. Is it any wonder (thinke you) to tell of sundrie caues neere to Browham, on the west side of the riuer Aimote, wherein are halles, chambers, and all offices of household cut out of the hard rocke? If it be, then may we increase the number of maruels verie much by a rehearsall of other also. For we haue manie of the like, as one neere saint Asaphs vpon the banke of Elwie, and about the head of Uendraeth Uchan in Wales, whereinto men haue often entred and walked, and yet found nothing but large roomes, and sandie ground vnder their feet, and other else-where. But sith these things are not strange, I let them alone, and go forward with the rest.

In the parish of Landsarnam in Wales, and in the side of a stonie hill, is a place wherein are foure and twentie seats hewen out of the hard rockes; but who did cut them, and to what end, as yet it is not learned. As for the huge stone that lieth at Pember in Guitherie parish, and of the notable carcasse that is affirmed to lie vnder the same, there is no cause to touch it here: yet were it well done to haue it remoued, though it were but onlie to see what it is, which the people haue in so great estimation & reuerence. There is also a pole in Logh Taw, among the blacke mounteins in Brecknockshire, where (as is said) is the head of Taw that commeth to Swanseie, which hath such a propertie, that it will breed no fish at all, & if anie be cast into it, they die without recouerie: but this peraduenture may grow through the accidentall corruption of the water, rather than the naturall force of the element it selfe. There is also a lin in Wales, which in the one side beareth trowts so red as samons, and in the other, which is the westerlie side, verie white and delicate. I heare also of two welles not far from Landien, which stand verie neere together, and yet are of such diuersitie of nature, that the one beareth sope, and is a marueilous fine water; the other altogither of contrarie qualities. Which is not a litle to be mused at, considering (I saie) that they participate of one soile, and rise so nigh one to another. I haue notice giuen me moreouer of a stone not farre from saint Dauids, which is verie great, as a bed, or such like thing: and being raised vp, a man may stirre it with his thumbe; but not with his shoulder or force of his whole bodie.

There is a well not farre from stonie Stratford, which conuerteth manie things into stone; and an other in Wales, which is said to double or triple the force of anie edge tole that is quenched in the same. In Tegenia, a parcell of Wales, there is a noble well (I meane in the parish of Kilken) which is of maruellous nature, and much like to another well at Seuill in Spaine: for although it be six miles from the sea, it ebbeth and floweth twise in one daie; alwaies ebbing when the sea doth vse to flow, and in flowing likewise when the sea doth vse to ebbe; whereof some do fable, that this well is ladie and mistresse of the ocean. Not farre from thence also is a medicinable spring called Schinant of old time, but now Wenefrides well, in the edges whereof doth breed a verie odoriferous and delectable mosse, wherewith the head of the smeller is marueilouslie refreshed. Other welles and water-courses we haue likewise, which at some times burst out into huge streames, though at other seasons they run but verie softlie, whereby the people gather some alteration of estate to be at hand. And such a one there is at Henleie, & an other at Croidon; & such a one also in the golden dale beside Anderne in Picardie, whereof the common sort imagine manie things. Some of the greater sort also giue ouer to run at all in such times, wherof they conceiue the like opinion. And of the same nature, though of no great quantitie, is a pit or well at Langleie parke in Kent, whereof (by good hap) it was my lucke to read a notable historie in an ancient chronicle that I saw of late. What the foolish people dreame of the hell kettles, it is not worthie the rehearsall; yet to the end the lewd opinion conceiued of them may grow into contempt, I will saie thus much also of those pits. There are certeine pits, or rather three little poles, a mile from Darlington, and a quarter of a mile distant from the Itese banks which the people call the Kettles of hell, or the diuels kettles, as if he should seeth soules of sinfull men and women in them. They adde also, that the spirits haue oft beene heard to crie and yell about them, with other like talke sauoring altogether of pagan infidelitie. The truth is, and of this opinion also was Cutbert Tunstall late bishop of Durham, a man (notwithstanding the baseneſse of his birth, being begotten by one Tunstall vpon a daughter of the house of the Conmers, as Leland saith) of great learning and iudgement, that the cole-mines in those places are kindled, or if there be no coles, there may a mine of some other vnctuous matter be set on fire, which being here and there consumed, the earth falleth in, and so doth leaue a pit. Indeed the water is now and then warme (as they saie) and beside that it is not clere: the people suppose them to be an hundred fadam deepe. The biggest of them also hath an issue into the Itese, as experience hath confirmed. For doctor Bellowes *alias* Belzis made report, how a ducke marked after the fashion of the duckes of the bishoprike of Durham, was put into the same betwixt Darlington and Itese banke, and afterward seene at a bridge not farre from master Clereuar house. If it were worth the noting, I would also make relation of manie wooden crosses found verie often about Halidon, whereof the old inhabitants conceiued an opinion that they were fallen from heauen; whereas in truth, they were made and borne by king Oswald and his men in the battell wherein they preuailed sometimes against the British infidels,

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vpon a ſuperſtitious imagination, that thoſe croſſes ſhould be their defenſe and ſhield againſt their aduerſaries. Beda calleth the place where the ſaid field was fought, Heauen field; it lieth not far from the Pictiſh wall, and the famous monaſterie of Hagulſtad. But more of this elſewhere. Neither will I ſpeake of the little hillets ſéene in manie places of our Ile, whereof though the vnſkilfull people babble manie things: yet are they nothing elſe but *Tumuli* or graues of former times, as appeareth by ſuch toms & carcaſſes as be daily found in the ſame, when they be digged downe. The like fond imagination haue they of a kind of lunarie, which is to be found in manie places, although not ſo well knowen by the forme vnto them, as by the effect therof, becauſe it now and then openeth the lockes hanging on the horſes fét as hit vpon it where it groweth in their féeding. Roger Bacon our countrieman noteth it to grow plentiouſlie in Tuthill fields about London. I haue heard of it to be within compaſſe of the pariſh where I dwell, and do take it for none other than the Sfera Cauallo, whereof Mathiolus and the herbariſts do write, albeit that it hath not béene my lucke at anie time to behold it. Plinie calleth it Aethiopis: and Aelianus, Oppianus, Kyramis, and Trebius haue written manie ſuperſtitious things thereof, but eſpeciallie our Chymiſts, who make it of farre more vertue than our ſmiths do their ferne ſéed, whereof they babble manie wonders, and prate of ſuch effects as may well be performed indeed when the ferne beareth ſéed, which is commonly *Ad calendas Græcas*, for before it will not be found. But to proceéd. There is a well in Darbieſhire called Tideſwell (ſo named of the word tide, or to ebbe and flow) whoſe water often ſéemeth to riſe and fall, as the ſea which is fortie miles from it doth vſuallie accuſtome to ebbe and flow. And hereof an opinion is growen that it kéepeth an ordinarie courſe as the ſea doth. Howbeit, ſith diuerſe are knowne to haue watched the ſame, it may be that at ſometimes it riſeth, but not continuallie; and that it ſo doth I am fullie perſuaded to beléeue. But euen inough of the wonders of our countrie, leaſt I do ſéeme by talking longer of them, wonderouſlie to ouerſhot my ſelfe, and forget how much doth reſt behind of the deſcription of my countrie. As for thoſe that are to be touched of Scotland, the deſcription of that part ſhall in ſome part remember them.

The Contents of the ſecond Booke.

1 Of the ancient and preſent eſtate of the church of England.
2 Of the number of biſhoprikes and their ſeuerall circuits.
3 Of vniuerſities.
4 Of the partition of England into ſhires and counties.
5 Of degrees of people in the common-wealth of England.
6 Of the food and diet of the Engliſh.
7 Of their apparell and attire.
8 Of the high court of parlement & authoritie of the ſame.
9 Of the lawes of England ſince hir firſt inhabitation.
10 Of prouiſion made for the poore.
11 Of ſundrie kinds of puniſhment appointed for malefactors.
12 Of the maner of building and furniture of our houſes.
13 Of cities and townes in England.
14 Of caſtels and holds.
15 Of palaces belonging to the prince.
16 Of armour and munition.
17 Of the nauie of England.
18 Of faires and markets.
19 Of parkes and warrens.
20 Of gardens and orchards.
21 Of waters generallie.
22 Of woods and mariſhes.
23 Of baths and hot welles.
24 Of antiquities found.
25 Of the coines of England.

Of the ancient and preſent eſtate *of the church of England.*

Chap. 1.

THere are now two prouinces onelie in England, of which the firſt and greateſt is ſubiect to the ſée of Canturburie, comprehending a parte of Lhoegres, whole Cambria, & alſo Ireland, which in time paſt were ſeuerall, & brought into one by the archbiſhop of the ſaid ſée & aſſiſtance of the pope; who in reſpect of méed, did yéeld vnto the ambitious deſires of ſundrie archbiſhops of Canturburie, as I haue elſewhere declared. The ſecond prouince is vnder the ſée of Yorke, and of theſe; either hath hir archbiſhop reſident commonlie within hir owne limits, who hath not onelie the chéefe dealing in matters apperteining to the hierarchie and iuriſdiction of the church; but alſo great authoritie in ciuill affaires touching the gouernement of the common wealth: ſo far forth as their commiſſions and ſeuerall circuits do extend.

In old time there were thrée archbiſhops, and ſo manie prouinces in this Ile; of which one kept at London, another at Yorke, and the third at Caerleon vpon Uſke. But as that of London was tranſlated to Canturburie by Auguſtine, and that of Yorke remaineth (notwithſtanding that the greateſt part of his iuriſdiction is now bereft him and giuen to the Scotiſh archbiſhop) ſo that of Caerleon is vtterlie extinguiſhed, and the gouernement of the countrie vnited to that of Canturburie in ſpirituall cauſes: after it was once before remoued to S. Da-

uids in Wales by Dauid successor to Dubritius, and vncle to king Arthur, in the 519 of Grace, to the end that he and his clearkes might be further off from the crueltie of the Sarons, where it remained till the time of the Bastard, and for a season after, before it was annexed vnto the see of Canturburie.

The archbishop of Canturburie is commonlie called primat of all England; and in the coronations of the kings of this land, and all other times, wherein it shall please the prince to weare and put on his crowne, his office is to set it vpon their heads. They beare also the name of their high chapleins continuallie, although not a few of them haue presumed (in time past) to be their equals, and void of subiection vnto them. That this is true, it may easilie appeare by their owne acts yet kept in record; beside their epistles & answers written or in print; wherein they haue sought not onelie to match but also to mate them with great rigor and more than open tyrannie. Our aduersaries will peraduenture denie this absolutelie, as they doo manie other things apparant, though not without shameleSSe impudencie, or at the least wise defend it as iust and not swaruing from common equitie; bicause they imagine euerie archbishop to be the kings equall in his owne prouince. But how well their doing herein agreeth with the saieng of Peter, & examples of the primitiue church, it may easilie appeare. Some examples also of their demeanor (I meane in the time of poperie) I will not let to remember, least they should saie I speake of malice, and without all ground of likelihood.

Of their practises with meane persons I speake not, neither will I begin at Dunstane the author of all their pride and presumption here in England. But for somuch as the dealing of Robert the Norman against earle Godwine is a rare historie, and deserueth to be remembred, I will touch it in this place; protesting to deale withall in more faithfull maner than it hath heretofore beene deliuered vnto vs by the Norman writers, or French English, who (of set purpose) haue so defaced earle Godwine, that were it not for the testimonie of one or two meere Englishmen liuing in those daies, it should be impossible for me (or anie other) at this present to declare the truth of that matter according to hir circumstances. Marke therefore what I saie. For the truth is, that such Normans as came in with Emma in the time of Ethelred, and Canutus, and the Confessor, did fall by sundrie means into such fauor with those princes, that the gentlemen did grow to beare great rule in the court, and their clearkes to be possessors of the best benefices in the land. Herevpon therefore one Robert, a iolie ambitious preest, gat first to be bishop of London, and after the death of Eadsius, to be archbishop of Canturburie by the gift of king Edward; leauing his former see to William his countrieman. Also also a Norman was preferred to Lincolne, and other to other places, as the king did thinke conuenient.

These Norman clerkes, and their freends, being thus exalted, it was not long yer they began to mocke, abuse, and despise the English: and so much the more, as they dailie saw themselues to increase in fauour with king Edward, who also called diuerse of them to be of his secret councell, which did not a little incense the harts of the English against them. A fraie also was made at Douer, betweene the seruants of earle Godwine and the French, whose maisters came ouer to see and salute the king: whereof I haue spoken in my Chronologie, which so inflamed the minds of the French cleargie and courtiers against the English nobilitie, that each part sought for opportunitie of reuenge, which yer long toke hold betweene them. For the said Robert, being called to be archbishop of Canturburie, was no sooner in possession of his see, than he began to quarrell with earle Godwine (the kings father in law by the mariage of his daughter) who also was readie to acquit his demeanor with like malice; and so the mischiefe begun. Herevpon therefore the archbishop charged the earle with the murther of Alfred the kings brother, whom not he but Harald the sonne of Canutus and the Danes had cruellie made awaie. For Alfred and his brother comming into the land with fiue and twentie saile, vpon the death of Canutus, and being landed; the Normans that arriued with them giuing out how they came to recouer their right, to wit, the crowne of England; & therevnto the vnskilfull yong gentlemen, shewing themselues to like of the rumour that was spred in this behalfe, the report of their demeanor was quicklie brought to Harald, who caused a companie forthwith of Danes priuilie to laie wait for them, as they roade toward Gilford, where Alfred was slaine, and whence Edward with much difficultie escaped to his ships, and so returned into Normandie.

But to proceed. This affirmation of the archbishop being greatlie soothed out with his craftie vtterance (for he was lerned) confirmed by his French freends, (for they had all conspired against the erle) and therevnto the king being desirous to reuenge the death of his brother, bred such a grudge in his mind against Godwine, that he banished him and his sons cleane out of the land. He sent also his wife the erles daughter prisoner to Wilton, with one onelie maiden attending vpon hir, where she laie almost a yeare before she was released. In the meane season, the rest of the peeres, as Siward earle of Northumberland surnamed Digara or Fortis, Leofrike earle of Chester, and other went to the king, before the departure of Godwine, indeuouring to persuade him vnto the reuocation of his sentence; and desiring that his cause might be heard and discussed by order of law. But the king incensed by the archbishop and his Normans would not heare on that side, saieng plainelie, and swearing by saint John the euangelist (for that was his common oth) that earle Godwine should not haue his peace till he restored his brother Alfred aliue againe vnto his presence. With which answer the peeres departed in choler from the court, and Godwine toward the coast.

Comming also vnto the shore and readie to take shipping, he kneeled downe in presence of his conduct (to wit at Bosenham in the moneth of September, from whence he intended to saile into Flanders vnto Baldwine the earle) and there praied openlie before them all, that if euer he attempted anie thing against the kings person of England, or his roiall estate, that he might neuer come safe vnto his cousine, nor see his countrie any more, but perish in this voiage. And herewith he went aboord the ship that was prouided for him, and so from the coast into the open sea. But see what followed. He was not yet gone a mile waie from the land, before he saw the shore full of armed souldiers, sent after by the archbishop and his freends to kill him yer he should depart and go out of the countrie: which yet more incensed the harts of the English against them.

Being come also to Flanders, he caused the earle, the French king, and other of his freends, among whome also the emperour was one, to write vnto the king in his behalfe; but all in vaine: for nothing could be obteined from him, of which the Normans had no liking, whereupon the earle and his sonnes changed their minds, obteined aid, and inuaded the land in sundrie places. Finallie ioining their powers they came by the Thames into Southwarke neere London where they lodged, and looked for the king to

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incounter with them in the field. The king ſéeing what was done, commanded the Londoners not to aid nor vittell them. But the citizens made anſwer, how the quarrell of Godwine was the cauſe of the whole realme, which he had in maner giuen ouer vnto the ſpoile of the French: and therevpon they not onelie vittelled them aboundantlie, but alſo receiued the earle and his chiefe frends into the citie, where they lodged them at their eaſe, till the kings power was readie to ioine with them in battell.

Great reſort alſo was made vnto them from all places of the realme, ſo that the earles armie was wonderfullie increaſed, and the daie and place choſen wherein the battell ſhould be fought. But when the armies met, the kings ſide began ſome to flée to the earle, other to laie downe their weapons, and not a few to run awaie out right; the reſt telling him plainelie that they would neuer fight againſt their owne countriemen, to maintaine Frenchmens quarrels. The Normans alſo ſeeing the ſequele, fled awaie ſo faſt as they might gallop, leauing the king in the field to ſhift for himſelfe (as he beſt might) whileſt they did ſaue themſelues elſewhere.

In the meane ſeaſon the earles power would haue ſet vpon the king, either to his ſlaughter, or apprehenſion; but he ſtaied them, ſaieng after this maner: The king is my ſonne (as you all know) and it is not for a father to deale ſo hardlie with his child, neither a ſubiect with his ſouereigne; it is not he that hath hurt or done me this iniurie, but the proud Normans that are about him: wherfore to gaine a kingdome, I will do him no violence. And therewithall caſting aſide his battell ax he ran to the king, that ſtood altogither amazed, and falling at his fét he craued his peace, accuſed the archbiſhop, required that his cauſe might be heard in open aſſemblie of his péeres; and finallie determined as truth and equitie ſhould deſerue.

The king (after he had pauſed a prettie while) ſeeing his old father in law to lie groueling at his fét, and conceiuing with himſelfe that his ſute was not vnreaſonable; ſeeing alſo his children, and the reſt of the greateſt barons of the land to knéele before him, and make the like requeſt: he lifted vp the earle by the hand, bad him be of good comfort, pardoned all that was paſt, and frendlie hauing kiſſed him and his ſonnes vpon the chéekes, he lead them to his palace, called home the quéene, and ſummoned all his lords vnto a councell.

Wherein it is much to read, how manie billes were preſented againſt the biſhop & his Normans; ſome conteining matter of rape, other of robberie, extortion, murder, manſlaughter, high treaſon, adulterie; and not a few of batterie. Wherwith the king (as a man now awaked out of ſléepe) was ſo offended, that vpon conſultation had of theſe things, he baniſhed all the Normans out of the land, onelie three or foure excepted, whome he reteined for ſundrie neceſſarie cauſes, albeit they came neuer more ſo néere him afterward as to be of his priuie councell.

After this alſo the earle liued almoſt two yeares, and then falling into an apoplexie, as he ſat with the king at the table, he was taken vp and carried into the kings bedchamber, where (after a few daies) he made an end of his life. And thus much of our firſt broile raiſed by the cleargie, and practiſe of the archbiſhop. I would intreat of all the like examples of tyrannie, practiſed by the prelats of this ſée, againſt their lords and ſouereignes: but then I ſhould rather write an hiſtorie than a deſcription of this Iland.

Wherefore I refer you to thoſe reports of Anſelme and Becket, ſufficientlie penned by other, the which Anſelme alſo making a ſhew, as if he had bin verie vnwilling to be placed in the ſée of Canturburie, gaue this anſwer to the letters of ſuch his frends, as did make requeſt vnto him to take the charge vpon him. *Secularia negotia neſcio, quia ſcire nolo, eorum námque occupationes horreo, liberum affectans animum. Voluntati ſacrarum intendo ſcripturarum, vos diſſonantiam facitis, verendúmque eſt nè aratrum ſanctæ eccleſiæ, quod in Anglia duo boues validi & pari fortitudine, ad bonum certantes, id eſt rex & archiepiſcopus, debeant trahere, nunc one vetula cum tauro indomito iugata, diſtorqueatur à recto. Ego ouis vetula, qui ſi quietus eſſem, verbi Dei lacte, & operimento lanæ, aliquibus poſſem fortaſſis non ingratus eſſe, ſed ſi me cum hoc tauro coniungitis, videbitis pro diſparilitate trahentium, aratrum non rectè procedere, &c.* Which is in Engliſh thus: Of ſecular affaires I haue no ſkill, becauſe I will not know them, for I euen abhor the troubles that riſe about them, as one that deſireth to haue his mind at libertie. I applie my whole indeuor to the rule of the ſcriptures, you lead me to the contrarie. And it is to be feared leaſt the plough of holie church, which two ſtrong oxen of equall force, and both like earneſt to contend vnto that which is good (that is the king and the archbiſhop) ought to draw, ſhould thereby now ſwarue from the right forrow, by matching of an old ſhéepe with a wild vntamed bull. I am that old ſhéepe, who if I might be quiet, could peraduenture ſhew my ſelfe not altogither vngratfull to ſome, by féeding them with the milke of the word of God, and couering them with wooll: but if you match me with this bull, you ſhall ſée that thorough want of equalitie in draught the plough will not go to right, &c: as followeth in the proceſſe of his letters. The ſaid Thomas Becket was ſo proud, that he wrote to king Henrie the ſecond, as to his lord, to his king, and to his ſonne, offering him his counſell, his reuerence, and due correction, &c. Others in like ſort haue proteſted, that they owght nothing to the kings of this land, but their counſell onelie, reſeruing all obedience vnto the ſée of Rome. Thomas Becket.

And as the old cocke of Canturburie did crow in this behalfe, ſo the yong cockerels of other ſées did imitate his demeanor, as may be ſéene by this one example alſo in king Stephans time, worthie to be remembred; vnto whome the biſhop of London would not ſo much as ſweare to be true ſubiect: wherein alſo he was mainteined by the pope, as appeareth by theſe letters.

Eugenius epiſcopus ſeruus ſeruorum Dei, dilecto in Chriſto filio Stephano illuſtri regi Anglorũ ſalutẽ, & apoſtolicã benedictionẽ. Ad hæc ſuperna prouidẽtia in eccleſia pontifices ordinauit, vt Chriſtianus populus ab eis paſcua vitæ reciperet, & tam principes ſeculares, quàm inferioris conditionis homines, ipſis pontificibus tanquam Chriſti vicarijs reuerentiam exhiberent. Venerabilis ſiquidem frater noſter Robertus London epiſcopus, tanquam vir ſapiens & honeſtus, & relligionis amator, à nobilitate tua benignè tractandus eſt, & pro collata à Deo prudentia propenſiùs honorandus. Quia ergò, ſicut in veritate comperimus cum animæ ſuæ ſalute, ac ſuæ ordinis periculo, fidelitate quæ ab eo requiritur aſtringi non poteſt: volumus, & ex paterno tibi affectu conſulimus, quatenus prædictum fratrem noſtrum ſuper hoc nullatenus inquietes, immò pro beati Petri & noſtra reuerentia, eum in amorem & gratiam tuam recipias. Cùm autem illud iuramentum præſtare non poſſit, ſufficiat diſcretioni tuæ, vt ſimplici & veraci verbo promittat, quòd læſionem tibi vel terræ tuæ non inferat: Vale. Dat. Meldis 6. cal. Iulij.

Anſelme.

Thus we ſée, that kings were to rule no further than it pleaſed the pope to like of; neither to challenge more obedience of their ſubiects than ſtood alſo

so with their good will and pleasure. He wrote in like sort vnto quéene Mawd about the same matter, making hir Samsons calfe (the better to bring his purpose to passe) as appeareth by the same letter here insuing.

Solomone attestante, didicimus quòd mulier sapiens ædificat domum; insipiens autem constructam destruet manibus. Gaudemus pro te, & deuotionis studium in Domino collaudamus; quoniam sicut relligiosorum relatione accepimus, timorem Dei præ oculis habens, operibus pietatis intẽdis, & personas ecclesiasticas & diligis & honoras. Vt ergo de bono in melius (inspirante Domino) proficere valeas, nobilitatẽ tuam in Domino rogamus, & rogando monemus, & exhortamur in Domino, quatenus bonis initijs exitus meliores iniungas, & venerabilem fratrem nostrum Robertum London episcopũ, pro illius reuerentia, qui cùm olim diues esset, pro nobis pauper fieri voluit, attentiùs diligas, & honores. Apud virum tuum & dilectum filium nostrum Stephanum, insignem regem Anglorum efficere studeas, vt monitis, hortatu, & cõsilio tuo, ipsum in benignitatem & dilectionem suam suscipiat, & pro beati Petri, & nostra reuerentia propensius habeat commendatum. Et quia sicut (veritate teste) attendimus eum sine salute, & sui ordinis periculo, præfato filio nostro astringi non posse; volumus, & paterno sibi & tibi affectu consulimus, vt vobis sufficiat, veraci & simplici verbo promissionẽ ab eo suscipere, quòd læsionem vel detrimentum ei, vel terræ suæ nõ inferat. Dat. vt supra.

Is it not strange, that a pæuish order of religion (deuised by man) should breake the expresse law of God, who commandeth all men to honour and obeie their kings and princes, in whome some part of the power of God is manifest and laid open vnto vs? And euen vnto this end the cardinall of Hostia also wrote to the canons of Paules, after this maner; couertlie incouraging them to stand to their election of the said Robert, who was no more willing to giue ouer his new bishoprike, than they carefull to offend the king; but rather imagined which waie to keepe it still maugre his displeasure: & yet not to sweare obedience vnto him, for all that he should be able to do or performe vnto the contrarie.

Humilis Dei gratia Hostiensis episcopus, Londinensis ecclesiæ canonicis spiritũ consilij in Domino. Sicut rationi contraria prorsus est abijcienda petitio, ita in hijs, quæ iustè desyderantur, effectum negare omninò non conuenit. Sanè nuper accepimus, quòd Londinensis ecclesia, diu proprio destitutapastore, communi voto, & pari assensu cleri & populi, venerabilem filium nostrum Robertum, eiusdem ecclesiæ archidiaconum, in pastorem & episcopum animarum suarum susceperit & elegerit. Nouimus quidem eum esse personam, quam sapientia desuper ei attributa, & honestas conuersationis, & morum reuerentia plurimùm commẽdabilem reddidit. Inde est quòd fraternitati vestræ mandando consulimus, vt proposito vestro bono (quod vt credimus ex Deo est) & vt ex literis domini papæ cognoscetis, non tepidè, non lentè debitum finem imponatis: ne tam nobilis ecclesia, sub occasione huiusmodi, spiritualium, quod absit, & temporalium detrimentum patiatur. Ipsius námque industria credimus, quòd antiqua relligio, & forma disciplinæ, & grauitas habitus, in ecclesia vestra reparari: & si quæ fuerint ipsius contentiones, ex pastoris absentia, Dei gratia cooperante, & eodem præsente, poterint reformari. Dat. &c.

Forsitan naturalem.

Hereby you see how king Stephan was dealt withall. And albeit the archbishop of Canturburie is not openlie to be touched herewith, yet it is not to be doubted, but he was a doer in it, so far as might tend to the maintenance of the right and prerogatiue of holie church. And euen no lesse vnquietnesse had another of our princes with Iohn of Arundell, who fled to Rome for feare of his head, and caused the pope to write an ambitious and contumelious letter vnto his souereigne about his restitution. But when (by the kings letters yet extant) e beginning thus; *Thomas proditionis non expers nostræ regiæ maiestati insidias fabricauit*, the pope vnderstood the botome of the matter, he was contented that Thomas should be depriued, and another archbishop chosen in his sted.

Neither did this pride staie at archbishops and bishops, but descended lower, euen to the rake-helles of the clergie and puddels of all vngodlinesse. For beside the iniurie receiued of their superiors, how was K. Iohn dealt withall by the vile Cistertians at Lincolne in the second of his reigne? Certes, when he had (vpon iust occasion) conceiued some grudge against them for their ambitious demeanor; and vpon denaill to paie such summes of monie as were allotted vnto them, he had caused seizure to be made of such horsses, swine, neate, and other things of theirs, as were maintained in his forrests. They denounced him as fast amongst themselues with bell, booke and candle, to be accursed and excommunicated. Therevnto they so handled the matter with the pope and their friends, that the king was faine to yéeld to their good graces: insomuch that a meeting for pacification was apointed betweene them at Lincolne, by meanes of the present archbishop of Canturburie, who went oft betweene him and the Cistertian commissioners before the matter could be finished. In the end, the king himselfe came also vnto the said commissioners as they sat in their chapiter house, and there with teares fell downe at their feet, craving pardon for his trespasses against them, and heartilie requiring that they would (from thencefoorth) commend him and his realme in their praiers vnto the protection of the almightie, and receiue him into their fraternitie: promising moreouer full satisfaction of their damages sustained; and to build an house of their order in whatsoeuer place of England it should please them to assigne. And this he confirmed by charter, bearing date the seauen and twentith of November, after the Scotish king was returned into Scotland, & departed from the king. Whereby (and by other the like, as betweene Iohn Stratford and Edward the third, &c:) a man may easilie conceiue how proud the cleargie-men haue béene in former times, as wholie presuming vpon the primasie of their pope. More matter could I alledge of these and the like broiles, not to be found among our common historiographers: howbeit reseruing the same vnto places more conuenient, I will ceasse to speake of them at this time, and go forward with such other things as my purpose is to speake of. At the first therefore there was like and equall authoritie in both our archbishops: but as he of Canturburie hath long since obteined the prerogatiue aboue Yorke (although I saie not without great trouble, sute, some bloudshed & contention) so the archbishop of Yorke is neuertheless written primate of England, as one contenting himselfe with a péece of a title at the least, when (all) could not be gotten. And as he of Canturburie crowneth the king, so this of Yorke doth the like to the quéene, whose perpetuall chapleine he is, & hath béene from time to time, since the determination of this controuersie, as writers do report. The first also hath vnder his iurisdiction to

the

Twentie one bishoprikes vnder ỹ sée of Canturburie. Onelie foure sées vnder the archbishop of Yorke.

the number of one and twentie inferiour bishops, the other hath onlie foure, by reason that the churches of Scotland are now remooued from his obedience vnto an archbishop of their owne, whereby the greatnesse and circuit of the iurisdiction of Yorke is not a little diminished. In like sort each of these seauen and twentie sées haue their cathedrall churches, wherein the deanes (a calling not knowne in England before the conquest) do beare the chéefe rule, being men especiallie chosen to that vocation, both for their learning and godlinesse so néere as can be possible. These cathedrall churches haue in like maner other dignities and canonries still remaining vnto them, as héeretofore vnder the popish regiment. Howbeit those that are chosen to the same are no idle and vnprofitable persons (as in times past they haue béene when most of these liuings were either furnished with strangers, especiallie out of Italie, boies, or such idiots as had least skill of all in discharging of those functions, whereunto they were called by vertue of these stipends) but such as by preaching and teaching can and do learnedlie set forth the glorie of God, and further the ouerthrow of antichrist to the vttermost of their powers.

Deanes.

Canonries.

These churches are called cathedrall, bicause the bishops dwell or lie néere vnto the same, as bound to kéepe continuall residence within their iurisdictions, for the better ouersight and gouernance of the same: the word being deriued *A cathedra*, that is to saie a chaire or seat where he resteth, and for the most part abideth. At the first there was but one church in euerie iurisdiction, wherinto no man entred to praie, but with some oblation or other toward the maintenance of the pastor. For as it was reputed an infamie to passe by anie of them without visitation: so it was a no lesse reproch to appeare emptie before the Lord. And for this occasion also they were builded verie huge and great, for otherwise they were not capable of such multitudes as came dailie vnto them, to heare the word, and receiue the sacraments.

But as the number of christians increased, so first monasteries, then finallie parish churches were builded in euerie iurisdiction: from whence I take our deanerie churches to haue their originall, now called mother churches, and their incumbents archpréests; the rest being added since the conquest, either by the lords of euerie towne, or zealous men, loth to trauell farre, and willing to haue some ease by building them nære hand. Vnto these deanerie churches also the cleargie in old time of the same deanrie were appointed to repaire at sundrie seasons, there to receiue wholesome ordinances, and to consult vpon the necessarie affaires of the whole iurisdiction; if necessitie so required: and some image hereof is yet to be séene in the north parts. But as the number of churches increased, so the repaire of the faithfull vnto the cathedrals did diminish: whereby they now become especiallie in their nether parts rather markets and shops for merchandize, than solemn places of praier, whereunto they were first erected. Moreouer in the said cathedrall churches vpon sundaies and festiuall daies, the canons do make certeine ordinarie sermons by course, whereunto great numbers of all estates do orderlie resort: and vpon the working daies thrise in the wéeke, one of the said canons, or some other in his stéed, doth read and expound some péece of holie scripture, whereunto the people do verie reuerentlie repaire. The bishops themselues in like sort are not idle in their callings, for being now exempt from court and councell, which is one (and a no small) péece of their felicitie (although Richard archbishop of Canturburie thought otherwise, as yet appeareth by his letters to pope Alexander, *Epistola 44. Petri Blesensis*, where he saith; Bicause the clear-

Ordinarie sermons.

Ordinarie expositions of the scriptures

gie of his time were somewhat narrowlie looked vnto, *Supra dorsum ecclesiæ fabricant peccatores, &c.*) they so aplie their minds to the setting forth of the word, that there are verie few of them, which do not euerie sundaie or oftener resort to some place or other, within their iurisdictions, where they expound the scriptures with much grauitie and skill; and yet not without the great misliking and contempt of such as hate the word. Of their manifold translations from one sée to another I will saie nothing, which is not now done for the benefit of the flocke, as the preferment of the partie fauoured, and aduantage vnto the prince, a matter in time past much doubted of, to wit, whether a bishop or pastor might be translated from one sée to another; & left vndecided, till prescription by roiall authoritie made it good. For among princes a thing once done, is well done, and to be done oftentimes, though no warrant be to be found therefore.

The bishops preach diligentlie, whose predecessors heretofore haue béene occupied in temporall affairs.

They haue vnder them also their archdeacons, some one, diuerse two, and manie foure or mo, as their circuits are in quantitie, which archdeacons are termed in law the bishops eies: and these (beside their ordinarie courts, which are holden within so manie or more of their seuerall deanries by themselues or their officials once in a moneth at the least) do kéepe yearelie two visitations or synods (as the bishop doth in euerie third yeare, wherein he confirmeth some children, though most care but a litle for that ceremonie) in which they make diligent inquisition and search, as well for the doctrine and behauiour of the ministers, as the orderlie dealing of the parishioners in resorting to their parish churches and conformitie vnto religion. They punish also with great seueritie all such trespassers, either in person or by the purse (where permutation of penance is thought more grieuous to the offendor) as are presented vnto them: or if the cause be of the more weight, as in cases of heresie, pertinacie, contempt, and such like, they referre them either to the bishop of the dioceese, or his chancellor, or else to sundrie graue persons set in authoritie, by vertue of an high commission directed vnto them from the prince to that end, who in verie courteous maner do sée the offendors gentlie reformed, or else seuerlie punished, if necessitie so inforce.

Archdeacons.

High commissioners.

Beside this, in manie of our archdeaconries we haue an exercise latelie begun, which for the most part is called a prophesie or conference, and erected onelie for the examination or triall of the diligence of the cleargie in their studie of holie scriptures. Howbeit, such is the thirstie desire of the people in these daies to heare the word of God, that they also haue as it were with zealous violence intruded themselues among them (but as hearers onelie) to come by more knowledge through their presence at the same. Herein also (for the most part) two of the yonger sort of ministers do expound ech after other some péece of the scriptures ordinarilie appointed vnto them in their courses (wherein they orderlie go through with some one of the euangelists, or of the epistles, as it pleaseth the whole assemblie to chuse at the first in euerie of these conferences) and when they haue spent an houre or a little more betwéene them, then commeth one of the better learned sort, who being a graduat for the most part, or knowne to be a preacher sufficientlie authorised, & of a sound iudgement, supplieth the roome of a moderator, making first a briefe rehearsall of their discourses, and then adding what him thinketh good of his owne knowledge, wherby two houres are thus commonlie spent at this most profitable méeting. When all is done, if the first speakers haue shewed anie péere of diligence, they are commended for their trauell, and in-

A prophesie or conference.

couraged to go forward. If they haue béene found to be slacke, or not sound in deliuerie of their doctrine, their negligence and error is openlie reprooued before all their brethren, who go aside of purpose from the laitie, after the exercise ended, to iudge of these matters, and consult of the next speakers and quantitie of the text to be handled in that place. The laitie neuer speake of course (except some vaine and busie head will now and then intrude themselues with offense) but are onelie hearers; and as it is vsed in some places weekelie, in other once in foureteene dales, in diuerse monethlie, and elsewhere twise in a yeare, so is it a notable spurre vnto all the ministers, thereby to aplie their bookes, which otherwise (as in times past) would giue themselues to hawking, hunting, tables, cards, dice, tipling at the alehouse, shooting of matches, and other like vanities; nothing commendable in such as should be godlie and zealous stewards of the good gifts of God, faithfull distributors of his word vnto the people, and diligent pastors according to their calling.

But alas! as Sathan the author of all mischéefe hath in sundrie manners heretofore hindered the erection and maintenance of manie good things: so in this he hath stirred vp aduersaries of late vnto this most profitable exercise, who not regarding the commoditie that riseth thereby so well to the hearers as spekers; but either stumbling (I cannot tell how) at words and termes, or at the least wise not liking to here of the reprehension of vice, or peraduenture taking a misliking at the slender demeanours of such negligent ministers, as now and then in their courses do occupie the romes: haue either by their owne practise, their sinister information, or suggestions made vpon surmises vnto other procured the suppression of these conferences, condemning them as hurtfull, pernicious, and dailie breéders of no small hurt & inconuenience. But hereof let God be iudge, vnto whome the cause belongeth.

Ministers & deacons.

Our elders or ministers and deacons (for subdeacons and the other inferiour orders, sometime vsed in popish church we haue not) are made according to a certeine forme of consecration concluded vpon in the time of king Edward the first, by the cleargie of England, and sone after confirmed by the three estates of the realme, in the high court of parlement. And out of the first sort, that is to sale, of such as are called to the ministerie (without respect whether they be married or not) are bishops, deanes, archdeacons, & such as haue the higher places in the hierarchie of the church elected; and these also as all the rest, at the first comming vnto anie spirituall promotion, do yéeld vnto the prince the entire tare of that their liuing for one whole yeare, if it amount in value vnto ten pounds and vpwards, and this vnder the name and title of first fruits.

Faculties.

With vs also it is permitted, that a sufficient man may (by dispensation from the prince) hold two liuings, not distant either from other aboue thirtie miles; whereby it commeth to passe, that as his maiestie doth reape some commoditie by the facultie, so the vnition of two in one man doth bring oftentimes more benefit to one of them in a moneth (I meane for doctrine) than they haue had before peraduenture in manie yeares.

Manie exclame against such faculties, as if there were no good preachers that want maintenance, than liuings to mainteine them. In déed when a liuing is void, there are so manie sutors for it, that a man would thinke the report to be true, and most certeine: but when it commeth to the triall, who are sufficient, and who not, who are staied men in conuersation, iudgement, and learning; of that great number you shall hardlie find one or two, such as they ought to be: and yet none more earnest to make sute, to promise largelie, beare a better shew, or find fault with the state of things than they. Neuertheless, I do not thinke that their exclamations if they were wiselie handled, are altogither grounded vpon rumors of ambitious minds, if you respect the state of the thing it selfe, and not the necessitie growing through want of able men, to furnish out all the cures in England, which both our vniuersities are neuer able to performe. For if you obserue what numbers of preachers Cambridge and Oxford do yearelie send forth; and how manie new compositions are made in the court of first fruits, by the deaths of the last incumbents: you shall sone sée a difference. Wherefore, if in countrie townes & cities, yea euen in London it selfe, foure or fiue of the litle churches were brought into one, the inconuenience would in great part be redressed and amended.

And to, saie truth, one most commonlie of these small liuings is of so little value, that it is not able to mainteine a meane scholar; much lesse a learned man, as not being aboue ten, twelue, sixtéene, seuentéene, twentie, or thirtie pounds at the most, toward their charges, which now (more than before time) do go out of the same. I saie more than before, bicause euerie small trifle, noble mans request, or courtesie craued by the bishop, doth impose and command a twentith part, a three score part, or two pence in the pound, &c. out of our liuings, which hitherto hath not béene vsuallie granted, but by consent of a synod, wherein things were decided according to equitie, and the power sort considered of, which now are equallie burdened.

Tenths.

We pate also the tenths of our liuings to the prince yearelie, according to such valuation of ech of them, as hath béene latelie made: which neuertheless in time past were not annuall but voluntarie, & paid at request of king or pope. Herevpon also hangeth a pleasant storie though done of late yeares, to wit 1452, at which time the cleargie séeing the continuall losses that the king of England susteined in France, vpon some motion of releése made, granted in an open conuocation to giue him two tenths toward the recouerie of Burdeaux, which his grace verie thankefullie receiued. It fortuned also at the same time that Vincentius Clemens the popes factor was here in England, who hearing what the cleargie had done, came into the conuocation house also in great hall and lesse spéed, where, in a solemne oration he earnestlie required them to be no lesse fauourable to their spirituall father the pope, and mother the sée of Rome, than they had shewed themselues vnto his vassall and inferiour, meaning their souereigne lord in temporall iurisdiction, &c. In deliuering also the cause of his sute, he shewed how greeuouslie the pope was disturbed by cutthroates, barlots, and harlots, which do now so abound in Rome, that his holinesse is in dailie danger to be made awaie amongst them. To be short when this fine tale was told, one of the companie stood vp and said vnto him; My lord we haue heard your request, and as we thinke it deserueth litle consideration and lesse care, for how would you haue vs to contribute to his aid in suppression of such, as he and such as you are do continuall vphold, it is not vnknowen in this house what rule is kept in Rome.

I grant (quoth Vincent) that there wanteth full reformation of manie things in that citie, which would haue béene made sooner, but now it is too late: neuertheless I beséech you to write vnto his holinesse, with request that he would leaue and abandon that Babylon, which is but a sinke of mischiefe, and kéepe his court elsewhere in place of better fame. And this he shall be the better able also to performe, if by your liberalitie

liberalitie extended towards him, vnto whome you are moſt bound, he be incouraged thereto. Manie other words paſſed to and fro amongſt them, howbeit in the end Vincent ouercame not, but was diſmiſſed without anie penie obteined. But to returne to our tenths, a paiement firſt as deuiſed by the pope, and afterward taken vp as by the preſcription of the king, wherevnto we may ioine alſo our firſt fruits, which is one whole yeares commoditie of our liuing, due at our entrance into the ſame, the tenths abated vnto the princes cofers, and paid commonlie in two yeares. For the receipt alſo of theſe two paiments, an eſpeciall office or court is erected, which beareth name of firſt fruits and tenths, wherevnto if the partie to be preferred, doo not make his dutifull repaire by an appointed time after poſſeſſion taken, there to compound for the paiment of his ſaid fruits, he incurreth the danger of a great penaltie, limited by a certeine ſtatute prouided in that behalfe, againſt ſuch as doo intrude into the eccleſiaſticall function, and refuſe to paie the accuſtomed duties belonging to the ſame.

They paie likewiſe ſubſidies with the temporaltie, but in ſuch ſort, that if theſe paie after foure ſhillings forland, the cleargie contribute commonlie after ſix ſhillings of the pound, ſo that of a benefice of twentie pounds by the yeare, the incumbent thinketh himſelfe well acquited, if all ordinarie paiments being diſcharged he may reſerue thirteene pounds ſix ſhillings eight pence towards his owne ſuſtentation, and maintenance of his familie. Seldome alſo are they without the compaſſe of a ſubſidie, for if they be one yeare cleare from this paiement, a thing not often ſeene of late yeares, they are like in the next to heare of another grant: ſo that I ſaie againe they are ſeldome without the limit of a ſubſidie. Herein alſo they ſomewhat find themſelues grieued, that the laitie may at euerie taxation helpe themſelues, and ſo they doo through conſideration had of their decaie and hinderance, and yet their impoueriſhment cannot but touch alſo the parſon or vicar, vnto whom ſuch libertie is denied, as is dailie to be ſeene in their accompts and tithings.

Some of them alſo, after the mariages of their children, will haue their proportions qualified, or by freendſhip get themſelues quite out of the booke. But what ſtand I vpon theſe things, who haue rather to complaine of the iniurie offered by ſome of our neighbors of the laitie, which dailie indeuor to bring vs alſo within the compaſſe of their ſiſtéens or tares for their owne eaſe, whereas the tare of the whole realme, which is commonlie greater in the champeigne than woodland ſoile, amounteth onelie to 37930 pounds nine pence halfepenie, is a burden eaſie inough to be borne vpon ſo manie ſhoulders, without the helpe of the cleargie, whoſe tenths and ſubſidies make vp commonlie a double, if not troubleſome vnto their aforeſaid paiments. Sometimes alſo we are threatned with a *Melius inquirendum*, as if our liuings were not racked high inough alreadie. But if a man ſhould ſeeke out where all thoſe church lands, which in time paſt did contribute vnto the old ſumme required or to be made vp, no doubt no ſmall number of the laitie of all ſtates ſhould be contributors alſo with vs, the prince not defrauded of hir expectation and right. We are alſo charged with armor & munitions from thirtie pounds vpwards, a thing more néedfull than diuerſe other charges impoſed vpon vs are conuenient, by which & other burdens our caſe groweth to be more heauie by a great deale (notwithſtanding our immunitie from temporall ſeruices) than that of the laitie, and for ought that I ſée not likelie to be diminiſhed, as if the church were now become the aſſe whereon euerie market man is to ride and caſt his wallet.

The other paiments due vnto the archbiſhop and biſhop at their ſeuerall viſitations (of which the firſt is double to the latter) and ſuch alſo as the archdeacon receiueth at his ſynods, &c: remaine ſtill as they did without anie alteration, onelie this I thinke be added within memorie of man, that at the comming of euerie prince, his appointed officers doo commonlie viſit the whole realme vnder the forme of an eccleſiaſticall inquiſition, in which the clergie doo vſualie paie double fées, as vnto the archbiſhop. Hereby then, and by thoſe alreadie remembred, it is found that the church of England, is no leſſe commodious to the princes coffers than the ſtate of the laitie, if it doo not farre exceed the ſame, ſince their paiments are certeine, continuall, and ſeldome abated, howſoeuer they gather vp their owne duties with grudging, murmuring, ſute, and ſlanderous ſpeeches of the paiers, or haue their liuings otherwiſe hardlie valued vnto the vttermoſt farding, or ſhrewdlie cancelled by the couetouſneſſe of the patrones, of whome ſome doo beſtow aduouſons of benefices vpon their bakers, butlers, cookes, good archers, falconers, and horſekéepers, in ſted of other recompenſe, for their long and faithfull ſeruice, which they imploie afterward vnto their moſt aduantage.

Certes here they reſemble the pope verie much, for as he ſendeth out his idols, ſo doo they their paraſites, pages, chamberleins, ſtewards, grooms, & lackies; and yet theſe be the men that firſt exclame of the inſufficiencie of the miniſters, as hoping thereby in due time to get alſo their glebes and grounds into their hands. In times paſt biſhoprikes went almoſt after the ſame maner vnder the laie princes, and then vnder the pope, ſo that he which helped a clerke vnto a ſee, was ſure to haue a preſent or purſe fine, if not an annuall penſion, beſides that which went to the popes coffers, and was thought to be verie good merchandize. Hereof one example may be touched, as of a thing done in my yonger daies, whileſt quéene Marie bare the ſwaie and gouerned in this land. After the death of Stephan Gardiner, the ſée of Wincheſter was void for a ſeaſon, during which time cardinall Pole made ſeizure vpon the reuenues and commodities of the ſame, pretending authoritie therevnto *Sede vacante*, by vertue of his place. With this act of his the biſhop of Lincolne called White toke ſuch diſpleaſure, that he ſtepped in like a mate, with full purpoſe (as he ſaid) to kéepe that ſée from ruine. He wrote alſo to Paulus the fourth pope, requiring that he might be preferred therevnto, promiſing ſo as he might be *Compos voti*, to paie to the popes coffers 1600 pounds yearlie during his naturall life, and for one yeare after. But the pope nothing liking of his motion, and yet deſirous to reape a further benefit, firſt ſhewed himſelfe to ſtomach his ſimoniacall practiſe verie grieuouſlie, conſidering the dangerouſneſſe of the time and preſent eſtate of the church of England, which hong as yet in balance readie to yéeld anie waie, ſauing forth right, as he alledged in his letters. By which replie he ſo terrified the poore biſhop, that he was driuen vnto another iſſue, I meane to recouer the popes good will, with a further ſumme than ſtood with his eaſe to part withall. In the end when the pope had gotten this fléece, a new deuiſe was found, and meanes made to and by the prince, that White might be biſhop of Wincheſter, which at the laſt he obteined, but in ſuch wiſe as that the pope and his néereſt friends did loſe but a little by it. I could if néed were ſet downe a report of diuerſe other the like practiſes, but this ſhall ſuffice in ſtéed of all the reſt, leaſt in reprehending of vice I might ſhew my ſelfe to be a teacher of vngodlineſſe, or to ſcatter more vngratious ſéed in lewd ground

alreadie choked with wickednesse.

To proceed therefore with the reſt, I thinke it good also to remember, that the names vſuallie giuen vnto ſuch as feed the flocke remaine in like ſort as in times paſt, ſo that theſe words, parſon, vicar, curat, and ſuch are not yet aboliſhed more than the canon law it ſelfe, which is dailie pleaded, as I haue ſaid elſewhere; although the ſtatutes of the realme haue greatlie infringed the large ſcope, and brought the exerciſe of the ſame into ſome narrower limits. There is nothing read in our churches but the canonicall ſcriptures, whereby it commeth to paſſe that the pſalter is ſaid ouer once in thirtie daies, the new teſtament foure times, and the old teſtament once in the yeare. And herevnto if the curat be adiudged by the biſhop or his deputies, ſufficientlie inſtructed in the holie ſcriptures, and therewithall able to teach, he permitteth him to make ſome expoſition or exhortation in his pariſh, vnto amendment of life. And for ſo much as our churches and vniuerſities haue béene ſo ſpoiled in time of errour, as there cannot yet be had ſuch number of able paſtours as may ſuffice for euerie pariſh to haue one: there are (beſide foure ſermons appointed by publike order in the yeare) certeine ſermons or homilies (deuiſed by ſundrie learned men, confirmed for ſound doctrine by conſent of the diuines, and publike authoritie of the prince) and thoſe appointed to be read by the curats of meane vnderſtanding (which homilies do comprehend the principall parts of chriſtian doctrine, as of originall ſinne, of iuſtification by faith, of charitie, and ſuch like) vpon the ſabbaoth daies, vnto the congregation. And after a certeine number of pſalmes read, which are limited according to the daies of the month, for morning and euening praier, we haue two leſſons, whereof the firſt is taken out of the old teſtament, the ſecond out of the new, and of theſe latter that in the morning is out of the goſpels, the other in the after none out of ſome one of the epiſtles. After morning praier alſo we haue the letanie and ſuffrages, an inuocation in mine opinion not deniſed without the great aſſiſtance of the ſpirit of God, although manie curious mindſicke perſons vtterlie condemne it as ſuperſtitious and sauouring of conturation and ſorcerie.

This being done, we proceed vnto the communion, if anie communicants be to receiue the euchariſt, if not we read the decalog, epiſtle and goſpell with the Nicene creed (of ſome in deriſion called the drie communion) and then proceed vnto an homilie or ſermon, which hath a pſalme before and after it, and finallie vnto the baptiſme of ſuch infants as on euerie ſabaoth daie (if occaſion ſo require) are brought vnto the churches: and thus is the forenoone beſtowed. In the after none likewiſe we met againe, and after the pſalmes and leſſons ended we haue commonlie a ſermon, or at the leaſt wiſe our youth catechiſed by the ſpace of an houre. And thus do we ſpend the ſabaoth daie in good and godlie exerciſes, all done in our vulgar tong, that each one preſent may heare and vnderſtand the ſame, which alſo in cathedrall and collegiat churches is ſo ordered, that the pſalmes onelie are ſong by note, the reſt being read (as in common pariſh churches) by the miniſter with a lowd voice, ſauing that in the adminiſtration of the communion the quier ſingeth the anſwers, the creed, and ſundrie other things appointed, but in ſo plaine, I ſaie, and diſtinct maner, that each one preſent may vnderſtand what they ſing, euerie word hauing but one note, though the whole harmonie conſiſt of manie parts, and thoſe verie cunninglie ſet by the ſkilfull in that ſcience.

Certes this tranſlation of the ſeruice of the church into the vulgar tong, hath not a litle offended the pope almoſt in euerie age, as a thing verie often attempted by diuers princes, but neuer generallie obteined, for feare leaſt the conſenting thervnto might breed the ouerthrow (as it would in deed) of all his religion and hierarchie: neuertheleſſe in ſome places where the kings and princes dwelled not vnder his noſe, it was performed maugre his reſiſtance. Vratiſlaus duke of Bohemia, would long ſince haue done the like alſo in his kingdome, but not daring to venter ſo farre without the conſent of the pope, he wrote vnto him thereof, and receiued his anſwer inhibitorie vnto all his proceeding in the ſame.

Gregorius ſeptimus Vratiſlao Bohemorum duci, &c. Quæ nobilitas tua poſtulat, quòd ſecundũ Sclauonicã linguã apud vos diuinum celebrari annueremus officium, ſcias nos huic petitioni tuæ nequaquàm poſſe fauere, ex hoc nempe ſe volentibus liquet, non immerito ſacram ſcripturam optimo Deo placuiſſe quibuſdam locis eſſe occultam; ne ſi ad liquidum cunctis pateret, fortè vileſceret, & ſubiaceret deſpectui, aut praue intellecta à mediocribus in errorem induceret. Neque enim ad excuſationem ualet, quòd quidam viri hoc, quod ſimplex populus quærit patienter tulerunt, ſeu incorrectum dimiſerunt: cum primitiua eccleſia multa diſſimulauerit, quæ à ſanctis patribus poſtmodum, firmata chriſtianitate & religione creſcente, ſubtili examinatione correcta ſunt: unde id nè fiat, quod à veſtris imprudenter expoſcitur, autoritate beati Petri inhibemus; teque ad honorem optimi Dei huic vanæ temeritati viribus totis reſiſtere præcipimus, &c. Datum Romæ, &c.

I would ſet downe two or three more of the like inſtruments paſſed from that ſee vnto the like end, but this ſhall ſuffice, being leſſe common than the other, which are to be had more plentifullie.

As for our churches themſelues, belles, and times of morning and euening praier, remaine as in times paſt, ſauing that all images, ſhrines, tabernacles, rodlofts, and monuments of idolatrie are remoued, taken downe, and defaced; onelie the ſtories in glaſſe windowes excepted, which for want of ſufficient ſtore of new ſtuffe, and by reaſon of extreame charge that ſhould grow by the alteration of the ſame into white panes throughout the realme, are not altogither aboliſhed in moſt places at once, but by little and little ſuffered to decaie, that white glaſſe may be prouided and ſet vp in their roomes. Finallie, whereas there was wont to be a great partition betweene the quire and the bodie of the church; now it is either verie ſmall or none at all: and to ſaie the truth altogither needleſſe, ſith the miniſter ſaith his ſeruice commonlie in the bodie of the church, with his face toward the people, in a little tabernacle of wainſcot prouided for the purpoſe: by which means the ignorant do not onelie learne diuerſe of the pſalmes and vſuall praiers by heart, but alſo ſuch as can read, do praie together with him: ſo that the whole congregation at one inſtant powre out their petitions vnto the liuing God, for the whole eſtate of his church in moſt earneſt and feruent manner. Our holie and feſtiuall daies are verie well reduced alſo vnto a leſſe number; for whereas (not long ſince) we had vnder the pope foure ſcore and fiftéene, called feſtiuall, and thirtie *Profeſti*, beſide the ſundaies, they are all brought vnto ſeauen and twentie: and with them the ſuperfluous numbers of idle waks, guilds, fraternities, church-ales, helpe-ales, and ſoule-ales, called alſo dirge-ales, with the heathniſh rioting at bride-ales, are well diminiſhed and laid aſide. And no great matter were it if the feaſts of all our apoſtles, euangeliſts, and martyrs, with that of all ſaints, were brought to the holie daies that follow vpon Chriſtmaſſe, Eaſter, and Whitſuntide; and thoſe of the virgine Marie, with the reſt vtterlie removed from the calendars, as neither neceſſarie nor commendable in a reformed church.

The

Apparell. The apparell in like ſort of our clergie men is comlie, & in truth, more decent than euer it was in the popiſh church: before the vniuerſities bound their graduats vnto a ſtable attire, afterward vſurped alſo euen by the blind ſir Johns. For if you peruſe well my chronologie inſuing, you ſhall find, that they went either in diuerſe colors like plaiers, or in garments of light hew, as yellow, red, græne, &c: with their ſhoes piked, their haire criſped, their girdles armed with ſiluer; their ſhoes, ſpurres, bridles, &c: buckled with like mettall: their apparell (for the moſt part) of ſilke, and richlie furred; their cappes laced and buttned with gold: ſo that to mèt a prieſt in thoſe daies, was to behold a peacocke that ſpreadeth his taile when he danſeth before the henne: which

Hoſpitalitie. now (I ſaie) is well reformed. Touching hoſpitalitie, there was neuer anie greater vſed in England, ſith by reaſon that mariage is permitted to him that will chooſe that kind of life, their meat and drinke is more orderlie and frugallie dreſſed; their furniture of houſhold more conuenient, and better loked vnto; and the poore oftener fed generallie than heretofore they haue bèene, when onlie a few biſhops, and double or treble beneficed men did make good chère at Chriſtmaſſe onelie, or otherwiſe kept great houſes for the interteinment of the rich, which did often ſee and viſit them. It is thought much peraduenture, that ſome biſhops, &c: in our time do come ſhort of the ancient gluttonie and prodigalitie of their predeceſſors: but to ſuch as do conſider of the curtailing of their liuings, or exceſſiue prices wherevnto things are growen, and how their courſe is limited by law, and eſtate loked into on euery ſide, the cauſe of their ſo doing is well inough perceiued. This alſo offendeth manie, that they ſhould after their deaths leaue their ſubſtances to their wiues and children: whereas they conſider not, that in old time ſuch as had no lemans nor baſtards (verie few were there God wot of this ſort) did leaue their goods and poſſeſſions to their brethren and kinſfolks, whereby (as I can ſhew by good record) manie houſes of gentilitie haue growen and bène erected. If in anie age ſome ons of them did found a college, almeſhouſe, or ſchoole, if you loke vnto theſe our times, you ſhall ſee no fewer dœds of charitie done, nor better grounded vpon

Mariage. the right ſtub of pietie than before. If you ſaie that their wiues be fond, after the deceaſſe of their huſbands, and beſtow themſelues not ſo aduiſedlie as their calling requireth, which God knoweth theſe curious ſurueiors make ſmall accompt of in truth, further than thereby to gather matter of reprehenſion: I beſeech you then to loke into all ſtates of the laitie, & tell me whether ſome ducheſſes, counteſſes, barons, or knights wiues, do not fullie ſo often offend in the like as they: for Eue will be Eue though

Thred-bare gowns from whence they come. Adam would ſaie naie. Not a few alſo find fault with our thred-bare gowns, as if not our patrones but our wiues were cauſes of our woo. But if it were knowne to all, that I know to haue bène performed of late in Eſſex, where a miniſter taking a benefice (of leſſe than twentie pounds in the Quèenes bookes ſo farre as I remember) was inforced to paie to his patrone, twentie quarters of otes, ten quarters of wheat, and ſixtène yèrelie of barleie, which he called hawkes meat; and another left the like in farme to his patrone for ten pounds by the yère, which is well worth fortie at the leaſt, the cauſe of our thred-bare gownes would eaſilie appère, for ſuch patrons do ſcrape the woll from our clokes. Wherfore I may well ſaie, that ſuch a thred-bare miniſter is either an ill man, or hath an ill patrone, or both: and when ſuch cokes & cobling ſhifters ſhall be remoued and wèded out of the miniſterie, I doubt not but our patrons will proue better men, and be reformed whether they will or not, or elſe the ſingle minded biſhops ſhall ſée the liuing beſtowed vpon ſuch as do deſerue it. When the Pragmatike ſanction tooke place firſt in France, it was ſuppoſed that theſe enormities ſhould vtterlie haue ceaſed: but when the elections of biſhops came once into the hands of the canons and ſpirituall men, it grew to be farre worſe. For they alſo within a while waxing couetous, by their owne experience learned aforehand, raiſed the markets, and ſought after new gaines by the gifts of the greateſt liuings in that countrie, wherein (as Machiauell writeth) are eightène archbiſhoprikes, one hundred fortie and fiue biſhoprikes, 740 abbies, eleuen vniuerſities, 1000700 ſteeples (if his report be ſound.) Some are of the opinion, that if ſufficient men in euerie towne might be ſent for from the vniuerſities, this miſchiefe would ſone be remedied; but I am cleane of another mind. For when I conſider wherevnto the gifts of felowſhips in ſome places are growen: the profit that ariſeth at ſundrie elections of ſcholars out of grammar ſchooles, to the poſers, ſchoolemaſters, and preferrers of them to our vniuerſities, the gifts of a great number of almeſhouſes builded for the maimed and impotent ſouldiors, by princes and good men heretofore moued with a pittifull conſideration of the poore diſtreſſed: how rewards, penſions, and annuities alſo do reigne in other caſes, wherby the giuer is brought ſomtimes into extreame miſerie, & that not ſo much as the ſome of a common ſouldior is not obteined oftentimes, without a What will you giue me? I am brought into ſuch a miſtruſt of the ſequele of this deuiſe, that I dare pronounce (almoſt for certeine) that if Homer were now aliue, it ſhould be ſaid to him:

Túque licèt venias muſis comitatus Homere,
Si nihil attuleris ibis Homere foras.

More I could ſaie, and more I would ſaie of theſe and other things, were it not that in mine owne iudgement I haue ſaid inough alreadie for the aduertiſement of ſuch as be wiſe. Neuertheleſſe, before I finiſh this chapter, I will adde a word or two (ſo briefli as I can) of the old eſtate of cathedrall churches, which I haue collected togither here and there among the writers, and whereby it ſhall eaſilie be ſeene what they were, and how nère the gouernment of ours do in theſe daies approch vnto them, for that there is an irreconciliable ods betwèene them and thoſe of the papiſts, I hope there is no learned man indeed, but will acknowlege and yèld vnto it.

Number of churches in France.

Pretie packing.

Old eſtate of cathedrall churches.

We find therefore in the time of the primitiue church, that there was in euerie ſæ or iuriſdiction one ſchoole at the leaſt, whereinto ſuch as were catechiſtes in chriſtian religion did reſort. And hereof as we may find great teſtimonie for Alexandria, Antioch, Rome, and Hieruſalem; ſo no ſmall notice is left of the like in the inferior ſort, if the names of ſuch as taught in them be called to mind, & the hiſtories well read which make report of the ſame. Theſe ſchooles were vnder the iuriſdiction of the biſhops, and from thence did they & the reſt of the elders chooſe out ſuch as were the ripeſt ſcholars, and willing to ſerue in the miniſterie, whome they placed alſo in their cathedrall churches, there not onelie to be further inſtructed in the knowledge of the word, but alſo to inure them to the deliuerie of the ſame vnto the people in ſound maner, to miniſter the ſacraments, to viſit the ſicke and brethren impriſoned, and to performe ſuch other duties as then belonged to their charges. The biſhop himſelfe and elders of the church were alſo hearers and examiners of their doctrine, and being in proceſſe of time found mèt workmen for the lords harueſt, they were forthwith ſent abrods (after impoſition of hands, and praier generallie

made for their good proceeding) to ſome place or other then deſtitute of hir paſtor, and other taken from the ſchole alſo placed in their roomes. What number of ſuch clerks belonged now and then to ſome one ſée, the chronologie following ſhall eaſilie declare: and in like ſort what officers, widowes, and other perſons were dailie maintained in thoſe ſeaſons by the offerings and oblations of the faithfull, it is incredible to be reported, if we compare the ſame with the decaies and ablations ſéene and practiſed at this preſent. But what is that in all the world which auarice and negligence will not corrupt and impaire? And as this is a paterne of the eſtate of the cathedrall churches in thoſe times, ſo I wiſh that the like order of gouernment might once againe be reſtored vnto the ſame, which may be done with eaſe, ſith the ſcholes are alreadie builded in euerie dioceſſe, the vniuerſities, places of their preferment vnto further knowledge, and the cathedrall churches great inough to receiue ſo manie as ſhall come from thence to be inſtructed vnto doctrine. But one hinderance of this is alreadie and more & more to be loked for (beſide the plucking and ſnatching commonlie ſéene from ſuch houſes and the church) and that is, the generall contempt of the miniſterie, and ſmall conſideration of their former paines taken, whereby leſſe and leſſe hope of competent maintenance by preaching the word is likelie to inſue. Wherefore the greateſt part of the more excellent wits chooſe rather to imploy their ſtudies vnto phyſike and the lawes, vtterlie giuing ouer the ſtudie of the ſcriptures, for feare leaſt they ſhould in time not get their bread by the ſame. By this meanes alſo the ſtalles in their quéeres would be better filled, which now (for the moſt part) are emptie, and prebends ſhould be prebends indéed, there to liue till they were preferred to ſome eccleſiaſticall function, and then other men choſen to ſucceéd them in their roomes, whereas now prebends are but ſuperfluous additaments vnto former exceſſes, & perpetuall commodities vnto the owners, which before time were but temporall (as I haue ſaid before.) But as I haue good leiſure to wiſh for theſe things: ſo it ſhall be a longer time before it will be brought to paſſe. Neuertheleſſe, as I will praie for a reformation in this behalfe, ſo will I here conclude this my diſcourſe of the eſtate of our churches, and go in hand with the limits and bounds of our ſeuerall ſées, in ſuch order as they ſhall come vnto my preſent remembrance.

Of the number of biſhoprikes and *their ſeuerall circuits.*

Chap. 2.

HAuing alreadie ſpoken generally of the ſtate of our church, now will I touch the ſées ſeuerallie, ſaieng ſo much of ech of them as ſhall be conuenient for the time, and not one lie out of the ancient, but alſo the later writers, and ſomewhat of mine owne experience, beginning firſt with the ſée of Canturburie, as the moſt notable, whoſe archbiſhop is the primat of all this land for eccleſiaſticall iuriſdiction, and moſt accompted of commonlie, becauſe he is nérer to the prince, and readie at euerie call.

Canturburie. The iuriſdiction of Canturburie therefore, erected firſt by Auguſtine the monke, in the time of Ethelbert king of Kent, if you haue reſpect to hir prouinciall regiment, extendeth it ſelfe ouer all the ſouth and weſt parts of this Iland, and Ireland, as I haue noted in the chapter precedent, and few ſhires there are wherein the archbiſhop hath not ſome peculiars. But if you regard the ſame onelie that was and is proper vnto his ſée, from the beginning, it reacheth but ouer one parcell of Kent, which Rudburne calleth Cantwarland, the iuriſdiction of Rocheſter including the reſt: ſo that in this one countie the greateſt archbiſhoprike and the leaſt biſhoprike of all are linked in togither. That of Canturburie hath vnder it one archdeaconrie, who hath iuriſdiction ouer eleauen deanries or a hundred ſixtie one pariſh churches; & in the popiſh time in ſted of the 3093 pounds, eightéene ſhillings, halfepenie, farthing, which it now paieth vnto hir maieſtie, vnder the name of firſt frutes, there went out of this ſée to Rome, at euerie alienation 10000 ducates or florens, beſide 5000 that the new elect did vſuallie paie for his pall, each ducat being then worth an Engliſh crowne or there about, as I haue béene informed.

Rocheſter. The ſée of Rocheſter is alſo included within the limits of Kent, being erected by Auguſtine in the 604 of Grace, and reigne of Ceolrtic ouer the weſt-Saxons. The biſhop of this ſée hath one archdeacon, vnder whoſe gouernment in cauſes eccleſiaſticall are three deanries, or 132 pariſh churches: ſo that hereby it is to be gathered, that there are 393 pariſh churches in Kent, ouer which the ſaid two archdeacons haue eſpeciall cure & charge. He was wont to paie alſo vnto the court of Rome at his admiſſion to that ſée 1300 ducats or florens, as I read, which was an hard valuation, conſidering the ſmalneſſe of circuit belonging to his ſée. Howbeit, in my time it is ſo farre from eaſe by diminution, that it is raiſed to 1432 crownes, &c: or as we reſolue them into our pounds, 358 pounds, three ſhillings, ſix pence, halfepennie, farthing, a reckoning a great deale more preciſelie made than anie biſhop of that ſée doth take any great delight in. He was croſſe-bearer in times paſt vnto the archbiſhop of Canturburie. And there are and haue béene few ſées in England, which at one time or other haue not fetched their biſhops for the moſt part from this ſée: for as it is of it ſelfe but a ſmall thing in déed, ſo it is commonlie a preparatiue to an higher place. But of all that euer poſſeſſed it, Thomas Kempe had the beſt lucke, who being but a poore mans ſonne of Wie (vnto which towne he was a great benefactor) grew firſt to be doctor of both lawes, then of diuinitie; and afterward being promoted to this ſée, he was tranſlated from thence to Chicheſter, thirdlie to London, next of all to Yorke, and finallie after ſeauen and twentie yeares to Canturburie, where he became alſo cardinall, deacon, and then præſt in the court of Rome, according to this verſe, *Bis primas, ter præſes, bis cardine functus.* Certes I note this man, becauſe he bare ſome fauour to the furtherance of the goſpell, and to that end he either builded or repared the pulpit in Paules churchyard, and toke order for the continuall maintenance of a ſermon there vpon the ſabaoth, which doth continue vnto my time, as a place from whence the ſoundeſt doctrine is alwaies to be loked for, and for ſuch ſtrangers to reſort vnto as haue no habitation in anie pariſh within the citie where it ſtandeth.

London. The ſée of London was erected at the firſt by Lucius, who made it of an archeflamine and temple of Iupiter an archbiſhops ſée, and temple vnto the liuing God, and ſo it continued, vntill Auguſtine tranſlated the title thereof to Canturburie. The names of the archbiſhops of London are theſe; Theon, Eluan, Cadoc, Owen, Conan, Palladius, Stephan, Iltutus reſtitutus, anno 350, Theodromus, Theodredus, Hilarius, Faſtidius, anno 420, Guittelinus, Vodinus ſlaine by the Saxons, and Theonus Iunior. But for

for their iuſt order of ſucceſſion as yet I am not reſolued, neuertheleſſe the firſt biſhop there was ordeined by Auguſtine the monke, in the yeare of Chriſt 604, in the time of Ceolrye, after he had remoued his ſee further off into Kent: I wote not vpon what ſecret occaſion, if not the ſpædie hearing of newes from Rome, and readineſſe to flee out of the land, if any trouble ſhould betide him. For iuriſdiction it includeth Eſſex, Middleſex, and part of Herefordſhire, which is neither more nor leſſe in quantitie than the ancient kingdome of the eaſt Angles, before it was vnited to the weſt Sarons. The cathedrall church belonging to this ſée, was firſt begun by Ethelbert of Kent, Indic. 1. 598 of Inuber as I find, whileſt he held that part of the ſaid kingdome vnder his gouernement. Afterward when the Danes had ſundrie times defaced it, it was repared and made vp with hard ſtone, but in the end it was taken downe, and wholie reedified by Pawlice biſhop of that ſée, and ſometimes chapleine to the baſtard Henrie the firſt, allowing him ſtone and ſtuffe from Bainards caſtell nére vnto Ludgate, then ruinous for the furtherance of his workes. Howbeit the mold of the quire was not ſtatelie inough in the eies of ſome of his ſucceſſors; wherefore in the yeare of Grace 1256, it was taken downe and brought into another forme, and called the new worke, at which time alſo the bodies of diuerſe kings and biſhops were taken vp and beſtowed in the walles, to the end their memories ſhould be of longer continuance. The iuriſdiction of this ſée alſo vnder the biſhop, is committed to foure archdeacons, to wit, of London, Eſſex, Middleſex, and Colcheſter, who haue amongſt them to the number of 363 pariſh churches, or thereabouts, beſide the peculiars belonging to the archbiſhop and chapiter of that houſe, and at euerie alienation the biſhop paieth for his owne part 1119 pounds, eight ſhillings and foure pence (but in old time 3000 florens) which diuerſe ſuppoſe to be more, than (as it now ſtandeth) the biſhop is able to make of it. Of the archdeconrie of S. Albons added therevnto by king Henrie the eight (whereby the biſhop hath fiue eies) I ſpeake not, for although it be vnder the biſhop of London for viſitations and ſynods, yet is it otherwiſe reputed as member of the ſée of Lincolne, and therefore worthilie called an exempt, it hath alſo fiue and twentie pariſhes, of which foure are in Buckingham, the reſt in Herefordſhire.

Chicheſter. The firſt beginning of the ſée of Chicheſter was in the Ile of Seales or Seolſeie, and from thence tranſlated to Chicheſter, in the time of William the baſtard, and generall remouing of ſées from ſmall villages vnto the greater townes. It conteineth Suſſex onelie vnder hir iuriſdiction, wherein are ſirtéene deanries, and 551 pariſh churches, it paid at euerie alienation to the ſée of Rome 333 ducats: and after Edbert the firſt biſhop, one Cella ſucceeded, after whome the pontificall chaire (not then worth 677 pounds by the yéere as now it is) was void by many yeares. It was erected in Seoleſeie alſo 711, by the decrée of a ſynod holden in Suſſex, which borowed it from the iuriſdiction of Wincheſter, whereof before it was reputed a parcell. Of all the biſhops that haue béene in this ſée, Thomas Kempe alwaies excepted, I read not of anie one that hath béene of more eſtimation than William Read, ſometime fellow of Merteine college in Oxford, doctor of diuinitie, and the moſt profound aſtronomer that liued in his time, as appeareth by his collection which ſometime I did poſſeſſe; his image is yet in the libzarie there, and manie inſtruments of aſtronomie reſerued in that houſe (a college erected ſometime by Walter Merton biſhop of Rocheſter, and lord chancellor of England) he builded alſo the caſtell of Amberleie from the verie foundation, as Edward Scozie or Stozie his ſucceſſor did the new croſſe in the market place of Chicheſter.

The biſhop of Wincheſter was ſometime called biſhop of the weſt Sarons, and of Dorcheſter, which towne was giuen to Birinus and his ſucceſſors, by Kinigils and Oſwald of the Northumbers, in whoſe time it was erected by Birinus and his fellowes. In my time it hath iuriſdiction onelie ouer Hamſhire, Surrie, Jardeſeie, Gardeſeie, and the Wight, conteining eight deaneries, two hundred ſeuentie and ſix pariſh churches, and beſide all this he is perpetuall prelate to the honorable order of the Garter, deuiſed by Edward the third: he paid in old time to Rome 12000 ducates or florens, but now his firſt fruits are 2491 pounds nine ſhillings eight pence halfe penie. Canturburie was ſaid to be the higher racke, but Wincheſter hath borne the name to be the better mangier. There are alſo which make Lucius to be the firſt founder of an houſe of prater in Wincheſter, as Kinigils did build the ſecond, and Kinwaldus his ſonne the third; but you ſhall ſée the truth herof in the chronologie inſuing. And hereunto if the old catalog of the biſhops of this ſée be well conſidered of, and the acts of the greateſt part of them indifferentlie weighed, as they are to be read in our hiſtories, you ſhall find the moſt egregious hypocrites, the ſtouteſt warriours, the crueleſt tyrants, the richeſt monimongers, and politike counſellors in temporall affaires to haue, I wote not by what ſecret working of the diuine prouidence, bene placed here in Wincheſter, ſince the foundation of that ſée, which was erected by Birinus 639 (whome pope Honorius ſent hither out of Italie) and firſt planted at Dorcheſter, in the time of Kinigils, then tranſlated to Wincheſter, where it doth yet continue. Wincheſter.

Saliſburie was made the chéefe ſée of Shirburne by biſhop Harman (predeceſſor to Oſmond) who brought it from Shirburne to that citie; it hath now Barkeſhire, Wilſhire, and Dorſetſhire vnder hir iuriſdiction. For after the death of Hedda, which was 704, Wincheſter was diuided in two, ſo that onelie Hamſhire and Surrie were left vnto it, and Wilton, Dorſet, Barkeſhire, Summerſet, Deuon & Cornewill aſſigned vnto Shirburne, till other order was taken. Biſhop Adelme did firſt ſit in that biſhoprike (704 as I ſaid) and placed his chaire at Shirburne vpon the ſaid diuiſion. And as manie lerned biſhops did ſucceed him in that rome, before and after it was remoued to Sarum; ſo there was neuer a more noble ornament to that ſée than biſhop Juell, of whoſe great learning and iudgement the world it ſelfe beareth witneſſe, notwithſtanding that the papiſts prefer S. Oſmond (as they call him) becauſe he builded the minſter there, and made the porteſſe called *Ordinale eccleſiaſtici officij*, which old préeſts were wont to vſe. The biſhops alſo of this ſée were ſometimes called biſhops of Sunning, of their old manſion houſe nere vnto Reading (as it ſhould ſeeme) and among thoſe that liued before the ſaid Juell, one Roger builded the caſtell of the Vies in the time of Henrie the firſt, taken in thoſe daies for the ſtrongeſt hold in England, as vnto whoſe gate there were regals and gripes for ſix or ſeuen port cullises. Finallie this ſée paid vnto Rome 4000 florens, but vnto hir mateſtie in my time 1367 pounds twelue ſhillings eight pence, as I did find of late. Saliſburie.

Exceſter hath Deuonſhire and Cornewall, ſometime two ſeuerall biſhoprikes, but in the end brought into one of Cornewall, and from thence to Exceſter in the time of the Baſtard or ſone after. It began vpon this occaſion, Anno Gratiæ 905, in a prouinciall councell holden by the elder Edward & Plegimond archbiſhop of Canturburie, among the Gewiſes, Exceſter.

wherein

wherein it was found, that the sée of Winchester had not onelie béene without hir pastor by the space of seuen yéeres, but also that hir iurisdiction was farre greater than two men were able well to gouerne; therefore from the former two, to wit, Winchester and Shirburne, three other were taken, whereby that sée was now diuided into fiue parts; the latter three being Welles, Kirton, and Cornwall: this of Cornwall hauing hir sée then at saint Patroks, not farre from north-Wales vpon the riuer Helmouth: he of Deuon holding his iurisdiction in Deuonshire, Kirton, or Cridioc: and the bishop of Welles being allowed Dorset and Barkshires for his part, to gouerne and looke vnto according to his charge. Finallie, these two of Deuon and Cornwall being vnited, the valuation thereof was tared by the sée of Rome at six thousand ducats or florens, which were trulie paid at euerie alienation; but verie hardlie (as I gesse) sith that in my time, wherein all things are racked to the verie vttermost, I find that it is litle worth aboue fiue hundred pounds by the yéere, bicause hir tenths are but fiftie.

Bath. Bath, whose sée was sometime at Welles, before John the bishop there annexed the church of Bath vnto it, which was 1094, hath Summersetshire onlie, and the valuation thereof in the court of Rome was foure hundred & thirtie florens: but in hir maiesties books I find it fiue hundred thirtie and three pounds, and about one od shilling: which declareth a precise examination of the estate of that sée. Of the erection of this bishoprike, mentioned in the discourse of Excester, I find the former assertion confirmed by another author, and in somewhat more large maner, which I will also remember, onelie because it pleaseth me somewhat better than the words before alleged out of the former writer. This bishoprike (saith he) was erected 905, in a councell holden among the Gewises, whereat king Edward of the west-Saxons, and Plegimond archbishop of Canturburie were present. For that part of the countrie had béene seuen yéeres without anie pastorall cure. And therfore in this councell it was agréed, that for the two bishoprikes (whereof one was at Winchester, another at Shireburne) there should be fiue ordeined, whereby the people there might be the better instructed. By this meanes Frithstan was placed at Winchester, and Ethelme at Shireburne, both of them being then void. Shireburne also sustained the subdiuision; so that Werstane was made bishop of Cridioc or Deuonshire (whose sée was at Kirton) Herstan of Cornwall, and Eadulfe of Welles, vnto whome Barkshire and Dorsetshire were appointed. But now you sée what alteration is made, by consideration of the limits of their present iurisdictions.

The bishoprike of Shirburne diuided into three.

Worcester. Worcester sometime called *Episcopatus Wicciorum* (that is, the bishoprike of the Wiccies or Huiccies) hath Worcester, & part of Warwikeshires. And before the bishoprike of Glocester was taken out of the same, it paid to the pope two thousand ducats of gold at euerie change of prelat: but now the valuation thereof is one thousand fortie nine pounds, seauen pence halfe penie farthing (except my remembrance do deceiue me.) This sée was begunne either in, or not long before the time of Offa king of the east-Angles, and Boselus was the first bishop there; after whome succéeded Osthort, then Egwine who went in pilgrimage to Rome, with Kinredus of Mercia and the said Offa, and there gat a monasterie (which he builded in Worcester) confirmed by Constantine the pope. In this sée was one of your lordships ancestors sometime bishop, whose name was Cobham, and doctor both of diuinitie and of the canon law, who, during the time of his pontificalitie there, builded the vault of the north side of the bodie of the church, and there lieth buried in the same (as I haue béene informed.) Certes this man was once elected, and should haue béene archbishop of Canturburie in the rome of Reginald that died 1313 vnder Edward the second: but the pope frustrated his election, fearing least he would haue shewed himselfe more affectionate towards his prince than to his court of Rome; wherefore he gaue Canturburie to the bishop of Worcester then being. And furthermore, least he should seeme altogither to reiect the said Thomas and displease the king, he gaue him in the end the bishoprike of Worcester, whereinto he entred 1317, *Martij* 31, being thursdaie (as appeareth by the register of that house) after long plée holden for the aforesaid sée of Canturburie in the court of Rome, wherein most monie did oftenest preuaile. This is also notable of that sée, that fiue Italians succéeded ech other in the same, by the popes prouision; as Egidius, Syluester, Egidius his nephue (for nephues might say in those daies; Father shall I call you vncle? And vncles also; Son I must call thée nephue) Iulius de Medices, afterward pope Clement, and Hieronymus de Nugueijs, men verie likelie, no doubt, to benefit the common people by their doctrine. Some of these being at the first but poore men in Rome, and yet able by selling all they had to make a round summe against a rainte daie, came first into fauor with the pope, then into familiaritie, finallie into orders; and from thence into the best liuings of the church, farre off where their parentage could not easilie be heard of, nor made knowne vnto their neighbours.

Glocester. Glocester hath Glocestershire onelie, wherein are nine deanries, and to the number of 294 parish churches, as I find by good record. But it neuer paid anie thing to Rome, bicause it was erected by king Henrie the eight, after he had abolished the vsurped authoritie of the pope, except in quéene Maries, if anie such thing were demanded, as I doubt not but it was: yet is it worth yeerelie 315 pounds, seauen shillings three pence, as the booke of first fruits declareth.

Hereford. Hereford hath Herefordshire and part of Shropshire, and it paid to Rome at euerie alienation 1800 ducats at the least, but in my time it paieth vnto hir maiesties cofers 768 pounds, ten shillings, ten pence, halfe penie, farthing. In this sée there was a bishop sometime called John Bruton, vpon whome the king then reigning, by likelihood for want of competent maintenance, bestowed the keeping of his wardrobe, which he held long time with great honour, as his register saith. A wonderfull preferment that bishops should be preferred from the pulpit, to the custodie of wardrobes: but such was the time. Neuertheless his honorable custodie of that charge is more solemnlie remembred, than anie good sermon that euer he made, which function peraduenture he committed to his suffragane, sith bishops in those daies had so much businesse in the court, that they could not attend to doctrine and exhortation.

Lichfield. Lichefield, wherevnto Couentrie was added, in the time of Henrie the first, at the earnest sute of Robert bishop of that sée, hath Staffordshire, Darbishire, part of Shropshire, and the rest of Warwikeshire, that is void of subiection to the sée of Worcestershire. It was erected in the time of Peada king of the south Mercians, which late on this side the Trent, and therein one Dinas was installed, about the yeare of Grace 656, after whom Kellac first, then Tunher an Englishman succéeded, this later being well learned, and consecrated by the Scots. In the time of the bastard, I wot not vpon what occasion, one Peter bishop of this sée translated his chaire

to

to Chester, and there held it for a season, whereby it came to passe that the bishops of Lichfield were for a while called bishops of Chester. But Robert his successor not liking of this president, remoued his chaire from Chester to Couentrie, and there held it whilest he liued, whereby the originall diuision of the bishoprike of Lichfield into Lichefield, Chester, and Couentrie, doth easilie apeare, although in my time Lichfield and Couentrie be vnited, and Chester remaineth a bishoprike by it selfe. It paid the pope at euerie alienation 1733 florens, or (as some old bookes haue) 3000, a good round summe, but not without a iust punishment, as one saith, sith that anno 765, Eadulfe bishop there vnder Offa king of Mercia, would by his helpe haue bereaued the archbishop of Canturburie of his pall, & so did in deed vnder pope Hadrian, holding the same vntill things were reduced vnto their ancient forme. Before the time also of bishop Langton, the prebends of this see laie here and there abroad in the citie, where the vicars also had an house, of which this honest bishop misliked not a little for sundrie causes; wherefore he began their close, and bestowed so much in building the same, and pauing the streets, that his hungrie kinsmen did not a little grudge at his expenses, thinking that his emptie cofers would neuer make them gentlemen, for which preferment the freends of most bishops gaped earnestlie in those daies. King John was the greatest benefactor vnto this see, next vnto Offa; and it is called Lichfield, *Quasi mortuorum campus*, bicause of the great slaughter of christians made there (as some write) vnder Diocletian. Howbeit in my time the valuation thereof is 703 pounds, fiue shillings two pence, halfepenie, farthing, a summe verie narrowlie cast by that auditor which toke it first in hand.

Oxford hath Oxfordshire onelie, a verie yong iurisdiction, erected by king Henrie the eight, & where in the time of quéene Marie, one Goldwell was bishop, who (as I remember) was a Iesuit, dwelling in Rome, and more conuersant (as the constant fame went) in the blacke art, than skilfull in the scriptures, and yet he was of great countenance amongst the Romane monarchs. It is said that obseruing the canons of his order, he regarded not the temporalities of that sée: but I haue heard since that he wist well inough what became of those commodities, for by one meane and other he found the swætnesse of 354 pounds sixtéene shillings thrée pence halfe penie, ye arelie growing to him, which was euen inough (if not too much) for the maintenance of a frier toward the drawing out of circles, characters, & lineaments of imagerie, wherein he was passing skilfull, as the same then went in Rome, and not vnheard of in Oxford.

Elie. Elie hath Cambridgshire, and the Ile of Elie. It was erected 1109 by Henrie the first, being before a rich and wealthie abbeie. One Heruie also was made bishop there, as I haue found in a register, belonging sometime to that house being translated from Bangor. Finallie it paid to the pope at euerie alienation 7000 ducats, as the registers there do testifie at large. Albeit that in my time I find a note of 2134 pounds sixtéene shillings thrée pence halfe penie farthing, whose disme ioined to those of all the bishoprikes in England, do yéeld yearelie to hir maiesties coffers 23370 pounds sixtéene shillings thrée pence halfe penie farthing: whereby also the huge sums of monie going out of this land to the court of Rome doth in some measure appéere. Ethelwold afterward bishop of Winchester builded the first monasterie of Elie vpon the ruines of a nunrie then in the kings hands, howbeit the same house, whereof he himselfe was abbat, was yer long destroied by enimies, and he in lieu of his old preferment rewarded by king Edgar, with the aforesaid bishoprike, from whence with more than lionlike boldnesse he expelled the secular préests, and stored with monkes prouided from Abandune nére Oxford, by the helpe of Edgar and Dunstane then metropolitane of England. There was sometime a grœuous contention betwéene Thomas Lild bishop of this sée, and the king of England, about the yeare of Grace 1355, which I will here deliuer out of an old record, because the matter is so parctallie penned by some of the brethren of that house, in fauour of the bishop; & for that I was also abused with the same in the entrance thereof at the first into my chronologie. The blacke prince fauoring one Robert Stretton his chapleine, a man vnlearned and not worthie the name of a clearke, the matter went on so farre, that what for loue, and somewhat else, of a canon of Lichfield he was chosen bishop of that sée. Herevpon the pope vnderstanding what he was by his Nuncio here in England, staied his consecration by his letters for a time, and in the meane season committed his examination to the archbishop of Canturburie, and the bishop of Rochester, who felt and dealt so fauourablie with him in golden reasoning, that his worthinesse was commended to the popes holinesse, & to Rome he goeth. Being come to Rome the pope himselfe apposed him, and after secret conference vtterlie disableth his election, till he had prooued by substantiall argument and of great weight before him also, that he was not so lightlie to be reiected. Which kind of reasoning so well pleased his holinesse, that *Ex mera plenitudine potestatis*, he was made capable of the benefice and so returneth into England; when he came home, this bishop being in the kings presence told him how he had done he wist not what in preferring so vnmeet a man vnto so high a calling. With which speach the king was so offended, that he commanded him out of hand to auoid out of his presence. In like sort the ladie Wake then duchesse of Lancaster, standing by, and hearing the king hir cousine to gather vp the bishop so roundlie, and thereto an old grudge against him for some other matter, doth presentlie picke a quarrell against him about certeine lands then in his possession, which he defended & in the end obteined against hir by plée and course of law yer long also afore hapned in a part of hir house, for which she accused the bishop, and in the end by verdict of twelue men found that he was guiltie vnto the fact of his men in the said fact, wherfore he was condemned in nine hundred pounds damages, which he paid euerie penie.

Neuertheless, being sore grieued, that she had (as he said) wrested out such a verdict against him, and therein packed vp a quest at hir owne choise: he taketh his horsse, goeth to the court, and there complaineth to the king of his great iniurie receiued at hir hands. But in the deliuerie of his tale, his speech was so blockish, & termes so euill fauoredlie (though maliciouslie) placed, that the king toke yet more offense with him than before; insomuch that he led him with him into the parlement house, for then was that court holden, and there before the lords accused him of no small misdemeanor toward his person by his rude and threatening spæches. But the bishop egerlie denieth the kings obiections, which he still auoucheth vpon his honor; and in the end confirmeth his allegations by witnesse: whereupon he is banished from the kings presence during his naturall life by verdict of that house. In the meane time the duchesse hearing what was done, she beginneth a new to be dealing with him: and in a brabling fraie betwéene their seruants one of hir men was slaine: for which he was called before the magistrat, as chiefe accessarie vnto the fact. But he fearing the sequele

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of his third cause by his successe had in the two first, hideth himselfe after he had sold all his moueables, and committed the monie vnto his trustie friends. And being found giltie by the inquest, the king seizeth vpon his possessions, and calleth vp the bishop to answer vnto the trespasse. To be short, vpon safe conduct the bishop commeth to the kings presence, where he denieth that he was accessarie to the fact, either before, at, or after the deed committed, and thereupon craueth to be tried by his peeres. But this petition was in vaine: for sentence passeth against him also by the kings owne mouth. Whereupon he craueth helpe of the archbishop of Canturburie and priuileges of the church, hoping by such meanes to be solemnlie rescued. But they fearing the kings displeasure, who bare small fauour to the clergie of his time, gaue ouer to vse anie such meanes; but rather willed him to submit himselfe vnto the kings mercie, which he refused, standing vpon his innocencie from the first vnto the last. Finallie, growing into choler, that the malice of a woman should so preuaile against him, he writeth to Rome, requiring that his case might be heard there, as a place wherein greater iustice (saith he) is to be looked for than to be found in England. Vpon the perusall of these his letters also, his accusers were called thither. But for so much as they appeered not at their peremptorie times, they were excommunicated. Such of them also as died before their reconciliations were taken out of the churchyards, and buried in the fields and dung-hilles, *vnde timor & turba* (saith my note) *in Anglia*. For the king inhibited the bringing in and receipt of all processes, billes, and whatsoeuer instruments should come from Rome: such also as aduentured contrarie to this prohibition to bring them in, were either dismembred of some ioint, or hanged by the necks. Which rage so incensed the pope, that he wrote in verie vehement maner to the king of England, threatening far greater curses, except he did the sooner staie the furie of the lady, reconcile himself vnto the bishop, and finallie, making him amends for all his losses sustained in these broiles. Long it was yer the king would be brought to peace. Neuertheless, in the end he wrote to Rome about a reconciliation to be had betweene them: but yer all things were concluded, God himselfe did end the quarrell, by taking awaie the bishop. And thus much out of an old pamphlet in effect word for word: but I haue somewhat framed the forme of the report after the order that Stephan Birchington doth deliuer it, who also hath the same in manner as I deliuer it.

Norwich. The see of Norwich called in old time *Episcopatus Donnicensis, Dononia*, or *Eastanglorum*, was erected at Felstow or Felixstow, where Felix of Burgundie (sometime schoolemaster to Sigebert of the east-Angles, by whose persuasion also the said Sigebert erected the vniuersitie at Cambridge) being made bishop of the east-Angles first placed his see, afterward it was remoued from thence to Donwich, & thence to Helmham, *Anno* 870, about the death of Celnothus of Canturburie; thirdlie, to Theodford, or Thetford; & finallie, after the time of the Bastard, to Norwich. For iurisdiction it conteineth in our daies Norfolke and Suffolke onelie, whereas at the first it included Cambridgeshire also, and so much as laie within the kingdome of the east-Angles. It began about the yeere 632, vnder Cerpenwald king of the east-Saxons, who bestowed it vpon Felix, whome pope Honorius also confirmed, and after which he held it by the space of seauentene yeres. It paid sometimes at euerie alienation 5000 ducats to Rome. But in my time his maiestie hath 899 pounds, 8 shillings 7 pence farthing, as I haue ben informed. In the same iurisdiction also there were once 1563 parish churches, and 88 religious houses: but in our daies I can not heare of more churches than 1200: and yet of these I know one conuerted into a barne, whilest the people heare seruice further off vpon a greene: their bell also when I heard a sermon there preached in the greene, hanged in an oke for want of a steeple. But now I vnderstand that the oke likewise is gone. There is neuertheless a litle chappellet hard by on that common, but nothing capable of the multitude of Ashlie towne that should come to the same in such wise, if they did repaire thither as they ought.

Peterborow. Peterborow, sometimes a notable monasterie, hath Northampton and Rutland shires vnder hir iurisdiction, a diocese erected also by king Henrie the eight. It neuer paid first fruits to the pope before queene Maries daies (if it were then deliuered) whereof I doubt, because it was not recorded in his ancient register of tenths and fruits, although peraduenture the collectors left it not vngathered, I wot not for what purpose; it yeeldeth now foure hundred and fiftie pounds, one penie abated. I haue seene and had an ancient tarror of the lands of this monasterie, which agreeth verie well with the historie of Hugo le Blanc monke of that house. In the charter also of donation annexed to the same, I saw one of Wulfhere king of Mercia, signed with his owne, & the marks of Sigher king of Suffer, Sebbie of Eller, with the additions of their names: the rest of the witnesses also insued in this order:

Ethelred brother to Wulfehere,
Kindburg and Kindswith sisters to Wulfhere,
Deusdedit archbishop,
Ithamar bishop of Rochester,
Wina bishop of London,
Iarnman bishop of Meare,
Wilfride and Eoppa priests,
Saxulfe the abbat.

Then all the earles and eldermen of England in order; and after all these, the name of pope Agatho, who confirmed the instrument at the suit of Wilfride archbishop of Yorke, in a councell holden at Rome 680, of a hundred & fiue and twentie bishops, wherein also these churches were appropriated to the said monasterie, to wit, Breding, Reping, Cedenac, Swinelheued, Lusgerd, Edelminglond, and Barchaing: whereby we haue in part an euident testimonie how long the practise of appropriation of benefices hath beene vsed to the hinderance of the gospell, and maintenance of idle monks, an humane inuention grounded vpon hypocrisie.

Brislow. Brislow hath Dorsetshire sometime belonging to Salisburie, a see also latelie erected by king Henrie the eight, who toke no small care for the church of Christ, and therefore eased a number of ancient sees of some part of their huge and ouer-large circuits, and bestowed those portions deducted, vpon such other erections as he had appointed for the better regiment and feeding of the flocke: the value thereof is three hundred foure score and three pounds, eight shillings, and foure pence (as I haue beene informed.)

Lincolne. Lincolne of all other of late times was the greatest; and albeit that out of it were taken the sees of Oxford and Peterborow, yet it still reteineth Lincolne, Leicester, Huntingdon, Bedford, Buckingham shires, and the rest of Hertford; so that it extendeth from the Thames vnto the Humber, and paid vnto the pope fiue thousand ducats (as appeareth by his note) at euerie alienation. In my time, and by reason of hir diminution it yeeldeth a tribute to whom tribute belongeth, of the valuation of eight hundred ninetie and nine pounds, eight shillings, seauen pence farthing. It began since the conquest, about

about the beginning of William Rufus, by one Remigius, who remoued his sée from Dorchester to Lincolne (not without licence well paid for vnto the king.) And thus much of the bishoprikes which lie within Lhoegres or England, as it was left vnto Locrinus. Now it followeth that I proceed with Wales.

Landaffe. Landaffe, or the church of Taw hath ecclesiasticall iurisdiction in Glamorgan, Monmouth, Brechnoch, and Radnor shires. And although it paid seuen hundred ducats at euerie exchange of prelat; yet is it scarselie worth one hundred fiftie and fiue pounds by the yeare (as I haue heard reported.) Certes it is a poore bishoprike, & (as I haue heard) the late incumbent thereof being called for not long since by the lord president in open court made answer. The daffe is here, but the land is gone. What he meant by it I can not well tell; but I hope, that in the séed time and the frée planting of the gospell, the meate of the labourer shall not be diminished and withdrawen.

S. Dauids. S. Dauids hath Penbroke and Caermardine shires, whose liuerie or first fruits to the sée of Rome was one thousand and fiue hundred ducats, at the hardest (as I thinke.) For if record be of anie sufficient credit, it is little aboue the value of foure hundred fiftie and seauen pounds, one shilling, and ten pence farthing, in our time, and so it paieth vnto hir maiesties coffers; but in time past I thinke it was farre better. The present bishop misliketh verie much of the cold situation of his cathedrall church, and therfore he would gladlie pull it downe, and set it in a warmer place: but it would first be learned what exercise he would put in to sée it well performed: of the rest I speake not.

Bangor. Bangor is in north-Wales, and hath Caernarnon, Angleséie, and Merioneth shires vnder hir iurisdiction. It paid to Rome 126 ducats, which is verie much. For of all the bishoprikes in England it is now the least for reuenues, and not worth aboue one hundred and one and thirtie pounds, and fortéene pence to hir maiesties coffers at euerie alienation (as appéereth by the tenths, which amount to much lesse than those of some good benefice) for it yéeldeth not yérelie aboue thirtéene pounds, three shillings, and seauen pence halfe penie, as by that court is manifest.

S. Asaphes. S. Asaphes hath Rhellholme and part of Denbigh and Flint shires vnder hir iurisdiction in causes ecclesiasticall, which being laid togither do amount to little more than one good countie, and therfore in respect of circuit the least that is to be found in Wales, neuertheless it paid to Rome 470 ducates at euerie alienation. In my time the first fruits of this bishoprike came vnto 187 pounds eleuen shillings six pence, whereby it séemeth to be somewhat better than Landaffe or Bangor last remembred. There is one Howell a gentleman of Flintshire in the compasse of this iurisdiction, who is bound to giue an harpe of siluer yearelie to the best harper in Wales, but did anie bishop thinke you deserue that in the popish time? Howell or Aphowell in English is all one (as I haue heard) and signifie so much as Hugo or Hugh. Hetherto of the prouince of Canturburie, for so much therof as now lieth within the compasse of this Iland. Now it resteth that I proceed with the curtailed archbishoprike of Yorke, I saie curtailed because all Scotland is cut from his iurisdiction and obedience.

Yorke. The sée of Yorke was restored about the yeare of Grace 625, which after the comming of the Saxons laie desolate and neglected, howbeit at the said time Iustus archbishop of Canturburie ordeined Paulinus to be first bishop there, in the time of Eadwyn king of Northumberland. This Paulinus sate six yeares yer he was driuen from thence, & after whose expulsion that seat was void long time, wherby Lindesfarne grew into credit, and so remained vntill the daies of Oswie of Northumberland, who sent Wilfred the priest ouer into France, there to be consecrated archbishop of Yorke: but whilest he taried ouer long in those parts, Oswie impatient of delaie preferred Ceadda or Chad to that rome, who held it three yeares, which being expired Wilfred recouered his rome, and held it as he might, vntill it was seuered in two, to wit, Yorke, Hagulstade, or Lindesfarne, where Eata was placed, at which time also Egfride was made bishop of Lincolne or Lindsie in that part of Mercia which he had gotten from Wolfhere. Of it selfe it hath now iurisdiction ouer Yorkeshire, Nottinghamshire (whose shire towne I meane the new part thereof with the bridge was builded by king Edward the first surnamed the elder before the conquest) and the rest of Lancastershire onelie not subiect to the sée of Chester; and when the pope bare authoritie in this realme, it paid vnto his sée 1000 ducates, beside 5000 for the pall of the new elect, which was more than he could well spare of late, considering the curtailing & diminution of his sée, thorough the erection of a new metropolitane in Scotland, but in my time it yéeldeth 1609 pounds nineténe shillings two pence to hir maiestie, whom God long preserue vnto vs to his glorie, hir comfort, and our welfares.

Chester. Chester vpon Dee, otherwise called Westchester, hath vnder hir iurisdiction in causes ecclesiasticall, Chestershire, Darbishire, the most part of Lancastershire (to wit vnto the Ribell) Richmond and a part of Flint & Denbigh shires in Wales. It was made a bishoprike by king H. 8. anno regni 33. Iulij 16, and so hath continued since that time, being valued 420 pounds by the yeare beside od twentie pence (a streict reckoning) as the record declareth.

Durham. Durham hath the countie of Durham and Northumberland with the Dales onelie vnder hir iurisdiction, and hereof the bishops haue sometimes béene earles palantines & ruled the roll vnder the name of the bishoprike and succession of S. Cuthbert. It was a sée (in mine opinion) more profitable of late vnto hir maiesties coffers by 221 pounds eightéene shillings ten pence farthing, and yet of lesse countenance than hir prouinciall, neuertheles the sunneshine thereof (as I heare) is now somewhat eclipsed and not likelie to recouer the light, for this is not a time wherein the church may looke to increase in hir estate. I heare also that some other clitches haue forgone the like collops, but let such maters be scanned by men of more discretion. Capgraue saith how that the first bishop of this sée was called bishop of Lindseie (or Lincolne) & that Ceadda laie in Liechfield of the Mercians in a mansion house néere the church. But this is more worthie to be remembred, that Cuthred of the Northumbers, and Alfred of the Westsarons beholded all the land betwéene the These & the Tine now called the bishoprike vpon S. Cuthbert, beside what soeuer belonged to the sée of Hagulstade. Edgar of Scotland also in the time of the Bastard gaue Coldingham and Berwike withall their appurtenances to that house: but whether these donations be extant or no as yet I cannot tell. Yet I thinke not but that Leland had a sight of them, from whome I had this ground. But what soeuer this bishoprike be now, in externall & outward aparance, sure it is that it paid in old time 9000 ducates at euerie alienation to Rome, as the record expresseth. Aidan a Scot or Irishman was the first bishop of this sée, who held himselfe (as did manie of his successors) at Colchester and in Lindesfarne Ile, till one came that remoued it to Durham. And now iudge

you

you whether the allegation of Capgraue be of anie accompt or not.

25 Caerleill. Caerleill was erected 1132 by Henrie the first, and hereof one Ethelwolfe confessor to Osmond bishop of Sarum was made the first bishop, hauing Cumberland & Westmerland assigned to his share; of the deaneries and number of parish churches conteined in the same as yet I haue no knowledge, more than of manie other. Howbeit hereof I am sure, that notwithstanding the present valuation be risen to 531 pounds foureteene shillings eleuen pence halfe penie, the pope receiued out of it but 1000 florens, and might haue spared much more, as an aduersarie thereto confessed sometime euen before the pope himselfe, supposing no lesse than to haue gained by his tale, and so peraduenture should haue done, if his platforme had taken place. But as wise men oft espie the practises of flatteries, so the pope saw to what end this profitable speach was vttered. As touching Caerleill it selfe it was sometime sacked by the Danes, and eftsones repaired by William Rufus, & planted with a colonie of southerne men. I suppose that in old time it was called Cairdoill. For in an ancient booke which I haue seene, and yet haue, intituled, *Liber formularum literarum curiæ Romanæ, octo capitulorum, episcopatus Cardocensis*. And thus much generalitie of the names and numbers of our bishoprikes of England, whose tenths in old time yearelie amounting vnto 21111 pounds, twelue shillings one penie halfe penie farthing, of currant monie in those daies, do euidentlie declare, what store of coine was transported out of the land vnto the papall vses, in that behalfe onelie.

Certes I take this not to be one quarter of his gaines gotten by England in those daies, for such commodities were raised by his courts holden here, so plentifullie gat he by his perquisits, as elections, procurations, appeales, preuentions, pluralities, tot quots, trialities, tollerations, legitimations, bulles, seales, prests, concubines, eating of flesh and white meats, dispensations for marriages, & times of celebration, Peter pence, and such like faculties, that not so little as 1200000 pounds went yearelie from hence to Rome. And therefore no marueil though he seeke much in these daies to reduce vs to his obedience. But what are the tenths of England (you will saie) in comparison of all those of Europe. For notwithstanding that manie good bishoprikes latelie erected be left out of his old bookes of record, which I also haue seene, yet I find neuertheles that the whole sum of them amounted to not aboue 61521 pounds as monie went 200 yeares before my time, of which portion poore saint Peter did neuer heare, of so much as one graie grote. Marke therfore I praie you whether England were not fullie answerable to a third part of the rest of his tenths ouer all Europe, and therevpon tell me whether our Iland was one of the best paire of bellowes or not, that blue the fire in his kitchen, wherewith to make his potseeth, beside all other commodities.

26 Man. Beside all these, we haue another bishoprike yet in England almost slipped out of my remembrance, because it is verie obscure, for that the bishop thereof hath not wherewith to mainteine his countenance sufficientlie, and that is the see of Mona or Man, sometime named *Episcopatus Sodorensis*, whereof one Wimundus was ordeined the first bishop, and John the second, in the troublesome time of king Stephan. The gift of this prelacie resteth in the earles of Darbie, who nominate such a one from time to time therto as to them doth seeme conuenient. Howbeit if that see did know and might reape his owne commodities, and discerne them from other mens possessions (for it is supposed that the mother hath deuoured the daughter) I doubt not but the state of hir bishop would quicklie be amended. Hauing therefore called this later see after this maner vnto mind, I suppose that I haue sufficientlie discharged my dutie concerning the state of our bishoprike, and maner how the ecclesiasticall iurisdiction of the church of England is diuided among the shires and counties of this realme. Whose bishops as they haue beene heretofore of lesse learning, and yet of greater port & doings in the common-wealth, than at this present, so are they now for the most part the best learned that are to be found in anie countrie of Europe, sith neither high parentage, nor great riches (as in other countries) but onelie learning and vertue, commended somewhat by freendship, do bring them to this honour.

I might here haue spoken more at large of diuerse other bishoprikes, sometime in this part of the Iland, as of that of Caerthron tofore ouerthrowen by Edelfred in the behalfe of Augustine the monke (as Malmesburie saith) where Dubritius gouerned, which was afterward translated to S. Dauids, and taken for an archbishoprike: secondlie of the bishoprike of Leircester called Legerensis, whose fourth bishop (Unwon) went to Rome with Offa king of Mercia: thirdlie of Kamsbirie or Wiltun, and of Gloceſter (of which you shall read in Matth. Westm. 489) where the bishop was called Eldad: also of Hagulstade, one of the members whereinto the see of Yorke was diuided after the expulsion of Wilfrid. For (as I read) when Egfrid the king had driuen him awaie, he diuided his see into two parts, making Bosa ouer the Deirances that held his see at Hagulstade or Lindsarne: and Eatta ouer the Bernicians, who sate at Yorke: and thereto placing Edhedus ouer Lindsele (as is afore noted) whose successors were Ethelwine, Edgar, and Kinibert, notwithstanding that one Serulfus was ouer Lindsele before Edhedus, who was bishop of the Mercians and middle England, till he was banished from Lindsele, and came into those quarters to seeke his refuge and succour.

Gloceſter & verie ancient bishoprike.

I could likewise intreat of the bishops of Whiteherne, or Ad Candidam Casam, an house with the countrie wherein it stood belonging to the prouince of Northumberland, but now a parcell of Scotland; also of the erection of the late see at Westminster by Henrie the eight. But as the one so the other is ceased, and the lands of this later either so diuided or exchanged for worse tenures, that except a man should see it with his eies, & point out with his finger where euerie parcell of them is bestowed, but a few men would beleeue what is become of the same. I might likewise and with like ease also haue added the successors of the bishops of euerie see to this discourse of their cathedrall churches and places of abode, but it would haue extended this treatise to an vnprofitable length. Neuertheless I will remember the fame of London my native citie, after I haue added one word more of the house called Ad Candidam Casam, in English Whiteherne, which taketh denomination of the white stone wherwith it was builded, and was seene far off as standing vpon an hill to such as did behold it.

The

The names and successions of so manie archbishops and bishops *of London, as are extant, and to* be had, from the faith *first received.*

Archbishops.

Theon.
Eluanus.
Cadocus.
Ouinus.
Conanus.
Palladius.
Stephanus.
Iltutus.
Restitutus, who liued 350 of grace.

Tadwinus *aliàs* Theodwinus, some do write him Tacwinus & Tatwinus.
Tidredus *aliàs* Theodred.
Hilarius.
Fastidius liued Anno Dom. 430.
Vodinus, slaine by the Saxons.
Theonus.

The see void manie yeares.

Augustine the monke, sent ouer by Gregorie the great, till he remoued his sée to Canturburie, to the intent he might the soner flée, if persecution should be raised by the infidels, or heare from, or send more spéedilie vnto Rome, without anie great feare of the interception of his letters.

Bishops.

Melitus.

The see void for a season.

Wina.
Erkenwaldus.
Waldherus.
Ingaldus.
Egulphus.
Wigotus.
Eadbricus.
Edgarus.
Kiniwalchus.
Eadbaldus.
Eadbertus.
Oswinus.
Ethelnothus.
Cedbertus.

Cernulphus.
Suiduiphus.
Eadstanus.
Wulfinus.
Ethelwaldus.
Elstanus.
Brithelmus.
Dunstanus.
Tidricus.
Alwijnus.
Elfwoldus.
Robertus a Norman.
Wilhelmus a Norman.
Hugo a Norman.

I read also of a bishop of London called Elfward, or Ailward, who was abbat of Couesham, and bishop of London at one time, and buried at length in Ramsete, howbeit in what order of succession he liued I can not tell, more than of diuerse other aboue remembred, but in this order do I find them.

The see void twelue yeares.

1 Mauricius.
2 Richardus Beaumis.
3 Gilbertus vniuersalis a notable man for three things, auarice, riches, and learning.
4 Robertus de Sigillo.
5 Richardus Beaumis.
6 Gilbertus Folioth.
7 Richardus.
8 Wilhelmus de sancta Maria.
9 Eustathius Falconberg.
10 Rogerus Niger.
11 Fulco Bascet.
12 Henricus Wingham.
Richardus Talbot electus.
15 Richard. Grauesend.
16 Radulfus Gandacensis.
17 Gilbertus Segraue.
18 Richardus de Newport.
19 Stephanus Grauesend.
20 Richard. Bintworth.
21 Radulfus Baldoc who made the tables hanging in the vestrie of Paules.
22 Michael.
23 Simon.
24 Robertus.
25 Thomas.
26 Richardus.
27 Thomas Sauagius.
28 Wilhelmus.
29 Wilhelm. Warham.
30 Wilhelmus Barnes.
31 Cuthbertus Tunstall.
32 Iohannes Stokesleie.
33 Richardus fitz Iames.
34 Edmundus Boner, remoued, imprisoned.
35 Nicholas Ridleie remoued and burned.
Edm. Boner, restored, remoued, & imprisoned.
36 Edmundus Grindall.
37 Edwinus Sandes.
38 Iohannes Elmer.

Hauing gotten and set downe thus much of the bishops, I will deliuer in like sort the names of the deanes, vntill I come to the time of mine old master now liuing in this present yeare 1586, who is none of the least ornaments that haue béene in that seat.

Deanes.

1 Wulmannus, who made a distribution of the psalmes conteined in the whole psalter, and apointed the same dailie to be read amongst the prebendaries.
2 Radulfus de Diceto, whose noble historie is yet extant in their librarie.
3 Alardus Bucham.
4 Robertus Watford.
5 Martinus Pattesshull.
6 Hugo de Marinis.
7 Radulfus Langfort.
8 Galfridus de Berie.
9 Wilhelmus Stãman.
10 Henricus Cornell.
11 Walterus de Salerne.
12 Robertus Barton.
13 Petrus de Newport.
14 Richardus Talbot.
15 Galfredus de Fering.
16 Iohannes Chishull.
17 Herueus de Boreham.
18 Thomas Eglesthorpe.
19 Rogerus de Lalleie.
20 Wilhelmus de Montfort.
21 Radulfus de Baldoc postea episcopus.
22 Alanus de Cantilup postea cardinalis.
Iohan. Sandulfe electus.
Richardus de Newport electus.
23 Magister Vitalis.
24 Iohannes Euerisdon.
25 Wilhelmus Brewer.
26 Richardus Kilmingdon.
27 Thomas Trullocke.
28 Iohannes Appulbie.
29 Thomas Euer.
30 Thomas Stow.
31 Thomas More.
32 Reginaldus Kenton.
33 Thomas Lisieux *aliàs* Lesseux.
34 Leonardus de Bath.
35 Wilhelmus Saie.
36 Rogerus Ratcliffe.
37 Thom. Winterburne.
38 Wilhelmus Wolsele.
39 Robert Sherebroke.
40 Iohãnes Collet, founder of Paules schole.
Richardus Paceus.
Richardus Sampson.
Iohannes Incent.
Wilhelmus Maius resignauit.
Iohannes Fakenham *aliàs* Howman resignauit.
Henricus Colus, remoued, imprisoned.
Wilhelmus Maius, restored.
Alexander Nouellus.

And thus much of the archbishops, bishops, and deanes of that honorable sée. I call it honorable, because it hath had a succession for the most part of learned and wise men, albeit that otherwise it be the most troublesome seat in England, not onelie for that it is néere vnto checke, but also the prelats thereof are much troubled with sutors, and no lesse subiect to the reproches of the common sort, whose mouthes are alwaies wide open vnto reprehension, and eies readie to espie anie thing that they may reproue and carpe at. I would haue done so much for euerie sée in England, if I had not had consideration of the greatnesse of the volume, and small benefit rising by the same, vnto the commoditie of the readers: neuertheless I haue reserued them vnto the publication of my great chronologie, if (while I liue) it happen to come abrode.

Of Vniuersities.

Chap. 3.

Manie vniuersities somtime in England.

THere haue béene heretofore, and at sundrie times, diuerse famous vniuersities in this Iland, and those euen in my daies not altogither forgotten, as one at Bangor, erected by Lucius, and afterward conuerted into a monasterie, not by Congellus (as some write) but by Pelagius the monke. The second at Carlheon vpon Vske, neere to the place where the riuer doth fall into the Seuerne, founded by king Arthur. The third at Theodford, wherein were 600 students, in the time of one Rond sometime king of that region. The fourth at Stanford, suppressed by Augustine the monke, and likewise other in other places, as Salisburie, Eridon or Criclade, Lachlade, Reading, and Northampton; albeit that the two last rehearsed were not authorised, but onelie arose to that name by the departure of the students from Oxford in time of ciuill dissention vnto the said townes, where also they continued but for a little season. When that of Salisburie began, I can not tell; but that it flourished most vnder Henrie the third, and Edward the first, I find good testimonie by the writers, as also by the discord which fell 1278, betweene the chancellor for the scholers there on the one part, and William the archdeacon on the other, whereof you shall see more in the chronologie here following. In my time there are three noble vniuersities in England, to wit, one at Oxford, the second at Cambridge, and the third in London; of which, the first two are the most famous, I meane Cambridge and Oxford, for that in them the vse of the tongs, philosophie, and the liberall sciences, besides the profound studies of the ciuill law, physicke, and theologie, are dailie taught and had: whereas in the later, the laws of the realme are onlie read and learned, by such as giue their minds vnto the knowledge of the same. In the first there are not onelie diuerse goodlie houses builded foure square for the most part of hard freestone or bricke, with great numbers of lodgings and chambers in the same for students, after a sumptuous sort, through the exceeding liberalitie of kings, queenes, bishops, noblemen and ladies of the land: but also large liuings and great reuenues bestowed vpon them (the like whereof is not to be seene in anie other region, as Peter Martyr did oft affirme) to the maintenance onelie of such conuenient numbers of poore mens sonnes as the seuerall stipends bestowed vpon the said houses are able to support.

Three vniuersities in England.

When the vniuersities were builded vncerteine.

When these two schooles should be first builded, & who were their originall founders, as yet it is vncerteine: neuertheless, as there is great likelihood that Cambridge was begun by one Cantaber a Spaniard (as I haue noted in my chronologie) so Alfred is said to be the first beginner of the vniuersitie at Oxford, albeit that I cannot warrant the same to be so yong, sith I find by good authoritie, that John of Beuerleie studied in the vniuersitie hall at Oxford, which was long before Alfred was either borne or gotten. Some are of the opinion that Cantabrigia was not so called of Cantaber, but Cair Grant of the finisher of the worke, or at the least wise of the riuer that runneth by the same, and afterward by the Saxons Grantcester. An other sort affirme that the riuer is better written Canta than Granta, &c: but whie then is not the towne called Canta, Cantium, or Cantodunum, according to the same? All this is said onlie (as I thinke) to deface the memorie of Cantaber, who comming from the Brigants, or out of Biscaie, called the said towne after his owne and the name of the region from whence he came. Neither hath it béene a rare thing for the Spaniards heretofore to come first into Ireland, and from thense ouer into England, sith the chronologie shall declare that it hath béene often séene, and that out of Britaine, they haue gotten ouer also into Scithia, and contrariwise: coasting still through Yorkeshire, which of them also was called Brigantium, as by good testimonie appeareth.

Oxford fiftie miles from London.

Of these two, that of Oxford (which lieth west and by north from London) standeth most pleasantlie, being inuironed in maner round about with woods on the hilles aloft, and goodlie riuers in the bottoms and vallies beneath, whose courses would breed no small commoditie to that citie and countrie about, if such impediments were remoued as greatlie annoie the same, and hinder the cariage which might be made thither also from London. That of Cambridge is distant from London about fortie and six miles north and by east, and standeth verie well, sauing that it is somewhat néere vnto the fens, whereby the wholesomenesse of the aire there is not a little corrupted. It is excellentlie well serued with all kinds of prouision, but especiallie of freshwater fish and wildfoule, by reason of the riuer that passeth thereby; and thereto the Ile of Elie, which is so néere at hand. Onlie wood is the chéefe want to such as studie there, wherefore this kind of prouision is brought them either from Esser, and other places thereabouts, as is also their cole; or otherwise the necessitie thereof is supplied with gall (a bastard kind of Mirtus as I take it) and seacole, whereof they haue great plentie led thither by the Grant. Moreouer it hath not such store of medow ground as may suffice for the ordinarie expenses of the towne and vniuersitie, wherefore the inhabitants are inforced in like sort to prouide their haie from other villages about, which minister the same vnto them in verie great aboundance.

Cambridge six and fortie miles from London.

Longitude & latitude of both.

Oxford is supposed to conteine in longitude eight téene degrees and eight and twentie minuts, and in latitude one and fiftie degrées and fiftie minuts; whereas that of Cambridge standing more northerlie, hath twentie degrees and twentie minuts in longitude, and thereunto fiftie and two degrées and fifteene minuts in latitude, as by exact supputation is easie to be found.

Cambridge burned not long since.

The colleges of Oxford, for curious workemanship and priuat commodities, are much more statelie, magnificent, & commodious than those of Cambridge: and thereunto the streets of the towne for the most part more large and comelie. But for vniformitie of building, orderlie compaction, and politike regiment, the towne of Cambridge, as the newer workmanship, exceedeth that of Oxford (which otherwise is and hath béene the greater of the two) by manie a fold (as I gesse) although I know diuerse that are of the contrarie opinion. This also is certeine, that whatsoeuer the difference be in building of the towne streets, the townesmen of both are glad when they may match and annoie the students, by incroching vpon their liberties, and kéepe them bare by extreame sale of their wares, whereby manie of them become rich for a time, but afterward fall againe into pouertie, bicause that goods euill gotten do seldome long indure.

Castels also they haue both, and in my iudgement is hard to be said, whether of them would be the stronger, if ech were accordinglie repared: howbeit that of Cambridge is the higher, both for maner of building and situation of ground, sith Oxford castell

standeth low and is not so apparant to our sight. That of Cambridge was builded (as they saie) by Gurguintus, sometime king of Britaine, but the other by the lord Robert de Oilie, a noble man which came in with the conqueror, whose wife Editha, a woman giuen to no lesse superstition than credulitie, began also the abbeie of Oseneie neere vnto the same, vpon a fond (but yet a rare) occasion, which we will heere remember, though it be beside my purpose, to the end that the reader may see how readie the simple people of that time were to be abused by the practise of the clergie. It happened on a time as this ladie walked about the fields, neere vnto the aforesaid castell, to recreate hir selfe with certeine of hir maidens, that a number of pies sat chattering vpon the elmes, which had beene planted in the hedgerowes, and in fine so troubled hir with their noise, that she wished them all further off, or else hir selfe at home againe, and this happened diuerse times. In the end being wearie of hir walke, she demanded of hir chapleine the cause wherefore these pies did so molest & vexe hir. Oh madam (saith he) the willest pie of all, these are no pies but soules in purgatorie that craue releese. And is it so in deed quoth she? Now *De pardieux*, if old Robert will giue me leaue, I will do what I can to bring these soules to rest. Herevpon she consulted, craued, wept, and became so importunate with hir husband, that he ioined with hir, and they both began that synagog 1120, which afterward proued to be a notable den. In that church also lieth this ladie buried with hir image, hauing an heart in hir hand couched vpon the same, in the habit of a vowesse, and yet to be seene, except the weather haue worne out the memoriall. But to proceed with my purpose.

In each of these vniuersities also is likewise a church dedicated to the virgin Marie, wherein once in the yeare, to wit, in Julie, the scholers are holden, and in which such as haue beene called to anie degree in the yeare precedent, do there receiue the accomplishment of the same, in solemne and sumptuous maner. In Oxford this solemnitie is called an Act, but in Cambridge they vse the French word Commensement; and such resort is made yearelie vnto the same from all parts of the land, by the friends of those which do proceed, that all the towne is hardlie able to receiue and lodge those gests. When and by whome the churches aforesaid were builded, I haue elsewhere made relation. That of Oxford also was repared in the time of Edward the fourth, and Henrie the seuenth, when doctor Fitz James a great helper in that worke was warden of Merton college, but yet long after it was finished, one tempest in a night so defaced the same, that it left few pinacles standing about the church and steeple, which since that time haue neuer beene repared. There were sometime foure and twentie parish churches in the towne and suburbes, but now there are scarselie sixteene. There haue beene also 1200 burgesses, of which 400 dwelled in the suburbes, and so manie students were there in the time of Henrie the third, that he allowed them twentie miles compasse about the towne, for their prouision of vittels.

The common schooles of Cambridge also are farre more beautifull than those of Oxford, onelie the diuinitie schole at Oxford excepted, which for fine and excellent workemanship, commeth nere the mold of the kings chappell in Cambridge, than the which two with the chappell that king Henrie the seauenth did build at Westminster, there are not (in mine opinion) made of lime & stone three more notable piles within the compasse of Europe.

In all other things there is so great equalitie betweene these two vniuersities, as no man can imagin how to set downe any greater; so that they seeme to be the bodie of one well ordered common wealth, onlie diuided by distance of place, and not in friendlie consent and orders. In speaking therefore of the one, I can not but describe the other; and in commendation of the first, I can not but extoll the latter; and so much the rather, for that they are both so deere vnto me, as that I can not readilie tell vnto whether of them I owe the most good will. Would to God my knowledge were such, as that neither of them might haue cause to be ashamed of their pupill; or my power so great, that I might worthilie requite them both for those manifold kindnesses that I haue receiued of them. But to leaue these things, and proceed with other more conuenient for my purpose. The manner to liue in these vniuersities, is not as in some other of forren countries we see dailie to happen, where the students are inforced for want of such houses, to dwell in common inns, and tauerns, without all order or discipline. But in these our colleges we liue in such exact order, and vnder so precise rules of gouernement, as that the famous learned man Erasmus of Roterodame being here among vs 50 yeres passed, did not let to compare the trades in liuing of students in these two places, euen with the verie rules and orders of the ancient monks: affirming moreouer in flat words, our orders to be such as not onlie came neere vnto, but rather far exceeded all the monastical institutiõs that euer were deuised.

In most of our colleges there are also great numbers of students, of which manie are found by the reuenues of the houses, and other by the puruetances and helpe of their rich friends; whereby in some one college you shall haue two hundred scholers, in others an hundred and fiftie, in diuerse a hundred and fortie, and in the rest lesse numbers; as the capacitie of the said houses is able to receiue: so that at this present, of one sort and other, there are about three thousand students nourished in them both (as by a late surueie it manifestlie appeared.) They were erected by their founders at the first, onelie for poore mens sons, whose parents were not able to bring them vp vnto learning: but now they haue the least benefit of them, by reason the rich do so incroch vpon them. And so farre hath this inconuenience spread it selfe, that it is in my time an hard matter for a poore mans child to come by a felowship (though he be neuer so good a scholer & worthie of that roome.) Such packing also is vsed at elections, that not he which best deserueth, but he that hath most friends, though he be the worst scholer, is alwaies surest to speed; which will turne in the end to the ouerthrow of learning. That some gentlemen also, whose friends haue beene in times past benefactors to certeine of those houses, do intrude into the disposition of their estates, without all respect of order or statutes deuised by the founders, onelie thereby to place whome they thinke good (and not without some hope of gaine) the case is too too euident: and their attempt would some take place, if their superiors did not prouide to bridle their indeuors. In some grammar scholes likewise, which send scholers to these vniuersities, it is lamentable to see what briberie is vsed; for yer the scholer can be preferred, such bribage is made, that poore mens children are commonlie shut out, and the richer sort receiued (who in time past thought it dishonor to liue as it were vpon almes) and yet being placed, most of them studie little other than histories, tables, dice, and trifles, as men that make not the liuing by their studie the end of their purposes, which is a lamentable hearing. Beside this, being for the most part either gentlemen, or rich mens sonnes, they oft bring the vniuersities into much slander. For standing vpon their reputation and libertie, they ruffle and roist it out, exceeding in apparell, and ban-

ting riotous companie (which draweth them from their bookes vnto an other trade.) And for excuse when they are charged with breach of all good order, thinke it sufficient to saie, that they be gentlemen, which greeueth manie not a litle. But to proceed with the rest.

Readers in priuat houses.

Euerie one of these colleges haue in like maner their professors or readers of the tongs and seuerall sciences, as they call them, which dailie trade vp the youth there abiding priuatlie in their halles, to the end they may be able afterward (when their turne commeth about, which is after twelue termes) to shew themselues abroad, by going from thence into the common schooles and publike disputations (as it were *In aream*) there to trie their skilles, and declare how they haue profited since their comming thither.

Publike readers maintained by the prince.

Moreouer, in the publike schooles of both the vniuersities, there are found at the princes charge (and that verie largelie) fiue professors and readers, that is to saie, of diuinitie, of the ciuill law, physicke, the Hebrue, and the Greeke tongs. And for the other lectures, as of philosophie, logike, rhetorike, and the

Studie of the quadriuials and perspectiues neglected.

quadriuials, although the latter (I meane arythmetike, musike, geometrie, and astronomie, and with them all skill in the perspectiues are now smallie regarded in either of them) the vniuersities themselues do allow competent stipends to such as reade the same, whereby they are sufficientlie prouided for, touching the maintenance of their estates, and no lesse incouraged to be diligent in their functions.

These professors in like sort haue all the rule of disputations and other schole exercises, which are dailie vsed in common schooles seuerallie assigned to ech of them, and such of their hearers, as by their skill shewed in the said disputations, are thought to haue atteined to anie conuenient ripenesse of knowledge, according to the custome of other vniuersities, although not in like order, are permitted solemnlie to take their deserued degrees of schole in the same science and facultie wherein they haue spent their trauell. From that time forward also, they vse such difference in apparell as becommeth their callings, tendeth vnto grauitie, and maketh them knowne to be called to some countenance.

Sophisters.

The first degree, is that of the generall sophisters, from whence when they haue learned more sufficientlie the rules of logike, rhetorike, and obteined thereto competent skill in philosophie, and in the mathematicals, they ascend higher vnto the estate of

Batchelers of art.

batchelers of art, after foure yeares of their entrance into their sophistrie. From thence also giuing their minds to more perfect knowledge in some or all the other liberall sciences, & the tongs, they rise at the last (to wit, after other three or foure yeres) to

Maisters of art.

be called maisters of art, ech of them being at that time reputed for a doctor in his facultie, if he professe but one of the said sciences (beside philosophie) or for his generall skill, if he be exercised in them all. After this they are permitted to chose what other of the higher studies them liketh to follow, whether it be diuinitie, law, or physike; so that being once maisters of art, the next degree if they follow physike, is the doctorship belonging to that profession; and likewise in the studie of the law, if they bend their minds to the knowledge of the same. But if they meane to go forward with diuinitie, this is the order vsed in that profession. First, after they haue necessarilie proceeded maisters of art, they preach one sermon to the people in English, and another to the vniuersitie in Latine. They answer all commers also in their owne persons vnto two seuerall questions of diuinitie in the open schooles, at one time, for the space of two hours; and afterward replie twise against some other man vpon a like number, and on two seuerall daies in the same place: which being done with commendation, he receiueth the fourth degree, that is, batcheler of diuinitie, but not before he hath beene maister of art by the space of seauen yeres, according to their statutes.

Batcheler of diuinitie.

Doctor.

The next and last degree of all is the doctorship after other three yeares, for the which he must once againe performe all such exercises and acts as are afore remembred, and then is he reputed able to gouerne and teach others, & likewise taken for a doctor. I haue read that John of Beuerleie was the first doctor that euer was in Oxford, as Beda was in Cambridge. But I suppose herein that the word doctor is not so strictlie to be taken in this report as it is now vsed, sith euerie teacher is in Latine called by that name, as also such in the primitiue church as kept schooles of catechists, wherein they were trained vp in the rudiments and principles of religion, either before they were admitted vnto baptisme, or anie office in the church.

Thus we see, that from our entrance into the vniuersitie vnto the last degree receiued, is commonlie eightéene or peraduenture twentie yeres, in which time if a student hath not obteined sufficient learning, thereby to serue his owne turne, and benefit his common wealth, let him neuer looke by tarieng longer to come by anie more. For after this time & 40 yeres of age, the most part of students do commonlie giue ouer their wonted diligence, & liue like drone bees on the fat of colleges, withholding better wits from the possession of their places, & yet doing litle good in their own vocation & calling. I could rehearse a number (if I listed) of this sort, aswell in the one vniuersitie as the other. But this shall suffice in sted of a larger report, that long continuance in those places is either a signe of lacke of friends, or of learning, or of good and vpright life, as bishop For sometime noted, who thought it sacrilege for a man to tarrie anie longer at Oxford than he had a desire to profit.

This For builded Corpus Christi college in Oxford.

A man may (if he will) begin his studie with the law, or physike (of which this giueth wealth, the other honor) so soone as he commeth to the vniuersitie, if his knowledge in the tongs and ripenesse of iudgement serue therefore: which if he do, then his first degree is batcheler of law, or physicke, and for the same he must performe such acts in his owne science, as the bachelers or doctors of diuinitie, do for their parts, the onelie sermons except, which belong not to his calling. Finallie, this will I saie, that the professors of either of those faculties come to such perfection in both vniuersities, as the best students beyond the sea do in their owne or elsewhere. One thing onlie I mislike in them, and that is their vsuall going into Italie, from whense verie few without speciall grace do returne good men, what soeuer they pretend of conference or practise, chiefelie the physicians who vnder pretense of seeking of forreine simples do oftentimes learne the framing of such compositions as were better vnknowen than practised, as I haue heard off alledged, and therefore it is most true that doctor Turner said; Italie is not to be seene without a guide, that is, without speciall grace giuen from God, because of the licentious and corrupt behauiour of the people.

So much also may be inferred of lawiers.

There is moreouer in euerie house a maister or prouost, who hath vnder him a president, & certeine censors or deanes, apointed to looke to the behauior and maners of the students there, whom they punish verie seuerelie if they make anie default, according to the quantitie and qualitie of their trespasses. And these are the vsuall names of gouernours in Cambridge. Howbeit in Oxford the heads of houses are now

now and then called presidents in respect of such bishops as are their visitors & founders. In each of these also they haue one or moe threasurers whom they call Bursarios or Bursers beside other officers, whose charge is to see vnto the welfare and maintenance of these houses. Ouer each vniuersitie also there is a seuerall chancelor, whose offices are perpetuall, howbeit their substitutes, whom we call vicechancelors, are changed euerie yeare, as are also the proctors, taskers, maisters of the streates and other officers, for the better maintenance of their policie and estate.

And thus much at this time of our two vniuersities in each of which I haue received such degree as they haue vouchsafed rather of their fauour than my desert to yeld and bestow vpon me, and vnto whose students I wish one thing, the execution whereof cannot be preiudiciall to anie that meaneth well, as I am resolutelie persuaded, and the case now standeth in these our daies. When anie benefice therefore becommeth void, it were good that the patrone did signifie the vacation ther of to the bishop, and the bishop the act of the patrone to one of the vniuersities, with request that the vicechancellor with his assistents might prouide some such able man to succeed in the place, as should by their iudgement be meet to take the charge vpon him. Certes if this order were taken then should the church be prouided of good pastors, by whome God should be glorified, the vniuersities better stored, the simoniacall practises of a number of patrons vtterlie abolished and the people better trained to liue in obedience toward God and their prince, which were an happie estate.

London. To these two also we may in like sort ad the third, which is at London (seruing onelie for such as studie the lawes of the realme) where there are sundrie famous houses, of which three are called by the name of Inns of the court, the rest of the chancerie, and all builded before time for the furtherance and commoditie of such as aplie their minds to our common lawes. Out of these also come manie scholers of great fame, whereof the most part haue heretofore beene brought vp in one of the aforesaid vniuersities, and proue such commonlie as in processe of time, rise vp (onelie through their profound skill) to great honor in the common-wealth of England. They haue also degrees of learning among themselues, and rules of discipline, vnder which they liue most ciuilie in their houses, albeit that the yonger sort of them abroad in the streats are scarse able to be ruled by anie good order at all. Certes this errour was wont also greatlie to reigne in Cambridge and Oxford, betweene the students and the burgesses; but as it is well left in these two places, so in forreine countries it cannot yet be suppressed. Besides these vniuersities, also there are great number of Grammer schooles through out the realme, and those verie liberallie indued, for the better reliefe of poore scholers, so that there are not manie corporat townes now vnder the quenes dominion, that haue not one Grammar schole at the least, with a sufficient liuing for a maister and vsher appointed to the same. Grammar schooles.

There are in like maner diuerse collegiat churches as Windsor, Winchester, Eaton, Westminster (in which I was sometime an vnprofitable Grammarian vnder the reuerend father master Nowell now deane of Paules) and in those a great number of poore scholers, dailie maintened by the liberalitie of the founders, with meat, bookes, and apparell, from whence after they haue bene well entered in the knowledge of the Latine and Greeke tongs, and rules of versifieng (the triall whereof is made by certeine apposers yearelie appointed to examine them) they are sent to certeine especiall houses in each vniuersitie, where they are received the trained vp, in the points of higher knowledge in their priuat hals, till they be adiudged meet to shew their faces in the schooles, as I haue said alreadie. And thus much haue I thought good to note of our vniuersities, and likewise of colleges in the same, whose names I will also set downe here, with those of their founders, to the end the zeale which they bare vnto learning may appeare, and their remembrance neuer perish from among the wise and learned. Windsor. Winchester. Eaton. West minster.

Of the colleges in Cambridge with *their founders.*

Yeares of the foundations.		*Colleges.*		*Founders.*
1546	1	Trinitie college.	by	King Henrie 8.
1441	2	The kings college.		K. Henrie 6. Edward 4. Henrie 7. and Henrie 8.
1511	3	S. Iohns.		L. Margaret grandmother to Henrie 8.
1505	4	Christes college.		K. Henrie 6. and the ladie Margaret aforesaid.
1446	5	The queenes college.		Ladie Margaret wife to king Hentie 6.
1496	6	Iesus college.		Iohn Alcocke bishop of Elie.
1342	7	Bennet college.		(*Christi.*
1343	8	Pembroke hall.		The brethren of a popish guild called *Corporis*
1256	9	Peter college.		Maria de Valentia, countesse of Pembroke.
1348	10	Gundeuill and		Hugh Balsham bishop of Elie.
1557		Caius college.		Edmund Gundeuill parson of Terrington, and Iohn Caius doctor of physicke.
1354	11	Trinitie hall.		William Bateman bishop of Norwich.
1326	12	Clare hall.		Richard Badow chancellor of Cambridge.
1459	13	Catharine hall.		Robert Woodlarke doctor of diuinitie.
1519	14	Magdalen college.		Edw. duke of Buckingham, & Thom. lord Awdlie
1585	15	Emanuell college.		Sir Water Mildmaie, &c.

Of colleges in Oxford.

Yeares.		*Colleges.*	*Founders.*
1539	1	Christes church.	King Henrie 8.
1459	2	Magdalen college.	William Wainflet first fellow of Merton college then scholer at Winchester, and afterward bishop there.
1375	3	New college.	William Wickham bishop of Winchester.
1276	4	Merton college.	Walter Merton bishop of Rochester.
1437	5	All soules college.	Henrie Chicheleie archbishop of Canturburie.
1516	6	Corpus Christi college.	Richard Fox bishop of Winchester.
1430	7	Lincolne college.	Richard Fleming bishop of Lincolne.
1323	8	Auriell college.	Adam Browne almoner to Edward 2.
1340	9	The queenes college.	R. Eglesfeld chapleine to Philip queene of England, wife to Edward 3.
1263	10	Balioll college.	Iohn Balioll king of Scotland.
1557	11	S. Iohns.	Sir Thomas White knight.
1556	12	Trinitie college.	Sir Thomas Pope knight.
1316	13	Excester college.	Walter Stapleton bishop of Excester.
1513	14	Brasen nose.	William Smith bishop of Lincolne.
873	15	Vniuersitie college.	William archdeacon of Durestne.
	16	Gloucester college.	Iohn Gifford who made it a cell for thirteene moonks.
	17	S. Marie college.	Hugh ap Rice doctor of the ciuill law.
	18	Iesus college now in hand.	

(*by*)

He founded also a good part of Eaton college, and a free schole at Wainflet where he was borne.

There are also in Oxford certeine hostels or hals, which may right well be called by the names of colleges, if it were not that there is more libertie in them, than is to be seen in the other. In mine opinion the liuers in these are verie like to those that are of Ins in the chancerie, their names also are these so farre as I now remember.

- Brodegates.
- Hart hall.
- Magdalen hall.
- Alburne hall.
- Postminster hall.
- S. Marie hall.
- White hall.
- New In.
- Edmond hall.

The students also that remaine in them, are called hostelers or halliers. Hereof it came of late to passe, that the right reuerend father in God Thomas late archbishop of Canturburie being brought vp in such an house at Cambridge, was of the ignorant sort of Londoners called an hostelar, supposing that he had serued with some inholder in the stable, and therfore in despite diuerse hanged vp bottles of haie at his gate, when he began to preach the gospell, whereas in déed he was a gentleman borne of an ancient house; in the end a faithfull witnesse of Iesus Christ, in whose quarrell he refused not to shed his bloud and yéeld vp his life vnto the furie of his aduersaries.

Besides these there is mention and record of diuerse other hals or hostels, that haue béene there in times past, as Bése hall, Sutton hall, &c. whose ruines yet appéere: so that if antiquitie be to be iudged by the shew of ancient buildings, which is verie plentifull in Oxford to be séene, it should be an easie matter to conclude that Oxford is the elder vniuersitie. Therin are also manie dwelling houses of stone yet standing, that haue béene hals for students of verie antike workemanship, beside the old wals of sundrie other, whose plots haue béene conuerted into gardens, since colleges were erected.

Erection of colleges in Oxford the ouerthrow of hals.

In London also the houses of students at the Common law are these.

- Sergeants In.
- Graies In.
- The Temple.
- Lincolnes In.
- Dauids In.
- Staple In.
- Furiuals In.
- Cliffords In.
- Clements In.
- Lions In.
- Barnards In.
- New In.

And thus much in generall of our noble vniuersities, whose lands some greedie gripers do gape wide for, and of late haue (as I heare) propounded sundrie reasons, whereby they supposed to haue preuailed in their purposes. But who are those that haue attempted this suite, other than such as either hate learning, pietie, and wisedome; or else haue spent all their owne, and know not otherwise than by incroching vpon other men how to mainteine themselues? When such a motion was made by some vnto king Henrie the eight, he could answer them in this maner: Ah sirha, I perceiue the abbeie lands haue fleshed you and set your téeth on edge, to aske also those colleges. And whereas we had a regard onelie to pull downe sinne by defacing the monasteries, you haue a desire also to ouerthrow all godnesse by subuersion of colleges. I tell you sirs that I iudge no land in England better bestowed than that which is giuen to our vniuersities, for by their maintenance our realme shall be well gouerned when we be dead and rotten. As you loue your welfares therfore, follow no more this veine, but content your selues with that you haue alreadie, or else séeke honest meanes whereby to increase your liuelods, for I loue not learning so ill, that I will impaire the reuenues of anie one house by a penie, whereby it may be vpholden. In king Edwards daies likewise the same suite was once againe attempted (as I haue heard) but in vaine, for saith the duke of Somerset among other speeches tending to that end, who also made answer therevnto in the kings presence by his assignation; Iflerning decaie, which of wild men maketh ciuill, of blockish and rash persons wise and godlie counsellors, of obstinat rebels obedient subiects, and of euill men good and godlie christians; what shall we looke for else but barbarisme and tumult? For when the lands of colleges be gone, it shall be hard to saie, whose staffe shall stand next the doore, for then I doubt not but the state of bishops, rich farmers, merchants, and the nobilitie shall be assailed, by such as liue to spend all, and thinke that what so euer another man hath is more meet for them, and to be at their commandement, than for the proper owner that hath sweat and laboured for it. In quéene Maries daies the weather was too warme for anie such course to be taken in hand, but in the time of our gratious

Now abbeies be gone, our dingthrifts prie after church and college possessions.

gracious quæne Elizabeth, I heare that it was after a sort in talke the third time, but without successe as mooued also out of season, and so I hope it shall continue for euer. For what comfort should it be for anie good man to see his countrie brought into the estate of the old Gothes & Vandals, who made lawes against learning, and would not suffer anie skilfull man to come into their councell house, by meanes whereof those people became sauage, tyrants, and merelesse helhounds, till they restored learning againe, and thereby fell to ciuilitie.

Of the partition of England into *shires and countries.*

Chap. 4.

IN the reading of ancient writers, as Cæsar, Tacitus, and others, we find mention of sundrie regions to haue bene sometime in this Iland, as the Notiomanæ, Selgouæ, Dannonij, Gadeni, Oradeni, Epdij, Cerones, Carnonacæ, Careni, Cornabij, Caledonij, Decantæ, Logi, Mertæ, Vacomagi, Venicontes, Texali or Polij, Denani, Elgoui, Brigantes Parisi, Ordonici *alias* Ordoluci, Cornauij, Coritani, Catieuchlani, Simeni, Trinouantes, Demetæ, Cangi, Silures, Dobuni, Atterbatij, Cantij, Regni, Belgæ, Durotriges, Dumnonij, Giruij, Murotriges, Seueriani, Iceni, Tegenes, Casij, Cænimagni, Segontiaci, Ancalites, Bibroci, and Bentishmen, and such like. But sith the seuerall places where most of them laie, are not yet verie perfectlie knowne vnto the learned of these daies, I do not meane to pronounce my iudgement vpon such doubtfull cases, least that in so doing I should but increase coniectures, and leading peraduenture the reader from the more probable, intangle his mind in the end with such as are of lesse value, and things nothing so likelie to be true, as those which other men haue remembred and set downe before me. Neither will I speake oughts of the Romane partitions & limits of their legions, whose number and place of abode, except of the Victorian and Augustane, is to me vtterlie vnknowne.

Alfred brought England into shires, which the Britons diuided by cantreds, and the first Saxons by families.

It shall suffice therefore to begin with such a ground as from whence some better certeintie of things may be deriued, and that is with the estate of our Iland in the time of Alfred, who first diuided England into shires, which before his daies, and since the comming of the Saxons, was limited out by families and hidelands, as the Britons did the same in their time, by hundreds of townes, which then were called cantreds; as old records do witnesse.

Into how manie shires the said Alfred did first make this partition of the Iland, it is not yet found out; howbeit if my coniecture be anie thing at all, I suppose that he left not vnder eight and thirtie, sith we find by no good author, that aboue fifteene haue beene added by anie of his successours, since the time of his decease. This prince therefore hauing made the generall partition of his kingdome into shires, or shares, he diuided againe the same into lathes, as lathes into hundreds, and hundreds into tithings, or denaries, as diuers haue written; and maister Lambert following their authorities, hath also giuen out, saieng almost after this maner in his description of Kent: The Danes (saith he) both before, & in the time of king Alfred, had flocked by the sea coasts of this Iland in great numbers, sometimes walking and spoiling with sword and fire, whersoeuer they might

Shire and share all one.

arriue, and somtime taking great booties with them to their ships, without doing anie further hurt or damage to the countrie. This inconuenience continuing for manie yeares together, caused our husbandmen to abandon their tillage, and gaue occasion and hardinesse to euill disposed persons, to fall to the like pillage, as practising to follow the Danes in these their thefts and robberies. And the better to cloake their mischefe withall, they feigned themselues to be Danish pirats, and would sometime come a land in one port, and sometime in another, driuing dailie great spoiles (as the Danes had done) vnto their ships before them. The good king Alfred therefore (who had maruellouslie trauelled in repelling the barbarous Danes) espieng this outrage, and thinking it no lesse the part of a politike prince, to root out the noisome subiect, than to hold out the forren aduersarie: by the aduise of his nobilitie, and the example of Moses (who followed the counsell of Iethro his father in law to the like effect) diuided the whole realme into certeine parts or sections, which (of the Saxon word Schyran, signifieng to cut) he termed shires, or as we yet speake, shares, or portions, of which some one hath fortie miles in length (as Esser) and almost so manie broad. Herefore foure & twentie in length, and twentie in breadth, and Warwike six and thirtie in length, &c: and some of them also conteine ten, twelue, thirteene, sixteene, twentie, or thirtie hundreds, more or lesse, as some hundreds do sixteene, twentie, thirtie, fortie, fiftie or sixtie townes, out of which the king was alwaies to receiue an hundred able men to serue him in the warres, or a hundred men able to be pledges, and ouer each of the portions he appointed either an earle or alderman, or both, to whome he committed the gouernement of the same. These shires also he brake into lesser parts, whereof some were called lathes, of the word Gelathian, which is to assemble togither; other hundreds, for that they enioied iurisdiction ouer an hundred pledges; and other tithings, because there were in each of them to the number of ten persons, whereof euerie one from time to time was suertie for others good abearing. He prouided also that euerie man should procure himselfe to be receiued into some tithing, to the end, that if anie were found of so small and base a credit, that no man would become pledge or suertie for him, he should forthwith be committed to prison, least otherwise he might happen to do more harme abroad. Hitherto maister Lambert. By whose words we may gather verie much of the state of this Iland in the time of Alfred, whose institution continued after a sort vntill the comming of the Normans, who changed the gouernement of the realme in such wise (by bringing in of new officers and offices, after the maner of their countries) that verie little of the old regiment remained more than the bare names of some officers (except peraduenture in Kent) so that in these daies it is hard to set downe anie great certeintie of things as they stood in Alfreds time, more than is remembred and touched at this present.

Earle and alderman.

Some as it were roming or rouing at the name Lath, do saie that it is deriued of a barne, which is called in old English a lath, as they coniecture. From which speech in like sort some deriue the word Latstow, as if it should be truelie written Lath stow, a place wherein to late vp or late on things, of what soeuer condition. But hereof as yet I cannot absolutelie be satisfied, although peraduenture some likelihood in their iudgements may seeme to be therein. Other vpon some further consideration affirme that they were certeine circuits in euerie countie or shire conteining an appointed number of townes, whose inhabitants alwaies assembled to know and vnderstand of matters touching their portions, in to some

What a lath is

one

one appointed place or other within their limits, especiallie whilest the causes were such as required not the aid or assistance of the whole countie. Of these lathes also (as they saie) some shires had more, some lesse, as they were of greatnesse. And M. Lambert seemeth to be of the opinion, that the leets of our time (wherein these pledges be yet called Franci plegij of the word Frœ burgh) do yeeld some shadow of that politike institution of Alfred. But sith my skill is so small in these cases that I dare not iudge anie thing at all as of mine owne knowledge, I will not set downe anie thing more than I read, least I should roue at random in our obscure antiquities, and reading no more of lathes my next talke shall be of hundreds.

Léetes.

Hundred or Wapentake.

The hundred and the wapentake is all one, as I read in some, and by this diuision not a name appertinent to a set number of townes (for then all hundreds should be of equall quantitie) but a limited iurisdiction, within the compasse whereof were an hundred persons called pledges (as I said) or ten denaries, or tithings of men, of which ech one was bound for others good abering, and laudable behauiour in the common-wealth of the realme. The chiefe man likewise of euerie denarie or tithing was in those daies called a tithing man, in Latine Decurio, but now in most places a borsholder or burgholder, as in Kent; where euerie tithing is moreouer named a burgh or burrow, although that in the West countrie he be still called a tithing man, and his circuit a tithing, as I haue heard at large. I read furthermore (and it is partlie afore noted) that the said Alfred caused ech man of frée condition (for the better maintenance of his peace) to be ascribed into some hundred by placing himselfe in one denarie or other, where he might alwais haue such as should sweare or saie vpon their certeine knowledge for his honest behauior and ciuill conuersation if it should happen at anie time, that his credit should come in question. In like sort I gather out of Leland and other, that if anie small matter did fall out worthie to be discussed, the tithing man or borsholder (now officers, at the commandement of the high constable of which euerie hundred hath one at the least) should decide the same in their leetes, whereas the great causes were referred to the hundreds, the greater to the lathes, and the greatest of all to the shire daies, where the earles or aldermen did set themselues, & make finall ends of the same, according vnto iustice. For this purpose likewise in euerie hundred were twelue men chosen of good age and wisedome, and those sworne to giue their sentences without respect of person, and in this manner (as they gather) were things handeled in those dates. Which waie the word wapentake came in vse, as yet I cannot tell; howbeit the signification of the same declareth (as I conceiue) that at the chiefe towne the soldiers which were to serue in that hundred did meet, fetch their weapons, & go together from thence to the field, or place of seruice by an ordinarie custome, then generallie knowen amongst them. It is supposed also that the word Rape commeth a Rapiendo, as it were of catching and snatching, because the tenants of the hundred or wapentakes met vpon one or sundrie daies & made quicke dispatch of their lords harnesse at once and in great hast. But whether it be a true imagination or not as yet I am vncertaine, and therefore it lieth not in me to determine anie thing thereof: wherefore it shall suffice to haue touched them in this maner.

Denarie or tithing.

Tithing man in Latine Decurio.

Borsholder.

Burrow.

Twelue men.

Fortie shires in England thirteene in Wales.

In my time there are found to be in England fourtie shires, and likewise thirteene in Wales, and these latter erected of late yeares by king Henrie the eight, who made the Britons or Welshmen equall in all respects vnto the English, and brought to passe that both nations should indifferentlie be gouerned by one law, which in times past were ordred by diuerse, and those far discrepant and disagreeing one from another: as by the seuerall view of the same is yet easie to be discerned. The names of the shires in England are these, whereof the first ten lie betweene the British sea and the Thames, as Polydor also doth set them downe.

Kent.
Sussex.
Surreie.
Hampshire.
Barkeshire.
Wiltshire.
Dorsetshire.
Summerset.
Deuon.
Cornewall.

There are moreouer on the northside of the Thames, and betweene the same and the riuer Trent, which passeth through the middest of England (as Polydor saith) sirteene other shires, whereof six lie toward the east, the rest toward the west, more into the middest of the countrie.

Essex, sometime all forrest saue one hundred.
Middlesex.
Hartfordshire.
Suffolke.
Norffolke.
Cambrigeshire in which are 12 hundreds.
Bedford.
Huntington wherein are foure hundreds.
Buckingham.
Oxford.
Northampton.
Rutland.
Leircestershire.
Notinghamshire.
Warwike.
Lincolne.

We haue six also that haue their place westward towards Wales, whose names insue.

Glocester.
Hereford.
Worcester.
Shropshire.
Stafford.
Chestershire.

And these are the thirtie two shires which lie by south of the Trent. Beyond the same riuer we haue in like sort other eight, as

Darbie.
Yorke.
Lancaster.
Cumberland.
Westmerland.
Richemond, wherein are fiue wapentares, & when it is accompted as parcell of Yorkeshire (out of which it is taken) then is it reputed for the whole Riding.
Durham.
Northumberland.

So that in the portion sometime called Lhoegres, there are now fortie shires. In Wales furthermore are thirteene, whereof seuen are in Southwales:

Cardigan, or Cereticon.
Penmorooke, or Penbroke.
Caermardine, wherein are 9 hundreds or commots.
Glamorgan.
Monmouth.
Brekenocke.
Radnor.

In Northwales likewise are six, that is to saie

Anglesete.
Carnaruon.
Merioneth.
Denbigh.
Flint.
Montgomerie.

Which being added to those of England yeeld fiftie and three shires or counties, so that vnder the queenes Maiestie are so manie counties, whereby it is easilie discerned, that hir power farre exceedeth that of Dsa, who of old time was highlie honored for that he had so much of Britaine vnder his subiection as afterward conteined thirtie nine shires, when the diuision was made, whereof I spake before.

Od parcels of shires.

This is moreouer to be noted in our diuision of shires, that they be not alwaies counted or laid together in one parcell, whereof I haue great maruell. But sith the occasiõ hath growen (as I take it) either by priuilege or some like occasion, it is better briefelie to set downe how some of these parts lie than to spend the time in seeking a iust cause of this their od

diuision.

diuision. First therefore I note that in the part of Buckinghamshire betweene Amondesham, & Beconsfield, there is a peece of Hartfordshire to be found, inuironed round about with the countie of Buckingham, and yet this patch is not aboue three miles in length and two in breadth at the verie most. In Barkeshire also betweene Ruscombe and Dkingham is a peece of Wilshire, one mile in breadth and foure miles in length, whereof one side lieth on the Loden riuer. In the borders of Northamptonshire directlie ouer against Luffeld a towne in Buckinghamshire, I find a parcell of Oxfordshire not passing two miles in compasse.

With Oxfordshire diuerse do participate, in so much that a peece of Glocestershire, lieth halfe in Warwikeshire & halfe in Oxfordshire, not verie far from Horneton. Such another patch is there, of Glocestershire not far from long Compton, but lieng in Oxford countie: & a peece of Worcestershire, directlie betweene it & Glocestershire. Glocester hath the third peece vpon the north side of the Winrush neere Falbrooke, as Barkeshire hath one parcell also vpon the selfe side of the same water, in the verie edge of Glocestershire: likewise an other in Oxfordshire, not verie farre from Burford: and the third ouer against Lach lade, which is parted from the main countie of Barkeshire, by a little strake of Oxfordshire. Who would thinke that two fragments of Wilshire were to be seene in Barkeshire vpon the Loden, and the riuer that falleth into it: whereof and the like sith there are verie manie, I thinke good to giue this briefe admonition. For although I haue not presentlie gone thorough with them all, yet these may suffice to giue notice of this thing, wherof most readers (as I persuade my selfe) are ignorant.

Lieutenants. But to proceed with our purpose. Euer ech of these shires in time of necessitie is a seuerall lieutenant chosen vnder the prince, who being a noble man of calling, hath almost regall authoritie ouer the same for the time being in manie cases which do concerne his office: otherwise it is gouerned by a Shirifes. shirife (a word deriued of Schire and Greue, and pronounced as Shire and Reue) whose office is to gather vp and bring his accounts into the excheker, of the profits of his countie receiued, whereof he is or may be called *Quæstor comitatus* or *Prouinciæ*. This officer is resident and dwelling somewhere within the same countie, and called also a vicount, *Quasi vicarius comitis* or *Procomes*, in respect of the earle (or as they called him in time past the alderman) that beareth his name of the countie, although it be seldome seene in England, that the earle hath anie great store of possessions, or oughts to do in the shire whereof he taketh his name, more than is allowed to him, through his personall reliance, if he happen to dwell and be resident in the same.

In the election also of these magistrates, diuerse able persons aswell for wealth as wisedome are named by the commons, at a time and place appointed for their choise, whose names being deliuered to the prince, he forthwith picketh some such one of them, as he pleaseth to assigne vnto that office, to whome he committeth the charge of the countie, and who hereupon is shirifte of that shire for one whole yeare, or vntill a new be chosen. The shirifte also hath his Undershirifes. vnder shirifte that ruleth & holdeth the shire courts and law daies vnder him, vpon sufficient caution vnto the high shirifte for his true execution of iustice, preseruation from impeachment, and yelding of accompt when he shall be thereunto called. There are Bailifes. likewise vnder him certeine bailifes, whose office is to serue and returne such writs and processes as are directed vnto them from the high shirifte: to make seisure of the goods and cattels, and arrest the bodies of such as do offend, presenting either their persons vnto him, or at the least wise taking sufficient bond, or other assurance of them for their dutifull appearance at an appointed time, when the shirifte by order of law ought to present them to the iudges according to his charge. In euerie hundred also are one or more high constables according to the quantitie thereof, who receiuing the writs and iniunctions from the high shirifte vnder his seale, or from anie other officers of the prince, either for the prouision of victuals or for other causes, or priuat purueiance of cates for the maintenance of the roiall familie, do forthwith charge the petie constables of euerie towne within their limits, with the execution of the same. High constables. Petie constables.

In each countie likewise are sundrie law daies holden at their appointed seasons, of which some retaine the old Saxon name, and are called Motelagh, of the word motes and law. They haue also an other called the shirifes turne, which they hold twise in their times, in euerie hundred, according to the old order appointed by king Edgar (as king Edward reduced the folkmote ordeined by king Arthur to be held yearelie on the first of Maie, vntill the first of euerie moneth) and in these two latter such small matters as oft arise amongst the inferior sort of people, are heard and well determined. They haue finallie their quarter sessions, wherein they are assisted by the iustices and gentlemen of the countrie, & twise in the yeare gaile deliuerie, at which time the iudges ride about in their circuits, into euerie seuerall countie (where the nobilitie and gentlemen with the iustices there resiant associat them) & minister the lawes of the realme, with great solemnitie & iustice. Howbeit in doing of these things, they reteine still the old order of the land in vse before the conquest. For they commit the full examination of all causes there to be heard, to the consideration of twelue sober, graue, and wise men, chosen out of the same countie; and foure of them of necessitie out of the hundred where the action lieth, or the defendant inhabiteth (which number they call an inquest) & of these inquests there are more or lesse impanneled at euerie assise, as the number of cases there to be handled doth craue and require, albeit that some one inquest hath often diuerse matters to consider of. And when they haue (to their vttermost power) consulted and debated of such things as they are charged withall, they returne againe to the place of iustice, with their verdict in writing, according whereunto the iudge doth pronounce his sentence, be it for life or death, or anie other matter what soeuer is brought before him. It is also verie often seene, that such as are nominated to be of these inquests, do after their charge receiued seldome or neuer eat or drinke, vntill they haue agreed vpon their verdict, and yelded it vp vnto the iudge of whome they receiued the charge; by meanes whereof sometimes it commeth to passe that diuerse of the inquest haue beene welnere famished, or at least taken such a sickenesse thereby, as they haue hardlie auoided. And this commeth by practise, when the one side feareth the sequele, and therefore conueieth some one or more into the iurie, that will in his behalfe neuer yeeld vnto the rest, but of set purpose put them to this trouble. Motelagh. Shirifes turne. Gaile deliuerie or great assises. Inquests.

Certes it is a common practise (if the vnder shirifte be not the better man) for the craftier or stronger side to procure and packe such a quest, as he himselfe shall like of, whereby he is sure of the issue before the charge be giuen: and beside this if the matter do iustlie proceed against him, it is a world to see now and then how the honest yeomen that haue *Bona fide* discharged their consciences shall be sued of an atteint, & bound to appeare at the Starre chamber, with what rigor they shall be caried from place to Atteint.

place, countie to countie, yea and sometime in carts, which hath and doth cause a great number of them to abstaine from the assises, & yeld to paie their issues, rather than they would for their good meaning be thus disturbed & dealt withall. Sometimes also they bribe the bailiffes to be kept at home, whervpon poore men, not hauing in their purses wherewith to beare their costes, are impanelled vpon iuries, who verie often haue neither reason nor iudgement to performe the charge they come for. Neither was this kind of seruice at anie time halfe so painefull as at this present: for vntill of late yeares (that the number of lawiers and atturneies hath so exceedinglie increased, that some shifts must needs be found and matters sought out, whereby they may be set on worke) a man should not haue heard at one assise of more than two or three *Nisi prius*, but verie seldome of an atteint, whereas now an hundred & more of the first and one or two of the later are verie often perceiued, and some of them for a cause arising of sixpence or twelvepence. Which declareth that men are growen to be farre more contentious than they haue béene in time past, and readier to reuenge their quarels of small importance, whereof the lawiers complaine not. But to my purpose, from whence I haue now digressed.

Beside these officers afore mentioned, there are sundrie other in euerie countie, as crowners, whose dutie is to inquire of such as come to their death by violence, to attach & present the pléas of the crowne, to make inquirie of treasure found, &c. There are diuerse also of the best learned of the law, beside sundrie gentlemen, where the number of lawiers will not suffice (and whose reuenues do amount to aboue twentie pounds by the yeare) appointed by especiall commission from the prince, to looke vnto the good gouernement of hir subiects, in the counties where they dwell. And of these the least skilfull in the law are of the peace, the other both of the peace and quorum, otherwise called of Oier and Determiner, so that the first haue authoritie onelie to heare, the other to heare and determine such matters as are brought vnto their presence. These also do direct their warrants to the keepers of the gailes within their limitations, for the safe keeping of such offendors as they shall iudge worthie to commit vnto their custodie there to be kept vnder ward, vntill the great assises, to the end their causes may be further examined before the residue of the countie, & these officers were first deuised about the eighteene yeare of Edward the third, as I haue béene informed.

Justices of peax & quorum.

They méeting also & togither with the shiriffes, do hold their aforesaid sessions at foure times in the yeare, whereof they are called quarter sessions, and herein they inquire of sundrie trespasses, and the common annoiances of the kings liege people, and diuerse other things, determining vpon them as iustice doth require. There are also a third kind of sessions holden by the high constables and bailiffes afore mentioned, called petie sessions, wherein the weights and measures are perused by the clarke of the market for the countie, who sitteth with them. At these méetings also victuellers, and in like sort seruants, labourers, roges, and runnagates are often reformed for their excesses, although the burning of vagabounds through their eare be referred to the quarter sessions or higher courts of assise, where they are iudged either to death, if they be taken the third time, & haue not since their second apprehension applied themselues to labour, or else to be set perpetuallie to worke in an house erected in euerie shire for that purpose, of which punishment they stand in greatest feare.

Quarter sessions.

Petie sessions.

I might here deliuer a discourse of sundrie rare customes and courts, surnamed barons, yet maintened and holden in England: but forsomuch as some of the first are beastlie, and therefore by the lords of the soiles now liuing conuerted into monie, being for the most part deuised in the beginning either by malicious or licentious women, in méere contempt and slaunsh abuse of their tenants, vnder pretense of some punishment due for their excesses, I passe ouer to bring them vnto light, as also the remembrance of sundrie courts baron likewise holden in strange maner; yet none more absurd and far from law than are kept yearlie at Kings hill in Rochford, and therfore may well be called a lawlesse court, as most are that were deuised vpon such occasions. This court is kept vpon wednesdaie insuing after Michaelmasse daie after midnight, so that it is begun and ended before the rising of the sunne. When the tenants also are altogither in an alehouse, the steward secretlie stealeth from them with a lanterne vnder his cloke, and goeth to the Kings hill, where sitting on a molehill he calleth them with a verie soft voice, writing their appearance vpon a péece of paper with a cole, hauing none other light than that which is inclosed in the lanterne: so sone as the tenants also do misse the steward, they runne to the hill with all their might, and there answer all at once, Here here, whereby they escape their amercements: which they should not do if he could haue called ouer his bill of names before they had missed him in the alehouse. And this is the verie forme of the court deuised at the first (as the voice goeth) vpon a rebellion made by the tenants of the honour of Raibie against their lord, in perpetuall memorie of their disobedience shewed. I could beside this speake also of some other, but sith one hath taken vpon him to collect a number of them into a particular treatise, I thinke it sufficient for me to haue said so much of both.

And thus much haue I thought good to set downe generallie of the said counties and their maner of gouernance, although not in so perfect order as the cause requireth, because that of all the rest there is nothing wherewith I am lesse acquainted than with our temporall regiment, which (to saie truth) smallie concerneth my calling. What else is to be added after the seuerall shires of England with their ancient limits (as they agreed with the diuision of the land in the time of Ptolomie and the Romans) and commodities yet extant, I reserue vnto that excellent treatise of my frend W. Cambden, who hath trauelled therein verie farre, & whose worke written in Latine shall in short time (I hope) be published, to the no small benefit of such as will read and peruse the same.

Of degrees of people in the common-wealth of England.

Chap. 5.

WE in England diuide our people commonlie into foure sorts, as gentlemen, citizens or burgesses, yeomen, which are artificers, or labourers. Of gentlemen the first and chéefe (next the king) be the prince, dukes, marquesses, earls, viscounts, and barons: and these are called gentlemen of the greater sort, or (as our common vsage of speech is) lords and noblemen: and next vnto them be knights, esquiers, and last of all they that are simplie called gentlemen; so that in effect our gentlemen are diuided into their conditions, whereof in this chapter I will make particular rehearsall.

The

Prince. The title of prince doth peculiarlie belong with vs to the kings eldest sonne, who is called prince of Wales, and is the heire aparant to the crowne; as in France the kings eldest sonne hath the title of Dolphine, and is named peculiarlie Monsieur. So that the prince is so termed of the Latine word *Princeps*, sith he is (as I may call him) the chefe or principall next the king. The kings yonger sonnes be but gentlemen by birth (till they haue receiued creation or donation from their father of higher estate, as to be either visconts, earles, or dukes) and called after their names, as lord Henrie, or lord Edward, with the addition of the word Grace, properlie assigned to the king and prince, and now also by custome conueied to dukes, archbishops, and (as some saie) to marquesses and their wiues.

Duke. The title of duke commeth also of the Latine word Dux, à ducendo, bicause of his valor and power ouer the armie: in times past a name of office due to the emperour, consull, or chefe gouernour of the whole armie in the Romane warres: but now a name of honor, although perished in England, whose ground will not long beare one duke at once; but if there were manie as in time past, or as there be now earles, I do not thinke but that they would florish and prosper well inough.

Marquesse. In old time he onelie was called marquesse, *Qui habuit terram limitaneam*, a marching prouince vpon the enimies countries, and thereby bound to keepe and defend the frontiers. But that also is changed in common vse, and reputed for a name of great honor next vnto the duke, euen ouer counties, and sometimes small cities, as the prince is pleased to bestow it.

Earle. The name of earle likewise was among the Romans a name of office, who had *Comites sacri palatij, comites ærarij, comites stabuli, comites patrimonij, largitionum, scholarum, commerciorum*, and such like. But at the first they were called Comites, which were ioined in commission with the proconsull, legate, or iudges for counsell and aids sake in each of those seuerall charges. As Cicero epistola ad Quintum fratrem remembreth, where he saith; *Atque inter hos quos tibi comites, & adiutores negotiorum publicorum dedit ipsa respublica duntaxat finibus his præstabis, quos ante præscripsi, &c.* After this I read also that euerie president in his charge was called *Comes*, but our English Saxons vsed the word Hertoch and earle for *Comes*, and indifferentlie as I gesse, sith the name of duke was not in vse before the conquest. Goropius saith, that *Comes* and Graue is all one, to wit the viscont, called either *Procomes*, or *Vicecomes*: and in time past gouerned in the countie vnder the earle, but now without anie such seruice or office, it is also become a name of dignitie next after the earle, and in degrée before the baron. His releefe also by the great charter is one hundred pounds, as that of a baronie a hundred marks, and of a knight fiue at the most for euerie fee.

Viscont.

Baron. The baron, whose degrée answered to the dignitie of a senator in Rome, is such a free lord as hath a lordship or baronie, whereof he beareth his name, & hath diuerse knights or freeholders holding of him, who with him did serue the king in his wars, and held their tenures in *Baronia*, that is, for performance of such seruice. These Bracton (a learned writer of the lawes of England in king Henrie the thirds time) tearmeth *Barones, quasi robur belli*. The word *Baro* indeed is older than that it may easilie be found from whence it came: for euen in the oldest histories both of the Germans and Frenchmen, written since the conquest, we read of barons, and those are at this daie called among the Germans *Liberi vel Ingenui*, or Freihers in the Germane tong as some men do coniecture, or (as one saith) the citizens and burgesses of good townes and cities were called *Barones*. Neuertheless by diligent inquisition it is imagined, if not absolutelie found, that the word *Baro* and *Filius* in the old Scithian or Germane language are all one; so that the kings children are properlie called *Barones*, from whome also it was first translated to their kindred, and then to the nobilitie and officers of greatest honour indifferentlie. That *Baro* and *Filius* signifieth one thing, it yet remaineth to be seene, although with some corruption: for to this daie, euen the common sort do call their male children barnes here in England, especiallie in the north countrie, where that word is yet accustomablie in vse. And it is also growne into a prouerbe in the south, when anie man sustaineth a great hinderance, to saie, I am beggered and all my barnes. In the Hebrue tong (as some affirme) it signifieth *Filij solis*, and what are the nobilitie in euerie kingdome but *Filij* or *serui regum?* But this is farre fetched, therefore I conclude, that from henceforth the originall of the word *Baro* shall not be anie more to seeke: and the first time that euer I red thereof in anie English historie, is in the reigne of Canutus, who called his nobilitie and head officers to a councell holden at Cirnecester, by that name, 1030, as I haue else-where remembred. Howbeit the word *Baro* doth not alwaies signifie or is attributed to a noble man by birth or creation, for now and then it is a title giuen vnto one or other with his office, as the chefe or high tribune of the ercheker is of custome called lord chefe baron, who is as it were the great or principall receiuer of accounts next vnto the lord treasuror, as they are vnder him are called *Tribuni ærarij, & rationales*. Herevnto I may ad so much of the word lord, which is an addition going not seldome and in like sort with sundrie offices, and to continue so long as he or they do execute the same, and no longer.

Bishops. Vnto this place I also referre our bishops, who are accounted honourable, called lords, and hold the same rome in the parlement house with the barons, albeit for honour sake the right hand of the prince is giuen vnto them, and whose countenances in time past were much more glorious than at this present it is, bicause those lustie prelats sought after earthlie estimation and authoritie with farre more diligence than after the lost charge of Christ, of which they had small regard, as men being otherwise occupied and void of leisure to attend vpon the same. Howbeit in these daies their estate remaineth no lesse reuerend than before, and the more vertuous they are that be of this calling, the better are they esteemed with high and low. They reteine also the ancient name (lord) still, although it be not a little impugned by such as loue either to heare of change of all things, or can abide no superiours. For notwithstanding it be true, that in respect of function, the office of the eldership is equallie distributed betweene the bishop and the minister, yet for ciuill gouernements sake, the first haue more authoritie giuen vnto them by kings and princes, to the end that the rest maie thereby be with more ease reteined within a limited compasse of vniformitie, than otherwise they would be, if ech one were suffered to walke in his owne course. This also is more to be maruelled at, that verie manie call for an alteration of their estate, crieng to haue the word lord abolished, their ciuill authoritie taken from them, and the present condition of the church in other things reformed; whereas to saie trulie, few of them do agrée vpon forme of discipline and gouernement of the church succedent: wherein they resemble the Capuans, of whome Liuie doth speake in the slaughter of their senat. Neither is it possible to frame a whole monarchie after the patterne of one

1.Sam.b 15.
1.Reg. 7.

towne

towne or citie, or to stirre vp such an exquisite face of the church as we imagine or desire, sith our corruption is such that it will neuer yéeld to so great perfection: for that which is not able to be performed in a priuat house, will much lesse be brought to passe in a common-wealth and kingdome, before such a prince be found as Xenophon describeth, or such an orator as Tullie hath deuised. But whither am I digressed from my discourse of bishops, whose estates dw daily decaie, & suffer some diminution? Herein neuertheless their case is growne to be much better than before, for whereas in times past the cleargie men were feared bicause of their authoritie and seuere gouernment vnder the prince, now are they beloued generallie for their painefull diligence dailie shewed in their functions and callings, except peraduenture of some hungrie wombes, that couet to plucke & snatch at the loose ends of their best commodities; with whom it is (as the report goeth) a common guise, when a man is to be preferred to an ecclesiasticall liuing, what part thereof he will first forgo and part with to their vse. Finallie, how it standeth with the rest of the clergie for their places of estate, I neither can tell nor greatlie care to know. Neuertheless with what degrées of honour and worship they haue béene matched in times past Iohannes Bohemus in his *De omnium gentium moribus*, and others dw erpresse; and this also found beside their reports, that in time past euerie bishop, abbat, and pelting prior were placed before the earles and barons in most statutes, charters, and records made by the prince, as maie also apeare in the great charter, and sundrie yeares of Henrie the third, wherein no duke was heard of. But as a number of their odious comparisons and ambitious titles are now decaied and worthilie shronke in the wetting, so giuing ouer in these daies to mainteine such pompous vanitie, they dw thinke it sufficient for them to preach the word, & hold their liuings to their sées (so long as they shall be able) from the hands of such as indeuour for their owne preferrement to fléece and diminish the same. This furthermore will I adde generallie in commendation of the cleargie of England, that they are for their knowlege reputed in France, Portingale, Spaine, Germanie and Polonia, to be the most learned diuines, although they like not anie thing at all of their religion: and thereto they are in deed so skilfull in the two principall tongs, that it is accounted a maime in anie one of them, not to be exactlie séene in the Greeke and Hebrue, much more then to be vterlie ignorant or nothing conuersant in them. As for the Latine tong it is not wanting in anie of the ministerie, especiallie in such as haue bene made within this twelue or fourtéene yeares, whereas before there was small choise, and manie cures were left vnserued, bicause they had none at all. And to saie truth, our aduersaries were the onelie causers hereof. For whilest they made no further accompt of their priesthood, than to construe, sing, read their seruice and their portesse, it came to passe that vpon examination had, few made in quéene Maries daies, and the later end of king Henrie, were able to to dw anie more, and verie hardlie so much, so void were they of further skill, and so vnapt to serue at all.

De Asia, cap. 12

No Greeke, no grace.

Bene con, bene can, bene le.

Duke, marquesse, earle, viscont.

Dukes, marquesses, earles, viscounts, and barons, either be created of the prince, or come to that honor by being the eldest sonnes or highest in succession to their parents. For the eldest sonne of a duke during his fathers life is an erle, the eldest sonne of an erle is a baron, or sometimes a viscont, according as the creation is. The creation I call the originall donation and condition of the honour giuen by the prince for good seruice done by the first ancestor, with some aduancement, which with the title of that honour is alwaies giuen to him and his heires males onelie. The rest of the sonnes of the nobilitie by the rigor of the law be but esquiers: yet in common speech all dukes and marquesses sonnes, and earles eldest sonnes be called lords, the which name commonlie doth agrée to none of lower degrée than barons, yet by law and vse these be not estéemed barons.

Barons.

The baronie or degrée of lords doth answer to the degrée of senators of Rome (as I said) and the title of nobilitie (as we vse to call it in England) to the Romane Patricij. Also in England no man is commonlie created baron, except he maie dispend of yearelie reuenues a thousand pounds, or so much as maie fullie mainteine & beare out his countenance and port. But viscounts, erles, marquesses, and dukes exceed them according to the proportion of their degrée & honour. But though by chance he or his sonne haue lesse, yet he kéepeth this degrée: but if the decaie be excessiue and not able to mainteine the honour, as *Senatores Romani* were *amoti à senatu*: so sometimes they are not admitted to the vpper house in the parlement although they kéepe the name of lord still, which can not be taken from them vpon anie such occasion. The most of these names haue descended from the French inuention, in whose histories we shall read of them eight hundred yeares passed.

Of the second degrée of gentlemen.

This also is worthie the remembrance, that Otto the first emperour of that name, indeuouring to restore the decaied estate of Italie vnto some part of hir pristinate magnificence, did after the French example giue *Dignitates & prædia* to such knights and souldiers as had serued him in the warres, whom he also adorned with the names of dukes, marquesses, earles, valuasors or capteins, and valuasines.

Prædia.

His *Prædia* in like maner were tributes, tolles, portage, bankage, stackage, coinage, profits by saltpits, milles, water-courses (and whatsoeuer emoluments grew by them) & such like. But at that present I read not that the word *Baro* was brought into those parts. And as for the valuasors, it was a denomination aplied vnto all degrées of honor vnder the first three (which are properlie named the kings capteins) so that they are called *Maiores, minores, & minimi valuasores*. This also is to be noted, that the word capteine hath two relations, either as the possessor therof hath it from the prince, or from some duke, marquesse, or earle, for each had capteins vnder them. If from the prince, then are they called *Maiores valuasores*, if from anie of his three péeres, then were they *Minores valuasores*: but if anie of these *valuasors* dw substitute a deputie, those are called *Minimi valuasores*, and their deputies also *Valuasini*, without regard vnto which degrée the valuasor doth apertein: but the word *valuasor* is now growne out of vse, wherefore it sufficeth to haue said thus much of that function.

Valuasores.

Knights.

Knights be not borne, neither is anie man a knight by succession, no not the king or prince: but they are made either before the battell, to incourage them the more to aduenture & trie their manhood: or after the battell ended, as an aduancement for their courage and prowesse alreadie shewed (& then are they called *Milites*;) or out of the warres for some great seruice done, or for the singular vertues which dw apeare in them, and then are they named *Equites aurati*, as common custome intendeth. They are made either by the king himselfe, or by his commission and roiall authoritie giuen for the same purpose: or by his lieutenant in the warres. This order séemeth to answer in part to that which the Romans called *Equitum Romanorum*. For as *Equites Romani* were chosen *Ex censu*, that is, according to their substance and riches; so be knights in England most commonlie according to their yearelie reuenues or aboundance of riches, wherewith to mainteine their estates. Yet all

Milites.

Equites aurati.

that

that had *Equestrem censum*, were not chosen to be knights, and no more be all made knights in England that may spend a knights lands, but they onelie whome the prince will honour. Sometime diuerse ancient gentlemen, burgesses, and lawiers, are called vnto knighthod by the prince, and neuertheless refuse to take that state vpon them, for which they are of custome punished by a fine, that redoundeth vnto his cofers, and to saie truth, is oftentimes more profitable vnto him than otherwise their seruice should be, if they did yeld vnto knighthod. And this also is a cause, wherfore there be manie in England able to dispend a knights liuing, which neuer come vnto that countenance, and by their owne consents. The number of the knights in Rome was also vncerteine: and so is it of knights likewise with vs, as at the pleasure of the prince. And whereas the *Equites Romani* had *Equum publicum* of custome bestowed vpon them, the knights of England haue not so, but beare their owne charges in that also, as in other kind of furniture, as armorie met for their defense and seruice. This neuertheless is certeine, that who so may dispend 40 pounds by the yeare of free land, either at the coronation of the king, or mariage of his daughter, or time of his dubbing, may be inforced vnto the taking of that degree, or otherwise paie the reuenues of his land for one yeare, which is onelie fortie pounds by an old proportion, and so for a time he acquited of that title. We name him knight in English that the French calleth Cheualier, and the Latins *Equitem*, or *Equestris ordinis virum*. And when any man is made a knight, he kneeling downe is striken of the king or his substituts with his sword naked vpon the backe or shoulder, the prince, &c: saieng, *Soyes cheualier au nom de Dieu*. And when he riseth vp the king saith *A duances bon cheualier*. This is the maner of dubbing knights at this present, and the tearme (dubbing) is the old tearme for that purpose and not creation, howbeit in our time the word (making) is most in vse among the common sort.

Knights of the bath.

At the coronation of a king or quæne, there be other knights made with longer and more curious ceremonies, called knights of the bath. But how soeuer one be dubbed or made knight, his wife is by and by called madame or ladie, so well as the barons wife; he himselfe hauing added to his name in common appellation this syllable Sir, which is the title whereby we call our knights in England. His wife also of courtesie so long as she liueth is called my ladie, although she happen to marie with a gentleman or man of meane calling, albeit that by the cõmon law she hath no such prerogatiue. If hir first husband also be of better birth than hir second, though this later likewise be a knight, yet in that she pretendeth a priuilege to lose no honor through courtesie yelded to hir ser, she will be named after the most honorable or worshipfull of both, which is not seene elsewhere.

Knights of the garter.

The other order of knighthod in England, and the most honorable is that of the garter, instituted by king Edward the third, who after he had gained manie notable victories, taken king Iohn of France, and king Iames of Scotland (and kept them both prisoners in the Tower of London at one time) expelled king Henrie of Castile the bastard out of his realme, and restored Don Petro vnto it (by the helpe of the prince of Wales and duke of Aquitaine his eldest sonne called the Blacke prince) he then inuented this societie of honour, and made a choise out of his owne realme and dominions, and throughout all christendome of the best, most excellent and renowmed persons in all vertues and honour, and adorned them with that title to be knights of his order, giuing them a garter garnished with gold and pretious stones, to weare dailie on the left leg onlie: also a kirtle, gowne, cloke, chaperon, collar, and other solemne and magnificent apparell, both of stuffe and fashion exquisite & heroicall to weare at high feasts, & as to so high and princelie an order aperteineth. Of this companie also he and his successors kings and quænes of England, be the souereignes, and the rest by certeine statutes and lawes amongst themselues be taken as brethren and fellowes in that order, to the number of six and twentie, as I find in a certeine treatise written of the same, an example whereof I haue here inserted word for word, as it was deliuered vnto me, beginning after this maner.

I might at this present make a long tractation of the round table and estate of the knights thereof, erected sometimes by Arthur the great monarch, of this Iland; and therevnto intreat of the number of his knights, and ceremonies belonging to the order, but I thinke in so doing that I should rather set downe the latter inuentions of other men, than a true description of such ancient actions as were performed in deed. I could furthermore with more facilitie describe the roialtie of Charles the great & his twelue peeres, with their solemne rites and vsages: but vnto this also I haue no great deuotion, considering the truth hereof is now so stained with errours and fables inserted into the same by the lewd religious sort, that except a man should professe to lie with them for companie, there is little sound knowledge to be gathered hereof worthie the remembrance. In like maner diuerse aswell subiects as princes haue attempted to restore againe a round table in this land (as for example Roger lord Mortimer at Killingworth) but such were the excessiue charges apertaining therevnto (as they did make allowance) and so great molestation dailie insued thereupon, beside the breeding of sundrie quarrels among the knights, and such as resorted hitherto from forreine countries (as it was first vsed) that in fine they gaue it ouer, and suffered their whole inuentions to perish and decaie, till Edward the third deuised an other order not so much pestered with multitude of knights as the round table, but much more honorable for princelie port and countenance, as shall appeare hereafter.

Round table.

Roger Mortimer.

The order of the garter therefore was deuised in the time of king Edward the third, and (as some write) vpon this occasion. The quænes maiestie then liuing, being departed from his presence the next waie toward hir lodging, he following soone after happened to find hir garter, which slacked by chance and so fell from hir leg, vnespied in the throng by such as attended vpon hir. His grooms & gentlemen also passed by it, disdaining to stoope and take vp such a trifle: but he knowing the owner, commanded one of them to staie and reach it vp to him. Why and like your grace (saieth a gentleman) it is but some womans garter that hath fallen from hir as she followed the quænes maiestie. What soeuer it be (quoth the king) take it vp and giue it me. So when he had receiued the garter, he said to such as stood about him: You my maisters do make small account of this blue garter here (and therewith held it out) but if God lend me life for a few moneths, I will make the proudest of you all to reuerence the like. And euen vpon this slender occasion he gaue himselfe to the deuising of this order. Certes I haue not read of anie thing, that hauing had so simple a begining hath growne in the end to so great honour and estimation. But to proceed. After he had studied awhile about the performance of his deuise, and had set downe such orders as he himselfe inuented concerning the same, he proclamed a roiall feast to be holden at Windsore, whither all his nobilitie resorted with their ladies, where he published his institution, and

The occasion of the deuise.

Peraduenture but a blue ribben.

forthwith inueſted an appointed number into the afore ſaid fellowſhip, whoſe names inſue, himſelfe being the ſouereigne and principall of that companie. Next vnto himſelfe alſo he placed

- Edward prince of Wales.
- Henrie duke of Lancaſter.
- N. earle of Warw.
- N. capt. de Bouche.
- N. earle of Stafford.
- N. earle of Sarum.
- N. lord Mortimer.
- Sir Iohn Liſle.
- Sir Bartholomew Burwaſh.
- N. ſonne of ſir Iohn Beauchamp.
- Sir N. de Mahun.
- S. Hugh Courtneie.
- S. Thomas Holland.
- Sir Iohn Graie.
- Sir Rich. Fitzſimon.
- Sir Miles Stapleton.
- Sir Thomas Wale.
- Sir Hugh Wroteſley.
- Sir Neale Lording.
- Sir Iohn Chandos.
- S. Iames Dawdleie.
- Sir Otho Holland.
- Sir Henrie Eme.
- Sir Sanchet Dambricourt.
- Sir Walter Pannell *alias* Paganell.

Election. What order of election, and what eſtatutes were preſcribed vnto the elected at this firſt inſtitution, as yet I can not eraclie vnderſtand; neither can I learne what euerie prince afterward added therevnto before the ſix and thirtith yeare of king Henrie the eight, and third of king Edward the firſt: wherefore of neceſſitie I muſt reſort vnto the eſtate of the ſaid order as it is at this preſent, which I will ſet downe ſo briefflie as I may. When anie man therefore is to be elected (vpon a rome found void for his admiſſion) into this fellowſhip, the king directeth his letters vnto him, notwithſtanding that he before hand be nominated to the ſame, to this effect. Right truſtie and welbeloued we greete you well, aſſerteining you, that in conſideration aſwell of your approued truth and fidelitie, as alſo of your couragious and valiant acts of knighthood, with other your probable merits knowne by experience in ſundrie parties and behalfes: we with the companions of the noble order of the Garter, aſſembled at the election holden this daie within our manour of N. haue elected and choſen you amongſt other to be one of the companions of the ſaid Order, as your deſerts do condignelie require. Wherefore we will that with conuenient diligence vpon the ſight herof, you repaire vnto our preſence, there to receiue ſuch things as to the ſaid order apperteineth. Dated vnder our ſignet at our maner of N. &c. Theſe letters are the exemplification of certeine, which (as it ſhould ſeeme) were written An. 3. Edwardi ſexti at Greenewich Aprilis 24, vnto the earle of Huntingdon, & the lord George Cobham your lordſhips honorable father, at ſuch time as they were called vnto the aforeſaid companie. I find alſo theſe names ſubſcribed vnto the ſame.

- Edward duke of Summerſet vncle to the king.
- The marq. of Northhampton.
- Earle of Arundell L. Chamberleine.
- Earle of Shrewesburie.
- L. Ruſſell lord priuie ſeale.
- L. S. Iohn lord great maſter.
- Sir Iohn Gage.
- S. Anthonie Wingfield.
- Sir William Paget.

Admiſſion. Being elected, preparation is made for his inſtalling at Windſore (the place appointed alwaies for this purpoſe) whereat it is required that his banner be ſet vp, of two yardes and a quarter in length, and three quarters in breadth, beſides the fringe. Secondlie his ſword of what ſoeuer length him ſeemeth good. Thirdlie his helme, which from the charnell vpwards ought to be of three inches at the leaſt. Fourthlie the creſt, with mantels to the helme belonging, of ſuch conuenient ſtuffe and bignelle, as it ſhall pleaſe him to appoint.

Item a plate of armes at the backe of his ſtall, and creſt with mantels and beaſts ſupportant, to be grauen in the mettall.

Item lodging ſcutcheons of his armes, inuironned with a garter, and painted in paper or cloth of buckram, which when he trauelleth by the waie are to be fixed in the common Inns where he doth lodge, as a teſtimonie of his preſence and ſtaies from time to time as he did trauell.

Item two mantels, one to remaine in the college at Windſore, the other to vſe at his pleaſure, with the ſcutcheon of the armes of S. George in the garter with laces, taſſelets, and knops of blue ſilke and gold belonging to the ſame.

Item a ſurcote or gowne of red or crimoſine veluet, with a hood of the ſame, lined with white ſarcenet or damaſke.

Item a collar of the garter of thirtie ounces of gold Troie weight.

Item a tablet of S. George, richlie garniſhed with precious ſtones or otherwiſe.

Item a garter for his (left) leg, hauing the buckle and pendant garniſhed with gold.

Item a booke of the ſtatutes of the ſaid order.

Item a ſcutcheon of the armes of S. George in the garter to ſet vpon the mantell. And this furniture is to be prouided againſt his inſtallation.

Inſtallation. When anie knight is to be inſtalled, he hath with his former letters, a garter ſent vnto him, and when he commeth to be inſtalled, he is brought into the chapter houſe, where incontinentlie his commiſſion is read before the ſouereigne, or his deputie, and the aſſemblie preſent: from hence he is lead by two knights of the ſaid order, accompanied with the other of the nobilitie, and officers toward the chappell, hauing his mantell borne before him, either by a knight of the order, or elſe the king at armes, to whome it ſecondarilie apperteineth to beare it. Mantell. This mantell ſhall be deliuered vnto him for his habit, after his oth taken before his ſtall, and not before: which done, he ſhall returne vnto the chapter houſe, where the ſouereigne, or his deputie, ſhall deliuer him his collar, and ſo he ſhall haue the full poſſeſſion of his habit. As for his ſtall, it is not giuen according vnto the calling and countenance of the receiuer, but as the place is that happeneth to be void, ſo that each one called vnto this knighthood (the ſouereigne, and emperours, and kings, and princes alwaies excepted) ſhall haue the ſame ſeat, which became void by the death of his predeceſſor, howſoeuer it fall out: wherby a knight onlie oftentimes doth ſit before a duke, without anie murmuring or grudging at his rome, except it pleaſe the ſouereigne, once in his life onelie to make a generall alteration of thoſe ſeats, and to ſet each one according to his degree. Stall.

Now as touching the apparell of theſe knights, it remaineth ſuch as king Edward, the firſt deuiſer of this order left it, that is to ſaie, euerie yeare one of the colours, that is to ſay, ſcarlet, ſanguine in grain, blue and white. In like ſort the kings grace hath at his pleaſure the content of cloth for his gowne and hood, lined with white ſatine or damaſke, and multitude of garters with letters of gold.

The prince hath fiue yardes of cloth for his gowne and hood, and garters with letters of gold at his pleaſure, beſide fiue timber of the fineſt mineuer. A timber conteineth fortie ſkins, pelts, or felles.

A duke hath fiue yardes of woollen cloth, fiue timber of mineuer, 120 garters with title of gold.

A marques hath fiue yards of woollen cloth, fiue timber of mineuer, 110 garters of ſilke.

An earle fiue yardes of woollen cloth, fiue timber of mineuer, and 100 garters of ſilke.

A viſcount fiue yardes of woollen cloth, fiue timber

ber of mineuer, 90 garters of ſilke.

A baron fiue yardes of woollen cloth, three timber of mineuer greſſe, 80 garters of ſilke.

A banneret fiue yards of woollen cloth, three timber of mineuer, 70 garters of ſilke.

A knight fiue yards of woollen cloth, three timber of mineuer, 60 garters of ſilke.

The biſhop of Wincheſter chapleine of the garter, hath eight and twentie timber of mineuer pure, nineteene timber greſſe, three timber and a halfe of the beſt, and foure & twentie yards of woollen cloth.

The chancellor of the order fiue yards of woollen cloth, three timber of mineuer pure.

The regiſter of the order fiue yardes of woollen cloth, three timber of mineuer pure. And this order to be holden generallie among the knights of this companie, which are ſix and twentie in number, and whoſe patrone in time of ſuperſtition was ſuppoſed to be S. George, of whome they were alſo called S. Georges knights as I haue heard reported. Would to God they might be called knights of honor, or by ſome other name, for the title of ſaint George argueth a wrong patrone.

Inſtallation. Furthermore at his inſtallation he is ſolemnelie ſworne, the maner whereof I haue thought good alſo to anner, in this maner. You being choſen to be one of the honorable companie of the order of the Garter, ſhall promiſe and ſweare vpon the holie euangelies by you bodilie touched, to be faithfull and true to the kings maieſtie, and to obſerue and keepe all the points of the ſtatutes of the ſaid order, and euerie article in them conteined, the ſame being agreeable and not repugnant to the kings highneſſe other godlie proceedings, ſo far as to you belongeth & apperteineth, as God you helpe, &c. And thus much haue I thought good to note touching the premiſſes.

Eſtatutes. As touching the eſtatutes belonging to this order they are manie, and therefore not to be touched here. Howbeit if anie doubt do ariſe aboue the interpretation of them, the king who is the perpetuall ſouereigne of that order hath to determine and reſolue the ſame. Neither are anie choſen therevnto vnder the degree of a knight, and that is not a gentelman of bloud and of ſound eſtimation.

Gentleman of bloud. And for the better vnderſtanding what is meant by a gentleman of bloud, he is defined to deſcend of three deſcents of nobleneſſe, that is to ſaie, of name and of armes both by father and mother.

Degrées of reproch. There are alſo foure degrées of reproch, which may inhibit from the entrance into this order: of which the firſt is hereſie lawfullie proued, the ſecond high treaſon, the third is flight from the battell, the fourth riot and prodigall exceſſe of expenſes, whereby he is not likelie to hold out, and mainteine the port of knight of this order, according to the dignitie

Apparell. thereof. Moreouer touching the wearing of their aforeſaid apparell, it is their cuſtome to weare the ſame, when they enter into the chappell of S. George or be in the chapter houſe of their order, or finallie do go about anie thing apperteining to that companie. In like ſort they weare alſo their mantels vpon the euen of S. George, and go with the ſouereigne, or his deputie in the ſame in maner of proceſſion from the kings great chamber vnto the chappell, or vnto the college, and likewiſe backe againe vnto the aforſaid place, not putting it from them, vntill ſupper be ended, and the auoid done. The nert daie they reſort vnto the chappell alſo in the like order, & from thence vnto diner, wearing afterward their ſaid apparell vnto euening praier, and likewiſe all the ſupper time, vntill the auoid be finiſhed. In the ſolemnitie likewiſe of theſe feaſts, the thirteene chanons there, and ſix and twentie poore knights haue mantels of the order, whereof thoſe for the chanons are of Purrete with a roundell of the armes of S. George, the other of red, with a ſcutcheon onelie of the ſaid armes.

Sicke or abſent. If anie knight of this order be abſent from this ſolemnitie vpon the euen and daie of S. George, and be inforced not to be preſent either through bodilie ſickeneſſe, or his abſence out of the land: he doth in the church, chappell, or chamber where he is remaining, prouide an honorable ſtall for the kings maieſtie in the right hand of the place with a cloth of eſtat, and cuſhions, and ſcutchion of the garter, and there in the armes of the order. Alſo his owne ſtall of which ſide ſoeuer it be diſtant from the kings or the emperours in his owne place, appointed ſo nigh as he can, after the maner and ſituation of his ſtall at Windſore, there to remaine, the firſt euening praier on the euen of S. George, or three of the clocke, and likewiſe the nert daie during the time of the diuine ſeruice, vntill the morning praier, and the reſt of the ſeruice be ended: and to weare in the meane time his mantell onelie, with the George and the lace, without either whood, collar or ſurcote. Or if he be ſo ſicke that he do keepe his bed, he doth vſe to haue that habit laid vpon him during the times of diuine ſeruice aforeſaid.

Offering. At the ſeruice time alſo vpon the morrow after S. George, two of the chiefe knights (ſauing the deputie of the ſouereigne if he himſelfe be abſent) ſhall offer the kings banner of armes, then other two the ſword with the hilts forwards, which being done the firſt two ſhall returne againe, and offer the helme and creſt, hauing at each time two heralds of armes going before, according to the ſtatutes. The lord deputie or lieutenant vnto the kings grace, for the time being, alone and aſſiſted with one of the chiefe lords, doth deliuer at his offering a peece of gold, and hauing all the king of armes and heralds going before him, he ſo procedeth to the offering. When he hath thus offered for the prince, he returneth with like ſolemnitie vnto his ſtall, and nert of all goeth againe with one herald to offer for himſelfe, whoſe oblation being made, euerie knight according to their ſtals, with an herald before him procedeth to the offering.

Burtiall. What ſolemnitie is vſed at the burtiall of anie knight of the Garter, it is but in vaine to declare: therefore I will ſhew generallie what is done at the diſgrading of one of theſe knights, if through anie grieuous offenſe he be ſeparated from this companie. Whereas otherwiſe the ſigne of the order is neuer taken from him vntill death do end & finiſh vp his daies. Therefore when anie ſuch thing is done, promulgation is made therof after this maner inſuing.

Diſgrading. Be it knowne vnto all men that N. N. knight of the moſt noble order of the Garter, is found giltie of the abhominable and deteſtable crime of high treaſon, for he hath moſt traitorouſlie conſpired againſt our moſt high and mightie prince ſouereigne of the ſaid order, contrarie to all right, his dutie, and the faithfull oth, which he hath ſworne and taken. For which cauſes therefore he hath deſerued to be depoſed from this noble order, and fellowſhip of the Garter. For it may not be ſuffered that ſuch a traitor and diſloiall member remaine among the faithfull knights of renowmed ſtomach & bountifull prowes, or that his armes ſhould be mingled with thoſe of noble chiualrie. Wherefore our moſt excellent prince and ſupreme of this moſt honorable order, by the aduiſe and counſell of his collegues, willeth and commandeth that his armes which he before time hath deſerued ſhall be from henceforth be taken awaie and throwne downe: and he himſelfe cleane cut off from the ſocietie of this renowmed order, and neuer from this daie reputed anie more for a member of the ſame, that all other by his example may hereafter beware how they commit the like treſpaſſe, or fall in-

to such notorious infamie and rebuke. This notice being giuen, there resorteth vnto the partie to be disgraded certeine officers with diuerse of his late fellowes appointed, which take from him his George, and other inuestiture, after a solemne maner.

And hitherto of this most honorable order, hoping that no man will be offended with me, in vttering thus much. For sith the noble order of the Toison Dor or golden fléese, with the ceremonies apertening vnto the creation and inuestiture of the sir and thirtie knights thereof: and likewise that of saint Michaell and his one and thirtie knights, are discoursed vpon at large by the historiographers of their owne countries, without reprehension or checke, especiallie by *Vincentius Lupan. lib. 1. de Mag. Franc. cap. de equitibus ordinis*, where he calleth them Cheualliers sans reproche, and thereto addeth that their chaine is commonlie of two hundred crownes at the least, and honour thereof so great, that it is not lawfull for them to sell, giue, or laie the same to morgage (would to God they might once breake their name, Sans reproche, but their generall deling in our time with all men, will not suffer some of the best of their owne countries to haue that opinion of them) I trust I haue not giuen anie cause of displeasure, briefelie to set forth those things that apertein vnto our renowned order of the Garter, in whose compasse is written commonlie, *Honi soit qui mal y pense*, which is so much to saie, as, Euill come to him that euill thinketh: a verie sharpe imprecation, and yet such as is not contrarie to the word, which promiseth like measure to the meter, as he doth mete to others.

*Some think that this was the answer of the quéene, when the king asked what men would thinke of hir, in losing the garter after such a maner.

Bannerets.

There is yet an other order of knights in England called knights Bannerets, who are made in the field with the ceremonie of cutting awaie the point of his penant of armes, and making it as it were a banner, so that being before but a bacheler knight, he is now of an higher degrée, and allowed to displaie his armes in a banner as barrons do. Howbeit these knights are neuer made but in the warres, the kings standard being vnfolded.

Esquire.

Esquire (which we call commonlie squire) is a French word, and so much in Latine as *scutiger vel armiger*, and such are all those which beare armes, or armoires, testimonies of their race from whence they be descended. They were at the first costerels or bearers of the armes of barons, or knights, & thereby being instructed in martiall knowledge, had that name for a dignitie giuen to distinguish them from common souldiers called *Gregarij milites* when they were togither in the field.

Gentlemen.

Gentlemen be those whome their race and bloud, or at the least their vertues do make noble and knowne. The Latines call them *Nobiles & generosos*, as the French do Nobles or Gentlehommes. The etymologie of the name expoundeth the efficacie of the word: for as *Gens* in Latine betokeneth the race and surname: so the Romans had Cornelios, Sergios, Appios, Curios, Papyrios, Scipiones, Fabios, Æmilios, Iulios, Brutos, &c: of which, who were Agnati, and therefore kept the name, were also called Gentiles, gentlemen of that or that house and race.

Moreouer as the king doth dubbe knights, and createth the barons and higher degrées, so gentlemen whose ancestors, are not knowen to come in with William duke of Normandie (for of the Saxon races yet remaining we now make none accompt, much lesse of the British issue) do take their beginning in England, after this maner in our times.

Lawiers students in vniuersities. Physicians. Capteins.

Who soeuer studieth the lawes of the realme, who so abideth in the vniuersitie giuing his mind to his booke, or professeth physicke and the liberall sciences, or beside his seruice in the roome of a capteine in the warres, or good counsell giuen at home, whereby his common-wealth is benefited, can liue without manuell labour, and thereto is able and will beare the port, charge, and countenance of a gentleman, he shall for monie haue a cote and armes bestowed vpon him by heralds (who in the charter of the same do of custome pretend antiquitie and seruice, and manie gaie things) and therevnto being made so good cheape be called master, which is the title that men giue to esquiers and gentlemen, and reputed for a gentleman euer after. Which is so much the lesse to be disalowed of, for that the prince doth lose nothing by it, the gentleman being so much subiect to tares and publike paiments as is the yeoman or husbandman, which he likewise doth beare the gladlier for the sauing of his reputation. Being called also to the warres (for with the gouernment of the common-wealth he medleth litle) what soeuer it cost him, he will both arraie & arme himselfe accordinglie, and shew the more manly courage, and all the tokens of the person which he representeth. No man hath hurt by it but himselfe, who peraduenture will go in wider buskens than his legs will beare, or as our prouerbe saith, now and then beare a bigger saile than his boat is able to susteine.

Certes the making of new gentlemen bred great strife sometimes amongst the Romans, I meane when those which were *Noui homines*, were more allowed of for their vertues newlie séene and shewed, than the old smell of ancient race, latelie defaced by the cowardise & euill life of their nephues & defendants could make the other to be. But as enuie hath no affinitie with iustice and equitie, so it forceth not what languags the malicious do giue out, against such as are exalted for their wisdomes. This neuertheless is generallie to be reprehended in all estates of gentilitie, and which in short time will turne to the great ruine of our countrie, and that is the vsuall sending of noblemens & meane gentlemens sonnes into Italie, from whence they bring home nothing but mére atheisme, infidelitie, vicious conuersation, & ambitious and proud behauiour, wherby it commeth to passe that they returne far worse men than they went out. A gentleman at this present is newlie come out of Italie, who went thither an earnest protestant, but comming home he could saie after this maner: Faith & truth is to be kept, where no losse or hinderance of a further purpose is susteined by holding of the same; and forgiuenesse onelie to be shewed when full reuenge is made. Another no lesse forward than he, at his returne from thence could ad thus much; He is a fole that maketh accompt of any religion, but more fole that will lose ante part of his wealth, or will come in trouble for constant leaning to ante: but if he yéeld to lose his life for his possession, he is stark mad, and worthie to be taken for most fole of all the rest. This gaie bootie gate these gentlemen by going into Italie, and hereby a man may sée what fruit is afterward to be loked for where such blossoms do appéere. I care not (saith a third) what you talke to me of God, so as I may haue the prince & the lawes of the realme on my side. Such men as this last, are easilie knowen; for they haue learned in Italie, to go vp and downe also in England, with pages at their héeles finelie apparelled, whose face and countenance shall be such as sheweth the master not to be blind in his choise. But least I should offend too much, I passe ouer to saie ante more of these Italionates and their demeanor, which alas is too open and manifest to the world, and yet not called into question.

Citizens and burgesses haue next place to gentlemen, who be those that are free within the cities, and are of some likelie substance to beare office in the same. But these citizens or burgesses are to serue

Citizens and burgesses.

the

the common wealth in their cities and boroughs, or in corporat townes where they dwell. And in the common aſſemblie of the realme wherein our lawes are made, for in the counties they beare but little ſwaie (which aſſemblie is called the high court of parlement) the ancient cities appoint foure, and the boroughs two burgeſſes to haue voices in it, and giue their conſent or diſſent vnto ſuch things as paſſe or ſtaie there in the name of the citie or borow, for which they are appointed.

Merchants. In this place alſo are our merchants to be inſtalled, as amongſt the citizens (although they often change eſtate with gentlemen, as gentlemen doo with them, by a mutuall conuerſion of the one into the other) whoſe number is ſo increaſed in theſe our dates, that their onelie maintenance is the cauſe of the exceeding prices of forreine wares, which otherwiſe when euerie nation was permitted to bring in hir owne commodities, were farre better cheape and more plentifullie to be had. Of the want of our commodities here at home, by their great tranſportation of them into other countries, I ſpeake not, ſith the matter will eaſilie bewraie it ſelfe. Certes among the Lacedemonians it was found out, that great numbers of merchants were nothing to the furtherance of the ſtate of the common wealth: wherefore it is to be wiſhed that the huge heape of them were ſomewhat reſtreined, as alſo of our lawiers, ſo ſhould the reſt liue more eaſilie vpon their owne, and few honeſt chapmen be brought to decaie, by breaking of the bankerupt. I doo not denie but that the nauie of the land is in part mainteined by their traffike, and ſo are the high prices of wares kept vp now they haue gotten the onelie ſale of things, vpon pretenſe of better furtherance of the common-wealth into their owne hands: whereas in times paſt when the ſtrange bottoms were ſuffered to come in, we had ſugar for foure pence the pound, that now at the writing of this treatiſe is well worth halfe a crowne, raiſons or corints for a penie that now are holden at ſix pence, and ſometime at eight pence and ten pence the pound: nutmegs at two pence halfe penie the ounce: ginger at a penie an ounce, prunes at halfe penie farding: great raiſons three pound for a penie, cinamon at foure pence the ounce, cloues at two pence, and pepper at twelue, and ſixteene pence the pound. Whereby we may ſée the ſequele of things not alwaies but verie ſeldome to be ſuch as is pretended in the beginning. The wares that they carrie out of the realme, are for the moſt part broade clothes and carſies of all colours, likewiſe cottons, freeſes, rugs, tin, woll, our beſt beere, bales, buſſian, mockadoes tufted and plaine, raſh, lead, fells, &c: which being ſhipped at ſundrie ports of our coaſts, are borne from thence into all quarters of the world, and there either exchanged for other wares or readie monie: to the great gaine and commoditie of our merchants. And whereas in times paſt their cheefe trade was into Spaine, Portingall, France, Flanders, Danſke, Norwaie, Scotland, and Iſeland onelie: now in theſe daies, as men not contented with theſe iournies, they haue ſought out the eaſt and weſt Indies, and made now and then ſuſpicious voiages not onelie vnto the Canaries, and new Spaine, but likewiſe into Cathata, Poſconia, Tartaria, and the regions thereabout, from whence (as they ſaie) they bring home great commodities. But alas I ſée not by all their trauell that the prices of things are anie whit abated. Certes this enormitie (for ſo I doo accompt of it) was ſufficientlie prouided for, An. 9 Edward 3. by a noble eſtatute made in that behalfe, but vpon what occaſion the generall execution thereof is ſtaied or not called on, in good ſooth I cannot tell. This onelie I know, that euerie function and ſeuerall vocation ſtriueth with other, which of them ſhould haue all the water of commoditie run into hir owne ceſterne.

Yeomen. Yeomen are thoſe, which by our law are called *Legales homines*, free men borne Engliſh, and may diſpend of their owne freé land in yearelie reuenue, to the ſumme of fortie ſhillings ſterling, or ſix pounds as monie goeth in our times. Some are of the opinion by Cap. 2. Rich. 2. an. 20. that they are the ſame which the French men call varlets, but as that phraſe is vſed in my time it is farre vnlikelie to be ſo. The truth is that the word is deriued from the Saxon terme Zeoman or Geoman, which ſignifieth (as I haue read) a ſettled or ſtaid man, ſuch I meane as being maried and of ſome yeares, betaketh himſelfe to ſtate in the place of his abode for the better maintenance of himſelfe and his familie, whereof the ſingle ſort haue no regard, but are likelie to be ſtill fleeting now hither now thither, which argueth want of ſtabilitie in determination and reſolution of iudgement, for the execution of things of anie importance. This ſort of people haue a certeine preheminence, and more eſtimation than labourers & the common ſort of artificers, & theſe commonlie liue wealthilie, keepe good houſes, and trauell to get riches. They are alſo for the moſt part farmers to gentlemen (in old time called *Pagani, & opponuntur militibus*, and therfore Perſius calleth himſelfe *Semipaganus*) or at the leaſt wiſe artificers, & with graſing, frequenting of markets, and keeping of ſeruants (not idle ſeruants as the gentlemen doo, but ſuch as get both their owne and part of their maſters liuing) do come to great welth, in ſomuch that manie of them are able and doo buie the lands of vnthriftie gentlemen, and often ſetting their ſonnes to the ſchooles, to the vniuerſities, and to the Ins of the court; or otherwiſe leauing them ſufficient lands whereupon they may liue without labour, doo make them by thoſe means to become gentlemen: theſe were they that in times paſt made all France afraid. And albeit they be not called maſter as gentlemen are, or ſir as to knights apperteineth, but onelie John and Thomas, &c: yet haue they beene found to haue done verie good ſeruice: and the kings of England in foughten battels, were wont to remaine among them (who were their footmen) as the French kings did amongſt their horſſemen: the prince thereby ſhewing where his chiefe ſtrength did conſiſt.

Engliſhmen on foot and Frenchmen on horſſeback beſt.

Capite cenſi or Proletarij. The fourth and laſt ſort of people in England are daie labourers, poore huſbandmen, and ſome retailers (which haue no freé land) copie holders, and all artificers, as tailers, ſhomakers, carpenters, brickmakers, maſons, &c. As for ſlaues and bondmen we haue none, naie ſuch is the priuilege of our countrie by the eſpeciall grace of God, and bountie of our princes, that if anie come hither from other realms, ſo ſoone as they ſet foot on land they become ſo freé of condition as their maſters, whereby all note of ſeruile bondage is vtterlie remoued from them, wherein we reſemble (not the Germans who had ſlaues alſo, though ſuch as in reſpect of the ſlaues of other countries might well be reputed freé, but) the old Indians and the Taprobanes, who ſuppoſed it a great iniurie to nature to make or ſuffer them to be bond, whome ſhe in hir wonted courſe doth product and bring forth freé. This fourth and laſt ſort of people therefore haue neither voice nor authoritie in the common wealth, but are to be ruled, and not to rule other: yet they are not altogither neglected, for in cities and corporat townes, for default of yeomen they are faine to make vp their inqueſts of ſuch manner of people. And in villages they are commonlie made churchwardens, ſidemen, aleconners, now and then conſtables, and manie times infoie the name

No ſlaues nor bondmen in England.

of hedborroughes. Unto this ſort also may our great ſwarmes of idle ſeruing men be referred, of whome there runneth a prouerbe; Yong ſeruing men old beggers, bicauſe ſeruice is none heritage. These men are profitable to none, for if their condition be well peruſed, they are enimies to their maſters, to their frends, and to themſelues: for by them oftentimes their maſters are incouraged vnto vnlawfull exactions of their tenants, their frends brought vnto pouertie by their rents inhanced, and they themſelues brought to confuſion by their owne prodigalitie and errors, as men that hauing not wherewith of their owne to mainteine their exceſſes, do ſearch in high wales, budgets, cofers, males, and ſtables, which way to ſupplie their wants. How diuerſe of them alſo coueting to beare an high ſaile do inſinuate themſelues with yong gentlemen and noble men newlie come to their lands, the caſe is too much apparant, whereby the good natures of the parties are not onelie a little impaired, but alſo their liuelihods and reuenues ſo waſted and conſumed, that if at all yet not in manie yeares they ſhall be able to recouer themſelues. It were verie good therefore that the ſuperfluous heapes of them were in part diminiſhed. And ſith neceſſitie inforceth to haue ſome, yet let wiſdome moderate their numbers, ſo ſhall their maſters be rid of vnneceſſarie charge, and the common wealth of manie théeues. No nation cheriſheth ſuch ſtore of them as we do here in England, in hope of which maintenance manie giue themſelues to idleneſſe, that otherwiſe would be brought to labour, and liue in order like ſubiects. Of their whoredomes I will not ſpeake anie thing at all, more than of their ſwearing, yet is it found that ſome of them do make the firſt a cheſe piller of their building, conſuming not onlie the goods but alſo the health & welfare of manie honeſt gentlemen, citizens, wealthie yeomen, &c: by ſuch vnlawfull dealings. But how farre haue I waded in this point, or how farre may I ſaile in ſuch a large ſea? I will therefore now ſtaie to ſpeake anie more of thoſe kind of men. In returning therefore to my matter, this furthermore among other things I haue to ſaie of our huſbandmen and artificers, that they were neuer ſo excellent in their trades as at this preſent. But as the workemanſhip of the later ſort was neuer more fine and curious to the eie, ſo was it neuer leſſe ſtrong and ſubſtantiall for continuance and beneſit of the buiers. Neither is there anie thing that hurteth the common ſort of our artificers more than haſt, and a barbarous or ſlauiſh deſire to turne the penie, and by ridding their worke to make ſpéedie vtterance of their wares: which inforceth them to bungle vp and diſpatch manie things they care not how ſo they be out of their hands, whereby the buier is often ſore defrauded, and findeth to his coſt, that haſt maketh waſt, according to the prouerbe.

Oh how manie trades and handicrafts are now in England, whereof the common wealth hath no néed? how manie néedfull commodities haue we which are perfected with great coſt, &c: and yet may with farre more eaſe and leſſe coſt be prouided from other countries if we could vſe the meanes. I will not ſpeake of iron, glaſſe, and ſuch like, which ſpoile much wood, and yet are brought from other countries better chéepe than we can make them here at home, I could exemplifie alſo in manie other. But to leaue theſe things and proceéd with our purpoſe, and herein (as occaſion ſerueth) generallie by waie of concluſion to ſpeake of the common-wealth of England, I find that it is gouerned and mainteined by three ſorts of perſons.

1 The prince, monarch, and head gouernour, which is called the king, or (if the crowne fall to the woman) the quéene: in whoſe name and by whoſe authoritie all things are adminiſtred.

2 The gentlemen, which be diuided into two ſorts, as the baronie or eſtate of lords (which conteineth barons and all aboue that degree) and alſo thoſe that be no lords, as knights, eſquiers, & ſimple gentlemen, as I haue noted alreadie. Out of theſe alſo are the great deputies and high preſidents choſen, of which one ſerueth in Ireland, as another did ſometime in Calis, and the capteine now at Berwike; as one lord preſident doth gouerne in Wales, and the other the north parts of this Iland, which later with certeine councellors and iudges were erected by king Henrie the eight. But forſomuch as I haue touched their conditions elſewhere, it ſhall be inough to haue remembred them at this time.

3 The third and laſt ſort is named the yeomanrie, of whom & their ſequele, the labourers and artificers, I haue ſaid ſomewhat euen now. Whereto I add that they be not called maſters and gentlemen, but goodmen, as goodman Smith, goodman Cot, goodman Cornell, goodman Maſcall, goodman Cockſwet, &c: & in matters of law theſe and the like are called thus, Giles Jewd yeoman, Edward Mountford yeoman, James Cocke yeoman, Herrie Butcher yeoman, &c: by which addition they are exempt from the vulgar and common ſorts. Cato calleth them *Aratores & optimos ciues rei publicæ*, of whom alſo you may read more in the booke of common wealth which ſir Thomas Smith ſometime penned of this land.

Of gentlemen alſo ſome are by the prince choſen, and called to great offices in the common wealth, of which ſaid offices diuerſe concerne the whole realme; ſome be more priuat and peculiar to the kings houſe. And they haue their places and degrées, preſcribed by an act of parlement made An. 31 Henr. octaui, after this maner inſuing.

Theſe foure the lord Chancellor, the lord Treaſuror (who is *Supremus ærarij Anglici quæſtor* or *Tribunus ærarius maximus*) the lord Preſident of the councell, and the lord Priuie ſeale, being perſons of the degrée of a baron or aboue, are in the ſame act appointed to ſit in the parlement and in all aſſemblies or councell aboue all dukes, not being of the bloud roiall, Videlicet the kings brother, vncle, or nephue.

And theſe ſix, the lord great Chamberleine of England: the lord high Conſtable of England: the lord Marſhall of England: the lord Admirall of England: the lord great maſter or Steward of the kings houſe: and the lord Chamberleine: by that act are to be placed in all aſſemblies of councell, after the lord priuie ſeale, according to their degrées and eſtats: ſo that if he be a baron, then he is to ſit aboue all barons: or an earle, aboue all earles.

And ſo likewiſe the kings ſecretarie, being a baron of the parlement, hath place aboue all barons, and if he be a man of higher degrée, he ſhall ſit and be placed according thereunto.

The rehearſall of the temporall nobilitie of England, according to the anciencie of their creations, or firſt calling to their degrees, as they are to be found at this preſent.

No duke in England.

Earles.

The Marquiſe of Wincheſter.
The earle of Arundell.
The earle of Oxford.
The earle of Northumberland.
The earle of Shrewesburie.
The earle of Kent.
The earle of Derbie.
The earle of Worceſter.

The

The earle of Rutland.
The earle of Cumberland.
The earle of Suſſex.
The earle of Huntingdon.
The earle of Bath.
The earle of Warwike.
The earle of Southampton.
The earle of Bedford.
The earle of Penbꝛoke.
The earle of Hertford.
The earle of Leiceſter.
The earle of Eſſex.
The earle of Lincolne.

Viſconts.

The viſcont Montague.
The viſcont Bindon.

Barons.

The lord of Abergeuennie.
The lord Awdeleie.
The lord Zouch.
The lord Barkeleie.
The lord Mozleie.
The lord Dacres of the ſouth.
The lord Cobham.
The lord Stafford.
The lord Greie of Wilton.
The lord Scrope.
The lord Dudleie.
The lord Latimer.
The lord Stourton.
The lord Lumleie.
The lord Mountioie.
The lord Ogle.
The lord Darcie of the north.
The lord Mountegle.
The lord Sands.
The lord Vaulx.
The lord Windſoꝛe.
The lord Wentwoꝛth.
The lord Boꝛough.
The lord Mordaunt.
The lord Cromwell.
The lord Euers.
The lord Wharton.
The lord Rich.
The lord Willowbie.
The lord Sheffeld.
The lord Paget.
The lord Darcie of Chicheſter.
The lord Howard of Effingham.
The lord North.
The lord Chaundos.
The lord of Hunſdon.
The lord ſaint John of Bletſo.
The lord of Buckhurſt.
The lord Delaware.
The lord Burghleie.
The lord Compton.
The lord Cheineie.
The lord Norreis.

Biſhops in their anciencie, as they *ſat in parlement, in the fift of the* Queenes maieſties reigne that now is.

Cleargie.

The archbiſhop of Canturburie.
The archbiſhop of Yoꝛke.
London.
Durham.
Winchceſter.

The reſt had their places in ſenioꝛitie of conſecration.

Chicheſter.	Bath and Welles.
Landaffe.	Couentrie and Lichfield.
Hereford.	Exceſter.
Elie.	Noꝛwich.
Woꝛceſter.	Peteꝛboꝛough.
Bangoꝛ.	Carleill.
Lincolne.	Cheſter.
Saliſburie.	S. Aſaph.
S. Dauids.	Gloceſter.
Rocheſter.	

And this foꝛ their placing in the parlement houſe. Howbeit, when the archbiſhop of Canturburie ſiteth in his pꝛouinciall aſſemblie, he hath on his right hand the archbiſhop of Yoꝛke, and nert vnto him the biſhop of Winchceſter, on the left hand the biſhop of London: but if it fall out that the archbiſhop of Canturburie be not there by the vacation of his ſée, then the archbiſhop of Yoꝛke is to take his place, who admitteth the biſhop of London to his right hand, and the pꝛelat of Winchceſter to his left, the reſt ſitting alwaies as afoꝛe, that is to ſaie, as they are elders by conſecration, which I thought good alſo to note out of an ancient pꝛéſident.

Of the food and diet of *the Engliſh.*

Chap. 6.

THe ſituation of our region, lieng néere vnto the noꝛth, doth cauſe the heate of our ſtomaches to be of ſomewhat greater foꝛce: theꝛefoꝛe our bodies do craue a little moꝛe ample nouriſhment, than the inhabitants of the hotter regions are accuſtomed withall, whoſe digeſtiue foꝛce is not altogither ſo vehement, bicauſe their internall heat is not ſo ſtrong as ours, which is kept in by the coldneſſe of the aiꝛe, that from time to time (ſpecialie in winter) doth enuiron our bodies.

It is no maruell theꝛefoꝛe that our tables are oftentimes moꝛe plentifullie garniſhed than thoſe of other nations, and this trade hath continued with vs euen ſince the verie beginning. Foꝛ beforе the Romans found out and knew the waie vnto our countrie, our pꝛedeceſſoꝛs fed largelie vpon fleſh and milke, whereof there was great aboundance in this Ile, bicauſe they applied their chéefe ſtudies vnto paſturage and féeding. After this maner alſo did our Welſh Bꝛitons oꝛder themſelues in their diet ſo long as they liued of themſelues, but after they became to be vnited and made equall with the Engliſh they framed their apetites to liue after our maner, ſo that at this daie there is verie little difference betweéne vs in our diets.

In Scotland likewiſe they haue giuen themſelues (of late yeares to ſpeake of) vnto verie ample and large diet, wherein as foꝛ ſome reſpect nature doth make them equall with vs: ſo otherwiſe they far excéed vs in ouer much and diſtemperate goꝛmandize, and ſo ingroſſe their bodies that diuerſe of them do oft become vnapt to anie other purpoſe than to ſpend their times in large tabling and bellie chéere. Againſt this pampering of their carcaſſes doth Hector Boetius in his deſcription of the countrie verie ſharpelie inueigh in the firſt chapter of that treatiſe. Henrie Wardlaw alſo biſhop of S. Andꝛewes, noting their vehement alteration from competent frugalitie into exceſſiue gluttonie, to be bꝛought out of England with James the firſt (who had béene long time pꝛiſoner there vnder the fourth & fift Henries,

and

and at his returne caried diuerse English gentlemen into his countrie with him, whome he verie honorablie preferred there) doth vehementlie exclame against the same in open parlement holden at Perth 1433, before the three estats, and so bringeth his purpose to passe in the end by force of his learned persuasions, that a law was presentlie made there for the restreint of superfluous diet, amongest other things baked meats (dishes neuer before this mans daies seene in Scotland) were generallie so prouided for by vertue of this act, that it was not lawfull for anie to eat of the same vnder the degree of a gentleman, and those onelie but on high and festiuall daies, but alas it was soone forgotten.

In old time these north Britons did giue themselues vniuersallie to great abstinence, and in time of warres their souldiers would often fed but once or twise at the most in two or three daies (especiallie if they held themselues in secret, or could haue no issue out of their bogges and marises, through the presence of the enimie) and in this distresse they vsed to eat a certeine kind of confection, whereof so much as a beane would qualifie their hunger aboue common expectation. In woods moreouer they liued with hearbes and rotes, or if these shifts serued not thorough want of such prouision at hand, then vsed they to creepe into the water or said morish plots vp vnto the chins, and there remaine a long time, onelie to qualifie the heats of their stomachs by violence, which otherwise would haue wrought and beene readie to oppresse them for hunger and want of sustinance. In those daies likewise it was taken for a great offense ouer all, to eat either goose, hare, or henne, because of a certeine superstitious opinion which they had conceiued of those three creatures, howbeit after that the Romans (I saie) had once found an entrance into this Iland, it was not long yer open shipwracke was made of this religious obseruation, so that in processe of time, so well the north and south Britons as the Romans, gaue ouer to make such difference in meats, as they had done before.

From thencefoorth also vnto our daies, and euen in this season wherein we liue, there is no restreint of anie meat, either for religions sake or publike order in England, but it is lawfull for euerie man to fed vpon what soeuer he is able to purchase, except it be vpon those daies whereon eating of flesh is especiallie forbidden by the lawes of the realme, which order is taken onelie to the end our numbers of cattell may be the better increased, & that aboundance of fish which the sea yeeldeth, more generallie receiued. Beside this there is great consideration had in making of this law for the preseruation of the nauie, and maintenance of conuenient numbers of sea faring men, both which would otherwise greatlie decaie, if some meanes were not found whereby they might be increased. But how soeuer this case standeth, white meats, milke, butter & cheese, which were neuer so deere as in my time, and wont to be accounted of as one of the chiefe staies throughout the Iland, are now reputed as food appertinent onelie to the inferiour sort, whilest such as are more wealthie, do fed vpon the flesh of all kinds of cattell accustomed to be eaten, all sorts of fish taken vpon our coasts and in our fresh riuers, and such diuersitie of wild and tame foules as are either bred in our Iland or brought ouer vnto vs from other countries of the maine.

In number of dishes and change of meat, the nobilitie of England (whose cookes are for the most part musicall headed Frenchmen and strangers) do most exceed, sith there is no daie in maner that passeth ouer their heads, wherein they haue not onelie beefe, mutton, veale, lambe, kid, porke, conie, capon, pig, or so manie of these as the season yeeldeth: but also some portion of the red or fallow deere, beside great varietie of fish and wild foule, and thereto sundrie other delicates wherein the sweet hand of the seafaring Portingale is not wanting: so that for a man to dine with one of them, and to tast of euerie dish that standeth before him (which few vse to do, but ech one fedeth vpon that meat him best liketh for the time, the beginning of euerie dish notwithstanding being reserued vnto the greatest personage that sitteth at the table, to whome it is drawen vp still by the waiters as order requireth, and from whome it descendeth againe euen to the lower end, whereby each one may tast thereof) is rather to yeld vnto a conspiracie with a great deale of meat for the spedie suppression of naturall health, then the vse of a necessarie meane to satisfie himselfe with a competent repast, to sustaine his bodie withall. But as this large feeding is not seene in their gests, no more is it in their owne persons, for sith they haue dailie much resort vnto their tables (and manie times vnlooked for) and thereto reteine great numbers of seruants, it is veris requisit & expedient for them to be somewhat plentifull in this behalfe.

The chiefe part likewise of their dailie prouision is brought in before them (commonlie in siluer vessell if they be of the degree of barons, bishops and vpwards) and placed on their tables, whereof when they haue taken what it pleaseth them, the rest is reserued, and afterward sent downe to their seruing men and waiters, who fed thereon in like sort with conuenient moderation, their reuersion also being bestowed vpon the poore, which lie readie at their gates in great numbers to receiue the same. This is spoken of the principall tables whereat the nobleman, his ladie and guestes are accustomed to sit, beside which they haue a certeine ordinarie allowance dailie appointed for their hals, where the chiefe officers and household seruants (for all are not permitted by custome to wait vpon their master) and with them such inferiour guestes do fed as are not of calling to associat the noble man himselfe (so that besides those afore mentioned, which are called to the principall table, there are commonlie fortie or three score persons fed in those hals, to the great releefe of such poore suitors and strangers also as oft be partakers thereof and otherwise like to dine hardlie. As for drinke it is vsuallie filled in pots, gobblets, iugs, bols of siluer in noble mens houses, also in fine Venice glasses of all formes, and for want of these elsewhere in pots of earth of sundrie colours and moulds whereof manie are garnished with siluer) or at the leastwise in pewter, all which notwithstanding are seldome set on the table, but each one as necessitie vrgeth, calleth for a cup of such drinke as him listeth to haue: so that when he hath tasted of it he deliuered the cup againe to some one of the standers by, who making it cleane by pouring out the drinke that remaineth, restoreth it to the cupbord from whence he fetched the same. By this deuise (a thing brought vp at the first by Mnesteus of Athens, in conseruation of the honour of Orestes, who had not yet made expiation for the death of his adulterous parents Egistus and Clitemnestra) much idle tipling is furthermore cut off, for if the full pots should continuallie stand at the elbow or neere the trencher, diuerse would alwaies be dealing with them, whereas now they drinke seldome and onelie when necessitie vrgeth, and so auoid the note of great drinking, or often troubling of the seruitours with filling of their bols. Neuertheless in the noble mens hals, this order is not vsed, neither in anie mans house commonlie vnder the degree of a knight or esquire of great

great reuenues. It is a woꝛld to ſée in theſe our daies, wherin gold and ſiluer moſt aboundeth, how that our gentilitie as lothing thoſe mettals (becauſe of the plentie) do now generallie chooſe rather the Venice glaſſes both foꝛ our wine and béere, than anie of thoſe mettals oꝛ ſtone wherein beforе time we haue béene accuſtomed to dꝛinke, but ſuch is the nature of man generallie that it moſt coueteth things difficult to be atteined; & ſuch is the eſtimation of this ſtuffe, that manie become rich onelie with their new trade vnto Murana (a towne néere to Venice ſituat on the Adꝛiatike ſea) from whence the verie beſt are dailie to be had, and ſuch as foꝛ beautie do well néere match the chꝛiſtall oꝛ the ancient Murrhina vaſa, whereof now no man hath knowledge. And as this is ſéene in the gentilitie, ſo in the wealthie communaltie the like deſire of glaſſe is not neglected, whereby the gaine gotten by their purchaſe is yet much moꝛe increaſed to the benefit of the merchant. The poꝛeſt alſo will haue glaſſe if they may, but ſith the Venecian is ſomewhat too déere foꝛ them, they content themſelues with ſuch as are made at home of ferne and burned ſtone, but in fine all go one waie, that is, to ſhards at the laſt, ſo that our great expenſes in glaſſes (beſide that they bꝛéed much ſtrife toward ſuch as haue the charge of them) are woꝛſt of all beſtowed in mine opinion, becauſe their péeces do turne vnto no pꝛofit. If the philoſophers ſtone were once found, and one part hereof mixed with foꝛtie of molten glaſſe, it would induce ſuch a mettallicall toughneſſe thereunto, that a fall ſhould nothing hurt it in ſuch maner, yet it might peraduenture bunch oꝛ batter it, neuertheleſſe that inconuenience were quickelie to be redꝛeſſed by the hammer. But whither am I ſlipped? Ro. Bacon.

The gentlemen and merchants kéepe much about one rate, and each of them contenteth himſelfe with foure, fiue, oꝛ ſix diſhes, when they haue but ſmall reſoꝛt, oꝛ peraduenture with one, oꝛ two, oꝛ thꝛée at the moſt, when they haue no ſtrangers to accompanie them at their tables. And yet their ſeruants haue their oꝛdinarie diet aſſigned, beſide ſuch as is left at their maſters boꝛdes, & not appointed to be bꝛought thither the ſecond time, which neuertheleſſe is often ſéene generallie in veniſon, lambe, oꝛ ſome eſpeciall diſh, whereon the merchant man himſelfe liketh to fæd when it is cold, oꝛ peraduenture foꝛ ſundꝛie cauſes incident to the fæder is better ſo, than if it were warme oꝛ hot. To be ſhoꝛt, at ſuch time as the merchants do make their oꝛdinarie oꝛ voluntarie feaſts, it is a woꝛld to ſée what great pꝛouiſion is made of all maner of delicat meats, from euerie quarter of the countrie, wherein beſide that they are often comparable herein to the nobilitie of the land, they will ſeldome regard anie thing that the butcher vſuallie killeth, but reiect the ſame as not woꝛthie to come in place. In ſuch caſes alſo geliffes of all coleurs mixed with a varietie in the repꝛeſentation of ſundꝛie floures, herbs, tꝛæs, foꝛmes of beaſts, fiſh, foules and fruits, and thereunto marchpaine wꝛought with no ſmall curioſitie, tarts of diuerſe hewes and ſundꝛie denominations, conſerues of old fruits foꝛren and home-bꝛed, ſuckets, codinacs, marmilats, marchpaine, ſugerbꝛead, gingerbꝛead, flozentines, wild foule, veniſon of all ſoꝛts, and ſundꝛie outlandiſh confections, altogither ſeaſoned with ſuger (which Plinie calleth *Mel ex arundinibus*, a deuiſe not common noꝛ greatlie vſed in old time at the table, but onelie in medicine, although it grew in Arabia, India & Sicilia) do generallie beare the ſwaie, beſides infinit deuiſes of our owne not poſſible foꝛ me to remember. Of the potato and ſuch venerous roots as are bꝛought out of Spaine, Poꝛtingale, and the Indies to furniſh vp our bankets, I ſpeake not, wherin our Mures of no leſſe foꝛce, and to be had about Croſbie Rauenſwath, do now begin to haue place.

But among all theſe, the kind of meat which is obteined with moſt difficultie and coſt, is commonlie taken foꝛ the moſt delicat, and thereupon each gueſt will ſoneſt deſire to fæd. And as all eſtats do exceéd herin, I meane foꝛ ſtrangeneſſe and number of coſtlie diſhes, ſo theſe foꝛget not to vſe the like exceſſe in wine, in ſomuch as there is no kind to be had (neither anie where moꝛe ſtoꝛe of all ſoꝛts than in England, although we haue none growing with vs but peerelie to the pꝛopoꝛtion of 20000 oꝛ 30000 tun and vpwards, notwithſtanding the dailie reſtreints of the ſame bꝛought ouer vnto vs) whereof at great méetings there is not ſome ſtoꝛe to be had. Neither do I meane this of ſmall wines onlie, as Claret, White, Red, French, &c: which amount to about ſixtie ſix ſoꝛts, accoꝛding to the number of regions from whence they come: but alſo of the thirtie kinds of Italian, Grecian, Spaniſh, Canarian, &c: whereof Veruage, Cate pument, Raſpis, Malcadell, Romnie, Baſtard Tire, Oſeie, Capꝛike, Clareie & Malmeſeie are not leaſt of all accompted of, becauſe of their ſtrength and valure. Foꝛ as I haue ſaid in meat, ſo the ſtronger the wine is, the moꝛe it is deſired, by means wherof in old time, the beſt was called Theologicum, becauſe it was had from the cleargie and religious men, vnto whoſe houſes manie of the laitie would often ſend foꝛ bottels filled with the ſame, being ſure that they would neither dꝛinke noꝛ be ſerued of the woꝛſt, oꝛ ſuch as was anie waies mingled oꝛ bꝛued by the vintener: naie the merchant would haue thought that his ſoule ſhould haue gone ſtreight waie to the diuell, if he ſhould haue ſerued them with other than the beſt. Furthermoꝛe when theſe haue had their courſe which nature yéeldeth, ſundꝛie ſoꝛts of artificiall ſtuffe, as ypocras & woꝛmewod wine muſt in like maner ſucceéd in their turnes, beſide ſtale ale and ſtrong béere, which neuertheleſſe beare the greateſt bꝛunt in dꝛinking, and are of ſo manie ſoꝛts and ages as it pleaſeth the bꝛuer to make them.

Béere. The béere that is vſed at noble mens tables in their fired and ſtanding houſes, is commonlie of a yeare old, oꝛ peraduenture of two yeares tunning oꝛ moꝛe, but this is not generall. It is alſo bꝛued in March and therefoꝛe called March béere, but foꝛ the houſehold it is vſuallie not vnder a moneths age, ech one coueting to haue the ſame ſtale as he may, ſo that it be not ſoꝛe, and his bꝛead new as is poſſible ſo that it be not hot.

Artificer. The artificer and huſbandman make greateſt accompt of ſuch meat as they may ſoneſt come by, and haue it quickſieſt readie, except it be in London when the companies of euery trade do meet on their quarter daies, at which time they be nothing inferiour to the nobilitie. Their food alſo conſiſteth pꝛincipallie in béefe and ſuch meat as the butcher ſelleth, that is to ſaie, mutton, veale, lambe, poꝛke, &c: whereof he findeth great ſtoꝛe in the markets adioining, beſide ſouſe, bꝛawne, bacon, fruit, pies of fruit, foules of ſundꝛie ſoꝛts, cheeſe, butter, egs, &c: as the other wanteth it not at home, by his owne pꝛouiſion, which is at the beſt hand, and commonlie leaſt charge. In feaſting alſo this latter ſoꝛt, I meane the huſbandmen do exceéd after their maner: eſpeciallie at bꝛidales, purifications of women, and ſuch od méetings, where it is incredible to tell what meat is conſumed & ſpent, ech one bꝛinging ſuch a diſh, oꝛ ſo manie with him as his wife & he do conſult vpon, but alwaies with this conſideration, that the léeſer fréend ſhall haue the better pꝛouiſion. This alſo is commonlie ſéene at theſe bankets, that the good man of the houſe is not charged with any thing ſauing bꝛead, dꝛink, ſauce, houſe-

roms

rome and fire. But the artificers in cities and good townes do deale far otherwise, for albeit that some of them do suffer their fawes to go oft before their clawes, and diuerse of them by making good chære do hinder themselues and other men: yet the wiser sort can handle the matter well inough in these iunkettings, and therfore their frugalitie deserueth commendation. To conclude, both the artificer and the husbandman are sufficientlie liberall, & verie frendlie at their tables, and when they meet, they are so merie without malice, and plaine without inward Italian or French craft and subtiltie, that it would do a man good to be in companie among them. Herein onelie are the inferiour sort somewhat to be blamed, that being thus assembled, their talke is now and then such as sauoureth of scurrilitie and ribaldrie, a thing naturallie incident to carters and clownes, who thinke themselues not to be merie & welcome, if their foolish veines in this behalfe be neuer so little restreined. This is moreouer to be added in these meetings, that if they happen to stumble vpon a peece of venison, and a cup of wine or verie strong beere or ale (which latter they commonlie prouide against their appointed daies) they thinke their chære so great, and themselues to haue fared so well, as the lord Maior of London, with whome when their bellies be full they will not often sticke to make comparison, because that of a subiect there is no publike officer of anie citie in Europe, that may compare in port and countenance with him during the time of his office.

I haue dined so well as my lord maior.

I might here talke somewhat of the great silence that is vsed at the tables of the honorable and wiser sort, generallie ouer all the realme (albeit that too much deserueth no cõmendation, for it belongeth to gests neither to be *muti* nor *loquaces*) likewise of the moderate eating and drinking that is dailie seene, and finallie of the regard that each one hath to keepe himselfe from the note of surfetting and dronkennesse (for which cause salt meat, except beefe, bacon, and porke are not anie whit esteemed, and yet these three may not be much powdered) but as in rehearsall thereof I should commend the noble man, merchant, and frugall artificer, so I could not cleare the meaner sort of husbandmen, and countrie inhabitants of verie much babbling (except it be here and there some od yeoman) with whome he is thought to be the meriest that talketh of most ribaldrie, or the wisest man that speaketh fastest among them, & now and then surfetting and dronkennesse, which they rather fall into for want of heed taking, than wilfullie following or delighting in those errours of set mind and purpose. It may be that diuers of them liuing at home with hard and pinching diet, small drinke, and some of them hauing scarse inough of that, are soonest ouertaken when they come vnto such bankets, howbeit they take it generallie as no small disgrace if they happen to be cupshotten, so that it is a greese vnto them though now sans remedie sith the thing is done and past. If the frends also of the wealthier sort come to their houses from farre, they are commonlie so welcome till they depart as vpon the first date of their comming, whereas in good townes and cities, as London, &c: men oftentimes complaine of little rome, and in reward of a fat capon or plentie of beefe and mutton, largelie bestowed vpon them in the countrie, a cup of wine or beere with a napkin to wipe their lips, and an You are hartelie welcome is thought to begreat interteinement, and therefore the old countrie clearkes haue framed this saieng in that behalfe, I meane vpon the interteinment of townesmens and Londoners after the daies of their aboad in this maner:

Primus iucundus, tollerabilis est q; secundus,
Tertius est vanus, sed fetet quatriduanus.

The bread throughout the land is made of such graine as the soile yeeldeth, neuertheless the gentilitie commonlie prouide themselues sufficientlie of wheat for their owne tables, whilest their household and poore neighbours in some shires are inforced to content themselues with rie, or barlie, pease and in time of dearth manie with bread made either of beans, peason, or otes, or of altogither and some acornes among, of which scourge the poorest do soonest tast, sith they are least able to prouide themselues of better. I will not saie that this extremitie is oft so well to be seene in time of plentie as of dearth, but if I should I could easilie bring my triall. For albeit that there be much more ground eared now almost in euerie place, than hath beene of late yeares, yet such a price of corne continueth in each towne and market without anie iust cause (except it be that landlords do get licences to carie corne out of the land onelie to keepe vp the peeces for their owne priuate gaines and ruine of the common-wealth) that the artificer and poore laboring man, is not able to reach vnto it, but is driuen to content himselfe with horsecorne, I meane, beanes, peason, otes, tares, and lintels: and therfore it is a true prouerbe, and neuer so well verified as now, that hunger setteth his first foot into the horsse manger. If the world last a while after this rate, wheate and rie will be no graine for poore men to feed on, and some catterpillers there are that can saie so much alreadie.

Bread.

A famine at hand is first seene in the horsse manger when the poore do fall to horsecorne.

Of bread made of wheat we haue sundrie sorts, dailie brought to the table, whereof the first and most excellent is the manchet, which we commonlie call white bread, in Latine *Primarius panis*, whereof Budeus also speaketh, in his first booke De asse, and our good workemen deliuer commonlie such proportion, that of the flower of one bushell with another they make fortie cast of manchet, of which euerie lofe weigheth eight ounces into the ouen and six ounces out, as I haue beene informed. The second is the cheat or wheaton bread, so named bicause the colour therof resembleth the graie or yellowish wheat, being cleane and well dressed, and out of this is the coursest of the bran (vsuallie called gurgeons or pollard) taken. The raueled is a kind of cheat bread also, but it reteineth more of the grosse, and lesse of the pure substance of the wheat: and this being more sleightlie wrought vp, is vsed in the halles of the nobilitie, and gentrie onelie, whereas the other either is or should be baked in cities & good townes of an appointed size (according to such price as the corne doth beare) and by a statute prouided by king John in that behalfe. The raueled cheat therfore is generallie so made that out of one bushell of meale, after two and twentie pounds of bran be sifted and taken from it (wherevnto they ad the gurgeons that rise from the manchet) they make thirtie cast, euerie lofe weighing eightéene ounces into the ouen and sixteene ounces out: and beside this they so handle the matter that to euerie bushell of meale they ad onelie two and twentie or three and twentie pound of water, washing also in some houses there corne before it go to the mill, whereby their manchet bread is more excellent in colour and pleasing to the eie, than otherwise it would be. The next sort is named browne bread of the colour, of which we haue two sorts, one baked vp as it cõmeth from the mill, so that neither the bran nor the floure are anie whit diminished, this Celsus called *Autopirus panis, lib.* 2. and putteth it in the second place of nourishment. The other hath little or no floure left therein at all, howbeit he called it *Panem Cibarium*, and it is not onlie the worst and weakest of all the other sorts, but also appointed in old time for seruants, slaues, and the inferiour kind of people to feed vpon.

Primarius panis.

Cheat bread.

Raueled bread.

The size of bread is verie ill kept or not at all looked vnto in the countrie townes and markets.

Browne bread.

Panis Cibarius.

vpon. Herevnto likewiſe, becauſe it is drie and brickle in the working (for it will hardlie be made vp handſomelie into loaues) ſome adde a portion of rie meale in our time, whereby the rough drineſſe or drie roughnes therof is ſomwhat qualified, & then it is named miſcelin, that is, bread made of mingled corne, albeit that diuerſe do ſow or mingle wheat & rie of ſet purpoſe at the mill, or before it come there, and ſell the ſame at the markets vnder the aforeſaid name.

Summer wheat and winter barleie verie rare in England.

In champeigne countries much rie and barleie 10 bread is eaten, but eſpeciallie where wheat is ſcant and geſon. As for the difference that is betweene the ſummer and winter wheat, moſt huſbandmen know it not, ſith they are neither acquainted with ſummer wheat, nor winter barleie: yet here and there I find of both ſorts, ſpeciallie in the north and about Kendall, where they call it March wheat, and alſo of ſummer rie, but in ſo ſmall quantities as that I dare not pronounce them to be greatlie common among vs.

Drinke. Our drinke, whoſe force and continuance is part- 20 lie touched alreadie, is made of barleie, water, and hops, ſodden and mingled togither, by the induſtrie of our bruers, in a certeine exact proportion. But before our barleie do come vnto their hands, it ſuſteineth great alteration, and is conuerted into malt, the making whereof, I will here ſet downe in ſuch order, as my ſkill therein may extend vnto (for I am ſcarſe a good maiſter) chiefelie for that forreine writers haue attempted to deſcribe the ſame, and the making of our beere, wherein they haue ſhot ſo farre 30 wide, as the quantitie of ground was betweene themſelues & their marke. In the meane time beare with me, gentle reader (I beſeech thee) that lead thee from the deſcription of the plentifull diet of our countrie, vnto the fond report of a ſeruile trade, or rather from a table delicatelie furniſhed, into a ruſtie malthouſe: but ſuch is now thy hap, wherfore I praie thee be contented.

Making of malt. Our malt is made all the yeare long in ſome great townes, but in gentlemens and yeomens 40 houſes, who commonlie make ſufficient for their owne expenſes onelie, the winter halfe is thought moſt meet for that commoditie: howbeit the malt that is made when the willow doth bud, is commonlie worſt of all, neuertheleſſe each one indeuoureth to make it of the beſt barleie, which is ſteeped in a ceſterne, in greater or leſſe quantitie, by the ſpace of three daies and three nights, vntill it be throughlie ſoked. This being done, the water is drained from it by little and little, till it be quite gone. Afterward 50 they take it out, and lateng it vpon the cleane floore on a round heape, it reſteth ſo vntill it be readie to ſhote at the rot end, which maltſters call Coming. When it beginneth therefore to ſhot in this maner, they ſaie it is come, and then forthwith they ſpread it abroad, firſt thicke, and afterward thinner and thinner vpon the ſaid floore (as it commeth), and there it lieth (with turning euerie daie foure or fiue times) by the ſpace of one and twentie daies at the leaſt, the worke man not ſuffering it in anie wiſe to 60 take anie heat, whereby the bud end ſhould ſpire, that bringeth forth the blade, and by which ouerſight or hurt of the ſtuffe it ſelfe the malt would be ſpoiled, and turne ſmall commoditie to the bruer. When it hath gone or beene turned ſo long vpon the floore, they carie it to a kill couered with haire cloth, where they giue it gentle heats (after they haue ſpread it there verie thin abroad) till it be drie, & in the meane while they turne it often, that it may be vniformelie dried. For the more it be dried (yet muſt it be done with ſoft fire) the ſweeter and better the malt is, and the longer it will continue, whereas if it be not dried downe (as they call it) but ſlackelie handled, it will breed a kind of worme, called a wiuell, which groweth in the flour of the corne, and in proceſſe of time will ſo eat out it ſelfe, that nothing ſhall remaine of the graine but euen the verie rind or huſke.

The beſt malt is tried by the hardneſſe & colour, for if it looke freſh with a yellow hew, & thereto will write like a peece of chalke, after you haue bitten a kirnell in ſunder in the middeſt, then you may aſſure your ſelfe that it is dried downe. In ſome places it is dried at leiſure with wood alone, or ſtrawe alone, in other with wood and ſtrawe togither, but of all the ſtrawe dried, is the moſt excellent. For the wood dried malt when it is brued, beſide that the drinke is higher of colour, it doth hurt and annoie the head of him that is not vſed thereto, becauſe of the ſmoake. Such alſo as vſe both indifferentlie do barke, cleaue, and drie their wood in an ouen, thereby to remoue all moiſture that ſhuld procure the fume, and this malt is in the ſecond place, & with the ſame likewiſe, that which is made with dried firze, broome, &c: whereas if they alſo be occupied greene, they are in maner ſo preiudiciall to the corne, as is the moiſt wood. And thus much of our malts, in bruing whereof ſome grinde the ſame ſomewhat groſelie, and in ſeething well the liquor that ſhall be put vnto it, they adde to euerie nine quarters of mault one of headcorne, which conſiſteth of ſundrie graine, as wheate, and otes ground. But what haue I to do with this matter, or rather ſo great a quantitie, wherewith I am not acquainted. Neuertheleſſe, ſith I haue taken occaſion to ſpeake of bruing, I will exemplifie in ſuch a proportion as I am beſt ſkilled in, becauſe it is the vſuall rate for mine owne familie, and once in a moneth practiſed by my wife & hir maid ſeruants, who proceed withall after this maner, as ſhe hath oft informed me.

Bruing of beere. Hauing therefore ground eight buſhels of good malt vpon our querne, where the toll is ſaued, ſhe addeth vnto it halfe a buſhell of wheat meale, and ſo much of otes ſmall ground, and ſo tempereth or mixeth them with the malt, that you cannot eaſilie diſcerne the one from the other, otherwiſe theſe later would clunter, fall into lumps, and thereby become vnprofitable. The firſt liquor which is full eightie gallons, according to the proportion of our furnace, ſhe maketh boiling hot, and then powreth it ſoftlie into the malt, where it reſteth (but without ſtirring) vntill hir ſecond liquor be almoſt readie to boile. This done ſhe letteth hir mach run till the malt be left without liquor, or at the leaſt wiſe the greateſt part of the moiſture, which ſhe perceiueth by the ſtaie and ſoft iſſue thereof, and by this time hir ſecond liquor in the furnace is ready to ſeeth, which is put alſo to the malt as the firſt wort alſo againe into the furnace wherevnto ſhe addeth two pounds of the beſt Engliſh hops, and ſo letteth them ſeeth togither by the ſpace of two houres in ſummer, or an houre and an halfe in winter, whereby it getteth an excellent colour, and continuance without impeachment, or anie ſuperfluous tartneſſe. But before ſhe putteth hir Charwort. firſt wort into the furnace, or mingleth it with the hops, ſhe taketh out a veſſell full, of eight or nine gallons, which ſhe ſhutteth vp cloſe, and ſuffereth no aire to come into it till it become yellow, and this ſhe reſerueth by it ſelfe vnto further vſe, as ſhall appeare hereafter, calling it Blackwort or Charwort, and as ſhe ſaith it addeth alſo to the colour of the drinke, whereby it purchaſeth not vnto amber or fine gold in hew vnto the eie. By this time alſo hir ſecond wort is let runne, and the firſt being taken out of the furnace and placed to cole, ſhe returneth the middle wort vnto the furnace, where it is ſtricken ouer, or from whence it is taken againe, when it beginneth to boile and mached the ſecond time, whileſt the third liquor is heat (for there are three liquors) and

this

this last put into the furnace, when the second is mashed againe. When she hath mashed also the last liquor (and set the second to cole by the first) she letteth it runne, and then setheth it againe with a pound and an halfe of new hops, or peraduenture two pounds as she seeth cause by the goodnesse or baseneſſe of the hops, & when it hath sodden in summer two houres & in winter an houre & an halfe, she striketh it also and reserueth it vnto mixture with the rest when time doth serue therefore. Finallie when she setteth hir drinke together, she addeth to hir brackwort or charwort halfe an ounce of arras, and halfe a quarterne of an ounce of baiberries finelie powdered, and then putting the same into hir wort with an handfull of wheat flowre, she proceedeth in such vsuall order as common bruing requireth. Some in steed of arras & bates adde so much long pepper onelie, but in hir opinion and my liking it is not so good as the first, and hereof we make three hoggesheads of good beere, such (I meane) as is met for poore men as I am to liue withall, whose small maintenance (for what great thing is fortie pounds a yeare *Computatis computandis* able to performe) may indure no deeper cut, the charges whereof groweth in this manner. I value my malt at ten shillings, my wood at foure shillings which I buie, my hops at twentie pence, the spice at two pence, seruants wages two shillings six pence with meat and drinke, and the wearing of my vessell at twentie pence, so that for my twentie shillings I haue ten score gallons of beere or more, notwithstanding the losse in seething, which some being loth to forgo do not obserue the time, and therefore speed thereafter in their successe, and worthilie. The continuance of the drinke is alwaie determined after the quantitie of the hops, so that being well hopped it lasteth longer. For it feedeth vpon the hop, and holdeth out so long as the force of the same continueth, which being extinguished the drinke must be spent or else it dieth, and becommeth of no value.

In this trade also our bruers obserue verie diligentlie the nature of the water, which they dailie occupie; and soile through which it passeth, for all waters are not of like goodnesse, sith the fattest standing water is alwaies the best: for although the waters that run by chalke or cledgie soiles be good, and next vnto the Thames water which is the most excellent, yet the water that standeth in either of these is the best for vs that dwell in the countrie, as whereon the sunne lieth longest, and fattest filth is bred. But of all other the fennie and moorish is the worst, and the cléerest spring water next vnto it. In this businesse therfore the skilfull workeman doth redéeme the iniquitie of that element, by changing of his proportions, which trouble in ale (sometime our onelie, but now taken with manie for old and sicklmens drinke) is neuer séene nor heard of. Howbeit as the beere well sodden in the bruing, and stale, is cleere and well coloured as muscadell or malueseie, or rather yellow as the gold noble as our potknights call it: so our ale which is not at all or verie little sodden, and without hops, is more thicke, fulsome, and of no such continuance, which are three notable things to be considered in that liquor. But what for that? Certes I know some aleknights so much addicted thereunto, that they will not cease from morow vntill euen to visit the same, clensing house after house, till they defile themselues, and either fall quite vnder the bord, or else not daring to stirre from their stooles, sit still pinking with their narrow eies as halfe sleeping, till the fume of their ouersarie be digested that he may go to it afresh. Such slights also haue the alewiues for the vtterance of this drinke, that they will mire it with rosen and salt: but if you heat a knife red hot, and quench it in the ale, so neere the bottome of the pot as you can put it, you shall see the rosen come forth hanging on the knife. As for the force of salt, it is well knowne by the effect, for the more the drinker tipleth, the more he may, and so doth he carrie off a drie dronken noll to bed with him, except his lucke be the better. But to my purpose.

In some places of England, there is a kind of drinke made of apples, which they call cider or pomage, but that of peares is named pirrie, and both are grownd and pressed in presses made for the nonce. Certes these two are verie common in Sussex, Kent, Worcester, and other sheeds, where these sorts of fruits do abound, howbeit they are not their onelie drinke at all times, but referred vnto the delicate sorts of drinke, as metheglin is in Wales, whereof the Welshmen make no lesse accompt (and not without cause if it be well handled) than the Grecians did of their Ambrosia or Nectar, which for the pleasantnesse thereof, was supposed to be such as the gods themselues did delite in. There is a kind of swish swash made also in Essex, and diuerse other places, with honicombs and water, which the homelie countrie wiues, putting some pepper and a little other spice among, call mead, verie good in mine opinion for such as loue to be lose bodied at large, or a little eased of the cough, otherwise it differeth so much frō the true metheglin, as chalke from cheese. Trulie it is nothing else but the washing of the combes, when the honie is wrong out, and one of the best things that I know belonging thereto is, that they spend but litle labour and lesse cost in making of the same, and therefore no great losse if it were neuer occupied. Hitherto of the diet of my countrimen, & somewhat more at large peraduenture than manie men will like of, wherefore I thinke good now to finish this tractation, and so will I, when I haue added a few other things incident vnto that which goeth before, whereby the whole processe of the same shall fullie be deliuered, & my promise to my freend in this behalfe performed.

Cider. Perrie. Metheglin. Mead. Hydromel.

Heretofore there hath béene much more time spent in eating and drinking than commonlie is in these daies, for whereas of old we had breakefasts in the forenoone, beuerages, or nuntions after dinner, and thereto reare suppers generallie when it was time to go to rest (a toie brought into England by hardie Canutus and a custome whereof Athenæus also speaketh lib. 1, albeit Hippocrates speake but of twise at the most *lib. 2. De rat. vict. in feb. ac.*) Now these odrepasts thanked be God are verie well left, and ech one in maner (except here and there some yong hungrie stomath that cannot fast till dinner time) contenteth himselfe with dinner & supper onelie. The Normans misliking the gormandise of Canutus, ordeined after their arriuall, that no table should be couered aboue once in the daie, which Huntingdon imputeth to their auarice: but in the end either waxing wearie of their owne frugalitie, or suffering the cockle of old custome to ouergrow the good corne of their new constitution, they fell to such libertie, that in often féeding they surmounted Canutus surnamed the hardie. For whereas he couered his table but three or foure times in the daie, these spred their clothes fiue or six times, and in such wise as I before rehearsed. They brought in also the custome of long and statelie sitting at meat, whereby their feasts resembled those ancient pontificall bankets whereof Macrobius speaketh lib. 3. cap. 13. and Plin. lib. 10. cap. 10. and which for sumptuousnesse of fare, long sitting and curiositie shewed in the same, exceeded all other mens feasting, which fondnesse is not yet left with vs, notwithstanding that it proueth verie beneficiall for the physicians, who most abound, where most excesse and misgouernement of our bodies do appeare, although

Lesse time spent in eating than heretofore.

Canutus a glutton, but the Normans at the last exceeded him in that vice.

although it be a great expenſe of time, and worthie of repꝛehenſion. Foꝛ the nobilitie, gentlemen, and merchantmen, eſpeciallie at great mẽetings doo ſit commonlie till two oꝛ thꝛee of the clocke at afternoone, ſo that with manie is an hard matter, to riſe from the table to go to euening pꝛaier, and returne from thence to come time inough to ſupper. Foꝛ my part I am perſuaded that the purpoſe of the Noꝛmans at the firſt was to reduce the ancient Roman oꝛder oꝛ Daniſh cuſtome in feeding once in the daie, and toward the euening, as I haue red and noted. And indeed the Romans had ſuch a cuſtome, and likewiſe the Grecians, as may appeare by the woꝛds of Socrates, who ſaid vnto the Atheniens, *Oriente ſole conſilium, occidente conuiuium eſt cogitandum*, although a little ſomething was allowed in the moꝛning to yong children which we now call a bꝛeakefaſt. Plato called the Sicilians monſters, foꝛ that they vſed to eat twiſe in the daie. Among the Perſians onelie the king dined when the ſunne was at the higheſt, and ſhadow of the ſtile at the ſhoꝛteſt: the reſt (as it is repoꝛted) went alwaies but once to meat when their ſtomachs craued it, as the Canariens and Indians doo in my time (who if apetite ſerue refuſe not to go to meat at ante houre of the night) and likewiſe the ancient Caſpians. Yet Arhianus noteth it as a rare thing li.4.cap.16. that the Tyꝛhenians had taken vp an ill cuſtome to feed twiſe in a daie. Howbeit at the laſt they fell generallie to allow of ſuppers toward the ſetting of the ſunne in all places, bicauſe they would haue their whole familie to go to meat togither, and wherevnto they would apoint their gueſts to come at a certeine length of the ſhadow, to be perceiued in their dials. And this is moꝛe to be noted of antiquitie, that if ante man (as Plutarch ſaith) did feed befoꝛe that time, he incurred a note of repꝛehenſion as if he had bene gluttonous and giuen vnto the bellie, 8. Sympoſ.6. Their ſlaues in like ſoꝛt were glad, when it grew to the tenth foot, foꝛ then were they ſure ſome after to go to meat. In the ſcripture we read of manie ſupers & few dinners, onelie foꝛ that dining was not greatlie vſed in Chꝛiſts time, but taken as a thing latelie ſpꝛong vp, when pampering of the bellie began to take hold, occaſioned by idlenes and great abundance of riches. It is pꝛetie to note in Iuuenal, how he taunteth Marius foꝛ that he gaue himſelfe to dꝛinke befoꝛe the *ninth houre of the daie: foꝛ thinking thꝛee houres to be too little foꝛ the filling of his bellie, he began commonlie at eight, which was an houre too ſoone. Afterwards when gurmandiſe increaſed yet moꝛe amongſt the Romans, and from them was diſperſed vnto all nations vnder their ſubiection, it came to paſſe that ſix houres onlie were appointed to woꝛke and conſult in, and the other ſix of the daie to feed and dꝛinke in, as the verſe ſaith:

Sex horæ tantùm rebus tribuantur agendis,
Viuere poſt illas, littera Zetha monet.

Wherevnto Maximus Planudes (except my memoꝛie faile me) addeth this ſcholie after his maner, ſaieng that from moꝛning vnto noone (which is ſix of the clocke after the vnequall accompt) each one doth trauell about his neceſſarie affaires, that being done, he betaketh himſelfe to the refreſhing of his bodie, which is noted and ſet downe by the Greeke letters of the diall (wherewith the Romane hoꝛologies were marked, as ours be with their numerall letters) whereby the time is deſcribed; foꝛ thoſe which point 7,8,9 and 10 are wꝛitten with ξ η θ ι, and being ioined yeeld ξηθι, which in Engliſh ſignifieth ſo much as liue, as if they ſhould meane, eat that thou maiſt liue. But how Martial diuided his daie, and with him the whole troope of the learned & wiſer ſoꝛt, theſe verſes following doo moꝛe euidentlie declare:

Prima ſalutantes, atque altera continet horas,
Exercet raucos tertia cauſidicos.
In quintam varios extendit Roma labores,
Sexta quies laſſis, ſeptima finis erit.
Sufficit in nonam nitidis octaua paleſtris,
Imperat extructos frangere nona thoros.
Hora libellorum decima eſt Euphemes meorum,
Temperat Ambroſias cum tua cura dapes.
Et bonus æthereo laxatur Nectare Cæſar,
Ingentique tenet pocula parca manu.
Tunc admitte iocos: greſſu timet ire licenti,
Ad matutinum noſtra Thaleia Ionem. li.4.epig.8.

Thus we ſee how the ancient maner of the Gentils was to feed but once in the daie, and that toward night, till gluttonie grew on and altered this good cuſtome. I might here remember alſo their maner in pulling off their ſhoes when they ſat downe to meat, whereof Martial ſaith:

Depoſui ſoleas, affertur protinus ingens
Inter lactucas oxygarumq; liber, &c.

And Tullie alſo remembꝛeth where he ſaith *ſeruum à pedibus ad te miſi*, which office grew of the ſaid cuſtome, as *Seruus ad limina* did of keeping the doꝛe, though in moſt houſes both theſe were commonlie one mans office, alſo *Ad pocula* of attending on the cup. But bicauſe the good wꝛiters of our time haue obſerued theſe phꝛaſes and ſuch like with their cauſes and deſcriptions, in their infinite and ſeuerall treatiſes, I ſhall not need to diſcourſe anie farther vpon them. With vs the nobilitie, gentrie, and ſtudents, doo oꝛdinarilie go to dinner at eleuen befoꝛe noone, and to ſupper at fiue, oꝛ betweene fiue and ſix at afternoone. The merchants dine and ſup ſeldome befoꝛe twelue at noone, and ſix at night eſpeciallie in London. The huſbandmen dine alſo at high noone as they call it, and ſup at ſeuen oꝛ eight: but out of the tearme in our vniuerſities the ſcholers dine at ten. As foꝛ the poꝛeſt ſoꝛt they generallie dine and ſup when they may, ſo that to talke of their oꝛder of repaſt, it were but a needleſſe matter. I might here take occaſion alſo to ſet downe the varietie vſed by antiquitie in their beginnings of their diets, wherin almoſt euerie nation had a ſeuerall faſhion, ſome beginning of cuſtome (as we doo in ſummer time) with ſalets at ſupper, and ſome ending with lettice, ſome making their entrie with egs, and ſhutting vp their tables with mulberies, as we doo with fruit and conceits of all ſoꝛts. Diuerſe (as the old Romans) began with a few cropps of rue, as the Venetians did with the fiſh called Gobius, the Belgies with butter (oꝛ as we doo yet alſo) with butter and egs vpon fiſh daies. But whereas we commonlie begin with the moſt groſſe food, and end with the moſt delicate, the Scot thinking much to leaue the beſt foꝛ his mentall ſeruants maketh his entrance at the beſt, ſo that he is ſure therby to leaue the woꝛſt. We vſe alſo our wines by degrees, ſo that the hoteſt commeth laſt to the table, but to ſtand vpon ſuch toies would ſpend much time, and turne to ſmall pꝛofit, wherfoꝛe I will deale with other things moꝛe neceſſarie foꝛ this turne.

Long ſitting repꝛehended.

*That is at thꝛee of the clocke at afternoone.

Of their apparell and attire.

Chap.7.

AN Engliſhman, indeuoꝛing ſometime to wꝛite of our attire, made ſundꝛie platfoꝛmes foꝛ his purpoſe, ſuppoſing by ſome of them to find out one ſtedfaſt ground whereon to build the ſumme of his diſcourſe. But in the end (like an oꝛatour long without exerciſe) when he ſaw what

a difficult pæce of woꝛke he had taken in hand, he gaue ouer his trauell, and onelie dꝛue the picture of a naked man, vnto whome he gaue a paire of sheares in the one hand, and a pæce of cloth in the other, to the end he should shape his apparell after such fashion as himselfe liked, sith he could find no kind of garment that could pleaſe him anie while togither, and this he called an Englishman. Certes this writer (otherwise being a lewd popish hypocrite and vngratious pꝛiest) shewed himselfe herein not to be altogether void of iudgement, sith the phantasticall follie of our nation, euen from the courtier to the carter is such, that no foꝛme of apparell liketh vs longer than the first garment is in the wearing, if it continue so long and be not laid aside, to receiue some other trinket newlie deuised by the fickle headed tailoꝛs, who couet to haue seuerall trickes in cutting, thereby to dꝛaw fond customers to moꝛe expense of monie. Foꝛ my part I can tell better how to inueigh against this enoꝛmitie, than describe anie certeintie of our attire: sithence such is our mutabilitie, that to daie there is none to the Spanish guise, to moꝛrow the French toies are most fine and delectable, yer long no such apparell as that which is after the high Alman fashion, by and by the Turkish maner is generallie best liked of, otherwise the Moꝛisco gowns, the Barbarian sleæues, the mandilion woꝛne to Collie weston ward, and the shoꝛt French bꝛeches make such a comelie vesture, that except it were a dog in a doublet, you shall not sée anie so disguised, as are my countrie men of England. And as these fashions are diuerse, so likewise it is a woꝛld to sée the costlinesse and the curiositie: the excesse and the vantie: the pompe and the bꝛauerie: the change and the varietie: and finallie the ficklenesse and the follie that is in all degrées: in somuch that nothing is moꝛe constant in England than inconstancie of attire. Oh how much cost is bestowed now adaies vpon our bodies and how little vpon our soules! how manie sutes of apparell hath the one and how little furniture hath the other? how long time is asked in decking vp of the first, and how little space left wherin to fæd the later? how curious, how nice also are a number of men and women, and how hardlie can the tailoꝛ please them in making it fit foꝛ their bodies? how manie times must it bè sent backe againe to him that made it? what chasing, what fretting, what repꝛochfull language doth the poꝛe woꝛkeman beare awaie? and manie times when he doth nothing to it at all, yet when it is bꝛought home againe it is verie fit and handsome; then must we put it on, then must the long seames of our hose be set by a plumb-line, then we puffe, then we blow, and finallie sweat till we dꝛop, that our clothes may stand well vpon vs. I will saie nothing of our heads, which sometimes are polled, sometimes curled, oꝛ suffered to grow at length like womans lockes, manie times cut off aboue oꝛ vnder the eares round as by a woodden dish. Neither will I meddle with our varietie of beards, of which some are shauen from the chin like those of Turks, not a few cut shoꝛt like to the beard of marques Otto, some made round like a rubbing bꝛush, other with a pique de vant (O fine fashion!) oꝛ now and then suffered to grow long, the barbers being growen to be so cunning in this behalfe as the tailoꝛs. And therfoꝛe if a man haue a leane and streight face, a marquesse Ottons cut will make it bꝛoad and large; if it be platter like, a long slender beard will make it séeme the narrower; if he be wesell becked, then much heare left on the chéekes will make the owner loke big like a bowdled hen, and so grim as a goose, if Coꝛnelis of Chelmeresfoꝛd saie true: manie old men doo weare no beards at all. Some lustie courtiers also and gentlemen of courage, doo weare either rings of gold, stones, oꝛ pearle in their eares, whereby they imagine the woꝛkemanship of God not to be a little amended. But herein they rather disgrace than adoꝛne their persons, as by their niceneſſe in apparell, foꝛ which I saie most nations doo not vniustlie deride vs, as also foꝛ that we doo séeme to imitate all nations round about, vs wherein we be like to the Polypus oꝛ Chameleon; and therevnto bestow most cost vpon our arses, & much moꝛe than vpon all the rest of our bodies, as women doo likewise vpon their heads and shoulders. In women also it is most to be lamented, that they doo now farre exceed the lightnesse of our men (who neuertheleſſe are transfoꝛmed from the cap euen to the verie shoo) and such staring attire as in time past was supposed méet foꝛ none but light housewiues onelie, is now become an habit foꝛ chast and sober matrones. What should I saie of their doublets with pendant codpéeses on the bꝛest full of iags & cuts, and sléeues of sundꝛie colours: their galligascons to beare out their bums & make their attire to sit plum round (as they terme it) about them: their fardingals, and diuerslie coloured nether stocks of silke, ierdseie, and such like, whereby their bodies are rather deformed than commended? I haue met with some of these trulles in London so disguised, that it hath passed my skill to discerne whether they were men oꝛ women.

Andꝛew Boꝛd.

Excesse in women.

Strange cuts.

Much cost vpon the bodie, and little vpon the soule

Beards.

Thus it is now come to passe, that women are become men, and men transformed into monsters: and those good gifts which almightie God hath giuen vnto vs to releeue our necessities withall (as a nation turning altogither the grace of God into wantonnesse, foꝛ

Luxuriant animi rebus plerunque secundis)

not otherwise bestowed than in all excesse, as if we wist not otherwise how to consume and waste them. I pꝛaie God that in this behalfe our sinne be not like vnto that of Sodoma and Gomoꝛha, whose oꝛꝛoꝛs were pꝛide, excesse of diet, and abuse of Gods benefits aboundantlie bestowed vpon them, beside want of charitie toward the poꝛe, and certeine other points which the pꝛophet shutteth vp in silence. Certes the common-wealth cannot be said to floꝛish where these abuses reigne, but is rather oppꝛessed by vnreasonable exactions made vpon rich farmers, and of poꝛe tenants, wherewith to maintеine the same. Neither was it euer merier with England, than when an Englishman was knowne abꝛoad by his owne cloth, and contented himselfe at home with his fine carsie hosen, and a meane slop: his coat, gowne, and cloake of bꝛowne blue oꝛ puke, with some pꝛetie furniture of veluet oꝛ furre, and a doublet of sad tawnie, oꝛ blacke veluet, oꝛ other comelie silke, without such cuts and gawdish colours as are woꝛne in these daies, and neuer bꝛought in but by the consent of the French, who thinke themselues the gaiest men, when they haue most diuersities of iagges and change of colours about them. Certes of all estates our merchants doo least alter their attire, and therefoꝛe are most to be commended: foꝛ albeit that which they weare be verie fine and costlie, yet in foꝛme and colour it repꝛesenteth a great pæce of the ancient grauitie apperteining to citizens and burgesses, albeit the yonger soꝛt of their wiues both in attire and costlie housekæping can not tell when and how to make an end, as being women in déed in whome all kind of curiositie is to be found and sæne, and in farre greater measure than in women of higher calling. I might here name a soꝛt of hewes deuised foꝛ the nonce, wherewith to please phantasticall heads, as gooseturd gréene, pease poꝛrige tawnie, popingaie blue, lustie gallant, the diuell in the head (I should saie the hedge) and such like: but I passe themouer thinking

Ezech. 16.

Attire of merchants.

thinking it sufficient to haue said thus much of apparell generallie, when nothing can particularlie be spoken of anie constancie thereof.

Of the high court of parlement, and *authoritie of the same.*

Chap. 8.

IN speaking of parlement lawe, I haue in the chapiter precedent said somewhat of this high and most honorable court. Wherefore it shall not need to remember ought here that is there touched: I will onelie speake of other things therefore concerning the estate of assemblie, whereby the magnificence thereof shall be in some part better knowne vnto such as shall come after vs. This house hath the most high and absolute power of the realme, for thereby kings and mightie princes haue from time to time béene deposed from their thrones, lawes either enacted or abrogated, offendors of all sorts punished, and corrupted religion either dissanulled or reformed, which commonlie is diuided into two houses or parts, the higher or vpper house consisting of the nobilitie, including all euen vnto the baron and bishop: the lower called the nether house of knights, squires, gentlemen, and burgesses of the commons, with whome also the inferior members of the cleargie are ioined, albeit they sit in diuerse places, and these haue to deale onelie in matters of religion, till it come that they ioine with the rest in confirmation of all such acts as are to passe in the same. For without the consent of the three estates, that is, of the nobilitie, cleargie, and laietie, seldome anie thing is said to be concluded vpon, and brought vnto the prince for his consent and allowance. To be short, whatsoeuer the people of Rome did in their *Centuriatis* or *Tribunitijs comitijs*, the same is and may be done by authoritie of our parlement house, which is the head and bodie of all the realme, and the place wherein euerie particular person is intended to be present, if not by himselfe, yet by his aduocate or atturneie. For this cause also any thing ther enacted is not to be misliked, but obeied of all men without contradiction or grudge. By the space of fortie dais, before this assemblie be begun, the prince sendeth his writs vnto all his nobilitie particularlie, summoning them to appeare at the said court. The like he doth to the shiriffe of euerie countie; with commandement to chose two knights within ech of their counties, to giue their aduise in the name of the shire, likewise to euerie citie and towne, that they may chose their burgesses, which commonlie are men best skilled in the state of their citie or towne, either for the declaration of such benefits as they want, or to shew which waie to reforme such enormities as thorough the practises of ill members are practised and crept in among them: the first being chosen by the gentlemen of the shire, the other by the citizens and burgesses of euerie citie and towne, whereby that court is furnished. The first daie of the parlement being come, the lords of the vpper house, as well ecclesiasticall as temporall, do attend vpon the prince, who rideth thither in person, as it were to open the doore of their authoritie; and being come into the place, after praiers made, and causes shewed, wherefore some not present are inforced to be absent, each man taketh his place according to his degrée. The house it selfe is curiouslie furnished with tapisserie, and the king being set in his throne, the spirituall lords take vp the side of the house which is on the right hand of the prince, and the temporall lords the left, I meane, so well dukes and earles, as viscounts and barons, as I before remembred. In the middest and a prettie distance from the prince, lie certeine sackes stuffed with woll or haire, whereon the iudges of the realme, the master of the rols, and secretaries of estate do sit. Howbeit these iudges haue no voice in the house, but onelie shew what their opinion is of such & such matters as come in question among the lords, if they be commanded so to do: as the secretaries are to answer such letters or things passed in the councell, whereof they haue the custodie & knowledge. Finallie, the consent of this house is giuen by euerie man seuerallie, first for himselfe being present, then seuerallie for so manie as he hath letters & proxies directed vnto him, saieng onlie, Content or Not content, without any further debating. Of the number assembled in the lower house, I haue alreadie made a generall report in the chapter precedent, and their particulars shall follow here at hand. These therefore being called ouer by name do chose a speaker, who is as it were their mouth, and him they present vnto the prince, in whom it is either to refuse or admit him by the lord chancellor, who in the princes name doth answer vnto his oration, made at his first entrance & presentation into the house, wherein he declareth the good liking that the king hath conceiued of his choise vnto that office & function. Being admitted, he maketh fiue requests vnto that honorable assemblie, first that the house may (as in times past) inioy hir former liberties and priuileges: secondlie, that the congregates may frankelie shew their minds vpon such matters as are to come in question: thirdlie, that if anie of the lower house do giue anie cause of offense during the continuance of this assemblie, that the same may inflict such punishment vpon the partie culpable, as to the said assemblie shall be thought conuenient: fourthlie, if anie doubt should arise among them of the lower house, that he in their name might haue free accesse and recourse vnto his maiestie & lords of the higher house, to be further instructed and resolued in the same: fiftlie and last, he craueth pardon for himselfe, if in his going to and fro betweene the houses, he forget or misse anie thing, requiring that he may returne and be better informed in such things as he did faile in without offense: vnto which petitions the lord chancellor doth answer as apperteineth, and this is done on the first daie, or peraduenture the second, if it could not be conueniently performed in the first.

Places of the peers.

Of the lower house. Speaker.

Petitions of the speaker.

Beside the lord chancellor there is another in the vpper house called the clerke of the parlement, whose office is to read the billes. For euerie thing that commeth in consultation in either house, is first put in writing in paper, which being read, he that liketh riseth vp and speaketh either with it or against it, and so one after another so long as they shall thinke good; that done they go to another, and so to the third, &c: the instrument still wholie or in part raced or reformed, as cause moueth for the amendment of the same if the substance be reputed necessarie. In the vpper house the lord chancellor demandeth if they will haue it ingrossed, that is to saie, put in parchment, which done, it is read the third time, & after debating of the matter to and fro if the more part doo conclude withall, vpon the vtterance of these words, Are ye contented that it be enacted or no? the clerke writeth vnderneath Soit baille aux commons, and so when they sée time they send such billes approued to the commons by some of them that sit on the woll sackes, who comming into the house, & demanding licence to speake, do vse this kind of words or the like to the speaker, as sir Thomas Smith doth deliuer

Clerke of the parlement.

The parlement house diuideth the estate of the realme into nobilitie and the commons.

Time of summons.

Of the vpper house.

and set them downe, whose onelie direction I vse, and almost word for word in this chapter, requiting him with the like bountifulnesse as he hath vsed toward me in his discourse of the sundrie degrees of estates in the common-wealth of England, which (as I hope) shall be no discredit to his trauell. Maister speaker, my lords of the vpper house haue passed amongst them, and thinke good that there should be enacted by parlement such an act, and such an act (reading their titles in such sort as he receiued them) they praie you therefore to consider & shew your aduise vpon them. Which done they go their waie, and the doore being shut after them, the speaker declareth what message was sent vnto them, and if they be then void of consultation vpon anie other bill, he presentlie demandeth what their pleasures are, first of one, then of another, &c: which are solemnelie read, or their contents breeflie shewed and then debated vpon among them.

Of the nether house.

The speaker sitteth in a chaire erected somewhat higher than the rest, that he may see and be seene of all men, and before him on a lower seat sitteth his clerke, who readeth such bils as be first propounded in the lower house, or sent downe from the lords: for in that point each house hath equall authoritie to propound what they thinke meet, either for the abrogation of old or making of new lawes. All bils be thrise and on diuerse daies read and disputed vpon before they come to the question, which is, whether they shall be enacted or not; and in discourse vpon them, verie good order is vsed in the lower house, wherein he that will speake giueth notice thereof by standing vp bare headed. If manie stand vp at once (as now & then it happeneth) he speaketh first that was first seene to moue out of his place, and telleth his tale vnto the speaker, without rehersall of his name whose speches he meaneth to confute, so that with a perpetuall oration & not with altercation these discourses are continued. But as the partie confuted may not replie the same daie, so one man can not speake twise to one bill in one daie though he would change his opinion, but on the next he may speake againe, & yet but once as afore. No vile, seditious, vnreuerent or biting words are vsed in this assemblie, yet if anie happen to escape and be vttered, the partie is punished according to the censure of the assemblie and custome in that behalfe. In the afternoone they sit not except vpon some vrgent occasion, neither hath the speaker anie voice in that house, wherewith to moue or disswade the furtherance or staie of anie bill, but his office is vpon the reading thereof breeflie to declare the contents. If anie bill passe, which commeth vnto them from the lords, it is thus subscribed, Les commons ont assentus: so if the lords agree vpon anie bill sent vnto them from the commons, it is subscribed after this maner, Les seigniours ont assentus. If it be not agreed on after thrise reading, there is conference required and had betweene the vpper and nether houses, by certeine appointed for that purpose vpon the points in question, whereupon if no finall agreement by the more part can be obteined, the bill is dashed and reiected, or (as the saieng is) cleane cast out of the doores. None of the nether house can giue his voice by proxie but in his owne person, and after the bill twise read, then ingrossed and the third time read againe & discoursed vpon, the speaker asketh if they will go to the question, whervnto if they agree he holdeth vp the bill & saith; So manie as will haue this bill go forward saie Yea: herupon so manie as allow of the thing crie Yea, the other No, & as the crie is more or lesse on either side, so is the bill to staie or else go forward. If the number of negatiue and affirmatiue voices seeme to be equall, so manie as allow of the bill go downe withall, the rest sit still, and being told by the poll the greater part do carrie away the matter. If something be allowed and in some part reiected, the bill is put to certeine committees to be amended, & then being brought in againe, it is read and passeth or staieth as the voices yeeld therto. This is the order of the passage of our lawes, which are not ratified till both houses haue agreed vnto them, and yet not holden for law till the prince haue giuen his assent. Vpon the last daie therfore of the parlement or session, the prince commeth in person againe into the house, in his robes as at the first. Where after thanks giuen to the prince, first in the name of the lords by the lord chancellor, then in the name of the commons by the speaker for his great care of the welfare of his realme, &c: the lord chancellor in the princes name giueth thanks to the lords & commons likewise for their paines, with promise of recompense as opportunitie & occasion shall serue therefore. This done one readeth the title of euerie act passed in that session, and then it is noted vpon them what the prince doth allow of with these words, Le roy veult. If the prince like not of them, it is written vpon them Le roy aduisera. And so those acts are dashed, as the other from thencefoorth are taken and holden for law, and all imprinted except such as concerne some priuat persons, which are onelie exemplified vnder the seale of the parlement, as priuileges to his vse. And this is the summe of the maner after which our parlements in England are holden, without which no forfaiture of life, member or lands of anie Englishman, where no law is ordeined for the same before hand, is available or can take place amongst vs. And so much in maner out of the third chapter of the second booke of the common-wealth of England written by sir Thomas Smith: whervnto I will anner a table of the counties, cities, boroughs and ports, which send knights, burgesses, and barons to the parlement house, and doth insue as followeth.

The names of counties, cities, boroughs, and ports, sending knights, citizens, burgesses, and barons to the parlement of England.

Bedford.

Knights.	2
The borough of Bedford.	2

Buckingham.

Knights.	2
The borough of Buckingham.	2
The borough of Wickombe.	2
The borough of Ailesburie.	2

Barckeshire.

Knights.	2
The borough of New Windsore.	2
The borough of Reading.	2
The borough of Wallingford.	2
The borough of Abington.	2

Cornewall.

Knights.	2
The borough of Launceston *alias* Newport.	2
The borough of Leskerd.	2
The borough of Lostwithiell.	2
The borough of Dunheuet.	2
The borough of Truro.	2
The borough of Bodmin.	2
The borough of Helston.	2
The borough of Saltash.	2
The borough of Camelford.	2
The borough of Portighsam *alias* Portlow.	2
The borough of Graunpount.	
The borough of Eastlow.	2
The borough of Pzurie.	2
The borough of Tregonie.	2
The borough of Trebenna *alias* Bossinnie.	2
The borough of S. Jes.	2

The

The borough of Fowaie. 2
The borough of Germine. 2
The borough of Michell. 2
The borough of saint Maries. 2

Cumberland.

Knights. 2
The citie of Caerlell. 2

Cambridge.

Knights. 2
The borough of Cambridge. 2

Chester.

Knights. 2
The citie of Chester. 2

Darbie.

Knights. 2
The borough of Darbie. 2

Deuon.

Knights. 2
The citie of Excester. 2
The borough of Totnes. 2
The borough of Plimmouth. 2
The borough of Bardnestable. 2
The borough of Plimton. 2
The borough of Tauestocke. 2
The borough of Dartmouth, Clifton, and Yerdines. 2

Dorsetshire.

Knights. 2
The borough of Pole. 2
The borough of Dorchester. 2
The borough of Linne. 2
The borough of Pelcombe. 2
The borough of Waiemouth. 2
The borough of Burepost. 2
The borough of Shaftesburie. 2
The borough of Warham. 2

Essex.

Knights. 2
The borough of Colchester. 2
The borough of Walden. 2

Yorkeshire.

Knights. 2
The citie of Yorke. 2
The borough of Kingston vpon Hull. 2
The borough of Knaresborough. 2
The borough of Skardborough. 2
The borough of Ripon. 2
The borough of Hudon. 2
The borough of Borroughbridge. 2
The borough of Thuske. 2
The borough of Aldeborough. 2
The borough of Beuerleie. 2

Glocestershire.

Knights. 2
The citie of Glocester. 2
The borough of Cirencester. 2

Huntingtonshire.

Knights. 2
The borough of Huntingdon. 2

Hertfordshire.

Knights. 2
The borough of saint Albons. 2

Herefordshire.

Knights. 2
The citie of Hereford. 2
The borough of Lempster. 2

Kent.

Knights. 2
The citie of Canturburie. 2
The citie of Rochester. 2
The borough of Maidstone. 2
The borough of Quinborough. 2

Lincolne.

Knights. 2
The citie of Lincolne. 2
The borough of Bostone. 2
The borough of great Grimesbie. 2
The borough of Stamford. 2
The borough of Grantham. 2

Leicestershire.

Knights. 2
The borough of Leicester. 2

Lancastershire.

Knights. 2
The borough of Lancaster. 2
The borough of Preston in Andernes. 2
The borough of Liuerpole. 2
The borough of Newton. 2
The borough of Wigan. 2
The borough of Clithero. 2

Middlesex.

Knights. 2
The citie of London. 4
The citie of Westminster. 2

Monmouth.

Knights. 2
The borough of Monmouth. 1

Northhampton.

Knights. 2
The citie of Peterborough. 2
The borough of Northhampton. 2
The borough of Barkleie. 2
The borough of Higham Ferres. 1

Notingham.

Knights. 2
The borough of Notingham. 2
The borough of Estreatford. 2

Norffolke.

Knights. 2
The citie of Norwich. 2
The borough of Linne. 2
The borough of great Iernemouth. 2
The borough of Thetford. 2
The borough of castell Rising. 2

Northumberland.

Knights. 2
The borough of New castell vpon Tine. 2
The borough of Morpeth. 2
The borough of Barwike. 2

Oxford.

Knights. 2
The citie of Orford. 2
The borough of Bamburie. 2
The borough of Woodstocke. 2

Rutland.

Knights. 2

Surreie.

Knights. 2
The borough of Southwarke. 2
The borough of Blechingleigh. 2
The borough of Rigate. 2
The borough of Guildford. 2
The borough of Gatton. 2

Stafford.

Knights. 2
The citie of Lichfield. 2
The borough of Stratford. 2
The borough of New castell vnder Linne. 2
The borough of Tamworth. 2

Salop.

Knights. 2
The borough of Salop. 2
The borough of Bzuges *alias* Bzidgenorth. 2
The borough of Ludlow. 2
The borough of Wenlocke. 2

Southhampton.

Knights. 2
The citie of Winton. 2

The borough of Southhampton. 2
The borough of Portesmouth. 2
The borough of Peterfield. 2
The borough of Stockebridge. 2
The borough of Christ church. 2

Suffolke.

Knights. 2
The borough of Ipeswich. 2
The borough of Dunwich. 2
The borough of Oxford. 2
The borough of Aldeborough. 2
The borough of Sudburie. 2
The borough of Eya. 2

Summerset.

Knights. 2
The citie of Bristow. 2
The citie of Bath. 2
The citie of Welles. 2
The borough of Taunton. 2
The borough of Bridgewater. 2
The borough of Pinched. 2

Sussex.

Knights. 2
The citie of Chichester. 2
The borough of Horsham. 2
The borough of Midhurst. 2
The borough of Lewes. 2
The borough of Shorham. 2
The borough of Brember. 2
The borough of Stening. 2
The borough of Eastgrenested. 2
The borough of Arundell. 2

Westmerland.

Knights. 2
The borough of Appulbie. 2

Wilton.

Knights. 2
The citie of New Sarum. 2
The borough of Wilton. 2
The borough of Dounton. 2
The borough of Hindon. 2
The borough of Heitesburie. 2
The borough of Westburie. 2
The borough of Caine. 2
The borough of Denises. 2
The borough of Chipenham. 2
The borough of Malmesburie. 2
The borough of Cricklade. 2
The borough of Budwin. 2
The borough of Ludgesale. 2
The borough of Old Sarum. 2
The borough of Wotton Basset. 2
The borough of Marleborough. 2

Worcester.

Knights. 2
The citie of Worcester. 2
The borough of Withée. 2

Warwike.

Knights. 2
The citie of Couentrie. 2
The borough of Warwike. 2

Barons of the ports.

Hastings. 2
Winchelsete. 2
Rie. 2
Rumneie. 2
Hithe. 2
Douer. 2
Sandwich. 2

Mountgomerie.

Knights. 1
The borough of Mountgomerie. 1

Flint.

Knights. 1
The borough of Flint. 1

Denbigh.

Knights. 1
The borough of Denbigh. 1

Merionneth.

Knights. 1
The borough of Hauerfordwest. 1

Carneruan.

Knights. 1
The borough of Carneruan. 1

Angleseie.

Knights. 1
The borough of Beaumares. 1

Carmarden.

Knights. 1
The borough of new Carmarden. 1

Pembroke.

Knights. 1
The borough of Pembroke. 1

Cairdigan.

Knights. 1
The borough of Cairdigan. 1

Brecknoch.

Knights. 1
The borough of Brecknoch. 1

Radnor.

Knights. 1
The borough of Radnor. 1

Glamorgan.

Knights. 1
The borough of Cardiffe. 1

¶ The summe of the foresaid number of the common house *videlicet*, of

Knights. 90.
Citizens. 46.
Burgesses. 289.
Barons. 14.
439.

Of the lawes of England since hir first inhabitation.

Chap. 9.

THat Samothes or Dis gaue the first lawes to the Celtes (whose kingdome he erected about the fifteenth of Nimbrote) the testimonie of Berosus is proofe sufficient For he not onelie affirmeth him to publish the same in the fourth of Ninus, but also addeth thereto, how there liued none in his dates of more excellent wisdome, nor politike inuention than he, whereof he was named Samothes, as some other do affirme. What his lawes were, it is now altogither vnknowne, as most things of this age; but that they were altered againe at the comming of Albion, no man can absolutelie denie, sith new lords vse commonlie to giue new lawes, and conquerors abolish such as were in vse before them. Samothes. Albion.

The like also may be affirmed of our Brute, notwithstanding that the certeine knowledge so well of the one as of the other is perished, and nothing worthie memorie left of all their doings. Somewhat yet we haue of Mulmutius, who not onelie subdued such princes as reigned in this land, but also brought the realme to good order, that long before had béene torne with ciuill discord. But where his lawes are to be found, and which they be from other mens, no man liuing in these daies is able to determine. Brute. Mulmutius.

Certes

Certes, there was neuer prince in Britaine, of whome his ſubiects conceiued better hope in the beginning, than of Bladudus, and yet I read of none that made ſo ridiculous an end: in like ſort there hath not reigned anie monarch in this Ile, whoſe waies were more feared at the firſt, than thoſe of Dunwallon (king Henrie the fift excepted) and yet in the end he proued ſuch a prince, as after his death there was in maner no ſubiect, that did not lament his funerals. And this onelie for his policie in gouernance, ſeuere adminiſtration of iuſtice, and prouident framing of his lawes and conſtitutions, for the gouernment of his ſubiects. His people alſo, coueting to continue his name vnto poſteritie, intituled thoſe his ordinances according to their maker, calling them by the name of the lawes of Mulmutius, which indured in execution among the Britons, ſo long as our homelings had the dominion of this Ile. Afterward when the comeling Sarons had once obteined the ſuperioritie of the kingdom, the maieſtie of thoſe lawes fell for a time into ſuch decaie, that although *Non penitùs cecidit, tamen potuit cecidiſſe videri*, as Leland ſaith, and the decrees themſelues had vtterlie periſhed in deed at the verie firſt brunt, had they not beene preſerued in Wales, where they remained amongſt the relikes of the Britons, & not onlie vntill the comming of the Normans, but euen vntill the time of Edward the firſt, who obteining the ſouereigntie of that portion, indeuoured verie earneſtlie to extinguiſh thoſe of Mulmutius, and to eſtabliſh his owne.

The praiſe of Dunwallon.

But as the Sarons at their firſt arriuall did what they could to aboliſh the Britiſh lawes, ſo in proceſſe of time they yelded a little to relent, & not ſo much to abhorre and miſlike of the lawes of Mulmutius, as to receiue and imbrace the ſame, eſpeciallie at ſuch time as the ſaid Saxon princes entered into amitie with the Britiſh nobilitie, and after that began to ioine in matrimonie with the Britiſh ladies, as the Britiſh barons did with the Saxon frowes, both by an eſpeciall ſtatute and decree, wherof in another treatiſe I haue made mention at large. Hereof alſo it came to paſſe in the end, that they were contented to make a choiſe, and inſert no ſmall numbers of them into their owne volumes, as may be gathered by thoſe of Athelbert the great, ſurnamed king of Kent, Inas and Alfred kings of the weſt Sarons, and diuerſe other yet extant to be ſeene. Such alſo was the lateward eſtimation of them, that when anie of the Saxon princes went about to make new ordinances, they cauſed thoſe of Mulmutius (which Gildas ſometime tranſlated into Latine) to be firſt expounded vnto them, and in this peruſall if they found anie there alreadie framed, that might ſerue their turnes, they forthwith reuiued the ſame, and annered them to their owne.

But in this dealing, the diligence of Alfred is moſt of all to be commended, who not onelie choſe out the beſt, but gathered togither all ſuch whatſoeuer the ſaid Mulmutius had made: and then to the end they ſhould lie no more in corners as forlorne bookes, and vnknowne to the learned of his kingdome, he cauſed them to be turned into the Saxon tong, wherein they continued long after his deceaſe.

As for the Normans, who for a ſeaſon neither regarded the Britiſh, nor cared for the Saxon ſtatutes, they alſo at the firſt vtterlie miſliked of them, till at the laſt, when they had well weied that one kind of regiment is not conuenient for all peoples, and that no ſtranger, being in a forren countrie newlie brought vnder obedience, could make ſuch equall ordinances, as he might thereby gouerne his new common-wealth without ſome care & trouble: they fell in with ſuch a deſire to ſee by what rule the ſtate of the land was gouerned in time of the Saxons, that hauing peruſed the ſame, they not onelie commended their maner of regiment, but alſo admitted a great part of their lawes (now currant vnder the name of S. Edwards lawes, and vſed as principles and grounds) whereby they not onelie qualified the rigor of their owne, and mitigated their almoſt intollerable burden of ſeruitude which they had latelie laid vpon the ſhoulders of the Engliſh, but alſo left vs a great number of the old Mulmutian lawes, whereof the moſt part are in vſe to this date as I ſaid, albeit that we know not certeinlie how to diſtinguiſh them from others, that are in ſtrength amongſt vs.

After Dunwallon, the next lawgiuer was Martia, whome Leland ſurnameth Proba; and after him John Bale alſo, who in his Centuries doth iuſtlie confeſſe himſelfe to haue beene holpen by the ſaid Leland, as I my ſelfe do likewiſe for manie things conteined in this treatiſe. She was wife vnto Guteline king of the Britons: and being made protectrix of the realme, after hir husbands deceaſſe in the nonage of hir ſonne, and ſeeing manie things daillie to grow vp among hir people worthie reformation, ſhe deuiſed ſundrie and thoſe verie politike lawes, for the gouernance of hir kingdome, which hir ſubiects when ſhe was dead and gone, did name the Martian ſtatutes. Who turned them into Latine, as yet I do not read, howbeit (as I ſaid before of the lawes of Mulmutius) ſo the ſame Alfred cauſed thoſe of this excellentlie well learned ladie (whome diuerſe commend alſo for hir great knowledge in the Greeke tong) to be turned into his owne language, whereupon it came to paſſe that they were daillie executed among his ſubiects, afterward allowed of (among the reſt) by the Normans, and finallie remaine in vſe in theſe our daies, notwithſtanding that we can not diſſeuer them alſo verie readilie from the other.

Martia.

The ſeuenth alteration of lawes was practiſed by the Sarons, for I ouerpaſſe the vſe of the ciuill ordinances vſed in Rome, finallie brought hither by the Romans, & yet in perfect notice among the Ciuilians of our countrie, though neuer generallie nor fullie receiued by all the ſeuerall regions of this Iland. Certes there are great numbers of theſe later, which yet remaine in ſound knowlege, and are to be read, being comprehended for the moſt part vnder the names of the Martian and the Saxon law. Beſide theſe alſo I read of the Dane law, ſo that the people of middle England were ruled by the firſt, the weſt Sarons by the ſecond, as Eſſex, Norffolke, Suffolke, Cambridgeſhire, and part of Herfordſhire were by the third, of all the reſt the moſt inequall and intollerable. And as in theſe daies what ſoeuer the prince in publike aſſemblie commanded vpon the neceſſitie of his ſubiects, or his owne voluntarie authoritie, was counted for law: ſo none of them had appointed anie certeine place, wherevnto his people might repaire at ſtred times for iuſtice, but cauſed them to reſort commonlie to their palaces, where in proper perſon they would often determine their cauſes, and ſo make ſhorteſt worke, or elſe commit the ſame to the hearing of other, and ſo diſpatch them awaie. Neither had they any houſe appointed to aſſemble in for the making of their ordinances, as we haue now at Weſtminſter. Wherefore Edmund gaue lawes at London & Lincolne, Ethelred at Yabam, Alfred at Woodſtock and Wannetting, Athelſtane in Exceſter, Grecklade, Feuerſham, & Thunderſleie, Canutus at Wincheſter, &c: other in other places, whereof this may ſuffice.

Martian law. Saxon law. Dane law.

Among other things alſo vſed in the time of the Sarons, it ſhall not be amiſſe to ſet downe the forme of their Ordalian law, which they brought hither

with

with them from beyond the seas out of Scithia, and vsed onelie in the triall of guiltie and vnguiltinesse. Certes it conteined not an ordinarie proceeding by dales and termes, as in the ciuill and common law we see practised in these dales; but a short dispatch & triall of the matter by fire or water, whereof at this present I will deliuer the circumstance, as I haue faithfullie translated it out of an ancient volume, and conferred with an imprinted copie, latelie published by M. Lambert, and now extant to be read. Nevertheless, as the Scithians were the first that vsed this practise, so I read that it was taken vp and occupied also in France in processe of time, yea and likewise in Grecia, as G. Pachymerus remembreth in the first booke of his historie (which beginneth with the empire of M. Paleologus) where he noteth his owne sight and dew in that behalfe. But what stand I herevpon?

Ordalian law.

The Ordalian (saith the aforesaid author) was a certeine maner of purgation vsed two waies, whereof the one was by fire, the other by water. In the execution of that which was done by fire, the partie accused should go a certeine number of pases, with an hot iron in his hand, or else bare foted vpon certeine plough shares red hot, according to the maner. This iron was sometime of one pound weight, and then was it called single Ordalium, sometimes of three, and then named treble Ordalium, and whosoeuer did beare or tread on the same without hurt of his bodie he was adiudged giltlesse, otherwise if his skin were scorched, he was forthwith condemned as guiltie of the trespasse whereof he was accused, according to the proportion and quantitie of the burning.

Fire.

Water.

There were in like sort two kinds of triall by the water, that is to say, either by hot or cold: and in this triall the partie thought culpable, was either tumbled into some pond or huge vessell of cold water, wherein if he continued for a season, without wrestling or strugling for life, he was forthwith acquited as guiltlesse of the fact wherof he was accused: but if he began to plunge, and labour once for breath immediatlie vpon his falling into that liquor, he was by and by condemned as guiltie of the crime. Or else he did thrust his arme vp to the shoulder into a lead, copper, or caldron of seething water, from whence if he withdrew the same without anie maner of damage, he was discharged of further molestation: otherwise he was taken for a trespasser, and punished accordinglie. The fierie maner of purgation belonged onelie to noble men and women, and such as were free borne: but the husbandmen and villaines were tried by water. Wherof to shew the vnlearned dealing and blind ignorance of those times, it shall not be impertinent to set forth the whole maner, which continued here in England vntill the time of king John, who seeing the manifold subtilties in the same (by sundrie sorcerous and artificiall practises whereby the working of the said elements were restreined) did extinguish it altogither as fiat lewdnesse and bouerie. The Rubrike of the treatise entereth thus: Here beginneth the execution of iustice, whereby the giltie or vngiltie are tried by hot iron. Then it followeth: After accusation lawfullie made, and three daies spent in fasting and praier, the priest being clad in all his holie vestures, sauing his vestiment, shall take the iron laid before the altar with a paire of tongs, and singing the hymne of the three children, that is to sate, O all ye workes of God the Lord, and in Latine *Benedicite omnia opera, &c.*: he shall carie it solemnelie to the fire (alreadie made for that purpose) and first saie these words ouer the place where the fire is kindled, whereby this purgation shall be made in Latine as insueth: *Benedic Domine Deus locum istum, vt sit nobis in eo sanitas, sanctitas, castitas, virtus, & victoria, & sanctimonia, humilitas, bonitas, lenitas, & plenitudo legis, & obedientia Deo patri, & filio, & spiritui sancto. Hæc benedictio sit super hunc locum, & super omnes habitantes in eo.* In English: Blesse thou O Lord this place, that it may be to vs health, holinesse, chastitie, vertue, and victorie, pureness, humilitie, goodnesse, gentleness, and fulnesse of the law, and obedience to God the father, the sonne, and the holie ghost. This blessing be vpon this place, and all that dwell in it. Then followeth the blessing of the fire.

Domine Deus pater omnipotens, lumen indeficiens, exaudi nos, quia tu es conditor omnium luminum. Benedic Domine hoc lumen, quod ante sanctificatum est, qui illuminasti omnem hominem venientem in hunc mundum (vel mundum) vt ab eo lumine accendamur igne claritatis tuæ. Et sicut igne illuminasti Moysen, ita nunc illumina corda nostra, & sensus nostros, vt ad vitam æternam mereamur peruenire, per Christum, &c. Lord God father almightie, light euerlasting, heare vs, sith thou art the maker of all lights. Blesse O Lord this light, that is alreadie sanctified in thy sight, which hast lightned all men that come into the world (or the whole world) to the end that by the same light we may be lightned with the shining of thy brightnesse. As thou diddest lighten Moses, so now illuminate our hearts, and our senses, that we may deserue to come to euerlasting life, through Christ our, &c. This being ended let him say the *Pater noster, &c.*: then these words: *Saluum fac seruum, &c. Mitte ei auxilium Deus, &c. De Sion tuere eum, &c. Dominus vobiscum, &c.* That is, O Lord saue thy seruant, &c. Send him helpe O God from thy holie place, &c. Defend him out of Sion, &c. Lord heare, &c. The Lord be with you, &c.

The praier. *Benedic Domine sancte pater, omnipotens Deus, per inuocationem sanctissimi nominis tui, & per aduentum filij tui, atque per donum spiritus paracleti, ad manifestandum verum iudicium tuum, hoc genus metalli, vt sit sanctificatum, & omni dæmonum falsitate procul remota, veritas veri iudicij tui fidelibus tuis manifesta fiat, per eundem Dominum, &c.* In English: Blesse we beseech thee O Lord, holie father, euerlasting God, through the inuocation of thy most holie name, by the comming of thy sonne, and gift of the holie ghost, and to the manifestation of thy true iudgement, this kind of mettall, that being hallowed, and all fraudulent practises of the diuels vtterlie remoued, the manifest truth of thy true iudgement may be reuealed, by the same Lord Iesus, &c.

After this, let the iron be laid into the fire, and sprinkled with holie water, and whilest it heateth, let the priest go to masse, and doo as order requireth: and when he hath receiued the host, he shall call the man that is to be purged (as it is written hereafter) first adiuring him, and then permitting him to communicate according to the maner.

The office of the masse.

Iustus es Domine, &c. O Lord thou art iust, &c.

The Praier.

Absolue quæsumus Domine delicta famuli tui, vt à peccatorum suorum nexibus, quæ pro sua fragilitate contraxit, tua benignitate liberetur, & in hoc iudicio quoad meruit, iustitia tua præueniente, ad veritatis censuram peruenire mereatur, per Christum Dominum, &c. That is: Pardon we beseech thee O Lord, the sinnes of thy seruant, that being deliuered from the burden of his offenses, wherewith he is intangled, he may be cleared by thy benignitie, and in this his triall (so far as he hath deserued, thy mercie preuenting him) he may come to the knowledge of the truth, by Christ our Lord, &c.

The Gospell. Mar. 10.

In illo tempore, cùm egressus esset Iesus in via, procurrens quidam genu flexo ante eum, rogabat eum dicens, Magister bone,

bone, quid facium vt vitam æternam percipiam? Ieſus autem dixit ei, Quid me dicis bonum? &c. In thoſe daies when Jeſus went forth toward his iourneie, and one meeting him in the waie running, and kneeling vnto him, asked him saieng: Good maſter what ſhall I doo that I may poſſeſſe eternall life? Jeſus ſaid vnto him, Whie calleſt thou me good? &c. Then followeth the ſecret, and ſo forth all of the reſt of the maſſe. But before the partie dooth communicate, the prieſt ſhall vſe theſe words vnto him: *Adiuro te per patrem, & filium, & ſpiritum ſanctum, & per veram chriſtianitatem quam ſuſcepiſti, & per ſanctas relliquias quæ in iſta eccleſia ſunt, & per baptiſmum quo te ſacerdos regenerauit, vt non præſumas vllo modo communicare, neq; accedere ad altare, ſi hoc feciſti aut conſenſiſti, &c.* I adiure thee by the father, the ſonne, and the holie Ghoſt, by the true chriſtendome which thou haſt receiued, by the holie relikes which are in this church, and by the baptiſme wherewith the prieſt hath regenerated thee, that thou preſume not by any maner of means to communicate, nor come about the altar, if thou haſt doone or conſented vnto this, whereof thou art accuſed, &c. Here let the prieſt ſuffer him to communicate, ſaieng; *Corpus hoc, & ſanguis Domini noſtri Ieſu Chriſti, ſit tibi ad probationem hodie.* The cup yet in vſe. This bodie & this blood of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, be vnto thee a triall this daie. The praier: *Perceptis Domine Deus noſter ſacris muneribus, ſupplices deprecamur, vt huius participatio ſacramenti à propriis nos reatibus expediat, & in famulo tuo veritatis ſententiam declaret, &c.* Hauing receiued O Lord God theſe holie myſteries, we humblie beſeech thee that the participation of this ſacrament may rid vs of our guiltineſſe, and in this thy ſeruant ſet forth the truth. Then ſhall follow *Kyrieleſon*, the Letanie, and certeine Pſalmes, and after all them *Oremus*: Let vs praie. *Deus qui per ignem ſigna magna oſtendens, Abraham puerum tuum de incendio Chaldæorum quibuſdam pereuntibus eruiſti, Deus qui rubum ardere ante conſpectum Moſis & minimè comburi permiſiſti, Deus qui de incendio fornacis Chaldaicis pleriſque ſuccenſis, tres pueros tuos illæſos eduxiſti, Deus qui incendio ignis populum Sodomæ inuoluens, Loth famulum tuum cum ſuis ſalute donaſti, Deus qui in aduentu ſancti ſpiritus tui, illuſtratione ignis fideles tuos ab infidelibus decreuiſti: oſtende nobis in hoc prauitatis noſtræ examine virtutem eiuſdem ſpiritus, &c: & per ignis huius feruorem diſcernere infideles, vt à tactu eius cuius inquiſitio agitur, conſcius exhorreſcat, & manus eius comburatur, innocens verò pœnitus illæſus permaneat, &c. Deus cuius noticiam nulla vnquam ſecreta effugiunt, fidei noſtræ tua bonitate reſponde, & præſta vt quiſquis purgandi ſe gratia, hoc ignitum tulerit ferrum, vel abſoluatur vt innocens, vel noxius detegatur, &c.* In Engliſh thus: O God, which in ſhewing great tokens by fire diddeſt deliuer Abraham thy ſeruant from the burning of the Chaldeis, whileſt other periſhed; O God which ſuffereddeſt the buſh to burne in the ſight of Moſes, and yet not to conſume; O God which deliuereddeſt the three children from bodilie harme in the fornace of the Chaldeis, whileſt diuerſe were conſumed; O God which by fire diddeſt wrap the people of Sodome in their deſtruction, and yet ſauedſt Lot and his daughters from perill; O God which by the ſhining of thy brightneſſe at the comming of the holie ghoſt in likeneſſe of fire, diddeſt ſeparate the faithfull from ſuch as beleeued not: ſhew vnto vs in the triall of this our wickedneſſe, the power of the ſame ſpirit, &c: and by the heat of this fire diſcerne the faithfull from the vnfaithfull, that the guiltie whoſe cauſe is now in triall, by touching thereof, may tremble and feare, and his hand be burned, or being innocent, that he may remaine in ſafetie, &c. O God from whom no ſecrets are hidden, let thy goodneſſe anſwer to our faith, and grant that whoſoeuer in this purgation, ſhall touch and beare this iron, may either be tried an innocent, or reuealed as an offendor, &c. After this the prieſt ſhall ſprinkle the iron with holie water, ſaieng: The bleſſing of God the father, the ſonne, and the holie ghoſt, be vpon this iron, to the reuelation of the iuſt iudgement of God. And forthwith let him that is accuſed beare it, by the length of nine foot, and then let his hand be wrapped and ſealed vp for the ſpace of three daies: after this if any corruption or raw fleſh appeare where the iron touched it, let him be condemned as guiltie: if it be whole and ſound, let him giue thanks to God. And thus much of the firſt Ordalia, whereof that of the water hath ſo preciſe relation, that in ſetting forth of the one, I haue alſo deſcribed the other, wherefore it ſhall be but in vaine to deale anie further withall. Water.

Hitherto alſo (as I thinke) ſufficientlie of ſuch lawes as were in vſe before the conqueſt. Now it reſteth that I ſhould declare the order of thoſe, that haue beene made and receiued ſince the comming of the Normans, referred to the eight alteration or change of our maner of gouernance, and therevnto doo produce three ſcore and foure ſeuerall courts. But for aſmuch as I am no lawier, and therefore haue but little ſkill to proceed in the ſame accordinglie, it ſhall ſuffice to ſet downe ſome generall diſcourſe of ſuch as are vſed in our daies, and ſo much as I haue gathered by report and common heare-ſaie.

We haue therefore in England ſundrie lawes, and firſt of all the ciuill, vſed in the chancerie, admeraltie, and diuerſe other courts, in ſome of which, the ſeuere rigor of iuſtice is often ſo mitigated by conſcience, that diuerſe things are thereby made eaſie and tollerable, which otherwiſe would appeare to be meere iniurie and extremitie. Ciuill law.

We haue alſo a great part of the Canon law dailie practiſed among vs, eſpeciallie in caſes of tithes, contracts of matrimonie, and ſuch like, as are vſuallie to be ſeene in the conſiſtories of our biſhops and higher courts of the two archbiſhops, where the exerciſe of the ſame is verie hotlie followed. The third ſort of lawes that we haue are our owne, & thoſe alwaies ſo variable, & ſubiect to alteration and change, that oft in one age, diuerſe iudgements doo paſſe vpon one maner of caſe, whereby the ſaieng of the poet, Canon law.

Tempora mutantur, & nos mutamur in illis,

may verie well be applied vnto ſuch, as being vrged with theſe words; In ſuch a yeare of the prince, this opinion was taken for ſound law; doo anſwer nothing elſe, but that the iudgement of our lawiers is now altered, ſo that they ſaie farre otherwiſe. The regiment that we haue therefore after our owne ordinances, dependeth vpon three lawes, to wit, Statute law, Common law, Cuſtomaris law, and Preſcription, according to the triple maner of our trials and iudgments, which is by parlement, verdict of twelue men at an aſſiſe, or wager of battell, of which the laſt is little vſed in our daies, as no appeale dooth hold in the firſt and laſt rehearſed. But to returne to my purpoſe. Lawiers of England not alwaies conſtant in iudgment.

The firſt is deliuered vnto vs by parlement, which court, being for the moſt part holden at Weſtminſter neere London, is the higheſt of all other, & conſiſteth of three ſeuerall ſorts of people, that is to ſaie, the nobilitie, cleargie, and commons of this realme. And thereto is not ſummoned, but vpon vrgent occaſion when the prince dooth ſee his time, and that by ſeuerall writs, dated commonlie full ſix weekes before it begin to be holden. Such lawes as are agreed vpon in the higher houſe by the lords ſpirituall and temporall, and in the lower houſe by the commons and bodie of the realme (whereof the conuocation of the cleargie holden in Powles, or if occaſion ſo require in Weſtminſter church, is a member) there ſpeaking by the mouth of the knights of the ſhire and burgeſſes, remaine in the end to be confirmed Parlement law.

by

by the prince, who commonlie reſorteth thither of cuſtome, vpon the firſt and laſt daies of this court, there to vnderſtand what is done, and giue his roiall conſent to ſuch ſtatutes as him liketh of. Comming therefore thither into the higher houſe, and hauing taken his throne, the ſpeaker of the parlement (for one is alwaies apointed to go betweene the houſes, as an indifferent mouth for both) readeth openlie the matters there determined by the ſaid three eſtates, and then craueth the princes conſent and finall confirmation to the ſame. The king hauing heard the ſumme and principall points of each eſtatute briefle recited vnto him, anſwereth in French with great deliberation vnto ſuch as he liketh (Il nous plaiſt) but to the reſt Il ne plaiſt, whereby the latter are made void and fruſtrate. That alſo which his maieſtie liketh of, is hereby authoriſed, confirmed, & euer after holden for law, except it be repealed in anie the like aſſemblie. The number of the commons aſſembled in the lower houſe, beſide the clergie, conſiſteth of ninetie knights. For each ſhire of England hath two gentlemen or knights of greateſt wiſedome and reputation, choſen out of the bodie of the ſame for that onelie purpoſe, ſauing that for Wales one onlie is ſuppoſed ſufficient in euerie countie, whereby the number afore mentioned is made vp. There are likewiſe fourtie and ſix citizens, 289 burgeſſes, and fourteene barons, ſo that the whole aſſemblie of the laitie of the lower houſe, conſiſteth of foure hundred thirtie and nine perſons, if the iuſt number be ſupplied. Of the lawes here made likewiſe ſome are penall and reſtraine the common law, and ſome againe are found to inlarge the ſame. The one ſort of theſe alſo are for the moſt part taken ſtrictlie according to the letter, the other more largelie and beneficiallie after their intendment and meaning.

Number of congregates in the parlement.

Common law.

The Common law ſtandeth vpon ſundrie maximes or principles, and yeares or termes, which do conteine ſuch caſes as by great ſtudie and ſolemne argument of the iudges ſound practiſe confirmed by long experience, fetched euen from the courſe of moſt ancient lawes made farre before the conqueſt, and thereto the deepeſt reach and foundations of reaſon, are ruled and adiudged for law. Certes theſe caſes are otherwiſe called pleas or action, whereof there are two ſorts, the one criminall and the other ciuill. The meanes and meſſengers alſo to determine thoſe cauſes are our writs or breefes, whereof there are ſome originall and ſome iudiciall. The parties plaintiffe & defendant when they appeare proceed (if the caſe do ſo require) by plaint or declaration, barre or anſwer, replication, reioinder, and ſo by rebut, ſurrebut to iſſue and triall if occaſion ſo fall out, the one ſide affirmatiuelie, the other negatiuelie as common experience teacheth. Our trials and recoueries are either by verdict and demourre, confeſſion or default, wherein if anie negligence or treſpaſſe hath beene committed, either in proceſſe and forme, or in matter and iudgement, the partie grieued may haue a writ of errour to vndo the ſame, but not in the ſame court where the former iudgement was giuen.

Cuſtomarie law.

Cuſtomarie law conſiſteth of certeine laudable cuſtomes vſed in ſome priuat countrie, intended firſt to begin vpon good and reaſonable conſiderations, as gauell kind, which is all the male children equallie to inherit, and continued to this daie in Kent: where it is onelie to my knowledge reteined, and no where elſe in England. It was at the firſt deuiſed by the Romans, as appeareth by Cæſar in his cõmentaries, wherein I find, that to breake and daunt the force of the rebellious Germans, they made a law that all the male children (or females for want of males which holdeth ſtill in England) ſhould haue their fathers inheritance equallie diuided amongſt them. By this meanes alſo it came to paſſe, that whereas before time for the ſpace of fortie yeares, they had put the Romans to great and manifold troubles, within the ſpace of thirtie yeares after this law made, their power did wax ſo feeble, and ſuch diſcord fell out amongſt themſelues, that they were not able to maintaine warres with the Romans, nor raiſe anie iuſt armie againſt them. For as a riuer running with one ſtreame is ſwift and more plentifull of water than when it is drained or drawne into manie branches: ſo the lands and goods of the anceſtors being diſperſed amongſt their iſſue males, of one ſtrong there were raiſed ſundrie weake, whereby the originall or generall ſtrength to reſiſt the aduerſarie, became infeebled and brought almoſt to nothing. *Vis vnita* (ſaith the philoſopher) *fortior eſt eadem diſperſa*, and one good purſſe is better than manie euill, and when euerie man is benefited alike, each one will ſeeke to maintaine his priuate eſtate, and few take care to prouide for publike welfare.

Burrow kind, is where the yongeſt is preferred before the eldeſt, which is the cuſtome of manie countries of this region; alſo the woman to haue the third of hir huſbands poſſeſſions, the huſband that marieth an heire to haue ſuch lands as moue by hir during his naturall life, if he ſuruiue hir, and hath a child by hir which hath beene heard crie thorough foure wals, &c: of ſuch like to be learned elſewhere, and ſometimes frequented generallie ouer all.

Preſcription.

Preſcription is a certeine cuſtome, which hath continued time out of minde, but it is more particular than cuſtomarie law, as where onelie a pariſh or ſome priuat perſon doth preſcribe to haue common, or a waie in another mans ſoile, or tithes to be paid after this or that maner, I meane otherwiſe than the common courſe and order of the law requireth, whereof let this ſuffice at this time, in ſtead of a larger diſcourſe of our owne lawes, leaſt I ſhould ſeeme to enter farre into that whereof I haue no ſkill. For what hath the meditation of the law of God to do with anie preciſe knowledge of the law of man, ſith they are ſeuerall trades, and incident to diuerſe perſons?

Terme.

There are alſo ſundrie vſuall courts holden once in euerie quarter of the yeare, which we commonlie call termes, of the Latine word *Terminus*, wherein all controuerſies are determined, that happen within the Quéenes dominions. Theſe are commonlie holden at London, except vpon ſome great occaſion they be tranſferred to other places. At what times alſo they are kept both for ſpirituall and temporall dealing, the table inſuing ſhall eaſilie declare. Finallie how well they are followed by ſuitors, the great wealth of lawiers without anie trauell of mine can readilie expreſſe. For as after the comming of the Normans the nobilitie had the ſtart, and after them the clergie: ſo now all the wealth of the land doth flow vnto our common lawiers, of whome ſome one hauing practiſed little aboue thirteene or fourteene yeares is able to buie a purchaſe of ſo manie 1000 pounds: which argueth that they war rich apace, and will be richer if their clients become not the more wiſer & warie hereafter. It is not long, ſince a ſergeant at the law (whome I could name) was arreſted vpon an extent, for three or foure hundred pounds, and another ſtanding by did greatlie maruell that he could not ſpare the gaines of one terme for the ſatisfaction of that dutie. The time hath beene that our lawiers did ſit in Powles vpon ſtoles againſt the pillers and walles to get clients, but now ſome of them will not come from their chambers to the Guildhall in London vnder ten pounds or twentie nobles at the leſt. And one being demanded why he made ſo much of

his

his trauell, answered, that it was but follie for him to go so farre, when he was assured to get more monie by sitting still at home. A friend of mine also had a sute of late of some valure, and to be sure of counsell at his time, he gaue vnto two lawiers (whose names I forbeare to deliuer) twentie shillings a peece, telling them of the daie and houre wherein his matter should be called vpon. To be short, they came not vnto the barre at all, whervpon he staied for that daie. On the morrow after he met them againe, increased his former gifts by so much more, and told them of the time, but they once againe serued him as before. In the end he met them both in the verie hall dore, and after some timorous reprehension, of their vncourteous demeanour toward him, he bestowed either three angels or foure more vpon each of them, whereupon they promised peremptorilie to speake earnestlie in his cause. And yet for all this, one of them hauing not yet sucked enough, vtterlie deceiued him: the other in deed came in, and wagging a scroll which he had in his hand before the iudge, he spake not aboue three or foure words, almost so soone vttered as a good morrow, and so went from the bar, and this was all the poore man gat for his monie, and the care which his counsellours did seeme to take of his cause, then standing vpon the hazard. But inough of these matters, for if I should set downe how little law poore men can haue for their small fees in these daies, and the great murmurings that are on all sides vttered against their excessiue taking of monie (for they can abide no small gaine) I should extend this treatise into a farre greater volume than is conuenient for my purpose. Wherfore it shall suffice to haue set downe so much of their demeanour, and so much as is euen enough to cause them to looke with somewhat more conscience into their dealings, except they be dull and senseless.

Deceipt.

Manie of our lawiers stope not at small fees.

This furthermore is to be noted, that albeit the princes heretofore reigning in this land haue erected sundrie courts, especiallie of the chancerie at Yorke and Ludlow, for the ease of poore men dwelling in those parts, yet will the poorest (of all men commonlie most contentious) refuse to haue his cause heard so neere home, but indeuoureth rather to his vtter vndoing to trauell vp to London, thinking there somest to preuaile against his aduersarie, though his case be neuer so doubtfull. But in this sote our Welshmen do exceed of all that euer I heard, for you shall here and there haue some one od poore David of them giuen so much to contention and strife, that without all respect of charges he will vp to London, though he go bare legged by the waie, and carie his hosen on his necke (to saue their feet from wearing) bicause he hath no change. When he commeth there also, he will make such importunate begging of his countrimen, and hard shift otherwise, that he will sometimes carie downe fiue or seuen writs with him in his purse, wherewith to molest his neighbor, though the greatest quarrell be scarselie worth the fee that he hath paid for anie one of them. But inough of this, least in reuealing the superfluous follie of a few brablers in this behalfe, I bring no good will to my selfe amongst the wisest of that nation. Certes it is a lamentable case to see furthermore, how a number of poore men are dailie abused and vtterlie vndone, by sundrie varlets that go about the countrie, as promoters or brokers betweene the pettie foggers of the lawe, and the common people, onelie to kindle and espie coales of contention, whereby the one side may reape commoditie, and the other spend and be put to trauell. But of all that euer I knew in Esser, Denis and Mainford excelled, till John of Ludlow, aliàs Mason came in place, vnto whome in comparison they two were but children:

Poore men contentious.

Promoters seeke matters to set lawiers on worke withall.

for this last in lesse than three or foure yeares, did bring one man (among manie else-where in other places) almost to extreame miserie (if beggerie be the vttermost) that before he had the shauing of his beard, was valued at two hundred pounds (I speake with the least) and finallie feeling that he had not sufficient wherwith to sustaine himselfe and his familie, and also to satisfie that greedie rauenour, which still called vpon him for new fees, he went to bed, and within foure daies made an end of his wofull life, euen with care and pensiuenesse. After his death also he so handled his sonne, that there was neuer sheepe shorne in Maie, so neere clipped of his fleece present, as he was of manie to come: so that he was compelled to let awaie his land, bicause his cattell & stocke were consumed, and he no longer able to occupie the ground. But hereof let this suffice, & in stead of these enormities, a table shall follow of the termes conteining their beginnings and endings, as I haue borrowed them from my freend Iohn Stow, whose studie is the onelie store house of antiquities in my time, and he worthie therefore to be had in reputation and honour.

A man would imagine that the time of the execution of our lawes, being little aboue one quarter, or not fullie a third part of the yeare, and the appointment of the same to be holden in one place onelie, to wit, neere London in Westminster, and finallie the great expenses emploied vpon the same, should be no small cause of the staie and hinderance of the administration of iustice in this land: but as it falleth out they proue great occasions and the staie of much contention. The reasons of these are some to be conceiued, for as the broken sleeue doth hold the elbow backe, and paine of trauell cause manie to sit at home in quiet; so the shortnesse of time and feare of delaie doth driue those oftentimes to like of peace, who otherwise would liue at strife, and quickelie be at ods. Some men desirous of gaines would haue the termes yet made shorter, that more delaie might ingender longer sute; other would haue the houses made larger, and more offices erected, wherein to minister the lawes. But as the times of the tearmes are rather too short than too long by one returne a peece: so if there were smaller romes and fowler waies vnto them, they would inforce manie to make pawses before they did rashlie enter into plee. But sith my purpose is not to make an ample discourse of these things, it shall suffice to deliuer the times of the holding of our termes, which insueth after this manner.

The times of our termes no hinderance to iustice.

A perfect rule to know the beginning and ending of euerie terme, with their returnes.

HIlarie terme beginneth the three and twentith daie of Ianuarie (if it be not sundaie) otherwise the next daie after, and is finished the twelfe of Februarie, it hath foure returnes.

{ Octabis Hilarij. } { Crastino Purific. }
{ Quind. Hilarij. } { Octabis Purific. }

¶ Easter terme beginneth seuentéene daies after Easter, endeth foure daies after the Ascension daie, and hath fiue returnes.

{ Quind. Pasch. } { Mense } { Quinque Paschæ. }
{ Tres Paschæ. } { Paschæ. } { Crast. Ascention. }

¶ Trinitie terme beginneth the fridaie after Trinitie sundaie, and endeth the wednesdaie fortnight after, in which time it hath foure returnes.

{ Crast. Trinitatis. } { Quind. Trinitatis. }
{ Octabis Trinitatis. } { Tres Trinitatis. }

¶ Michaelmasse terme beginneth the ninth of October (if it be not sundaie) and ending the eight and twentith

twentith of November, it hath eight returnes.

Octabis Michael.	Craft. anima.	
Quind. Michael.	Craft. Martini.	
Tres Michael.	Octa. Martini.	
Mense Michael.	Quind. Martini.	

Note also that the escheker, which is *Fiscus* or *ærarium publicum principis*, openeth eight daies before anie terme begin, except Trinitie terme, which openeth but foure daies before.

And thus much for our vsuall termes as they are kept for the administration of our common lawes, wherevnto I thinke good to adde the lawdaies accustomablie holden in the arches and audience of Canturburie, with other ecclesiasticall and ciuill courts thorough the whole yeare, or for somuch time as their execution indureth (which in comparison is scarselie one halfe of the time if it be diligentlie examined) to the end each one at home being called vp to answer may trulie know the time of his appearance; being sorie in the meane season, that the vse of the popish calendar is so much reteined in the same, and not rather the vsuall daies of the moneth placed in their romes, sith most of them are fixed and palter not their place of standing. Howbeit some of our infected lawiers will not let them go awaie so easilie, pretending facilitie and custome of vsage, but meaning peraduenture inwardlie to kéepe a commemoration of those dead men whose names are there remembred.

Michaelmas terme.

S. Faith.	All Soules.	S. Andrew.
S. Edward.	S. Martin.	Conception
S. Luke.	Edmund.	of the virgin
Simon & Iu.	Katharine.	Marie.

¶ It is to be remembred that the first daie following euerie of these feasts noted in each terme, the court of the arches is kept in Bow church in the forenoone. And the same first daie in the afternoone is the admeraltie court for ciuill and seafaring causes kept in Southwarke, where iustice is ministred & execution done continuallie according to the same.

The second daie following euerie one of the said feasts, the court of audience of Canturburie is kept in the consistorie in Paules in the forenoone. And the selfe daie in the afternoone, in the same place is the prerogatiue court of Canturburie holden.

The third day after anie such feast in the forenoone, the consistorie court of the bishop of London is kept in Paules church in the said consistorie, and the same third daie in the afternoone is the court of the delegates, and the court of the Quéenes highnesse commissioners vpon apeales is likewise kept in the same place on the fourth daie.

Hilarie terme.

S. Hilarie.	S. Scolastic.	S. Chad.
S. Wolstan.	S. Valentine	Perpet. & Fel.
Conuersion	Ashwednes.	S. Gregorie.
of S. Paule.	S. Matthie.	Annũciation
S. Blase.		of our Ladie.

Note that the foure first daies of this terme be certeine and vnchanged. The other are altered after the course of the yeare, and sometime kept and sometime omitted. For if it so happen that one of those feasts fall on wednesdaie, commonlie called Ashwednesdaie after the daie of S. Blase (so that the same lawdaie after Ashwednesdaie cannot be kept bicause the lawdaie of the other feast doth light on the same) then the second lawdaie after Ashwednesdaie shall be kept, and the other omitted. And if the lawdaie after Ashwednesdaie be the next daie after the feast of S. Blase, then shall all and euerie court daies be obserued in order, as they may be kept conuenientlie. And marke that although Ashwednesdaie be put the seuenth in order, yet it hath no certeine place, but is changed as the course of Easter causeth it.

Easter terme.

The fiftéenth daie after Easter.

S. Alphege.	Gordian.	
S. Marke.	s. Dunstan.	
Inuention of	Ascension daie.	
the crosse.		

¶ In this terme the first sitting is alwaie kept the mondaie being the fiftéenth daie after Easter, and so forth after the feasts here noted, which next follow by course of the yeare after Easter, and the like space being kept betwéene other feasts.

The rest of the lawdaies are kept to the third of the Ascension, which is the last day of this terme. And if it happen that the feast of the Ascension of our Lord, do come before anie of the feasts aforesaid, then they are omitted for that yeare. And likewise if anie of those daies come before the fiftéenth of Easter, those daies are omitted also.

Trinitie terme.

Trinitie sundaie.	S. Butolph.	S. Swithune.
Corpus Christi.	S. Iohn.	S. Margaret.
Boniface bish.	S. Paule.	S. Anne.
S. Barnabie.	Translat. Thomas.	

Here note also that the lawdaies of this terme are altered by meane of Whitsuntide, and the first sitting is kept alwaies on the first lawdaie after the feast of the holie Trinitie, and the second session is kept the first lawdaie after the idolatrous and papisticall feast daie called Corpus Christi, except Corpus Christi daie fall on some day aforenamed: which chanceth sometime, and then the fitter daie is kept. And after the second session account foure daies or thereabout, and then loke which is the next feast day, and the first lawdaie after the said feast shall be the third session. The other law daies follow in order, but so manie of them are kept, as for the time of the yeare shall be thought méet.

It is also generallie to be obserued, that euerie daie is called a lawdaie that is not sundaie or holie daie: and that if the feast daie being knowne of anie court daie in anie terme, the first or second daie following be sundaie, then the court daie is kept the daie after the said holie daie or feast.

Of prouision made for the poore.

Chap. 10.

THere is no common-wealth at this daie in Europe, wherin there is not great store of poore people, and those necessarilie to be relieued by the welthier sort, which otherwise would starue and come to vtter confusion. With vs the poore is commonlie diuided into three sorts, so that some are poore by impotencie, as the fatherlesse child, the aged, blind and lame, and the diseased person that is iudged to be incurable: the second are poore by casualtie, as the wounded souldier, the decaied householder, and the sicke person visited with grieuous and painefull diseases: the third consisteth of thriftlesse poore, as the riotour that hath consumed all, the vagabund that will abide no where, but runneth vp and downe from place to place (as it were seeking worke and finding none) and finallie the roge and strumpet which are not possible to be diuided in sunder, but runne to and fro ouer all the realme, chéefelie kéeping the champaine soiles in summer to auoid the scorching heat, and the woodland grounds in winter to eschew the blustering winds.

Three sorts of poore.

For

For the firſt two ſorts, that is to ſaie, the poore by impotencie, and the poore by caſualtie, which are the true poore in deed, and for whome the word doth bind vs to make ſome dailie prouiſion: there is order taken throughout euerie pariſh in the realme, that weekelie collection ſhall be made for their helpe and ſuſtentation, to the end they ſhould not ſcatter abroad, and by begging here and there annoie both towne and countrie. Authoritie alſo is giuen vnto the iuſtices in euerie countie, and great penalties appointed for ſuch as make default, to ſee that the intent of the ſtatute in this behalfe be trulie executed, according to the purpoſe and meaning of the ſame, ſo that theſe two ſorts are ſufficientlie prouided for: and ſuch as can liue within the limits of their allowance (as each one will do that is godlie and well diſpoſed) may well forbeare to rome and range about. But if they refuſe to be ſupported by this benefit of the law, and will rather indeuour by going to and fro to mainteine their idle trades, then are they adiudged to be parcell of the third ſort, and ſo in ſtéed of courteous refreſhing at home, are often corrected with ſharpe execution, and whip of iuſtice abroad. Manie there are, which notwithſtanding the rigor of the lawes prouided in that behalfe, yéeld rather with this libertie (as they call it) to be dailie vnder the feare and terrour of the whip, than by abiding where they were borne or bred, to be prouided for by the deuotion of the pariſhes. I found not long ſince a note of theſe latter ſort, the effect whereof inſueth. Idle beggers are ſuch either through other mens occaſion, or through their owne default. By other mens occaſion (as one waie for example) when ſome couetous man, ſuch I meane as haue the caſt or right veine, dailie to make beggers inough wherby to peſter the land, eſpieng a further commoditie in their commons, holds, and tenures, doth find ſuch meanes as thereby to wipe manie out of their occupiengs, and turne the ſame vnto his priuate gaines. Hereupon it followeth, that although the wiſe and better minded, do either forſake the realme for altogether, and ſéeke to liue in other countries, as France, Germanie, Barbarie, India, Moſcouia, and verie Calecute, complaining of no rome to be left for them at home, do ſo behaue themſelues that they are worthilie to be accompted among the ſecond ſort: yet the greater part commonlie hauing nothing to ſtaie vpon are wilfull, and therevpon do either proue idle beggers, or elſe continue ſtarke théeues till the gallowes do eat them vp, which is a lamentable caſe. Certes in ſome mans iudgements theſe things are but trifles, and not worthie the regarding. Some alſo do grudge at the great increaſe of people in theſe daies, thinking a neceſſarie breed of cattell farre better than a ſuperfluous augmentation of mankind. But I can liken ſuch men beſt of all vnto the pope and the diuell, who practiſe the hinderance of the furniture of the number of the elect to their vttermoſt, to the end the authoritie of the one vpon earth, the deferring of the locking vp of the other in euerlaſting chaines, and the great gaines of the firſt may continue and indure the longer. But if it ſhould come to paſſe that any forren inuaſion ſhould be made, which the Lord God forbid for his mercies ſake! then ſhould theſe men find that a wall of men is farre better than ſtackes of corne and bags of monie, and complaine of the want when it is too late to ſéeke remedie. The like occaſion cauſed the Romans to deuiſe their law Agraria: but the rich not liking of it, and the couetous vtterlie condemning it as rigorous and vnprofitable, neuer ceaſed to practiſe diſturbance till it was quite aboliſhed. But to proceed with my purpoſe.

A thing often ſéene.

At whoſe hands ſhall the bloud of theſe men be required.

Such as are idle beggers through their owne default are of two ſorts, and continue their eſtates either by caſuall or mére voluntarie meanes: thoſe that are ſuch by caſuall means, are in the beginning iuſtlie to be referred either to the firſt or ſecond ſort of poore afore mentioned: but degenerating into the thirdleſſe ſort, they do what they can to continue their miſerie, and with ſuch impediments as they haue to ſtraie and wander about, as creatures abhorring all labour and euerie honeſt exerciſe. Certes I call theſe caſuall meanes, not in reſpect of the originall of their pouertie, but of the continuance of the ſame, from whence they will not be deliuered, ſuch is their owne vngratious lewdneſſe, and froward diſpoſition. The voluntarie meanes proceed from outward cauſes, as by making of corroſiues, and applieng the ſame to the more fleſhie parts of their bodies: and alſo laieng of ratſbane, ſperewort, crowfoot, and ſuch like vnto their whole members, thereby to raiſe pitifull and odious ſores, and moue the harts of the goers by ſuch places where they lie, to yerne at their miſerie, and therevpon beſtow large almeſſe vpon them. How artificiallie they beg, what forcible ſpéech, and how they ſelect and chooſe out words of behemencie, whereby they do in maner conſure or adiure the goer by to pitie their caſes, I paſſe ouer to remember, as iudging the name of God and Chriſt to be more conuerſant in the mouths of none: and yet the preſence of the heuenlie maieſtie further off from no men than from this vngratious companie. Which maketh me to thinke that puniſhment is farre meeter for them than liberalitie or almeſſe, and ſith Chriſt willeth vs chéeflie to haue a regard to himſelfe and his poore members.

Vnto this neſt is another ſort to be referred, more ſturdie than the reſt, which hauing ſound and perfect limbs, do yet notwithſtanding ſometime counterfeit the poſſeſſion of all ſorts of diſeaſes. Diuerſe times in their apparell alſo they will be like ſeruing men or labourers: oftentimes they can plaie the mariners, and ſéeke for ſhips which they neuer loſt. But in fine, they are all théeues and caterpillers in the commonwealth, and by the word of God not permitted to eat, ſith they do but licke the ſweat from the true labourers browes, & bereue the godlie poore of that which is due vnto them, to mainteine their exceſſe, conſuming the charitie of well diſpoſed people beſtowed vpon them, after a moſt wicked & deteſtable maner.

It is not yet full thrée ſcore yeares ſince this trade began: but how it hath proſpered ſince that time, it is eaſie to iudge, for they are now ſuppoſed of one ſer and another, to amount vnto aboue 10000 perſons; as I haue heard reported. Moreouer, in counterfeiting the Egyptian roges, they haue deuiſed a language among themſelues, which they name Canting, but other pedlers French, a ſpeach compact thirtie yeares ſince of Engliſh, and a great number of od words of their owne deuiſing, without all order or reaſon: and yet ſuch is it as none but themſelues are able to vnderſtand. The firſt deuiſer thereof was hanged by the necke, a iuſt reward no doubt for his deſerts, and a common end to all of that profeſſion. A gentleman alſo of late hath taken great paines to ſearch out the ſecret practiſes of this vngratious rable. And among other things he ſetteth downe and deſcribeth thrée & twentie ſorts of them, whoſe names it ſhall not be amiſſe to remember, wherby ech one may take occaſion to read and know as alſo by his induſtrie what wicked people they are, and what villanie remaineth in them.

Thomas Harman.

The ſeuerall diſorders and degrees amongſt our idle vagabonds.

1 Ruffilers.
2 Vprightmen.
3 Hookers or Anglers.
4 Roges.
5 Wild

5 Wildroges.
6 Priggers or prauncers.
7 Pallards.
8 Fraters.
9 Abrams.
10 Freshwater mariners, or whiptacks.
11 Dummerers.
12 Drunken tinkers.
13 Swadders or pedlers.
14 Jarkemen or patricoes.

¶ Of women kind.

1 Demanders for glimmar or fire.
2 Bandie baskets.
3 Mortes.
4 Autem mortes.
5 Walking mortes.
6 Dores.
7 Delles.
8 Kinching mortes.
9 Kinching cowes.

The punishment that is ordeined for this kind of people is verie sharpe, and yet it can not restreine them from their gadding: wherefore the end must néeds be martiall law, to be exercised vpon them, as vpon théeues, robbers, despisers of all lawes, and enimies to the common-wealth & welfare of the land. What notable roberies, pilferies, murders, rapes, and stealings of yong children, burning, breaking and disfiguring their limbs to make them pitifull in the sight of the people, I néed not to rehearse: but for their idle roging about the countrie, the law ordeineth this maner of correction. The roge being apprehended, committed to prison, and tried in the next assises (whether they be of gaole deliuerie or sessions of the peace) if he happen to be conuicted for a vagabond either by inquest of office, or the testimonie of two honest and credible witnesses vpon their oths, he is then immediatlie adiudged to be grieuouslie whipped and burned through the gristle of the right eare, with an hot iron of the compasse of an inch about, as a manifestation of his wicked life, and due punishment receiued for the same. And this iudgement is to be executed vpon him, except some honest person worth fiue pounds in the quéenes books in goods, or twentie shillings in lands, or some rich householder to be allowed by the iustices, will be bound in recognisance to reteine him in his seruice for one whole yeare. If he be taken the second time, and proued to haue forsaken his said seruice, he shall then be whipped againe, bored likewise through the other eare and set to seruice: from whence if he depart before a yeare be expired, and happen afterward to be attached againe, he is condemned to suffer paines of death as a fellon (except before excepted) without benefit of clergie or sanctuarie, as by the statute doth appeare. Among roges and idle persons finallie, we find to be comprised all proctors that go vp and downe with counterfeit licences, cosiners, and such as gad about the countrie, vsing vnlawfull games, practisers of physiognomie and palmestrie, tellers of fortunes, fensers, players, minstrels, iugglers, pedlers, tinkers, pretensed schollers, shipmen, prisoners gathering for fees, and others so oft as they be taken without sufficient licence. From among which companie our bearewards are not excepted, and iust cause: for I haue read that they haue either voluntarilie, or for want of power to master their sauage beasts, béene occasion of the death and deuouration of manie children in sundrie countries by which they haue passed, whose parents neuer knew what was become of them. And for that cause there is a haue béene manie sharpe lawes made for bearwards in Germanie, wherof you may read in other. But to our roges. Each one also that harboreth or aideth them with meat or monie, is taxed and compelled to fine with the quéenes maiestie for euerie time that he doth so succour them, as it shall please the iustices of peace to assigne, so that the taxation exceed not twentie shillings, as I haue béene informed. And thus much of the poore, & such prouision as is appointed for them within the realme of England.

Of sundrie kinds of punishments *appointed for malefactors.*

Chap. 11.

IN cases of felonie, manslaughter, roberie, murther, rape, piracie, & such capitall crimes as are not reputed for treason or hurt of the estate, our sentence pronounced vpon the offendor is to hang till he be dead. For of other punishments vsed in other countries we haue no knowledge or vse, and yet so few grieuous crimes committed with vs as else where in the world. To vse torment also or question by paine and torture in these common cases with vs is greatlie abhorred, sith we are found alwaie to be such as despise death, and yet abhorre to be tormented, chosing rather franklie to open our minds than to yeld our bodies vnto such seruile halings and tearings as are vsed in other countries. And this is one cause wherefore our condemned persons do go so chéerefullie to their deths, for our nation is free, stout, hautie, prodigall of life and blond, as sir Thomas Smith saith *lib. 2. cap. 25. de republica*, and therefore cannot in anie wise digest to be vsed as villanes and slaues, in suffering continuallie beating, seruitude, and seruile torments. No, our gailers are guiltie of felonie by an old law of the land, if they torment anie prisoner committed to their custodie for the reuealing of his complices.

The greatest and most grieuous punishment vsed in England, for such as offend against the state, is drawing from the prison to the place of execution vpon an hardle or sled, where they are hanged till they be halfe dead, and then taken downe and quartered aliue, after that their members and bowels are cut from their bodies, and throwne into a fire prouided neere hand and within their owne sight, euen for the same purpose. Sometimes, if the trespasse be not the more hainous, they are suffered to hang till they be quite dead. And when soeuer anie of the nobilitie are conuicted of high treason by their peeres, that is to saie, equals (for an inquest of yeomen passeth not vpon them, but onelie of the lords of the parlement) this maner of their death is conuerted into the losse of their heads onelie, notwithstanding that the sentence dorun after the former order. In triall of cases concerning treason, felonie, or anie other grieuous crime not confessed, the partie accused doth yéeld, if he be a nobleman, to be tried by an inquest (as I haue said) and his péeres: if a gentleman, by gentlemen: and an inferiour, by God and by the countrie, to wit, the yeomanrie (for combat or battell is not greatlie in vse) and being condemned of felonie, manslaughter, &c: he is eftsoons hanged by the necke till he be dead, and then cut downe and buried. But if he be conuicted of wilfull murther, done either vpon pretended malice, or in anie notable robberie, he is either hanged aliue in chaines néere the place where the fact was committed (or else vpon compassion taken first strangled with a rope) and so continueth till his bones consume to nothing. We haue vse neither of the wheele nor of the barre, as in other countries; but when wilfull manslaughter is perpetrated, beside hanging, the offendor hath his right hand commonlie stricken off before or néere vnto the place where the act was done, after which he is led forth to the place of execution, and there put to death according to the law.

The word fellon is deriued of the Saxon words Fell and One, that is to say, an euill and wicked one,

one

a one of vntamable nature, and lewdnesse not to be suffered for feare of euill example and the corruption of others. In like sort in the word fellonie are manie grieuous crimes conteined, as breach of prison An. 1 of Edward the second. Disfigurers of the princes liege people An. 5. of Henrie the fourth. Hunting by night with painted faces and visors An. 1. of Henrie the seuenth. Rape or stealing of women & maidens An. 3 of Henrie the eight. Conspiracie against the person of the prince An. 3. of Henrie the seuenth. Embesilling of goods committed by the maister to the seruant, aboue the value of fourtie shillings An. 17. of Henrie the eight. Carieng of horses or mares into Scotland An. 23. of Henrie the eight. Sodomie and buggerie An. 25. of Henrie the eight. Stealing of hawkes egs An. 31. of Henrie the eight. Coniuring, sorcerie, witchcraft, and digging vp of crosses An. 33. of Hen. 8. Prophesieng vpon armes, cognisances, names & badges An. 33. of Hen. 8. Casting of slanderous bils An. 37. Hen. 8. Wilfull killing by poison An. 1. of Edw. the first. Departure of a soldier from the field An. 2. of Edward the first. Diminution of coine, all offenses within case of præmunire, embesselling of records, goods taken from dead men by their seruants, stealing of what soeuer cattell, robbing by the high waie, vpon the sea, or of dwelling houses, letting out of ponds, cutting of purses, stealing of deere by night, counterfeitors of coine, euidences, charters, and writings, & diuerse other needlesse to be remembred. If a woman poison hir husband she is burned aliue, if the seruant kill his maister he is to be executed for petie treason, he that poisoneth a man is to be boiled to death in water or lead, although the partie die not of the practise: in cases of murther all the accessaries are to suffer paines of death accordinglie. Periurie is punished by the pillorie, burning in the forehead with the letter P, the rewalting of the trees growing vpon the grounds of the offendors and losse of all his moueables. Manie trespasses also are punished by the cutting of one or both eares from the head of the offendor, as the vtterance of seditious words against the magistrates, fraimakers, petie robbers, &c. Roges are burned through the eares, carters of sheepe out of the land by the losse of their hands, such as kill by poison are either boiled or skalded to death in lead or seething water. Heretikes are burned quicke, harlots and their mates by carting, ducking, and doing of open penance in sheets, in churches and market steads are often put to rebuke. Howbeit as this is counted with some either as no punishment at all to speake of, or but smallie regarded of the offendors, so I would wish adulterie and fornication to haue some sharper law. For what great smart is it to be turned out of an hot sheet into a cold, or after a little washing in the water to be let lose againe vnto their former trades? Howbeit the dragging of some of them ouer the Thames betweene Lambeth and Westminster at the taile of a boat, is a punishment that most terrifieth them which are condemned thereto: but this is inflicted vpon them by none other than the knight marshall, and that within the compasse of his iurisdiction & limits onelie. Canutus was the first that gaue authoritie to the cleargie to punish whoredome, who at that time found fault with the former lawes as being to seuere in this behalfe. For before the time of the said Canutus, the adulterer forfeited all his goods to the king, and his bodie to be at his pleasure; and the adulteresse was to lose hir eies or nose, or both, if the case were more than common: whereby it appeereth of what estimation marriage was amongst them, sith the breakers of that holie estate were so grieuouslie rewarded. But afterward the cleargie dealt more fauourablie with them, shewting rather at the punishments of such priests and clearkes as were maried, than the reformation of adulterie and fornication, wherein you shall find no example that anie seueritie was shewed, except vpon such laie men as had defiled their nuns. As in theft therfore so in adulterie and whoredome I would wish the parties trespassant, to be made bond or slaues vnto those that receiued the iniurie, to sell and giue where they listed, or to be condemned to the galies: for that punishment would proue more bitter to them than halfe an houres hanging, or than standing in a sheet, though the weather be neuer so cold.

Manslaughter in time past was punished by the purse, wherin the quantitie or qualitie of the punishment was rated after the state and calling of the partie killed: so that one was valued sometime at 1200, another at 600, or 200 shillings. And by an estatute made vnder Henrie the first, a citizen of London at 100, whereof else-where I haue spoken more at large. Such as kill themselues are buried in the field with a stake driuen through their bodies.

Witches are hanged or sometimes burned, but theeues are hanged (as I said before) generallie on the gibbet or gallowes, sauing in Halifax where they are beheaded after a strange maner, and whereof I find this report. There is and hath beene of ancient time a law or rather a custome at Halifax, that whosoeuer doth commit anie fellonie, and is taken with the same, or confesse the fact vpon examination: if it be valued by foure constables to amount to the sum of thirteene pence halfe penie, he is forthwith beheaded vpon one of the next market daies (which fall vsuallie vpon the tuesdaies, thursdaies, & saturdaies) or else vpon the same daie that he is so conuicted, if market be then holden. The engine wherewith the execution is doone, is a square blocke of wood of the length of foure fot and an halfe, which doth ride vp and downe in a slot, rabet, or regall betweene two peeces of timber, that are framed and set vpright of fiue yardes in height. In the neather end of the sliding blocke is an ax keied or fastened with an iron into the wood, which being drawne vp to the top of the frame is there fastned by a woodden pin (with a notch made into the same after the maner of a Samsons post) vnto the middest of which pin also there is a long rope fastened that commeth downe among the people, so that when the offendor hath made his confession, and hath laid his necke ouer the neathermost blocke, euerie man there present doth either take hold of the rope (or putteth forth his arme so neere to the same as he can get, in token that he is willing to see true iustice executed) and pulling out the pin in this maner, the head blocke wherein the ax is fastened doth fall downe with such a violence, that if the necke of the transgressor were so big as that of a bull, it should be cut in sunder at a stroke, and roll from the bodie by an huge distance. If it be so that the offendor be apprehended for an ox, oxen, sheepe, kine, horsse, or anie such cattell: the selfe beast or other of the same kind shall haue the end of the rope tied somewhere vnto them, so that they being driuen do draw out the pin whereby the offendor is executed. Thus much of Halifax law, which I set downe onelie to shew the custome of that countrie in this behalfe.

Halifax law.

Roges and vagabonds are often stocked and whipped, scolds are ducked vpon cuckingstooles in the water. Such fellons as stand mute and speake not at their arraignement are pressed to death by huge weights laid vpon a bord, that lieth ouer their brest, and a sharpe stone vnder their backs, and these commonlie hold their peace, thereby to saue their goods vnto their wiues and children, which if they were condemned should be confiscated to the prince. Theeues that are saued by their bookes and cleargie, for the first

Mute.

Cleargie.

offense, if they haue stollen nothing else but oren, shéepe, monie, or such like, which be no open robberies, as by the high waie side, or assailing of anie mans house in the night, without putting him in feare of his life, or breaking vp of his wals or doores, are burned in the left hand, vpon the brawne of the thombe with an hot iron, so that if they be apprehended againe, that marke bewraieth them to haue béene arraigned of felonie before, whereby they are sure at that time to haue no mercie. I do not read that this custome of saning by the booke is vsed anie where else than in England, neither do I find (after much diligent inquirie) what Saxon prince ordeined that lawe. Howbeit, this I generallie gather thereof, that it was deuised to traine the inhabiters of this land to the loue of learning, which before contemned letters and all good knowledge, as men onelie giuing themselues to husbandrie and the warres, the like whereof I read to haue béene amongst the Gothes and Vandals, who for a time would not suffer euen their princes to be lerned for weakening of their courages, nor anie learned men to remaine in the counsell house, but by open proclamation would command them to auoid, whensoeuer anie thing touching the state of the land was to be consulted vpon. Pirats and robbers by sea are condemned in the court of the admeraltie, and hanged on the shore at lowe water marke, where they are left till three tides haue ouerwashed them. Finallie, such as hauing wals and banks néere vnto the sea, and do suffer the same to decaie (after conuenient admonition) whereby the water entereth and drowneth vp the countrie, are by a certeine ancient custome apprehended, condemned, and staked in the breach, where they remaine for euer as parcell of the foundation of the new wall that is to be made vpon them, as I haue heard reported.

Pirats.

And thus much in part of the administration of iustice vsed in our countrie, wherein notwithstanding that we do not often heare of horrible, merciles, and wilfull murthers (such I meane as are not fildome séene in the countries of the maine) yet now and then some manslaughter and bloudie robberies are perpetrated and committed, contrarie to the lawes, which be seuerelie punished, and in such wise as I before reported. Certes there is no greater mischéefe done in England than by robberies, the first by yong shifting gentlemen, which oftentimes do beare more port than they are able to mainteine. Secondlie by seruingmen, whose wages cannot suffice so much as to find them breeches, wherefore they are now and then constreined either to kéepe high waies, and breake into the wealthie mens houses with the first sort, or else to walke vp and downe in gentlemens and rich farmers pastures, there to sée and view which horses féed best, whereby they manie times get something, although with hard aduenture it hath béene knowne by their confession at the gallowes, that some one such chapman hath had fortie, fiftie, or sixtie stolne horses at pasture here and there abroad in the countrie at a time, which they haue sold at faires and markets farre off, they themselues in the meane season being taken about home for honest yeomen, and verie wealthie drouers, till their dealings haue bén bewraied. It is not long since one of this companie was apprehended, who was before time reputed for a verie honest and wealthie townesman, he vttered also more horses than anie of his trade, because he sold a reasonable penniworth, and was a faire spoken man. It was his custome likewise to saie, if anie man bucked hard with him about the price of a gelding; So God helpe me gentleman or sir, either he did cost me so much, or else by Jesus I stole him. Which talke was plaine inough, and yet such was his estimation, that each beléeued the first part of his tale, and made no account of the later, which was the truer indéed.

Our third annoters of the common-wealth are roges, which do verie great mischéefe in all places where they become. For whereas the rich onelie suffer iniurie by the first two, these spare neither rich nor poore: but whether it be great gaine or small, all is fish that commeth to net with them, and yet I saie both they and the rest are trussed vp apace. For there is not one yeare commonlie, wherein three hundred or foure hundred of them are not deuoured and eaten vp by the gallowes in one place and other. It appeareth by Cardane (who writeth it vpon the report of the bishop of Leronia) in the geniture of king Edward the first, how Henrie the eight, executing his lawes verie seuerelie against such idle persons, I meane great thœues, pettie thœues and roges, did hang vp three score and twelue thousand of them in his time. He seemed for a while greatlie to haue terrified the rest: but since his death the number of them is so increased, yea although we haue had no warres, which are a great occasion of their breed (for it is the custome of the more idle sort, hauing once serued or but séene the other side of the sea vnder colour of seruice to shake hand with labour, for euer, thinking it a disgrace for himselfe to returne vnto his former trade) that except some better order be taken, or the lawes alreadie made be better executed, such as dwell in vplandish townes and little villages shall liue but in small safetie and rest. For the better apprehension also of thœues and mankillers, there is an old law in England verie well prouided, whereby it is ordered, that if he that is robbed, or any man complaine and giue warning of slaughter or murther committed, the constable of the village wherevnto he commeth and crieth for succour, is to raise the parish about him, and to search woods, groues, and all suspected houses and places, where the trespasser may be, or is supposed to lurke; and not finding him there, he is to giue warning vnto the next constable, and so one constable after serch made to aduertise another from parish to parish, till they come to the same where the offendor is harbored and found. It is also prouided, that if anie parish in this businesse do not his dutie, but suffereth the théefe (for the auoiding of trouble sake) in carrieng him to the gaile, if he should be apprehended, or other letting of their worke, to escape the same parish, is not onlie to make fine to the king, but also the same with the whole hundred wherein it standeth, to repaie the partie robbed his damages, and leaue his estate harmlesse. Certes this is a good law, howbeit I haue knowne by mine owne experience, fellons being taken to haue escaped out of the stocks, being rescued by other for want of watch & gard, that thœues haue bœne let passe, because the couetous and grœdie parishoners would neither take the paines, nor be at the charge to carrie them to prison, if it were far off, that when hue and crie haue béene made euen to the faces of some constables, they haue said; God reskore your losse, I haue other businesse at this time. And by such meanes the meaning of manie a good law is left vnexecuted, malefactors imboldened, and manie a poore man turned out of that which he hath swet and taken great paines for, toward the maintenance of himselfe and his poore children and familie.

Of

Of the maner of building and *furniture of our houſes.*

Chap. 12.

THe greateſt part of our building in the cities and good townes of England conſiſteth onelie of timber, for as yet few of the houſes of the communaltie (except here & there in the Weſt countrie townes) are made of ſtone, although they may (in my opinion) in diuerſe other places be builded ſo good cheape of the one as of the other. In old time the houſes of the Britons were ſlightlie ſet vp with a few poſts: many radels, with ſtable and all offices vnder one roofe, the like whereof almoſt is to be ſéene in the fennie countries and northerne parts vnto this daie, where for lacke of wood they are inforced to continue this ancient maner of building. It is not in vaine therefore in ſpeaking of building to make a diſtinction betwéene the plaine and woddie ſoiles: for as in theſe, our houſes are commonlie ſtrong and well timbered, ſo that in manie places, there are not aboue foure, ſix, or nine inches betwéene ſtud and ſtud: ſo in the open and champaine countries they are inforced for want of ſtuffe to vſe no ſtuds at all, but onlie ſtranke poſts, raiſins, beames, prickepoſts, groundſels, ſummers (or dormants) tranſoms, and ſuch principals, with here and there a girding, whervnto they faſten their ſplints or radels, and then caſt it all ouer with thicke claie to keepe out the wind, which otherwiſe would annoie them. Certes this rude kind of building made the Spaniards in quéene Maries daies to wonder, but chéeflie when they ſaw what large diet was vſed in manie of theſe ſo homelie cottages, in ſo much that one of no ſmall reputation amongſt them ſaid after this maner: Theſe Engliſh (quoth he) haue their houſes made of ſticks and durt, but they fare commonlie ſo well as the king. Whereby it appeareth that he liked better of our good fare in ſuch courſe cabins, than of their owne thin diet in their princelike habitations and palaces. In like ſort as euerie countrie houſe is thus apparelled on the out ſide, ſo is it inwardlie diuided into ſundrie romes aboue and beneath; and where plentie of wood is, they couer them with tiles, otherwiſe with ſtraw, ſedge, or réed, except ſome quarrie of ſlate be néere hand, from whence they haue for their monie ſo much as may ſuffice them.

The claie wherewith our houſes are impanelled is either white, red, or blue, and of theſe the firſt doth participat verie much with the nature of our chalke, the ſecond is called lome, but the third eftſoones changeth colour ſo ſone as it is wrought, notwithſtanding that it loke blue when it is throwne out of the pit. Of chalke alſo we haue our excellent Aſbeſtos or white lime, made in moſt places, therewith being quenched we ſtrike ouer our claie workes and ſtone walls, in cities, good townes, rich farmers and gentlemens houſes: otherwiſe in ſtéed of chalke (where it wanteth for it is ſo ſcant that in ſome places it is ſold by the pound) they are compelled to burne a certeine kind of red ſtone, as in Wales, and elſe where other ſtones and ſhels of oiſters and like fiſh found vpon the ſea coaſt, which being conuerted into lime doth naturallie (as the other) abhorre and eſchew water whereby it is diſſolued, and neuertheleſſe deſire oile wherewith it is eaſilie mixed, as I haue ſéene by experience. Within their dores alſo ſuch as are of abilit: do oft make their flores and parget of fine alabaſter burned, which they call plaſter of Paris, whereof in ſome places we haue great plentie, and that verie profitable againſt the rage of fire.

In plaſtering likewiſe of our faireſt houſes ouer our heads, we vſe to laie firſt a laine or two of white morter tempered with haire vpon laths, which are nailed one by another (or ſometimes vpon réed or wickers more dangerous for fire, and made faſt here and there with ſaplaths for falling downe) and finallie couer all with the aforeſaid plaſter, which beſide the delectable whiteneſſe of the ſtuffe it ſelfe, is laied on ſo euen and ſmoothlie, as nothing in my iudgment can be done with more exactneſſe. The wals of our houſes on the inner ſides in like ſort be either hanged with tapiſſerie, arras worke, or painted cloths, wherein either diuerſe hiſtories, or hearbes, beaſts, knots, and ſuch like are ſtained, or elſe they are ſeeled with oke of our owne, or wainſcot brought hither out of the eaſt countries, whereby the romes are not a little commended, made warme, and much more cloſe than otherwiſe they would be. As for ſtoues we haue not hitherto vſed them greatlie, yet do they now begin to be made in diuerſe houſes of the gentrie and wealthie citizens, who build them not to worke and féed in as in Germanie and elſe where, but now and then to ſweat in, as occaſion and néed ſhall require it. This alſo hath béene common in England, contrarie to the cuſtomes of all other nations, and yet to be ſéene (for example in moſt ſtréets of London) that many of our greateſt houſes haue outwardlie béene verie ſimple and plaine to ſight, which inwardlie haue bene able to receiue a duke with his whole traine, and lodge them at their eaſe. Hereby moreouer it is come to paſſe, that the fronts of our ſtréets haue not béene ſo vniforme and orderlie builded as thoſe of forreine cities, where (to ſaie truth) the vtter ſide of their manſions and dwellings haue oft more coſt beſtowed vpon them, than all the reſt of the houſe, which are often verie ſimple and vnéaſie within, as experience doth confirme. Of old time our countrie houſes in ſtéed of glaſſe did vſe much lattiſe and that made either of wicker or fine rifts of oke in chekerwiſe. I read alſo that ſome of the better ſort, in and before the times of the Saxons (who notwithſtanding vſed ſome glaſſe alſo ſince the time of Benedict Biſcop the monke that brought the feat of glaſing firſt into this land) did make panels of horne in ſtéed of glaſſe, & fir them in wodden calmes. But as horne in windows is now quite laid downe in euerie place, ſo our lattiſes are alſo growne into leſſe vſe, bicauſe glaſſe is come to be ſo plentifull, and within a verie little ſo good cheape if not better then the other.

I find obſcure mention of the ſpecular ſtone alſo to haue béene found and applied to this vſe in England, but in ſuch doubtfull ſort as I dare not affirme it for certeine. Neuertheleſſe certeine it is that antiquitie vſed it before glaſſe was knowen, vnder the name of Selenites. And how glaſſe was firſt found I care not greatlie to remember euen at this preſent, although it be directlie beſide my purpoſed matter. In Syria phenices which boordereth vpon Iurie, & néere to the foot of mount Carmell there is a more or marris, wherout riſeth a brooke called ſomtime Belus, and falleth into the ſea néere to Ptolemais. This riuer was fondlie aſcribed vnto Baall, and alſo honored vnder that name by the infidels, long time before there was anie king in Iſraell. It came to paſſe alſo as a certeine merchant ſailed that waie loden with Nitrum, the paſſengers went to land for to repoſe themſelues, and to take in ſome ſtore of freſh water into their veſſell. Being alſo on the ſhore they kindled a fire, and made proviſion for their dinner, but bicauſe they wanted trewets or ſtones whereon

to set their kettels on, ran by chance into the ship, and brought great peeces of Nitrum with him, which serued their turne for that present. To be short, the said substance being hot, and beginning to melt, it mixed by chance with the grauell that laie vnder it; and so brought forth that shining substance which now is called glasse, and about the time of Semiramis. When the companie saw this, they made no small accompt of their successe, and forthwith began to practise the like in other mixtures, whereby great variette of the said stuffe did also insue. Certes for the time this historie may well be true: for I read of glasse in Iob, but for the rest I refer me to the common opinion conceiued by writers. Now to turne againe to our windowes. Heretofore also the houses of our princes and noble men were often glased with Berill (an example whereof is yet to be seene in Sudleie castell) and in diuerse other places with fine christall, but this especiallie in the time of the Romans, wherof also some fragments haue beene taken vp in old ruines. But now these are not in vse, so that onelie the clearest glasse is most esteemed: for we haue diuerse sorts, some brought out of Burgundie, some out of Normandie, much out of Flanders, beside that which is made in England, which would be so good as the best, if we were diligent and carefull to bestow more cost vpon it, and yet as it is, each one that may, will haue it for his building. Moreouer the mansion houses of our countrie townes and villages (which in champaine ground stand altogither by streets, & ioining one to an other, but in woodland soiles dispersed here and there, each one vpon the seuerall grounds of their owners) are builded in such sort generallie, as that they haue neither dairie, stable, nor brewhouse annexed vnto them vnder the same roofe (as in manie places beyond the sea & some of the north parts of our countrie) but all separate from the first, and one of them from an other. And yet for all this, they are not so farre distant in sunder, but that the goodman lieng in his bed may lightlie heare what is done in each of them with ease, and call quicklie vnto his meinie if anie danger should attach him.

The ancient manours and houses of our gentlemen are yet and for the most part of strong timber, in framing whereof our carpenters haue beene and are worthilie preferred before those of like science among all other nations. Howbeit such as be latelie builded, are cõmonlie either of bricke or hard stone, or both; their rooms large and comelie, and houses of office further distant from their lodgings. Those of the nobilitie are likewise wrought with bricke and hard stone, as prouision may best be made: but so magnificent and statelie, as the baselt house of a baron doth often match in our daies with some honours of princes in old time. So that if euer curious building did florish in England, it is in these our yeares, wherin our workemen excell, and are in maner comparable in skill with old Vitruuius, Leo Baptista, and Serlo. Neuertheles, their estimation more than their greedie and seruile couetousnesse, ioined with a lingering humour causeth them often to be reiected, & strangers preferred to greater bargaines, who are more reasonable in their takings, and lesse wasters of time by a great deale than our owne.

The furniture of our houses also exceedeth, and is growne in maner euen to passing delicacie: and herein I do not speake of the nobilitie and gentrie onelie, but likewise of the lowest sort in most places of our south countrie, that haue anie thing at all to take to. Certes in noble mens houses it is not rare to see abundance of Arras, rich hangings of tapistrie, siluer vessell, and so much other plate, as may furnish sundrie cupbords, to the summe oftentimes of a thousand or two thousand pounds at the least: whereby the value of this and the rest of their stuffe doth grow to be almost inestimable. Likewise in the houses of knights, gentlemen, marchantmen, and some other wealthie citizens, it is not geson to behold generallie their great prouision of tapistrie, Turkie worke, pewter, brasse, fine linen, and thereto costlie cupbords of plate, worth fiue or six hundred or a thousand pounds, to be deemed by estimation. But as herein all these sorts do far exceed their elders and predecessors, and in neatnesse and curiositie, the merchant all other; so in time past, the costlie furniture staied there, whereas now it is descended yet lower, euen vnto the inferiour artificers and manie farmers, who by vertue of their old and not of their new leases haue for the most part learned also to garnish their cupbords with plate, their ioined beds with tapistrie and silke hangings, and their tables with carpets & fine naperie, whereby the wealth of our countrie (God be praised therefore, and giue vs grace to imploie it well) doth infinitelie appeare. Neither do I speake this in reproch of anie man, God is my iudge, but to shew that I do reioise rather, to see how God hath blessed vs with his good gifts; and whilest I behold how that in a time wherein all things are growen to most excessiue prices, & what commoditie so euer is to be had, is dailie plucked from the communaltie by such as loke into euerie trade, we do yet find the means to obtein & atchiue such furniture as heretofore hath beene vnpossible. There are old men yet dwelling in the village where I remaine, which haue noted three things to be maruellouslie altred in England within their sound remembrance; & other three things to too much increased. One is, the multitude of chimnies latelie erected, whereas in their yong daies there were not aboue two or three, if so manie in most vplandish townes of the realme (the religious houses, & manour places of their lords alwaies excepted, and peraduenture some great personages) but ech one made his fire against a reredosse in the hall, where he dined and dressed his meat.

Three things greatlie amended in England.

Chimnies.

The second is the great (although not generall) amendment of lodging, for (said they) our fathers (yea and we our selues also) haue lien full oft vpon straw pallets, on rough mats couered onelie with a sheet vnder couerlets made of dagswain or hopharlots (I vse their owne termes) and a good round log vnder their heads in stead of a bolster or pillow. If it were so that our fathers or the good man of the house, had within seuen yeares after his marriage purchased a matteres or flockebed, and thereto a sacke of chaffe to rest his head vpon, he thought himselfe to be as well lodged as the lord of the towne, that peraduenture laie seldome in a bed of downe or whole fethers; so well were they contented, and with such base kind of furniture: which also is not verie much amended as yet in some parts of Bedfordshire, and elsewhere further off from our southerne parts. Pillowes (said they) were thought meet onelie for women in childbed. As for seruants, if they had anie sheet aboue them it was well, for seldome had they anie vnder their bodies, to keepe them from the pricking straws that ran oft through the canuas of the pallet, and rased their hardened hides.

Hard lodging

The third thing they tell of, is the exchange of vessell, as of treene platters into pewter, and woodden spoones into siluer or tin. For so common were all sorts of treene stuffe in old time, that a man should hardlie find foure peeces of pewter (of which one was peraduenture a salt) in a good farmers house, and yet for all this frugalitie (if it may so be iustlie called) they were scarse able to liue and pate their rents at their daies without selling of a cow, or an horsse, or more, although they paid but foure pounds at the vttermost

Furniture of household.

This was in the time of generall idlenesse.

moſt by the yeare. Such alſo was their pouertie, that if ſome one od farmer or husbandman had bæne at the alehouſe, a thing greatlie vſed in thoſe daies, amongſt ſix or ſeuen of his neighbours, and there in a brauerie to ſhew what ſtore he had, did caſt downe his purſſe, and therein a noble or ſix ſhillings in ſiluer vnto them (for few ſuch men then cared for gold bicauſe it was not ſo readie paiment, and they were oft inforced to giue a penie for the exchange of an angell) it was verie likelie that all the reſt could not laie downe ſo much againſt it: whereas in my time, although peraduenture foure pounds of old rent be improued to fortie, fiftie, or an hundred pounds, yet will the farmer as another palme or date trée thinke his gaines verie ſmall toward the end of his terme, if he haue not ſix or ſeuen yeares rent lieng by him, therewith to purchaſe a new leaſe, beſide a faire garniſh of pewter on his cupbord, with ſo much more in od veſſell going about the houſe, three or foure featherbeds, ſo manie couerlids and carpets of tapiſtrie, a ſiluer ſalt, a bowle for wine (if not an whole neaſt) and a dozzen of ſpoones to furniſh vp the ſute. This alſo he taketh to be his owne cléere, for what ſtocke of monie ſoeuer he gathereth & laieth vp in all his yeares, it is often ſéene, that the landlord will take ſuch order with him for the ſame, when he renueth his leaſe, which is commonlie eight or ſix yeares before the old be expired (ſith it is now growen almoſt to a cuſtome, that if he come not to his lord ſo long before, another ſhall ſtep in for a reuerſion, and ſo defeat him out right) that it ſhall neuer trouble him more than the haire of his beard, when the barber hath waſhed and ſhauen it from his chin. And as they commend theſe, ſo (beſide the decaie of houſekéeping whereby the poore haue bæne relieued) they ſpeake alſo of three things that are growen to be verie grieuous vnto them, to wit, the inhanſing of rents, latelie mentioned; the dailie oppreſſion of copiholders, whoſe lords ſéeke to bring their poore tenants almoſt into plaine ſeruitude and miſerie, dailie deuiſing new meanes, and ſéeking vp all the old how to cut them ſhorter and ſhorter, doubling, trebling, and now & then ſeuen times increaſing their fines, driuing them alſo for euerie trifle to loſe and forfeit their tenures (by whome the greateſt part of the realme doth ſtand and is maintained) to the end they may fléece them yet more, which is a lamentable hering. The third thing they talke of is vſurie, a trade brought in by the Iewes, now perfectlie practiſed almoſt by euerie chriſtian, and ſo commonlie that he is accompted but for a fole that doth lend his monie for nothing. In time paſt it was *Sors pro ſorte*, that is, the principall onelie for the principall; but now beſide that which is aboue the principall properlie called *Vſura*, we chalenge *Fœnus*, that is commoditie of ſoile, & fruits of the earth, if not the ground it ſelfe. In time paſt alſo one of the hundred was much, from thence it roſe vnto two, called in Latine *Vſura, Ex ſexiante*; three, to wit *Ex quadrante*; then to foure, to wit *Ex triente*; then to fiue, which is *Ex quincunce*; then to ſix, called *Ex ſemiſſe*, &c: as the accompt of the *Aſſis* ariſeth, and comming at the laſt vnto *Vſura ex aſſe*, it amounteth to twelue in the hundred, and therefore the Latines call it *Centeſima*, for that in the hundred moneth it doubleth the principall; but more of this elſewhere. Sée Cicero againſt Verres, Demoſthenes againſt Aphobus, and Athenæus *lib.* 13. *in fine*: and when thou haſt read them well, helpe I praie thée in lawfull maner to hang vp ſuch as take *Centũ pro cento*, for they are no better worthie as I do iudge in conſcience. Forget not alſo ſuch landlords as vſe to value their leaſes at a ſecret eſtimation giuen of the wealth and credit of the taker, whereby they ſéeme (as it were) to eat them vp and deale with bondmen, ſo that if the leaſſée be thought to be worth an hundred pounds, he ſhall paie no leſſe for his new terme, or elſe another to enter with hard and doubtfull couenants. I am ſorie to report it, much more gréeued to vnderſtand of the practiſe; but moſt ſorowfull of all to vnderſtand that men of great port and countenance are ſo farre from ſuffering their farmers to haue anie gaine at all, that they themſelues become graſiers, butchers, tanners, ſhéepmaſters, woodmen, and *denique quid non*, thereby to inrich themſelues, and bring all the wealth of the countrie into their owne hands, leauing the communaltie weake, or as an idoll with broken or féeble armes, which may in a time of peace haue a plauſible ſhew, but when neceſſitie ſhall inforce, haue an heaule and bitter ſequele.

By the yeare.

Of cities and townes in *England*.

Cap. 13.

Six and twentie cities in England.

AS in old time we read that there were eight and twentie flamines and archflamines in the ſouth part of this Ile, and ſo manie great cities vnder their iuriſdiction: ſo in theſe our daies there is but one or two fewer, and each of them alſo vnder the eccleſiaſticall regiment of ſome one biſhop or archbiſhop, who in ſpirituall cauſes haue the charge and ouerſight of the ſame. So manie cities therefore are there in England and Wales, as there be biſhoprikes & archbiſhoprikes. For notwithſtanding that Lichfield and Couentrie, and Bath and Wellés, do ſéeme to extend the aforeſaid number vnto nine and twentie: yet neither of theſe couples are to be accounted, but as one entier citie and ſée of the biſhop, ſith one biſhoprike can haue relation but vnto one ſée, and the ſaid ſée be ſituate but in one place, after which the biſhop doth take his name. It appeareth by our old and ancient hiſtories, that the cities of this ſoutherlie portion haue bæne of exceéding greatneſſe and beautie, whereof ſome were builded in the time of the Samotheans, and of which not a few in theſe our times are quite decaied, and the places where they ſtood worne out of all remembrance. Such alſo for the moſt part as yet remaine are marueilouſlie altered, inſomuch that whereas at the firſt they were large and ample, now are they come either vnto a verie few houſes, or appeare not to be much greater in compariſon than poore & ſimple villages. Antoninus the moſt diligent writer of the thorough fares of Britaine, noteth among other theſe ancient townes following, as Sitomagus, which he placeth in the waie from Norwich, as Leland ſuppoſeth (wherin they went by Colcheſter) to London, Nouiomagus that lieth betwéene Carleill and Canturburie, within ten miles eaſt of London, and likewiſe Neomagus and Niomagus which take their names of their firſt founder Magus, the ſonne of Samothes, & ſecond king of the Celtes that reigned in this Iland; and not *A profunditate*, onelie, as Bodinus affirmeth out of Plinie, as if all the townes that ended in Magus ſhould ſtand in holes and low grounds: which is to be diſproued in diuerſe cities in the maine, as alſo here with vs. Of theſe moreouer ſir Thomas Eliot ſuppoſeth Neomagus to haue ſtood ſomewhere about Cheſter; & George Lillie in his booke of the names of ancient places, iudgeth Niomagus to be the verie ſame that we do now call Buckingham, and lieth farre from thence. And as theſe and ſundrie other now periſhed tooke their denomination of this prince, ſo there

Sitomagus.
Nouiomagus.
Neomagus
Niomagus.

are

are diuerse causes, which moue me to coniecture, that Salisburie doth rather take the first name of Sarron the sonne of the said Magus, than of Cæsar, Caradoc or Seuerus (as some of our writers do imagine) or else at the least wise of Salisburge of the maine, from whence some Sarons came to inhabit in this land. And for this later not vnlikelie, sith before the comming of the Sarons, the king of the Suessionenses had a great part of this Iland in subiection, as Cæsar saith; and in another place that such of Belgie as stale ouer hither from the maine, builded and called diuerse cities after the names of the same from whence they came, I meane such as stood vpon the coast, as he himselfe doth witnesse. But sith coniectures are no verities, and mine opinion is but one mans iudgement, I will not stand now vpon the proofe of this matter, least I should seeme to take great paines in adding new coniectures vnto old, in such wise to detein the heads of my readers about these trifles, that otherwise peradventure would be farre better occupied in matters of more importance. To proceed therefore. As some after the first inhabitation of this Iland, our cities began no doubt to be builded and increased, so they ceased not to multiplie from time to time, till the land was throughlie furnished with hir conuenient numbers, whereof some at this present with their ancient names, do still remaine in knowledge, though diuerse be doubted of, and manie more perished by continuance of time, and violence of the enimie. I doubt not also but the least of these were comparable to the greatest of those which stand in our time, for sith that in those dates the most part of the Iland was reserued vnto pasture, the townes and villages either were not at all (but all sorts of people dwelled in the cities indifferentlie, an image of which estate may yet be seene in Spaine) or at the lest wise stood not so thicke, as they did afterward in the time of the Romans, but chéefelie after the comming of the Sarons, and after them the Normans, when euerie lord builded a church neare vnto his owne mansion house, and thereto imparted the greatest portion of his lands vnto sundrie tenants, to hold the same of him by copie of court roll, which rolles were then kept in some especiall place indifferentlie appointed by them and their lord, so that the one could haue no resort vnto them without the other, by which means the number of townes and villages was not a little increased. If anie man be desirous to know the names of those ancient cities, that stood in the time of the Romans, he shall haue them here at hand, in such wise as I haue gathered them out of our writers, obseruing euen their manner of writing of them so neare as to me is possible, without alteration of anie corruption crept vp into the same.

Salisburie of Sarron.

Sarronium. Sarrons burg.

Greater cities in times past when husbandmen also were citizens.

The cause of the increase of villages.

1. London otherwise called: Trenouanton. Cair Lud. Londinum or Longidinium. Augusta of the legion Augusta that sojourned there, when the Romans ruled here.

2. Yorke otherwise called: Cairbranke. Vrouicum or Yurewijc. Eorwijc or Eoforwijc. Yeworwijc. Eboracum. Victoria of the legion victrix that laie there sometime.

Leouitius placeth yorke in Scotland de eclipsibus.

A legion conteined sixtie centuries, thirtie manipuli, three cohortes.

3. Canturburie: Duroruerno *alias* Duraruenno. Dorobernia. Cantwarbirie.

4. Colchester: Cair Colon. Cair Colden. Cair Colkin of Coilus. Cair Colun, of the riuer that runneth thereby. Colonia, of the colonie planted there by the Romans. (Plin. lib. 2. ca. 75.) Coloncester. (Tacitus.) Camulodunum. (Ptolome.)

5. Lincolne: Cair Lud Coit, of the woods that stood about it. Cair Loichoit, by corruption. Lindum. Lindocollinum.

6. Warwijc had sometime 9 parish churches: Cair Guttelin. Cair Line or Cair Leon. Cair Gwair. Cair Vmber. Cair Gwaerton.

7. Chester vpon Vske was a famous vniuersitie in the time of Arthur: Cair legion. Carlheon. Cairlium. Legecester. Ciuitas legionum.

8. Carleill: Cair Lueill. Cair Leill. Lugibalia. Cair Doill.

9. S. Albanes: Cair Maricipit. Cair Municip. Verolamium. Verlamcester. Cair Wattelin, of the street wherein it stood.

10. Winchester: Cair Gwent. Cair Gwin. Cair Wine. Venta Simenorum.

11. Gisceter: Cair Churne. Cair Kyrne. Cair Kery. Cair Cery. Cirnecester. Churnecester.

12. Silcester: Cair Segent. Selecester.

Cair Segent stood vpon the Thames, not farre from Reding.

13. Bath: Cair Badon. Thermæ. Aquæ solis.

14. Shaftesbyry: Cair Paladour. Septonia.

15. Worcester: Wigornia. Cair Gworangon. Brangonia. Cair Frangon. Woorkecester.

16. Chichester: Cair Key or Kair Kis. Cair Chic.

17. Bristow: Cair Oder nant Badon. Oder. Cair Bren. Venta Belgarum. Brightstow.

18 Rochester.

18 Rochest.	Durobreuis, corruptlie Rofcester. Roffa.	Durobrouis. Dubobrus. Durobrius.
19 Portchester.	Cair Peris. Cair Poreis.	
20 Cairmarden	Cair Maridunum. Cair Merdine. Maridunum. Cair Marlin. Cair Fridhin.	
21 Gloceſter	Cair Clowy. Cair Glow. Claudioceſtria.	
22 Leirceſter.	Cair Beir. Cair Leir. Cair Lirion. Wirall, teſte. Math. Weſt. 895.	
23 Cambridge.	Grantabric. Cair Graunt.	
*	24 Cair Vrnach, peraduenture Burgh caſtell. 25 Cair Cucurat. 26 Cair Draiton, now a ſlender village. 27 Cair Celennon. 28 Cair Megwaid.	

As for Cair Dorme (another whereof I read likewiſe) it ſtood ſomewhere vpon the Nene in Huntingdon ſhire, but now vnknowne, ſith it was twiſe raced to the ground, firſt by the Saxons, then by the Danes, ſo that the ruines thereof are in theſe daies not extant to be ſeene. And in like ſort I am ignorant where moſt of them ſtood, that are noted with the ſtar. I find in like ſort mention of a noble citie called Alcluid ouer and beſide theſe afore mentioned, ſometime builded by Ebracus of Britaine, as the fame goeth, and finallie deſtroied by the Danes, about the yeare of Grace 870. It ſtood vpon the banks of the riuer Cluda, to wit, betweene it and the blanke on the north, and the Lound lake on the weſt, and was ſometime march betweene the Britons and the Picts, and likewiſe the Picts and the Scots; neuertheleſſe, the caſtell (as I heare) doth yet remaine, and hath beene ſince well repared by the Scots, and called Dombrittain or Dunbritton, ſo that it is not an hard matter by theſe few words to find where Alcluid ſtood. I could here, if leiſure ſerued, and haſt of the printer not require diſpatch, deliuer the ancient names of ſundrie other townes, of which Stafford in time paſt was called Stadtford, and therfore (as I geſſe) builded or the name altered by the Saxons, Rinebanton now Rimbalton. But if anie man be deſirous to ſee more of them, let him reſort to Houeden in the life of Henrie the ſecond, and there he ſhall be further ſatiſfied of his deſire in this behalfe.

When Albane was martyred Aſclepiodotus was legat in Britaine.

It ſhould ſeeme when theſe ancient cities flouriſhed, that the ſame towne, which we now call ſaint Albons, did moſt of all excell: but chefelie in the Romans time, and was not onelie nothing inferior to London it ſelfe, but rather preferred before it, becauſe it was newer, and made a Municipium of the Romans, whereas the other was old and ruinous, and inhabited onelie by the Britons, as the moſt part of the Iland was alſo in thoſe daies. Good notice hereof alſo is to be taken by Matthew Paris, and others before him, out of whoſe writings I haue thought good to note a few things, whereby the maieſtie of this ancient citie may appeare vnto poſteritie, and the former eſtate of Verlamceſter not lie altogither (as it hath done hitherto) raked vp in forgetfulnes, through the negligence of ſuch as might haue deſerued better of their ſucceſſours, by leauing the deſcription thereof in a booke by it ſelfe, ſith manie particulars thereof were written to their hands, that now are loſt and periſhed. Tacitus in the fourteenth booke of his hiſtorie maketh mention of it, ſhewing that in the rebellion of the Britons, the Romans there were miſerablie diſtreſſed, *Eadem clades* (ſaith he) *municipio Verolamio fuit*. And here vpon Nennius in his catalog of cities calleth it Cair municip, as I before haue noted. Ptolome ſpeaking of it, doth place it among the Catyeuchlanes, but Antoninus maketh it one and twentie Italian miles from London, placing Sullomaca nine mile from thence, whereby it is euident, that Sullomaca ſtood nere to Barnet, if it were not the verie ſame. Of the old compaſſe of the walles of Verolamium there is now ſmall knowledge to be had by the ruines, but of the beautie of the citie it ſelfe you ſhall partlie vnderſtand by that which followeth at hand, after I haue told you for your better intelligence what *Municipium Romanorum* is: for there is great difference betweene that and *Colonia Romanorum*, ſith *Colonia alio traducitur a ciuitate Roma*, but *Municipes aliunde in ciuitatem veniunt, ſuisq; iuribus & legibus viuunt*: moreouer their ſelfe is not changed into the nature of the Romane, but they liue in the ſtedfaſt frendſhip and protection of the Romans, as did ſomtime the Ceretes who were the firſt people which euer obteined that priuilege. The Britiſh Verolamians therefore, hauing for their noble ſeruice in the warres deſerued great commendations at the hands of the Romans, they gaue vnto them the whole fredome of Romans, whereby they were made *Municipes*, and became more free in truth than their *Colonies* could be. To conclude therefore, *Municipium* is a citie infranchiſed and indued with Romane priuileges, without anie alteration of hir former inhabitants or priuileges; whereas a *Colonie* is a companie ſent from Rome into anie other region or prouince, to poſſeſſe either a citie newlie builded, or to repleniſh the ſame from whence hir former citizens haue beene expelled and driuen out. Now to proceed.

Sullomaca and Barnet all one, or not far in ſunder.

In the time of king Edgar it fell out, that one Eldred was abbat there; who being deſirous to inlarge that houſe, it came into his mind to ſearch about in the ruines of Verolamium (which now was ouerthrowne by the furie of the Saxons & Danes) to ſee if he might there come by anie curious peces of worke, wherewith to garniſh his building taken in hand. To be ſhort, he had no ſooner begun to dig among the rubbis, but he found an exceeding number of pillers, peces of antike worke, thretholds, dore frames, and ſundrie other peces of fine maſonrie for windowes and ſuch like, verie conuenient for his purpoſe. Of theſe alſo ſome were of porphyrite ſtone, ſome of diuerſe kinds of marble, touch, and alabaſter, beſide manie curious deuiſes of hard mettall, in finding whereof he thought himſelfe an happie man, and his ſucceſſe to be greatlie guided by S. Albane. Beſides theſe alſo he found ſundrie pillers of braſſe, and ſockets of latton, alabaſter and touch, all which he laid aſide by great heaps, determining in the end (I ſaie) to laie the foundation of a new abbaie, but God ſo preuented his determination, that death tooke him awaie, before his building was begun. After him ſucceeded one Eadmerus, who followed the doings of Eldred to the vttermoſt: and therefore not onlie peruſed what he had left with great diligence, but alſo cauſed his pioners to ſearch

yet

yet further, within the old walles of Verolamium, where they not onelie found infinite other peeces of excellent workemanship, but came at the last to certeine vaults vnder the ground, in which stood diuers idols, and not a few altars, verie superstitiouslie and religiouslie adorned, as the pagans left them belike in time of necessitie. These images were of sundrie mettals, and some of pure gold, their altars likewise were richlie couered, all which ornaments Edmerus toke awaie, and not onelie conuerted them to other vse in his building, but also destroied an innumerable sort of other idols, whose estimation consisted in their formes, and substances could doo no seruice. He toke vp also sundrie curious pots, iugs, and cruses of stone and wood most artificiallie wrought and carued, and that in such quantitie, besides infinite store of fine houshold stuffe, as if the whole furniture of the citie had beene brought thither of purpose to be hidden in those vaults. In proceeding further, he toke vp diuerse pots of gold, siluer, brasse, glasse and earth, whereof some were filled with the ashes and bones of the gentils, the mouths being turned downewards (the like of which, but of finer earth, were found in great numbers also of late in a well at little Massingham in Norffolke, of six or eight gallons a peece, about the yeare 1578, and also in the time of Henrie the eight) and not a few with the coines of the old Britons and Romane emperours. All which vessels the said abbat brake into peeces, and melting the mettall, he reserued it in like sort for the garnishing of his church.

He found likewise in a stone wall two old bookes, whereof one conteined the rites of the gentils, about the sacrifices of their gods, the other (as they now saie) the martyrdome of saint Albane, both of them written in old Brittish letters, which either bicause no man then liuing could read them, or for that they were not worth the keeping, were both consumed to ashes, sauing that a few notes were first taken out of this later, concerning the death of their Albane. Thus much haue I thought good to note of the former beautie of Verolamium, whereof infinite other tokens haue beene found since that time, and diuerse within the memorie of man, of passing workemanship, the like whereof hath no where else beene seene in anie ruines within the compasse of this Ile, either for cost or quantitie of stuffe.

This foundeth like a lie.

Furthermore, whereas manie are not afraid to saie that the Thames came sometimes by this citie, indeed it is nothing so; but that the Uerlume (afterward called Uere and the Mure) did and doth so still (what soeuer Gildas talketh hereof, whose bookes may be corrupted in that behalfe) there is yet euident proofe to be confirmed by experience. For albeit that the riuer be now growne to be verie small by reason of the ground about it, which is higher than it was in old time; yet it keepeth in maner the old course, and runneth betweene the old citie that was, and the new towne that is standing on Holmehirst crag, as I beheld of late. Those places also which now are medow beneath the abbaie, were sometimes a great lake, mere, or pole, through which the said riuer ran, and (as I read) with a verie swift and violent course, whereas at this present it is verie slow, and of no such deapth as of ancient times it hath beene. But heare what mine author saith further of the same. As those aforesaid workemen digged in these ruines, they happened oftentimes vpon Lempet shels, peeces of rustie anchors, and keeles of great vessels, whereupon some by and by gathered that either the Thames or some arme of the sea did beat vpon that towne, not vnderstanding that these things might aswell happen in great lakes and meres, whereof there was one adioining to the north side of the citie, which laie then (as some men thinke) vnwalled, but that also is false. For being there vpon occasion this summer passed, I saw some remnant of the old wals standing in that place, which appeared to haue beene verie substantiallie builded; the ruines likewise of a greater part of them are to be seene running along by the old chappell hard by in maner of a banke. Whereby it is euident that the new towne standeth cleane without the limits of the old, and that the bridge whereof the historie of S. Albane speaketh, was at the nether end of Halliwell street or there about, for so the view of the place doth inforce me to coniecture. This mere (which the Latine copie of the description of Britaine, written of late by Humfrey Lhoid our countrie man calleth corruptlie *Stagnum enaximum* for *Stagnum maximum*) at the first belonged to the king, and thereby Offa in his time did reape no small commoditie. It continued also vntill the time of Alfrike the seuenth abbat of that house, who bought it outright of the king then liuing, and by excessiue charges drained it so narrowlie, that within a while he left it drie (sauing that he reserued a chanell for the riuer to haue hir vsuall course, which he held vp with high bankes) bicause there was alwaies contention betweene the monks and the kings seruants, which fished on that water vnto the kings behoofe.

In these daies therefore remaineth no maner mention of this pole, but onelie in one street, which yet is called Fishpole street, whereof this may suffice for the resolution of such men, as seeke rather to yeeld to an inconuenience, than that their Gildas should seeme to mistake this riuer.

Hauing thus digressed to giue some remembrance of the old estate of Verolamium, it is now time to returne againe vnto my former purpose. Certes I would gladlie set downe with the names and number of the cities, all the townes and villages in England and Wales, with their true longitudes and latitudes, but as yet I cannot come by them in such order as I would: howbeit the tale of our cities is soone found by the bishoprikes, sith euerie see hath such prerogatiue giuen vnto it, as to beare the name of a citie, & to vse *Regalia* within hir owne limits. Which priuilege also is granted to sundrie ancient townes in England, especiallie northward, where more plentie of them is to be found by a great deale than in the south. The names therefore of our cities are these:

London.	Worcester.	Chester.
Yorke.	Gloucester.	Chichester.
Canturburie.	Hereford.	Oxford.
Winchester.	Salisburie.	Peterborow.
Cairleill.	Exceter.	Landaffe.
Durham.	Bath.	S. Dauids.
Elie.	Lichfield.	Bangor.
Norwich.	Bristow.	S. Asaph.
Lincolne.	Rochester.	

Whose particular plots and models with their descriptions shall insue, if it may be brought to passe, that the cutters can make dispatch of them before this chronologie be published. Of townes and villages likewise thus much will I saie, that there were greater store in old time (I meane within three or foure hundred yeare passed) than at this present. And this I note out of diuerse records, charters, and donations (made in times past vnto sundrie religious houses, as Glassenburie, Abbandon, Ramseie, Elie, and such like) and whereof in these daies I find not so much as the ruines. Leland in sundrie places complaineth likewise of the decaie of parishes in great cities and townes, missing in some six, or eight, or twelue churches and more, of all which he giueth particular notice. For albeit that the Saxons builded manie townes and villages, and the Normans well more

more at their first comming, yet since the first two hundred yeares after the latter conquest, they haue gone so fast againe to decaie, that the ancient number of them is verie much abated. Ranulph the monke of Chester telleth of generall surueie made in the fourth, sixteenth, & nintenth of the reigne of William Conqueror, surnamed the Bastard, wherein it was found, that (notwithstanding the Danes had ouerthrowne a great manie) there were to the number of 52000 townes, 45002 parish churches, and 75000 knights fees, whereof the cleargie held 28015. He addeth moreouer that there were diuerse other builded since that time, within the space of an hundred yeares after the comming of the Bastard, as it were in lieu or recompense of those that William Rufus pulled downe for the erection of his new forrest. For by an old booke which I haue, and sometime written as it seemeth by an vndershirife of Nottingham, I find, euen in the time of Edw. 4. 45120 parish churches, and but 60216 knights fees, whereof the cleargie held as before 28015, or at the least 28000: for so small is the difference which he doth seeme to vse. Howbeit if the assertions of such as write in our time concerning this matter, either are or ought to be of anie credit in this behalfe, you shall not find aboue 17000 townes and villages, and 9210 in the whole, which is little more than a fourth part of the aforesaid number, if it be throughlie scanned.

Certes this misfortune hath not onelie happened vnto our Ile & nation, but vnto most of the fameus countries of the world heretofore, and all by the greedie desire of such as would liue alone and onelie to themselues. And hereof we may take example in Candie of old time called Creta, which (as Homer writeth) was called Hetacompolis, bicause it contei-ned an hundred cities, but now it is so vnfurnished that it may hardlie be called Tripolis. Diodorus Siculus saith, that Aegypt had once 18000 cities, which so decaied in processe of time, that when Ptolomeus Lagus reigned, there were not aboue 3000: but in our daies both in all Asia & Aegypt this lesser number shall not verie readilie be found. In time past in Lincolne (as the fame goeth) there haue beene two and fiftie parish churches, and good record appeareth for eight and thirtie: but now if there be foure and twentie it is all. This inconuenience hath growen altogither to the church by appropriations made vnto monasteries and religious houses, a terrible canker and enimie to religion.

But to leaue this lamentable discourse of so notable and greeuous an inconuenience, growing (as I said) by incrochīng and ioining of house to house, and laieng land to land, whereby the inhabitants of manie places of our countrie are deuoured and eaten vp, and their houses either altogither pulled downe or suffered to decaie by litle and litle, although sometime a poore man peraduenture dooth dwell in one of them, who not being able to repare it, suffereth it to fall downe, & thereto thinketh himselfe verie friendlie dealt withall, if he may haue an acre of ground assigned vnto him whereon to keepe a cow, or wherein to set cabbages, radishes, parsneps, carrets, melons, pompons, or such like stuffe, by which he and his poore household liueth as by their principall food, sith they can doo no better. And as for wheaten bread, they eat it when they can reach vnto the price of it, contenting themselues in the meane time with bread made of otes or barleie: a poore estate God wot! Howbeit what care our great incrochers? But in diuers places where rich men dwelled sometime in good tenements, there be now no houses at all, but hopyards, and sheads for poles, or peraduenture gardens, as we may see in castell Hedingham, and diuerse other places. But to proceed.

It is so, that our soile being diuided into champaine ground and woodland, the houses of the first lie vniformelie builded in euerie towne togither with streets and lanes, whereas in the woodland countries (except here and there in great market townes) they stand scattered abroad, each one dwelling in the midst of his owne occupieng. And as in manie and most great market townes, there are commonlie three hundred or foure hundred families or mansions, & two thousand communicants, or peraduenture more: so in the other, whether they be woodland or champaine, we find not often aboue fortie, fiftie, or three score households, and two or three hundred communicants, whereof the greatest part neuertheless are verie poore folkes, oftentimes without all maner of occupieng, sith the ground of the parish is gotten vp into a few mens hands, yea sometimes into the tenure of one, two or three, whereby the rest are compelled either to be hired seruants vnto the other, or else to beg their bread in miserie from doore to doore.

There are some (saith Leland) which are not so fauourable when they haue gotten such lands, as to let the houses remaine vpon them to the vse of the poore, but they will compound with the lord of the soile to pull them downe for altogither, saieng that if they did let them stand, they should but toll beggers to the towne, therby to surcharge the rest of the parish, & laie more burden vpon them. But alas these pitifull men see not that they themselues hereby do laie the greatest log vpon their neighbors necks. For sith the prince dooth commonlie lose nothing of his duties accustomable to be paid, the rest of the parishioners that remaine must answer and beare them out: for they plead more charge other waies, saieng; I am charged alreadie with a light horsse, I am to answer in this sort and after that maner. And it is not yet altogither out of knowledge, that where the king had seuen pounds thirteene shillings at a taske gathered of fiftie wealthie householders of a parish in England: now a gentleman hauing three parts of the towne in his owne hands, foure housholds do beare all the aforesaid paiment, or else Leland is deceiued in his Commentaries lib. 13. latelie come to my hands, which thing he especiallie noted in his trauell ouer this Ile. A common plague & enormitie, both in the hart of the land and likewise vpon the coasts. Certes a great number complaine of the increase of pouertie, laieng the cause vpon God, as though he were in fault for sending such increase of people, or want of wars that should consume them, affirming that the land was neuer so full, &c: but few men do see the verie root from whence it dooth proceed. Yet the Romans found it out, when they florished, and therefore prescribed limits to euerie mans tenure and occupieng. Homer commendeth Achilles for ouerthrowing of fiue and twentie cities: but in mine opinion Ganges is much better preferred by Suidas for building of three score in Inde, where he did plant himselfe. I could (if need required) set downe in this place the number of religious houses and monasteries, with the names of their founders that haue beene in this Iland: but sith it is a thing of small importance, I passe it ouer as impertinent to my purpose. Yet herein I will commend sundrie of the monasticall votaries, especiallie monkes, for that they were authors of manie goodlie borowes and endwares, neere vnto their dwellings, although otherwise they pretended to be men separated from the world. But alas their couetous minds one waie in inlarging their reuenues, and carnall intent an other, appeered herin to too much. For being bold from time to time to visit their tenants, they wrought off

great

great wickednesse, and made those endwares little better than brodelhouses, especiallie where nunries were farre off, or else no safe accesse vnto them. But what doo I spend my time in the rehearsall of these filthinesses? Would to God the memorie of them might perish with the malefactors! My purpose was also at the end of this chapter to haue set downe a table of the parish churches and market townes thorough out all England and Wales: but sith I can not performe the same as I would, I am forced to giue ouer my purpose: yet by these few that insue you shall easilie see what order I would haue vsed according to the shires, if I might haue brought it to passe.

Shires.	*Market townes.*	*Parishes.*
Middlesex.	3	73
London within the walles, and without.		120
Surrie.	6	140
Sussex.	18	312
Kent.	17	398
Cambridge.	4	163
Bedford.	9	13
Huntingdon.	5	78
Rutland.	2	47
Barkeshire.	11	150
Northhampton.	10	326
Buckingham.	11	196
Oxford.	10	216
Southhampton.	18	248
Dorset.	19	279
Norffolke.	26	625
Suffolke.	25	575
Essex.	18	415

Of castels and holds.

Chap. 14.

IT hath béene of long time a question in controuersie, and not yet determined, whether holds and castels néere cities or anie where in the hart of common-wealths, are more profitable or hurtfull for the benefit of the countrie: Neuertheles it séemeth by our owne experience that we here in England suppose them altogither vnnédfull. This also is apparant by the testimonie of sundrie writers, that they haue béene the ruine of manie a noble citie. Of old Salisburie I speake not, of Anwarpe I saie nothing more than of sundrie other, whereof some also in my time neuer cease to incroch vpon the liberties of the cities adioining, thereby to hinder them what and wherin they may. For my part I neuer read of anie castell that did good vnto the citie abutting theron, but onelie the capitoll of Rome: and yet but once good vnto the same, in respect of the nine times whereby it brought it into danger of vtter ruine and confusion. Aristotle vtterlie denieth that anie castle at all can be profitable to a common wealth well gouerned. Timotheus of Corinthum affirmeth, that a castle in a common wealth is but a bréeder of tyrants. Pyrhus king of Epire being receiued also on a time into Athens, among other courtesies shewed vnto him, they led him also into their castell of Pallas, who at his departure gaue them great thanks for the frendlie intertainment; but with this item, that they should let so few kings come into the same as they might, least (saith he) they teach you to repent too late of your great gentlenesse. Caietanus in his common-wealth hath finallie no liking of them, as apéereth in his eight booke of that most excellent treatise. But what haue I to deale whether they be profitable or not, sith my purpose is rather to shew what plentie we haue of them, which I will performe so far as shall be nédfull.

There haue béene in times past great store of castels & places of defense within the realme of England, of which some were builded by the Britons, manie by the Romans, Saxons, and Danes, but most of all by the barons of the realme, in & about the time of king Stephan, who licenced each of them to build so manie as them liked vpon their owne demeasnes, hoping thereby that they would haue imploied their vse to his aduantage and commoditie. But finallie when he saw that they were rather fortified against himselfe in the end, than vsed in his defense, he repented all too late of his inconsiderate dealing, sith now there was no remedie but by force for to subdue them. After his decease king Henrie the second came no soner to the crowne, but he called to mind the inconuenience which his predecessour had suffered, and he himselfe might in time sustaine by those fortifications. Therefore one of the first things he did was an attempt to race and deface the most part of these holds. Certes he thought it better to hazard the méeting of the enimie now and then in the plaine field, than to liue in perpetuall feare of those houses, and the rebellion of his lords vpon euerie light occasion conceiued, who then were full so strong as he, if not more strong; and that made them the readier to withstand and gainesaie manie of those procédings, which he and his successours from time to time intended. Herevpon therefore he caused more than eleuen hundred of their said castels to be raced and ouerthrowne, whereby the power of his nobilitie was not a little restreined. Since that time also, not a few of those which remained, haue decaied, partlie by the commandement of Henrie the third, and partlie of themselues, or by conuersion of them into the dwelling houses of noble men, their martiall fronts being removed: so that at this present, there are verie few or no castels at all mainteined within England, sauing onelie vpon the coasts and marches of the countrie for the better kéeping backe of the forren enimie, when soeuer he shall attempt to enter and annoie vs.

The most prouident prince that euer reigned in this land, for the fortification thereof against all outward enimies, was the late prince of famous memorie king Henrie the eight, who beside that he repared most of such as were alreadie standing, builded sundrie out of the ground. For hauing shaken off the more than seruile yoke of popish tyrannie, and espieng that the emperour was offended for his diuorce from quéene Catharine his aunt, and thereto vnderstanding that the French king had coupled the Dolphin his sonne with the popes nece, and maried his daughter to the king of Scots (whereby he had cause more iustlie to suspect than safelie to trust anie one of them all as Lambert saith) he determined to stand vpon his owne defense, and therefore with no small spéed, and like charge, he builded sundrie blockehouses, castels, and platformes vpon diuerse frontiers of his realme, but chieflie the east and southeast parts of England, whereby (no doubt) he did verie much qualifie the conceiued grudges of his aduersaries, and vtterlie put off their hastie purpose of inuasion. But would to God he had cast his eie toward Harwich, and the coasts of Norffolke and Suffolke, where nothing as yet is done! albeit there be none so fit and likelie places for the enimie to enter vpon, as in those parts, where, at a full sea they may touch vpon the shore and come to land without resistance. And thus much briefflie for my purpose at this present. For I néed not to make anie long discourse of castels,

ſtels, ſith it is not the nature of a good Engliſhman to regard to be caged vp as in a coope, and hedged in with ſtone wals, but rather to meet with his enimie in the plaine field at handſtrokes, where he may trauaile his ground, chooſe his plot, and vſe the benefit of ſunne ſhine, wind and weather, to his beſt aduantage & commoditie. Iſocrates alſo ſaith that towres, walles, bulworkes, ſoldiers, and plentie of armour, are not the beſt keepers of kingdomes; but frends, loue of ſubiects, & obedience vnto martiall diſcipline, which they want that ſhew themſelues either cruell or couetous toward their people. As for thoſe tales that go of Beſton caſtell, how it ſhall ſaue all England on a daie, and likewiſe the brag of a rebellious baron in old time named Hugh Bigot, that ſaid in contempt of king Henrie the third, and about the fiftith yeare of his reigne:

The beſt keepers of kingdomes.

If I were in my caſtell of Bungeie,
Vpon the water of Waueneie,
I wold not ſet a button by the king of Cockneie,

I repute them but as toies, the firſt meere vaine, the ſecond fondlie vttered if anie ſuch thing were ſaid, as manie other words are and haue beene ſpoken of like holds (as Wallingford, &c:) but now growen out of memorie, and with ſmall loſſe not heard of among the common ſort. Certes the caſtell of Bungeie was ouerthrowen by the aforeſaid prince, the ſame yeare that he ouerthrew the walles and caſtell of Leiceſter, alſo the caſtels of Treſke and Maleſar, apperteining to Roger Mowbraie, and that of Fremlingham belonging likewiſe to Hugh Bigot, wherof in the chronologie following you may read at large. I might here in like ſort take occaſion to ſpeake of ſundrie ſtrong places where camps of men haue lien, and of which we haue great plentie here in England in the plaine fields: but I paſſe ouer to talke of any ſuch needleſſe diſcourſes. This neuertheleſſe concerning two of them is not to be omitted, to wit, that the one neere vnto Cambridge now Gogmagogs hill, was called Windleburie before time, as I read of late in an old pamphlet. And to ſaie the truth I haue often heard them named Winterburie hilles, which difference may eaſilie grow by corruption of the former word: the place likewiſe is verie large and ſtrong. The ſecond is to be ſeene in the edge of Shropſhire about two miles from Colme, betweene two riuers, the Clun or Colunus, and the Tewie otherwiſe named Themis, wherevnto there is no acceſſe but at one place. The Welſhmen call it Cair Caradoc, and they are of the opinion, that Caractatus king of the Sillures was ouercome there by Oſtorius, at ſuch time as he fled to Cartimanda queene of the Brigants for ſuccour, who betraied him to the Romans, as you may ſee in Tacitus.

The wandles in time paſt were called windles.

Of palaces belonging to *the prince.*

Chap. 15.

IT lieth not in me to ſet down exactlie the number & names of the palaces belonging to the prince, nor to make anie deſcription of hir graces court, ſith my calling is and hath beene ſuch, as that I haue ſcarſelie preſumed to peepe in at hir gates, much leſſe then haue I aduentured to ſearch out and know the eſtate of thoſe houſes, and what magnificent behauiour is to be ſeene within them. Yet thus much will I ſaie generallie of all the houſes and honours perteining to hir maieſtie, that they are builded either of ſquare ſtone or bricke, or elſe of both. And therevnto although their capacitie and hugeneſſe be not ſo monſtrous, as the like of diuerſe forren princes are to be ſeene in the maine, and new found nations of the world: yet are they ſo curious, neat, and commodious as any of them, both for conueiance of offices and lodgings, and excellencie of ſituation, which is not the leaſt thing to be conſidered of in building. Thoſe that were builded before the time of king Henrie the eight, reteine to theſe daies the ſhew and image of the ancient kind of workemanſhip vſed in this land: but ſuch as he erected after his owne deuiſe (for he was nothing inferiour in this trade to Adrian the emperour and Iuſtinian the lawgiuer) doo repreſent another maner of paterne, which as they are ſuppoſed to excell all the reſt that he found ſtanding in this realme, ſo they are and ſhall be a perpetuall preſident vnto thoſe that doo come after, to follow in their workes and buildings of importance. Certes maſonrie did neuer better flouriſh in England than in his time. And albeit that in theſe daies there be manie goodlie houſes erected in the ſundrie quarters of this Iland; yet they are rather curious to the eie like paper worke, than ſubſtantiall for continuance: whereas ſuch as he did ſet vp excell in both, and therefore may iuſtlie be preferred farre aboue all the reſt. The names of thoſe which come now to my remembrance, and are as yet reſerued to hir maieſties onelie vſe at pleaſure are theſe: for of ſuch as are giuen awaie I ſpeake not, neither of thoſe that are vtterlie decaied, as Bainards caſtell in London builded in the daies of the Conquerour by a noble man called William Bainard, whoſe wife Inga builded the priorie of litle Donemow in the daies of Henrie the firſt; neither of the tower roiall there alſo, &c: ſith I ſee no cauſe wherefore I ſhould remember them and manie of the like, of whoſe verie ruines I haue no certeine knowledge. Of ſuch I ſaie therfore as I erſt mentioned, we haue firſt of all White hall at the weſt end of London (which is taken for the moſt large & principall of all the reſt) was firſt a lodging of the archbiſhops of Yorke, then pulled downe, begun by cardinall Wolſeie, and finallie inlarged and finiſhed by king Henrie the eight. By eaſt of this ſtandeth Durham place, ſometime belonging to the biſhops of Durham, but conuerted alſo by king Henrie the eight into a palace roiall, & lodging for the prince. Of Summerſet place I ſpeake not, yet if the firſt beginner thereof (I meane the lord Edward, the learned and godlie duke of Summerſet) had liued, I doubt not but it ſhould haue beene well finiſhed and brought to a ſumptuous end: but as vntimelie death tooke him from that houſe & from vs all, ſo it prooued the ſtaie of ſuch proceeding as was intended about it. Wherby it commeth to paſſe that it ſtandeth as he left it. Neither will I remember the Tower of London, which is rather an armorie and houſe of munition, and therevnto a place for the ſafekeeping of offendors, than a palace roiall for a king or queene to ſoiourne in. Yet in times paſt I find that Belline held his aboad there, and therevnto extended the ſite of his palace in ſuch wiſe, that it ſtretched ouer the Broken wharfe, and came further into the citie, in ſo much that it approched neere to Bellines gate, & as it is thought ſome of the ruines of his houſe are yet extant, howbeit patched vp and made warehouſes in that tract of ground in our times. S. James ſometime a nonrie, was builded alſo by the ſame prince, Hir grace hath alſo Oteland, Aſhridge, Hatfield, Hauering, Enuéld, Eltham, Langleie, Richmond builded by Henrie the firſt, Hampton court (begun ſometime by cardinall Wolſeie, and finiſhed by hir father) and therevnto Woodſtocke, erected by king

King Hen. 8. not inferior to Adrian and Iuſtinian.

White hall.

S. James.
Oteland.
Aſhridge.
Hatfield.
Enuéld.
Richmond.
Hampton.
Woodſtocke.

Henrie the first, in which the quænes maiestie delighteth greatlie to soiourne, notwithstanding that in time past it was the place of a parcell of hir captivitie, when it pleased God to trie hir by affliction and calamitie.

Windsor. For strength Windlesor or Winsor, is supposed to be the chéefe, a castell builded in time past by king Arthur, or before him by Aruiragus, as it is thought, and repared by Edward the third, who erected also a notable college there. After him diuerse of his successours haue bestowed exceeding charges vpon the same, which notwithstanding are farre surmounted by the quænes maiestie now liuing, who hath appointed huge summes of monie to be employed vpon the ornature and alteration of the mould, according to the forme of building vsed in our daies, which is more for pleasure than for either profit or safegard. Such also hath bene the estimation of this place, that diuerse kings haue not onelie bene interred there, but also made it the chiefe house of assemblie, and creation of the knights of the honorable order of the garter, than the which there is nothing in this land more magnificent and statelie.

Grænewich. Grænewich was first builded by Humfreie duke of Glocester, vpon the Thames side foure miles east from London, in the time of Henrie the first, and called Pleasance. Afterwards it was greatlie inlarged by king Edw. 4. garnished by king Hen. 7. and finallie made perfect, by king Hen. 8. the onelie Phenix of his time for fine and curious masonrie.

Dartford. Not farre from this is Dartford, and not much distant also from the southside of the said streame, sometime a nonnerie builded by Edward the third, but now a verie commodious palace, whereunto it was also conuerted by K. Henrie the eight. Eltham (as I take it) was builded by king Henrie the third, if not before. There are beside these moreouer diuerse other. But what shall I need to take vpon me to repeat all, and tell what houses the quænes maiestie hath? sith all is hirs, and when it pleaseth hir in the summer season to recreat hir selfe abroad, and view the estate of the countrie, and heare the complaints of hir poore commons iniuried by hir vnjust officers or their substitutes, euerie noble mans house is hir palace, where she continueth during pleasure, and till she returne againe to some of hir owne, in which she remaineth so long as pleaseth hir.

Eltham.

Of the court. The court of England, which necessarilie is holden alwaies where the prince lieth, is in these daies one of the most renowmed and magnificent courts that are to be found in Europe. For whether you regard the rich and infinit furniture of household, order of officers, or the intertenement of such strangers as dailie resort vnto the same, you shall not find manie equall thereunto, much lesse one excelling it, in anie maner of wise. I might here (if I would, or had sufficient disposition of matter conceiued of the same) make a large discourse of such honorable parts, of such graue councellors, and noble personages, as giue their dailie attendance vpon the quænes maiestie there. I could in like sort set forth a singular commendation of the vertuous beautie, or beautifull vertues of such ladies and gentlewomen as wait vpon hir person, betweene whose amiable countenances and cosslinesse of attire, there séemeth to be such a dailie conflict and contention, as that it is verie difficult for me to gesse, whether of the twaine shall beare awaie the pre-eminence. This further is not to be omitted, to the singular commendation of both sorts and sexes of our courtiers here in England, that there are verie few of them, which haue not the vse and skill of sundrie speaches, beside an excellent veine of writing before time not regarded. Would to God the rest of their liues and conuersations were correspondent to these gifts! for as our common courtiers (for the most part) are the best lerned and indued with excellent gifts, so are manie of them the worst men when they come abroad, that anie man shall either heare or read of. Trulie it is a rare thing with vs now, to heare of a courtier which hath but his owne language. And to saie how many gentlewomen and ladies there are, that beside sound knowledge of the Grécke and Latine tongs, are thereto no lesse skilfull in the Spanish, Italian, and French, or in some one of them, it resteth not in me: sith I am persuaded, that as the noble men and gentlemen do surmount in this behalfe, so these come verie little or nothing at all behind them for their parts, which industrie God continue, and accomplish that which otherwise is wanting!

English courtiers the best learned & the worst liuers.

Beside these things I could in like sort set downe the waies and meanes, whereby our ancient ladies of the court do shun and auoid idleneSSe, some of them exercising their fingers with the nædle, other in caulworke, diuerse in spinning of silke, some in continuall reading either of the holie scriptures, or histories of our owne or forren nations about vs, and diuerse in writing volumes of their owne, or translating of other mens into our English and Latine tong, whilest the youngest sort in the meane time aplie their lutes, citharnes, prickesong, and all kind of musike, which they vse onelie for recreation sake, when they haue leisure, and are free from attendance vpon the quænes maiestie, or such as they belong vnto. How manie of the eldest sort also are skilfull in surgerie and distillation of waters, beside sundrie other artificiall practises perteining to the ornature and commendations of their bodies, I might (if I listed to deale further in this behalfe) easilie declare, but I passe ouer such maner of dealing, least I should séeme to glauer, and currie fauour with some of them. Neuertheless this I will generallie saie of them all, that as ech of them are euning in somthing wherby they kéepe themselues occupied in the court, so there is in maner none of them, but when they be at home, can helpe to supplie the ordinarie want of the kitchen with a number of delicat dishes of their owne deuising, wherein the Portingall is their chéefe counsellor, as some of them are most commonlie with the clearke of the kitchen, who vseth (by a tricke taken vp of late) to giue in a brése rehearsall of such and so manie dishes as are to come in at euerie course throughout the whole seruice in the dinner or supper while: which bill some do call a memoriall, other a billet, but some a fillet, bicause such are commonlie hanged on the file, and kept by the ladie or gentlewoman vnto some other purpose. But whither am I digressed?

I might finallie describe the large allowances in offices, and yearelie liueries, and thereunto the great plentie of gold and siluer plate, the seuerall peces whereof are commonlie so great and massie, and the quantitie therof so abundantlie seruing all the household, that (as I suppose) Cyniras, Cresus, and Crassus had not the like furniture: naie if Midas were now liuing & once againe put to his choise, I thinke he could aske no more, or rather not halfe so much as is there to be séene and vsed. But I passe ouer to make such nædlesse discourses, resoluing my selfe, that euen in this also, as in all the rest, the exceeding mercie and louing kindnesse of God doth wonderfullie appéere towards vs, in that he hath so largelie indued vs with these his so ample benefits.

In some great princes courts beyond the seas, & which euen for that cause are likened vnto hell by diuerse learned writers that haue spent a great part of their time in them, as Henricus Cornelius Agrippa, one (for example) who in his epistle *Ad aulicum quendam*

dam, saith thus: *An non in inferno es amice, qui es in aula, vbi dæmonum habitatio est, qui illic suis artibus humana licèt effigie regnant, atque vbi scelerum schola est, & animarum iactura ingens, ac quicquid vspiam est perfidiæ ac doli, quicquid crudelitatis & inclemẽtiæ, quicquid effrenatæ superbiæ, & rapacis auaritiæ, quicquid obscenæ libidinis, fœdissimæ impudicitiæ, quicquid nefandæ impietatis, & morum pessimorum, totum illic aceruatur cumulatissimè, vbi stupra, raptus, incestus, adulteria, principum & nobilium ludi sunt, vbi fastus & tumor, ira, liuor, fœdáque cupido cum socijs suis imperauit, vbi criminum omnium procellæ virtutúmque omniũ inenarrabile naufragium, &c.* In such great princes courts (I saie) it is a woorld to see what lewd behauiour is vsed among diuerse of those that resort vnto the same, and what whoredome, swearing, ribaldrie, atheisme, dicing, carding, carowsing, drunkennesse, gluttonie, quareling, and such like inconueniences do dailie take hold, and sometimes euen among those, in whose estates the like behauiour is least conuenient (whereby their talke is verified which say that the thing increaseth and groweth in the courts of princes sauing vertue, which in such places doth languish and dailie vade away) all which enormities are either vtterlie expelled out of the court of England, or else so qualified by the diligent endeuour of the chiefe officers of hir graces household, that seldome are ante of these things apparantlie seene there, without due reprehension, and such seuere correction as belongeth to those trespasses. Finallie to auoid idlenesse, and preuent sundrie transgressions, otherwise likelie to be committed and done, such order is taken, that euerie office hath either a bible, or the bookes of the acts and monuments of the church of England, or both, beside some histories and chronicles lieng therein, for the exercise of such as come into the same: whereby the stranger that entereth into the court of England vpon the sudden, shall rather imagine himselfe to come into some publike schole of the vniuersities, where manie giue eare to one that readeth, than into a princes palace, if you conferre the same with those of other nations. Would to God all honorable personages would take example of hir graces godlie dealing in this behalfe, and shew their conformitie vnto these hir so good beginnings! which if they would, then should manie grieuous offenses (wherewith God is highlie displeased) be cut off and restreined, which now do reigne exceedinglie, in most noble and gentlemens houses, whereof they see no paterne within hir graces gates.

Traines of attendants.

I might speake here of the great traines and troopes of serving men also, which attend vpon the nobilitie of England in their seuerall liueries, and with differences of cognisances on their sleeues, whereby it is knowen to whome they apperteine. I could also set downe what a goodlie sight it is to see them muster in the court, which being filled with them doth yeeld the contemplation of a noble varietie vnto the beholder, much like to the shew of the pecocks taile in the full beautie, or of some medow garnished with infinit kinds and diuersitie of pleasant floures. But I passe ouer the rehearsall hereof to other men, who more delite in vaine amplification than I, and seeke to be more curious in these points than I professe to be.

The discipline of firme peace also that is maintened within a certeine compasse of the princes palace, is such, as is nothing inferiour to that we see dailie practised in the best gouerned holds & fortresses. And such is the seuere punishment of those that strike within the limits prohibited, that without all hope of mercie, benefit of clergie, or sanctuarie, they are sure to lose their right hands at a stroke, and that in derie solemne maner, the forme whereof I will set downe, and then make an end of this chapter, to deale with other matters.

Striking within the court and palace of the prince.

At such time therefore as the partie transgressing is conuicted by a sufficient inquest impanelled for the same purpose, and the time come of the execution of the sentence, the sergeant of the kings wood-yard prouideth a square blocke, which he bringeth to some appointed place, and therewithall a great beetle, staple, and cords, wherewith to fasten the hand of the offendor vnto the said blocke, vntill the whole circumstance of his execution be performed. The yeoman of the scullarie likewise for the time being, doth prouide a great fire of coales hard by the blocke, wherein the searing irons are to be made readie against the chiefe surgeon to the prince or his deputie shall occupie the same. Vpon him also doth the sergeant or chiefe farrour attend with those irons, whose office is to deliuer them to the said surgeon when he shall be redie by searing to vse the same. The groome of the salarie for the time being or his deputie is furthermore appointed to be readie with vineger and cold water, and not to depart from the place vntill the arme of the offendor be bound vp and fullie dressed. And as these things are thus prouided, so the sergeant surgeon is bound from time to time to be readie to execute his charge, and seare the stumpe, when the hand is taken from it. The sergeant of the cellar is at hand also with a cup of red wine, and likewise the chiefe officer of the pantrie with manchet bread to giue vnto the said partie after the execution done, and the stumpe seared, as the sergeant of the ewerie is with clothes, wherein to wind and wrap vp the arme, the yeoman of the poultrie with a cocke to laie vnto it, the yeoman of the chandrie with seared cloths, and finallie the maister cooke or his deputie with a sharpe dressing knife, which he deliuereth at the place of execution to the sergeant of the larder, who doth hold it vpright in his hand, vntill the execution be performed by the publike officer appointed thereunto. And this is the maner of punishment ordeined for those that strike within the princes palace, or limits of the same. Which should first haue beene executed on sir Edmund Kneuet, in the yeare 1541. But when he had made great sute to saue his right hand for the further seruice of the king in his warres, and willinglie yeelded to forgo his left, in the end the king pardoned him of both, to no small benefit of the offendor, and publication of the bountifull nature that remained in the prince. The like priuilege almost is giuen to churches and churchyards, although in maner of punishment great difference do appeare. For he that brauleth or quarelleth in either of them, is by and by suspended *Ab ingressu ecclesiæ*, vntill he be absolued: as he is also that striketh with the fist, or laieth violent hands vpon anie whome so euer. But if he happen to smite with staffe, dagger, or anie maner of weapon, & the same be sufficientlie found by the verdict of twelue men at his arrainement, beside excommunication, he is sure to lose one of his eares without all hope of releasse. But if he be such a one as hath beene twise condemned and executed, whereby he hath now none eares, then is he marked with an hot iron vpon the cheeke, and by the letter F, which is seared deepe into his flesh, he is from thencefoorth noted as a common barratour and fraie maker, and therevnto remaineth excommunicate, till by repentance he deserue to be absolued. To strike a clearke also (that is to saie) a minister, is plaine excommunication, and the offendor not to be absolued but by the prince or his especiall cõmission. Such also is the generall estate of the excõmunicate in euery respect, that he can yeeld no testimonie in anie matter so long as he so standeth. No bargaine or sale that he maketh is auaileable in law, neither any of his acts whatsoeuer pleadable, wherby he liueth as

an outlaw & a man altogither out of the princes protection, although it be not lawfull to kill him, nor anie man otherwise outlawed, without the danger of fellonie.

Of armour and munition.

Chap. 16.

How well or how stronglie our countrie hath bæne furnished in times past with armor and artillerie, it lieth not in me as of my selfe to make rehersall. Yet that it lacked both in the late time of quæn Marie, not onlie the experience of mine elders, but also the talke of certeine Spaniards not yet forgotten, did leaue some manifest notice. Upon the first I need not stand, for few will denie it. For the second I haue heard, that when one of the greatest pæres of Spaine espied our nakednesse in this behalfe, and did solemnelie vtter in no obscure place, that it should be an easie matter in short time to conquer England, bicause it wanted armor, his words were then not so rashlie vttered, as they were politikelie noted. For albeit that for the present time their efficacie was dissembled, and semblance made as though he spake but merilie, yet at the verie enterance of this our gratious quæne vnto the possession of the crowne, they were so prouidentlie called to remembrance, and such spædie reformation sought of all hands for the redresse of this inconuenience, that our countrie was soner furnished with armour and munition, from diuerse parts of the maine (beside great plentie that was forged here at home) than our enimies could get vnderstanding of anie such prouision to be made. By this policie also was the no small hope conceiued by Spaniards vtterlie cut off, who of open frends being now become our secret enimies, and thereto watching a time wherein to atchieue some heauie exploit against vs and our countrie, did thereupon change their purposes, whereby England obteined rest, that otherwise might haue bæne sure of sharpe and cruell wars. Thus a Spanish word vttered by one man at one time, ouerthrew or at the least wise hindered sundrie priuie practises of manie at another. In times past the chæfe force of England consisted in their long bowes. But now we haue in maner generallie giuen ouer that kind of artillerie, and for long bowes in deed do practise to shot compasse for our passtime: which kind of shooting can neuer yeld anie smart stroke, nor beat downe our enimies, as our countrie men were wont to do at euerie time of need. Certes the Frenchmen and Rutters deriding our new archerie in respect of their corslets, will not let in open skirmish, if anie leisure serue, to turne vp their tailes and crie; Shote English, and all bicause our strong shooting is decaied and laid in bed. But if some of our Englishmen now liued that serued king Edward the third in his warres with France, the breech of such a varlet should haue bæne nailed to his bum with one arrow, and an other fethered in his bowels, before he should haue turned about to see who shot the first. But as our shooting is thus in manner vtterlie decaied among vs one waie, so our countrie men wer skilfull in sundrie other points, as in shooting in small pæces, the caliuer, and handling of the pike, in the seuerall vses whereof they are become verie expert.

Our armour differeth not from that of other nations, and therefore consisteth of corslets, almaine riuets, shirts of maile, iackes quilted and couered ouer with leather, fustian, or canuas, ouer thicke plates of iron that are sowed in the same, & of which there is no towne or village that hath not hir conuenient furniture. The said armour and munition likewise is kept in one seuerall place of euerie towne, appointed by the consent of the whole parish, where it is alwaies readie to be had and worne within an houres warning. Sometime also it is occupied, when it pleaseth the magistrate either to view the able men, & take note of the well keeping of the same, or finallie to see those that are inrolled to exercise each one his seuerall weapon, at the charge of the townesmen of each parish according to his apointment. Certes there is almost no village so poore in England (be it neuer so small) that hath not sufficient furniture in a readinesse to set forth three or foure soldiors, as one archer, one gunner, one pike, & a bilman at the least. No there is not so much wanting as their verie liueries and caps, which are least to be accounted of, if anie hast required: so that if this good order may continue, it shall be vnpossible for the sudden enimie to find vs vnprouided. As for able men for seruice, thanked be God, we are not without good store, for by the musters taken 1574 and 1575, our number amounted to 1172674, and yet were they not so narrowlie taken, but that a third part of this like multitude was left vnbilled and vncalled. What store of munition and armour the quænes maiestie hath in hir storehouses, it lieth not in me to yeld account, sith I suppose the same to be infinit. And whereas it was commonlie said after the losse of Calis, that England should neuer recouer the store of ordinance there left and lost: that same is at this time proued false, sith euen some of the same persons do now confesse, that this land was neuer better furnished with these things in anie kings daies that reigned since the conquest.

The names of our greatest ordinance are commonlie these.

Robinet, whose weight is two hundred pounds, and it hath one inch and a quarter within the mouth.

Falconet weigheth fiue hundred pounds, and his wideneſse is two inches within the mouth.

Falcon hath eight hundred pounds, and two inches and a halfe within the mouth.

Minion poiseth eleauen hundred pounds, and hath three inches and a quarter within the mouth.

Sacre hath fifteene hundred pounds, and is three inches and a halfe wide in the mouth.

Demie Culuerijn weigheth three thousand pounds, and hath foure inches and a halfe within the mouth.

Culuerijn hath foure thousand pounds, and fiue inches and an halfe within the mouth.

Demie Canon six thousand pounds, and six inches and an halfe within the mouth.

Canon seauen thousand pounds, and eight inches within the mouth.

E. Canon eight thousand pounds, and seauen inches within the mouth.

Basiliske 9000 pounds, eight inches, and three quarters within the mouth. By which proportions also it is easie to come by the weight of euerie shot, how manie scores it doth flee at point blanke, how much pouder is to be had to the same, & finallie how manie inches in height ech bullet ought to carrie.

The

The names of the greatest ordinance.		Weight of the shot.	Scores of cariage.	Pounds of pouder.	Height of bullet.
Robinet.		1. li.	0	½	1
Falconet.		2. li.	14	2	1 ⅛
Falcon.		2. ½.	16	2½	2 ¼
Minion.		4. ½.	17	4½	3
Sacre.		5	18	5	3 ¼
Demie Culuerijn.	hath	9	20	9	4
Culuerijn.		18	25	18	5 ¼
Demie canon.		30	38	28	6 ¼
Canon.		60	20	44	7 ⅛
E. Canon.		42	20	20	6 ⅝
Basiliske.		60	21	60	8 ½

I might here take iust occasion to speake of the princes armories. But what shall it need? sith the whole realme is hir armorie, and therefore hir furniture infinit. The Turke had one gun made by one Orban a Dane, the caster of his ordinance, which could not be drawen to the siege of Constantinople, but by seauentie yokes of oxen, and two thousand men; he had two other there also whose shot poised aboue two talents in weight, made by the same Orban. But to proceed. As for the armories of some of the nobilitie (whereof I also haue seene a part) they are so well furnished, that within some one barons custodie I haue seene three score or a hundred corslets at once, beside caliuers, handguns, bowes, sheffes of arrowes, pikes, bils, polaxes, flaskes, touchboxes, targets, &c: the verie sight whereof appalled my courage. What would the wearing of some of them do then (trow you) if I should be inforced to vse one of them in the field? But thanked be God, our peaceable daies are such, as no man hath anie great cause to occupie them at all, but onelie taketh good leisure to haue them in a readinesse, and therefore both high and lowe in England

Cymbala pro galeis pro scutis tympana pulsant.

I would write here also of our maner of going to the warres, but what hath the long blacke gowne to do with glistering armour? what sound acquaintance can there be betwixt Mars and the Muses? or how should a man write anie thing to the purpose of that wherewith he is nothing acquainted? This neuertheless will I adde of things at home, that seldome shall you see anie of my countrymen aboue eightéene or twentie yéeres old to go without a dagger at the least at his backe or by his side, although they be aged burgesses or magistrates of anie citie, who in appearance are most exempt from brabling and contention. Our nobilitie weare commonlie swords or rapiers with their daggers, as doth euerie common seruing man also that followeth his lord and maister. Some desperate cutters we haue in like sort, which carrie two daggers or two rapiers in a sheath alwaies about them, wherewith in euerie dronken frate they are knowen to worke much mischiefe; their swords & daggers also are of a great length, and longer than the like vsed in anie other countrie, whereby ech one pretendeth to haue the more aduantage of his enimie. But as manie orders haue béene taken for the intollerable length of these weapons; so I see as yet small redresse: but where the cause thereof doth rest, in soth for my part I wote not. I might here speake of the excessiue ruffes which diuerse that trauell by the waie do carrie vpon their shoulders, whereof some are twelue or thirtéene foote long, beside the pike of twelue inches: but as they are commonlie suspected of honest men to be théeues and robbers, or at the least-wise scarse true men which beare them; so by reason of this and the like suspicious weapons, the honest trauceller is now inforced to ride with a case of dags at his sadle bow, or with some prettie short snapper, whereby he may deale with them further off in his owne defense before he come within the danger of these weapons. Finallie, no man trauelleth by the waie without his sword, or some such weapon, with vs: except the minister, who cõmonlie weareth none at all, vnlesse it be a dagger or hanger at his side. Seldome also are they or anie other waifaring men robbed without the consent of the chamberleine, tapster, or ostler where they bait & lie, who féeling at their alighting whether their capcases or budgets be of anie weight or not, by taking them downe from their sadles, or otherwise see their store in drawing of their purses, do by and by giue intimation to some one or other attendant dailie in the yard or house, or dwelling hard by vpon such matches, whether the prete be worth the following or no. If it be for their turne, then the gentleman peraduenture is asked which waie he trauelleth, and whether it please him to haue another gheest to beare him companie at supper, who rideth the same waie in the morning that he doth, or not. And thus if he admit him or be glad of his acquaintance, the cheate is halfe wrought. And often it is séene that the new gheest shall be robbed with the old, onelie to colour out the matter and kéepe him from suspicion. Sometimes when they knowe which waie the passenger trauelleth, they will either go before and lie in wait for him, or else come galloping apace after, whereby they will be sure, if he ride not the stronger, to be fingering with his purse. And these are some of the policies of such shrews or close boted gentlemen as lie in wait for fat booties by the high wates, and which are most commonlie practised in the winter season about the feast of Christmas, when seruing men and vnthriftie gentlemen want monie to plaie at the dice and cards, lewdlie spending in such wise whatsoeuer they haue wickedlie gotten, till some of them sharplie set vpon their cheuisances, be trussed vp in a Tiburne tippet, which happeneth vnto them commonlie before they come to middle age. Whereby it appéereth that some sort of youth will oft haue his swinge, although it be in a halter.

Male musis cum Marte.

I might also intreat of our old maner of warfare vsed in and before the time of Cesar, when as the chéefe brunt of our fight was in *Essedis* or wagons; but this I also passe ouer, noting neuertheless out of Propertius, that our said wagons were gorgeous and gailie painted, which he setteth downe in these foure verses insuing, *Arethusæ ad Lycotam, lib. 4. eleg. 3.*

Te modò viderunt iteratos Bactra per ortus,
Te modò munito Sericus hoste equo,
Hibernique Getæ, pictóque Brittannia curru,
Pœus & Eoa discolor Indus aqua.

Of the nauie of England.

Chap. 17.

THere is nothing that hath brought me into more admiration of the power and force of antiquitie, than their diligence and care had of their names: wherein, whether I consider their spéedie building, or great number of ships which some one kingdome or region possessed at one instant; it giueth me still occasion, either to suspect the historie, or to thinke that in our times we come verie farre behind them. For what a thing is it to haue a ship growing on the stub, and sailing on the sea within the space of fiue and fiftie daies? And yet such a nauie was to be séene in the first war of Carthage, led thither by Duellius the Romane. In the warres also against Hieron two hundred and twentie tall ships bare leafe & saile within fiue and fortie daies. In the second warre of Carthage the nauie that went with Scipio was felled in the wood, and séene to saile on the sea fullie furnished in fire werkes: which vnto them that are ignorant of things doth séeme to be false and vnpossible. In like maner for multitude, we find in Polybius, that at one skirmish on the sea the Romans lost seauen hundred vessels, which bare ech of them fiue rowes of oares on a side, and the Carthaginenses fiue hundred. And albeit the formes and apparell of these vessels were not altogither correspondent to our ships and gallies made in these daies: yet the capacitie of most of them did not onelie match, but farre exceed them; so that if one of their biremes onlie conteined so much in burden as a ship of ours of six hundred tun: what shall we thinke of those which had seauen rowes of oares walking on a side? But least I should séeme to speake more of these forren things than the course of the historie doth permit without licence to digresse: giue me leaue (I beseech thee gentle reader) to wade yet a little further in the report of these ancient formes & kinds of vessels. For albeit that the discourse hereof maketh little to the description of our present nauie in England: yet shall the report thereof not be vnprofitable and vnpleasant to such as shall reade among the writings of their capacities and moulds. It shall not be amisse therefore to begin at the nauie of Xerxes, of which ech meane vessell (as appéareth by Herodot) was able to receiue two hundred and thirtie souldiers, and some of them three hundred. These were called triremes, and were indéede gallies that had three rowes of oares on euerie side; for the word *Nauis* is indifferentlie applied so well to the gallie as ship, as to the conuersant in histories is easie to be found. In old time also they had gallies of foure rowes, fiue rowes, six, seauen, eight, nine, twelue, yea fiftéene rowes of oares on a side; iudge you then of what quantitie those vessels were. Plinie lib. 7. noteth one Damasthenes to be the first maker of the gallies with two rowes called biremes: Thucidides referreth the triremes to Ammocles of Corinthum; the quadriremes were deuised by Aristotle of Carthage; the quinquiremes by Mesichthon of Salamina; the gallie of six rowes by Xenagoras of Syracusa: from this to the tenth Mesigiton brought vp; Alexander the great caused one to be made of twelue; Ptolomeus Soter of fiftéene; Demetrius the sonne of Antigonus of thirtie; Ptolom. Philad. of fortie; Ptol. Tryphon of fiftie: all which aboue foure were none other (in mine opinion) than vnweldie carts, and more seruing for pleasure and to gaze vpon, than anie vse in the wars for which they should be deuised. But of all other I note one of fortie rowes, which Ptolo. Philopater builded, conteining 200 and eightie cubits in length, and eight and fortie cubits in breadth: it held also foure thousand oares, foure hundred mariners, and three thousand souldiers, so that in the said vessell were seauen thousand and foure hundred persons: a report incredible, if truth and good testimonie did not confirme the same. I must néeds confesse therefore, that the ancient vessels far exceeded ours for capacitie: neuerthelesse if you regard the forme, and the assurance from perill of the sea, and therewithall the strength and nimbleneesse of such as are made in our time, you shall easilie find that ours are of more value than theirs: for as the greatest vessell is not alwaies the safest, so that of most huge capacitie is not alwaies the aptest to shift and breake the seas: as might be séene by the great Henrie, the hugest vessell that euer England framed in our times. Neither were the ships of old like vnto ours in mould and maner of building aboue the water (for of low gallies in our seas we make small account) nor so full of ease within, sith time hath ingendred more skill in the wrights, and brought all things to more perfection than they had in the beginning. And now to come vnto our purpose at the first intended.

The nauie of England may be diuided into three sorts, of which the one serueth for the warres, the other for burden, and the third for fishermen, which get their liuing by fishing on the sea. How manie of the first order are mainteined within the realme, it passeth my cunning to expresse: yet sith it may be parted into the nauie rotall and common fléete, I thinke good to speake of those that belong vnto the prince, and so much the rather, for that their number is certeine & well knowne to verie manie. Certes there is no prince in Europe that hath a more beautifull or gallant sort of ships than the quéenes maiestie of England at this present, and those generallie are of such exceeding force, that two of them being well appointed and furnished as they ought, will not let to encounter with three or foure of those of other countries, and either bowge them or put them to flight, if they may not bring them home.

Neither are the moulds of anie forren barkes so conuenientlie made, to breake so well one sea as another lieng vpon the shore in anie part of the continent as those of England. And therefore the common report that strangers make of our ships amongst themselues is dailie confirmed to be true, which is, that for strength, assurance, nimbleneesse and swiftnesse of sailing, there are no vessels in the world to be compared with ours. And all these are committed to the regiment and safe custodie of the admerall, who is so called (as some imagine) of the Greeke word Almiras a capiteine on the sea, for so saith Zonaras *in Basilio Macedone & Basilio Porphyriogenito*, though other fetch it from Ad mare the Latine words, another sort from Amyras the Saracen magistrate, or from some French deriuation: but these things are not for this place, and therefore I passe them ouer. The quéenes highnesse hath at this present (which is the foure and twentith of hir reigne) alreadie made and furnished, to the number of foure or fiue and twentie great ships, which lie for the most part in Gillingham rode, beside three gallies, of whose particular names and furnitures (so far forth as I can come by them) it shall not be amisse to make report at this time.

The

The names of ſo manie ſhips belonging to hir maieſtie as I could come by at this preſent.

The Bonaduenture.	Foreſight.
Elizabeth Ionas.	Swift ſute.
White Beare.	Aid.
Philip and Marie.	Handmaid.
Triumph.	Dread nought.
Bull.	Swallow.
Tiger.	Genet.
Antlope.	Barke of Bullen.
Hope.	Achates.
Lion.	Falcon.
Victorie.	George.
Marie Roſe.	Reuenge.

It is ſaid, that as kings and princes haue in the yong daies of the world, and long ſince framed themſelues to erect euerie yeare a citie in ſome one place or other of their kingdoms (and no ſmall wonder that Sardanapalus ſhould begin & finiſh two, to wit, Anchialus and Tharſus in one daie) ſo hir grace doth yearelie build one ſhip or other to the better defenſe of hir frontiers from the enimie. But as of this report I haue no aſſured certeintie, ſo it ſhall ſuffice to haue ſaid ſo much of theſe things: yet this I thinke worthie further to be added, that if they ſhould all be driuen to ſeruice at one inſtant) which God forbid) ſhe ſhould haue a power by ſea of about nine or ten thouſand men, which were a notable companie, beſide the ſupplie of other veſſels apperteining to hir ſubiects to furniſh vp hir voiage.

Beſide theſe hir grace hath other in hand alſo, of whom hereafter as their turnes do come about, I will not let to leaue ſome further remembrance. She hath likewiſe three notable gallies: the Speed well, the Trie right, and the Blacke gallie, with the ſight whereof and reſt of the nauie roiall, it is incredible to ſaie how greatlie hir grace is delighted: and not without great cauſe (I ſaie) ſith by their meanes hir coaſts are kept in quiet, and ſundrie forren enimies put backe, which otherwiſe would inuade vs. The number of thoſe that ſerue for burden with the other, whereof I haue made mention alreadie, and whoſe vſe is dailie ſeene, as occaſion ſerueth, in time of the warres, is to me vtterlie vnknowne. Yet if the report of one record be anie thing at all to be credited, there are 135 ſhips that exceed 500 tun, topmen vnder 100 and aboue fortie 656: holes 100: but of hulkes, catches, fiſherboats, and craters, it lieth not in me to deliuer the iuſt account, ſith they are hardlie to come by. Of theſe alſo there are ſome of the queenes maieſties ſubiects that haue two or three, ſome foure or ſix, and (as I heard of late) one man whoſe name I ſuppreſſe for modeſties ſake, hath bene knowne not long ſince to haue had ſixteene or ſeuenteene, and employed them wholie to the waſting in and out of our merchants, whereby he hath reaped no ſmall commoditie and gaine. I might take occaſion to tell of the notable and difficult voiages made into ſtrange countries by Engliſhmen, and of their dailie ſucceſſe there: but as theſe things are nothing incident to my purpoſe, ſo I ſurceaſe to ſpeake of them. Onelie this will I ad, to the end all men ſhall vnderſtand ſomewhat of the great maſſes of treaſure dailie employed vpon our nauie, how there are few of thoſe ſhips, of the firſt and ſecond ſort, that being apparelled and made readie to ſaile, are not worth one thouſand pounds, or three thouſand ducats at the leaſt, if they ſhould preſentlie be ſold. What ſhall we thinke then of the greater, but eſpeciallie of the nauie roiall, of which ſome one veſſell is worth two of the other, as the ſhipwrights haue often told me? It is poſſible that ſome couetous perſon hearing this report, will either not credit it at all, or ſuppoſe monie ſo employed to be nothing profitable to the queenes coffers: as a good huſband ſaid once when he hard there ſhould be proviſion made for armor, wiſhing the queenes monie to be rather laid out to ſome ſpeedier returne of gaine vnto hir grace, becauſe the realme (ſaith he) is in caſe good enough, and ſo peraduenture he thought. But if as by ſtore of armour for the defenſe of the countrie, he had likewiſe vnderſtanded that the good keeping of the ſea, is the ſafegard of our land, he would haue altered his cenſure, and ſone giuen ouer his iudgement. For in times paſt, when our nation made ſmall account of nauigation, how ſone did the Romans, then the Saxons, & laſt of all the Danes inuade this Iland? whoſe crueltie in the end inforced our countrimen, as it were euen againſt their wils, to prouide for ſhips from other places, and build at home of their owne, whereby their enimies were oftentimes diſtreſſed. But moſt of all were the Normans therein to be commended. For in a ſhort proceſſe of time after the conqueſt of this Iland, and good conſideration had for the well keeping of the ſame, they ſuppoſed nothing more commodious for the defenſe of the countrie, than the maintenance of a ſtrong nauie, which they ſpeedilie prouided, maintained, and thereby reaped in the end their wiſhed ſecuritie, wherewith before their times this Iland was neuer acquainted. Before the comming of the Romans, I do not read that we had anie ſhips at all, except a few made of wicker and couered with buffle hides, like vnto the which there are ſome to be ſeene at this preſent in Scotland (as I heare) although there be a little (I wote not well what) difference betweene them. Of the ſame alſo Solinus ſpeaketh, ſo far as I remember: neuertheleſſe it may be gathered by his words, how the vpper parts of them aboue the water onelie were framed of the ſaid wickers, and that the Britons did vſe to faſt all the whiles they went to the ſea in them: but whether it were done for policie or ſuperſtition, as yet I do not read.

The Britons faſted all the while they were at the ſea in theſe ſhips.

In the beginning of the Saxons regiment we had ſome ſhips alſo, but as their number and mould was litle and nothing to the purpoſe, ſo Egbert was the firſt prince that euer throughlie began to know this neceſſitie of a nauie, and vſe the ſeruice thereof in the defenſe of his countrie. After him alſo other princes, as Alfred, Edgar, Ethelred, &c: indeuoured more and more to ſtore themſelues at the full with ſhips of all quantities, but chieflie Edgar, for he prouided a nauie of 1600 *alias* 3600 ſaile, which he diuided into foure parts, and ſent them to abide vpon foure ſundrie coaſts of the land to keepe the ſame from pirats. Next vnto him (and worthie to be remembred) is Ethelred, who made a law, that euerie man holding 310 hidelands, ſhould find a ſhip furniſhed to ſerue him in the warres. Howbeit, and as I ſaid before, when all their nauie was at the greateſt, it was not comparable for force and ſure building, to that which afterward the Normans prouided; neither that of the Normans anie thing like to the ſame that is to be ſeene now in theſe our daies. For the iourneies alſo of our ſhips, you ſhall vnderſtand, that a well builded veſſell will run or ſaile commonlie three hundred leagues or nine hundred miles in a weeke, or peraduenture ſome will go 2200 leagues in ſix weekes and an halfe. And ſuerlie, if their lading be readie againſt they come thither, there be of them that will be here, at the weſt Indies, & home againe in twelue or thirteene weekes from Colcheſter; although the ſaid Indies be eight hundred leagues from the cape or point of Cornewall, as I haue beene informed. This alſo I vnderſtand

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by report of some trauellers, that if anie of our vessels happen to make a voiage to Hispaniola or new Spaine, called in time past Quinquezia and Haiti, and lieth betweene the north tropike and the equator, after they haue once touched at the Canaries, (which are eight daies sailing or two hundred and fiftie leages from S. Lucas de Barameda in Spaine) they will be there in thirtie or fourtie daies, & home againe in Cornewall in other eight weekes, which is a goodlie matter, beside the safetie and quietnesse in the passage. But more of this elsewhere.

Of faires and markets.

Chap. 18.

THere are (as I take it) few great townes in England, that haue not their weekelie markets, one or more granted from the prince, in which all maner of prouision for houshold is to be bought and sold, for ease and benefit of the countrie round about. Whereby as it cõmeth to passe that no buier shall make anie great iourneie in the purueiance of his necessities: so no occupier shall haue occasion to trauell far off with his commodities, except it be to seeke for the highest prices, which commonlie are neere vnto great cities, where round and speediest vtterance is alwaies to be had. And as these haue beene in times past erected for the benefit of the realme, so are they in many places too too much abused: for the reliefe and ease of the buier is not so much intended in them, as the benefit of the seller. Neither are the magistrats for the most part (as men loth to displease their neighbours for their one yeares dignitie) so carefull in their offices, as of right and dutie they should bee. For in most of these markets neither assises of bread nor orders for goodnesse and sweetnesse of graine, and other commodities that are brought thither to be sold, are anie whit looked vnto: but ech one suffered to sell or set vp what and how himselfe liketh: & this is one euident cause of dearth and scarsitie in time of great abundance.

I could (if I would) exemplifie in manie, but I will touch no one particularlie, sith it is rare to see in anie countrie towne (as I said) the assise of bread well kept according to the statute. And yet if anie countrie baker happen to come in among them on the market daie with bread of better quantitie, they find fault by and by with one thing or another in his stuffe; whereby the honest poore man, whome the law of nations do commend, for that he indeuoureth to liue by anie lawfull meanes, is driuen awaie, and no more to come there vpon some round penaltie, by vertue of their priuileges. Howbeit though they are so nice in the proportion of their bread, yet in lieu of the same, there is such headie ale & beere in most of them, as for the mightinesse thereof among such as seeke it out, is commonlie called huffecap, the mad dog, father whoresonne, angels food, dragons milke, go by the wall, stride wide, and lift leg, &c. And this is more to be noted, that when one of late fell by Gods prouidence into a troubled cõscience, after he had considered well of his reachlesse life, and dangerous estate: another thinking belike to change his colour and not his mind, caried him straightwaie to the strongest ale, as to the next physician. It is incredible to saie how our maltbugs lug at this liquor, euen as pigs should lie in a row, lugging at their dames teats, till they lie still againe, and be not able to wag. Neither did Romulus and Remus sucke their thee woolfe or sheepheards wife Lupa, with such eger and sharpe deuotion, as these men hale at huffcap, till they be red as cockes, & litle wiser than their combs. But how am I fallen from the market into the alehouse? In returning therefore vnto my purpose, I find that in corne great abuse is dailie suffered, to the great preiudice of the towne and countrie, especiallie the poore artificer and householder, which tilleth no land, but laboring all the weeke to buie a bushell or two of graine on the market daie, can there haue none for his monie: bicause bodgers, loders, and common carriers of corne do not onlie buie vp all, but giue aboue the price, to be serued of great quantities. Shall I go anie further? Well I will saie yet a little more, and somewhat by mine owne experience.

At Michaelmasse time poore men must make monie of their graine, that they may paie their rents. So long then as the poore man hath to sell, rich men will bring out none, but rather buie vp that which the poore bring, vnder pretense of seed corne, or alteration of graine, although they bring none of their owne, bicause one wheat often sowen without change of seed, will some deale and be conuerted into darnell. For this cause therefore they must needs buie in the markets, though they be twentie miles off and where they be not knowne, promising there if they happen to be espied (which God wot is verie seldome) to send so much to their next market, to be performed I wot not when.

If this shift serue not (neither doth the fox vse alwaies one tracke for feare of a snare) they will compound with some one of the towne where the market is holden, who for a pot of huffcap or merie go downe, will not let to buie it for them, and that in his owne name. Or else they wage one poore man or other, to become a bodger, and thereto get him a licence vpon some forged surmise, which being done, they will feed him with monie, to buie for them till he hath filled their lofts, and then if he can do any good for himselfe so it is, if not, they will giue him somewhat for his paines at this time, & reserue him for an other yeare. How manie of the like prouiders stumble vpon blind creekes at the sea coast, I wote not well; but that some haue so done and yet do vnder other mens wings, the case is too too plaine. But who dare find fault with them, when they haue once a licence? yea though it be but to serue a meane gentlemans house with corne, who hath cast vp all his tillage, bicause he boasteth how he can buie his graine in the market better cheape, than he can sow his land, as the rich grasier often doth also vpon the like deuise, bicause grasing requireth a smaller household and lesse attendance and charge. If anie man come to buie a bushell or two for his expenses vnto the market crosse, answer is made; Forsooth here was one euen now that bad me monie for it, and I hope he will haue it. And to saie the truth, these bodgers are faire chapmen, for there are no more words with them, but Let me see it, what shall I giue you, knit it vp, I will haue it, go carie it to such a chamber, and if you bring in twentie seme more in the weeke daie to such an Inne or sollar where I laie my corne, I will haue it and giue you pence or more in euerie bushell for six weekes day of paiment than an other will. Thus the bodgers beare awaie all, so that the poore artificer and labourer cannot make his prouision in the markets, sith they will hardlie now adaies sell by the bushell, nor breake their measure; and so much the rather, for that the buier will looke (as they saie) for so much ouer measure in a bushell as the bodger will do in a quarter. Saie the poore man cannot oft get anie of the farmer at home, bicause he prouideth altogither to serue the bodger, or hath an hope grounded vpon a greedie and insatiable desire of gaine, that the sale will be better in the market: so that he must giue

Subborned bodgers.

Bodgers licenced.

giue two pence or a groate more in a bushell at his house than the last market craued, or else go without it, and sleepe with an hungrie bellie. Of the common carriage of corne ouer vnto the parts beyond the seas I speake not; or at the leastwise if I should, I could not touch it alone but needs must ioine other prouision withall, whereby not onelie our frends abroad, but also manie of our aduersaries and countriemen the papists are abundantlie relieued (as the report goeth) but sith I see it not, I will not so trust mine eares as to write it for a truth. But to returne to our markets againe.

By this time the poore occupier hath all sold his crop for need of monie, being readie peraduenture to buie againe yer long. And now is the whole sale of corne in the great occupiers hands, who hither to haue threshed little or none of their owne, but bought vp of other men, so much as they could come by. Henceforth also they begin to sell, not by the quarter or load at the first, for marring the market, but by the bushell or two, or an horseload at the most, thereby to be seene to keepe the crosse, either for a shew, or to make men eger to buie, and so as they may haue it for monie, not to regard what they paie. And thus corne wareth deere, but it will be deerer the next market daie. It is possible also that they mislike the price in the beginning for the whole yeare insuing, as men supposing that corne will be litle worth for this, & of better price in the nert yeare. For they haue certeine superstitious obseruations, whereby they will giue a gesse at the sale of corne for the yeare following. And our countriemen do vse commonlie for barleie where I dwell, to iudge after the price at Baldocke vpon S. Matthewes daie, and for wheat as it is sold in seed time. They take in like sort experiment by sight of the first flockes of cranes that flee southward in winter, the age of the mone in the beginning of Januarie, & such other apish toies, as by laieng twelue cornes vpon the hot hearth for the twelue moneths, &c: whereby they shew themselues to be scant good christians, but what care they so they may come by monie? Hereupon also will they thresh out three parts of the old corne, toward the latter end of the summer, when new commeth apace to hand, and cast the same in the fourth vnthreshed, where it shall lie vntill the nert spring, or peraduenture till it must and putrifie. Certes it is not deintie to see muskie corne in manie of our great markets of England, which these great occupiers bring forth when they can keepe it no longer. But as they are inforced oftentimes vpon this one occasion somwhat to abate the price, so a plague is not seldome ingendred thereby among the poorer sort that of necessitie must buie the same, whereby manie thousands of all degrees are consumed, of whose deaths (in mine opinion) these farmers are not vnguiltie. But to proceed. If they laie not vp their graine or wheat in this maner, they haue yet another policie, whereby they will seeme to haue but small store left in their barnes: for else they will gird their sheues by the band, and stacke it vp of new in lesse rome, to the end it may not onlie seeme lesse in quantitie, but also giue place to the corne that is yet to come into the barne, or growing in the field. If there happen to be such plentie in the market on anie market daie, that they cannot sell at their own price, then will they set it vp in some frends house, against an other or the third daie, & not bring it forth till they like of the sale. If they sell anie at home, beside harder measure, it shall be deerer to the poore man that bieth it by two pence or a groat in a bushell than they may sell it in the market. But as these things are worthie redresse, so I wish that God would once open their eies that deale thus, to see their owne errours: for as yet some of them little care how manie poore men suffer extremitie, so that they may fill their purses, and carie awaie the gaine.

It is a world also to see how most places of the realme are pestered with purueiours, who take vp egs, butter, cheese, pigs, capons, hens, chickens, hogs, bakon, &c: in one market, vnder pretense of their commissions, & suffer their wiues to sell the same in another, or to pulters of London. If these chapmen be absent but two or three market daies, then we may perfectlie see these wares to be more reasonablie sold, and therevnto the crosses sufficientlie furnished of all things. In like sort, since the number of buttermen haue so much increased, and since they trauell in such wise, that they come to mens houses for their butter faster than they can make it; it is almost incredible to see how the price of butter is augmented: whereas when the owners were inforced to bring it to the market townes, & fewer of these butter buiers were stirring, our butter was scarslie worth eightéene pence the gallon, that now is worth three shillings foure pence, & perhaps fiue shillings. Wherby also I gather that the maintenance of a superfluous number of dealers in most trades, tillage alwaies excepted, is one of the greatest causes why the prices of things become excessiue: for one of them do cõmonlie vse to out bid another. And whilest our countrie commodities are commonlie bought and sold at our priuate houses, I neuer looke to see this enormitie redressed, or the markets well furnished.

I could saie more, but this is euen inough, & more peraduenture than I shall be well thanked for: yet true it is though some thinke it no trespasse. This moreouer is to be lamented, that one generall measure is not in vse throughout all England, but euerie market towne hath in maner a seuerall bushell, and the lesser it be, the more sellers it draweth to resort vnto the same. Such also is the couetousnesse of manie clearkes of the market, that in taking view of measures, they will alwaie so prouide, that one and the same bushell shall be either to big or to little at their nert comming, and yet not depart without a fee at the first: so that what by their mending at one time and empairing the same at another, the countrie is greatlie charged, and few iust measures to be had in anie steed. It is oft found likewise, that diuerse vnconscionable dealers haue one measure to sell by, & another to buie withall, the like is also in weights and yet all sealed and bronded. Wherefore it were verie good that these two were reduced vnto one standard, that is, one bushell, one pound, one quarter, one hundred, one tale, one number: so should things in time fall into better order, and fewer causes of contention be moued in this land. Of the complaint of such poore tenants as paie rent corne vnto their landlords, I speake not, who are often dealt withall very hardlie. For beside that in the measuring of ten quarters, for the most part they lose one through the iniquitie of the bushell (such is the greedinesse of the appointed receiuers thereof) fault is found also with the goodnesse and cleannesse of the graine. Wherby some peece of monie must needs passe vnto their purses to stop their mouths withall, or else my lord will not like of the corne; Thou art worthie to lose thy lease, &c. Or if it be cheaper in the market, than the rate allowed for it is in their rents, then must they paie monie and no corne, which is no small extremitie. And thereby we may see how each one of vs indeuoureth to fleece and eat vp another.

Another thing there is in our markets worthie to be looked vnto, and that is the recarriage of graine from the same into lofts and sollars, of which before I gaue some intimation: wherefore if it were ordered, that euerie seller should make his market by an houre, or else the bailie, or clearke of the said market

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to make sale therof according to his discretion, without libertie to the farmer to set vp their corne in houses and chambers, I am perswaded that the prices of our graine would sone be abated. Againe, if it were enacted that each one should kéepe his next market with his graine, and not to run six, eight, ten, foureténe, or twentie miles from home to sell his corne, where he doth find the highest price, and therby leaueth his neighbours vnfurnished, I do not thinke but that our markets would be farre better serued than at this present they are. Finallie if mens barns might be indifferentlie viewed immediatlie after harvest, and a note gathered by an estimat, and kept by some appointed a trustie person for that purpose, we should haue much more plentie of corne in our towne crosses than as yet is commonlie séene: because each one hideth and hoordeth what he may vpon purpose either that it will be déerer, or that he shall haue some priuie vent by bodgers, who do accustomablie so deale, that the sea doth load awaie no small part therof into other countries & our enimies, to the great hinderance of our common-wealth at home, and more likelie yet to be, except some remedie be found. But what do I talke of these things, or desire the suppression of bodgers being a minister? Certes I may speake of them right well, as féeling the harme in that I am a buier, nevertheless I speake generallie in ech of them.

To conclude therefore, in our markets all things are to be sold necessarie for mans vse, and there is our prouision made commonlie for all the wéeke insuing. Therefore as there are no great townes without one weekelie market at the least, so there are verie few of them that haue not one or two faires or more within the compasse of the yeare assigned vnto them by the prince. And albeit that some of them are not much better than Lowse faire or the common kirkemesses beyond the sea, yet there are diuerse not inferiour to the greatest marts in Europe, as Sturbridge faire nére to Cambridge, Bristow faire, Bartholomew faire at London, Lin mart, Cold faire at Newport pond for cattell, and diuerse other, all which or at least wise the greatest part of them (to the end I may with the more ease to the reader and lesse trauell to my selfe fulfill my taske in their rectall) I haue set downe, according to the names of the moneths wherein they are holden, at the end of this booke, where you shall find them at large, as I borowed the same from I. Stow, and the reports of others.

Of Parkes and Warrens.

Chap. 19.

IN euerie shire of England there is great plentie of parkes, whereof some here and there, to wit, welnere to the number of two hundred for hir daily prouision of that flesh apperteine to the prince, the rest to such of the nobilitie and gentlemen as haue their lands and patrimonies lieng in or nére vnto the same. I would gladlie haue set downe the iust number of these inclosures to be found in euerie countie: but sith I cannot so do, it shall suffice to saie, that in Kent and Essex onelie are to the number of an hundred, and twentie in the bishoprike of Durham, wherein great plentie of fallow dére is cherished and kept. As for warrens of conies, I iudge them almost innumerable, and dailie like to increase, by reason that the blacke skins of those beasts are thought to counteruaile the prices of their naked carcases, and this is the onelie cause whie the graie are lesse esteemed. Nére vnto London their quickest merchandize is of the yong rabbets, wherfore the older conies are brought from further off, where there is no such spredie vtterance of rabbets and sucklings in their season, nor so great losse by their skins, sith they are suffered to growe vp to their full greatnesse with their owners. Our parkes are generallie inclosed with strong pale made of oke, of which kind of wood there is great store cherished in the woodland countries from time to time in ech of them, onelie for the maintenance of the said defense, and safekeeping of the fallow déere from ranging about the countrie. Howbeit in times past diuerse haue been fenced in with stone walles (especiallie in the times of the Romans, who first brought fallow déere into this land (as some coniecture) albeit those inclosures were ouerthrowne againe by the Saxons & Danes, as Cauisham, Towner, and Woodstocke, beside other in the west countrie, and one also at Bolton. Among other things also to be séene in that towne, there is one of the fairest clockes in Europe. Where no wood is, they are also inclosed with piles of slate; and therto it is douted of manie whether our bucke or doe are to be reckoned in wild or tame beasts or not. Plinie deemeth them to be wild, Martial is also of the same opinion, where he saith, *Imbelles damæ quid nisi præda sumus?* And so in time past the like controuersie was about bées, which the lawiers call *Feras, tit. de acquirendo rerum dominio, & lib. 2. instit.* But Plinie attempting to decide the quarell calleth them *Medias inter feras & placidas aues*. But whither am I so suddenlie digressed? In returning therefore vnto our parks, I find also the circuit of these inclosures in like manner conteine often times a walke of foure or fiue miles, and sometimes more or lesse. Wherby it is to be séene what store of ground is emploied vpon that vaine commoditie, which bringeth no manner of gaine or profit to the owner, sith they commonlie giue awaie their flesh, neuer taking penie for the same, except the ordinarie fée and parts of the déere giuen vnto the kéeper by a custome, who beside three shillings foure pence, or fiue shillings in monie, hath the skin, head, vmbles, chine, and shoulders: whereby he that hath the warrant for an whole bucke, hath in the end little more than halfe, which in my iudgement is scarselie equall dealing; for venison in England is neither bought nor sold, as in other countries, but mainteined onelie for the pleasure of the owner and his friends. Albeit I heard of late of one ancient ladie, which maketh a great gaine by selling yeerelie hir husbands venison to the cookes (as another of no lesse name will not sticke to ride to the market to sée hir butter sold) but not performed without infinite scoffes and mockes, euen of the poorest pezzants of the countrie, who thinke them as odious matters in ladies and women of such countenance to sell their venison and their butter, as for an earle to féele his oxen, sheepe, and lambs, whether they be readie for the butcher or not, or to sell his woll vnto the clothier, or to kéepe a tan-house, or deale with such like affaires as belong not to men of honor, but rather to farmers, or graziers; for which such, if there be anie may well be noted (and not vniustlie) to degenerate from true nobilitie, and betake themselues to husbandrie. And euen the same enormitie take place sometime among the Romans, and entred so farre as into the verie senate, of whome some one had two or three ships going vpon the sea, pretending prouision for their houses; but in truth following the trades of merchandize, till a law was made which did inhibit and restraine them. Liuie also telleth of another

ther law which paſſed likewiſe againſt the ſenators by Claudius the tribune, and helpe onelie of C. Flaminius, that no ſenator, or he that had bæne father to anie ſenator ſhould poſſeſſe anie ſhip or veſſell aboue the capacitie of three hundred amphoras, which was ſuppoſed ſufficient for the cariage and recariage of ſuch neceſſities as ſhould apperteine vnto his houſe: ſith further trading with merchandizes and commodities doth declare but a baſe and couetous mind, not altogither void of enuie, that anie man ſhould liue but he; or that if anie gaine were to be had, he onelie would haue it himſelfe: which is a wonderfull dealing, and muſt needs proue in time the confuſion of that countrie wherein ſuch enormities are exerciſed. Where in times paſt, manie large and wealthie occupiers were dwelling within the compaſſe of ſome one parke, and thereby great plentie of corne and cattell ſæne, and to be had among them, beſide a more copious procreation of humane iſſue, whereby the realme was alwaies better furniſhed with able men to ſerue the prince in his affaires: now there is almoſt nothing kept but a ſort of wild and ſauage beaſts, cheriſhed for pleaſure and delight; and yet ſome owners ſtill deſirous to inlarge thoſe grounds, as either for the breed and feeding of cattell, do not let dailie to take in more, not ſparing the verie commons whervpon manie townſhips now and then do liue, affirming that we haue alreadie too great ſtore of people in England; and that youth by marrieng too ſone do nothing profit the countrie, but fill it full of beggars, to the hurt and vtter vndoing (they ſaie) of the common wealth.

Tillage and mankind diminiſhed by parkes.

The decaie of the people is the deſtruction of a kingdome.

Certes if it be not one curſe of the Lord, to haue our countrie conuerted in ſuch ſort from the furniture of mankind, into the walks and ſhrowds of wild beaſts, I know not what is anie. How manie families alſo theſe great and ſmall games (for ſo moſt keepers call them) haue eaten vp and are likelie hereafter to deuoure, ſome men may coniecture, but manie more lament, ſith there is no hope of reſtraint to be looked for in this behalfe, becauſe the corruption is ſo generall. But if a man may preſentlie giue a gheſſe at the vniuerſalitie of this euill by contemplation of the circumſtance, he ſhall ſaie at the laſt, that the twentith part of the realme is imploied vpon deere and conies alreadie, which ſeemeth verie much if it be not dulie conſidered of.

King Henrie the eight, one of the nobleſt princes that euer reigned in this land, lamented oft that he was conſtreined to hire forren aid, for want of competent ſtore of ſouldiors here at home, perceiuing (as it is indeed) that ſuch ſupplies are oftentimes more hurtfull than profitable vnto thoſe that interteine them, as may theſlie be ſeene in Valens the emperor, our Montiger, and no ſmall number of others. He would oft marueil in priuate talke, how that when ſeauen or eight princes ruled here at once, one of them could lead thirtie or fortie thouſand men to the field againſt another, or two of them 100000 againſt the third, and thoſe taken out onelie of their owne dominions. But as he found the want, ſo he ſaw not the cauſe of this decaie, which grew beſide this occaſion now mentioned, alſo by laieng houſe to houſe, and land to land, whereby manie mens occupiengs were conuerted into one, and the breed of people not a little thereby diminiſhed. The auarice of landlords by increaſing of rents and fines alſo did ſo wearie the people, that they were readie to rebell with him that would ariſe, ſuppoſing a ſhort end in the warres to be better than a long and miſerable life in peace.

Priuileges and faculties alſo are another great cauſe of the ruine of a common wealth, and diminution of mankind: for whereas law and nature doth permit all men to liue in their beſt maner, and whatſoeuer trade they be exerciſed in, there commeth ſome priuilege or other in the waie, which cutteth them off from this or that trade, wherby they muſt needs ſhift ſoile, and ſeeke vnto other countries. By theſe alſo the greateſt commodities are brought into the hands of few, who imbaſe, corrupt, and yet raiſe the prices of things at their owne pleaſures. Example of this laſt I can giue alſo in bookes, which (after the firſt impreſſion of anie one booke) are for the moſt part verie negligentlie handled: whereas if another might print it ſo well as the firſt, then would men ſtriue which of them ſhould do it beſt; and ſo it falleth out in all other trades. It is an eaſie matter to proue that England was neuer leſſe furniſhed with people than at this preſent; for if the old records of euerie manour be ſought, and ſearch made to find what tenements are fallen, either downe, or into the lords hands, or brought and vnited togither by other men: it will ſone appeare, that in ſome one manour ſeuentéen, eightéene, or twentie houſes are ſhrunke. I know what I ſaie by mine owne experience: notwithſtanding that ſome one cotage be here and there erected of late, which is to little purpoſe. Of cities and townes either vtterlie decaied, or more than a quarter or halfe diminiſhed, though ſome one be a little increaſed here and there; of townes pulled downe for ſhæpe-walks, and no more but the lordſhips now ſtanding in them, beſide thoſe that William Rufus pulled downe in his time; I could ſaie ſomewhat: but then I ſhould ſwarue yet further from my purpoſe, whereunto I now returne.

Wée had no parkes left in England at the comming of the Normans, who added this calamitie alſo to the ſeruitude of our nation, making men of the beſt ſort furthermore to become keepers of their game, whileſt they liued in the meane time vpon the ſpoile of their reuenues, and dailie ouerthrew townes, villages, and an infinit ſort of families, for the maintenance of their venerie. Neither was anie parke ſuppoſed in theſe times to be ſtatelie enough, that conteined not at the leaſt eight or ten hidelands, that is, ſo manie hundred acres or families (or as they haue bæne alwaies called in ſome places of the realme carrucats or cartwares) of which one was ſufficient in old time to mainteine an honeſt yeoman.

King John trauelling on a time northwards, to wit 1209 to warre vpon the king of Scots, becauſe he had married his daughter to the earle of Bullen without his conſent: in his returne ouerthrew a great number of parkes and warrens, of which ſome belonged to his barons, but the greateſt part to the abbats and prelats of the cleargie. For hearing (as he trauelled) by complaint of the countrie, how theſe incloſures were the chéefe decaie of men, and of tillage in the land, he ſware with an oth that he would not ſuffer wild beaſts to feed vpon the fat of his ſoile, and ſée the people periſh for want of abilitie to procure and buie them food that ſhould defend the realme. Howbeit, this act of his was ſo ill taken by the religious and their adherents, that they inuerted his intent herein to another end; affirming moſt ſlanderouſlie how he did it rather of purpoſe to ſpoile the corne and graſſe of the commons and catholikes that held againſt him of both eſtates, and by ſo doing to impouriſh and bring the north part of the realme to deſtruction, becauſe they refuſed to go with him into Scotland. If the ſaid prince were aliue in theſe daies; wherein Andrew Boord ſaith there are more parks in England than in all Europe (ouer which he trauelled in his owne perſon) and ſaw how much ground they conſume,

I thinke he would either double his othes, or laie the most of them open that tillage might be better looked vnto. But this I hope shall not need in time, for the owners of a great sort of them begin now to smell out, that such parcels might be employed to their more gaine, and therefore some of them do grow to be disparked.

Next of all we haue the franke chase, which taketh something both of parke and forrest, and is giuen either by the kings grant or prescription. Certes it differeth not much from a parke; nay, it is in maner the selfe same thing that a parke is, sauing that a parke is inuironed with pale, wall, or such like: the chase alwaie open and nothing at all inclosed, as we see in Enuéld & Maluerne chases. And as it is the cause of the seisure of the franchise of a parke not to keepe the same inclosed, so it is the like in a chase if at anie time it be imparked. It is trespasse, and against the law also, for anie man to haue or make a chase, parke, or frée warren without good warrantie of the king by his charter or perfect title of prescription: for it is not lawfull for anie subiect either to carnilate, that is, build stone houses, imbattell, haue the querke of the sea, or keepe the assise of bread, ale, or wine, or set vp furels, tumbrell, thew, or pillorie, or inclose anie ground to the aforesaid purposes within his owne soile, without his warrant and grant. The beasts of the chase were commonlie the bucke, the roe, the fox, and the marterne. But those of venerie in old time were the hart, the hare, the bore and the woolfe; but as this held not in the time of Canutus, so in stéed of the woolfe the beare is now crept in, which is a beast cõmonlie hunted in the east countries, and fed vpon as excellent venison, although with vs I know not anie that féed thereon or care for it at all. Certes it should seeme, that forrests and franke chases haue alwaies béene had, and religiouslie preserued in this Iland for the solace of the prince, and recreation of his nobilitie: howbeit I read not that euer they were inclosed more than at this present, otherwise fenced than by vsuall notes of limitation, whereby their bounds were remembred from time to time, for the better preseruation of such venerie and vert of all sorts as were nourished in the same. Neither are anie of the ancient laws prescribed for their maintenance, before the daies of Canutus, now to be had; sith time hath so dealt with them that they are perished and lost. Canutus therefore séeing the dailie spoile that was made almost in all places of his game, did at the last make sundrie sanctions and decrées, whereby from thenceforth the red and fallow déere were better looked to throughout his whole dominions. We haue in these daies diuerse forrests in England and Wales, of which, some belong to the king, and some to his subiects, as Waltham forrest, Windlesor, Pickering, Feckenam, Delamore, Gillingham, Kingswood, Wenesdale, Clun, Rath, Bredon, Weire, Charlie, Leircester, Lée, Rokingham, Selwood, New forrest, Wichwood, Hatfeld, Sauernake, Westbirie, Blacamore Peke, Deane, Penrise, & manie other now cleane out of my remembrance: and which although they are far greater in circuit than manie parkes and warrens, yet are they in this our time lesse deuourers of the people than these latter, sith beside much tillage, & manie townes are found in each of them, whereas in parks and warrens we haue nothing else than either the keepers & warreners lodge, or at least the manor place of the chéef lord & owner of the soile. I find also by good record, that all Esser hath in time past wholie béene forrest ground, except one cantred or hundred; but how long it is since it lost the said denomination in good sooth I do not read. This neuertheless remaineth yet in memorie, that the towne of Walden in Esser standing in the limits of the aforesaid countie doth take hir name thereof. For in the Celtike tong, wherewith the Saxon or Scithian spéech doth not a little participate, huge woods and forrests were called Walds, and likewise their Druides were named Walie or Waldie, because they frequented the woods, and there made sacrifice among the okes and thickets. So that if my coniecture in this behalfe be anie thing at all, the aforesaid towne taketh denomination of of Wald and end, as if I should say. The end of the woddie soile; for being once out of that parish, the champaine is at hand. Or it may be that it is so called of Wald and dene: for I haue read it written in old euidences Waldæne, with a diphthong. And to saie truth, Dene is the old Saxon word for a vale or lowe bottome, as Dune or Don is for an hill or hillie soile. Certes if it be so, then Walden taketh hir name of the woodie vale, in which it sometime stood. But the first deriuation liketh me better, and the highest part of the towne is called also Chipping Walden, of the Saxon word Gipping, which signifieth Leaning or hanging, and may verie well be aplied thereunto, sith the whole towne hangeth as it were vpon the sides of two hils, wherof the lesser runneth quite through the middest of the same. I might here for further confirmation of these things bring in mention of the Wald of Kent: but this may suffice for the vse of the word Wald, which now differeth much from Wold. For as that signifieth a woodie soile, so this betokeneth a soile without wood, or plaine champaine countrie, without anie store of trées, as may be séene in Cotswold, Porkewold, &c. Beside this I could saie more of our forrests, and the aforesaid inclosures also, & therein to proue by the booke of forrest law, that the whole countie of Lancaster hath likewise béene forrest heretofore. Also how William the Bastard made a law, that whosoeuer did take anie wild beast within the kings forrest should lose an eare; as Henrie the first did punish them either by life or lim: which ordinance was confirmed by Henrie the second and his péeres at Woodstocke, whereupon great trouble insued vnder king John and Henrie the third, as appeareth by the chronicles: but it shall suffice to haue said so much as is set downe alreadie.

Gipping, of going vp to anie place.

Howbeit, that I may restore one antiquitie to light, which hath hitherto lien as it were raked vp in the embers of oblivion, I will giue out those laws that Canutus made for his forrest: whereby manie things shall be disclosed concerning the same (whereof peraduenture some lawiers haue no knowlege) and diuerse other notes gathered touching the ancient estate of the realme not to be found in other. But before I deale with the great charter (which as you may perceiue, is in manie places vnperfect by reason of corruption, and want also of congruitie, crept in by length of time, not by me to be restored) I will note another breefe law, which he made in the first yeare of his reigne at Winchester, afterward inserted into these his later constitutions, canon 32, & beginneth thus in his owne Saxon tong; Ic will that elc one, &c: I will and grant that ech one shall be worthie of such venerie as he by hunting can take either in the plaines or in the woods, within his owne lée or dominion; but ech man shall abstaine from my venerie in euerie place, where I will that my beasts shall haue firme peace and quietnesse, vpon paine to forfet so much as a man may forfet. Hitherto the statute made by the aforesaid Canutus, which was afterward confirmed by king Edward surnamed the Confessor; & ratified by the Bastard in the fourth yeare of his reigne. Now followeth the great charter it selfe in such rude order and Latine

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as I find it word for word, and which I would gladlie haue turned into Engliſh, if it might haue ſounded to anie benefit of the vnſkilfull and vnlearned.

Incipiunt conſtitutiones Canuti regis de foreſta.

HAe ſunt ſanctiones de foreſta, quas ego Canutus rex cum conſilio primariorum hominum meorum condo & facio, vt cunctis regni noſtri Angliæ eccleſijs & pax & iuſtitia fiat, & vt omnis delinquens ſecundum modum delicti, & delinquentis fortunam patiatur.

Pegened. 1 Sint iam deinceps quatuor ex liberalioribus hominibus, qui habent ſaluas ſuas debitas conſuetudines (quos Angli Pegened appellant) in qualibet regni mei prouincia conſtituti, ad iuſtitiam diſtribuẽdam, vna cum pœna merita & materijs foreſtæ cuncto populo meo, tam Anglis quàm Danis per totum regnum meum Angliæ, quos quatuor primarios foreſtæ appellandos cenſemus.

Leſpegend. Nunc fortè Fringald. 2 Sint ſub quolibet horum, quatuor ex mediocribus hominibus (quos Angli Leſpegend nuncupant, Dani verò yoong men vocant) locati, qui curam & onus tum viridis tum veneris ſuſcipiant.

Ealdermen. 3 In adminiſtranda autem iuſtitia nullatenus volo vt tales ſe intromittant: mediocréſq; tales poſt ferarum curam ſuſceptam, pro liberalibus ſemper habeantur, quos Dani Ealdermen appellant.

Tineman. 4 Sub horum iterum quolibet ſint duo minutorum hominum, quos Tineman Angli dicunt, hi nocturnam curam & veneris & viridis tum ſeruilia opera ſubibunt.

5 Si talis minutus ſeruus fuerit, tam citò quàm in foreſta noſtra locabitur, liber eſto, omnéſq; hos ex ſumptibus noſtris manutenebimus.

Michni. 6 Habeat etiam quilibet primariorum quolibet anno de noſtra warda, quam Michni Angli appellant, duos equos, vnum cum ſella, alterum ſine ſella, vnum gladium, quinque lanceas, vnum cuſpidem, vnum ſcutum, & ducentos ſolidos argenti.

7 Mediocrium quilibet vnum equum, vnam lanceam, vnum ſcutum, & 60 ſolidos argenti.

8 Minutorum quilibet, vnum lanceam, vnam arcubaliſtam, & 15 ſolidos argenti.

9 Sint omnes tam primary, quàm mediocres, & minuti, immunes, liberi, & quieti ab omnibus prouincialibus ſummonitionibus, & popularibus placitis, quæ Hundred laghe Angli dicunt, & ab omnibus armorum oneribus, quod Warſcot Angli dicunt, & forinceſis querelis.

Hundred law. Warſcot.

10 Sint mediocrium & minutorum cauſæ, & earum correctiones, tam criminalium quàm ciuilium per prouidam ſapientiam & rationem primariorum iudicatæ & deciſæ: primariorum verò enormia ſi quæ fuerint (ne ſcelus aliquod remaneat inultum) noſmet in ira noſtra regali puniemus.

Muchehunt. 11 Habeant hi quatuor vnam regalem poteſtatem (ſalua ſemper nobis noſtra præſentia) quatérq; in anno generales foreſtæ demonſtrationes & viridis & veneris forisfactiones, quas Muchehunt dicunt, vbi teneant omnes calumniam de materia aliqua tangente foreſtam, eántque ad triplex iudicium, quod Angli Ofgangfordell dicunt. Ita autem acquiratur illud triplex iudicium. Accipiat ſecum quinque, & ſit ipſe ſextus, & ſic iurando acquirat triplex iudicium, aut triplex iuramentum. Sed purgatio ignis nullatenus admittatur, niſi vbi nuda veritas nequit aliter inueſtigari.

Ofgangfordell. Purgatio ignis, triplex ordalia.

12 Liberalis autem homo. 1. Pegen, modo crimen ſuum non ſit inter maiora, habeat fidelem hominem qui poſsit pro eo iurare iuramentum. 1. Forathe: ſi autem non habet, ipſemet iuret, nec pardonetur ei aliquod iuramentum.

Pegen. Forathe.

13 Si aduena vel peregrinus qui de longinquo venerit ſit calumniatus de foreſta, & talis eſt ſua inopia vt non poſsit habere plegium ad primam calumniam, qualem * nullus Anglus iudicare poteſt: tunc ſubeat captionem regis, & ibi expectet quouſque vadat ad iudicium ferri & aquæ: attamen ſi quis extraneo aut peregrino de longè venienti * * ſibi ipſi nocet, ſi aliquod iudicium iudicauerint.

14 Quicúnq; coram primarios homines meos foreſtæ in falſo teſtimonio ſteterit & victus fuerit, non ſit dignus impoſterum ſtare aut portare teſtimonium, quia legalitatem ſuam perdidit, & pro culpa ſoluat regi decem ſolidos, quos Dani vocant Halfehang, aliàs Halſehang.

Halfehang.

15 Si quis vim aliquam primarijs foreſtæ meæ intulerit, ſi liberalis ſit amittat libertatem & omnia ſua, ſi villanus abſcindatur dextra.

16 Si alteruter iterum peccauerit, reus ſit mortis.

17 Si quis autem contra primarium pugnauerit, in plito emendet ſecundum pretium ſui ipſius, quod Angli Pere & pite dicunt, & ſoluat primario quadraginta ſolidos.

Pere & Pite.

18 Si pacem quis fregerit ante mediocres foreſtæ, quod dicunt Gethbrech, emendet regi decem ſolidis.

Gethbzech.

19 Si quis mediocrium aliquem cum ira percuſſerit, emendetur prout interfectio feræ regalis mihi emendari ſolet.

20 Si quis delinquens in foreſta noſtra capietur, pœnas luet ſecundum modum & genus delicti.

21 Pœna & forisfactio non vna eadémq; erit liberalis (quem Dani Ealderman vocant) & illiberalis: domini & ſerui: noti & ignoti: nec vna eadémq; erit cauſarum tum ciuilium tum criminalium, ferarum foreſtæ, & ferarum regalium: viridis & veneris tractatio: nam crimen veneris ab antiquo inter maiora & non immeritò numerabatur: viridis verò (fractione chaceæ noſtræ regalis excepta) ita puſillum & exiguum eſt, quòd vix ea reſpicit noſtra conſtitutio: qui in hoc tamen deliquerit, ſit criminis foreſtæ reus.

Ealderman.

22 Si liber aliquis feram foreſtæ ad curſum impulerit, ſiue caſu, ſiue præhabita voluntate, ita vt curſu celeri cogatur fera anhelare, decem ſolidis regi emendet, ſi illiberalis dupliciter emendet, ſi ſeruus careat corio.

23 Si verò harum aliquot interfecerit, ſoluat dupliciter & perſoluat, ſitque pretij ſui reus contra regem.

24 Sed ſi regalem feram, quam Angli Staggon appellant, alteruter coegerit anhelare, alter per vnum annum, alter per duos careat libertate naturali: ſi verò ſeruus, pro vtlegato habeatur, quem Angli Frendleſman vocant.

Staggon oj Stagge. Frendleſman.

25 Si verò occiderit, amittat liber ſcutum libertatis, ſi ſit illiberalis careat libertate, ſi ſeruus vita.

26 Epiſcopi, abbates, & barones mei non calumniabuntur pro venatione, ſi non regales feras occiderint: & ſi regales, reſtabunt rei regi pro libito ſuo, ſine certa emendatione.

27 Sunt aliæ (præter feras foreſtæ) beſtiæ, quæ

dum inter septa & sepes forestæ continentur, emendationi subiacent: quales sunt capreoli, lepores, & cuniculi. Sunt & alia quàm plurima animalia, quæ quãquam infra septa forestæ viuunt, &

Bubali olim in Anglia.

oneri & curæ mediocrium subiacent forestæ, tamen nequaquã censeri possunt, qualia sunt bubali, vaccæ, & similia. Vulpes & lupi, nec forestæ nec veneris habentur, & proinde eorum interfectio nulli emendationi subiacet. Si tamen infra limites occiduntur, fractio sit regalis chaceæ, & mitiùs emendetur. Aper verò quanquam forestæ sit, nullatenus tamen animal veneris haberi est assuetus.

28 Bosco nec subbosco nostro sine licentia primariorum forestæ nemo manum apponat, quòd si quis fecerit reus sit fractionis regalis chaceæ.

Ilices aliquando in Britãnia nisi intelligatur de quercu.

29 Si quis verò ilicem aut arborẽ aliquam, quæ victum feris suppeditat sciderit, præter fractionem regalis chaceæ, emendet regi viginti solidis.

30 Volo vt omnis liber homo pro libito suo habeat venerem siue viridem in planis suis super terras suas, sine chacea tamen; & deuitent omnes meam, vbicúnq; eam habere voluero.

Greihounds.

31 Nullus mediocris habebit nec custodiet canes, quos Angli Greihounds *appellant. Liberali verò, dum genuiscißio eorum facta fuerit coram primario forestæ licebit, aut sine genuiscißione dum remoti sunt à limitibus forestæ per decem miliaria: quando verò propiùs venerint, emendet quodlibet miliare vno solido. Si verò infra septa forestæ reperiatur, dominus canis forisfaciet & decem solidos regi.*

Uelter Langeran.

32 Velteres verò quos Langeran *appellant, quia manifestè constat in ijs nihil esse periculi, cuilibet licebit sine genuiscißione eos custodire.*

Ramhundt.

Idem de canibus quos Ramhundt *vocant.*

33 Quòdsi casu inauspicato huiusmodi canes rabidi fiant & vbiq; vagãtur, negligentia dominorum, redduntur illiciti, & emendetur regi pro

Pretium hominis mediocris.

illicitis, &c. Quòdsi intra septa forestæ reperiantur, talis exquiratur herus, & emendet secundum pretium hominis mediocris, quòd secundum legem Werinorum. 1. Churingorum, est ducentorum solidorum.

34 Si canis rabidus momorderit feram, tunc emendet secundum pretiũ hominis liberalis, quod

Pretium liberi hominis.

est duodecies solidis centum. Si verò fera regalis morsa fuerit, reus sit maximi criminis.

And these are the constitutions of Canutus concerning the forrest, verie barbarouslie translated by those that toke the same in hand. Howbeit as I find it so I set it downe, without anie alteration of my copie in anie iot or tittle.

Of gardens and orchards.

Chap. 19.

After such time as Calis was woone from the French, and that our countriemen had learned to trade into diuerse countries (wherby they grew rich) they began to wax idle also, and there vpon not onlie left off their former painfulnesse and frugalitie, but in like sort gaue themselues to liue in excesse and vanitie, whereby manie good commodities failed, and in short time were not to be had amongst vs. Such strangers also as dwelled here with vs, perceiuing our sluggishnesse, and espieng that this idlenesse of ours might redound to their great profit, forthwith imploied their endeuours to bring in the supplie of such things as we lacked, continuallie from forren countries; which yet more augmented our idlenes. For hauing all things at reasonable prices as we supposed, by such meanes from them, we thought it meere madnesse to spend either time or cost about the same here at home. And thus we became enimies to our owne welfare, as men that in those daies reposed our felicitie in following the wars, wherewith we were often exercised both at home and other places. Besides this, the naturall desire that mankind hath to esteeme of things farre sought, because they be rare and costlie, and the irksome contempt of things neere hand, for that they are common and plentifull, hath borne no small swaie also in this behalfe amongst vs. For hereby we haue neglected our owne good gifts of God, growing here at home as vile and of no valure, and had euerie trifle and toie in admiration that is brought hither from far countries, ascribing I wot not what great forces and solemne estimation vnto them, vntill they also haue waxen old, after which they haue béene so little regarded, if not more despised amongst vs than our owne. Examples hereof I could set downe manie, & in manie things, but sith my purpose is to deale at this time with gardens and orchards, it shall suffice that I touch them onelie, and shew our inconstancie in the same, so farre as shall séeme & be conuenient for my turne. I comprehend therefore vnder the word garden, all such grounds as are wrought with the spade by mans hand, for so the case requireth. Of wine I haue written alreadie else-where sufficientlie, which commoditie (as I haue learned further since the penning of that booke) hath bene verie plentifull in this Iland, not onlie in the time of the Romans, but also since the conquest, as I haue séene by record: yet at this present haue we none at all or else verie little to speake of growing in this Iland: which I impute not vnto the soile, but the negligence of my countrimen. Such herbes, fruits, and roots also as grow yéerelie out of the ground, of séed, haue béene verie plentifull in this land, in the time of the first Edward, and after his daies: but in processe of time they grew also to be neglected, so that from Henrie the fourth till the latter end of Henrie the seuenth, & beginning of Henrie the eight, there was litle or no vse of them in England, but they remained either vnknowne, or supposed as food more meet for hogs & sauage beasts to feed vpon than mankind. Whereas in my time their vse is not onelie resumed among the poore commons, I meane of melons, pompions, gourds, cucumbers, radishes, skirets, parsneps, carrets, cabbages, nauewes, turneps, and all kinds of salad herbes, but also fed vpon as deintie dishes at the tables of delicate merchants, gentlemen, and the nobilitie, who make their prouision yearelie for new séeds out of strange countries, from whence they haue them aboundantlie. Neither do they now skaie with such of these fruits as are wholesome in their kinds, but aduenture further vpon such as are verie dangerous and hurtfull, as the berangenes, mushroms, &c: as if nature had ordeined all for the bellie, or that all things were to be eaten, for whose mischieuous operation the Lord in some measure hath giuen and prouided a remedie.

Hops in time past were plentifull in this land, afterwards also their maintenance did cease, and now being reuiued, where are anie better to be found? where anie greater commoditie to be raised by them? onelie poles are accounted to be their greatest charge. But sith men haue learned of late to sow ashen keies in ashyards by themselues, that inconuenience

nenience in short time will be redressed. Madder hath growne abundantlie in this Iland, but of long time neglected, and now a little reuiued, and offereth it selfe to proue no small benefit vnto our countrie, as manie other things else, which are now fetched from vs; as we before time when we gaue our selues to idlenesse, were glad to haue them other. If you loke into our gardens annexed to our houses, how wonderfullie is their beautie increased, not onelie with floures, which Colmella calleth *Terrena sydera*, saieng;

Pingit & in varios terrestria sydera flores,

and varietie of curious and costlie workmanship, but also with rare and medicinable hearbes sought vp in the land within these fortie yeares: so that in comparison of this present, the ancient gardens were but dunghils and laistowes to such as did possesse them. How art also helpeth nature in the dailie colouring, dubling and inlarging the proportion of our floures, it is incredible to report: for so curious and cunning are our gardeners now in these daies, that they presume to do in maner what they list with nature, and moderate hir course in things as if they were hir superiours. It is a world also to see, how manie strange hearbs, plants, and annuall fruits, are dailie brought vnto vs from the Indies, Americans, Taprobane, Canarie Iles, and all parts of the world: the which albeit that in respect of the constitutions of our bodies they do not grow for vs, bicause that God hath bestowed sufficient commodities vpon euerie countrie for hir owne necessitie; yet for delectation sake vnto the eie, and their odoriferous sauours vnto the nose, they are to be cherished, and God to be glorified also in them, bicause they are his good gifts, and created to do man helpe and seruice. There is not almost one noble man, gentleman, or merchant, that hath not great store of these floures, which now also do begin to wax so well acquainted with our soiles, that we may almost accompt of them as parcell of our owne commodities. They haue no lesse regard in like sort to cherish medicinable hearbs fetched out of other regions neerer hand: insomuch that I haue seene in some one garden to the number of three hundred or foure hundred of them, if not more; of the halfe of whose names within fortie yeres passed we had no maner knowledge. But herein I find some cause of iust complaint, for that we extoll their vses so farre that we fall into contempt of our owne, which are in truth more beneficiall and apt for vs than such as grow elsewhere, sith (as I said before) euerie region hath abundantlie within hir owne limits whatsoeuer is needfull and most conuenient for them that dwell therein. How do men extoll the vse of Tabacco in my time, whereas in truth (whether the cause be in the repugnancie of our constitution vnto the operation thereof, or that the ground doth alter hir force, I cannot tell) it is not found of so great efficacie as they write. And beside this, our common germander or thistle benet is found & knowne to bee so wholesome and of so great power in medicine, as anie other hearbe, if they be vsed accordinglie. I could exemplifie after the like maner in sundrie other, as the *Salsa parilla, Mechoacan, &c.* but I forbeare so to do, because I couet to be briefe. And trulie the estimation and credit that we yeeld and giue vnto compound medicines made with forren drugs, is one great cause wherefore the full knowledge and vse of our owne simples hath bene so long raked vp in the imbers. And as this may be verified, so to be one sound conclusion, for the greater number of simples that go vnto anie compound medicine, the greater confusion is found therein, because the qualities and operations of verie few of the particulars are throughlie knowne. And euen so our continuall desire of strange drugs, whereby the physician and apothecarie onlie hath the benefit, is no small cause that the vse of our simples here at home doth go to losse, and that we tread those herbes vnder our feet, whose forces if we knew, & could aplie them to our necessities, we wold honor & haue in reuerence as to their case behoueth. Alas what haue we to do with such Arabian & Grecian stuffe as is dailie brought from those parties, which lie in another clime? And therefore the bodies of such as dwell there, are of another constitution, than ours are here at home. Certes they grow not for vs, but for the Arabians and Grecians. And albeit that they maie by skill be aplied vnto our benefit, yet to be more skilfull in them than in our owne, is follie; and to vse forren wares when our owne maie serue the turne is more follie; but to despise our owne and magnifie aboue measure the vse of them that are sought and brought from farre, is most follie of all: for it sauoureth of ignorance, or at the least wise of negligence, and therefore worthie of reproch.

Among the Indians, who haue the most present cures for euerie disease, of their owne nation, there is small regard of compound medicins, & lesse of forren drugs, because they neither know them nor can vse them, but worke wonders euen with their owne simples. With them also the difference of the clime doth shew hir full effect. For whereas they will heale one another in short time with application of one simple, &c: if a Spaniard or English man stand in need of their helpe, they are driuen to haue a longer space in their cures, and now and then also to vse some addition of two or three simples at the most, whose forces vnto them are throughlie knowne, because their exercise is onelie in their owne, as men that neuer sought or heard what vertue was in those that came from other countries. And euen so did Marcus Cato the learned Roman indeuor to deale in his cures of sundrie diseases, wherein he not onelie vsed such simples as were to be had in his owne countrie, but also examined and learned the forces of each of them, wherewith he dealt so diligentlie, that in all his life time, he could atteine to the exact knowledge but of a few, and thereto wrote of those most learnedlie, as would easilie be seene, if those his bookes were extant. For the space also of 600 yeres, the colewort onelie was a medicine in Rome for all diseases, so that his vertues were throughlie knowne in those parts.

In Plinies time the like affection to forren drugs did rage among the Romans, whereby their owne did grow in contempt. Crteng out therefore of this extreame follie, lib. 22. cap. 24, he speaketh after this maner: *Non placent remedia tam longè nascentia, non enim nobis gignuntur, immò ne illis quidem, alioquin non venderent; si placet etiam superstitionis gratiâ emantur, quoniam supplicamus, &c. Salutem quidem sine his posse constare, vel ob id probabimus, vt tanto magis sui tandem pudeat.* For my part I doubt not, if the vse of outlandish drugs had not blinded our physicians of England in times passed, but that the vertues of our simples here at home would haue bene far better knowne, and so well vnto vs, as those of India are to the practitioners of those partes, and thereunto be found more profitable for vs than the forren either are or maie be. This also will I ad, that euen those which are most common by reason of their plentie, and most vile bicause of their abundance, are not without some vniuersall and especiall efficacie, if it were knowne, for our benefit: sith God in nature hath so disposed his creatures, that the most needfull are the most plentifull, and seruing for such generall diseases as our constitution most commonlie is affected withall.

withall. Great thanks therefore be giuen vnto the physicians of our age and countrie, who not onelie indeuour to search out the vse of such simples as our soile doth yéeld and bring forth, but also to procure such as grow elsewhere, vpō purpose so to acquaint them with our clime, that they in time through some alteration receiued from the nature of the earth, maie likewise turne to our benefit and commoditie, and be vsed as our owne.

The chiefe workeman, or as I maie call him the founder of this deuise, is Carolus Clusius, the noble herbarist, whose industrie hath wonderfullie stirred them vp vnto this good act. For albeit that Matthiolus, Rembert, Lobell, and other haue trauelled verie farre in this behalfe, yet none hath come nére to Clusius, much lesse gone further in the finding and true descriptions of such herbes as of late are brought to light. I doubt not but if this man were in England but one seuen yéeres, he would reueale a number of herbes growing with vs, whereof neither our physicians nor apothecaries as yet haue anie knowledge. And euen like thankes be giuen vnto our nobilitie, gentlemen, and others, for their continuall nutriture and cherishing of such homeborne and forren simples in their gardens, for hereby they shall not onlie be had at hand and preserued, but also their formes made more familiar to be discerned, and their forces better knowne than hitherto they haue béene.

And euen as it fareth with our gardens, so doth it with our orchards, which were neuer furnished with so good fruit, nor with such varietie as at this present. For beside that we haue most delicate apples, plummes, pirres, walnuts, filberds, &c. and those of sundrie sorts, planted within fortie yéeres passed, in comparison of which most of the old trées are nothing worth: so haue we no lesse store of strange fruit, as abricotes, almonds, peaches, figges, cornetrées in noble mens orchards. I haue séene capers, orenges, and lemmons, and heard of wild oliues growing here, beside other strange trées, brought from far, whose names I know not. So that England for these commodities was neuer better furnished, neither anie nation vnder their clime more plentifullie indued with these and other blessings from the most high God, who grant vs grace withall to vse the same to his honour and glorie! and not as instruments and prouocations vnto further excesse and vanitie, wherewith his displeasure may be kindled, least these his benefits do turne vnto thornes and briers vnto vs for our annoiance and punishment, which he hath best olwed vpon vs for our consolation and comfort.

We haue in like sort such workemen as are not onelie excellent in grafting the naturall fruits, but also in their artificiall mixtures, whereby one trée bringeth forth sundrie fruits, and one and the same fruit of diuers colours and tasts, dallieng as it were with nature and hir course, as if hir whole trade were perfectlie knowne vnto them: of hard fruits they will make tender, of sowre sweet, of sweet yet more delicate, béereuing also some of their kernels, other of their cores, and finallie induing them with the sauour of muske, ambre, or sweet spices at their pleasures. Diuerse also haue written at large of these seuerall practises, and some of them how to conuert the kernels of peaches into almonds, of small fruit to make farre greater, and to remoue or add superfluous or necessarie moisture to the trées, with other things belonging to their preseruation, and with no lesse diligence than our physicians do commonlie shew vpon our owne diseased bodies, which to me doth séeme right strange. And euen so do our gardeners with their herbes, whereby they are strengthened against noisome blasts, and preserued from putrifaction and hinderance, whereby some such as were annuall, are now made perpetuall, being yéerelie taken vp, and either reserued in the house, or hauing the rosse pulled from their rootes, laid againe into the earth, where they remaine in safetie. What choise they make also in their waters, and wherewith some of them do now and then kéepe them moist, it is a world to sée, insomuch that the apothecaries shops maie séeme to be needfull also to our gardens and orchards, and that in sundrie wise: naie the kitchin it selfe is so farre from being able to be missed among them, that euen the verie dishwater is not without some vse amongest our finest plants. Whereby and sundrie other circumstances not here to bé remembred, I am persuaded, that albeit the gardens of the Hesperides were in times past so greatlie accounted of because of their delicacie: yet if it were possible to haue such an equall iudge, as by certeine knowledge of both were able to pronounce vpon them, I doubt not but he would giue the price vnto the gardens of our daies, and generallie ouer all Europe, in comparison of those times, wherein the old excéeded. Plinie and other speake of a rose that had thrée score leaues growing vpon one button: but if I should tell of one which bare a triple number vnto that proportion, I know I shall not be beléeued, and no great matter though I were not, howbeit, such a one was to be séene in Antwarpe 1585, as I haue heard, and I know who might haue had a slip or stallon thereof, if he would haue ventured ten pounds vpon the growth of the same, which should haue bene but a tickle hazard, and therefore better vndone, as I did alwaies imagine. For mine owne part, good reader, let me boast a litle of my garden, which is but small, and the whole *Area* thereof little aboue 300 fot of ground, and yet, such hath béene my good lucke in purchase of the varietie of simples, that notwithstanding my small abilitie, there are verie nére thrée hundred of one sort and other conteined therein, no one of them being common or vsuallie to bee had. If therefore my little plot, void of all cost in kéeping be so well furnished, what shall we thinke of those of Hampton court, Nonesuch, Tibaults, Cobham garden, and sundrie other apperteining to diuerse citizens of London, whom I could particularlie name, if I should not séeme to offend them by such my demeanour and dealing?

Of waters generallie.

Chap. 21.

There is no one commoditie in England, whereof I can make lesse report than of our waters. For albeit our soile abound with water in all places, and that in the most ample maner: yet can I not find by some experience that almost anie one of our riuers hath such od and rare qualities as diuers of the maine are said to be indued withall. Vitruuius writeth of a well in Paphlagonia, whose water séemeth as it were mixed with wine, & addeth thereto that diuerse become drunke by superfluous taking of the same. The like force is found *In amne Liceſio*, a riuer of Thracia, vpon whose bankes a man shall hardlie misse to find some traueller or other sléeping for drunkennesse, by drinking of that liquor. Néere also vnto Ephesus are certeine welles, which taste like sharpe vineger, and therefore

therefore are much eſteemed of by ſuch as are ſicke and euill at eaſe in thoſe parts. At Hieropolis is a ſpring of ſuch force (as Strabo ſaith) that the water thereof mixed with certaine herbes of choiſe, doth colour wooll with ſuch a gloſſe, that the die thereof contendeth with ſkarlet, murreie, and purple, and oft ouercommeth the ſame. The Cydnus in Tarſus of Cilicia, is of ſuch vertue, that who ſo batheth himſelfe therein, ſhall find great eaſe of the gowt that runneth ouer all his ioints. In one of the fortunate Iles (ſaith Pomponius the Coſmographer) are two ſprings, one of the which bringeth immoderate laughter to him that drinketh thereof, the other ſadneſſe and reſtraint of that effect, whereby the laſt is taken to be a ſouereigne medicine againſt the other, to the great admiration of ſuch as haue beholden it. At Suſis in Perſia there is a ſpring, which maketh him that drinketh downe anie of the water, to caſt all his teeth: but if he onlie waſh his mouth withall, it maketh them faſt, & his mouth to be verie healthſull. So there is a riuer among the Gadareus, whereof if a beaſt drinke, he ſoothwith caſteth howſe, haire, and hornes, if he haue anie. Alſo a lake in Aſſyria, neere vnto the which there is a kind of glewie matter to be found, which holdeth ſuch birds as by hap doo light thereon ſo faſt as birdlime, by means whereof verie manie doo periſh and are taken that light vpon the ſame: howbeit if anie portion hereof happen to be ſet on fire by caſualtie or otherwiſe, it will neuer be quenched but by caſting on of duſt, as Caietanus doth report. Another at Halicarnaſſus called Salmacis, which is noted to make ſuch men effeminate as drinke of the water of the ſame. Certes it maie be (ſaith Strabo) that the water and aire of a region maie qualifie the courage of ſome men, but none can make them effeminate, nor anie other thing becauſe of ſuch corruption in them, ſooner than ſuperfluous wealth, and inconſtancie of liuing and behauiour, which is a bane vnto all natures, lib. 4. All which, with manie other not now comming to memorie, as the Letheus, Styx, Phlegeton, Cocitus, &c: haue ſtrange & incredible reports made of them by the new and ancient writers, the like whereof are not to be found in England, which I impute wholie to the bleſſing of God, who hath ordeined nothing amongſt vs in this our temperate region, but that which is good, wholeſome, and moſt commodious for our nation. We haue therefore no hurtfull waters amongſt vs, but all wholeſome and profitable for the benefit of the people. Neuertheles as none of them is to be found without hir filth: ſo we know by experience, that diuerſe turneath, ſome other elme, and oken ſtakes or poles that lie or are throwne into them into hard ſtone, in long continuance of time, which is the ſtrangeſt thing that I can learne at this preſent whereupon to reaſt for a certentie. Yet I read of diuerſe welles, whereunto our old writers aſcribe either wonderfull vertues, or rare courſes, as of one vpon the ſhore, beyond the which the ſea floweth euerie daie twiſe a large mile and more; and yet is the ſurge of that water alwaies ſeuen foot from the ſalt ſea; whereby it ſhould ſeeme that the head of the ſpring is mouueable. But alas I do not eaſilie beleeue it, more than that which is written of the Lilingwan lake in Wales, which is neere to the Seuerne, and receiueth the flowing ſea into hir chanell as it were a gulfe, and yet is neuer full: but when the ſea goeth awaie by reaſon of the ebbe, it caſteth vp the water with ſuch violence, that hir banks are ouerflowne and drowned, which is an abſurd report. They adde alſo, that if all the people of the countrie ſtood neere to the ſame, with their faces toward the lake, in ſuch maner that the daſhing of the water might touch and wet their clothes, they ſhould haue no power to go from thence, but maugre their reſiſtance be drawne into that guiſe and periſh; whereas if they turned their backs vnto the ſame, they ſhould ſuffer no ſuch inconuenience though they ſtood neuer ſo neere. Manie other ſuch like toies I could ſet downe of other welles and waters of our countrie. But whie ſhould I write that for other men to read, whereto I giue no credit my ſelfe, more than to the report which Iohannes du Choul doth make in his deſcription of Pilats lake, *In monte Pilati in Gallia*, or Boccatius of the Scaphigiolo in the Apenine hils, or Fœlix Malliolus of Pilats lake *In monte fracto* (where Iacobus de Voragino biſhop of Gene, & Ioachimus Vadianus in Pompon. Melam doo alſo make mention) ſith I take them but for fables, & far vnworthie that anie good man ſhould ſtaine his paper with ſuch friuolous matters as are reported of them, being deuiſed at the firſt by Satanas the father of lies, for the holding of the ignorant & credulous in their ſuperſtitions and errors. Such alſo is the tale that goeth of Wenefrids well, & nothing inferior to that of Mercurie neere to port Caperia in Rome, wherein ſuch as went by would dip branches of baie, and ſprinkle the ſame vpon themſelues: and ſo manie as ſtood about them, calling vpon Mercurie, and craning pardon for their ſinnes, as if that ceremonie had bene of force vnto forgiueneſſe and remiſſion of their treſpaſſes. And ſo it appeareth partlie by Cicero, who (being a man neither thinking well of their owne gods nor liking of the augures) doth write in his firſt *De legibus* (except my memorie faile me) *aſperſione aquæ labem tolli corpoream, & caſtimoniam corporis præſtari*, which maketh me to thinke further, that they thought it equall with our late holie-water, wherewith it maie be compared. I might further alſo (if I would) make relation of diuerſe welles, which haue wrought manie miracles in time of ſuperſtition, as S. Botolphs well in Hadſtocke, S. Germans well at Falkeburne, Holie well at S. Albones and London, and ſundrie other in other places: but as their vertues are now found out to be but baits to draw men and women vnto them, either for gaine vnto the places where they were, or ſatiſfaction of the lewd diſpoſition of ſuch as hunted after other gaine, ſo it ſhall ſuffice to haue touched them far off. Onlie this will I add, that we haue no hurtfull waters, no not vnto our ſheepe, though it pleaſe Cardan to auouch otherwiſe; for our waters are not the cauſes, but the ſignes of their infections when they drinke, as I elſewhere haue noted in the chapter of cattell, as alſo that we haue a ſpring neere Saffron Walden, and not farre from the houſe of the lord Audleie, which is of ſuch force, that it looſeth the bodie of him that drinketh therof in verie gentle maner, and beſide that is verie delectable & pleaſant to be taken, as I haue found by experience. I heare alſo of two welles neere London, of which the one is verie excellent water, the other will beare no ſope, and yet ſo ſituat that the one is hard by the other. And thus much of waters.

Of woods and mariſhes.

Chap. 22.

IT ſhould ſeeme by ancient records, and the teſtimonie of ſundrie authors, that the whole countries of Lhoegres and Cambria, now England and Wales, haue ſometimes beene verie well repleniſhed with great woods & groues, although at this time the ſaid commoditie be not a little decaied in both, and in ſuch wiſe that a man

Great abundance of wood ſometime in England.

shall oft ride ten or twentie miles in ech of them, and find verie little or rather none at all, except it be nére vnto townes, gentlemens houses, & villages, where the inhabitants haue planted a few elmes, okes, hasels, or ashes about their dwellings for their defense from the rough winds, and kæping of the stormie weather from annoiance of the same. This scarsitie at the first grew (as it is thought) either by the industrie of man, for maintenance of tillage (as we vnderstand the like to be done of late by the Spaniards in the west Indies, where they fired whole woods of verie great compasse therby to come by ground whereon to sow their graines) or else thorough the couetousnesse of such, as in preferring of pasture for their shéepe and greater cattell, doo make small account of firebote and timber: or finallie by the crueltie of the enimies, whereof we haue sundrie examples declared in our histories. Howbeit where the rocks and quarrie grounds are, I take the swart of the earth to be so thin, that no trée of anie greatnesse, other than shrubs and bushes, is able to grow or prosper long therein for want of sufficient moisture wherewith to fæd them with fresh humour, or at the leastwise of mould, to shrowd, skaie vpright, and cherish the same in the blustering winters weather, till they may grow vnto anie greatnesse, and spread or pæld their rotes downe right into the soile about them: and this either is or may be one other cause, wherefore some places are naturallie void of wood. But to proceed. Although I must needs confesse that there is good store of great wood or timber here and there, euen now in some places of England, yet in our daies it is far vnlike to that plentie, which our ancestors haue séene heretofore, when statelie building was lesse in vse. For albeit that there were then greater number of mesuages and mansions almost in euery place; yet were their frames so slight and slender, that one meane dwelling house in our time is able to counteruaile verie manie of them, if you consider the present charge with the plentie of timber that we bestow vpon them. In times past men were contented to dwell in houses, builded of sallow, willow, plumtrée, hardbeame, and elme, so that the vse of oke was in maner dedicated wholie vnto churches, religious houses, princes palaces, noblemens lodgings, & nauigation: but now all these are reiected, and nothing but oke anie whit regarded. And yet see the change, for when our houses were builded of willow, then had we oken men; but now that our houses are come to be made of oke, our men are not onlie become willow, but a great manie through Persian delicacie crept in among vs altogither of straw, which is a sore alteration. In those the courage of the owner was a sufficient defense to kéepe the house in safetie, but now the assurance of the timber, double doores, lockes and bolts must defend the man from robbing. Now haue we manie chimnies and yet our tenderlings complaine of rheumes, catarhs and poses. Then had we none but rere dosses, and our heads did neuer ake. For as the smoke in those daies was supposed to be a sufficient hardning for the timber of the house; so it was reputed a far better medicine to kéepe the goodman and his familie from the quacke or pose, wherewith as then verie few were oft acquainted.

Desire of much wealth and ease abateth manhood, & ouerthroweth a manlie courage.

Of the curiousnesse of these piles I speake not, sith our workemen are growne generallie to such an excellencie of deuise in the frames now made, that they far passe the finest of the old. And such is their husbandrie in dealing with their timber, that the same stuffe which in time past was reiected as crooked, vnprofitable, and to no vse but the fire, doth now come in the fronts and best part of the worke. Whereby the common saieng is likewise in these daies verified in our mansion houses, which earst was said onelie of the timber for ships, that no oke can grow so crooked but it falleth out to some vse, & that necessarie in the nauie. It is a world to sée moreouer how diuerse men being bent to building, and hauing a delectable veine in spending of their goods by that trade, doo dailie imagine new deuises of their owne to guide their workemen withall, and those more curious and excellent alwaies than the former. In the proceeding also of their workes, how they set vp, how they pull downe, how they inlarge, how they restreine, how they ad to, how they take from, whereby their heads are neuer idle, their purses neuer shut, nor their bookes of account neuer made perfect.

Destruunt, ædificant, mutant quadrata rotundis

saith the poet. So that if a man should well consider of all the od crotchets in such a builders braine, he would thinke his head to haue euen inough of those affaires onelie, & therefore iudge that he should not well be able to deale in anie other. But such commonlie are our workemasters, that they haue beside this veine afore mentioned, either great charge of merchandizes, little lesse businesse in the commonwealth, or finallie no small dealings otherwise incident vnto them, whereby gaine ariseth, and some trouble oft among withall. Which causeth me to wonder not a little how they can plaie the parts so well of so manie sundrie men, whereas diuerse other of greater forecast in aparance can seldome thrift well or thriue in anie one of them. But to our purpose.

We haue manie woods, forests, and parks, which cherish trées abundantlie, although in the woodland countries there is almost no hedge that hath not some store of the greatest sort, beside infinit numbers of hedgerowes, groues, and springs, that are mainteined of purpose for the building and prouision of such owners as doo possesse the same. Howbeit as euerie soile doth not beare all kinds of wood, so there is not anie wood, parke, hedgerow, groue, or forest, that is not mired with diuerse, as oke, ash, hasell, hawthorne, birch, bæch, hardbeame, hull, sorse, quicken aspe, poplers, wild cherie, and such like, whereof oke hath alwaies the preheminence, as most mæt for building and the nauie, whervnto it is reserued. This trée bringeth forth also a profitable kind of mast, whereby such as dwell nére vnto the aforesaid places doo cherish and bring vp innumerable heards of swine. In time of plentie of this mast, our red and fallow déere will not let to participat thereof with our hogs, more than our nete: yea our common poultrie also if they may come vnto them. But as this abundance doth proue verie pernicious vnto the first, so these egs which these latter doo bring forth (beside blackenesse in colour and bitternesse of tast) haue not seldome bæne found to bréd diuerse diseases vnto such persons as haue eaten of the same. I might ad in like sort the profit insuing by the barke of this wood, whereof our tanners haue great vse in dressing of leather, and which they buie yearelie in Maie by the fadame, as I haue oft séene: but it shall not néed at this time to enter into anie such discourse, onlie this I wish, that our sole and vpper leathering may haue their due time, and not be hasted on by extraordinarie slights, as with ash, barke, &c. Whereby as I grant that it séemeth outwardlie to be verie thicke & well done: so if you respect the sadnes thereof, it doth proue in the end to be verie hollow & not able to hold out water. Neuertheless we haue good lawes for redresse of this enormitie, but it cómeth to passe in these as in the execution of most penall statutes. For the gaines to be gotten by the same being giuen to one or two hungrie and vnthriftie persons, they make a shew of great reformation at the first, & for a litle while, till they find that following of suite

The like haue I séene where hens doo fæd vpon the tender blades of garlike.

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in law againſt the offendors is ſomwhat too chargeable and tedious. This therefore perceiued, they giue ouer the law, and fall to the admiſſion of gifts and rewards to winke at things paſt, and when they haue once gone ouer their ground with this kind of tillage, then doo they tender licences, and offer large diſpenſations vnto him that ſhall aſke the ſame, thereby to doo what him liſteth in his trade for an yearelie penſion, whereby the bribour now groweth to ſome certeine reuenues, & the tanner to ſo great libertie that his lether is much worſe than before. But is not this a mockerie of our lawes, & manifeſt illuſion of the good ſubiect whom they thus pill & poll? Of all oke growing in England the parke oke is the ſofteſt, and far more ſpalt and brickle than the hedge oke. And of all in Eſſex, that growing in Bardfield parke is the fineſt for ioiners craft: for oftentimes haue I ſeene of their workes made of that oke ſo fine and faire, as moſt of the wainescot that is brought hither out of Danſke, for our wainescot is not made in England. Yet diuerſe haue aſſaied to deale without okes to that end, but not with ſo good ſucceſſe as they haue hoped, becauſe the ab or iuice will not ſo ſone be remoued and cleane drawne out, which ſome attribute to want of time in the ſalt water. Neuertheleſſe in building, ſo well the hedge as the parke oke go all one waie, and neuer ſo much hath beene ſpent in a hundred yeares before, as is in ten yeare of our time; for euerie man almoſt is a builder, and he that hath bought any ſmall parcell of ground, be it neuer ſo little, will not be quiet till he haue pulled downe the old houſe (if anie were there ſtanding) and ſet vp a new after his owne deuiſe. But whereunto will this curioſitie come?

Of elme we haue great ſtore in euerie high waie and elſewhere, yet haue I not ſeene thereof anie together in woods or forreſts, but where they haue beene firſt planted and then ſuffered to ſpread at their owne willes. Yet haue I knowen great woods of beech and haſell in manie places, eſpeciallie in Barkeſhire, Oxfordſhire, and Buckinghamſhire, where they are greatlie cheriſhed, & conuerted to ſundrie vſes by ſuch as dwell about them. Of all the elms that euer I ſaw, thoſe in the ſouth ſide of Douer court, in Eſſex neere Harwich are the moſt notable, for they grow (I meane) in crooked maner, that they are almoſt apt for nothing elſe but nauie timber, great ordinance, and beetels: and ſuch thereto is their naturall qualitie, that being vſed in the ſaid behalfe, they continue longer, and more long than anie the like trees in whatſoeuer parcell elſe of this land, without cuthar, ſhaking, or cleauing, as I find.

Aſh commeth vp euerie where of it ſelfe, and with euerie kind of wood. And as we haue verie great plentie and no leſſe vſe of theſe in our huſbandrie, ſo are we not without the plane, the vgh, the ſorſe, the cheſnut, the line, the blacke cherrie, and ſuch like. And although that we inioy them not in ſo great plentie now in moſt places, as in times paſt, or the other afore remembred: yet haue we ſufficient of them all for our neceſſarie turnes and vſes, eſpeciallie of vgh; as may be ſeene betwixt Rotheram and Sheffield, and ſome ſteeds of Kent alſo, as I haue beene informed.

The firre, frankincenſe, and pine, we doo not altogither want, eſpeciallie the firre, whereof we haue ſome ſtore in Chatleie more in Darbiſhire, Shropſhire, Anderneſſe, and a moſſe neere Mancheſter, not far from Leiceſters houſe: although that in time paſt not onelie all Lancaſterſhire, but a great part of the coaſt betweene Cheſter and the Solme were well ſtored. As for the frankincenſe and pine, they haue beene planted onelie in colleges and cloiſters, by the cleargie and religious heretofore. Wherefore (in mine opinion) we may rather ſaie that we want them altogither: for except they grew naturallie, and not by force, I ſee no cauſe whie they ſhould be accounted for parcell of our commodities. We haue alſo the aſpe, whereof our fletchers make their arrowes. The ſeuerall kinds of poplars of our turners haue great vſe for bolles, treies, troughs, diſhes, &c. Alſo the alder, whoſe barke is not vnprofitable to die blacke withall, and therfore much vſed by our countrie wiues in colouring their knit hoſen. I might here take occaſion to ſpeake of the great ſales yeerelie made of wood, whereby an infinit quantitie hath bin deſtroied within theſe few yeers: but I giue ouer to trauell in this behalfe. Howbeit thus much I dare affirme, that if woods go ſo faſt to decaie in the next hundred yeere of Grace, as they haue done and are like to doo in this, ſometimes for increaſe of ſheepwalks, and ſome maintenance of prodigalitie and pompe (for I haue knowne a well burniſhed gentleman * that hath borne threeſcore at once in one paire of galigaſcons to ſhew his ſtrength and brauerie) it is to be feared that the fennie bote, brome, turfe, gall, heath, firze, brakes, whinnes, ling, dies, haſſacks, flags, ſtraw, ſedge, reed,ruſh, and alſo ſea cole will be good merchandize euen in the citie of London, whereunto ſome of them euen now haue gotten readie paſſage, and taken vp their innes in the greateſt merchants parlours. A man would thinke that our laws were able inough to make ſufficient prouiſion for the redreſſe of this error & enormitie likelie to inſue. But ſuch is the nature of our countriemen, that as manie laws are made, ſo they will keepe none; or if they be vrged to make anſwer, they will rather ſeeke ſome crooked conſtruction of them to the increaſe of their priuat gaine, than yeeld themſelues to be guided by the ſame for a common wealth and profit to their countrie. So that in the end whatſoeuer the law ſaith we will haue our willes, whereby the wholeſome ordinances of the prince are contemned, the trauell of the nobilitie & councellors as it were derided, the common wealth impouriſhed, & a few onelie inriched by this peruerſe dealing. Thus manie thouſand perſons doo ſuffer hinderance by this their lewd behauior. Hereby the wholeſome laws of the prince are oft defrauded, and the good meaning magiſtrate in conſultation about the common wealth vtterlie neglected. I would wiſh that I might liue no longer than to ſee foure things in this land reformed, that is: the want of diſcipline in the church: the couetous dealing of moſt of our merchants in the preferment of the commodities of other countries, and hinderance of their owne: the holding of faires and markets vpon the ſundaie to be aboliſhed and referred to the wedneſdaies: and that euerie man, in whatſoeuer part of the champaine ſoile enioieth fortie acres of land, and vpwards, after that rate, either by free deed, copie hold, or fee farme, might plant one acre of wood, or ſowe the ſame with oke maſt, haſell, beech, and ſufficient prouiſion be made that it may be cheriſhed and kept. But I feare me that I ſhould then liue too long, and ſo long, that I ſhould either be wearie of the world, or the world of me; and yet they are not ſuch things but they may eaſilie be brought to paſſe.

Certes euerie ſmall occaſion in my time is enough to cut downe a great wood, and euerie trifle ſufficeth to laie infinit acres of corne ground vnto paſture. As for the taking downe of houſes, a ſmall fine will beare out a great manie. Would to God we might once take example of the Romans, who in reſtreint of ſuperfluous graſing, made an exact limitation, how manie head of cattell ech eſtate might keepe, and what numbers of acres ſhould ſuffice for that and other purpoſes. Neither was wood euer

* This gentleman caught ſuch an heate with this fore loade that he was faine to go to Rome for phyſicke, yet it could not ſaue his life, but he muſt needs die homewards.

better

better cherished or mansion houses maintained, than by their lawes and statutes. Such also was their care in the maintenance of navigation, that it was a great part of the charge of their consuls, yeerelie to view and looke vnto the hilles whereon great timber did grow, least their vnnecessarie faults for the satisfaction of the priuat owner, and his couetous mind might proue a preiudice vnto the common wealth, in the hinderance of sufficient stuffe for the furniture of their naule. Certes the like hereof is yet obserued in Venice. Read also I praie you what Suetonius writeth of the consulship of Bibulus and Cesar. As for the wood that Ancus Martius dedicated toward the maintenance of the common naule, I passe it ouer, as hauing elsewhere remembred it vnto another end. But what doo I meane to speake of these, sith my purpose is onlie to talke of our owne woods? Well, take this then for a finall conclusion in woods, that beside some countries are alreadie driuen to sell their wood by the pound, which is an heauie report: within these fortie yeeres we shall haue little great timber growing aboue fortie yeeres old; for it is commonlie seene that those yong staddles which we leaue standing at one & twentie yeeres fall, are vsuallie at the next sale cut downe without any danger of the statute, and serue for fire bote, if it please the owner to burne them.

Marises and fennes.

Marises and fennie bogges we haue many in England, though not now so many as some of the old Roman writers doo specifie, but more in Wales, if you haue respect vnto the seuerall quantities of the countries. Howbeit as they are verie profitable in the summer halfe of the yeere, so are a number of them which lie lowe and neere to great riuers, to small commoditie in the winter part, as common experience doth teach. Yet this I find of manie moores, that in times past they haue beene harder ground, and sundrie of them well replenished with great woods, that now are void of bushes. And for example hereof, we may see the triall (beside the roots that are dailie found in the deeps of Monmouth, where turfe is digged, also in Wales, Aburgauennie, and Pertoneth) in sundrie parts of Lancashire, where great store of firre hath growen in times past, as I said, and the people go vnto this daie into their fens and marises with long spits, which they dash here and there vp to the verie cronge into the ground. In which practise, (a thing commonlie doone in winter) if they happen to smite vpon anie firre trees which lie there at their whole lengths, or other blocks, they note the place, and about haruest time, when the ground is at the driest, they come againe and get them vp, and afterward carieng them home, applie them to their vses. The like doo they in Shropshire with the like, which hath beene felled in old time, within 7 miles of Salop. Some of them foolishlie suppose the same to haue lien there since Noies flood: and other more fond than the rest, imagine them to grow euen in the places where they find them, without all consideration that in times past, the most part, if not all Lhoegres and Cambria was generallie replenished with wood, which being felled or ouerthrowne vpon sundrie occasions, was left lieng in some places still on the ground, and in processe of time became to be quite ouergrowne with earth and moulds, which moulds wanting their due sadnesse, are now turned into moorie plots. Wherby it commeth to passe also, that great plentie of water commeth betweene the new lose swart and the old hard earth, that being drawen awaie by ditching and dreanes (a thing soone doone if our countrie-men were painfull in that behalfe) might soone leaue a drie soile to the great lucre and aduantage of the owner. We find in our histories, that Lincolne was somtime builded by Lud brother to Cassibelan, who called it Caer Ludcoit, of the great store of woods that inuironed the same: but now the commoditie is vtterlie decaied there, so that if Lud were aliue againe, he would not call it his citie in the wood, but rather his towne in the plaines: for the wood (as I heare) is wasted altogither about the same. The hilles called the Peke were in like sort named Pennith and Dycoit, that is, the woodie hilles and forrests. But how much wood is now to be seene in those places, let him that hath beene there testifie, if he list; for I heare of no such store there as hath beene in time past by those that trauell that waie. And thus much of woods and marises, and so far as I can deale with the same.

Of baths and hot welles.

Chap. 23.

ALmightie GOD hath in most plentifull maner bestowed infinit, and those verie notable benefits vpon this Ile of Britaine, whereby it is not a little inriched: so in hot and naturall baths (whereof we haue diuerse in sundrie places) it manifestlie appeereth that he hath not forgotten England. There are sundrie baths therefore to be found in this realme, of which the first is called saint Vincents, the second Halliewell; both being places (in my opinion) more obscure than the other two, and yet not seldome sought vnto by such as stand in need. For albeit the fame of their forces be not so generallie spread, yet in some cases they are thought to be nothing inferior to the other, as diuerse haue often affirmed by their owne experience and triall. The third place wherein hot baths are to be found is neere vnto Burston, a towne in Darbishire, situat in the high Peke, not passing sixteene miles from Manchester, or Parkechesterford, and twentie from Darbie, where, about eight or nine seuerall welles are to be seene; of which three are counted to be most excellent: but of all, the greatest is the hotest, void of corruption, and compared (as Iones saith) with those of Summersetshire, so cold indeed, as a quart of boiling water would be made if fiue quartes of running water were added thereunto; whereas on the other side, those of Bath likened vnto these, haue such heat appropriated vnto them, as a gallon of hot water hath when a quart of cold is mired with the same. Herevpon the effect of this bath worketh more temperatlie and pleasantlie (as he writeth) than the other. And albeit that it maketh not so great speed in cure of such as resort vnto it for helpe: yet it dealeth more effectuallie and commodiouslie than those in Summersetshire, and infer withall lesse greeuous accidents in the restreining of naturall issues, strengthening the assembled members, assisting the liuelie forces, dispersing annoious oppilations, and qualifieng of sundrie griefes, as his experience hath oft confirmed. The like vertues haue the other two, but not in such measure: and therefore their operation is not so speedilie perceiued. The fourth place where baths are, is kings Newnam, and within certeine miles of Couentrie, the water wherof (as it is thought) proceedeth from some rocke of allume, and this I vnderstand by diuerse glouers which haue beene there, and also by mine owne experience, that it hath a tast much like to allume liquor, and yet nothing vnpleasant nor vnsauorie in the drinking. There are three welles in all, but the chiefest and best of them riseth out of an hill, and runneth toward the south, & from thence infinit plentie of water without anie

any notable diminution of the ſpring is daillie carted into ſundrie parties of the realme, & dronke by ſuch as haue néed to occupie the ſame. Of the other two, one is reſerued for ſuch as be comelie perſonages and void of lothſome diſeaſes: the other is left common for rag and rag; but cleanſed dailie as the other is, whereby it becommeth the wholeſomer. Manie diſeaſes alſo are cured in the ſame, as the palſie, dimneſſe of ſight, dulneſſe of hearing, but eſpeciallie the colike and the ſtone, old ſores and gréene wounds; ſo that I ſuppoſe there was neuer anie compound medicine of greater and more ſpéedie force in theſe behalfes, than the vſe of this ſimple liquor is to ſuch as doo frequent it. The ſaid water hath a naturall propertie alſo following it which is rare, for if a leaſe, or ſticke of aſh, oke, &c: doo fall into the ſame, within a ſhort ſpace, ſuch ſtore of fine ſand (comming no doubt out of the earth with the water) will congeale and gather about it, that the forme being reſerued, and the inner part not lightlie altered, it will ſéeme to become an hard ſtone, and much like vnto that which is ingendred in the kidneis of a man, as I haue ſéene by experience. At the firſt entrance it is verie cold, but after a ſeaſon it warmeth the goer in, cauſing him into an indifferent heat. And this is furthermore remembred of it, that no man hath yet ſuſteined ante manner of impeachment through the coldneſſe of the ſame. The vertue thereof was found 1579 about Whitſuntide, by a man who had wounded himſelfe, & comming by the ſame water, thought onelie to waſh the blood from his hand therewith, and ſo to go home and ſéeke for helpe by ſurgerie: finallie finding the paine well aſſwaged, & the wound faire cleanſed, he departed, and miſliking his vſuall medicins, he eftſoones came againe, and ſo often indéed vnto the ſaid water till his hand was healed outright without ante other practiſe. By this meanes alſo he became a counſellor to other being hurt or in paine, that they ſhould trie the vertue of this ſpring, who finding eaſe alſo, gaue out ſuch commendation of the ſaid water, that now at this preſent their fame is fullie equall, and the reſort vnto them nothing inferior to that of the old baths. Beſide this, the cures of ſuch diſeaſes as their forces do extend vnto, is much more ſpædie than we may haue at the other; and this is one commoditie alſo not ſmallie to be conſidered of. The fift place of baths or medicinable welles is at an hamlet called Newton, a little from ſaint Neots, or (as we pronounce it) ſaint Nœds, which is ten or twelue miles from Cambridge, where two ſprings are knowne to be, of which the one is verie ſwæt and freſh, the other brackiſh & ſalt; this is good for ſcabs and leaperie (as it is ſaid) the other for dimneſſe of ſight. Verie manie alſo doo make their repaire vnto them for ſundrie diſeaſes, ſome returning whole, and ſome nothing at all amended, bicauſe their cure is without the reach and working of thoſe waters. Neuer went people ſo faſt from the church, either vnto a faire or market, as they go to theſe wels, and thoſe nære Rugbie, both places being diſcouered in this 1579 of Grace. I heare of another well to be found alſo about Ratcliffe nére London, euen at the ſame ſeaſon. But ſith rumors are now ſpred almoſt of euerie ſpring, & vaine tales flie about in maner of euerie water, I ſurceaſe to ſpeake at all of anie other, till further experience doo trie whether they be medicinable or not: and yet I doubt not but moſt of theſe alredie mentioned haue heretofore bin knowne & remembred alſo, though confuſedlie by the writers of old time; & yet in proceſſe of time either neglected or forgotten, by meanes of ſundrie troubles and turmoiles made in this realme by Danes, and other outward enimies, whereby their manifold benefit hath wonderfullie béene miſſed.

The laſt place of our baths, is a citie in Summerſetſhire, which taketh his name of the hot waters there to be ſéene and vſed. At the firſt it was called Cair Bledud, and not Cair Bledune, as ſome would haue it, for that is the old name of the ancient caſtell at Malmeſburie, which the Saxons named Ingleburne. Ptolomie afterward called it Thermæ, other Aquæ ſolis, or Scamannia, or Acmanceſter, but now it hight generallie Bath in Engliſh, and vnder that name it is likelie to continue. The citie of it ſelfe is a verie ancient thing, no doubt, as may yet appeare by diuerſe notable antiquities ingraued in ſtone, to be ſéene in the wals thereof; and firſt of all betwæne the ſouth gate and the weſt, and betwixt the weſt gate and the north.

The firſt is the antike head of a man, made all flat, with great locks of haire, much like to the coine that I haue ſéene of Antius the Romane. The ſecond betwæne the ſouth and the north gate is an image, as I take it, of Hercules, for he held in each hand a ſerpent, and ſo doth this. Thirdlie there ſtandeth a man on foot with a ſword in his one hand, and a buckler ſtretched out in the other. There is alſo a branch that lieth folded and wreathed into circles, like to the wreath of Alcimedon. There are moreouer two naked images, whereof the one imbraceth the other, beſide ſundrie antike heads, with ruffeled haire, a greiehound running, and at his taile certeine Romane letters, but ſo defaced that no man liuing can read them at this preſent. There is moreouer the image of Lacaon, inuironed with two ſerpents, and an other inſcription, and all theſe betwéene the ſouth and the weſt gates, as I haue ſaid before.

Now, betwæne the weſt and north gate are two inſcriptions, of which ſome words are euident to be read, the reſidue are cleane defaced. There is alſo the image of a naked man, and a ſtone in like ſort, which hath *Cupidines & labruſcas intercurrentes*, and a table hauing at each hand an image dined and finelie floriſhed both aboue and beneath. Finallie (ſauing that I ſaw afterward the image of a naked man graſping a ſerpent in each hand) there was an inſcription of a tome or buriall, wherein theſe words did plainelie appeare, *Vixit annos xxx*: but ſo defuſedlie written, that letters ſtood for whole words, and two or three letters combined into one. Certes I will not ſaie whether theſe were ſet into the places where they now ſtand by the gentiles, or brought thither from other ruines of the towne it ſelfe, and placed afterward in thoſe wals, in their neceſſarie reparations. But howſoeuer the matter ſtandeth, this is to be gathered by our hiſtories, that Bladud firſt builded that citie there, and peraduenture might alſo kindle the ſulphurous veines, of purpoſe to burne continuallie there in the honour of Minerua: by which occaſion the ſprings thereabout did in proceſſe of time become hot & not vnprofitable, for ſundrie kinds of diſeaſes, Indeed the later pagans dreamed, that Minerua was the chéefe goddeſſe and gouerneſſe of theſe waters, bicauſe of the néereneſſe of hir temple vnto the ſame. Solinus addeth furthermore, how that in hir ſaid temple, the fire which was continuallie kept, did neuer conſume into dead ſparkles; but ſo ſone as the embers thereof were cold, they congealed into clots of hard ſtone: all which I take to be nothing elſe than the effect of the aforeſaid fire, of the ſulphurous veine kindled in the earth, from whence the waters doo come. That theſe baths or waters are derſued from ſuch, the marchaſites, which the Grecians call *Pyritis, per antonomaſiam* (for being ſmit with the iron, it yéeldeth more ſparkes than anie flint or calcedonie, and therefore ſeemeth to deſerue the name aboue the reſt) and beſides theſe other ſtones mixed with ſome copper, and dailie found vpon the mountains

Chap. 25.

The Pyritis is found almoſt in euerie veine of mettall in great plentie, diuerſities and colour, and ſometimes mixed with that mettall of whoſe excrements it conſiſteth.

teins thereabouts will beare sufficient witnesse, though I would write the contrarie. Doctor Turner also the father of English physicke, and an excellent diuine, supposeth that these springs do draw their forces from sulphur: or if there be anie other thing mingled withall, he gesseth that it should be salt peter, bicause he found an obscure likelihood of the same, euen in the crosse bath. But that they participate with anie allume at all, he could neuer till his dieng daie be induced to beléeue. I might here (if I thought it necessarie) intreat of the notable situation of the citie, which standeth in a pleasant bottome, inuironed on euerie side with great hils, out of the which come so manie springs of pure water by sundrie waies vnto the citie, and in such abundance, as that euerie house is serued with the same by pipes of lead, the said mettall being the more plentious and lesse of value vnto them, bicause it is not had far off from those quarters. It should not be amisse also to speake of the foure gates, number of parish churches, bridges, religious houses dissolued, and their founders, if place did serue therefore: but for so much as my purpose is not to deale in this behalfe, I will omit the mention of these things, and go in hand with the baths themselues, wherof in the title of this chapiter I protested to intreat.

Crosse bath. There are two springs of water (as Leland saith) in the west south west part of the towne, whereof the biggest is called the crosse bath, of a certeine crosse that was erected sometime in the middest thereof. This bath is much frequented by such as are diseased with leaprie, pockes, scabs, and great aches: yet of it selfe it is verie temperate and pleasant, hauing eleuen or twelue arches of stone in the sides thereof, for men to stand vnder, when raine doth ought annoie them.

Common bath. The common bath, or as some call it, the hot bath, is two hundred foot, or thereabout from the crosse bath, lesse in compasse within the wall than the other, and with onelie seauen arches, wrought out of the maine inclosure. It is worthilie called the hot bath, for at the first comming into it, men thinke that it would scald their flesh, and lose it from the bone: but after a season, and that the bodies of the commers thereto be warmed throughlie in the same, it is more tollerable and easie to be borne. Both these baths be in the middle of a little street, and ioine to S. Thomas hospitall, so that it may be thought that Reginald bishop of Bath made his house nére vnto these common baths, onelie to succour such poore people as should resort vnto them.

Kings bath. The kings bath is verie faire and large, standing almost in the middle of the towne, at the west end of the cathedrall church. It is compassed about with a verie high stone wall, and the brims thereof are mured round about, where in be two and thirtie arches for men and women to stand in separatlie, who being of the gentrie for the most part, do resort thither indifferentlie, but not in such lasciuious sort as vnto other baths and hot houses of the maine, whereof some write more a great deale than modestie should reueale, and honestie performe. There went a sluce out of this bath, which serued in times past the priorie with water, which was deriued out of it vnto two places, and commonlie vsed for baths, but now I do not thinke that they remaine in vsage.

Hot houses in some countries little better than brodels.

Colour of the water of the baths. As for the colour of the water of all the bathes, it is most like to a déepe blew, and réeketh much after the maner of a sething pot, commonlie yélding somwhat a sulpherous taste, and verie vnpleasant sauour. The water also that runneth from the two small baths, goeth by a dike into the Auon by west, and beneath the bridge: but the same that goeth from the kings bath turneth a mill, and after goeth into Auon aboue Bath bridge, where it loseth both force and tast, and is like vnto the rest. In all the three baths a man maie euidentlie see how the water bubbleth vp from the springs. This is also to be noted, that at certeine times all entrances into them is vtterlie prohibited, that is to saie, at high noone, and midnight: for at those two seasons, and a while before and after, they boile verie feruentlie, and become so hot that no man is able to indure their heat, or anie while sustéine their force and vehement working. They purge themselues furthermore from all such filth as the diseased do leaue in each of them, wherfore we do forbeare the rash entrance into them at that time: and so much the rather, for that we would not by contraction of anie new diseases, depart more grieuouslie affected than we came vnto the citie, which is in déed a thing that each one should regard. For these causes therefore they are commonlie shut vp from halfe an houre after ten of the clocke in the forenoone, to halfe an houre after one in the afternoone, and likewise at midnight: at which times the kéeper of them resorteth to his charge, openeth the gates, and leaueth (or should leaue) frée passage vnto such as come vnto them. Hitherto Leland.

Fall or issue of the water.

Not good to enter into baths at all seasons.

What cost of late hath béene bestowed vpon these baths by diuerse of the nobilitie, gentrie, communaltie, and cleargie, it lieth not in me to declare: yet as I heare, they are not onelie verie much repared and garnished with sundrie curious péeces of workemanship, partlie touching their commendation, and partlie for the ease and benefit of such as resort vnto them; but also better ordered, clenlier kept, & more friendlie prouision made for such pouertie as dailie repaireth thither. But notwithstanding all this, such is the generall estate of things in Bath, that the rich men maie spend while they will, and the poore beg whilest they list for their maintenance and diet so long as they remaine there: and yet I denie not but that there is verie good order in that citie for all degrées. But where shall a man find anie equall regard of poore and rich, though God doth giue these his good gifts fréelie, & vnto both alike? I would here intreat further of the customs vsed in these baths, what number of physicians dailie attend vpon those waters, for no man (especiallie such as be able to interteine them) doth enter into these baths before he consult with the physician; also, what diet is to be obserued, what particular diseases are healed there, and to what end the commers thither do drinke oftimes of that medicinable liquor: but then I should exceed the limits of a description. Wherefore I passe it ouer to others, hoping that some man yer long will vouchsafe to performe that at large, which the famous clearke Doctor Turner hath brieflie yet happilie begun, touching the effects & working of the same. For hitherto I do not know of manie that haue trauelled in the natures of those baths of our countrie, with anie great commendation; much lesse of anie that hath reuealed them at the full for the benefit of our nation, or commoditie of strangers that resort vnto the same.

Colour of the water of the baths.

Taste of the water.

Of antiquities found.

Chap. 24.

HAuing taken some occasion to speake here and there in this treatise of antiquities, it shall not be amis to deale yet more in this chapter, with some of them apart, & by themselues, whereby the secure authoritie of the Romans ouer this Iland

land maie in ſome caſes more manifeſtlie apeare. For ſuch was their poſſeſſion of this Iland on this ſide of the Tine, that they held not one or two, or a few places onelie vnder their ſubiection, but all the whole countrie from eaſt to weſt, from the Tine to the Britiſh ſea, ſo that there was no region void of their gouernance: notwithſtanding that vntill the death of Lucius, and extinction of his iſſue, they did permit the ſucceſſors of Lud and Cimbaline to reigne and rule amongeſt them, though vnder a certeine tribute, as elſe-where I haue declared. The chéefe cauſe that vrgeth me to ſpeake of antiquities, is the paines that I haue taken to gather great numbers of them togither, intending (if euer my Chronologie ſhall happen to come abroad) to ſet downe the liuelie portraitures of euerie emperour ingrauen in the ſame: alſo the faces of Pompeie, Craſſus, the ſeuen kings of the Romans, Cicero, and diuerſe other, which I haue prouided readie for the purpoſe, beſide the monuments and liuelie images of ſundrie philoſophers, and kings of this Iland, ſince the time of Edward the Confeſſor. Wherof although preſentlie I want a few, yet I do not doubt but to obteine them all, if friendſhip at the leaſt wiſe procured for monie ſhall be able to preuaile. But as it hath done hitherto, ſo the charges to be emploied vpon theſe braſen or copper images, will hereafter put by the impreſſion of that treatiſe: whereby it maie come to paſſe, that long trauell ſhall ſone proue to be ſpent in vaine, and much coſt come to verie ſmall ſucceſſe. Whereof yet I force not greatlie, ſith by this means I haue reaped ſome commoditie vnto my ſelfe, by ſearching of the hiſtories, which often miniſter ſtore of examples readie to be vſed in my function, as occaſion ſhall moue me. But to proceed with my purpoſe.

Before the comming of the Romans, there was a kind of coper monie currant here in Britaine, as Cæſar confeſſeth in the fift booke of his Commentaries, but I find not of what maner it was. Hereto he addeth a report of certeine rings, of a proportionate weight, which they vſed in his time, in ſtead likewiſe of monie. But as hitherto it hath not bene my lucke (I ſaie) to haue the certeine view of anie of theſe, ſo after the comming of the Romans, they inforced vs to abandon our owne, and receiue ſuch imperiall monies or coines, as for the paiment of their legions was dailie brought ouer vnto them. What coines the Romans had, it is eaſie to be knowne, and from time to time much of it is found in manie places of this Iland, as well of gold and ſiluer, as of coper, braſſe, and other mettall, much like ſteele, almoſt of euerie emperour. So that I account it no rare thing to haue of the Roman coine, albeit that it ſtill repreſent an image of our captiuitie, and maie be a good admonition for vs, to take héed how we yéeld our ſelues to the regiment of ſtrangers. Of the ſtore of theſe monies, found vpon the Kentiſh coaſt, I haue alreadie made mention in the deſcription of Richborow, and chapter of Iles adiacent vnto the Britiſh Albion, and there ſhewed alſo how ſimple fiſhermen haue had plentie of them, and that the conies in making profers and holes to bréed in, haue ſcraped them out of the ground in verie great abundance. In ſpeaking alſo of S. Albans, in the chapter of townes and villages, I haue not omitted to tell what plentie of theſe coines haue bene gathered there: wherfore I ſhall not néed here to repeat the ſame againe. Howbeit this is certeine, that the moſt part of all theſe antiquities, to be found within the land, & diſtant from the ſhore, are to be gotten either in the ruines of ancient cities and townes decaied, or in incloſed burrowes, where their legions accuſtomed ſometime to winter, as by experience is dailie confirmed. What ſtore hath bene ſéene of them in the citie of London, which they called Auguſta, of the legion that ſoiourned there, & likewiſe in Yorke named alſo Alatir, of the legion Victoria, or Altera Roma (becauſe of the beautie and fine building of the ſame) I my ſelfe can partlie witneſſe, that haue ſéene, & often had of them, if better teſtimonie were wanting. The like I maie affirme of Colcheſter, where thoſe of Claudius, Adrian, Traian, Veſpaſian, and other, are oftentimes plowed vp, or found by other means: alſo of Cantorburie, Andredeſcheſter (now decaied) Rocheſter, then called Durobreuum, Wincheſter, and diuerſe other beyond the Thames, which for breuitie ſake I do paſſe ouer in ſilence. Onlie the chiefe of all and where moſt are found in déed, is néere vnto Carleon and Cairgwent in Southwales, about Kencheſter, three miles aboue Hereford, Aldborow, Ancaſter, Bramdon, Dodington, where a ſpurre and péece of a chaine of gold were found in king Henrie the eight his daies, beſides much of the ſaid Roman coine, Bincheſter, Camalet, Lacocke vpon Auon, and Lincolne, Dorcheſter, Warwike, and Cheſter, where they are often had in verie great abundance. It ſéemeth that Ancaſter hath bene a great thing, for manie ſquare & colored pauements, vaults, and arches are yet found, and often laid open by ſuch as dig and plow in the fields about the ſame. And amongſt theſe, one Areſbie or Roſebie, a plowman, did ere vp not long ſince a ſtone like a trough, couered with another ſtone, wherein was great foiſon of the aforeſaid coines. The like alſo was ſéene not yet fortie yeares agone about Grantham. But in king Henrie the eight his daies, an huſbandman had far better lucke at Harleſton, two miles from the aforeſaid place, where he found not onelie great plentie of this coine, but alſo an huge braſſe pot, and therein a large helmet of pure gold, richlie fretted with pearle, and ſet with all kind of coſtlie ſtones: he tooke vp alſo chaines much like vnto beads of ſiluer, all which, as being (if a man might gheſſe anie certeintie by their beautie) not likelie to be long hidden, he preſented to quéene Katharine then lieng at Peterborow, and therewithall a few ancient rolles of parchment written long agone, though ſo defaced with mouldineſſe, and rotten for age, that no man could well hold them in his hand without falling into péeces, much leſſe read them by reaſon of their blindneſſe.

In the beginning of the ſame kings daies alſo at Billeie a man found as he eared, an arming girdle, harneſſed with pure gold, and a great maſſie pomell with a croſſe hilt for a ſword of the ſame mettall, beſide ſtuds and harneſſe for ſpurs, and the huge long ſpurs of like ſtuffe, whereof one doctor Ruthall got a part into his hands. The boroughs or buries, whereof I ſpake before, were certeine plots of ground, wherin the Romane ſouldiers did vſe to lie when they kept in the open fields as choſen places, from whence they might haue eaſie acceſſe vnto their aduerſaries, if anie outrage were wrought or rebellion moued againſt them. And as theſe were the vſuall aboads for thoſe able legions that ſerued dailie in the wars, ſo had they other certeine habitations for the old and forworne ſouldiers, whereby diuerſe cities grew in time to be repleniſhed with Romane colonies, as Cairleon, Colcheſter, Cheſter, and ſuch other, of which, Colcheſter bare the name of Colonia long time, and wherein A. Plautius builded a temple vnto the goddeſſe of Victorie (after the departure of Claudius) which Tacitus calleth *Aram ſempiternæ dominationis*, a perpetuall monument of that our Britiſh ſeruitude. But to returne vnto our borowes, they were generallie walled about with ſtone wals, and ſo large in compaſſe that ſome did conteine thirtie, fourtie, three ſcore, or eightie acres of ground within

within their limits: they had also diuerse gates or ports vnto each of them, and of these not a few remaine to be seene in our time, as one for example not far from great Chesterford in Essex, neere to the limits of Cambridgshire, which I haue often viewed, and wherein the compasse of the verie wall with the places where the gates stood is easie to be discerned: the like also is to be seene at a place within two miles south of Burton, called the Borow hils. In these therefore and such like, and likewise at Cuolsburg, now S. Neots, or S. Needs, and sundrie other places, especiallie vpon the shore and coasts of Kent, as Douer, Rie, Romneie, Lid, &c: is much of their coine also to be found, and some peeces or other are dailie taken vp, which they call Borow pence, Dwarfs monie, Hegs pence, Feirie groats, Iewes monie, & by other foolish names not worthie to be remembred. At the comming of the Saxons, the Britons vsed these holds as rescues for their cattell in the daie and night, when their enimies were abroad; the like also did the Saxons against the Danes, by which occasions (and now and then by carieng of their stones to helpe forward other buildings neere at hand) manie of them were throwne downe and defaced, which otherwise might haue continued for a longer time, and so your honour would saie, if you should happen to peruse the thickenesse and maner of building of those said wals and borowes. It is not long since a siluer saucer of verie ancient making was found neere to Saffron Walden, in the open field among the Sterbirie hils, and cared vp by a plough, but of such massie greatnesse, that it weighed better than twentie ounces, as I haue heard reported. But if I should stand in these things vntill I had said all that might be spoken of them, both by experience and testimonie of Leland in his Commentaries of Britaine, and the report of diuerse yet liuing, I might make a greater chapter than would be either conuenient or profitable to the reader: wherefore so much onelie shall serue the turne for this time as I haue said alreadie of antiquities found within our Iland, especiallie of coine, whereof I purposed chiefelie to intreat.

Sterbirie a place where an armie hath lien.

Of the coines of England.

Chap. 25.

THe Saxon coine before the conquest is in maner vtterlie vnknowne to me: howbeit if my coniecture be anie thing, I suppose that one shilling of siluer in those daies did counterpeise our common ounce, though afterward it came to passe that it arose to twentie pence, and so continued vntill the time of king Henrie the eight, who first brought it to three shillings and foure pence, & afterward our siluer coine vnto brasse & copper monies, by reason of those inestimable charges, which diuerse wales oppressed him. And as I gather such obscure notice of the shilling which is called in Latine *solidus*, so I read more manifestlie of another which is the 48 part of a pound, and this also currant among the Saxons of our Ile, so well in gold as in siluer, at such time as 240 of their penies made vp a iust pound, fiue pence went to the shilling, and foure shillings to the ounce. But to proceed with my purpose. After the death of K. Henrie, Edward his sonne began to restore the aforesaid coine againe vnto fine siluer: so quéene Marie his successour did continue his good purpose, notwithstanding that in hir time the Spanish monie was verie cõmon in England, by reason of hir mariage with Philip king of Spaine.

Copper monie.

Siluer restored.

After hir decease the ladie Elizabeth hir sister, and now our most gratious quéene, souereigne and princesse, did finish the matter wholie, vtterly abolishing the vse of copper and brasen coine, and conuerting the same into guns and great ordinance, she restored sundrie coines of fine siluer, as peeces of halfepenie farding, of a penie, of three halfe pence, peeces of two pence, of three pence, of foure pence (called the groat) of six pence vsuallie named the testone, and shilling of twelue pence, whereon she hath imprinted hir owne image, and emphaticall superscription. Our gold is either old or new. The old is that which hath remained since the time of king Edward the third, or beene coined by such other princes as haue reigned since his decease, without anie abasing or diminution of the finesse of that mettall. Therof also we haue yet remaining, the riall, the George noble, the Henrie riall, the salut, the angell, and their smaller peeces, as halfes or quarters, though these in my time are not so common to be seene. I haue also beheld the souereigne of twentie shillings, and the peece of thirtie shillings, I haue heard likewise of peeces of fortie shillings, three pounds, fiue pounds, and ten pounds. But sith there were few of them coined, and those onelie at the commandement of kings, yearelie to bestow where their maiesties thought good in lieu of new yeares gifts and rewards: it is not requisit that I should remember them here amongst our currant monies.

Old gold.

The new gold is taken for such as began to be coined in the latter daies of king Henrie the eight, at which time the finesse of the mettall began to be verie much alaied, & is not likelie to be restored for ought that I can see: and yet is it such as hath beene coined since by his successors princes of this realme, in value and goodnesse equall and not inferiour to the coine and currant gold of other nations, where each one doth couet chiefelie to gather vp our old finer gold: so that the angels, rials, and nobles, are more plentifullie seene in France, Italie, and Flanders, than they be by a great deale within the realme of England, if you regard the paiments which they dailie make in those kinds of our coine. Our peeces now currant are of ten shillings, fiue shillings, and two shillings and six pence onelie: and those of sundrie stamps and names, as halfe souereigns (equall in weight with our currant shilling, whereby that gold is valued at ten times so much siluer) quarters of souereigns (otherwise called crownes) and halfe crownes: likewise angels, halfe angels, and quarters of angels, or if there be anie other, in good sooth I know them not, as one scarselie acquainted with any siluer at all, much lesse then (God it wot) with any store of gold.

New gold.

The first currant shilling or siluer peeces of twelue pence stamped within memorie, were coined by K. Henrie the eight in the twentith yeare of his reigne, & those of fiue shillings, and of two shillings and six pence, & the halfe shilling by king Edward the first: but the od peeces aboue remembred vnder the groat by our high and mightie princesse quéene Elizabeth, the name of the groat, penie, two pence, halfe penie, and farding, in old time the greatest siluer monies if you respect their denominations onelie, being more ancient than that I can well discusse of the time of their beginnings. Yet thus much I read, that king Edward the first in the eight yeare of his reigne, did first coine the penie and smallest peeces of siluer roundwise, which before were square, and wont to beare a double crosse with a creek, in such sort that the penie might easilie be broken, either into halfes or quarters: by which shift onelie the people came

came by small monies, as halfe pence and fardings, that otherwise were not stamped nor coined of set purpose.

Of forren coines we haue all the ducats, the single, double, and the double double, the crusadoes, with the long crosse and the short: the portigue, a peece verie solemnelie kept of diuerse, & yet oft times abased with washing, or absolutelie counterfeited: and finallie the French and Flemish crownes, onlie currant among vs, so long as they hold weight. But of siluer coines, as the soules turnois, whereof ten make a shilling, as the franke doth two shillings, and three franks the French crowne, &c: we haue none at all: yet are the dalders, and such often times brought ouer, but neuertheless exchanged as bullion, according to their fineness and weight, and afterward conuerted into coine, by such as haue authoritie.

In old time we had sundrie mints in England, and those commonlie kept in abbaies and religious houses before the conquest, where true dealing was commonlie supposed most of all to dwell: as at Ramsey, S. Edmundsburie, Canturburie, Glastenburie, Peterborow, and such like, sundrie exemplificats of the grants whereof are yet to be seene in writing, especiallie that of Peterborow vnder the confirmation of pope Eugenius: whereunto it appeareth further by a charter of king Edgar (which I haue) that they either held it or had another in Stanford. But after the Normans had once gotten the kingdome into their fingers, they trusted themselues best with the ouersight of their mints, and therefore erected diuerse of their owne, although they afterward permitted some for small peeces of siluer vnto sundrie of the houses aforesaid. In my time diuerse mints are suppressed, as Southwarke, Bristow, &c: and all coinage is brought into one place, that is to saie, the Tower of London, where it is continuallie holden and perused, but not without great gaine to such as deale withall. There is also coinage of tin holden yearelie at two seuerall times, that is to saie, Midsummer and Michaelmas in the west countries; which at the first hearing I supposed to haue beene of monie of the said mettall, and granted by priuilege from some prince vnto the towns of Hailestone, Trurie, and Lostwithiell. Howbeit, vpon further examination of the matter, I find it to be nothing so, but an office onlie erected for the prince, wherin he is allowed the ordinarie customes of that mettall: and such blocks of tin as haue passed the hands of his officers, are marked with an especiall stampe, whereby it is knowne that the custome due for the same hath ordinarilie beene answered. It should seeme (and in my opinion is verie likelie to be true) that while the Romans reigned here, Kingstone vpon Thames (sometime a right noble citie and place where the Saxon kings were vsuallie crowned) was the chiefe place of their coinage for this prouince. For in earing of the ground about that towne in times past, and now of late (besides the curious foundation of manie goodlie buildings that haue beene riped vp by plowes, and diuerse coines of brasse, siluer, and gold, with Romane letters in painted pots found there) in the daies of cardinall Wolsey, one such huge pot was discouered full as it were of new siluer latelie coined; another with plates of siluer readie to be coined; and the third with chaines of siluer and such broken stuffe redie (as it should appeare) to be melted into coinage, whereof let this suffice to countenance out my coniecture. Of coins currant before the coming of the Romans I haue elsewhere declared, that there were none at all in Britaine: but as the Ilanders of Scylira, the old Romans, Armenians, Scythians, Seritans, Sarmatians, Indians, and Essences did barter ware for ware, so the Britons vsed brasse or rings of iron, brought vnto a certeine proportion, in steed of monie, as the Lacedemonians & Bisantines also did, & the Achiui (as Homer writeth) who had (saith he) rough peeces of brasse and iron in steed of coine, wherewith they purchased their wines.

The contents of the third booke.

1 Of cattell kept for profit.
2 Of wild and tame foules.
3 Of fish vsuallie taken vp on our coasts.
4 Of sauage beasts and vermines.
5 Of hawkes and rauenous foules.
6 Of venemous beasts.
7 Of our English dogs and their qualities.
8 Of our saffron, and the dressing thereof.
9 Of quarries of stone for building.
10 Of sundrie minerals.
11 Of mettals to be had in our land.
12 Of pretious stones.
13 Of salt made in England.
14 Of our accompt of time and hir parts.
15 Of principall faires and markets.
16 Of our innes and thorowfaires.

Of cattell kept for profit.

Chap. 1.

There is no kind of tame cattell vsually to be seene in these parts of the world, whereof we haue not some, and that great store in England; as horsses, oren, sheepe, goats, swine, and far surmounting the like in other countries, as may be proued with ease. For where are oren commonlie more large of bone, horsses more decent and pleasant in pase, kine more commodious for the pale, sheepe more profitable for woll, swine more wholesome of flesh, and goates more gainefull to their keepers, than here with vs in England? But to speke of them peculiarlie, I suppose that our kine are so abundant in yeeld of milke, whereof we make our butter & cheese, as the like anie where else, and so apt for the plough in diuerse places as either our horsses or oren. And albeit they now and then twin, yet herein they seeme to come short of that commoditie which is looked for

in other countries, to wit, in that they bring forth most commonlie but one calfe at once. The gaines also gotten by a cow (all charges borne) hath bene valued at twentie shillings yearelie: but now as land is inhanced, this proportion of gaine is much abated, and likelie to decaie more and more, if ground arise to be yet dearer, which God forbid, if it be his will and pleasure. I heard of late of a cow in Warwikshire, belonging to Thomas Bruer of Studleie, which in sir yeares had sixteene calfes, that is, foure at once in three calvings and twise twins, which vnto manie may seeme a thing incredible. In like maner our oxen are such as the like are not to be found in anie countrie of Europe, both for greatnesse of bodie and sweetnesse of flesh: or else would not the Romane writers have preferred them before those of Liguria. In most places our graziers are now growen to be so cunning, that if they doo but see an ox or bullocke, and come to the feeling of him, they will giue a gheesse at his weight, and how manie score or stone of flesh and tallow he beareth, how the butcher may liue by the sale, and what he may haue for the skin and tallow; which is a point of skill not commonlie practised heretofore. Some such graziers also are reported to ride with veluet coats, and chaines of gold about them: and in their absence their wiues will not let to supplie those turnes with no lesse skill than their husbands: which is an hard worke for the poore butcher, sith he through this means can seldome be rich or wealthie by his trade. In like sort the flesh of our oxen and kine is sold both by hand and by weight as the buier will: but in yong ware rather by weight, especiallie for the steere and heighfer, sith the finer beefe is the lightest, whereas the flesh of buls and old kine, &c: is of sadder substance and therefore much heauier as it lieth in the scale. Their hornes also are knowne to be more faire and large in England than in anie other places, except those which are to be seene among the Paeones, which quantitie albeit that it be giuen to our breed generallie by nature, yet it is now and then helped also by art. For when they be verie yong, manie graziers will oftentimes annoint their budding hornes, or tender tips with honie, which mollifieth the naturall hardnesse of that substance, and thereby maketh them to grow vnto a notable greatnesse. Certes, it is not strange in England, to see oxen whose hornes haue the length of a yard or three foot betweene the tips, and they themselues thereto so tall, as the heigth of a man of meane and indifferent stature is scarse equall vnto them. Neuertheless it is much to be lamented that our generall breed of cattell is not better looked vnto: for the greatest occupiers weane least store, because they can buie them (as they saie) far better cheape than to raise and bring them vp. In my time a cow hath risen from foure nobles to foure marks by this means, which notwithstanding were no great price if they did yearelie bring forth more than one calfe a peece, as I heare they doo in other countries.

Oxen.

Athenæus lib. 10. cap. 8.

Horses.

Our horses moreouer are high, and although not commonlie of such huge greatnesse as in other places of the maine: yet if you respect the easinesse of their pase, it is hard to sate where their like are to be had. Our land doth yeeld no asses, and therefore we want the generation also of mules and somers; and therefore the most part of our cariage is made by these, which remaining stoned, are either reserued for the cart, or appointed to beare such burdens as are conuenient for them. Our cart or plough horses (for we vse them indifferentlie) are commonlie so strong that fiue or six of them (at the most) will draw three thousand weight of the greatest tale with ease for a long iournie, although it be not a load of common vsage, which consisteth onelie of two thousand, or fiftie fot of timber, fortie bushels of white salt, or six and thirtie of baie, or fiue quarters of wheat, experience dailie teacheth, and I haue elsewhere remembred. Such as are kept also for burden, will carie foure hundred weight commonlie, without anie hurt or hinderance. This furthermore is to be noted, that our princes and the nobilitie haue their cariage commonlie made by carts, wherby it commeth to passe, that when the queenes maiestie doth remoue from anie one place to another, there are vsuallie 400 carewares, which amount to the summe of 2400 horsses, appointed out of the countries adioining, whereby hir cariage is conueied safelie vnto the appointed place. Hereby also the ancient vse of somers and sumpter horsses is in maner vtterlie relinquished, which causeth the traines of our princes in their progresses to shew far lesse than those of the kings of other nations.

Such as serue for the saddle are commonlie gelded, and now growne to be verie deere among vs, especiallie if they be well coloured, iustlie limmed, and haue thereto an easie ambling pase. For our countriemen, seeking their ease in euerie corner where it is to be had, delight verie much in these qualities, but chieflie in their excellent pases, which besides that it is in maner peculiar vnto horsses of our soile, and not hurtfull to the rider or owner sitting on their backes: it is moreouer verie pleasant and delectable in his eares, in that the noise of their well proportioned pase doth yeeld comfortable sound as he trauelleth by the waie. Yet is there no greater deceipt vsed anie where than among our horsse keepers, horsse coorsers, and hostelers: for such is the subtill knauerie of a great sort of them (without exception of anie of them be it spoken which deale for priuat gaine) that an honest meaning man shall haue verie good lucke among them, if he be not deceiued by some false tricke or other. There are certeine notable markets, wherein great plentie of horsses and colts is bought and sold, and wherevnto such as haue need resort yearelie to buie and make their necessarie prouision of them, as Rippon, Newport pond, Wolfpit, Yarborow, and diuerse other. But as most drouers are verie diligent to bring great store of these vnto those places; so manie of them are too too lewd in abusing such as buie them. For they haue a custome to make them looke faire to the eie, when they come within two daies iournie of the market, to driue them till they sweat, & for the space of eight or twelue houres, which being doone they turne them all ouer the backs into some water, where they stand for a season, and then go forward with them to the place appointed, where they make sale of their infected ware, and such as by this meanes doo fall into manie diseases and maladies. Of such outlandish horsses as are dailie brought ouer vnto vs I speake not, as the genet of Spaine, the courser of Naples, the hobbie of Ireland, the Flemish roile, and Scotish nag, because that further speech of them commeth not within the compasse of this treatise, and for whose breed and maintenance (especiallie of the greatest sort) king Henrie the eight erected a noble studderie and for a time had verie good successe with them, till the officers waxing wearie, procured a mixed brood of bastard races, whereby his good purpose came to little effect. Sir Nicholas Arnold of late hath bred the best horsses in England, and written of the maner of their production: would to God his compasse of ground were like to that of Pella in Syria, wherin the king of that nation had vsuallie a studderie of 30000 mares and 300 stallions, as Strabo doth remember *lib.* 16. But to leaue this, let vs see what may be said of sheepe.

Geldings.

Our sheepe are verie excellent, sith for sweetnesse of

Sheepe.

of flesh they passe all other. And so much are our wooles to be preferred before those of Pilesia and other places, that if Jason had knowne the value of them that are bred, and to be had in Britaine, he would neuer haue gone to Colchis, to loke for anie there. For as Dionysius Alexandrinus saith in his *De situ orbis*, it may by spinning be made comparable to the spiders web. What fooles then are our countrimen, in that they seeke to bereue themselues of this commoditie, by practising dailie how to transfer the same to other nations, in carieng ouer their rams & ewes to bread & increase among them? The first example hereof was giuen vnder Edward the fourth, who not vnderstanding the botome of the sute of sundrie traitorous merchants, that sought a present gaine with the perpetuall hinderance of their countrie, licenced them to carie ouer certeine numbers of them into Spaine, who hauing licence but for a few shipped veris manie: a thing commonlie practised in other commodities also, whereby the prince and his land are not seldome times defrauded. But such is our nature, and so blind are we in deed, that we see no inconuenience before we feele it: and for a present gaine we regard not what damage may insue to our posteritie. Hereto some other man would ad also the desire that we haue to benefit other countries, and to impech our owne. And it is so sure as God liueth, that euerie trifle which commeth from beyond the sea, though it be not worth three pence, is more esteemed than a continuall commoditie at home with vs, which far exceedeth that value. In time past the vse of this commoditie consisted (for the most part) in cloth and woolfeds: but now by meanes of strangers succoured here from domesticall persecution, the same hath beene imploied vnto sundrie other vses, as mockados, baies, vellures, grograines, &c: whereby the makers haue reaped no small commoditie. It is furthermore to be noted, for the low countries of Belgie know it, and dailie experience (notwithstanding the sharpenesse of our lawes to the contrarie) doth yet confirme it: that although our rams & weathers do go thither from vs neuer so well headed according to their kind: yet after they haue remained there a while, they cast there their heads, and from thencefoorth they remaine polled without any hornes at all. Certes this kind of cattell is more cherished in England, than standeth well with the commoditie of the commons, or prosperitie of diuerse townes, whereof some are wholie conuerted to their feeding: yet such a profitable sweetnesse is their fleece, such necessitie in their flesh, and so great a benefit in the manuring of barren soile with their dung and pisse, that their superfluous numbers are the better borne withall. And there is neuer an husbandman (for now I speake not of our great shepemasters of whom some one man hath 20000) but hath more or lesse of this cattell feeding on his fallowes and short grounds, which yeeld the finer fleece, as Virgil (following Varro) well espied Georg. 3. where he saith:

Si tibi lanicium curæ, primùm aspera sylua,
Lappæque tribulique absint, fuge pabula læta.

Neuerthelesse the shepe of our countrie are often troubled with the rot (as are our swine with the measels though neuer so generallie) and manie men are now and then great losers by the same: but after the calamitie is ouer, if they can recouer and kepe their new stocks sound for seauen yeares togither, the former losse will easilie be recompensed with double commoditie. Cardan writeth that our waters are hurtfull to our shepe, howbeit this is but his coniecture: for we know that our shepe are infected by going to the water, and take the same as a sure and certeine token that a rot hath gotten hold of them, their liuers and lights being alredie distempered through

Shepe without hornes.

excessiue heat, which inforceth them the rather to seeke vnto the water. Certes there is no parcell of the maine, wherin a man shall generallie find more fine and wholesome water than in England; and therfore it is impossible that our shepe should decaie by tasting of the same. Wherfore the hinderance by rot is rather to be ascribed to the vnseasonablenes & moisture of the weather in summer, also their licking in of mildewes, gossamire, rowtie fogs, & ranke grasse, full of superfluous iuice: but specially (I saie) to ouer moist wether, whereby the continuall raine pearsing into their hollow felles, soketh forthwith into their flesh, which bringeth them to their baines. Being also infected their first shew of sickenesse is their desire to drinke, so that our waters are not vnto them *Causa ægritudinis*, but *Signum morbi*, what so euer Cardan doo mainteine to the contrarie. There are (& peraduenture no small babes) which are growne to be so good husbands, that they can make account of euerie ten kine to be clerelie worth twentie pounds in cõmon and indifferent yeares, if the milke of fiue shepe be dailie added to the same. But as I wote not how true this surmise is, because it is no part of my trade, so I am sure hereof, that some housewiues can and doo ad dailie a lesse proportion of ewes milke vnto the cheese of so manie kine, whereby their cheese doth the longer abide moist, and eateth more brickle and mellow than otherwise it would.

Goats we haue plentie, and of sundrie colours in the west parts of England; especiallie in and towards Wales, and amongst the rockie hilles, by whome the owners do reape no small aduantage: some also are cherished elsewhere in diuerse steeds for the benefit of such as are diseased with sundrie maladies, vnto whom (as I heare) their milke, cheese, and bodies of their yong kids are iudged verie profitable, and therefore inquired for of manie farre and neere. Certes I find among the writers, that the milke of a goat is next in estimation to that of the woman; for that it helpeth the stomach, remoueth oppilations and stoppings of the liuer, and loseth the belly. Some place also next vnto it the milke of the ew: and thirdlie that of the cow. But hereof I can shew no reason; onelie this I know, that ewes milke is fullsome, sweet, and such in tast, as except such as are vsed vnto it no man will gladlie yeeld to liue and feed withall. Goats.

As for swine, there is no place that hath greater store, nor more wholesome in eating, than are these here in England, which neuerthelesse do neuer anie good till they come to the table. Of these some we eat greene for porke, and other dried vp into bakon to haue it of more continuance. Lard we make some though verie little, because it is chargeable: neither haue we such vse thereof as is to be seene in France and other countries, sith we do either bake our meat with sweet suet of beefe or mutton, and bast all our meat with sweet or salt butter, or suffer the fattest to bast it selfe by leisure. In champaine countries they are kept by herds, and an hogherd appointed to attend and wait vpon them, who commonlie gathereth them togither by his noise and crie, and leadeth them forth to feed abroad in the fields. In some places also women do scowre and wet their cloths with their dung, as other do with hemlocks and netles: but such is the sauor of the cloths touched withall, that I cannot abide to weare them on my bodie, more than such as are scowred with the refuse sope, than the which (in mine opinion) there is none more vnkindlie sauor. Swine.

Of our tame bores we make brawne, which is a kind of meat not vsuallie knowne to strangers (as I take it) otherwise would not the swart Rutters and French cookes, at the losse of Calis (where they Bores.

found great store of this prouision almost in euerie house) haue attempted with ridiculous successe to rost, bake, broile, & frie the same for their maisters, till they were better informed. I haue heard moreouer, how a noble man of England, not long since, did send ouer an hogshead of brawne readie sowsed to a catholike gentleman of France, who supposing it to be fish, reserued it till Lent, at which time he did eat thereof with verie great frugalitie. Whereto he so well liked of the prouision it selfe, that he wrote ouer verie earnestlie & with offer of great recompense for more of the same fish against the yeare insuing: whereas if he had knowne it to haue bene flesh, he would not haue touched it (I dare saie) for a thousand crownes without the popes dispensation. A frend of mine also dwelling sometime in Spaine, hauing certeine Iewes at his table, did set brawne before them, whereof they did eat verie earnestlie, supposing it to be a kind of fish not common in those parties: but when the goodman of the house brought in the head in pastime among them, to shew what they had eaten, they rose from the table, hied them home in hast, ech of them procuring himselfe to vomit, some by oile, and some by other meanes, till (as they supposed) they had clensed their stomachs of that prohibited food. With vs it is accounted a great péece of seruice at the table, from November vntill Februarie be ended; but chéeflie in the Christmasse time. With the same also we begin our dinners ech daie after other: and because it is somewhat hard of digestion, a draught of malueseie, bastard, or muscadell, is vsuallie drunke after it, where either of them are conuententlie to be had: otherwise the meaner sort content themselues with their owne drinke, which at that season is generallie verie strong, and stronger indéed than in all the yeare besides. It is made commonlie of the fore part of a tame bore, set vp for the purpose by the space of a whole yere or two, especiallie in gentlemens houses (for the husbandmen and farmers neuer franke them for their owne vse aboue three or foure moneths, or halfe a yéere at the most) in which time he is dieted with otes and peason, and lodged on the bare planks of an vneasie coat, till his fat be hardened sufficientlie for their purpose: afterward he is killed, scalded, and cut out, and then of his former parts is our brawne made, the rest is nothing so fat, and therefore it beareth the name of sowse onelie, and is commonlie reserued for the serning man and hind, except it please the owner to haue anie part therof baked, which are then handled of custome after this manner. The hinder parts being cut off, they are first drawne with lard, and then sodden; being sodden they are sowsed in claret wine and vineger a certeine space, and afterward baked in pasties, and eaten of manie in stéd of the wild bore, and trulie it is verie good meat: the pestles may be hanged vp a while to drie before they be drawne with lard if you will, and thereby prooue the better. But hereof inough, and therefore to come againe vnto our brawne. The necke peeces being cut off round, are called collars of brawne, the shoulders are named shilds, onelie the ribs reteine the former denomination, so that these aforesaid péeces deserue the name of brawne: the bowels of the beast are commmonlie cast awaie because of their rankenesse, and so were likewise his skones; till a folish fantasie got hold of late amongst some delicate dames, who haue now found the meanes to dresse them also with great cost for a deintie dish, and bring them to the bord as a seruice among other of like sort, though not without note of their desire to the prouocation of fleshlie lust, which by this their fond curiositie is not a little reuealed. When the bore is thus cut out, ech peece is wrapped vp, either with bulrushes, ozier

Brawne of the bore.

Baked hog.

peeles, tape, inkle, or such like, and then sodden in a lead or caldron togither, till they be so tender that a man may thrust a bruised rush or soft straw cleane through the fat: which being done, they take it vp, and laie it abroad to cole: afterward putting it into close vessels, they powre either good small ale or béere mingled with verjuice and salt thereto till it be couered, and so let it lie (now and then altering and changing the sowsing drinke least it should wax sowre) till occasion serue to spend it out of the waie. Some vse to make brawne of great barrow hogs, and séeth them, and sowse the whole, as they do that of the bore; and in my iudgement it is the better of both, and more easie of digestion. But of brawne thus much; and so much may seeme sufficient.

Of wild and tame foules.

Chap. 2.

ORder requireth that I speake somewhat of the foules also of England, which I may easilie diuide into the wild & tame: but alas such is my small skill in foules, that to say the truth, I can neither recite their numbers, nor well distinguish one kind of them from another. Yet this I haue by generall knowledge, that there is no nation vnder the sunne, which hath alreadie in the time of the yere more plentie of wild foule than we, for so manie kinds as our Iland doth bring forth, and much more would haue, if those of the higher soile might be spared but one yeare or two, from the greedie engins of couetous foulers, which set onlie for the pot & purse. Certes this enormitie bred great trouble in K. Johns daies, insomuch that going in progresse about the tenth of his reigne, he found little or no game wherewith to solace himselfe, or exercise his falcons. Wherfore being at Bristow in the Christmas insuing, he restreined all maner of hawking or taking of wildfoule throughout England for a season, whereby the land within few yeares was throughlie replenished againe. But what stand I vpon this impertinent discourse? Of such therefore as are bred in our land, we haue the crane, the bitter, the wild & tame swan, the bullard, the herron, curlew, snite, wildgose, wind or doterell, brant, larke, plouer of both sorts, lapwing, teele, wigeon, mallard, sheldrake, shoueler, pewet, seamew, barnacle, quaile (who onelie with man are subiect to the falling sickenesse) the notte, the oliet or olife, the dunbird, woodcocke, partrich and feasant, besides diuerse other, whose names to me are vtterlie vnknowne, and much more the taste of their flesh; wherewith I was neuer acquainted. But as these serue not at all seasons, so in their seuerall turnes there is no plentie of them wanting, whereby the tables of the nobilitie and gentrie should séeme at anie time furnisht. But of all these the production of none is more maruellous in my mind, than that of the barnacle, whose place of generation we haue sought oft times so farre as the Orchades, whereas peradventure we might haue found the same nearer home, and not onelie vpon the coasts of Ireland, but euen in our owne riuers. If I should say how either these or some such other foule not much vnlike vnto them haue bred of late times (for their place of generation is not perpetuall, but as opportunitie serueth, and the circumstances do ministèr occasion) in the Thames mouth, I do not thinke that manie will beleeue me: yet such a thing hath there béene seene, where a kind of foule had his beginning vpon a short tender shrub standing neere vnto the shore, from whence when

their

their time came, they fell downe, either into the ſalt water and liued, or vpon the drie land and periſhed, as Pena the French herbarian hath alſo noted in the verie end of his herball. What I for mine owne part haue ſéene here by experience, I haue alreadie ſo touched in the chapter of Ilands, that it ſhould be but time ſpent in vaine to repeat it here againe. Looke therefore in the deſcription of Man or Manaw for more of theſe barnacles, as alſo in the eleuenth chapter of the deſcription of Scotland, & I doo not doubt but you ſhall in ſome reſpect be ſatiſfied in the generation of theſe foules. As for egrets, pawpers, and ſuch like, they are dailie brought vnto vs from beyond the ſea, as if all the foule of our countrie could not ſuffice to ſatiſfie our delicate apetites.

Our tame foule are ſuch (for the moſt part) as are common both to vs and to other countries, as cocks, hens, géeſe, duckes, peacocks of Inde, pigeons, now an hurtfull foule by reaſon of their multitudes, and number of houſes dailie erected for their increaſe (which the bowres of the countrie call in ſcorne almes houſes, and dens of thæues, and ſuch like) wherof there is great plentie in euerie farmers yard. They are kept there alſo to be ſold either for readie monie in the open markets, or elſe to be ſpent at home in good companie amongſt their neighbors without reprehenſion or fines. Neither are we ſo miſerable in England (a thing onelie granted vnto vs by the eſpeciall grace of God, and libertie of our princes) as to dine or ſup with a quarter of a hen, or to make ſo great a repaſt with a cocks combe, as they doo in ſome other countries: but if occaſion ſerue, the whole carcaſſes of manie capons, hens, pigeons, and ſuch like doo oft go to wracke, beſide béefe, mutton, veale, and lambe: all which at euerie feaſt are taken for neceſſarie diſhes amongeſt the communaltie of England.

The gelding of cocks, whereby capons are made, is an ancient practiſe brought in of old time by the Romans when they dwelt here in this land: but the gelding of turkies or Indiſh peacocks is a newer deuiſe: and certeinlie not vſed amiſſe, ſith the rankeneſſe of that bird is verie much abated thereby, and the ſtrong taſte of the fleſh in ſundrie wiſe amended. If I ſhould ſay that ganders grow alſo to be gelded, I ſuppoſe that ſome will laugh me to ſcorne, neither haue I taſted at anie time of ſuch a foule ſo ſerued, yet haue I heard it more than once to be vſed in the countrie, where their géeſe are driuen to the field like heards of cattell by a goſeheard, a toie alſo no leſſe to be maruelled at than the other. For as it is rare to heare of a gelded gander, ſo is it ſtrange to me to ſée or heare of géeſe to be led to the field like ſhéepe: yet ſo it is, & their goſeheard carieth a rattle of paper or parchment with him, when he goeth about in the morning to gather his goſlings togither, the noiſe whereof commeth no ſooner to their eares, than they fall to gagling, and haſten to go with him. If it happen that the gates be not yet open, or that none of the houſe be ſtirring, it is ridiculous to ſée how they will pæpe vnder the dores, and neuer leaue creaking and gagling till they be let out vnto him to ouertake their fellowes. With vs where I dwell they are not kept in this ſort, nor in manie other places, neither are they kept ſo much for their bodies as their feathers. Some hold furthermore an opinion, that in ouer ranke ſoiles their dung doth ſo qualifie the batableneſſe of the ſoile, that their cattell is thereby kept from the garget, and ſundrie other diſeaſes, although ſome of them come to their ends now and then, by licking vp of their feathers. I might here make mention of other foules produced by the induſtrie of man, as betwéene the feſant cocke and dunghill hen, or betwéene the feſant and the ringdoue, the peacocke and the turkie hen, the partrich and the pigeon: but ſith I haue no more knowledge of theſe, than that I haue gotten by mine eare, I will not meddle with them. Yet Cardan ſpeaking of the ſecond ſort, doth affirme it to be a foule of excellent beautie. I would likewiſe intreat of other foules which we repute vncleane, as rauens, crowes, pies, choughes, rokes, kites, faies, ringtailes, ſtarlings, woodſpikes, woodnawes, rauens, &c: but ſith they abound in all countries, though peraduenture moſt of all in England (by reaſon of our negligence) I ſhall not néed to ſpend anie time in the rehearſall of them. Neither are our crowes and choughs cheriſhed of purpoſe to catch vp the wormes that bréed in our ſoiles (as Polydor ſuppoſeth) ſith there are no vplandiſh townes but haue (or ſhould haue) nets of their owne in ſtore to catch them withall. Sundrie acts of parlement are likewiſe made for their vtter deſtruction, as alſo the ſpoile of other rauenous fouls hurtfull to pultrie, conies, lambs, and kids, whoſe valuation of reward to him that killeth them is after the head: a deuiſe brought from the Goths, who had the like ordinance for the deſtruction of their white crowes, and tale made by the becke, which killed both lambs and pigs. The like order is taken with vs for our vermines, as with them alſo for the rotage out of their wild beaſts, ſauing that they ſpared their greateſt beares, eſpeciallie the white, whoſe ſkins are by cuſtome & priuilege reſerued to couer thoſe planchers whereupon their prieſts doo ſtand at Maſſe, leaſt he ſhould take ſome vnkind cold in ſuch a long péece of worke: and happie is the man that may prouide them for him, for he ſhall haue pardon inough for that ſo religious an act, to laſt if he will till domes day doo approch; and manie thouſands after. Nothing therefore can be more vnlikelie to be true, than that theſe noiſome creatures are nouriſhed amongſt vs to deuoure our wormes, which doo not abound much more in England than elſewhere in other countries of the maine. It may be that ſome looke for a diſcourſe alſo of our other foules in this place at my hand, as nightingales, throſhes, blackebirds, mauiſes, ruddocks, redſtarts or dunocks, larkes, tiuits, kingsfiſhers, buntings, turtles white or graie, linets, bulfinches, goldfinches, waſhtailes, cheriecrackers, yellowhamers, felfares, &c: but I ſhould then ſpend more time vpon them than is conuenient. Neither will I ſpeake of our coſtlie and curious antaries dailie made for the better hearing of their melodie, and obſeruation of their natures: but I ceaſe alſo to go anie further in theſe things, hauing (as I thinke) ſaid inough alreadie of theſe that I haue named.

Of fiſh vſuallie taken vpon *our coaſts.*

Cap. 3.

I Haue in my deſcription of waters, as occaſion hath ſerued, intreated of the names of ſome of the ſeuerall fiſhes which are commonlie to bée found in our riuers. Neuertheleſſe as euerie water hath a ſundrie mixture, and therefore is not ſtored with euerie kind: ſo there is almoſt no houſe, euen of the meaneſt bowres, which haue not one or mo ponds or holes made for reſeruation of water vnſtored with ſome of them, as with tench, carpe, breame, roch, dace, éles, or ſuch like as will liue and bréed togither. Certes it is not poſſible for me to deliuer the names of all ſuch kinds of fiſhes

as our riuers are found to beare: yet least I should séeme iniurious to the reader, in not deliuering so manie of them as haue béene brought to my knowledge, I will not let to set them downe as they do come to mind. Besides the salmons therefore, which are not to be taken from the middest of September to the middest of Nouember, and are verie plentifull in our greatest riuers, as their yong fore are not to be touched from mid Aprill vnto Midsummer, we haue the trout, barbell, graile, powt, cheuin, pike, gud-geon, smelt, perch, menan, shrimpes, creuises, lam-preies, and such like, whose preseruation is prouided for by verie sharpe lawes, not onelie in our riuers, but also in plashes or lakes and ponds, which other-wise would bring small profit to the owners, and do much harme by continuall maintenance of idle per-sons, who would spend their whole times vpon their bankes, not coueting to labour with their hands, nor follow anie good trade. Of all these there are none more preiudiciall to their neighbours that dwell in the same water, than the pike and éele, which com-monlie deuoure such fish or frie and spawne as they may get and come by. Nevertheless, the pike is frend vnto the tench, as to his leach & surgeon. For when the fishmonger hath opened his side and laid out his riuet and fat vnto the buier, for the better vtterance of his ware, and can not make him away at that present, he laieth the same againe into the proper place, and sowing vp the wound, he restoreth him to the pond where tenches are, who neuer cease to sucke and licke his grœued place, till they haue re-stored him to health, and made him readie to come a-gaine to the stall, when his turne shall come about. I might here make report how the pike, carpe, and some other of our riuer fishes are sold by inches of cleane fish, from the eies or gilles to the crotch of the tailes, but it is needlesse: also how the pike as he a-geth, receiueth diuerse names, as from a frie to a gilthed, from a gilthed to a pod, from a pod to a iacke, from a iacke to a pickerell, from a pickerell to a pike, and last of all to a luce; also that a salmon is the first yeare a grauellin, and commonlie so big as an her-ring, the second a salmon peale, the third a pug, and the fourth a salmon: but this is in like sort vnneces-sarie.

I might finallie tell you, how that in fennie ri-uers sides if you cut a turfe, and laie it with the grasse downewards, vpon the earth, in such sort as the water may touch it as it passeth by, you shall haue a brod of éeles, it would séeme a wonder; and yet it is beléeued with no lesse assurance of some, than that an horse haire laid in a pale full of the like water will in short time stirre and become a liuing crea-ture. But sith the certeintie of these things is rather proued by few than the certeintie of them knowne vnto manie, I let it passe at this time. Neuerthe-lesse this is generallie obserued in the maintenance of frie so well in riuers as in ponds, that in the time of spawne we vse to throw in faggots made of wil-low and sallow, and now and then of bushes for want of the other, whereby such spawne as falleth into the same is preserued and kept from the pike, perch, éele and other fish, of which the carpe also will féed vpon his owne, and thereby hinder the store and increase of proper kind. Some vse in euerie fift or seauenth yeere to laie their great ponds drie for all the sum-mer time, to the end they may gather grasse, and a thin swart for the fish to feed vpon; and afterwards store them with breeders, after the water be let of new againe into them: finallie, when they haue spawned, they draw out the breeders, leauing not aboue foure or six behind, euen in the greatest ponds, by meanes whereof the rest do prosper the better: and this obseruation is most vsed in carpe and breame; as for perch (a delicate fish) it prospereth euerie where, I meane so well in ponds as riuers, and also in motes and pittes, as I do know by experience, though their bottoms be but claie. More would I write of our fresh fish, if anie more were needfull; wherefore I will now turne ouer vnto such of the salt water as are taken vpon our coasts. As our foules therefore haue their seasons, so likewise haue all our sorts of sea fish: whereby it commeth to passe that none, or at the leastwise verie few of them are to be had at all times. Neuertheless, the seas that inui-ron our coasts, are of all other most plentifull: for as by reason of their depth they are a great succour, so our low shores minister great plentie of food vnto the fish that come thereto, no place being void or bar-ren, either through want of food for them, or the falles of filthie riuers, which naturallie annoie them. In December therefore and Januarie we commonlie abound in herring and red fish, as rochet, and gur-nard. In Februarie and March we féed on plaice, trowts, turbut, muskles, &c. In Aprill and Maie, with makrell, and cockles. In June and Julie, with conger. In August and September, with haddocke and herring: and the two moneths insuing with the same, as also thornbacke and reigh of all sorts; all which are the most vsuall, and wherewith our com-mon sort are best of all refreshed.

For mine owne part I am greatlie acquainted neither with the seasons, nor yet with the fish it selfe: and therefore if I should take vpon me to describe or speake of either of them absolutelie, I should enter-prise more than I am able to performe, and go in hand with a greater matter than I can well bring about. It shall suffice therefore to declare what sorts of fishes I haue most often séene, to the end I may not altogither passe ouer this chapter without the re-hersall of something, although the whole summe of that which I haue to saie be nothing indeed, if the performance of a full discourse hereof be anie thing hardlie required.

Of fishes therefore as I find fiue sorts, the flat, the round, the long, the legged and shelled: so the flat are diuided into the smooth, scaled and tailed. Of the first are the plaice, the but, the turbut, birt, floke or sea flounder, dorrie, dab, &c. Of the second the soles, &c. Of the third, our chats, maidens, king-sons, flath and thornbacke, whereof the greater be for the most part either dried and carried into other countries, or sodden, sowsed, & eaten here at home, whilest the lesser be fried or buttered; some after they be taken as prouision not to be kept long for feare of putrifaction. Under the round kinds are common-lie comprehended lumps, an vglie fish to sight, and yet verie delicat in eating, if it be kindlie dressed: the whiting (an old waiter or seruitor in the court) the rochet, sea breame, pirle, hake, sea trowt, gurnard, haddocke, cod, herring, pilchard, sprat, and such like. And these are they whereof I haue best knowledge, and be commonlie to be had in their times vpon our coasts. Under this kind also are all the great fish conteined, as the seale, the dolphin, the porpoise, the thirlepole, whale, and whatsoeuer is round of bodie be it neuer so great and huge. Of the long sort are congers, eeles, garefish, and such other of that forme. Finallie, of the legged kind we haue not manie, nei-ther haue I séene anie more of this sort than the Po-lypus called in English the lobstar, crafish or creuis, and the crab. As for the little crafishes they are not taken in the sea, but plentifullie in our fresh riuers in banks, and vnder stones, where they kéepe them-selues in most secret maner, and oft by likenesse of colour with the stones among which they lie, deceiue euen the skilfull takers of them, except they vse great diligence. Carolus Stephanus in his maison rustique,

Flat fish.

Round fish.

Long fish.

Legged fish.

ruſtique, doubted whether theſe lobſtars be fiſh or not; and in the end concludeth them to grow of the purgation of the water as doth the frog, and theſe alſo not to be eaten, for that they be ſtrong and verie hard of digeſtion. But hereof let other determine further.

I might here ſpeake of ſundrie other fiſhes now and then taken alſo vpon our coaſts: but ſith my mind is onelie to touch either all ſuch as are vſuallie gotten, or ſo manie of them onelie as I can well rehearſe vpon certeine knowledge, I thinke it good at this time to forbeare the further intreatie of them. As touching the ſhellie ſort, we haue plentie of oiſters, whoſe valure in old time for their ſweetneſſe was not vnknowne in Rome (although Mutianus as Plinie noteth lib. 32, cap. 6. preferre the Cyzicene before them) and theſe we haue in like maner of diuerſe quantities, and no leſſe varietie alſo of our muſkles and cockles. We haue in like ſort no ſmall ſtore of great whelkes, ſcalops and perewinkles, and each of them brought farre into the land from the ſea coaſt in their ſeuerall ſeaſons. And albeit our oiſters are generallie forborne in the foure hot moneths of the yeare, that is to ſaie, Maie, June, Julie, and Auguſt, which are void of the letter R: yet in ſome places they be continuallie eaten, where they be kept in pits as I haue knowne by experience. And thus much of our ſea fiſh, as a man in maner vtterlie vnacquainted with their diuerſitie of kinds: yet ſo much haue I yelded to doo, hoping hereafter to ſaie ſomewhat more, and more orderlie of them, if it ſhall pleaſe God that I may liue and haue leaſure once againe to peruſe this treatiſe, and ſo make vp a perfect peece of worke, of that which as you now ſee is verie ſlenderlie attempted and begun.

Of ſauage beaſts and vermines.

Chap. 4.

IT is none of the leaſt bleſſings wherewith God hath indued this Iland, that it is void of noiſome beaſts, as lions, beares, tigers, pardes, wolfes, & ſuch like, by means whereof our countrimen may trauell in ſafetie, & our herds and flocks remaine for the moſt part abroad in the field without anie herdman or keeper.

This is cheefelie ſpoken of the ſouth and ſouthweſt parts of the Iland. For whereas we that dwell on this ſide of the Twed, may ſafelie boaſt of our ſecuritie in this behalfe: yet cannot the Scots doo the like in euerie point within their kingdome, ſith they haue greeuous wolfes and cruell fores, beſide ſome other of like diſpoſition continuallie conuerſant among them, to the generall hinderance of their husbandmen, and no ſmall damage vnto the inhabiters of thoſe quarters. The happie and fortunate want of theſe beaſts in England is vniuerſallie aſcribed to the politike gouernement of king Edgar, who to the intent the whole countrie might once be cleanſed and clearelie rid of them, charged the conquered Welſhmen (who were then peſtered with theſe rauenous creatures aboue meaſure) to paie him a yearelie tribute of wolfes ſkinnes, to be gathered within the land. He appointed them thereto a certeine number of three hundred, with free libertie for their prince to hunt & purſue them ouer all quarters of the realme; as our chronicles doo report. Some there be which write how Ludwall prince of Wales paid yearelie to king Edgar this tribute of three hundred wolfes, whoſe carcaſes being brought into Lhoegres, were buried at Wolfpit in Cambridgeſhire, and that by means thereof within the compaſſe and terme of foure yeares, none of thoſe noiſome creatures were left to be heard of within Wales and England. Since this time alſo we read not that anie wolfe hath beene ſeene here that hath beene bred within the bounds and limits of our countrie: howbeit there haue beene diuerſe brought ouer from beyond the ſeas for greedineſſe of gaine, and to make monie onlie by the gaſing and gaping of our people vpon them, who couet oft to ſee them being ſtrange beaſts in their eies, and ſildome knowne (as I haue ſaid) in England.

Wolfes.

Tribute of wolfes ſkins.

Lions we haue had verie manie in the north parts of Scotland, and thoſe with maines of no leſſe force than they of Mauritania were ſometimes reported to be; but how and when they were deſtroied as yet I doo not read. They had in like ſort no leſſe plentie of wild and cruell buls, which the princes and their nobilitie in the frugall time of the land did hunt, and follow for the triall of their manhood, and by purſute either on horſſebacke or foot in armor; notwithſtanding that manie times they were dangerouſlie aſſailed by them. But both theſe ſauage cretures are now not heard of, or at the leaſt wiſe the later ſcarſelie known in the ſouth parts. Howbeit this I gather by their being here, that our Iland was not cut from the maine by the great deluge or flood of Noah: but long after, otherwiſe the generation of thoſe & other like creatures could not haue extended into our Ilands. For, that anie man would of ſet purpoſe repleniſh the countrie with them for his pleaſure and paſtime in hunting, I can in no wiſe beleeue.

Fores. Badgers.

Of fores we haue ſome but no great ſtore, and alſo badgers in our ſandie & light grounds, where woods, firzes, brome, and plentie of ſhrubs are to ſhrowd them in, when they be from their borrowes, and thereto warrens of conies at hand to feed vpon at will. Otherwiſe in claie, which we call the cledgie mould, we ſildom heare of anie, becauſe the moiſture and toughneſſe of the ſoile is ſuch, as will not ſuffer them to draw and make their borrowes deepe. Certes if I may freelie ſaie what I thinke, I ſuppoſe that theſe two kinds (I meane fores and badgers) are rather preſerued by gentlemen to hunt and haue paſtime withall at their owne pleaſures, than otherwiſe ſuffered to liue, as not able to be deſtroied becauſe of their great numbers. For ſuch is the ſcantitie of them here in England, in compariſon of the plentie that is to be ſeene in other countries, and ſo earneſtlie are the inhabitants bent to rot them out, that except it had beene to beare thus with the recreations of their ſuperiors in this behalfe, it could not otherwiſe haue beene choſen, but that they ſhould haue beene vtterlie deſtroied by manie yeares agone.

Beuers.

I might here intreat largelie of other vermine, as the polcat, the miniuer, the weaſell, ſtote, foimart, ſquirrill, fitchew, and ſuch like, which Cardan includeth vnder the word *Muſtela*: alſo of the otter, and likewiſe of the beuer, whoſe hinder feet and taile onlie are ſuppoſed to be fiſh. Certes the taile of this beaſt is like vnto a thin whetſtone, as the bodie vnto a monſterous rat: the beaſt alſo it ſelfe is of ſuch force in the teeth, that it will gnaw an hole through a thicke planke, or there thorough a dubble billet in a night; it loueth alſo the ſtilleſt riuers: & it is giuen to them by nature, to go by flockes vnto the woods at hand, where they gather ſticks wherewith to build their neſts, wherein their bodies lie drie aboue the water, although they ſo prouide moſt commonlie, that their tailes may hang within the ſame. It is alſo reported that their ſaid tailes are a delicate diſh, and their ſtones of ſuch medicinable force, that (as

Verto-

Vertomannus saith) foure men smelling vnto them each after other did bleed at the nose through their attractiue force, proceeding from a vehement sauour wherewith they are indued: there is greatest plentie of them in Persia, chéefelie about Balascham, from whence they and their dried cods are brought into all quarters of the world, though not without some forgerie by such as prouide them. And of all these here remembred, as the first sorts are plentifull in euerie wood and hedgerow: so these latter, especiallie the otter (for to saie the truth we haue not manie beuers, but onelie in the Teifie in Wales) is not wanting or to séeke in manie, but most streams and riuers of this Ile: but it shall suffice in this sort to haue named them as I doo finallie the marterne, a beast of the chase, although for number I worthilie doubt whether that of our beuers or marterns may be thought to be the lesse.

Marterns.

Other pernicious beasts we haue not, except you repute the great plentie of red & fallow déere, whose colours are oft garled white and blacke, all white or all blacke, and store of conies amongst the hurtfull sort. Which although that of themselues they are not offensiue at all, yet their great numbers are thought to be verie preiudiciall, and therfore iustlie reproued of many: as are in like sort our huge flocks of shéepe, whereon the greatest part of our soile is employed almost in euerie place, and yet our mutton, woll, and felles neuer the better cheape. The yong males which our fallow deere do bring forth, are commonlie named according to their seuerall ages: for the first yéere it is a fawne, the second a puckot, the third a sorell, the fourth a soare, the fift a bucke of the first head; not bearing the name of a bucke till he be fiue yéers old: and from henceforth his age is commonlie knowne by his head or horns. Howbeit this notice of his yéers is not so certeine, but that the best woodman may now and then be deceiued in that account: for in some grounds a bucke of the first head will be so well headed as another in a high rowtie soile will be in the fourth. It is also much to be maruelled at, that whereas they do yérelie mew and cast their horns: yet in fighting they neuer breake off where they do grise or mew. Furthermore, in examining the condition of our red déere, I find that the yong male is called in the first yéere a calfe, in the second a broket, the third a spaie, the fourth a stagon or stag, the fift a great stag, the first an hart, and so forth vnto his death. And with him in degrée of venerie are accounted the hare, bore, and woolfe. The fallow déere as bucks and does, are nourished in parkes, and conies in warrens and burrowes. As for hares, they run at their owne aduenture, except some gentleman or other (for his pleasure) do make an inclosure for them. Of these also the stag is accounted for the most noble game, the fallow déere is the next, then the roe, whereof we haue indifferent store; and last of all the hare, not the least in estimation, because the hunting of that séelie beast is mother to all the terms, blasts, and artificiall deuises that hunters do vse. All which (notwithstanding our custome) are passimes more méet for ladies and gentlewomen to exercise (whatsoeuer Franciscus Patritius saith to the contrarie in his institution of a prince) than for men of courage to follow, whose hunting should practise their armes in tasting of their manhood, and dealing with such beasts as eftsoones will turne againe, and offer them the hardest rather than their horses feet, which manie times may carrie them with dishonour from the field. Surelie this noble kind of hunting onelie did great princes frequent in times past, as it may yet appéere by the histories of their times, especiallie of Alexander, who at vacant times hunted the tiger, the pard, the bore, and the beare, but most willinglie lions, because of the honorable estimation of that beast; insomuch that at one time he caused an odd or chosen lion (for force and beautie) to be let forth vnto him hand to hand, with whome he had much businesse, albeit that in the end he ouerthrew and killed the beast. Hereunto beside that which we read of the vsuall hunting of the princes and kings of Scotland, of the wild bull, woolfe, &c: the example of king Henrie the first of England, who disdaining (as he termed them) to follow or pursue cowards, cherished of set purpose sundrie kinds of wild beasts, as bears, libards, ounces, lions at Woodstocke, & one or two other places in England, which he walled about with hard stone, An. 1120, and where he would often fight with some one of them hand to hand, when they did turne againe and make anie raise vpon him: but chéeflie he loued to hunt the lion and the bore, which are both verie dangerous exercises, especiallie that with the lion, except some policie be found wherwith to trouble his eie sight in anie manner of wise. For though the bore be fierce, and hath learned by nature to harden his flesh and skin against the trées, to sharpen his teeth, and defile himselfe with earth, thereby to prohibit the entrance of the weapons: yet is the sport somewhat more easie, especiallie where two stand so neere together, that the one (if néed be) may helpe and be a succour to the other. Neither would he cease for all this to follow his pastime, either on horsseback or on foot, as occasion serued, much like the yonger Cyrus. I haue read of wild bores and bulles to haue béene about Blackleie néere Manchester, whither the said prince would now and then resort also for his solace in that behalfe, as also to come by those excellent falcons then bred thereabouts; but now they are gone, especiallie the bulles, as I haue said alreadie.

Stags.

Hinds haue béene milked

King Henrie the fift in his beginning thought it a méere scotterie to pursue anie fallow déere with hounds or greihounds, but supposed himselfe alwaies to haue done a sufficient act when he had tired them by his owne trauell on foot, and so killed them with his hands in the vpshot of that exercise and end of his recreation. Certes herein he resembled Polymnestor Milesius, of whome it is written, how he ran so swiftlie, that he would and did verie often ouertake hares for his pleasure, which I can hardlie beleeue: and therefore much lesse that one Lidas did run so lightlie and swiftlie after like game, that as he passed ouer the sand, he left not so much as the prints of his feet behind him. And thus did verie manie in like sort with the hart (as I do read) but this I thinke was verie long agone, when men were farre higher and swifter than they are now: and yet I denie not, but rather grant willinglie that the hunting of the red deere is a right princelie pastime. In diuerse forren countries they cause their red and fallow déere to draw the plough, as we do our oxen and horsses. In some places also they milke their hinds as we do here our kine and goats. And the experience of this latter is noted by Giraldus Cambrensis to haue beene séene and vsed in Wales, where he did eat cheese made of hinds milke, at such time as Baldwine archbishop of Canturburie preached the croisad there, when they were both lodged in a gentlemans house, whose wife of purpose kept a deirie of the same. As for the plowing with oxes (which I suppose to be vnlikelie) because they are (in mine opinion) vntameable and alkes a thing commonlie vsed in the east countries; here is no place to speake of it, since we want these kind of beasts, neither is it my purpose to intreat at large of other things than are to be séene in England. Wherfore I will omit to saie anie more of wild and sauage beasts at this time, thinking my selfe to haue spoken alreadie sufficientlie

ſufficientlie of this matter, if not too much in the iudgement of the curious.

Of hawkes and rauenous foules.

Chap. 5.

I Can not make (as yet) anie iuſt report how manie ſorts of hawkes are bred within this realme. Howbeit which of thoſe that are vſuallie had among vs are diſcloſed within this land, I thinke it more eaſie and leſſe difficult to ſet downe. Firſt of all therefore that we haue the egle, common experience doth euidentlie confirme, and diuerſe of our rockes whereon they breed, if ſpeach did ſerue, could well declare the ſame. But the moſt excellent aierie of all is not much from Cheſter, at a caſtell called Dinas Bren, ſometime builded by Brennus, as our writers do remember. Certes this caſtell is no great thing, but yet a pile ſometime verie ſtrong and inacceſſible for enimies, though now all ruinous as manie other are. It ſtandeth vpon an hard rocke, in the ſide whereof an eagle breedeth euerie yeare. This alſo is notable in the ouerthrow of hir neſt (a thing oft attempted) that he which goeth thither muſt be ſure of two large baſkets, and ſo prouide to be let downe thereto, that he may ſit in the one and be couered with the other: for otherwiſe the eagle would kill him, and teare the fleſh from his bones with hir ſharpe talons though his apparell were neuer ſo good. The common people call this foule an erne, but as I am ignorant whither the word eagle and erne do ſhew anie difference of ſex, I meane betweene the male and female, ſo we haue great ſtore of them. And nere to the places where they breed, the commons complaine of great harme to be done by them in their fields: for they are able to beare a yong lambe or kid vnto their neaſts, therwith to feed their yong and come againe for more. I was once of the opinion that there was a diuerſitie of kind betweene the eagle and the erne, till I perceiued that our nation vſed the word erne in moſt places for the eagle. We haue alſo the lanner and the lanneret: the terſell and the goſehawke: the muſket and the ſparhawke: the iacke and the hobbie: and finallie ſome (though verie few) marlions. And theſe are all the hawkes that I do heare as yet to be bred within this Iland. Howbeit as theſe are not wanting with vs, ſo are they not verie plentifull: wherefore ſuch as delite in hawking do make their chiefe puruiance & prouiſion for the ſame out of Danſke, Germanie, and the Eaſtcountries, from whence we haue them in great abundance, and at exceſſiue prices, whereas at home and where they be bred they are ſold for almoſt right naught, and vſuallie brought to the markets as chickins, pullets and pigeons are with vs, and there bought vp to be eaten (as we do the aforeſaid foules) almoſt of euerie man. It is ſaid that the ſparhawke preieth not vpon the foule in the morning that ſhe taketh ouer euen, but as loth to haue double benefit by one ſelie foule, doth let it go to make ſome thift for it ſelfe. But hereof as I ſtand in ſome doubt, ſo this I find among the writers worthie the noting, that the ſparhawke is enimie to yong children, as is alſo the ape; but of the pecocke ſhe is maruellouſlie afraid & ſo appalled, that all courage & ſtomach for a time is taken from hir vpon the ſight thereof. But to proceed with the reſt. Of other rauenous birds we haue alſo verie great plentie, as the buſſard, the kite, the ringtaile, dunkite, & ſuch as often annoie our countrie dames by ſpoiling of their yong breeds of chickens, ducks and goſlings, wherevnto our verie rauens and crowes haue learned alſo the waie: and ſo much are our rauens giuen to this kind of ſpoile, that ſome idle and curious heads of ſet purpoſe haue manned, reclaimed, and vſed them in ſtead of hawkes, when other could not be had. Some do imagine that the rauen ſhould be the vulture, and I was almoſt perſuaded in times paſt to beleeue the ſame: but finding of late a deſcription of the vulture, which better agreeth with the forme of a ſecond kind of eagle, I freelie surceaſe to be longer of that opinion: for as it hath after a ſort the ſhape, colour, and quantitie of an eagle, ſo are the legs and feet more hairie and rough, their ſides vnder their wings better couered with thicke downe (wherewith alſo their gorge or a part of their breſt vnder their throtes is armed, and not with fethers) than are the like parts of the eagle, and vnto which portraiture there is no member of the rauen (who is alſo verie blacke of colour) that can haue anie reſemblance: we haue none of them in England to my knowledge, if we haue, they go generallie vnder the name of eagle or erne. Neither haue we the pygargus or gripe, wherefore I haue no occaſion to intreat further. I haue ſeene the carren crowes ſo cunning alſo by their owne induſtrie of late, that they haue vſed to ſoare ouer great riuers (as the Thames for example) & ſuddenlie comming downe haue caught a ſmall fiſh in their feet & gone awaie withall without wetting of their wings. And euen at this preſent the aforeſaid riuer is not without ſome of them, a thing (in my opinion) not a little to be wondered at. We haue alſo oſprais which breed with vs in parks and woods, wherby the keepers of the ſame do reaps in breeding time no ſmall commoditie: for ſo ſone almoſt as the yong are hatched, they tie them to the but ends or ground ends of ſundrie trees, where the old ones finding them, do neuer ceaſe to bring fiſh vnto them, which the keepers take & eat from them, and commonlie is ſuch as is well fed, or not of the worſt ſort. It hath not beene my hap hitherto to ſee anie of theſe foules, & partlie through mine owne negligence: but I heare that it hath one foot like an hawke to catch hold withall, and another reſembling a goſe wherewith to ſwim; but whether it be ſo or not ſo, I refer the further ſearch and triall thereof vnto ſome other. This neuertheles is certeine that both aliue and dead, yea euen hir verie oile is a deadlie terrour to ſuch fiſh as come within the wind of it. There is no cauſe wherefore I ſhould deſcribe the cormorant amongſt hawkes, of which ſome be blacke and manie pied chiefelie about the Ile of Elie, where they are taken for the night rauen, except I ſhould call him a water hawke. But ſith ſuch dealing is not conuenient, let vs now ſee what may be ſaid of our venemous wormes, and how manie kinds we haue of them within our realme and countrie.

Of venemous beaſts.

Chap. 6.

IF I ſhould go about to make anie long diſcourſe of venemous beaſts or wormes bred in England, I ſhould attempt more than occaſion it ſelfe would readilie offer, ſith we haue verie few worms, but no beaſts at all, that are thought by their naturall qualities to be either venemous or hurtfull. Firſt of all therefore we haue the adder (in our old Saxon tong called an atter) which

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some men dō not rashlie take to be the viper. Certes if it be so, then is it not the viper author of the death of hir * parents, as some historiographes affirme; and thereto Encelius a late writer in his *De re metallica, lib. 3. cap. 38.* where he maketh mention of a she adder which he saw in Sala, whose wombe (as he saith) was eaten out after a like fashion, hir yong ones lieng by hir in the sunne shine, as if they had béene earth worms. Neuertheless as he nameth them *viperas*; so he calleth the male Echis, and the female Echidna, concluding in the end that Echis is the same serpent which his countrimen to this daie call Ein atter, as I haue also noted before out of a Saxon dictionarie. For my part I am persuaded that the slaughter of their parents is either not true at all, or not alwaies (although I doubt not but that nature hath right well prouided to inhibit their superfluous increase by some meanes or other) and so much the rather am I led hereunto, for that I gather by Nicander, that of all venemous worms the viper onelie bringeth out hir yong aliue, and therefore is called in Latine *Vipera quasi viuipara*: but of hir owne death he doth not (to my remembrance) saie any thing. It is testified also by other in other words, & to the like sense, that *Echis id est vipera sola ex serpentibus non ouased animalia parit*. And it may well be, for I remember that I haue read in Philostratus *De vita Appollonij*, how he saw a viper licking hir yong. I did sée an adder once my selfe that laie (as I thought) sléeping on a moulehill, out of whose mouth came eleuen yong adders of twelue or thirteene inches in length a péece, which plaied to and fro in the grasse one with another, till some of them espied me. So soone therefore as they saw my face, they ran againe into the mouth of their dam, whome I killed, and then found each of them shrowded in a distinct cell or pannicle in hir bellie, much like vnto a soft white iellie, which maketh me to be of the opinion that our adder is the viper indéed. The colour of their skin is for the most part like rustie iron or iron grate: but such as be verie old resemble a ruddie blew, & as once in the yeare, to wit, in Aprill or about the beginning of Maie they cast their old skins (whereby as it is thought their age reneweth) so their stinging bringeth death without present remedie be at hand, the wounded neuer ceasing to swell, neither the venem to worke till the skin of the one breake, and the other ascend vpward to the hart, where it finisheth the naturall effect, except the iuice of dragons (in Latine called *Dracunculus minor*) be spéedilie ministred and dronke in strong ale, or else some other medicine taken of like force, that may counteruaile and ouercome the venem of the same. The length of them is most commonlie two foot and somwhat more, but seldome doth it extend vnto two foot six inches, except it be in some rare and monstrous one: whereas our snakes are much longer, and séene sometimes to surmount a yard, or three foot, although their poison be nothing so grieuous and deadlie as the others. Our adders lie in winter vnder stones, as Aristotle also saith of the viper Lib. 8. cap. 15. and in holes of the earth, rotten stubs of trees, and amongst the dead leaues: but in the heat of the summer they come abroad, and lie either round on heapes, or at length vpon some hillocke, or elsewhere in the grasse. They are found onelie in our woodland countries and highest grounds, where sometimes (though seldome) a speckled stone called Echites, in dutch Ein atter stein, is gotten out of their dried carcases, which diuers report to be good against their poison. As for our snakes, which in Latine are properlie named *Angues*, they commonlie are séene in moores, fens, lomie wals, and low bottoms.

And as we haue great store of todes where adders commonlie are found, so do frogs abound where snakes do keepe their residence. We haue also the sloworme, which is blacke and graiesh of colour, and somewhat shorter than an adder. I was at the killing once of one of them, and thereby perceiued that she was not so called of anie want of nimble motion, but rather of the contrarie. Neuertheless we haue a blind worme to be found vnder logs in woods, and timber that hath lien long in a place, which some also do call (and vpon better ground) by the name of slow worms, and they are knowen easilie by their more or lesse varietie of striped colours, drawen long wales from their heads, their whole bodies little exceeding a foot in length, & yet is there venem deadlie. This also is not to be omitted, that now and then in our fennie countries, other kinds of serpents are found of greater quantitie than either our adder or our snake: but as these are not ordinarie and oft to be séene, so I meane not to intreat of them among our common annoiances. Neither haue we the scorpion, a plague of God sent not long since into Italie, and whose poison (as Apollodorus saith) is white, neither the tarantula or Neopolitane spider, whose poison bringeth death, except musike be at hand. Wherfore I suppose our countrie to be the more happie (I meane in part) for that it is void of these two grieuous annoiances, wherewith other nations are plagued.

We haue also eels, both of the land and water, and likewise the noisome swifts, whereof to saie anie more it should be but losse of time, sith they are well knowne; and no region to my knowledge found to be void of manie of them. As for flies (sith it shall not be amisse a little to touch them also) we haue none that can do hurt or hinderance naturallie vnto anie: for whether they be cut wasted, or whole bodied, they are void of poison and all venemous inclination. The cut or girt wasted (for so I English the word Insecta) are the hornets, waspes, bées, and such like, whereof we haue great store, and of which an opinion is conceiued, that the first do breed of the corruption of dead horsses, the second of peares and apples corrupted, and the last of kine and oxen: which may be true, especiallie the first and latter in some parts of the beast, and not their whole substances, as also in the second, sith we haue neuer waspes, but when our fruit beginneth to waxe ripe. In déed Virgil and others speake of a generation of bées, by killing or smothering of a bruised bullocke or calfe, and laieng his bowels or his flesh wrapped vp in his hide in a close house for a certeine season; but how true it is hitherto I haue not tried. Yet sure I am of this, that no one liuing creature corrupteth without the production of another; as we may sée by our selues, whose flesh doth alter into lice; and also in sheepe for excessiue numbers of flesh flies, if they be suffered to lie vnburied or vneaten by the dogs and swine, who often and happilie preuent such needlesse generations.

As concerning bées, I thinke it good to remember, that whereas some ancient writers affirme it to be a commoditie wanting in our Iland, it is now found to be nothing so. In old time peraduenture we had none in déed, but in my daies there is such plentie of them in maner euerie where, that in some vplandish townes, there are one hundred, or two hundred hiues of them, although the said hiues are not so huge as those of the east countrie, but far lesse, as not able to conteine aboue one bushell of corne, or fiue pecks at the most. Plinie (a man that of set purpose deliteth to write of wonders) speaking of honie noteth that in the north regions the hiues in his time were of such quantitie, that some one combe conteined eight foot in length, & yet (as it should séeme) he speketh not of the greatest. For in Podolia, which is now subiect to the king of Poland, their hiues are so great,

*Galenus de Theriaca ad Pisonem, *Plin. lib. 10. cap. 62.

Adder or viper.

Séé Aristotle, Animalium lib. 5. cap. vltimo, & Theophrast. lib. 7. cap. 13.

Snakes.

Sol. cap. 40. Plin. lib. 37. cap. 11.

Todes. Frogs.

Sloworme.

Eels. Swifts.

Flies.

Cutwasted. Whole bodied. Hornets. Waspes.

great and combes so abundant, that huge boyes ouerturning and falling into them, are drowned in the honie, before they can recouer & find the meanes to come out.

Honie. Our honie also is taken and reputed to be the best, because it is harder, better wrought, and clenlier vessell vp, than that which commeth from beyond the sea, where they stampe and streine their combs, bées, and yong blowings altogither into the stuffe, as I haue béene informed. In vse also of medicine our physicians and apothecaries eschew the forren, especiallie that of Spaine and Ponthus, by reason of a venemous qualitie naturallie planted in the same, as some write, and chose the home made: not onelie by reason of our soile, which hath no lesse plentie of wild thime growing therein than in Sicilia, & about Athens, and maketh the best stuffe; as also for that it breedeth (being gotten in harvest time) lesse choler, and which is oftentimes (as I haue séene by experience) so white as sugar, and corned as if it were salt. Our hiues are made commonlie of rie straw, and wadled about with bramble quarters: but some make the same of wicker, and cast them ouer with claie. Mée cherish none in trées, but set our hiues somewhere on the warmest side of the house, prouiding that they may stand drie and without danger both of the mouse and moth. This farthermore is to be noted, that whereas in vessels of oile, that which is néerest the top is counted the finest, and of wine that in the middest: so of honie the best which is heauiest and moistest is alwaies next the bottome, and euermore casteth and driueth his dregs vpward toward the verie top, contrarie to the nature of other liquid substances, whose grounds and lées do generallie settle downewards. And thus much as by the waie of our bées and English honie.

As for the whole bodied, as the cantharides, and such venemous creatures of the same kind, to be abundantlie found in other countries, we heare not of them: yet haue we bétles, horsflies, turdbugs or dorres (called in Latine *Scarabei*) the locust or the grashopper (which to me doo séeme to be one thing, as I will anon declare) and such like, whereof let other intreat that make an exercise in catching of flies, but a far greater sport in offering them to spiders. As did Domitian sometime, and an other prince yet liuing, who delited so much to sée the follie combats betwixt a stout flie and an old spider, that diuerse men haue had great rewards giuen them for their painfull prouision of flies made onelie for this purpose. Some parasites also in the time of the aforesaid emperour, (when they were disposed to laugh at his follie, and yet would séeme in appearance to gratifie his fantasticall head with some shew of dutifull demenour) could deuise to set their lord on worke, by letting a fleshflie priuilie into his chamber, which he forthwith would egerlie haue hunted (all other businesse set apart) and neuer ceased till he had caught hir into his fingers: whereupon arose the prouerbe, *Ne musca quidem*, vttered first by Vibius Priscus, who being asked whether anie bodie was with Domitian, answered, *Ne musca quidem*, whereby he noted his follie. There are some cockescombs here and there in England, learning it abroad as men transregionate, which make account also of this pastime, as of a notable matter, telling what a fight is séene betwene them, if either of them be lustie and couragious in his kind. One also hath made a booke of the spider and the flie, wherein he dealeth so profoundlie, and beyond all measure of skill, that neither he himselfe that made it, neither anie one that readeth it, can reach vnto the meaning therof. But if those follie fellows in stéed of the straw that they thrust into the flies tale (a great iniurie no doubt to such a noble champion) would bestow the cost to set a foles cap vpon their owne heads: then might they with more securitie and lesse reprehension behold these notable battels.

Now as concerning the locust, I am led by diuerse of my countrie, who (as they say) were either in Germanie, Italie, or Pannonia, 1542, when those nations were greatly annoied with that kind of flie, and affirme verie constantlie, that they saw none other creature than the grashopper, during the time of that annoiance, which was said to come to them from the Heotides. In most of our translations also of the bible, the word *Locusta* is Englished a grashopper, and thereunto Leuit. 11. it is reputed among the cleane food, otherwise John the Baptist would neuer haue liued with them in the wildernesse. In Barbarie, Numidia, and sundrie other places of Affrica, as they haue béene, so are they eaten to this daie powdred in barels, and therefore the people of those parts are called Acedophagi: neuertheles they shorten the life of the eaters by the production at the last of an irksome and filthie disease. In India they are three foot long, in Ethiopia much shorter, but in England seldome aboue an inch. As for the cricket called in Latin *Cicada*, he hath some likelihood, but not verie great, with the grashoper, and therefore he is not to be brought in as an vmpier in this case. Finallie Matthiolus, and so manie as describe the locust, doo set downe none other forme than that of our grashopper, which maketh me so much the more to rest vpon my former imagination, which is, that the locust and grashopper are one.

Séé Diodorus Siculus.

Of our English dogs and *their qualities.*

Chap. 7.

THere is no countrie that make (as I take it) compare with ours, in number, excellencie, and diuersitie of dogs. And therefore if Polycrates of Samia were now aliue, he would not send to Epyro for such merchandize: but to his further cost prouide them out of Britaine, as an ornament to his countrie, and péece of husbandrie for his common wealth, which he furnished of set purpose with Molossian and Lacaonian dogs, as he did the same also with shéepe out of Attica and Miletum, gotes from Scyro and Naxus, swine out of Sicilia, and artificers out of other places. Howbeit the learned doctor Caius in his Latine treatise vnto Gesner *De canibus Anglicis*, bringeth them all into three sorts: that is, the gentle kind seruing for game: the homelie kind apt for sundrie vses: and the currish kind mét for many toies. For my part I can say no more of them than he hath done alredie. Wherefore I will here set downe onelie a summe of that which he hath written of their names and natures, with the addition of an example or two now latelie had in experience, whereby the courages of our mastiffes shall yet more largelie appeare. As for those of other countries I haue not to deale with them: neither care I to report out of Plinie, that dogs were sometime killed in sacrifice, and sometime their whelps eaten as a delicate dish, Lib. 29. cap. 4. Wherefore if anie man be disposed to read of them, let him resort to Plinie lib. 8. cap. 40. who (among other wonders) telleth of an armie of two hundred dogs, which fetched a king of the Garamantes out of captiuitie, maugre the resistance of his aduersaries: also to Cardan, lib. 10. *De animalibus*, Aristotle, &c: who write maruels of them, but none further from credit than Cardan, who

who is not afraid to compare some of them for greatnesse with oxen, and some also for smalnesse vnto the little field mouse. Neither doo I find anie far writer of great antiquitie, that maketh mention of our dogs, Strabo excepted, who saith that the Galles did somtime buy vp all our mastiffes, to serue in the forewards of their battels, wherein they resembled the Colophonians, Caskabalenses of Calicute and Phenicia, of whom Plinie also speaketh, but they had them not from vs.

The first sort therefore he diuideth either into such as rowse the beast, and continue the chase, or springeth the bird, and bewraieth hir flight by pursute. And as these are commonlie called spaniels, so the other are named hounds, whereof he maketh eight sorts, of which the formost excelleth in perfect smelling, the second in quicke espieng, the third in swiftnesse and quickenesse, the fourth in smelling and nimblenesse, &c: and the last in subtiltie and deceitfulnesse. These (saith Strabo) are most apt for game, and called *Sagaces* by a generall name, not onelie bicause of their skill in hunting, but also for that they know their owne and the names of their fellowes most exactlie. For if the hunter see anie one to follow skilfullie, and with likelihood of good successe, he biddeth the rest to barke and follow such a dog, and they eftsoones obeie so soone as they heare his name. The first kind of these are also commonlie called harriers, whose game is the fox, the hare, the wolfe (if we had anie) hart, bucke, badger, otter, polcat, lopstart, wesell, conie, &c: the second hight a terrer, and it hunteth the badger and graie onelie: the third a bloudhound, whose office is to follow the fierce, and now and then to pursue a theefe or beast by his drie foot: the fourth hight a gasehound, who hunteth by the eie: the fift a greihound, cherished for his strength, swiftnes, and stature, commended by Bratius in his *De venatione*, and not vnremembred by Hercules Stroza in a like treatise, but aboue all other those of Britaine, where he saith:

——*& magna spectandi mole Britanni*,

also by Nemesianus, libro Cynegeticôn, where he saith:

Diuisa Britannia mittit
Veloces nostriq; orbis venantibus aptos,

of which sort also some be smooth, of sundrie colours, and some shake haired: the firt a liemer, that excelleth in smelling and swift running: the seuenth a tumbler: and the eight a theefe, whose offices (I meane of the latter two) incline onelie to deceit, wherein they are oft so skilfull, that few men would thinke so mischeefous a wit to remaine in such sillie creatures. Hauing made this enumeration of dogs, which are apt for the chase and hunting, he commeth next to such as serue the falcons in their times, whereof he maketh also two sorts. One that findeth his game on the land, an other that putteth vp such foule as keepeth in the water: and of these this is commonlie most vsuall for the net or traine, the other for the hawke, as he doth shew at large. Of the first he saith, that they haue no peculiar names assigned to them seuerallie, but each of them is called after the bird which by naturall appointment he is allotted to hunt or serue, for which consideration some be named dogs for the feasant, some for the falcon, and some for the partrich. Howbeit, the common name for all is spaniell (saith he) and thereupon alludeth, as if these kinds of dogs had bin brought hither out of Spaine. In like sort we haue of water spaniels in their kind. The third sort of dogs of the gentle kind, is the spaniell gentle, or comforter, or (as the common terme is) the sitting hound, and those are called *Melitei*, of the Iland Malta, from whence they were brought hither. These are little and prettie, proper and fine, and sought out far and neere to satisfie the nice delicacie of daintie dames, and wanton womens willes; instruments of follie to plaie and dallie withall, in trifling away the treasure of time, to withdraw their minds from more commendable exercises, and to content their corrupt concupiscences with vaine disport, a sillie poore shift to shun their irksome idlenes. These Sybariticall puppies, the smaller they be (and thereto if they haue an hole in the foreparts of their heads) the better they are accepted, the more pleasure also they prouoke, as meet plaifellowes for minsing mistresses to beare in their bosoms, to keepe companie withall in their chambers, to succour with kéepe in bed, and nourish with meat at bord, to lie in their laps, and licke their lips as they lie (like yong Dianaes) in their wagons and coches. And good reason it should be so, for courseneesse with fineneesse hath no fellowship, but featnesse with neatnesse hath neighbourhead inough. That plausible prouerbe therefore verefied sometime vpon a tyrant, namelie that he loued his sow better than his sonne, may well be applied to some of this kind of people, who delight more in their dogs, that are depriued of all possibilitie of reason, than they doo in children that are capable of wisedome & iudgement. Yea, they oft feed them of the best, where the poore mans child at their doores can hardlie come by the worst. But the former abuse peraduenture reigneth where there hath beene long want of issue, elsewhere barrennesse is the best blossome of beautie: or finallie, where poore mens children for want of their owne issue are not readie to be had. It is thought of some that it is verie wholesome for a weake stomach to beare such a dog in the bosome, as it is for him that hath the palsie to feele the dallie smell and sauour of a fox. But how truelie this is affirmed let the learned iudge: onelie it shall suffice for Doctor Caius to haue said thus much of spaniels and dogs of the gentle kind.

Homelie kind of dogs.

Dogs of the homelie kind, are either shepheards curs, or mastiffes. The first are so common, that it needeth me not to speake of them. Their vse also is so well knowne in keeping the heard togither (either when they grase or go before the shepheard) that it should be but in vaine to spend anie time about them. Wherefore I will leaue this curre vnto his owne kind, and go in hand with the mastiffe, tie dog, or banddog, so called bicause manie of them are tied vp in chaines and strong bonds, in the daie time, for doing hurt abroad, which is an huge dog, stubborne, ouglie, eager, burthenous of bodie (& therefore but of little swiftnesse) terrible and fearfull to behold, and oftentimes more fierce and fell than anie Archadian or Corsican cur. Our Englishmen to the intent that these dogs may be more cruell and fierce, assist nature with some art, vse and custome. For although this kind of dog be capable of courage, violent, valiant, stout and bold: yet will they increase these their stomachs by teaching them to bait the beare, the bull, the lion, and other such like cruell and bloudie beasts, (either brought ouer or kept vp at home, for the same purpose) without anie collar to defend their throats, and oftentimes thereto they traine them vp in fighting and wrestling with a man (hauing for the safegard of his life either a pike staffe, club, sword, privie coate) wherby they become the more fierce and cruell vnto strangers. The Caspians made so much account sometime of such great dogs, that euerie able man would nourish sundrie of them in his house of set purpose, to the end they should deuoure their carcases after their deaths, thinking the dogs bellies to be the most honourable sepulchers. The common people also followed the same rate, and therfore there were tie dogs kept vp by publike ordinance, to deuoure them after their deaths: by means whereof these beasts became the more eger, and with great

Tie dogs.

difficultie

difficultie after a while restreined from falling vpon the liuing. But whither am I digressed? In returning therefore to our owne, I saie that of mastiffes, some barke onelie with fierce and open mouth but will not bite, some do both barke and bite, but the cruellest do either not barke at all, or bite before they barke, and therefore are more to be feared than anie of the other. They take also their name of the word mase and théefe (or master théefe if you will) bicause they often stound and put such persons to their shifts in townes and villages, and are the principall causes of their apprehension and taking. The force which is in them surmounteth all beléefe, and the fast hold which they take with their téeth excéedeth all credit: for three of them against a beare, foure against a lion are sufficient to trie maistries with them. King Henrie the seauenth, as the report goeth, commanded all such curres to be hanged, bicause they durst presume to fight against the lion, who is their king and souereigne. The like he did with an excellent falcon, as some saie, bicause he feared not hand to hand to match with an eagle, willing his falconers in his owne presence to pluck off his head after he was taken downe, saieng that it was not méet for anie subiect to offer such wrong vnto his lord and superiour, wherein he had a further meaning. But if king Henrie the seauenth had liued in our time, what would he haue done to one English mastiffe, which alone and without anie helpe at all pulled downe first an huge beare, then a pard, and last of all a lion, each after other before the French king in one date, when the lord Buckhurst was ambassador vnto him, and whereof if I should write the circumstances, that is, how he toke his aduantage being let lose vnto them, and finallie draue them into such exceeding feare, that they were all glad to run awaie when he was taken from them, I should take much paines, and yet reape but small credit: wherefore it shall suffice to haue said thus much thereof. Some of our mastiffes will rage onelie in the night, some are to be tied vp both daie and night. Such also as are suffered to go lose about the house and yard, are so gentle in the daie time, that children may ride on their backs, & plaie with them at their pleasures. Diuerse of them likewise are of such gelousie ouer their maister and whosoeuer of his household, that if a stranger do imbrace or touch anie of them, they will fall fiercelie vpon them, vnto their extreame mischéefe if their furie be not preuented. Such an one was the dog of Nichomedes king sometime of Bithinia, who séeing Consigne the quéene to imbrace and kisse hir husband as they walked togither in a garden, did teare hir all to péeces, mauger his resistance, and the present aid of such as attended on them. Some of them moreouer will suffer a stranger to come in and walke about the house or yard where him listeth, without giuing ouer to follow him: but if he put forth his hand to touch anie thing, then will they flie vpon him and kill him if they may. I had one my selfe once, which would not suffer anie man to bring in his weapon further than my gate: neither those that were of my house to be touched in his presence. Or if I had beaten anie of my children, he would gentlie haue assaied to catch the rod in his téeth and take it out of my hand, or else pluck downe their clothes to saue them from the stripes: which in my opinion is not vnworthie to be noted. And thus much of our mastiffes, creatures of no lesse faith and loue towards their maisters than horsses; as may appeare euen by the confidence that Masinissa reposed in them, in so much that mistrusting his household seruants he made him a gard of dogs, which manie a time deliuered him from their treasons and conspiracies, euen by their barking and biting, nor of lesse force than the Molossian race, brought from Epiro into some countries, which the poets feigne to haue originall from the brasen dog that Vulcan made, and gaue to Jupiter, who also deliuered the same to Europa, she to Procris, and Procris to Cephalus, as Iulius Pollux noteth, lib. 5. cap. 5: neither vnequall in carefulnesse to the mastiffe of Alexander Phereus, who by his onelie courage and attendance kept his maister long time from slaughter, till at the last he was removed by policie, and the tyrant killed sléeping: the storie goeth thus. Thebe the wife of the said Phereus and hir three brethren conspired the death of hir husband, who fearing the dog onelie, she found the means to allure him from his chamber doore by faire means, vnto another house hard by, whilest they should execute their purpose. Neuertheless, when they came to the bed where he laie sléeping, they waxed faint harted, till she did put them in choise, either that they should dispatch him at once, or else that she hir selfe would wake hir husband, and giue him warning of his enimies, or at the least wise bring in the dog vpon them, which they feared most of all: and therefore quicklie dispatched him.

Some barke and bite not.

Some bite and barke not.

The last sort of dogs consisteth of the currish kind méet for manie toies: of which the whippet or prickeard curre is one. Some men call them warners, bicause they are good for nothing else but to barke and giue warning when anie bodie doth stirre or lie in wait about the house in the night season. Certes it is vnpossible to describe these curs in anie order, bicause they haue no anie one kind proper vnto themselues, but are a confused companie mixt of all the rest. The second sort of them are called turne spits, whose office is not vnknowne to anie. And as these are onelie reserued for this purpose, so in manie places our mastiffes (beside the vse which tinkers haue of them in carieng their heauie budgets) are made to draw water in great wheéles out of déepe wels, going much like vnto those which are framed for our turne spits, as is to be séene at Roiston, where this feat is often practised. Besides these also we haue sholts or curs dailie brought out of Iseland, and much made of among vs, bicause of their sawcinesse and quarrelling. Moreouer they bite verie sore, and loue candles excédinglie, as do the men and women of their countrie: but I may saie no more of them, bicause they are not bred with vs. Yet this will I make report of by the waie, for pastimes sake, that when a great man of those parts came of late into one of our ships which went thither for fish, to see the forme and fashion of the same, his wife apparrelled in fine sables, abiding on the decke whilest hir husband was vnder the hatches with the mariners, espied a pound or two of candles hanging at the mast, and being loth to stand there idle alone, she fell to and eat them vp euerie one, supposing hir selfe to haue béene at a follie banket, and shewing verie plesant gesture when hir husband came vp againe vnto hir.

The last kind of toiesh curs are named dansers, and those being of a mongrell sort also, are taught & exercised to danse in measure at the musicall sound of an instrument, as at the iust stroke of a drum, sweet accent of the citharne, and pleasant harmonie of the harpe, shewing manie trickes by the gesture of their bodies: as to stand bolt vpright, to lie flat vpon the ground, to turne round as a ring, holding their tailes in their téeth, to saw and beg for meat, to take a mans cap from his head, and sundrie such properties, which they learne of their idle rogish masters whose instruments they are to gather gaine, as old apes clothed in motleie, and coloured short wasted iackets are for the like vagabunds, who séeke no bet-

ter liuing, than that which they may get by fond pastime and idlenesse. I might here intreat of other dogs, as of those which are bred betweene a bitch and a woolfe, and called *Lycisca*: a thing verie often seene in France saith Franciscus Patricius in his common wealth, as procured of set purpose, and learned as I thinke of the Indians, who tie their sault bitches often in woods, that they might be loined by tigers: also betweene a bitch and a fox, or a beare and a mastiffe. But as we vtterlie want the first sort, except they be brought vnto vs: so it happeneth sometime, that the other two are ingendered and seene at home amongst vs. But all the rest heretofore remembred in this chapter, there is none more ouglie and odious in sight, cruell and fierce in deed, nor vntractable in hand, than that which is begotten betweene the beare and the bandog. For whatsoeuer he catcheth hold of, he taketh it so fast, that a man may sooner teare and rend his bodie in sunder, than get open his mouth to separate his chaps. Certes he regardeth neither woolfe, beare, nor lion, and therfore may well be compared with those two dogs which were sent to Alexander out of India (procreated as it is thought betweene a mastiffe and male tiger, as be those also of Hircania) or to them that are bred in Archadia, where copulation is oft seene betweene lions and bitches, as the like is in France (as I said) betweene shee woolfes and dogs, whereof let this suffice; sith the further tractation of them doth not concerne my purpose, more than the confutation of Cardans talke, *De subt. lib.* 10. who saith, that after manie generations, dogs do become woolfes, and contrariwise; which if it were true, than could not England be without manie woolfes: but nature hath set a difference betweene them, not onelie in outward forme, but also in inward disposition of their bones, wherefore it is impossible that his assertion can be sound.

Of our saffron, and the dressing thereof.

Chap. 8.

AS the saffron of England, which Platina reckneth among spices, is the most excellent of all other: for it giueth place neither to that of Cilicia, whereof Solinus speaketh, neither to anie that commeth from Cilicia, where it groweth vpon the mount Taurus, Tmolus, Italie, Ætolia, Sicilia, or Licia, in sweetnesse, tincture, and continuance; so of that which is to be had amongst vs, the same that grows about Saffron Walden, somtime called Waldenburg, in the edge of Essex, first of all planted there in the time of Edward the third, and that of Glocester shire and those westerlie parts, which some thinke to be better than that of Walden, surmounteth all the rest, and therefore beareth worthilie the higher price, by six pence or twelue pence most commonlie in the pound. The root of the herbe that beareth this commoditie is round, much like vnto an indifferent chestnut, & yet it is not cloued as the lillie, nor flaked as the scallion, but hath a sad substance *Inter bulbosa*, as *Orchis*, *hyacinthus orientalis*, and *Statyrion*. The colour of the rind is not much differing from the innermost shell of a chestnut, although it be not altogither so brickle as is the pill of an onion. So long as the leafe florisheth the root is litle & small; but when the grasse is withered, the head increaseth and multiplieth, the fillets also or small roots die, so that when the time doth come to take them vp, they haue no roots at all, but so continue vntill September that they do grow againe: and before the chiue be grounded the smallest heads are also most esteemed; but whether they be great or small, if sheepe or neat may come to them on the heape, as they lie in the field, they will deuoure them as if they were haie or stuble, some also will weet for them in verie eger maner. The leafe or rather the blade thereof is long and narrow as grasse, which come vp alwaies in October after the floures be gathered and gone, pointed on a little tuft much like vnto our liues. Sometimes our cattell will feed vpon the same; neuertheless, if it be bitten whilest it is greene, the head dieth, and therefore our crokers are carefull to keepe it from such annoiance vntill it begin to wither, and then also will the cattell soonest fall thereof: for vntill that time the iuice thereof is bitter. In euerie floure we find commonlie three chiues, and three yellowes, and double the number of leaues. Of twisted floures I speake not; yet is it found, that two floures grow togither, which bring forth fiue chiues, so that alwaies there is an od chiue and od yellow, though three or foure floures should come out of one rot. The whole herbe is named in Greeke Crocos, but of some (as Dioscorides saith) Castor, Cynomorphos, or Hercules blood: yet in the Arabian speech, (from whence we borrow the name which we giue thervnto) I find that it is called Zahafaran, as Rembert doth beare witnesse. The cause wherefore it was called Crocus was this (as the poets feigne) specialli those from whome Galen hath borrowed the historie, which he noteth in his ninth booke *De medicamentis secundum loca*, where he writeth after this maner (although I take Crocus to be the first that vsed this commoditie.) A certeine yong gentleman called Crocus went to plaie at coits in the field with Mercurie, and being heedlesse of himselfe, Mercuries coit happened by mishap to hit him on the head, whereby he receiued a wound that yer long killed him altogither, to the great discomfort of his frends. Finallie, in the place where he bled, saffron was after found to grow, whereupon the people seeing the colour of the chiue as it stood (although I doubt not but it grew there long before) adiudged it to come of the blood of Crocus, and therefore they gaue it his name. And thus farre Rembert, who with Galen, &c: differ very much from Ouids Metamorphos. 4. who writeth also thereof. Indeed the chiue, while it remaineth whole & vnbruised, resembleth a darke red, but being broken and conuerted into vse, it yeeldeth a yellow tincture. But what haue we to do with fables?

Occasion of the name.

The heads of saffron are raised in Julie, either with plough, raising, or tined hooke; and being scowred from their rosse or filth, and seuered from such heads as are ingendred of them since the last setting, they are inferred againe in Julie and August by ranks or rowes, and being couered with moulds, they rest in the earth, where they cast forth litle fillets and small roots like vnto a scallion, vntill September, in the beginning of which moneth the ground is pared, and all weeds and grasse that groweth vpon the same remoued, to the intent that nothing may annote the floure when as his time doth come to rise.

Paring.

These things being thus ordered in the latter end of the aforesaid moneth of September, the floure beginneth to appeare of a whitish blew, sesse or skie colour, and in the end shewing it selfe in the owne kind, it resembleth almost the Leucotion of Theophrast, sauing that it is longer, and hath in the middest thereof three chiues verie red and pleasant to behold. These floures are gathered in the morning before the rising of the sunne, which otherwise would cause them to welke or flitter. And the chiues being picked from the floures, these are throwne into the

Gathering.

See Rembert.

downehill,

dongbill; the other dried vpon little kells couered with streined canuasses vpon a soft fire: wherby, and by the weight that is laid vpon them, they are dried and pressed into cakes, and then bagged vp for the benefit of their owners. In good yeeres we gather foure score or an hundred pounds of wet saffron of an acre, which being dried doth yeeld twentie pounds of drie and more. Whereby, and sith the price of saffron is commonlie about twentie shillings in monie, or not so little, it is easie to see what benefit is reaped by an acre of this commoditie, towards the charges of the setter, which indeed are great, but yet not so great as he shall be thereby a loser, if he be anie thing diligent. For admit that the triple tillage of an acre doth cost 13 shillings foure pence before the saffron be set, the clodding sirteene pence, the taking of euerie load of stones from the same foure pence, the raising of euerie quarter of heads six pence, and so much for clensing of them, besides the rent of ten shillings for euerie acre, thirtie load of dung which is worth six pence the load to be laid on the first yeere, for the setting three and twentie shillings and foure pence, for the paring fiue shillings, six pence for the picking of a pound wet, &c: yea though he hire it readie set, and paie ten pounds for the same, yet shall he sustaine no damage, if warme weather and open season do happen at the gathering. This also is to be noted, that euerie acre asketh twentie quarters of heads, placed in ranks two inches one from an other in long beds, which conteine eight or ten foot in breadth. And after three yeeres that ground will serue well, and without compell for barlete by the space of eightéene or twentie yeeres togither, as experience doth confirme. The heads also of euerie acre at the raising will store an acre and an halfe of new ground, which is a great aduantage, and it will floure eight or ten daies togither. But the best saffron is gathered at the first; at which time foure pounds of wet saffron will go verie neere to make one of drie; but in the middest fiue pounds of the one will make but one of the other, because the chiue waxeth smaller, as sir at the last will do no more but yeeld one of the dried, by reason of the chiue which is now verie leane and hungrie. After twentie yeeres also the same ground may be set with saffron againe. And in lieu of a conclusion, take this for a perpetuall rule, that heads comming out of a good ground will prosper best in a lighter soile; and contrariwise: which is one note that our crokers do carefullie obserue.

Raising. The heads are raised euerie third yeare about vs, to wit, after Midsummer, when the rosse commeth drie from the heads; and commonlie in the first yeere after they be set they yeeld verie little increase: yet that which then commeth is counted the finest and greatest chiue, & best for medicine, and called saffron Du hort. The next crop is much greater; but the third exceedeth, and then they raise againe about Walden and in Cambridge shire. In this period of time also the heads are said to child, that is, to yeeld out of some parts of them diuerse other headlets, whereby it hath béene séene, that some one head hath béene increased (though with his owne detriment) to three, or foure, or fiue, or six, which augmentation is the onlie cause wherby they are sold so good cheape. For to my remembrance I haue not knowne foure bushels or a come of them to be valued much aboue two shillings eight pence, except in some od yeeres that they arise to eight or ten shillings the quarter, and that is when ouer great store of winters water hath rotted the most of them as they stood within the ground, or heat in summer parched and burnt them vp.

In Norfolke and Suffolke they raise but once in seuen yeeres: but as their saffron is not so fine as that of Cambridgeshire and about Walden, so it will not cake, ting, nor hold colour withall, wherein lieth a great part of the value of this stuffe. Some craftie tackes vse to mix it with scraped brazell or with the floure of Sonchus, which commeth somewhat neere indeed to the hue of our good saffron (if it be late gathered) but it is soone bewraied both by the depth of the colour and hardnesse. Such also was the plentie of saffron about twentie yeeres passed, that some of the townesmen of Walden gaue the one halfe of the floures for picking of the other, and sent them ten or twelue miles abroad into the countrie, whilest the rest, not thankfull for the abundance of Gods blessing bestowed vpon them (as wishing rather more scarsitie thereof because of the keeping vp of the price) in most contemptuous maner murmured against him, saieng that he did shite saffron therewith to choake the market. But as they shewed themselues no lesse than ingrat infidels in this behalfe, so the Lord considered their vnthankfulnesse, & gaue them euer since such scarsitie, as the greatest murmurers haue now the least store; and most of them are either worne out of occupieng, or remaine scarse able to mainteine their grounds without the helpe of other men. Certes it hath generallie decaied about Saffron Walden since the said time, vntill now of late within these two yeares, that men began againe to plant and renew the same, because of the great commoditie. But to proceed. When the heads be raised and taken vp, they will remaine sirteene or twentie daies out of the earth or more: yea peraduenture a full moneth. Howbeit they are commonlie in the earth againe by saint James tide, or verie shortlie after. For as if they be taken vp before Midsummer, or beginning of Julie, the heads will shrinke like a rosted warden; so after August they will wax drie, become vnfruitfull, and decaie. And I know it by experience, in that I haue carried some of them to London with me; and notwithstanding that they haue remained there vnset by the space of fortie dais and more: yet some of them haue brought forth two or three floures a peece, and some floures three or fiue chiues, to the greeat admiration of such as haue gathered the same, and not béene acquainted with their nature and countrie where they grew. The crokers or saffron men do vse an obseruation a litle before the comming vp of the floure, and sometime in the taking vp at Midsummer tide, by opening of the heads to iudge of plentie and scarsitie of this commoditie to come. For if they sée as it were many small hairie veines of saffron to be in the middest of the bulbe, they pronounce a fruitfull yeare. And to saie truth, at the cleauing of ech head, a man shall discerne the saffron by the colour, and sée where about the chiue will issue out of the root. Warme darke nights, swéet dews, fat grounds (chéeflie the chalkie) and mistie mornings are verie good for saffron; but frost and cold do kill and keepe backe the floure, or else shrinke vp the chiue. And thus much haue I thought good to speake of English saffron, which is hot in the second and drie in the first degrée, and most plentifull as our crokers hold, in that yeere wherein ewes twin most. But as I can make no warrantize hereof, so I am otherwise sure, that there is no more deceit vsed in anie trade than in saffron. For in the making they will grease the papers on the kell with a little candle grease, to make the worst saffron haue so good a colour as the best: afterwards also they will sprinkle butter thereon to make the weight better. But both these are bewraied, either by a quantitie thereof holden ouer the fire in a siluer spoone, or by the softnesse thereof betwéene the fore finger and the thumbe; or thirdlie, by

the colour thereof in age: for if you laie it by farre worse saffron of other countries, the colour will bewraie the forgerie by the swartnesse of the chiue, which otherwise would excell it, and thereunto being sound, remaine crispe, brickle, and drie: and finallie, if it be holden nere the face, will strike a certeine biting heat vpon the skin and eies, whereby it is adiudged good and merchant ware indeed among the skilfull crokers.

Now if it please you to heare of anie of the vertues thereof, I will note these insuing at the request of one, who required me to touch a few of them with whatsoeuer brenitie I listed. Therefore our saffron (beside the manifold vse that it hath in the kitchin and pastrie, also in our cakes at bridals, and thanksgiuings of women) is verie profitably mingled with those medicins which we take for the diseases of the breast, of the lungs, of the liuer, and of the bladder: it is good also for the stomach if you take it in meat, for it comforteth the same and maketh good digestion: being sodden also in wine, it not onelie keepeth a man from drunkennesse, but incorageth also vnto procreation of issue. If you drinke it in swæt wine, it inlargeth the breath, and is good for those that are troubled with the tisike and shortnesse of the wind: mingled with the milke of a woman, and laied vpon the eies, it staieth such humors as descend into the same, and taketh awaie the red wheales and pearles that oft grow about them: it killeth moths if it be sowed in paper bags verie thin, and laid vp in presses amongst tapistrie or apparell: also it is verie profitable laid vnto all inflammations, painefull apostumes, and the shingles; and doth no small ease vnto deafnes, if it be mingled with such medicins as are beneficiall vnto the eares: it is of great vse also in ripening of botches and all swellings proceeding of raw humors. Or if it shall please you to drinke the rot thereof with malueisie, it will maruellouslie prouoke vrine, dissolue and expell grauell, and yeeld no small ease to them that make their water by dropmeales. Finallie, three drams thereof taken at once, which is about the weight of one shilling nine pence halfepenie, is deadlie poison; as Dioscorides doth affirme: and drunke in wine (saith Platina) lib. 3. cap. 13. *De honesta voluptate*, doth hast on drunkennesse, which is verie true. And I haue knowne some, that by eating onelie of bread more than of custome streined with saffron, haue become like drunken men, & yet otherwise well known to be but competent drinkers. For further confirmation of this also, if a man do but open and ransake a bag of one hundred or two hundred weight, as merchants do when they buie it of the crokers, it will strike such an aire into their heads which deale withall, that for a time they shall be giddie and sicke (I meane for two or three houres space) their noses and eies in like sort will yeeld such plentie of rheumatike water, that they shall be the better for it long after, especiallie their eiesight, which is wonderfullie clarified by this meanes: howbeit some merchants not liking of this physike, muffle themselues as women do when they ride, and put on spectacles set in leather, which doth in some measure (but not for altogither) put by the force thereof. There groweth some saffron in manie places of Almaine, and also about Vienna in Austria, which later is taken for the best that springeth in those quarters. In steed of this some do vse the Carthamus, called amongst vs bastard saffron, but neither is this of anie value, nor the other in any wise comparable vnto ours. Whereof let this suffice as of a commoditie brought into this Iland in the time of Edward 3. and not commonlie planted till Richard 2. did reigne. It would grow verie well (as I take it) about the Chiltern hils, & in all the vale of the White horse so well as in Walden and Cambridgeshire, if they were carefull of it. I heare of some also to be cherished alreadie in Glocestershire, and certeine other places westward. But of the finenesse and tincture of the chiue, I heare not as yet of anie triall. Would to God that my countriemen had beene heretofore (or were now) more carefull of this commoditie! then would it no doubt haue prooued more beneficiall to our Iland than our cloth or woll. But alas! so idle are we, and heretofore so much giuen to ease, by reason of the smalnesse of our rents, that few men regard to search out which are their best commodities. But if landlords hold on to raise the rents of their farms as they begin, they will inforce their tenants to looke better vnto their gains, and scratch out their rent from vnder euerie clod that may be turned aside. The greatest mart for saffron is at Aquila in Abruzo, where they haue an especiall weight for the same of ten pounds lesse in the hundred than that of Florens and Luke: but how it agreeth with ours it shall appeere hereafter.

Of quarries of stone for building.

Chap. 9.

Quarries with vs are pits or mines, out of which we dig our stone to build withall, & of these as we haue great plentie in England, so are they of diuerse sorts, and those verie profitable for sundrie necessarie vses. In times past the vse of stone was in maner dedicated to the building of churches, religious houses, princely palaces, bishops manours, and holds onlie: but now that scrupulous obseruation is altogither infringed, and building with stone so commonlie taken vp, that amongst noble men & gentlemen, the timber frames are supposed to be not much better than paper worke, of little continuance, and least continuance of all. It farre passeth my cunning to set downe how manie sorts of stone for building are to be found in England, but much further to call each of them by their proper names. Howbeit, such is the curiositie of our countrimen, that notwithstanding almightie God hath so blessed our realme in most plentifull maner, with such and so manie quarries apt and meet for piles of longest continuance, yet we as lothsome of this abundance, or not liking of the plentie, do commonlie leaue these naturall gifts to mould and cinder in the ground, and take vp an artificiall bricke, in burning whereof a great part of the wood of this land is dailie consumed and spent, to the no small decaie of that commoditie, and hinderance of the poore that perish oft for cold.

Our elders haue from time to time, following our naturall vice in misliking of our owne commodities at home, and desiring those of other countries abroad, most esteemed the cane stone that is brought hither out of Normandie: and manie euen in these our daies following the same veine, do couet in their works almost to vse none other. Howbeit experience on the one side, and our skilfull masons on the other (whose iudgement is nothing inferiour to those of other countries) do affirme, that in the north and south parts of England, and certeine other places, there are some quarries, which for hardnesse and beautie are equall to the outlandish greet. This maie also be confirmed by the kings chappell at Cambridge, the greatest part of the square stone wherof was brought thither out of the north. Some commend the veine of white free stone, slate, and mere stone, which is betweene

twéne Penkowen, and the blacke head in Cornewall, for verie fine stuffe. Other doo speake much of the quarries at Hamden, nine miles from Milberie, and paving stone of Purbecke. For toph stone, not a few allow of the quarrie that is at Drsleie, diuerse mislike not of the veines of hard stone that are at Drford, and Burford. One praiseth the free stone at Pancheſter, & Prestburie in Glocestershire; another the quarries of the like in Richmont. The third liketh well of the hard stone in Clee hill in Shropshire; the fourth of that of Thorowbridge, Welden, and Terrinton. Whereby it appeareth that we haue quarries inow, and good inough in England, sufficient for vs to build withall, if the péuish contempt of our owne commodities, and delectations to inrich other countries, did not catch such folish hold vpon vs. It is also verified (as anie other wate) that all nations haue rather nèd of England, than England of anie other. And this I thinke may suffice for the substance of our workes. Now if you haue regard to their ornature, how manie mines of sundrie kinds of course & fine marble are there to be had in England? But chiefle one in Staffordshire, an other neere to the Peke, the third at Vauldrie, the fourth at Snothill (longing to the lord Chaindois) the fift at Eglestone, which is of blacke marble, spotted with graie or white spots, the sirt not farre from Durham. Of white marble also we haue store, and so faire as the Parpelian of Paris Ile. But what meane I to go about to recite all, or the most excellent? sith these which I haue named alredie are not altogither of the best, nor scarselie of anie value in comparison of those, whose places of growth are vtterlie vnknowne vnto me, and whereof the blacke marble spotted with grèene is none of the vilest sort, as maie appeare by parcell of the pauement of the lower part of the quire of Paules in London, and also in Westminster, where some pèces thereof are yet to be sèene and marked, if anie will loke for them. If marble will not serue, then haue we the finest alabaster that maie elsewhere bée had, as about saint Dauids of Wales; also neere to Beau manour, which is about foure or fiue miles from Leicester, & taken to be the best, although there are diuerse other quarries hereof beyond the Trent, as in Yorkshire, &c: and fullie so good as that, whose names at this time are out of my remembrance. What should I talke of the plaister of Arholme (for of that which they dig out of the earth in sundrie places of Lincolne and Darbishires, wherewith they blanch their houses in stead of lime, I speake not) certes it is a fine kind of alabaster. But sith it is sold commonlie but after twelue pence the load, we iudge it to be but vile and course. For my part I cannot skill of stone, yet in my opinion it is not without great vse for plaister of paris, and such is the nine of it, that the stones thereof lie in flakes one vpon an other like plankes or tables, and vnder the same is an exceeding hard stone verie profitable for building, as hath often times bèene proued. This is also to be marked further of our plaister white and graie, that not contented with the same, as God by the quarrie doth send and yéeld it forth, we haue now deuised to cast it in moulds for windowes and pillers of what forme and fashion we list, euen as alabaster it selfe: and with such stuffe sundrie houses in Yorkshire are furnished of late. But of what continuance this deuise is like to proue, the time to come shall easilie bewraie. In the meane time sir Rafe Burcher knight hath put the deuise in practise, and affirmeth that six men in six moneths shall trauell in that trade to sée greater profit to the owner, than twelue men in six yeares could before this tricke was inuented.

If neither alabaster nor marble doth suffice, we haue the touchstone, called in Latine *Lydius lapis*, shining as glasse, either to match in sockets with our pillers of alabaster, or contrariwise: or if it please the workeman to ioine pillers of alabaster or touch with sockets of brasse, pewter, or copper, we want not also these mettals. So that I think no nation can haue more excellent & greater diuersitie of stuffe for building, than we maie haue in England, if our selues could so like of it. But such alas is our nature, that not our own but other mens do most of all delite vs; & for desire of noueltie, we oft exchange our finest cloth, corne, tin, and waxe, for halfe penie cockhorses for children, dogs of way or of cheese, two pennie tabers, leaden swords, painted feathers, gewgaws for fooles, dogtricks for dizards, hawkeswhoods, and such like trumperie, whereby we reape iust mockage and reproch in other countries. I might remember here our pits for millstones, that are to be had in diuerse places of our countrie, as in Anglesete, Kent, also at Quæne hope of blew grèt, of no lesse value than the Colaine, yea than the French stones: our grindstones for hardware men. Our whetstones are no lesse laudable than those of Creta & Lacedemonia, albeit we vse no oile with them, as they did in those parties, but onelie water, as the Italians and Martians doo with theirs: whereas they that grow in Cilicia must haue both oile and water laid vpon them, or else they make no edge. These also are diuided either into the hard grèt, as the common that shoomakers vse, or the soft grèt called hones, to be had among the barbars, and those either blacke or white, and the rub or brickle stone which husbandmen doo occupie in the whetting of their sithes.

In like maner slate of sundrie colours is euerie where in maner to be had, as is the flint and chalke, the shalder and the peble. Howbeit for all this we must fetch them still from farre, as did the Hull men their stones out of Iseland, wherewith they paued their towne for want of the like in England: or as sir Thomas Gresham did, when he bought the stones in Flanders, wherwith he paued the Burse. But as he will answer peraduenture, that he bargained for the whole mould and substance of his workemanship in Flanders: so the Hullanders or Hull men will saie, how that stockefish is light loding, and therfore they did balasse their vessels with these Iseland stones, to keepe them from turning ouer in their so tedious a voiage. And thus much briefle of our quarries of stone for building, wherein oftentimes the workemen haue found strange things inclosed, I meane liuelie creatures shut vp in the hard stones, and liuing there without respiration or breathing, as frogs, todes, &c: whereof you shall read more in the chronologie following: also in Caius Langius, William of Newburie, Agricola, Cornelius of Amsterdam, Bellogius de aquatilibus, Albert the great, lib. 19. cap. 9. *De rebus metallicis*, and Goropius in Niloscopio, pag. 237, &c. Sometime also they find pretious stones (though seldome) and some of them perfectlie squared by nature, and much like vnto the diamond, found of late in a quarrie of marble at Naples, which was so perfectlie pointed, as if all the workemen in the world had cõsulted about the performance of that workemanship. I know that these reports vnto some will seeme incredible, and therefore I stand the longer vpon them; neuertheless omitting to speake particularlie of such things as happen amongst vs, and rather seeking to confirme the same by the like in other countries, I will deliuer a few more examples, whereby the truth hereof shall so much the better appeare. For in the middest of a stone not long since found at Chius, vpon the breaking vp thereof, there was sèene *Caput panisci* inclosed therin, very perfectlie formed as the beholders do remember. How come the grains of gold to be so fast inclosed in the stones

that are & haue beene found in the Spanish Batis: But this is most maruellous, that a most delectable and swet oile, comparable to the finest balme, or oile of spike in smell, was found naturallie included in a stone, which could not otherwise be broken but with a smiths hammer. Goropius doth tell of a pearch perfectlie formed to be found in Britaine: but as then committed into hard stone, vpon the top of a crag. Aristotle and Theophrast speake of fishes digged out of the earth, farre from the sea in Greece, which Seneca also confirmeth, but with addition that they are perillous to be eaten. In pope Martins time, a serpent was found fast inclosed in a rocke, as the kernell is within the nut, so that no aire could come to it: and in my time another in a coffin of stone at Auignion, wherein a man had beene buried; which so filled the roome, and laie so close from aire, that all men wondered how it was possible for the same to liue and continue so long time there. Finallie I my selfe haue seene stones opened, and within them the substances of corrupted wormes like vnto adders (but far shorter) whose creests and wrinkles of bodie appeared also therein, as if they had bene ingraued in the stones by art and industrie of man. Wherefore to affirme; that as well liuing creatures, as pretious stones, gold, &c: are now and then found in our quarries; shall not hereafter be a thing so incredible as manie talking philosophers, void of all experience, do affirme, and wilfullie mainteine against such as hold the contrarie.

Of sundrie minerals.

Chap. 10.

With how great benefits this Iland of ours hath beene indued from the beginning, I hope there is no godlie man but will readilie confesse, and yeeld vnto the Lord God his due honour for the same. For we are blessed euerie waie, & there is no temporall commoditie necessarie to be had or craued by anie nation at Gods hand, that he hath not in most aboundant maner bestowed vpon vs Englishmen, if we could see to vse it, & be thankefull for the same. But alas (as I said in the chapter precedent) we loue to inrich them that care not for vs, but for our great commodities: and one trifling tote not worth the cariage, cõming (as the prouerbe saith) in three ships from beyond the sea is more worth with vs, than a right good iewell, easie to be had at home. They haue also the cast to teach vs to neglect our owne things, for if they see that we begin to make anie account of our commodities (if it be so that they haue also the like in their owne countries) they will suddenlie abase the same to so low a price, that our gaine not being worthie our trauell, and the same commoditie with lesse cost readie to be had at home from other countries (though but for a while) it causeth vs to giue ouer our indeuours, and as it were by and by to forget the matter wherabout we went before, to obteine them at their hands. And this is the onelie cause wherefore our commodities are oft so little esteemed of. Some of them can saie without anie teacher, that they will buie the case of a for of an Englishman for a groat, and make him afterward giue twelue pence for the taile. Would to God we might once war wiser, and each one indeuor that the common-wealth of England may flourish againe in hir old rate, and that our commodities may be fullie wrought at home (as cloth if you will for an example) and not caried out to be shorne and dressed abroad, while our clothworkers here do starue and beg their bread, and for lacke of dailie practise vtterlie neglect to be skilfull in this science! But to my purpose.

We haue in England great plentie of quicke siluer, antimonie, sulphur, blacke lead, and orpiment red and yellow. We haue also the finest alume (wherein the diligence of one of the greatest fauourers of the common-wealth of England of a subiect hath beene of late egregiouslie abused, and euen almost with barbarous inciuilitie) & of no lesse force against fire, if it were vsed in our parietings than that of Lipara, which onlie was in vse somtime amongst the Affans & Romans, & wherof Sylla had such triall that when he meant to haue burned a tower of wood erected by Archelaus the lieutenant of Mithridates, he could by no meanes set it on fire in a long time, because it was washed ouer with alume, as were also the gates of the temple of Ierusalem with like effect, and perceiued when Titus commanded fire to be put vnto the same. Beside this we haue also the naturall cinnabarum or vermilion, the sulphurous glebe called bitumen in old time for morter, and yet burned in lamps where oile is scant and geason: the chrysocolla, coperis, and minerall stone, whereof petriolum is made, and that which is most strange the minerall pearle, which as they are for greatnesse and colour most excellent of all other, so are they digged out of the maine land, and in sundrie places far distant from the shore. Certes the westerne part of the land hath in times past greatlie abounded with these and manie other rare and excellent commodities, but now they are washed awaie by the violence of the sea, which hath deuoured the greatest part of Cornewall and Deuonshire on either side: and it doth appeare yet by good record, that whereas now there is a great distance betweene the Sylan Iles and point of the lands end, there was of late yeares to speke of scarselie a broke or draine of one fadam water betweene them, if so much, as by those euidences appeareth, and are yet to be seene in the hands of the lord and chiefe owner of those Iles. But to proceed.

The lord Mountioy.

Of colemines we haue such plentie in the north and westerne parts of our Iland, as may suffice for all the realme of England: and so must they do hereafter in deed, if wood be not better cherrished than it is at this present. And to saie the truth, notwithstanding that verie manie of them are caried into other countries of the maine, yet their greatest trade beginneth now to grow from the forge into the kitchin and hall, as may appeare alreadie in most cities and townes that lie about the coast, where they haue but little other fewell, except it be turffe and hallocke. I maruell not a little that there is no trade of these into Sussex and Southhampton shire, for want whereof the smiths do worke their iron with charcoale. I thinke that far carriage be the onelie cause, which is but a slender excuse to inforce vs to carrie them vnto the maine from hence.

Beside our colemines we haue pits in like sort of white plaster, and of fat and white and other coloured marle, wherewith in manie places the inhabitors do compest their soile, and which doth benefit their land in ample maner for manie yeares to come. We haue saltpeter for our ordinance, and salt soda for our glasse, & thereto in one place a kind of earth (in Southerie as I weene hard by Codington, and sometime in the tenure of one Crorton of London) which is so fine to make moulds for goldsmiths and casters of mettall, that a load of it was worth fiue shillings thirtie yeares agone: none such againe they saie in England. But whether there be or not, let vs not be vnthankefull to God for these and other his benefits bestowed

bestowed vpon vs, wherby he sheweth himselfe a louing and mercifull father vnto vs, which contrariewise returne vnto him in lieu of humilitie and obedience, nothing but wickednesse, auarice, meere contempt of his will, pride, errour, atheisme, and no lesse than Jewish ingratitude.

Of mettals to be had in our land.

Chap. 11.

ALl mettals receiue their beginning of quicksiluer and sulphur, which are as mother and father to them. And such is the purpose of nature in their generations: that she tendeth alwaies to the procreation of gold, neuerthelesse she seldome reacheth vnto that hir end, because of the vnequall mixture and proportion of these two in the substance ingendered, whereby impediment and corruption is induced, which as it is more or lesse, doth shew it selfe in the mettall that is produced. First of all therefore the substance of sulphur and quicksiluer being mixed in due proportion, after long and temperate decoction in the bowels of the earth, vnderlie ingrossed and fired, becommeth gold, which Encelius doth call the sunne and right heire of nature: but if it swarue but a little (saith he) in the commixtion and other circumstances, then doth it produce siluer the daughter, not so noble a child as gold hir brother, which among mettall is worthilie called the chefe. Contrariwise, the substances of the aforesaid parents mixed without proportion, and lesse digested and fired in the entrailes of the earth, whereby the radicall moisture becommeth combustible and not of force to indure heat and hammer, doth either turne into tin, lead, copper, or iron, which were the first mettals knowne in time past vnto antiquitie, although that in these daies there are diuerse other, whereof neither they nor our alchumists had euer anie knowledge. Of these therfore which are reputed among the third sort, we here in England haue our parts, and as I call them to mind, so will I intreat of them, and with such breuitie as may serue the turne, and yet not altogither omit to saie somewhat of gold and siluer also, bicause I find by good experience how it was not said of old time without great reason, that all countries haue need of Britaine, and Britaine it selfe of none. For truelie if a man regard such necessities as nature onelie requireth, there is no nation vnder the sunne, that can saie so much as ours: sith we do want none that are conuenient for vs. Wherefore if it be a benefit to haue anie gold at all, we are not void of some, neither likewise of siluer: whatsoeuer Cicero affirmeth to the contrarie, *Lib. 4. ad Atticum epi. 16.* in whose time they were not found, *Britannici belli exitus* (saith he) *expectatur, constat enim aditus insulæ esse munitos mirificis molibus: etiam illud iam cognitum est, neque argenti scrupulum esse vllum in illa insula, neque vllam spem prædæ nisi ex mancipijs, ex quibus nullos puto te litteris aut musicis eruditos expectare.* And albeit that we haue no such abundance of these (as some other countries do yeeld) yet haue my rich countrimen store inough of both in their purses, where in time past they were wont to haue least, bicause the garnishing of our churches, tabernacles, images, shrines and apparell of the priests consumed the greatest part, as experience hath confirmed.

Gold. Siluer.

Of late my countriemen haue found out I wot not what voiage into the west Indies, from whence they haue brought some gold, whereby our countrie is inriched: but of all that euer aduentured into those parts, none haue sped better than sir Francis Drake whose successe 1582 hath far passed euen his owne expectation. One John Frobisher in like maner attempting to seeke out a shorter cut by the northerlie regions into the peaceable sea and kingdome of Cathaie, happened 1577 vpon certeine Ilands by the waie, wherein great plentie of much gold appeared, and so much that some letted not to giue out for certeintie, that Salomon had his gold from thence, wherewith he builded the temple. This golden shew made him so desirous also of like successe, that he left off his former voiage, & returned home to bring news of such things as he had seene. But when after another voiage it was found to be but drosse, he gaue ouer both the enterprises, and now keepeth home without anie desire at all to seeke into farre countries. In truth, such was the plentie of ore there seene and to be had, that if it had holden perfect, might haue furnished all the world with abundance of that mettall; the iorneie also was short and performed in foure or fiue moneths, which was a notable incouragement. But to proceed.

Tin and lead, mettals which Strabo noteth in his time to be carried vnto Marsilis from hence, as Diodorus also confirmeth, are verie plentifull with vs, the one in Cornewall, Deuonshire (& else-where in in the north) the other in Darbishire, Weredale, and sundrie places of this Iland; whereby my countriemen do reape no small commoditie, but especiallie our pewterers, who in time past imploied the vse of pewter onelie vpon dishes, pots, and a few other trifles for seruice here at home, whereas now they are growne vnto such exquisit cunning, that they can in maner imitate by infusion anie forme or fashion of cup, dish, salt, bowle, or goblet, which is made by goldsmiths craft, though they be neuer so curious, exquisite, and artificiallie forged. Such furniture of houshold of this mettall, as we commonlie call by the name of vessell, is sold vsuallie by the garnish, which doth containe twelue platters, twelue dishes, twelue saucers, and those are either of siluer fashion, or else with brode or narrow brims, and bought by the pound, which is now valued at six or seuen pence, or peraduenture at eight pence. Of porringers, pots, and other like I speake not, albeit that in the making of all these things there is such exquisite diligence vsed, I meane for the mixture of the mettall and true making of this commoditie (by reason of sharpe laws prouided in that behalfe) as the like is not to be found in any other trade. I haue beene also informed that it consisteth of a composition, which hath thirtie pounds of kettle brasse to a thousand pounds of tin, whervnto they ad three or foure pounds of tinglasse: but as too much of this doth make the stuffe brickle, so the more the brasse be, the better is the pewter, and more profitable vnto him that doth buie and purchase the same. But to proceed.

Tin. Lead.

In some places beyond the sea a garnish of good flat English pewter of an ordinarie making (I saie flat, bicause dishes and platters in my time begin to be made deepe like basons, and are indeed more conuenient both for sawce, broth, and keeping the meat warme) is esteemed almost so pretious, as the like number of vessels that are made of fine siluer, and in maner no lesse desired amongst the great estates, whose workmen are nothing so skilfull in that trade as ours, neither their mettall so good, nor plentie so great, as we haue here in England. The Romans made excellent looking glasses of our English tin, howbeit our workemen were not then so equisite in that feat as the Brundusiens: wherefore the wrought mettall was carried ouer vnto them by waie of merchandize, and verie highlie were those glasses

esteemed

eſtéemed of till ſiluer came generallie in place, which in the end brought the tin into ſuch contempt, that in manner euerie diſhwaſher refuſed to looke in other than ſiluer glaſſes for the attiring of hir head. Howbeit the making of ſiluer glaſſes had béene in vſe before Britaine was knowne vnto the Romans, for I read that one Praxiteles deuiſed them in the yoong time of Pompeie, which was before the comming of Cæſar into this Iland.

There were mines of lead ſometimes also in Wales, which indured ſo long till the people had conſumed all their wood by melting of the ſame (as they did also at Comeriſt with ſir miles from Stradfleur) and I ſuppoſe that in Plinies time the abundance of lead (whereof he ſpeaketh) was to be found in thoſe parts, in the ſeauentéenth of his thirtie fourth booke: also he affirmeth that it laie in the verie ſwart of the earth, and dailie gotten in ſuch plentie, that the Romans made a reſtraint of the cariage thereof to Rome, limiting how much ſhould yearelie be wrought and tranſported ouer the ſea. And here by the waie it is worthie to be noted, of a crow which a miner of tin, dwelling nére Comeriſt with (as Leland ſaith) had made ſo tame, that it would dailie flie and follow him to his worke and other places where ſoeuer he happened to trauell. This labourer working on a time in the bottome or vallie, where the firſt mine was knowne to be, did laie his purſſe and girdle by him, as men commonlie do that addreſſe themſelues to aplie their buſineſſe earneſtlie, and he himſelfe also had vſed from time to time before. The crow likewiſe was verie buſie flittering about him, and ſo much moleſted him, that he waxed angrie with the bird, & in his furie threatened to wring off his necke, if he might once get him into his hands; to be ſhort, in the end the crow haſtilie caught vp his girdle and purſſe, and made awaie withall ſo faſt as hir wings could carrie hir. Héere vpon the poore man falling into great agonie (for he feared to loſe peraduenture all his monie) threw downe his mattocke at aduenture and ran after the bird, curſſing and menacing that he ſhould loſe his life if euer he got him againe: but as it fell out, the crow was the meanes whereby his life was ſaued, for he had not béene long out of the mine, yer it fell downe and killed all his fellowes. If I ſhould take vpon me to diſcourſe and ſearch out the cauſe of the thus dealing of this bird at large, I ſhould peraduenture ſet my ſelfe further into the briers than well find which waie to come out againe: yet am I perſuaded, that the crow was Gods inſtrument herein, whereby the life of this poore labourer was preſerued. It was done also in an other order than that which I read of another tame crow, kept vp by a ſhomaker of Dutch land in his ſhop or ſtoue: who ſéeing the ſame to ſit vpon the pearch among his ſhone, verie beautie and drouſie, ſaid vnto the bird: What aileth my iacke, whie art thou ſad and penſiue? The crow hearing his maiſter ſpeake after this ſort vnto him, anſwered (or elſe the diuell within him) out of the pſalter: *Cogitaui dies antiquos & æternos in mente habui*. But whither am I digreſſed, from lead vnto crowes, & from crowes vnto diuels? Certes it is now high time to returne vnto our mettals, and reſume the tractation of ſuch things as I had earſt in hand.

Iron. Iron is found in manie places, as in Suſſex, Kent, Weredale, Mendip, Walſhall, as also in Shropſhire, but chéeflie in the woods betwixt Belvos and Willocke or Wicberie nére Manchéſter, and elſewhere in Wales. Of which mines diuerſe do bring forth ſo fine and good ſtuffe, as anie that commeth from beyond the ſea, beſide the infinit gaines to the owners, if we would ſo accept it, or beſtow a little more coſt in the refining of it. It is also of ſuch toughneſſe, that it yéeldeth to the making of clariord wire in ſome places of the realme. Neuertheleſſe, it was better cheape with vs when ſtrangers onelie brought it hither: for it is our qualitie when we get anie commoditie, to vſe it with extremitie towards our owne nation, after we haue once found the meanes to ſhut out forreners from the bringing in of the like. It breedeth in like manner great expenſe and waſte of wood, as doth the making of our pots and table veſſell of glaſſe, wherein is much loſſe ſith it is ſo quicklie broken; and yet (as I thinke) eaſie to be made tougher, if our alchumiſts could once find the true birth or production of the red man, whoſe mixture would indue it metallicall toughneſſe vnto it, whereby it ſhould abide the hammer.

Copper. Copper is latelie not found, but rather reſtored againe to light. For I haue read of copper to haue béene heretofore gotten in our Iland; howbeit as ſtrangers haue moſt commonly the gouernance of our mines, ſo they hitherto make ſmall gains of this in hand in the north parts: for (as I am informed) the profit doth verie hardlie counteruaile the charges; whereat wiſe men do not a little marueil, conſidering the abundance which that mine doth ſéeme to offer, and as it were at hand. Ireland our countriman noteth ſundrie great likelihoods of naturall copper mines to be eaſtwards, as betwéene Dudman and Treward in the ſeacliffes, beſide other places, whereof diuerſe are noted here and there in ſundrie places of this booke alreadie, and therefore it ſhall be but in vaine to repeat them here againe: as for that which is gotten out of the marchaſite, I ſpeake not of it, ſith it is not incident to my purpoſe. In Dorſetſhire also a copper mine latelie found is brought to good perfection.

Steele. As for our ſteele, it is not ſo good for edge-toles as that of Colaine, and yet the one is often ſold for the other, and like tale vſed in both, that is to ſaie, thirtie gads to the theffe, and twelue theffes to the burden. Our alchumie is artificiall, and thereof our ſpones and ſome ſalts are commonlie made, and preferred before our pewter with ſome, albeit in truth it be much ſubiect to corruption, putrifaction, more heauie and foule to handle than our pewter; yet ſome ignorant perſons affirme it to be a mettall more naturall, and the verie ſame which Encelius calleth *plumbum cinereum*, the Germans, wiſemute, mithan, & counterfeie, adding, that where it groweth, ſiluer can not be farre off. Neuertheleſſe it is knowne to be a mixture of braſſe, lead, and tin (of which this latter occupieth the one halfe) but after another proportion than is vſed in pewter. But alas I am perſuaded that neither the old Arabians, nor new alchumiſts of our time did euer heare of it, albeit that the name thereof do ſéeme to come out of their forge. For the common ſort indeed do call it alchumie, an vnwholſome mettall (God wot) and worthie to be baniſhed and driuen out of the land. And thus I concluds with this diſcourſe, as hauing no more to ſaie of the mettals of my countrie, except I ſhould talke of braſſe, bell mettall, and ſuch as are brought ouer for merchandize from other countries: and yet I can not but ſaie that there is ſome braſſe found alſo in England, but ſo ſmall is the quantitie, that it is not greatlie to be eſtéemed or accounted of.

Of

Of pretious stones.

Chap. 12.

THe old writers remember few other stones of estimation to be found in this Iland than that which we call geat, and they in Latine *Gagates*: whereunto furthermore they ascribe sundrie properties, as vsuallie practised here in times past, whereof none of our writers doo make anie mention at all. Howbeit whatsoeuer it hath pleased a number of strangers (vpon false surmise) to write of the vsages of this our countrie, about the triall of the virginitie of our maidens by drinking the powder hereof against the time of their bestowing in mariage: certeine it is that euen to this daie there is some plentie to be had of this commoditie in Darbishire and about Barwike, whereof rings, salts, small cups, and sundrie trifling toies are made, although that in manie mens opinions nothing so fine as that which is brought ouer by merchants dailie from the maine. But as these men are drowned with the common errour conceiued of our nation, so I am sure that in discerning the price and value of things, no man now liuing can go beyond the iudgement of the old Romans, who preferred the geat of Britaine before the like stones bred about Luke and all other countries whersoeuer. Marbodeus Gallus also writing of the same among other of estimation, saith thus:

Geat.

Laon Chalchondile.

Nascitur in Lycia lapis & propè gemma Gagates,
Sed genus eximium fœcunda Britannia mittit,
Lucidus & niger est, leuis & leuissimus idem,
Picinas paleas trahit attritu calefactus,
Ardet aqua lotus, restinguitur vnctus oliuo.

The Germane writers confound it with amber as if it were a kind therof: but as I regard not their iudgement in this point, so I read that it taketh name of Gagas a citie and riuer in Silicia, where it groweth in plentifull maner, as Dioscorides saith. Nicander in Theriaca calleth it Engangin and Gangitin, of the plentie thereof that is found in the place aforesaid, which he calleth Ganges, and where they haue great vse of it in driuing awaie of serpents by the onelie perfume thereof. Charles the fourth emperour of that name glased the church withall that standeth at the fall of Tangra, but I cannot imagine what light should enter therby. The writers also diuide this stone into fiue kinds, of which the one is in colour like vnto lion tawnie, another straked with white veines, the third with yellow lines, the fourth is garled with diuerse colours, among which some are like drops of bloud (but those come out of Inde) and the fift shining blacke as anie rauens feather.

Moreouer, as geat was one of the first stones of this Ile, whereof anie forren account was made, so our pearles also did match with it in renowme: in so much that the onelie desire of them caused Cæsar to aduenture hither, after he had seene the quantities and heard of our plentie of them, while he abode in France, and whereof he made a tabard which he offered vp in Rome to Venus, where it hong long after as a rich and notable oblation and testimonie of the riches of our countrie. Certes they are to be found in these our daies, and thereto of diuerse colours, in no lesse numbers than euer they were in old time. Yet are they not now so much desired bicause of their smalnesse, and also for other causes, but especiallie sith churchworke, as copes, vestments, albes, tunicles, altarclothes, canopies, and such trash, are worthilie abolished; vpon which our countrimen superstitiously bestowed no small quantities of them. For I thinke there were few churches or religious houses, besides bishops miters, bookes and other pontificall vestures, but were either throughlie fretted, or notablie garnished with huge numbers of them. Marbodeus likewise speaking of pearles, commendeth them after this maner:

Gignit & insignes antiqua Britannia baccas, &c.

Marcellinus also Lib. 23, *in ipso fine*, speaketh of our pearls and their generation, but he preferreth greatlie those of Persia before them, which to me doth seeme vnequallie done. But as the British geat or orient pearle were in old time esteemed aboue those of other countries; so time hath since the conquest of the Romans reuealed manie other: insomuch that at this season there are found in England the Aetites (in English called the ernestone, but for erne some pronounce eagle) and the hematite or bloodstone, and these verie pure and excellent: also the calcedonie, the porphyrite, the thrissall, and those other which we call calaminares and specularis, besides a kind of diamond or adamant, which although it be verie faire to sight, is yet much softer (as most are that are found & bred toward the north) than those that are brought hither out of other countries. We haue also vpon our coast the white corall, nothing inferiour to that which is found beyond the sea in the albe, nere to the fall of Tangra, or to the red and blacke, whereof Dioscorides intreateth, Lib. 5. cap. 8. We haue in like sort sundrie other stones dailie found in cliffes and rocks (beside the load stone which is oftentimes taken vp out of our mines of iron) whereof such as find them haue either no knowledge at all, or else doo make but small account, being seduced by outlandish lapidaries, whereof the most part discourage vs from the searching and seeking out of our owne commodities, to the end that they maie haue the more free vtterance of their naturall and artificiall wares, whereby they get great gaines amongst such as haue no skill.

I haue heard that the best triall of a stone is to laie it on the naile of the thombe, and so to go abroad into the cleare light, where if the colour hold in all places a like, the stone is thought to be naturall and good: but if it alter, especiallie toward the naile, then is it not sound, but rather to be taken for an artificiall peece of practise. If this be true it is an experiment worthie the noting. Cardan also hath it in his *De subtilitate*; if not, I haue read more lies than this, as one for example out of Cato, who saieth, that a cup of iuie will hold no wine at all. I haue made some vessels of the same wood, which refuse no kind of liquor, and therefore I suppose that there is no such Antipathia betweene wine and our iuie, as some of our reading philosophers (without all maner of practise) will seeme to infer amongst vs: and yet I denie not but the iuie of Greece or Italie may haue such a propertie; but why should not the iuie then of France somewhat participat withall in the like effect, which groweth in an hotter soile than ours is? For as Baptista porta saith, it holdeth not also in the French iuie, wherefore I can not beleeue that it hath anie such qualitie at all as Cato ascribeth vnto it. What should I say more of stones? Trulie I can not tell, sith I haue said what I may alreadie, and peraduenture more than I thinke necessarie: and that causeth me to passe ouer those that are now & then taken out of our oisters, todes, muskels, snailes and adders, and likewise such as are found vpon sundrie hils in Glocestershire, which haue naturallie such sundrie proportions, formes & colours in them, as passe all humane possibilitie to imitate, be the workeman neuer so

Triall of a stone.

Lib. 7.

skilfull

skilfull and cunning, also those that are found in the heads of our perches and carps much desired of such as haue the stone, & yet of themselues are no stones but rather shels or grisles, which in time consume to nothing. This yet will I ad, that if those which are found in muskels (for I am vtterlie ignorant of the generation of pearls) be good pearle in deed, I haue at sundrie times gathered more than an ounce of them, of which diuerse haue holes alreadie entered by nature, some of them not much inferiour to great peason in quantitie, and thereto of sundrie colours, as it happeneth amongst such as are brought from the esterlie coast to Saffron Walden in Lent, when for want of flesh, stale stinking fish and welked muskels are thought to be good meat; for other fish is to dere amongst vs when law doth bind vs to vse it. See more for the generation of pearls in the description of Scotland, for there you shall be further informed out of Boetius in that behalfe. They are called orient, because of the clerenesse, which resembleth the colour of the clere aire before the rising of the sun. They are also sought for in the later end of August, a little before which time the sweetnesse of the dew is most conuenient for that kind of fish, which doth ingender and conceiue them, whose forme is flat, and much like vnto a lempet. The further north also that they be found the brighter is their colour, & their substances of better valure, as lapidaries do giue out.

other catcheth the birds, as we may see in batfowling.

liquor, as both the other. Some sale (or rather salle) that this salt spring did saile in the time of Richard de la Wich bishop of Chichester, and that afterwards by his intercession it was restored to the profit of the old course (such is the superstition of the people) in remembrance whereof, or peraduenture for the zeale which the Wich men and salters did beare vnto Richard de la Wich their countriman, they vsed of late times on his date (which commeth once in the yeare) to hang this salt spring or well about with tapistrie, and to haue sundrie games, dryndings, and foolish reuels at it. But to proceed. There be a great number of salt cotes about this well, wherein the salt water is sodden in leads, and brought to the perfection of pure white salt. The other two salt springs be on the left side of the riuer a pretie wate lower than the first, and (as I found) at the verie end of the towne. At these also be diuerse fornaces to make salt, but the profit and plentie of these two are nothing comparable to the gaine that riseth by the greatest. I asked of a salter how manie fornaces they had at all the three springs, and he numbred them to eighténe score, that is, three hundred and sirtie, saieng how euerie one of them paied yearelie six shillings and eight pence to the king. The truth is that of old they had liberties giuen vnto them for three hundred fornaces or more, and therevpon they giue a fee farme (or Vectigal) of one hundred pounds yearelie. Certes the pension is as it was, but the number of fornaces is now increased to foure hundred. There was of late search made for another salt spring there abouts, by the meanes of one Newport a gentleman dwelling at the Wich, and the place where it was appéareth, as doth also the wood and timber which was set about it, to keepe vp the earth from falling into the same. But this pit was not since occupied, whether it were for lacke of plentie of the salt spring, or for letting or hindering of the profit of the other three. We thinke that if wood and sale of salt would serue, they might dig and find more salt springs about the Wich than three, but there is somewhat else in the wind. For I heard that of late yeares a salt spring was found in an other quarter of Worcestershire, but it grew to be without anie vse, sith the Wich men haue such a priuilege, that they alone in those quarters shall haue the making of salt. The pits be so set about with gutters, that the salt water is easilie turned to euerie mans house, and at Nantwich verie manie troughs go ouer the riuer for the commoditie of such as dwell on the other side of the same. They seeth also their salt water in fornaces of lead, and lade out the salt some in cases of wicker, through which the water draineth, and the salt remaineth. There be also two or three but verie little salt springs at Dertwitch, in a low bottome, where salt is sometime made.

Priuileges do sometimes harme.

Of late also a mile from Cumbremere abbaie a peece of an hill did sinke, and in the same pit rose a spring of salt water, where the abbat began to make salt; but the men of the citie compounded with the abbat & conuent that there should be none made there, whereby the pit was suffered to go to losse. And although it yelded salt water still of it selfe, yet it was spoiled at the last and filled vp with filth. The Wich men vse the commoditie of their salt springs in drawing and decocting the water of them onlie by six moneths in the yeare, that is, from Midsummer to Christmas, as (I gesse) to mainteine the price of salt, or for sauing of wood, which I thinke to be their principall reason. For making of salt is a great and notable destruction of wood, and shall be greater hereafter, except some prouision be made for the better increase of firing. The lacke of wood also is alreadie perceiued in places neere the Wich, for whereas they vsed to buie and take their wood neere vnto their occupi-

Of salt made in England.

Chap. 13.

THere are in England certein welles where salt is made, whereof Leland hath written abundantlie in his commentaries of Britaine, and whose words onlie I will set downe in English as he wrote them, because he seemeth to haue had diligent consideration of the same, without adding anie thing of mine owne to him, except it be where necessitie doth inforce me for the meere aid of the reader, in the vnderstanding of his mind. Directing therefore his iournie from Worcester in his peregrination and laborious trauell ouer England, he saith thus: From Worcester I road to the Wich by inclosed soile, hauing meetlie good corne ground, sufficient wood and good pasture, about a fir miles off, Wich standeth somewhat in a vallie or low ground, betwixt two small hils on the left ripe (for so he calleth the banke of euerie broke through out all his English treatises) of a pretie riuer which not far beneath the Wich is called Salope broke. The beautie of the towne in maner standeth in one street, yet be there manie lanes in the towne besides. There is also a meane church in the maine street, and once in the weeke an indifferent round market. The towne of it selfe is somewhat foule and durtie when anie raine falleth by reason of much cariage through the streets, which are verie ill paued or rather not paued at all. The great aduancement also hereof is by making of salt. And though the commoditie thereof be singular great, yet the burgesses be poore generallie, because gentlemen haue for the most part gotten the great gaine of it into their hands, whilest the poore burgesses yeld vnto all the labour. There are at this present time three hundred salters, and three salt springs in the towne of Wich, whereof the principall is within a butshot of the right ripe (or banke) of the riuer that there commeth downe: and this spring is double so profitable in yelding of salt

A common plague in all things of anie great commoditie, for one beateth the bush but an-

ocrupiengs, thoſe wonted ſpꝛings are now decaied, and they be inforced to ſeke their wood ſo far as Woꝛceſter towne, and all the parts about Bꝛenisgraue, Alchirch, and Alceſter. I aſked a ſalter how much wood he ſuppoſed yearelie to be ſpent at theſe foꝛnaces: and he anſwered that by eſtimation there was conſumed about ſix thouſand load, and it was round pole wood foꝛ the moſt, which is eaſie to be cleft, and handſomelie riuen in peces. The people that are about the foꝛnaces are verie ill coloured, and the uſt rate of euerie foꝛnace is to make foure loads of ſalt yearelie, and to euerie load goeth fiue oꝛ ſix quarters as they make their accounts. If the foꝛnace men make moꝛe in one foꝛnace than foure loads, it is (as it is ſaid) imploied to their owne auaile. And thus much hath Leland left in memoꝛie of our white ſalt, who in an other booke, not now in my hands, hath touched the making alſo of baie ſalt in ſome part of our countrie. But ſith that booke is deliuered againe to the owner, the tractation of baie ſalt can not be framed in anie oꝛder, bicauſe my memoꝛie will not ſerue to ſhew the true maner and the place. It ſhall ſuffice therfoꝛe to haue giuen ſuch notice of it, to the end the reader may know that aſwell the baie as white are wꝛought and made in England, and moꝛe white alſo vpon the weſt coaſt toward Scotland, in Eſſex and elſe where, out of the ſalt water betweene Wlire and Cokermouth, which commonlie is of like pꝛice with our wheat. Finallie, hauing thus intermedled our artificiall ſalt with our minerals, let vs giue ouer, and go in hand with ſuch mettals as are growing here in England.

Of our accompt of time & hir parts.

Chap. 14.

AS *Libra* is *As* oꝛ *Aſſis* to the Romans foꝛ their weight, and the foot in ſtandard meaſure: ſo in our accompt of the parts of time, we take the daie conſiſting of foure and twentie houres, to be the greateſt of the leaſt, and leaſt of the greateſt, whereby we keepe our reckoning: foꝛ of the houre (to ſaie the truth) the moſt ancient Romans, Gꝛeeks, noꝛ Hebꝛues had anie vſe; ſith they reckoned by watches: and whereof alſo Cenſorinus cap. 19. ſheweth a reaſon whereforе they were neglected. Foꝛ my part I doo not ſee anie great difference vſed in the obſeruation of time & hir parts, betweene our owne & any other foꝛren nation, wherfoꝛe I ſhall not need to ſtand long on this matter. Howbeit to the end our eract oꝛder herein ſhall appeare vnto all men, I will ſet downe ſome ſhoꝛt rehearſall thereof, and that in ſo bꝛiefe manner as vnto me is poſſible. As foꝛ our aſtronomicall pꝛactiſes, I meane not to meddle with them, ſith their courſe is vniſoꝛmelie obſerued ouer all. Our common oꝛder therefoꝛe is to begin at the minut, which conteineth ½ part of an houre, as at the ſmalleſt part of time knowne vnto the people, notwithſtanding that in moſt places they deſcend no lower than the halfe quarter oꝛ quarter of the houre; and from whence they pꝛoceed vnto the houre, to wit, the foure and twentith part of that which we call the common and naturall daie, which doth begin at midnight, and is obſerued continuallie by clockes, dialles, and aſtronomicall inſtruments of all ſoꝛts. The artificiall varietie of which kind of ware is ſo great here in England, as no place elſe (in mine opinion) can be comparable therein to this Ile. I will not ſpeake of the coſt beſtowed vpon them in perle and ſtone, neither of the valure of mettall, whereof they haue beene made, as gold, ſiluer, &c: and almoſt no abbeie oꝛ religious houſe without ſome of them. This onelie ſhall ſuffice to note here (as by the waie) that as antiquitie hath delighted in theſe things, ſo in our time pompe and exceſſe ſpendeth all, and nothing is regarded that bꝛingeth in no bꝛead. Of vnequall oꝛ tempoꝛall houres oꝛ daies, our nation hath no regard, and therefoꝛe to ſhew their quantities, differences, and diuiſions, into the greater and the leſſer, (whereof the later conteineth one vnequall houre, oꝛ the riſing of halfe a ſigne, the other of a whole ſigne, which is in two houres ſpace, wherof Marke ſeemeth to ſpeake cap. 15 c 25, as the reſt of the euangeliſts (yea and he alſo ibid. verſ. 33) doo of the other, Matth. 27 e 45 Luke 23 e 44, John 19 b 14) it ſhould be but in vaine. In like ſoꝛt, whereas the elder Aegyptians, Italians, Bohemians, latter Athenians, and Jews begin their daie at the ſun ſet ouer night; the Perſians, Babylonians, Grecians, and Noꝛibergians, at the ſun riſing (ech of them accompting their daies and nights by vnequall houres) alſo the elder Athenians, Arabians, Dutchmen, Umbers, Hetrurians, and Aſtronomers at high noone, and ſo reckon from noone to noone: we after Hipparchus and the latter Aegyptians, oꝛ to ſpeake moꝛe pꝛoperlie, imitating the Roman maner vſed in the church there of long time, chooſe the verie point of midnight; from whence we accompt twelue equall houres vnto middaie inſuing, and other twelue againe vnto the afoꝛeſaid point, accoꝛding to theſe verſes;

Manè diem Græca gens incipit aſtra ſequentes
In medio lucis Iudæus veſpere ſancta,
Inchoat eccleſia media ſua tempora nocte.

And this is our generall oꝛder foꝛ the naturall daie. Of the artificiall we make ſo farre accompt, as that we reckon it daie when the ſun is vp, and night when the ſun leaueth our hoꝛizon. Otherwiſe alſo we diuide it into two parts, that is to ſaie, foꝛe noone and after noone, not regarding the ruddie, ſhining, burning and warming ſeaſons (of thꝛée vnequall houres a péece, which others ſéeme to diuide into ſpꝛing time, ſummer, autumne, and winter, in like curious manner) and whereof I read theſe verſes:

Solis equi lucis dicuntur quatuor horæ,
Hæc rubet, hæc ſplendet, hæc calet, illa tepet.

Indéed our phyſicians haue another partition of the daie, as men of no leſſe learning no doubt than the beſt of foꝛren countries, if we could ſo conceiue of them. And herein they concurre alſo with thoſe of other nations, who foꝛ diſtinction in regiment of our humoꝛs, diuide the artificiall daie and night in ſuch wiſe as theſe verſes doo impoꝛt, and are indéed a generall rule which ech of them doth follow:

Tres lucis primas, noctis tres ſanguinis imas,
Vis choleræ medias lucis ſex vendicat horas.
Dátque melam primas noctis, tres lucis & imas,
Centrales ponas ſex noctis phlegmatis horas.

Oꝛ thus, as Tanſteter hath giuen them foꝛth in his pꝛelections:

A nona noctis donec ſit tertia lucis,
Eſt dominus ſanguis, ſex inde ſequentibus horis
Eſt dominans cholera, dum lucis nona ſit hora
Poſt niger humid ineſt donec ſit tertia noctis,
Poſthæc phlegma venit, donec ſit nona quietis.

In Engliſh thus in effect:

Three houres yer ſun doo riſe,
and ſo manie after, blud,
From nine to three at after noone,
hot choler beares the ſwaie,
Euen ſo to nine at night,
ſwart choler hath to rule,
As phlegme from thence to three at morne
ſix houres ech one I ſaie.

In

Night. In like sort for the night we haue none other parts than the twilight, darkenight, midnight, and cocks crowing: wheras the Latins diuide the same into 7 parts, as *Vesper* or *Vesperugo*, as Plautus calleth it, as Virgil vseth the word *Hesper* the euening, which is immediatlie after the setting of the sun. *Vesper.* *Crepusculum.* *Crepusculum* the twilight (which some call *Prima fax*, because men begin then to light candles) when it is betweene daie and night, light and darkenesse, or properlie neither daie nor night. *Concubium* the still of the night, when ech one is laid to rest. *Intempestum*, the dull or dead of the night, which is midnight, when men be in their first or dead sléepe. *Gallicinium*, the cocks crowing. *Conticinium*, when the cocks haue left crowing. *Matutinum*, the breach of the daie, and *Diluculum siue aurora*, the ruddie, orenge, golden or shining colour, séene immediatlie before the rising of the sun, and is opposite to the euening, as *Matutinum* is to the twilight. *Concubium.* *Intempestum.* *Gallicinium.* *Conticinium.* *Matutinum.* *Diluculum.*

Other there are which dow reckon by watches, diuiding the night after sun setting into foure equall parts. Of which the first beginneth at euening called the first watch, and continueth by three vnequall houres, and so forth vntill the end of the ninth houre, whereat the fourth watch entreth, which is called the morning watch, bicause it concurreth partlie with the darke night, and partlie with the morning and breach of the daie before the rising of the sun. Watches.

As for the originall of the word houre, it is verie ancient; but yet not so old as that of the watch, whereof we shall read abundantlie in the scriptures, which was deuised first among souldiors for their better safegard and change of watchmen in their camps; the like whereof is almost vsed among our seafaring men, which they call clearing of the glasse, and performed from time to time with great héed and some solemnitie. Hereunto the word *Hora* among the Grecians signified so well the foure quarters of the yéere, as the foure and twentith part of the daie, and limits of anie forme. But what stand I vpon these things to let my purpose faie? To proceed therefore. Houre.

Of naturall daies is the wéeke compacted, which consisteth of seauen of them, the fridaie being commonlie called among the vulgar sort either king or worling, bicause it is either the fairest or foulest of the seauen: albeit that I cannot ghesse of anie reason whie they should so imagine. The first of these entreth with mondaie, whereby it commeth to passe, that we rest vpon the sundaie, which is the seauenth in number, as almightie God hath commanded in his word. The Iews begin their wéeke vpon our saturdaie at the setting of the sun: and the Turks in these daies with the saturdaie, whereby it commeth to passe, that as the Iews make our last daie the first of their wéeke, so the Turks make the Iewish sabaoth the beginning of their *Hebdoma*: bicause Mahomet their prophet (as they saie) was borne and dead vpon the fridaie, and so he was indéed, except their Alcharon deceiue them. The Iews dow reckon their daies by their distance from their sabaoth, so that the first daie of their wéeke is the first daie of the sabaoth, and so forth vnto the first. The Latins and Aegyptians accompted their daies after the seauen planets, chosing the same for the denominator of the daie, that entreth his regiment with the first vnequall houre of the same after the sun be risen. Howbeit, as this order is not wholie reteined with vs, so the vse of the same is not yet altogither abolished, as may appéere by our sunday, mondaie, and saturdaie. The rest were changed by the Saxons, who in remembrance of Theut sometime their prince, called the second day of the wéek Theutsdach, the third Woden, Othin, Othon, or Edon, or Wodensdach. Also of Thor they named the fourth daie Thorsdach, and of Frea wife to Woden the fift was called Freadach. Albeit there are (and not amisse as I thinke) that suppose them to meane by Thor, Iupiter, by Woden, Mercurie, by Frea (or Frigga as Saxo calleth hir) Uenus, and finallie by Theut, Mars: which if it be so, then it is an easie matter to find out the german Mars, Uenus, Mercurie, and Iupiter, whereof you may read more hereafter in my chronologie. The truth is, that Frea albeit that Saxo giueth hir scant a good report, for that she loued one of hir husbands men better than himselfe, had seauen sonnes by Woden; the first, father to Wecca, of whome descended those that were afterwards kings of Kent. Fethelgeta was the second, and of him came the kings of Mercia. Baldaie the third, father to the kings of the west Saxons. Beldagius the fourth, parent to the kings of Brenicia or Northumberland. Weogodach the fift, author of the kings of Deira. Caser the first race of the east Angle race, & Nascad originall burgeant of the kings of Esser. As for the kings of Susser, although they were of the same people, yet were they not of the same streine, as our old monuments dow expresse. But to proceed.

Weeke.

As certeine of our daies suffered this alteration by the Saxons, so in our churches we reteined for a long time the number of daies or of *feries from the sabaoth, after the manner of the Iews, I meane vntill the seruice after the Romane vse was abolished, which custome was first receiued (as some thinke) by pope Syluester, though other saie by Constantine; albeit another sort dow affirme, that Sylvester caused the sundaie onelie to be called the Lords day, and dealt not with the rest. *Feriæ.*

Moneth. In like maner of wéekes our moneths are made, which are so called of the moone, each one conteining eight and twentie daies, or foure wéekes, without anie further curiositie. For we reckon not our time by the yeare of the moone, as the Iews, Grecians, or Romans did at the first; or as the Turks, Arabians and Persians dow now: neither anie parcell thereof by the said planet, as in some part of the west Indies, where they haue neither wéeke, moneth, nor yéere, but onlie a generall accompt of hundreds and thousands of moones. Wherefore if we saie or write a moneth, it is to be expounded of eight and twentie daies, or foure wéeks onelie, and not of hir vsuall period of nine and twentie daies and one and thirtie minuts. Or (if you take it at large) for a moneth of the common calender, which neuertheless in plées and suites is nothing at all allowed of, sith the moone maketh hir full reuolution in eight and twentie daies or foure weeks, that is, vnto the place where she left the sun: notwithstanding that he be now gone, and at hir returne not to be found verie often in that signe wherin she before had left him. Plutarch writeth of diuers barbarous nations which reckoned a more or lesse number of these moneths for whole yeares: and that of these some accompted but three, as the Archadians did foure, the Acarnans six, and the Aegyptians but one for a whole yeare, which causeth them to make such a large accompt of their antiquitie and originall. But forsomuch as we are not troubled with anie such disorder, it shall suffice that I haue generallie said of moneths and their quantities at this time. Now a word or two of the ancient Romane calender. *Triuethus in Antartico.*

In old time each moneth of the Romane calender was reckoned after the course of the moone, and their enterances were vncerteine, as were also the changes of that planet: whereby it came to passe, that the daie of the change was the first of the moneth, howsoeuer it fell out. But after Julius Cesar had once corrected the same, the seuerall beginnings of euerie one of them did not onelie remaine fixed, but

but also the old order in the diuision of their parts continued still vnaltered: so that the moneth is yet diuided as before, into calends, ides and nones, albeit that in my daies, the vse of the same bée but small, and their order reteined onelie in our calenders, for the better vnderstanding of such times, as the historiographers and old authors do remember. The reckoning also of each of these goeth (as you sée) after a preposterous order, whereby the Romans did rather note how many daies were to the nert change from the precedent, than contrariwise, as by perusall of the same you shall more easilie perceiue.

The daies also of the change of the moneth of the mone, are called *Calendæ*, which in time of paganisme were consecrated to Juno, and sacrifice made to that goddesse on the same. On these daies also, and on the ides and nones they would not marie. Likewise the morow after each of them were called *Dies atri*, blacke daies, as were also diuerse other, and those either by reason of some notable ouerthrow or misshap that befell vnto the Romans vpon those daies, or in respect of some superstitious imagination conceiued of euill successe likelie to fall out vpon the same. Of some they were called *Dies Aegyptiaci*. Whereby it appeareth that this pœuish estimation of these daies came from that nation. And as we do note our holie and festiuall daies with red letters in our calenders, so did the Romans their principall feasts & circle of the mone, either in red or golden letters, and their victories in white, in their publike or consularie tables. This also is more to be added, that if anie good successe happened afterward vpon such day as was alreadie blacke in their calender, they would solemnlie enter it in white letters by racing out of the blacke, whereby the blacke daie was turned into white, and wherein they not a little reioised.

The word *Calendæ* (in Grécke *Neomenia*) is deriued of *Calo*, to call: for vpon the first day of euerie moneth, the priest vsed to call the people of the citie and countrie togither in Calabria, for so the place was called where they met, and shew them by a custome how manie daies were from the said calends to the nones, & what feasts were to be celebrated betwéene that and the nert change. Their order is retrograde, because that after the moneth was halfe expired, or the mone past the full, they reckoned by the daies to come vntill the nert change, as seuentéene daies, sirtéene daies, fourtéene daies, &c: as the Gréckes did in the latter decad onelie, for they had no vse of calends. The derie day therefore of the change is called *Cidenda*, dedicated to Juno, who thereof was also called *Calendaris*. At the first also the falls or feast daies were knowne by none other meanes vnto the people but by the denunciation of the priests (as I said) vpon this daie, till Flauius Scriba caused them to be written & published in their common calenders, contrarie to the will and meaning of the senat, for the ease and benefit of the people, as he pretended.

The nones commonlie are not aboue foure or six in euerie moneth: and so long as the nones lasted, so long did the markets continue, and therefore they were called *Nonæ quasi Nundinæ*. In them also were neither holiedaies more than is at this present (except the day of the purification of our ladie) no sacrifice offered to the gods, but each one applied his busines, and kept his market, reckoning the first day after the calends or change, to be the fourth or sirt daie before the faire ended. Some thinke that they were called *Nonæ*, of the word *Non, quia in ysdem dy non colunt*. For as Ouid saith, *Nonarum tutela deo caret*, or for that the nones were alwaies on the ninth daie before the ides: other because *Nundina dea* was honored the ninth day before the ides, albeit I suppose rather that *Nundina dea* (a goddesse far yonger than the name of *Nonæ*) take hir name of the nones, whereon it was a custome among the Romans, *Lustrare infantes ac nomina maribus imponere*, as they did with their maid children vpon the eight: but howsoeuer this be, sure it is that they were the mart daies of euerie moneth, wherin the people bought, sold, exchanged or bartered, and did nothing else.

The ides are so named of the Hetruscan word, *Iduare*, to diuide: and before that Cesar altered the calender, they diuided the moneth commonlie by the middest. But afterward when he had added certeine daies thereto, therby to make it agrée to the yére of the sunne (which he intruded about the end of euerie moneth, bicause he would not alter the celebration of their vsuall feasts, whereof the chiefe were holden alwaies vpon the day of the ides) then came they short of the middest, sometime by two or thrée daies. In these therefore (which alwaies are eight) the merchants had leisure to packe vp and conueie their merchandize, to pay their creditors, and make merie with their friends.

After the ides do the calends follow, but in a decreasing order (as I noted) as the mone doth in light when she is past the full. But herein lieth all the mysterie, if you can say so manie daies before the nert change or new mone, as the number there expressed doth betoken, as for 16 calends so manie daies before the next coniunction, &c: (as is aboue remembred.) Of these calends, I meane touching their number in euerie moneth, I find these verses insuing:

Ianus & Augustus denas nouémq; December,
Iunius Aprilis September & ipse Nouember
Tersenas retinent, Februs bis octo calendas,
Iulius October Mars Maius Eptadecemq;

In English thus.

December Iune and August month
full nineteene calends haue,
Septemb Aprill Nouemb and Iune
twise nine they do desire,
Sixteene foule Februarie hath,
no more can he well craue.
October Maie and Iulie hot
but seuenteene do require.

In like maner do the nones and ides.

Sex Maius nonas, October, Iulius, & Mars,
Quatuor at reliqui, dabit idus quilibet octo.

To Iulie, Mars, October, Maie,
six nones I hight,
The rest but foure, and as for ides
they keepe still eight.

Againe touching the number of daies in euerie moneth:

Iunius, Aprilis, Septémq;, Nouémq; tricenos,
Vnum plus reliqui, Februs tenet octo vicenos,
At si bissextus fuerit super additur vnus.

Thirtie daies hath Nouember,
Aprill, Iune, and September,
Twentie and eight hath Februarie alone,
and all the rest thirtie and one,
but in the leape you must ad one.

Our yeare is counted after the course of the sunne, and although the church hath some vse of that of the mone for obseruation of certeine moueable feasts, yet it is reductible to that of the sunne, which in our ciuill dealings is chiefle had in vse. Herein onelie I find a scruple, that the beginning thereof is not vniforme and certeine, for most of our records beare date the 25 of March, and our calenders the first of Januarie; so that with vs Christ is borne before he be conceiued. Our sundrie officers also haue sundrie entrances into their charges of custome, which breédeth great confusion, whereas if all these might be referred to one originall (and that to be the first of Januarie) I do not thinke but that there would be more

certeintie, and lesse trouble for our historiographers, notaries, & other officers in their account of the yere. In old time the Atheniens began their yeare with the change of the mœne that fell nerest to the entrance of the sunne into the crab, the Latines at the winter solstice, or his going into the goat, the Jewes in ciuill case at the latter equinoctiall, and in ecclesiasticall with the first. They of Calecute begin their yeare somewhere in September, but vpon no daie certeine, sith they first consult with their wisards, who pronounce one day or other thereof to be most happie (as the yeare goeth about) and therewith they make their entrance, as Osorius doth remember, who addeth that vpon the eleuenth calends of September, they haue solemne plaies, much like to the idoll games, & that they write in leaues of trœ with a pencill, in stead of paper, which is not found among them. Some of the old Grecians began their yere also in September: but sith we seeke herein but for the customs of our countrie onelie, it shall be enough to affirme that we make our account from the calends or first of Januarie, and from the middest of the night which is *Limes* betweene that and the last of December, whereof this maie suffice. I might speake of the Cynike yeare also in this place (for the ease of our English readers) sometime in vse amongst the Egyptians, which conteineth 1460 common yeares, whose beginning is alwaies reckoned from the rising of the lesser dog. The first vse thereof entered the selfe yeare wherin the Olimpiads were restored. And forsomuch as this nation hath no vse of intercalation, at the end of euerie 1460 yeares, they added an whole yeare of intercalation, because there are 365 leape yæres in the period, so that 1460 Julian yæres do conteine 1461 after the Egyptians account, wherby their common yeare is found to be lesse than ours. Furthermore, whereas our intercalation for the leape yere is somewhat too much by certeine minuts, which in 115 yeares amount vnto about an whole day, if one intercalation in so manie were omitted, our calender would be the more perfect: and I would wish that the same yeare wherein the said intercalation truelie found out should be ouerpassed, might be obserued and called *Annus magnus Elizabethæ*, in perpetuall remembrance of our noble and soueregne princesse now reigning amongst vs.

I might here saie somewhat also of the prime and his alteration, which is risen higher by fiue daies in our common calender than it was placed by Iulius Cæsar: and in seauen thousand yeares some writer would grow to an error of an whole, if the world should last so long. But forsomuch as in some calenders of ours it is reduced againe to the daie of euerie change, it shall suffice to saie no more therof. The pope also hath made a generall correction of the calender, wherein he hath reduced it to the same that it was or should haue bæne at the councell of Nice. Howbeit as he hath abolished the vse of the golden number, so hath he continued the epact, applieng it vnto such generall vse, as doth now serue both the turnes, whose reformation had also yet this time bæne admitted into England, if it had not proceeded from him, against whom and all whose ordinances we haue so faithfullie sworne and set our hands.

Certes the next omission is to be performed if all princes would agrée thereto in the leape yeare that shall be about the yeare of Grace 1668: if it shall please God that the world may last so long, and then may our calender also stand without ante alteration as it doth alreadie. By this also it appeareth how the defect of our calender may be supplied from the creation, wherein the first equinoctiall is sœne higher toward the beginning of March than Cæsars calender now extant doth yeld vnto by seauen daies. For as in Cæsars time the true equinoctiall was pointed out to happen (as Stadius also noteth) either vpon or about the sixtenth or seauententh of March, albeit the manifest apperance thereof was not found vntill the fiue and twentith of that moneth in their dials or by eie-sight: so at the beginning of the world the said entrance of the sunne into the ram, must néeds fall out to be about the twentith or one & twentith of Aprill, as the calender now standeth, if I faile not in my numbers. Aboue the yeare we haue no more parts of time, that carie anie seuerall names with them, except you will affirme the word age to be one, which is taken for a hundred yeares, and signifieth in English so much as Seculum or Æuum doth in Latine; neither is it néedfull to remember that some of my countrimen do reckon their times not by years but by summers and winters, which is verie common among vs. Wherefore to shut vp this chapiter withall, you shall haue a table of the names of the daies of the weeke, after the old Saxon and Scotish maner, which I haue borowed from amongst our ancient writers, as I haue perused their volumes.

The present names.

Monday.	Fridaie.
Tuesday.	Saturdaie.
Wednesday.	Sunday, or the Lords daie.
Thursday.	

The old Saxon names.

Monendeg.	Frigesdeg.
Tuesdeg.	Saterdeg.
Wodnesdeg.	Sunnandeg.
Thunresdeg.	

The Scotish vsage.

Diu Luna.	Diu Friach.
Diu Mart.	Diu Satur.
Diu Yath.	Diu Seroll.
Diu Ethamon.	

Of our principall faires and *markets.*

Chap. 15.

I Haue heretofore said sufficientlie of our faires, in the chapter of fairs and markets; and now to performe my promise there made, I set downe here so manie of our faires as I haue found out by mine owne obseruation, and helpe of others in this behalfe. Certes it is impossible for me to come by all, sith there is almost no towne in England, but hath one or more such marts holden yearelie in the same, although some of them (I must néeds confesse) be scarse comparable to Lowse faire, and little else bought or sold in them more than good drinke, pies, and some pedlerie trash: wherefore it were no losse if diuerse of them were abolished. Neither do I see wherevnto this number of paltrie fairs tendeth, so much as to the corruption of youth, who (all other businesse set apart) must néeds repaire vnto them, whereby they often spend not onelie the weeke daies, but also the Lords sabbaoth in great vanitie and riot. But such hath bæne the iniquitie of ancient times. God grant therefore that ignorance being now abolished, and a further insight into things growne into the minds of magistrates, these old er-

rors

rors may be conſidered of, and ſo farre reformed, as that thereby neither God may be diſhonored, nor the common wealth of our countrie anie thing diminiſhed. In the meane time, take this table here inſuing in ſtead of a calender of the greateſt, ſith that I cannot, or at the leaſt wiſe care not to come by the names of the leſſe, whoſe knowledge cannot be ſo profitable to them that be farre off, as they are oft preiudiciall to ſuch as dwell neere hand to the places where they be holden and kept, by pilferers that reſort vnto the ſame.

Faires in Ianuarie.

The firſt day being Twelfe day at Salisburie, the fiue and twentith being ſaint Paules day, at Briſtow, at Grauelend, at Churchingford, at Northalerton in Yorkeſhire, where is kept a faire euerie wedneſday from Chriſtmaſſe vntill June.

Faires in Februarie.

The firſt day at Bromleie. The ſecond at Lin, at Bath, at Maidſtone, at Bickleſworth, at Budworth. The fourteenth at Feuerſham. On Aſhwedneſday at Lichfield, at Tamworth, at Roiſton, at Exceſter, at Abington, at Ciceſter. The foure and twentith at Henlie vpon Thames, at Tewkeſburie.

Faires in March.

On the twelfth day, at Stamford, Sapeſſord, and at Sudburie. The thirteenth day at Wie, at the Mount, & at Bodmin in Cornewall. The firſt ſunday in Lent, at Grantham, at Saliſburie. On monday before our ladie day in Lent, at Wiſbich, at Kendall, Denbigh in Wales. On palmeſunday eeuen, at Pomfret. On palmeſunday, at Worceſter. The twentith day at Durham. On our ladie day in Lent at Northamton, at Walden, at great Chart, at Newcaſtell. And all the ladie daies at Huntington. And at Saffron Walden on midlentſunday.

Faires in Aprill.

The firſt day at Wallingford. The ſeuenth at Darbie. The ninth at Bickleſworth, at Belinſworth. On monday after, at Euecham in Worceſterſhire. On tueſday in Eaſter weeke at Northfleet, at Rochford, at Hitchin. The third ſunday after Eaſter, at Louth. The two and twentith at Stamford. On ſaint Georges day, at Charing, at Ipſwich, at Tamworth, at Ampthill, at Hinninham, at Gilford, at ſaint Pombes in Cornewall. On ſaint Markes day at Darbie, at Dunmow in Eſſex. The ſix and twentith at Tenderden in Kent.

Faires in Maie.

On Maie daie at Ripon, at Perin in Cornwall, at Oſſetrie in Wales, at Lerfield in Suffolke, at Stow the old, at Reading, at Leiceſter, at Chenſford, at Maidſtone, at Brickehill, at Blackeborne, at Cogilton, at Stokeneie land. The third at Bramyard, at Henningham, at Elſtow, Walcham, Holicroſſe, and Hedningham caſtell. The ſeuenth at Beuerleie, at Newton, at Orford. On Aſcenſion day at Newcaſtell, at Yerne, at Bramechame, at ſaint Edes, at Biſhopſtratford, at Wicham, at Middlewich, at Stopford, at Chappell frith. On Whitſuneeuen, at Skipton vpon Crauen. On Whitſunday, at Richell, at Gribbie, and euerie wedneſday fortnight at Kingſton vpon Thames, at Rateſdale, at Kirbiſtephin in Weſtmerland. On monday in Whitſunweeke, at Daringtō, at Exceſter, at Bradford, at Rigate, at Burton, at Salford, at Whitechurch, at Cockermouth, at Aplebie, at Bickleſworth, at Stokeclare. On tueſday in Whitſunweeke, at Lewſe, at Rochford, at Canturburie, at Dunſkirke, at Perith, at long Milford. On wedneſday in Whitſunweeke, at Sandbarre, at Raiſton. On Trinitie ſunday, at Kendall, and at Rowell. On thurſday after Trinitie ſunday, at Preſcote, at Stapford, at ſaint Annes, at Newburie, at Couentrie, at ſaint Edes, at Biſhop ſtortford, at Roſſe. The ninth at Locheſter, at Dunſtable. The twentie ſeuenth day, at Lenham. The twentie ninth at Crambroke. On monday in Rogation weeke at Rech, and ſunday after Aſcenſion day, at Charſted.

Faires in Iune.

The ninth day at Maidſtone. The 15, at Okingham, at Newbourgh, at Bardfield, at Marfield, & Holt. The ſeuentéenth at Hadſtocke. The twentie three at Shrewſburie, at ſaint Albans. The twentie fourth day, at Horſham, at Bedell, at Strackſtocke, at ſaint Annes, at Wakefield, at Colcheſter, at Reading, at Bedford, at Barnewell beſide Cambridge, at Wollerhampton, at Crambroke, at Gloceſter, at Lincolne, at Peterborow, at Windſor, at Harſtone, at Lancaſter, at Weſtcheſter, at Halifax, at Aſhborne. The twentie ſeuenth, at Folkeſtone. The twentie eight, at Hetcorne, at ſaint Pombes. The twentie ninth, at Woodhurſt, at Marleborough, at Holleſworth, at Wollerhampton, at Peterfield, at Lempſter, at Sudburie, at Gargrainge, at Bromleie.

Faires in Iulie.

The ſecond at Congreton, at Aſhton vnder line. The ſunday after the third of Julie, at Raiſton. The eleuenth at Partneie, and at Lid. The fiftéenth, at Pichbacke. The ſeuentéenth, at Winchcombe. The twentith, at Arbridge, at Cateſbie, at Bolton. The twentie two, at Marleborow, at Wincheſter, at Colcheſter, at Tetburie, at Cooling, at Pealdon, at Bridgenorth, at Clitherall, at Norwich in Cheſhire, at Cheſwike, at Battelfield, at Bickleworth. The twentie fift, at Briſtow, at Douer, at Chilham, at Darbie, at Ipſwich, at Northampton, at Dudleie in Staffordſhire, at ſaint James beſide London, at Reading, at Ereth in the Ile, at Walden, at Thremhall, at Baldocke, at Louth, at Palmeſburie, at Bromeleie, at Chicheſter, at Liuerpole, at Altergam, at Rauenglaſſe in the north. The twentie firſt, at Tiptrie. The twentie ſeuenth at Canturburie, at Horcham, at Richmund in the north, at Warington, at Chappell frith.

Faires in Auguſt.

The firſt day at Exceſter, at Feuerſham, at Dunſtable, at ſaint Edes, at Bedford, at Northam church, at Wiſbich, at Yorke, at Rumneie, at Newton, at Peland. The fourth at Linton. The tenth at Waltham, at Charſted, at Blackemore, at Hungerford, at Bedford, at Stroides, at Fernam, at S. Laurence by Bodmin, at Walton, at Croileie, at Seddell, at new Brainford. The 15, at Cambridge, at Dunmow, at Caerleill, at Preſton in Andall, at Wakefield on the two ladie daies, and vpon the ſunday after the fiftéenth day of Auguſt, at Hauerhull. On Bartholomew day, at London, at Beggers buſh beſide Rie, at Tenkeſburie, at Sudburie, at Rie, at Nantwich, at Pagets, at Bromleie, at Norwich, at Northalerton, at Douer. On the ſunday

after Bartholomew day, at Sandwich. The twentie seuenth, and at Ashford.

Faires in September.

The first day at S. Giles at the Bush. The eight day at Wolfpit, at Wakefield, at Sturbridge, in Southwarke at London, at Snide, at Kecoluer, at Gisbourgh both the ladie daies, at Partneie. The three ladie daies at Blackeburne, at Gisborne in Yorkeshire, at Chalton, at Utcester. On Holirode day, at Richmond in Yorkeshire, at Ripond a horse faire, at Penhad, at Berkeie, at Waltam abbeie, at Wotton vnder hedge, at Smalding, at Chesterfield, at Denbigh in Wales. On saint Mathies day, at Marleborough, at Bedford, at Croidon, at Holden in Holdernes, at saint Edmundsburie, at Palton, at saint Jues, at Shrewesburie, at Laneham, at Witnall, at Sittingborne, at Brainetrie, at Baldocke, at Katharine hill beside Gilford, at Douer, at Eastrie. The twentie ninth day being Michaelmas day, at Canturburie, at Malton a noble horse faire, at Lancaster, at Blackeborne, at Westchester, at Cokermouth, at Ashborne, at Hadleie, at Malden an horse faire, at Maie hill, at Newburie, and at Leicester.

Faires in October.

The fourth day at Michell. The first day at saint Faiths beside Norwich, at Maidstone. The eight at Harborough, at Hereford, at Bishop Stortford. On S. Edwards day, at Rotton, at Grauesend, at Windsor, at Marshfield. The ninth day at Colchester. On saint Lukes eeuen, at Elie, at Wrickle, at Upane, at Thirsk, at Bridgenorth, at Stanton, at Charing, at Burton vpon Trent, at Charleton, at Wigan, at Friswides in Oxford, at Tisdale, at Middlewich, at Holt in Wales. The twentie one day at Saffron Walden, at Newmarket, at Hertford, at Cicester, at Stokeleie. The twentie third, at Preston, at Bikelsworth, at Ritchdale, at Whitechurch. The twentie eight, at Newmarket, and Hertford. On all saints eeuen, at Wakefield, and at Rithen.

Faires in Nouember.

The second at Blechinglie, at Kingston, at Marfield, at Epping. The first day, at Newport pond, at Stanleie, at Tregnie, at Salford, at Lesford, and Wethod faire at Hertford. The tenth, at Leuton. The eleuenth, at Marleborough, at Douer. The thirtenth, at saint Edmundsburie, at Gilford. The seuententh day, at Low, at Hide. The nineteenth, at Horsham. On saint Edmunds day, at Hith, at Ingerstone. The twentie third day, at Sandwich. On saint Andrews day at Colingbourgh, at Rochester, at Peterfield, at Maidenhed, at Bewdleie, at Warington in Lancashire, at Bedford in Yorkeshire, at Oestrie in Wales, and at Powles Belcham.

Faires in December.

On the fift day, at Pluckelele. On the first, at Cased, at Hedningham, at Spalding, at Exceter, at Sinocke, at Arnedale, and at Northwich in Cheshire. The seuenth day at Sandhurst. The eight day being the conception of our ladie, at Clitherall in Lancashire, at Malpas in Cheshire. The twentie ninth, at Canturburie, and at Salisburie.

Of our innes and thorowfaires.

Chap. 16.

THose townes that we call thorowfaires haue great and sumptuous innes builded in them, for the receiuing of such trauellers and strangers as passe to and fro. The manner of harbouring wherein, is not like to that of some other countries, in which the host or goodman of the house doth chalenge a lordlie authoritie ouer his ghests, but cleane otherwise, sith euerie man may vse his inne as his owne house in England, and haue for his monie how great or little varietie of vittels, and what other seruice himselfe shall thinke expedient to call for. Our innes are also verie well furnished with naperie, bedding, and tapisserie, especiallie with naperie: for beside the linnen vsed at the tables, which is commonlie washed dailie, is such and so much as belongeth vnto the estate and calling of the ghest. Ech commer is sure to lie in cleane sheets, wherein no man hath beene lodged since they came from the landresse, or out of the water wherein they were last washed. If the traueller haue an horsse, his bed doth cost him nothing, but if he go on foot he is sure to paie a penie for the same: but whether he be horsseman or footman if his chamber be once appointed he may carie the kaie with him, as of his owne house so long as he lodgeth there. If he lose oughts whilest he abideth in the inne, the host is bound by a generall custome to restore the damage, so that there is no greater securitie anie where for trauellers than in the greatest citis of England. Their horsses in like sort are walked, dressed and loked vnto by certeine hostelers or hired seruants, appointed at the charges of the goodman of the house, who in hope of extraordinarie reward will deale verie diligentlie after outward apearance in this their function and calling. Herein neuertheless are manie of them blamewor thie, in that they do not onelie deceiue the beast oftentimes of his allowance by sundrie meanes, except their owners loke well to them; but also make such packs with sliper merchants which hunt after preie (for what place is sure from euill & wicked persons) that manie an honest man is spoiled of his goods as he trauelleth to and fro, in which feat also the counsell of the tapsters or drawers of drinke, and chamberleins is not seldome behind or wanting. Certes I beleeue not that chapman or traueller in England is robbed by the waie without the knowledge of some of them, for when he commeth into the inne, & alighteth from his horsse, the hostler forthwith is verie busie to take downe his budget or capcase in the yard from his sadle bow, which he peiseth slilie in his hand to feele the weight thereof: or if he misse of this pitch, when the ghest hath taken vp his chamber, the chamberleine that loketh to the making of the beds, will be sure to remoue it from the place where the owner hath set it as if it were to set it more conuenientlie some where else, whereby he getteth an inkling whether it be monie or other short wares, & therof giueth warning to such od ghests as haut the house and are of his confederacie, to the vtter vndoing of manie an honest yeoman as he tourneth by the waie. The tapster in like sort for his part doth marke his behauiour, and what plentie of monie he draweth when he paieth the shot, to the like end: so that it shall be an hard matter to escape all their subtile practises. Some thinke it a gay matter to commit their budgets at their comming to the goodman of the house: but thereby they oft be-

wraie themſelues. For albeit their monie be ſafe for the time that it is in his hands (for you ſhall not heare that a man is robbed in his inne) yet after their departure the hoſt can make no warrantiſe of the ſame, ſith his protection extendeth no further than the gate of his owne houſe: and there cannot be a ſurer token vnto ſuch as prie and watch for thoſe booties, than to ſee anie gheſt deliuer his capcaſe in ſuch maner. In all our innes we haue plentie of ale, beere, and ſundrie kinds of wine, and ſuch is the capacitie of ſome of them that they are able to lodge two hundred or three hundred perſons, and their horſſes at eaſe, & therto with a verie ſhort warning make ſuch prouiſion for their diet, as to him that is vnacquainted withall may ſeeme to be incredible. Howbeit of all in England there are no worſe ins than in London, and yet manie are there far better than the beſt that I haue heard of in anie forren countrie, if all circumſtances be dulie conſidered. But to leaue this & go in hand with my purpoſe: I will here ſet downe a table of the beſt thorowfaires and townes of greateſt trauell of England, in ſome of which there are twelue or ſirteene ſuch innes at the leaſt, as I before did ſpeake of. And it is a world to ſee how ech owner of them contendeth with other for goodneſſe of interteinement of their gheſts, as about fineſſe & change of linnen, furniture of bedding, beautie of roomes, ſeruice at the table, coſtlineſſe of plate, ſtrength of drinke, varietie of wines, or well vſing of horſſes. Finallie there is not ſo much omitted among them as the gorgeouſnes of their verie ſignes at their doores, wherein ſome doo conſume thirtie or fortie pounds, a meere vanitie in mine opinion, but ſo vaine will they needs be, and that not onelie to giue ſome outward token of the inne keepers welth, but alſo to procure good gheſts to the frequenting of their houſes in hope there to be well vſed. Lo here the table now at hand, for more of our innes I ſhall not need to ſpeake.

The waie from Walſingham to London.

From Walſingham to Picknam 12.miles
From Picknam to Brandonferie 10.miles
From Brandonferie to Newmarket 10.miles
From Newmarket to Brabram 10.miles
From Brabram to Barkewaie 20.miles
From Barkewaie to Puchrich 7.miles
From Puchrich to Ware 5.miles
From Ware to Waltham 8.miles
From Waltham to London 12.miles

The waie from Barwike to Yorke, and ſo to London.

From Barwike to Belford 12.miles
From Belford to Anwike 12.miles
From Anwike to Morpit 12.miles
From Morpit to Newcaſtell 12.miles
From Newcaſtell to Durham 12.miles
From Durham to Darington 13.miles
From Darington to Northalerton 14.miles
From Northalerton to Toplike 7.miles
From Toplike to Yorke 16.miles
From Yorke to Tadcaſter 8.miles
From Tadcaſter to Wantbridge 12.miles
From Wantbridge to Dancaſter 8.miles
From Dancaſter to Tutford 18.miles
From Tutford to Newarke 10.miles
From Newarke to Grantham 10.miles
From Grantham to Stanford 16.miles
From Stanford to Stilton 12.miles
From Stilton to Huntington 9.miles
From Huntington to Roiſton 15.miles
From Roiſton to Ware 12.miles
From Ware to Waltham 8.miles
From Waltham to London 12.miles

The waie from Carnaruan to Cheſter, and ſo to London.

From Carnaruan to Conwaie 24.miles
From Conwaie to Denbigh 12.miles
From Denbigh to Flint 12.miles
From Flint to Cheſter 10.miles
From Cheſter to Wich 14.miles
From Wich to Stone 15.miles
From Stone to Lichfield 16.miles
From Lichfield to Colſill 12.miles
From Colſill to Couentrie 8.miles

And ſo from Couentrie to London, as hereafter followeth.

The waie from Cockermouth to Lancaſter, and ſo to London.

From Cockermouth to Kiſwike 6.miles
From Kiſwike to Grocener 8.miles
From Grocener to Kendale 14.miles
From Kendale to Burton 7.miles
From Burton to Lancaſter 8.miles
From Lancaſter to Preſton 20.miles
From Preſton to Wigam 14.miles
From Wigam to Warington 20.miles
From Warington to Newcaſtell 20.miles
From Newcaſtell to Lichfield 20.miles
From Lichfield to Couentrie 20.miles
From Couentrie to Daintrie 14.miles
From Daintrie to Toceſter 10.miles
From Toceſter to Stonyſtratford 6.miles
From Stonyſtratford to Brichill 7.miles
From Brichill to Dunſtable 7.miles
From Dunſtable to ſaint Albons 10.miles
From ſaint Albons to Barnet 10.miles
From Barnet to London. 10.miles

The waie from Yarmouth to Colcheſter, and ſo to London.

From Yarmouth to Becclis 8.miles
From Becclis to Blibour 7.miles
From Blibour to Snapbridge 8.miles
From Snapbridge to Woodbridge. 8.miles
From Woodbridge to Ipſwich 5.miles
From Ipſwich to Colcheſter 12.miles
From Colcheſter to Caſtford 8.miles
From Caſtford to Chelmesford 10.miles
From Chelmesford to Brentwood 10.miles
From Brentwood to London 15.miles

The waie from Douer to London.

From Douer to Canturburie 12.miles
From Canturburie to Sittingborne 12.miles
From Sittingborne to Rocheſter 8.miles
From Rocheſter to Grauesend 5.miles
From Grauesend to Datford 6.miles
From Datford to London 12.miles

The waie from ſaint Burien in Cornewall to London.

From S. Burien to the Mount 20.miles
From the Mount to Thurie 12.miles
From ſaint Thurie to Bodman 20.miles
From Bodman to Launſtone 20.miles
From Launſtone to Dcomton 15.miles
From Dcomton to Crokehornewell 10.miles

From Crokehornewell to Exceſter 10.miles
From Exceſter to Honiton 12.miles
From Honiton to Chard 10.miles
From Chard to Crokehorne 7.miles
From Crokehorne to Shirborne 10.miles
From Shirborne to Shaftſburie 10.miles
From Shaftſburie to Saliſburie 18.miles
From Saliſburie to Andeuor 15.miles
From Andeuor to Baſingſtocke 18.miles
From Baſingſtocke to Hartford 8.miles
From Hartford to Bagſhot 8.miles
From Bagſhot to Stanes 8.miles
From Stanes to London 15.miles

The waie from Briſtowe to London.

From Briſtow to Marfield 10.miles
From Marfield to Chipnam 10.miles
From Chipnam to Marleborough 15.miles
From Marleborough to Hungerford 8.miles
From Hungerford to Newburie 7.miles
From Newburie to Reading 15.miles
From Reading to Maidenhead. 10.miles
From Maidenhead to Colbroke 7.miles
From Colbroke to London 15.miles

The waie from ſaint Dauids to London.

From ſaint Dauids to Arford 20.miles
From Arford to Carmarden 10.miles
From Carmarden to Newton 10.miles
From Newton to Lanburie 10.miles
From Lanburie to Brechnocke 16.miles
From Brechnocke to Hale 10.miles
From Hale to Harford 14.miles
From Harford to Roſe 9.miles
From Roſe to Gloceſter 12.miles
From Gloceſter to Ciceſter 15.miles
From Ciceſter to Farington 16.miles
From Farington to Habington 7.miles
From Habington to Dorcheſter 7.miles
From Dorcheſter to Henleie 12.miles
From Henleie to Maidenhead 7.miles
From Maidenhead to Colbroke 7.miles
From Colbroke to London 15.miles

Of thorowfares, from Douer to Cambridge.

From Douer to Canturburie 12.miles
From Canturburie to Roſcheſter 20.miles
From Roſcheſter to Grauelend 5.miles
From Grauelend ouer the Thames, to Horne-don 4.miles
From Hornedon to Chelmesford 12.miles
From Chelmesford to Dunmow 10.miles
From Dunmow to Thorſted 5.miles
From Thorſted to Radwinter 3.miles
From Radwinter to Linton 5.miles
From Linton to Babrenham 3.miles
From Babrenham to Cambridge 4.miles

From Canturburie to Oxford.

From Canturburie to London 43.miles
From London to Vxbridge or Colbroke 15.mile
From Vxbridge to Baccanſfield 7.miles
From Baccanſfield to eaſt Wickham 5.miles
From Wickham to Stocking church 5.miles
From Stocking church to Thetisford 5.miles
From Thetisford to Whatleie 6.miles
From Whatleie to Oxford 4.miles

From London to Cambridge.

From London to Edmondton 6.miles
From Edmondton to Waltham 6.miles
From Waltham to Hoddeſdon 5.miles
From Hoddeſdon to Ware 3.miles
From Ware to Pulcherchurch 5.miles
From Pulcherchurch to Barkewaie 7.miles
From Barkewaie to Fulmere 6.miles
From Fulmere to Cambridge 6.miles

Or thus better waie.

From London to Hoddeſdon 17.miles
From Hoddeſdon to Hadham 7.miles
From Hadham to Saffron Walden 12.miles
From Saffron Walden to Cambridge 10.miles

Of certeine waies in Scotland, out of Reginald Wolfes his annotations.

From Barwike to Edenborow.

From Barwike to Chirneſide 10.miles
From Chirneſide to Coldingham 3.miles
From Coldingham to Pinketon 6.miles
From Pinketon to Dunbarre 6.miles
From Dunbarre to Linton 6.miles
From Linton to Haddington 6.miles
From Haddington to Seaton 4.miles
From Seaton to Aberladie or Muſkelborow 8.mi.
From thence to Edenborow 8.miles

From Edenborow to Barwijc another waie.

From Edenborow to Dalketh 5.miles
From Dalketh to new Battell & Lander 5.miles
From Lander to Urſildon 6.miles
From Urſildon to Dziburg 5.miles
From Dziburg to Cariton 6.miles
From Cariton to Barwike 14.miles

From Edenborow to Dunbrittaine weſtward.

From Edenborow to Kirkelifton 6.miles
From Kirkelifton to Lithco 6.miles
From Lithco to Farekirke ouer Forth 6.miles
From thence to Striuelin vpon Forth 6.miles
From Striuelin to Dunbrittaine 24.miles

From Striuelin to Kinghorne eaſtward.

From Striuelin to Downe in Menteth 3.miles
From Downe to Campſkenell 3.miles
From Campſkenell to Alwie vpon Forth 4.miles
From Alwie to Culroſe on Fiffe 10.miles
From Culroſe to Dunfermelin 2.miles
From Dunfermelin to Euerkennin 2.miles
From Euerkennin to Aberdore on Forth 3.miles
From Aberdore to Kinghorne vpon Forth 3.miles

From Kinghorne to Taimouth.

From Kinghorne to Diſſard in Fiffe 3.miles
From Diſſard to Cowper 8.miles

From

From Cowper to S. Andrews 14. miles
From S. Andrews to the Taimouth 6. miles

From Taimouth to Stockeford.

From Taimouth to Balmerinoth abbeie 4. mil.
From thence to Londores abbeie 4. miles
From Londores to S. Johns towne 12. miles
From S. Johns to Schone 5. miles
From thence to Abernithie, where the Erne runneth into the Taie 15. miles
From Abernithie to Dundée 15. miles
From Dundæ to Arbroth and Muros 24. miles
From Muros to Aberden 20. miles
From Aberden to the water of Doneie 20. miles
From thense to the riuer of Spaie 30. miles
From thence to Stockeford in Rosse, and so to the Nesse of Haben, a famous point on the west side 30. miles

From Carleill to Whitherne westward.

From Carleill ouer the Ferie against Redkirke 4. miles
From thence to Dunfrées 20. miles
From Dunfrées to the Ferie of Cre 40. miles
From thence to Wigton 13. miles
From thence to Whitherne 12. miles

Hitherto of the common waies of England and Scotland, whereunto I will adioine the old thorow fares ascribed to Antoninus, to the end that by their conference the diligent reader may haue further consideration of the same than my leisure will permit me. In setting forth also thereof, I haue noted such diuersitie of reading, as hath happened in the sight of such written and printed copies, as I haue seene in my time. Notwithstanding I must confesse the same to be much corrupted in the rehearsall of the miles.

Iter Britanniarum.

A GESSORIACO.

De Gallis Ritupis in portu Britanniarum stadia numero. CCCCL.

A LIMITE, ID EST, A VALLO Prætorio vsque M. P. CLVI. sic:

Britannia.

A Bramenio Corstopitum, m. p. xx
Vindomora, m. p. ix
Viconia* m. p. xix *Vinouia. Vinouium*
Cataractoni m. p. xxii Darington.
Isurium m. p. xxiiii Aldborow *aliàs* Topcliffe.
Eburacum legio vi Victrix m. p. xvii Yorke.
Deruentione m. p. vii Tadcaster.
Delgouitia m. p. xiii wentbridge.
Prætorio m. p. xxv Tudford.

ITEM A VALLO AD portum Ritupis m. p. 481 491 sic,

Ablato Bulgio* castra exploratorum m. p. x, 15 *aliàs à* Blato
Lugu-vallo* m. p. xii aliàs à Lugu-valio. Cairleill.
Voreda m. p. xiii
Brouonacis* m. p. xiii *Brauoniacis*
Verteris m. p. xx, 13
Lauatris m. p. xiiii
Cataractone* m. p. xxi *Caturractonium.* Darington.
Isuriam* m. p. xxiiii *Isoriam.* Aldborow *aliàs* Topcliffe.
Eburacum* m. p. xviii *Eboracum.* Yorke.
Calcaria* m. p. ix *Cacaria*
Camboduno m. p. xx
Mammuncio* m. p. xviii *Mamucio*
Condate m. p. xviii
Deua legio xxiii. Ci. m. p. xx
Bouio* m. p. x *Bonio*
Mediolano m. p. xx
Rutunio m. p. xii
Vrio Conio* m. p. xi *Viroconium,* Shrewesburie *propè.*
Vxacona m. p. xi
Penno-Crucio m. p. xii
Etoceto m. p. xii
Mandues Sedo m. p. xvi
Venonis m. p. xii
Bennauenta* m. p. xvii *Banna venta*
Lactorodo* m. p. xii *Lactodoro*
Maginto* m. p. xvii. 12 *Magiouintum*
Duro-Cobriuis m. p. xii Dunstable.
Vero-Lamio m. p. xii S. Albanes.
Sullomacis* m. p. ix Barnet.
Longidinio m. p. xii *Londinio.* London.
Nouiomago m. p. xii
Vagniacis m. p. vi
Durobrouis m. p. v *Duroprouis.* Rochester.
Duroleuo m. p. xvi. 8
Duror-Verno* m. p. xii *Drouerno Durouerno*
Ad portum Ritupis m. p. xii *Duraruenno Daruerno*

ITEM A LONDINIO ad portum Dubris m. p. 56 66, sic:

Dubobrus* m. p. xxvii *Durobrouis Durobrius.* Rochester.
Duraruenno m. p. xv, 25 Canturburie.
Ad portum Dubris m. p. xiiii Douer hauen.

ITEM A LONDINIO AD portum Lemanis m. p. 68 sic:

Durobrius m. p. xxvii Rochester.
Duraruenno m. p. xv, 25 Canturburie.
Ad portum* Lemanis m. p. xvi Limming hauen.

ITEM A LONDINIO Lugu-Valio ad Vallum m. p. 443, sic:

Cæsaromago m. p. xxviii
Colonia m. p. xxiiii
Villa Faustini m. p. xxxv, 25
Icianos m. p. xviii
Camborico m. p. xxxv
Durolipontè m. p. xxv
Durobriuas m. p. xxxv
Gausennis m. p. xxx
Lindo m. p. xxvi
Segeloci m. p. xiiii
Dano m. p. xxi
Lege-Olio* m. p. xvi *Logetium*
Eburaco m. p. xxi
Isubrigantum* m. p. xvi *Isurium Brigantum*
Cataractoni m. p. xxiiii
Leuatris* m. p. xviii *Leuatrix*
Verteris m. p. xiiii
Brocouo* m. p. xx *Broconicum*
Lugu-Vallo m. p. xxv, 22

ITEM A LONDINIO Lindo m. p. 156 sic:

Verolami m. p. xxi
Duro Cobrius m. p. xii
Magiouinio* m. p. xii { *Maginto* / *Magis*
Lactodoro m. p. xvi
Isanna Vantia* m. p. xii { *Isanna vatia* / *Isanna varia*
Tripontio m. p. xii
Venonis m. p. ix
Ratas m. p. xii
Verometo m. p. xiii
Margi-duno m. p. xii
Ad Pontem* m. p. vii *Pons Aelij*
Croco Calana* m. p. vii *Crorolana*
Lindo m. p. xii

ITEM A REGNO Londinio m. p. 116, 96 sic:

Clausentum m. p. xx
Venta Belgarum m. p. x
Galleua* Atrebatum m. p. xxii { *Gelleua,* / *Callina,* Reding.
Pontibus m. p. xxii walingford.
Londinio m. p. xxii

ITEM

ITEM AB EBVRACO
Londinium m. p. 227 sic:

Lagecio m. p. XXI	
Dano m. p. XVI	Dancaster.
Ageloco * m. p. XXI	*Segeloce*
Lindo m. p. XIIII	
Crococalano m. p. XIIII	
Margi-duno m. p. XIIII	
Vernemeto * m. p. XII	*Verometo*
Ratis m. p. XII	
Vennonis m. p. XII	
Bannauanto m. p. XIX	
Magio Vinio m. p. XXVIII	
Durocobrius m. p. XII	Dunstable.
Verolamo m. p. XII	S Albanes.
Sullomaca m. p. IX	Barnet.
Londinio m. p. XII	London.

ITEM A VENTA ICINORVM
Londinio m. p. 128 sic:

Sitomago m. p. XXXI	
Combretouio * m. p. XXII	*Cumbretonio*
Ad Ansam m. p. XV	
Camoloduno m. p. VI	
Canonio m. p. IX	
Cæsaromago m. p. XII	
Durolito m. p. XVI	
Londinio m. p. XV	

ITEM A GLAMOVENTA
Mediolano m. p. 150 sic:

Galaua m. p. XVIII	
Alone * m. p. XII	*Alauna * Alona Alone*
Galacum * m. p. XIX	*Galacum Brigantum*
Bremetonaci m. p. XXVII	
Coccio m. p. XX	
Mancunio * m. p. XVIII	*Mamucio vel Manucio*
Condate m. p. XVIII	
Mediolano m. p. XIX	

ITEM A SEGONCIO DEUAM
m. p. 74 sic:

Canouio m. p. XXIIII	
Varis m. p. XIX	
Deua m. p. XXXII	

ITEM A CALLEVA *aliàs* MVRIDONO
aliàs Viroconiorum. *Per Viroconium*

Vindonu * m. p. XV	*Vindomi*
Venta Belgarum m. p. XXI	
Brige * m. p. XI	*Brage*
Soruioduni m. p. IX	
Vindogladia m. p. XIII, 15	
Durnouaria m. p. VIII	
Muriduno m. p. XXXVI	
Scadum Nunniorum * m. p. XV, 12	*Iscadum*
Leucaro m. p. XV	
Bomio m. p. XV	
Nido m. p. XV	
Iscelegua Augusti * m. p. XIIII	*Iscelegia*
Burrio m. p. IX	
Gobannio m. p. XII	
Magnis m. p. XXII,	
Brauinio * m. p. XXIIII	*Brennio*
Viriconio m. p. XXVII	

ITEM AB ISCA CALleua
m. p. 109 sic:

Burrio m. p. IX	
Bleftio m. p. XI	
Ariconio m. p. XI.	
Cleuo m. p. XV	
Durocornouio m. p. XIIII	
Spinis m. p. XV	
Calleua m. p. XV	

ITEM ALIO ITINERE AB
Isca Calleua m. p. 103 sic:

Venta Silurum m. p. IX	
Abone m. p. IX	
Traiectus m. p. IX	
Aquis Solis m. p. VI	
Verlucione m. p. XV	
Cunetione m. p. XX	
Spinis m. p. XV	
Calleua m. p. XV	

ITEM A CALLEVA ISCADVM
Nunniorum m. p. 136 sic:

Vindomi m. p. XV	
Venta Belgarum m. p. XXI	
Brige m. p. XI	
Sorbiodoni m. p. VIII	
Viadocladia m. p. XII	
Durnonouaria * m. p. VIII	*Durnouaria*
Moriduno m p. XXXVI	
Iscadum Nunniorum m. p. XV	

FINIS.

THE

Hiſtorie of Eng-

land, from the time that it
was firſt inhabited, vntill
the time that it was
laſt conquered:

Wherein the ſundrie alte-
rations of the ſtate vnder for-
ren people is declared; and
other manifold obſeruati-
ons remembred:

By Raphael Holinshed.

Now newlie read ouer, and
diligentlie digeſted into bookes and
chapters, with their ſeuerall argu-
ments prefixed, conteining an abridge-
ment of the whole hiſtorie, for the
helpe of the readers iudgement
and memorie:

With two tables of particulars,
the one ſeruing the deſcrip-
tion, the other the hiſtorie:
by Abr. Fleming.

Laus hiſtoriæ ex
I. Lelando.

Quod ſol æthereo præſtat pulcherrimus orbi,
Hiſtoria humanis vſibus hoc tribuit.

THE

Hiſtorie of Eng-

land, From the time that it
was firſt inhabited, vntill
the time that it was
luſt conquered:

Wherein the Hiſtories alſo
of the Fore-vnder for-
mer people is declared; and
other manifold obſerua-
tions remembred:

By RAPHAEL HOLINSHED.

Now newlie read ouer, and
diligentlie corrected, into better and
perfecter, with their ſeuerall argu-
ments prefixed, contayning an abridge-
ment of the whole hiſtorie, for the
more ready vnderſtanding of
ſuch as couet
the ſame.

With two tables of Peculiars,
the one leading the deſcrip-
tion, the other the hiſtorie:
by Abr. Fleming.

Iam hiſtoria ex
Herodoto,

Quod ſit ad vera proprius, pulchrius eſt.
Hiſtoria tamen ſua cuique hæc prima.

To the Readers ſtudious in hiſtories.

THe order obſerued in the deſcription of Britaine, by reaſon of the neceſſarie diuiſion thereof into bookes and chapters growing out of the varietie of matters therein conteined, ſeemed (in my iudgement) ſo conuenient a courſe deuiſed by the writer, as I was eaſilie induced thereby to digeſt the hiſtorie of England immediatlie following into the like method: ſo that as in the one, ſo likewiſe in the other, by ſummarie contents foregoing euerie chapter, as alſo by certeine materiall titles added at the head of euerie page of the ſaid hiſtorie, it is a thing of no difficultie to comprehend what is diſcourſed and diſcuſſed in the ſame.

Wherein (ſith hiſtories are ſaid to be the regiſters of memorie and the monuments of veritie) all louers of knowlege, ſpeciallie hiſtoricall, are aduiſedlie to marke (among other points) the ſeuerall and ſucceſsiue alterations of regiments in this land: whereof it was my meaning to haue made an abſtract, but that the ſame is ſufficientlie handled in the firſt booke and fourth chapter of the deſcription of Britaine; whereto if the ſeuenth chapter of the ſame booke be alſo annexed, there is litle or no defect at all in that caſe wherof iuſtlie to make complaint.

Pag. 5, 6, 7, 8, 15, 16, 28, 29, of the deſcription: and pag. 202 of the hiſtorie of England.

Wherfore by remitting the readers to thoſe, I reape this aduantage, namelie a diſcharge of a forethought & purpoſed labour, which as to reduce into ſome plauſible forme was a worke both of time, paine and ſtudie: ſo ſeeming vnlikelie to be compriſed in few words (being a matter of neceſſarie and important obſeruation) occaſion of tediouſnes is to and fro auoided; ſpeciallie to the reader, who is further to be aduertiſed, that the computations of yeares here and there expreſſed, according to the indirect direction of the copies whenſe they were deriued and drawne, is not ſo abſolute (in ſome mens opinion) as it might haue beene: howbeit iuſtifiable by their originals.

Wherin hereafter (God prolonging peace in the church and common-welth that the vſe of bookes may not be abridged) ſuch diligent care ſhall be had, that in whatſoeuer the helpe of bookes will doo good, or conference with antiquaries auaile, there ſhall want no will to vſe the one and the other. And yet it is not a worke for euerie common capacitie, naie it is a toile without head or taile euen for extraordinarie wits, to correct the accounts of former ages ſo many hundred yeares receiued, out of vncerteinties to raiſe certeinties, and to reconcile writers diſſenting in opinion and report. But as this is vnpoſſible, ſo is no more to be looked for than may be performed: and further to inquire as it is againſt reaſon, ſo to vndertake more than may commendablie be atchiued, were fowle follie.

Abraham Fleming.

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Abraham Fleming.

THE FIRST BOOKE of the historie of England.

Who inhabited this Iland before the comming of Brute: of Noah & his three sonnes, among whom the whole earth was diuided: and to which of their portions this Ile of Britaine befell.

The first Chapter.

WHat manner of people did first inhabite this our country, which hath most generallie and of longest continuance béene knowne among all nations by the name of Britaine as yet is not certeinly knowne; neither can it be decided frō whence the first inhabitants there of came, by reason of such diuersitie in iudgements as haue risen amongst the learned in this behalfe. But sith the originall in maner of all nations is doubtfull, and euen the same for the more part fabulous (that alwaies excepted which we find in the holie scriptures) I wish not any man to leane to that which shall be here set downe as to an infallible truth, sith I do but onlie shew other mens coniectures, grounded neuertheless vpon likelie reasons, concerning that matter whereof there is now left but little other certeintie, or rather none at all.

The originall of nations for the most part vncerteine.

Whither Britaine were an Iland at the first.

To fetch therefore the matter from the farthest, and so to stretch it forward, it séemeth by the report of Dominicus Marius Niger that in the beginning, when God framed the world, and diuided the waters apart from the earth, this Ile was then a parcell of the continent, and ioined without any separation of sea to the maine land. But this opinion (as all other the like vncerteinties) I leaue to be discussed of by the learned: howbeit for the first inhabitation of this Ile with people, I haue thought good to set downe in part, what may be gathered out of such writers as haue touched that matter, and may séeme to giue some light vnto the knowledge thereof.

Geog. com. lib.

No Ilands at the first, as some coniecture.

First therefore Iohn Bale our countrieman, who in his time greatlie trauelled in the search of such antiquities, doth probablie coniecture, that this land was inhabited and replenished with people long before the floud, at that time in the which the generation of mankind (as Moses writeth) began to multiplie vpon the vniuersall face of the earth: and therefore it followeth, that as well this land was inhabited with people long before the daies of Noah, as any the other countries and parts of the world beside. But when they had once forsaken the ordinances appointed them by God, and betaken them to new waies inuented of themselues, such lowsenesse of life ensued euerie where, as brought vpon them the great deluge and vniuersall floud, in the which perished as well the inhabitants of these quarters, as the residue of the race of mankind, generallie dispersed in euerie other part of the whole world, onelie Noah & his familie excepted, who by the prouidence and pleasure of almightie God was preserued from the rage of those waters, to recontinue and repaire the new generation of man vpon earth.

Berosus ant. lib. 1

In the first part of the acts of the English votaries.

Britaine inhabited before the floud. Genesis. 6.

Noah.

After the floud (as Annius de Viterbo recordeth) and reason also enforceth, Noah was the onlie monarch of all the world, and as the same Annius gathereth by the account of Moses in the 100. yeare after the floud, Noah diuided the earth among his three sonnes; assigning to the possession of his eldest sonne all that portion of land which now is knowne by the name of Asia; to his second sonne Cham, he appointed all that part of the world which now is called Affrica: and to his third sonne Japhet was allotted all Europa, with all the Iles therto belonging, wherin among other was conteined this our Ile of Britaine, with the other Iles thereto perteining.

In comment. super 4. lib. Berosus de antiquit. lib. 1. Annius vt supr.

Japhet and his sonnes.

Japhet the third son of Noah, of some called Japetus, and of others, Atlas Maurus (because he departed this life in Mauritania) was the first (as Bodinus affirmeth by the authoritie and consent of the Hebrue, Greeke & Latine writers) that peopled the countries of Europe, which afterward he diuided among his sonnes: of whom Tuball (as Tarapha affirmeth) obteined the kingdome of Spaine. Gomer had dominion ouer the Italians, and (as Berosus and diuers other authors agrée) Samothes was the founder of Celtica, which conteined in it (as Bale witnesseth) a great part of Europe, but speciallie those countries which now are called by the names of Gallia and Britannia.

Iohannes Bodinus ad fac. hist. cogn. Franciscus Tarapha.

Britaine inhabited shortlie after the floud.

Thus was this Iland inhabited and peopled within 200 yéeres after the floud by the children of Japhet the sonne of Noah: & this is not onlie proued by Annius, writing vpon Berosus, but also confirmed by Moses in the scripture, where he writeth, that of the offspring of Japhet, the Iles of the Gentiles (whereof Britain is one) were forted into regions in the time of Phaleg the sonne of Hiber, who was borne at the time of the diuision of languages. Herevpon Theophilus hath these words: *Cum priscis temporibus pauci fuerent homines in Arabia & Chaldæa, post linguarum diuisionem aucti & multiplicati paulatim sunt: hinc quidam abierunt versus orientem, quidam concessere ad partes maioris continentis, alij porrò profecti sunt ad septentrionem sedes quæsituri, nec prius desierunt terram vbig occupare, quàm etiam Britannos in Arctois climatibus accesserint, &c.* That is;

Theophilus episcop. Antioch. ad Antol. lib. 2.

The words of Theophilus a doctor of the church, who lived an. Dom. 169.

When at the first there were not manie men in Arabia and Chaldæa, it came to passe, that after the diuision of toongs, they began somewhat better to increase and multiplie, by which occasion some of them went toward the east, and some toward the parts of the great maine land: diuers went also northwards to seeke them dwelling places, neither staid they to replenish the earth as they went, till they came vnto the Iles of Britaine, lieng vnder the north pole. Thus far Theophilus.

These things considered, Gildas the Britaine had great reason to thinke, that this countrie had bene inhabited from the beginning. And Polydor Virgil was with no lesse consideration hereby induced to confesse, that the Ile of Britaine had receiued inhabitants forthwith after the floud.

Of Samothes, Magus, Sarron, Druis, and Bardus, fiue kings succeeding each other in regiment ouer the Celts and Samotheans, and how manie hundred yeeres the Celts inhabited this Iland.

The second Chapter.

Gen.2. De migr.ger.

SAmothes the first begotten sonne of Japhet called by Moses Mesech, by others Dis, receiued for his portion (according to the report of Wolfgangus Lazius) all the countrie lieng betweene the riuer of Rhene and the Pyrenian mountains, where he founded the kingdome of Celtica ouer his people called Celtæ. Which name Cent.1. Bale affirmeth to haue bene indifferent to the inhabitants both of the countrie of Gallia, and the Ile of Britaine, & that he planted colonies of men (brought forth of the east parts) in either of them, first in the maine land, and after in the Iland. He is reported by Berosus to haue excelled all men of that age in learning and knowledge: and also is thought by Bale to haue imparted the same among his people; namelie, the vnderstanding of the sundrie courses of the starres, the order of inferiour things, with manie other matters incident to the morall and politike gouernment of mans life: and to haue deliuered the same in the Phenician letters: out of which the Grekes (according to the opinion of Archilochus) deuised & deriued the Greeke characters, insomuch that Xenophon and Iosephus do constantlie report (although Diogenes Laertius be against it) that both the Grekes and other nations receiued their letters and learning first from these countries. Of this king and his learning arose a sect of philosophers (saith Annius) first in Britaine, and after in Gallia, the which of his name were called Samothei. They (as Aristotle and Secion write) were passing skilfull both in the law of God and man: and for that cause exceedinglie giuen to religion, especiallie the inhabitants of this Ile of Britaine, insomuch that the whole nation did not onelie take the name of them, but the Iland it selfe (as Bale and doctor Caius agree) came to be called Samothea, which was the first peculiar name that euer it had, and by the which it was especiallie knowne before the arriuall of Albion.

Anti.lib.1. Bale script. Brit.cent.1. Cæsar.comment. lib.8. In epithet. temp. De æquinoct. contra Appionem. Lib.de Magic. succes.lib.22. Script.Brit. cent.1. Dean.Cant. cent.lib.1. This Ile called Samothea.

Magus the son of Samothes Lib.9.

MAgus the sonne of Samothes, after the death of his father, was the second king of Celtica, by whome (as Berosus writeth) there were manie townes builded among the Celts, which by the witnesse of Annius did beare the addition of their founder Magus: of which townes diuers are to be found in Ptolomie. And Antoninus a painfull surueior of the world and searcher of cities, maketh mention of foure of them here in Britaine, Sitomagus, Neomagus, Niomagus, and Nouiomagus. Neomagus sir Thomas Eliot writeth to haue stood where the citie of Chester now standeth; Niomagus, George Lillie placeth where the towne of Buckingham is now remaining. Beside this, Bale doth so highlie commend the foresaid Magus for his learning renowmed ouer all the world, that he would haue the Persians, and other nations of the south and west parts, to deriue the name of their diuines called *Magi* from him. In deed Rauisius Textor, and sir Iohn Prise affirme, that in the daies of Plinie, the Britons were so expert in art magike, that they might be thought to haue first deliuered the same to the Persians. What the name of *Magus* importeth, and of what profession the *Magi* were, Tullie declareth at large, and Mantuan in breefe, after this maner:

Annius in comm. super eundem. Geogr. De diui. lib.1. De fatis li.5.

Ille penes Persas Magus est, qui sidera norit,
Qui sciat herbarum vires cultumq; deorum,
Persepoli facit ista Magos prudentia triplex.

The Persians terme him Magus, that
the course of starres dooth knowe,
The power of herbs, and worship due
to God that man dooth owe,
By threefold knowledge thus the name
of Magus then dooth growe.

H.F.

Sarron the sonne of Magus.

SArron the third king of the Celts succeeded his father Magus in gouernement of the countrie of Gallia, and the Ile Samothea, wherein as (D. Caius writeth) he founded certaine publike places for them that professed learning, which Berosus affirmeth to be done, to the intent to restraine the wilfull outrage of men, being as then but raw and void of all ciuilitie. Also it is thought by Annius, that he was the first author of those kind of philosophers, which were called Sarronides, of whom Diodorus Siculus writeth in this sort: There are (saith he) among the Celts certaine diuines and philosophers called Sarronides, whom aboue all other they haue in great estimation. For it is the manner among them, not without a philosopher to make ante sacrifice: sith they are of beleefe, that sacrifices ought onelie to be made by such as are skilfull in the diuine mysteries, as of those who are neerest vnto God, by whose intercession they thinke all good things are to be required of God, and whose aduise they vse and follow, as well in warre as in peace.

De ant.Cant. lib.1. Bale script. Brit.cent.1. Lib.6. ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,,

Druis the son of Sarron.

DRuis, whom Seneca calleth Dzyus, being the sonne of Sarron, was after his father established the fourth king of Celtica, indifferentlie reigning as wel ouer the Celts as Britons, or rather (as the inhabitants of this Ile were then called) Samotheans. This prince is commended by Berosus to be so plentifullie indued with wisedome and learning, that Annius taketh him to be the vndoubted author of the beginning and name of the philosophers called Druides, whome Cæsar and all other ancient Greeke and Latine writers do affirme to haue had their begining in Britaine, and to haue bin brought from thence into Gallia, insomuch that when there arose any doubt in that countrie touching any point of their discipline, they did repaire to be resolued therein into Britaine, where, speciallie in the Ile of Angleseie (as Humfrey Llhoyd witnesseth) they made their principall abode. Touching their vsages many things are written by Aristotle, Socion, Plinie, Laertius, Bodinus, and others: which I will gather in briefe, and set downe as followeth. They had (as Cæsar saith) the charge of common & priuate sacrifices, the

De mirac. Gall. Anti.lib.5. Annius super eundem. De bello Gal. lico.lib.9. De bello Gallico.6.

the discussing of points of religion, the bringing vp of youth, the determining of matters in variance, with full power to interdict so manie from the sacrifice of their gods and the companie of men, as disobeied their award. Polydore affirmeth, how they taught, that mens soules could not die, but departed from one bodie to another, and that to the intent to make men valiant and dreadlesse of death. Tullie writeth, that partlie by tokens, and partlie by surmises, they would foresell things to come. And by the report of Hector Boetius, some of them were not ignorant of the immortalitie of the one and euerlasting God. All these things they had written in the Greeke tong, insomuch that Wolf. Lazius (vpon the report of Marcellinus) declareth how the Greeke letters were first brought to Athens by Timagenes from the Druides. And herevpon it commeth also to passe, that the British tong hath in it remaining at this day some smacke of the Greeke. Among other abuses of the Druides, they had (according to Diodorus) one custome to kill men, and by the falling, bleeding, and dismembring of them, to diuine of things to come: for the which and other wicked practises, their sect was first condemned for abhominable (as some haue written) and dissolued in Gallia (as Auentinus witnesseth) by Tiberius and Claudius the emperours; and lastlie abolished here in Britaine (by the report of Caius) when the gospell of Christ by the preaching of Fugatius and Damianus was receiued among the Britaines, vnder Lucius king of Britaine, about the yeare of our sauior, 179.

Hist. Ant. lib. 1.
De diui. lib. 1.
Hist. Scoti, li. 2.
De migr. gen. lib. 2.
Marcellinus.
Anna. Boiorum. lib. 22.
De ant. Cant.

Bardus the sonne of Druis.

BArdus the sonne of Druis succéeded his father in the kingdome of Celtica, and was the fift king ouer the Celtes and Samotheans, amongst whom he was highlie renoumed (as appeareth by Berosus) for inuention of ities and musicke, wherein Annius of Viterbo writeth, that he trained his people: and of such as excelled in this knowledge, he made an order of philosophicall poets or heraulds, calling them by his owne name Bardi. And it should seeme by doctor Caius and maister Bale, that Cæsar found some of them here at his arriuall in this Ile, and reported that they had also their first begining in the same. The profession and vsages of these Bardi, Nonnius, Strabo, Diodorus, Stephanus, Bale, and sir Iohn Prise, are in effect reported after this sort. They did vse to record the noble exploits of the ancient capteins, and to drawe the pedegrées and genealogies of such as were liuing. They would frame pleasant ities and songs, learne the same by heart, and sing them to instruments at solemne feasts and assemblies of noble men and gentlemen. Wherefore they were had in so high estimation, that if two hosts had bene readie ranged to ioine in battell, and that any of them had fortuned to enter among them, both the hosts (as well the enimies as the friends) would haue holden their hands, giuen eare vnto them, and ceassed from fight, vntill these Bards had gone out of the battell. Of these Bards Lucane saith,

Ins. Cant. li. 1.
ript. Britan. nt. 1.
Lonnius Marcel. Strabo. Diodor. Sicul. lib. 6. Carol. Stepha. in dict. hist. Bale. Iohn Prise.
Lucan. lib. 1.

Vos quoq; qui fortes animas belló; peremptas,
Laudibus in longum vates dimittitis æuum,
Plurima securi fudistis carmina Bardi:

And you ô poet Bards from danger void that dities sound,
Of soules of dreadlesse men, whom rage of battell would confound,
And make their lasting praise to time of later age rebound.

H.F.

Because the names of these poets were neither discrepant from the ciuilitie of the Romans, nor repugnant to the religion of the Christians, they (of all the other sects before specified) were suffered onlie to continue vnabolished in all ages, insomuch that there flourished of them among the Britains (according to Bale) before the birth of Christ, Plenidius and Dronius: after Christ (as Prise recounteth) Thalestine, and the two Merlins, Melkin, Elaskirion, and others: and of late daies among the Welshmen, Dauid Die, Iollo Gough, Dauid ap William, with an infinite number more. And in Wales there are sundrie of them (as Caius reporteth) remaining vnto this day, where they are in their language called (as Leland writeth) Barthes. Also by the witnes of Humfrey Llhoyd, there is an Iland nére vnto Wales, called *Insula Bardorum*, and Bardsey, whereof the one name in Latine, and the other in Saxon or old English, signifieth the Iland of the Bardes or Barthes.

John Bale script. Britan. cent. 2. John Prise defen hist. Brit. Caius de ant. Cant lib. 1. John Leland syllab. ant. dict. Hum. Lloyd de Mona insula.

Thus farre the gouernement of the Celts in this Ile.

An appendix to the former chapter.

AFter Bardus, the Celts (as Bale saith) loathing the streict ordinances of their ancient kings, and betaking themselues to pleasure and idlenesse, were in short time, and with small labour brought vnder the subiection of the giant Albion, the sonne of Neptune, who altering the state of things in this Iland, streicted the name of Celtica and the Celts within the bounds of Gallia, from whence they came first to inhabit this land vnder the conduct of Samothes, as before ye haue heard, accordinglie as Annius hath gathered out of Berosus the Chaldean, who therein agréeth also with the scripture, the saieng of Theophilus the doctor, and the generall consent of all writers, which fullie consent, that the first inhabitants of this Ile came out of the parties of Gallia, although some of them dissent about the time and maner of their comming. Sir Brian Tuke thinketh it to be ment of the arriuall of Brute, when he came out of those countries into this Ile. Cæsar and Tacitus séeme to be of opinion, that those Celts which first inhabited here, came ouer to view the countrie for trade of merchandize. Bodinus would haue them to come in (a Gods name) from Languedoc, and so to name this land Albion, of a citie in Languedoc named Albie. Beda, and likewise Polydore (who followeth him) affirme that they came from the coasts of Armorica, which is now called little Britaine.

Bale.
Annius.
Theophilus.
Sir Brian Tuke.
Cæsar. Tacitus. Bodinus.
Beda. Polydor.

But that the authorities afore recited are sufficient to proue the time that this Iland was first inhabited by the Celts, the old possessors of Gallia; not onelie the nérnesse of the regions, but the congruence of languages, two great arguments of originals do fullie confirme the same. Bodinus writeth vpon report, that the British and Celtike language was all one. But whether that be true or not, I am not able to affirme, bicause the Celtike tong is long sithens growne wholie out of vse. Howbeit some such Celtike words as remaine in the writings of old authours may be perceiued to agrée with the Welsh tong, being the vncorrupted spéech of the ancient Britains. In déed Pausanias the Grecian maketh mention how the Celts in their language called a horsse *Marc*: and by that name do the Welshmen call a horsse to this day: and the word *Trimarc* in Pausanias, signifieth in the Celtike tong, three horsses.

Bodinus.
Pausanias.

Thus it appeareth by the authoritie of writers, by situation of place, and by affinitie of language, that this Iland was first found and inhabited by the Celts, that there name from Samothes to Albion continued here the space of 310 yeares or there abouts. And finallie it is likelie, that aswell the progenie as the spéech of them is partlie remaining in this Ile among the inhabitants, and speciallie the British, euen vnto this day.

Iohn Bale.

Of the giant Albion, of his comming *into this Iland, diuers opinions why it* was called Albion: why Albion and *Bergion were slaine by Hercules:* of Danaus and of his *50. daughters.*

The third Chapter.

Bale.

NEptunus called by Moses (as some take it) Nepthuim, the first sonne of Osiris, after the account of Annius, and the brother of Hercules, had appointed him of his father (as Diodorus writeth) the gouernement of the ocean sea: wherefore he furnished himselfe of sundrie light ships for the more redie passage by water, which in the end grew to the number of a full nauie: & so by continuall exercise he became so skilfull, and therewith so mightie vpon the waters (as Higinus & Pictonius do write) that he was not onelie called the king, but also estéemed the god of the seas. He had to wife a ladie called Amphitrita, who was also honored as goddesse of the seas, of whose bodie he begat sundrie children: and (as Bale reporteth) he made euerie one of them king of an Iland. In the Ile of Britaine he landed his fourth son called Albion the giant, who brought the same vnder his subiection. And herevpon it resteth, that Iohn Textor, and Polydor Virgil made mention, that light shipes were first inuented in the British seas, and that the same were couered round with the hides of beasts, for defending them from the surges and waues of the water.

Annius de Viterbo.

Diodorus Siculus.

Pinnesses or gallies.

Higinus. Pictonius.

Scrip. Bri. cent. 1.

Ioh. Textor. Polydor.

This Albion being put by his father in possession of this Ile of Britaine, within short time subdued the Samotheans, the first inhabitantes thereof, without finding any great resistance, for that (as before ye haue heard) they had giuen ouer the practise of all warlike and other painefull exercises, and through vse of effeminate pleasures, whereunto they had giuen themselues ouer, they were become now vnapt to withstand the force of their enimies: and so (by the testimonie of Nicholaus Perottus, Rigmanus Philesius, Aristotle, and Humfrey Llhoyd, with diuers other, both forraine & home-writers) this Iland was first called by the name of Albion, hauing at one time both the name and inhabitants changed from the line of Japhet vnto the accursed race of Cham.

Nichol. Perot. Rigmanus Philesius. Aristotle. Hum. Lhoyd.

This Albion (that thus changed the name of this Ile) and his companie, are called giants, which signifieth none other than a tall kind of men, of that vncorrupt stature and highnesse naturallie incident to the first age (which Berosus also séemeth to allow, where he writeth, that Noah was one of the giants) and were not so called only of their monstrous greatnesse, as the common people thinke (although in dæd they exceeded the vsuall stature of men now in these daies) but also for that they toke their name of the soile where they were borne: for *Gigantes* signifieth the sons of the earth: the *Aborigines*, or (as Cesar calleth them) *Indigenæ*) that is, borne and bred out of the earth where they inhabited.

Berosus.

What *Gigantes* signifie.

Thus some thinke, but verelie although that their opinion is not to be allowed in any condition, which maintaine that there should be any Aborigines, or other kind of men than those of Adams line; yet that there haue béene men of far greater stature than are now to be found, is sufficientlie proued by the huge bones of those that haue béene found in our time, or lately before: whereof here to make further relation it shall not néed, sith in the description of Britaine ye shall find it sufficientlie declared.

Against the opinion of the Aborigines.

But now to our purpose. As Albion held Britaine in subiection, so his brother Bergion kept Ireland and the Orkenies vnder his rule and dominion, and hearing that their cosine Hercules Lybicus hauing finished his conquests in Spaine, meant to passe through Gallia into Italie, against their brother Lestrigo that oppressed Italie, vnder subiection of him & other of his brethren the sons also of Neptune; as well Albion as Bergion assembling their powers togither, passed ouer into Gallia, to stope the passage of Hercules, whose intention was to vanquish and destroie those tyrants the sonnes of Neptune, & their complices that kept diuers countries and regions vnder the painefull yoke of their heauie thraldome.

Bale. Bergion brother to Albion. Hercules Lybicus.

The cause that moued Hercules thus to pursue vpon those tyrants now reigning thus in the world, was, for that not long before, the greatest part of them had conspired togither and slaine his father Osiris, not withstanding that they were nephues to the same Osiris, as sonnes to his brother Neptune, and not contented with his slaughter, they diuided his carcase also amongst them, so that each of them got a peece in token of reioising at their murtherous atchiued enterprise.

The cause why Hercules pursued his cosins.

For this cause Hercules (whome Moses calleth Laabin) proclamed warres against them all in reuenge of his fathers death: and first he killed Trichon and Busiris in Aegypt, then Anteus in Mauritania, & the Gerions in Spaine, which enterprise atchiued, he led his armie towardes Italie, and by the way passed through a part of Gallia, where Albion and Bergion hauing vnited their powers togither, were readie to receiue him with battell: and so néere to the mouth of the riuer called Rhosne, in Latine *Rhodanus*, they met & fought. At the first there was a right terrible and cruell conflict betwixt them. And albeit that Hercules had the greatest number of men, yet was it verie doubtfull a great while, to whether part the glorie of that daies worke would bend. Whereupon when the victorie began outright to turne vnto Albion, and to his brother Bergion, Hercules perceiuing the danger and likelihod of vtter losse of that battell, speciallie for that his men had wasted their weapons, he caused those that stood still and were not otherwise occupied, to stope downe, and to gather vp stones, whereof in that place there was great plentie, which by his commandement they bestowed so frélie vpon their enimies, that in the end hée obteined the victorie, and did not only put his aduersaries to flight, but also slue Albion there in the field, togither with his brother Bergion, and the most part of all their whole armie. This was the end of Albion, and his brother Bergion, by the valiant prowesse of Hercules, who as one appointed by Gods prouidence to subdue the cruell & vnmercifull tyrants, spent his time to the benefit of mankind, deliuering the oppressed from the heauie yoke of miserable thraldome, in euerie place where he came.

Pomp Mela.

Hercules discomfiteth his enimies.

Albion is slaine.

And by the order of this battell wée maye learne whereof the poets had their inuention, when they faine in their writings, that Iupiter holpe his sonne Hercules, by throwing downe stones from heauen in this battell against Albion and Bergion. Moreouer, from henceforth was this Ile of Britaine called Albion (as before we haue said) after the name of the said Albion: because he was established chiefe ruler and king thereof both by his grandfather Osiris, and his father Neptune that cunning sailour reigning therein (as Bale saith) by the space of 44. yeares,

The occasion of the fable of Iupiters helping his sonne Hercules.

How this Iland was called Albion, of the giant Albion Iohn Bale.

yeares, till finally he was slaine in maner afore remembred by his vncle Hercules Libicus.

After that Hercules had thus vanquished and destroied his enimies, hée passed to and fro thorough Gallia, suppressing the tyrants in euerie part where he came, and restoring the people vnto a reasonable kinde of libertie, vnder lawfull gouernours. This Hercules (as we find) builded the citie Alesia in Burgongne, nowe called Alize. Moreouer, by Lilius Giraldus in the life of Hercules it is auouched, that the same Hercules came ouer hither into Britaine. And this doth Giraldus write by warrant of such Britons as (saith he) haue so written themselues, which thing peraduenture he hath read in Gildas the ancient Briton poet: a booke that (as he confesseth in the 5. dialog of his histories of poets) he hath séene. The same thing also is confirmed by the name of an head of land in Britaine called *Promontorium Herculis*, as in Ptolomie ye may read, which is thought to take name of his arriuall at that place. Thus much for Albion and Hercules.

Diuers opinions why this Ile was called Albion. Hée more hereof in the description.

But now, whereas it is not denied of anie, that this Ile was called anciently by the name of Albion: yet there be diuers opinions how it came by that name: for manie do not allow of this historie of Albion the giant. But for so much as it appertaineth rather to the description than to the historie of this Ile, to rip vp and lay forth the secret mysteries of such matters: and because I thinke that this opinion which is here auouched, how it toke that name of the forsaid Albion, sonne to Neptune, may be confirmed with as good authoritie as some of the other, I here passe ouer the rest, & proceed with the historie.

When Albion chiefe capteine of the giants was slaine, the residue that remained at home in the Ile, continued without any rule or restraint of law, in so much that they fell to such a dissolute order of life, that they seemed little or nothing to differ from brute beasts: and those are they which our ancient chronicles call the giants, who were so named, as well for the huge proportion of their stature (sithens as before is said, that age brought forth far greater men than are now liuing) as also for that they were the first, or at the least the furthest in remembrance of any that had inhabited this countrie. For this word Gigines, or Gegines, from whence our word giant (as some take it) is deriued, is a Greeke word, and signifieth, Borne or bred of or in the earth, for our fore-elders, specially the Gentiles, being ignorant of the true beginning of mankind, were persuaded, that the first inhabitants of any countrie were bred out of the earth, and therefore when they could go no higher, reckoning the descents of their predecessours, they would name him *Terræ filius*, The sonne of the earth: and so the giants whom the poets faine to haue sought to make battell against heauen are called the sonnes of the earth: and the first inhabitants generally of euery countrie were of the Greekes called Gigines, or Gegines, and of the Latines *Aborigines*, and *Indigenæ*, that is, People borne of the earth from the beginning, and comming from no other countrie, but bred within the same.

Terræ filius what it signifieth.

Aborigines. Indigenæ.

These giants and first inhabitants of this Ile continued in their beastlie kind of life vnto the arriuall of the ladies, which some of our chronicles ignorantly write to be the daughters of Diocletian the king of Assyria, whereas in deed they haue béene deceiued, in taking the word Danaus to be short written for Diocletianus: and by the same meanes haue diuers words and names bene mistaken, both in our chronicles, and in diuers other ancient written works. But this is a fault that learned men should not so much trouble themselues about, considering the same hath bin alreadie found by sundrie authors ling sithens, as Hugh the Italian, Iohn Harding, Iohn Rouse of Warwike, and others, specially by the helpe of Dauid Pencair a British historie, who recite the historie vnder the name of Danaus and his daughters. And because we would not any man to thinke, that the historie of these daughters of Danaus is onelie of purpose deuised, and brought in place of Diocletianus, to excuse the imperfection of our writers, whereas there was either no such historie (or at the least no such women that arriued in this Ile) the authoritie of Nennius a Briton writer may be auouched, who wrote aboue 900. yeares past, and maketh mention of the arriuall of such ladies.

The mistaking of the name of Diocletianus for Danaus.

Hugh the Italian. Harding. Iohn Rouse out of Dauid Pencair.

Nennius.

To be short, the historie is thus. Belus the sonne of Epaphus, or (as some writers haue) of Neptune and Libies (whome Isis after the death of Apis maried) had issue two sonnes: the first Danaus, called also Armeus; and Aegyptus called also Rameses: these two were kings among the Aegyptians. Danaus the elder of the two, hauing in his rule the vpper region of Aegypt, had by sundrie wiues 50. daughters, with whome his brother Aegyptus, gaping for the dominion of the whole, did instantlie labour, that his sonnes being also 50. in number, might match. But Danaus hauing knowledge by some prophesie or oracle, that a sonne in law of his should be his death, refused so to bestow his daughters. Hereupon grew warre betwixt the brethren, in the end whereof, Danaus being the weaker, was inforced to flée his countrie, and so prepared a naule, imbarked himselfe and his daughters, and with them passed ouer into Gréece, where he found meanes to dispossesse Gelenor (sonne to Stenelas king of Argos) of his rightfull inheritance, driuing him out of his countrie, and reigned in his place by the assistance of the Argiues that had conceiued an hatred towardes Gelenor, and a great liking towardes Danaus, who in verie deed did so farre excell the kings that had reigned there before him, that the Greekes in remembrance of him were after called Danai.

Belus priscus. *Dictionarium poeticum.*

Danaus. Aegyptus. Higinus.

But his brother Aegyptus, taking great disdaine for that he and his sonnes were in such sort despised of Danaus, sent his sonnes with a great armie to make warre against their vncle, giuing them in charge not to returne, till they had either slaine Danaus, or obteined his daughters in mariage. The yong gentlemen according to their fathers commandement, being arriued in Greece, made such warre against Danaus, that in the end he was constrained to giue vnto those his 50. nephues his 50. daughters, to ioine with them in mariage, and so they were. But as the prouerbe saith, In trust appeared treacherie. For on the first night of the mariage, Danaus deliuered to ech of his daughters a sword, charging them that when their husbands after their bankets and pastimes were once brought into a sound slæpe, ech of them should slea hir husband, menacing them with death vnlesse they fulfilled his commandement. They all therefore obeied the will of their father, Hypermnestra onely excepted, with whom preuailed more the loue of kinred and wedlocke, than the feare of hir fathers displeasure: for shee alone spared the life of hir husband Lynceus, waking him out of his slæpe, and warning him to depart and flée into Aegypt to his father. He therefore hauing all the wicked practises reuealed to him by his wife, followed hir aduice, and so escaped.

Now when Danaus perceiued how all his daughters had accomplished his commandement; sauing onelie Hypermnestra, he caused hir to be brought forth into iudgement, for disobeieng him in a matter wherein both the safetie and losse of his life rested: but she was acquitted by the Argiues, &

Pausanias.

discharged. Howbeit hir father kept hir in prison, and seeking to find out other husbands for his other daughters that had obeied his pleasure in sleaing their first husbands, long it was yer he could find any to match with them: for the heinous offense committed in the slaughter of their late husbands, was yet too fresh in memorie, and their bloud not wiped out of mind. Neuertheless, to bring his purpose the better to passe, he made proclamation, that his daughters should demand no ioinctures, and euerie suter should take his choise without respect to the age of the ladie, or abilitie of him that came to make his choise, but so as first come best serued, according to their owne phantasies and likings. Howbeit when this policie also failed, & would not serue his turne, he deuised a game of running, ordeining therewith, that whosoeuer got the best price should haue the first choise among all the sisters; and he that got the second, should chose next to the first; and so forth, eche one after an other, according to the triall of their swiftnesse of foote.

How much this practise auailed, I know not: but certeine it is, diuers of them were bestowed, either by this or some other meanes, for we find that Autonomes was maried to Architeles, Chrysanta or (as Pausanias saith) Scea was matched with Archandrus, Amaome with Neptunus Equestris, on whome he begat Nauplius.

Higinus. But now to returne vnto Lynceus, whome his wife Hypermnestra preserued, as before ye haue heard. After he was once got out of the reach and danger of his father in law king Danaus, he gaue Pausanias. knowledge thereof to his wife, in raising a fire on heigth beaconwise, accordingly as she had requested him to do at his departure from hir: and this was at a place which afterwards toke name of him, and was called Lyncea. Upon his returne into Aegypt, he gaue his father to vnderstand the whole circumstance of the trecherous crueltie vsed by his vncle and his daughters in the murder of his brethren, and how hardly he himselfe had escaped death out of his vncles handes. Whereupon at time conuenient he was furnished forth with men and ships by his father, for the spéedie reuenge of that heinous, vnnaturall and most dilotall murder, in which enterprise he sped him forth with such diligence, that in short time he found meanes to dispatch his vncle Danaus, set his wife Hypermnestra at libertie, and subdued the whole kingdome of the Argiues.

This done, he caused the daughters of Danaus (so many as remained within the limits of his dominion) to be sent for, whome he thought not worthie to liue, because of the cruell murther which they had committed on his brethren: but yet for that they were his wiues sisters, he would not put them to death, but commanded them to be thrust into a ship, without maister, mate or mariner, and so to be turned into the maine ocean sea, and to take and abide such fortune as should chance vnto them. These ladies thus imbarked and left to the mercy of the seas, Harding and John Rous out of Dauid Pencair. by hap were brought to the coasts of this Ile then called Albion, where they toke land, and in séeking to prouide themselues of victuals by pursute of wilde beasts, met with no other inhabitants, than the rude and sauage giants mentioned before, whome our historiens for their beastlie kind of life do call diuells. With these monsters did these ladies (finding none other to satisfie the motions of their sensuall lust) ioine in the act of venerie, and ingendred a race of people in proportion nothing differing from their fathers that begat them, nor in conditions from their mothers that bare them.

But now peraduenture ye will thinke that I haue forgotten my selfe, in rehearsing this historie of the ladies arriuall here, because I make no mention of Albina, which should be the eldest of the sisters, of whome this land should also take the name of Albion. To this we answer, that as the name of their father hath bene mistaken, so likewise hath the whole course of the historie in this behalfe. For though we shall admit that to be true which is rehearsed (in maner as before ye haue heard) of the arriuall here of those ladies; yet certeine it is that none of them bare the name of Albina, from whome this land might be called Albion. For further assurance whereof, if any Higinus. man be desirous to know all their names, we haue thought good here to rehearse them as they be found The names of the daughters of Danaus. in Higinus, Pausanias, and others. 1 Idea, 2 Philomela, 3 Scillo, 4 Phiconene, 5 Euippe, 6 Demoditas, 7 Hyale, 8 Trite, 9 Damone, 10 Hipothoe, 11 Mirmidone, 12 Euridice, 13 Chleo, 14 Urania, 15 Cleopatra, 16 Phylea, 17 Hyppareta, 18 Chrysothemis, 19 Herania, 20 Armoaste, 21 Danaes, 22 Scea, 23 Glaucippe, 24 Demophile, 25 Autodice, 26 Polyxena, 27 Hecate, 28 Achamantis, 29 Arsalte, 30 Nonulte, 31 Animone, 32 Helice, 33 Amaome, 34 Polybe, 35 Helicte, 36 Electra, 37 Eubule, 38 Daphildice, 39 Hero, 40 Europomene, 41 Critomedia, 42 Pyrene, 43 Eupheno, 44 Themistagora, 45 Paleno, 46 Erato, 47 Autonomes, 48 Itea, 49 Chrysanta, 50 Hypermnestra. These were the names of those ladies the daughters of Danaus: howbeit, which they were that should arriue in this Ile, we can not say: but it sufficeth to vnderstand, that none of them hight Albina. So that, whether the historie of their landing here should be true or not, it is all one for the matter concerning the name of this Ile, which vndoubtedlie was called Albion, either of Albion the giant (as before I haue See more in the description. said) or by some other occasion.

And thus much for the ladies, whose strange aduenture of their arriuall here, as it may seeme to manie (with good cause) incredible, so without further auouching it for truth, I leaue it to the consideration of the reader, to thinke thereof as reason shall moue him; sith I see not how either in this, or in other things of such antiquitie, we cannot haue sufficient warrant otherwise than by likelie coniectures. Which as in this historie of the ladies they are not most probable, yet haue we shewed the likeliest, that (as we thinke) may be deemed to agrée with those authors that haue written of their comming into this Ile. But as for an assured proofe that this Ile was inhabited with people before the comming of Brute, I trust it may suffice which before is recited out of Annius de Viterbo, Theophilus, Gildas, and other, although much more might be said: as of the comming hither of Osiris, as well as in the other parties of the world: and likewise of Ulysses his being here, Ulysses in Britaine. who in performing some vow which he either then did make, or before had made, erected an altar in that part of Scotland which was anciently called Caledonia, as Iulius Solinus Polyhistor in plaine words Iulius Solinus. doth record.

¶ Upon these considerations I haue no doubt to deliuer vnto the reader, the opinion of those that thinke this land to haue bene inhabited before the arriuall here of Brute, trusting it may be taken in good part, sith we haue but shewed the coniectures of others, till time that some sufficient learned man shall take vpon him to decipher the doubts of all these matters. Neuertheless, I thinke good to aduertise the reader that these stories of Samothes, Magus, Sarron, Druis, and Bardus, do relie onelie vpon the authoritie of Berosus, whom most diligent antiquaries do reiect as a fabulous and counterfet author, and Vacerius hath laboured to proue the same by a speciall treatise latelie published at Rome.

THE

THE SECOND BOOKE of the Hiſtorie of England.

Of Brute and his deſcent, how *he ſlue his father in hunting, his* baniſhment, his letter to king Pan*draſus, againſt whom he wageth* battell, taketh him priſoner, *and concludeth peace vpon* conditions.

The firſt Chapter.

HItherto haue we ſpoken of the inhabitants of this Ile before the comming of Brute, although ſome will needs haue it, that he was the firſt which inhabited the ſame with his people deſcended of the Troians, ſome few giants onelie excepted whom he vtterlie deſtroted, and left not one of them aliue through the whole Ile. But as we ſhall not doubt of Brutes comming hither, ſo may we aſſuredly thinke, that he found the Ile peopled either with the generation of thoſe which Albion the giant had placed here, or ſome other kind of people whom he did ſubdue, and ſo reigned as well ouer them as ouer thoſe which he brought with him. Humfr. Lhoyd.

This Brutus, or Brytus [for this letter (Y) hath of ancient time had the ſounds both of V and I] (as the author of the booke which Geffrey of Monmouth tranſlated doth affirme) was the ſonne of Siluius, the ſonne of Aſcanius, the ſonne of Aeneas the Troian, begotten of his wife Creuſa, & borne in Troie, before the citie was deſtroied. But as other do take it, the author of that booke (whatſoeuer he was) and ſuch other as follow him, are deceiued onelie in this point, miſtaking the matter, in that Poſthumus the ſonne of Aeneas (begotten of his wife Lauinia, and borne after his fathers deceaſſe in Italie) was called Aſcanius, who had iſſue a ſonne named Julius, who (as theſe other do coniecture) was the father of Brute, that noble chieftaine and aduenturous leader of thoſe people, which being deſcended (for the more part in the fourth generation) from thoſe Troians that eſcaped with life, when that rotall citie was deſtroied by the Grecians, got poſſeſſion of this worthie and moſt famous Ile. Harding. Alex. Neuil: W. Har.

To this opinion Giouan Villani a Florentine in his vniuerſall hiſtorie, ſpeaking of Aeneas and his offſpring kings in Italie, ſeemeth to agree, where he ſaith: Siluius (the ſonne of Aeneas by his wife Lauinia) fell in loue with a neece of his mother Lauinia, and by hir had a ſonne, of whom ſhe died in trauell, and therefore was called Brutus, who after as he grew in ſome ſtature, and hunting in a forreſt ſlue his father vnwares, and thereupon for feare of his grandfather Siluius Poſthumus he fled the countrie, and with a retinue of ſuch as followed him, paſſing through diuers ſeas, at length he arriued in the Ile of Britaine.

Concerning therefore our Brute, whether his father Julius was ſonne to Aſcanius the ſonne of Aeneas by his wife Creuſa, or ſonne to Poſthumus called alſo Aſcanius, and ſonne to Aeneas by his wife Lauinia, we will not further ſtand. But this, we find, that when he came to the age of 15. yeeres, ſo that he was now able to ride abrode with his father into the forreſts and chaſes, he fortuned (either by miſhap, or by Gods prouidence) to ſtrike his father with an arrow, in ſhooting at a deere, of which wound he alſo died. His grandfather (whether the ſame was Poſthumus, or his elder brother) hearing of this great miſfortune that had chanced to his ſonne Siluius, liued not long after, but died for verie greefe and ſorow (as is ſuppoſed) which he conceiued thereof. And the yong gentleman, immediatlie after he had ſlaine his father (in maner before alledged) was baniſhed his countrie, and thereupon got him into Grecia, where trauelling the countrie, he lighted by chance among ſome of the Troian offſpring, and aſſociating himſelfe with them, grew by meanes of the linage (whereof he was deſcended) in proces of time into great reputation among them: chieflie by reaſon there were yet diuers of the Troian race, and that of great authoritie in that countrie. For Pyrrhus the ſonne of Achilles, hauing no iſſue by his wife Hermione, maried Andromache, late wife vnto Hector: and by hir had three ſonnes, Molollus, Pileus, and Pergamus, who in their time grew to be of great power in thoſe places and countries, and their offſpring likewiſe: whereby Brutus or Brytus wanted no friendſhip. For euen at his firſt comming thither, diuers of the Troians that remained in ſeruitude, being deſirous of libertie, by flocks reſorted vnto him. And amongſt other, Aſſaracus was one, whom Brute intertained, receiuing at his hands the poſſeſſion of ſundrie forts and places of defenſe, before that the king of thoſe parties could haue vnderſtanding or knowledge of any ſuch thing. Herewith alſo ſuch as were readie to make the aduenture with him, repaired to him on ech ſide, whereupon he firſt placed gariſons in thoſe townes which had bene thus deliuered vnto him, and afterwards with Aſſaracus and the reſidue of the multitude he withdrew into the mountains nere adioining. And thus being made ſtrong with ſuch aſſiſtance, by conſultation had with them that were of moſt authoritie about him,

Brute killeth his father.

Pauſanias.

him, wrote vnto the king of that countrie called Pandrasus, in forme as followeth.

A letter of Brute to Pandrasus, as I find it set downe in Galfride Monumetensis.

BRute leader of the remnant of the Troian people, to Pandrasus king of the Greekes, sendeth greeting. Because it hath beene thought a thing vnworthie, that the people descended of the noble linage of Dardanus should be otherwise dealt with than the honour of their nobilitie dooth require: they haue withdrawne themselues within the close couert of the woods. For they haue chosen rather (after the maner of wild beasts) to liue on flesh and herbs in libertie, than furnished with all the riches in the world to continue vnder the yoke of seruile thraldome. But if this their dooing offend thy mightie highnesse, they are not to be blamed, but rather in this behalfe to be pardoned, sith euerie captiue prisoner is desirous to be restored vnto his former estate and dignitie. You therefore pitieng their case, vouchsafe to grant them their abridged libertie, and suffer them to remaine in quiet within these woods which they haue got into their possession: if not so, yet giue them licence to depart forth of this countrie into some other parts.

The sight of these letters, and request in them conteined, made Pandrasus at the first somewhat amazed, howbeit deliberating further of the matter, and considering their small number, he made no great account of them, but determined out of hand to suppresse them by force, before they should grow to a greater multitude. And to bring his intention the better to passe, he passed by a towne called Sparatinum, & marching toward the woods where he thoght to haue found his enimies, he was suddenlie assalted by Brute, who with three thousand men came forth of the woods, and fiercelie setting vpon his enimies, made great slaughter of them, so that they were vtterlie discomfited, & sought by flight to saue themselues in passing a riuer nere hand called Akalon. Brute with his men following fast vpon the aduersaries, caused them to plunge into the water at aduenture, so that manie of them were drowned. Howbeit Antigonus the brother of Prandrasus did what he could to stay the Grecians from fleeing, and calling them backe againe did get some of them togither, placed them in order, and began a new field: but it nothing auailed, for the Troians prealing vpon him, tooke him prisoner, slue and scattred his companie, and ceased not till they had rid the fields of all their aduersaries.

This done, Brute entering the towne, furnished it with six hundred able souldiours, and afterwards went backe to the residue of his people that were incamped in the woods, where he was receiued with vnspeakeable ioy for this prosperous atchiued enterprise. But although this euill successe at the first beginning sore troubled Pandrasus, as well for the losse of the field, as for the taking of his brother, yet was he rather kindled in desire to seeke reuenge, than otherwise discouraged. And therefore assembling his people againe togither that were scattered here and there, he came the next day before the towne of Sparatinum, where he thought to haue found Brute inclosed togither with the prisoners, and therfore he shewed his whole endeuour by hard siege and fierce assaults to force them within to yeeld.

To conclude, so long he continued the siege, till victuals began to waxe scant within, so that there was no way but to yeeld, if present succour came not to remoue the siege: whereupon they signified their necessitie vnto Brute, who for that he had not power sufficient to fight with the enimies in open field, he ment to giue them a camisado in the night season, and so ordered his businesse, that inforcing a prisoner (named Anacletus whome he had taken in the last battell) to serue his turne, by constreining him to take an oth (which he durst not for conscience sake breake) he found means to encounter with his enimies vpon the aduantage, that he did not onelie ouerthrowe their whole power, but also take Pandrasus prisoner, whereby all the trouble was ended: and shortlie after a perfect peace concluded, vpon these conditions following.

Pandrasus taken prisoner

First, that Pandrasus should giue his daughter Innogen vnto Brute in mariage, with a competent summe of gold and siluer for hir dowrie.

The conditions of the agreement betwixt Brute & Pandrasus.

Secondlie, to furnish him and his people with a nauie of ships, and to store the same with victuals and all other necessaries.

Thirdlie, that Brute with his people should haue licence to depart the countrie, to seeke aduentures whither so euer it should please them to direct their course, without let, impeachment, or trouble to be offered anie waies by the Greeks.

To all these conditions (bicause they touched not the prerogatiue of his kingdome) Pandrasus did willinglie agree, and likewise performed.

Brute and his wife Innogen arriue in Leogitia, they aske counsell of an oracle where they shall inhabit, he meeteth with aremnant of Troians on the coasts neere the shooting downe of the Pyrenine hills into the sea.

Pandrasus prepareth an armie to suppresse the Troian ofspring.

Sparatinum.

Peraduenture Achelous

Antigonus, the brother of Pandrasus.

He is taken prisoner.

Brute entreth into Sparatinum.

The second Chapter.

ALl things being thus brought to passe according to Brutes desire, wind also and wether seruing the purpose, he with his wife Innogen and his people imbarked, and hoising vp sailes departed from the coasts of Grecia. Now after two daies and a nights sailing, they arriued at Leogitia (in some old written bookes of the British historie noted downe Lergetia) an Iland, where they consulted with an oracle. Brute himselfe kneeling before the idoll, and holding in his right hand a boll prepared for sacrifice full of wine, and the bloud of a white hinde, spake in this maner as here followeth:

Diua potens nemorum, terror syluestribus apris,
Cui licet anfractus ire per æthereos,
Infernásq; domos, terrestria iura resolue,
Et dic quas terras nos habitare velis:
Dic certam sedem qua te venerabor in æuum,
Qua tibi virgineis templa dicabo choris.

These verses (as Ponticus Virumnius and others also do gesse) were written by Gildas Cambrius in his booke intituled *Cambreidos*, and may thus be Englished:

Thou goddesse that doost rule
the woods and forrests greene,
And chasest foming boares
that flee thine awfull sight,
Thou that maist passe aloft
in airie skies so sheene,

And

And walke eke vnder earth
in places void of light,
Diſcouer earthlie ſtates,
direct our courſe aright,
And ſhew where we ſhall dwell,
according to thy will,
In ſeates of ſure abode,
where temples we may dight
For virgins that ſhall ſound
thy laud with voices ſhrill.

After this praier and ceremonie done, according to the pagane rite and cuſtome, Brute abiding his anſwer, fell aſléepe: in which ſléepe appeared to him the ſaid goddeſſe vttering this anſwer in the verſes following expreſſed.

Brute, ſub occaſum ſalis trans Gallica regna,
Inſula in oceano eſt, vndiq́ clauſa mari,
Inſula in oceano eſt, habitata gigantibus olim,
Nunc deſerta quidem, gentibus apta tuis:
Hanc pete, naḿq tibi ſedes erit illa perennis,
Hic ſiet natus altera Troia tuis:
Hic de prole tua reges naſcentur, & ipſis
Totius terræ ſubditus orbis erit.

Brute, farre by-weſt beyond the Gallike land is found,
An Ile which with the ocean ſeas
incloſed is about,
Where giants dwelt ſometime,
but now is deſart ground,
Moſt meet where thou maiſt plant
thy ſelfe with all thy rout:
Make thitherwards with ſpeed,
for there thou ſhalt find out
An euerduring ſeat,
and Troie ſhall riſe anew,
Vnto thy race, of whom
ſhall kings be borne no dout,
That with their mightie power
the world ſhall whole ſubdew.

After he awaked out of ſléepe, and had called his dreame to remembrance, he firſt doubted whether it were a verie dreame, or a true viſion, the goddes hauing ſpoken to him with liuelie voice. Wherevpon calling ſuch of his companie vnto him as he thought requiſite in ſuch a caſe, he declared vnto them the whole matter with the circumſtances, whereat they greatlie reioiſing, cauſed mightie bonfires to be made, in the which they caſt wine, milke, and other liquors, with diuers gums and ſpices of moſt ſweet ſmell and ſauour, as in the pagan religion was accuſtomed. Which obſeruances and ceremonies performed and brought to end, they returned ſtreight waies to their ſhips, and as ſone as the wind ſerued, paſſed forward on their iournie with great ioy and gladneſſe, as men put in comfort to find out the wiſhed ſeats for their firme and ſure habitations. From hence therefore they caſt about, and making weſtward, firſt arriued in Affrica, and after kéeping on their courſe, they paſſed the ſtraits of Gibralterra, and coaſting alongſt the ſhore on the right hand, they found another companie that were likewiſe deſcended of the Troian progenie, on the coaſts nere where the Pyrenine hils ſhot downe to the ſea, whereof the ſame ſea by good reaſon (as ſome ſuppoſe) was named in thoſe daies *Mare Pyrenæum*, although hitherto by fault of writers & copiers of the Britiſh hiſtorie receiued, in this place *Mare Tyrrhenum*, was ſlightlie put downe in ſtead of *Pyrenæum*.

The offſpring of thoſe Troians, with whom Brute and his companie thus did méet, were a remnant of them that came away with Antenor. Their capteine hight Corineus, a man of great modeſtie and approued wiſedome, and thereto of incomparable ſtrength and boldneſſe.

Brute and the ſaid Troians with their capteine Corineus doo aſſociat, they take landing within the dominion of king Goffarus, he raiſeth an armie againſt Brute and his power, but is diſcomfited: of the citie of Tours: Brutes arriuall in this Iland with his companie.

The third Chapter.

After that Brute and the ſaid Troians, by conference interchangeablie had, vnderſtood one anothers eſtates, and how they were deſcended from one countrie and progenie, they vnited themſelues togither, greatlie reioiſing that they were ſo fortunatlie met: and hoiſing vp their ſailes, directed their courſe forward ſtill, till they arriued within the mouth of the riuer of Loire, which diuideth Aquitaine from Gall Celtike, where they toke land within the dominion of a king called Goffarius, ſurnamed Pictus, by reaſon he was deſcended of the people *Agathyrſi*, otherwiſe named Picts, bicauſe they vſed to paint their faces and bodies, inſomuch that the richer a man was amongſt them, the more coſt he beſtowed in painting himſelfe; and commonlie the haire of their head was red, or (as probable writers ſay) of ſkie colour. Herodotus calleth them χρυσοφόρους, bicauſe they did weare much gold about them. They vſed their wiues in common, and bicauſe they are all ſuppoſed to be brethren, there is no ſtriſe nor diſcord among them. Of theſe *Agathyrſi*, it is recorded by the ſaid Herodotus, that they refuſed to ſuccour the Scythians againſt Darius, giuing this reaſon of their refuſall; bicauſe they would not make warre againſt him who had done them no wrong. And of this people doth the poet make mention, ſaieng,

Cretéſq; Dryopéſq; fremunt pictiq; Agathyrſi.

To paint their faces not for amiableneſſe, but for terribleneſſe, the Britons in old time vſed, and that with a kind of herbe like vnto plantine. In which reſpect I ſée no reaſon why they alſo ſhould not be called Picts, as well as the Agathyrſi; ſéeing the denomination ſprang of a vaine cuſtome in them both. And here by the way, ſithens we haue touched this follie in two ſeuerall people, let it not ſéeme tedious to read this one tricke of the Indians, among whom there is great plentie of pretious ſtones, wherewith they adorne themſelues in this maner; namelie, in certein hollow places which they make in their fleſh, they incloſe and riuet in pretious ſtones, and that as well in their foreheads as their chéekes, to none other purpoſe, than the Agathyrſi in the vſe of their painting.

The countrie of Poictou (as ſome hold) where the ſaid Goffarius reigned, toke name of this people: likewiſe a part of this our Ile of Britaine now conteined within Scotland, which in ancient time was called Pightland or Pictland, as elſewhere both in this hiſtorie of England, and alſo of Scotland may further appeare. But to our purpoſe.

When Goffarius the king of Poictou was aduertiſed of the landing of theſe ſtrangers within his countrie, he ſent firſt certeine of his people to vnderſtand what they ment by their comming a land within his dominion, without licence or leaue of him obteined. They that were thus ſent, came by chance to a place where Corineus with two hundred of the companie were come from the ſhips into a forreſt néere the ſea ſide, to kill ſome veneſon for their ſuſtenance:

Brute and Corineus ioin their companies together.

They arriue on the coaſts of Gallia, now called France.

Goffarius ſurnamed Pictus.

Les annales d'Aquitaine.

Agathyrſi, otherwiſe called Picts, of painting their bodies.

Marcellus. Plinie. Herodotus li. 4.

Virg. Aeneid. 4.

Cæſar com. li. 5

P. Mart. com. part. 2. ſect. 60.

Pightland or Pictland.

Goffarius ſendeth vnto Brute.

Brute with his companie landed in Aſrike.

The miſtaking of thoſe that haue coied the Britiſh hiſtorie putting *Mare Tyrrhenum*, for *Pyrenæum*.

nance: and being rebuked with some disdainfull speach of those Poictouins, he shaped them a round answer: insomuch that one of them whose name was Imbert, let driue an arrow at Corineus: but he auoiding the danger thereof, shot againe at Imbert, in reuenge of that iniurie offered, and claue his head in sunder. The rest of the Poictouins fled therevpon, and brought word to Goffarius what had happened: who immediatlie with a mightie armie made forward to encounter with the Troians, and comming to ioine with them in battell, after a sharpe and sore conflict, in the end Brute with his armie obteined a triumphant victorie, speciallie through the noble prowesse of Corineus.

Corineus answereth the messengers. Imbert.

Imbert is slaine by Corineus.

Goffarius raiseth an armie.

Goffarius is discomfited.

Goffarius séeketh aid against Brute.

Goffarius escaping from the field, fled into the inner parts of Gallia, making sute for assistance vnto such kings as in those daies reigned in diuers prouinces of that land, who promised to aid him with all their forces, and to expell out of the coasts of Aquitaine, such strangers as without his licence were thus entred the countrie. But Brute in the meane time passed forward, and with fire and sword made hauocke in places where he came: and gathering great spoiles, fraught his ships with plentie of riches. At length he came to the place, where afterwards he built a citie named *Turonium*, that is, Tours.

Brute spoileth the countrie.

Turonium or Tours built by Brute.

Here Goffarius with such Galles as were assembled to his aid, gaue battell againe vnto the Troians that were incamped to abide his comming. Where after they had fought a long time with singular manhood on both parties: the Troians in fine oppressed with multitudes of aduersaries (euen thirtie times as manie mo as the Troians) were constreined to retire into their campe, within the which the Galles kept them as besieged, lodging round about them, and purposing by famine to compell them to yéeld themselues vnto their mercie. But Corineus taking counsell with Brute, deuised to depart in the darke of the night out of the campe, to lodge himselfe with three thousand chosen souldiers secretlie in a wood, and there to remaine in couert till the morning that Brute should come forth and giue a charge vpon the enimies, wherewith Corineus should breake forth and assaile the Galles on the backes.

Goffarius hauing renewed his forces, fighteth eftsoones with Brute.

This policie was put in practise, and toke such effect as the deuisers themselues wished: for the Galles being sharplie assailed on the front by Brute and his companie, were now with the sudden comming of Corineus (who set vpon them behind on their backes) brought into such a feare, that incontinentlie they toke them to flight, whom the Troians egerlie pursued, making no small slaughter of them as they did ouertake them. In this battell Brute lost manie of his men, and amongst other one of his nephues named Turinus, after he had shewed maruellous proofe of his manhood. Of him (as some haue written) the foresaid citie of Tours toke the name, and was called *Turonium*, bicause the said Turinus was there buried.

Theuet.

Andrew Theuet affirmeth the contrarie, and mainteineth that one Taurus the nephue of Hanniball was the first that inclosed it about with a pale of wood (as the maner of those daies was of fensing their townes) in the yeare of the world 3374. and before the birth of our sauiour 197.

3374

But to our matter concerning Brute, who after he had obteined so famous a victorie, albeit there was good cause for him to reioise, yet it sore troubled him to consider that his numbers dailie decaied, and his enimies still increased, and grew stronger: wherevpon resting doubtfull what to doo, whether to proceed against the Galles, or returne to his ships to séeke the Ile that was appointed him by oracle, at length he chose the surest and best way, as he toke it, and as it proued. For whilest the greater part of his armie was yet left aliue, and that the victorie remained on his side, he drew to his nauie, and lading his ships with exceeding great store of riches which his people had got abroad in the countrie, he toke the seas againe. After a few daies sailing they landed at the hauen now called Totnesse, the yeare of the world 2850, after the destruction of Troy 66, after the deliuerance of the Israelites from the captiuitie of Babylon 397, almost ended: in the 18 yeare of the reigne of Cineas king of Babylon, 13 of Melanthus king of Athens, before the building of Rome 368, which was before the natiuitie of our Sauior Christ 1116, almost ended, and before the reigne of Alexander the great 783.

Brute with his remnant of Troians arriue in this Ile.

Anno mundi 2850.

1116

Brute wisheth the commodities of *this Iland, mightie giants withstand him,* Gogmagog and Corineus wrestle together *at a place beside Douer: he buildeth the citie* of Trinouant now termed London, *calleth this Iland by the name of* Britaine, *and diuideth it into three parts among his three sonnes.*

The fourth Chapter.

WHEN Brute had entred this land, immediatlie after his arriuall (as writers do record) he searched the countrie from side to side, and from end to end, finding it in most places verie fertile and plentious of wood and grasse, and full of pleasant springs and faire riuers. As he thus trauelled to discouer the state and commodities of the Iland, he was encountred by diuers strong and mightie giants, whome he destroied and slue, or rather subdued, with all such other people as he found in the Iland, which were more in number than by report of some authors it should appeare there were. Among these giants (as Geffrey of Monmouth writeth) there was one of passing strength and great estimation, named Gogmagog, with whome Brute caused Corineus to wrestle at a place beside Douer, where it chanced that the giant brake a rib in the side of Corineus while they stroue to claspe, and the one to ouerthrow the other: wherewith Corineus being sore chafed and stirred to wrath, did so double his force that he got the vpper hand of the giant, and cast him downe headlong from one of the rocks there, not farre from Douer, and so dispatched him: by reason whereof the place was named long after, The fall or leape of Gogmagog, but afterward it was called The fall of Douer. For this valiant déed, and other the like seruices first and last atchiued, Brute gaue vnto Corineus the whole countrie of Cornwall. To be briefe, after that Brute had destroied such as stood against him, and brought such people vnder his subiection as he found in the Ile, and searched the land from the one end to the other: he was desirous to build a citie, that the same might be the seate roiall of his empire or kingdome. Wherevpon he chose a plot of ground lieng on the north side of the riuer of Thames, which by good consideration séemed to be most pleasant and conuenient for any great multitude of inhabitants, aswell for holsomnesse of aire, goodnesse of soile, plentie of woods, and commoditie of the riuer, seruing as well to bring in as to carrie out all kinds of merchandize and things necessarie for the gaine, store, and vse of them that there should inhabit.

Brute encountred by the giants.

Corineus wrestleth with Gogmagog.

Gogmagog slaine.

Cornwall giuen to Corineus.

Brute in doubt what to doo.

inhabit.

Here therefore he began to build and lay the foundation of a citie, in the tenth or (as other thinke) in the second yeare after his arriuall, which he named (saith Gal.Mon.) Troinouant, or (as Hum. Lhoyd saith) Troinewith, that is, new Troy, in remembrance of that noble citie of Troy from whence he and his people were for the greater part descended.

When Brutus had builded this citie, and brought the Iland fullie vnder his subiection, he by the aduise of his nobles commanded this Ile (which before hight Albion) to be called Britaine, and the inhabitants Britons after his name, for a perpetuall memorie that he was the first bringer of them into the land. In this meane while also he had by his wife iij. sonnes, the first named Locrinus or Locrine, the second Cambris or Camber, and the third Albanactus or Albanact. Now when the time of his death drew néere, to the first he betoke the gouernment of that part of the land nowe knowne by the name of England: so that the same was long after called Loegria, or Logiers, of the said Locrinus. To the second he appointed the countrie of Wales, which of him was first named Cambria, diuided from Loegria by the riuer of Seuerne. To his third sonne Albanact he deliuered all the north part of the Ile, afterward called Albania, after the name of the said Albanact: which portion of the said Ile lieth beyond the Humber northward. Thus when Brutus had diuided the Ile of Britaine (as before is mentioned) into 3. parts, and had gouerned the same by the space of 15. yeares, he died in the 24 yeare after his arriuall (as Harison noteth) and was buried at Troinouant or London: although the place of his said buriall there be now growne out of memorie.

In the dates of this our Brute Saule and Samuell gouerned Israell.

Of Locrine the eldest sonne of Brute, of Albanact his yoongest sonne, and his death: of Madan, Mempricius, Ebranke, Brute Greenesheeld, Leill, Ludhurdibras, Baldud, and Leir, the nine rulers of Britaine succeslsiuelie after Brute.

The fift Chapter.

Locrine the 2. ruler of Britain

Gal.Mon. Mat.West. a.out of G. e Co. Gal.Mon. Mat.West.

LOcrinus or Locrine the first begotten sonne of Brute began to reigne ouer the countrie called Logiers, in the yeare of the world 1874, and held to his part the countrie that reached from the south sea vnto the riuer of Humber. While this Locrinus gouerned Logiers, his brother Albanact ruled in Albania, where in fine he was slaine in a battell by a king of the Hunnes or Scythians, called Humber, who inuaded that part of Britaine, and got possession thereof, till Locrinus with his brother Camber, in reuenge of their other brothers death, and for the recouerie of the kingdome, gathered their powers togither, and comming against the said king of the Hunnes, by the valiancie of their people they discomfited him in battell, and chased him so egerlie, that he himselfe and a great number of his men were drowned in the gulfe that then parted Loegria and Albania, which after toke name of the said king, and was called Humber, and so continueth vnto this daie.

It should seme that he was come ouer the Humber.

al. Mon.

Moreouer in this battell against the Hunnes were three yong damsels taken of excellent beautie, specially one of them, whose name was Estrild, daughter to a certeine king of Scythia. With this Estrild king Locrine fell so farre in loue, notwithstanding a former contract made betwixt him and the ladie Guendoloena, daughter to Corineus duke of Cornwall, that he meant yet with all spéed to marie the same Estrild. But being earnestlie called vpon, and in manner forced thereto by Corineus, hée changed his purpose, and married Guendoloena, kéeping neuertheles the aforesaid Estrild as paramour still after a secret sort, during the life of Corineus his father in law.

Now after that Corineus was departed this world, Locrine forsoke Guendoloena, and maried Estrild. Guendoloena therefore being cast off by hir husband, got hir into Cornewall to hir friends and kinred, and there procured them to make warre against the said Locrine hir husband, in the which warres hée was slaine, and a battell fought néere to the riuer of Sture, after he had reigned (as writers affirme) twentie yeares, & was buried by his father in the Citie of Troinouant, leauing behind him a yong sonne (begotten of his wife Guendoloena) named Madan, as yet vnméete to gouerne.

Mat.West.

Guendoloena or Guendoline the wife of Locrinus, and daughter of Corineus duke of Cornewall, for so much as hir sonne Madan was not of yeeres sufficient to gouerne, was by common consent of the Britons made ruler of the Ile, in the yéere of the world 2894, and so hauing the administration in hir hands, she did right discréetlie vse hir selfe therein, to the comfort of all hir subiects, till hir sonne Madan came to lawfull age, and then she gaue ouer the rule and dominion to him, after she had gouerned by the space of fiftéene yeares.

Shée is not numbred amongst those that reigned as rulers in this land by Mat. west.

Gal. Mon.

Madan the third ruler.

MAdan the sonne of Locrine and Guendoline entred into the gouernement of Britaine in the 2909. of the world. There is little left in writing of his doings, sauing that he vsed great tyrannie amongst his Britons: and therefore after he had ruled this land the tearme of 40. yeares, he was deuoured of wild beastes, as he was abroad in hunting. He left behind him two sonnes, Mempricius and Manlius. He builded (as is reported) Madancastre, now Dancastre, which reteineth still the later part of his name.

Mempricius the fourth ruler.

MEmpricius the eldest sonne of Madan began his reigne ouer the Britons in the yeare of the world 2949, he continued not long in peace. For his brother Manlius vpon an ambitious mind prouoked the Britons to rebell against him, so that sore and deadly warre continued long betweene them. But finallie, vnder colour of a treatie, Manlius was slaine by his brother Mempricius, so that then he liued in more tranquillitie and rest. Howbeit, being deliuered thus from trouble of warres, he fell into slouth, and so into vnlawfull lust of lecherie, and thereby into the hatred of his people, by forcing of their wiues and daughters: and finallie became so beastlie, that he forsoke his lawfull wife and all his concubines, and fell into the abhominable sinne of Sodomie. And thus from one vice he fell into another, till he became odious to God and man, and at length, going on hunting, was lost of his people, and destroied of wild beastes, when he had reigned twentie yeares, leauing behind him a noble yong sonne named Ebranke, begotten of his lawfull wife.

Fabian.

Manlius is slaine. Gal. Mon.

Slouth engendred lecherie.

Mempricius is deuoured of beastes.

Ebranke the fift ruler.

EBranke the sonne of Mempricius began to rule ouer the Britons in the yeare of the world 2969. He had as writers do of him record, one and twentie wiues, on whom he begot 20. sonnes and 30. daughters, of the which the eldest hight Gualos, or Gualea. These daughters he sent to Alba Syluius, which was the eleuenth king of Italie, or the first king of the Latines, to the end they might be married

Ebranke had 21. wiues: his thirtie daughters sent into Italie.

married to his noble men of the blood of Troians, because the Sabines refused to ioine their daughters with them in marriage. Furthermore, he was the first prince of his land that euer inuaded France after Brute, and is commended as author and originall builder of many cities, both in his owne kingdome, and else where. His sonnes also vnder the conduct of Assaracus, one of their eldest brethren, returning out of Italie, after they had conducted their sisters thither, inuaded Germanie, being first molested by the people of that countrie in their rage, and by the helpe of the said Alba subdued a great part of that countrie, & there planted themselues. Our histories say, that Ebracus their father married them in their returne, and aided them in their conquests, and that he builded the citie of Caerbranke, now called Yorke, about the 14. yeare of his reigne. He builded also in Albania now called Scotland, the castle of Maidens, afterward called Edenburgh of Adian one of their kings. The citie of Alclud was builded likewise by him (as some write) now decaied. After which cities thus builded, he sailed ouer into Gallia, now called France, with a great armie, and subduing the Galles as is afore said, he returned home with great riches and triumph. Now when he had guided the land of Britaine in noble wise by the tearme of fortie yeares, he died, and was buried at Yorke.

Bergomas lib. 6.

The citie of Caerbranke builded. Matth. West.

Fortie yeares hath Matth. West. and Gal. Monume.

Brute Greene-shield the sixt ruler.

Iacobus Lef.

BRute Greneshield, the sonne of Ebranke, was made gouernor of this land in the yeare of the world 3009, Asa reigning in Juda, and Baasa in Israell. This prince bare alwaies in the field a greene shield, whereof he toke his surname, and of him some forraine authors affirme, that he made an attempt to bring the whole realme of France vnder his subiection, which he performed, because his father sustained some dishonor and losse in his last voiage into that countrie. Howbeit they say, that when he came into Henaud, Brinchild a prince of that quarter gaue him also a great ouerthrow, and compelled him to retire home againe into his countrie. This I borrow out of William Harison, who in his chronologie toucheth the same at large, concluding in the end, that the said passage of this prince into France is verie likelie to be true, and that he named a parcell of Armorica lieng on the south, and in manner vpon the verie loine after his owne name, and also a citie which he builded there Britaine. For (saith he) it should seeme by Strabo. lib. 4. that there was a noble citie of that name long before his time in the said countrie, whereof Plinie also speaketh lib. 4. cap. 7. albeit that he ascribe it vnto France after a disordered maner. More I find not of this foresaid Brute, sauing that he ruled the land a certeine time, his father yet liuing, and after his decease the tearme of twelue yeares, and then died, and was buried at Caerbranke now called Yorke.

Strabo lib. 4.

Leill the seuenth ruler.

Caerleil builded.

Chester repaired.

LEill the sonne of Brute Greeneshield, began to reigne in the yeare of the world 3021, the same time that Asa was reigning in Juda, and Ambri in Israell. He built the citie now called Carleil, which then after his owne name was called Caerleil, that is, Leill his citie, or the citie of Leill. He repaired also (as Henrie Bradshaw saith) the citie of Caerleon now called Chester, which (as in the same Bradshaw appeareth) was built before Brutus entrie into this land by a giant named Leon Gauer. But what authoritie he had to auouch this, it may be doubted, for Ranulfe Higden in his worke intituled Polychronicon, saith in plaine words, that it is vnknowen who was the first founder of Chester, but that it toke the name of the soiourning there of some Romaine legions, by whome also it is not vnlike that it might be first built by P. Ostorius Scapula, who as we find, after he had subdued Caratacus king of the Ordonices that inhabited the countries now called Lancashire, Chesshire, and Salopshire, built in those parts, and among the Silures, certeine places of defense, for the better harbrough of his men of warre, and keeping downe of such Britaines as were still readie to moue rebellion.

But now to the purpose concerning K. Leill. We find it recorded that he was in the beginning of his reigne verie vpright, and desirous to see iustice executed, and aboue all thinges loued peace & quietnesse; but as yeares increased with him, so his vertues began to diminish, in so much that abandoning the care for the bodie of the commonwealth, he suffered his owne bodie to welter in all vice and voluptuousnesse, and so procuring the hatred of his subiects, caused malice and discord to rise amongst them, which during his life he was neuer able to appease. But leauing them so at variance, he departed this life, & was buried at Carleil, which as ye haue heard he had builded while he liued.

Lud or Ludhurdibras the eight ruler.

Kaerkin or Canterburie is builded.

Caerguent builded.

Paladour is builded.

LUd or Ludhurdibras the sonne of Leill began to gouerne in the yeare of the world 3046. In the beginning of his reigne, he sought to appease the debate that was raised in his fathers daies, and bring the realme to his former quietnesse, and after that he had brought it to good end, he builded the towne of Kaerkin now called Canterburie: also the towne of Caerguent now cleped Winchester, and mount Paladour now called Shaftsburie. About the building of which towne of Shaftsburie, Aquila a prophet of the British nation wrote his prophesies, of which some fragments remaine yet to be seene, translated into the Latine by some ancient writers. When this Lud had reigned 29. yeares, he died, and left a sonne behind him named Baldud.

Baldud or Bladud the ninth ruler.

Gal. Mon.

The king was learned.

Hot bathes.

BAldud the sonne of Ludhurdibras began to rule ouer the Britaines in the yeare of the world 3085. This man was well seene in the sciences of astronomie and nigromancie, by which (as the common report saith) he made the hot bathes in the citie of Caerbran now called Bath. But William of Malmesburie is of a contrarie opinion, affirming that Julius Cesar made those bathes, or rather repaired them when he was here in England: which is not like to be true: for Julius Cesar, as by good coniecture we haue to thinke, neuer came so farre within the land that way forward. But of these bathes more shall be said in the description. Now to proceed. This Baldud toke such pleasure in artificiall practises & magike, that he taught this art throughout all his realme. And to shew his cunning in other points, vpon a presumptuous pleasure which he had therein, he toke vpon him to flie in the aire, but he fell vpon the temple of Apollo, which stood in the citie of Troinouant, and there was torne in pecces after he had ruled the Britaines by the space of 20. yeares.

Mat. West. The prince did flie.

Leir the 10. ruler.

Mat. West. Leicester is builded.

LEir the sonne of Baldud was admitted ruler ouer the Britaines, in the yeare of the world 3105, at what time Joas reigned in Juda. This Leir was a prince of right noble demeanor, gouerning his land and subiects in great wealth. He made the towne of Caerleir now called Leicester, which standeth vpon the riuer of Sore. It is written that he had by his wife three daughters without other issue, whose names were Gonorilla, Regan, and Cordeilla, which daughters he greatly loued, but specially Cordeilla the yongest farre aboue the two elder. When this Leir therefore was come to great yeres, & began to ware vnwieldie through age, he thought to vnderstand the affections of his daughters towards him, and preferre hir whome he best loued, to the succession ouer the kingdome. Wherupon he first

Gal. Mon.

asked

A triall of loue.

asked Gonorilla the eldest, how well she loued him; who calling hir gods to record, protested that she loued him more than hir owne life, which by right and reason should be most déere vnto hir. With which answer the father being well pleased, turned to the second, and demanded of hir how well she loued him: who answered (confirming hir saiengs with great othes) that she loued him more than tong could expresse, and farre aboue all other creatures of the world.

Then called he his yongest daughter Cordeilla before him, and asked of hir what account she made of him, vnto whome she made this answer as followeth: Knowing the great loue and fatherlie zeale that you haue alwaies borne towards me (for the which I maie not answere you otherwise than I thinke, and as my conscience leadeth me) I protest vnto you, that I haue loued you euer, and will continuallie (while I liue) loue you as my naturall father. And if you would more vnderstand of the loue that I beare you, assertaine your selfe, that so much as you haue, so much you are worth, and so much I loue you, and no more. The father being nothing content with this answer, married his two eldest daughters, the one vnto Henninus the duke of Cornewall, and the other vnto Maglanus the duke of Albania, betwixt whome he willed and ordeined that his land should be diuided after his death, and the one halfe thereof immediatlie should be assigned to them in hand: but for the third daughter Cordeilla he reserued nothing.

The answer of the yongest daughter.

The two eldest daughters are maried.

The realme is promised to his two daughters.

Neuertheles it fortuned that one of the princes of Gallia (which now is called France) whose name was Aganippus, hearing of the beautie, womanhod, and good conditions of the said Cordeilla, desired to haue hir in mariage, and sent ouer to hir father, requiring that he might haue hir to wife: to whome answer was made, that he might haue his daughter, but as for anie dower he could haue none, for all was promised and assured to hir other sisters alreadie. Aganippus notwithstanding this answer of denall to receiue anie thing by way of dower with Cordeilla, toke hir to wife, onlie moued thereto (I saie) for respect of hir person and amiable vertues. This Aganippus was one of the twelue kings that ruled Gallia in those daies, as in the British historie it is recorded. But to proceed.

He gouerned the third part of Gallia as Gal. Mon. saith.

After that Leir was fallen into age, the two dukes that had married his two eldest daughters, thinking it long yer the gouernment of the land did come to their hands, arose against him in armour, and rest from him the gouernance of the land, vpon conditions to be continued for terme of life: by the which he was put to his portion, that is, to liue after a rate assigned to him for the maintenance of his estate, which in processe of time was diminished as well by Maglanus as by Henninus. But the greatest griefe that Leir toke, was to see the vnkindnesse of his daughters, which seemed to thinke that all was too much which their father had, the same being neuer so little: in so much that going from the one to the other, he was brought to that miserie, that scarslie they would allow him one seruant to wait vpon him.

In the end, such was the vnkindnesse, or (as I maie saie) the vnnaturalnesse which he found in his two daughters, notwithstanding their faire and pleasant words vttered in time past, that being constreined of necessitie, he fled the land, & sailed into Gallia, there to seeke some comfort of his yongest daughter Cordeilla, whom before time he hated. The ladie Cordeilla hearing that he was arriued in poore estate, she first sent to him priuilie a certeine summe of monie to apparell himselfe withall, and to reteine a certeine number of seruants that might attend vpon him in honorable wise, as apperteined to the estate which he had borne: and then so accompanied, she appointed him to come to the court, which he did, and was so ioifullie, honorablie, and louinglie receiued, both by his sonne in law Aganippus, and also by his daughter Cordeilla, that his hart was greatlie comforted: for he was no lesse honored, than if he had beene king of the whole countrie himselfe.

Now when he had informed his sonne in law and his daughter in what sort he had béene vsed by his other daughters, Aganippus caused a mightie armie to be put in a readinesse, and likewise a great nauie of ships to be rigged, to passe ouer into Britaine with Leir his father in law, to sée him againe restored to his kingdome. It was accorded, that Cordeilla should also go with him to take possession of the land, the which he promised to leaue vnto hir, as the rightfull inheritour after his decesse, notwithstanding any former grant made to hir sisters or to their husbands in anie maner of wise.

Herevpon, when this armie and nauie of ships were readie, Leir and his daughter Cordeilla with hir husband toke the sea, and arriuing in Britaine, fought with their enimies, and discomfited them in battell, in the which Maglanus and Henninus were slaine: and then was Leir restored to his kingdome, which he ruled after this by the space of two yéeres, and then died, forte yeeres after he first began to reigne. His bodie was buried at Leicester in a vaut vnder the chanell of the riuer of Sore beneath the towne. Matth. West.

The gunarchie of queene Cordeilla, *how she was vanquished, of hir impri-* sonment and selfe-murther: the con- *tention betweene Cunedag and* Margan nephewes for go- *uernement, and the euill end* thereof.

The sixt Chapter.

Queene Cordeilla.

Cordeilla the yongest daughter of Leir was admitted M. and supreme gouernesse of Britaine, in the yéere of the world 3155, before the bylding of Rome 54, Vzia then reigning in Juda, and Jeroboam ouer Israell. This Cordeilla after hir fathers decease ruled the land of Britaine right worthilie during the space of fiue yéeres, in which meane time hir husband died, and then about the end of those fiue yéeres, hir two nephewes Margan and Cunedag, sonnes to hir aforesaid sisters, disdaining to be vnder the gouernment of a woman, leuied warre against hir, and destroied a great part of the land, and finallie toke hir prisoner, and laid hir fast in ward, wherewith she toke such griefe, being a woman of a manlie courage, and despairing to recouer libertie, there she slue hirselfe, when she had reigned (as before is mentioned) the tearme of fiue yéeres.

Cunedag and Margan.

Cunedagius and Marganus nephewes to Cordeilla, hauing recouered the land out of hir hands, diuided the same betwixt them, that is to saie, the countrie ouer and beyond Humber fell to Margan, as it stretcheth euen to Catnesse, and the other part lieng south and by-west, was assigned to Cunedagius. This partition chanced in the yéere of the world 3170, before the building of Rome 47, Vzia as then reigning in Juda, and Jeroboam in Israell. After-

wards, these two cousins, Cunedag and Margan, had not reigned thus past a two yéres, but thorough some seditious persons, Margan was persuaded to raise warre against Cunedag, telling him in his eare, how it was a shame for him being come of the elder sister, not to haue the rule of the whole Ile in his hand. Herevpon ouercome with pride, ambition, and couetousnesse, he raised an armie, and entring into the land of Cunedag, he burned and destroied the countrie before him in miserable maner.

Margan inuadeth his cousine Cunedag.

Cunedag in all hast to resist his aduersarie, assembled also all the power he could make, and comming with the same against Margan, gaue him battell, in the which he slue a great number of Margans people, and put the residue to flight, and furthermore pursued him from countrie to countrie, till he came into Cambria, now called Wales, where the said Margan gaue him ostsones a new battell: but being too weake in number of men, he was there ouercome and slaine in the field, by reason whereof that countrie toke name of him, being there slaine, and so is called to this daie Glau Margan, which is to meane in our English tong, Margans land. This was the end of that Margan, after he had reigned with his brother two yéres, or thereabouts.

Margan is slaine. Matt. West.

Cunedagus alone.

After the death of Margan, Cunedag the sonne of Hennius and Ragaie (middlemost daughter of Leir before mentioned) became ruler of all the whole land of Britaine, in the yeare of the world 3172, before the building of Rome 45, Vzia still reigning in Juda, and Jeroboam in Israell. He gouerned this Ile well and honourablie for the tearme of 33 yeares, and then dieng, his bodie was buried at Troinouant or London. Moreouer, our writers do report, that he builded three temples, one to Mars at Perth in Scotland, another to Mercurie at Bangor, and the third to Apollo in Cornewall.

Of Riuallus, Gurgustius, Sysillius, Iago, and Kinimacus, *rulers of Britaine* by succession, and of the accidents *coincident with their times.*

The seuenth Chapter.

Riuallus the 13. *ruler.*

Riuallus, the sonne of Cunedag, began to reigne ouer the Britaines in the yeare of the world 3203, before the building of Rome 15, Joathan as then being king of Juda, and Phacea king of Israel. This Riuall gouerned the Iland in great welth and prosperitie. In his time it rained bloud by the space of three daies togither; after which raine ensued such an exceeding number and multitude of flies, so noisome and contagious, that much people died by reason thereof. When he had reigned 46 yeares he died, and was buried at Caerbranke now called Yorke. In the time of this Riuals reigne was the citie of Rome builded, after concordance of most part of writers. Perdix also a wizard, and a learned astrologian florished and writ his prophesies, and Herene also.

It rained bloud. Matth. West.

Rome builded

Gurgustius the 14. *ruler.*

Gurgustius, the son of the before named Riuall, began to gouerne the Britaines in the yeare after the creation of the world 3249, and after the first foundation of Rome 33, Ezechias reigning in Juda. This Gurgustius in the chronicle of England, is called Gorbodian the sonne of Reignold, he reigned 37 yeares, then departing this life, was buried at Caerbranke (now called Yorke) by his father.

Sysillius the 15. *ruler.*

Sysillius, or after some writers Sylurius, the brother of Gurgustius, was chosen to haue the gouernance of Britaine, in the yere of the world 3287, and after the building of Rome 71, Manasses still reigning in Juda. This Sysillius in the English chronicle is named Secill. He reigned 49 yeares, and then died, and was buried at Carbadon, now called Bath.

Iago the 16. *ruler.*

Iago or Lago, the cousin of Gurgustius, as next inheritor to Sysillius, toke vpon him the gouernement of Britaine, in the yeare of the world 3336, and after the building of Rome 120, in whose time the citie of Jerusalem was taken by Nabuchodonozar and the king of Juda, Mathania, otherwise called Zedechias, being slaine. This Iago or Lago died without issue, when he had reigned 28 yeares, and was buried at Yorke.

Kinimacus the 17 *ruler.*

Kinimacus or Kinmarus the sonne of Sysillius as some write, or rather the brother of Iago, began to gouerne the land of Britain, in the yere of the world 3364, and after the building of Rome 148, the Jewes as then being in the third yeare of their captiuitie of Babylon. This Kinimacus departed this life, after he had reigned 54 yeares, and was buried at Yorke.

Of Gorbodug and his two sonnes Ferrex and Porrex, *one brother killeth another*, the mother slaieth hir sonne, and how *Britaine by ciuill warres (for lacke of issue* legitimate to the gouernment) of a monarchie *became a pentarchie: the end* of Brutes line.

The eight Chapter.

Gorbodug the 18. *ruler.*

Gorbodug the sonne of Kinimacus began his reigne ouer the Britains, in the yeare after the creation of the world 3418, from the building of the citie of Rome 202, the 58 of the Jews captiuitie at Babylon. This Gorbodug by most likelihood to bring histories to accord, should reigne about the tearme of 62 yeares, and then departing this world, was buried at London, leauing after him two sonnes Ferrer and Porrer, or after some writers, Ferreus and Porreus.

Ferrex the 19. *ruler.*

Ferrer with Porrer his brother began iointlie to rule ouer the Britaines, in the yeare of the world 3476, after the building of Rome 260, at which time, the people of Rome forsoke their citie in their rebellious mood. These two brethren continued for a time in good friendship and amitie, till at length through couetousnesse, and desire of greater dominion, prouoked by flatterers, they fell at variance and discord, wherby Ferrer was constreined to flée into Gallia, and there purchased aid of a great duke called Gunhardus or Suardus, and so returned into Britaine, thinking to preuaile and obteine the dominion of the whole Iland. But his brother Porrer was readie to receiue him with battell after he was landed, in the which battell Ferrer was slaine, with the more part of his people. The English chronicle saith, that Porrer was he that fled into France, & at his returne, was slaine, and that Ferrer suruiued. But Geffrey of Monmouth & Polychronicon are of a contrarie opinion. Matthew Westmonasterienſis writeth, that Porrer deuising waies to kill Ferrer, atchiued his purpose and slue him. But whether of them so euer suruiued, the mother of them was so highlie offended for the death of him that was slaine, whom she most intierlie

Ferrer fled into Gallia.

Matth. West.

intierlie loued, that ſetting apart all motherlie affection, ſhe found the meanes to enter the chamber of him that ſuruiued in the night ſeaſon, and as he ſlept, ſhe with the helpe of hir maidens ſlue him, and cut him into ſmall péeces, as the writers dó affirme. Such was the end of theſe two brethren, after they had reigned by the ſpace of foure or fiue yeares.

The mother killeth hir ſon.

After this followed a troublous ſeaſon, full of cruell warre, and ſeditious diſcord, whereby in the end, and for the ſpace of fiftie yeares, the monarchie or ſole gouernement of the Iland became a pentarchie, that is, it was diuided betwixt fiue kings or rulers, till Dunwallon of Cornewall ouercame them all. Thus the line of Brute (according to the report of moſt writers) toke an end: for after the death of the two foreſaid brethren, no rightfull inheritor was left aliue to ſuccéd them in the kingdome. The names of theſe fiue kings are found in certeine old pedegrées: and although the ſame be much corrupted in diuers copies, yet theſe vndernamed are the moſt agréeable.

Robert Record

But of theſe fiue kings or dukes, the Engliſh chronicle alloweth Cloton king of Cornewall for moſt rightfull heire. There appeareth not any time certeine by report of ancient authors, how long this variance continued amongſt the Britains: but (as ſome ſay) it laſted for the ſpace of 51 yeres, coniecturing ſo much by that which is recorded in Polychron. who ſaith, who it endured euen till the beginning of the reigne of Mulmucius Dunwallon, who began to gouerne from the time that Brute firſt entred Britaine, about the ſpace of 703 thrée yeares.

Fabian. Ciuill warres 51. yeares.

¶ Here ye muſt note, that there is difference amongſt writers about the ſupputation and account of theſe yeares, inſomuch that ſome making their reckoning after certeine writers, and finding the ſame to varie aboue thrée C. yeares, are brought into further doubt of the truth of the whole hiſtorie: but whereas other haue by diligent ſearch tried out the continuance of euerie gouernors reigne, and reduced the ſame to a likelihood of ſome conformitie, I haue thought beſt to follow the ſame, leauing the credit thereof with the firſt authors.

The pentarchie.

1	Rudacus	king of	Wales.
2	Clotenus		Cornewall.
3	Pinnor		Loegria.
4	Staterus		Albania.
5	Yewan		Northumberland.

The end of the ſecond Booke.

THE THIRD BOOKE of the Hiſtorie of England.

Of Mulmucius the firſt king *of Britaine, who was crowned* with a golden crowne, his lawes, *his foundations, with other* his acts and deeds.

The firſt Chapter.

Mulmucius. Matth. Weſt. Polyd.

NOw to proceede with the aforeſaid authors, Mulmucius Dunwallo, or as other ſaie Dunuallo Mulmucius, the ſonne of Cloton (as teſtifieth th' engliſh chronicle and alſo Geffrey of Monmouth) got the vpper hand of the other dukes or rulers: and after his fathers deceaſſe began his reigne ouer the whole monarchie of Britaine, in the yere of the world 3529, after the building of Rome 314, and after the deliuerance of the Iſraelites out of captiuitie 97, and about the 26 yere of Darius Artaxerres Longimanus, the fift king of the Perſians. This Mulmucius Dunuallo is named in the engliſh chronicle Donebant, and proued a right worthie prince. He builded within the citie of London then called Troinouant, a temple, and named it the temple of peace: the which (as ſome hold opinion, I wote not vpon what ground) was the ſame which now is called Blackwell hall, where the market for buieng and ſelling of cloths is kept. The chronicle of England affirmeth, that Mulmucius (whome the old booke nameth Molle) builded the two townes Malmeſburie and the Wics. He alſo made manie good lawes, which were long after vſed, called Mulmucius lawes, turned out of the Britiſh ſpéech into the Latine by Gildas Priſcus, and long time after tranſlated out of latine into engliſh by Alfred king of England, and mingled in his ſtatutes. He moreouer gaue priuileges to temples, to plowes, to cities, and to high waies leading to the ſame, ſo that whoſoeuer fled to them, ſhould be in ſafegard from bodilie harme, and from thence he might depart into what countrie he would, with indemnitie of his perſon. Some authors write, that he began to make the foure great high waies of Britaine, the which were finiſhed by his ſonne Blinus, as after ſhall be declared.

Fabian. See more in the deſcription.

Malmeſburie and the Wics built. Matth. Weſt.

Lawes made.

Caxton and Polychron.

red.

After he had established his land, and set his Britains in good and conuenient order, he ordeined him by the aduise of his lords a crowne of gold, & caused himselfe with great solemnitie to be crowned, according to the custome of the pagan lawes then in vse: & bicause he was the first that bare a crowne here in Britaine, after the opinion of some writers, he is named the first king of Britaine, and all the other before rehearsed are named rulers, dukes, or gouernors.

The first king that was crowned with a golden crowne.

Amongst other of his ordinances, he appointed weights and measures, with the which men should buy and sell. And further he deuised sore and streight orders for the punishing of theft. Finallie, after he had guided the land by the space of fortie yéres, he died, and was buried in the foresaid temple of peace which he had erected within the citie of Troinouant now called London, as before ye haue heard, appointing in his life time, that his kingdome should be diuided betwixt his two sonnes, Brennus and Belinus (as some men doo coniecture.)

Polyd. Weights and measures.

Theft punished. Fabian.

The ioint-gouernment of Belinus and *Brennus the two sonnes of Mulmucius*, their discontentment, the stratagems of *the one against the other, the expulsion* of Brennus out of Britaine.

The second Chapter.

Belinus and Brennus.

BRennus and Belinus began to reigne iointlie as kings in Britaine, in the yére of the world 3574, after the building of the citie of Rome 355, and after the deliuerance of the Israelites out of captiuitie 142, which was about the seuenth yére of Artarerres surnamed Mnemon, the seuenth king of the Persians. Belinus held vnder his gouernment Loegria, Wales, and Cornwall: and Brennus all those countries ouer and beyond Humber. And with this partition were they contented by the tearme of six or seuen yéres, after which time expired, Brennus coueting to haue more than his portion came to, first thought to purchase himselfe aid in forreine parties, & therefore by the prouocation and counsell of yong vnquiet heads, sailed ouer into Norway, and there married the daughter of Elsung or Elsing, as then duke or ruler of that countrie. Beline offended with his brother, that he should thus without his aduice marrie with a stranger, now in his absence seized all his lands, townes, and fortresses into his owne hands, placing garisons of men of warre where he thought conuenient.

3574

Matth. West.

Polyd. saith 5.

Brennus not content with his portion.

Elsingius.

In the meane time, Brenne aduertised hereof, assembled a great nauie of ships, well furnished with people and souldiers of the Norwegians, with the which he toke his course homewards, but in the waie he was encountred by Guilthdacus king of Denmarke, the which had laid long in wait for him, bicause of the yong ladie which Brenne had maried, for whome he had béene a suter in hir father Elsing of long time. When these two flétes of the Danes and Norwegians met, there was a sore battell betwixt them, but finallie the Danes ouercame them of Norway, and toke the ship wherein the new bride was conueied, and then was she brought aboord the ship of Guilthdacus. Brenne escaped by flight as well as he might. But when Guilthdacus had thus obtained the victorie and prey, suddenlie thereupon arose a sore tempest of wind and weather, which scattered the Danish flete, and put the king in danger to haue béene lost: but finallie within fiue daies after, being driuen by force of wind, he landed in Northumberland, with a few such ships as kept togither with him.

Guilthdacus king of Denmarke.

A tempest.

Guilthdacus landed in the north.

Beline being then in that countrie, prouiding for defense against his brother, vpon knowledge of the king of Denmarks arriuall, caused him to be staied. Shortlie after, Brenne hauing recouered and gotten togither the most part of his ships that were dispersed by the discomfiture, and then newlie rigged and furnished of all things necessarie, sent word to his brother Beline, both to restore vnto him his wife wrongfullie rauished by Guilthdacus, and also his lands iniuriouslie by him seized into his possession. These requests being plainlie and shortlie denied, Brenne made no long delaie, but spédilie made toward Albania, and landing with his armie in a part thereof, incountred with his brother Beline nére vnto a wood named as then Calater, where (after cruell fight, and mortall battell betwixt them) at length the victorie abode with the Britains, and the discomfiture didlight so on the Norwegians, that the most of them were wounded, slaine, and left dead vpon the ground.

Calater wood is in Scotland.

Hereby Brenne being forced to flée, made shift, and got ouer into Gallia, where after he had sued to this prince, at length he abode, and was well receiued of one Seguinus or Seginus duke of the people called then Allobrogs (as Galfrid of Monmouth saith) or rather Armorica, which now is called Britaine, as Polychronicon, and the english historie printed by Caxton, more truelie maie séeme to affirme. But Beline hauing got the vpper hand of his enimies, assembling his councell at Caerbranke, now called York, toke aduise what he should doo with the king of Denmarke: where it was ordeined, that he should be set at libertie, with condition and vnder couenant, to acknowledge himselfe by doing homage, to hold his land of the king of Britaine, and to paie him a yéerelie tribute. These couenants being agréed vpon, and hostages taken for assurance, he was set at libertie, and so returned into his countrie. The tribute that he couenanted to paie, was a thousand pounds, as the English chronicle saith.

Seguinus or Seginus duke of the Allobrogs, now the Delphinat or Sauoy.

The Danes tributarie to the Britains.

When Beline had thus expelled his brother, and was alone possessed of all the land of Britaine, he first confirmed the lawes made by his father: and for so much as the foure waies begun by his father were not brought to perfection, he therefore caused workmen to be called forth and assembled, whom he set in hand to paue the said waies with stone, for the better passage and ease of all that should trauell through the countries from place to place, as occasion should require.

The foure high waies finished.

The first of these foure waies is named Fosse, and stretcheth from the south into the north, beginning at the corner of Totnesse in Cornewall, and so passing forth by Deuonshire, and Somersetshire, by Cutberie, on Cotteswold, and then forward beside Couentrie vnto Leicester, and from thence by wild plaines towards Newarke, and endeth at the citie of Lincolne. The second waie was named Watling strete, the which stretcheth ouerthwart the Fosse, out of the southeast into the northeast, beginning at Douer, and passing by the middle of Kent ouer Thames beside London, by-west of Westminster, as some haue thought, and so forth by S. Albons, and by the west side of Dunstable, Stratford, Towcester, and Wedon by-south of Lilleborne, by Atherston, Gilberts hill, that now is called the Wreken, and so forth by Seuerne, passing beside Worcester, vnto Stratton to the middle of Wales, and so vnto a

The Fosse.

watling street

place

Erming stréet

Hiknelstréet.

Priuileges granted to the Waies.

place called Cardigan, at the Irish sea. The third way was named Ermingstréet, which stretched out of the west northwest, vnto the east southeast, and beginneth at Menevia, the which is in Saint Dauids land in west Wales, and so vnto Southampton. The fourth and last waie hight Hiknelstréte, which leadeth by Worcester, Wincheombe, Birmingham, Lichfield, Darbie, Chesterfield, and by Yorke, and so forth vnto Tinmouth. After he had caused these waies to be well and sufficientlie raised and made, he confirmed vnto them all such priuileges as were granted by his father.

Brennus marrieth with the duke of Alobrogs daughter, groweth into great honour, commeth into Britaine with an armie against his brother Beline, their mother reconcileth them, they ioine might & munition and haue great conquests, conflicts betweene the Galles and the Romans, the two brethren take Rome.

The third Chapter.

IN the meane time that Beline was thus occupied about the necessarie affaires of his realme and kingdome, his brother Brenne that was fled into Gallia onelie with 12. persons, bicause he was a goodlie gentleman, and seemed to vnderstand what apperteined to honour, grew shortlie into fauour with Seginus the duke afore mentioned, and declaring vnto him his aduersitie, and the whole circumstance of his mishap, at length was so highlie cherished of the said Seginus, delting in such worthie qualities as he saw in him dailie appearing, that he gaue to him his daughter in mariage, with condition, that if he died without issue male, then should he inherit his estate & dukedome: and if it happened him to leaue anie heire male behind him, then should he yet helpe him to recouer his land and dominion in Britaine, béereft from him by his brother.

Brenne marieth the duke of Alobrogs daughter.

These conditions well and surelie vpon the dukes part by the assent of the nobles of his land concluded, ratified, and assured, the said duke within the space of one yéere after died. And then after a certeine time, being knowne that the duches was not with child, all the lords of that countrie did homage to Brenne, receiuing him as their lord and supreme gouernour, vpon whome he likewise for his part in recompense of their curtesie, bestowed a great portion of his treasure.

Brenne with an armie returneth into Britaine.

Shortlie after also, with their assent he gathered an armie, and with the same ostsones came ouer into Britaine, to make new warre vpon his brother Beline. Of whose landing when Beline was informed, he assembled his people, and made himselfe readie to méete him: but as they were at point to haue ioined battell, by the intercession of their mother that came betwixt them, and demeaned hirselfe in all motherlie order, and most louing maner towards them both, they fell to an agréement, and were made friends or euer they parted asunder.

Brenne and Beline made friends by intercession of their mother.

After this they repaired to London, and there taking aduice togither with their peeres and councellors, for the good order and quieting of the land, at length they accorded to passe with both their armies into Gallia, to subdue that whole countrie, and so following this determination, they toke shipping and sailed ouer into Gallia, where beginning the warre with fire and sword, they wrought such masteries, that within a short time (as saith Geffrey of Monmouth) they conquered a great part of Gallia, Italie, and Germanie, and brought it to their subiection. In the end they toke Rome by this occasion (as writers report) if these be the same that had the leading of those Galles, which in this season did so much hurt in Italie and other parts of the world.

They inuade Gallia and Italie.

After they had passed the mountaines, & were entred into Tuscan, they besieged the citie of Clusium, the citizens whereof being in great danger, sent to Rome for aid against their enimies. Whereupon the Romanes, considering with themselues that although they were not in anie league of societie with the Clusians, yet if they were ouercome the danger of the next hunt were like to be theirs: with all speed they sent ambassadours to intreat betwixt the parties for some peace to be had.

Now Clusi.

Ambassadours sent from Rome.

They that were sent, required the capteines of the Galles, in the name of the senat and citizens of Rome, not to molest the friends of the Romans. Whereunto answere was made by Brennus, that for his part he could be content to haue peace, if it were so that the Clusians would be agréeable that the Galles might haue part of the countrie which they held, being more than they did alreadie well occupie, for otherwise (said he) there could be no peace granted.

Brennus answere.

The Romane ambassadours being offended with these words, demanded what the Galles had to do in Tuscan, by reason of which and other the like ouerthwart words, the parties began to kindle in displeasure so farre, that their communication brake off, and so they from treating fell againe to trie the matter by dint of sword.

The treatie of peace breaketh off.

The Romane ambassadours also to shew of what prowesse the Romans were, contrarie to the law of nations (forbidding such as came in ambassage about anie treatie of peace to take either one part or other) toke weapon in hand, and ioined themselues with the Clusians, wherewith the Galles were so much displeased, that incontinentlie with one voice, they required to haue the siege raised from Clusium, that they might go to Rome. But Brennus thought good first to send messengers thither, to require the deliuerie of such as had broken the law, that punishment might be done on them accordinglie as they had deserued. This was done, and knowledge brought againe, that the ambassadors were not onelie not punished, but also chosen to be tribunes for the next yeare.

The Galles then became in such a rage (because they saw there was nothing to be looked for at the hands of the Romans, but warre, iniurious wrongs, and deceitfull traines) that they turned all their force against them, marching streight towardes Rome, and by the waie destroied all that stood before them.

The Galles make towards Rome.

The Romans aduertised thereof, assembled themselues togither to the number of 40. thousand, and encountring with Beline and Brenne, neare to the riuer Allia, about 11. miles on this side Rome, were slaine and quite discomfited.

The Romans incountring with the Galles are ouerthrowne.

The Galles could scarse beléeue that they had got the victorie with so small resistance: but when they perceiued that the Romans were quite ouerthrowne and that the field was clearelie rid of them, they got togither the spoile, and made towards Rome it selfe, where such feare and terror was striken into the heartes of the people, that all men were in despaire to defend the citie: and therefore the senate with all the warlike youth of the citizens got them into the capitoll, which they furnished with victuals and all things necessarie for the maintenance of the

The Romans in despaire withdraw into the capitoll.

same against a long siege. The honorable fathers and all the multitude of other people not apt for warres, remained still in the citie, as it were to perish with their countrie if hap so befell.

The Galles enter into Rome.

In the meane time came the Galles to the citie, and entring by the gate Collina, they passed forth the right way vnto the market place, maruelling to see the houses of the poorer sort to be shut against them, and those of the richer to remaine wide open; wherefore being doubtfull of some deceitfull traines, they were not ouer rash to enter the same; but after they had espied the ancient fathers sit in their chaires apparelled in their rich robes, as if they had bin in the senat, they reuerenced them as gods, so honorable was their port, grauenesse in countenance, and shew of apparell.

The reuerend aspect of the senators.

Marcus Papirius.

In the meane time it chanced, that Marcus Papirius stroke one of the Galles on the head with his staffe, because he presumed to stroke his beard: with which iniurie the Gall being prouoked, slue Papirius (as he sat) with his sword, and therewith the slaughter being begun with one, all the residue of those ancient fatherlie men as they sat in their chaires were slaine and cruellie murthered. After this all the people found in the citie without respect or difference at all, were put to the sword, and their houses sacked. And thus was Rome taken by the two brethren, Beline and Brenne, 365 yeares after the first building thereof. Besides this, the Galles attempted in the night season to haue entred the capitoll: and in deed ordered their enterprise so secretlie, that they had atchiued their purpose, if a sort of ganders had not with their crie and noise disclosed them, in wakening the Romans that were asleepe: so by that meanes were the Galles beaten backe and repelled.

Rome sacked.

365

The capitoll defended.

Camillus reuoked from exile, made *dictator, and receiueth peremptorie au-* thoritie, he ouerthroweth the Galles in a *pitcht field, controuersie betweene wri-* ters touching Brennus and Belinus left *vndetermined; of diuers foundations, erections* and reparations doone and atchiued *by Belinus, the burning of his bodie in stead of his burieng.*

The fourth Chapter.

THe Romans being thus put to their extreame shift, deuised among themselues how to reuoke Furius Camillus from exile, whom not long before they had vniustlie banished out of the citie. In the end they did not onelie send for him home, but also created him dictator, committing into his handes (so long as his office lasted) an absolute power ouer all men, both of life and death. Camillus forgetfull of the iniurie done to him, and mindfull of his dutie towards his countrie, and lamenting the state thereof, without delay gathered such an armie as the present time permitted.

In the meane time those that kept the capitoll (being almost famished for lacke of vittels) compounded with Brenne and Beline, that for a thousand pounds weight in gold, the Romans should redéeme their liberties, and the said Brenne and Beline depart with their armie out of the citie and all the territories of Rome. But at the deliuerie of the monie, and by a certeine kind of hap, the Romans

A composition

name was preserued at that time from such dishonor and ignominie as was likelie to haue insued. For some of the couetous sort of the Galles, not contented with the iust weight of the gold, did cast their swords also into the balance where the weights lay, thereby to haue ouer weight: whereupon the Romans refused to make paiment after that weight.

And thus whilest they were in altercation about this matter, the one importunate to haue, the other not willing to grant, the time passed, till in the meane season Camillus came in amongst them with his power, commanding that the gold should be had away, and affirming that without consent of the dictator, no composition or agréement might be concluded by the meaner magistrate. He gaue a signe to the Galles to prepare themselues to battell, whervnto they lightlie agréed, and togither they went. The battell being once begun, the Galles that looked earst for gold, and not for battell, were easilie ouercome, such as stood to the brunt were slaine, and the rest by flight constreined to depart the citie.

Camillus disappointeth the Galles of their paiment.

The Galles ouerthrowne.

Polybius writeth, that the Galles were turned from the siege of the citie, through wars which chanced amongst their owne people at home, and therefore they concluded a peace with the Romans, and leauing them in libertie returned home againe.

But howsoeuer the matter passed, thus much haue we kept from our purpose, to shew somwhat of that noble and most famous capteine Brennus, who (as not onelie our histories, but also Giouan Villani the Florentine doth report) was a Britaine, and brother to Beline (as before is mentioned) although I know that manie other writers are not of that mind, affirming him to be a Gall, and likewise that after this present time of the taking of Rome by this Brennus 110 yeares, or there abouts, there was another Brennus a Gall by nation (say they) vnder whose conduct an other armie of the Gals inuaded Grecia, which Brennus had a brother that hight Belgius, although Humfrey Llhoyd and sir Iohn Prise do flatlie denie the same, by reason of some discordance in writers, & namelie in the computation of the yeares set downe by them that haue recorded the doings of those times, whereof the error is growen. Howbeit I doubt not but that the truth of this matter shall be more fullie sifted out in time by the learned and studious of such antiquities. But now to our purpose.

This is also to be noted, that where our histories make mention, that Beline was abroad with Brennus in the most part of his victories, both in Gallia, Germanie, and Italie; Titus Liuius speaketh but onlie of Brennus: whereupon some write, that after the two brethren were by their mothers intreatance made friends, Brennus onlie went ouer to Gallia, and there through praise of his worthie prowesse, atteined to such estimation amongst the people called *Galli Senones*, that he was chosen to be their generall capteine at their going ouer the mountaines into Italie. But whether Beline went ouer with his brother, and finallie returned backe againe, leauing Brennus behind him, as some write, or that he went not at all, but remained still at home whilest his brother was abroad, we can affirme no certeintie.

Titus Liu. Polydor.

Matth. West.

Most part of all our writers make report of manie worthie deeds accomplished by Beline, in repairing of cities decaied, & erecting of other new buildings, to the adorning and beautifieng of his realme and kingdome. And amongst other works which were by him erected, he builded a citie in the south part of Wales, neare to the place where the riuer of Uske falleth into Seuerne, fast by Glamorgan, which citie hight Caerleon, or Caerlegion Ar Wiske. This Caerleon was the principall citie in time past of all Demetia, now called Southwales. Manie notable monu-

Polychr. Gal.M. Caerleon. Wiske built by Beline.

monuments are remaining there till this day, testifieng the great magnificence and rotall buildings of that citie in old time. In which citie also sith the time of Christ were three churches, one of saint Julius the martyr, an other of saint Aron, and the third was the mother church of all Demetia, and the chiefe see: but after, the same see was translated vnto Menevia, (that is to say) saint Dauid in Westwales. In this Caerleon was Amphibulus borne, who taught and instructed saint Albon.

Fabian. This Beline also builded an hauen, with a gate ouer the same, within the citie of Troinouant now called London, in the summitie or highest part whereof afterwards was set a vessell of braſſe, in the which were put the ashes of his bodie, which bodie after his decease was burnt, as the maner of burieng in those daies did require. This gate was long after called Belins gate, and at length by corruption of language Billings gate. He builded also a castell eastward from this gate (as some haue written) which was long time after likewise called Belins castell, and is the same which now we call the tower of London. Thus Beline studieng dailie to beautifie this land with goodlie buildings and famous workes, at length departed this life, after he had reigned with his brother iointlie and alone the space of 26 yeres.

John Leland.

The tower of London built by Beline.

Of Gurguintus, Guintolinus, and Sicilius, three kings of Britaine succeeding each other by lineall descent in the regiment, and of their acts and deeds, with a notable commendation of Queene Martia.

The fift Chapter.

Gurguintus. GVrguintus the sonne of Beline began to reigne ouer the Britains, in the yeare of the world 1596, after the building of Rome 380, after the deliuerance of the Israelites out of captiuitie 164 compleat, which was about the 33 yeare of Artarerres Mnenon, surnamed Magnus, the seuenth king of the Persians. This Gurguint in the English chronicle is named Cornibratus, and by Matthew Westmin. he is surnamed Barbiruc, the which bicause the tribute granted by Guilthdag king of Denmarke in perpetuitie vnto the kings of Britaine was denied, he sailed with a mightie nauie and armie of men into Denmarke, where he made such warre with fire and sword, that the king of Denmarke with the assent of his barons was constreined to grant ostages to continue the paiment of the aforesaid tribute.

Matth. West. Gal. M.

Gurguint constrained the Danes by force to pay their tribute.

After he had thus atchiued his desire in Denmarke, as he returned backe towards Britaine, he encountred with a nauie of 30 ships beside the Iles of Orkenies. These ships were fraught with men and women, and had to their capteine one called Bartholin or Partholin, who being brought to the presence of king Gurguint, declared that he with his people were banished out of Spaine, and were named Valenses or Waselenses, and had sailed long on the sea, to the end to find some prince that would assigne them a place to inhabit, to whom they would become subiects, & hold of him as of their souereigne gouernor. Therefore he besought the king to consider their estate, and of his great benignitie to appoint some void quarter where they might settle. The king with the aduice of his barons granted to them the Ile of Ireland, which as then (by report of some authors) lay walte and without habitation. But it should appeare by other writers, that it was inhabited long before those daies, by the people called Hibernenses, of Hiberus their capteine that brought them also out of Spaine.

Matth. West. Gal. Mon.

Basques.

See more hereof in Ireland.

Polychron.

After that Gurguintus was returned into his countrie, he ordeined that the lawes made by his ancestors should be dulie kept and obserued. And thus administring iustice to his subiects for the tearme of 19 yeares, he finallie departed this life, and was buried at London, or as some haue at Caerleon. In his daies was the towne of Cambridge with the vniuersitie first founded by Cantaber, brother to the aforesaid Bartholin (according to some writers) as after shall appeare.

Caius.

Guintolinus. GVintolinus or Guintellius the sonne of Gurguintus was admitted king of Britaine in the yere of the world 3614, after the building of the citie of Rome 399, and second yere of the 206 Olimpiad. This Guintoline was a wise prince, graue in counsell, and sober in behauior. He had also a wife named Martia, a woman of perfect beautie, & wisedome incomparable, as by hir prudent gouernement and equall administration of iustice after hir husbands decease, during hir sonnes minoritie, it most manifestlie appeared.

It is thought that in an happie time this Guintoline came to the gouernement of this kingdome, being shaken and brought out of order with ciuill dissentions, to the end he might reduce it to the former estate, which he earnestlie accomplished: for hauing once got the place, he studied with great diligence to reforme anew, and to adorne with iustice, lawes and good orders, the Britith common wealth, by other kings not so framed as stood with the quietnesse thereof. But afore all things he vtterlie remoued and appeased such ciuill discord, as seemed yet to remaine after the maner of a remnant of those seditious factions and partakings, which had so long time reigned in this land. But as he was busie in hand herewith, death tooke him out of this life, after he had reigned 27 yeares, and then was he buried at London.

Sicilius. SIcilius the sonne of Guintoline, being not past seuen yeares of age when his father died, was admitted king, in the yeare 3659, after the building of Rome 430, & after the deliuerance of the Israelites out of captiuitie 218, & in the first after the death of Alexander. By reason that Sicilius was not of age sufficient of himselfe to guide the kingdome of the Britains, his mother that worthie ladie called Martia, had the gouernance both of his realme and person committed to hir charge.

Queene Martia gouerneth in his sonnes roome.

She was a woman expert and skilfull in diuers sciences, but chiefelie being admitted to the gouernance of the realme, she studied to preserue the common wealth in good quiet and wholsome order, and therefore deuised and established profitable and conuenient lawes, the which after were called Martian lawes, of hir name that first made them. These lawes, as those that were thought good and necessarie for the preseruation of the common wealth, Alfred, or Alured, that was long after king of England, translated also out of the Britith tong, into the English Saxon speech, and then were they called after that translation Marchenelagh, that is to meane, the lawes of Martia. To conclude, this worthie woman guided the land during the minoritie of hir sonne right politikelie; and highlie to hir perpetuall renowme and commendation. And when hir sonne came to lawfull age, she deliuered vp the gouernance into his handes. How long he reigned writers varie, some auouch but seuen yeares, though other

She maketh lawes.

Matth. West.

Matt. Westm.

other affirme 15. which agreeth not so well with the accord of other histories and times. He was buried at London.

Of Kimarus and his sudden end, of Elanius *and his short regiment, of Morin-* dus and his beastlie crueltie, all three im*mediatlie succeeding each other in the* monarchie of Britaine, with the ex*ploits of the last.*

The sixt Chapter.

Kimarus. KImarus the sonne of Sicilius began to reigne ouer the Britaines, in the yeare of the world 3657, and after the building of Rome 442, & Fabian. in the first yeare of the 117 Olimpiad. This Kimarus being a wild yong man, and giuen to follow his lusts and pleasures, was slaine by some that were his enimies, as he was abroad in hunting, when he had reigned scarselie three yeares.

Elanius. ELanius the sonne of Kimarus, or (as other haue) his brother, began to rule the Britaines in the yeare after the creation of the world 3361, after the building of Rome 445, after the deliuerance of the Math. West. Israelites 229, and in the fourth yeare of the Seleuciens, after which account the bookes of Machabees do reckon, which began in the 14, after the death of Alexander. This Elanius in the English Chronicle is named also Haran; by Mat. Westm. Dantus; and by an old chronicle which Fabian much followed, Elanius and Kimarus should seeme to be one person: but other hold the contrarie, and saie that he reigned fullie 8. yeares.

Morin- *dus.* MOrindus the ballard sonne of Elanius was admitted king of Britaine, in the yeare of the world 3667, after the building of Rome 451, after the deliuerance of the Israelites 236, and in the tenth yeare of Cassander K. of Macedonia, which hauing dispatched Olimpias the mother of Alexander the great, and gotten Roranes with Alexanders sonne into his hands, vsurped the kingdome of the Macedonians, and held it 15 yeres. This Morindus in the English chronicle is called Morwith, and was a man of worthie fame in chiualrie and martiall doings, but so cruell withall, that his vnmercifull nature could scarse be satisfied with the torments of them that had offended him, although oftentimes with his owne hands he cruellie put them to torture and execution. He was also beautifull and comelie of personage, liberall and bounteous, and of a maruellous strength.

G. Mon. In his daies, a certeine king of the people called Morani, with a great armie landed in Northumberland, and began to make cruell warre vpon the inhabitants. But Morindus aduertised hereof, assembled his Britains, came against the enimies, and in battell putting them to flight, chased them to their ships, and woke a great number of them prisoners, whome to the satisfieng of his cruell nature he caused to be slaine euen in his presence. Some of them were headed, some strangled, some panched, and some he caused to be slaine quicke.

The like may be thought of those Murreis or Moreuians of whom H.B. speaketh. Fabian. ¶ These people (whome Gal. Mon. nameth Moriani) I take to be either those that inhabited about Terrouane and Calice, called Morini, or some other people of the Galles or Germaines, and not as some esteeme them, Morayans, or Merhenners, which were not known to the world (as Humfrey Llhoyd hath verie well noted) till about the daies of the emperour Mauricius, which misconstruction of names hath brought the British historie further out of credit than reason requireth, if the circumstances be dulie considered.

But now to end with Morindus. At length this bloudie prince heard of a monster that was come a land out of the Irish sea, with the which when he would needs fight, he was deuoured of the same, after he had reigned the terme of 8 yeares, leauing behind him fiue sonnes, Gorbonianus, Archigallus, Elidurus, Vigenius or Nigenius, and Peredurus.

Of Gorbonianus, Archigallus, Elidu*rus, Vigenius, and Peredurus, the fiue* sons of Morindus, the building of Cam*bridge, the restitution of Archigallus to* the regiment after his depriuation, *Elidurus three times admitted* king, his death and place *of interement.*

The seuenth Chapter.

Gorbo- *men or* *Gorboni-* *anus.* GOrbonianus the first son of Morindus succeeded his father in the kingdome of Britain, in the yeere of the world 3676, after the building of Rome 461, and fourth yeere of the 121, Olimpiad. This Gorbonianus in the English chronicle is named Granbodian, and was a righteous prince in his gouernment, and verie deuout (according to such deuotion as he had) towards the aduancing of the religion of his gods: and therupon he repaired all the old temples through his kingdome, and erected some new.

A righteous and religious prince.

He also builded the townes of Cambridge and Grantham (as Caxton writeth) and was beloued both of the rich and poore, for he honoured the rich, and relieued the poore in time of their necessities. In his time was more plentie of all things necessarie for the wealthfull state of man, than had beene before in anie of his predecessors daies. He died without issue, after he had reigned (by the accord of most writers) about the terme of ten yeares.

Cambridge by whome it was built. Some write that this Gorbonian built the townes of Cairgrant, now called Cambridge, & also Grantham, but some thinke that those which haue so written are deceiued, in mistaking the name; for that Cambridge was at the first called Granta: and by that meanes it might be that Gorbonian built onlie Grantham, and not Cambridge, namelie because other write how that Cambridge (as before is said) was built in the daies of Gurguntius the sonne of Beline, by one Cantaber a Spaniard, brother to Partholoin, which Partholoin by the aduice of the same Gurguntius, got seates for himselfe and his companie in Ireland (as before ye haue heard.)

The said Cantaber also obteining licence of Gurguntius, builded a towne vpon the side of the riuer called Canta, which he closed with walles, and fortified with a strong tower or castell, and after procuring philosophers to come hither from Athens (where in his youth he had bene a student) he placed them there, and so euen then was that place furnished (as they saie) with learned men, and such as were readie to instruct others in knowledge of letters and philosophicall doctrine. But by whome or in what time soeuer it was built, certeine it is that there was a citie or towne walled in that place before the comming of the Saxons, called by the Britaines

taines Caergrant, and by the Saxons Granchester.

This towne fell so to ruine by the inuasion of the Saxons, that at length it was in maner left desolate, and at this day remaineth as a village. But nére thereunto vnder the Saxon kings, an other towne was built, now called Cambridge, where by the fauour of king Sigebert and Felix a Burgundian, that was bishop of Dunwich, a schole was erected, as in place conuenient shall appeare.

Archigallus.

ARchigallus, the second sonne of Morindus, and brother vnto Gorbonianus, was admitted king of Britaine, in the yeare 3686, after the building of the citie of Rome 470, after the deliuerance of the Israelites out of captiuitie 255, and in the first yeare of Sosthenes king of Macedonia. This Archigallus (in the English chronicle called Artogaill) followed not the steppes of his brother, but giuing himselfe to dissention and strife, imagined causes against his nobles, that he might displace them, and set such in their romes as were men of base birth and of euill conditions. Also he sought by vnlawfull meanes to bereaue his wealthie subiects of their goods and riches, so to inrich himselfe and impouerish his people. For the which his inordinate doings, his nobles conspired against him, and finallie depriued him of all his honor and kinglie dignitie, after he had reigned about the space of one yeare.

He is giuen to nourish dissention.

Elidurus.

ELidurus the third sonne of Morindus, and brother to Archigallus, was by one consent of the Britains chosen to reigne ouer them in his brothers stead, after the creation of the world 3687, and after the building of the citie of Rome 471, after the deliuerance of the Israelites 256, & in the first yeare of Sosthenes king of Macedonia. This Elidurus in the English chronicle named Heslder, or Esoder, proued a most righteous prince, and doubting least he should do otherwise than became him, if he did not take care for his brother Archigallus estate, a man might wonder what diligence he shewed in trauelling with the nobles of the realme to haue his brother restored to the crowne againe.

Now as it chanced one day (being abroad on hunting in the wood called Calater) neare vnto Yorke, he found his brother Archigall wandering there in the thickest of that wildernesse, whom in most louing maner he secretlie conueied home to his house, being as then in the citie of Aldud, otherwise called Aclud. Shortlie after he feined himselfe sicke, and in all hast sent messengers about to assemble his barons, who being come at the day appointed, he called them one after another into his priuie chamber, and there handled them in such effectuous sort with wise and discréet words, that he got their good wils to further him to their powers, for the reducing of the kingdome eftsones into the hands of his brother Archigallus.

By this it should séeme that Aclud should not be in Scotland, contrarie to the Scotish authors.

After this he assembled a councell at Yorke, where he so vsed the matter with the commons, that in conclusion, when the said Elidurus had gouerned the land well and honourablie the space of three yeares, he resigned wholie his crowne and kinglie title vnto his brother Archigallo, who was receiued of the Britaines againe as king by mediation of his brother in maner as before is said. ¶ A rare example of brotherlie loue, if a man shall reuolue in his mind what an inordinate desire remaineth amongst mortall men to atteine to the supreme souereintie of ruling, and to keepe the same when they haue it once in possession. He had well learned this lesson (as may appeare by his contentation and resignation) namelie, that

An example of brotherlie loue.

Nec abnuendum si dat imperium Deus,
Nec appetendum, *Sen. in Thiest.*

otherwise he would not haue béene led with such an equabilitie of mind. For this great good will and brotherlie loue by him shewed thus toward his brother, he was surnamed the godlie and vertuous.

Archigallus again.

WHen Archigallus was thus restored to the kingdome, and hauing learned by due correction that he must turne the leafe, and take out a new lesson, by changing his former trade of liuing into better, if he would reigne in suertie: he became a new man, vsing himselfe vprightlie in the administration of iustice, and behauing himselfe so worthilie in all his doings, both toward the nobles & commons of his realme, that he was both beloued and dread of all his subiects. And so continuing the whole tearme of his life, finallie departed out of this world, after he had reigned this second time the space of ten yeares, and was buried at Yorke.

Elidurus againe.

ELidurus brother to this Archigallus was then againe admitted king by consent of all the Britaines, 3700 of the world. But his two yonger brethren, Vigenius and Peredurus, enuieng the happie state of this worthie prince, so highlie for his vertue and good gouernance esteemed of the Britains, of a grounded malice conspired against him, and assembling an armie, leuied warre against him, and in a pitcht field toke him prisoner, and put him in the tower of London, there to be kept close prisoner, after he had reigned now this last time the space of one yeare.

Matt. West. Brother against brother.

Elidure committed to prison.

Vigenius and Peredurus.

VIgenius and Peredurus, the yongest sonnes of Morindus, and brethren to Elidurus, began to reigne iointlie as kings of Britaine, in the yeare of the world 3701, after the building of Rome 485, after the deliuerance of the Israelites 266 complet, and in the 12 yeare of Antigonus Gonatas, the sonne of Demetrius king of the Macedonians. These two brethren in the English chronicles are named Higanius and Petitur, who (as Gal. Mon. testifieth) diuided the realme betwixt them, so that all the land from Humber westward fell to Vigenius, or Higanius, the other part beyond Humber northward Peredure held. But other affirme, that Peredurus onelie reigned, and held his brother Elidurus in prison by his owne consent, forsomuch as he was not willing to gouerne.

Britaine diuided into two realmes.

But Gal. Mon. saith, that Vigenius died after he had reigned 7 yeares, and then Peredurus seized all the land into his owne rule, and gouerned it with such sobrietie and wisedome, that he was praised aboue all his brethren, so that Elidurus was quite forgotten of the Britains. But others write that he was a verie tyrant, and vsed himselfe verie cruellie towards the lords of his land, whereupon they rebelled and slue him. But whether by violent hand, or by naturall sicknesse, he finallie departed this life, after the consent of most writers, when he had reigned eight yeares, leauing no issue behind him to succéed in the gouernance of the kingdome. He builded the towne of Pikering, where his bodie was buried.

Varietie in writers.

Caxton. Eth. Bur.

Elidurus the third time.

ELidurus then, as soone as his brother Peredurus was dead, for as much as he was next heire to the crowne, was deliuered out of prison, and now the third time admitted king of Britaine, who vsed himselfe (as before) verie orderlie in ministring to all persons right and iustice all the daies of his life, and lastlie being growne to great age died, when he had reigned now this third time (after most concordance of writers) the tearme of foure yeares: and was buried at Caerleill.

He is buried at Caerleill.

A Chapter of digreſsion, ſhewing the *diuerſitie of writers in opinion, touching* the computation of yeares from the beginning *of the British kings of this Iland downewards*; ſince Gurguintus time, till the death of Elidurus; *and likewiſe till king Lud reigned in his roialtie,* with the names of ſuch kings as ruled betweene the laſt yeare of Elidurus, and the firſt of Lud.

The eight Chapter.

HEre is to be noted, that euen from the beginning of the Britiſh kings, which reigned here in this land, there is great diuerſitie amongeſt writers, both touching the names, and alſo the times of their reignes, ſpeciallie till they come to the death of the laſt mentioned king Elidurus. Inſomuch that Polydor Virgil in his hiſtorie of England, finding a manifeſt error (as he taketh it) in thoſe writers whome he followeth touching the account, from the comming of Brute, vnto the ſacking of Rome by Brennus, whome our hiſtories affirme to be the brother of Beline, that to fill vp the number which is wanting in the reckoning of the yeares of thoſe kings which reigned after Brute, till the daies of the ſame Brenne & Beline, he thought good to change the order, leaſt one error ſhould follow an other, and ſo of one error making manie, he hath placed thoſe kings which after other writers ſhould ſéeme to follow Brenne and Beline, betwixt Dunuallo and Pulmucius, father to the ſaid Beline and Brenne, and thoſe fiue kings which ſtroue for the gouernement after the deceaſſe of the two brethren, Ferrex and Porrex, putting Guintoline to ſucceed after the fiue kings or rulers, and after Guintoline his wife Partia, during the minoritie of hir ſonne, then hir ſaid ſonne named Sicilius.

Polydor.

After him ſucceeded theſe whoſe names follow in order, Chimarius, Danius, Porindus, Gorbonianus, Archigallo, who being depoſed, Elidurus was made king, and ſo continued till he reſtored the gouernement (as ye haue heard) to Archigallo againe, and after his death Elidurus was eftſoones admitted, and within a while againe depoſed by Vigenius and Peredurus, and after their deceaſſes the third time reſtored. Then after his deceaſſe followed ſucceſſiuelie Ueginus, Porganus, Ennanus, Idunallo, Rimo, Geruntius, Catellus, Coſſus, Porrex the ſecond of that name, Cherinus, Fulgentius, Eldalus, Androgeus, Urianus and Eliud, after whom ſhould follow Dunuallo Molmucius, as in his proper place, if the order of things done, & the courſe of time ſhould be obſerued, as Polydor gathereth by the account of yeares attributed to thoſe kings that reigned before and after Dunuallo, according to thoſe authours whom (as I ſaid) he followeth, if they will that Brennus which led the Galles to Rome be the ſame that was ſonne to the ſaid Dunuallo Pulmucius, and brother to Beline.

But ſith other haue in better order brought out a perfect agréement in the account of yeares, and ſucceſſion of thoſe kings, which reigned and gouerned in this land before the ſacking of Rome; and alſo another ſuch as it is after the ſame, and before the Romans had anie perfect knowledge thereof; we haue thought good to follow them therein, leauing to euerie man his libertie to iudge as his knowledge ſhall ſerue him in a thing ſo doubtfull and vncertéine, for reaſon of variance amongſt the ancient writers in that behalfe.

And euen as there is great difference in writers ſince Gurguintus, till the death of Elidurus, ſo is there as great or rather greater after his deceaſſe, ſpeciallie till king Lud atteined the kingdome. But as maie be gathered by that which Fabian and other whome he followeth do write, there paſſed aboue 185 yeares betwixt the laſt yeare of Elidurus, and the beginning of king Lud his reigne, in the which time there reigned 32, or 33, kings, as ſome writers haue mentioned, whoſe names (as Gal. Mon. hath recorded) are theſe immediatlie héere named; Regnie the ſonne of Gorbolian or Gorbontan, a worthie prince, who iuſtlie and mercifullie gouerned his people; Margan the ſonne of Archigallo a noble prince likewiſe, and guiding his ſubiects in good quiet; Emerian brother to the ſame Margan, but far vnlike to him in maners, ſo that he was depoſed in the firſt yeare of his reigne; Powallo ſonne to Vigenius; Rimo the ſonne of Peredurus; Geruntius the ſonne of Elidurus; Catell that was buried at Wincheſter; Coill that was buried at Nottingham; Porrex a vertuous and moſt gentle prince; Cherinus a drunkard; Fulginius, Eldad, and Androgeus; theſe three were ſonnes to Cherinus, and reigned ſucceſſiuelie one after another; after them a ſonne of Androgeus; then Eliud, Vrianus. Dedaicus, Clotinius, Gurguntius, Merianus, Bledius, Cop, Owen, Sicilius, Bledgabredus an excellent muſician: after him his brother Archemall; then Eldol, Red, Rodiecke, Samuill, Peniſell, Pir, Capoir; after him his ſonne Gligweil an vpright dealing prince, and a good iuſticiarie; whom ſucceeded his ſonne Helie, which reigned 60 yeares, as the forſaid Gal. Mon. writeth, where other affirme that he reigned 40 yeares, and ſome againe ſay that he reigned but 7 moneths.

Fabian.

There is great diuerſitie in writers touching the reignes of theſe kings, and not onlie for the number of yéeres which they ſhould continue in their reignes but alſo in their names: ſo that to ſhew the diuerſitie of all the writers, were but to ſmall purpoſe, ſith the doings of the ſame kings were not great by report made thereof by any approued author. But this maie ſuffice to aduertiſe you, that by conferring the yéeres attributed to the other kings which reigned before them, ſince the comming of Brute, who ſhould enter this land (as by the beſt writers is gathered) about the yéere before the building of Rome 367, which was in the yéere after the creation of the world 2850 (as is ſaid) with their time, there remaineth 182 yéeres to be dealt amongſt theſe 33 kings, which reigned betwixt the ſaid Elidure & Lud, which Lud alſo began his reigne after the building of the citie of Rome (as writers affirme) about 679 yéeres, and in the yéere of the world 3895, as ſome that will ſéeme the preciſeſt calculators do gather.

Polydor Virgil changing (as I haue ſhewed) the order of ſucceſſion in the Britiſh kings, in bringing diuerſe of thoſe kings, which after other writers followed Beline and Brenne, to preceed them ſo ſucceſſiuelie after Beline and Brenne, reherſeth thoſe that by his coniecture did by likelihood ſucceed, as thus. After the deceſſe of Beline, his ſonne Gurguntius, being the ſecond of that name, ſucceeded in gouernment of the land, and then theſe in order as they follow: Merianus, Bladanus, Capeus, Ouinus, Sicilius, Bledgabredus, Archemallus, Eldorus, Rodianus, Redargius, Samulius, Peniſellus, Pyrrhus, Caporus, Dinellus, and Helie, who had iſſue, Lud, Caſſibellane, and Nenius.

Of

Of king Helie who gaue the name to *the Ile of Elie, of king Lud, and what* memorable edifices he made, London *sometimes called Luds* towne, his bountifulnes, *and liberall.*

The ninth Chapter.

HEre note by the waie a thing not to be forgotten, that of the foresaid Helie the last of the said 33 kings, the Ile of Elie toke the name; bicause that he most commonlie did there inhabit, building in the same a goodly palace, and making great reparations of the sluces, ditches & cawses about that Ile, for conueiance awaie of the water, that els would sore haue indamaged the countrie. Where be that haue mainteined, that this Ile should rather take name of the great abundance of eeles that are found in these waters and fennes wherwith this Ile is inuironed. But Humfrey Llhoyd holdeth, that it toke name of this British word Helig, which signifieth willowes, wherwith those fennes abound.

Whereof the Ile of Elie toke name.

Lud.

After the decesse of the same Helie, his eldest son Lud began his reigne, in the yere after the creation of the world 3895, after the building of the citie of Rome 679, before the comming of Christ 72, and before the Romanes entred Britaine 19 yeres. This Lud proued a right worthie prince, amending the lawes of the realme that were defectiue, abolishing euill customs and maners vsed amongst his people, and repairing old cities and townes which were decaied: but speciallie he delited most to beautifie and inlarge with buildings the citie of Troinouant, which he compalled with a strong wall made of lime and stone, in the best maner fortified with diuerse faire towers: and in the west part of the same wall he erected a strong gate, which he commanded to be called after his name, Luds gate, and so vnto this daie it is called Ludgate, (S) onelie drowned in pronuntiation of the word.

A worthie prince.

London inclosed with a wall Iohn Hard.

In the same citie also he soiorned for the more part, by reason whereof the inhabitants increased, and manie habitations were builded to receiue them, and he himselfe caused buildings to be made betwixt London stone and Ludgate, and builded for himselfe not farre from the said gate a faire palace, which is the bishop of Londons palace beside Paules at this daie, as some thinke; yet Harison supposeth it to haue bin Bainards castell, where the blacke friers now standeth. He also builded a faire temple nere to his said palace, which temple (as some take it) was after turned to a church, and at this daie called Paules. By reason that king Lud so much esteemed that citie before all other of his realme, inlarging it so greatlie as he did, and continuallie in manner remained there, the name was changed, so that it was called Caerlud, that is to saie, Luds towne: and after by corruption of speech it was named London.

Fabian. Gal. Mon. Mat. West.

The bishops palace.

The name of Troinouant changed and called London

Beside the princelie doings of this Lud touching the aduancement of the common wealth by studies apperteining to the time of peace, he was also strong & valiant in armes, in subduing his enimies, bountious and liberall both in gifts and keeping a plentifull house, so that he was greatlie beloued of all the Britaines. Finallie, when he had reigned with great honour for the space of 11 yeres, he died, and was buried nere Ludgate, leauing after him two sons, Androgeus and Theomancius or Tenancius.

Of Cassibellane and his noble mind, *Julius Cæsar sendeth Caius Volusenus to* suruey the coasts of this Iland, he lieth with *his fleet at Calice, purposing to inuade* the countrie, his attempt is be*wraied and withstood by* the Britains.

The tenth Chapter.

CAssibellane the brother of Lud was admitted king of Britaine, in the yere of the world 3908, after the building of Rome 692, and before the comming of Christ 58 complet. For vith the two sonnes of Lud were not of age able to gouerne, the rule of the land was committed to Cassibellane: but yet (as some haue written) he was not created king, but rather appointed ruler & protector of the land, during the nonage of his nephewes. Now after he was admitted (by whatsoeuer order) to the administration of the common wealth, he became so noble a prince and so bountious, that his name spred farre and nere, and by his vpright dealing in seeing iustice executed he grew in such estimation, that the Britaines made small account of his nephewes, in comparison of the fauour which they bare towards him. But Cassibellane hauing respect to his honour, least it might be thought that his nephewes were expelled by him out of their rightfull possessions, brought them vp verie honourablie; assigning to Androgeus, London and Kent; and to Theomantius the countrie of Cornwall. Thus farre out of the British historics, whereby it maie be gathered, that the yeres assigned to these kings that reigned before Cassibellane, amount to the summe of 1058.

Cassibellane.

Gal. Mon. Matt. West. Fabian.

Gal. Mon.

Matt. West.

But whether these gouernors (whose names we haue recited) were kings, or rather rulers of the common wealth, or tyrants and vsurpers of the gouernment by force, it is vncertein: for not one ancient writer of anie approued authoritie maketh anie remembrance of them: and by that which Julius Cesar writeth, it maie and doth apeere, that diuerse cities in his daies were gouerned of themselues, as hereafter it shall more plainlie apeere. Neither doth he make mention of those townes which the British historie affirmeth to be built by the same kings. Indeed both he and other Latine writers speake of diuerse people that inhabited diuers portions of this land, as of the Brigantes, Trinobantes, Iceni, Silures, and such other like, but in what parts most of the said people did certeinlie inhabit, it is hard to auouch for certeine truth.

Polydor.

But what Iohn Leland thinketh hereof, being one in our time that curiouslie searched out old antiquities, you shall after heare as occasion serueth: and likewise the opinions of other, as of Hector Boetius, who coueting to haue all such valiant acts as were atchiued by the Britains to be ascribed to his countriemen the Scots, draweth both the Silures and Brigantes, with other of the Britains so farre northward, that he maketh them inhabitants of the Scotish countries. And what particular names soeuer they had, yet were they all Scots with him, and knowne by that generall name (as he would perswade vs to beleeue) saieng that they entred into Britaine out of Ireland 330 yeres before the incarnation of our Sauiour.

Hector Boetius his fault.

Neuertheless, how generall soeuer the name of Scots then was, sure it is, that no speciall men-

tion

tion of them is made by anie writer, till about 300 yeares after the birth of our sauiour. And yet the Romans, which ruled this land, and had so much adoo with the people thereof, make mention of diuerse other people, nothing so famous as Boetius would make his Scotish men euen then to be. But to leaue to the Scots the antiquitie of their originall beginning, as they and other must doo vnto vs our descent from Brute and the other Troians, sith the contrarie doth not plainelie appeare, vnlesse we shall leane vnto presumptions: now are we come to the time in the which what acts were atchiued, there remaineth more certeine record, and therefore may we the more boldlie proceed in this our historie.

More certeintie from hence forth appeareth in the historie.

Julius Cesar

In this season that Cassibellane had roiall gouernment here in Britaine, Caius Julius Cesar being appointed by the senat of Rome to conquer Gallia, was for that purpose created consull, and sent with a mightie army into the countrie, where after he had brought the Galles vnto some frame, he determined to assaie the winning of Britaine, which as yet the Romans knew not otherwise than by report. The chiefest cause that moued him to take in hand that enterprise, was for that he did vnderstand, that there dailie came great succours out of that Ile to those Galles that were enimies vnto the Romans. And though the season of that yere to make warre was farre spent (for summer was almost at an end) yet he thought it would be to good purpose, if he might but passe ouer thither, and learne what maner of people did inhabit there, and discouer the places, hauens, and entries apperteining to that Ile.

Cesar de bello Gal. lib. 4.

Britains vnknowne to the Romans.

Cesar de bello Gal. lib. 4.

Causes of the warre.

Cesars purpose.

Hereupon calling togither such merchants as he knew to haue had traffike thither with some trade of wares, he diligentlie inquired of them the state of the Ile: but he could not be throughlie satisfied in anie of those things that he coueted to know. Therefore thinking it good to vnderstand all things by view that might apperteine to the vse of that warre which he purposed to follow: before he attempted the same, he sent one Caius Volusenus with a gallie or light pinesse to surueie the coasts of the Ile, commanding him (after diligent search made) to returne with speed to him againe. He him selfe also drew downe-wards towards Bullenois, from whence the shortest cut lieth to passe ouer into Britaine.

Caius Volusennus sent ouer into Britaine.

John Leland. Polydor.

In that part of Gallia there was in those daies an hauen called *Itius Portus* (which some take to be Calice) and so the word importeth, an harbourgh as then able to receiue a great number of ships. Vnto this hauen got Cesar all the ships he could out of the next borders & parties, and those spectallie which he had prouided and put in a readinesse the last yeare for the warres (against them of Vannes in Armorica, now called Britaine in France) he caused to be brought thither, there to lie till they should heare further. In the meane time (his indeuour being knowne, and by merchants reported in Britaine) all such as were able to beare armour, were commanded and appointed to repaire to the sea side, that they might be readie to defend their countrie in time of so great danger of inuasion.

Vannes in Britane.

¶Cesar in his commentaries agreeth not with our historiographers: for he writeth that immediatlie vpon knowledge had that he would inuade Britaine, there came to him ambassadours from diuers cities of the Ile to offer themselues to be subiects to the Romans, and to deliuer hostages. Whome after he had exhorted to continue in their good mind, he sent home againe, and with them also one Comius gouernor of Artois, commanding him to repaire vnto as manie cities in Britaine as he might, and to exhort them to submit themselues to the Romans. He maketh no mention of Cassibellane, till the second iournie that he made into the Ile, at what time the said Cassibelane was chosen (as ye shall heare) to be the generall capteine of the Britains, and to haue the whole administration of the warre for defense of the countrie: but he nameth him not to be a king. Howbeit in the British historie it is conteined, that Cesar required tribute of Cassibelane, and that he answered how he had not learned as yet to liue in seruage, but to defend the libertie of his countrie, and that with weapon in hand (if neede were) as he should well perceiue, if (blinded through couetousnesse) he should aduenture to seeke to disquiet the Britains.

Comius.

which is more likelie in this behalfe, as appeared by the sequel.

Caius Volusenus discouereth to Cæsar his obseruations in the Ile of Britaine, he maketh haste to conquere it, the Britains defend their countrie against him, Cæsar after consultation had changeth his landing place, the Romans are put to hard shifts, the Britains begin to giue backe, the courage of a Roman ensigne-bearer, a sharpe encounter betweene both armies.

The eleuenth Chapter.

CAius Volusenus within fiue daies after his departure from Cesar, returned vnto him with his gallie, and declared what he had seene touching the view which he had taken of the coasts of Britan. Cesar hauing got togither so manie saile as he thought sufficient for the transporting of two legions of souldiers, after he had ordered his businesse as he thought expedient, and gotten a conuenient wind for his purpose, did embarke himselfe and his people, and departed from Calice in the night about the third watch (which is about three or foure of the clocke after midnight) giuing order that the horsemen should take ship at an other place 8 miles aboue Calice, and follow him. Howbeit when they somewhat slacked the time, about ten of the clocke in the next day, hauing the wind at will, he touched on the coast of Britaine, where he might behold all the shore set and couered with men of warre. For the Britains hearing that Cesar ment verie shortlie to come against them, were assembled in armour to resist him: and now being aduertised of his approch to the land, they prepared themselues to withstand him.

Volusenus returneth.

Cesar with two legions of souldiers passeth ouer into Britan.

The Britans readie to defend their countrie.

Cesar perceiuing this, determined to staie till the other ships were come, and so he lay at anchor till about 11 of the clocke, and then called a councell of the marshals and chiefe capteines, vnto whome he declared both what he had learned of Volusenus, and also further what he would haue done, willing them that all things might be ordered as the reason of warre required. And because he perceiued that this place where he first cast anchor was not meete for the landing of his people, sith (from the heigth of the cliffes that closed on eth side the narrow creeke into the which he had thrust) the Britains might annoy his people with their bowes and dartes, before they could set foote on land, hauing now the wind and tide with him, he disanchored from thence, and drew alongst the coast vnder the downes, the space of 7 or 8 miles, and there finding the shore more flat and plaine, he approched neere to the land, determining to come to the shore.

Cesar calleth a councell.

This was about day.

The Britains perceiuing Cesars intent, with all speed caused their horsemen and charets or wagons, which

which Ceſar calleth Eſſeda, out of the which in thoſe daies they vſed to fight, to march forth toward the place whither they ſaw Ceſar drew, and after followed with their maine armie. Wherefore Ceſar being thus preuented, inforced yet to land with his people, though he ſaw that he ſhould haue much adoo. For as the Britains were in readineſſe to reſiſt him, ſo his great and huge ſhips could not come néere the ſhore, but were forced to kéepe the déepe, ſo that the Romane ſoldiers were put to verie hard ſhift; to wit, both to leape forth of their ſhips, and being peſtered with their heauie armour and weapons, to fight in the water with their enimies, who knowing the flats and ſhelues, ſtood either vpon the drie ground, or elſe but a little waie in the ſhallow places of the water; and being not otherwiſe encumbred either with armour or weapon, but ſo as they might beſtir themſelues at will, they laid load vpon the Romans with their arrowes and darts, and forced their horſſes (being thereto inured) to enter the water the more eaſilie, ſo to annoy and diſtreſſe the Romans, who wanting experience in ſuch kind of fight, were not well able to helpe themſelues, nor to kéepe order as they vſed to doo on land: wherfore they fought nothing ſo luſtilie as they were wont to doo. Ceſar perceiuing this, commanded the gallies to depart from the great ſhips, and to row hard to the ſhore, that being placed ouer againſt the open ſides of the Britains, they might with their ſhot of arrows, darts, and ſlings, remoue the Britains, and cauſe them to withdraw further off from the water ſide.

The Romans put to their ſhifts.

The Britans aſtonied.

This thing being put in execution (according to his commandement) the Britains were not a little aſtonied at the ſtrange ſight of thoſe gallies, for that they were driuen with oares, which earſt they had not ſéene, and ſhrewdlie were they galled alſo with the artillerie which the Romans diſcharged vpon them, ſo that they began to ſhrinke and retire ſomewhat backe. Herewith one that bare the enſigne of the legion ſurnamed Decima, wherein the eagle was figured, as in that which was the chiefe enſigne of the legion, when he ſaw his fellowes nothing eager to make forward, firſt beſéeching the gods that his enterpriſe might turne to the weale, profit, and honor of the legion, he ſpake with a lowd voice theſe words to his fellowes that were about him; Leape forth now euen you worthie ſouldiers (ſaith he) if you will not betraie your enſigne to the enimies: for ſurelie I will acquit my ſelfe according to my duetie both towards the common wealth, and my generall: and therewith leaping forth into the water, he marched with his enſigne ſtreight vpon the enimies. The Romans douting to loſe their enſigne, which ſhould haue turned them to great reproch, leapt out of their ſhips ſo faſt as they might, and followed their ſtandard, ſo that there enſued a ſore reencounter: and that which troubled the Romans moſt, was becauſe they could not kéepe their order, neither find anie ſure footing, nor yet follow euerie man his owne enſigne, but to put themſelues vnder that enſigne which he firſt met withall after their firſt comming forth of the ſhip.

The valiant courage of an enſigne bearer.

The Britains that were inured with the ſhelues and ſhallow places of the water, when they ſaw the Romans thus diſorderlie come out of their ſhips, ran vpon them with their horſſes, and fiercelie aſſailed them, and now and then a great multitude of the Britains would compaſſe in and incloſe ſome one companie of them: and other alſo from the moſt open places of the ſhore beſtowed great plentie of darts vpon the whole number of the Romans, and ſo troubled them verie ſore.

The fiercenelſe of the Britains.

The Romans get to land on the Engliſh coaſt, the Britains ſend to Cæſar for a treatie of peace, they ſtaie the Romane ambaſſadour as priſoner, Cæſar demandeth hoſtages of the Britains, the Romane nauie is driuen diuers waies in a great tempeſt, the Britiſh princes ſteale out of Cæſars campe and gather a freſh power againſt the Romans, their two armies haue a ſharpe encounter.

The twelfe Chapter.

CEſar perceiuing the maner of this fight, cauſed his men of warre to enter into boates and other ſmall veſſels, which he commanded to go to ſuch places where moſt néed appeared. And relieuing them that fought with new ſupplies, at length the Romans got to land, and aſſembling togither, they aſſailed the Britains a freſh, and ſo at laſt did put them all to flight. But the Romans could not follow the Britains farre, becauſe they wanted their horſſemen which were yet behind, & through ſlacking of time could not come to land. And this one thing ſeemed onelie to diſappoint the luckie fortune that was accuſtomed to follow Ceſar in all his other enterpriſes.

The Romans get to land.

The want of horſſemen.

The Britans after this fight were no ſooner got togither, but that with all ſpeed they ſent ambaſſadours vnto Ceſar to treat with him of peace, offering to deliuer hoſtages, and further to ſtand vnto that order that Ceſar ſhould take with them in anie reaſonable ſort. With theſe ambaſſadours came alſo Comius, whome Ceſar (as you haue heard) had ſent before into Britaine, whome notwithſtanding that he was an ambaſſadour, and ſent from Ceſar with commiſſion and inſtructions ſufficientlie furniſhed, yet had they ſtaied him as a priſoner. But now after the battell was ended, they ſet him at libertie, and ſent him backe with their ambaſſadours, who excuſed the matter, laieng the blame on the people of the countrie, which had impriſoned him through lacke of vnderſtanding what apperteined to the law of armes and nations in that behalfe.

The Britans ſend to Ceſar.

Comius of Arras.

Ceſar found great fault with their miſdemenor, not onelie for impriſoning his ambaſſador, but alſo for that contrarie to their promiſe made by ſuch as they had ſent to him into Gallia to deliuer hoſtages, in lieu thereof they had receiued him with warre: yet in the end he ſaid he would pardon them, and not ſéeke anie further reuenge of their follies. And herewith required of them hoſtages, of which, part were deliuered out of hand, and made promiſe that the reſidue ſhould likewiſe be ſent after, crauing ſome reſpit for performance of the ſame, becauſe they were to be fetched farre off within the countrie.

Ceſar demandeth hoſtages.

Peace beeng thus eſtabliſhed after the fourth day of the Romans arriuall in Britaine, the 18 ſhips which (as ye haue heard) were appointed to conuey the horſſemen ouer, loſed from the further hauen with a ſoft wind. Which when they approched ſo néere the ſhore of Britaine, that the Romans which were in Ceſars campe might ſée them, ſuddenlie there aroſe ſo great a tempeſt, that none of them was able to kéepe his courſe, ſo that they were not onelie driuen in ſunder (ſome being caried againe into Gallia, and ſome weſtward) but alſo the other ſhips that lay at anchor, and had brought ouer the armie, were ſo pitifullie beaten, tolled and ſhaken, that a great number of them did not onelie loſe their tackle, but alſo were caried by force of wind into the high ſea;

the rest being likewise so filled with water, that they were in danger by sinking to perish and to be quite lost. For the mone in the same night was at the full, & therefore caused a spring tide, which furthered the force of the tempest, to the greater perill of those ships and gallies that lay at anchor. There was no way for the Romans to helpe the matter: wherefore a great number of those ships were so bruised, rent and weather-beaten, that without new reparation they would serue to no vse of sailing. This was a great discomfort to the Romans that had brought over no prouision to liue by in the winter season, nor saw anie hope how they should repasse againe into Gallia.

In the meane time the British princes that were in the Romane armie, perceiuing how greatlie this mishap had discouraged the Romans, and again by the small circuit of their campe, gessing that they could be no great number, and that lacke of vittels sore oppressed them, they stale priuilie away one after another out of the campe, purposing to assemble their powers againe, and to forestall the Romans from vittels, and so to driue the matter off till winter: which if they might dow (vanquishing these or closing them from returning) they trusted that none of the Romans from thencefoorth would attempt ostsones to come into Britaine. Cesar mistrusting their dealings, because they staid to deliuer the residue of their hostages, commanded vittels to be brought out of the parties adioining, and not hauing other stuffe to repaire his ships, he caused 12 of those that were vtterlie past recouerie by the hurts receiued through violence of the tempest, to be broken, wherewith the other (in which some recouerie was perceiued) might be repaired and amended.

The maner of the Britains fighting in *charets, the Romans giue a fresh sallie to* the Britains and put them to flight, they sue to *Cæsar for peace; what kings and their powers* were assistants to Cassibellane in the battell *against Cæsar, and the maner of both peoples* encounters by the report of diuers Chronologers.

The xiij. Chapter.

WHilest these things were a doing, it chanced that as one of the Romane legions named the seuenth, was sent to fetch in corne out of the countrie adioining (as their custome was) no warre at that time being suspected, or once looked for, when part of the people remained abroad in the field, and part repaired to the campe: those that warded before the campe, informed Cesar, that there appeared a dust greater than was accustomed from that quarter, into the which the legion was gone to fetch in corne. Cesar iudging therof what the matter might meane, commanded those bands that warded to go with him that way forth, and appointed other two bands to come into their roomes, and the residue of his people to get them to armor, and to follow quicklie after him.

He was not gone anie great way from the campe, when he might see where his people were ouermatched by the enimies, and had much a do to beare out the brunt: for the legion being thronged together, the Britains pelted them sore with arrowes and darts on ech side: for sithens there was no forrage left in anie part of the countrie about, but onelie in this place, the Britains iudged that the Romans would come thither for it: therefore hauing lodged themselues within the woods in ambushes the night before; on the morrowe after when they saw the Romans dispersed here & there, and busie to cut downe the corne, they set vpon them on a sudden, and sleaing some few of them, brought the residue out of order, compassing them about with their horsemen and charets, so that they were in great distresse.

The maner of fight with these charets was such, that in the beginning of a battell they would ride about the sides and skirts of the enimies host, and bestow their darts as they sate in those charets, so that oftentimes with the braieng of the horsses, and craking noise of the charet wheeles they disordered their enimies, and after that they had wound themselues in amongst the troops of horsemen, they would leape out of the charets and fight on foot. In the meane time those that guided the charets would withdraw themselues out of the battell, placing themselues so, that if their people were ouermatched with the multitude of enimies, they might easilie withdraw to their charets, and mount vpon the same againe, by meanes wherof they were as readie to remoue as the horsemen, and as stedfast to stand in the battell as the footmen, and so to suplie both duties in one. And those charetmen by exercise and custome were so cunning in their feat, that although their horsses were put to run and gallop, yet could they stay them and hold them backe at their pleasures, and turne and wind them to and fro in a moment, notwithstanding that the place were verie steepe and dangerous: and againe they would run vp and downe verie nimblie vpon the cops, and stand vpon the beame, and conuey themselues quicklie againe into the charet.

Cesar thus finding his people in great distresse and readie to be destroied, came in good time, and deliuered them out of that danger: for the Britains vpon his approch with new succors, gaue ouer to assaile their enimies any further, & the Romans were deliuered out of the feare wherein they stood before his comming. Furthermore, Cesar considering the time serued not to assaile his enimies, kept his ground, and shortlie after brought backe his legions into the campe.

While these things were thus a doing, & all the Romans occupied, the rest that were abroad in the fields got them away. After this there followed a sore season of raine and fowle weather, which kept the Romans within their campe, and staid the Britains from offering battell. But in the meane time they sent messengers abroad into all parts of the countrie, to giue knowledge of the small number of the Romans, and what hope there was both of great spoile to be gotten, and occasion to deliuer themselues from further danger for euer, if they might once expell the Romans out of their campe. Hereupon a great multitude both of horsemen and footmen of the Britains were spedilie got togither, and approched the Romane campe.

Cesar although he saw that the same would come to passe which had chanced before, that if the enimies were put to the repulse, they would easilie escape the danger with swiftnesse of foot; yet hauing now with him thirtie horsemen (which Comius of Arras had brought ouer with him, when he was sent from Cesar as an ambassador vnto the Britains) he placed his legions in order of battell before his campe, and so comming to ioine with the Britains, they were not able to sustaine the violent impression of the armed men, and so fled. The Romans pursued them so farre as they were able to ouertake anie of them, and so slaieng manie of them, & burning vp all their houses

houses all about, came backe againe to their campe. Immediatlie whereupon, euen the same day, they sent ambassadors to Cesar to sue for peace, who gladlie accepting their offer, commanded them to send ouer into Gallia, after he should be returned thither, hostages in number double to those that were agreed vpon at the first. After that these things were thus ordered, Cesar because the moneth of September was well-neare halfe spent, and that winter hasted on (a season not meet for his weake and battered ships to brooke the seas) determined not to staie anie longer, but hauing wind and weather for his purpose, got himselfe aboord with his people, and returned into Gallia.

Cæsar *de bello Gallico lib.* 4.

¶ Thus writeth Cesar touching his first iournie made into Britaine. But the British historie (which Polydor calleth the new historie) declareth that Cesar in a pitcht field was vanquished at the first encounter, and so withdrew backe into France. Beda also writeth, that Cesar comming into the countrie of Gallia, where the people then called Morini inhabited (which are at this day the same that inhabit the diocesse of Terwine) from whence lieth the shortest passage ouer into Britaine, now called England, got together 80 saile of great ships and row galies, therewith he passed ouer into Britaine, & there at the first being wearied with sharpe and sore fight, and after taken with a grieuous tempest, he lost the greater part of his nauie, with no small number of his souldiers, and almost all his horsemen: and therwith being returned into Gallia, placed his souldiors in steeds to soiourne there for the winter season. Thus saith Bede. The British historie moreouer maketh mention of three vnder-kings that aided Cassibellane in this first battell fought with Cesar, as Cridiorus *alias* Ederus, king of Albania, now called Scotland: Guitethus king of Venedocia, that is Northwales: and Britaell king of Demetia, at this day called Southwales.

The same historie also maketh mention of one Belinus that was generall of Cassibellanes armie, and likewise of Nenius brother to Cassibellane, who in fight happened to get Cesars sword fastened in his shield by a blow which Cesar stroke at him. Androgeus also and Tenancius were at the battell in aid of Cassibellane. But Nenius died within 15 daies after the battell of the hurt receiued at Cesars hand, although after he was so hurt, he slue Labienus one of the Romane tribunes: all which may well be true, sith Cesar either maketh the best of things for his owne honour, or else coueting to write but commentaries, maketh no account to declare the needeles circumstances, or anie more of the matter, than the chiefe points of his dealing.

Hector Boet.

Againe, the Scotish historiographers write, that when it was first knowne to the Britains, that Cesar would inuade them, there came from Cassibellane king of Britaine an ambassador vnto Ederus king of Scots, who in the name of king Cassibellane required aid against the common enimies the Romains, which request was granted, and 10 thousand Scots sent to the aid of Cassibellane. At their comming to London, they were most ioifullie receiued of Cassibellane, who at the same time had knowledge that the Romans were come on land, and had beaten such Britains backe as were appointed to resist their landing. Whereupon Cassibellane with all his whole puissance mightilie augmented, not onlie with the succours of the Scots, but also of the Picts (which in that common cause had sent also of their people to aid the Britains) set forward towards the place where he vnderstood the enimies to be.

At their first approch together, Cassibellane sent forth his horsemen and charets called Esseda, by the which he thought to disorder the araie of the enimies. Twice they incountred together with doubtfull victorie. At length they ioined puissance against puissance, and fought a verie sore and cruell battell, till finally at the sudden comming of the Welshmen and Cornishmen, so huge a noise was raised by the sound of bels hanging at their trappers and charets, that the Romans astonied therewith, were more easilie put to flight. The Britains, Scots, and Picts following the chase without order or araie, so that by reason the Romans kept themselues close together, the Britains, Scots, & Picts did scarse so much harme to the enimies as they themselues receiued. But yet they followed on still vpon the Romans till it was darke night.

Cesar after he had perceiued them once withdrawne, did what he could to assemble his companies together, minding the next morning to seeke his reuenge of the former daies disaduantage. But forsomuch as knowledge was giuen him that his ships (by reason of a sore tempest) were so beaten and rent, that manie of them were past seruice, he doubted least such newes would incourage his enimies, and bring his people into despaire. Wherfore he determined not to fight till time more conuenient, sending all his wounded folks vnto the ships, which he commanded to be newlie rigged and trimmed. After this, keeping his armie for a time within the place where he was incamped without issuing forth, he shortlie drew to the sea side, where his ships laie at anchor, and there within a strong place fortified for the purpose he lodged his host, and finallie without hope to atchieue anie other exploit auaileable for that time, he tooke the sea with such ships as were apt for sailing, and so repassed into Gallia, leauing behind him all the spoile and baggage for want of vessels and leisure to conuete it ouer. ¶ Thus haue the Scots in their chronicles framed the matter, more to the conformitie of the Romane historie, than according to the report of our British and English writers: and therefore we haue thought good to shew it heere, that the diuersitie of writers and their affections may the better appeare.

Of this sudden departing also, or rather fleeing of Julius Cesar out of Britaine, Lucanus the poet maketh mention, reciting the saieng of Pompeius in an oration made by him vnto his souldiers, wherin he reprochfullie and disdainfullie reproued the doings of Cesar in Britaine, saieng:

Territa quæsitis ostendit terga Britannis.

Cæsar taketh a new occasion to make warre against the Britains, he arriueth on the coast without resistance, the number of his ships, both armies incounter, why Cæsar forbad the Romans to pursue the discomfited Britains, he repaireth his nauie, the Britains choose Cassibellane their cheefe gouernour, and skirmish afresh with their enimies, but haue the repulse in the end.

The xiiij. Chapter.

NOw will we returne to the sequele of the matter, as Cesar himselfe reporteth. After his comming into Gallia, there were but two cities of all Britaine that sent ouer their hostages according to their couenant, which gaue occasion to Cesar to picke a new quarrell against them, which if it had wanted, he would yet (I doubt not)

Dion Cassius.

not) haue found some other: for his full meaning was to make a more full conquest of that Ile. Therefore purposing to passe againe thither, as he that had a great desire to bring the Britains vnder the obedience of the Romane estate, he caused a great number of ships to be prouided in the winter season and put in a readinesse, so that against the next spring there were found to be readie rigged six hundred ships, beside 28 gallies. Heerevpon hauing taken order for the gouernance of Gallia in his absence, about the beginning of the spring he came to the hauen of Calice, whither (according to order by him prescribed) all his ships were come, except 40 which by tempest were driuen backe, and could not as yet come to him.

Cæsar *de bello Gallic.* 5.

After he had staied at Calice (as well for a conuenient wind, as for other incidents) certeine daies, at length when the weather so changed that it serued his purpose, he toke the sea, & hauing with him fiue legions of souldiers, and about two thousand horsemen, he departed out of Calice hauen about sun setting with a soft southwest wind, directing his course forward: about midnight the wind fell, & so by a calme he was carried alongst with the tide, so that in the morning when the day appeared, he might behold Britaine vpon his left hand. Then following the streame as the course of the tide changed, he forced with oares to fetch the shore vpon that part of the coast, which he had discouered, and tried the last yeere to be the best landing place for the armie. The diligence of the souldiers was shewed heere to be great, who with continuall toile drone forth the beaute ships, to keepe course with the gallies, & so at length they landed in Britaine about none on the next day, finding not one to resist his comming ashore: for as he learned by certeine prisoners which were taken after his comming to land, the Britains being assembled in purpose to haue resisted him, through feare striken into their harts, at the discouering of such an huge number of ships, they forsoke the shore and got them vnto the mountaines. There were in deed of vessels one and other, what with victuellers, & those which priuat men had prouided and furnished forth for their owne vse, being ioined to the ordinarie number, at the least eight hundred saile, which appearing in sight all at one time, made a wonderfull muster, and right terrible in the eies of the Britains.

But to proceed: Cesar being got to land, incamped his armie in a place conuenient: and after learning by the prisoners, into what part the enimies were withdrawne, he appointed one Quintus Atrius to remaine vpon the safegard of the nauie, with ten companies or cohorts of footmen, and three hundred horsemen: and anon after midnight marched forth himselfe with the residue of his people toward the Britains, and hauing made 12 miles of way, he got sight of his enimies host, who sending downe their horsemen and charets vnto the riuer side, skirmished with the Romans, meaning to beate them backe from the higher ground: but being assailed of the Romane horsemen, they were repelled, & toke the woods for their refuge, wherein they had got a place verie strong, both by nature and helpe of hand, which (as was to be thought) had beene fortified before, in time of some ciuill warre amongst them: for all the entries were closed with trees which had beene cut downe for that purpose. Howbeit the souldiers of the 7 legion casting a trench before them, found meanes to put backe the Britains from their defenses, and so entring vpon them, droue them out of the woods. But Cesar would not suffer the Romans to follow the Britains, because the nature of the countrie was not knowne vnto them: and againe the day was farre spent, so that he would haue the residue thereof bestowed in fortifieng his campe.

The next day, as he had sent forth such as should haue pursued the Britains, word came to him from Quintus Atrius, that his nauie by rigour of a sore and hideous tempest was greeuouslie molested, and throwne vpon the shore, so that the cabels and tackle being broken and destroied with force of the vnmercifull rage of wind, the maisters and mariners were not able to helpe the matter. Cesar calling backe those which he had sent forth, returned to his ships, and finding them in such state as he had heard, toke order for the repairing of those that were not vtterlie destroied, and caused them so to be drawne vp to the land, that with a trench he might so compasse in a plot of ground, that might serue both for defense of his ships, and also for the incamping of those men of warre, which he should leaue to attend vpon the safegard of the same. And because there were at the least a fortie ships lost by violence of this tempest, so as there was no hope of recouerie in them, he saw yet how the rest with great labour and cost might be repaired: therefore he chose out wights among the legions, sent for other into Gallia, and wrote ouer to such as he had left there in charge with the gouernment of the countrie, to prouide so manie ships as they could, and to send them ouer vnto him. He spent a ten daies about the repairing of his nauie, and in fortifieng the campe for defense thereof, which done, he left those within it that were appointed there before, and then returned towards his enimies.

At his comming backe to the place where he had before incamped, he found them there readie to resist him, hauing their numbers hugelie increased: for the Britains hearing that he was returned with such a mightie number of ships assembled out of all parts of the land, and had by general consent appointed the whole rule and order of all things touching the warre vnto Cassiuellane or Cassibelane, whose dominion was diuided from the cities situat neere to the sea coast, by the riuer of Thames, 80 miles distant from the sea coast. This Cassibelane before time had bin at continuall warre with other rulers, and cities of the land: but now the Britains moued with the comming of the Romans, chose him to be chiefe gouernour of all their armie, permitting the order and rule of all things touching the defense of their countrie against the Romans onelie to him. Their horsemen and charets skirmished by the waie with the Romans, but so as they were put backe oftentimes into the woods and hills adioining: yet the Britains slue diuers of the Romans as they followed anie thing egerlie in the pursute.

Cassibellane as should seeme, ruled in the parties of Oxfordshire, Barkshire, Buckinghamshire, and Bedfordshire.

Also within a while after, as the Romans were busie in fortifieng their campe, the Britains suddenlie issued out of the woods, and fiercelie assailed those that warded before the campe, vnto whose aid Cesar sent two of the chiefest cohorts of two legions, the which being placed but a litle distance one from another, when the Romans began to be discouraged with this kind of fight, the Britains therewith burst through their enimies, and came backe from thence in safetie. That daie Quintus Laberius Durus a tribune was slaine. At length Cesar sending sundrie other cohorts to the succour of his people that were in fight, and shewdlie handled as it appeared, the Britains in the end were put backe. Neuertheless, that repulse was but at the pleasure of fortune; for they quited themselues afterwards like men, defending their territories with such munition as they had, vntill such time as either by policie or inequalitie of power they were vanquished; as you shall see after in the course of the history. Howbeit in fine they were ouer-run and vtterlie subdued, but not without much bloudshed and slaughter.

The

The Romans heauie armor their great *hinderance, the maner of the Britains* fighting in warre, their incounter with their *enimies, their diſcomfiture, the worthie ſtra-*tagems or martiall exploits of Caſſibellane, *the Troinouants ſubmiſſion to Cæſar, and* their ſute touching Mandubratius, manie of the Britains are taken and ſlaine of the Romans.

The xv. Chapter.

IN all this maner of ſkirmiſhing and fight which chanced before the campe, euen in the ſight and view of all men, it was perceiued that the Romans, by reaſon of their heauie armour (being not able either to follow the Britains as they retired, or ſo bold as to depart from their enſignes, except they would runne into danger of caſting themſelues awaie) were nothing meete to match with ſuch kind of enimies: and as for their horſſemen, they fought likewiſe in great hazard, becauſe the Britains would oftentimes of purpoſe retire, and when they had trained the Romane horſſemen a litle from their legions of footmen, they would leape out of their charrets and incounter with them on foot. And ſo the battell of horſſemen was dangerous, and like in all points whether they purſued or retired.

The Romans heauie armour

The manner of the Britains in the warres.

This alſo was the maner of the Britains: they fought not cloſe togither, but in ſunder, and diuided into companies one ſeparated from another by a good diſtance, and had their troopes ſtanding in places conuenient, to the which they might retire, and ſo releeue one another with ſending new freſh men to ſupplie the roomes of them that were hurt or wearie. The next day after they had thus fought before the campe of the Romans, they ſhewed themſelues aloft on the hills, and began to ſkirmiſh with the Romane horſſemen, but not ſo hotlie as they had done the day before. But about noone, when Cæſar had ſent forth three legions of footmen and all his horſſemen vnder the leading of his lieutenant Caius Trebonius to fetch in forrage, they ſuddenlie brake out on euerie ſide, and ſet vpon the forragers. The Romans ſo far forth as they might, not breaking their arraie, nor going from their enſignes or guidons, gaue the charge on them, and fiercelie repelled them, ſo that the horſſemen hauing the legions of footmen at their backs, followed the Britains ſo long as they might haue the ſaid legions in ſight readie to ſuccour them if need were: by reaſon whereof, they ſlue a great number of the Britains, not giuing them leaſure to recouer themſelues, nor to ſtaie that they might haue time to get out of their charrets. After this chaſe and diſcomfiture, all ſuch as were come from other parties to the aid of their fellowes departed home, & after that day the Britains aduentured to fight againſt Cæſar with their maine power, and withdrawing beyond the riuer of *Thames, determined to ſtop the enimies from paſſing the ſame, if by anie meanes they might: and whereas there was but one ford by the which they might come ouer, Caſſibellane cauſed the ſame to be ſet full of ſharpe ſtakes, not onlie in the middeſt of the water, but alſo at the comming forth on that ſide where he was lodged with his armie in good order, readie to defend the paſſage. Cæſar learning by relation of priſoners which he tooke, what the Britains intended to do, marched forth to the riuer ſide, where the ford was, by the which his armie might paſſe the ſame on foot though verie hardlie. At his comming thither, he might perceiue how the Britains were readie on the further ſide to impeach his paſſage, and how that the banke at the comming forth of the water was pight full of ſharpe ſtakes, and ſo likewiſe was the chanell of the riuer ſet with piles which were couered with the water.

Caius Trebonius.

Dion Caſsius ſaith, that the Britains vanquiſhed the Roman footmen at this time, but were put to the worſt by the horſſemen.

*(which is to be ſuppoſed was at Kingſton) or not far from thence.

These things yet ſtaied not Cæſar, who appointing his horſſemen to paſſe on before, commanded the footmen to follow. The ſouldiers entring the water, waded through with ſuch ſpeed and violence (nothing appearing of them aboue water but their heads) that the Britains were conſtreined to giue place, being not able to ſuſteine the brunt of the Romane horſſemen, and the legions of their footmen, and ſo abandoning the place betoke them to flight. Caſſibellane not minding to trie the matter anie more by battell, ſent awaie the moſt part of his people, but yet kept with him about a foure thouſand charretmen or waggoners, and ſtill watched what waie the Romans tooke, coaſting them euer as they marched, and kept ſomewhat aſide within the couert of woods, and other comberſome places. And out of thoſe quarters through which he vnderſtood the Romans would paſſe, he gathered both men and cattell into the woods & thicke forreſts, leauing nothing of value abroad in the champion countrie. And when the Roman horſſemen did come abroad into the countrie to ſeeke booties, he ſent out his charrets vnto the knowne waies and paſſages to ſkirmiſh with the ſame horſſemen, ſo much to the diſaduantage of the Romans, that they durſt not ſtrate farre from their maine armie. Neither would Cæſar permit them (leaſt they might haue béene vtterlie diſtreſſed by the Britains) to depart further than the maine battels of the footmen kept pace with them, by reaſon whereof the countrie was not indamaged by fire and ſpoile, but onlie where the armie marched.

Troinouants where they inhabited.

In the meane time, the Troinouants which ſome take to be Middleſex & Eſſex men, whoſe citie was the beſt fenſed of all thoſe parties, and thought to be the ſame that now is called London, ſent ambaſſadours vnto Cæſar, offering to ſubmit themſelues vnto him, and to obeie his ordinances, and further beſought him to defend Mandubratius from the iniuries of K. Caſſibellane, which Mandubratius had fled vnto Cæſar into France, after that Caſſibellane had ſlaine his father named Imanuentius, that was chiefe lord and king of the Troinouants, and ſo now by their ambaſſadors the ſame Troinouants requeſted Cæſar, not onelie to receiue Mandubratius into his protection, but alſo to ſend him vnto them, that he might take the gouernment and rule of their citie into his hands. Cæſar commanded them to deliuer vnto him 40 hoſtages, and graine for his armie, and therewith ſent Mandubratius vnto them. The Troinouants accompliſhed his commandements with all ſpeed, ſending both the appointed number of hoſtages, and alſo graine for the armie. And being thus defended and preſerued from iniurie of the ſouldiers, the people called Cenimagni, Segontiaci, Ancalites, Bibroci, and Caſſi, ſubmitted themſelues vnto Cæſar, by whom he vnderſtood that the towne of Caſſibellane was not far from the place where he was then incamped fenſed with woodes and mariſhes, into the which a great number of people with their cattell and other ſubſtance was withdrawne. The Britains in thoſe daies (as Cæſar writeth) called that a towne or hold, which they had fortified with anie thicke comberſome wood, with trench and rampire, into the which they vſed to get themſelues for the auoiding of inuaſion.

Imanuentius.

Some take the Troinouants to be Londoners.

Cæſar with his legions of ſouldiers therfore marched thither, and finding the place verie ſtrong both

by nature and helpe of hand, assaulted it on two partes. The Britains defending their strength a while, at length not able longer to endure the impression of the Romans, fled out on the contrarie side of the towne where the enimies were not. Within this place a great number of cattell was found, and manie of the Britains taken by the Romans that followed them in chase, and manie also slaine.

Cassibellane dooth send vnto the foure *kings of Kent for aid against Cæsars host*, he offereth submission to Cæsar, the Britains *become his tributaries, he returneth into Gallia* with the remnant of his armie: the differing report *of Cæsars commentaries and our historiographers touching* these warlike affaires; of a sore fray with bloudshed and manslaughter vpon a light occasion; Cæsar taketh oportunitie to get the conquest of the land by the diuision betweene Cassibellane and Androgeus, the time of the Britains subiection to the Romans.

The xvj. Chapter.

Foure kings in Kent.

NOw whilest these thinges passed on this sort in those parts, Cassibellane sent messengers into Kent vnto foure kings (which ruled that side of the land in those daies) Cingetorix, Carulius, Tarimagulus, and Segonax, commanding them, that assembling togither their whole puissance, they should assaile the campe of the Romans by the sea side where certeine bands lay (as ye haue heard) for safegard of the naute. They according to his appointment came suddenlie thither, and by the Romans that sailed forth vpon them were sharplie fought with, and lost diuers of their men that were slaine and taken, and amongst the prisoners that the Romans toke, Cingetorix was one. When Cassibellane heard these newes, being sore troubled for these losses thus chancing one in the necke of an other, but namelie most discouraged, for that diuers cities had yelded vnto the Romans: he sent ambassadours by means of Romius of Arras vnto Cesar, offering to submit himselfe.

Cesar meaning to winter in Gallia, and therefore because summer drew towards an end, willing to dispatch in Britaine, commanded that hostages should be deliuered, and appointed what tribute the Britains should yerelie send vnto the Romans. He also forbad and commanded Cassibellane, that he should not in anie wise trouble or indamage Madubratius or the Londoners. After this, when he had receiued the hostages, he brought his armie to the sea, and there found his ships well repaired, decked, and in good point: therefore he commanded that they should be had downe to the sea. And because he had a great number of prisoners, and diuers of his ships were lost in the tempest, he apointed to transport his armie ouer into Gallia at two conueies, which was done with good successe about the middest of September, though the ships returning for the residue of the armie, after the first conuete, were driuen so with force of weather, that a great number of them could not come to land at the place appointed: so that Cesar was constreined to fraught those that he could get with a greater burden, and so departed from the coast of Britaine, and safelie landed with the remnant of his people in Gallia with as good spéed as he could haue desired. He thought not good to leaue anie of his people behind him knowing that if he should so do, they were in danger to be cast awaie. And so because he could not well remaine there all the winter season for doubt of rebellion in Gallia, he was contented to take vp, and returne thither, sith he had done sufficientlie for the time, least in coueting the more, he might haue come in perill to lose that which he had alreadie obteined.

Dion Cassius.

Thus according to that which Cesar himselfe and other autentike authors haue written, was Britaine made tributarie to the Romans by the conduct of the same Cesar. ¶ But our historiens farre differ from this, affirming that Cesar comming the second time, was by the Britains with valiancie and martiall prowesse beaten and repelled, as he was at the first, and speciallie by meanes that Cassibellane had pight in the Thames great piles of trées piked with yron, through which his ships being entred the riuer, were perished and lost. And after his comming a land, he was vanquished in battell, and constrained to flée into Gallia with those ships that remained. For ioy of this second victorie (saith Galfrid) Cassibellane made a great feast at London, and there did sacrifice to the gods.

Gal. Mon. Matt. West.

At this feast there fell variance betwixt two yong gentlemen, the one named Hirilda, nephew to Cassibellane, and the other Euelie or Eweline, being of aliance to Androgeus earle of London. They fell at discord about wrestling, and after multiplieng of words, they came to dealing of blowes, by meanes whereof parts were taken, so that there ensued a sore frate, in the which diuerse were wounded and hurt, and amongst other Hirilda the kings nephew was slaine by the hands of Eweline. The king sore displeased herewith, meant to punish Eweline according to the order of his lawes, so that he was summoned to appeare in due forme to make answer to the murder: but Eweline by the comfort of Androgeus disobeied the summons, & departed the court with Androgeus, in contempt of the king and his lawes. The king to be reuenged vpon Androgeus, gathered a power, and began to make warre vpon him.

Androgeus perceiuing himselfe not able to withstand the kings puissance, sent letters to Julius Cesar, exhorting him to returne into Britaine, and declaring the whole matter concerning the variance betwixt him and the king, promising to aid the Romans in all that he might. Julius Cesar ioifull of this message, prepared his naute, and with all spéed with a mightie host imbarked in the same, came toward Britaine: but yer he would land, doubting some treason in Androgeus, he receiued from him in hostage his sonne named Scena, and thirtie other of the best and most noble personages of all his dominion. After this he landed, and ioining with Androgeus, came into a vallie néere to Canturburie, and there incamped. Shortlie after came Cassibellane with all his power of Britains, and gaue battell to the Romans. But after the Britains had long fought and knightlie borne themselues in that battell, Androgeus came with his people on a wing, and so sharplie assailed them, that the Britains were constrained to forsake the field, and take themselues to flight. The which flight so discomforted them, that finallie they all fled, and gaue place to the Romans, the which pursued and slue them without mercie, so that Cassibellane with the residue of his people withdrew to a place of suertie, but being enuironed about with the puissance of the Romans, and of Androgeus, who had with him seuen thousand men there in the aid of the Romans, Cassibellane in the end was forced to fall to a composition, in couenanting to paie a yearelie tribute

So saith Campion, but Galfrid Mona. saith fiue thousand.

of three thousand pounds. When Cesar had ordered his businesse as he thought conuenient, he returned, and with him went Androgeus, fearing the displeasure of Cassibellane.

The reuerend father Bede writing of this matter, saith thus: After that Cesar being returned into Gallia, had placed his souldiors abroad in the countrie to soiorne for the winter season, he caused ships to be made readie, to the number of 600, with the which repassing into Britaine, whilest he marched forth with a mightie armie against the enimies, his ships that lay at anchor being taken with a sore tempest, were either beaten one against another, or else cast vpon the flats and sands, and so broken; so that fortie of them were vtterlie perished, and the residue with great difficultie were repaired. The horssemen of the Romans at the first encounter were put to the worsse, and Labienus the tribune slaine. In the second conflict he vanquished the Britains, not without great danger of his people. After this, he marched to the riuer of Thames, which as then was passable by ford onelie in one place and not else, as the report goeth. On the further banke of that riuer, Cassibellane was incamped with an huge multitude of enimies, and had pitcht and set the banke, and almost all the ford vnder the water full of sharpe stakes, the tokens of which vnto this day are to be seene, and it seemeth to the beholders that euerie of these stakes are as big as a mans thigh, sticking fast in the bottome of the riuer closed with lead. This being perceiued of the Romans, and auoided, the Britains not able to sustaine the violent impression of the Roman legions, hid themselues in the woods, out of the which by often issues, they greeuouslie and manie times assailed the Romans, and did them great damage. In the meane time the strong citie of Troinouant with hir duke Androgeus deliuering fortie hostages, yelded vnto Cesar, whose example manie other cities following, allied themselues with the Romans, by whose information Cesar with sore fight tooke at length the towne of Cassibellane, situat betwixt two marches, fensed also with the couert of woods, & hauing within it great plentie of all things. After this Cesar returned into France, and bestowed his armie in places to soiorne there for the winter season.

The Scotish writers report, that the Britains, after the Romans were the first time repelled (as before ye haue heard) refused to receiue the aid of the Scotish men the second time, and so were vanquished, as in the Scotish historie ye may see more at length expressed. Thus much touching the war which Julius Cesar made against the Britains, in bringing them vnder tribute to the Romans. But this tributarie subiection was hardlie maintained for a season.

¶ Now here is to be noted, that Cesar did not vanquish all the Britains: for he came not amongst the northerne men, onlie discouering and subduing that part which lieth towards the French seas: so that sith other of the Roman emperors did most earnestlie trauell to bring the Britains vnder their subiection (which were euer redie to rebell so manie sundrie times) Cesar might seeme rather to haue shewed Britaine to the Romans, than to haue deliuered the possession of the same. This subiection, to the which he brought this Ile (what maner of one soeuer it was) chanced about the yeare of the world 3913, after the building of Rome 698, before the birth of our sauior 53, the first and second yeare of the 181 Olympiad, after the comming of Brute 1060, before the conquest made by William duke of Normandie 1120, and 1638 yeres before this present yere of our Lord 1585, after Harrisons account.

The rakes remained to be seene in Bedes daies.

Cornelius Tacitus. In vit. Agr.

Dion Cassius.

The state of Britaine when Cæsar offered to conquer it, and the maner of their gouernement, as diuerse authors report the same in their bookes: where the contrarietie of their opinions is to be obserued.

The xvij. Chapter.

After that Julius Cesar had thus made the Britains tributaries to the Romans, and was returned into Gallia, Cassibellane reigned 7 yeares, and was vanquished in the ninth or tenth yeare after he began first to reigne so that he reigned in the whole about 15 or as some haue 17 yeares, and then died, leauing no issue behind him. There hath bin an old chronicle (as Fabian recorded) which he saw and followeth much in his booke, wherein is conteined, that this Cassibellane was not brother to Lud, but eldest sonne to him: for otherwise as may be thought (saith he) Cesar hauing the vpper hand, would haue displaced him from the gouernement, and set vp Androgeus the right heire to the crowne, as sonne to the said Lud. But whatsoeuer our chronicles or the British historis report of this matter, it should appere by that which Cesar writeth (as partlie ye haue heard) that Britaine in those daies was not gouerned by one sole prince, but by diuers, and that diuers cities were estates of themselues, so that the land was diuided into sundrie gouernements, much after the forme and maner as Germanie and Italie are in our time, where some cities are gouerned by one onelie prince, some by the nobilitie, and some by the people. And whereas diuers of the rulers in those daies here in this land were called kings, those had more large seigniories than the other, as Cassibellane, who was therefore called a king.

Fabian.

Cæsar.

Cassibellane a king.

And though we do admit this to be true, yet may it be, that in the beginning, after Brute entered the land, there was ordeined by him a monarchie, as before is mentioned, which might continue in his posteritie manie yeares after, and yet at length before the comming of Cesar, through ciuill dissention, might happilie be broken, and diuided into parts, and so remained not onelie in the time of this Cassibellane, but also long after, whilest they liued as tributaries to the Romans, till finallie they were subdued by the Saxons. In which meane time, through the discord, negligence, or rather vnaduised rashnes of writers, hard it is to iudge what may be affirmed and receiued in their writings for a truth; namelie, concerning the succession of the kings that are said to haue reigned betwixt the daies of Cassibellane, and the comming of the Saxons. The Roman writers (and namelie Tacitus) report, that the Britains in times past were vnder the rule of kings, and after being made tributaries, were drawne so by princes into sundrie factions, that to defend and keepe off a common ieopardie, scarselie would two or three cities agree togither, and take weapon in hand with one accord, so that while they fought by parts, the whole was ouercome. And after this sort they say that Britaine was brought into the forme of a prouince by the Romans, from whom gouernors vnder the name of legats and procurators were sent that had the rule of it.

Cor. Tacit. in vit. Iu. Agr.

But yet the same authors make mention of certeine kings (as hereafter shall appeare) who while the

the Romane emperors had the most part of the earth in subiection, reigned in Britaine. The same witnesseth Gildas, saieng: Britaine hath kings, but they are tyrants: iudges it hath, but the same are wicked, oftentimes spoiling and tormenting the innocent people. And Cesar (as ye haue heard) speaketh of foure kings that ruled in Kent, and thereabouts. Cornelius Tacitus maketh mention of Prasutagus, and Cogidunus, that were kings in Britaine: and Iuuenal speaketh of Aruiragus: and all the late writers, of Lucius. Hereby it appeareth, that whether one or mo, yet kings there were in Britain, bearing rule vnder the Romane emperors.

Gildas *in epist.*

Some take Prasutagus and Aruiragus to be one man.

Gal. Mon.

On the other part, the common opinion of our chronicle-writers is, that the chiefe gouernment remained euer with the Britains, & that the Romane senat receiuing a yearelie tribute, sent at certeine times (*Ex officio*) their emperors and lieutenants into this Ile, to represse the rebellious tumults therein begun, or to beat backe the inuasion of the enimies that went about to inuade it. And thus would these writers inferre, that the Britains euer obeied their king, till at length they were put beside the gouernement by the Saxons. But whereas in the common historie of England, the succession of kings ought to be kept, so oft as it chanceth in the same that there is not anie to fill the place, then one while the Romane emperors are placed in their steads, and another while their lieutenants, and are said to be created kings of the Britains, as though the emperors were inferiors vnto the kings of Britaine, and that the Romane lieutenants at their appointments, and not by prescript of the senat or emperours, administred the prouince.

This may suffice here to aduertise you of the contrarietie in writers. Now we will go forth in following our historie, as we haue done heretofore, sauing that where the Romane historiens write of things done here by emperors, or their lieutenants, it shall be shewed as reason requireth, sith there is a great apearance of truth oftentimes in the same, as those that be authorised and allowed in the opinion of the learned.

Of Theomantius, the tearme of yeares *that he reigned, and where he was interred*; of Kymbeline, within the time of whose *gouernment Christ Iesus our sauiour was borne*, all nations content to obeie the Romane emperors *and consequentlie Britaine, the customes that* the Britaines paie the Romans as Strabo reporteth.

The xviij. Chapter.

Theomãtius.

After the death of Cassibellane, Theomantius or Tenantius the yongest sonne of Lud was made king of Britaine in the yere of the world 3921, after the building of Rome 706, & before the comming of Christ 45. He is named also in one of the English chronicles Tormace: in the same chronicle it is conteined, that not he, but his brother Androgeus was king, where Geffrey of Monmouth & others testifie, that Androgeus abandoned the land clerelie, & continued still at Rome, because he knew the Britains hated him for treason he had committed in aiding Iulius Cesar against Cassibellane. Theomantius ruled the land in good quiet, and paid the tribute to the Romans which Cassibellane had granted, and finallie departed this life after he had reigned 22 yeares, and was buried at London.

Fabian.

Gal. Mon.

Kymbeline.

Kymbeline or Cimbeline the sonne of Theomantius was of the Britains made king after the decease of his father in the yeare of the world 3944, after the building of Rome 728, and before the birth of our Sauiour 33. This man (as some write) was brought vp at Rome, and there made knight by Augustus Cesar, vnder whome he serued in the warres, and was in such fauour with him, that he was at libertie to pay his tribute or not. Little other mention is made of his doings, except that during his reigne, the Sauiour of the world our Lord Iesus Christ the onelie sonne of God was borne of a virgine, about the 23 yeare of the reigne of this Kymbeline, & in the 42 yeare of the emperour Octauius Augustus, that is to wit, in the yeare of the world 3966, in the second yeare of the 194 Olympiad, after the building of the citie of Rome 750 nigh at an end, after the vniuersall floud 2311, from the birth of Abraham 2019, after the departure of the Israelits out of Egypt 1513, after the captiuitie of Babylon 535, from the building of the temple by Salomon 1034, & from the arriuall of Brute 1116, complet. Touching the continuance of the yeares of Kymbelines reigne, some writers dow varie, but the best approued affirme, that he reigned 35 years and then died, & was buried at London, leauing behind him two sonnes, Guiderius and Aruiragus.

Fabian out of Guido de Columna.

Christ our sauiour borne.

3966

¶ But here is to be noted, that although our histories dow affirme, that as well this Kymbeline, as also his father Theomantius liued in quiet with the Romans, and continuallie to them paied the tributes which the Britains had couenanted with Iulius Cesar to pay, yet we find in the Romane writers, that after Iulius Cesars death, when Augustus had taken vpon him the rule of the empire, the Britains refused to paie that tribute: whereat as Cornelius Tacitus reporteth, Augustus (being otherwise occupied) was contented to winke; howbeit, through earnest calling vpon to recouer his right by such as were desirous to see the vttermost of the British kingdome; at length, to wit, in the tenth yeare after the death of Iulius Cesar, which was about the thirteenth yeare of the said Theomantius, Augustus made prouision to passe with an armie ouer into Britaine, & was come forward vpon his iournie into Gallia Celtica: or as we maie saie, into these hither parts of France.

Cor Tacitus, *in vita Iu. Agr.*

Dion Cassius.

But here receiuing aduertisements that the Pannonians, which inhabited the countrie now called Hungarie, and the Dalmatians whome now we call Slauons had rebelled, he thought it best first to subdue those rebells nere home, rather than to seeke new countries, and leaue such in hazard whereof he had present possession, and so turning his power against the Pannonians and Dalmatians, he left off for a time the warres of Britaine, whereby the land remained without feare of anie inuasion to be made by the Romans, till the yeare after the building of the citie of Rome 725, and about the 19 yeare of king Theomantius reigne, that Augustus with an armie departed once againe from Rome to passe ouer into Britaine, there to make warre. But after his comming into Gallia, when the Britains sent to him certeine ambassadours to treat with him of peace, he staied there to settle the state of things among the Galles, for that they were not in perie good order. And hauing finished there, he went into Spaine, and so his iournie into Britaine was put off till the next yeare, that is, the 726 after the building of Rome, which fell before the birth of our sauiour 25, about which time Augustus eftsoons meant the third time to haue made a voiage into Britaine, because

because they could not agrée vpon couenants. But as the Pannonians and Dalmatians had afore time staied him, when (as before is said) he meant to haue gone against the Britans: so euen now the Salassians (a people inhabiting about Italie and Switserland) the Cantabrians and Asturians by such rebellious sturrs as they raised, withdrew him from his purposed iournie. But whether this controuersie which appeareth to fall forth betwixt the Britans and Augustus, was occasioned by Kymbeline, or some other prince of the Britains, I haue not to auouch: for that by our writers it is reported, that Kymbeline being brought vp in Rome, & knighted in the court of Augustus, euer shewed himselfe a friend to the Romans, & chiefly was loth to breake with them, because the youth of the Britaine nation should not be depriued of the benefit to be trained and brought vp among the Romans, whereby they might learne both to behaue themselues like ciuill men, and to atteine to the knowledge of feats of warre.

He kept not promise with the Romans.

Those of Calice and Bilkate,

But whether for this respect, or for that it pleased the almightie God so to dispose the minds of men at that present, not onlie the Britains, but in manner all other nations were contented to be obedient to the Romane empire. What this was true in the Britains, it is euident enough by Strabos words, which are in effect as followeth. At this present (saith he) certeine princes of Britaine, procuring by ambassadors and dutifull demeanors the amitie of the emperour Augustus, haue offered in the capitoll vnto the gods presents or gifts, and haue ordeined the whole Ile in a manner to be appertinent, proper, and familiar to the Romans. They are burdened with sore customs which they paie for wares, either to be sent forth into Gallia, or brought from thence, which are commonlie pourle vessels, shéeres, ouches, or eare rings, and other conceits made of amber & glasses, and such like manner of merchandize: so that now there is no néed of anie armie or garrison of men of warre to kéepe the Ile, for there needeth not past one legion of footmen, or some wing of horsemen, to gather vp and receiue the tribute: for the charges are rated according to the quantitie of the tributes: for otherwise it should be needfull to abate the customs, if the tributes were also raised: and if anie violence should be vsed, it were dangerous least they might be prouoked to rebellion. Thus farre Strabo.

Strab. Geog.

Of Guiderius, who denied to paie tribute to the Romans, preparation for war on both sides, of the ridiculous voiage of the Emperour Caligula against the Britains, his vanitie and delight in mischiefe: Aulus Plautius a Romane senator accompanied with souldiers arriue on the British coasts without resistance, the Britains take flight and hide themselues.

The xix. Chapter.

Guiderius.

GUiderius the first sonne of Kymbeline (of whom Harison saieth nothing) began his reigne in the seuentenih yeare after th' incarnation of Christ. This Guiderius being a man of stout courage, gaue occasion of breach of peace betwixt the Britains and Romans, denieng to paie them tribute, and procuring the people to new insurrections, which by one meane or other made open rebellion, as Gyldas saith, Wherevpon the emperour Caligula (as some thinke) tooke occasion to leaue a power, and as one vtterlie misliking the negligence (as he called it) of Augustus and Tiberius his predecessors, he ment not onlie to reduce the Iland vnto the former subiection, but also to search out the vttermost bounds thereof, to the behoofe of himselfe, and of the Romane monarchie.

Caligula.

Great prouision therefore was made by the said Caligula to performe that noble enterprise, and this was in the fourth yeare of his reigne. The like preparation was made on the other side by Guiderius, to resist the forren enimies, so that hauing all things in a readinesse, he ceassed not dailie to looke for the comming of the emperour, whome he ment to receiue with hard entertainment if he durst aduenture to set toward Britaine. But see the sequele: the maine armie being thus in a readinesse, departed from Rome in the 79 yeare after the building of the citie, and marching forth, at length came vnto the Belgike shore, from whence they might looke ouer, and behold the cliffes and coast of Britaine, which Caligula and his men stood gazing vpon with great admiration and wonder.

Dion Cassius lib. 59.

Furthermore he caused them to stand in battell arraie vpon the coast, where he heard how the Britains were in a readinesse to withstand his entrance. But entring into his gallie, as nothing discouraged with these newes, he rowed a flight shot or two from the shore, and forthwith returned, and then going vp into an high place like a pulpit, framed and set vp there for the nonce, he gaue the token to fight vnto his souldiers by sound of trumpet, and therewith was ech man charged to gather cockle shells vpon the shore, which he called the spoile of the Ocean, and caused them to be laid vp vntill a time conuenient. With the atchiuing of this exploit (as hauing none other wherewith to beautifie his triumph) he séemed greatlie exalted, thinking that now he had subdued the whole Ocean, and therefore highlie rewarded his souldiers for their paines susteined in that collection of cockle shells, as if they had done him some notable péece of seruice. He also caried of the same shells with him to Rome, to the end he might there boast of his voyage, and brag how well he had sped: and required therefore verie earnestlie of haue a triumph decreed vnto him for the accomplishment of this enterprise.

The spoile of the Ocean.

But when he saw the senat grudge at the free & liberall granting of a grace in that behalfe, and perceiued how they refused to attribute diuine honors vnto him, in recompense of so foolish an enterprise, it wanted little that he had not slaine them euerie one. From thence therefore he went vp into a throne or royall seate, and calling therewith the common people about him, he told them a long tale what aduentures had chanced to him in his conquest of the Ocean. And when he had perceiued them to shout and crie, as if they had consented that he should haue béene a god for this his great trauell and valiant prowesse, he to increase their clamour, caused great quantities of gold & siluer to be scattered amongst them, in the gathering whereof, manie were pressed to death, and diuers also slaine with the inuenomed caltrops of iron, which he did cast out with the same monie, of purpose to do mischiefe, the same caltrops being in forme small & sharp, so that by reason of the preasse of people, much hurt was done by them ere they were perceiued. And this was the end of the ridiculous voiage of Caligula attempted against the Britains.

But after the death of this Caligula, the emperour Claudius (as Suetonius saith) moued warre against the Britains, because of a sturre and rebellion raised in that land, for that such fugitiues as

Suetonius.

were

were fled from thence, were not againe restored when request was made for the same.

Dion Cassius. Dion Cassius writeth, that one Bericus, being expelled out of Britaine, persuaded the emperour Claudius to take the warre in hand at this time against the Britains, so that one Aulus Plautius a senatour, and as then prætor, was appointed to take the armie that sojourned in France then called Gallia, and to passe ouer with the same into Britaine. The souldiers hearing of this voiage, were loth to go with him, as men not willing to make warre in another world: and therefore delaied time, till at length one Narcissus was sent from Claudius, as it were to appease the souldiers, & procure them to set forward. But when this Narcissus went vp into the tribunall throne of Plautius, to declare the cause of his comming, the souldiers taking great indignation therewith cried, *o Saturnalia*, as if they should haue celebrated their feast daie so called.

When the seruants apparelled in their maisters robes, represented the towne of their maisters, and were serued by them, as if they had beene their seruants, and thus at length constreined, through verie shame, they agreed to follow Plautius. Herevpon being embarked, he diuided his nauie into three parts, to the end that if they were kept off from arriuing in one place, yet they might take land in another. The ships suffered some impeachment in their passage by a contrarie wind that droue them backe againe: but yet the marriners and men of warre taking good courage vnto them, the rather because there was seene a fierie leame to shot out of the east towards the west, which way their course lay, made forwards againe with their ships, and landed without finding anie resistance. For the Britains looked not for their comming: wherefore, when they heard how their enimies were on land, they got them into the woods and marishes, trusting that by lingering of time the Romans would be constreined to depart, as it had chanced in time past to Julius Cesar aforesaid.

The end of the third booke.

THE FOVRTH BOOKE of the Historie of England.

The Britains discomfited, sore *wounded, slaine, and disabled by* Plautius and his power, Claudius the *Romane taketh the chiefe citie of Cymbe-* beline the king of Britaine, he bereaueth *the Britains of their armour, and by* vertue of his conquest ouer part *of the land is surnamed* Britannicus.

The first Chapter.

NOw Plautius had much adoo to find out the Britains in their lurking holes and couerts; howbeit when he had traced them out, first he vanquished Cataratacus, and after Togodumnus the sonnes of Cynobellinus: for their father was dead not verie long before. These therefore fleeing their waies, Plautus receiued part of the people called Bodumni (which were subiects vnto them that were called Catuellani) vnto the obeisance of the Romans: and so leauing there a garrison of souldiors, passed further till he came to a riuer which could not well be passed without a bridge: wherevpon the Britains tooke small regard to defend the passage, as though they had beene sure inough. But Plautius appointed a certeine number of Germans which he had there with him (being vsed to swim ouer riuers, although neuer so swift) to get ouer, which they did, sleaing and wounding the Britains horsses, which were fastened to their wagons or chariots, so that the Britains were not able to do anie peece of their accustomed seruice with the same.

Bodumni. Catuellani. Suetonius.

Herewithall was Flauius Vespasianus (that afterwards was emperour) with his brother Sabinus sent ouer that riuer, which being got to the further side, slue a great number of the enimies. The residue of the Britains fled, but the next day proffered a new battell, in the which they fought so stoutlie, that the victorie depended long in doubtfull balance, till Caius Sidius Geta being almost at point to be taken, did so handle the matter, that the Britains finallie were put to flight: for the which his valiant doings, triumphant honors were bestowed vpon him, although he was no consull.

The Britains after this battell, withdrew to the riuer of Thames, neere to the place where it falleth into the sea, and knowing the shallowes and firme places thereof, easilie passed ouer to the further side, whom the Romans following, through lacke of knowledge in the nature of the places, they fell into the marish grounds, and so came to lose manie of their

their men, namelie of the Germans, which were the firſt that paſſed ouer the riuer to follow the Britains, partlie by a bridge which lay within the countrie ouer the ſaid riuer, and partlie by ſwimming, and other ſuch ſhift as they preſentlie made.

Cogodumnus. The Britains hauing loſt one of their rulers, namelie Cogodumnus (of whom ye haue heard before) were nothing diſcouraged, but rather more egerlie ſet on reuenge. Plautius perceiuing their fiercenelle, went no further, but ſtaid and placed garriſons in ſtæds where néd required, to kéepe thoſe places which he had gotten, and with all ſpéd ſent aduertiſement vnto Claudius, according to that he had in commandement, if anie vrgent neceſſitie ſhould ſo moue him. Claudius therefore hauing all things before hand in a readineſſe, ſtraightwaies vpon the receiuing of the aduertiſement, departed from Rome, and came by water vnto Oſtia, and from thence vnto Maſſilia, and ſo through France ſped his iournies till he came to the ſide of the Ocean ſea, and then imbarking himſelfe with his people, paſſed ouer into Britaine, and came to his armie which abode his comming nére the Thames ſide, where being ioined, they paſſed the riuer againe, fought with the Britains in a pitcht field, and getting the victorie, toke the towne of Camelodunum (which ſome count to be Colcheſter) being the chiefeſt citie apperteining vnto Cynobelinus. He reduced alſo manie other people into his ſubiection, ſome by force, and ſome by ſurrender, whereof he was called oftentimes by the name of emperour, which was againſt the ordinance of the Romans: for it was not lawfull for anie to take that name vpon him oftener than once in anie one voiage. Moreouer, Claudius toke from the Britains their armor and weapons, and committed the gouernment of them vnto Plautius, commanding him to endeuour himſelfe to ſubdue the reſidue.

Dion Caſſius. Thus hauing brought vnder a part of Britaine, and hauing made his abode therin not paſt a ſirtene daies, he departed and came backe againe to Rome with victorie in the firſt month after his ſetting forth from thence, giuing after his returne, to his ſonne, the ſurname of Britannicus. This warre he finiſhed in maner as before is ſaid, in the fourth yére of his reigne, which fell in the yére of the world 4011, after the birth of our Sauiour 44, and after the building of Rome 79.

Suetonius.

The diuerſe opinions and variable reports of writers touching the partile conqueſt of this Iland by the Romans, the death of Guiderius.

The ſecond Chapter.

THere be that write, how Claudius ſubdued and added to the Romane empire, the Iles of Orknie ſituate in the north Ocean beyond Britaine: which might well be accompliſhed either by Plautius, or ſome other his lieutenant: for Plautius indeed for his noble prowelſe and valiant acts atchiued in Britaine, afterwards triumphed. Titus the ſonne of Veſpaſian alſo wan no ſmall praiſe for deliuering his father out of danger in this time, being beſet with a companie of Britains, which the ſaid Titus bare downe, and put to flight with great ſlaughter. Beda following the authoritie of Suetonius, writeth brieflie of this matter, and ſaith that Claudius paſſing ouer into this Ile, to the which neither before Julius Ceſar, neither after him anie ſtranger durſt come, within few daies receiued the moſt part of the countrie into his ſubiection without battell or bloudſhed.

Gyldas alſo writing of this reuolting of the Britains, ſaith thus: When information therof was giuen to the ſenate, and that haſt was made with a ſpédie armie to reuenge the ſame, there was no warlike nauie prepared in the ſea to fight valiantlie for the defenſe of the countrie, no ſquare battell, no right wing, nor anie other prouiſion appointed on the ſhore to be ſéene, but the backes of the Britains in ſtead of a ſhield are ſhewed to the perſecutors, and their necks readie to be cut off with the ſword through cold feare running through their bones, which ſtretched forth their hands to be bound like womanlie creatures; ſo that a common prouerbe followed thereof, to wit, That the Britains were neither valiant in warre, nor faithfull in peace: and ſo the Romans ſlaing manie of the rebels, reſeruing ſome, and bringing them to bondage, that the land ſhould not lie altogither vntilled and deſert, returned into Italie out of that land which was void of wine and oile, leauing ſome of their men there for gouernors to chaſtiſe the people, not ſo much with an armie of men, as with ſcourge and whip, and if the matter ſo required, to aplie the naked ſword vnto their ſides: ſo that it might be accounted Rome and not Britaine. And what coine either of braſſe, ſiluer or gold there was, the ſame to be ſtamped with the image of the emperour. Thus farre Gildas.

In the Britiſh hiſtorie we find other report as thus, that Claudius at his comming aland at Porcheſter, beſieged that towne, to the reſcue whereof came Guiderius, and giuing battell to the Romans, put them to the worſe, till at length one Hamo, being on the Romans ſide, changed his ſhield and armour, apparelling himſelfe like a Britaine, and ſo entring into the thickeſt preaſe of the Britiſh hoſt, came at length where the king was, and there ſlue him. But Aruiragus perceiuing this miſchiefe, to the end the Britains ſhould not be diſcouraged therewith, cauſed himſelfe to be adorned with the kings cote-armor, and other abiliments, and ſo as king continued the fight with ſuch manhood, that the Romans were put to flight. Claudius retired backe to his ſhips, and Hamo to the next woods, whom Aruiragus purſued, and at length droue him vnto the ſea ſide, and there ſlue him yet he could take the hauen which was there at hand; ſo that the ſame toke name of him, and was called a long time after, Hamons hauen, and at length by corruption of ſpeach it was called Hampton, and ſo continueth vnto this day, commonlie called by the name of Southhampton. Thus haue you heard how Guiderius or Guinderius (whether you will) came to his end, which chanced (as ſome write) in the 28 yére of his reigne.

Gal. Mon. Matth. Weſt.

Hampton, why ſo called.

Aruiragus the Britaine & Claudius the Romane with their armies doo incounter, a compoſition concerning mariage concluded betweene them, Claudius returneth to Rome.

The third Chapter.

ARuiragus the yongeſt ſon of Kymbeline, and brother to Guinderius (becauſe the ſame Guinderius left no iſſue to ſucceed him) was admitted king of Britaine in the yére of our Lord 45, or rather 46.

Aruiragus.

Hector Boet.

This

This Aruiragus, otherwise called by the Britains Meuricus or Mauus, of Tacitus Pzasutagus, is also named Armiger in the English chronicle, by which chronicle (as appéreth) he bare himselfe right manfullie against Claudius and his Romans in the war which they made against him: in so much that when Claudius had renewed his force and woone Porchester, and after came to besiege Winchester (in the which Aruiragus as then was inclosed) Aruiragus assembling his power, was readie to come forth and giue Claudius battell: wherevpon Claudius doubting the sequele of the thing, sent messengers vnto Aruiragus to treat of concord, and so by composition the matter was taken vp, with condition, that Claudius should giue his daughter Genilla in marriage vnto Aruiragus, & Aruiragus should acknowledge to hold his kingdome of the Romans.

Caxton.

Gal. Mon.

Ranulfus Cestrensis.

Some write that Claudius in fauour of the valiant prowesse which he saw & found in Aruiragus, honored not onlie him with the mariage of his daughter the said Genilla, but also to the end to make the towne more famous where this marriage was solemnized, he therefore called it Claudiocestria, after his name, the which in the British tong was called before that daie Caerleon, and after Glouernia, of a duke that ruled in Demetia that hight Glunie, but now it is called Glocester.

Other there be that write, how Claudius being vanquished in battell by Aruiragus, was compelled by the said Aruiragus to giue vnto him his said daughter to wife, with condition as before is mentioned: and that then Aruiragus was crowned king of Britaine. But Suetonius maie seeme to reproue this part of the British historie, which in the life of Claudius witnesseth, that he had by three wiues onlie three daughters, that is to saie, Claudia, Antonia, and Octauia: and further, that reputing Claudia not to be his, caused hir to be cast downe at the doore of his wife Herculanilla, whome he had forsaken by waie of diuorcement: & that he bestowed his daughter Antonia first on C. Pompeius Magnus, and after on Faustus Silla, verie noble yong gentlemen; and Octauia he matched with Nero his wiues son. Whereby it should appéere, that this supposed marriage betwixt Aruiragus and the daughter of Claudius is but a feined tale.

Sueton.

¶ And héere to speake my fansie also what I thinke of this Aruiragus, and other the kings (whome Galfrid and such as haue followed him do register in order, to succéed one after another) I will not denie but such persons there were, and the same happilie bearing verie great rule in the land, but that they reigned as absolute kings ouer the whole, or that they succéeded one after another in manner as is auouched by the same writers, it séemeth most vnlike to be true: for rather it maie be gessed by that, which as well Gyldas as the old approued Romane writers haue written, that diuerse of these kings liued about one time, or in times greatlie differing from those times which in our writers we find noted. As for example, Iuuenal maketh this Aruiragus of whom we now intreat, to reigne about Domitians time. For my part therefore, sith this order of the British kinglie succession in this place is more easie to be flatlie denied and vtterlie reproued, than either wiselie defended or truelie amended, I will referre the reforming therof vnto those that haue perhaps séene more than I haue, or more déepelie considered the thing, to trie out an vndoubted truth: in the meane time, I haue thought good, both to shew what I find in our histories, and likewise in forren writers, to the which we thinke (namelie in this behalfe, whilest the Romans gouerned there) we maie safelie giue most credit, do we otherwise neuer so much contrarie our selues with other vaine and fond conceits.

To proceed yet with the historie as we find it by our writers set forth: it is reported, that after the solemnization of this marriage, which was done with all honour that might be deuised, Claudius sent certeine legions of souldiers forth to go into Ireland to subdue that countrie, and returned himselfe to Rome.

Legions of souldiers sent into Ireland.

Aruiragus denieth subiection to the Romans, Vespasian is sent to represse him and his power, the Romane host is kept backe from landing, queene Genissa pacifieth them after a sharpe conflict: & what the Romane writers say of Vespasians being in Britaine, the end of Aruiragus.

The fourth Chapter.

THen did king Aruiragus ride about to view the state of his realme, repairing cities and townes decaied by the warre of the Romans, and saw his people gouerned with such iustice and good order, that he was both feared and greatlie beloued: so that in tract of time he grew verie welthie, and by reason thereof fell into pride, so that he denied his subiection to the Romans. Wherevpon Claudius appointed Vespasian with an armie to go as lieutenant into Britaine. This iournie was to him the beginning of his aduancement to that honour, which after to him most luckilie befell. But if we shall credit our Britaine writers, he gained not much at Aruiragus hands, for where he would haue landed at Sandwich or Richborough, Aruiragus was readie to resist him, so as he durst not once enter the hauen: for Aruiragus had there such a puissant number of armed men, that the Romans were afraid to approch the land.

Vespasian in Britaine. Cornel. Tacit. *in vit. Agr. lib. 5. & li. 6.* Gal. Mon. Rutupium.

Vespasian therefore withdrew from thence, and coasting westward, landed at Totnesse, and comming to Excester, besieged that citie: but about the seuenth day after he had planted his siege, came Aruiragus, and gaue him battell, in the which both the armies sustained great losse of men, and neither part got anie aduantage of the other. On the morrow after queene Genilla made them friends, and so the warres ceassed for that time, by hir good mediation.

¶ But séeing (as before I haue said) the truth of this historie maie be greatlie mistrusted, ye shall heare what the Romane writers saie of Vespasianus being héere in Britaine, beside that which we haue alreadie recited out of Dion in the life of Guiderius.

In the daies of the emperor Claudius, through fauour of Narcissus (one that might do all with Claudius) the said Vespasian was sent as coronell or lieutenant of a legion of souldiers into Germanie, and being remoued from thence into Britaine, he fought thirtie seuerall times with the enimies, and brought vnto the Romane obeisance two most mightie nations, and aboue twentie townes, togither with the Ile of Wight; and these exploits he atchiued, partlie vnder the conduct of Aulus Plautius ruler of Britaine for the emperor Claudius, and partlie vnder the same emperor himselfe. For as it is reported by writers of good credit, he came first ouer into Britaine with the said Aulus Plautius, and serued verie valiantlie vnder him, as before in place we haue partlie touched. By Tacitus it appéreth, that he was called to be partener in the gouernment of things in Britaine

Vespasian. Suetonius. Sellicus.

Britaine with Claudius, and had such successe, as it appeered to what estate of honour he was predestinate, having conquered nations, and taken kings prisoners. But now to make an end with Aruiragus: when he perceiued that his force was too weake to preuaile against the Romane empire, and that he should striue but in vaine to shake the yoke of subiection from the necks of the Britains, he made a finall peace with them in his old age, and so continued in quiet the residue of his reigne, which he lastlie ended by death, after he had gouerned the land by the space of thirtie yéeres, or but eight and twentie, as some other imagine. He died in the yéere of Grace 73, as one author affirmeth, and was buried at Glocester.

Gal. Mon.

73.

Matth. West.

Ioseph of Arimathia came into Britane *and Simon Zelotes, the antiquitie of christian* religion, Britaine gouerned by Lieute*nants and treasurers of the Romane emperors, the* exploits of Ostorius Scapula and the men of Ox*fordshire, he vanquisheth the Welshmen, appeaseth* the Yorkshiremen, and brideleth the rage of the Silures.

The fift Chapter.

IN the daies of the said Aruiragus, about the yeare of Christ 53, Ioseph of Arimathia, who buried the bodie of our sauiour, being sent by Philip the Apostle (as Iohn Bale following the authoritie of Gildas and other British writers reciteth) after that the Christians were dispersed out of Gallia, came into Britaine with diuers other godlie christian men, & preaching the gospell there amongst the Britains, & instructing them in the faith and lawes of Christ, conuerted manie to the true beliefe, and baptised them in the wholsome water of regeneration, & there continued all the residue of his life, obteining of the king a plot of ground where to inhabit, not past a foure miles from Wells, and there with his fellowes began to laie the first foundation of the true and perfect religion, in which place (or néere thereunto) was afterward erected the abbeie of Glastenburie.

Polydorus.

Nicephorus writeth in his second booke and fourth chapter, that one Simon Zelotes came likewise into Britaine. And Theodoretus in his 9. booke *De curandis Græcorum affectibus*, sheweth that Paule being released of his second imprisonment, and suffered to depart from Rome, preached the gospell to the Britains and to other nations in the west. The same thing in manner doth Sophronius the patriarch of Ierusalem witnesse. Tertullian also maie be a witnesse of the ancientnes of the faith receiued here in Britaine, where he writing of these times saith: Those places of the Britains, to the which the Romans could not approch, were subiect vnto Christ, as were also the countries of Sarmatia, Dacia, Germania, Scithia, and others. Thus it maie appeare, that the christian religion was planted here in this land shortlie after Christes time, although it certeinlie appeareth not who were the first that preached the gospell to the Britains, nor whether they were Grécks or Latins.

Treasurers or receiuers.

Cornelius Tacitus writeth, that the Romane emperours in this season gouerned this land by lieutenants and treasurers, the which were called by the name of legats and procurators, thereby to kéepe the vnrulie inhabitants the better in order.

Iulus Plantius.

And Aulus Plautius a noble man of Rome of the order of consuls, was sent hither as the first legat or lieutenant (in maner as before ye haue heard) & after him Ostorius Scapula, who at his comming found the Ile in trouble, the enimies hauing made inuasion into the countrie of those that were friends to the Romans, the more presumptuouslie, for that they thought a new lieutenant, with an armie to him vnacquainted and come ouer now in the beginning of winter, would not be lastlie to march forth against them. But Ostorius vnderstanding that by the first successe and chance of warre, feare or hope is bred and augmented, hasted forward to encounter with them, and such as he found abroad in the countrie he slue out right on euerie side, and pursued such as fled, to the end they should not come togither againe. Now for that a displeasing and a doubtfull peace was not like to bring quietnesse either to him or to his armie, he toke from such as he suspected, their armour. And after this, he went about to defend the riuers of Anon & Seuerne, with placing his souldiers in campes fortified néere to the same. But the Orfordshire men and other of those parties would not suffer him to accomplish his purpose in anie quiet sort, being a puissant kind of people, and not hitherto weakened by warres: for they willinglie at the first had ioined in amitie with the Romans. The countries adioining also being induced by their procurement, came to them, & so they chose forth a plot of ground, fensed with a mightie ditch, vnto the which there was no waie to enter but one, & the same verie narrow, so as the horsemen could not haue anie easie passage to breake in vpon them. Ostorius, although he had no legionarie souldiers, but certeine bands of aids, marched forth towards the place within the which the Britains were lodged, and assaulting them in the same, brake through into their campe, where the Britains being impeached with their owne inclosures which they had raised for defense of the place, knowing how that for their rebellion they were like to find small mercie at the Romans hands, when they saw now no waie to escape, laid about them manfullie, and shewed great proofe of their valiant stomachs.

Ostorius Scapula.

Cor. Tacitus lib. 12.

Cornelius Tacit. lib. 12.

In this battell, the sonne of Ostorius the lieutenant deserued the price and commendation of preseruing a citizen out of the cruell enimies hands. But now with this slaughter of the Orfordshire men, diuers of the Britains that stood doubtfull what waie to take, either to rest in quiet, or to moue warres, were contented to be conformable vnto a reasonable order of peace, in so much that Ostorius lead his armie against the people called Cangi, who inhabited that part of Wales now called Denbighshire, which countrie he spoiled on euerie side, no enimie once daring to encounter him: & if anie of them aduentured priuilie to set vpon those which they found behind, or on the outsides of his armie, they were cut short yer they could escape out of danger. Whereupon he marched straight to their campe and giuing them battell, vanquished them: and vsing the victorie as reason moued him, he lead his armie against those that inhabited the inner parts of Wales, spoiling the countrie on euerie side. And thus sharplie pursuing the rebels, he approched neere vnto the sea side, which lieth ouer against Ireland. While this Romane capteine was thus occupied, he was called backe by the rebellion of the Yorkshire men, whome forthwith vpon his comming vnto them, he appeased, punishing the first authors of that tumult with death.

which was a certaine crowne, to be set on his head called *ciuica corona*.

Cangi.

In the meane time, the people called Silures, being a verie fierce kind of men, and valiant, pre-

Cor. Tacitus. lib. 12.

pared to make warre against the Romans, for they might not be bowed neither with roughnesse, nor yet with anie courteous handling, so that they were to be tamed by an armie of legionarie souldiers to be brought among them.

Therefore to restraine the furious rage of those people and their neighbours, Ostorius peopled a towne nére to their borders, called Camelodunum with certeine bands of old souldiers, there to inhabit with their wiues and children, according to such maner as was vsed in like cases of placing naturall Romans in anie towne or citie, for the more suertie and defense of the same. Here also was a temple builded in the honor of Claudius the emperour, where were two images erected, one of the goddesse Victoria, and an other of Claudius himselfe.

The coniectures of writers touching *the situation of Camelodunum supposed to* be Colchester, of the Silures a people spoken *of in the former chapter, a foughten field betwene* Caratacus the British prince, and Ostorius *the Romaine, in the confines of Shropshire; the Britains* go miserablie to wracke, Caratacus is deliuered to the Romans, his wife and daughter are taken prisoners, his brethren yeeld themselues to their enimies.

The sixt Chapter.

But now there resteth a great doubt among writers, where this citie or towne called Camelodunum did stand, of some (and not without good ground of probable coniectures gathered vpon the aduised consideration of the circumstances of that which in old authors is found written of this place) it is thought to be Colchester.

Camelodunum, Colchester.

But verelie by this place of Tacitus it maie rather seeme to be some other towne, situat more westward than Colchester, sith a colonie of Romane souldiers were planted there to be at hand, for the repressing of the vnquiet Silures, which by consent of most writers inhabited in Southwales, or nére the Welsh marshes.

Silures where they inhabited.

There was a castell of great fame in times past that hight Camaletum, or in British Caermalet, which stood in the marshes of Summersetshire: but sith there is none that hath so written before this time, I will not saie that happilie some error hath growne by mistaking the name of Camelodunum for this Camaletum, by such as haue copied out the booke of Cornelius Tacitus; and yet so it might be don by such as found it short or vnperfectlie written, namelie, by such strangers or others, to whom onelie the name of Camelodunum was onelie knowne, and Camaletum peraduenture neuer seene nor heard of. As for example, an Englishman that hath heard of Waterford in Ireland, and not of Werford, might in taking forth a copie of some writing easilie commit a fault in noting the one for the other. We find in Ptolomie Camedolon to be a citie belonging to the Trinobants, and he maketh mention also of Camelodunum, but Humfrey Lhoyd thinketh that he meaneth all one citie.

Notwithstanding Polydor Virgil is of a contrarie opinion, supposing the one to be Colchester in deed, and the other that is Camelodunum to be Doncaster or Pontfret. Leland esteeming it to be certeinelie Colchester taketh the Icenti men also to be the Northfolke men. But howsoeuer we shall take this place of Tacitus, it is euident inough that Camelodunum stood not farre from the Thames. And therefore to seeke it with Hector Boetius in Scotland, or with Polydor Virgil so far as Doncaster or Pontfret, it maie be thought a plaine error.

But to leaue each man to his owne iudgement in a matter so doubtfull, we will proceed with the historie as touching the warres betwixt the Romans and the Silurians, against whome (trusting not onelie vpon their owne manhood, but also vpon the high prowesse & valiancie of Caratacus) Ostorius set forward. Caratacus excelled in fame aboue all other the princes of Britaine, aduanced thereto by manie doubtfull aduentures and manie prosperous exploits, which in his time he had atchiued: but as he was in policie and aduantage of place better prouided than the Romans: so in power of souldiers he was ouermatched. And therefore he remoued the battell into the parts of that countrie where the Ordouices inhabited, which are thought to haue dwelled in the borders of Shropshire, Chesshire, and Lancashire, which people together with other that misliked of the Romane gouernment, be ioined in one, and chose a plot of ground for his aduantage, determining there to trie the vttermost hazard of battell.

Cornelius Tacitus lib. Anna. 12.

Hu. Lhoyd.

The place which he thus chose was such, as the entries, the backwaies, and the whole situation there of made for the Britains aduantage, and cleane contrarie to the Romans, as inclosed among high hils. And if there were anie easie passage to enter it vpon anie side, the same was shut vp with mightie huge stones in manner of a rampire, and afore it there ran a riuer without anie certeine ford to passe ouer it. This place is supposed to lie in the confines of Shropshire aloft vpon the top of an high hill there, enuironed with a triple rampire and ditch of great depth, hauing three entries into it, not directlie one against an other, but allope. It is also (they saie) compassed about with two riuers, to wit, on the left hand with the riuer called Clun, & on the right hand with an other called Teuid. On three sides thereof the clime is verie steepe and headlong, and no waie easie to come or reach vnto it, but onelie one.

Caratac hauing thus fortified himselfe within this place, and brought his armie into it: to encourage his people, he exhorted them to shew their manhood, affirming that to be the day, and that armie to be the same wherein should appeare the beginning either of libertie then to be recouered, or else of perpetuall bondage for euer to be sustained. He rehersed also speciallie by name those their elders, which had resisted Julius Cesar, by whose high valiancie they liued free from the bloudie threaldome and tributes of the Romans, and enioied their wiues and children safe and vndefiled. Thus discoursing of manie things with them, in such hope of assured victorie, that they began to raise their cries, ech one for him selfe, declaring that he was bound by the dutie he owght to the gods of his countrie, not to shrinke for feare of anie wounds or hurts that might chance vnto them by the enimies weapon.

This cheerefulnesse of the Britains greatlie astonished the Romane lieutenant. The hideous course also of the riuer before his face, the fortifications and craggie higth of the hils, all set full of enimies readie to beat him backe, put him in great feare: for nothing he saw afore him, but that which seemed dreadfull to those that should assaile. But the souldiers yet seemed to be verie desirous of battell, requesting him to bring them to it, protesting that nothing was able to resist the force of noble prowes. Herewith the capteins and tribunes discoursing the like, pricked forward the earnest willes which their

souldiers

souldiers had to fight.

Ostorius perceiuing such courage and readie wils in the men of warre, as well souldiers as capteins, began to bestirre himselfe, and left nothing vndone that might serue to set forward their earnest desire to battell. And hauing aduisedlie considered which waies were hard and vnpossible to be entered vpon, and which were most easie for his people to find passage by, he led them forth, being most earnestlie bent to cope with the enimie.

Cornelius Tacitus Annal. lib. 12.

Now hauing passed the water without any great difficultie, but comming to the rampire, he lost manie of his people, so long as the fight was continued with shot and casting of darts: but after that the Romans couering themselues with their targets, came once close togither, and approched vnder the rampire, they remoued away the stones which the Britains had roughlie couched togither, and so came to ioine with them at handblowes. The Britains being vnarmed, and not able to abide the force of the armed men, withdrew to the top of the hilles, but as well their enimies that were light armed, as the other with heauie armour, followed and brake in among them, so as the Britains could not turne them anie way to escape, for the light armed men with shot a farre off, and the heauie armed with weapons at hand, sought to make slaughter and wracke of them on ech side, so that this was a verie dolefull day to the Britains.

The wife and daughter of Caratake were taken prisoners, and his brethren also yelded themselues. He himselfe escaped, and committing his person vnto the assurance & trust of Cartemandua queene of the Brigants, was by hir deliuered into the hands of the Romans. All this happened about nine yeres after the warres in Britaine first began.

The name of Caratacus famous in Italie, *the maner how he and his alies were led* captiues by the Romans in triumph, his cou*rage and manlie speech to the emperour Claudius,* whereby he and his obteine mercie and par*don: the Britains vndertake a new reuenge a*gainst the Romans; the cause why the Silures hated the Romans, Ostorius Scapula dieth, the citie of Chester builded.

The seuenth Chapter.

Cornelius Tacit. lib. 12. Caratake name renowmed.

THe name of Caratacus being brought out of the Iles was alreadie spred ouer the prouinces adioining, and began now to grow famous through Italie. Men therefore were desirous to see what maner of man he was that had so manie yeres set at naught the puissant force of the empire. For in Rome the name of Caratacus was much spoken of, insomuch that the emperour whilest he went about to preferre his owne honour, aduanced the glorie of him also that was vanquished: for the people were called forth as vnto some great notable sight or spectacle. The pretorian bands stood in order of battell armed in the field that laie before their lodgings, through which field Caratake should come. Then passed by the traine of his friends and seruants; and such armor, riches, iewels, and other things as had beene gotten in those warres, were borne forward, and openlie shewed, that all men might behold the same.

After these followed his brethren, wife, and daughters: and last of all came Caratacus himselfe, whose countenance was nothing like to theirs that went afore him. For whereas they fearing punishment for their rebellion with wailefull countenance craued mercie, he neither by countenance nor words shewed anie token of a discouraged mind, but being presented before the emperour Claudius sitting in his tribunall seat, he vttered this speach as followeth.

„ If there had beene in me so much moderation in
„ time of prosperitie, as there was nobilitie of birth
„ and puissance, I had come to this citie rather as a
„ friend than as a capteine: neither should I haue
„ thought scorne, being borne of most noble parents,
„ and ruling ouer many people, to haue accepted peace
„ by waie of ioining with you in league. My present
„ estate as it is to me reprochfull, so to you it is hono-
„ rable. I had at commandement, horsses, men, ar-
„ mor, and great riches; what maruell is it if I were
„ loth to forgo the same? For if you shall loke to go-
„ uerne all men, it must needs follow that all men
„ must be your slaues. If I had at the first yelded my
„ selfe, neither my power nor your glorie had beene set
„ forth to the world, & vpon mine execution I should
„ straight haue beene forgotten. But if you now grant
„ me life, I shall be a witnesse for euer of your merci-
„ full clemencie.

The emperour with these words being pacified, granted life both to Caratake, and also to his wife and brethren, who being losed from their bands, went also to the place where the empresse Agrippina sat (not farre off) in a chaire of estate, whom they reuerenced with the like praise and thanks as they had done before to the emperour. After this the senat was called togither, who discoursed of manie things touching this honourable victorie atchiued by the taking of Caratake, estéming the same no lesse glorious, than when P. Scipio shewed in triumph Siphax king of the Numidians, or L. Paulus the Macedonian king Perses, or other Romane capteins anie such king whom they had vanquished.

Siphax. L. Paulus.

Hereupon it was determined, that Ostorius should enter the citie of Rome with triumph like a conqueror, for such prosperous successe as hitherto had followed him: but afterwards his procédings were not so luckie, either for that after Caratake was remoued out of the waie, or bicause the Romans (as though the warre had beene finished) loked negligentlie to themselues, either else for that the Britains taking compassion of the miserable state of Caratake, being so worthie a prince, through fortunes froward aspect cast into miserie, were more earnestlie set to reuenge his quarrell. Hereupon they incompassed the maister of the campe, and those legionarie bands of souldiers which were left amongst the Silures to fortifie a place there for the armie to lodge in: and if succour had not come out of the next townes and castels, the Romans had beene destroied by siege. The head capteine yet, and eight centurions, and euerie one else of the companies being most forward, were slaine. Shortlie after they set vpon the Romane forragers, and put them to flight, and also such companies of horssemen as were appointed to gard them. Hereupon Ostorius set forth certeine bands of light horssemen, but neither could he staie the flight by that meanes, till finallie the legions entred the battell, by whose force they were staid, and at length the Romans obteined the better: but the Britains escaped by flight without great losse, by reason the daie was spent.

After this, manie bickerings chanced betwirt the Britains and Romans, & oftentimes they wrought their feats more like the trade of them that vse to rob by the high waies, than of those that make open warre, taking their enimies at some aduantage

in woods and bogs, as hap or force ministred occasion vpon malice conceiued, or in hope of prey, sometimes by commandement, and sometimes without either commandement or knowledge of capteine or officer.

At one time the Britains surprised two bands of footmen that were with the Romans in aid, and sent forth to forreie abroad vnadvisedlie, through couetousnesse of the capteins. This feat was atchiued by the Silures also, the which in bestowing prisoners and part of the spoile vpon other of their neighbours, procured them likewise to rebell against the Romans, and to take part with them. The Silures were the more earnestlie set against the Romans, by occasion of words which the emperor Claudius had vttered in their disfauour, as thus: that euen as the Sicambres were destroied and remoued into Gallia, so likewise must the Silures be dealt with, and the whole nation of them extinguished. These words being blowne abroad, and knowne ouer all, caused the Silures to conceiue a wonderfull hatred against the Romans, so that they were fullie bent, either to reteine their libertie, or to die in defense thereof vpon the enimies sword.

In the meane time Ostorius Scapula departed this life, a right noble warrior, and one who by litle & litle insuing the steps of Aulus Plautius his predecessor, did what he could to bring the Ile into the forme of a prouince, which in part he accomplished.

W.H. in his chronologie.

There be some led by coniecture grounded vpon good aduised considerations, that suppose this Ostorius Scapula began to build the citie of Chester after the ouerthrow of Caratacus: for in those parties he fortified sundrie holds, and placed a number of old souldiers either there in that selfe place, or in some other neere thereunto by waie of a colonie. And forsomuch (saie they) as we read of none other of anie name thereabouts, it is to be thought that he planted the same in Chester, where his successors did afterwards vse to harbour their legions for the winter season, and in time of rest from iournies which they haue to make against their common enimies.

In déed it is a common opinion among the people there vnto this daie, that the Romans built those vaults or tauerns (which in that citie are vnder the ground) with some part of the castell. And verelie as

Ran. Hig. *alias* Cestrensis.

Ranulfe Higden saith, a man that shall view and well consider those buildings, maie thinke the same to be the worke of Romans rather than of anie other people. That the Romane legions did make their abode there, no man séene in antiquities can doubt thereof, for the ancient name Caer leon ardour deuy, that is, The citie of legions vpon the water of Dée, proueth it sufficientlie enough.

But to returne vnto Ostorius Scapula, we find

Corn. Tacit.

in Corn. Tacitus, that during his time of being lieutenant in this Ile, there were certeine cities giuen

Cogidune a king in Britaine.

vnto one Cogidune a king of the Britains, who continued faithfull to the Romans vnto the daies of the remembrance of men liuing in the time of the said Cornelius Tacitus, who liued and wrote in the emperor Domitianus time. This was done after an old receiued custom of the people of Rome, to haue both subiects and kings vnder their rule and dominion, as who so shall note the acts and déeds of the Roman emperours from C. Julius Cesar (who chased Pompeie out of Italie, and was the first that obteined the Romane empire to himselfe; of whom also the princes and emperours succéeding him were called Cesars) to Octauian, Tiberius, Caligula, &c: maie easilie marke and obserue. For they were a people of singular magnanimitie, of an ambitious spirit, grédie of honour and renowme, and not vnaptlie termed *Romani rerum domini, &c.*

A. Didius is sent to supplie Ostorius *his roome in Britaine, the trecherie and le-*cherie of queene Cartimanda, Venutius kee-*peth the kingdome in spite of the Romans, by what* meanes their confines in this Ile were inlarged; *the error of Hector Boetius and others touching* the Silures, Brigants, and Nouants notified, the Britains giue the Romans a shamefull ouerthrow.

The eight Chapter.

A. Didius lieutenant.

After the decease of Ostorius Scapula, one A. Didius was sent to supplie his roome, but yer he could come, things were brought out of order, and the Britains had vanquished the legion whereof Manlius Valens had the conduct: this victorie was set forth by the Britains to the vttermost, that with the brute thereof they might strike a feare into the lieutenants hart, now vpon his first comming ouer. And he himselfe reported it by letters to the emperour after the largest manner, to the end that if he appeased the matter, he might win the more praise; or if he were put to the worst, and should not preuaile, that then his excuse might séeme the more reasonable and worthie of pardon. The Silures were they that had atchiued this victorie, and kept a fowle stur ouer all the countries about them, till by the comming of Didius against them, they were driuen backe and repelled.

But herewith began trouble to be raised in another part: for after that Caratac was taken, the chiefest and most skillfull capteine which the Britains had, was one Venutius, a ruler of the people named Jugants, a man that remained a long time faithfull to the Romans, and by their power was defended from his enimies, who had married with Cartimanda quéene of the Brigants or Yorkeshire men. This Cartimanda (as ye haue heard) had deliuered Caratac into the Romans hands, thereby ministring matter for the emperour Claudius to triumph, by which pleasure she wed to the Romans, she increased thorough their friendship in power and wealth, whereof followed riotous lust to satisfie hir wanton appetite, so as she falling at square with hir husband, married Vellocatus, one of his esquires, to whom she gaue hir kingdome, and so dishonoured hir selfe. Herevpon insued cruell warre, in so much that in the end Venutius became enimie also to the Romans. But first they tugged togither betwixt themselues, & the quéene by a craftie policie found meanes to catch the brother and cosens of Venutius, but hir enimies nothing therewith discouraged, but kindled the more in wrath against hir, ceassed not to go forward with their purpose.

Venutius r[uler] of the Ju[gants].

Cartimand[a]

Vellocatus.

Manie of the Brigants disdaining to be subiect vnto a womans rule that had so reiected hir husband, reuolted vnto Venutius: but yet the quéenes sensuall lust mixed with crueltie, mainteined the adulterer. Venutius therefore calling to him such aid as he could get, and strengthened now by the reuolting of the Brigants, brought Cartimanda to such a narrow point, that she was in great danger to fall into the hands of hir enimies: which the Romans forséeing, vpon suit made, sent certeine bands of horsemen and footmen to helpe hir. They had diuerse incounters with the enimies at the first, with doubtfull successe: but at length they preuailed, and so deliuered the quéene out of perill, but the kingdome remained to Venutius: against whom the Romans were

Venutius keepeth the kingdome in despite of the Romans.

were constreined still to mainteine warre.

About the same time, the legion also which Cesius Nasica led, got the vper hand of those Britains against whom he was sent. For Didius being aged, and by victories past inough renowmed, thought it sufficient for him to make warre by his capteins, so to staie and kéepe off the enimie. Certeine castels and holds in deed he caused to be built and fortified, further within the countrie than had béene afore attempted by anie of his predecessors, and so thereby were the confines of the Romans in this Ile somewhat inlarged. Thus haue ye heard with what successe the Britains mainteined warre in defense of their libertie against the Romans, whilest Claudius ruled the empire (according to the report of the Romane writers.)

The error of Hector Boetius.

¶ But here you must note, that Hector Boetius, following the authoritie of one Veremond a Spaniard, of Cornelius Hibernicus, & also of Campbell, remoueth the Silures, Brigants, and Nouants, so farre northward, that he maketh them inhabitants of those countries which the Scots haue now in possession, and were euen then inhabited (as he affirmeth) partlie by the Scots, and partlie by the Picts (as in the Scotish historie ye may sée more at large) so that what notable feat soeuer was atchiued by the old Britains against the Romans, the same by him is ascribed to the Scots and Picts throughout his whole historie, whereas (in verie truth) forsomuch as may be gathered by coniecture and presumption of that which is left in writing by ancient authors, the Brigants inhabited Yorkshire, the Silures Wales and the Marches, and the Nouants the countrie of Cumberland.

A note to be considered in the reading of Hect. Boetius

But forsomuch as he hath diligentlie gathered in what maner the warres were mainteined by those people against the Romans, and what valiant exploits were taken in hand and finished thorough their stoutnesse and valiancie, ye may there read the same, and iudge at your pleasure what people they were whome he so much praiseth: aduertising you hereof by the way, that as we haue before expressed, none of the Romane writers mentioneth any thing of the Scots, nor once nameth them, till the Romane empire began to decay, about the time of the emperor Constantius, father of Constantine the great: so that if they had béene in this Ile then so famous both in peace and warre, as they are reported by the same Boetius; marueil might it séeme, that the Romane writers would so passe them ouer with silence.

Cor. Tac. lib. annal. 15.

After the death of Claudius the emperor of Rome, Claudius Domitianus Nero succéeded him in gouernement of the empire. In the seuenth yéere of whose reigne, which was after the incarnation 53, the Romans receiued a great ouerthrow in Britaine, where neither the lieutenant A. Didius Gallus (whom in this place Cornelius Tacitus calleth Aulus) could during the time of his rule do no more but hold that which was alreadie gotten, beside the building of certeine castels (as before ye haue heard) neither his successor Uerannius, beating and forreieng the woods, could atchiue anie further enterprise, for he was by death preuented, so as he could not proceed forward with his purpose touching the warres which he had ment to haue followed, whose last words (in his testament expressed) detected him of manifest ambition: for adding manie things by way of flatterie to content Neros mind, he wished to haue liued but two yéeres longer, in which space he might haue subdued prouinces vnto his dominion, meaning therby the whole Ile of Britaine. But this was a Romans brag, sauouring rather of ambition than of truth or likelihood.

The gouernment of P. Suetonius in this Iland, he inuadeth Angleséy, and winneth it, a strange kind of women, of the Druides, the Britains lament their miserie and seruitude, and take aduise by weapon to redresse it against the Romans their enimies.

The ninth Chapter.

P. Suetonius lieutenant.

But now when this great losse chanced to the Romans Paulinus Suetonius did gouerne here as lieutenant, a man most plentifullie furnished with all gifts of fortune and vertue, and therewith a right skilfull warrior. This Suetonius therefore wishing to tame such of the Britains as kept out, prepared to assaile the Ile of Angleséy, a countrie full of inhabitants, and a place of refuge for all outlawes and rebels. He builded certeine brigantins with flat kéeles to serue for the ebbes and shallow shelues here and there, lieng vncerteinlie in the straits which he had to passe. The footmen ferried ouer in those vessels, the horssemen following by the fords, and swimming when they came into the deepe, got likewise to the shore, where stood in order of battell an huge number of armed men close togither, redie to beat backe the Romans, and to staie them from comming to land. Amongst the men, a number of women were also running vp and downe as they had béene out of their wits, in garments like to wild roges, with their haire hanging downe about their shoulders, and bearing firebrands in their hands. There was also a companie of their priests or philosophers called Druides, who with stretched forth hands towards heauen, thundered out curssings against the Romans in most bitter wise.

Angleséy inuaded.

A strange maner of women.

The Druids.

The souldiers were so amazed with the strangenesse of this sight, that (as men benummed of their lims and senses) they suffred themselues to be wounded and slaine like senseless creatures, till by the calling vpon of their generall, and eche one incouraging other in no wise to feare a sort of mad & distract women, they prealled forward vnder their ensignes, bearing downe such as stood in their way, and with their owne fire smoldered and burnt them to ashes.

To conclude, the Romane lieutenant got possession of the whole Ile, wherein he placed garisons of men of warre to kéepe the people there in subiection. He also caused their woods to be cut downe, that were consecrated to their gods, within the which they were accustomed to sacrifice such as they tooke prisoners, and by the view of their intrailes, in dismembring them, to learne of their gods some oracles and such other things as should come to passe.

Angleséy won by the Romans.

Woods cut downe.

But now in the meane time, whilest Paulinus was abroad about this enterprise, the Britains began to conferre togither of their great and importable miseries, of their grieuous state of seruitude, of their iniuries and wrongs, which they dailie susteined: how that by sufferance they profited nothing, but still were oppressed with more heauie burthens. Eche countrie in times past had onelie one king to rule them: now had they two, the lieutenent by his capteins and souldiers spilling their bloud, and the procurator or receiuer (as we may call him) bereauing them of their goods and substance. The concord or discord betwixt those that were appointed to rule ouer them, was all alike hurtfull vnto the subiects, the lieutenant oppressing them by his capteins and men of warre, and the procurator or receiuer by force

Lieutenant & procurator.

and reprochfull demeanours, polling them by insufferable exactions.

There was nothing free from the couetous extortion and filthie concupiscence of these vnsatiable persons, for in these daies (say they) the greatest spoiler is the valiantest man, and most commonlie our houses are robbed and ransacked by a sort of cowardlie raskals that haue no knowledge of anie warlike feats at all. Our children are taken from vs, we are forced to go to the musters, and are set forth to serue in forren parties, as those that are ignorant which way to spend our liues in the quarell of our owne countrie. What a number of souldiers haue bene transported ouer from hence to serue in other lands, if a iust account were taken thereof? The Germans by manhod haue cast (said they) from their shoulders the heauie yoke of bondage, and are not defended as we are with the maine Ocean sea, but onelie with a riuer. Where the Britains haue their countrie, their wiues and parents, as iust causes of war to fight for: the Romans haue none at all, but a couetous desire to gaine by rapine, and to satisfie their excessiue lusts.

They might easilie be compelled to depart the countrie, as Julius Cesar was, if the Britains would shew some proofe of the noble prowesse that was euidentlie found in their worthie ancestors, and not shrinke or quaile in courage for the misaduenture that should happilie chance by fighting one battell or two. Greatest force and constancie alwaies remaineth with those that seek to deliuer themselues from miserie. Now appeared it that the gods had taken some pitie of the poore Britains, who by their diuine power did withhold the chiefe capteine of the Romans with his armie, as it were banished in an other Iland. Let vs then (said they) take the opportunitie of time and good occasion offered, and forthwith proceed in our businesse: for lesse danger it is manfullie to aduenture, and to go forward with our purpose, than to be bewraied and taken in these our consultations. Thus hauing taken aduise togither, and wholie misliking their present state, they determined to take weapon in hand, and so by force to seeke for reformation.

Occasion not to be neglected.

Dion Cassius

Dion Cassius

Usurie.

A catalog of causes or greeuances inciting the Britains to rebell against the Romans, wherein is shewed what iniuries they susteined: of diuers strange wonders and apparitions; the chiefe cause of the Britains insurging against the Romans, they admitted as well women as men to publike gouernement. A description of queene Voadicia, hir personage and maner of attire.

The tenth Chapter.

Cor. Tac. lib. 14

THe Britains indeed were occasioned to do as they purposed, thorough manie euill parts practised by the Romans greatlie to their griefs and displeasures. For whereas Prasutagus (who is supposed by Hector Boetius to be Aruiragus, king of the people called Iceni) had made the emperour and two of his owne daughters his heires, supposing by that meane to haue his kingdome and familie preserued from all iniurie: it happened quite contrarie to that his expectation. For his kingdome was spoiled by the Romane capteins, his wife named Voadicia beaten by the souldiers, his daughters rauished, the peeres of the realme bereft of their goods, and the kings friends made and reputed as bondslaues.

Prasutagus.

The Oxfordshire and Glocestershire men.

Voadicia *alias* Bunduica.

There was also another great cause that stirred the Britains to this rebellion, which was the confiscating of their goods: for whereas Claudius himselfe had pardoned the chiefest persons of the forfeitures, Dectanus Catus the procurator of that Ile maintained that the same ought to be renewed againe. To this an other griefe was added, that where Seneca had lent to the nobilitie of the Ile, foure hundred sestercies, each hundred being 500000 pounds starling, or thereabout, vpon great interest, he required the whole summe togither by great rigor and violence, although he forced them at the first to take this monie to vsurie.

Also such old souldiers as were placed by waie of a colonie, to inhabit the towne of Camelodunum, expelled manie of the Britains out of their houses, droue them out of their possessions and lands, and accounted the Britains as slaues, and as though they had bene captiue prisoners or bondmen. Besides this, the temple there that was built in honor of Claudius, as an altar of eternall rule and gouernment, was serued with preests, the which vnder colour of religion did spoile, consume and deuoure the goods of all men.

Moreouer, such strange sights and wonders as chanced about the same time, pricked the Britains the rather forward. For the image of the goddesse Victoria in the temple at Camelodunum, slipping downe, turned hir backe (as who should saie she gaue place as vanquished) to the enimies. Also in the hall where the courts of iustice were kept, there was a maruellous great noise heard, with much laughing, and a sturre in the theatre, with great weeping and lamentable howling, at such time as it was certeinlie knowne that there was no creature there to make anie noise. The sea at a spring tide appeared of a bloudie colour, and when the tide was gone backe, there were seene on the sands the shapes & figures of mens bodies. Women also as rauished of their wits, and being as it were in a furie, prophesied that destruction was at hand, so that the Britains were put greatlie in hope, and the Romans in feare.

Dion Cassius.

Strange wonders.

Dion Cassius.

But those things, whether they chanced by the craft of man, or illusion of the diuell; or whether they proceeded of some naturall cause, which the common people oftentimes taketh superstitiouslie, in place of strange wonders signifieng things to follow, we would let passe, least we might be thought to offend religion; the which teaching all things to be done by the prouidence of God, despiseth the vaine predictions of haps to come, if the order of an historie (saith Polydor Virgil) would so permit, the which requireth all things to be written in maner as they fall out and come to passe.

Polydor.

But the Britains were chiefelie moued to rebellion by the iust complaint of Voadicia, declaring how vnseemelie she had beene vsed and intreated at the hands of the Romans: and because she was most earnestlie bent to seeke reuenge of their iniuries, and hated the name of the Romans most of all other, they chose hir to be capteine (for they in rule and gouernement made no difference then of sex, whether they committed the same to man or woman) and so by a generall conspiracie, the more part of the people hauing also allured the Esser men vnto rebellion, rose and assembled themselues togither to make warre against the Romans. There were of them a hundred and twentie thousand got togither in one armie vnder the leading of the said Voadicia, or Bunduica (as some name hir.)

Cor. Tac. li. 15. Voadicia by Dion Cassius is called Bunnica.

The ancient Britains admitted as well women as men to publike gouernment.

She therefore to encourage hir people against the enimies,

enimies, mounted vp into an high place raiſed vp of turfes & ſods made for the nonce, out of the which ſhe made a long & verie pithie oration. Hir mightie tall perſonage, comelie ſhape, ſeuere countenance, and ſharpe voice, with hir long and yellow treſſes of heare reaching downe to hir thighes, hir braue and gorgeous apparell alſo cauſed the people to haue hir in great reuerence. She ware a chaine of gold, great and verie maſſie, and was clad in a loſe kirtle of ſundrie colours, and aloft therevpon ſhe had a thicke Iriſh mantell: hereto in hir hand (as hir cuſtome was) ſhe bare a ſpeare, to ſhew hirſelfe the more dreadfull.

The oration of queene Voadicia full of *prudence and ſpirit to the Britains*, for their encouragement againſt the Romans, *wherein ſhe rippeth vp the vile ſeruitude and* ſhamefull wrongs which their enimies inflicted *vpon them, with other matters verie motiue,* both concerning themſelues and their enimies, hir ſupplication and praier for victorie.

The eleuenth Chapter.

NOw Voadicia being prepared (as you heare) ſet forth with ſuch maieſtie, that ſhe greatlie incouraged the Britains; vnto whome for their better animating and emboldening, ſhe vttered this gallant oration in manner and forme following.

The oration of Voadicia.

I do ſuppoſe (my louers and friends) that there is no man here but doth well vnderſtand how much libertie and freedome is to be preferred before thraldome and bondage. But if there haue bene anie of you ſo deceiued with the Romane perſuaſions, that ye did not for a time ſee a difference betweene them, and iudged whether of both is moſt to be deſired: now I hope that hauing tried what it is to be vnder both, ye will with me reforme your iudgement, and by the harmes alreadie taken, acknowledge your ouerſight, and forſake your former error. Againe, in that a number of you haue raſhlie preferred an eternall ſouereigntie before the cuſtomes and lawes of your owne countrie, you do at this time (I doubt not) perfectlie vnderſtand how much free pouertie is to be preferred before great riches, wherevnto ſeruitude is annexed; and much wealth in reſpect of captiuitie vnder forren magiſtrats, wherevpon ſlauerie attendeth. For what thing (I beſeech you) can there be ſo vile & grieuous vnto the nature of man, that hath not happened vnto vs, ſithens the time that the Romans haue bene acquainted with this Iland?

Are we not all in manner bereaued of our riches & poſſeſſions? Do not we (beſide other things that we giue, and the land that we till for their onelie profit) paie them all kinds of tributs, yea for our owne carcaſes? How much better is it to be once aloft and fortunate in deed, than vnder the forged and falſe title of libertie, continuallie to paie for our redemption a freedome? How much is it more commendable to loſe our liues in defenſe of our countrie, than to carie about not ſo much as our heads toll free, but dailie oppreſſed & laden with innumerable exactions? But to what end do I remember and ſpeake of theſe things, ſince they will not ſuffer by death to become free? For what and how much we paie for them that are dead, there is not one here but he doth well vnderſtand. Among other nations ſuch as are brought into ſeruitude, are alwaies by death diſcharged of their bondage: onelie to the Romans the dead do ſtill liue, and all to increaſe their commoditie and gaine.

If anie of vs be without monie (as I know not well how and which way we ſhould come by anie) then are we left naked, & ſpoiled of that which remaineth in our houſes, & we our ſelues as men left deſolate & dead. How ſhall we looke for better dealing at their hands hereafter, that in the beginning deale ſo vncourteouſlie with vs: ſince there is no man that taketh ſo much as a wild beaſt, but at the firſt he will cheriſh it, and with ſome gentleneſſe win it to familiaritie? But we our ſelues (to ſaie the trueth) are authors of our owne miſchiefe, which ſuffered them at the firſt to ſet foot within our Iland, and did not by and by driue them backe as we did Ceſar, or ſlue them with our ſwords when they were yet farre off, and that the aduenturing hither was dangerous: as we did ſometime to Auguſtus and Caligula.

We therefore that inhabit this Iland, which for the quantitie thereof maie well be called a maine, although it be inuironed about with the Ocean ſea, diuiding vs from other nations, ſo that we ſeeme to liue vpon an other earth, & vnder a ſeuerall heauen: we, euen we (I ſaie) whoſe name hath beene long kept hid from the wiſeſt of them all, are now contemned and troden vnder foot, of them who ſtudie nothings elſe but how to become lords & haue rule of other men. Wherefore my welbeloued citizens, friendes, and kinſfolkes (for I thinke we are all of kin, ſince we were borne and dwell in this Ile, and haue one name common to vs all) let vs now, euen now (I ſaie, becauſe we haue not done it heretofore, and whileſt the remembrance of our ancient libertie remaineth) ſticke togither, and performe that thing which doth perteine to valiant and hardie courages, to the end we maie inioie, not onelie the name of libertie, but alſo freedome it ſelfe, and thereby leaue our force and valiant acts for an example to our poſteritie: for if we which haue beene liberallie and in honeſt maner brought vp, ſhould vtterlie forget our priſtinate felicitie: what may we hope for in thoſe that ſhall ſucéd vs, and are like to be brought vp in miſerie and thraldome?

I do not make rehearſall of theſe things vnto you, to the end I would prouoke you to miſlike of this preſent eſtate of things (for well I know you abhorre it ſufficientlie alreadie) neither to put you in feare of thoſe things that are likelie to fall hereafter (becauſe you do feare and ſée them verie well before hand) but to the end I maie giue you heartie thankes and worthie commendations, for that of your owne accord and meanes you determine ſo well to prouide for things neceſſarie (thereby to helpe both me and your ſelues with willing minds) as men that are nothing in doubt of all the Romane puiſſance.

If you conſider the number of your enimies, it is not greater than yours: if you regard their ſtrength, they are no ſtronger than you: and all this doth eaſilie appéere by the baſſinets, habergeons, & greiues wherewith you be armed; and alſo by the walls, ditches and trenches that you haue made for your own defenſe, to kéepe off their excurſions, who had rather fight with vs a farre off, than cope & deale with vs at hand ſtrokes, as our cuſtome of the warres and martiall diſcipline doth require. Wherefore we do ſo farre exceed them in force, that in mine opinion, our armie is more ſtrong than ſtone walls, and one of our targets worth all the armour that they do beare vpon them: by meanes whereof, if the victorie be ours, we ſhall ſone make them captiues: or if we loſe the field, we ſhall eaſilie eſcape the danger.

Further-

"Furthermore, if after the flight we shall indeuour
"to méet anie where, we haue the marishes héere be-
"neath to hide vs in, and the hils round about to kéepe
"them off, so that by no meanes they shall haue their
"purpose of vs, whereas they being ouercharged with
"heauie armour, shall neither be able to follow, if we
"flée; nor escape out of our danger, if they be put to
"flight: if they happen to breake out at anie time as
"desirous to make a rode, they returne by and by to
"their appointed places, where we mate take them as
"birds alreadie in cage. In all which things, as they
"are farre inferior to vs, so most of all in this, that they
"can not indure hunger, thirst, cold, heat, and sunne-
"shine, as we can do.

"In their houses also and tents, they make much ac-
"count of their baked meates, wine, oile, and abroad
"of the shadow, that if anie of these do faile them,
"they either die forthwith, or else in time they lan-
"guish and consume: whereas to vs euerie hearbe and
"rot is meat, euerie iuice an oile, all water plea-
"sant wine, and euerie trée an house. Beside this, there
"is no place of the land vnknowne to vs, neither yet
"vnfriendlie to succour vs at néed; whereas to the
"Romans they are for the most part vnknowne and
"altogither dangerous, if they should stand in néed:
"we can with ease swim ouer euerie riuer both naked
"and clad, which they with their great ships are scarse
"able to performe. Wherefore with hope and good
"lucke let vs set vpon them couragiouslie, and teach
"them to vnderstand, that since they are no better
"than hares and foxes, they attempt a wrong match,
"when they indeuour to subdue the greehounds and
"the woolues. With which words the quéene let an
"hare go out of hir lap, as it were thereby to giue pro-
"gnostication of hir successe, which comming well to
"passe, all the companie shouted, and cried out vpon
"such as not long before had done such violence to so
"noble a personage. Presentlie vpon this action, Vo-
"adicia calling them togither againe, procéeded for-
"ward with hir praier, which she made before them
all, holding vp hir hands after this manner:

"I giue thée thanks O Adraste, and call vpon thée
"thou woman of women, which reignest not ouer the
"burthen-bearing Aegyptians, as Nitocris; neither
"ouer their merchants, as doth Semiramis, for these
"trifles we haue learned latelie of the Romans: nei-
"ther euer the people of Rome, as a litle héeretofore
"Messalina, then Agrippina, and now Nero, who is
"called by the name of a man, but is in déed a verie
"woman, as doth appéere by his voice, his harpe, and
"his womans attire: but I call vpon thee as a god-
"desse which gouernest the Britains, that haue lear-
"ned not to till the field, nor to be handicrafts men,
"but to lead their liues in the warres after the best
"manner: who also as they haue all other things, so
"haue they likewise their wiues and children com-
"mon, whereby the women haue the like audacitie
"with the men, and no lesse boldnesse in the warres
"than they.

"Therefore sithens I haue obteined a kingdome a-
"mong such a mightie people, I beséech thée to grant
"them victorie, health, and libertie, against these con-
"tentious, wicked, and vnsatiable men (if they mate
"be called men, which vse warme bathings, delicate
"fare, hot wines, swéet oiles, soft beds, fine musicke,
"and so vnkindlie lusts) who are altogither giuen to
"couetousnesse and crueltie, as their doings do de-
"clare. Let not I beséech thée, the Neronian or Domi-
"tian tyrannie anie more preuaile vpon me, or (to
"saie truth) vpon thée, but let them rather serue thée,
"whose heauie oppression thou hast borne withall a
"long season, and that thou wilt still be our helper on-
"lie, our defender, our fauourer, and our furtherer, O
"noble ladie, I hartilie beséech thee.

Queene Voadicia marcheth against the *Romans, to whom she giueth a shamefull* and bloudie ouerthrow without anie *motion of mercie, dredfull examples* of the Britains crueltie indifferentlie *executed without exception* of age or sex.

The twelfe Chapter.

WHen Voadicia had made an end of hir praier, she set forward against hir enimies, who at that time were destitute in déed of their lieutenant Paulinus Suetonius, being as then in Anglesey (as before ye haue heard.) Wherefore the Romans that were in Camelodunum sent for aid vnto Catus Decianus the procurator, that is, the emperours agent, treasurer, or receiuer, for in that citie (although it were inhabited by Romans) there was no great garrison of able men. Whereupon the procurator sent them such aid as he thought he might well spare, which was not past two hundred men, and those not sufficientlie furnished either with weapon or armour. Corn. Tacit. Catus Decianus procurator.

The citie was not compassed with anie rampire or ditch for defense, such as happilie were priuie to the conspiracie, hauing put into the heads of the Romans that no fortification néeded: neither were the aged men nor women sent awaie, whereby the yong able personages might without trouble of them the better attend to the defense of the citie: but euen as they had béene in all suertie of peace, and frée from suspicion of anie warre, they were suddenlie beset with the huge armie of the Britains, and so all went to spoile and fire that could be found without the inclosure of the temple, into the which the Romane souldiers (striken with sudden feare by this sudden comming of the enimies) had thronged themselues. Where being assieged by the Britains, within the space of two daies the place was wonne, and they that were found within it, slaine euerie mothers sonne.

After this, the Britains incouraged with this victorie, went to méet with Petus Cerealis lieutenant of the legion, surnamed the ninth, and boldlie incountering with the same legion, gaue the Romans the ouerthrow, and slue all the footmen, so that Cerealis with much adoo escaped with his horsemen, and got him backe to the campe, and saued himselfe within the trenches. Catus the procurator being put in feare with this ouerthrow, and perceiuing what hatred the Britains bare towards him, hauing with his couetousnesse thus brought the warre vpon the head of the Romans, got him ouer into Gallia.

But Suetonius aduertised of these doings, came backe out of Anglesey, and with marueilous constancie marched through the middest of his enimies to London, being as then not greatlie peopled with Romans, though there was a colonie of them, but full of merchants, and well prouided of vittels: he was in great doubt at his comming thither, whether he might best staie there as in a place most conuenient, or rather séeke some other more easie to be defended. At length considering the small number of his men of warre, and remembring how Cerealis had sped by his too much rashnesse, he thought better with the losing of one towne to saue the whole, than to put all in danger of irrecouerable losse. And therewith nothing moued at the praier & teares of them which besought him of aid and succour, he departed,

and

and thoſe that would go with him he receiued into his armie, thoſe that taried behind were oppreſſed by the enimies: and the like deſtruction happened to them of Verolamium, a towne in thoſe daies of great fame, ſituat nére to the place where the towne of Saint Albons now ſtandeth.

The Britains leauing the caſtels and fortreſſes vnaſſaulted, followed their gaine in ſpoiling of thoſe places which were eaſie to get, and where great plentie of riches was to be found, vſing their victorie with ſuch crueltie, that they ſlue (as the report went) to the number of 70 thouſand Romans, and ſuch as toke their part in the ſaid places by the Britains thus won and conquered. For there was nothing with the Britains but ſlaughter, fire, gallowes, and ſuch like, ſo earneſtlie were they ſet on reuenge. They ſpared neither age nor ſex: women of great nobilitie and worthie fame they toke and hanged vp naked, and cutting off their paps, ſowed them to their mouthes, that they might ſéeme as if they ſucked and fed on them, and ſome of their bodies they ſtretched out in length, and thruſt them on ſharpe ſtakes. All theſe things they did in great deſpite whileſt they ſacrificed in their temples, and made feaſts, namelie in the wood conſecrated to the honour of Andates, for ſo they called the goddeſſe of victorie whom they worſhipped moſt reuerentlie.

80000. ſaith Dion.

P. Suetonius the Romane with a freſh *power aſſalteth the Britains, whoſe armie* conſiſted as well of women as men: queene *Voadicia incourageth hir ſouldiers, ſo dooth Sue*tonius his warriors, both armies haue a ſharpe con*flict, the Britains are diſcomfited and miſerablie ſlaine, the* queene dieth, Penius Poſthumus killeth himſelfe, the Britains are perſecuted with fire, ſword, and famine, the grudge betweene Caſſicianus and Suetonius, whome Polycletus is ſent to reconcile, of his traine, and how the Britains repined at him.

The xiij. Chapter.

IN this meane time there came ouer to the aid of Suetonius, the legion ſurnamed the 14, and other bands of ſouldiers and men of warre, to the number of ten thouſand in the whole, whereupon (chieflie bicauſe vittels began to faile him) he prepared to giue battell to his enimies, and choſe out a plot of ground verie ſtrong within ſtraits, and backed with a wood, ſo that the enimies could not aſſault his campe but on the front: yet by reaſon of their great multitude and hope of victorie conceiued by their late proſperous ſucceſſe, the Britains vnder the conduct of quéene Voadicia aduentured to giue battell, hauing their women there to be witneſſes of the victorie, whome they placed in charrets at the vttermoſt ſide of their field.

The Britains were at that time 230000. men, (as Dion writeth.)

Voadicia, or Boudicia (for ſo we find hir written by ſome copies, and Bonuica alſo by Dion) hauing hir daughters afore hir, being mounted into a charret, as ſhe paſſed by the ſouldiers of ech ſundrie countrie, told them it was a thing accuſtomed among the Britains to go to the warres vnder the leading of women; but ſhe was not now come forth as one borne of ſuch noble anceſtors as ſhe was deſcended from, to fight for hir kingdome and riches; but as one of the meaner ſort, rather to defend hir loſt libertie, and to reuenge hir ſelfe of the enimie, for their crueltie ſhewed in ſcourging hir like a vagabond, and ſhamefull deflouring of hir daughters: for the licentious luſt of the Romans was ſo farre ſpred and increaſed, that they ſpared neither the bodies of old nor yong, but were readie moſt ſhamefullie to abuſe them, hauing whipped hir naked being an aged woman, and forced hir daughters to ſatiſfie their filthie concupiſcence: but (ſaith ſhe) the gods are at hand readie to take iuſt reuenge.

Corn. Tacit. li. 15. Dion Caſſius.

The legion that preſumed to incounter with vs is ſlaine and beaten downe. The reſidue kéepe them cloſe within their holds, or elſe ſéeke waies how to flée out of the countrie: they ſhall not be once able ſo much as to abide the noiſe and clamor of ſo manie thouſands as we are héere aſſembled, much leſſe the force of our great puiſſance and dreadfull hands. If ye therefore (ſaid ſhe) would wey and conſider with your ſelues your huge numbers of men of warre, and the cauſes why ye haue moued this warre, ye would ſurelie determine either in this battell to die with honour, or elſe to vanquiſh the enimie by plaine force, for ſo (quoth ſhe) I being a woman am fullie reſolued, as for you men ye maie (if ye liſt) liue and be brought into bondage.

Neither did Suetonius ceaſſe to exhort his people: for though he truſted in their manhood, yet as he had diuided his armie into three battels, ſo did he make vnto ech of them a ſeuerall oration, willing them not to feare the ſhrill and vaine menacing threats of the Britains, ſith there was among them more women than men, they hauing no ſkill in warrelike diſcipline, and hereto being naked without furniture of armour, would forthwith giue place when they ſhould féele the ſharpe points of the Romans weapons, and the force of them by whom they had ſo often béene put to flight. In manie legions (ſaith he) the number is ſmall of them that win the battell. Their glorie therefore ſhould be the more, for that they being a ſmall number ſhould win the fame due to the whole armie, if they would (thronging together) beſtow their weapons frélie, and with their ſwords and targets preaſſe forward vpon their enimies, continuing the ſlaughter without regard to the ſpoile, they might aſſure themſelues when the victorie was once atchiued to haue all at their pleaſures.

Such forwardneſſe in the ſouldiers followed vpon this exhortation of the couragious generall, that euerie one prepared himſelfe ſo readilie to do his dutie, and that with ſuch a ſhew of ſkill and experience, that Suetonius hauing conceiued an aſſured hope of good lucke to follow, cauſed the trumpets to ſound to the battell. The onſet was giuen in the ſtraits, greatlie to the aduantage of the Romans, being but a handfull in compariſon to their enimies. The fight in the beginning was verie ſharpe and cruell, but in the end the Britains being a let one to another (by reaſon of the narrowneſſe of the place) were not able to ſuſteine the violent force of the Romans their enimies, ſo that they were conſtreind to giue backe, and ſo being diſordered were put to flight, and vtterlie diſcomfited.

80000. Britains ſlaine.

There were ſlaine of the Britains that day fewleſſe than 80000 thouſand, as Tacitus writeth. For the ſtraits being ſtopped with the charrets, ſtaied the flight of the Britains, ſo as they could not eaſilie eſcape: and the Romans were ſo ſet on reuenge, that they ſpared neither man nor woman, ſo that manie were ſlaine in the battell, manie amongſt the charrets, and a great number at the woods ſide, which way they made their flight, and manie were taken priſoners. Thoſe that eſcaped, would haue fought a new battell, but in the meane time Voadicia, or Bonuica deceaſſed of a naturall infirmitie, as Dion Caſſius writeth, but other ſay that ſhe poiſoned hir ſelfe, and ſo died, becauſe ſhe would not

not come into the hands of hir bloodthirstie enimies. There died of the Romans part in this most notable battell 400, and about the like number were grieuouslie hurt and most pitifullie wounded.

Penius Posthumus mainteineth himselfe.

Penius Posthumus maister of the campe of the second legion, vnderstanding the prosperous successe of the other Romane capteins, because he had defrauded his legion of the like glorie, and had refused to obeie the commandements of the generall, contrarie to the vse of warre, slue himselfe.

After this all the Romane armie was brought into the field to make an end of the residue of the warre. And the emperour caused a supplie to be sent out of Germanie being 2000 legionarie souldiers, and 8 bands of aids, with 1000 horssemen, by whose comming the bands of the ninth legion were supplied with legionarie souldiers, and those bands and wings of horssemen were appointed to places where they might winter; and such people of the Britains as were either enimies, or else stood in doubt whether to be friends or enimies in deed, were persecuted with fire and sword.

But nothing more afflicted them than famine, for whilest euerie man gaue himselfe to the warre, and purposed to haue liued vpon the prouision of the Romans and other their enimies, they applied not themselues to tillage, nor to anie husbanding of the ground, and long it was yer they (being a fierce kind of people) fell to embrace peace, by reason that

Julius Classicianus procurator.

Julius Classicianus, who was sent into Britaine as successor to Catus, fell at square with Suetonius, and by his priuat grudge hindered the prosperous successe of publike affaires. He sticked not to write to Rome, that except an other were sent to succeed in the rome that Suetonius did beare, there would be no end of the warres. Herevpon one Polycletus, which sometime had béene a bondman, was sent into Britaine, as a commissioner, to surueie the state of the countrie, to reconcile the legat and procurator, & also to pacifie all troubles within the Ile.

The port which Polycletus bare was great, for he was furnished with no small traine that attended vpon him, so that his presence seemed verie dreadfull to the Romans. But the Britains that were not yet pacified, thought great scorne to see such honorable capteins and men of warre as the Romans were to, submit themselues to the order of such a one as had béene a bondslaue.

In what state the Iland stood whiles Aruiragus reigned; the dissolute and loose gouernement of Petronius Turpilianus, Trebellius Maximus, and Victius Volanus, three lieutenants in Britaine for the Romane emperours, of Iulius Frontinus who vanquished the Silures.

The xiiij. Chapter.

Petronius Turpilianus lieutenant.

IN place of Suetonius, was Petronius Turpilianus (who had latelie béene consull) appointed to haue the gouernance of the armie in Britaine, the which neither troubling the enimie, nor being of the enimie in anie wise troubled or prouoked, did colour slouthfull rest with the honest name of peace and quietnesse, and so sat still without exploiting anie notable enterprise.

Trebellius Maximus lieutenant.

After Turpilianus, Trebellius Maximus was made lieutenant of Britaine, who likewise with courteous demeanour sought to keepe the Britains in rest rather than by force to compell them. And now began the people of the Ile to beare with pleasant faults and flattering vices, so that the ciuill warres that chanced in those daies after the death of the emperour Nero at home, might easilie excuse the slouthfulnesse of the Romane lieutenants.

Moreouer, there rose dissention amongest their men of warre, which being vsed to lie abroad in the field, could not agree with the idle life; so that Trebellius Maximus was glad to hide himselfe from the sight of the souldiers being in an vprore against him, till at length humbling himselfe vnto them further than became his estate, he gouerned by waie of intreatie, or rather at their courtesie. And so was the commotion staied without bloudshed, the armie as it were hauing by couenant obteined to liue licentiouslie, and the capteine suertie to liue without danger to be murthered.

Victius Volanus lieutenãt.

NEither Victius Volanus that succeeded Maximus whilest the time of the ciuill warres as yet endured, did trouble the Britains, vsing the same slacknesse and slouth that the other lieutenants had vsed before him, and permitted the like licence to the presumptuous souldiers: but yet was Volanus innocent as touching himselfe, and not hated for anie notable crime or vice: so that he purchased fauour, although authoritie wanted.

But after that the emperour Vespasianus had subdued his aduersaries, and atteined the imperiall gouernment, as well ouer Britaine as ouer other parts of the world, there were sent hither right noble capteins, with diuers notable bands of souldiers, and Petilius Cerialis being appointed lieutenant, put the Britains in great feare, by inuading the Brigants the mightiest nation of all the whole Iland: and fighting manie battels, and some right bloudie with those people, he subdued a great part of the countrie at the last. Cor. Tacitus.

Iulius Frontinus lieutenãt

After him succeeded as lieutenant of Britaine, one Julius Frontinus, who banquished and brought to the Romane subiection by force of armes the people called Silures, striuing not onelie against the stout resistance of the men, but also with the hardnesse & combersome troubles of the places.

¶ Thus may you perceiue in what state this Ile stood in the time that Aruiragus reigned in the same, as is supposed by the best histories of the old Britains: so that it may be thought that he gouerned rather a part of this land, than the whole, and bare the name of a king, the Romans not hauing so reduced the countrie into the forme of a prouince, but that the Britains bare rule in diuerse parts thereof, and that by the permission of the Romans, which neuertheless had their lieutenants and procuratours here, that bare the greatest rule vnder the aforesaid emperours.

The state of this Iland vnder Marius the sonne of Aruiragus, the comming in of the Picts with Roderike their king, his death in the field, the Picts and Scots enter into mutuall aliance, the monument of Marius, his victorie ouer the Picts, his death and interrement.

The xv. Chapter.

Marius.

AFter the decease of Aruiragus, his sonne Marius succeeded him in the estate, and began his reigne in the yeare of our Lord 73. In the old English chronicle he is fondlie called Westmer, & was a verie wise man, gouerning the Britains

Hector Boetius saith that this Marius was a Romane.

Britains in great prosperitie, honour and wealth.

In the time of this mans reigne, the people called Picts inuaded this land, who are iudged to be descended of the nation of the Scithians, neare kinsmen to the Goths, both by countrie and maners, a cruell kind of men and much giuen to the warres. This people with their ringleader Roderike, or (as some name him) Londorike, entering the Ocean sea after the maner of rouers, arriued on the coasts of Ireland, where they required of the Scots new seats to inhabit in: for the Scots which (as some thinke) were also descended of the Scithians, did as then inhabit in Ireland: but doubting that it should not be for their profit to receiue so warlike a nation into that Ile, feining as it were a friendship, and excusing the matter by the narrownesse of the countrie, declared to the Picts, that the Ile of Britaine was not farre from thence, being a large countrie and a plentifull, and not greatly inhabited: wherefore they counselled them to go thither, promising vnto them all the aid that might be.

Of these you may reade more in pag. 9.

Matth. West.

The Picts more desirous of spoile than of rule or gouernment, without delaie returned to the sea, and sailed towards Britaine, where being arriued, they first inuaded the north parts thereof, and finding there but few inhabiters, they began to waste and forrey the countrie: whereof when king Marius was aduertised, with all speed he assembled his people, and made towards his enimies, and giuing them battell, obteined the victorie, so that Roderike was there slaine in the field, and his people vanquished.

Roderike king of Picts slaine.

Vnto those that escaped with life, Marius granted licence that they might inhabit in the north part of Scotland called Catnesse, being as then a countrie in maner desolate without habitation: whereupon they withdrew thither, and setled themselues in those parties. And because the Britains disdained to grant vnto them their daughters in mariage, they sent vnto the Scots into Ireland, requiring to haue wiues of their nation. The Scots agreed to their request, with this condition, that where there wanted lawfull issue of the kings linage to succeed in the kingdome of the Picts, then should they name one of the womans side to be their king: which ordinance was receiued and obserued euer after amongst the Picts, so long as their kingdome endured.

Thus the Picts next after the Romans were the first of anie strangers that came into this land to inhabit as most writers affirme, although the Scotish chronicles auouch the Picts to be inhabiters here before the incarnation of our sauiour. But the victorie which Marius obteined against their king Roderike, chanced in the yeere after the incarnation 87. In remembrance of which victorie, Marius caused a stone to be erected in the same place where the battell was fought, in which stone was grauen these words, Marij victoria. The English chronicle saith that this stone was set vp on Stanesmore, and that the whole countrie thereabout taking name of this Marius, was Westmaria, now called Westmerland.

Polydor. Matth. West.

King Marius hauing thus subdued his enimies, and escaped the danger of their dreadfull inuasion, gaue his mind to the good gouernement of his people, and the aduancement of the common wealth of the realme, continuing the residue of his life in great tranquillitie, and finallie departed this life, after he had reigned (as most writers say) 52, or 53 yeeres. Howbeit there be that write, that he died in the yeere of our Lord 78, and so reigned not past fiue or six yeeres at the most. He was buried at Caerleill, leauing a sonne behind him called Coill.

Matt. West. Thus find we in the British and English stories touching this Marius.

Humfrey Lhoyd seemeth to take this man and his father Aruiragus to be all one person, whether moued thereto by some catalog of kings which he saw, or otherwise, I cannot affirme: but speaking of the time when the Picts and Scots should first come to settle themselues in this land, he hath these words; Neither was there anie writers of name, that made mention either of Scots or Picts before Uespasianus time, about the yeere of the incarnation 72: at what time Peurig or Paw, or Aruiragus reigned in Britaine, in which time our annales do report, that a certeine kind of people liuing by piracie and rouing on the sea, came forth of Sueden, or Norwaie, vnder the guiding of one Rhithercus, who landed in Albania, wasting all the countrie with robbing and spoiling so farre as Caerleill, where he was vanquished in battell, and slaine by Muragus, with a great part of his people; the residue that escaped by flight, fled to their ships, and so conueied themselues into the Iles of Orkney and Scotland, where they abode quietlie a great while after.

Thus farre haue I thought good to shew of the foresaid Lhoyds booke, for that it seemeth to carie a great likelihood of truth with it, for the historie of the Picts, which vndoubtedlie I thinke were not as yet inhabiting in Britaine, but rather first placing themselues in the Iles of Orkney, made inuasion into the maine Ile of Britaine afterwards, as occasion was offred. In the British tong they are called Pightiaid, that is Pightians, and so likewise were they called in the Scotish, and in their owne tong. Now will we shew what chanced in this Ile, during the time of the foresaid Marius his supposed reigne, as is found in the Romane historyes.

Iulius Agricola is deputed by Vespasian to gouerne Britaine, he inuadeth the Ile of Anglesey, the inhabitants yeeld vp themselues, the commendable gouernement of Agricola, his worthie practises to traine the Britains to ciuilitie, his exploits fortunatelie atchiued against diuerse people, as the Irish, &c.

The 16. Chapter.

After Iulius Frontinus, the emperor Uespasian sent Iulius Agricola to succeed in the gouernement of Britaine, who comming ouer about the midst of summer, found the men of warre thorough want of a lieutenant negligent inough, as those that loking for no trouble, thought themselues out of all danger, where the enimies neuertheless watched vpon the next occasion to worke some displeasure, and were readie on ech hand to moue rebellion. For the people called Ordonices, that inhabited in the countrie of Chesshire, Lancashire and part of Shropshire, had latelie before ouerthrowne, and in maner vtterlie destroied a wing of such horsemen as soiourned in their parties, by reason whereof all the prouince was brought almost into an assured hope to recouer libertie.

Iulius Agricola lieutenant

Cor. Tacit. in vit. Agr.

The first yeere of Agricola his gouernement.

Agricola vpon his comming ouer, though summer was now halfe past, and that the souldiers lodging here & there abroad in the countrie, were more disposed to take rest, than to set forward into the field against the enimies, determined yet to resist the present danger: and therewith assembling the men of warre of the Romans, and such other aids as he might make, he inuaded their countrie that had done this foresaid displeasure, and slue the most part of all the inhabitants thereof. Not thus contented (for that he thought good to follow the steps of fauourable

rable fortune, and knowing that as the begining proued, so should the whole sequele of his affaires by likelihood come to passe) he purposed to make a full conquest of the Ile of Anglesey, from the conquest whereof the Romane lieutenant Paulinus was called backe by the rebellion of other of the Britains, as before ye haue heard.

The Ile of Anglesey.

But whereas he wanted ships for the furnishing of his enterprise, his wit and policie found a shift to supplie that defect: for chosing out a piked number of such Britains as he had there with him in aid, which knew the fords and shallow places of the streames there, and withall were verie skilfull in swimming (as the maner of the countrie then was) he appointed them to passe ouer on the sudden into the Ile, onelie with their horsses, armor, and weapon: which enterprise they so spedilie, and with so good successe atchiued, that the inhabitants much amazed with that doing (which looked for a nauie of ships to haue transported ouer their enimies by sea, and therefore watched on the coast) began to thinke that nothing was able to be defended against such kind of warriors that got ouer into the Ile after such sort and maner.

Anglesey yelded to Agricola.

And therefore making sute for peace, they deliuered the Ile into the hands of Agricola, whose fame by these victories dailie much increased, as of one that took pleasure in trauell, and attempting to atchiue dangerous enterprises, in stead whereof his predecessors had delighted, to shew the maiesties of their office by vaine brags, statelie ports, and ambitious pomps. For Agricola turned not the prosperous successe of his procedings into vanitie, but rather with neglecting his fame, increased it to the vttermost, among them that iudged what hope was to be looked for of things by him to be atchiued, which with silence kept secret these his so worthie doings.

Agricola his good gouernment.

Moreouer, perceiuing the nature of the people in this Ile of Britaine, and sufficientlie taught by other mens example, that armor should little auaile where iniuries followed to the disquieting of the people, he thought best to take away and remoue all occasions of warre. And first beginning with himselfe and his souldiers, toke order for a reformation to be had in his owne household, yelding nothing to fauor, but altogither in respect of vertue, accounting them most faithfull which therein most excelled. He sought to know all things, but not to do otherwise than reason moued, pardoning small faults, and sharpelie punishing great and heinous offenses, neither yet deliting alwaies in punishment, but oftentimes in repentance of the offendor. Exactions and tributes he lessened, qualifieng the same by reasonable equitie. And thus in reforming the state of things, he wan him great praise in time of peace, the which either by negligence or sufferance of the former lieutenants, was euer feared, and accounted worse than open warre. This was his practise in the winter time of his first yeere.

His diligence.

But when summer was come, he assembled his armie, and leading forth the same, trained his souldiers in all honest warlike discipline, commending the good, and reforming the bad and vnrulie. He himselfe to giue example, toke vpon him all dangers that came to hand, and suffered not the enimies to liue in rest, but wasted their countries with sudden inuasions. And when he had sufficientlie chastised them, and put them in feare by such manner of dealing, he spared them, that they might againe conceiue some hope of peace. By which meanes manie countries which vnto those daies had kept themselues out of bondage, laid rancor aside, and deliuered pledges, and further were contented to suffer castels to be builded within them, and to be kept with garrisons, so that no part of Britaine was free from the Romane power, but stood still in danger to be brought vnder more and more.

The second yere of Agricola his gouernment.

In the winter following, Agricola toke paines to reduce the Britains from their rude manners and customs, vnto a more ciuill sort and trade of liuing, that changing their naturall fiercenesse and apt disposition to warre, they might through talking pleasures be so inured therewith, that they should desire to liue in rest and quietnesse: and therefore he exhorted them priuilie, and holpe them publikelie to build temples, common halls where plees of law might be kept, and other houses, commending them that were diligent in such doings, and blaming them that were negligent, so that of necessitie they were driuen to striue who should preuent ech other in ciuilitie. He also procured that noble mens sonnes should learne the liberall sciences, and praised the nature of the Britains more than the people of Gallia, bicause they studied to atteine to the knowledge of the Romane eloquence. By which meanes the Britains in short time were brought to the vse of good and commendable manners, and sorted themselues to go in comelie apparell after the Romane fashion, and by little and little fell to accustome themselues to fine fare and delicate pleasures, the readie prouokers of vices, as to walke in galleries, to wash themselues in bathes, to vse banketting, and such like, which amongst the vnskilfull was called humanitie or courtesie, but in verie deed it might be accounted a part of thraldome and seruitude, namelie being to excessiuelie vsed.

The worthy practises of Agricola to traine the Britains to ciuilitie.

The third yere.

In the third yere of Agricola his gouernment in Britaine, he inuaded the north parts thereof (vnknowne till those daies of the Romans) being the same where the Scots now inhabit: for he wasted the countrie vnto the water of Tay, in such wise putting the inhabitants in feare, that they durst not once set vpon his armie, though it were so that the same was verie sore disquieted and vexed by tempest and rage of weather. Whereupon finding no great let or hinderance by the enimies, he builded certeine castels and fortresses, which he placed in such conuenient steeds, that they greatlie annoied his aduersaries, and were so able to be defended, that there was none of those castels which he builded, either won by force out of the Romans hands, or giuen ouer by composition, for feare to be taken: so that the same being furnished with competent numbers of men of warre, were safelie kept from the enimies, the which were dailie vexed by the often issues made forth by the souldiers that laie thus in garrison within them: so that where in times past the said enimies would recouer their losses susteined in summer by the winters aduantage, now they were put to the worse, and kept backe as well in the winter as in the summer.

The water Tay.

The fourth yere of Agricola his gouernment.

In the fourth summer, after that Agricola was appointed vnto the rule of this land, he went about to bring vnder subiection those people, the which before time he had by incursions and forreies sore vexed and disquieted: and thereupon comming to the waters of Clide and Loughleuen, he built certeine fortresses to defend the passages and entries there, driuing the enimies beyond the same waters, as it had beene into a new Iland.

Clota.
Bodotria.

The fift yere.

In the fift summer, Agricola causing his ships to be brought about, and appointing them to arriue on the north coasts of Scotland, he passed with his armie ouer the riuer of Clide; and subdued such people as inhabited those further parts of Scotland, which till those daies had not beene discouered by the Romans. And bicause he thought it should serue well to purpose, for some conquest to be made of Ireland, if that part of Scotland which bordereth on the Irish

seas

seas might be kept in due obedience, he placed garrisons of souldiers in those parties, in hope verelie vpon occasion to passe ouer into Ireland, and for the more easie aduancement of his purpose therein, he interteined with honourable prouision one of the kings of Ireland, which by ciuill discord was expelled and driuen out of his countrie. In déed Agricola perceiued, that with one legion of souldiers, and a small aid of other men of warre, it should be an easie matter to conquet Ireland, and to bring it vnder the dominion of the Romans: which enterprise he iudged verie necessarie to be exploited, for better kéeping of the Britains in obedience, if they should sée the iurisdiction of the Romans euerie where extended, and the libertie of their neighbours suppressed.

An Irish king expelled out of his countrie.

In the first summer of Agricola his gouernment, he proceeded in subduing the furthermost parts of Scotland northwards, causing his naule to kéepe course against him by the coast as he marched forth by land, so that the Britains perceiuing how the secret hauens and créekes of their countries were now discouered, and that all hope of refuge was in maner cut off from them, were in maruellous feare. On the other part the Romans were sore troubled with the rough mountains and craggie rocks, by the which they were constreined to passe beside the dangerous riuers, lakes, woods, streicts, and other combersome waies and passages.

The first yeare of Agricola his gouernment.

The danger also of them that were in the ships by sea was not small, by reason of winds and tempests, and high spring tides, which tossed and turmoiled their vessels verie cruellie: but by the painfull diligence of them that had béene brought vp and inured with continuall trauell and hardnesse, all those discommodities were ouercome to their great reioising, when they met and fell in talke of their passed perils. For oftentimes the armie by land incamped so by the shore, that those which kept the sea came on land to make merrie in the campe, and then eche one would recount to others the aduentures that had happened, as the manner is in semblable cases.

The Britains of Calenderwood assalt the Romans vpon aduantage, bloudie battels fought betwixt them, great numbers slaine on both sides, the villanous dealing of certeine Dutch souldiers against their capteins and fellowes in armes, the miserie that they were driuen vnto by famine to eate one another, a sharpe conflict betweene the Romans and Britains, with the losse of manie a mans life, and effusion of much bloud.

The xvij. Chapter.

Calenderwood.

THe Britains that inhabited in those daies about the parts of Calenderwood, perceiuing in what danger they were to be vtterlie subdued, assembled themselues togither, in purpose to trie the fortune of battell: whereof Agricola being aduertised, marched forth with his armie diuided in three battels, so that the enimies doubting to trie the matter in open field, espied their time in the night, and with all their whole puissance set vpon one of the Romane legions, which they knew to be most feeble and weake, trusting by a camisado to distresse the same: and first sleaing the watch, they entred the campe, where the said legion laie, and finding the souldiers in great disorder, betwixt sléepe and feare, began the fight euen within the campe.

Agricola had knowledge of their purposed intent, and therefore with all spéed hasted forth to come to the succours of his people, sending first his light horsemen, and certeine light armed footmen to assaile the enimies on their backs, and shortlie after approched with his whole puissance, so that the Romane standards beginning to appéere in sight by the light of the daie that then began to spring, the Britains were sore discouraged, and the Romans renewing their force, fiercelie preassed vpon them, so that euen in the entrie of the campe, there was a sore conflict, till at length the Britains were put to flight and chased, so that if the marshes and woods had not saued them from the pursute of the Romans, there had béene an end made of the whole warre euen by that one daies worke. But the Britains escaping as well as they might, and reputing the victorie to haue chanced not by the valiancie of the Romane soldiers, but by occasion, and the prudent policie of their capteine, were nothing abashed with that their présent losse, but prepared to put their youth againe into armour: and there vpon they remoued their wiues and children into safe places, and then assembling the chiefest gouernours togither, concluded a league amongst themselues, ech to aid other, confirming their articles with doing of sacrifice (as the manner in those daies was.)

The same summer, a band of such Dutch or Germaine souldiers as had béene leuied in Germanie & sent ouer into Britaine to the aid of the Romans, attempted a great and wonderfull act, in sleaing their capteine, and such other of the Romane souldiers which were appointed to haue the training and leading of them, as officers and instructors to them in the feats of warre: and when they had committed that murther, they got into three pinesses, and became rouers on the coasts of Britaine, and incountring with diuerse of the Britains that were readie to defend their countrie from spoile, oftentimes they got the vpper hand of them, and now and then they were chased awaie, insomuch that in the end they were brought to such extremitie for want of vittels, that they did eate such amongst them as were the weakest, and after, such as the lot touched, being indifferentlie cast amongst them: and so being caried about the coasts of Britaine, & losing their vessels through want of skill to gouerne them, they were reputed for robbers, and thereupon were apprehended, first by the Suabeners, and shortlie after by the Frizers, the which sold diuerse of them to the Romans and other, whereby the true vnderstanding of their aduentures came certeinlie to light.

The seuenth yeare.

In summer next following, Agricola with his armie came to the mountaine of Granziben, where he vnderstood that his enimies were incamped, to the number of 30 thousand and aboue, and dailie there came to them more companie of the British youth, and such aged persons also as were lustie and in strength, able to weld weapon and beare armour. Amongst the capteins the chiefest was one Galgagus whom the Scotish chronicles name Gald. This man as chiefteine and head capteine of all the Britains there assembled, made to them a pithie oration, to incourage them to fight manfullie, and likewise did Agricola to his people: which being ended, the armies on both sides were put in order of battell. Agricola placed 8 thousand footmen of strangers which he had there in aid with him in the midst, appointing three thousand horsemen to stand on the sides of them as wings. The Romane legions stood at their backs in stéed of a bulwarke. The Britains were imbattelled in such order, that their fore ward stood in the plaine ground, and the other on the side of an hill, as though they had risen on heigth one ranke aboue another. The midst of the field was couered with their char-

The eight yeare of Agricola his gouernment.

Galgagus whome the Scots name Gald and will néeds haue him a Scotish man.

Corn. Tacit. rets and horsemen. Agricola doubting by the huge multitude of enimies, least his people should be assailed not onlie afront, but also vpon euerie side the battels, he caused the ranks so to place themselues, as their battels might stretch farre further in breadth than otherwise the order of warre required: but he toke this to be a good remedie against such inconuenience as might haue followed, if the enimie by the narrownesse of the fronts of his battels should haue hemmed them in on ech side.

This done, and hauing conceiued good hope of victorie, he alighted on foot, and putting his horse from him, he stood before the standards as one not caring for anie danger that might happen. At the first they bestowed their shot and darts fréelie on both sides. The Britains aswell with constant manhood, as skilfull practise, with broad swords and little round bucklers auoided and beat from them the arrowes and darts that came from their enimies, and therewithall paid them home againe with their shot and darts, so that the Romans were néere hand oppressed therewith, bicause they came so thicke in their faces; till at length Agricola caused three cohorts of Hollanders, & two of Lukeners to presse forward, & ioine with them at hand-strokes, so as the matter might come to be tried with the edge of the sword, which thing as to them (being inured with that kind of fight) it stood greatlie with their aduantage, so to the Britains it was verie dangerous, that were to defend themselues with their mightie huge swords and small bucklers. Also by reason their swords were broad at the ends, and pointlesse, they availed little to hurt the armed enimie. Whereupon when the Hollanders came to ioine with them, they made fowle worke in sleaing and wounding them in most horrible wise.

Betani. Congri.

Hollanders.

The horsemen also that made resistance they pulled from their horsses, and began to clime the hill vpon the Britains. The other bands desirous to match their fellowes in helping to atchiue the victorie, followed the Hollanders, and beat downe the Britains where they might approch to them: manie were ouerrun and left halfe dead, and some not once touched with anie weapon, were likewise ouerpressed, such hast the Romans made to follow vpon the Britains. Whilest the British horsemen fled, their charets ioined themselues with their footmen, and restoring the battell, put the Romans in such feare, that they were at a sudden stay: but the charets being troubled with preasse of enimies, & vnéuennesse of the ground, they could not worke their feat to anie purpose, neither had that fight anie resemblance of a battell of horsemen, when ech one so encumbred other, that they had no rome to stirre themselues. The charets oftentimes wanting their guiders were caried awaie with the horsses, that being put in feare with the noise and stur, ran hither and thither, bearing downe one another, and whomsoeuer else they met withall.

Now the Britains that kept the top of the hils, and had not yet fought at all, despising the small number of the Romans, began to come downewards and to cast about, that they might set vpon the backs of their enimies, in hope so to make an end of the battell, and to win the victorie: but Agricola doubting no lesse, but that some such thing would come to passe, had aforehand foreséene the danger, and hauing reserued foure wings of horsemen for such sudden chances, sent them forth against those Britains, the which horsemen with full randon charging vpon them as they rashlie came forwards, quicklie disordered them and put them all to flight, and so that purposed deuise and policie of the Britains turned to their owne hinderance. For their horsemen by their capteins appointment trauersing ouerthwart by the fronts of them that fought, set vpon that battell of the Britains which they found before them. Then in those open and plaine places a grœuous & beaute sight it was to behold, how they pursued, wounded, and toke their enimies: and as they were aduised of other to slea those that they had before taken, to the end they might ouertake the other, there was nothing but fléeing, taking, and chasing, slaughter, spilling of bloud, scattering of weapons, grunting and groning of men and horsses that lay on the ground, gasping for breath, & readie to die.

The Britains now and then as they saw their aduantage, namelie when they approched nére to the woods, gathered themselues togither, and set vpon the Romans as they followed vnaduisedlie, and further (through ignorance of the places) than stood with their suertie, insomuch that if Agricola had not prouided remedie, and sent forth mightie bands of light armed men both on foot and horsseback to close in the enimies, and also to beat the wood, some greater losse would haue followed through too much boldnes of them that too rashlie pursued vpon the Britains: who when they beheld the Romans thus to follow them in whole troops and good order of battell, they slipt awaie and toke them to flight, ech one seeking to saue himselfe, and kept not togither in plumps as before they had done. The night made an end of the chase which the Romans had followed till they were throughlie wearied. There were slaine of the Britains that day 10000, and of the Romans 340; among whom Aulus Atticus a capteine of one of the cohorts or bands of footmen was one, who being mounted on horsseback (through his owne too much youthfull courage, and fierce vnrulines of his horsse) was caried into the middle throng of his enimies, and there slaine.

Ten thousand Britains slaine.

Aulus Atticus slaine.

The lamentable distresse and pitifull *perplexitie of the Britains after their o-* uerthrow, Domitian enuieth Agricola *the glorie of his victories, he is subtilie* depriued of his deputiship, and *Cneus Trebellius surrogated* in his roome.

The xviij. Chapter.

THe night insuing the foresaid ouerthrow of the Britains was spent of the Romans in great ioy & gladnes for the victorie atchiued. But among the Britains there was nothing else heard but mourning and lamentation, both of men and women that were mingled togither, some busie to beare away the wounded, to bind and dresse their hurts; other calling for their sonnes, kinsfolkes and friends that were wanting. Manie of them forsoke their houses, and in their desperate mood set them on fire, and chosing forth places for their better refuge and safegard, forthwith misliking of the same, left them and sought others: herewith diuerse of them toke counsell togither what they were best to do, one while they were in hope, an other while they fainted, as people cast into vtter despaire: the beholding of their wiues and children oftentimes moued them to attempt some new enterprise for the preseruation of their countrie and liberties. And certeine it is that some of them slue their wiues and children, as moued thereto with a certeine

Britains, not Scots, neither yet Picts.

certeine fond regard of pitie to rid them out of further miserie and danger of thraldome.

The next day the certeintie of the victorie more plainlie was disclosed, for all was quiet about, and no noise heard anie where: the houses appeared burning on each side, and such as were sent forth to discouer the countrie into euerie part thereof, saw not a creature stirring, for all the people were auoided and withdrawne a farre off.

When Agricola had thus ouerthrowne his enimies in a pitcht field at the mountaine of Granzben, and that the countrie was quite rid of all appearance of enimies: bicause the summer of this eight yeere of his gouernement was now almost spent, he brought his armie into the confines of the Horrestians, which inhabited the countries now called Angus & Perne, and there intended to winter, and take hostages of the people for assurance of their loialtie and subiection. This done, he appointed the admirall of the naule to saile about the Ile, which accordinglie to his commission in that point receiued, luckilie accomplished his enterprise, and brought the naule about againe into an hauen called Truttulensis.

Hector Boet.

Cor. Tacitus.

An hauen called Trutulensis, peradventure Rutupensis.

In this meane time, whiles Julius Agricola was thus occupied in Britaine, both the emperour Vespasianus, and also his brother Titus that succeeded him, departed this life, and Domitianus was elected emperor, who hearing of such prosperous successe as Agricola had against the Britains, did not so much reioise for the thing well done, as he enuied to consider what glorie and renowme should redound to Agricola thereby, which he perceiued should much darken the glasse of his fame, hauing a priuate person vnder him, who in worthinesse of noble exploits atchiued, farre excelled his doings.

To find remedie therefore herein, he thought not good to vtter his malice as yet, whilest Agricola remained in Britaine with an armie, which so much fauoured him, and that with so good cause, sith by his policie and noble conduct the same had obteined so manie victories, so much honor, and such plentie of spoiles and booties. Wherevpon to dissemble his intent, he appointed to reuoke him forth of Britaine, as it were to honor him, not onelie with deserued triumphs, but also with the lieutenantship of Syria, which as then was void by the death of Atilius Rufus. Thus Agricola being countermanded home to Rome, deliuered his prouince vnto his successor Cneus Trebellius, appointed thereto by the emperour Domitianus, in good quiet and safegard.

Cneus Trebellius alias Salustius Lucullus as some thinke.

¶ Thus may you see in what state Britaine stood in the daies of king Marius, of whome Tacitus maketh no mention at all. Some haue written, that the citie of Chester was builded by this Marius, though other (as before I haue said) thinke rather that it was the worke of Ostorius Scapula their legat. Touching other the doings of Agricola, in the Scotish chronicle you maie find more at large set forth: for that which I haue written here, is but to shew what in effect Cornelius Tacitus writeth of that which Agricola did here in Britaine, without making mention either of Scots or Picts, onelie naming them Britains, Horrestians, and Calidoneans, who inhabited in those daies a part of this Ile which now we call Scotland, the originall of which countrie, and the inhabitants of the same, is greatlie controuersed among writers; diuerse diuerslie descanting thereupon, some fetching their reason from the etymon of the word which is Greeke, some from the opening of their ancestors as they find the same remaining in records; other some from comparing antiquities togither, and aptlie collecting the truth as neere as they can. But to omit them, and returne to the continuation of our owne historie.

Fabian.

Of Coillus the sonne of Marius, his education in Rome, how long he reigned: of Lucius his sonne and successor, what time he assumed the gouernment of this land, he was an open professor of christian religion, he and his familie are baptised, Britaine receiueth the faith, 3 archbishops and 28 bishops at that time in this Iland, westminster church and S. Peters in Cornehill builded, diuers opinions touching the time of Lucius his reigne, of his death, and when the christian faith was receiued in this Iland.

The 19. Chapter.

Coillus.

COillus the sonne of Marius was after his fathers decease made king of Britaine, in the yeare of our Lord 125. This Coillus or Coill was brought vp in his youth amongst the Romans at Rome, where he spent his time not vnprofitablie, but 125

applied himselfe to learning & feruice in the warres, by reason whereof he was much honored of the Romans, and he likewise honored and loued them, so that he paied his tribute truelie all the time of his reigne, and therefore liued in peace and good quiet. He was also a prince of much bountie, and verie liberall, whereby he obteined great loue both of his nobles and commons. Some saie, that he made the towne of Colchester in Essex, but others write, that Coill which reigned next after Aslepiodotus was the first founder of that towne, but by other it should seeme to be built long before, being called Camelodunum. Finallie when this Coill had reigned the space of 54 yeares, he departed this life at Yorke, leauing after him a sonne named Lucius, which succeeded in the kingdome.

Colchesters built.

Lucius.

LUcius the sonne of Coillus, whose surname (as saith William Harison) is not extant, began his reigne ouer the Britains about the yeare of our Lord 180, as Fabian following the authoritie of Peter Pictauiensis saith, although other writers seeme to disagree in that account, as by the same Fabian in the table before his booke partlie appeareth, whereunto Matthæus Westmonasterensis affirmeth, that this Lucius was borne in the yeare of our Lord 115, and was crowned king in the yeare 124, as successor to his father Coillus, which died the same yeare, being of great age yer the said Lucius was borne. It is noted by antiquaries, that his entrance was in the 4132 of the world, 916 after the building of Rome, 220 after the comming of Cesar into Britaine, and 165 after Christ, whose accounts I follow in this treatise. 165

This Lucius is highlie renowmed of the writers, for that he was the first king of the Britains that receiued the faith of Jesus Christ: for being inspired by the spirit of grace and truth, euen from the beginning of his reigne, he somewhat leaned to the fauoring of Christian religion, being moued with the manifest miracles which the Christians dailie wrought in witnesse and proofe of their sound and perfect doctrine. For euen from the daies of Joseph of Arimathia and his fellowes, or what other godlie men first taught the Britains the gospell of our Sauiour, there remained amongest the same Britains some christians which ceased not to teach and preach the word of God most sincerelie vnto them: but yet no king amongst them openlie professed that religion, till at length this Lucius perceiuing not onelie some of the Romane lieutenants in Britaine as Trebellius and Pertinax, with others, to haue

submitted themselues to that profession, but also the emperour himselfe to begin to be fauorable to them that professed it, he toke occasion by their good example to giue eare more attentiuelie vnto the gospell, and at length sent vnto Eleutherius bishop of Rome two learned men of the British nation, Eluane and Meduine, requiring him to send some such ministers as might instruct him and his people in the true faith more plentifullie, and to baptise them according to the rules of christian religion.

*Fol.119. ¶ The reuerend father Iohn Iewell, sometime bishop of Salisburie, writeth in his * replie vnto Hardings answer, that the said Eleutherius, for generall order to be taken in the realme and churches here, wrote his aduice to Lucius in maner and forme following. "You haue receiued in the kingdome of Britaine, by Gods mercie, both the lawe and faith of Christ; ye haue both the new and the old testament, out of the same through Gods grace, by the aduise of your realme make a law, and by the same through Gods sufferance rule you your kingdome of Britaine, for in that kingdome you are Gods vicar."

Britaine receiueth the faith.

Here vpon were sent from the said Eleutherius two godlie learned men, the one named Fugatius, and the other Damianus, the which baptised the king with all his familie and people, and therewith remoued the worshipping of idols and false gods, and taught the right meane and waie how to worship the true and immortall God. There were in those daies within the bounds of Britaine 28 Flamines, & three Archflamines, which were as bishops and archbishops, or superintendents of the pagan or heathen religion, in whose place (they being remoued) were instituted 28 bishops & three archbishops of the christian religion. One of the which archbishops held his see at London, another at Yorke, and the third at Caerleon Arwiske in Glamorganshire. Unto the archbishop of London was subiect Cornewall, and all the middle part of England, euen vnto Humber. To the archbishop of Yorke all the north parts of Britaine from the riuer of Humber vnto the furthest partes of Scotland. And to the archbishop of Caerleon was subiect all Wales, within which countrie as then were seuen bishops, where now there are but foure. The riuer of Seuern in those daies diuided Wales (then called Cambria) from the other parts of Britaine. Thus Britaine partlie by the meanes of Joseph of Arimathia (of whome ye haue heard before) & partlie by the wholesome instructions & doctrines of Fugatius and Damianus, was the first of all other regions that openlie receiued the gospell, and continued most stedfast in that profession, till the cruell furie of Diocletian persecuted the same, in such sort, that as well in Britaine as in all other places of the world, the christian religion was in manner extinguished, and vtterlie destroied.

Math. West.

Josephus of Arimathia.

Polydor. Westminster Church built.

There be that affirme, how this Lucius should build the church of saint Peter at Westminster, though manie attribute that act vnto Sibert king of the east Saxons, and write how the place was then ouergrowne with thornes and bushes, and thereof toke the name, and was called Thorney. They ad moreouer that Thomas archbishop of London preached, read, and ministred the sacraments there to such as made resort vnto him. Howbeit by the tables hanging in the reuestrie of saint Paules at London, and also a table sometime hanging in saint Peters church in Cornehill, it should seeme that the said church of saint Peter in Cornehill was the same that Lucius builded. But herein (saith Harison *anno mundi* 4174) doth lie a scruple. Sure Cornell might soone be mistaken for Thorney, speciallie in such old records, as time, age, & euill handling haue oftentimes defaced.

But howsoeuer the case standeth, truth it is, that Lucius reioising much, in that he had brought his people to the perfect light and vnderstanding of the true God, that they needed not to be deceiued anie longer with the craftie temptations and feigned miracles of wicked spirits, he abolished all prophane worshippings of false gods, and conuerted all such temples as had beene dedicated to their seruice, vnto the vse of christian religion: and thus studieng onlie how to aduance the glorie of the immortall God, and the knowledge of his word, without seeking the vaine glorie of worldlie triumph, which is got with slaughter and bloudshed of manie a guiltlesse person, he left his kingdome; though not inlarged with broder dominion than he receiued it, yet greatlie augmented and inriched with quiet rest, good ordinances, and (that which is more to be esteemed than all the rest) adorned with Christes religion, and perfectlie instructed with his most holie word and doctrine. He reigned (as some write) 21 yeares, though other affirme but twelue yeares. Againe, some testifie that he reigned 77, others 54, and 43.

Polydor. Fabian. Iohn Hard.

Moreouer here is to be noted, that if he procured the faith of Christ to be planted within this realme in the time of Eleutherius the Romane bishop; the same chanced in the daies of the emperour Marcus Aurelius Antonius; and about the time that Lucius Aurelius Commodus was ioined and made partaker of the empire with his father, which was seuen yeare after the death of Lucius Aelius Aurelius Verus, and in the 177 after the birth of our Sauiour Jesus Christ, as by some chronologies is easie to be collected. For Eleutherius began to gouerne the see of Rome in the yeare 169, according to the opinion of the most diligent chronographers of our time, and gouerned fiftéene yeares and thirteene daies. And yet there are that affirme, how Lucius died at Glocester in the yeare of our Lord 156. Other say that he died in the yere 201, and other 208. So that the truth of this historie is brought into doubt by the discord of writers, concerning the time and other circumstances, although they all agree that in this kings daies the christian faith was first by publike consent openlie receiued and professed in this land, which as some affirme, should chance in the twelfe yeare of his reigne, and in the yeare of our Lord 177. Other iudge that it came to passe in the eight yeare of his regiment, and in the yeare of our Lord 188, where other (as before is said) alledge that it was in the yeare of the Lord 179. Nauclerus saith, that this happened about the yeare of our Lord 156. And Henricus de Herfordea supposeth, that it was in the yeare of our Lord 169, and in the nintéenth yeare of the emperor Marcus Antonius Verus: and after other, about the first yeare of the emperor Commodus.

Gal. Mon. Math. West.

Polydor.

Nauclerus. Hen. Herf.

But to conclude, king Lucius died without issue, by reason whereof after his decease the Britains fell at variance, which continued about the space of fiftéene yeares (as Fabian thinketh) howbeit the old English chronicle affirmeth, that the contention betwixt them remained fiftie yeares, though Harding affirmeth but foure yeares. And thus much of the Britains, and their kings Coilus and Lucius. Now it resteth to speake somewhat of the Romans which gouerned here in the meane while. After that Agricola was called backe to Rome, the Britains (and namelie those that inhabited beyond Tweed) partlie being weakned of their former strength, and partlie in consideration of their pledges, which they had deliuered to the Romans, remained in peace certeine yeares.

Fabian.

Caxton. Iohn Hard.

The

The Britains after the deceaſſe of Lucius *(who died without iſſue) rebell a*gainſt the Romans, the emperor Adrian com*ming in his owne perſon into Britaine appeaſeth* the broile, they go about to recouer their libertie a*gainſt the Romans, but are ſuppreſſed by Lollius the Ro*mane lieutenant; the vigilantneſſe or wakefulneſie of Marcellus, and his policie to keepe the ſouldiers waking, the Britains being ruled by certaine meane gentlemen of Perhennis appointing doo falſelie accuſe him to the emperor Commodus, he is mangled and murthered of his ſouldiers.

The xx. Chapter.

Cneus Trebellius lieutenant.

IN the meane time the Romane lieutenant Cneus Trebellius that ſucceeded Julius Agricola, could no, foreſee all things ſo preciſelie but that the ſouldiers waxing vnrulie by reaſon of long reſt, fell at variance among themſelues, and would not in the end obey the lieutenant, but diſquieted the Britains beyond meaſure. Wherefore the Britains perceiuing themſelues ſore oppreſſed with intollerable bondage, and that dailie the ſame increſed, they conſpired togither, vpon hope to recouer libertie, and to defend their countrie by all meanes poſſible, and herewith they toke weapon in hand againſt the Romans, and boldlie aſſailed them: but this they did yet warilie, and ſo, that they might flie vnto the woods and bogs for refuge vpon neceſſitie, according to the maner of their countrie. Herevpon diuers ſlaughters were commited on both parties, and all the countrie was now readie to rebell: whereof when the emperour Adrian was aduertiſed from Trebellius the lieutenant, with all conuenient ſpeed he paſſed ouer into Britaine, and quieted all the Ile, vſing great humanitie towards the inhabitants; and making ſmall account of that part where the Scots now inhabit, either bicauſe of the barrenneſſe thereof, or for that by reaſon of the nature of the countrie he thought it would be hard to be kept vnder ſubiection, he deuiſed to diuide it from the reſidue of Britaine, and ſo cauſed a wall to be made from the mouth of Tine vnto the water of Eſke, which wall conteined in length 30 miles.

The wall of Adrian built. Spartianus.

After this, the Britains bearing a malicious hatred towards the Romane ſouldiers, and repining to be kept vnder the bond of ſeruitude, eft ſones went about to recouer libertie againe. Whereof aduertiſement being giuen, the emperour Pius Antoninus ſent ouer Lollius Urbicus as lieutenant into Britaine, who by ſundrie battels ſtriken, conſtreined the Britains to remaine in quiet, and cauſing thoſe that inhabited in the north parts to remoue further off from the confines of the Romane prouince, raiſed another wall beyond that which the emperor Adrian had made, as is to be ſuppoſed, for the more ſuertie of the Romane ſubiects againſt the inuaſion of the enimies. But yet Lollius did not ſo make an end of the warrs, but that the Britains ſhortlie after attempted afreſh, either to reduce their ſtate into libertie, or to bring the ſame into further danger.

Lollius Urbicus lieutenant.

Iulius Capitol. In other wall built.

Calphurnius Agricola.

Herevpon Marcus Antonius that ſucceeded Pius, ſent Calphurnius Agricola to ſucceed Lollius in the gouernement of Britaine, the which eaſilie ouercame and ſubdued all his enimies. After this there chanced ſome trouble in the daies of the emperour Commodus the ſon of Marcus Antonius and his ſucceſſor in the empire: for the Britans that dwelled northwards, beyond Adrians wall, brake through the ſame, and ſpoiled a great part of the countrie, againſt whom the Romane lieutenant for that time being came forth, gaue them battell: but both he and the Romane ſouldiers that were with him, were beaten downe and ſlaine. Dion Caſſius

Of the doings of this Calphurnius in Britaine ye may read more in the Scotiſh chronicle.

With which newes Commodus being ſore amazed, ſent againſt the Britains one Vlpius Marcellus, a man of great diligence and temperance, but therewith rough and nothing gentle. He vſed the ſame kind of diet that the common ſouldiers did vſe. He was a capteine much watchfull, as one contented with verie little ſléepe, and deſirous to haue his ſouldiers alſo vigilant and carefull to kéepe ſure watch in the night ſeaſon. Euerie euening he would write twelue tables, ſuch as they vſed to make on the lind tré, and deliuering them to one of his ſeruants, appointed him to beare them at ſeuerall houres of the night to ſundrie ſouldiers, whereby ſuppoſing that their generall was ſtill watching and not gone to bed, they might be in doubt to ſléepe. *Vlpius Marcellus lieutenant.*

And although of nature he could well abſteine from ſléepe, yet to be the better able to forbeare it, he vſed a maruellous ſpare kind of diet: for to the end that he would not fill himſelfe too much with bread, he would eat none but ſuch as was brought to him from Rome, ſo that more than neceſſitie compelled him he could not eat, by reaſon that the ſtaleneſſe toke awaie the pleaſant taſt thereof, and leſſe prouoked his appetite. He was a maruellous contemner of monie, ſo that bribes might not moue him to do otherwiſe than dutie required. This Marcellus being of ſuch diſpoſition, ſore afflicted the Britains, and put them oftentimes to great loſſes: through fame wherof, Cõmodus enuieng his renowme was after in mind to make him away, but yet ſpared him for a further purpoſe, and ſuffered him to depart.

After he was remoued from the gouernment of Britaine, one Perhennis capteine of the emperors gard (or pretorian ſouldiers as they were then called) bearing all the rule vnder the emperor Commodus, appointed certeine gentlemen of meane calling to gouerne the armie in Britaine. Which fond ſubſtituting of ſuch petie officers to ouerſée and ouerrule the people, was to them an occaſion of hartgrudge, and to him a meanes of finall miſchefe: both which it is likelie he might haue auoided, had he béene prouident in his deputation. For the ſouldiers in the ſame armie grudging and repining to be gouerned by men of baſe degrée, in reſpect of thoſe that had borne rule ouer them before, being honorable perſonages, as ſenators, and of the conſular dignitie, they fell at ſquare among themſelues, and about fiftéene hundred of them departed towards Rome to exhibit their complaint againſt Perhennis: for whatſoeuer was amiſſe, the blame was ſtill laid to him. They paſſed forth without impeachment at all, and comming to Rome, the emperour himſelfe came forth to vnderſtand what they meant by this their comming in ſuch ſort from the place where they were appointed to ſerue. Their anſwer was, that they were come to informe him of the treaſon which Perhennis had deuiſed to his deſtruction, that he might make his ſon emperor. To the which accuſation when Commodus too lightlie gaue eare, & beléeued it to be true, namelie, through the ſetting on of one Cleander, who hated Perhennis, for that he brideled him from doing diuerſe vnlawfull acts, which he went about vpon a wilfull mind (without all reaſon and modeſtie) to practiſe; the matter was ſo handled in the end, that Perhennis was deliuered to the ſouldiers, who cruellie mangled him, and preſentlie put him to a pitifull death. *Perhennis capteine of the emperours gard.* *Aelius Lampridius.*

Pertinax is sent as lieutenant into Britaine, *he is in danger to be slaine of the* souldiers, he riddeth himselfe of that perilous *office: Albinus with an armie of Britains fighteth* against Seuerus and his power neere to Lions,

Seuerus is slaine in a conflict against the Picts, Geta and Bassianus two brethren make mutuall warre for the regiment of the land, the one is slaine, the other ruleth.

The xxj. Chapter.

Pertinax lieutenant of Britaine.

NOw will we saie somewhat of the tumults in Britaine. It was thought needfull to send some sufficient capteine of authoritie thither; and therefore was one Pertinax that had béene consull and ruler ouer foure seuerall consular prouinces, appointed by Commodus to go as lieutenant into that Ile, both for that he was thought a man most meet for such a charge, and also to satisfie his credit, for that he had béene discharged by Perhennis of bearing anie rule, and sent home into Liguria where he was borne, and there appointed to remaine. This Pertinax comming into Britaine, pacified the armie, but not without danger to haue béene slaine by a mutinie raised by one of the legions: for he was stricken downe, and left for dead among the slaine carcasses. But he worthilie reuenged himselfe of this iniurie. At length, hauing chastised the rebels, and brought the Ile into meetelie good quiet, he sued and obteined to be discharged of that rowme, because as he alledged, the souldiers could not broke him, for that he kept them in dutifull obedience, by correcting such as offended the lawes of armes.

The lieutenant in danger.

Clodius Albinus lieutenãt.

Then was Clodius Albinus appointed to haue the rule of the Romane armie in Britaine: whose destruction when Seuerus the emperour sought, Albinus perceiued it quicklie: and therefore chosing forth a great power of Britains, passed with the same ouer into France to encounter with Seuerus, who was come thither towards him, so that neere to the citie of Lions they ioined in battell and fought right sore, in so much that Seuerus was at point to haue receiued the ouerthrow by the high prowesse and manhood of the Britains: but yet in the end Albinus lost the field, and was slaine. Then Heraclitus as lieutenant began to gouerne Britaine (as writeth Spartianus) being sent thither by Seuerus for that purpose before. And such was the state of this Ile about the yeare of our Lord 195. In which season, because that king Lucius was dead, and had left no issue to succéed him, the Britains (as before ye haue heard) were at variance amongst themselues, and so continued till the comming of Seuerus, whome the British chronographers affirme to reigne as king in this Ile, & that by right of succession in bloud, as descended of Androgeus the Britaine, which went to Rome with Julius Cesar, as before ye haue heard.

Seuerus.

This Seuerus as then emperour of Rome, began to rule this Ile (as authors affirme) in the yeare of our Lord 207, and gouerned the same 4 yeares and od moneths. At length hearing that one Fulgentius as then a leader of the Picts was entred into the borders of his countrie on this side Durhoure; he raised an host of Britains and Romans, with the which he marched towards his enimies; and méeting with the said Fulgentius in a place néere vnto Yorke, in the end after sore fight Seuerus was slaine, when he had ruled this land for the space almost of fiue yeares, as before is said, and was after buried at Yorke, leauing behind him two sonnes, the one named Geta, and the other Bassianus. This Bassianus being borne of a British woman, succéeded his father in the gouernement of Britaine, in the yeare of the incarnation of our Lord 211. The Romans would haue had Geta created king of Britaine, bearing more fauour to him because he had a Romane ladie to his mother: but the Britains moued with the like respect, held with Bassianus. And therupon warre was raised betwixt the two brethren, who comming to trie their quarrell by battell, Geta was slaine, and Bassianus with aid of the Britains remained victor, and so continued king, till at length he was slaine by one Carausius a Britaine, borne but of low birth, howbeit right valiant in armes, and therefore well estéemed. In somuch that obteining of the senat of Rome the kéeping of the coasts of Britaine, that he might defend the same from the malice of strangers, as Picts and others, he drew to him a great number of souldiers and specialtie of Britains, to whome he promised that if they would make him king, he would cléerelie deliuer them from the oppression of the Romane seruitude. Wherevpon the Britains rebelling against Bassianus, ioined themselues to Carausius, who by their support vanquished and slue the said Bassianus, after he had reigned 6 or (as some affirme) 30 yeares.

¶ Thus farre out of the English and British writers, the which how farre they varie from likelihood of truth, you shall heare in the next chapter what the approued historiographers, Grecians and Latines, writing of these matters, haue recorded. Herodianus.

The ambitious mind of the old emperour *Seuerus, he arriueth in Britaine with* a mightie power to suppresse the rebellious *Britains, the emperours politike prouision for his* souldiers in the fens and bogs: the agilitie of the *Britains, their nimblenesse, the painting of their bodies with* diuerse colours, their furniture, their great sufferance of hunger, cold, &c: diuerse conflicts betweene the Romans and the Britains, their subtile traines to deceiue their enimies, the Romans pitifullie distressed, Seuerus constreineth the Caledonians to conclude a league with him, he falleth sicke, his owne sonne practiseth to make him away: the Britains begin a new rebellion, the cruell commandement of Seuerus to kill and slea all that came to hand without exception, his age, his death, and sepulchre: Bassianus ambitiouslie vsurpeth the whole regiment, he killeth his brother Geta, and is slaine himselfe by one of his owne souldiers.

The xxij. Chapter.

THe emperour Seuerus receiuing aduertisment from the lieutenant of Britaine, that the people there moued rebellion, & wasted the countrie with roads and forraies, so that it was needful to haue the prince himselfe to come thither with a great power to resist the enimies, he of an ambitious mind reioised not a little for those newes, bicause he saw occasion offered to aduance his renowme and fame with increase of new victories now in the west, after so manie triumphs purchased and got by him in the east and north parts of the world. Wherevpon though he was of great age, yet

yet the desire that he had still to win honour, caused him to take in hand to make a iournie into this land, and so being furnished of all things necessarie, he set forwards, being carried for the more part in a litter for his more ease: for that beside his feblenesse of age, he was also troubled with the gout. He tooke with him his two sonnes, Antoninus Bassianus and Geta, vpon purpose as was thought, to auoid occasions of such inconuenience as he perceiued might grow by discord moued betwixt them through flatterers and malicious sycophants, which sought to set them at variance: which to bring to passe, he perceiued there should want no meane whilest they continued in Rome, amidst such pleasures & idle pastimes as were dailie there frequented: and therefore he caused them to attend him in this iournie into Britaine, that they might learne to liue soberlie, and after the manner of men of warre.

Antoninus and Geta.

The emperour Seuerus arriueth in Britaine.

Seuerus being thus on his iournie towards Britaine, staied not by the waie, but with all diligence sped him forth, and passing the sea verie swiftlie, entred this Ile, and assembled a mightie power together, meaning to assaile his enimies, and to pursue the warre against them to the vttermost. The Britains greatlie amazed with this sudden arriuall of the emperour, and hearing that such preparation was made against them, sent ambassadours to him to intreat of peace, and to excuse their rebellious doings. But Seuerus delaieng time for answere, as he that was desirous to atchiue some high enterprise against the Britains, for the which he might deserue the surname of Britannicus, which he greatlie coueted, still was busie to prepare all things necessarie for the warre; and namelie, caused a great number of bridges to be made to lay ouer the bogs and marshes, so that his souldiers might haue place to stand vpon, and not to be incumbered for lacke of firme ground when they should cope with their enimies: for the more part of Britaine in those daies (as Herodianus writeth) was full of fens & marish ground, by reason of the often flowings and washings of the sea tides: by the which marish grounds the enimies being thereto accustomed, would run and swim in the waters, and wade vp to the middle at their pleasure, going for the more part naked, so that they passed not on the mud and mires, for they knew not the vse of wearing cloths, but ware hopes of iron about their middles and necks, esteeming the same as an ornament and token of riches, as other barbarous people did gold.

Herodianus.

He meaneth of the north Britains or sauage Britains as we may call them.

Moreouer they marked, or (as it were) painted their bodies in diuerse sorts and with sundrie shapes and figures of beasts and fowles, and therefore they vsed not to weare anie garments, that such painting of their bodies might the more aparantlie be seene, which they esteemed a great brauerie.

They were as the same Herodianus writeth, a people giuen much to war, and delighted in slaughter and bloudshed, vsing none other weapons or armour but a slender buckler, a taucline, and a sword tied to their naked bodies: as for headpeece or habergeon, they esteemed not, bicause they thought the same should be an hinderance to them when they should passe ouer anie marish, or be driuen to swim anie waters, or flee to the bogs.

The furniture of the sauage Britains.

Moreouer, to suffer hunger, cold, and trauell, they were so vsed and inured therewith, that they would not passe to lie in the bogs and mires couered vp to the chin, without caring for meate for the space of diuerse daies togither: and in the woods they would liue vpon rots and barks of trees. Also they vsed to prepare for themselues a certeine kind of meate, of the which if they receiued but so much as amounted to the quantitie of a beane, they would thinke themselues satisfied, and feele neither hunger nor thirst. The one halfe of the Ile or little lesse was subiect vnto the Romans, the other was gouerned of themselues, the people for the most part hauing the rule in their hands.

Seuerus therefore meaning to subdue the whole, and vnderstanding their nature, and the manner of their making warre, prouided him selfe of all things expedient for the annoiance of them and helpe of his owne souldiers, and appointing his sonne Geta to remaine in that part of the Ile which was subiect to the Romans, he tooke with him his other sonne Antoninus, and with his armie marched forth, and entred into the confines of the enimies, and there began to waste and forrey the countrie, whereby there insued diuerse conflicts and skirmishes betwixt the Romans and the inhabitants, the victorie still remaining on the Romans side: but the enimies easilie escaped without anie great losse vnto the woods, mountains, bogs, and such other places of refuge as they knew to be at hand, whither the Romans durst not follow, nor once approch, for feare to be intrapped and inclosed by the Britains that were readie to returne and assaile their enimies vpon euerie occasion of aduantage that might be offered.

This maner of dealing sore troubled the Romans, and so hindered them in their proceedings, that no speedie end could be made of that warre. The Britains would oftentimes of purpose laie their cattell, as oxen, kine, sheepe, and such like, in places conuenient, to be as a stale to the Romans; and when the Romans should make to them to fetch the same awaie, being distant from the residue of the armie a good space, they would fall vpon them and distresse them. Beside this, the Romans were much annoied with the vnwholesomnesse of the waters which they were forced to drinke, and if they chanced to straie abroad, they were snapped vp by ambushes which the Caledonians laid for them, and when they were so feeble that they could not through want of strength keepe pace with their fellowes as they marched in order of battell, they were slaine by their owne fellowes, least they should be left behind for a prey to the enimies. Hereby there died in this iournie of the Romane armie, at the point of fiftie thousand men: but yet would not Seuerus returne, till he had gone through the whole Ile, and so came to the vttermost parts of all the countrie now called Scotland, and at last backe againe to the other part of the Ile subiect to the Romans, the inhabitants whereof are named (by Dion Cassius) *Meatæ*. But first he forced the other, whom the same Dion nameth Caledonij, to conclude a league with him, vpon such conditions, as they were compelled to depart with no small portion of the countrie, and to deliuer vnto him their armour and weapons.

Dion Cassius.

In the meane time, the emperour Seuerus being worne with age fell sicke, so that he was constreined to abide at home within that part of the Ile which obeied the Romans, and to appoint his sonne Antoninus to take charge of the armie abroad. But Antoninus not regarding the enimies, attempted little or nothing against them, but sought waies how to win the fauour of the souldiers and men of warre, that after his fathers death (for which he dailie loked) he might haue their aid and assistance to be admitted emperour in his place. Now when he saw that his father bare out his sickenesse longer time than he would haue wished, he practised with physicians and other of his fathers seruants to dispatch him by one meane or other.

While Antoninus thus negligentlie loked to his charge, the Britains began a new rebellion, not onlie those that were latelie ioined in league with the

emperour,

emperour, but the other also which were subiects to the Romane empire. Seuerus toke such displeasure, that he called togither the souldiers, and commanded them to inuade the countrie, and to kill all such as they might meet within anie place without respect, and that his cruell commandement he expressed in these verses taken out of Homer:

Iliador. 3.

Nemo manus fugiat vestras, cædémque cruentam,
Non fœtus grauida mater quem gessit in aluo
Horrendam effugiat cædem.

But while he was thus disquieted with the rebellion of the Britains, and the dissolute practises of his sonne Antoninus, which to him were not vnknowne, (for the wicked sonne had by diuers attempts discouered his traitorous and vnnaturall meanings) at length, rather through sorrow and griefe, than by force of sickenesse, he wasted awaie, and departed this life at Yorke, the third daie before the nones of Februarie, after he had gouerned the empire by the space of 17 yeares, 8 moneths, & 33 daies. He liued 65 yeres, 9 moneths, & 13 daies: he was borne the third ides of April. By that which before is recited out of Herodian and Dion Cassius, of the maners & vsages of those people, against whome Seuerus held warre here in Britaine, it maie be conjectured, that they were the Picts, the which possessed in those daies a great part of Scotland, and with continuall incursions and rodes wasted and destroied the borders of those countries which were subiect to the Romans. To keepe them backe therefore and to represse their invasions, Seuerus (as some write) either reared the former wall made by Adrian, or else newlie built an other ouerthwart the Ile, from the east sea to the west, conteining in length 232 miles. This wall was not made of stone, but of turfe and earth supported with stakes and piles of wood, and defended on the backe with a deepe trench or ditch, and also fortified with diuerse towers and turrets built & erected vpon the same wall or rampire so neere togither, that the sound of trumpets being placed in the same, might be heard betwixt, and so warning giuen from one to another vpon the first descrieng of the enimies.

Herodianus. Dion Cassius. Eutropius. Dion Cassius.

Eutropius. Orosius.

Dion Cassius.

Beda.

Hector Boetius.

Seuerus being departed out of this life in the yere of our Lord 211, his son Antoninus otherwise called also Bassianus, would faine haue vsurped the whole gouernment into his owne hands, attempting with bribes and large promises to corrupt the minds of the souldiers: but when he perceiued that his purpose would not forward as he wished in that behalfe, he concluded a league with the enimies, and making peace with them, returned backe towards Yorke, and came to his mother and brother Geta, with whome he toke order for the buriall of his father. And first his bodie being burnt (as the maner was) the ashes were put into a vessell of gold, and so conueied to Rome by the two brethren and the empresse Julia, who was mother to Geta the yonger brother, and mother in law to the elder, Antoninus Bassianus, & by all meanes possible sought to maintaine loue and concord betwixt the brethren, which now at the first toke vpon them to rule the empire equallie togither. But the ambition of Bassianus was such, that finallie vpon desire to haue the whole rule himselfe, he found meanes to dispatch his brother Geta, breaking one daie into his chamber, and slaieng him euen in his mothers lap, and so possessed the gouernment alone, till at length he was slaine at Edessa a citie in Mesopotamia by one of his owne souldiers, as he was about to vntrusse his points to doo the office of nature, after he had reigned the space of 6 yeares, as is afore said. Where we are to note Gods iudgment, prouiding that he which had shed mans bloud, should also die by the sword.

Polydorus. Herodianus. 211

Sextus Aurelius.

Of Carausius an obscure Britaine, what countries he gaue the Picts, and whereupon, his death by Alectus his successor, the Romans foiled by Asclepiodotus duke of Cornewall, whereof Walbrooke had the name, the couetous practise of Carausius the vsurper.

The xxiij. Chapter.

Carausius.

Carausius a Britan of vnknowne birth, as witnesseth the British histories, after he had vanquisht & slaine Bassianus (as the same histories make mention) was of the Britains made king and ruler ouer them, in the yeare of our Lord 218, as Galfridus saith: but W. H. noteth it to be in the yeare 286. This Carausius either to haue the aid & support of the Picts, as in the British historie is conteined, either else to be at quietnesse with them, being not otherwise able to resist them, gaue to them the countries in the south parts of Scotland, which ioine to England on the east marshes, as Mers, Louthian, and others.

218

Galfrid.

Polychron. Fabian.

Galfridus.

¶ But here is to be noted, that the British writers affirme, that these Picts which were thus placed in the south parts of Scotland at this time, were brought ouer out of Scithia by Fulgentius, to aid him against Seuerus, and that after the death of Seuerus and Fulgentius, which both died of hurts receiued in the batell fought betwixt them at Yorke: the Picts toke part with Bassianus, and at length betraied him in the battell which he fought against Carausius: for he corrupting them by such subtile practises as he vsed, they turned to his side, to the ouerthrow and vtter destruction of Bassianus: for the which traitorous part they had those south countries of Scotland giuen vnto them for their habitation. But by the Scotish writers it should appeare, that those Picts which aided Fulgentius and also Carausius, were the same that long before had inhabited the north parts of Britaine, now called Scotland. But whatsoeuer they were, truth it is (as the British histories record) that at length one Alectus was sent from Rome by the senat with 3 legions of souldiers to subdue Carausius, which he did, and slue him in the field, as the same histories make mention, after he had reigned the space of 7, or 8, yeares: and in the yeare of our saluation two hundred, ninetie, three.

Alectus.

Of whom our British histories doo write after their maner.

293.

Alectus in hauing vanquished and slaine Carausius toke vpon him the rule and gouernment of Britaine, in the yeare of our Lord 293. This Alectus, when he had restored the land to the subiection of the Romans, did vse great crueltie against such Britains as had maintained the part of Carausius, by reason whereof he purchased much euill will of the Britains, the which at length conspired against him, and purposing to chase the Romans altogither out of their countrie, they procured one Asclepiodotus (whome the British chronicles name duke of Cornewall) to take vpon him as chiefe captaine that enterprise. Whereupon the same Asclepiodotus assembling a great armie, made such sharpe warres on the Romans, that they being chased from place to place, at length withdrew to the citie of London, and there held them till Asclepiodotus came thither, and prouoked Alectus and his Romans so much, that in the end they issued forth of the citie, and gaue battell to the Britans, in the which much people on both parts were slaine, but the greatest

teſt number died on the Romans ſide: and amongſt others, Alectus himſelfe was ſlaine. the reſidue of the Romans that were left aliue, retired backe into the citie with a capteine of theirs named Livius Gallus, and defended themſelues within the walles for a time right valiantlie. Thus was Alectus ſlaine of the Britains, after he had reigned (as ſome ſuppoſe) about the terme of fiue yeares, or (as ſome other write) three yeares.

Fabian. Matth. Weſt.

Aſclepiodotus. Gal. Mon. Matt. Weſt.

ASclepiodotus, duke of Cornewall, began his reigne ouer the Britains in the yeare of our Lord 232. After he had vanquiſhed the Romans in battell, as before is recited, he laid his ſiege about the citie of London, and finallie by knightlie force entred the ſame, and ſlue the forenamed Livius Gallus neere vnto a broke, which in thoſe daies ran through the citie, & threw him into the ſame broke: by reaſon whereof long after it was called Gallus or Wallus broke. And at this preſent the ſtreete where the ſame broke did run, is called Walbroke.

Walbroke.

Then after Aſclepiodotus had ouercome all his enimies, he held this land a certeine ſpace in good reſt and quiet, and miniſtred iuſtice vprightlie, in rewarding the good, and puniſhing the euill. Till at length, through ſlanderous tongs of malicious perſons, diſcord was raiſed betwixt the king and one Coill or Coilus, that was gouernour of Colcheſter: the occaſion whereof appeareth not by writers. But whatſoeuer the matter was, there inſued ſuch hatred betwixt them, that on both parts great armies were raiſed, and meeting in the field, they fought a ſore and mightie battell, in the which Aſclepiodotus was ſlaine, after he had reigned 30 yeares. Thus haue Geffrey of Monmouth and our common chronicles written of Carauſius, Alectus, and Aſclepiodotus, which gouerned here in Britaine.

Galfrid. Polychron. Fabian. Galfridus.

Aſclepiodotus ſlaine. Matt. Weſt. hath x. yeares.

Eutropius.

But Eutropius the famous writer of the Romane hiſtories, in the acts of Dioclesian hath in effect theſe words. About the ſame time Carauſius, the which being borne of moſt baſe of ſpring, attained to high honour and dignitie by order of renowmed chiualrie & ſeruice in the warres, receiued charge at Bolein, to keepe the ſeas quiet alongſt the coaſts of Britaine, France, and Flanders, and other countries thereabouts, bicauſe the Frenchmen, which yet inhabited within the bounds of Germanie, and the Saxons ſore troubled thoſe ſeas. Carauſius taking oftentimes manie of the enimies, neither reſtored the goods to them of the countrie from whome the enimies had bereft the ſame, nor yet ſent anie part therof to the emperours, but kept the whole to his owne vſe. Wherupon when ſuſpicion aroſe, that he ſhould of purpoſe ſuffer the enimies to paſſe by him, till they had taken ſome priſes, that in their returne with the ſame he might incounter with them, and take that from them which they had gotten (by which ſubtile practiſe he was thought greatly to haue inriched himſelfe) Maximianus that was fellow in gouernment of the empire with Dioclesianus, remaining then in Gallia, and aduertiſed of theſe doings, commanded that Carauſius ſhould be ſlaine, but he hauing warning thereof rebelled, and vſurping the imperiall ornaments and title, got poſſeſſion of Britaine, againſt whom (being a man of great experience in all warlike knowledge) when warres had beene attempted and followed in vaine, at length a peace was concluded with him, and ſo he enioied the poſſeſſion of Britaine by the ſpace of ſeuen yeares, & then was ſlaine by his companion Alectus, the which after him ruled Britaine for the ſpace of three yeares, and was in the end oppreſſed by the guile of Aſclepiodotus gouernour of the pretorie, or (as I maie call him) lord lieutenant of ſome precinct and iuriſdiction perteining to the Romane empire. And ſo was Britaine recouered by the foreſaid Aſclepiodotus about ten yeares after that Carauſius had firſt vſurped the gouernment there, and about the yeare of our Lord 300, as Polydor iudgeth, wherein he varieth much from Fabian and others.

The couetous practiſing of Carauſius.

Maximianus purpoſeth to ſlea Carauſius.

Polydor.

Eutropius.

300.

¶ But to ſhew what we find further written of the ſubduing of Alectus, I thinke it not amiſſe to ſet downe what Mamertinus in his oration written in praiſe of Maximianus doth report of this matter, which ſhall be perfourmed in the chapter following.

Mamertinus.

The ſubſtance of that which is written *touching Britaine in a panegyrike oration* aſcribed to *Mamertinus*, which he ſet foorth in *praiſe of the emperors Dioclesian and Maximian*: it is intituled onelie to Maximian, whereas neuertheleſſe *both the emperors are praiſed; and likewiſe (as ye may* perceiue) Conſtantius who was father to Conſtantine the great is here ſpoken of, being choſen by the two foreſaid emperors, to aſſiſt them by the name of Cæſar in rule of the empire: of whom hereafter more ſhall be ſaid.

The xxiiij. Chapter.

ALl the compaſſe of the earth (moſt victorious emperor) being now recouered through your noble proweſſe, not onelie ſo farre as the limits of the Romane empire had before extended, but alſo the enimies borders beeing ſubdued, when Almaine had beene ſo often vanquiſhed, and Sarmatia ſo often reſtreined & brought vnder, the people called Vitungi, Quadi, Carpi ſo often put to flight, the Goth ſubmitting himſelfe, the king of Perſia by offering gifts ſuing for peace: one deſpitefull reproch of ſo mightie an empire and gouernement ouer the whole greeued vs to the heart, as now at length we will not ſticke to confeſſe, and to vs it ſeemed the more intollerable, bicauſe it onlie remained to the accompliſhing of your perfect renowme and glorie. And verilie as there is but one name of Britaine, ſo was the loſſe to be eſtéemed ſmal to the common wealth of a land ſo plentifull of corne, ſo abundant with ſtore of paſtures, ſo flowing with veines of mettall, ſo gainfull with reuenues riſing of cuſtoms and tributes, ſo enuironed with hauens, ſo huge in circuit, the which when Ceſar, the founder of this your honourable title, being the firſt that entered into it, writ that he had found an other world, ſuppoſing it to be ſo big, that it was not compaſſed with the ſea, but that rather by reſemblance the great Ocean was compaſſed with it. Now at that time Britaine was nothing furniſhed with ſhips of warre; ſo that the Romans, ſone after the warres of Carthage and Aſia, had latelie beene exerciſed by ſea againſt pirats, and afterwards by reaſon of the warres againſt Mithridates, were practiſed as well to fight by ſea as land: beſides this, the Britiſh nation then alone was accuſtomed but onelie to the Picts and

Vitungi, Quadi, Carpi, and people of Germanie and Polonie.

Picts and Iriſhmen.

and Irishmen, enimies halfe naked as yet & not vsed to weare armor, so that the Britains for lacke of skill, easilie gaue place to the Romane puissance, insomuch that Cesar might by that voiage onelie glorie in this, that he had sailed and passed ouer the Ocean sea.

But in this wicked rebellious robberie, first the nauie that in times past defended the coasts of Gallia, was led away by the pirat when he fled his waies: and beside this, a great number of other ships were built after the mould of ours, the legion of Romane souldiers was won, and brought to take part with the enimie, and diuers bands of strangers that were also souldiers were shut vp in the ships to serue also against vs. The merchants of the parties of Gallia were assembled and brought together to the musters, and no small numbers of barbarous nations procured to come in aid of the rebels, trusting to inrich themselues by the spoile of the prouinces: and all these were trained in the wars by sea, through the instruction of the first attemptors of this mischieuous practise.

And although our armies were inuincible in force and manhood, yet were they raw and not accustomed to the seas, so that the fame of a greeuous and great trouble by warre that was toward by this shamefull rebellious robberie was blowne and sounded in ech mans eare, although we hoped well of the end. Vnto the enimies forces was added a long sufferance of their wicked practises without punishment, which had puffed vp the presumptuous boldnesse of desperate people, that they bragged of our stay, as it had bene for feare of them, whereas the disaduantage which we had by sea, seemed as it were by a fatall necessitie to deferre our victorie: neither did they beleeue that the warre was put off for a time by aduise and counsell, but rather to be omitted through despaire of doing anie good against them, insomuch that now the feare of common punishment being laid aside, one of the mates slue the archpirat or capteine rouer as I may call him, hoping in reward of so great an exploit, to obteine the whole gouernement into his hands.

Long sufferance of euill increaseth boldnesse in the authors.

Carausius slaine

This warre then being both so necessarie, so hard to enter vpon, so growne in time to a stubborne stiffenesse, and so well prouided for of the enimies part, you noble emperour did so take it in hand, that so soone as you bent the thundering force of your imperiall maiestie against that enimie, ech man made account that the enterprise was alreadie atchiued. For first of all, to the end that your diuine power being absent, the barbarous nations should not attempt anie new trouble (a thing chieflie to be foreseene) it was prouided for aforehand by intercession made vnto your maiestie: for you your selfe, you (I say) mightie lord Maximian eternall emperour, vouchedsafe to aduance the coming of your diuine excellencie by the neerest way that might be, which to you was not vnknowne. You therefore suddenlie came to the Rhine, and not with anie armie of horsemen or footmen, but with the terrour of your presence did preserue and defend all that frontire: for Maximian once being there vpon the riuage, counteruailed anie the greatest armies that were to be found. For you (most inuincible emperour) furnishing and arming diuers nauies, made the enimie so vncerteine of his owne doing and void of counsell, that then at length he might perceiue that he was not defended, but rather inclosed with the Ocean sea.

Here commeth to mind how pleasant and easefull the good lucke of those princes in gouerning the common wealth with praise was, which sitting still in Rome had triumphs and surnames appointed them of such nations as their capteins did banquish. Fronto therefore, not the second, but match with the first honor of the Romane eloquence, when he yelded vnto the emperor Antoninus the renowme of the warre brought to end in Britaine, although he sitting at home in his palace within the citie, had committed the conduct and successe of that warre ouer vnto the same Fronto, it was confessed by him, that the emperour sitting as it were at the helme of the ship, deserued the praise, by giuing of perfect order to the full accomplishing of the enterprise. But you (most inuincible emperour) haue bene not onlie the appointer forth how all this voiage by sea, and prosecuting the warre by land should bee demeaned, as apperteined to you by vertue of your imperiall rule and dignitie, but also you haue bene an exhorter and setter forward in the things themselues, and through example of your assured constancie, the victorie was atchiued. For you taking the sea at Sluice, did put an irreuocable desire into their hearts that were readie to take ship at the same time in the mouth of the riuer of Saine, insomuch that when the capteins of that armie did linger out the time, by reason the seas and aire was troubled, they cried to haue the sailes hoised vp, and signe giuen to lanch forth, that they might passe forward on their iournie, despising certeine tokens which threatened their wracke, and so set forward on a rainie and tempestuous day, sailing with a crosse wind, for no forewind might serue their turne.

Fronto coated Ciceros match.

But what was he that durst not commit himselfe vnto the sea, were the same neuer so vnquiet, when you were once vnder saile, and set forward? One voice and exhortation was among them all (as report hath gone thereof) when they heard that you were once got forth vpon the water, What do we dout? what mean we to staie? He is now losed from land, he is forward on his waie, and peraduenture is alreadie got ouer: Let vs put all things in

prose,

prowse, let vs venter through anie dangers of sea whatsoeuer. What is there that we may stand in feare of? we follow the emperour. Neither did the opinion of your good hap deceiue them: for as by report of them selues we dow vnderstand, at that selfe time there fell such a mist and thicke fog vpon the seas, that the enimies nauie laid at the Ile of wight watching for their aduersaries, and lurking as it were in await, these your ships passed by, and were not once perceiued, neither did the enimie then staie although he could not resist.

But now as concerning that the same vnvanquishable army fighting vnder your ensignes and name, streightwaies after it came to land, set fire on their ships; what moued them so to dow, except the admonitions of your diuine motion? Or what other reason perswaded them to reserue no furtherance for their flight, if need were, nor to feare the doubtfull chances of war, nor (as the prouerbe saith) to thinke the hazard of martiall dealings to be common, but that by contemplation of your prosperous hap, it was verie certeine that there needed no doubt to be cast for victorie to be obteined? There were no sufficient forces at that present among them, no mightie or puissant strength of the Romans, but they had onelie consideration of your vnspeakable fortunate successe comming from the heauens aboue. For whatsoeuer battell dooth chance to be offered, to make full account of victorie, resteth not so much in the assurance of the souldiers, as in the good lucke and felicitie of the capteine generall.

The good lucke in a capteine.

That same ringleader of the vngratious faction, what ment he to depart from that shore which he possessed? Why did he forsake both his nauie and the hauen? But that (most inuincible emperour) he stood in feare of your comming, whose sailes he beheld readie to approch towards him, how soeuer the matter should fall out, he chose rather to trie his fortune with your capteins, than to abide the present force of your highnes. Ah mad man! that vnderstood not, that whither so euer he fled, the power of your diuine maiestie to be present in all places where your countenance & banners are had in reuerence. But he flieing from your presence, fell into the hands of your people, of you was he ouercome, of your armies was he oppressed.

To be short, he was brought into such feare, and as it were still loking behind him, for doubt of your comming after him, that as one out of his wits and amazed, he wist not what to dow, he hasted forward to his death, so that he neither set his men in order of battell, nor marshalled such power as he had about him, but onlie with the old authors of that conspiracie, and the hired bands of the barbarous nations, as one forgetfull of so great preparation which he had made, ran headlong forwards to his destruction, insomuch (noble emperour) your felicitie yeldeth this good hap to the common wealth, that the victorie being atchiued in the behalfe of the Romane empire, there almost died not one Romane: for as I heare, all those fields and hills lay couered with none but onelie with the bodies of most wicked enimies, the same being of the barbarous nations, or at the least-wise apparelled in the counterfet shapes of barbarous garments, glistering with their long yellow haires, but now with gashes of wounds and blood all deformed, and lieng in sundrie manners, as the pangs of death occasioned by their wounds had caused them to stretch forth or draw in their mained limbs and mangled parts of their dieng bodies. And among these, the chiefe ringleader of the theeues was found, who had put off those robes which in his life time he had vsurped and dishonoured, so as scarse was he couered with one peece of apparell whereby he might be knowne, so neere were his words true, vttered at the houre of his death, which he saw at hand, that he would not haue it vnderstood how he was slaine.

Hectus found dead.

He had despoiled himselfe of the imperiall robes, because he would not be knowne if he chanced to be slaine.

Thus verelie (most inuincible emperour) so great a victorie was appointed to you by consent of the immortall gods ouer all the enimies whome you assailed, but namelie the slaughter of the Frankeners and those your souldiers also, which (as before I haue said) through milling their course by reason of the mist that lay on the seas, were now come to the citie of London, where they flue downe right in euerie part of the same citie, what multitude soeuer remained of those hired barbarous people, which escaping from the battell, ment (after they had spoiled the citie) to haue got awaie by flight. But now being thus slaine by your souldiers, the subiects of your prouince were both preserued from further danger, and tooke pleasure to behold the slaughter of such cruell enimies. O what a manifold victorie was this, worthie vndoubtedlie of innumerable triumphes! by which victorie Britaine is restored to the empire, by which victorie the nation of the Frankeners is vtterlie destroied, & by which manie other nations found accessaries in the conspiracie of that wicked practise, are compelled to obedience. To conclude, the seas are purged and brought to perpetuall quietnesse.

Francones siue Franci.

London in danger to be spoiled.

Glorie you therefore, inuincible emperour, for that you haue as it were got an other world, & in restoring to the Romane puissance the glorie of conquest by sea, haue added to the Romane empire an element greater than all the compasse of the earth, that is, the mightie maine ocean. You haue made an end of the warre (inuincible emperour) that seemed as present to threaten all prouinces, and might haue spred abroad and burst out in a flame, euen so largelie as the ocean seas stretch, and the mediterrane gulfs dow reach. Neither are we ignorant, although through feare of you that infection did fester within the bowels of

Britaine

Britaine onelie, and proceeded no further, with what furie it would haue aduanced it selfe else where, if it might haue bene assured of means to haue ranged abroad so far as it wished. For it was bounded in with no border of mounteine, nor riuer, which garrisons appointed were garded and defended but euen so as the ships, although we had your martiall prowes and prosperous fortune redie to relæue vs, & was still at our elbowes to put vs in feare, so farre as either sea reacheth or wind bloweth.

For that incredible boldnesse and vnworthie good hap of a few sillie captiues of the Frankeners in time of the emperour Probus came to our remembrance, which Frankeners in that season, conueieng awaie certeine vessels from the coasts of Pontus, wasted both Grecia and Asia, and not without great hurt and damage, arriuing vpon diuers parts of the shore of Libia, at length tooke the citie of Saragose in Sicile (an hauen towne in times past highlie renowned for victories gotten by sea:) & after this passing thorough the streicts of Giberalterra, came into the Ocean, and so with the fortunate successe of their rash presumptuous attempt, shewed how nothing is shut vp in safetie from the desperate boldnesse of pirats, where ships maie come and haue accesse. And so therefore by this your victorie, not Britaine alone is deliuered from bondage, but vnto all nations is safetie restored, which might by the vse of the seas come to as great perils in time of warre, as to gaine of commodities in time of peace.

The piracie of the Frankeners called Franci or Francones.

Now Spaine (to let passe the coasts of Gallia) with hir shores almost in sight is in suertie: now Italie, now Afrike, now all nations euen vnto the fens of Meotis are void of perpetuall cares. Neither are they lesse ioifull, the feare of danger being taken awaie, which to feele as yet the necessitie had not brought them: but they reioise so much the more for this, that both in the guiding of your prouidence, and also furtherance of fortune, so great a force of rebellion by seamen is calmed, vpon the entring into their borders, and Britaine it selfe which had giuen harbour to so long a mischiefe, is euidentlie knowne to haue tasted of your victorie, with hir onelie restitution to quietnesse. Not without good cause therfore immediatlie, when you hir long wished reuenger and deliuerer were once arriued, your maiestie was met with great triumph, & the Britains replenished with all inward gladnesse, came forth and offered themselues to your presence, with their wiues and children, reuerencing not onlie your selfe (on whom they set their eies, as on one descended downe to them from heauen) but also euen the sailes and tackling of that ship which had brought your diuine presence vnto their coasts: and when you should set foot on land, they were readie to lie downe at your feet, that you might (as it were) march ouer them, so desirous were they of you.

Britains restored to quietnes.

The Britains receiue Maximian with great ioy and humblenesse.

Neither was it anie maruell if they shewed them selues so ioifull, sith after their miserable captiuitie so manie yeares continued, after so long abusing of their wiues, and filthie bondage of their children, at length yet were they now restored to libertie, at length made Romans, at length refreshed with the true light of the imperiall rule and gouernement: for beside the fame of your clemencie and pitie, which was set forth by the report of all nations, in your countenance (Cesar) they perceiued the tokens of all vertues, in your face grauitie, in your eies mildnesse, in your ruddie cheekes bashfulnesse, in your words iustice: all which things as by regard they acknowledged, so with voices of gladnesse they signified on high. To you they bound themselues by vow, to you they bound their children: yea and to your children they vowed all the posteritie of their race and offspring.

Diocletian and Maximian.

We trulie (O perpetuall parents and lords of mankind) require this of the immortall gods with most earnest supplication and heartie praier, that our children and their children, and such other as shall come of them for euer hereafter, may be dedicated vnto you, and to those whom you now bring vp, or shall bring vp hereafter. For what better hap can we wish to them that shall succeed vs, than to be enioiers of that felicitie which now we our selues enioy? The Romane common wealth doth now comprehend in one coniunction of peace, all whatsoeuer at sundrie times haue belonged to the Romans, and that huge power which with too great a burden was shronke downe, and riuen in sunder, is now brought to ioine againe in the assured ioints of the imperiall gouernment. For there is no part of the earth nor region vnder heauen, but that either it remaineth quiet through feare, or subdued by force of armies, or at the leastwise bound by clemencie. And is there anie other thing else in other parts, which if will and reason should moue men thereto, that might be obteined? Beyond the Ocean, what is there more than Britaine, which is so recouered by you, that those nations which are nere adioining to the bounds of that Ile, are obedient to your commandements? There is no occasion that may moue you to passe further, except the ends of the Ocean sea, which nature forbiddeth should be sought for. All is yours (most inuincible princes) which are accounted worthie of you, and thereof commeth it, that you may equallie prouide for euerie one, sith you haue the whole in your maiesties hands. And therefore as heretofore (most excellent emperour Diocletian) by your commandement Asia did supplie the desert places of Thracia with inhabitants transported thither, as afterward

Nations nere to Britaine obeie the emperours.

(most

(most excellent emperour Maximian) by your appointment, the Frankeners at length brought to a pleasant subiection, and admitted to liue vnder lawes, hath peopled and manured the vacant fields of the Neruians, and those about the citie of Trier. And so now by your victories (inuincible Constantius Cesar) whatsoeuer did lie vacant about Amiens, Beauois, Trois, and Langres, beginneth to flourish with inhabitants of sundrie nations: yea and moreouer that your most obedient citie of Autun, for whose sake I haue a peculiar cause to reioise, by meanes of this triumphant victorie in Britaine, it hath receiued manie & diuerse artificers, of whom those prouinces were ful, and now by their workemanship the same citie riseth vp by repairing of ancient houses, and restoring of publike buildings and temples, so that now it accounteth that the old name of brotherlie incorporation to Rome, is againe to hir restored, when she hath you eftsoones for hir founder. I haue said (inuincible emperour) almost more than I haue bene able, & not so much as I ought, that I may haue most iust cause by your clemencies licence, both now to end, & often hereafter to speake: and thus I ceasse.

The printed booke hath Neruij, but I take the H, to be thrust in for N.

Artificers fourth of Britaine.

What is to be obserued and noted out of the panegyrike oration of Mamertinus afore remembred, with necessarie collections out of other Antiquaries.

The xxv. Chapter.

NOw let vs consider what is to be noted out of this part of the foresaid oration. It should seeme that when the emperour Maximian was sent into Gallia by appointment taken betwixt him and Diocletian, after he had quieted things there, he set his mind forthwith to reduce Britaine vnder the obedience of the empire, which was at that present kept vnder subiection of such princes as mainteined their state, by the mightie forces of such number of ships as they had got togither, furnished with all things necessarie, & namelie of able seamen, as well Britains as strangers, among whome the Frankeners were chiefe, a nation of Germanie, as then highly renowmed for their puissance by sea, neere to the which they inhabited, so that there were no rouers comparable to them.

Franci, or Frankeners, people of Germanie.

But because none durst stirre on these our seas for feare of the British fleet that passed to and fro at pleasure, to the great annoiance of the Romane subiects inhabiting alongst the coasts of Gallia, Maximian both to recouer againe so wealthie and profitable a land vnto the obeisance of the empire, as Britaine then was, and also to deliuer the people of Gallia subiect to the Romans, from danger of being dailie spoiled by those rouers that were mainteined here in Britaine, he prouided with all diligence such numbers of ships as were thought requisite for so great an enterprise, and rigging them in sundrie places, toke order for their setting forward to his most aduantage for the easie atchiuing of his enterprise. He appointed to passe himselfe from the coasts of Flanders, at what time other of captcines with their fleets from other parts should likewise make saile towards Britaine. By this meanes Alectus that had vsurped the title & dignitie of king or rather emperour ouer the Britains, knew not where to take heed, but yet vnderstanding of the nauie that was made readie in the mouth of Saine, hement by that which maie be coniectured, to intercept that fleet, as it should come forth and make saile forwards: and so for that purpose he laie with a great number of ships about the Ile of Wight.

But whether Asclepiodotus came ouer with that nauie which was rigged on the coasts of Flanders, or with some other, I will not presume to affirme either to or fro, because in deed Mamertinus maketh no expresse mention either of Alectus or Asclepiodotus: but notwithstanding it is euident by that which is conteined in his oration, that not Maximian, but some other of his captcins gouerned the armie, which slue Alectus, so that we maie suppose that Asclepiodotus was chiefteine ouer some number of ships directed by Maximians appointment to passe ouer into this Ile against the same Alectus: and so maie this, which Mamertinus writeth, agree with the truth of that which we do find in Eutropius. Eutropius.

Here is to be remembred, that after Maximians had thus recouered Britaine out of their hands that vsurped the rule thereof from the Romans, it should seeme that not onelie great numbers of artificers & other people were conueied ouer into Gallia, there to inhabit and furnish such cities as were run into decaie, but also a power of warlike youths was transported thither to defend the countrie from the inuasion of barbarous nations. For we find that in the daies of this Maximian, the Britains expelling the Neruians out of the citie of Mons in Henaud, held a castell there, which was called Bretaimons after them, whereupon the citie was afterward called Mons, reteining the last syllable onlie, as in such cases it hath often happened.

Moreouer this is not to be forgotten, that as Humfrey Lhoyd hath very well noted in his booke intituled *Fragmenta historiæ Britannicæ*, Mamertinus in this parcell of his panegyrike oration doth make first mention of the nation of Picts, of all other the ancient Romane writers: so that not one before his time once nameth Picts or Scots. But now to returne where we left.

The state of this Iland vnder bloudie *Diocletian the persecuting tyrant*, of Alban the first that suffered martyrdome in Britaine, *what miracles were wrought at his death*, whereof Lichfield tooke the name; of Coilus *earle of Colchester, whose daughter Helen was* maried to Constantius the emperour, as some authours suppose.

The xxvj. Chapter.

AFter that Britaine was thus recouered by the Romans, Diocletian and Maximian ruling the empire, the Iland tasted of the crueltie that Diocletian exercised against the christians, in persecuting them with all extremities, continuallie for the space of ten yeeres. A-

mongſt other, one Alban a citizen of Werlamcheſter, a towne now bearing his name, was the firſt that ſuffered here in Britaine in this perſecution, being conuerted to the faith by the zealous chriſtian Amphibalus, whom he receiued into his houſe: inſomuch that when there came ſergeants to ſéeke for the ſame Amphibalus, the foreſaid Alban to preſerue Amphibalus out of danger, preſented himſelfe in the apparell of the ſaid Amphibalus, & ſo being apprehended in his ſtead, was brought before the iudge and examined: and for that he refuſed to doo ſacrifice to the falſe gods, he was beheaded on the top of an hill ouer againſt the towne of Werlamcheſter aforeſaid where afterwards was builded a church and monaſterie in remembrance of his martyrdome, inſomuch that the towne there reſtored, after that Werlamcheſter was deſtroied, toke name of him, and ſo is vnto this day called ſaint Albons.

Beda and Gyldas.

It is reported by writers, that diuers miracles were wrought at the time of his death, inſomuch that one which was appointed to doo the execution, was conuerted, and refuſing to doo that office, ſuffered alſo with him: but he that toke vpon him to doo it, reioiſed nothing thereat, for his eies fell out of his head downe to the ground, togither with the head of that holie man which he had then cut off. There were alſo martyred about the ſame time two conſtant witneſſes of Chriſt his religion, Aaron and Julius, citizens of Caerleon Arwiske. Moreouer, a great number of Chriſtians which were aſſembled togither to heare the word of life, preached by that vertuous man Amphibalus, were ſlaine by the wicked pagans at Lichfield, whereof that towne toke name, as you would ſay, The field of dead corpſes.

Beda. Sée the booke of acts and monuments ſet forth by maſter Fox.

Iohn Roſſus. Warwicenſ. in lib. de Wigornienſ. epiſ. Lichfield whereof it toke name.

To be briefe, this perſecution was ſo great and grieuous, and thereto ſo vniuerſall, that in maner the Chriſtian religion was thereby deſtroied. The faithfull people were ſlaine, their bookes burnt, and churches ouerthrowne. It is recorded that in one moneths ſpace in diuers places of the world there were 17000 godlie men and women put to death, for profeſſing the chriſtian faith in the daies of that tyrant Diocleſian and his fellow Maximian.

Gyldas. Ran. Ceſtren. Matth. Weſt. Conſtantius.

CEolus earle of Colcheſter began his dominion ouer the Britains in the yeere of our Lord 262. This Coelus or Coell ruled the land for a certeine time, ſo as the Britains were well content with his gouernement, and liued the longer in reſt from inuaſion of the Romans, becauſe they were occupied in other places: but finallie they finding time for their purpoſe, appointed one Conſtantius to paſſe ouer into this Ile with an armie, the which Conſtantius put Coelus in ſuch dread, that immediatlie vpon his arriuall Coelus ſent to him an ambaſſage, and concluded a peace with him, couenanting to pay the accuſtomed tribute, & gaue to Conſtantius his daughter in mariage called Helen, a noble ladie and a learned. Shortlie after king Coell died, when he had reigned (as ſome write) 27 yeeres, or (as other haue) but 13 yeeres.

Coelus.

262

Fabian.

Gal. Mon. Fabian. Caxton.

¶ But by the way touching this Coelus, I will not denie, but aſſuredly ſuch a prince there was: howbeit that he had a daughter named Helen, whom he maried vnto Conſtantius the Romane lieutenant that was after emperor, I leaue that to be decided of the learned. For if the whole courſe of the liues, as well of the father and the ſonne Conſtantius and Conſtantine, as likewiſe of the mother Helen, be conſideratelie marked from time to time, and yeere to yeere, as out of authors both Greeke and Latine the ſame may be gathered, I feare leaſt ſuch doubt maie riſe in this matter, that it will be harder to proue Helen a Britaine, than Conſtantine to be borne in Bithynia (as Nicephorus auoucheth.) But forſomuch as I meane not to ſtep from the courſe of our countrie writers in ſuch points, where the receiued opinion may ſéeme to warrant the credit of the hiſtorie, I will with other admit both the mother and ſonne to be Britains in the whole diſcourſe of the hiſtorie following, as though I had forgot what in this place I haue ſaid.

Lib. 7. cap. 18.

A further diſcourſe of the forenamed *Conſtantius and Helen, his regiment ouer* this Iland, his behauiour and talke to his ſonne *and councellors as he lay on his death-bed, a deuiſe* that he put in practiſe to vnderſtand what *true Chriſtians he had in his court, his commendable* vertues, that the Britains in his time imbraced the chriſtian faith is prooued.

The xxvij. Chapter.

COnſtantius a ſenatour of Rome began to reigne ouer the Britains, in the yeere of our Lord 289, as our hiſtories report. This Conſtantius (as before ye haue heard) had to wife Helen the daughter of the foreſaid king Coel, of whome he begat a ſonne named Conſtantinus, which after was emperour, and for his worthie doings ſurnamed Conſtantine the great. S. Ambroſe following the common report, writeth that this Helen was a maid in an inne: and ſome againe write, that ſhe was concubine to Conſtantius, and not his wife. But what ſoeuer ſhe was, it appeareth by the writers of the Romane hiſtories, that Conſtantius being the daughters ſonne of one Criſpus, that was brother to the emperour Claudius, came into Britaine, and quieted the troubles that were raiſed by the Britains, and there (as ſome write) maried the foreſaid Helen, being a woman of an excellent beautie, whom yet [after] he was conſtreined to forſake, and to marrie Theodora the daughter in law of Herculeus Maximianus, by whome he had ſix ſonnes, and finallie was created emperour, togither with the ſaid Galerius Maximianus, at what time Diocleſianus and his fellow Herculeus Maximianus renounced the rule of the empire, and committed the ſame vnto them. The empire was then diuided betwixt them, ſo that to Conſtantius the regions of Italie, Affrike, France, Spaine and Britaine were aſſigned; & to Galerius, Illyricum, Grecia, and all the eaſt parts. But Conſtantine being a man void of ambition, was contented to leaue Italie and Affrike, ſuppoſing his charge to be great inough to haue the gouernement in his hands of France, Spaine, and Britaine (as Eutropius ſaith.)

Conſtantius.

Matth. Weſt. ſaith 302. 289

Oroſius. Beda.

Cuſpinian.

Fabian.

But as touching his reigne ouer the Britains, we haue not to ſay further than as we find in our owne writers recorded: as for his gouernement in the empire, it is to be conſidered, that firſt he was admitted to rule as an aſſiſtant to Maximian vnder the title of Ceſar: and ſo from that time if you ſhall account his reigne, it maie comprehend 11, 12, or 13 yeeres, yea more or leſſe, according to the diuerſitie found in writers. Howbeit, if we ſhall reckon his reigne from the time onelie that Diocleſian and Maximian reſigned their title vnto the empire, we ſhall find that he reigned not fullie three yeeres. For whereas betweene the ſlaughter of Alectus, and the comming of Conſtantius, are accounted 8 yeeres and od moneths, not onelie thoſe eight yeeres, but alſo ſome ſpace of time before maie be aſcribed vnto

Conſtan-

Constantius: for although before his comming ouer into Britaine now in this last time (for he had beene here afore, as it well appéereth) Asclepiodotus gouerning as legat, albeit vnder Constantius, who had a great portion of the west parts of the empire vnder his regiment, by the title, as I haue said, of Cesar, yet he was not said to reigne absolutelie, till Diocletian and Maximian resigned. But now to conclude with the doings of Constantius, at length he fell sicke at Yorke, and there died, about the yéere of our Lord 306.

306.

This is not to be forgotten, that whilest he laie on his death-bed, somewhat before he departed this life, hearing that his sonne Constantine was come, and escaped from the emperours Diocletian and Maximian, with whom he remained as a pledge (as after shall be partlie touched) he receiued him with all ioy, and raising himselfe vp in his bed, in presence of his other sonnes & counsellours, with a great number of other people and strangers that were come to visit him, he set the crowne vpon his sonnes head, and adorned him with other imperiall robes and garments, executing as it were him selfe the office of an herald, and withall spake these words vnto his said sonne, and to his counsellours there about him:

Niceph.

Now is my death to me more welcome, and my departure hence more pleasant, I haue heere a large epitaph and monument of buriall, to wit, mine owne sonne, and one whome in earth I leaue to be emperour in my place, which by Gods good helpe shall wipe away the teares of the Christians, and reuenge the cruelties exercised by tyrants. This I reckon to chance vnto me in steed of most felicitie.

Tripartit. hist.

After this, turning himselfe to the multitude, he commanded them all to be of good comfort, meaning those that had not forsaken true vertue and godlinesse in Christ, which Christ he vndertooke should continue with his sonne Constantine in all enterprises, which in warres or otherwise he should take in hand. What deuise also is worthie to be had in memorie, which he put in practise in his life time, to vnderstand what true and sincere Christians were remaining in his court. For whereas he had béene first a persecuter, and after was conuerted, it was a matter easie to perswade the world, that he was no earnest Christian: and so the policie which he thought to worke, was the sooner brought to passe, which was this.

He called togither all his officers and seruants, feining himselfe to chose out such as would do sacrifice to diuels, and that those onelie should remaine with him and keepe their office, and the rest that refused so to do, should be thrust out, and banished the court. Herevpon all the courtiers diuided themselues into companies: and when some offered willinglie to do sacrifice, and other some boldlie refused: the emperour marking their dealings, sharpelie rebuked those which were so readie to dishonour the liuing God, accounting them as traitours to his diuine maiestie, and not worthie to remaine within the court gates: but those that constantlie stood in the profession of the christian faith, he greatlie commended, as men worthie to be about a prince: and withall declared, that from thencefoorth they should be as chiefe counsellours and defenders both of his person and kingdome, esteeming more of them than of all the treasure he had in his coffers.

To conclude, he was a graue prince, sober, vpright, courteous and liberall, as he which kept his mind euer free from couetous desire of great riches: insomuch that when he should make anie great feast to his friends, he was not ashamed to borow plate and siluer vessell to serue his turne, and to furnish his cupbord for the time, being contented for himselfe to be serued in cruses & earthen vessels. He was wont

Pomponius Lætus.

to haue this saieng in his mouth, that better it was that the subiects should haue store of monie and riches, than the prince to keepe it close in his treasurie, where it serued to no vse. By such courteous dealing the prouinces which were in his charge flourished in great wealth and quietnesse. He was a verie wise and politike prince in the ordering of all weightie matters, and verie skilfull in the practise of warres, so that he stood the Romane empire in great steed, and was therefore highlie beloued of the souldiers, insomuch that immediatlie after his decease, they proclaimed his sonne Constantine emperour.

He died in the yéere 306, as Matt. West. hath noted, and reigned ouer the Britains but 11. yéeres as Galfr. saith.

That the christian faith was imbraced of the Britains in this season, it mate appéere, in that Hilarius bishop of Poictiers writeth to his brethren in Britaine, and Constantine in an epistle (as Theodoretus saith in his first booke and tenth chapter) maketh mention of the churches in Britaine: which also Sozomenus doth affirme. For the Britains after they had receiued the faith, defended the same euen with the shedding of their bloud, as Amphibalus, who in this Constantius daies being apprehended, suffered at Redburne nære to Werlamchester, about 15 yéeres after the martyrdome of his host S. Albane.

291.

Iohn Bale.

Constantine created emperour in Britaine, *he is sollicited to take vpon him the* regiment of those countries that his father gouerned, *he is requested to subdue Maxentius the* vsurping tyrant, Maximianus his father seeketh to *depose him, Constantines death is purposed by the said Maximianus* the father & his sonne Maxentius, Fausta the daughter of Maximianus & wife to Constantine detecteth hir fathers trecherie to hir husband, Maximianus is strangled at Constantines commandement, league and alliance betweene him and Licinius, he is slaine, the empresse Helen commended, the crosse of Christ found with the inscription of the same, what miracles were wrought thereby, of the nailes wherewith Christ was crucified, Constantine commended, the state of Britaine in his time.

The xxviij Chapter.

Constantine.

306

Constantine being the son of the forenamed Constantius, begot of his first wife Helen, the daughter (as some affirme) of Coell late king of the Britains, began to reigne in the yéere of our Lord 306. This worthie prince begotten of a British woman, & borne of hir in Britaine (as our writers do affirme) and created certeinlie emperour in Britaine, did doubtlesse make his natiue countrie partaker of his high glorie and renowme, which by his great prowes, politike wisedome, worthie gouernment, and other his princelie qualities most abundantlie planted in his noble person, he purchased and got thorough the circuit of the whole earth, insomuch that for the high enterprises and noble acts by him happilie brought to passe and atchiued, he was surnamed (as before is said) the great Constantine. Whilest this Constantine remained at Rome in manner as he had béene a pledge with Galerius in his fathers life time, he being then but yong, fled from thence, and with all post hast returned to his father into Britaine, killing or hoolting by the waie all such horses as were appointed to stand at innes readie for such as should ride in post, least being pursued, he should haue béene ouertaken, and brought backe againe by such as might be sent to pursue him.

Eutropius. Sextus Aurelius Victor.

At his comming into Britaine, he found his fa-

ther sore vered with sickenesse, whereof shortlie after he died, and then was he by helpe of such as were about him, incouraged to take vpon him as emperour: and namelie one Erocus king of the Almains, which had accompanied his father thither, assisted him thereto, so that being proclaimed emperour, he toke vpon him the rule of those countries which his father had in gouernment, that is to saie, France, Spaine, the Alpes, and Britaine, with other prouinces here in the west: and ruling the same with great equitie and wisdome, he greatly wan the fauour of the people, insomuch that the fame of his politike gouernment and courteous dealing being spred abroad, when Maxentius the tyrant that occupied the rule of the empire at Rome, and in Italie by wrongfull vsurping & abusing the same, was grown into the hatred of the Romans and other Italians, Constantine was earnestlie by them requested to come into Italie, and to helpe to subdue Maxentius, that he might reforme the state of things there.

Erocus king of the Almains.

Maxentius the tyrant.

This Maxentius was sonne to Herculeus Maximianus, and Constantine had married Fausta the daughter of the said Maximianus. Now so it was, that Maximianus, immediatlie after that his sonne Maxentius had taken the rule vpon him, sought meanes to haue deposed him, and to haue resumed and taken estsoones into his owne hands the gouernment of the empire. But soliciting Diocletian to do the like, he was much reproued of him for his vnreasonable and ambitious purpose: so that when he perceiued that neither Diocletian would be thereto agreeable, nor induce the souldiers to admit him, they hauing alreadie established his sonne, began to deuise waies how to assure the state more stronglie to his said sonne. And hearing that his sonne in law Constantine was minded to come into Italie against him, he purposed to practise Constantines destruction, insomuch that it was iudged by this which followed, that Herculeus Maximianus did but for a colour seeme to mislike that which his said son Maxentius had done, to the end he might the sooner accomplish his intent for the dispatching of Constantine out of the waie.

Dissimulation.

Hereupon (as it were) fleeing out of Italie, he came to Constantine, who as then hauing appointed lieutenants vnder him in Britaine, remained in France, and with all ioy and honour that might be, receiued his father in law: the which being earnestlie bent to compasse his purpose, made his daughter Fausta priuie thereto: which ladie (either for feare least the concealing thereof might turne hir to displeasure, either else for the entire loue which she bare to hir husband) reuealed hir fathers wicked purpose. Whereupon whilest Constantine went about to be reuenged of such a traitorous practise, Herculeus fled to Marsiles, purposing there to take the sea, and so to retire to his sonne Maxentius into Italie. But yer he could get awaie from thence, he was strangled by commandement of his sonne in law Constantine, and so ended his life, which he had spotted with manie cruell acts, as well in persecuting the professours of the christian name, as others.

Ranulphus Cestrensis.

Fausta the daughter of Maximianus and wife to Constantine.

Marsiles.

Maximianus slaine. Ann. Chri. 322.

In this meane time had Maximianus adopted one Licinius to assist him in gouernance of the empire, proclaiming him Cesar. So that now at one selfe time Constantine gouerned France and the west parts of the empire, Maxentius held Italie, Affrike, and Aegypt: and Maximianus which likewise had beene elected Cesar, ruled the east parts, and Licinius Illyrium and Grecia. But shortlie after, the emperour Constantine ioined in league with Licinius, and gaue to him his sister in marriage, named Constantia, for more suertie of faithfull friendship to indure betwixt them. He sent him also against Maximianus, who gouerning in the east part of the empire, purposed the destruction of Constantine and all his partakers: but being vanquished by Licinius at Tarsus, he shortlie after died, being taken with lice. Constantine after this was called into Italie, to deliuer the Romans and Italians from the tyrannie of Maxentius, which occasion he offered. Constantine gladlie accepting, passed into Italie, and after certeine victories got against Maxentius, at length slue him.

Licinius chosen fellow with Maximianus in the empire.

After this, when Maximianus was dead, who prepared to make warre against Licinius, that had married Constantia the sister of Constantine, he finallie made warre against his brother in law the said Licinius, by reason of such quarrels as fell out betwixt them. In the which warre Licinius was put to the worse, and at length comming into the hands of Constantine, was put to death, so that Constantine by this meanes got the whole empire vnder his rule and subiection. He was a great fauourer of the Christian religion, insomuch that to aduance the same, he toke order for the conuerting of the temples dedicated to the honour of idols, vnto the seruice of the true and almightie God. He commanded also, that none should be admitted to serue as a souldier in the warres, except he were a christian, nor yet to haue rule of anie countrie or armie. He also ordeined, the weeke before Easter, and that which followed to be kept as holie, and no person to do anie bodilie works during the same.

Christians honoured and cherished.

He was much counselled by that noble and most vertuous ladie his mother, the empresse Helen, who being a godlie and deuout woman, did what in hir laie, to moue him to the setting forth of Gods honour and increase of the christian faith, wherein as yet he was not fullie instructed. ¶ Some writers alledge, that she being at Jerusalem, made diligent search to find out the place of the sepulchre of our Lord, and at length found it, though with much adoe: for the infidels had stopped it vp, and couered it with a heape of filthie earth, and builded aloft vpon the place, a chapell dedicated to Venus, where yong women vsed to sing songs in honour of that vnchast goddesse. Helen caused the same to be ouerthrowne, the earth to be remoued, and the place cleansed, so that at length the sepulchre appered, and fast by were found there buried in the earth three crosses and the nailes. But the crosse whereupon our Sauiour was crucified, was knowne by the title written vpon it, though almost worne out, in letters of Hebrew, Greeke, and Latine: the inscription was this, *Iesus Nazarenus rex Iudæorum*. It was also perceiued which was that crosse by a miracle (as it is reported, but how trulie I can not tell) that should be wrought thereby: for being laid to a sicke woman, onlie with the touching thereof she was healed. It was also said, that a dead man was raised from death to life, his bodie onlie being touched therewith. Whereupon Constantine moued with these things, forbad that from thencefoorth anie should be put to death on the crosse, to the end that the thing which afore time was accounted infamous and reprochfull, might now be had in honour and reuerence.

Polydor. The praise of the empresse Helen.

3 2 8

The empresse Helen hauing thus found the crosse, builded a temple there, & taking with hir the nailes, returned with the same to hir sonne Constantine, who set one of them in the crest of his helmet, an other in the bridle of his horse, and the third he cast into the sea, to allwage and pacifie the furious tempests and rage thereof. She also brought with hir a parcell of that holie crosse, and gaue it to hir sonne the said Constantine, the which he caused to be closed within an image that represented his person, standing vpon a piller in the market place of Constantine, or (as some

Polydor.

Polydor.

some late writers haue) he caused it to be inclosed in a coffer of gold, adorned with rich stones and pearls, placing it in a church called Sessoriana, the which church he indued with manie great gifts and precious ornaments. Manie workes of great zeale and vertue are remembered by writers to haue beene done by this Constantine and his mother Helen, to the setting forth of Gods glorie, and the aduancing of the faith of Christ. But to be briefe, he was a man in whome manie excellent vertues and good qualities both of mind and bodie manifestlie appeered, chieflie he was a prince of great knowledge and experience in warre, and therewith verie fortunate, an earnest louer of iustice, and to conclude, borne to all honour.

The commendation of Constantine.

But now to speake somewhat of the state of Britaine in his time, ye shall vnderstand, that as before is recorded, at his going ouer into France, after that he was proclaimed emperour, he left behind him in Britaine certeine gouernours to rule the land, amongst other one Maximinus a right valiant capteine. He toke with him a great part of the youth of Britaine, and diuerse of the chiefe men amongst the nobilitie, in whose approued manhood, loialtie, and constancie, he conceiued a great hope to go thorough with all his enterprises, as with the which being accompanied and compassed about, he passed ouer into Gallia, entred into Italie, and in euerie place ouercame his enimies.

Gulielmus Malmes. Britains serueing in the warres vnder Constantine.

Some write that Constantine thus conueieng ouer sea with him a great armie of Britains, and by their industrie obteining victorie as he wished, he placed a great number of such as were discharged out of wages, and licenced to giue ouer the warre, in a part of Gallia towards the west sea coast, where their posteritie remaine vnto this daie, maruellouslie increased afterwards, and somewhat differing from our Britains, the Welshmen, in manners and language. Amongst those noble men which he toke with him when he departed out of this land (as our writers do testifie) were three vncles of his mother Helen, that is to say, Hoelmus, Trahernus, and Marius, whome he made senators of Rome.

Galfridus. Mart. West.

Of Octauius a British lord, his reigne *ouer the Britains, he incountereth with* Traherne first neere Winchester, and afterwards *in Westmerland: Octauius being discomfited* fleeth into Norway, Traherne is slaine, Octauius *sendeth for Maximianus, on whom he bestoweth his daughter* and the kingdome of Britaine: the death of Octauius, Helena builded the wals of Colchester and London, she dieth and is buried, Constantine departeth this life, Britaine reckoned among the prouinces that reteined the christian faith, Paulus a Spaniard is sent into Britaine, he dealeth roughlie with the people. Martinus the lieutenant excuseth them as innocent, his vnluckie end, Paulus returneth into Italie.

The xxix. Chapter.

NOw in the meane time that Constantine had obteined and ruled the whole empire, Britaine as it were hauing recouered libertie, in that one of hir children being hir king, had got the gouernment of the whole earth, remained in better quiet than afore time she had done. But yet in the meane season, if we shall credit the British chronicle and Geffrey of Monmouth the interpretor thereof; there was a British lord, named Octauius or Octauian, as the old English chronicle nameth him, that was duke of the Gewilles, and appointed by Constantine to be ruler of the land in his absence, the which Octauius (after that Constantine had recouered Rome and Italie, and was so busied in the affaires of the empire in those parts, that as was thought, he could not returne backe into Britaine) setzed into his hands the whole dominion of Britaine, and held himselfe for king.

Octauius. Caxton. Gewilles inhabited the countrie which the west Saxons after held.

The name of Gewilles came in with the Saxons of Guny, &c.

THis Octauius then beginning his reigne ouer the Britains in the yeere of our Lord 329, prouoked Constantine to send against him one of his mothers vncles, the foresaid Traherne. This Trahernus, or as some name him Traherne, entred this land with three legions of souldiers, & in a field neere vnto Winchester, was incountered by Octauius and his Britains, by whome after a sore battell there striken betwixt them, in the end Traherne was put to flight and chased, insomuch that he was constreined to forsake that part of the land, and to draw towards Scotland. Octauius hauing knowledge of his passage, followed him, & in the countrie of Westmerland eftsones gaue him battell, but in that battell Octauius was put to the woorse, and constreined to forsake the land, fled into Norway, there to purchase aid: and being readie with such power as he there gathered, what of Britains and Norwegians, to returne into Britaine. Before his landing, he was aduertised that an earle of Britaine which bare him heartie good will, had by treason slaine Traherne. Octauius then comming to land, eftsones got possession of Britaine, which should be (as Fabian gathereth) about the yeere of our Lord 329, in the 20 yeere of the reigne of the emperour Constantine, and about two yeeres after that the said Octauius first toke vpon him to rule as king.

Octauius.

Galfridus. 329 Fabian.

Galfridus. This agreeth not altogither with that which Hector Boetius writeth, as in the Scotish chronicle appeereth.

Traherne slaine. See in the Scotish chronicles more of these matters. Matth. West. saith 316.

After this (as the British chronicle affirmeth) Octauius gouerned the land right noblie, and greatlie to the contentation of the Britains. At length when he was fallen in age, and had no issue but one daughter, he was counselled to send vnto Rome for one Maximianus, a noble young man, cosine to the emperour Constantine, on the part of his mother Helena, to come into Britaine, and to take to his wife the said daughter of Octauius, and so with hir to haue the kingdome. Octauius at the first meant to haue giuen hir in mariage vnto one Conan Meridoc duke of Cornewall, which was his nephue: but when the lords would not thereto agree, at the length he appointed one Maurice sonne to the said Conan to go to Rome to fetch the forenamed Maximianus.

Maximianus is sent for.

Conan Meridoc duke of Cornewall.

This agreeth not with that which is found in the Scotish chronicles.

Maurice according to his commission and instruction in that behalfe receiued, came to Rome, and declared his message in such effectuall sort, that Maximianus consented to go with him into Britaine, and so taking with him a conuenient number, set forward, and did so much by his iournies, that finallie he landed here in Britaine. And notwithstanding that Conan Meridoc past not so much to haue beene doing with him, for malice that he conceiued towards him, because he saw that by his meanes he should be put beside the crowne, yet at length was Maximianus safelie brought to the kings presence, and of him honorablie receiued, and finallie the mariage was knit vp, and solemnized in all princelie maner. Shortlie after, Octauius departed out of this life, after he had reigned the terme of fiftie and foure yeares, as Fabian gathereth by that which diuers authors do write, how he reigned till the daies that Gratian and Valentinian ruled the Roman empire which began to gouerne in the yeare of our Lord (as he saith) 382, which is to be vnderstood of Gratian his reigne after the decease of his vncle Valens, for otherwise a doubt maie rise, because Valentine the father of Gratian admitted the said Gratian to the title of Augustus in the yeare of our Lord 351.

Maximianus commeth into Britaine.

Octauius departeth this life.

382.

But to leaue the credit of the long reigne of Octauius, with all his and others gouernement and rule ouer the Britains since the time of Constantius, vnto our British and Scotish writers, let vs make an end with the gouernement of that noble emperour Constantine, an assured branch of the Britains race, as borne of that worthie ladie the empresse Helen, daughter to Coell earle of Colchester, and after king of Britaine (as our histories do witnesse.) Vnto the which empresse Constantine bare such dutifull reuerence, that he did not onelie honour hir with the name of empresse, but also made hir as it were partaker with him of all his wealth, and in manie things was led and ruled by hir vertuous and godlie admonitions, to the aduancement of Gods honour, and maintenance of those that professed the true christian religion. For the loue that she bare vnto Colchester and London, she walled them about, and caused great bricke and huge tiles to be made for the performance of the same, whereof there is great store to be séene euen yet to this present, both in the walls of the towne and castell of Colchester, as a testimonie of the workemanship of those daies. She liued 79 yeares, and then departed this life about the 21 yeare of hir sonnes reigne. First she was buried at Rome without the walls of the cittie with all funerall pompe, as to hir estate apperteined: but after hir corps was remoued and brought to Constantinople, where it was eftsoones interred. Hir sonne the emperour Constantine liued till about the yeare of Christ 340, and then deceassed at Nicomedia in Asia, after he had ruled the empire 32 yeares and od moneths.

Nicephorus. The empresse Helen departeth this life.

340

The deceasse of the emperour Constantine.

We find not in the Romane writers of anie great stur here in Britaine during his reigne more than the British and Scotish writers haue recorded: so that after Traherne had reduced this land to quietnesse, it maie be supposed, that the Britains liued in rest vnder his gouernement, and likewise after vnder his sonnes that succéeded him in the empire, till about the yeare 360, at what time the Picts and Scots inuaded the south parts of the land.

360.

But now to end with Octauius, that the christian faith remained still in Britaine, during the supposed time of this pretended kings reigne, it maie appeare, in that amongst the 36 prouinces, out of the which there were assembled aboue 300 bishops in the cittie of Sardica in Dacia, at a synod held there against the Eusebians, Britaine is numbred by Athanasius in his second apologie to be one. And againe, the said Athanasius in an epistle which he writeth to the emperour Iouinianus reciteth, that the churches in Britaine did consent with the churches of other nations in the confession of faith articuled in the Nicene councell. Also mention is made by writers of certeine godlie & learned men, which liued in offices in the church in those daies, as Restitutus bishop of London, which went ouer to the synod held at Arles in France, and also one Kibius Cornnius sonne to Salomon duke of Cornewall, and bishop of Anglesey, who instructed the people that inhabited the parts now called Northwales, and them of Anglesey aforesaid verie diligentlie.

Synodus anno. 351.

But now to speake somewhat of things chancing in Britaine about this season (as we find recorded by the Romane writers) some trouble was likelie to haue growne vnto the Britains by receiuing certeine men of warre that fled out of Italie into Britaine, whome the emperour Constantius would haue punished, because they had taken part with Parentius his aduersarie. Paulus a Spaniard and notarie was sent ouer by him, with commission to make inquirie of them, and to see them brought to light to answere their transgressions: which Paulus began to deale roughlie in the matter, whereof he was called Catera, and to rage against the Britains and partakers with the fugitiues, in that they had receiued and mainteined them, as he alledged: but in the end being certified by Martinus the lieutenant of their innocencie, and fearing least his extreame rigour might alienate the hearts of the inhabitants altogither, and cause them to withdraw their obedience from the Romane empire, he turned the execution of his furie from them vnto the Romans, and made hauocke of those that he suspected, till the said Martinus fell at square with him, & thinking on a time to kill him, he drew his sword and smote at him. But such was his age and weakenesse, that he was not able to kill him or giue him anie deadlie wound: wherefore he turned the point of his sword against himselfe, and so ended his life, being contented rather to die than sée his countriemen and subiects of the empire so to be abused. After this the said Paulus returned backe againe into Italie from whence he came, after whose departure, it was not long yer he also was slaine, and then all the Scots and Picts sore disquieted the Romane subiects, for the suppressing of whose attempts Lupicinus was sent ouer out of Gallia by Iulianus, as shall be declared out of Amianus Marcellinus, after we haue first shewed what we find written in our owne writers concerning the Scots and Picts, who now began to rob and spoile the British inhabitants within the Romane prouinces here in this Ile, and that euen in most outragious maner.

Marcellinus. lib. 14. Paulus a notarie.

Martinus lieutenant.

Maximianus or Maximus gouerneth *this Ile, why writers speake ill of him, strife* betwixt him and Conan duke of Cornewall, *Maximus is proclaimed emperour in Britaine, he* transporteth the British youth seruiceable for warres *into France, little Britaine in France why so called, eleuen* thousand maids sent thither to match with Conans people, whereof some were drowned, and other some murthered in the way by Guanius king of Hunnes and Melga king of Picts, they flie into Ireland, murther requited with murther, the words of Gyldas concerning Maximus.

The xxx. Chapter.

Maximianus or Maximus

AFter the deceasse of Octauius or Octauian (as the old English chronicle nameth him) Martinianus or Martinus (as the Romane writers call him) began to rule the Britains in the yére of our Lord 383, he was the sonne of one Leonine, and cosen germane to Constantine the great, a valiant personage, & hardie of stomach: but yet because he was cruell of nature, and (as Fabian saith) somewhat persecuted the christians, he was infamed by writers: but the chiefe cause why he was euill reported, was for that he slue his soueraigne lord the emperour Gratianus, as after shall appeare, for otherwise he is supposed worthie to haue had the rule of the empire committed to his hands in ech respect. Betwixt him and the abouenamed Conan Meridoc duke of Cornewall, chanced strife and debate, so that Conan got him into Scotland, and there purchasing aid, returned, and comming ouer Humber, wasted the countrie on ech side. Martinianus thereof hauing aduertisement, raised his power and went against him, and so fighting with him diuers battels, sometime departed awaie with victorie, and sometime with losse. At length through me-

383

ation

ation of friends, a peace was made betwixt them. Finallie this Maximianus, or (as the Romane hiſtories ſay) Maximus, was by the ſouldiers choſen and proclaimed emperour here in Britaine: although ſome write that this was done in Spaine.

After he had taken vpon him the imperiall dignitie, vpon deſire to haue inlarged his dominion, he aſſembled togither all the choſen youth of this land meet to doo ſeruice in the warres, with the which he paſſed ouer into France, & there (as our writers record) he firſt ſubdued the countrie ancientlie called Armorica, and ſlue in battell the king thereof called Imball. This done he gaue the countrie vnto Conan Meridoc, which was there with him, to hold the ſame of him, and of the kings of great Britaine for euer. He alſo commanded that the ſaid countrie from thenceforth ſhould be called litle Britaine, and ſo was the name changed. What people ſoeuer inhabited there before, the ancient name argueth that they were rather Britains than anie other: for Armorica in the Britiſh tong ſignifieth as much as a countrie lieng vpon the ſea.

Gal. Mon. Fabian. Caxton. Matth. Weſt. The Britiſh youth led forth of the realme by Maximus.

Britaine in France.

Conan then placing himſelfe and his Britains in that quarter of Gallia, auoided all the old inhabitants, peopling that countrie onelie with Britains, which abhorring to ioine themſelues with women borne in Gallia, Conan was counſelled to ſend into Britaine for maids to be coupled with his people in mariage. Herevpon a meſſenger was diſpatched vnto Dionethus at that time duke of Cornwall, and gouernour of Britaine vnder Maximianus, requiring him to ſend ouer into little Britaine 11000 maids, that is to ſay, 8000 to be beſtowed vpon the meaner ſort of Conans people, and 3000 to be ioined in mariage with the nobles and gentlemen. Dionethus at Conans requeſt, aſſembled the appointed number of maids, and amongſt them he alſo appointed his daughter Urſula, a ladie of excellent beautie, to go ouer and to be giuen in mariage to the foreſaid Conan Meridoc, as he had earneſtlie requeſted.

Dionethus duke of Cornwall.

Maids ſent forth.

These number of maids were ſhipped in Thames, and paſſing forward toward Britaine, were by force of weather and rage of wind ſcattered abroad, and part of them drowned, and the reſidue (among whom was the foreſaid Urſula) were ſlaine by Guanius king of the Hunnes, and Melga king of the Picts, into whoſe hands they fell, the which Guanius and Melga were ſent by the emperour Gracian to the ſea coaſts of Germanie, to oppreſſe and ſubdue all ſuch as were friends and maintainers of the part of Maximianus. We find in ſome bookes, that there were ſent ouer at that time 51000 maids, that is to ſay, 11000 gentlewomen, and 40000 other.

Urſula the daughter of Dionethus.

After that Guanius and Melga had murthered the foreſaid virgins, they entred into the north parts of Britaine, where the Scots now inhabit, and began to make ſore warre on the Britains, whereof when Maximus was aduertiſed, he ſent into Britaine one Gratianus with three legions of ſouldiers, who bare himſelfe ſo manfullie againſt the enimies, that he conſtreined the ſaid Guanius and Melga to flie out of the land, and to withdraw into Ireland. In this meane while, Maximus hauing ſlaine the emperour Gratian at Lions in France, and after entring into Italie, was ſlaine himſelfe at Aquileia (after he had gouerned the Britains eight yeeres) by the emperour Theodoſius, who came in aid of Valentinian, brother to the ſaid emperour Gratian, as ye may find in the abridgement of the hiſtories of Italie.

Guanius and Melga.

¶ But here yet before we make an end with this Maximus or Maximianus, I haue thought good to ſet downe the words which we find in Gyldas, where he writeth of the ſame Maximus, a moſt deadlie a Britaine borne, nephue to the empreſſe Helen, and begotten by a Romane. At length (ſaith Gyldas) the ſpring of tyrants budding vp, and now increaſing into an huge wood, the Ile being called after the name of Rome, but holding neither maners nor lawes according to that name, but rather caſting the ſame from it, ſendeth forth a branch of hir moſt bitter planting, to wit Maximus, accompanied with a great number of warriors to gard him, and apparelled in the imperiall robes which he neuer ware as became him, nor put them on in lawfull wiſe, but (after the cuſtome of tyrants) was put into them by the mutining ſouldiers: which Maximus at the firſt by craftie policie rather than by true manhood winding in (as nets of his periurie and falſe ſuggeſtion) vnto his wicked gouernement the countries & prouinces next adioining, againſt the imperiall ſtate of Rome, ſtretching one of his wings into Spaine, and the other into Italie, placed the throne of his moſt vniuſt empire at Trier, and ſhewed ſuch rage in his wood dealing againſt his ſouereigne lords, that the one of the lawfull emperours he expelled out of Rome, and the other he bereft of his moſt religious and godlie life. Now without long tariance, compaſſed about with ſuch a furious and bold gard as he had got togither, at the citie of Aquileia he loſeth his wicked head, which had caſt downe the moſt honourable heads of all the world from their kingdome and empire.

Conſobrinus Helenæ imperatricis.

From thenceforth Britaine being depriued of all hir warlike ſouldiers and armies, of hir gouernors alſo (though cruell) and of an huge number of hir youth (the which following the ſteps of the foreſaid tyrant, neuer returned home againe) ſuch as remained being vtterlie vnskilfull in feats of warre, were troden downe by two nations of beyond the ſeas, the Scots from the weſt, and the Picts from the north, and as men thus quite diſmaid, lament their miſerable caſe, not knowing what elſe to doo for the ſpace of manie yeeres togither. By reaſon of whoſe greeuous inuaſion and cruell oppreſſion wherewith ſhe was miſerablie diſquieted, ſhe ſendeth hir ambaſſadors vnto Rome, making lamentable ſute euen with teares to haue ſome power of men of warre ſent to defend hir againſt the enimies, promiſing to be true ſubiects with all faithfulnes of mind, if the enimie might be kept off and remoued. Thus ſaith Gyldas, and more, as in place hereafter you ſhall find recited.

Scotorum à circio, Pictorum ab aquilone.

What Gratianus it was that was ſent ouer from Rome into Britaine by Maximus, in what eſtimation the Britiſh ſouldiers haue beene, the priuie treaſon of Andragatius whereby Gratian came to his end: Maximus and his ſonne victor doo ſucceed him in the empire, they are both ſlaine, Marcus the Romane lieutenant ſucceeding them is murthered, Gratianus alſo his ſucceſſour hath the ſame end, the election of Conſtantine a Britaine borne, his praiſe and diſpraiſe reported by writers, he goeth into France, maketh his ſonne Conſtance partaker with him of the empire, a ſharpe incounter betwixt his power and two brethrens that had the keeping of the Pyrenine hils, the iſſue of the battell.

The xxxj. Chapter.

BVt now where the Britiſh hiſtories, and ſuch of our Engliſh writers as follow them, make mention of one Gratianus a Romane, ſent ouer with three legions of ſouldiers by Maximus, as before ye haue heard: we

maie

maie suppose that it was Gratianus the Britaine, that afterwards vsurped the imperiall dignitie héere in Britaine, in the daies of the emperour Honorius.

Sextus Aurelius.

For it standeth neither with the concurrence of time nor yet with reason of the historie, that it should be Gratianus, surnamed Funarius, father to Valentinian, and grandfather to the emperour Gratianus, against whome Maximus rebelled. And yet I remember not that anie of the Romane writers maketh mention of anie other Gratianus, being a stranger, that should be sent hither as lieutenant to gouerne the Romane armie, except of the foresaid Gratianus Funarius, who (as appéereth by Amian. Marcellinus) was generall of the Romane armie héere in this Ile, and at length being discharged, returned home into Hungarie (where he was borne) with honour, and there remaining in rest, was at length spoiled of his goods by the emperour Constantius as confiscate, for that in time of the ciuill warres he had receiued Maxentius, as he past thorough his countrie.

Lib. 30.

But let vs grant, that either Gratianus the Britaine, or some other of that name, was sent ouer into Britaine (as before is said) by Maximus, least otherwise some errour may be doubted in the writers of the British histories, as hauing haplie mistaken the time and matter, bringing Gratianus Funarius to serue vnder Maximus, where peraduenture that which they haue read or heard of him, chanced long before that time by them supposed: and so thorough mistaking the thing, haue made a wrong report, where neuertheless it standeth with great likelihood of truth, that some notable seruice of chiualrie was atchiued by the same Gratianus Funarius whilest he remained héere in this Ile, if the truth might be knowne of that which hath béene written by authors, and haplie by the same Am. Marcellinus, if his first thirtéene bookes might once come to light and be extant.

But now to end with Maximus. William of Malmesburie (as ye haue heard) writeth, that not Maximus, but rather Constantine the great first peopled Armorica: but yet he agréeth, that both Maximus, and also Constantinus the vsurper, of whome after ye shall heare, led with them a great number of the Britains out of this land, the which Maximus or Maximianus and Constantinus afterwards being slaine, the one by Theodosius, and the other by Honorius, the Britains that followed them to the warres, part of them were killed, and the residue escaping by flight, withdrew vnto the other Britains which Constantine the great had first placed in Armorica. And so when the tyrants had left none in the countrie but rude people, nor anie in the townes but such as were giuen to slouth and gluttonie, Britaine being void of all aid of hir valiant youth, became a prey to hir next neighbours the Scots and Picts.

Héere is yet to be considered, in what price the souldiers of the British nation were had in those daies, with whose onelie puissance Maximus durst take vpon him to go against all other the forces of the whole Romane empire: and how he prospered in that dangerous aduenture, it is expressed sufficientlie in the Romane histories, by whose report it appéereth, that he did not onlie conquer all the hither parts of France and Germanie, namelie on this side the Rhine, but also found meanes to intrap the emperour Gratian by this kind of policie. He had a faithfull friend called Andragatius, who was admirall of the seas perteining to the empire. It was therefore agréed betwixt them, that this Andragatius (with a chosen companie of the armie) should be carried in secret wise in a coch toward Lions, as if it had béene Constantia Posthumia the empresse, wife to the emperour Gratian, hauing abroad therewithall, that the said empresse was comming forwards on hir waie to Lions, there to méet with hir husband, for that vpon occasion she was verie desirous to commune with him about certeine earnest businesse.

W. H. out of Paulus Diaco. lib. 12. & alijs.

Tripart. hist. lib. 9. cap. 21.

When Gratian heard héereof, as one mistrusting no such dissimulation, he made hast to mæte his wife, and comming at length without anie great gard about him, as one not in doubt of anie treason, approched the coch, where supposing to find his wife, he found those that streightwaies murthered him: so was he there dispatched quite of life by the said Andragatius, who leapt forth of the coch to worke that feate when he had him once within his danger.

Thus did the emperour Gratian finish his life in the 29 yéere of his age, on the 25 of August, in the yéere of Christ 383, and then died. Maximus succeeded him (making his sonne Flauius Victor Nobilissimus his assistant in the empire) reigning fiue yéeres and two daies. In the beginning of his reigne Valentinian the yonger made great suit to him to haue his fathers bodie, but it would not be granted. Afterwards also Maximus was earnestlie requested to come to an enterview with the same Valentinian, who promised him not onelie a safe conduct, but also manie other beneficiall good turnes beside. Howbeit Maximus durst not put himselfe in anie such hazard, but rather went to pursue Valentinian as an vsurper, and so at length chased him into Slauonie, where he was driuen to such a streight, that if Theodosius had not come to releeue him, Maximus had driuen him thence also, or else by slaughter rid him out of the waie.

383

This Flauius Victor he begat of his wife Helen the daughter of Eudes. H. Lhoyd.

Valentinian put in danger by Maximus.

But when Maximus thought himselfe most assured, and so established in the empire, as he doubted no perils, he liued careless of his owne safegard, and therfore dismissed his British souldiers, who retiring into the northwest parts of Gallia, placed themselues there among their countriemen, which were brought ouer by the emperour Constantius, whilest Maximus passing the residue of his time in delights and pleasures, was surprised in the end and slaine by Theodosius néere vnto Aquilia, the 27 of August, in the yéere of Grace 388, and in the beginning of the first yéere of his reigne, or rather vsurpation, as more rightlie it maie be termed. His sonne Flauius Victor surnamed Nobilissimus was also dispatched and brought to his end, not farre from the place where his father was slaine, by the practise of one Arbogastes a Goth, which Flauius Victor was by the said Maximus made regent of the Frankeners, and partaker (as before is said) with him in the empire.

Eutropius. 388

Arbogastes.

After this, the Ile of Britaine remained in mætlie good quiet by the space of twentie yéeres, till one Marcus (that was then legat, or as we maie call him lord lieutenant or deputie of Britaine for the Romans) was by the souldiers héere proclaimed emperour against Honorius, which Marcus was soone after killed in a tumult raised among the people within few daies after his vsurpation began. Then one Gratianus a Britaine borne succeeded in his place, who was also slaine in the fourth moneth, after he had taken vpon him the imperiall ornaments. The souldiers not yet herewith pacified, proceeded to the election of an other emperour, or rather vsurper, and so pronounced a noble gentleman called Constantine, borne also in Britaine, to be emperour, who tooke that honour vpon him in the 409 yéere after the birth of our Sauiour, continuing his reigne by the space of two yéeres and od moneths, as the Romane histories make mention. Some report this Constantine to be of no great towardlie disposition worthie to gouerne an empire, and that the souldiers chose him rather for the name sake, because they would

Gratianus a Britaine. He reigned foure yéeres if we shal beléeue the British historie.

409

would haue another Constantine, more than for anie vertues or sufficient qualities found in his person. But other commend him both for manhood and wisedome, wherein to speake a truth, he deserued singular commendation, if this one note of vsurpation of the impertall dignitie had not stained his other noble qualities. But herein he did no more than manie other would haue done, neither yet after his inuesture did so much as was looked for at his hands.

Constantine being placed in the impertall throne, gathered an armie with all possible indeuour, purposing out of hand to go ouer therwith into France, and so did, thinking thereby to win the possession of that countrie out of the hands of Honorius, or at the least to worke so, as he should not haue the souldiers and people there to be against him, if he missed to ioine in league with the Suabeiners, Alanes, and Vandales, which he sought to performe. But in the end, when neither of these his deuises could take place, he sent ouer for his sonne Constans (whome in his absence his aduersaries had shorne a monke) & making him partaker with him in the empire, caused him to bring ouer with him another armie, which vnder the conduct of the same Constans he sent into Spaine to bring that countrie vnder his obeisance.

This Constans therefore comming vnder the passages that lead ouer the Pyrenine mountains, Dindimus and Verianianus two brethren, vnto whome the keeping of those passages was committed to defend the same against the Vandals, and all other enimies of the empire, were readie to resist him with their seruants and countriemen that inhabited therabouts, giuing him a verie sharpe incounter, and at the first putting him in great danger of an ouerthrow, but yet at length by the valiant prowes of his British souldiers, Constans put his aduersaries to flight, and killed the two capteins, with diuers other men of name that were partakers with him in the necessarie defense of that countrie against the enimies. When Constans had thus repelled those that resisted him, the custodie of the passages in the Pyrenine mounteins was committed vnto such bands of Picts and other, as were appointed to go with him about the atchiuing of this enterprise, who hauing the possession of those streicts or passages in their hands, gaue entrie vnto other barbarous nations to inuade Spaine, who being once entered, pursued the former inhabitants with fire and sword, setled themselues in that countrie, and droue out the Romans.

His souldiers were Picts, and placed among other men of warre that serued vnder the ensignes of the empire, and named after Honorius, Honoriciani. Blondus.

Honorius sendeth earle Constantius *to expell Constantine out of Gallia, the end* of Constantinus the father and Constans the *sonne, the valure and prowesse of the British* souldiers, the British writers reproued of necligence *for that thiy haue inserted fables into their* woorkes, whereas they might haue deposed matters of truth.

The xxxij. Chapter.

THe emperour Honorius, perceiuing the reeling state of the empire, determined forthwith to recouer it, before it fell altogither into ruine: and therefore sent one Constantius an earle to driue Constantine out of Gallia, which he accordinglie performed: for after certeine bickerings, he slue the said Constantine at Arles, although not without great bloudshed. He pursued also the residue of the Britains, driuing them to the verie sea coasts, where they shrowded themselues among the other Britains, that before were setled in the countrie there, ancientlie called (as before we said) Armorica, that is, a region lieing on the sea coast: for Ar in the British tong signifieth vpon; and Moure, perteining to the sea. And as this Constantine the father was slaine by Constantius, so was Constans the sonne killed at Vienna by one of his owne capteines named Gerontius. Whereby it came to passe, that Honorius shortlie after, hauing thus obteined the victorie of both these vsurpers, recouered the Ile, but yet not till the yeare next following, and that by the high industrie and great diligence of that valiant gentleman earle Constantius. The slaughter of Constantine & his sonne happened in the 1 yeare of the 297 Olympiad, 465 after the comming of Cesar, 1162 after the building of Rome, the dominicall letter being A, and the golden number 13, so that the recouering of the Iland fell in the yeare of our Lord 411. 411

Here also is ecclsones to be considered the valure of the British souldiers, who following this last remembred Constantine the vsurper, did put the Romane state in great danger, and by force brake throgh into Spaine, vanquishing those that kept the streicts of the mounteins betwixt Spaine and Gallia, now called France, an exploit of no small consequence, sith thereby the number of barbarous nations got free passage to enter into Spaine, whereof insued manie battels, sacking of cities and townes, and wasting of the countries, accordinglie as the furious rage of those fierce people was moued to put their crueltie in practise.

¶ If therefore the Britaine writers had considered and marked the valiant exploits and noble enterprises which the Britttish aids, armies and legions atchiued in seruice of the Romane emperours (by whome whilest they had the gouernement ouer this Ile, there were at sundrie times notable numbers conueied forth into the parties of beyond the seas, as by Albinus and Constantius, also by his sonne Constantine the great, by Maximus, and by this Constantine, both of them vsurpers) if (I saie) the British writers had taken good note of the numbers of the British youth thus conueied ouer from hence, & what notable exploits they boldlie attempted, & no lesse manfullie atchiued, they needed not to haue giuen eare vnto the fabulous reports forged by their Bards, of Arthur and other their princes, worthie in deed of verie high commendation.

And pitie it is, that their fame should be brought by such meanes out of credit, by the incredible and fond fables which haue beene deuised of their acts so vnlike to be true, as the tales of Robin Hood, or the gests written by Ariost the Italian in his booke intituled *Orlando furioso*, sith the same writers had otherwise true matter inough to write of concerning the worthie feats by their countriemen in those daies in forren parts boldlie enterprised, and no lesse valiantlie accomplished, as also the warres which now and then they maintained against the Romans here at home, in times when they felt themselues oppressed by their tyrannicall gouernment, as by that which is written before of Caratacus, Boadicia, Cartimandua, Venusius, Galgagus, or Galdus (as some name him) and diuers other, who for their noble valiancies deserue as much praise, as by tong or pen is able to be expressed. But now to returne vnto the British historie: we will proceed in order with their kings as we find them in the same mentioned, and therefore we haue thought good to speake somewhat further of Gratian, from whome we haue digressed.

Gratia-

Gratians rough regiment procureth *his owne destruction, the comming of his* two brethren Guanius and Melga with their *armies, the Scots and Picts plague the Britains*, they send for aid to Rome, Valentinian sendeth *Gallio Rauenna to releeue them, the Romans refuse ame longer* to succour the Britains, whom they taught how to make armour and weapons, the Scots and Picts enter afresh into Britaine and preuaile, the Britains are brought to extreme miserie, ciuill warres among them, and what mischiefe doth follow thereupon, their lamentable letter to Actius for succour against their enimies, their sute is denied, at what time the Britains ceased to be tributaries to the Romans, they send ambassadors to the K. of Britaine in France, and obteine their sute.

The xxxiij. Chapter.

Gratianus.

GRatianus then, whome Marimus or Mariminus had sent into Britaine (as before ye haue heard) hearing that his maister was slaine, toke vpon him the rule of this our Britaine, and made himselfe king therof, in the yeare 390. He was a Britaine borne, as Polydor writeth, coniecturing so, by that he is named of authors to be Municeps, that is to sate, a free man of the countrie or citie where he inhabited. For his sterneuesse and rough gouernement, he was of the Britains (as the histories alledge) slaine and dispatched out of the waie, after he had reigned the space of foure yeares, or rather foure moneths, as should seeme by that which is found in autentike writers. Then the forenamed kings Guanius and Melga, which (as some write) were brethren, returned into this land with their armies increased with new supplies of men of warre, as Scots, Danes, the Norwegians, and destroied the countrie from side to side. For the Britains in this season were sore infeebled, and were not able to make anie great numbers of souldiers, by reason that Marimus had led forth of the land the floure and chiefest choise of all the British youth into Gallia, as before ye haue heard.

390.

Of the Romane souldiers as Blondus saith.

Galfrid. Caxton.

Gyldas.

Gyldas maketh no mention of these two kings Guanius and Melga of the Hunnes, but rehearsing this great destruction of the land, declareth (as before ye haue heard) that the Scots and Picts were the same that did all the mischiefe, whome he calleth two nations of beyond the seas, the Scots comming out of the northwest, and the Picts out of the northeast, by whome (as he saith) the land was ouerrun, and brought vnder fot manie yeares after. Therefore the Britains being thus vexed, spoiled, and cruellie persecuted by the Scots and Picts (if we shall so take them) sent messengers with all spæd vnto Rome to make sute for some aid of men of war to be sent into Britaine. Whereupon immediatlie a legion of souldiers was sent thither in the yere 414, which easilie repelled the enimies, and chased them backe with great slaughter, to the great comfort of the Britains, the which by this meanes were deliuered from danger of vtter destruction, as they thought.

414.

But the Romans being occasioned to depart againe out of the land, appointed the Britains to make a wall (as had beene afortime by the emperours Adrian, Antoninus and Seuerus) ouerthwart the countrie from sea to sea, stretching from Penuelton vnto the citie of Aclud, whereby the enimies might be staid from entring the land: but this wall being made of turfs and sods, rather than with stones, after the departure of the Romans was easlie ouerthrowne by the Scots and Picts, which eftsones returned to inuade the confines of the Britains, and so entring the countrie, wasted and destroied the places before them, according to their former custome. Herevpon were messengers with most lamentable letters againe dispatched towards Rome for new aid against those cruell enimies, with promise, that if the Romans would now in this great necessitie helpe to deliuer the land, they should be assured to find the Britains euermore obedient subiects, and redie at their commandement. Valentintanus (pitieng the case of the poore Britains) appointed another legion of souldiers (of the which one Gallio of Rauenna had the leading) to go to their succours, the which arriuing in Britaine set on the enimies, and giuing them the ouerthrow, slue a great number of them, and chased the residue out of the countrie.

Gyldas. Polychron. Beda. Matth. West.

Blondus.

Gallio Rauenna sent into Britaine.

The Romans thus hauing obteined the victorie, declared to the Britains, that from thenceforth they would not take vpon them for euerie light occasion so painefull a iournie; alledging how there was no reason why the Romane ensignes, with such a number of men of warre, should be put to trauell so far by sea and land, for the repelling and beating backe of a sort of scattering rouers and pilfring theeues. Wherfore they aduised the Britains to loke to their duties, and like men to indeuour themselues to defend their countrie by their owne force from the enimies inuasions. And because they iudged it might be an helpe to the Britains, they set in hand to build a wall yet once againe ouerthwart the Ile, in the same place where the emperour Seuerus caused his trench and rampire to be cast. This wall which the Romans now built with helpe of the Britains, was 8 fot in bredth and 12 in length, trauersing the land from east to west, & was made of stone.

A wall built ouerthwart the Iland. Beda.

After that this wall was finished, the Romans exhorted the Britains to plaie the men, and shewed them the way how to make armor & weapons. Besides this, on the coast of the east sea where their ships lay at rode, & where it was douted that the enimies would land, they caused towers to be erected, with spaces betwixt, out of the which the seas might be discouered. These things ordered, the Romans bad the Britains farewell, not minding to returne thither againe. The Romans then being gon out of the land, the Scots and Picts knowing thereof, by & by came againe by sea, & being more emboldened than before, bicause of the deniall made by the Romans to come any more to the succor of the Britains, they toke into possession all the north and vttermost bounds of the Ile, euen vnto the foresaid wall, therein to remaine as inhabitans. And whereas the Britains got them to their wall to defend the same, that the enimies should not passe further into the countrie, they were in the end beaten from it, and diuers of them slaine, so that the Scots and Picts entred vpon them and pursued them in more cruell maner than before, so that the Britains being chased out of their cities, townes, and dwelling houses, were constreined to flie into desert places, and there to remaine and liue after the maner of sauage people, and in the end began to rob and spoile one another, so to auoid the danger of starving for lacke of food: and thus at the last the countrie was so destroied and wasted, that there was no other shift for them that was left aliue to liue by, except onelie by hunting and taking of wild beasts and foules. And to augment their miserie, the commons imputing the fault to rest in the lords and gouernors, arose against them in armes, but were vanquished and easilie put to flight at two seuerall times, being beaten downe and slaine (through lacke of skill) in such numbers, especiallie the latter time, that

Gyldas and Beda.

Gyldas.

This chanced in the yere 43. as M.W. saith

Hector Boet. Rebellion.

Beda and Polychron.

that the residue which escaped, withdrew into the craggie mounteins, where within the bushes and caues they kept themselues close, sometimes comming downe and fetching away from the heards of beasts and flocks of sheepe which belonged to the nobles and gentlemen of the countrie, great booties to relieue them withall. But at length oppressed with extreme famine, when neither part could long remaine in this state, as needing one anothers helpe, necessitie made peace betwixt the lords and commons of the land, all iniuries being pardoned and cléerelie forgiuen. This ciuill warre decaied the force of the Britains, little lesse than the tyrannicall practises of Maximus, for by the auoiding of the commons thus out of their houses, the ground late vntilled, whereof insued such famine for the space of three yéeres together, that a wonderfull number of people died for want of sustenance.

Ciuill warre decaied the force of the Britains.

What mischiefs follow of ciuill warres.

Thus the Britains being brought generallie into such extreame miserie, they thought good to trie if they might purchase some aid of that noble man Actius, which at that time remained in France as yet called Gallia, gouerning the same as lieutenant vnder the emperor Honorius: and herevpon taking counsell togither, they wrote a letter to him, the tenor whereof insueth.

Actius.

To Actius thrise consull.

THe lamentable request of vs the Britains, beseeching you of aid to bee ministred vnto the prouince of the Romane empire, vnto our countrie, vnto our wiues and children at this present, which stand in most extreame perill. For the barbarous people driue vs to the sea, and the sea driueth vs backe vnto them againe. Hereof rise two kinds of death, for either we are slaine, or drowned, and against such euils haue we no remedie nor helpe at all. Therefore in respect of your clemencie, succor your owne we most instantlie require you, &c.

The Britains could get no aid frō the Romans.

Notwithstanding the Britains thus sought for aid at Actius hands as then the emperours lieutenant, yet could they get none; either for that Actius would not, as he that passed litle how things went, bicause he bare displeasure in his mind against Valentinian as then emperor; or else for that he could not, being otherwise constreined to implote all his forces in other places against such barbarous nations as then inuaded the Romane empire. And so by that means was Britaine lost, and the tribute which the Britains were accustomed to pay to the Romans ceassed, iust fiue hundred yéeres after that Iulius Cesar first entred the Ile.

Gyldas.

This chanced in the yere 43. as M. W. saith

The Britains being thus put to their shifts, manie of them as hunger-starued were constrained to yéeld themselues into the griping hands of their enimies, whereas other yet kéeping within the mounteins, woods and caues, brake out as occasion serued vpon their aduersaries, and then first (saith Gyldas) did the Britains not putting their trust in man but in God (according to the saieng of Philo, Where mans helpe faileth, it is needfull that Gods helpe be present) make slaughter of their enimies that had béene accustomed manie yéeres to rob and spoile them in maner as before is recited, and so the bold attempts of the enimies ceassed for a time, but the wickednesse of the British people ceassed not at all. The enimies departed out of the land, but the inhabitants departed not from their naughtie dooings, being not so readie to put backe the common enimies, as to exercise ciuill warre and discord among themselues. The wicked Irish people departed home, to make returne againe within a while after. But the Picts settled themselues first at that season in the vttermost bounds of the Ile, and there continued, making insurrections oftentimes vpon their neighbours, and spoiling them of their goods.

Hector Boet. Rebellion.

Punishment ceaseth, but sin increaseth.

This with more also hath Gyldas, and likewise Beda written of this great desolation of the British people: wherein if the words of Gyldas be well weighed and considered, it maie lead vs to thinke, that the Scots had no habitations here in Britaine, but onelie in Ireland, till after this season, and that at this present time the Picts, which before inhabited within the Iles of Orkenie, now placed themselues in the north parts of Scotland, and after by processe of time came and nestled themselues in Louthian, in the Mers, and other countries more neere to our borders. But to proceed.

Galfridus. Gyldas his words are to be considered.

The British histories affirme, that whilest the Britains were thus persecuted by these two most cruell and fierce nations the Scots and Picts, the noble and chiefest men amongst them consulted togither, & concluded to send an honorable ambassage vnto Aldroenus as then king of little Britaine in Gallia, which Aldroenus was the fourth from Conan Meridoc the first king there of the British nation. Of this ambassage the archbishop of London named Guetheline or Gosseline was appointed the chiefe and principall, who passing ouer into little Britaine, and comming before the presence of Aldroenus, so declared the effect of his message, that his suit was granted. For Aldroenus agréed to send his brother Constantine ouer into great Britaine with a conuenient power, vpon condition, that the victorie being obteined against the enimies, the Britains should make him king of great Britaine.

An ambassage sent from the Britains vnto Aldroenus king of Britaine in France.

Constantine the brother of Aldroenus.

¶ Thus it is apparent, that this land of Britaine was without anie certeine gouernour (after that Gratian the vsurper was dispatched) a number of yéeres togither, but how manie, writers in their account do varie. Fabian deposeth by diuers coniectures that the space betwixt the death of Gratian, and the beginning of the reigne of the said Constantine, brother to Aldroenus, continued nine and thirtie yéeres, during which time the Britains were sore and miserablie afflicted by the inuasions of the Scots and Picts, as before ye haue heard by testimonies taken out of Beda, Gyldas, Geffrey of Monmouth, and other writers both British and English.

Fabian.

What the Roman historiographer Marcellinus *reporteth of the Scots, Picts, and* Britains vnder the emperour Iulianus, Valentinianus and Valens, *they send their vicegerents* into Britaine, the disquietnesse of that time, London *called Augusta, the worthie exploits of Theodosius in this* Iland against the enimie, Valentinus a banished malefactor deuiseth his destruction, he is taken and executed, he reformeth manie disorders and inconueniences, the first entring of the Saxons into Britaine, they are dawnted at the verie sight of the Romane ensignes, the Saxons lieng in wait for their enimies are slaine euerie mothers sonne.

The xxxiiij. Chapter.

BVt now sith no mention is made of the Scots in our histories, till the daies of Maximus the vsurper or tyrant, as some call him, who began his reigne here in Britaine about the yéere of our Lord 383, and that till after he

Maximus.

he had bereft the land of the chiefest forces thereof, in taking the most part of the youth ouer with him: we find not in the same histories of anie troubles wrought to the Britains by that nation. Therefore we haue thought good here to come backe to the former times, that we may shew what is found mentioned in the Romane histories, both before that time and after, as well concerning the Scots and Picts, as also the Saxons, and especiallie in Ammianus Marcellinus, where in the beginning of his twentith booke intreating of the doings of the emperour Julianus, he saith as followeth.

Ammianus Marcellinus lib.20.

The emperor Julianus.

In this state stood things in Illyricum or Slauonia, and in the east parts, at what time Constantius bare the office of consull the tenth time, and Julianus the third time, that is to say, in the yeere of our Lord 360, when in Britaine quietnesse being disturbed by roads made by the Scots and Picts, which are wild and sauage people, the frontiers of the countrie were wasted, and feare oppressed the prouinces wearied with the heape of passed losses. The emperor [he meaneth Julianus] as then remaining at Paris, and hauing his mind troubled with manie cares, doubted to go to the aid of them beyond the sea, as we haue shewed that Constantius did, least he should leaue them in Gallia without a ruler, the Almains being euen then prouoked and stirred vp to crueltie and warre.

360.

Scots and Picts trouble the state of this Ile.

Lupicinus sent into Britaine.

He thought good therefore to send Lupicinus vnto these places to bring things into frame and order, which Lupicinus was at that time master of the armorie, a warlike person and skilfull in all points of chiualrie, but proud and high-minded beyond measure, and such one as it was doubted long whether he was more couetous or cruell. Herevpon the said Lupicinus setting forward the light armed men of the Heruli and Batani, with diuers companies also of the people of Mesia now called Bulgarie; when winter was well entred and come on, he came himselfe to Bulleine, and there prouiding ships, and imbarking his men, when the wind serued his purpose, he transported ouer vnto Sandwich, and so marched forth vnto London, from thence purposing to set forward, as vpon aduise taken according to the qualitie of his businesse he should thinke meet and expedient.

Batani now Hollanders.

Rumpit.

In the meane time, whilest Lupicinus was busie here in Britaine to represse the enimies, the emperour Constantius displaced certeine officers, and among other he depriued the same Lupicinus of the office of the master of the armorie, appointing one Gumobarius to succeed him in that roome, before anie such thing was knowen in these parties. And where it was doubted least that Lupicinus (if he had vnderstood so much whilest he was yet in Britaine) would haue attempted some new trouble, as he was a man of a stout and loftie mind, he was called backe from thence, and withall there was sent a notarie vnto Bulleine, to watch that none should passe the seas ouer into Britaine till Lupicinus were returned: and so returning ouer from thence yet he had anie knowledge what was done by the emperour, he could make no sturre, hauing no such assistants in Gallia, as it was thought he might haue had in Britaine, if he should haue moued rebellion there.

Of the displacing of these men the learned may see more in Am. Mar.

The same Marcellinus speaking of the doings about the time that Valentinianus, being elected emperour, had admitted his brother Valens as fellow with him in gouernement, hath these words. In this season as though trumpets had blowne the sound to battell through out the whole Romane empire, most cruell nations being stirred vp, inuaded the borders next adioining, the Almans wasted and destroied the parts of Gallia and Rhetia, as the Sarmatians and Quadi did Pannonia, the Picts, the Saxons, the Scots, and the Attacots vexed the Britains with continuall troubles, and grieuous damages; the Austorians and the people of the Moores ouerran the countrie of Affrike more sharpelie than in time past they had done; the pilfring troops of the Goths spoiled Thracia; the king of Persia set in hand to subdue the Armenians, and sought to bring them vnder his obeisance, hasting with all speed toward Numonia, pretending (though vniustlie) that now after the decease of Iouinius, with whome he had contracted a league and bond of peace, there was no cause of let what he ought not to recouer those things, which (as he alledged) did belong to his ancestors: and so forth.

Lib.26.

Ammianus Marcellinus lib.26.

The Almans.

The Sarmatians.

The Quadi.

Picts and Saxons.

Austorians.

The Goths.

Moreouer, the same Marcellinus in another place writeth in this wise, where he speaketh of the said Valentinianus. Departing therefore from Amiens, and hasting to Trier, he was troubled with grieuous newes that were brought him, giuing him to vnderstand, that Britaine by a conspiracie of the barbarous nations was brought to vtter pouertie, that Nectaridus one of the emperours house earle of the sea coast, hauing charge of the parties towards the sea, was slaine, and that the generall Bulchobaudes was circumuented by traines of the enimies. These things with great horrour being knowne, he sent Seuerus as then erle, or (as I may call him lord steward of his houshold) to reforme things that were amisse, if hap would so permit, who being shortlie called backe, Iouinius going thither, and with speed hasting forward, sent for more aid and a great power of men, as the instant necessitie then required. At length, for manie causes, and the same greatlie to be feared, the which were reported and aduertised out of that Ile, Theodosius was elected and appointed to go thither, a man of approued skill in warlike affaires, and calling togither an hardie youthfull number of the legions and cohorts of men of warre, he went forth, no small hope being conceiued of his good speed; the fame wherof spred and went afore him.

Lib.27.

Comes maritimi tractus.

Comes domesticorum.

Theodosius sent into Britaine.

A litle after, Marcellinus adding what people they were that troubled the Britains in this wise, saith thus. This shall suffice to be said, that in this season the Picts diuided into two nations Dicalidones, and Vecturiones, and in like maner the Attacotti a right warlike nation, and the Scots wandering here and there, made fowle worke in places where they came. The confines of France were disquieted by the Frankeners and Saxons borderers vnto them, euerie one as they could breaking forth, & doing great harme by cruell spoile, fire, and taking of prisoners. To withstand those doings if good fortune would giue him leaue, that most able capteine going vnto the vttermost bounds of the earth, when he came to the coast of Bullen which is seuered from the contrarie coast on the other side by the sea, with a narrow streight, where sometime the water goeth verie high and rough, & shortlie after becommeth calme & pleasant, without hurt to those that passe the same, transporting ouer at leasure, he arriued at Sandwich (or rather Richburrow) where there is a quiet road for vessels to lie at anchor. Wherevpon the Batani and Heruli, with the souldiers of the legions called Iouij, and Victores, being companies that trusted well to their owne strength, marched forth & drew towards London, an ancient citie, which now of late hath bin called Augusta. Herewith diuiding his armie into sundrie parts, he set vpon the troops of his enimies as they were abroad to forrey the countrie, pestered with burdens of their spoiles and pillage, and speedilie putting them to flight, as they were leading away those prisoners which they had taken, with their

Picts diuided into two nations.

Attacotti.

Theodosius passeth ouer into Britaine.

Batani Hollanders.

London called Augusta.

booties

boties of cattell, he bereft them of their preie, the which the poze Britains that were tributaries had lost. To be briefe, restoring the whole, except a small portion bestowed amongst the wearie souldiers, he entred the citie which before was oppress with troubles, but now suddenlie refreshed, because there was hope of relefe and assured preservation.

After this, when Theodosius was comforted with prosperous successe to attempt things of greater importance, and searching waies how with god aduise to worke suerlie: whilest he remained doubtfull what would insue, he learned as well by the confession of prisoners taken, as also by the information of such as were fled from the enimies, that the scattered people of sundrie nations which with practise of great crueltie were become fierce and vndanted, could not be subdued but by policie secretlie practised, and sudden inuasions. At length therefore setting forth his proclamations, and promising pardon to those that were gone awaie from their capteins or charge, he called them backe againe to serue: and also those that by licence were departed and laie scattered here and there in places abroad. By this meanes, when manie were returned, he being on the one side earnestlie prouoked, and on the other holden backe with thoughtfull cares, required to haue one Ciuilis by name sent to him to haue the rule of the prouinces in Britaine in steed of the other gouernours, a man of sharpe wit, and an earnest mainteiner of iustice. He likewise required that one Dulcitius a capteine renowmed in knowledge of warlike affaires might be sent ouer to him for his better assistance. These things were done in Britaine.

Theodosius requireth to haue Ciuilis sent to him.

Dulcitius.

Againe, in his eight and twentith booke, the same Marcellinus reciting further what the same Theodosius atchiued in Britaine, hath in effect these words: Theodosius verelie a capteine of worthie fame, taking a valiant courage to him, and departing from Augusta, which men of old time called London, with souldiers assembled by great diligence, did succour and releeue greatlie the decaied and troubled state of the Britains, preuenting euerie conuenient place where the barbarous people might lie in wait to do mischiefe: and nothing he commanded the meane souldiers to do, but that whereof he with a chéerefull mind would first take in hand to shew them an example. By this meanes accomplishing the rome of a valiant souldier, and fulfilling the charge of a noble capteine, he discomfited and put to flight sundrie nations, whome presumption (nourished by securitie) emboldened to inuade the Romane prouinces: and so the cities and castels that had béene sore endamaged by manifold losses and displeasures, were restored to their former state of wealth, the foundation of rest and quietnesse being laid for a long season after to insue.

London called Augusta.

But as these things were a doing, one wicked practise was in hand & like to haue burst forth, to the grieuous danger of setting things in broile, if it had not béene staied euen in the beginning of the first attempt. For there was one Valentinus, borne in the parties of Valeria adioining to Pannonia, now called Stiermarke, a man of a proud and lofstie stomach, brother to the wife of Mariminus, which Valentinus for some notable offense had béene banished into Britaine, where the naughtie man that could not rest in quiet, deuised how by some commotion he might destroy Theodosius, who as he saw was onelie able to resist his wicked purposes. And going about manie things both priuilie and apertlie, the force of his vnmeasurable desire to mischiefe still increasing, he sought to procure alwell other that were in semblable wise banished men, & inclined to mischiefe like him selfe, as also diuers of the souldiers, alluring them (as the time serued) with large promises of great wealth, if they would ioine with him in that enterprise. But euen now in the verie nicke, when they shuld haue gone in hand with their vngratious exploit, Theodosius warned of their intent, boldlie aduanced himselfe to see due punishment executed on the offendors that were forthwith taken and knowne to be guiltie in that conspiracie.

Valentinus. Valeria now Stiermarke.

Theodosius committed Valentine with a few other of his trustie complices vnto the capteine Dulcitius, commanding him to see them put to death: but coniecturing by his warlike skill (wherein he passed all other in those daies) what might follow, he would not in anie wise haue anie further inquirie made of the other conspirators, least through feare that might be spread abroad in manie, the troubles of the prouinces now well quieted, should be againe reuiued. After this, Theodosius disposing himselfe to redresse manie things as néed required, all danger was quite remoued: so that it was most apparent, that fortune fauored him in such wise, that she left him not destitute of hir furtherance in anie one of all his attempts. He therefore restored the cities & castels that were appointed to be kept with garrisons, and the borders he caused to be defended and garded with sufficient numbers to keepe watch and ward in places necessarie. And hauing recouered the prouince which the enimies had gotten into their possession, he so restored it to the former state, that vpon his motion to haue it so, a lawfull gouernour was assigned to rule it, and the name was changed, so as from thencefoorth it should be called Valentia for the princes pleasure.

Dulcitius is appointed to put Valentinus to death.

A part of Britaine called Valentia.

The Areani, a kind of men ordeined in times past by our elders (of whome somewhat we haue spoken in the acts of the emperour Constance) being now by little and little fallen into vices, he remoued from their places of abiding, being openlie conuicted, that allured with bribes and faire promises, they had oftentimes bewraied vnto the barbarous nations what was done among the Romans: for this was their charge, to runne vp and downe by long iournies, and to giue warning to our captains, what stirre the people of the next confines were about to make.

Theodosius therefore hauing ordered these & other like things, most worthilie & to his high fame, was called home to the emperours court, who leauing the prouinces in most triumphant state, was highlie renowmed for his often and most profitable victories, as if he had béene an other Camillus or Cursor Papirius, and with the fauor and loue of all men was conueied vnto the sea side; and passing ouer with a gentle wind, came to the court, where he was receiued with great gladnesse and commendation, being immediatlie appointed to succéed in the rome of Valence Iouinus that was maister of the horses. Finallie, he was called by the emperour Gratianus, to be associated with him in the imperiall estate, after the death of Valence, in the yeare after the incarnation of our Sauior 379, and reigned emperour, surnamed Theodosius the great, about 16 yeares and 2 daies.

The praise of Theodosius.

379
Wil. Har.

Hereto also may be applied which the foresaid Marcellinus writeth in the same booke, touching the inuasion of the Sarons, the which (as Wolf. Lazius taketh it) entred then first into great Britaine, but were repelled of the emperour Valentinianus the first, by the conduct and guiding of Seuerus. The same yéere (saith he) that the emperours were the third time consuls, there brake forth a multitude of Sarons, & passing the seas, entred strongelie into the Romane confines: a nation fed oftentimes with the slaughter of our people, the brunt of

Wolf. Lazi.

Seuerus.

Nonneus Comes.

whose first inuasion earle Nonneus sustained, one which was appointed to defend those parties, an approued capteine, & with continuall trauell in warres verie expert. But then incountring with desperate and forlorne people, when he persecued some of his souldiers to be ouerthrowne and beaten downe, and himselfe wounded, not able to abide the often assaults of his enimies, he obteined this by informing the emperour what was necessarie and ought to be done, insomuch that Seuerus, maister or (as I may call him) coronell of the footmen, was sent to helpe and releeue things that stood in danger: the which bringing a sufficient power with him for the state of that businesse, when he came to those places, he diuiding his armie into parts, put the Saxons in such feare and trouble before they fought, that they did not so much as take weapon in hand to make resistance, but being amazed with the sight of the glittering ensignes, & the eagles figured in the Romane standards, they streight made sute for peace, and at length after the matter was debated in sundrie wise (because it was iudged that it should be profitable for the Romane commonwealth) truce was granted vnto them, and manie yong men (able for seruice in the warres) deliuered to the Romans according to the couenants concluded.

Seuerus coronell of the footmen.

After this the Saxons were permitted to depart without impeachment, & so to returne from whence they came, who being now out of all feare, and preparing to go their waies, diuers bands of footmen were sent to lie priuilie in a certeine hid vallie so ambushed, as they might easilie breake forth vpon the enimies as they passed by them. But it chanced far otherwise than they supposed, for certeine of those footmen stirred with the noise of them as they were comming, brake forth out of time, and being suddenlie discouered whilest they hasted to vnite and knit themselues togither, by the hideous crie and shout of the Saxons they were put to flight. Yet by and by closing togither againe, they staied, and the extremitie of the chance ministring to them force (though not sufficient) they were driuen to fight it out, and being beaten downe with great slaughter, had died euerie mothers sonne, if a troope of horsemen armed at all points (being in like maner placed in an other side at the entring of the waie to assaile the enimies as they should passe) aduertised by the dolefull noise of them that fought, had not speedilie come to the succour of their fellowes.

Then ran they togither more cruellie than before, and the Romans bending themselues towards their enimies, compassed them in on each side, and with drawne swords slue them downe right, so that there was not one of them left to returne home to their natiue countrie to bring newes how they had sped, nor one suffered to liue after anothers death, either to reuenge their ruine, or to lament their losse. Thus were the limits of the Romane empire preserued at that time in Britaine, which should seeme to be about the yeere of our Lord 399.

399

¶ Thus were the Romans, as commonlie in all their martiall affaires, so in this incounter verie fortunate, the happie issue of the conflict falling out on their side. And strange it is to consider and marke, how these people by a celestiall kind of influence were begotten and borne as it were to prowesse and renowme; the course of their dealings in the field most aptlie answering to their name. For (as some suppose) the Romans were called of the Greeke word ῥώμη, signifieng power and mightinesse: and in olde time they were called Valentians, *A valendo*, of preuailing: so that it was no maruell though they were victorious subduers of forren people, sithens they were by nature created and appointed to be conquerors, and thereof had their denomination.

Solinus. Adr. Iun.

What the poet Claudianus saith of the *state of Britaine in the decaie of the Romane empire*, of the Scots and Picts cruellie *vexing the Britains, they are afflicted by inuasion* of barbarous nations, the practise of the Saxons, *of the Scots first comming into this Iland, and from* whence, the Scotish chronographers noted for curiositie and vanitie.

The xxxv. Chapter.

AFter this, in the time of the emperour Honorius, the Scots, Picts, and Saxons, did ofttimes inuade the frontiers of the Romane prouince in Britaine, as appeareth by that which the poet Claudianus writeth, in attributing the honour of preseruing the same frontiers vnto the said emperour, in his booke intituled *Panegericus tertij consulatus* (which fell in the yeere 396) as thus:

Honorius the emperour.

396. Claudianus.

Ille leues Mauros nec falso nomine Pictos
Edomuit, Scotúmq; vago mucrone secutus,
Fregit Hyperboreas remis audacibus vndas,
Et geminis fulgens vtróq; sub axe tropheis,
Tethyos alterna refluas calcauit arenas.

The nimble Mores and Picts by right
so cald, he hath subdude,
And with his wandring sword likewise
the Scots he hath pursude:
He brake with bold couragious oare
the Hyperborean waue,
And shining vnder both the poles
with double trophies braue,
He marcht vpon the bubling sands
of either swelling seas.

The same Claudianus vpon the fourth consulship of Honorius, saith in a tetrastichon as followeth:

Quid rigor æternus cæli? quid frigora prosunt?
Ignotúmq; fretum? maduerunt Saxone fuso
Orcades, incaluit Pictonum sanguine Thule,
Scotorum cumulos fleuit glacialis Hyberne.

What lasting cold? what did to them
the frostie climats gaine?
And sea vnknowne? bemoisted all
with bloud of Saxons slaine
The Orknies were: with bloud of Picts
hath Thule waxed warme,
And ysie Ireland hath bewaild
the heaps of Scotish harme.

Thule some take to be Iseland, some Scotland.

The same praise giueth he to Stilico the sonne in law of Honorius, and maketh mention of a legion of souldiers sent for out of Britaine in the periphrasis or circumlocution of the Gotish bloudie warres:

Venit & extremis legio prætenta Britannis,
Quæ Scoto dat fræna truci, ferróq; notatas
Perleget exanimes Picto moriente figuras.

A legion eke there came from out
the farthest Britains bent,
Which brideled hath the Scots so sterne:
and marks with iron brent
Vpon their liueless lims doth read,
whiles Picts their liues relent.

He rehearseth the like in his second *Panegericus* of Stilico, in most ample and pithie manner insuing:

Inde Calidonio velata Britannia monstro,
Ferro picta genas, cuius vestigia verrit
Cærulus, Oceaníq; æstum mentitur amictus,
Me quoq; vicinis pereuntem gentibus inquit,
Muniuit Stilico, totam quum Scotus Hybernam
Mouit, & infesto spumauit remige Thetin,

Illius

Illius effectum curis, ne bella timerem
Scotica, ne Pictum tremerem, ne littore toto
Prospicerem dubijs venturum Saxona ventis.
Then Britaine whom the monsters did
of Calidone surround,
Whose cheekes were pearst with scorching steele,
whose garments swept the ground,
Resembling much the marble hew
of ocean seas that boile,
Said, She whom neighbour nations did
conspire to bring to spoile,
Hath Stilico munited strong, when
raisd by Scots entice
All Ireland was, and enimies ores
the salt sea fome did slice,
His care hath causd, that I all feare
of Scotish broiles haue bard,
Ne doo I dread the Picts, ne looke
my countrie coasts to gard
Gainst Saxon troops, whom changing winds
sent sailing hitherward.

Britaine afflicted by invasion of barbarous nations.

Thus maie it apeere, that in the time when the Romane empire began to decaie, in like manner as other parts of the same empire were inuaded by barbarous nations, so was that part of Britaine which was subiect to the Romane emperors grieuouslie assailed by the Scots and Picts, and also by the Saxons, the which in those daies inhabiting all alongst the sea coasts of low Germanie, euen from the Elbe vnto the Rhine, did not onelie trouble the sea by continuall rouing, but also vsed to come on land into diuerse parts of Britaine and Gallia, inuading the countries, and robbing the same with great rage and crueltie.

Sidon. Apol. li. 8. Epist.

To the which Sidonius Apollinaris thus alludeth, writing to Namatius. The messenger did assuredlie affirme, that latelie ye blew the trumpet to warre in your nation, and betwixt the office one while of a mariner, and another while of a soldier, wafted about the crooked shores of the ocean sea against the fleet of the Saxons, of whome as manie rouers as ye behold, so manie archpirats ye suppose to see: so doo they altogither with one accord command, obeie, teach, and learne to plaie the parts of rouers, that euen now there is good occasion to warne you to beware. This enimie is more cruell than all other enimies. He assaileth at vnwares, he escapeth by foreseeing the danger afore hand, he despiseth those that stand against him, he throweth downe the vnwarie: if he be followed he snappeth them vp that pursue him, if he flee he escapeth.

The piracie of the Saxons.

Of like effect for prose hereof be these verses which he wrote vnto Maiorianus his panegyrike oration, following in Latine and in English verse.

Tot maria intrauit duce te, longéq; remotas
Sole sub occiduo gentes, victricia Cæsar
Signa Caledonios transuexit ad vsq; Britannos,
Iuderit & quanquam Scotum, & cum Saxone Pictum,
Hostis quæsuit quem iam natura vetabat,
Quærere vltus homines, &c.
So manie seas I entred haue,
and nations farre by west,
By thy conduct, and Cæsar hath
his banners borne full prest
Vnto the furthest British coast,
where Caledonians dwell,
The Scot and Pict with Saxons eke,
though he subdued fell,
Yet would he enimies seeke vnknowne
whom nature had forbid, &c.

¶ Thus much haue we thought good to gather out of the Romane and other writers, that ye might perceiue the state of Britaine the better in that time of the decaie of the Romane empire, and that ye might haue occasion to marke by the waie, how not onelie the Scots, but also the Saxons had attempted to inuade the Britains, before anie mention is made of the same their attempts by the British and English writers. But whether the Scots had anie habitation within the bounds of Britaine, till the time supposed by the Britaine writers, we leaue that point to the iudgement of others that be trauelled in the search of such antiquities, onelie admonishing you, that in the Scotish chronicle you shall find the opinion which their writers haue conceiued of this matter, and also manie things touching the acts of the Romans done against diuerse of the Britains, which they presume to be done against their nation, though shadowed vnder the generall name of Britains, or of other particular names, at this date to most men vnknowne. But whensoeuer the Scots came into this Ile, they made the third nation that inhabited the same, comming first out of Scithia, or rather out of Spaine (as some suppose) into Ireland, and from thence into Britaine; next after the Picts, though their writers fetch a farre more ancient beginning (as in their chronicles at large apeereth) referring them to the reading thereof, that desire to vnderstand that matter as they set it forth. Polydor.

Thus farre the dominion and tribute of the Romans ouer this land of Britaine, which had continued (by the collection of some chronographers) the space of 483. yeeres. And heere we thinke it conuenient to end this fourth booke.

THE FIFT BOOKE of the Hiſtorie of England.

Conſtantinus at the generall *ſute of the Britains vndertaketh* to gouerne this Iland, he is crowned *king, his three ſonnes, he is traitorouſlie* ſlaine of a Pict, Conſtantius the eldeſt ſonne of *Conſtantine hauing bene a monke is created king,* the ambitious & ſlie practiſes of duke Vortigerne *to aſpire to the gouernment, he procureth certeine Picts and Scots* to kill the king who had reteined them for the gard of his perſon, his craftie deuiſes and deepe diſſimulation vnder the pretenſe of innocencie, he winneth the peoples harts, and is choſen their king.

The firſt Chapter.

HAuing ended our former booke with the end of the Romane power ouer this Iland, wherein the ſtate of the Iland vnder them is at full deſcribed; it remaineth now that we proceed to declare, in what ſtate they were after the Romans had refuſed to gouerne them anie longer. Wherefore we will addreſſe our ſelues to ſaie ſomewhat touching the ſucceſſion of the Britiſh kings, as their hiſtories make mention.

Conſtantinus.

Conſtantinus the brother of Aldroenus king of little Britaine, at the ſute and earneſt requeſt of the archbiſhop of London, made in name of all the Britains in the Ile of great Britaine, was ſent into the ſame Ile by his ſaid brother Aldroenus vpon couenants ratified in manner as before is recited, and brought with him a conuenient power, landing with the ſame at Totneſſe in Deuonſhire. Immediatlie after his cõming on land, he gathered to him a great power of Britains, which before his landing were hid in diuerſe places of the Ile. Then went he forth with them, and gaue battell to the enimies, whom he vanquiſhed: & ſlue that tyrannicall king Guanius there in the field (as ſome bookes haue.) Howbeit, this agreeth not with the Scotiſh writers, which affirme that they got the field, but yet loſt their king named Dongard (as in their hiſtorie ye maie read.)

But to proceed as our writers report the matter. When the Britains had thus ouercome their enimies, they conueied their capteine the ſaid Conſtantine vnto Ciceſter, and there in fulfilling their promiſe and couenant made to his brother, crowned him king of great Britaine, in the yeere of our Lord 433, which was about the firſt yeere of the emperour Valentinianus the ſecond, and third yeere of Clodius king of the Frankners after called Frenchmen, which then began to ſettle themſelues in Gallia, whereby the name of that countrie was afterwards changed and called France. Conſtantine being thus eſtabliſhed king, ruled the land well and noblie, and defended it from all inuaſion of enimies during his life. He begat of his wife three ſonnes (as the Britiſh hiſtorie affirmeth) Conſtantius, Aurelius Ambroſius, and Uter ſurnamed Pendragon. The eldeſt, becauſe he perceiued him to be but dull of wit, and not verie toward, he made a monke, placing him within the abbie of Amphibalus in Wincheſter.

In a grone of buſhes as Gal. ſaith. Matth. Weſt. Beda. Oroſius. Blondus.

Finallie this Conſtantine, after he had reigned ten yeeres, was traitorouſlie ſlaine one day in his owne chamber (as ſome write) by a Pict, who was in ſuch fauor with him, that he might at all times haue free acceſſe to him at his pleaſure. Neither the Romane writers, nor Beda, make anie mention of this Conſtantine: but of the other Conſtantine they write, which immediatlie after the vſurper Gratian was diſpatched out of the way (as before ye haue heard) was aduanced to the rule of this land, and title of emperour, onelie in hope of his name, and for no other reſpect of towardneſſe in him, afore time being but a meane ſouldier, without anie degree of honour. The ſame Conſtantine (as writers record) going ouer into Gallia, adorned his ſonne Conſtantius with the title and dignitie of Ceſar, the which before was a monke, and finallie as well the one as the other were ſlaine, the father at Arles by earle Conſtantius, that was ſent againſt him by the emperour Honorius; and the ſonne at Vienna (as before ye haue heard) by one of his owne court called Gerontius (as in the Italian hiſtorie ye may ſee more at large.) This chanced about the yeere of our Lord 415.

415

¶ This haue we thought good to repeat in this place, for that ſome may ſuppoſe that this Conſtantine is the ſame that our writers take to be the brother of Aldroenus king of little Britaine, as the circumſtance of the time and other things to be conſidered may giue them occaſion to thinke, for that there is not ſo much credit to be yelded to them that haue written the Britiſh hiſtories, but that in ſome part men may with iuſt cauſe doubt of ſundrie matters conteined in the ſame: and therfore haue we in this booke beene the more diligent to ſhew what the Romans and other forreine writers haue regiſtred in their bookes of hiſtories touching the affaires of Britaine, that the reader may be the better ſatiſfied in the truth. But now to returne to the ſequele of the hiſtorie as we find the ſame written by the Britiſh chronclers.

This Vortigerne was duke of the Gewiſſes and Cornewall, as Rad. Ceſtr. reporteth. Gal. Mon.

After that Conſtantine was murthered (as before ye haue heard) one Vortigerus, or Vortigernus, a man of great authoritie amongſt the Britains, wrought ſo with the reſidue of the Britiſh nobilitie, that Conſtantius the eldeſt ſonne of their king the fore-remembred Conſtantine, was taken out of the abbie of Wincheſter where he remained, and was ſtreight-

Caxton ſaith 12000. but Gal. and others ſay but 2000.

The Britiſh hiſtorie diſagreeth from the Scotiſh.

Matth. Weſt. ſaith 435.

ſtreight waies created king, as lawfull inheritour to his father.

Ye haue heard how Conſtantius was made a monke in his fathers life time, bicauſe he was thought to be to ſoft and childiſh in wit, to haue anie publike rule committed to his hands: but for that cauſe ſpeciallie did Uortigerne ſéeke t'aduance him, to the end that the king being not able to gouerne of himſelfe, he might haue the chiefeſt ſwaie, and ſo rule all things as it were vnder him, preparing thereby a way for himſelfe to atteine at length to the kingdome as by that which followed was more apparentlie perceiued.

Conſtantius.

THis Conſtantius then the ſonne of Conſtantine, by the helpe (as before ye haue heard) of Uortigerne, was made king of Britaine, in the yere of our Lord 443. But Conſtantius bare but the name of king: for Uortigerne abuſing his innocencie and ſimple diſcretion to order things as was requiſite, had all the rule of the land, and did what pleaſed him. Whereupon firſt, where there had béene a league concluded betwixt the Britains, Scots and Picts, in the daies of the late king Conſtantine, Uortigerne cauſed the ſame league to be renewed, & waged an hundred Picts, and as manie Scots to be attendant as a gard vpon the kings perſon, diuers of the which (corrupting them with faire promiſes) he procured by ſubtile meanes in the end to murther the king, and immediatlie vpon the déed done, he cauſed the murtherers to be ſtrangled, that they ſhould not afterwards diſcloſe by whoſe procurement they did that déed. Then cauſed he all the reſidue of the Scots and Picts to be apprehended, and as it had béene vpon a zeale to ſée the death of Conſtantius ſeuerelie puniſhed, he framed ſuch inditements and accuſations againſt them, that chieflie by his meanes (as appeared) the giltleſſe perſons were condemned and hanged, the multitude of the Britiſh people béeing wonderfullie pleaſed therewith, and giuing great commendations to Uortigerne for that déed. Thus Conſtantius was made awaie in maner as before ye haue heard, after he had reigned (as moſt writers affirme) the ſpace of fiue yéeres.

Matt. Weſt. ſaith 445.

Hector Boet.

Conſtantius murthered.

The ſubtile dealing of Uortigerne.

After his death was knowne, thoſe that had the bringing vp and cuſtodie of his two yonger brethren, Aurelius Ambroſe, and Uter Pendragon, miſtruſting the wicked intent of Uortigerne, whoſe diſſimulation and miſchieuous meaning by ſome great likelihoods they ſuſpected, with all ſpéed got them to the ſea, and fled into litle Britaine, there kéeping them till it pleaſed God otherwiſe to prouide for them. But Uortigerne could ſo well diſſemble his craftie workings, and with ſuch conueiance and cloked maner could ſhadow and colour the matter, that moſt men thought and iudged him verie innocent and void of euill meaning: inſomuch that he obteined the fauour of the people ſo greatlie, that he was reputed for the onelie ſtaie and defender of the common wealth. Herevpon it came to paſſe, that when the councell was aſſembled to elect a new king, for ſo much as the other ſonnes of king Conſtantine were not of age ſufficient to rule, Uortigerne himſelfe was choſen, diuers of the nobles (whom he had procured thereto) giuing their voices to this his preferment, as to one beſt deſeruing the ſame in their opinion and iudgement. This Uortigerne, as by indirect meanes and ſiniſter proceédings he aſpired to the regiment, hauing no title thereunto, otherwiſe than as blind fortune vouchſafed him the preferment: ſo when he was poſſeſſed, but not intereſſed in the ſame, he vncaſed the croked conditions which he had couertlie concealed, and in the end (as by the ſequele you ſhall ſée) did pull ſhame and infamie vpon himſelfe.

Aurelius Ambroſius. Uter Pendragon.

415

Uortigerne choſen king of Britaine.

Vortigerne furniſheth the tower with a *garriſon, he bewraieth his crueltie*, Aurelius and Pendragon brethren to the late king *Conſtantius flie into Britaine Armorike*, what common abuſes and ſinnes did vniuerſally concurre *with a plentifull yeere, the Scots and Picts reuenge the death of* their countrimen, Vortigerne is in doubt of his eſtate, the Britains ſend for ſuccour to the Saxons, they come vnder the conduct of Hengiſt and Horſus two brethren, where they are aſſigned to be ſeated, they vanquiſh the Scots, diſagreement in writers touching the Saxons firſt comming into this Iland.

The ſecond Chapter.

Vortigerne.

VOrtigerne, by ſuch diuelliſh meanes and vnconſcionable practiſes (as you heare) ſtealing away the hearts of the people, was choſen and made king of Britaine, in the yéere of our Lord 446, in the 3 conſulſhip of Aetius, 1197 of Rome, 4 of the 305 Olympiad, 4112 of the world, the dominicall letter going by F, the prime by 10, which fell about the 21 yéere of the emperour Valentinianus, the ſame yéere that Peroneus began to reigne ouer the Frenchmen. Before he was made king, he was earle or duke of the Deuiſſes, a people which held that part of Britaine where afterwards the weſt Saxons inhabited. Now when he had with treaſon, fraud, and great deceit at length obteined that for the which he had long looked, he firſt of all furniſhed the tower of London with a ſtrong garriſon of men of warre.

446

Hector Boet.

When ſtudieng to aduance ſuch onelie as he knew to be his ſpeciall friends and fauorers, he ſought by all meanes how to oppreſſe other, of whoſe good will he had neuer ſo litle miſtruſt, and namelie thoſe that were affectionate towards the linage of Conſtantine he hated deadlie, and deuiſed by ſecret meanes which way he might beſt deſtroy them. But theſe his practiſes being at the firſt perceiued, cauſed ſuch as had the gouernance of the two yong gentlemen with all ſpéed to get them ouer (as ye haue heard) into Britaine Armorike, there to remaine out of danger with their vncle the king of that land. Diuers of the Britains alſo, that knew themſelues to be in Uortigerne his diſpleaſure, ſailed ouer dailie vnto them, which thing brought Uortigerne into great doubt and feare of his eſtate.

415

Fabian.

It chanced alſo the ſame time, that there was great plentie of corne, & ſtore of fruit, the like wherof had not béene ſeene in manie yéeres before, and thereupon inſued riot, ſtrife, lecherie, and other vices verie heinous, & yet accounted as then for ſmall or rather none offenſes at all. Theſe abuſes & great enormities reigned not onelie in the temporaltie, but alſo in the ſpiritualtie and chéefe rulers in the ſame: ſo that euerie man turned the point of his ſpeare (euen as he had conſented of purpoſe) againſt the true and innocent perſon. The commons alſo gaue themſelues to voluptuous luſt, drunkenneſſe, and idle loitering, whereof followed fighting, contention, enuie, and much debate. Of this plentie therefore inſued great pride, and of this abundance no leſſe hautineſſe of mind, wherevpon followed great wickednеſſe, lacke of good gouernement and ſober temperancie, and in the necke of theſe as a iuſt puniſhment, death and mortalitie, ſo that in ſome countries ſcarſe the quicke ſufficed to burie the dead.

Gylda.

Plentie of wealth accompanied with ſtore of ſinnes.

And for an augmentation of more miſchéefe, the Scots and Picts hearing how their countrimen

Scots and

Picts inuade the Britains.

through the false suggestion of Uortigerne, had bene wrongfullie and most cruellie put to death at London, began with fire & sword to make sharpe & cruell warre against the Britains, wasting their countrie, spoiling and burning their townes, and giuing them the ouerthrow in a pitcht field, as in the Scotish historie more plainlie appeareth. To be breefe, the Britains were brought into such danger and miserie, that they knew not what way to take for remedie in such present perill, likelie to be ouerrun and vtterlie vanquished of their enimies. In the meane time Uortigerne not onelie troubled with these imminent euils, but fearing also the returne of the two brethren, Aurelius Ambrose, and Uter Pendragon, began to consider of the state of things, and esteeming it most sure to worke by aduise, called togither the principall lords and cheefe men of the realme to haue their counsell and opinion, how to proceed in such a weightie businesse: and so debating the matter with them, measured both his owne force, and also the force of his enimies, and according to the condition and state of the time, diligentlie considered and searched out what remedie was to be had and prouided.

At length after they had throughlie pondered all things, the more part of the nobles with the king also were of this mind, that there could be no better way deuised, than to send into Germanie for the Saxons to come to their aid: the which Saxons in that season were highlie renowmed for their valiancie in armes, and manifold aduentures heretofore atchiued. And so forthwith messengers were dispatched into Germanie, the which with monie, gifts, and promises, might procure the Saxons to come to the aid of the Britains against the Scots and Picts. The Saxons glad of this message, as people desirous of intertainment to serue in warres, chosing forth a picked companie of lustie yong men vnder the leading of two brethren Hingist and Horsus, got them aboord into certeine vessels appointed for the purpose, and so with all speed directed their course towards great Britaine.

Gyldas. Wil. Malm. Beda. The Saxons sent for.

10000 hath Hector Boet. Gyldas and Beda mention onelie but of 3 plates or galles, but Hector Boet. hath 30.

This was in the yeare of our Lord 449, and in the second yeare of Uortigerns reigne, as the most autentike writers both British and English seeme to gather, although the Scotish writers, and name-Hector Boetius do varie herein, touching the iust account of yeares, as to the perusers of the writings aswell of the one as the other may appeare. But others take it to be in the 4 yeere of his reigne: whereto Beda seemeth to agree, who noteth it in the same yeare that Martianus the emperour began to rule the empire, which was (as appeareth by the consularie table) in the consulship of Protogenes and Austerius, and third yeere of Meroneus king of France.

449 Wil. Malm.

These Saxons thus arriuing in Britaine, were courteouslie receiued, & hartilie welcomed of king Uortigerne, who assigned to them places in Kent to inhabit, and forthwith led them against the Scots and Picts, which were entred into Britaine, wasting & destroieng the countrie before them. Herevpon comming to ioine in battell, there was a sore fight betwixt the parties for a while. But at length when the Saxons called to their remembrance that the same was the day which should either purchase to them an euerlasting name of manhood by victorie, or else of reproch by repulse, began to renew the fight with such violence, that the enimies not able to abide their fierce charge, were scattered and beaten downe on ech side with great slaughter.

Scots vanquished by the Saxons.

The king hauing gotten this victorie, highlie rewarded the strangers according to their well deseruings, as by whose prowesse he had thus vanquished his enimies, which (as some write) were come as farre as Stamford, and vsed at that time to fight with long darts and speares, whereas the Saxons fought onelie with long swords and axes. Henrie Hunt.

¶Some haue written that the Saxons were not sent for, but came by chance into the Ile, and the occasion to be this. There was an ancient custome among the English Saxons a people in Germanie, as was also at the first among other nations, that when the multitude of them was so increased, that the countrie was not able to sustein and find them, by commandement of their princes, they should chose out by lots a number of yong and able personages fit for the warrs, which should go forth to seeke them new habitations: and so it chanced to these, that they came into great Britaine, and promised to serue the king for wages in his warres. Gal. Mon.

Hengistus the Saxon shooteth at the *crowne and scepter of the kingdome by* craftie and subtile practises, a great number of *forren people arriue in Britaine for the augmen*tation of his power, of the faire ladie Rowen his *daughter, whereof Wednesdaie and Fridaie tooke their name,* of the Iutes, Saxons, and Angles, Vortigerne being inflamed with the loue of Hengists daughter forsaketh his owne wife and marrieth hir, Vortigerne giueth Hengist all Kent, the Saxons come ouer by heaps to inhabit the land, the British nobilitie moue the king to auoid them, he is depriued of his kingdome, the miserable destruction made by the Saxons in this land, skirmishes betwixt them and the Britains.

The third Chapter.

Hengist purposeth at the first to conquere the Britains.

NOw Hengistus, being a man of great wit, rare policie, and high wisedome, vnderstanding the kings mind, who wholie trusted to the valiancie of the Saxons, & herewithall perceiuing the fruitfulnesse of the countrie, presentlie began to consider with himselfe, by what wiles and craft he might by little little settle heere, and obteine a kingdome in the Ile, and so establish the same to him and his for euer.

Therefore first he indeuored with all speed possible to sease that part of the countrie, which was giuen him and his people, and to inlarge and furnish it with garisons appointed in places most conuenient. After this he did what he could to persuade the king, that a great power of men might be brought ouer out of Germanie, that the land being fortified with such strength, the enimies might be put in feare, and his subiects holden in rest. The king not foreseeing the hap that was to come, did not despise this counsell tending to the destruction of his kingdome, and so was more aid sent for into Germanie: whereupon now at this second time there arriued heere 16 vessels fraught with people, and at the same time came the ladie Rowen or Ronir (daughter to Hengist) a maid of excellent beautie and comelinesse, able to delight the eies of them that should behold hir, and speciallie to win the heart of Uortigerne with the dart of concupiscence, wherevnto he was of nature much inclined, and that did Hengist well perceiue. Polydor. Wil. Malm. 18 Foists or plates saie the Scotish writers, and 5000 men in the same. The Saxons call these vessels Ceoles, or Keeles, and our old histories Cogiones.

There came ouer into this land at that time, and soone after, three maner of people of the Germane nation, as Saxons, Vitæ or Jutes, and Angles, ouer the which the said Hengist and Horse being brethren, were capteines & rulers, men of right noble parentage in their countrie, as descended of that ancient prince Woden, of whom the English Saxon kings

The Vitæ or Iutæ are called Ibitti. Alex. Now.

kings do for the more part fetch their pedegrée, as lineallie deſcended from him, vnto whome alſo the Engliſh people (falſelie reputing him for a god) conſecrated the fourth daie of the weeke, as they did the firſt to his wife Frea: ſo that the ſame daies toke name of them, the one being called Wodenſdaie, and the other Freadaie, which words after in continuance of time by corruption of ſpéech were ſomewhat altered, though not much, as from Wodenſdaie, to Wedneſdaie, and from Freadaie to Fridaie. The foreſaid Woden was father to Wecta, the father of Wetgiſſus that was father to the foreſaid Hengiſtus and Horſus.

Wedneſdaie, and Fridaie, whereof they came. Beda

But now to rehearſe further touching thoſe three people which at this time came ouer into Britaine out of Germanie. Of the Vites or Jutes (as Beda recordeth) are the Kentiſhmen deſcended, and the people of the Ile of Wight, with thoſe alſo that inhabit ouer againſt the ſame Ile. Of the Saxons came the eaſt, the ſouth, & the weſt Saxons. Moreouer, of the Angles proceéded the eaſt Angles, the middle Angles or Mercies, and the Northerne men.

Cor. Tacitus.

That theſe Angles were a people of Germanie, it appeareth alſo by Cornelius Tacitus, who called them Anglij, which word is of three ſyllables (as Polydor ſaith:) but ſome write it Angli, with two ſyllables. And that theſe Angli, or Anglij were of no ſmall force and authoritie in Germanie before their comming into this land, maie appeare, in that they are numbred amongſt the twelue nations there, which had lawes and ancient ordinances apart by themſelues, according to the which the ſtate of their common wealth was gouerned, they being the ſame and one people with the Thuringers, as in the title of the old Thuringers lawes we find recorded, which is thus: *Lex Angliorum & Werinorum, hoc eſt Thuringorum*, The law of the Angles and Werinians that is to ſaie the Thuringers, which Thuringers are a people in Saxonie, as in the deſcription of that countrie it maie appeare.

Polydor.

But now to the matter. Hengiſt perceiuing that his people were highlie in Vortigernes fauour, began to handle him craftilie, deuiſing by what means he might bring him in loue with his daughter Ronir, or Rowen, or Ronowen (as ſome writs) which he beléeued well would eaſilie be brought to paſſe, becauſe he vnderſtood that the king was much giuen to ſenſuall luſt, which is the thing that often blindeth wiſe mens vnderſtanding, and maketh them to dote, and to loſe their perfect wits: yea, and oftentimes bringeth them to deſtruction, though by ſuch pleaſant poiſon they féele no bitter taſte, till they be brought to the extreame point of confuſion in déed.

Rowen, or Ronowen Hengiſts daughter.

Wil. Malm.

A great ſupper therefore was prepared by Hengiſt, at the which it pleaſed the king to be preſent, and appointed his daughter, when euerie man began to be ſomewhat merrie with drinke, to bring in a cup of gold full of good and pleaſant wine, and to preſent it to the king, ſaieng; Waſſail. Which ſhe did in ſuch comelie and decent maner, as ſhe that knew how to do it well inough, ſo as the king marueled greatlie thereat, and not vnderſtanding what ſhe ment by that ſalutation, demanded what it ſignified. To whom it was anſwered by Hengiſt, that ſhe wiſhed him well, and the meaning of it was, that he ſhould drinke after hir, ioining thereto this anſwer, Drinke haile. Whereupon the king (as he was informed) toke the cup at the damſels hand, and dranke.

Gal. Mon.

Waſſail, what it ſignifieth.

Finallie, this yong ladie behaued hir ſelfe with ſuch pleaſant words, comelie countenance, and amiable grace, that the king beheld hir ſo long, till he felt himſelfe ſo farre in loue with hir perſon, that he burned in continuall deſire to inioy the ſame: inſomuch that ſhortlie after he forſooke his owne wife, by the which he had three ſonnes, named Vortimerus, Catagrinus, and Paſcentius, and required of Hengiſt to haue his daughter, the ſaid Rowen, or Ronowen in mariage. Hengiſt at the firſt ſéemed ſtrange to grant to his requeſt, and excuſed the matter, for that his daughter was not of eſtate and dignitie méet to be matched with his maieſtie. But at length as it had béene halſe againſt his will he conſented, and ſo the mariage was concluded & ſolemnized, all Kent being aſſigned vnto Hengiſt in reward, the which countrie was before that time gouerned by one Gworongus (though not with moſt equall iuſtice) which Gworongus was ſubiect vnto Vortigerne, as all other the potentats of the Ile were.

Polydor. Fabian.

Wil. Malm.

This mariage and liberalitie of the king towards the ſtrangers much offended the minds of his ſubiects, and haſtened the finall deſtruction of the land. For the Saxons now vnderſtanding the affinitie had betwixt the king and Hengiſt, came ſo faſt ouer to inhabit héere, that it was wonder to conſider in how ſhort a time ſuch a multitude could come togither: ſo that bicauſe of their great number and approued puiſſance in warres, they began to be a terrour to the former inhabitants the Britains. But Hengiſt being no leſſe politike in counſell than valiant in armes, abuſing the kings lacke of diſcretion, to ſerue his owne turne, perſuaded him to call out of Germanie his brother Occa and his ſonne named Ebuſa, being men of great valure, to the end that as Hengiſt defended the land in the ſouth part: ſo might they kéepe backe the Scots in the north.

Wil. Malm.

Gal. ſaith he was Hengiſts ſonne, and Ebuſa his vncles ſonne.

Héerevpon by the kings conſent, they came with a power out of Germanie, and coaſting about the land, they ſailed to the Iles of Orknie, and ſore vexed the people there, and likewiſe the Scots and Picts alſo, and finallie arriued in the north parts of the realme, now called Northumberland, where they ſetled themſelues at that preſent, and ſo continued there euer after: but none of them taking vpon him the title of king, till about 99 yéeres after their firſt comming into that countrie, but in the meane time remaining as ſubiects vnto the Saxon kings of Kent. After their arriuall in that prouince, they oftentimes fought with the old inhabitants there, and ouercame them, chaſing away ſuch as made reſiſtance, and appeaſed the reſidue by receiuing them vnder allegiance.

Occa and Ebuſa leaders of Saxons.

Wil. Malm. *de Regib.*

When the nobles of Britaine ſaw and perceiued in what danger the land ſtood, by the dailie repaire of the huge number of Saxons into the ſame, they firſt conſulted togither, and after reſorting to the king, moued him that ſome order might be taken for the auoiding of them, or the more part of them, leaſt they ſhould with their power and great multitude vtterlie oppreſſe the Britiſh nation. But all was in vaine, for Vortigerne ſo eſtéemed and highlie fauoured the Saxons, and namelie by reaſon of the great loue which he bare to his wife, that he little regarded his owne nation, no nor yet anie thing eſtéemed his owne naturall kinſmen and chiefe friends, by reaſon whereof the Britains in fine depriued him of all kinglie honour, after that he had reigned 16 yéares, and in his ſtéed crowned his ſonne Vortimer.

Fabian.

The great numbers of ſtrangers ſuſpected to the Britains.

Vortigerne deprined.

Gyldas and Beda make no mention of Vortimer, but declare that after the Saxons were receiued into this land, there was a couenant made betwixt them and the Britains, that the Saxons ſhould defend the countrie from the inuaſion of enimies by their knightlie force: and that in conſideration therof, the Britains ſhould find them prouiſion of vittels: wherewith they held them contented for a time. But afterwards they began to pike quarrels, as though they were not ſufficientlie furniſhed of their due proportion of vittels, threatening that if they were

Gyldas. Beda. H. Hunt.

were not prouided more largelie thereof, they would surelie spoile the countrie. So that without deferring of time, they performed their words with effect of deeds, beginning in the east part of the Ile, & with fire and sword passed forth, wasting and destroieng the countrie, till they came to the vttermost part of the west: so that from sea to sea, the land was wasted and destroied in such cruell and outragious manner, that neither citie, towne, nor church was regarded, but all committed to the fire: the priests slaine and murthered euen afore the altars, and the prelats with the people without anie reuerence of their estate or degrée dispatched with fire and sword, most lamentablie to behold.

The miserable destruction made by the Saxons in this land.

Manie of the Britains séeing the demeanour of the Saxons, fled to the mounteins, of the which diuers being apprehended, were cruellie slaine, and other were glad to come forth and yeeld themselues to eternall bondage, for to haue releefe of meate and drinke to asswage their extremitie of hunger. Some other got them out of the realme into strange lands, so to saue themselues; and others abiding still in their countrie, kept them within the thicke woods and craggie rocks, whither they were fled, liuing there a more wretched life, in great feare and vnquietnesse of mind.

But after that the Saxons were departed and withdrawne to their houses, the Britains began to take courage to them againe, issuing forth of those places where they had lien hid, and with one consent calling for aid at Gods hand, that they might be preserued from vtter destruction, they began vnder the conduct of their leader Aurelius Ambrose, to prouoke the Saxons to battell, and by the helpe of God they obteined victorie, according to their owne desires. And from thence forth, one while the Britains, and an other while the Saxons were victors. So that in this British people, God (according to his accustomed maner) as it were present Israell, tried them from time to time, whether they loued him or no, vntill the yeare of the siege of Badon hill, where afterwards no small slaughter was made of the enimies: which chanced the same yeare in the which Gyldas was borne (as he himselfe witnesseth) being about the 44 yeare after the comming of the Saxons into Britaine.

Gyldas was borne in the yeare of our Lord 493.

Thus haue Gyldas & Beda (following by likelihood the authoritie of the same Gyldas) written of these first warres begun betweene the Saxons and Britains. But now to go forth with the historie, according to the order of our chronicles, as we do find recorded touching the doings of Uortimer that was elected king (as ye haue heard) to gouerne in place of his father Uortigerne.

Vortimer is created king in the roome *of his father Vortigerne, he giueth the* Saxons sore and sharpe battels, a combat *fought betweene Catigerne the brother of Vorti-* mer and Horsus the brother of Hengist, wherein *they were both slaine, the Britains drue the Saxons into the* Ile of Tenet, Rowen the daughter of Hengist procureth Vortimer to be poisoned, the Saxons returne into Germanie as some writers report, they ioine with the Scots and Picts against the Britains and discomfit them.

The fourth Chapter.

Vortimer.
Fabian.
Galf. Mon.
Matth. West. saith 454.
464

THis Uortimer being eldest sonne to Uortigerne, by the common assent of the Britains was made king of Britaine, in the yeare of our Lord 464, which was in the fourth yeare of the emperour Leo the first, and about the first yeare of Childericus king of France, as our common account runneth, which is far disagreeing from that whereof W. Harison doth speake in his chronologie, who noteth Uortigerne to be deposed in the 8 after his exaltation to the crowne, 454 of Christ, and 5 currant after the comming of the Saxons, which concurreth with the 4420 of the world, and 8 of Peroneus, as by his chronologie doth more at large apeare.

But to proceed, Uortimer being thus aduanced to the gouernment of the realme, in all hast made sore warre against the Saxons, and gaue vnto them a great battell vpon the riuer of Derwent, where he had of them the vpper hand. And the second time he fought with them at a place called Epiford, or Aglisthrop, in the which incounter Catagrine or Catigernus the brother of Uortimer, and Horsus the brother of Hengist, after a long combat betwixt them two, either of them slue other: but the Britains obteined the field (as saith the British historie.) The third battell Uortimer fought with them néere to the sea side, where also the Britains chased the Saxons, & droue them into the Ile of Tenet. The fourth battell was stricken néere to a more called Colemore, the which was sore fought by the Saxons, and long continued with great danger to the Britains, because the foresaid more inclosed a part of their host so stronglie, that the Britains could not approch to them, being beaten off with the enimies shot, albeit in the end the Saxons were put to flight, & manie of them drowned and swallowed vp in the same more. Beside these foure principall battels, Uortimer had diuers other conflicts with the Saxons, as in Kent and at Tetford in Norfolke, also néere to Colchester in Esser: for he left not till he had bereft them of the more part of all such possessions as before time they had got, so that they were constrained to keepe them within the Ile of Tenet, where he oftentimes assailed them with such ships as he then had. When Ronowen the daughter of Hengist perceiued the great losse that the Saxons sustained by the martiall prowesse of Uortimer, she found means that within a while the said Uortimer was poisoned, after he had ruled the Britains by the space of 6 or 7 yeares and od moneths.

The riuer of Derwent.
Epiford.
The Ile of Tenet.
Hen. Hunt.
Colemore.
Fabian.
Tetford in Norfolke.
Colchester.

¶ By the British historie it should séeme, that Uortimer before his death handled the Saxons so hardlie, keeping them besieged within the Ile of Tenet, till at length they were constrained to sue for licence to depart home into Germanie in safetie: and the better to bring this to pas, they sent Uortigerne, (whome they had kept still with them in all these battels) vnto his sonne Uortimer, to be a meane for the obteining of their sute. But whilest this treatie was in hand, they got them into their ships, and leauing their wiues and children behind them, returned into Germanie. Thus far Gal Mon. But how vnlikelie this is to be true, I will not make anie further discourse, but onelie refer euerie man to that which in old autentike historiographers of the English nation is found recorded, as in Will. Malmes. Henr. Hunt. Marianus, and others: vnto whome in these matters concerning the doings betwixt the Saxons and Britains, we maie vndoubtedlie and safelie giue most credit.

Will. Malmes.

William Malmes. writing of this Uortimer, or Guortigerne, and of the warres which he had against the Saxons, varieth in a maner altogither from Geffrey of Monmouth, as by his words here following ye maie perceiue. Guortimer, the sonne of Uortimer (saith he) thinking not good long to dissemble the matter, for that he saw himselfe and his countriemen the Britains preuented by the craft of the English Saxons, set his full purpose to driue them

them out of the realme, and kindled his father to the like attempt. He therefore being the author and procurer, ſeuen yeares after their firſt comming into this land, the league was broken, and by the ſpace of 20 yeares they fought oftentimes togither in manie light incounters, but foure times they fought puiſſance againſt puiſſance in open field: in the firſt battell they departed with like fortune, whileſt the one part, that is to meane, the Saxons loſt their capteine Horſe that was brother to Hengiſt, and the Britains loſt Catigerne an other of Vortigerns ſonnes.

Hengiſt had the victorie in this battell ſaith Ra. Hig. Horſe and Catigene ſlaine.

458

In the other battels, when the Engliſhmen went euer awaie with the vpper hand, at length a peace was concluded, Guortimer being taken out of this world by courſe of fatall death, the which much differing from the ſoft and milde nature of his father, right noblie would haue gouerned the realme, if God had ſuffered him to haue liued. But theſe battels which Vortimer gaue to the Saxons (as before is mentioned) ſhould appeare by that which ſome writers haue recorded, to haue chanced before the ſuppoſed time of Vortimers or Guortimers atteining to the crowne, about the 6 or 7 yeare after the firſt comming of the Saxons into this realme with Hengiſt. And hereto W. Hariſon giueth his conſent, referring the mutuall ſlaughter of Horſus and Catigerne to the 6 years of Martianus, 455 of Chriſt. Howbeit Polydor Virgil ſaith, that Vortimer ſucceeded his father, and that after his fathers deceaſſe the Engliſh Saxons, of whome there was a great number then in the Ile, comming ouer daily like ſwarmes of bees, and hauing in poſſeſſion not onelie Kent, but alſo the north parts of the realme towards Scotland, togither with a great part of the weſt countrie, thought it now a fit time to attempt the fortune of warre: and firſt therefore concluding a league with the Scots and Picts, vpon the ſudden they turned their weapons points againſt the Britains, and moſt cruellie purſued them, as though they had receiued ſome great iniurie at their hands, and no benefit at all. The Britains were maruelouſlie abaſhed herewith, perceiuing that they ſhould haue to do with Hengiſt, a capteine of ſo high renowme, and alſo with their ancient enimies the Scots and Picts, thus all at one time, and that there was no remedie but either they muſt fight or elſe become ſlaues. Wherefore at length, dread of bondage ſtirred vp manhood in them, ſo that they aſſembled togither, and boldlie began to reſiſt their enimies on ech ſide: but being too weake, they were eaſilie diſcomfited and put to flight, ſo that all hope of defenſe by force of armes being vtterlie taken awaie, as men in deſpaire to preuaile againſt their enimies, they fled as ſheepe ſcattered abroad, ſome following one capteine and ſome another, getting them into deſart places, woods and mareſh grounds, and moreouer left ſuch townes and fortreſſes as were of no notable ſtrength, as a preie vnto their enimies.

The Britains diſcomfited by the Scots.

Polydor.

Thus ſaith Polydor Virgil of the firſt breaking of the warres betwixt the Saxons and the Britains, which chanced not (as ſhould appeare by that which he writeth thereof) till after the death of Vortigerne. Howbeit he denieth not that Hengiſt at his firſt comming got ſeates for him and his people within the countie of Kent, and there began to inhabit. This ought not to be forgotten, that king Vortimer (as Sigebertus hath written) reſtored the chriſtian religion after he had vanquiſhed the Saxons, in ſuch places where the ſame was decaied by the enimies inuaſion, whoſe drift was not onelie to ouerrun the land with violence, but alſo to erect their owne lawes and liberties without regard of clemencie.

Sigebertus.

Vortigerne is reſtored to his regiment, *in what place he abode during the time of* his ſonnes reigne, Hengiſt with his Saxons re-*enter the land, the Saxons and Britains are ap*-pointed to meet on Salisburie plaine, the priuie *treaſon of Hengiſt and his power whereby the Bri*-tains were ſlaine like ſheepe, the manhood of Edol earle of Gloceſter, Vortigerne is taken priſoner, Hengiſt is in poſſeſſion of three prouinces of this land, a deſcription of Kent.

The fift Chapter.

After all theſe bloudie broiles and tempeſtuous tumults ended, Vortigerne was reſtored and ſet againe into the kingdome of Britaine, in the yeare of our Lord 471. All the time of his ſonnes reigne, he had remained in the parties now called Wales, where (as ſome write) in that meane time he builded a ſtrong caſtle called Generon, or Guaneren, in the weſt ſide of Wales nere to the riuer of Guana, vpon a mounteine called Cloaricus, which ſome referre to be builded in his ſecond returne into Wales, as ſhall be ſhewed hereafter. And it is ſo much the more likelie, for that an old chronicle, which Fabian had ſight of, affirmeth, that Vortigerne was kept vnder the rule of certeine gouernors to him appointed in the towne of Caerlegion, and behaued himſelfe in ſuch commendable ſort towards his ſonne, in aiding him with his counſell, and otherwiſe in the meane ſeaſon whileſt his ſonne reigned, that the Britains by reaſon thereof began ſo to fauour him, that after the death of Vortimer they made him king againe.

Matth. Weſt. ſaith 461. 471

Caerleon Irwiske.

Shortlie after that Vortigerne was reſtored to the rule of the kingdom, Hengiſt aduertiſed thereof, returned into the land with a mightie armie of Saxons, whereof Vortigerne being admoniſhed, aſſembled his Britains, and with all ſpeed made towards him. When Hengiſt had knowledge of the huge hoſt of the Britains that was comming againſt him, he required to come to a communication with Vortigerne, which requeſt was granted, ſo that it was concluded, that on Maie day a certeine number of Britains, and as manie of the Saxons ſhould meet togither vpon the plaine of Saliſburie. Hengiſt hauing deuiſed a new kind of treaſon, when the day of their appointed meeting was come, cauſed euerie one of his allowed number ſecretlie to put into his hoſe a long knife (where it was ordeined that no man ſhould bring anie weapon with him at all) and that at the verie inſtant when this watchword ſhould be vttered by him, Nempt your ſexes, then ſhould euerie of them plucke out his knife, and ſlea the Britaine that chanced to be next to him, except the ſame ſhould be Vortigerne, whom he willed to be apprehended, but not ſlaine.

Matth. Weſt. ſaith 4000. He might eaſilie returne, for except I be deceiued he was neuer driuen out after he had once ſet foot within this Ile.

Nempt your, ſexes, what if it were meſſes

At the day aſſigned, the king with his appointed number or traine of the Britains, miſtruſting nothing leſſe than anie ſuch maner of vnfaithfull dealing, came vnto the place in order before preſcribed, without armor or weapon, where he found Hengiſt readie with his Saxons, the which receiued the king with amiable countenance and in moſt louing ſort: but after they were a little entred into communication, Hengiſt meaning to accompliſh his deuiſed purpoſe, gaue the watchword, immediatlie whereupon the Saxons drew out their kniues, and ſuddenlie fell on the Britains, and ſlue them as ſheepe being fallen within the danger of wolues. For the Britains

There died of the nobles of Britaine 460. as Gal. ſaith.

Britains had no weapons to defend themselues, except anie of them by his strength and manhood got the knife of his enimie.

Ran.Cestren. Fabian. Amongst other of the Britains, there was one Edol earle of Gloucester, or (as other say) Chester, which got a stake out of an hedge, or else where, and with the same so defended himselfe and laid about him, that he slue 17 of the Saxons, and escaped to the towne of Ambrie, now called Salisburie, and so saued his owne life. Vortiger was taken and kept as prisoner by Hengist, till he was constreined to deliuer vnto Hengist three prouinces or countries of this realme, that is to say, Kent & Esser, or as some write, that part where the south Saxons after did inhabit, as Susser and other: the third was the countrie where the Estangles planted themselues, which was in Norfolke and Suffolke. Then Hengist being in possession of those three prouinces, suffered Vortigerne to depart, & to be at his libertie.

Wil. Malm. ¶ William Malmesburie writeth somewhat otherwise of this taking of Vortigerne, during whose reigne, after the decease of his sonne Vortimer, nothing was attempted against the Saxons, but in the meane time Hengist by colorable craft procured his sonne in law Vortigerne to come to a banket at his house, with three hundred other Britains, and when he had made them well and warme with often quaffing and emptieng of cups, and of purpose touched euerie of them with one bitter tawnt or other, they first fell to multiplieng of malicious words, and after to blowes that the Britains were slaine, euerie mothers sonne so yelding vp their ghosts euen amongst their pots. The king himselfe was taken, and to redeeme himselfe out of prison, gaue to the Saxons three prouinces, and so escaped out of bondage.

Thus by what meane soeuer it came to passe, truth it is (as all writers agree) that Hengist got possession of Kent, and of other countries in this realme, and began to reigne there as absolute lord & gouernor, in the yere of our Lord (as some write) 476, about the fift yere of Vortigerns last reigne: but after other, which take the beginning of this kingdome of Kent to be when Hengist had first gift thereof, the same kingdome began in the yere 455, and conteined the countrie that stretcheth from the east Ocean vnto the riuer of Thames, hauing on the southeast Southerie, and vpon the west London, vpon the northeast the riuer of Thames aforesaid, and the countrie of Esser.

476.

Kingdome of Kent.

rulers of some small dominion: so that Hengist is counted a little king, who when he had got into his hands the foresaid three prouinces, he caused more Saxons to come into Britaine, and bestowed them in places abroad in the countrie, by reason whereof the christian religion greatlie decaied within the land, for the Saxons being pagans, did what they could to extinguish the faith of Christ, and to plant againe in all places their heathenish religion, and worshipping of false gods: and not onelie hereby was the true faith of the Christians brought in danger dailie to decaie, but also the erronious opinions of the Pelagians greatlie preuailed here amongst the Britains, by meanes of such vnsound preachers as in that troublesome season did set forth false doctrine amongst the people, without all maner of reprehension.

The decay of christian religion.

Beda. Certeine yeeres before the comming of the Saxons, that heresie began to spread within this land verie much, by the lewd industrie of one Leporius Agricola, the sonne of Seuerus Sulpitius (as Bale saith) a bishop of that lore. But Pelagius the author of this heresie was borne in Wales, and held opinion that a man might obteine saluation by his owne free will and merit, and without assistance of grace, as he that was borne without originall sinne, &c.

This erronious doctrine being taught therefore, and mainteined in this troublesome time of warres with the Saxons, sore disquieted the godlie minded men amongst the Britains, who not meaning to receiue it, nor yet able well to confute the craftie and wicked persuasions vsed by the professors thereof, thought good to send ouer into Gallia, requiring of the bishops there, that some godlie and profound learned men might be sent ouer from thence into this land, to defend the cause of the true doctrine against the naughtie teachers of so blasphemous an error. Wherupon the bishops of Gallia sore lamenting the miserable state of the Britains, and desirous to relieue their present need, specially in that case of religion, called a synod, and therein taking counsell to consider who were most meet to be sent, it was decreed by all their consents in the end, that one Germane the bishop of Auxerre, and Lupus bishop of Trois should passe ouer into Britaine to confirme the Christians there in the faith of the celestiall grace. And so those two vertuous learned men taking their iournie, finallie arriued in Britaine, though not without some danger by sea, through stormes & rage of winds, stirred (as hath beene thought of the superstitious) by the malice of wicked spirits, who purposed to haue hindered their proceedings in this their good and well purposed iournie. After they were come ouer, they did so much good with conuincing the wicked arguments of the aduersaries of the truth, by the inuincible power of the word of God, and holinesse of life, that those which were in the wrong waie, were sone brought into the right path againe.

Beda.

A synod called in Gallia.

Germanus and Lupus.

About the same time also, one Palladius was sent from Celestinus bishop of Rome, vnto the Scots, to instruct them in the faith of Christ, and to purge them from the heresie of the said Pelagius. This Palladius exhorted Constantinus the king of Scots, that in no wise he should aid the Saxons being infidels against the Britains: whose exhortation toke so good effect, that the said Constantinus did not onelie forbeare to assist the Saxons, but contrarilie holpe the Britains in their warres against them, which thing did mainteine the state of the Britains for a time from falling into vtter ruine and decaie. In the meane time, the Saxons renewed their league with the Picts, so that their powers being ioined togither, they began afresh to make sore warres vpon the Britains,

Beda. Palladius.

Constantine king of Scots.

H. Hunt. Beda.

The vj. Chapter.

Hengist and all other the Saxon kings which ruled (as after shall appeare) in seuen parts of this realme, are called by writers Reguli, that is, little kings or

The heptarchie or seuen kingdoms of *this land, Hengist causeth Britaine to be* peopled with Saxons, the decaie of Christian *religion, the Pelagians with their hereticall and* false doctrine infect the Britains, a synod summoned *in Gallia for the redresse thereof, the Scots assist the Britains* against the Saxons, who renew their league with the Picts, Germane and Lupus two bishops of Germanie procure the British armie to be newlie christened, the terror that the Britains vnder bishop Germans fortunate conduct draue into the Saxons by the outcrie of Alleluia, and got the victorie, bishop Germane departeth out of the land, and to redresse the Pelagian heresie commeth againe at the clergies request, he confirmeth his doctrine by a miracle, banisheth the Pelagians out of the land, the death of Germane, murther requited with murther.

Britains, who of necessitie were constreined to assemble an armie, & mistrusting their owne strength, required aid of the two bishops, Germane and Lupus, who hasting forward with all speed came into the armie, bringing with them no small hope of good lucke to all the Britains there being assembled. This was done in Kent.

Now such was the diligence of the bishops, that (the people being instructed with continuall preaching) in renouncing the error of the Pelagians, earnestlie came by troops to receiue the grace of God offred in baptisme, so that on Easter day which then insued, the more part of the armie was baptised, and so went forth against the enimies, who hearing thereof, made hast towards the Britains, in hope to ouercome them at pleasure. But their approch being knowne, bishop Germane tooke vpon him the leading of the British host, and ouer against the passage thorough the which the enimies were appointed to come, he chose forth a faire vallie inclosed with high mounteins, and within the same he placed his new washed armie. And when he saw the enimies now at hand, he commanded that euerie man with one generall voice should answer him, crieng aloud the same crie that he should begin. So that euen as the enimies were readie to giue the charge vpon the Britains, supposing that they should haue taken them at vnwares, and before anie warning had bèen giuen, suddenlie bishop Germane and the priests with a lowd and shrill voice called Alleluia, thrice: and therewith all the multitudes of the Britains with one voice cried the same crie, with such a lowd shout, that the Saxons were therewith so amazed and astonied (the echo from the rocks and hils adioining, redoubling in such wise the crie) that they thought not onelie the rocks and cliffs had fallen vpon them, but that euen the skie it selfe had broken in pèces and come tumbling downe vpon their heads: hèrewith therefore throwing awaie their weapons, they tooke them to their fèet, and glad was he that might get to be formost in running awaie. Manie of them for hast were drowned in a riuer which they had to passe. Polydor taketh that riuer to be Trent. The Britains hauing thus vanquished their enimies, gathered the spoile at good leasure, & gaue God thanks for the victorie thus got without bloud, for the which the holie bishops also triumphed as best became them. Now after they had setled all things in good quiet within the Ile, as was thought expedient, they returned into Gallia or France, from whence they came (as is before rehearsed.)

The armie of the Britains newlie christened.

Alleluia.

Matth. West. 448.

By one author it should apèere that this battell was wone against the Scots and Picts, about the yèere of our Lord 448, a little before the comming of the Saxons into this land vnder Hengist, in which yèere Germane first came hither to wèed out the heresie of Pelagius, as by the same author more at large is affirmed. Howbeit, some chronographers alledge out of Prosper & other, and note the first comming of Germane to haue bèene in the 429 yèere of Christ, and vnder the consulship of Florentius and Dionysius. And this should sèeme to agrée with the truth, for that after some, the foresaid Germane should die at Rauenna, about the yèere of our Lord 450, as Vincentius noteth, which was the verie yèere of the comming of the Saxons: notwithstanding, when or whersoeuer he died, it was not long after his returne into Gallia, vpon his first iournie made hither into this land, who no sooner obteined the victorie before mentioned, but word was brought againe vnto him, that eftsones the heresie of the Pelagians was spread abroad in Britaine, and therefore all the priests or cleargie made request to him that it might stand with his pleasure to come ouer againe, and defend the cause of true religion which he had before confirmed.

Germane returneth againe into Britaine.

Hereupon bishop Germane granted so to do, and therefore taking with him one Seuerus (that was disciple vnto Lupus, and ordeined at that time bishop of Treers) tooke the sea, and came againe into Britaine, where he found the multitude of the people stedfast in the same beliefe wherein he had left them, & perceiued the fault to rest in a few: whereupon inquiring out the authors, he condemned them to exile (as it is written) and with a manifest miracle by restoring a yong man that was lame (as they saie) vnto the right vse of his limbs, he confirmed his doctrine. Then followed preaching to persuade amendment of errors, and by the generall consent of all men, the authors of the wicked doctrine being banished the land, were deliuered vnto bishop Germane and to his fellow Seuerus, to conueie them away in their companie vnto the parties beyond the seas, that the region might so be deliuered of further danger, and they receiue the benefit of due amendment.

By this meanes it came to passe, that the true faith continued in Britaine sound and perfect a long time after. Things being thus set in good order, those holie men returned into their countries, the forenamed bishop Germane went to Rauenna to sue for peace to be granted vnto the people of Britaine Armorike, where being receiued of the emperor Valentinian and his mother Placida in most reuerend maner, he departed in that citie out of this transitorie life, to the eternall ioies of heauen. His bodie was afterwards conueied to the citie of Auxerre, where he had bèene bishop with great opinion of holines for his sincere doctrine and pure and innocent life. Shortlie after was the emperour Valentinian slaine by the friends of that noble man named Aetius, whome he had before caused to be put to death.

Anno 450, as Vincentius noteth, lib. 20. ca. 15.

The emperour Valentinian slaine.

454

¶ By this it maie appèere, that bishop Germane came into this realme both the first and second time, whilest as well Hengist, as also Vortigerne were liuing: for the said Valentinian was murthered about the yèere of our Lord 454, where the said kings liued and reigned long after that time, as maie appèere both before and after in this present booke.

What part of the realme the Saxons *possessed, Vortigerne buildeth a castell in* Wales for his safetie, Aurelius and Vter both *brethren returne into Britaine, they assalt the* vsurper Vortigerne, and with wild fire burne both *him, his people, his fort, and all the furniture in the same.* Vortigerne committeth incest with his owne daughter, feined and ridiculous woonders of S. Germane, a sheepherd made a king.

The seuenth Chapter.

NOw will we returne to Vortigerne, of whome we read in the British historie, that after the Saxons had constreined him to deliuer into their hands a great part of the south and east parts of the realme, so that they had in possession London, Yorke, Lincolne, & Winchester, with other cities & townes, he not onelie fearing their puissance, but also the returne of Aurelius Ambrosius, and his brother Vter pendragon, withdrew him into Wales, where he began to build a strong castell vpon a mounteine called Brèigh, or after other Cloaric, nèere to the riuer of Guana, which is in the west side of Wales in a place within the compasse of the same hill called Generon

Galfrid. Caxton. Fabian. Polychron.

or

Mount Erir he calleth it in one place of his booke.

or Gueineren. Of the building of this castell, and of the hinderance in erecting the same, with the monstrous birth of Merlin and his knowledge in prophesieng, the British histories tell a long processe, the which in Caxton, and in Galfrides bookes is also set forth, as there ye maie see: but for that the same seemeth not of such credit as deserueth to be registred in anie sound historie, we haue with silence passed it ouer.

Aurelius and Uter brethren returne into Britaine.

Whilest Uortigerne was busied in building of this castell, the two foresaid brethren Aurelius and Uter prepared a nauie of ships, and an armie of men, by helpe of such their kinsmen and freends as they found in Britaine Armorike, and so passed the sea, and landed at Totnesse: whereof when the Britains were aduertised, the which were scattered abroad and seuered in diuers parties and countries, they drew vnto the said two brethren with all speed that might be. When Aurelius and his brother Uter perceiued that they were sufficientlie furnished of people, they marched forth towards Wales against Uortigerne, who hauing knowledge of their approch,

Uortigerne burnt to death.

had fortified his castell verie strongly with men, munition and vittels, but yet all auailed him nothing, for in the end after his enimies had giuen diuers assaults to the said castell, they found meanes with

Wild fire not yet inuented as some think.

wild fire to burne it downe to the earth, and so consumed it by fire togither with the king, and all other that were within it.

Thus did Uortigerne end his life (as in the British historie is recorded.) Much euill is reported of him by the same historie, and also by other writers, and among other things it is written, that he should lie by his owne daughter, and of hir beget a sonne, in hope that kings should come of him, and therefore he was excommunicated by S. Germane. It is also said, that when the same S. Germane came into Britaine (as before ye haue heard) this Uortigerne on a time should denie the same S. Germane harbour: but one that kept the kings heards of cattell receiued him into his house, and lodged him, and slue a calfe for his super, which calfe after super was ended, S. Germane restored againe to life: and on the morrow by the ordinance of God, he caused Uortigerne to be deposed from his kinglie estate, and toke the heardman and made him king. But Ranulfe Hig. in his Polychronicon, alledging Gyldas for his author, saith that this chand to a ceking that ruled in Powsey, whose name was Bulie, and not to Uortigerne: so that the successors of that Bulie reigning in that side of Wales, came of the linage of the same heardman.

Polychron. A feined tale of S. Germane.

A calmish narration.

H. Hunt.

Moreouer it hath beene said (as one writer recordeth) that when Uortigerne refused to heare the preaching of saint Germane, and fled from him as he would haue instructed him, one night there fell fire from heauen vpon the castell wherein the king was lodged, and so the king being destroied with the fall of the house and the fire togither, was neuer after seene. ¶ But these are fables, and therfore I passe them ouer, hoping that it shall suffice to shew here with what stuffe our old historiographers haue farced vp their huge volumes, not so much regarding the credit of an historie, as satisfieng the vanitie of their owne fond fantasies, studieng with a pretended skilfulnesse to cast glorious colours vpon lies, that the readers (whom they presupposed either ignorant or credulous) would be led away with a flowing streme of words void of reason and common sense. Which kind of men knew not (belike) that the nature of an historie (defined to be *Rei verè gestæ memoria*) will not beare the burthen or lode of a lie, sith the same is too heauie: otherwise they would haue deposed matters conspiring with the truth.

Aurelius Ambrosius the brother to *Constantius created king of Britaine, he* incountereth with the Saxons, Hengist their *generall is beheaded, Octa his sonne submitteth* himselfe to Aurelius, he putteth all the Saxons *out of the land, repaireth places decased, and restoreth religion,* the memorable monument of the stones that are so much spoken of on Salisburie plaine, the exploits of Pascentius Vortigerns yongest sonne, Aurelius lieth sicke, Uter goeth against Pascentius and giueth him the ouerthrow, Aurelius is poisoned of a counterfet moonke, the place of his buriall, Polydor Virgils report of the acts and deeds of Aurelius against the Saxons, Hengist is slaine, Osca and Octa his two sonnes make a fowle spoile of the west part of the land, Vortimer dieth, the disagreement of writers touching matters interchangeablie passed betwene the Britains and Saxons.

The eight Chapter.

Aurelius Ambrosius.

AUrelius Ambrose, the second sonne of king Constantine, brother to Constantius, and murthered by the treason of Uortigerne (as before ye haue heard) was made king of Britaine in the yeere of our Lord 481, which was about the third yeere of the reigne of the emperour Zeno, and the 23 of Childericus king of France, Odocer king of the Herulians then vsurping the gouernment of Italie. When this Aurelius Ambrosius had dispatched Uortigerne, and was now established king of the Britains, he made towards Porke, and passing the riuer of Humber, incountred with the Saxons at a place called Maesbell, and ouerthrew them in a strong battell, from the which as Hengist was fleeing to haue saued himselfe, he was taken by Edoll earle of Gloucester, or (as some say) Chester, and by him led to Conningsborrow, where he was beheaded by the counsell of Eldad then bishop of Colchester.

Matt. West. saith 466.

Gal. Mon.

Hengist taken and beheaded.

Howbeit there be some that write, how that Hengist was taken at another battell fought vpon the riuer of Dune, in the yeere of our Lord 489, and not in the chase of the battell which was fought at Maesbell in the yeere 487, as the same authors do alledge. Octa the son of Hengist by flight escaped to Porke, and being there besieged, at length was constreined to yeeld himselfe to Aurelius: who dealing fauourablie with him, assigned vnto him and other of the Saxons a countrie bordering neere to the Scots, which (as some affirme) was Galloway, where the said Octa and the Saxons began to inhabit. Then did Aurelius Ambrosius put the Saxons out of all other parts of the land, & repaired such cities, townes and also churches, as by them had beene destroied or defaced, and placed againe priests, and such other as should attend on the ministerie and seruice of God in the same churches.

Math. West.

Octa.

Also for a perpetuall memorie of those Britains that were slaine on the plaine of Salisburie by the treason of Hengist, he caused stones to be fetched out of Ireland, and to be set vp in the same place where that slaughter was committed, and called the place Stoneheng, which name continueth vnto this day. Fiftéene thousand men (as Galfrid saith) were sent for those stones, vnder the leading of Uter Pendragon the kings brother, who giuing battell vnto Gillomanus king of Ireland that went about to resist the Britains, and would not permit them to fetch away the same stones out of his countrie, discomfited him and his people, and so (maugre his hart) brought the stones away with him.

Stoneheng.

Gal. Mon.

Shortlie

Shortlie after, Paſcentius that was Vortigerns yongeſt ſonne, and had eſcaped into Ireland (when Aurelius Ambroſius came into Britaine) returned with a great power of ſtrange nations, and toke the citie of Penetia in Wales, afterwards called ſaint Dauids, and did much hurt in the countrie with fire and ſword. At which time the ſame Aurelius Ambroſius lay ſicke at Winchester, and being not able to go forth himſelfe, deſired his brother Uter Pendragon to aſſemble an armie of Britains, and to go againſt Paſcentius and his adherents. Uter, according to his brothers requeſt, gathering his people, went forth, and incountering with the enimies gaue them the ouerthrow, ſlue Paſcentius and Gillomare or Gilloman king of Ireland, that was come ouer with him in aid againſt the Britains.

Hector Boet. In the meane while, a Saxon or ſome other ſtranger, whoſe name was Eopa or Copa, not long before procured thereto by Paſcentius, fained himſelfe to be a Britaine, and for a colour counterfeiting himſelfe a monke, and to haue great knowledge in phyſicke, was admitted to miniſter as it were medicins to Aurelius: but in ſtead of that which ſhould haue brought him health, he gaue him poiſon, wherof Fabian. he died ſhortlie after at Winchester aforeſaid, when he had reigned after moſt accord of writers nintéene yeeres: his bodie was conueied to Stoneheng and there buried. ¶ Thus find we in the Britiſh and common Engliſh hiſtories of the doings of Aurelius Ambroſius, who (as ye haue hard) makes him a Britaine borne, and deſcended of the bloud of the ancient Britains. But Gyldas and Beda report him to be a Romane by deſcent, as before is mentioned.

Polydor. Polydor Virgil writeth in this ſort of the victorious acts atchiued by the foreſaid Aurelius Ambroſius. Then (ſaith he) the Saxons hauing alreadie gotten the whole rule of the Ile, practiſed their outragious cruelties ſpeciallie againſt the princes of the Britains, to the end that the ſaid princes being ouercome and deſtroied, they might with more eaſe obteine poſſeſſion of the whole Ile, which thing they onlie ſought. But the fauour of almightie God was not wanting to the miſerable Britains in that great neceſſitie. For behold, Aurelius Ambroſius was at hand, who had no ſooner cauſed the trumpet to ſound to armor, but euerie man for himſelfe prepared and repaired vnto him, praieng & beſeeching him to helpe to defend them, and that it might ſtand with his pleaſure to go forth with them againſt the enimies in all ſpeed.

Thus an armie being aſſembled, Aurelius Ambroſius went againſt them, and valiantlie aſſailed them, ſo that within the ſpace of a few daies they fought three battels with great fiercenеſſe on both ſides, in triall of their high diſpleaſures and vttermoſt forces, in which at length the Britains put the Saxons to flight, Horſus the brother of Hengiſt being ſlaine with a great number of his people. But yet notwithſtanding the enimies rage was little abated hereby, for within a few daies after receiuing out of Germanie a new ſupplie of men, they brake forth vpon the Britains with great confidence of victorie. Aurelius Ambroſius was no ſooner aduertiſed thereof, but that without delaie he ſet forward towards Yorke, from whence the enimies ſhould come, and hearing by the way that Hengiſt was incamped about ſeuen & twentie miles diſtant from that citie, néere to the banke of a riuer at this day called Dune, in the place where Doncaſter now ſtandeth, he returned out of his waie, and marched towards that place, and the next day ſet on the enimie and vanquiſhed him, Hengiſt at the firſt méeting of the battell being ſlaine, with a great number of the Germans. The fame of this victorie (ſaith Polydor) is had in memorie with the inhabitants of thoſe parties euen vnto this day, which victorie did ſore diminiſh the power of the Saxons, inſomuch that they began now to thinke it ſhould be more for their profit to ſit in reſt with that diſhonour, than to make anie new warres to their great diſaduantage and likelihod of preſent loſſe.

Hengiſt left behind him two ſonnes, Oſca and and Occa, which as men moſt ſorowfull for the ouerthrow of late receiued, aſſembled ſuch power as they could together, and remoued therewith towards the weſt part of the Ile, ſuppoſing it to be better for them to draw that way forth, than to returne into Kent, where they thought was alreadie a ſufficient number of their people to reſiſt the Britains on that ſide. Now therefore when they came into the weſt parts of the land, they waſted the countrie, burnt villages, and abſteined from no maner of crueltie that might be ſhewed. Theſe things being reported vnto Aurelius Ambroſius, he ſtraightwaies haſted thither to reſiſt thoſe enimies, and ſo giuing them battell, eſſones diſcomfited them: but he himſelfe receiuing a wound, died thereof within a few daies after. The Engliſh Saxons hauing thus ſuſteined ſo manie loſſes within a few moneths togither, were contented to be quiet now that the Britains ſtirred nothing againſt them, by reaſon they were brought into ſome trouble by the death of ſuch a noble capteine as they had now loſt. In the meane time Vortimer died, whome Uter ſurnamed Pendragon ſucceeded.

Aurelius dieth of a wound

Vortimer departeth this life.

Thus hath Polydor written of the foreſaid Aurelius Ambroſius, not naming him to be king of Britaine, and differing in deed in ſundrie points in this behalfe from diuerſe ancient writers of the Engliſh hiſtories: for where he attributeth the victorie to the Britains in the battell fought, wherein Horſus the brother of Hengiſt was ſlaine, by the report of Polychronicon, and others, the Saxons had the victorie in that reincounter: and William of Malmesburie ſaith, that they departed from that batell with equall fortune, the Saxons loſing their capteine Horſus, and the Britains their capteine Katigerne (as before ye haue heard.) But there is ſuch contrarietie in writers touching the doings betwixt the Britains and Saxons in thoſe daies, as well in account of yéeres, as in report of things done, that ſetting affection aſide, hard it is to iudge to which part a man ſhould giue credit.

Wil. Malm.

Katigerne.

For Fabian and other authors write, that Aurelius Ambroſius began his reigne ouer the Britains about the yéere of our Lord 481, and Horſus was ſlaine about the yéere 458, during the reigne of Vortimer, as aboue is mentioned, ſo that it cannot ſtand with the truth of the Britiſh hiſtories (the which Fabian followeth) that Horſus was ſlaine by Aurelius Ambroſius, if according to the ſame hiſtories he returned not into Britaine, till the time there ſuppoſed. But diuerſe ſuch maner of contrarieties ſhall ye find, in peruſing of thoſe writers that haue written the chronicles of the Britains and Saxons, the which in euerie point to recite, would be too tedious and comberſome a matter, and therefore we are forced to paſſe the ſame ouer, not knowing how to bring them to anie iuſt accord for the ſatiſfieng of all mens minds, ſpeciallie the curious, which may with diligent ſearch ſatiſfie themſelues haplie much better, than anie other ſhall be able to do in vttering his opinion neuer ſo much at large, and agréeable to a truth. This therefore haue we thought good as it were by the waie to touch what diuerſe authors do write, leauing it ſo to euerie mans iudgement to conſtrue thereof, as his affection leadeth him. We find in the writings of thoſe that haue regiſtred the doings of theſe times, that Aurelius hauing van-

458

Sigebertus.

quished the Saxons, restored churches to the furtherance of the christian religion, which by the invasion of the Saxons was greatlie decaied in diuerse parts of Britaine, and this chanced in the daies of the emperour Theodosius the yonger.

Matth. West. saith 488.

The beginning of the kingdome of the *Southsaxons commonlie called Sussex*, the Britains with their rulers giue battell to Ella the *Saxon & his three sonnes, disagreement betweene* the English and British chronographers about *the battels fought by Hengist and his death, the beginning* of the Kentish kingdome, a battell fought betweene the Britains and Saxons, the first are conquered, the last are conquerors.

The ninth Chapter.

Ella entred this land as Matt. West. saith ann. 477.

IN the time of the foresaid Aurelius Ambrosius, one Ella a Saxon with his 3 sonnes Cymen, Plettinger and Cissa, came out of Germanie with three ships, and landed in the south parts of Britaine, and being incountred with a power of Britains at a place called Cuneueshore, discomfited them, and chased them vnto a wood then called Andredescester, and so toke that countrie, and inhabited there with his people the Saxons which he brought with him, and made himselfe king and lord thereof, in somuch that afterwards the same countrie was named the kingdome of the Southsaxons, which had for limits on the east side Kent, on the south the sea and Ile of Wight, on the west Hamshire, and on the north part Southerie. This kingdome (after some) began vnder the foresaid Ella, about the 32 yeere after the first comming of the Saxons into this land, which by following that account, should be about the second yeere of the reigne of Aurelius Ambrosius, and about the yeere of our Lord 482. But other write, that it did begin about the 30 yeere after the first comming of Hengist, which should be two yeres sooner.

The kingdom of the Southsaxons doth begin.

482

William Harison differing from all other, noteth it to begin in the fourth yeere after the death of Hengist, 4458 of the world, 2 of the 317 Olympiad, 1243 of Rome, 492 of Christ, and 43 after the comming of the Saxons: his words are these. Ella erected the kingdome of the Southsaxons, in the 15 after his arriuall, and reigned 32 yeres, the chiefe citie of his kingdome also was Chichester, and after he had inioied the same his kingdome a while, he ouerthrew the citie called Andredescester, which as then was taken for one of the most famous in all the south side of England. ¶ For my part I thinke my dutie discharged, if I shew the opinions of the writers: for if I should therto adioine mine owne, I should but increase coniectures, whereof alreadie we haue superfluous store. To proceed therefore as I find.

About the ninth yeere after the comming of Ella, the Britains perceiuing that he with his Saxons still inlarged the bounds of his lordship by entring further into the land, assembled themselues togither vnder their kings and rulers, and gaue battell to Ella and his sonnes at Mecredesbourne, where they departed with doubtfull victorie, the armies on both sides being sore diminished, and so returned to their homes. Ella after this battell sent into his countrie for more aid.

But now touching Hengist, who as ye haue heard, reigned as king in the prouince of Kent, the writers of the English kings varie somewhat from the British historyes, both in report of the battels by him fought against the Britains, and also for the maner of his death: as thus. After that Vortimer was dead, who departed this life (as some write) in the first yeere of the emperor Leo, surnamed the great, and first of that name that gouerned the empire, who began to rule in the yeere of our Lord 457, we find that Hengist and his sonne Occa or Osca gathered their people togither that were before sparkled, and hauing also receiued new aid out of Germanie, fought with the Britans at a place called Crekenford, where were slaine of the Britains foure dukes or capteins, and foure thousand of other men, the residue were chased by Hengist out of Kent vnto London, so that they neuer returned afterwards againe into Kent: thus the kingdome of Kent began vnder Hengist the twelfe yeere after the comming of the Saxons into Britaine, and Hengist reigned in Kent after this (as the same writers agree) foure and twentie yeeres.

Polychron. 457 Henrie Hunt. Wil. Malm. Creiford. Britains ouerthrowne.

It is remembred that those Germans which lately were come ouer to the aid of Hengist, being chosen men, mightie and strong of bodie, with their ares and swords made great slaughter of the Britains in that battell at Crekenford or Creiford, which Britains were ranged in foure battels vnder their aforesaid foure dukes or capteins, and were (as before is mentioned) slaine in the same battell. About the first yeere of the said emperor Leo, which was in the 17 yeere after the comming of the Saxons, Hengist and his sonne Occa or Osca fought at Wipets field in Kent, neere to a place called Tong with the Britains, and slue of them twelue dukes or capteins, & on the part of the Saxons was slaine beside common souldiers but onlie one capteine called Wipet, of whom the place after that daie toke name.

Polychron. Hen. Hunt. wipets field. Matth. West. This battell was fought anno 473. as the same Mat. West. noteth. wipet. H. Hunt.

This victorie was nothing pleasant to the Saxons, by reason of the great losse which they susteined, as well by the death of the said Wipet, as of a great number of others: and so of a long time neither did the Saxons enter into the confines of the Britains, nor the Britains presumed to come into Kent. But whilest outward wars ceassed among the Britains, they exercised ciuill battell, falling togither by the eares among themselues, one striuing against another. Finallie, Hengist departed this life by course of nature, in the 39 yeere after his first comming into Britaine, hauing proceeded in his businesse no lesse with craft and guile than with force and strength, following therewith his natiue crueltie, so that he rather did all things with rigour than with gentlenesse. After him succeeded a sonne whom he left behind him, who being attentiue rather to defend than to inlarge his kingdome, neuer set foot out of his fathers bounds, during the space of 24 yeeres, in the which he reigned.

Fortie yeres saith H. Hunt.

By this it is euident that he was not driuen out of the land after he had once set foot within it. Matt. West. H. Hunt.

About three yeeres after the decease of Hengist, a new supplie of men of warre came out of Germanie vnto the aid of Ella king of Suller, who hauing his power increased, besieged the citie of Andredescester, which was verie strong and well furnished with men and all things necessarie. The Britains also assembling togither in companies, greatlie annoied the Saxons as they lay there at siege, laieng ambushes to destroie such as went abroad, and ceassing not to giue alarums to the campe in the night season: and the Saxons could no sooner prepare themselues to giue the assalt, but the Britains were readie to assaile them on the backs, till at length the Saxons diuiding themselues into two companies, appointed the one to giue the assalt, and the other to incounter with the armie of the Britains without, and so finallie by that meanes preuailed, toke the citie, and destroied man, woman and child. Neither so conten-

The citie of Andredescester.

contented, they did alſo vtterlie race the ſaid citie, ſo as it was neuer after that daie builded or reedified againe.

The eaſt Angles kingdome beginneth, *the arriuall of Cerdic and Kenric with fiue* ſhips of warre in this land, he putteth the Britains *to flight, the weſt Saxons kingdom begineth,* Vter Pendragon made king of Britaine, the etymon *of his name, he taketh Occa and Oſca the two ſonnes of Hengiſt* priſoners, how Hector Boetius varieth from other chronographers in the relation of things concerning Pendragon, he falleth in loue with the duke of Cornewalls wife, killeth him, and marieth hir. Occa and Oſca eſcape out of priſon, they freſhlie aſſault the Britains, they are both ſlaine in a foughten field, the Saxons ſend and looke for aid out of Germanie, Pendragon is poiſoned.

The tenth Chapter.

The kingdome of the eaſt Angles began not till Aurelius Conanus reigned. 561

MOreouer, in the daies of the afore-named Aurelius Ambroſius, about the yeare of our Lord 561, the kingdome of the eaſt Angles began vnder a Saxon named Uffa. This ſame kingdome conteined Northfolke and Suffolke, hauing on the eaſt and north parts the ſea, on the northweſt Cambridgeſhire, and on the weſt ſaint Edmunds ditch with a part of Hertfordſhire, and on the ſouthſide lieth Eſſex. At the firſt it was called Uffines dominion, and the kings that reigned, or the people that inhabited there, were at the firſt named Uffines, but at length they were called eaſt Angles.

Cerdic. Wil. Malm. 495 Fabian. Polychron.

FUrthermore, about the yeare of our Lord 495, and in the eight yeare after that Hengiſt was dead, one Cerdicus and his ſonne Kenricus came out of Germanie with fiue ſhips, and landed at a place called Cerdicſhore, which as ſome thinke is called Yermouth in Northfolke. He was at the firſt receiued with battell by the Britains, but being an old skilfull warriour, he eaſilie beate backe and repelled the inconſtant multitude of his enimies, and cauſed them to flee: by which good ſucceſſe he procured both vndoubted aſſurance to himſelfe for the time to come, and to the inhabitants good and perfect quietnes. For they thinking good neuer after to prouoke him more by reſiſtance, ſubmitted themſelues to his pleaſure: but yet did not he then giue himſelfe to ſlouthfull reſt, but rather extending his often atchiued victories on ech ſide, in the 24 yeare after his comming into this land, he obteined the rule of the weſt parts thereof, and gouerned there as king, ſo that the kingdome of the weſt Saxons began vnder the ſaid Cerdicus in the 519 of Chriſt, as after ſhall be ſhewed. Wil. Malm. Wil. Malm. 519

529 ¶ Thus ye maie ſee, that Aurelius Ambroſius did ſucceed Uortigerne, and reigned in the time ſuppoſed by the Britiſh hiſtories, as before is alledged, the land euen in his daies was full of trouble, and the old inhabitants the Britains ſore vexed by the Saxons that entred the ſame, ſo that the Britains were daillie hampered, and brought vnder ſubiection to the valiant Saxons, or elſe driuen to remoue further off, and to giue place to the victors. But now to proceed with the ſucceſſion of the Britiſh kings, as in their hiſtories we find them regiſtred, which I deliuer ſuch as I find, but not ſuch as I do wiſh, being written with no ſuch colour of credit as we maie ſafelie put forth the ſame for an vndoubted truth.

After that Aurelius Ambroſius was dead, his brother Uter Pendragon (whome ſome call Aurelius Uterius Ambroſianus) was made king in the yeare of our Lord 500, in the ſeuenth yeare of the emperour Anaſtaſius, and in the ſixteenth yeare of Clodoueus king of the Frenchmen. The cauſe why he was ſurnamed Pendragon, was, for that Merline the great prophet likened him to a dragons head, that at the time of his natiuitie marueilouſlie appeared in the firmament at the corner of a blaſing ſtar, as is reported. But others ſuppoſed he was ſo called of his wiſedome and ſerpentine ſubtiltie, or for that he gaue the dragons head in his banner. This Uter, hearing that the Saxons with their capteins Occa or Otta the ſonne of Hengiſt, and his brother Oſca had beſieged the citie of Yorke, haſted thither, and giuing them battell, diſcomfited their power, and toke the ſaid Occa and Oſca priſoners. Matth. Weſt. noteth. 500

From this varieth Hector Boetius in his chronicle of Scotland, writing of theſe doings in Britaine: for he affirmeth, that the counterfeit monke, which poiſoned Aurelius Ambroſius, was ſuborned and ſent to worke that feat by Occa, and not by his brother Paſcentius: and further, that about the ſelfeſame time of Aurelius his death, his brother Uter Pendragon lay in Wales, not as yet fullie recouered of a ſore ſickneſſe, wherewith of late he had bene much vexed. Yet the lords of Britaine after the buriall of Aurelius Ambroſius, came vnto him and crowned him king: and though he was not able to go againſt the Saxons (which as then by reaſon of Aurelius Ambroſius his death were verie buſie, and more earneſt in purſuing the warre than before) yet an armie was prepared and ſent forth with all conuenient ſpeed vnder the leading of one Pathaliod, a man neither of anie great ancient houſe, nor yet of ſkill in warlike affaires. Hector Boet.

The noble men were nothing pleaſed herewith, as miſliking altogither the lacke of diſcretion in their new king, & doubted ſore, leaſt in time to come he would haue more delight to aduance the men of baſe degree, than ſuch as were deſcended of noble parentage. Yet becauſe they would not put the ſtate of the common wealth in danger through anie mutinie, they agreed to go forth with him in that iournie. Occa had aduertiſement giuen him by certeine letters ſent to him from ſome cloſe friends amongeſt the Britains of the whole matter: and therefore in hope of the better ſpeed, he haſted forth to incounter the Britains, and ſo the whole armie comming within ſight of the other, they prepared to the battell, and ſhortlie after buckling togither, the Britains were ſone diſcomfited, by reaſon that one of their chiefeſt capteins called Gothlois diſdaining to be at the appointment of Pathaliod, got him vp to the next hill with the next battell which he led, leauing the other Britains in all the danger: which they ſeeing began by & by to flee. There died no great number of the Britains, except thoſe that were killed in the fight: for Occa miſtruſting what Gothlois meant by his withdrawing aſide, would not ſuffer the Saxons to follow the chaſe, but in the night following Gothlois got him awaie, and reſted not till he was out of danger. Occa then perceiuing himſelfe to haue the vpper hand, ſent an herald vnto king Uter with a certeine meſſage, threatning deſtruction to him and to his people, if he refuſed to do that which he ſhould appoint.

Uter perceiuing what diſloialtie reſted in the harts of his owne ſubiects, agreed that the matter might be committed to eight graue and wiſe councellors, foure Britains and foure Saxons, which might haue full power to make an end of all con-

troueríes and variances depending betwixt the two nations. Octa was likewise contented therewith, whereupon were named on either part foure persons, of such wisedome, knowledge and experience, as were thought mætest for the ordering of such a weightie matter. So that by the arbitrement, award and doome of those eight persons authorised thereto, a league was concluded vpon certeine articles of agreement, amongst the which the chiefest was, that the Saxons from thenceforth should quietlie inioy all that part of Britaine which lieth fore against the Almaine seas, the same to be called euer after Englishlaund, and all the residue should remaine to the Britains as their owne rightfull and ancient inheritance. Thus far Hector Boetius.

But now to returne vnto Uter according to that we find in the British histories, and to proceed after our owne historians; we find, that when he had vanquished the Saxons and taken their two chiefe teins prisoners, in processe of time he fell in loue with a verie beautifull ladie called Igwarne or Igerna, wife to one Gorlois or Gorlois duke of Cornewall, the which duke he slue at length neere to his owne castell called Diuulioc in Cornewall, to the end that he might inioy the said ladie, whome he afterwards maried, and begot on hir that noble knight Arthur, and a daughter named Amie or Anna. Octa and Osca escaping also out of prison assembled eftsones a power of Saxons, and made warre against the Britains, whereof Uter hauing aduertisement prepared to resist them, and finallie went himselfe in person against them, and at saint Albans (as some write) gaue them battell, and slue them both in the field.

Gorlois duke of Cornewall.

Harding.

By that which Polydor Virgil writeth, it should seeme that Germane the bishop of Auxerre came into Britaine in the daies of this Uter, by whose presence the Britains had victorie against the Saxons (as before ye haue heard) after which victorie both rested from troubling either other for a time. The Saxons as it were astonied with that present miracle, & the Britains not following their good successe, shortlie after fell at discord amongst themselues, which finallie brought them to vtter decaie, as after shall appeare. But the Saxons desirous to spoile the Britains of the whole possession of that part of the Ile which they held, whereas they accounted the cities and townes of small strength to be defended, they got them to an high mounteine called Badon hill, which Polydor supposeth to be Blackamore that lieth neere to the water of Theise, which diuideth the bishoprike of Durham from Yorkeshire, hauing at the mouth thereof an hauen mæt to receiue such ships as come out of Germanie, from whence the Saxons loked for aid, hauing alreadie sent thither for the same.

Badon hill.

The Britains being thereof aduertised, made hast towards the place, and besieged it on euerie side. They also laie the sea coasts full of souldiers, to keepe such of the enimies from landing as should come out of Germanie. The Saxons kept themselues for a certeine space aloft vpon the high ground, but in the end constreined through want of vittels, they came downe with their armie in order of battell to the next plaines, and offering to fight, the battell was anon begun, which continued from the morning till far in the day, with such slaughter, that the earth on euerie side flowed with blood: but the Saxons susteined the greater losse, their capteins Octa and Osca being both slaine, so that the Britains might seeme quite deliuered of all danger of those enimies: but the fatall destinie could not be auoided, as hereafter may appeare. And thus was the slaughter made of the Saxons at Badon hill, where-

of Gyldas maketh mention, and chanced the same yeare that he was borne, which was in the 44 yeare after the first comming of the Saxons into this land, the yeare of Grace 492, & 15 indiction.

Gyldas.

492

About the same time Uter departed out of this life (saith Polydor) so that this account agréeth nothing with the common account of those authors, whome Fabian and other haue followed. For either we must presuppose, that Uter reigned before the time appointed to him by the said authors, either else that the siege of Badon hill was before he began to reigne, as it should séeme in déed by that which Wil. Malmesburie writeth thereof, as hereafter shall be also shewed. Finallie (according to the agréement of the English writers) Uter Pendragon died by poison, when he had gouerned this land by the full terme of 16 years, & was after buried by his brother Aurelius at Stoneheng, otherwise called *Chorea Gigantum*, leauing his sonne Arthur to succéed him. ¶ Here ye must note that the Scotish chronicles declare, that in all the warres for the more part wherein the Britains obteined victorie against the Saxons, the Scots aided them in the same warres, and so likewise did the Picts, but the same chronicles do not onelie varie from the British writers in account of yeares, but also in the order of things done, as in the same chronicles more plainelie may appeare, & namelie in the discourse of the accidents which chanced during the reigne of this Uter. For whereas the British histories, as ye haue heard, attribute great praise vnto the same Uter for his victories atchiued against the Saxons and their king Octa, whome he slue in battell, and obteined a great victorie, the Scotish writers make other report, affirming in déed that by the presence of bishop Germane he obteined victorie in one battell against them: but shortlie after the Britains fought againe with the Saxons, and were discomfited, although Octa in following the chase ouer rashlie chanced to be slaine: after whose decease the Saxons ordeined his sonne named also Octa to succéd in his place, who to make himselfe strong against all his enimies, sent into Germanie for one Colgerne, the which with a great power of Dutchmen came ouer into this our Britaine, and conquered by Octas appointment the countrie of Northumberland, situate betwéene Tine and Tweed, as in the Scotish chronicles may further appeare.

The decease of Uter Pendragon.

Stoneheng.

Chorea Gigantum.

Also this is to be remembred, that the victorie which was got against the Saxons by the Britains, at what time Germane bishop of Auxerre was present: Hector Boetius affirmeth (by authoritie of Veremond that wrote the Scotish chronicles) to haue chanced the second time of his comming ouer into this land, where Beda auoucheth it to be at his first being heere. Againe the same Boetius writeth, that the same victorie chanced in the daies of Uter Pendragon. Which can not be, if it be true that Beda writeth, touching the time of the death of the said Germane: for where he departed this life before the yeare of our Lord 459, as aboue is said, Uter Pendragon began not his reigne till the yeare of our Lord 500 or as the same Hector Boetius saith 503, so that bishop Germane was dead long before that Uter began to reigne.

In déed some writers haue noted, that the third battell which Aortimer fought against the Saxons, was the same wherein S Germane was present, and procured the victorie with the crie of Alleluia, as before ye haue heard. Which seemeth to be more agréeable to truth, and to stand also with that which holie Beda hath written, touching the time of the being héere of the said Germane, that the opinion of other, which affirme that it was in the time of the

reigne

reigne of Uter. The like is to be found in the reſidue of Hector Boetius his booke, touching the time ſpecially of the reignes of the Britiſh kings that gouerned Britaine about that ſeaſon. For as he affirmeth, Aurelius Ambroſius began his reigne in the yeare of our Lord 498, and ruled but ſeuen yeares, and then ſucceeded Uter, which reigned 18 yeares, and departed this life in the yeare of our Lord 521.

¶ Notwithſtanding the premiſſes, here is to be remembred, that whatſoeuer the Britiſh writers haue recorded touching the victories of this Uter had againſt the Saxons, and how that Oſca the ſonne of Hengiſt ſhould be ſlaine in battell by him and his power: in thoſe old writers which haue regiſtred the acts of the Engliſh Saxon kings we find no ſuch matter, but rather that after the deceaſſe of Hengiſt, his ſonne Oſca or Occa reigned in Kent 24 yeares, defending his kingdome onelie, and not ſeeking to inlarge it (as before is touched.) After whoſe death his ſonne Oth, and Irmenrike ſonne to the ſame Oth ſucceeded, more reſembling their father than their grandfather or great grandfather. To their reignes are aſſigned fiftie and three yeares by the chronicles: but whether they reigned ſointlie togither, or ſeuerallie & apart either after other, it is not certeinlie perceiued.

Oſca, 34 ſaith Henrie Hunt. in corrupted copies.

Porth the Saxon arriueth at Porteſmouth, warre betweene Nazaleod king of the Britains and the Saxons, the Britains are ouethrowen and ſlaine, the kingdome of the weſt Saxons beginneth, the compaſſe or continent thereof, the meanes whereby it was inlarged.

The eleuenth Chapter.

NOw will we breefelie diſcourſe vpon the incidents which firſt happened during the reigne of Uter Pendragon. We find that one Porth a Saxon with his two ſons Megla and Beda came on land at Porteſmouth in Suſſex, about the beginning of the ſaid Uters reigne, and ſlue a noble yong man of the Britains, and manie other of the meaner ſort with him. Of this Porth the towne & hauen of Porteſmouth tooke the name, as ſome haue thought. Moreouer, about 40 yeares after the comming of the Saxons into this land with their leader Hengiſt, one Nazaleod, a mightie king amongſt the Britains, aſſembled all the power he could make to fight with Certicus king of the Weſtſaxons, who vnderſtanding of the great power of his enimies, required aid of Oſca king of Kent, alſo of Elle king of Suſſex, and of Porth and his ſonnes which were latelie before arriued as ye haue heard. Certicus being then furniſhed with a conuenient armie, diuided the ſame into two battels, reſeruing the one to himſelfe, and the other he appointed to his ſonne Kenrike. King Nazaleod perceiuing that the wing which Certicus led, was of more ſtrength than the other which Kenrike gouerned, he ſet firſt vpon Certicus, thinking that if he might diſtreſſe that part of the enimies armie, he ſhould eaſilie ouercome the other. Herevpon he gaue ſuch a fierce charge vpon that wing, that by verie force he opened the ſame, and ſo ouerthrew the Saxons on that ſide, making great ſlaughter of them as they were ſcattered. Which maner of dealing when Kenrike ſaw, he made forward with all ſpeed to ſuccour his father, and ruſhing in amongſt the Britains on their backs, he brake their armie in peeces, and ſlue their king Nazaleod, and withall put his people to flight. There died of the Britains that daie 5000 men, and the reſidue eſcaped by fleeing as well as they might. In the firſt yeare after this battell, Stuff and Wightgar that were nephues to Certicus, came with three ſhips, and landed at Certicesford, and ouerthrew a number of Britains that came againſt them in order of battell, and ſo by the comming of thoſe his nephues being valiant and hardie capteins, the part of Certicus became much ſtronger. About the ſame time Elle king of the Southſaxons departed this life, after whome ſucceeded his ſonne Ciſſa, of whome we find little left in writing to be made account of.

Porth entred this land about the yeare of our Lord (for as Matth. Weſt. noteth.

Harriſon ſuppoſeth the riuer to be called Ports, as for the word mouth, is the fall of anie freſh riuer into the ſea.

About the yeare of our Lord 519, and in the yeare after the comming of the Saxons 71, which was in the 26 yeare of the emperour Anaſtaſius, the Britains fought with Certicus and his ſonne Kenrike at Certicesford, where the capteins of the Britains ſtood to it manfullie: but in the end they were diſcomfited, and great ſlaughter was made there of them by the Saxons, and greater had beene, if the night comming on had not parted them, and ſo manie were ſaued.

The Britains ouerthrowne.

Matth. Weſt. Henr. Hunt. Stuff and Wightgar. Matth. Weſt. noteth the yeare of their arriuall to be 514.

Henr. Hunt. Britains ouerthrowne by the Saxons.

From that day forward Certicus was reputed & taken for king of Weſtſaxons, & ſo began the ſame kingdome at that time, which was (as W. Harriſon noteth) in the yeere of Chriſt 519, after the building of Rome 1270, of the world 4485, of the comming of the Saxons 70, of Juſtinus Anicius emperour of the eaſt, the firſt and third of the renowmed prince Patricius Arthurus then reigning ouer the Britains. The ſaid kingdome alſo conteined the countries of Wiltſhire, Summerſetſhire, Barkeſhire, Dorſetſhire, and Cornewall, hauing on the eaſt Hamſhire, on the north the riuer of Thames, and on the ſouth and weſt the Ocean ſea. Howbeit, at the firſt the kings of the Weſtſaxons had not ſo large dominions, but they dailie wan ground vpon the Britains, and ſo in the end by inlarging their confines, they came to inioy all the foreſaid countries, and the whole at the laſt.

The kingdom of weſtſaxons

In the ninth yeare of the reigne of Certicus, he eftſoones fought with the Saxons at Certicesford aforeſaid, where great ſlaughter was made on both parts. This Certicesford was in times paſt called Nazaleoy of the late remembred Nazaleod king of the Britains. About this ſeaſon at ſundrie times diuers great companies of the Saxons came ouer into Britaine out of Germanie, and got poſſeſſion of the countries of Mercia and Eaſtangle: but as yet thoſe of Mercia had no one king that gouerned them, but were vnder certeine noble men that got poſſeſſion of diuers parts in that countrie, by means wherof great warres and manie incounters inſued, with a common waſte of land both arable and habitable, whiles each one being ambitiouſlie minded, & heaping to themſelues ſuch powers as they were able to make, by ſword and bloudſhed choſe rather to haue their fortune decided, than by reaſon to ſuppreſſe the rage of their vnrulie affections. For ſuch is the nature of men in gouernement, whether they be intereſſed to it by ſucceſſion, or poſſeſſed of it by vſurpation, or placed in it by lawfull conſtitution, (vnleſſe they be guided by ſome ſupernaturall influence of diuine conceit) if they be more than one, they cannot away with equalitie, for regiment admitteth no companion: but euerie one ſeeketh to aduance himſelfe to a ſingularitie of honour, wherein he will not (to die for it) participate with another, which maie eaſilie be obſerued in this our hiſtoricall diſcourſe.

Certicesford.

The beginning of the kingdome of the *Eastsaxons, what it conteined, of Arthur* king of Britaine, his twelue victories ouer the *Saxons against whome he mainteined continuall* warre, why the Scots and Picts enuied him his roialtie *and empire, a league betwixt Arthur and Loth king of* the Picts, Howell king of little Britaine aideth Arthur against Cheldrike king of Germanie, who taking the ouerthrow, is slaine by the duke of Cornewall, the Picts are discomfited, the Irishmen with their king put to flight, and the Scots subdued, Arthurs sundrie conquests against diuers people, the vanitie of the British writers noted.

The twelfe Chapter.

Erchenwin. The kingdom of the Eastsaxons.

IN those daies also the kingdome of the Eastsaxons began, the chéefe citie whereof was London. It conteined in effect so much as at this présent belongeth to the diocesse of London. One Erchenwin a Saxon was the first king thereof, the which was sonne to one Offa, the sirt in lineall descent from one Sarnot, from whom the kings of that countrie fetched their originall. Harison noteth the exact yéere of the erection of the kingdome of the Eastsaxons to begin with the end of the eight of Cerdicus king of the Westsaxons, that is, the 527 of Christ, and 78 after the comming of the Saxons. In the 13 yéere of the reigne of Cerdicus, he with his sonne Kenrike, and other of the Saxon capteins fought with the Britains in the Ile of Wight at Witgarsbridge, where they slue a great number of Britains, and so conquered the Ile, the which about foure yéeres after was giuen by Cerdicus vnto his nephues Stuffe and Witgar.

Arthur.

AFter the decease of Uter Pendragon (as we doo find in the British histories) his sonne Arthur, a yong towardlie gentleman, of the age of 15 yéeres or thereabouts, began his reigne ouer the Britains in the yéere of our Lord 516, or as Matt. Westmin. saith 517, in the 28 yéere of the emperour Anastasius, and in the third yéere of the reignes of Childebert, Clothare, Clodamire, and Theodorike, brethren that were kings of the Frenchmen. Of this Arthur manie things are written beyond credit, for that there is no ancient author of authoritie that confirmeth the same: but surelie as may be thought he was some worthie man, and by all likelihood a great enimie to the Saxons, by reason whereof the Welshmen which are the verie Britains in déed, haue him in famous remembrance. He fought (as the common report goeth of him) 12 notable battels against the Saxons, & in euerie of them went away with the victorie, but yet he could not driue them quite out of the land, but that they kept still the countries which they had in possession, as Kent, Sutherie, Norfolke, and others: howbeit some writers testifie, that they held these countries as tributaries to Arthur.

516 Matth. West. hath noted 518

But truth it is (as diuers authors agrée) that he held continuall warre against them, and also against the Picts, the which were allied with the Saxons: for as in the Scotish histories is conteined, euen at the first beginning of his reigne, the two kings of the Scots and Picts séemed to enuie his aduancement to the crowne of Britaine, bicause they had maried the two sisters of the two brethren, Aurelius Ambrosius, and Uter Pendragon, that is to say, Loth king of Picts had married Anne their eldest sister, and Conran king of Scots had in mariage Alda their yonger sister, so that bicause Arthur was begotten out of wedlocke, they thought it stood with more reason, that the kingdome of the Britains should haue descended vnto the sisters sonnes, rather than to a bastard, namelie Loth the Pictish king, which had issue by his wife Anna, sore repined at the matter.

Wherefore at the first, when he saw that by suit he could not preuaile, he ioined in league with the Saxons, and aiding them against Arthur, lost many of his men of warre being ouerthrowne in battell, which he had sent vnto the succours of Colgerne the Saxon prince that ruled as then in the north parts. But finallie a league was concluded betwixt Arthur and the foresaid Loth king of Picts, vpon certeine conditions, as in the Scotish histoire is expressed, where ye may read the same, with many other things touching the acts of Arthur, somewhat in other order than our writers haue recorded.

¶ The British authors declare, that Arthur (immediatlie after he had receiued the crowne of Dubright bishop of Caerleon) went with his power of Britains against the Saxons of Northumberland, which had to their capteine (as before is said) one Colgrime or Colgerne, whome Arthur discomfited and chased into the citie of Yorke, within which place Arthur besieged him, till at length the same Colgrime escaped out of the citie, & leauing it in charge with his brother called Bladulfe, passed ouer into Germanie vnto Cheldrike king of that countrie, of whom he obteined succor, so that the said Cheldrike made prouision of men and ships, and came himselfe ouer into Scotland, hauing in his companie fiftéene hundred sailes one with an other.

Yorke besieged.

Cheldrike commeth in aid of Colgrime. Matt. Westm. saith but 700.

When Arthur was aduertised thereof, he raised his siege, and withdrew to London, sending letters with all spéed vnto Howell king of little Britaine in France, that was his sisters sonne, requiring of him in most earnest wise his aid. Howell incontinentlie assembled his people, to the number of fiftéene thousand men, and taking the sea, landed with them at Southhampton, where Arthur was readie to receiue him with great ioy and gladnesse. From thence they drew northwards, where both the hosts of Arthur and Howell being assembled togither, marched forward to Lincolne, which citie Cheldrike did as then besiege. Here Arthur and Howell assailed the Saxons with great force & no lesse manhood, and at length after great slaughter made of the enimies, they obteined the victorie, and chased Cheldrike (with the residue of the Saxons that were left aliue) vnto a wood, where they compassed them about within the same, in such wise, that in the ende they were constreined to yéeld themselues, with condition that they might be suffered to depart on fot to their ships, and so auoid the land, leauing their horsse, armour, and other furniture vnto the Britains.

Howell king of Britaine commeth ouer in aid of Arthur.

Cheldrike ouerthrowne in battell.

Hérevpon the Britains taking good hostages for assurance, permitted the Saxons to go their waies, and so Cheldrike and his people got them to their ships, in purpose to returne into their countrie: but being on the sea, they were forced by wind to change their course, and comming on the coasts of the west parts of Britaine, they arriued at Totnesse, and contrarie to the couenanted articles of their last composition with Arthur, inuaded the countrie anew, and taking such armour as they could find, marched forth in robbing and spoiling the people, till they came to Bath, which towne the Britains kept and defended against them, not suffering them by anie meanes to enter there, wherevpon the Saxons inuironed it with a strong siege. Arthur informed hereof, with all spéed hasted thither, and giuing the enimies battell, slue the most part of Cheldrikes men.

Bath besieged.

men.

The Saxons ouerthrow Colgrime and Bladulfe.

There were ſlaine both Colgrime and Bladulfe, howbeit Cheldrike himſelfe fled out of the field towards his ſhips, but being purſued by Cadors earle of Cornwall (that had with him ten thouſand men) by Arthurs appointment, he was ouertaken and in fight ſlaine with all his people. Arthur himſelfe returned from this battell foughten at Bath with all ſpæd towards the marſhes of Scotland, for that he had receiued aduertiſement, how the Scots had beſieged Howell K. of Britaine there, as he lay ſicke. Also when Cadors had accompliſhed his enterprize and ſlaine Cheldrike, he returned with as much ſpæd as was poſſible towards Arthur, & found him in Scotland, where he reſcued Howell, and afterwards purſued the Scots which fled before him by heaps.

Cheldrike ſlaine by Cadors duke of Cornwall.

K. Howell beſieged by the Scots.

Guillomer.

About the ſame time, one Guillomer king of Ireland arriued in Scotland with a mightie power of Iriſhmen (nære the place where Arthur lodged) to helpe the Scots againſt the Britains: whereupon Arthur turning his forces towards the ſame Guillomer, vanquiſhed him, and chaſed him into Ireland. This done, he continued in purſute of the Scots, till he cauſed them to ſue for pardon, and to ſubmit themſelues wholie to him, and ſo receiuing them to mercie, & taking homage of them, he returned to Yorke, and ſhortlie after toke to wife one Guenhera a right beautifull ladie, that was nære kinſwoman to Cadors earle of Cornwall.

Guenhera.

W. Harison. 525.

In the yære following, which ſome note to be 525, he went into Ireland, and diſcomfiting king Guillomer in battell, he conſtreined him to yæld, and to acknowledge by doing his fealtie to hold the realme of Ireland of him. It is further remembred in thoſe Britiſh hiſtories, that he ſubdued Gothland and Ireland, with all the Iles in and about thoſe ſeas. Also that he ouercame the Romans in the countrie about Paris, with their capteine Lucius, and waſted the moſt part of all France, and ſlue in ſingular combats certeine giants that were of paſſing force and hugeneſſe of ſtature. And if he had not bæne reuoked and called home to reſiſt his coſen Mordred, that was ſonne to Loth king of Pightland that rebelled in his countrie, he had paſſed to Rome, intending to make himſelfe emperor, and afterward to vanquiſh the other emperor, who then ruled the empire. ¶ But for ſo much as there is not anie approued author who doth ſpeake of anie ſuch doings, the Britains are thought to haue regiſtred mære fables in ſted of true matters, vpon a vaine deſire to aduance more than reaſon would, this Arthur their noble champion, as the Frenchmen haue done their Rouland, and diuerſe others.

Gothland.

Arthur is reſiſted by Mordred the vſurper *from arriuing in his owne land*, *they* ioine battell, Gawaine is ſlaine and his death *lamented by Arthur*, *Mordred taketh flight*, *he is* ſlaine, and Arthur mortallie wounded, his death, the *place of his buriall*, *his bodie digged vp*, *his bigneſſe* coniecturable by his bones, a croſſe found in his toome with an inſcription therevpon, his wife Guenhera buried with him, a rare report of hir haire, Iohn Lelands epitaph in memorie of prince Arthur.

The xiij. Chapter.

KIng Arthur at his returne into Britaine, found that Mordred had cauſed himſelfe to be made king, & hauing alied himſelfe with Cheldrike a Saxon (not him whome Galfride, as ye haue heard, ſuppoſeth to haue bæne wounded & ſlaine before) was readie to reſiſt his landing, ſo that before he could come on land, he loſt manie of his men: but yet at length he repelled the enimies, and ſo toke land at Sandwich, where he firſt arriued, and ioining in battell with his enimies, he diſcomfited them, but not without great loſſe of his people: ſpeciallie he ſore lamented the death of Gawaine the brother of Mordred, which like a faithfull gentleman, regarding more his honour and loiall truth than nærenelle of bloud and conſenage, choſe rather to fight in the quarrell of his liege king and louing maiſter, than to take part with his naturall brother in an vniuſt cauſe, and ſo there in the battell was ſlaine, togither alſo with Angusell, to whom Arthur afore time had committed the gouernment of Scotland. Mordred fled from this battell, and getting ſhips ſailed weſtward, and finallie landed in Cornwall. King Arthur cauſed the corps of Gawaine to be buried at Douer (as ſome hold opinion:) but William Malmeſburie ſuppoſeth, he was buried in Wales, as after ſhall be ſhewed. The dead bodie of Angusell was conueied into Scotland, and was there buried. When that Arthur had put his enimies to flight, and had knowledge into what parts Mordred was withdrawne, with all ſpæd he reinforced his armie with new ſupplies of ſouldiers called out of diuerſe parties, and with his whole puiſſance haſted forward, not reſting till he came nære to the place where Mordred was incamped, with ſuch an armie as he could aſſemble togither out of all parties where he had anie friends. ¶ Hære (as it appæreth by Iohn Leland, in his booke intituled, The aſſertion of Arthur) it may be douted in what place Mordred was incamped: but Geffrey of Monmouth ſheweth, that after Arthur had diſcomfited Mordred in Kent at the firſt landing, it chanced ſo that Mordred eſcaped and fled to Wincheſter, whither Arthur followed him, and there giuing him battell the ſecond time, did alſo put him to flight. And following him from thence, fought eſtſones with him at a place called Camblane, or Kemelene in Cornwall, or (as ſome authors haue) nære vnto Glaſtenburie.

Gawaine buried at Douer

Rather Cerdicke as Leland thinketh.

This battell was fought to ſuch prowe, that finallie Mordred was ſlaine, with the more part of his whole armie, and Arthur receiuing diuers mortall wounds died of the ſame ſhortlie after, when he had reigned ouer the Britains by the tearme of 26 yæres. His corps was buried at Glaſtenburie aforeſaid, in the churchyard, betwixt two pillers: where it was found in the daies of king Henrie the ſecond, about the yære of our Lord 1191, which was in the laſt yære of the reigne of the ſame Henrie, more than ſir hundred yæres after the buriall thereof. He was laid 16 fot dæpe vnder ground, for doubt that his enimies the Saxons ſhould haue found him. But thoſe that digged the ground there to find his bodie, after they had entered about ſeuen fot dæpe into the earth, they found a mightie broad ſtone with a leaden croſſe faſtened to that part which laie downewards toward the corps, conteining this inſcription:

Richard Turner.

Hic iacet ſepultus inclytus rex Arthurius in inſula Aualoniæ.

This inſcription was grauen on that ſide of the croſſe which was nert to the ſtone: ſo that till the croſſe was taken from the ſtone, it was vnſæne. His bodie was found, not incloſed within a toome of marble or other ſtone curiouſlie wrought, but within a great trée made hollowe for the nonce like a trunke, the which being found and digged vp, was opened, and therein were found the kings bones, of ſuch maruellous bigneſſe, that the ſhinbone of his leg being ſet on the ground, reached vp to the middle thigh of a verie tall man: as a monke of that abbeie hath

hath written, which did liue in thoſe daies, and ſaw it. ¶ But Gyraldus Cambrenſis (who alſo liued in thoſe daies, and ſpake with the abbat of the place, by whom the bones of this Arthur were then found) affirmeth, that by report of the ſame abbat, he learned, that the ſhinbone of the ſaid Arthur being ſet vp by the leg of a verie tall man (the which the abbat ſhewed to the ſame Gyraldus) came aboue the knée of the ſame man the length of three fingers breadth, which is a great deale more likelie than the other. Furthermore the ſkull of his head was of a wonderfull largeneſſe, ſo that the ſpace of his forehead betwixt his two eies was a ſpan broad. There appéered in his head the ſignes and prints of ten wounds or more: all the which were growne into one wem, except onelie that whereof it ſhould ſéeme he died, which being greater than the reſidue, appéered verie plaine. Also in opening the tombe of his wife quéene Gueneuer, that was buried with him, they found the treſſes of hir haire whole and perfect, and finelie platted, of colour like to the burniſhed gold, which being touched, immediatlie fell to duſt. The abbat, which then was gouernour of the houſe, was named Stephan, or Henrie de Blois, otherwiſe de Sullie, nephue to king Henrie the ſecond (by whoſe commandement he had ſerched for the graue of Arthur) tranſlated the bones as well of him as of quéene Gueneuer, being ſo found, into the great church, and there buried them in a faire double tombe of marble, laieng the bodie of the king at the head of the tombe, and the bodie of the quéene at his fét towards the weſt part. ¶ The writer of the hiſtorie of Cambria now called Wales ſaith, that the bones of the ſaid Arthur, and Gueneuer his wife were found in the Ile of Aualon (that is, the Ile of Alpes) without the abbeie of Glaſtenbury, fiftéene fét within the ground, ¶ that his graue was found by the meanes of a Bardh, whome the king heard at Penbroke ſinging the acts of prince Arthur, and the place of his buriall.

Henricus Blecenſis ſeu Soliacenſis. Io. Leland.

Dauid Pow. pag. 238, 239.

Iohn Leland in his booke intituled Aſſertio Arthuri, *hath for the woorthie memorie of ſo noble a prince, honored him with a learned epitaph, as heere followeth.*

SAxonicas toties qui fudit Marte cruento
Who vanquiſht Saxon troops ſo oft, with battels bloudie broiles,
Turmas, & peperit ſpolijs ſibi nomen opimis,
And purchaſt to himſelfe a name with warlike wealthie ſpoiles,
Fulmineo toties Pictos qui contudit enſe,
Who hath with ſhinering ſhining ſword, the Picts ſo oft diſmaid,
Impoſuítque iugum Scoti ceruicibus ingens:
And eke vnweldie ſeruile yoke on necke of Scots hath laid:
Qui tumidos Gallos, Germanos quique feroces
Who Frenchmen puft with pride, and who the Germans fierce in fight
Perculit, & Dacos bello confregit aperto:
Diſcomfited, and danted Danes with maine and martiall might:
Denique Mordredum è medio qui ſuſtulit illud
Who of that murdring Mordred did the vitall breath expell,
Monſtrum, horrendum, ingens, dirum, fœuúmque tyrannum,
That monſter griſlie, lothſome, huge, that direſome tyrant fell,
Hoc iacet extinctus monumento Arthurius alto,
Heere liueleſſe Arthur lies intoomd, within this ſtatelie hearſe,
Militiæ clarum decus, & virtutis alumnus:
Of chiualrie the bright renowme, and vertues nurſling fearſe:
Gloria nunc cuius terram circumuolat omnem,
Whoſe glorie greeat now ouer all the world dooth compaſſe ſtie,
Aetherijque petit ſublimia tecta Tonantis.
And of the airie thunder ſkales the loftie building hie.
Vos igitur gentis proles generoſa Britannæ,
Therefore you noble progenie of Britaine line and race,
Induperatori ter magno aſſurgite veſtro,
Ariſe vnto your emperour great, of thrice renowmed grace,
Et tumulo ſacro roſeas inferte corollas,
And caſt vpon his ſacred toome the roſe all garlands gaie,
Officij teſtes redolentia munera veſtri.
That fragrant ſmell may witneſſe well, your duties you diſplaie.

¶ Theſe verſes I haue the more willinglie inſerted, for that I had the ſame deliuered to me turned into Engliſh by maiſter Nicholas Roſcarocke, both right aptlie yelding the ſenſe, and alſo properlie anſwering the Latine, verſe for verſe.

Vpon what occaſion the graue of king *Arthur was ſought for, the follie of ſuch* diſcouered as beleeued that he ſhould returne *and reigne againe as king in Britaine, whether it* be a fiction or a veritie that there was ſuch an Arthur *or no; diſcordance among writers about the place of Gawains* buriall and Arthurs death; of queene Gueneuer the wife of king Arthur, hir beautie and diſhoneſt life, great diſagreement among writers touching Arthur and his wiues to the impeachment of the hiſtorie, of his life and death.

The xiiij. Chapter.

THe occaſion that mooued king Henrie the ſecond to cauſe his nephue the foreſaid abbat to ſearch for the graue of king Arthur, was, for that he vnderſtood by a Welſh minſtrell or Bardh (as they call him) that could ſing manie hiſtories in the Welſh language of the acts of the ancient Britains, that in the foreſaid churchyard at Glaſtenburie, betwixt the ſaid two pillers the bodie of Arthur was to be found ſixtéene fot déepe vnder the ground. Gyraldus Cambrenſis affirmeth, that the trée in the which Arthurs bodie was found ſo incloſed, was an oke, but other ſuppoſe that it was an alder trée, bicauſe that in the ſame place a great number of that kind of trées do grow, and alſo for that it is not vnknowne, that an alder lieng vnder ground where moiſture is, will long continue without rotting.

¶ By the finding thus of the bodie of Arthur buried (as before ye haue heard) ſuch as hitherto beleeued that he was not dead, but conueied awaie by the fairies into ſome pleaſant place, where he ſhould remaine for a time, and then to returne againe, and reigne in as great authoritie as euer he did before, might well perceiue themſelues deceiued in crediting ſo vaine a fable. But yet (where it might otherwiſe be doubted, whether anie ſuch Arthur was at all, as the Britiſh hiſtories mention, bicauſe neither Gyldas nor Beda in their workes ſpeake anie thing of him) it may appéere, the circumſtances conſidered, that ſuerlie ſuch one there was of that name, hardie and valiant in armes, though not in diuerſe points ſo famous as ſome writers paint him out. William Malmeſburie a writer of good credit and authoritie amongſt the learned, hath theſe words in his firſt booke intituled *De regibus Anglorum*, ſaieng: But he being dead [meaning Mortimer] the force of the Britains waxed féeble, their decaied hope went backward apace: and euen then ſuerlie had they gon to deſtruction, if Ambroſius (who alone of the Romans remained yet aliue, and was king after Mortigerne) had not kept vnder and ſtaied the loftie barbarous people, that is to ſay the Saxons, by the notable aid and aſſiſtance of the valiant Arthur.

As for example in a caue néere a water called pond perilous at Salſburie, where he and his knights ſhould ſléepe armed, till an other knight ſhould be borne that ſhould come and awake them.

Will. Malmeſ. *lib. 1. de regibus Ang.*

This is the ſame Arthur, of whom the trifling tales of the Britains euen to this day fantaſticallie do deſcant and report wonders: but worthie was he doubtleſſe, of whom feined fables ſhould not haue ſo dreamed, but rather that true hiſtories might haue ſet forth his worthie praiſes, as he that did for a long ſeaſon ſuſteine and hold vp his countrie that was readie to go to vtter ruine and decaie, incouraging the bold harts of the Britains vnto the warre, and finallie in the ſiege of Badon hill, he ſet vpon nine hundred of the enimies, and with incredible ſlaugh-

ter

ter did put them all to flight. On the contrarie part, the Engliſh Sarons, although they were toſſed with ſundrie haps of fortune, yet ſtill they renewed their bands with new ſupplies of their countriemen that came out of Germanie, and ſo with bolder courage aſſailed their enimies, and by little and little cauſing them to giue place, ſpread themſelues ouer the whole Ile. For although there were manie battels, in the which ſometime the Sarons and ſometime the Britains got the better, yet the greater number of Sarons that were ſlaine, the greater number of them ſtill came ouer to the ſuccour of their countriemen, being called in and ſent for out of euerie quarter about them.

Gawaine where he is buried.

Here is alſo to be noted, that where the Britiſh hiſtorie declareth, that Gawaine or Gallowine being ſlaine in the battell fought betwixt Arthur and Mordred in Kent, was buried at Douer, ſo that his bones remained there to be ſhewed a long time after: yet by that which the foreſaid William Malmeſburie writeth in the third booke of his volume intituled *De regibus Anglorum*, the contrarie maie ſeeme true: his words are theſe. Wil. Malm. lib. 3. de regib. Then (ſaith he) in the prouince of Wales, which is called Roſſe, the ſepulture of Gallowine was found, who was nephue to Arthur by his ſiſter, not going out of kind from ſo worthie an vncle. He reigned in that part of Britaine which vnto this day is called Wallwichia, a knight for his high proweſſe moſt highlie renowmed, but expelled out of his kingdome by the brother and nephue of Hengiſt, of whome in the firſt booke we haue made mention, firſt requiting his baniſhment with great detriment and loſſe to thoſe his enimies, wherein he was partaker by iuſt deſert of his vncles worthie praiſe, for that he ſtaied (for a great manie yeeres) the deſtruction of his countrie, which was now running headlong into vtter ruine and decaie. But Arthurs graue no where appeareth: yet the others tombe (as I haue ſaid) was found in the daies of William the conqueror, king of England, vpon the ſea ſide, and conteined in length fouretéene foot, where he was (as ſome ſay) wounded by his enimies, and caſt vp by ſhipwracke. But other write, that he was ſlaine at a publike feaſt or banket by his owne countriemen. Thus ſaith William Malmeſburie.

¶ But heere you muſt conſider, that the ſaid Malmeſburie departed this life about the beginning of the reigne of king Henrie the ſecond, certeine yeers before the bones of Arthur were found (as ye haue heard.) But omitting this point as needles to be controuerſed, & letting all diſſonant opinions of writers paſſe, as a matter of no ſuch moment that we ſhould néed to ſticke therein as in a glewpot; we will proceéd in the reſidue of ſuch collections as we find neceſſarilie pertinent to the continuation of this hiſtorie; and now we will ſay ſomewhat of quéene Guenhera or Guenouer, the wife of the foreſaid king Arthur.

Some iudge that ſhe toke hir name of hir excellent beautie, bicauſe Guinne or Guenne in the Welſh tong ſignifieth faire, ſo that ſhe was named Guennere or rather Guenlhean, euen (as you would ſay) the faire or beautifull Elenor or Helen. She was brought vp in the houſe of one Cador earle of Cornewall before Arthur maried hir: and as it appeareth by writers, ſhe was euill reported of, as noted of incontinencie & breach of faith to hir huſband, in maner as for the more part women of excellent beautie hardlie eſcape the venemous blaſt of euill tongs, and the ſharpe aſſaults of the followers of Venus. The Britiſh hiſtorie affirmeth, that ſhe did not onelie abuſe hir ſelfe by vnlawfull companie with Mordred, but that alſo in Arthurs abſence ſhe conſented to take him to huſband. It is likewiſe found recorded by an old writer, that Arthur beſieged on a time the mariſhes neere to Glaſtenburie, for diſpleaſure that he bare to a certeine lord called Melua, who had raviſhed Guenouer, and led hir into thoſe mariſhes, and there did keepe hir. Hir corps notwithſtanding (as before is recited) was interred togither with Arthurs, ſo that it is thought ſhe liued not long after his deceaſſe.

Arthur had two wiues (as Gyraldus Cambrenſis affirmeth) of which the latter (ſaith he) was buried with him, and hir bones found with his in one ſepulchre, but yet ſo diuided, that two parts of the tombe towards the head were appointed to receiue the bones of the man, and the third part towards the feet conteined the womans bones, apart by themſelues. Here is to be remembred, that Hector Boetius writeth otherwiſe of the death of Arthur than before in this booke is mentioned, & alſo that Guenouer being taking priſoner by the Picts, was conueied into Scotland, where finallie ſhe died, and was there buried in Angus, as in the Scotiſh chronicles further appeareth. And this may be true, if he had three ſundrie wiues, each of them bearing the name of Guenouer, as ſir Iohn Price doth auouch that he had. Now bicauſe of contrarietie in writers touching the great acts atchiued by this Arthur, and alſo for that ſome difference there is amongſt them, about the time in which he ſhould reigne, manie haue doubted of the whole hiſtorie which of him is written (as before ye haue heard.) ¶ But others there be of a conſtant beléefe, who hold it for a grounded truth, that ſuch a prince there was; and among all other a late writer, who falling into neceſſarie mention of prince Arthur, frameth a ſpéech apologeticall in his and their behalfe that were princes of the Britiſh bloud, diſcharging a ſhort but yet a ſharpe inuectiue againſt William Paruus, Polydor Virgil, and their complices, whom he accuſeth of lieng tongs, enuious detraction, malicious ſlander, reprochfull and venemous language, wilfull ignorance, dogged enuie, and cankerd minds; for that they ſpeake vnreuerentlie and contrarie to the knowne truth concerning thoſe thriſenoble princes. Which defenſitiue he would not haue deposed, but that he takes the monuments of their memories for vndoubted verities. Dauid Pow. pag. 238, 239.

The Britiſh hiſtories and alſo the Scotiſh chronicles do agrée, that he liued in the daies of the emperour Iuſtinian, about the fiftéenth yeere of whoſe reigne he died, which was in the yeere of our Lord 542, as diuerſe do affirme. Howbeit ſome write farther from all likelihod, that he was about the time of the emperor Zeno, who began his reigne about the yeere of our Lord 474. The writer of the booke intituled *Aurea hiſtoria* affirmeth, that in the tenth yeere of Cerdicus king of Weſtſarons, Arthur the warriour roſe againſt the Britains. Alſo Diouionenſis writeth, that Cerdicus fighting oftentimes with Arthur, if he were ouercome in one moneth, he aroſe in an other moneth more fierce and ſtrong to giue battell than before. At length Arthur wearied with irkeſomnes, after the twelfth yeere of the comming of Cerdicus, gaue vnto him vpon his homage done and fealtie receiued, the ſhires of Southampton and Somerſet, the which countries Cerdicus named Weſtſaron. This Cerdicus or Cerdicus came into Britaine about the yeere of our Lord 495. In the 24 yere after his comming hither, that is to ſay, about the yeere of your Lord 519, he began his reigne ouer the Weſtſarons, and gouerned them as king by the ſpace of 15 yeeres, as before ye haue heard. But to follow the courſe of our chronicles accordinglie as we haue begun, we muſt allow of their accounts herein as in other places, and ſo proceéd. 542 *Aurea hiſtoria.* I. Leland. weſtſaron.

The

The decaie of christian religion and receiuing *of the Pelagian heresie in Britaine* by what meanes they were procured and by *whom redressed: Constantine succeedeth Arthur* in the kingdome, ciuill warre about succession to the *crowne, the chalengers are pursued and slaine, Constantine is* vnkindlie killed of his kinsman, a bitter and reprochfull inuectiue of Gyldas against the British rulers of his time, and namelie against Constantine, Conan that slue Constantine reigneth in Britaine, his vertues and vices, his two yeeres regiment, the seuere reprehensions of Gyldas vttered against Conan, discouering the course of his life, and a secret prophesie of his death.

The xv Chapter.

IN this meane while that the realme was disquieted with sore & continuall warres betwixt the Britains and Saxons (as before ye haue heard) the christian religion was not onelie abolished in places where the Saxons got habitations, but also among the Britains the right faith was brought into danger, by the remnant of the Pelagian heresie, which began againe to be broched by diuers naughtie persons. But Dubritius that was first bishop of Landaffe, and after archbishop of Caerleon Arwiske, and his successour David, with other learned men earnestlie both by preaching and writing defended the contrarie cause, to the confuting of those errors, and restablishing of the truth.

The heresie of the Pelagians renued, Hist. Mag.

Dubritius & David lerned bishops.

Constantine.

AFter the death of Arthur, his cosine Constantine the sonne of Cador, duke or earle of Cornewall began his reigne ouer the Britains, in the yere of our Lord 542, which was about the 15 yere of the emperour Justinianus almost ended, the 29 of Childebert king of France, and the first yere well nere complet of the reigne of Totilas king of the Goths in Italie. Arthur when he perceiued that he should die, ordeined this Constantine to succéed him, and so by the consent of the more part of the Britains he was crowned king: but the sonnes of Mordred sore repined thereat, as they that claimed the rule of the land by iust title and claime of inheritance to them from their father descended. Hereupon followed ciuill warre, so that diuers battels were striken betwéene them, and in the end the two brethren were constreined to withdraw for refuge, the one to London, and the other to Winchester: but Constantine pursuing them, first came to Winchester, and by force entered the citie, and slue the one brother that was fled thither within the church of saint Amphibalus: and after comming to London, entered that citie also, and finding the other brother within a church there, slue him in like maner as he had done the other. And so hauing dispatched his aduersaries, he thought to haue purchased to himselfe safetie: but shortlie after, his owne kinsman, one Aurelius Conanus arrered warre against him, who ioining with him in battell slue him in the field, after he had reigned foure yéeres. His bodie was conueied to Stonheng, and there buried beside his ancestour Uter Pendragon.

542

Galfrid. Matth. West.

Ciuill warre.

Aurelius Conanus. Constantine slaine.

Gyldas.

Of this Constantine that séemeth to be ment, which Gyldas writeth in his booke intituled *De excidio Britanniæ*, where inueieng against the rulers of the Britains in his time, he writeth thus: Britaine
" hath kings, but the same be tyrants; iudges it hath,
" but they be wicked, oftentimes péeling and harming
" the innocent people, reuenging and defending, but
" whom? such as be guiltie persons and robbers; ha-
" uing manie wiues, but yet breaking wedlocke; ofte-
" tentimes swearing, and yet forswearing themselues;
" vowing, and for the more part lieng; warring, but
" mainteining ciuill & vniust warres; pursuing indéed
" théeues that are abroad in the countrie, and yet not
" onelie cherishing those that sit euen at table with
" them, but also highlie rewarding them: giuing al-
" messe largelie, but on the other part heaping vp a
" mightie mount of sinnes; sitting in the seat of sen-
" tence, but seldome séeking the rule of righteous
" iudgement; despising the innocent and humble per-
" sons, and exalting so farre as in them lieth, euen vp
" to the heauens, most bloudie and proud murtherers,
" théeues and adulterers, yea the verie professed ene-
" mies of God, if he would so permit: kéeping manie
" in prison, whome they oppresse, in loding them with
" irons, through craft rather to serue their owne pur-
" pose, than for anie gilt of the persons so imprisoned:
" taking solemne oths before the altars, and shortlie
" after, despising the same altars as vile and filthie
" stones.

" Of this hainous and wicked offense Constantine
" the tyrannicall whelpe of the lioneSSe of Deuonshire
" is not ignorant, who this yeare, after the receiuing
" of his dreadfull oth, whereby he bound himselfe that
" in no wise he should hurt his subiects (God first, and
" then his oth, with the companie of saints, and his
" mother being there present) did notwithstanding in
" the reuerent laps of the two mothers, as the church,
" and their carnall mother, vnder the coule of the ho-
" lie abbat, deuoure with sword and speare in stead of
" téeth, the tender sides, yea and the entrailes of two
" children of noble and kinglie race, and likewise of
" their two gouernours, yea and that (as I said) a-
" mongest the sacred altars: the armes of which
" persons so slaine, not stretched forth to defend them-
" selues with weapons (the which few in those daies
" handled more valiantlie than they) but stretched
" forth (I saie) to God and to his altar in the day of
" iudgement, shall set vp the reuerent ensignes of
" their patience and faith at the gates of the citie of
" Christ, which so haue couered the seat of the celesti-
" all sacrifice, as it were with the red mantle of their
" cluttered bloud.

" These things he did not after anie good déeds done
" by him deseruing praise: for manie yeares before,
" ouercome with the often and changeable filths of
" adulterie, & forsaking his lawfull wife contrarie to
" the lawes of God, &c: he now brought forth this
" crime of quelling his owne kinsmen, and violating
" the church, but neither being loosed from the snares
" of his former euils, he increaseth the new with the
" old. ¶ Thus in effect hath Gyldas written of this Constantine, with more: for turning his tale to him, he reproueth him of his faults, and counselleth him to repent.

Conanus.

546.

AFter that Aurelius Conanus had slaine the foresaid Constantine, as in the British histories is mentioned, the same Conan was made king of Britaine in the yeare of our Lord 546, in the 20 yeare of Justinianus, and in the 33 of the reigne of Childebert king of the Frenchmen. This Aurelius Conanus (as is recorded by some writers) was of a noble heart, frée and liberall, but giuen much to the maintenance of strife and discord amongst his people, light of credit, and namelie had an open eare to receiue and heare the reports of such as accused other. Moreouer he was noted of crueltie, as he that toke his vncle, who of right should haue béene king, and kept him in prison, and not so satisfied slue in tyrannous maner the two sons of his said vncle. But God would not suffer him long to inioy the rule of the land in such vniust dealing, for he

Matth. West. writeth that he reigned 30. yeares.

he died after he had reigned the ſpace of two yeares, and left a ſonne behind him called Vortiporius, which ſucceeded him in the kingdome, as authors do record. Of this Aurelius Conanus Gyldas writeth, calling vnto him after he had made an end with his predeceſſor Conſtantine, ſaieng in this wiſe: And thou lions whelpe, as ſaith the prophet, Aurelius Conanus what doſt thou? Art thou not ſwallowed vp in the filthie mire of murthering thy kinſmen, of committing fornications and adulteries like to the other before mentioned, if not more deadlie, as it were with the waues and ſurges of the drenching ſeas ouerwhelming thee with hir vnmerciſull rage? Doeſt thou not in hating the peace of thy countrie as a deadlie ſerpent, and thirſting after ciuill wars and ſpoiles (oftentimes vniuſtlie gotten) ſhut vp againſt thy ſoule the gates of celeſtiall peace and refreſhment? Thou being left alone as a withering tree in the middle of a field, call to remembrance (I praie thee) the vaine youthfull fantaſie and ouertimelie death of thy fathers and thy brethren. Shalt thou being ſet apart, and choſen forth of all thy linage for thy godlie deſerts, be reſerued to liue an hundred yeares, or remaine on earth till thou be as old as Methuſalem? No no. And after theſe reprehenſions, with further threatnings of Gods vengeance, he exhorted him to amendment of life, and ſo proceedeth to talke with Vortiporus, whome he nameth the king, or rather the tyrant of Southwales, as after ſhall be rehearſed.

The beginning of the kingdome of *Brenitia, of whome the king of Kent, Mertia*, and weſt Saxons deſcended, Ida the Saxon commended, *the originall of the kingdome of* Deira, the circuit and bounds therof, of Ella the gouernour of the ſame, *when the partition of the kingdome of* Northumberland chanced; Vortiporus reigneth ouer the Britains, he vanquiſheth the Saxons; Gyldas ſharplie reprooueth Vortiporus for manie grieuous offenſes, and exhorteth him to amendement.

The xvj. Chapter.

Ida. 547. Hunt. The kingdom of Brenitia began.

IN the yeare of the Lord 547, which was about the firſt yeare of the reigne of Aurelius Conanus, the kingdome of Brenitia began vnder a Saxon ruler there called Ida, & deſcended of Woden, For where the ſaid Woden had three ſonnes, Weldeclius, Withlegris, and Beldeclius; of the firſt, the kings of Kent were lineallie extracted: of the ſecond, the kings of Mertia: and of the third ſonne came the kings of Weſtſaxon, and alſo of him was this Ida deſcended, being the ninth in lineall ſucceſſion from the ſaid Beldeclius and the tenth from Woden. The ſame Ida was vndoubtedlie a right noble perſonage, and changed firſt that dukedome into a kingdome, where before that time the Saxons that ruled there, were ſubiects vnto the kings of Kent. Whether he toke vpon him of his owne accord to vſurpe the kinglie title and roiall authoritie, or whether that the ſame was giuen to him by conſent of other, the certeintie appeareth not. But ſure it is, that he being a worthie prince, did not degenerate from his noble anceſtors inuincible in warre abroad and at home, qualifieng his kinglie ſeueritie with a naturall kind of courteous humanitie. The bounds of his kingdome called (as is ſaid) Brenitia, began in the ſouth at the riuer of Tine, and ended in the north at the Forth in Scotland, in the Britiſh tong called Wero.

About the ſame time, or rather about 14 yeares after, one Ella a Saxon alſo reigned as king in Deira, which kingdome began at the ſaid riuer of Tine in the north, & ended at the riuer of Humber toward the ſouth. Theſe two kingdomes were ſometime gouerned by two ſeuerall kings, and afterwards at other times they were ioined in one, and gouerned by one onelie king, and named the kingdome of Northumberland, which in proceſſe of time was much inlarged, ſo that it included the ſhires of Yorke, Nottingham, Darbie, Lancaſter, the biſhoprike of Durham, Copland, and other countries betwixt the eaſt and the weſt ſeas, euen vnto the riuer of Merſie. The foreſaid Ella was ſonne to Iffus, being deſcended from Woden, as the 12 in ſucceſſion from him, though not by right line as William Malmesburie hath noted. Ida (as the ſame Malmesburie doth teſtifie) reigned 14 yeares.

Ella. 561. The beginning of the kingdome of Deira. The riuer of Merſie.

Now Ella who was ſucceſſor to Ida (as he ſaith) reigned thirtie yeares, and verie valiantlie inlarged his kingdome. But one author writeth how Ida reigned but 12 yeares, and that he builded the caſtell of Bamburge, firſt fenſing it with pales, and after with a wall of ſtone. The ſame Ida had by his wife ſix ſonnes, begotten in lawfull bed, Ada, Ebric, Theodoric, Athelric, Oſmer, and Theofred. Moreouer he begat of certeine concubines (which he kept) ſix baſtard ſonnes, Oga, Alerie, Ettha, Oſwale, Segor, and Segother. Theſe came altogither into this land, and arriued at Flemeſburke with fortie ſhips, as Matthæus Weſtmonaſterienſis hath recorded. The partition of the kingdome of Northumberland chanced after the deceaſſe of Ida, as the ſame author ſignifieth: for Ada the ſonne of the foreſaid Ida ſucceeded his father in the kingdome of Brenitia, reigning therein ſeuen yeares: and Ella the ſonne of Yffria, a moſt valiant duke, began to gouerne Deira, as both the ſaid Matth. Weſtm. and others do affirme.

Matth. Weſt. Hen. Hunt. Matt. Weſt.

Vortiporus. Matth. Weſt. noteth 578.

VOrtiporus the ſonne of Aurelius Conanus ſucceeded his father, and began to reigne ouer the Britains, in the yeare of our Lord 526, in the 11. yeare of the emperour Flauius Anicius Juſtinus, in the fourth yeare of the reigne of Chilperic king of France, and in the fourth yeare of Clephis the Gothiſh king in Italie. This Vortiporus vanquiſhed the Saxons in battell, as the Britiſh hiſtories make mention, and valiantlie defended his land and ſubiects the Britains, from the danger of them and other their allies. In the time of this kings reigne, the foreſaid Ella began to rule in the ſouth part of the kingdome of Northumberland called Deira, as before is mentioned, according to the account of ſome authors, who alſo take this Vortiporus to begin his reigne in the yeare 548. After that Vortiporus had ruled the Britans the ſpace of 4 yeares, he departed this life, and left no iſſue behind him to ſucceed him in the kingdome.

Matth. Weſt. noteth 3 yeares

Againſt this Vortiporus Gyldas alſo whetting his tong, beginneth with him thus: And why ſtandeſt thou as one ſtarke amazed? Thou (I ſay) Vortiporus the tyrant of Southwales, like to the panther in maner and wickedneſſe diuerſlie ſpotted as it were with manie colors, with thy hoarie head in thy throne, full of deceits, crafts and wiles, and defiled euen from the loweſt part of thy bodie to the crowne of thy head, with diuers & ſundrie murthers committed on thine owne kin, and filthie adulteries, thus prouing a naughtie ſonne of a good king, as Manaſſes was to Ezechias. How chanceth it that the violent ſtreames of ſinnes which thou ſwalloweſt vp like pleaſant wine, or rather art deuoured of them, (the end of thy life by little and little now drawing nere)

nére) can not yet satisfie the? What meanest thou that with fornication of all euils, as it were the full heape, thine owne wife being put away, thou by vnhonest death doest oppresse thy sonne with a certeine burthen that can not be auoided, of thine vnthankfull daughter? Consume not (I pray thée) the residue of thy daies to the offense of God, &c. These and the like words vttered he, exhorting him to repentance, with admonitions taken out of the scriptures both for his comfort and warning.

¶ If the circumstance of this that Gyldas writeth of Uortiporus be marked, it may be perceiued, that Geffrey of Monmouth, and also Matthew of Westminster, the authors of the floures of histories, are deceiued, in that they take him to be the sonne of Aurelius Conanus: and rather it may be gathered, that not onlie the same Aurelius Conanus and Uortiporus, but also Constantinus, yea & Cuneglasus, and Maglocunus, of the which he also intreateth (as partlie shall be hereafter touched) liued and reigned all at one time in seuerall parts of this Ile, and not as monarchs of the whole British nation, but as rulers each of them in his quarter, after the maner as the state of Ireland hath béene in times past before the countrie came vnder the English subiection, if my coniecture herein do not deceiue me.

Malgo reigneth ouer the Britains, the *noble qualities wherewith he was beautified* by his filthie sinnes are blemished, Gyldas *reproueth Cuneglasus for making warre against* God and man, and this Malgo for his manifold offenses, *the vile iniquities whereunto the British rulers were inclined*, the valiantnesse of Kenrike king of the Westsaxons, his victories against diuers people his enimies, succession in the gouernment of the Westsaxons, Northumberland, and Kentish Saxons; the first battell that was fought betwixt the Saxons in this Iland, Cheuling with his Westsaxons encounter with the Britains and get the vpper hand, three kings of the Britains slaine, and their people spoiled of their lands, goods and liues.

The xvij. Chapter.

Malgo.

After the decease of Uortiporus, Malgo the nephue of Aurelius Conanus (as some write) was made king of Britaine, & began his reigne ouer the Britaines, in the yére of our Lord 580, in the fiftéenth yére of the emperour Iustinian, and in the 37 yére of the reigne of Childerike king of the Frenchmen. This Malgo is reported to haue béene the comeliest gentleman in beautie and shape of personage that was to be found in those daies amongst all the Britains, and therewith of a bold and hardie courage. He manfullie defended the country which he had in gouernance from the malice of the Sarons, and subdued the out Iles, as Orkenie and others. But notwithstanding the noble qualities with the which his person was adorned, yet he spotted them all with the filthie sinne of Sodomie, so that he fell into the hatred of almightie God, and being pursued of the Sarons, receiued manie ouerthrowes at their hands, as by the report of the English writers is gathered more at large. Finallie, when he had reigned fiue yéeres and od moneths, he departed this life.

Matth. West. hath noted 581

580

Gal. Mon.

Matt. Westm. counteth not past fiue yeres to his reigne though other affirme that he reigned 35 yéeres.

It séemeth that this Malgo is named by Gyldas, Maglocunus, the which Gyldas (before he speaketh of him) inueieth against one Cuneglasus, whom he reproueth, for that he warred both against God and man: against God, with grieuous sinnes, as namelie adulterie, in forsaking the companie of his lawfull wife, and kéeping to concubine a sister of hirs, that had professed chastitie; & against man with materiall armor and weapons, which he vsed to the destruction of his owne countrimen, with whom he kept warres, and not against the enimies of the common wealth.

From Cuneglasus he commeth to the foresaid Maglocunus, whome he nameth the dragon of the Iles, and the expeller of manie tyrants, not onelie out of their kingdoms, but also out of life, the last of whom he treateth (as he himselfe saith) but the first in all mischéefe & euill, greater than manie in power, and likewise in malice: verie liberall in giuing, but more plentifull in sinne, strong and valiant in armes, but stronger in destruction of his owne soule. And so proceéding, chargeth him with the sinne of the Sodomits, & sore blameth him, for that where it had pleased God to make him higher than all other dukes of Britaine in kingdome and degrée, he did not shew himselfe better, but contrarilie far worse than they both in maners and conditions. He declareth also a little after, that this Maglocune in his yong yéeres slue in battell his vncle being king, with the most valiant souldiers in maner that he had. Also that where the said Maglocune toke vpon him the profession of a monke, he after renounced the same, and became a worsse liuer than euer he was before, abandoning his wife, and kéeping his brothers sonnes wife, while hir husband yet liued.

Thus by that which Gyldas writeth of the kings and rulers of the Britains, which liued in his daies, ye may perceiue that they were giuen to all manner of wickednesse, and namelie to ciuill dissention, rapine, adulterie, and fornication: so that it may be thought, that GOD stirred vp the Sarons to be a scourge to them, and to worke his iust vengeance vpon them for their wickednesses and abhominable offenses dailie cõmitted against his diuine maiestie, so that we find recorded by writers, how that the Sarons in diuers conflicts against the Britains had the better, and also toke from them diuers townes, as alreadie partly hath bæne and also hereafter shall be shewed.

It is furthermore to be remembred, that about the 14 yeare of the Britaine king Conanus his reigne, which was about the end of the yere of Christ 559, Kenrike king of the Westsarons departed this life, after he had reigned xxv. yéeres complet. This Kenrike was a victorious prince, and fought diuers battels against the Britains. In the 18 yeare of his reigne, which was the 551 of Christ, we find that he fought against them, being come at that time vnto Salisburie, and after great slaughter made on both parts, at length the victorie remained with the Sarons, and the Britains were chased. Againe in the two and twentith yeare of his reigne, and 555 yéere of Christ, the same Kenrike and his sonne Cheuling fought with a great power of Britains at Branburie.

559

Hen. Hunt.

The Britains were diuided into nine companies, three in the fore ward, three in the battell, and three in the rere ward, with their horsemen and archers, after the maner of the Romans. The Sarons being ranged in one entire battell, valiantlie assailed them, and notwithstanding the shot of the Britains, yet they brought the matter to the triall of handblowes, till at length by the comming on of the night, the victorie remained doubtfull: and no maruell is to be made therof (saith Henrie archdeacon of Huntington) sith the Sarons were men of huge stature, great force, & valiant courage. The same yéere that Kenrike deceassed, Ida the king of Northumberland also died: he was (as ye haue heard) a right valiant

valiant prince, & inlarged the dominion of the Saxons greatlie, he ouercame Loth king of the Picts in battell, and Gorran king of Scots.

560 Also about the yeere of Chriſt 560, Conanus (as yet gouerning the Britains) Irmenrike king of Kent departed this life, of whome ye haue heard before, & Ethelbert his sonne succeeded him 52 yeeres.

Hen. Hunt. Then after that the foresaid three princes were dead (as before ye haue heard) they had that succeeded them in their estates as here followeth. After Kenrike, his sonne Ceaulinus or Cheuling succeeded in gouernement of the Westsaxons: and after Ida, one Ella or Alla reigned in Northumberland: after Irmenrike followed his sonne Ethelbert in rule ouer the Kentish Saxons.

This Ethelbert in processe of time grew to be a mightie prince, but yet in the begining of his reigne he had but sorie successe against some of his enimies: for hauing to do with the foresaid Cheuling king of Westsaxons, he was of him ouercome in battell at Wilbaldowne, where he lost two of his dukes or chiefe capteins, beside other people. This was the first battell that was fought betwixt the Saxons, one against another within this land, after their first comming into the same. And this chanced in the yere of our Lord 567, being the second yeere of the emperour Iuſtinus.

570. About the yeere 570, Cutha the brother of king Cheuling fought with the Britains at Bedford, vanquished them, & tooke from them 4 townes, Liganborough, Eglesborough or Ailsburie, Besington, and Euesham. Also about the yeere of our Lord 581, the foresaid king Cheuling incountered with the Britains at a place called Diorth, and obteining the vpper hand, tooke from them the cities of Bath, Glocester, and Cirencester. At this battell fought at Diorth, were present three kings of the Britains, whose names were these: Coinmagill, Candidan, and Farinnagill, which were slaine there through the permission of almightie God as then refusing his people, the which through their heinous sinnes and great wickednesses, had most greeuouslie offended his high and diuine maiestie, as by Gyldas it may euidentlie appeare. For they had declined from the lawes of the Lord, and were become abhominable in his sight, euen from the prince to the poore man, from the priest to the Leuit, so that not one estate among them walked vprightlie, but contrarie to dutie was gone astray, by reason whereof the righteous God had giuen them ouer as a prey to their enimies.

Cutha. Ailsburie. 581

His brother as Matt. West. saith.

Also in the latter end of Malgos daies or about the first beginning of the reigne of his successor Careticus, Cheuling and his sonne Cutwine fought with the Britains at a place called Fechanley or Fedanley, or (as some bookes haue) Frithenlie, where Cutwine was slaine, & the Englishmen chased: but yet Cheuling repairing his armie, wan the victorie, and chasing the Britains, tooke from them manie countries, and wan great riches by the spoile. But Matth. West. saith, that the victorie abood with the Britains, and that the Saxons were chased quite out of the field. The Scotish writers record, that their king Aidan (who is noted to haue béene the 49 successiuelie possessing the regiment of that land, partlie with griefe of hart for the death of Columba a graue and wise gentleman, whome he tenderlie loued, and partlie with age [for he was growne horie-headed, and had reigned 34 yéeres] ended his life) was there in aid of the Britains, and Brudeus king of the Picts (betwixt whom and the said Aidan a sore battell was fought) in aid of the Saxons: but the same writers name the place Deglaston, where this battell was made, and the forces of both sides by a sharpe incounter tried.

H. Hunt.

Matt. West.

The begining of the kingdome of Mercia, *the bounds of the same, the heptarchie* or seuen regiments of the Saxons, how they *grew to that perfection, and by whom they were* reduced and drawne into a monarchie; Careticus is *created king of Britaine, the Saxons take occasion by the ciuill* dissentions of the Britains to make a full conquest of the land, they procure forren power to further them in their enterprise, Gurmundus king of the Africans arriueth in Britaine, the British king is driuen to his hard shifts, the politike practise of Gurmundus in taking Chichester & setting the towne on fire, he deliuereth the whole land in possession to the Saxons, the English and Saxon kings put Careticus to flight, the Britains haue onelie three prouinces left of all their countrie which before they inhabited, their religion, church, and commonwealth is in decaie, they are gouerned by three kings, Cheulings death is conspired of his owne subiects.

The xviij. Chapter.

ABout the same time also, and 585 of Chriſt, the kingdome of Mercia began vnder one Crida, who was descended from Woden, and the tenth from him by lineall extraction. The bounds of this kingdome were of great distance, hauing on the east the sea vnto Humber, and so on the north the said riuer of Humber, and after the riuer of Mercia, which falleth into the west sea at the corner of Wirhall, and so comming about to the riuer of Dee that passeth by Chester, the same riuer bounded it on the west from Wales, and likewise Seuerne vp to Bristow: on the south it had the riuer of Thames, till it came almost to London. And in this sort it conteined Lincolneshire, Notingamshire, Derbishire, Cheshire, Shropshire, Worcestershire, Glocestershire, Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Hertfordshire, Bedfordshire, Huntingtonshire, Northamptonshire, Leicestershire, and Warwikeshire.

Crida. H. Hunt. This kingdome began in the yeere 585. as Matt. VVestm. saith. Ran Cest.

¶ Thus haue ye heard how the Saxons in processe of time removing the Britains out of their seats, dailie wan ground of them, till at length they got possession of the best part of this Ile, and erected within the same seuen kingdoms, which were gouerned by seuen seuerall kings, who continued vntill the kings of Westsaxon brought them all at length into one monarchie, as after shall appeare. Matth. Westmin. reckoneth eight kingdoms as thus; The kingdom of Kent, the kingdom of Sussex, the kingdom of Essex, the kingdom of Eastangle, the kingdom of Mercia, the kingdom of Westsex, and the kingdom of Northumberland, which was diuided into two kingdoms, that is to say, into Deira and into Bernicia: whereunto W. Harison addeth the ninth in the first part of his chronologie, and calleth it Wales.

Careticus 586

After that Malgo or Maglocune was departed this life, one Careticus, or (as some write him) Caretius, was made king of the Britains, and began his reigne in the yeere of our Lord 586, which was in the third yeere of the emperour Mauricius, and thirteenth of Chilperike king of France. This Careticus was a nourisher of ciuill warre and dissention amongst his owne people the Britains, so that he was hated both of God and man, as writers testifie. The Saxons vnderstanding that the Britains were not of one mind, but diuided in parta kings, so as one was readie to deuoure an other, thought it good time for them to aduance their conquests, and ceassed not to pursue the Britains by force and continuall warre, till they had constreined them

Gal. Mon. See more of this Gurmundus in Ireland. Ranulf. Cest.

for refuge to withdraw into Wales. And as some haue written, the Saxons meaning to make a full conquest of the land, sent ouer into Ireland, requiring one Gurmundus a king of the Affricans to come ouer into Britaine to helpe them against the Britains.

This Gurmundus appointing his brother Turgesius to pursue the conquest of Ireland, came and arriued here in Britaine, making such cruell warre in aid of the Saxons against the Britains, that Careticus was constreined to keepe him within the citie of Chicester or Cirencester, and was there besieged, and at length by continuall assalts and skirmishes, when he had lost manie of his men, he was glad to forsake that citie, and fled into Wales. This Gurmundus toke Cirencester or Chichester, and destroied it in most cruell maner. Some write, that he toke this citie by a policie of warre, in binding to the feet of sparrowes which his people had caught, certeine clewes of thred or matches, finelie wrought & tempered with matter readie to take fire, so that the sparrowes being suffered to go out of hand, flue into the towne to lodge themselues within their neasts which they had made in stacks of corne, and eues of houses, so that the towne was thereby set on fire, and then the Britains issuing forth, fought with their enimies, and were ouercome and discomfited.

But whilest the battell continued, Careticus stale away, and got him into Wales. After this, the foresaid Gurmundus destroied this land throughout in pitifull wise, and then deliuered it in possession to the Saxons, the which thankfullie receiued it: and because they were descended of those that first came ouer with Hengist, they changed the name of the land, and called it Hengistland, accordinglie as the same Hengist had in times past ordeined: the which name after for shortnesse of speech was somewhat altered, and so lastlie called England, and the people Englishmen. But rather it may be thought, that sith a great part of those people which came ouer into this land out of Germanie with the said Hengist, and other capteins, were of those Englishmen which inhabited Germanie about the parts of Thoringhen, they called this land England, after their name, when they had first got habitation within it: and so both the land and people toke name of them, being called *Angli*, a long time before they entered into this Ile (as before is shewed out of Cornelius Tacitus and others.) But now to returne where we left.

Matt. VVest.

Of this Gurmundus the old English writers make no mention, nor also anie ancient authors of forren parties: and yet saith the British booke, that after he had conquered this land, and giuen it to the Saxons, he passed ouer into France, and there destroied much of that land, as an enimie to the faith of Christ. For which consideration he was the more readie to come to the aid of the Saxons, who as yet had not receiued the christian faith, but warred against the Britains, as well to destroie the faith of Christ within this land, as to establish to themselues continuall habitations in the same. There be, that omitting to make mention of Gurmundus, write thus of the expelling of the Britains out of this land at that time, when with their king Careticus they got them into Wales.

It should seeme that this historie of Gurmundus is but some fained tale except it may be that he was some Dane, Norwegien or Germane.

In the yeere of Grace 586, Careticus a louer of ciuill warre succeeded Ualgo an enimie to God and to the Britains, whose inconstancie when the English and Saxon kings perceiued, with one consent they rose against him, and after manie battels chased him from citie to citie, till at length incountering with him in a pight field, they droue him beyond Seuerne into Wales. Hereupon clerks and priests were driuen out of their places with bright swords brandishing in all parts, and fire crackling in churches, wherewith the same were consumed. The remnant of the Britains therefore withdrew into the west parts of the land, that is to say, into Cornwall, and into Wales, out of which countries they oftentimes brake out, and made insurrections vpon the Saxons, the which in maner aforsaid got possession of the chiefest parts of the land, leauing to the Britains onlie three prouinces, that is to say, Cornwall, Southwales, and Northwales, which countries were not easie to be woone, by reason of the thicke woods inuironed with deepe maresches and waters, and full of high craggie rocks and mounteins.

The English and Saxon kings hauing thus remoued the Britains, inlarged the bounds of their dominions. There reigned in that season within this land, beside the Britaine kings, eight kings of the English and Saxon nations, as Ethelbert in Kent, Cissa in Sussex, Ceauline in Westsex, Creda or Crida in Mercia, Erkenwine in Essex, Titila in Estangle, Elle in Deira, and Alfrid in Bernicia. In this sort the Britains lost the possession of the more part of their ancient seats, and the faith of Christ thereby was greatlie decaied: for the churches were destroied: and the archbishops of Caerleon Arwiske, London and Yorke withdrew togither with their clergie into the mounteins and woods within Wales, taking with them the reliks of saints, doubting the same should be destroied by the enimies, and themselues put to death if they should abide in their old habitations. Manie also fled into Britaine Armorike with a great fleete of ships, so that the whole church or congregation (as ye may call it) of the two prouinces, Loegria and Northumberland, was left desolate in that season, to the great hinderance and decaie of the christian religion. Careticus was driuen into Wales (as before is rehearsed) about the second or third yeere of his reigne, and there continued with his Britains, the which ceassed not to indamage the Saxons from time to time as occasion still serued.

But here is to be noted, that the Britains being thus remoued into Wales and Cornwall, were gouerned afterwards by three kings, or rather tyrants, the which ceased not with ciuill warre to seeke others destruction, till finallie (as saith the British booke) they became all subiect vnto Cadwallo, whome Beda nameth Cedwallo. In the meane time, Ceaulinus or Cheuling king of the Westsaxons, through his owne misgouernance and tyrannie, which towards his latter daies he practised, did procure not onelie the Britains, but also his owne subiects to conspire his death, so that ioining in battell with his aduersaries at Wodensdic, in the 33 yeare of his reigne, his armie was discomfited, and he himselfe constreined to depart into exile, and shortlie after ended his life before he could find meanes to be restored.

Wil. Malm.

¶ So that we haue here a mirror or liuelie view of a tyrant and a king, wherein there is no lesse ods in the manner of their gouernement, than there is repugnance in their names, or difference in their states. For he seeth but little into the knowledge of tongs, that vnderstandeth not what the office of a king should be, by the composition of his name, the same sounding in Greeke βάσιλευς, which being resolued is in effect βάσις λάος, that is, the foundation or stay of the people; from which qualitie when he resulteth, he maketh shipwracke of that godlie title, and degenerateth into a tyrant, than the which violent and inforced gouernement as there is none more perillous, so is it of all other the least in continuance: this is proued by historicall obseruation through the course of this historie.

586
Matt. VVest.

Ceolric

Ceolric reigneth ouer the Weſtſaxons, *the Saxons and Britains incounter*, Ethelbert king of Kent ſubdueth the Engliſh-*ſaxons, he is maried to the French kings daughter* vpon cautions of religion, the king imbraceth the *goſpell*, *Auguſtine the moonke and others were ſent into* this Ile to preach the chriſtian faith, the occaſion that moued Gregorie the great to ſend him, buieng and ſelling of boies, the Engliſhmen called Angli commended, Ethelbert cauſeth Auguſtine and his fellowes to come before him, they preach to the king and his traine, he granteth them a conuenient ſeat and competent reliefe in Canturburie, the maner of their going thither and their behauiour there, the king and his people receiue the chriſtian faith, and are baptiſed.

The xix. Chapter.

Celric. NOw after Cheuling, his nephue Celricus or Ceolric that was ſonne vnto Cutwine, the ſonne of the foreſaid Cheuling, reigned as king ouer the Weſtſaxons fiue yeares & fiue moneths. In like manner the ſame yeare died Ella or Alla king of Northumberland, after whome ſucceeded Ethelricus the ſonne of Ida, and reigned but fiue yeares, being a man well growne in yeares before he came to be king. About three yeeres after this, the Saxons & Britains fought a battell at Wodenesbourne, where the Britans being ranged in good order, the Saxons ſet vpon them boldlie indeed, but diſorderedlie, ſo that the victorie remained with the Britains. The Saxons the more valiant they had ſhewed themſelues in battell, before that time, ſo much the more ſlow and vntowardlie did they ſhew themſelues now in running awaie to ſaue themſelues, ſo that an huge number of them were ſlaine. Alſo about the ſame time died Crida king of Mercia 594, after whome his ſonne Wibbas or Wipha ſucceeded. And after the deceaſſe of Ethelric, one Edelbert or Edelfride ſurnamed the wild, ſucceeded in gouernement of the Northumbers. But to returne to our purpoſe.

594

Ethelbert king of Kent, not diſcouraged with the euill chance which happened in the beginning, but rather occaſioned thereby to learne more experience in feats of warre, proued ſo perfect a maiſter therein, that in proceſſe of time he ſubdued by force of armes all thoſe Engliſh Saxons which lay betwixt the bounds of his countrie, and the riuer of Humber. Alſo to haue friendſhip in forraine parts, he procured a wife for himſelfe of the French nation, named the ladie Bertha, being king Cheriberts daughter of France; but with condition, that he ſhould permit hir to continue and vſe the rites and lawes of chriſtian faith and religion, and to haue a biſhop whoſe name was Luidhard, appointed to come and remaine with hir here in this land for hir better inſtruction in the lawes of the Lord. So that they two with other of the French nation that came ouer with them remaining in the court, and vſing to ſerue God in praiers and otherwiſe, according to the cuſtome of the chriſtian religion, began vndoubtedlie to giue light to the kings mind as yet darkned with the clouds of paganiſme, ſo as the bright beames of the celeſtiall clærenes of vnderſtanding remoued the thicke miſts of his vnbeléefe in tract of time, and prepared his heart to the receiuing of the goſpell, which after by heauenlie prouidence was preached to him, by occaſion, and in maner as followeth.

Beda. Will. Malmeſ.

In the yeare of our Lord 596, which was about the 14 yeare of the reigne of the emperour Maurtius, and after the comming of the Engliſh Saxons into this land, about an 147 yeares almoſt complet, the biſhop of Rome, Gregorie the firſt of that name, and ſurnamed Magnus, ſent Auguſtinus a moonke, with certeine other learned men into this Ile to preach the chriſtian faith vnto the Engliſh Saxons, which nation as yet had not receiued the goſpell. And here we hold it neceſſarie to ſhew how it is recorded by diuers writers, that the firſt occaſion whereby Gregorie was moued thus to ſend Auguſtine into this land, roſe by this meanes.

Beda. Matth. Weſt. faith 596.

47 faith the ſame author.

It chanced (whileſt the ſame Gregorie was as yet but archdeacon of the ſée of Rome) certeine yong boies were brought thither to bee ſold out of Northumberland, according to the accuſtomable vſe of that countrie, in ſomuch that as we haue in our time ſéene (ſaith W. Mal.) the people of that prouince haue not yet doubted to ſell awaie their néere kinſfolke for a ſmall price. When thoſe children which at that time were brought from thence to Rome, had by reaſon of their excellent beauties and comelie ſhape of lims and bodie, turned the eies in maner of all the citizens to the beholding of them, it fortuned that Gregorie alſo came amongſt other to behold them, and when he conſidered and well viewed their faire ſkins, their ſweet viſages, and beautifull buſhes of their bright and yeallow heares, he demanded out of what region or land they came: Vnto whome anſwere was made, that they were brought out of Britaine, the inhabitants of which countrie were of the like beautifull aſpect. Then he aſked whether the men of that countrie were chriſtians, or as yet intangled with blind heathenith errors: Whereunto it was anſwered, that they were not chriſtened, but followed the religion of the Gentiles. Whereat Gregorie fetching a déepe ſigh, ſaid: Ah, alas that the author of darkeneſſe doth as yet poſſeſſe men of ſo brightſome countenances, and that with the grace of ſuch faire ſhining viſages, they beare about minds void of inward grace.

Beda. Will. Malmeſ.

Vita Gregorii magni.

Moreouer he demanded by what name the people were called, whereto anſwere was made, that they were called Angli, that is to ſay Engliſhmen. Right worthilie (ſaith he) for they haue angels faces, and ſuch as ought to be made fellow-heires with angels in heauen. Then aſked he the name of the prouince from whence they were brought, and it was told him they were of Deira. It is well (ſaid he) they are to be deliuered *Deira dei*, that is to ſay, from the ire and wrath of God, and called to the mercie of Chriſt our Lord. What name (ſaid he) hath the king of that prouince? Whereunto anſwere was made that he was called Alla, whereupon alluding to that name, he ſaid, Alleluia ought to be ſong in thoſe parts to the praiſe and honor of God the creator.

Herevpon comming to Benedict the firſt of that name (as then biſhop of Rome) he required him that ſome learned men might be ſent into England to preach the goſpell vnto the Engliſhmen, offering himſelfe to be one of the number. But though Benedict was contented to grant his requeſt, yet the Romans had him in ſuch eſtimation, that they would not conſent that he ſhould depart ſo farre from the citie, ſo that by them he was at that time ſtaied of that his godlie purpoſe. Howbeit when he came to be biſhop, he thought to performe it though not by himſelfe, yet by other: and ſo Auguſtine and his fellowes were ſent by him about it (as before is ſaid.) By the way, as they were paſſing in their iournie, ſuch a ſudden feare entred into their hearts, that (as ſome write) they returned all. Others write, that Auguſtine was ſent backe to Gregorie, to ſue that they might be releaſed of that voi-

Pelagius the ſecond Will. Malmeſ.

Pelagius.

M. Fox.

age so dangerous and vncerteine amongst such a barbarous people, whose language they neither knew, nor whose rudenesse they were able to resist. Then Gregorie with pithie persuasions confirming and comforting him, sent him againe with letters vnto the bishop of Arles, willing him to helpe and aid the said Austine and his companie in all that so euer his néede required. Also other letters he directed by the foresaid Austine vnto his fellowes, exhorting them to go forward boldlie in the Lords worke, as by the tenor of the said epistle here following may appeare.

Gregorie the seruant of Gods seruants, *to the seruants of our* Lord.

FOr as much as it is better not to take good things in hand, than after they be begun, to thinke to reuolt backe from the same againe, therefore now you may not nor cannot (dere children) but with all feruent studie and labour must needs go forward in that good businesse, which thorough the helpe of God you haue well begun. Neither let the wearisomnesse of your iournie, nor the slanderous toongs of men appall you, but that with all instance and feruencie ye proceed and accomplish the thing which the Lord hath ordeined you to take in hand, knowing that your great trauell shall be recompensed with reward of greater glorie hereafter to come. Therefore as we send here Austine to you againe, whome also we haue ordeined to be your gouernour, so doo you humblie obey him in all things, knowing that it shall be profitable for your soules what soeuer at his admonition ye shall doo. Almightie God with his grace defend you, and grant me to see in the eternall countrie the fruit of your labours, though heere I cannot labour in the same fellowship with you togither. The Lord God keepe you safe most deere and welbeloued children. Dated the tenth before the kalends of August, in the reigne of our souereigne lord Mauricius most vertuous emperor, the fourteenth of his empire.

Thus emboldned and comforted through the good words and wholesome exhortation of Gregorie, they set forward againe, and spéeding forth their iournie, first arriued at the Ile of Thanet in Kent in the moneth of Julie, being in number about fortie persons, of the which diuerse were interpretors, whome they brought with them out of France. These they sent vnto king Ethelbert, signifieng the occasion of their comming, who hearing the messengers within a few daies after, went into that Ile, and there abroad out of anie house sat downe, and caused Augustine and his fellowes to come before him, for he would not come vnder anie roofe with them, sore doubting to be bewitched by them, being persuaded that they were practised in nigromancie. But they comming to him, not by the power of the diuell (as they said) but by the might and power of almightie God, bearing in steed of a banner a crosse of siluer, and an image of our Lord and Sauiour painted in a table, and thereto singing the letanies, made intercession vnto the Lord for the euerlasting preseruation of themselues, and of all them for whome and to whome they came.

The seuenfold letanies of S. Gregorie were not yet deuised.

Now when they being set downe by commandement of the king, had preached the word of life to him, and to all those that came thither with him, he made them this answer, that their words and promises were good: but for as much as the same were new & vncerteine to him that had béen brought vp in the contrarie doctrine, he could not rashlie assent to their admonitions, & leaue that beléefe which he and the English nation had so long a time obserued and kept: but (said he) because ye haue trauelled farre, to the intent to make vs partakers of those things which ye beléeue to be most true and perfect, we will thus much graunt vnto you, that ye shall be receiued into this countrie, and haue harborough, with all things sufficient found vnto you for your maintenance and sustentation: neither will we hinder you, but that ye may by preaching associat and ioine as manie of our subiects as you can vnto your law and beléefe. They had therefore assigned vnto them a place to lodge in within the citie of Canturburie, which was the head citie of all his dominion. It is said that as they approched the citie according to their maner, they had a crosse borne before them, with an image of our Lord Jesus Christ, and they followed, singing this letanie, *Deprecamur te Domine in omni misericordia tua, vt auferatur furor tuus & ira tua à ciuitate ista & de domo sancta tua, quoniam peccauimus: Alleluia.* That is to say, We beseech thee ô Lord in all thy mercie that thy furie and wrath may be taken from this citie, and from thy holie house, for we haue sinned. Praise be to thee ô Lord. After they were receiued into Canturburie, they began to follow the trade of life which the apostles vsed in the primitiue church, that is to say, exercising themselues in continuall praier, watching, and preaching to as manie as they could, despising all worldlie things, as not belonging to them, receiuing onelie of them (whome they taught) things necessarie for the sustenance of their life, & liuing in all points according to the doctrine which they set forth, hauing their minds readie to suffer in patience all aduersities what so euer, yea and death it selfe, for the confirming of that which they now preached. Hereupon, manie of the English people beléeued and were baptised, hauing in great reuerence the simplicitie of those men, and the sweetenesse of their heauenlie doctrine. There was a church néere to the citie on the east part thereof dedicated to the honor of saint Martine, and builded of old time whilest the Romans as yet inhabited Britaine, in the which the quéene, being (as we haue said) a christian, vsed to make hir praiers. To this church Austine and his fellowes at their first comming accustomed to resort, and there to sing, to praie, to saie masse, to preach and to baptise, till at length the king being conuerted, granted them licence to preach in euerie place, and to build and restore churches where they thought good. After that the king being perswaded by their doctrine, good examples giuing, and diuers miracles shewed, was once baptised, the people in great numbers began to giue eare vnto the preaching of the gospell, and renouncing their heathenish beléefe, became christians, in so much that as Gregorie remembreth, there were baptised ten thousand persons in one day, being the feast of the natiuitie of our Sauiour 597, and the first indiction.

Beda. Matth. West.

The christian faith receiued of the English men.

Lib. 7. cap. 26.

¶ Some write how this should chance toward the latter end of Augustines daies, after he was admitted to preach the gospell amongst them that inhabited about Yorke (as some write) which affirme, that the said number of ten thousand was baptised in the riuer of Suale, which (as W. Harison saith) cannot be verified, because of the indiction and death of Gregorie. But to proceed.

Polychron.

Re-

Religion is not to be inforced but perſwaded and preached, *Auguſtine is made* archbiſhop of England, Gregorie informeth *Auguſtine of certeine ordinances to be made and* obſerued in the new Engliſh church, as the reuenewes *of the church to be diuided into foure parts, of liturgie, of* mariage, of eccleſiaſticall diſcipline and ordeining of biſhops: trifling queſtions obiected by Auguſtine to Gregorie, fellow helpers are ſent ouer to aſſiſt Auguſtine in his miniſterie, he receiueth his pall, reformation muſt be doone by little and little, not to glorie in miracles, the effect of Gregories letters to K. Ethelbert after his conuerſion to chriſtianitie.

The xx. Chapter.

KIng Ethelbert reioiſed at the conuerſion of his people, howbeit he would not force anie man to be baptiſed, but onelie ſhewed by his behauiour, that he fauored thoſe that beléeued more than other, as fellow citizens with him of the heauenlie kingdome: for he learned of them that had inſtructed him in the faith, that the obedience due to Chriſt ought not to be inforced, but to come of good will. Moreouer he prouided for Auguſtine and his fellowes a conuenient place for their habitation within the citie of Canturburie, and further gaue them neceſſarie reuenewes in poſſeſſion for their maintenance. After that the faith of Chriſt was thus receiued of the Engliſh men, Auguſtine went into France, and there of the archbiſhop of Arles named Etherius was ordeined archbiſhop of the Engliſh nation, according to the order preſcribed by Gregorie before the departure of the ſaid Auguſtine from Rome.

Bede lib. 1. cap. 26. and 27.

Auguſtine ordeined archbiſhop of the Engliſh nation.

Laurence a prieſt.

After his returne into Britaine, he ſent Laurence a prieſt, and Péter a monke vnto Rome, to giue knowledge vnto Gregorie the biſhop, how the Engliſhmen had receiued the faith, and that he was ordeined archbiſhop of the land, according to that he had commanded, if the worke proſpered vnder his hand as it had doone. He alſo required to haue Gregories aduice touching certeine ordinances to be made and obſerued in the new church of England. Wherevpon Gregorie, ſending backe the meſſengers, wrote an anſwere vnto all his demands. And firſt touching the conuerſation of archbiſhops with the clergie, and in what ſort the church goods ought to be imploied, he declared that the ancient cuſtome of the apoſtolike ſée was to giue commandement vnto biſhops ordeined, that the profits and reuenewes of their benefices ought to be diuided into foure parts, whereof the firſt ſhould be appointed to the biſhop and his familie for the maintenance of hoſpitalitie: the ſecond ſhould be aſſigned to the clergie: the third giuen to the poore: and the fourth imploied vpon repairing of temples.

The reuenewes of the church to be diuided into 4. parts.

Liturgie.

And whereas in the church of Rome one cuſtome in ſaieng maſſe or the liturgie was obſerued, and another cuſtome in France; concerning ſuch church ſeruice, Gregorie aduiſed Auſtine that if he found anie thing either in the church of Rome, either in the church of France, or in anie other church which might moſt pleaſe the almightie God, he ſhould diligentlie chooſe it out, and inſtruct the church of England (now being new) according to that forme which he ſhould gather forth of the ſaid churches: for the things are not loued for the places ſake, but the places for the things ſake. Also for puniſhing of ſuch as had ſtolen things out of churches, ſo néere as might be, the offender ſhould be chaſtiſed in charitie, ſo as he might know his fault, and (if it were poſſible) reſtore the thing taken away.

Church ſeruice.

Such as did ſteale.

And touching degrées in mariage, Engliſhmen might take to their wiues, women that touched them in the third and fourth degrée without reprehenſion, and if any vnlawfull mariages were found amongſt the Engliſhmen, as if the ſonne had maried the fathers wife, or the brother the brothers wife, they ought to be warned in anie wiſe to abſteine, and vnderſtand it to be a grieuous ſinne: yet ſhould they not for that thing be depriued of the communion of the bodie and bloud of our Lord, leaſt thoſe things might ſéeme to be puniſhed in them wherein they had offended (before their conuerſion to the chriſtian faith) by ignorance: for at this ſeaſon the church (ſaith he) correcteth ſome things of a feruent earneſtneſſe, ſuffreth ſome things of a gentle mildnes, and diſſembleth ſome things of a prudent conſideration, and ſo beareth and winketh at the ſame, that oftentimes the euill which ſhe abhorreth by ſuch bearing and diſſembling, is reſtreined and reformed.

Mariages.

Diſcipline of the church.

Moreouer touching the ordeining of biſhops, he would they ſhould be ſo placed, that the diſtance of place might not be a let, but that when a biſhop ſhould be conſecrated, there might be three or foure preſent. Alſo touching the biſhops of France, he willed Auguſtine in no wiſe to intermeddle with them, otherwiſe than by exhortation and good admonition to be giuen, but not to preſume anie thing by authoritie, ſith the archbiſhop of Arles had receiued the pall in times paſt, whoſe authoritie he might not diminiſh, leaſt he ſhould ſéeme to put his ſickle into another mans harueſt. But as for the biſhops of Britaine, he committed them vnto him, that the vnlearned might be taught, the weake with wholeſome perſuaſions ſtrengthened, and the froward by authoritie reformed. Moreouer, that a woman with child might be baptiſed, and ſhe that was deliuered after 33 daies of a manchild, and after 46 daies of a womanchild, ſhould be purified, but yet might ſhe enter the church before, if ſhe would.

Ordeining of biſhops.

women with child.

The reſidue of Auguſtines demands conſiſted in theſe points, to wit:

Matters in queſtion about trifles.

1 Within what ſpace a child ſhould be chriſtened after it was borne, for doubt to be preuented by death?

2 Within what time a man might companie with his wife after ſhe was brought to bed?

3 Whether a woman, hauing hir floures, might enter the church, or receiue the communion?

4 Whether a man hauing had companie with his wife, might enter the church, or receiue the communion before he was waſhed with water?

5 Whether after pollution by night in dreames, a man might receiue the communion: or if he were a prieſt, whether he might ſay maſſe?

To theſe queſtions Gregorie maketh anſwere at full in the booke and place before cited, which for breéfeneſſe we paſſe ouer. He ſent alſo at that time with the meſſengers aforeſaid, at their returne into England, diuers learned men to helpe Auguſtine in the haruеſt of the Lord. The names of the chiefeſt were theſe, Melitus, Juſtus, Paulinus, and Ruffinianus. He ſent alſo the pall, which is the ornament of an archbiſhop, with veſſels and aparell which ſhould be vſed in churches by the archbiſhop and other miniſters. He ſent alſo with the pall other letters to Auguſtine, to let him vnderſtand what number of biſhops he would haue him to ordeine within this land. Alſo after that Melitus, and the other before mentioned perſons were departed from Rome, he ſent a letter vnto the ſame Melitus, being yet on his way toward Britaine, touching further matter

Aſſiſtance to Auguſtine.

The pall.

concerning the churches of England, wherein he confesseth that manie things are permitted to be vsed of the people latelie brought from the errors of gentilitie, in keeping feasts on the dedication daies, which haue resemblance with the old superstitious rites of the Pagan religion. For to hard and obstinate minds (saith he) it is not possible to cut away all things at once, for he that coueteth to the highest place, goeth vp by steps and not by leaps.

Wearing with them that had newlie receiued the faith, whereof superstition grew and increased.

At the same time Gregorie did send letters vnto Augustine touching the miracles, which by report he vnderstood were shewed by the same Augustine, counselling him in no wise to glorie in the same, but rather in reioising to feare, and consider that God gaue him the gift to worke such signes for the wealth of them to whom he was sent to preach the gospell: he aduised him therefore to beware of vaine-glorie and presumption, for the disciples of the truth (saith he) haue no ioy, but onlie that which is common with all men, of which there is no end, for not euerie one that is elect worketh miracles, but euerie of the elect haue their names written in heauen. These letters, with the other which Gregorie sent at this time vnto Augustine, were dated the tenth day of the kalends of Julie, in the yeare of our Lord 602, which was the 19 yeare of the emperour Mauricius. Moreouer he sent most courteous letters by these messengers to king Ethelbert, in the which he greatlie commended him, in that he had receiued the christian faith, and exhorted him to continue in that most holie state of life, whereby he might worthilie looke for reward at the hands of almightie God.

Miracles.

602

What reparations and foundations Au*gustine finished for clergimen to the sup*portation of the church, the building of Paules *in London and saint Peters in Westminster vncer*teine, a prouinciall councell called by Augustine, he *restoreth a blind man to his sight, the Britains are hardlie* weaned from their old custome of beliefe, an heremits opinion of Augustine, he requireth three things to be obserued of the Britains, he ordeineth bishops at London and Rochester; Sabert reigneth ouer the Eastsaxons, Augustine dieth and is buried.

The xxj. Chapter.

THus farre we haue waded in the forme and maner of conuerting the English nation to christianitie, by the labours of Augustine and his coadiutors: now therefore (that we may orderlie proceed) it remaineth that we say somewhat of the acts and deeds of the said Augustine: of whom we read, that after he was established archbishop, and had his see appointed him at Canturburie, he restored another church in that citie which had béene erected there in times past by certeine of the Romans that were christians, and did dedicate the same now to the honour of Christ our Sauiour. He also began the foundation of a monasterie without that citie, standing toward the east, in the which by his exhortation, king Ethelbert built a church euen from the ground, which was dedicated vnto the holie apostles Peter and Paule, in the which the bodie of the said Augustine was buried, and likewise the bodies of all the archbishops of Canturburie and kings of Kent a long time after. This abbie was called saint Austins after his name, one Peter being the first abbat thereof. The church there was not consecrated by Augustine, but by his successor Laurence, after he was dead.

Beda.

One Peter was the first Abbat.

Moreouer, king Ethelbert at the motion of Augustine built a church in the citie of London (which he latelie had conquered) and dedicated it vnto saint Paule; but whether he builded or restored this church of saint Paule it may be doubted, for there be diuers opinions of the building thereof. Some haue written that it was first builded by king Lud (as before is mentioned.) Other againe write, that it was builded afterward by Sigebert king of the Eastsaxons. Also king Ethelbert builded the church of saint Andrews in Rochester. It is likewise remembred by writers, that the same king Ethelbert procured a citizen of London to build a church to S. Peter without the citie of London toward the west, in a place then called Thorney, that is to say, the Ile of thorns, and now called Westminster: though others haue written that it was built by Lucius king of Britaine, or rather by Sibert king of the Eastsaxons. This church was either newlie built, or greatlie inlarged by king Edward surnamed the Confessor, and after that, the third Henrie king of England did make there a beautifull monasterie, and verie richlie indowed the same with great possessions and sumptuous iewels. The place was ouergrowne with vnderwoods, as thornes and brambles, before that the church was begun to be builded there in this king Ethelberts daies. ¶ Thus the faith of Christ being once begun to be receiued of the English men, toke wonderfull increase within a short time.

Ran.Higd.

Ran.Higd. westminster church builded

In the meane season by the helpe of king Ethelbert, Augustine caused a councell to be called at a place in the confines of the Westsaxons, which place long after was called Austines oke, where he procured the bishops or doctors of the prouinces of the Britains to come before him. Among the Britains or the Welshmen, christianitie as yet remained in force, which from the apostles time had neuer failed in that nation. When Augustine came into this land, he found in their prouinces seuen bishops sées, and an archbishops sée, wherein sat verie godlie & right religious prelats, and manie abbats, in the which the Lords flocke kept their right order: but because they differed in obseruing the feast of Easter, and other rites from the vse of the Romane church, Augustine thought it necessarie to moue them to agrée with him in vnitie of the same, but after long disputation and reasoning of those matters, they could not be induced to giue their assent in that behalfe. Augustine to proue his opinion good, wrought a miracle in restoring sight to one of the Saxon nation that was blind.

Ran.Cest. Beda. Sigebertus. *ann.19 Mauricij imperatoris.* A synod. Austines oke. Galfrid.lib.8. cap.4.

Beda lib.2.ca. 2.

The Britains that were present, moued with this miracle, confessed that it was the right waie of iustice and righteousnesse which Augustine taught; but yet they said that they might not forsake their ancient customs without consent and licence of their nation. Whereupon they required another synod to be holden, whereat a greater number of them might be present. This being granted, there came (as it is reported) seuen bishops of the Britains, and a great number of learned men, specially of the famous monasterie of Bangor, whereof in those daies one Dionoth was abbat, who as they went towards that councell, came first to a certeine wise man, which liued amongst them an heremits life, and asked his aduise, whether they ought to forsake their traditions at the preaching of Augustine or not: who made this answer; If he be the man of God, follow him. Then said they; How shall we proue whether he be so or not? Then said he: The Lord saith, take vp my yoke and learne of me, for I am méeke & humble in hart: if Augustine be humble and meeke in hart, it is to be beleeued

Another synod.

The monasterie of Bangor. Abbat Dionoth.

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The answer of a godlie man touching Austine the Englishmens apostle.

cc beléeued that he alſo beareth the yoke of Chriſt, and
cc offereth it to you to beare; but if he be not méeke but
cc proud, it is certeine that he is not of GOD, nor his
cc word to be regarded. And how ſhall we ſée and per-
cc ceiue that (ſaid they?) Find meanes (ſaid he) that
cc he maie firſt come to the place of the ſynod with thoſe
cc of his ſide, and if he ariſe to receiue you at your com-
cc ming, then know that he is the ſeruant of God, and
cc obey him; but if he deſpiſe you, and ariſe not towards
cc you, whereas you be more in number, let him be de-
cc ſpiſed of you.

They did as he commanded, and it chanced, that when they came, they found Auguſtine ſitting in his chaire: whome when they beheld, ſtraightwaies they conceiued indignation, and noting him of pride, laboured to remoue all his ſaiengs. He told them that they vſed manie things contrarie to the cuſtom of the vniuerſall church, and yet if in three things they would obeie him, that is to ſay, in keeping the feaſt of Eaſter in due time, in miniſtring baptiſme accor-
ding to the cuſtome of the Romane church, & in preaching to the Engliſhmen the word of life with him & his fellowes, then would he be contented to ſuffer all other things patientlie which they did, though the ſame were contrarie to the maners and cuſtoms of the Romane iuriſdiction. But they flatlie denied to do anie of thoſe things, and gaue a plaine anſwer that they would not receiue him for their archbiſhop: for laieng their heads togither, thus they thought, If he refuſe now to ariſe vnto vs, how much the more will he contemne vs if we ſhould become ſubiect to him? Vnto whom (as it is ſaid) Auguſtine in threatening wiſe told them afore hand, that if they would not receiue peace with their brethren, they ſhould receiue warre of the enimies; & if they would not preach to the Engliſhmen the waie of life, they ſhould ſuffer puniſhment by death at the hands of them: which thing in deed after came to paſſe, as in place conuenient ſhall be expreſſed. After this in the yéere of our Lord 604, the archbiſhop Auguſtine or-
deined two biſhops, that is to ſay, Melitus at Lon-
don, that he might preach the word of God to the Eaſtſaxons, which were diuided from them of Kent by the riuer of Thames, and Juſtus in the citie of Ro-
cheſter within the limits of Kent.

Three things required by Auguſtine of the Britains to be obſerued.

Auguſtine threatneth.

604

Biſhops or-
deined at London and Rocheſter.

Sabert.

AT that time Sabert reigned ouer the Eaſtſax-
ons, but he was ſubiect vnto Ethelbert king of Kent, whoſe nephue he was alſo by his ſiſter Ricula that was married vnto king Sledda that ſucceeded after Erchenwine the firſt king of the Eaſtſaxons, and begat on hir this Sabert that receiued the faith. After that Auguſtine had ordeined Melitus to be biſhop of London, as before is ſaid, king Ethelbert builded (as ſome write) the church of ſaint Paule within the ſame citie, where the ſame Melitus and his ſucceſſors might keepe their ſée. And alſo for the like purpoſe he builded the church of ſaint Andrew the apoſtle at Rocheſter, that Juſtus and his ſucceſ-
ſors might haue their ſée in that place, according to Auguſtines inſtitution: he beſtowed great gifts vp-
on both thoſe churches, endowing them with lands and poſſeſſions verie bountifullie, to the vſe of them that ſhould be attendant in the ſame with the bi-
ſhops.

Ran. Ceſtren.

Finallie, Auguſtine after he had gouerned as arch-
biſhop the church of Canturburie by the ſpace of 12 yéeres currant, departed this life the fiue and twenti-
eth of Maie, and was buried firſt without the citie neere to the church of the apoſtles Peter and Paule (whereof mention is made before) becauſe the ſame church as yet was not finiſhed nor dedicated; but af-
ter it was dedicated, his bodie was brought into the church, and reuerentlie buried in the north Ile there. He ordeined in his life time Laurence to be his ſuc-
ceſſor in the ſée of Canturburie, of whome ye ſhall heare hereafter. ¶ Thus haue ye heard in what ma-
ner the Engliſhmen were firſt brought from the worſhipping of falſe gods, and baptiſed in the name of the liuing God by the foreſaid Auguſtine (as we find in Beda and other writers.) Now we will re-
turne to other doings chancing in the meane time amongſt the people of this Ile.

19 Ceowlfe or Ceoloulph gouerneth the *Weſtſaxons, Ceorlus king of Mercia, Edel-*fride king of the Northumbers, and Edan king *of the Scotsiome in battell, Edan is diſcomfited, E-*delfride ſubdueth the citizens of Cheſter, the deuout *monks of Bangor praie for ſafetie from the ſword of the ene-*mie, twelue hundred of them are ſlaine, Edelfride entreth the citie of Cheſter, the Britains aſſembling their power vnder three capteins incounter with Edelfride, ſlaie manie of his ſouldiers, and put him to flight, warres betweene Edel-
fride and Redwald king of the Eaſtangles about Edwine the ſonne of king Elle, Edelfride is ſlaine, Ceowlfe king of the Weſt-ſaxons dieth.

The xxij. Chapter.

AFter the deceaſſe of Chel-
ricus king of the Weſtſax-
ons, we find that Ceowlfe or Ceoloulph ſucceeded in go-
uernment of that kingdome, and reigned twelue yéeres. He began his reigne (as ſhould appéere by ſome wri-
ters) about the yéere of our Lord 597, and ſpent his time for the more part in warres, not giuing place to idleneſſe, but ſéeking either to defend or inlarge the confines of his dominion. He was the ſonne of Cu-
tha, which was the ſonne of Kenrike, which was the ſonne of Certike. After Wibba or Wipha king of Mercia (who, nothing inferiour to his father, did not onelie defend his kingdome, but alſo inlarge it, by ſubduing the Britains on ech ſide) one Ceorlus ſuc-
ceeded in that kingdome, being not his ſonne but his kinſman. This Ceorlus began his reigne about the yéere of our Lord 594, as Matth. Weſt. recordeth.

Matth. Weſt. ſaith 34.

Matth. Weſt. ſaith 607.

Ceorlus king of Mercia.

594

Ye haue heard that Edelferd, which otherwiſe is called alſo by writers Edelfride, ſurnamed the wild, gouerned ſtill the Northumbers, which Edelferd did more damage to the Britains than anie one other king of the Engliſh nation. None of them deſtroied their countries more than he did: neither did anie prince make more of the Britains tributaries, or in-
habited more of their countries with Engliſh people than he. Héerevpon Edan king of thoſe Scots which inhabited Britaine, being therewith moued to ſée Edelfride proſper thus in his conqueſts, came a-
gainſt him with a mightie armie: but ioining in bat-
tell with Edelfride and his power, at a place called Degſaſtane, or Degſaſtone, or Degſaſton, he loſt the moſt part of his people, and with the reſidue that were left aliue, he eſcaped by flight. This was a ſore foughten battell, with much bloudſhed on both par-
ties. For notwithſtanding that the victorie remained with the Northumbers, Theobaldus the brother of Edelferd was ſlaine, with all that part of the Eng-
liſh hoſt which he gouerned: and it was fought in the yéere of our Lord 603, in the 19 yeere of the reigne of the foreſaid Edelferd, and in the firſt yéere of Ce-
olwlfe king of the Weſtſaxons, and in the firſt yéere of the emperor Phocas, or rather in the laſt yéere of his predeceſſor Mauricius. From that day, till the daies of Beda, not one of the Scotiſh kings durſt preſume to enter into Britaine againe to giue bat-
tell againſt the Engliſh nation, as Beda himſelfe writeth.

Edelferd.

603

Henr. Hunt. Beda lib. 1. cap. 34.

writeth. But the Scotish writters make other report of this matter, as in the historie of Scotland ye maie find recorded.

Wil. Malm. See in Scotland.

The Britains that dwelt about Chester, through their stoutnesse prouoked the aforesaid Edelferd king of the Northumbers vnto warre: wherevpon to tame their loftie stomachs, he assembled an armie & came forward to besiege the citie of Chester, then called of the Britains Carleon ardour deué. The citizens coueting rather to suffer all things than a siege, and hauing a trust in their great multitude of people, came forth to giue battell abroad in the fields, whome he compassing about with ambushes, got within his danger, and easilie discomfited.

Chester as yet in possession of the Britains.

I. Leland. Wil. Malm.

Beda.

It chanced that he had espied before the battell ioined (as Beda saith) where a great number of the British priests were got aside into a place somewhat out of danger, that they might there make their intercession to God for the good speed of their people, being then readie to giue battell to the Northumbers. Manie of them were of that famous monasterie of Bangor, in the which it is said, that there was such a number of monks, that where they were diuided into seuen seuerall parts, with their seuerall gouernors appointed to haue rule ouer them, euerie of these parts conteined at the least three hundred persons, the which liued altogither by the labour of their hands. Manie therefore of those monks hauing kept a solemne fast for three daies togither, were come to the armie, wish other to make praier, hauing for their defender one Brocmale or Broemael, earle (or consull as some call him) of Chester, which should preserue them (being giuen to praier) from the edge of the enimies sword.

The number of monks in the monasterie of Bangor.

Brocmale.

King Edelferd hauing (as is said) espied these men, asked what they were, and what their intent was; and being informed of the whole circumstance and cause of their being there, he said; Then if they call to their God for his assistance against vs, suerlie though they beare no armour, yet do they fight against vs, being busied in praier for our destruction. Wherevpon he commanded the first onset to be giuen them, and after slue downe the residue of the British armie, not without great losse of his owne people. Of those monks and priests which came to praie (as before is mentioned) there died at that battell about the number of 1200, so that fiftie of them onelie escaped by flight. Brocmale, or Broemael at the first approch of the enimies, turning his backe with his companie, left them (whom he should haue defended) to be murthered through the enimies sword. Thus was the prophesie of Augustine fulfilled, though he was long before departed this life (as Beda saith.)

The Britains discomfited & slaine.

Henr. Hunt.

¶ Here is to be noted, if this battell was fought in the seuenth yeere of Ceolwlfe king of Westsaxon (as some haue written) and that Augustine liued 12 yeeres after his entrance into the gouernment of the see of Canturburie (as some write) it is euident that he liued foure yeeres after this slaughter made of the British priests and monks by Edelferd (as before is recited.) For Ceolwlfe began his reigne (as before is mentioned) about the yeere of our Lord 596, and in the seuenth yeere of his reigne the battell was fought at Degsastane betwixt the English & the Scots, which chanced in the yeere of our Lord 604, as Beda himselfe recordeth. A late chronographer running vpon this matter, and preciselie setting downe his collection, saith that Athelbright, or Edelfride, K. of the Northumbers, & Ethelbert K. of Kent, hauing Augustine in their companie, in the eight yeere after his arriuall, made warre vpon such Britains as refused to obserue the canons of the late councell mentioned 603, and killed 1200 monks of the monasterie of Bangor, which laboured earnestlie, and in the sweat of their browes, thereby to get their liuings, &c. Merelie Galf. Mon. writeth, that Ethelbert king of Kent (after he saw the Britains to disdaine and denie their subiection vnto Augustine, by whome he was conuerted to the christian faith) stirred vp Edelferd king of the Northumbers to warre against the Britains. But heerof Maister Fox doubteth, and therefore saith, that of vncerteine things he hath nothing certeinlie to saie, much lesse to iudge. But now to the matter where we left.

Acts and monuments. pag. 160.

After that king Edelferd had made slaughter of the Britains (as before is rehearsed) he entred the citie of Chester, and from thence marched towards Bangor. The Britains in the meane time had assembled their power vnder three capteins, that is to say, Blederike duke of Cornewall, Margadud king of Southwales, and Cadwane king of Northwales. These ioining in battell with Edelferd, slue 10066 of his souldiers, and constreined him to flee out of the field for safegard of his life, after he had receiued manie wounds. On the part of the Britains the forsaid Blederike, which was chiefe capteine of the field in that battell, chanced to be slaine. Thus saith Gal. Mon.

Blederike duke of Cornwall, Margadud king of Southwales, Cadwane k. of Northwales.

Galf. Mon.

But the ancient writers of the English kings (as Beda, William Malmesburie, and Henrie Huntingdon, make no mention of this last battell and victorie obteined by the Britains in maner as aboue is expressed in Galfrids booke. But contrarilie we find, that Edelferd hauing such good successe in his businesse abroad as he could wish, vpon purpose to auoid danger at home, banished Edwine the sonne of Alla or Elle, a yong gentleman of great towardnesse, latelie come to the kingdome of the Northumbers by the death of his father. But this Edwine in time of his exile, being long tossed from place to place, and finding no stedfast friendship now in time of his aduersitie, at length came to Redwald, that was king at that time of the Eastangles, the third from Uffa, and successor to Titullus, which Titullus did succeed next after the said Uffa, the first king of Eastangles (as before is mentioned.) This Redwald did verie honourablie interteine Edwine, insomuch that Edelferd being informed thereof, was highlie displeased, and sent ambassadors vnto Redwald, to require him either to deliuer Edwine into his hands, or else if he refused so to do, to declare and denounce vnto him open warres.

Edwine the sonne of king Alla banished.

592

Edelferd.

Redwald incouraged by his wife (that counselled him in no wise to betraie his friend, to whome he had giuen his faith, for the menaces of his enimie) assembled forthwith an armie, and at the sudden comming vpon Edelferd, assaulted him yer he could haue time to assemble his people togither. But yet the said Edelferd, though he was beset and brought in danger at vnwares, died not vnreuenged: for putting himselfe in defense with such power as he could then get togither, he boldlie incountred the enimies, and giuing battell, slue Remerius the sonne of Redwald, and after was slaine himselfe, hauing reigned ouer the Northumbers about 22 yeeres. This battell was fought neere to the water of Idle.

542

H. Hunt.

Ethelferd slaine.

The said Edelferd had issue by his wife Acca, the daughter of Alla, and sister to Edwine, two sonnes, Oswald being about two yeeres of age, and Oswin about foure yeeres, the which (their father being thus slaine) were by helpe of their gouernours conueied awaie into Scotland with all speed that might be made. Ceolwlfe king of the Westsaxons, after he had reigned the space of 12 yeeres, departed this life, who in his time had mainteined great warre against manie of his neighbours, the which for briefenesse I passe ouer. One great battell he fought against them of

Hen. Hunt. Matt. West. saith 34.

The South-saxons ſuſteine the greater loſſe.

of Suſſer, in which the armies on both ſides ſuſteined great damage, but the greater loſſe fell to the South saxons.

Cinegiſcus and his ſonne Richelinus *reigne iointlie ouer the Weſtſaxons, they* fight with the Britains; the indeuour of Lau*rence archbiſhop of Canturburie in ſetting religi*on at large, and ſeeking a vniformitie in catholike *orders, he and his fellow-biſhops write to the cleargie of Bri*taine and Scotland for a reformation, Melitus biſhop of London goeth to Rome, the cauſe why, and what he brought at his returne from pope Boniface.

The xxiij. Chapter.

Cinegiſcus.

AFter the foreſaid Ceolwlfe reigned Cinegiſcus, or Kingils, which was the ſonne of Ceola, which was the ſonne of Cutha or Cutwin, which was the ſonne of Kenricke, which was the ſonne of king Certicke. In the fourth yeere of his reigne, he receiued into fellowſhip with him in gouernance of the kingdome his ſonne Richelinus, or Onichelinus, and ſo they reigned iointlie togither in great loue and concord (a thing ſeldome ſeene or heard of.) They fought with the Britains at Beandune, where at the firſt approch of the battels togither, the Britains fled, but too late, for there died of them that were ouertaken 2062.

Wil. Malm. ſaith that Onichelinus was the brother of Cinegiſcus.

Beandune, or Beanton.

Beda lib. 2. cap. 4.

In this meane time, Laurence archbiſhop of Canturburie, who ſucceeded next after Auguſtine, admitted thereto by him in his life time (as before is ſaid) did his indeuour to augment and bring to perfection the church of England, the foundation whereof was latelie laid by his predeceſſor the foreſaid Auguſtine: who ſtudied not onelie for the increaſe of this new church, which was gathered of the Engliſh people, but alſo he was buſie to imploie his paſtorlike cure vpon the people that were of the old inhabitants of Britaine, and likewiſe of the Scots that remained in Ireland. For when he had learned that the Scots there, in ſemblable wiſe as the Britains in their countrie, led not their liues in manie points according to the eccleſiaſticall rules, aſwell in obſeruing the feaſt of Eaſter contrarie to the vſe of the Romane church, as in other things, he wrote vnto thoſe Scots letters exhortatorie, requiring them moſt inſtantlie to an vnitie of catholike orders as might be agreeable with the church of Chriſt, ſpred and diſperſed through the world. Theſe letters were not written onelie in his owne name, but iointlie togither in the name of the biſhops Melitus and Iuſtus, (as followeth.)

To our deare brethren the biſhops and *abbats through all Scotland, Laurence,* Melitus and Iuſtus biſhops, the ſer*uants of the ſeruants of God* wiſh health.

WHereas the apoſtolike ſee (according to hir maner) had ſent vs to preach vnto the heathen people in theſe weſt parts, as otherwiſe throgh the world, and that it chanced to vs to enter into this Ile which is called Britaine, before we knew & vnderſtood the ſtate of things, we had in great reuerence both the Scots & Britains, which beleeued, becauſe (as we tooke the matter) they walked according to the cuſtome of the vniuerſall church: but after we had knowledge of the Britains, we iudged the Scots to be better. But we haue learned by biſhop Daganus comming into this Ile, and by Columbanus the abbat comming into France, that the Scots nothing differ in their conuerſation from the Britains: for biſhop Daganus comming vnto vs, would neither eat with vs, no nor yet come within the houſe where we did eat.

The ſaid Laurence alſo with his fellow-biſhops, did write to the Britains other letters worthie of his degree, doing what he could to confirme them in the vnitie of the Romane church: but it profited litle, as appeareth by that which Beda writeth. About the ſame time Melitus the biſhop of London went to Rome, to common with pope Boniface, for neceſſarie cauſes touching the church of England, and was preſent at a ſynod holden by the ſame pope at that ſeaſon, for ordinances to be made touching the ſtate of religious men, and ſate in the ſame ſynod, that with ſubſcribing he might alſo by his authoritie confirme that which was there orderlie decreed. This ſynod was holden the third kalends of March, in the laſt yeere of the emperour Phocas, which was about the yeere after the birth of our Sauiour 610. Melitus at his returne brought with him from the pope, decrees commanded by the ſaid pope to be obſerued in the Engliſh church, with letters alſo directed to archbiſhop Laurence, and to king Ethelbert.

Cadwan is made king of the Britains in *the citie of Cheſter, he leuieth a power a*gainſt Ethelfred king of the Northumbers, co*uenants of peace paſſe betwixt them vpon condi*tion, the death of Ethelbert king of Kent, where he *and his wife were buried, of his lawes; Eadbald ſucceedeth E*thelbert in the Kentiſh kingdome, his lewd and vnholie life, he is an enimie to religion; he is plagued with madneſſe; Hebert king of the Eaſtſaxons dieth, his three ſonnes refuſe to be baptiſed, they fall to idolatrie and hate the profeſſours of the truth, their irreligious talke and vndutifull behauiour to biſhop Melitus, he and his fellow Iuſtus paſſe ouer into France, the three ſonnes of Hebert are ſlaine of the Weſtſaxons in battell, the Eaſtſaxons by their idolatrie prouoke archbiſhop Laurence to forſake the land, he is warned in a viſion to tarie, whereof he certifieth king Eadbald, who furthering chriſtianitie, ſendeth for Melitus and Iuſtus, the one is reſtored to his ſee, the other reiected, Melitus dieth, Iuſtus is made archbiſhop of Canturburie, the chriſtian faith increaſeth.

The xxiiij. Chapter.

Cadwan king of Britaine.

AFter that the Britains had continued about the ſpace almoſt of 24 yeeres without anie one ſpeciall gouernour, being led by ſundrie rulers, euer ſithens that Careticus was conſtreined to flee ouer Seuerne, and fought oftentimes not onelie againſt the Saxons, but alſo one of them againſt another, at length in the yeere of our Lord 613, they aſſembled in the citie of Cheſter, and there elected Cadwan that before was ruler of Northwales, to haue the ſouereigne rule & gouernement ouer all their nation, and ſo the ſaid Cadwan began to reigne as king of Britaine in the ſaid yeere 613. But ſome authors ſay, that this was in the yeere 609, in which yeere Careticus the Britiſh king departed this life. And then after his deceaſſe the Britains or Welſhmen (whether we ſhall call them)

613

them) chose Cadwan to gouerne them in the foresaid yeare 609, which was in the 7 yeare of the emperour Phocas, and the 21 of the second Lotharius king of France, and in the 13 yeare of Kilwolfe king of the Westsaxons.

This Cadwan being established king, shortlie after assembled a power of Britains, and went against the foresaid Ethelfred king of Northumberland, who being thereof aduertised, did associate to him the most part of the Saxon princes, and came forth with his armie to met Cadwan in the field. Herevpon as they were readie to haue tried the matter by battell, certeine of their friends trauelled so betwixt them for peace, that in the end they brought them to agreement, so that Ethelfred should keepe in quiet possession those his countries beyond the riuer of Humber, and Cadwan should hold all that which of right belonged to the Britains on the south side of the same riuer. This couenant with other touching their agreement was confirmed with oths solemnelie taken, and pledges therewith deliuered, so that afterwards they continued in good and quiet peace, without vering one an other.

Gal. Mon.

What chanced afterward to Ethelfred, ye haue before heard rehersed, which for that it soundeth more like to a truth than that which followeth in the British booke, we omit to make further rehersall, passing forward to other doings which fell in the meane season, whilest this Cadwan had gouernement of the Britains, reigning as king ouer them the tearme of 22, or (as some say) but 13 yeares, and finallie was slaine by the Northumbers, as before hath beene, and also after shall be shewed.

John Hard.

In the 8 yeare after that Cadwan began to reigne, Ethelbert king of Kent departed this life, in the 21 yeare after the comming of Augustine with his fellowes to preach the faith of Christ here in this realme: and after that Ethelbert had reigned ouer the prouince of Kent the tearme of 56 yeares (as Beda saith, but there are that haue noted three yeers lesse) he departed this world, as aboue is signified, in the yeare of our Lord 617, on the 24 day of Februarie, and was buried in the Ile of saint Martine, within the church of the apostles Peter and Paule, without the citie of Canturburie, where his wife queene Bartha was also buried, and the foresaid archbishop Augustine that first conuerted him to the faith.

Wil. Malm. Beda. li. 2. cap. 5

Amongst other things, this king Ethelbert with the aduise of his councell ordeined diuers lawes and statutes, according to the which decrees of iudgements should passe: those decrees he caused to be written in the English tong, which remained and were in force vnto the daies of Beda, as he declareth. And first it was expressed in those lawes, what amends he should make that stole anie thing that belonged to the church, to the bishop, or to anie ecclesiasticall person, willing by all means to defend them whose doctrine he had receiued.

Eadbald.

After the decease of Ethelbert, his sonne Eadbald succeeded in the gouernment of his kingdome of Kent, the which was a great hinderer of the increase of the new church amongst the Englishmen in those parties: for he did not onelie refuse to be baptised himselfe, but also vsed such kind of fornication, as hath not beene heard (as the apostle saith) amongst the Gentiles, for he toke to wife his mother in law, that had beene wife to his father. By which two euill examples, manie toke occasion to returne to their heathenish religion, the which whilest his father reigned, either for the prince his pleasure, or for feare to offend him, did professe the christian faith. But Eadbald escaped not worthie punishment to him sent from the liuing God for his euill deserts, insomuch that he was vexed with a certeine kind of madnesse, and taken with an vncleane spirit.

The princes example occasion of euill.

The foresaid storme or vnquiet troubling of the christian congregation, was afterwards greatlie increased also by the death of Sabert or Sebert king of the Eastsaxons, who was conuerted to the faith of Christ, and baptized by Melitus bishop of London (as before is mentioned) & departing this life to go to a better in the blissfull kingdome of heauen, he left behind him three sonnes as true successours in the estate of his earthlie kingdome, which sonnes likewise refused to be baptised. Their names were Serred, Seward, & Sigebert, men of an ill mind, & such as in whome no vertue remained, no feare of God, nor anie respect of religion, but spitefullie hating the professours of the christian faith. For after their father was dead, they began to fall to their old idolatrie, which in his life time they seemed to haue giuen ouer, insomuch that now they openlie worshipped idols, and gaue libertie to their subiects to do the like.

Ran. Ces. Beda li. 2. cap. 5

Serred, Seward, and Sigebert, the sonnes of Sabert.

And when the bishop Melitus, at the solemnizing of masse in the church, distributed the eucharisticall bread vnto the people, they asked him (as it is said) wherfore he did not deliuer of that bright white bread vnto them also, as well as he had beene accustomed to do to their father Saba (for so they vsed to call him.) Vnto whome the bishop made this answer: If you will be washed in that wholesome fountaine, wherein your father was washed, ye may be partakers of that holie bread whereof he was partaker, but if you despise the washpoole of life, ye may by no meanes tast the bread of saluation. But they offended herewith, replied in this wise: We will not enter into that fountaine, for we know we haue no need thereof: but yet neuertheless we will be refreshed with that bread.

After this, when they had beene earnestlie and manie times told, that vnlesse they would be baptised, they might not be partakers of the sacred oblation: at length in great displeasure they told him, that if he would not consent vnto them in so small a matter, there should be no place for him within the bounds of their dominion, and so he was constrained to depart. Whereupon he being expelled, resorted into Kent, there to take aduise with his fellowbishops, Laurence and Iustus, what was to be done in this so weightie a matter. Who finallie resolued vpon this point, that it should be better for them to returne into their countrie, where with free minds they might serue almightie God, rather than to remaine amongest people that rebelled against the faith, without hope to do good amongest them. Wherefore Melitus and Iustus did depart first, and went ouer into France, minding there to abide till they might see what the end would be. But shortlie after, those brethren the kings of Esser, which had expelled their bishop in maner aboue said, suffered worthilie for their wicked doings. For going forth to battell against the Westsaxons, they were ouerthrowen and slaine altogither with all their armie, by the two kings Kinigils and Cuicheline. But neuertheless, albeit the authors of the mischiefe were thus taken awaie, yet the people of that countrie would not be reduced againe from their diuelish worshipping of false gods, being euersones fallen thereto in that season by the incouragement and perilous example of their rulers. Wherefore the archbishop Laurence was in mind also to follow his fellowes Melitus and Iustus: but when he minded to set forward, he was warned in a dreame, and cruellie scourged (as hath beene reported by the apostle saint Peter, who reproued him) for that he would so vncharitablie for sake his flocke, & leaue it in danger without a shepherd to keepe the wolfe from the fold.

The sonne of king Sebert slaine.

The

The archbishop imboldned by this vision, and also repenting him of his determination, came to king Eadbald, and shewed to him his stripes, and the maner of his dreame. The king being herewith put in great feare, renounced his heathenish worshipping of idols, and was baptised, and as much as in him laie, from thencefoorth succoured the congregation of the christians, and aduanced the church to his power. He sent also into France, and called home the bishops Melitus and Justus, so that Justus was restored to his see of Rochester.

But the Eastsaxons would not receiue Melitus to his see at London, but continued in their wicked mawmetrie, in obeieng a bishop of their pagan law, whom they had erected for that purpose. Neither was king Eadbald of that authoritie and power in those parties, as his father was before, whereby he might constreine them to receiue their lawfull bishop. But suerlie the said king Eadbald with his people, after he was once conuerted againe, gaue himselfe wholie to obeie the lawes of GOD, and amongst other deeds of godlie zeale, he builded a church to our ladie at Canturburie, within the monasterie of saint Peter, afterwards called saint Agnes. This church was consecrated by Melitus, who after the death of Laurence succeeded in gouernance of the archbishops see of Canturburie. After Melitus, who departed this life in the yeare of our Lord 624, Justus that before was bishop of Rochester, was made archbishop of Canturburie, and ordeined one Romanus to the see of Rochester. About that time, the people of the north parts beyond Humber receiued the faith, by occasion (as after shall appeare.)

Beda lib. 2.

Beda. lib. 2. ca. 8.

Edwin reigneth ouer the Northumbers, *his great power and reputation,* a marriage betweene him and Ethelburga the *sister of king Eadbald vpon religious couenants,* the traitorous attempts of murtherous Eumerus a*gainst him, his wife Ethelburga is deliuered of a daughter,* he assalteth the Westsaxons, and discomfiteth them, Boniface the fift writeth to him to desist from his idolatrie, and to his ladie to persist in true christianitie; the vision of Edwin when he was a banished man in the court of Redwald king of the Eastangles, whereby he was informed of his great exaltation and conuersion to christian religion.

The xxv. Chapter.

WE haue heard how Edelfred the king of Northumberland was slaine in battell neere to the water of Idel, by Redwald king of the Eastangles, in fauour of Edwin whom the said Edelfred had confined out of his dominion, 24 yeres before. The foresaid Redwald therefore hauing obteined that victorie, found meanes to place Edwin in gouernement of that kingdome of the Northumbers, hauing a title thereto as sonne to Alla or Elle, sometime king of Northumberland. This Edwin proued a right valiant prince, & grew to be of more power than anie other king in the daies of the English nation: not onelie ruling ouer a great part of the countries inhabited with English men, but also with Britains, who inhabited not onelie in Wales, but in part of Chesshire, Lancashire, Cumberland, and alongst by the west seacoast in Galloway, and so forth euen vnto Dunbritaine in Scotland: which I haue thought good to note, that it may appeare in what countries Cadwallo bare rule, of whome so often mention is made in this part of the historie. But as concerning Edwin, his reputation was such, as not onelie the English men, Britains and Scots, but also the Iles of Orknie, and those of Man, and others the west Iles of ancient time called Menaniæ, had him in reuerence, and feared his mightie power, so as they durst not attempt anie exploit to offend him.

W. Malm. taketh Menania to be Angiesey.

It chanced that shortlie after, king Redwald had aduanced him to the kingdom of Northumberland, to wit, about 6 yeares, the same Redwald deceassed, which made greatlie for the more augmentation of Edwins power. For the people of the Eastangles, which (whilest Edwin remained amongst them as a banished man) had conceiued a good opinion of him for his approued valiancie and noble courage, offered themselues to be wholie at his commandement. But Edwin suffering Carpwald or Erpwald the sonne of Redwald to inioie the bare title and name of the king of that countrie, ruled all things at his owne will and pleasure. Neither was there anie prouince within Britaine that did not obeie him, or was not readie to do him seruice (the kingdome of Kent onelie excepted) for he suffered the Kentishmen to liue in quiet, because he began to haue a liking to the sister of king Eadbald, namelie the ladie Ethelburga, otherwise called Tate or Tace.

Carpwaldus.

He made request therefore by sending ambassadours to hir brother, to haue the said ladie in marriage, and at length obteined hir, with condition that she being a christian woman, might not onelie vse the christian religion, but also that all those, whether men or women, priests or ministers, which came with hir, might haue licence to do the same, without trouble or impeachment of anie maner of person. Herevpon she being sent vnto him, there was apointed to go with hir (besides manie other) one Pauline, which was consecrated bishop by the archbishop Justus the 21 of Julie, in the yeare of our Lord 625, who at his comming into Northumberland thus in companie with Ethelburga, trauelled earnestlie in his office, both to preserue hir and such christians in the faith of Christ, as were appointed to giue their attendance on hir, least they should chance to fall: and also sought to win some of the Pagans (if it were possible) vnto the same faith, though at the first he little profited in that matter.

Beda. lib. 2. cap. 9.

Matth. West. Beda. lib. 2. cap. 9. 625

In the yeare following, there came a murtherer vnto the court of king Edwin, as then sojourning in a palace which stood vpon the side of the riuer of Derwent, being sent from Quichelme king of the Westsaxons, to the intent to murther Edwin, because he had of late sore damnified the countries of the Westsaxons. This murtherer was called Eumerus, & caried vnder his coate a short double edged woodknife inuenomed of purpose, that if the king being but a little hurt therewith, should not die of the wound, yet he should not escape the danger of the poison. This Eumerus on Easter mondaie came to the king, and making forth to him as it had beene to haue declared some message from his maister, when he had espied his time, drew his weapon, and offered to strike the king. But one of the kings seruants named Lilla, perceiuing this, stept betwixt the king and the blow. Howbeit the murtherer set the stripe forward with such force, that the knife running through the bodie of Lilla wounded also the king a little: and before this murtherer could be beaten downe, he slue another of the kings seruants, a knight that attended vpon him, called Fordher.

Other say an arr, as Matth. West.

Eumerus.

The same night Ethelburga was deliuered of a daughter named Eanfled, for the which when king Edwin gaue thanks vnto his gods, in the presence of

Eanfled borne.

of bishop Pauline, the bishop did admonish him, rather to giue thanks vnto the true and onelie God, by whose goodnesse it came to passe that the queene was safelie and without danger deliuered. The king giuing good eare vnto the bishops wholesome admonition, promised at that present to become a christian, if he might reuenge his iniuries receiued at the hands of the Westsaxons. And to assure Pauline that his promise should take place, he gaue vnto him his new borne daughter to be made holie to the Lord, that is to say, baptised. The bishop receiuing hir, on Whitsundaie next following baptised hir, with twelue other of the kings household, she being the first of the English Northumbers that was so washed in the founteine of regeneration.

In the meane time K. Edwin being recouered of his hurt, assembled an armie, and went against the Westsaxons, with whome incountring in battell, he either slue or brought to his subiection all them that had conspired his death, and so returned as a conquerour into his countrie. But yet he delaied time in performance of his promise to become a christian: howbeit he had left his doing of sacrifice to idols, euer since he made promise to be baptised. He was a sage prince, and before he would alter his religion, he politikelie thought good to heare matters touching both his old religion, and the christian religion throughlie examined.

Now whilest he thus hong in doubt vnto whether part he should incline, there came letters to him from pope Boniface the fift of that name, exhorting him by sundrie kinds of gentle perswasions, to turne to the worshipping of the true and liuing God, and to renounce the worshipping of mawmets and idols. The pope wrote also to queene Ethelburga, praieng hir to continue in hir good purpose, and by all meanes possible to do what might be done for the conuerting of hir husband vnto the faith of Christ. But the thing that most moued the king, was a vision which sometime he had while he remained as a banished man in the court of Redwald king of the Eastangles, as thus.

Beda. lib. 2. cap. 10.

Beda. lib. 2. cap. 11.

A vision.

Beda. cap. 12.

After that king Ethelfred was informed that the foresaid Redwald had receiued Edwin, he ceased not by his ambassadours to moue Redwald either to deliuer Edwin into his hands, or to make him awaie. At length by often sending, & promises made of large summes of monie, mixed with threatnings, he obteined a grant of his suite, so that it was determined that Edwin should either be murthered, or else deliuered into his enimies hands. One of Edwins frends hauing intelligence hereof, in the night season came to Edwins chamber, and leading him abroad, told him the whole practise, and what was purposed against him, offering to helpe him out of the countrie, if he would so aduenture to escape. Edwin being wonderouslie amazed, thanked his friend, but refused to depart the countrie, sith he had no iust cause outwardlie giuen to play such a slipper part, chosing rather to ieopard his life with honour, than to giue men cause to thinke that he had first broken promise with such a prince as Redwald was, to whome he had giuen his faith.

The honorable consideration of Edwin.

Herevpon his friend departing from him, left him sitting without the doores: where after he had reuolued manie things in his mind, and thought long vpon this matter, at length he perceiued one to come towards him vnknowne, and in strange apparell, seeming to him in euerie point a stranger, at which sight (for that he could not imagine who it should be) Edwin was much afraid: but the man comming to him saluted him, and asked of him what he made there at that time of the night when other were at rest. Edwin on the other part asked what he had to do therewith, and whether he vsed to lie abroad in the night, or within house? Who answering said; Thinke not Edwin that I am ignorant of thy heauinesse, of thy watchings, and this thy solitarie sitting here without doores. For I know who thou art, wherefore thou art thus pensiue, and what euils thou fearest to be towards thee at hand. But tell me, what wouldest thou giue him, that could deliuer thee out of this heauinesse, and perswade Redwald that he should neither do thee hurt, nor deliuer thee to thine enimies? Here with when Edwin said that he would gladlie giue all that in him might lie to such a one in reward? The other said; What wouldst thou giue then, if he should promise in good soth that (all thine enimies being destroied) thou shouldest be king, and that thou shouldest passe in power all the kings which haue reigned in the English nation before thy time? Edwin being better come to himselfe by such demandes, did not sticke to promise that he would requite his friendship with worthie thanks.

Then replied he to his words and said; If he that shall prophesie to thee this good hap to come, shall also be able to informe thee in such counsell for thy health and life, as neuer anie of thy forefathers or kinsfolke yet haue heard, wouldest thou obey him, and also consent to receiue his wholesome aduertisement? Wherevnto without further deliberation Edwin promised, that he would in all points follow the instruction of him that should deliuer him out of so manie and great calamities, & bring him to the rule of a kingdome. Which answere being got, this person that thus talked with him, laid his hand vpon his head, saieng: When this therefore shall chance to thee, be not forgetfull of this time, nor of this communication, and those things that thou now doest promise, see thou performe. And therewith he vanished awaie. So that Edwin might well perceiue it was no man but a vision that thus had appeared vnto him.

[¶ This vnaccustomed course it pleased God to vse for the conuersion of the king (to whose example it was no doubt but the people and inferiour sort would generallie be conformed) who otherwise had continued in paganisme and blind ignorance both of Gods truth and true christianitie. And it male be that there was in him, as in other kings his predecessors, a settled perswasion in gentilish error, so that neither by admonition nor preaching (though the same had proceeded from the mouth of one allotted to that ministerie) he was to be reuoked from the infidelitie and misbeleefe wherein he was nuzzeled and trained vp. For it is the nature of all men, to be addicted to the obseruation of such rites and customes as haue beene established and left in force by their progenitors, and soner to stand vnto a desire and earnest purpose of adding somewhat to their elders corrupt constitutions, and irreligious course of conuersation, than to be inclinable to anie article or point tending to innouation: so inflexible is the posteritie to swarue from the traditions of antiquitie, stand the same vpon neuer so grosse and palpable absurdities.]

Edwin still reioising in the foresaid comfortable talke, but thoughtfull in mind what he should be, or from whence he came that had talked in this sort with him; behold his friend returned that first had brought him forth of his chamber, and declared vnto him good newes, how the king by perswasion of the queene had altered his determination, and minded to mainteine his quarell to the vttermost of his power: and so he did in deed. For with all diligence he raised an armie, and went against Ethelfrid, vanquished him in battell, and placed Edwin in the kingdome (as before ye haue heard.)

Kirg

King Edwin is put in mind of his viſion *by Pauline who ſawe the ſame in ſpirit*, he is licenced to preach the goſpell, biſhop *Coifi deſtroieth the idols, Edwin and his people re-* ceiue the chriſtian faith, his two ſonnes Oſfride and *Eadfride become conuerts, Redwald king of the Eaſtangles is* baptiſed, he ſerueth God and the diuell, Sibert receiueth the faith, Felix biſhop of Burgongne commeth ouer to Honorius archbiſhop of Canturburie, he preacheth to the Eaſtangles, the Northumbers and Lincolnſhiremen are conuerted, manie are baptiſed in the riuer of Trent; king Edwins iuſtice how effectuall and commendable, his care for the common-wealth, his prouidence for the refection of trauellers, pope Honorius confirmeth Pauline archbiſhop of Yorke, the tenor of his letters touching the mutuall election of the archbiſhop of Canturburie and Yorke, if either of them happened to ſuruiue other, his letters to the Scots touching the keeping of Eaſter and auoiding the Pelagian hereſie, Cadwallo king of Britaine rebelleth againſt Edwin, Penda king of Mercia enuieth his good eſtate, Cadwallo and Penda inuade Northumberland, Edwin and his ſonne Oſfride are ſlaine, Penda putteth his other ſonne Eadfride cruellie to death.

The xxvj. Chapter.

NOtwithſtanding the former viſion, king Edwin deferred time yer he would receiue the chriſtian faith, in ſo much that Pauline vpon a daie came vnto him as he ſat muſing what he were beſt to do, and laid his hand vpon his head, aſking him if he knew that ſigne. Whereat when the king would haue fallen downe at his feet, he lifted him vp, and as it were in familiar wiſe thus
" ſaid vnto him: Behold, by the aſſiſtance of Gods
" fauour thou haſt eſcaped the hands of thine enimies,
" whome thou ſtoodſt in feare of: behold through his
" bountious liberalitie, thou haſt obteined the king-
" dome which thou diddeſt deſire, remember then that
" thou delaie no time to performe the third thing that
" thou diddeſt promiſe, in receiuing his faith, and kee-
" ping his commandements, which deliuering thee
" from worldlie aduerſities, hath thus aduanced thee
" to the honor of a king: and if from henceforth thou
" wilt obey his will, which by my mouth hee ſetteth
" and preacheth to thee and others, he will deliuer thee
" from euerlaſting torments, and make thee partaker with him in his celeſtiall kingdome. It is to be thought that the viſion which the king had in times paſt receiued, was in ſpirit reuealed vnto Pauline, whereupon without delaie of time, he put him in remembrance of it in maner as aboue is mentioned.

The king hauing heard his words, anſwered, that he would and ought to receiue the faith which he taught, but firſt he would conferre with his nobles, and if they would agree to do the like, then would they be baptiſed altogither at one time. Pauline ſatiſfied herewith, Edwin did as he had promiſed, calling togither the wiſeſt men of his realme, and of them aſked the queſtion what they thought of this diuinitie, which was preached vnto them by Pauline, vnto whome his chiefe biſhop named Coifi, incontinentlie made this anſwer; that Sutterlie the religion which they had hitherto followed was nothing worth.
" For ſaith he, there is none of thy people that hath
" more reuerentlie worſhipped our gods than I haue
" done, and yet be there manie that haue receiued far
" greater benefits at thy hands than I haue done:
" and therefore if our gods were of anie power, then
" would they rather helpe me to high honor and digni-
" tie than others. Therefore if it maie be found that
" this new religion is better & more auailable than
" our old, let vs with ſpeed imbrace the ſame.

Edwin conſulteth with his nobles.

The anſwere of an heathen biſhop.

Finallie, when other of the kings councell & men of high authoritie gaue their conſents, that this doctrine which Pauline taught ought to be receiued, if therein appered more certeintie of ſaluation than could be found in the other: at length the king gaue licence to Pauline openlie to preach the goſpell, and renouncing his worſhipping of falſe gods, profeſſed the chriſtian faith. And when he demanded of his biſhop Coifi who ſhould firſt deface the altars of their idols, and the tabernacles wherewith they were compaſſed about: He anſwered, that himſelfe would do it. For what is more meet (ſaith he) than that I, which thorough fooliſhneſſe haue worſhiped them, ſhould now for example ſake deſtroie the ſame, thorough wiſedome giuen me from the true and liuing God? And ſtreightwaies throwing awaie the ſuperſtition of vanitie, required armour and weapon of the king, with a ſtoned horſſe, vpon the which he being mounted, rode forth to deſtroie the idols.

This was a ſtrange ſight to the people: for it was not lawfull for the biſhop of their law to put on armour, or to ride on anie beaſt, except it were a mare. He hauing therefore a ſword gird to him, tooke a ſpeare in his hand, and riding on the kings horſſe, went to the place where the idols ſtood. The common people that beheld him had thought he had beene ſtarke mad, and out of his wits: but he without longer deliberation, incontinentlie vpon his comming to the temple, began to deface the ſame, and in contempt threw his ſpeare againſt it, & reioiſing greatlie in the knowledge of the worſhipping of the true God, commanded his companie to deſtroie & burne downe the ſame temple with all the altars. This place where the idols were ſometime worſhiped was not farre from Yorke, towards the eaſt part of the riuer of Derwent, and is called Gotmundin Gaham, where the foreſaid biſhop by the inſpiration of God defaced and deſtroied thoſe altars, which he himſelfe had hallowed.

Paulinus licenced to preach the goſpell.

King Edwin therefore with all the nobilitie, and a great number of his people, receiued the faith and were baptiſed, in the yeere of our Lord 627, in the tenth yeere of his reigne, and about the 178 yeere after the firſt comming of the Engliſhmen into this land. He was baptiſed at Yorke on Eaſter daie (which fell that yeere the day before the Ides of Aprill) in the church of S. Peter the apoſtle, which he had cauſed to be erected and built vp of timber vpon the ſudden for that purpoſe, and afterwards began the foundation of the ſame church in ſtone-worke of a larger compaſſe, comprehending within it that oratorie which he had firſt cauſed to be built: but before he could finiſh the worke, he was ſlaine (as after ſhall be ſhewed) leauing it to be performed of his ſucceſſor Oſwald.

King Edwin with his people receiue the chriſtian faith. Beda lib. 2. cap. 14.

627.

Pauline continued from thenceforth during the kings life, which was ſix yeeres after, in preaching the goſpell in that prouince, conuerting an innumerable number of people to the faith of Chriſt, among whom were Oſfride and Eadfride the two ſonnes of Edwin, whom he begot in time of his baniſhment of his wife Quinburga, the daughter of Cearlus king of Mercia. Alſo afterwards he begot children on his ſecond wife Ethelburga, that is to ſay, a ſonne called Edilhunus, and a daughter named Ediltrudis, and another ſonne called Buſſrea, of the which the two firſt died in their cradels, and were buried in the church at Yorke. To be briefe: by the kings aſſiſtance & fauour ſhewed vnto Pauline in the word of the Lord, great multitudes of people dailie receiued the faith, and were baptiſed of Pauline in manie places, but ſpeciallie in the riuer of Gleute within the prouince of Bernicia, and alſo in Swale in the prouince of Deira: for as yet in the beginning thus

Ediltrudis.

of the church in those countries, no temples or fonts could be builded or erected in so short a time.

Of such great zeale was Edwin (as it is reported) towards the setting forth of Gods truth, that he perswaded Carpwald the sonne of Redwald king of the Eastangles to abandon the superstitious worshipping of idols, and to receiue the faith of Christ with all his whole prouince. His father Redwald was baptised in Kent long before this time, but in vaine: for returning home, through counsell of his wife and other wicked persons, he was seduced, and being turned from the sincere puritie of faith, his last doings were worse than his first, so that according to the maner of the old Samaritans, he would séeme both to serue the true God and his false gods, (whom before time he had serued) and in one selfe church had at one time both the sacraments of Christ ministred at one altar, and sacrifice made vnto diuels at another.

This chanced in the yeare 632, as Matt. West. saith.

Redwald king of Eastangles baptised.

Redwald would serue God and the diuell.

But Carpwald within a while after he had receiued the faith, was slaine by one of his owne countrimen that was an ethnike, called Richbert, and then after his death, that prouince for the tearme of three yeares was wrapped eftsoones in errour, till Sibert or Sigibert, the brother of Carpwald, a most christian prince, and verie well learned, obteined the rule of that kingdome, who whilest he liued a banished man in France during his brothers life time, was baptised there, and became a christian: and when he came to be king, he caused all his prouince to be partaker of the same fountaine of life, wherein he had bene diped himselfe.

Sibert or Sigibert.

Vnto his godlie purpose also, a bishop of the parties of Burgoigne named Felix was a great furtherer, who comming ouer vnto the archbishop of Canturburie Honorius that was successor vnto Iustus, and declaring vnto him his earnest desire, was sent by the same archbishop to preach the word of life vnto the Eastangles, which he did with such good successe, that he conuerted the whole countrie to the faith of Iesus Christ, and placed the see of his bishoprike at Dunwich, ending the course of his life there in peace after he had continued in that his bishoplike office the space of 17 yeeres. Moreouer Pauline, after that he had conuerted the Northumbers, preached the word of God vnto them of Lindsey, which is a part of Lincolnshire: and first he perswaded one Blecca the gouernour of the citie of Lincolne to turne vnto Christ, togither with all his familie. In that citie he also builded a church of stone worke. Thus Pauline trauelled in the worke of the Lord, the same being greatlie furthered by the helpe of Edwin, in whose presence he baptised a great number of people in the riuer of Trent, neere to a towne, which in the old English tong was called Tio vulfingacester. This Pauline had with him a deacon named Iames, the which shewed himselfe verie diligent in the ministerie, and profited greatlie therein.

A bishop ordeined at Dunwich.

Beda lib. 1. cap. 16.

This chanced in the yeare 628, as Matth. West. saith.

But now to returne to king Edwin, who was a prince verelie of worthie fame, and for the politike ordering of his countries and obseruing of iustice, deserued highlie to be commended: for in his time all robbers by the high waie were so banished out of his dominions, that a woman with hir new borne child alone, without other companie, might haue trauelled from sea to sea, and not haue incountred with anie creature that durst once haue offered hir iniurie. He was also verie carefull for the aduancement of the commoditie & common wealth of his people, insomuch that where there were any sweet and cleare water-springs, he caused postes to be set vp, and iron dishes to be fastened thereto with chaines, that trauelling men might haue the same readie at hand to drinke with: and there was none so hardie as to touch the same but for that vse. He vsed whersoeuer he went within the cities or elsewhere abroad, to haue a banner borne before him, in token of iustice to be ministred by his roiall authoritie.

Wil. Malm.

Matth. West. Beda lib. 2. cap. 16.

In the meane season, pope Honorius the fift, hearing that the Northumbers had receiued the faith (as before is mentioned) at the preaching of Pauline, sent vnto the said Pauline the pall, confirming him archbishop in the see of Yorke. He sent also letters of exhortation vnto king Edwin, to kindle him the more with fatherlie aduise to continue and proceed in the waie of vnderstanding, into the which he was entered. At the same time also, because Iustus the archbishop of Canturburie was dead, and one Honorius elected to that see, pope Honorius sent to the said elect archbishop of Canturburie his pall, with letters, wherein was conteined a decree by him made, that when either the archbishop of Canturburie or Yorke chanced to depart this life, he that suruiued should haue authoritie to ordeine another in place of him that was deceassed, that they should not need to wearie themselues with going to Rome, being so farre distant from them. The copie of which letter is registred in the ecclesiasticall historie of Beda, bearing date the third Ides of June, in the yeare of our Lord 633. The same pope sent letters also to the Scotish people, exhorting them to celebrate the feast of Easter in such due time as other churches of the christian world obserued. And also because the heresie of the Pelagians began to renew againe amongst them (as he was informed) he admonished them to beware thereof, and by all meanes to auoid it. For he knew that to the office of a pastor it is necessarilie incident, not onelie to exhort, teach, and shew his sheepe the waies to a christian life, but also stronglie to withstand all such vniust meanes, as might hinder their proceeding in the truth of religion. For as poison is vnto the bodie, that is heresie vnto veritie. And as the bodie by poison is disabled from all naturall faculties, and vtterlie extinguished, vnlesse by present meanes the force thereof be banquished: so truth and veritie by errors and heresies is manie times choked and recouereth, but neuer strangled.

Beda lib. 2. cap. 17.

A decree concerning the archbishops of Canturburie and Yorke.

633

The feast of Easter.

The heresie of the Pelagians.

But now that the kingdome of Northumberland flourished (as before is partlie touched) in happie state vnder the prosperous reigne of Edwin, at length, after he had gouerned it the space of 17 yeeres, Cadwalline, or Cadwallo king of Britaine, who succeeded Cadwane, as Gal. Mon. saith, rebelled against him. For so it commeth to passe, that nothing can be so sure confirmed by mans power, but the same by the like power may be againe destroied. Penda king of Mercia enuieng the prosperous proceedings of Edwin, procured Cadwallo to moue this rebellion against Edwin: and ioining his power with Cadwallo, they inuaded the countrie of Northumberland iointlie togither. Edwin hereof aduertised, gathered his people, & came to incounter them, so that both armies met at a place called Hatfield, where was fought a verie sore and bloudie battell. But in the end Edwin was slaine with one of his sonnes named Osfride, and his armie beaten downe and dispersed. Also there was slaine on Edwins part, Eodbald king of Orkenie. Moreouer there was an other of Edwins sonnes named Eadfride constreined of necessitie to giue himselfe into the hands of Penda, and was after by him cruellie put to death, contrarie to his promised faith in king Oswalds daies that succeeded Edwin. Thus did king Edwin end his life in that battell, fought at Hatfield aforesaid, on the fourth ides of October, in the yeare of our Lord 633, he being then about the age of 49 yeeres and vpwards.

Cadwallin, or Cadwallo king of Britaine.

Penda king of Mercia.

King Edwin slaine.

Matth. West.

The

The crueltie of Penda and Cadwallo *after their victorie, the Britains make no* account of religion, Archbiſhop Pauline with *queen Ethelburga flie out of Northumberland into* Kent, honorable perſonages accompanie him thither, *Romanus biſhop of Rocheſter drowned, Pauline vnderta-*keth the charge of that ſee; Oſrike is king of Deira, and Eanfride king of Bernicia, both kings become apoſtates, and fall frō chriſtianitie to paganiſme, they are both ſlaine within leſſe than a yeeres ſpace; Oſwald is created king of Northumberland, his chiefe practiſe in feats of armes, Cadwallo king of Britaine hath him in contempt, Oſwalds ſuperſtitious deuotion and interceſſion to God againſt his enimies; both kings ioine battell; Cadwallo is ſlaine, Penda king of Mercia his notable vertues linked with foule vices, he maketh warre on whom he will without exception.

The xxvij. Chapter.

CAdwallo and Penda hauing obteined the victorie aforſaid, vſed it moſt cruellie. For one of the capteins was a pagan, and the other wanting all ciuilitie, ſhewed himſelfe more cruell than anie pagan could haue done. So that Penda being a worſhiper of falſe gods with his people of Mercia, and Cadwallo hauing no reſpect to the chriſtian religion which latelie was begun amongſt the Northumbers, made hauocke in all places where they came, not ſparing man, woman nor child: and ſo continued in their furious outrage a long time in paſſing through the countrie, to the great decay and calamitie of the chriſtian congregations in thoſe parties. And ſtill the chriſtian Britains were leſſe mercifull than Penda his heathenish ſouldiers. For euen vnto the daies of Beda (as he affirmeth) the Britains made no account of the faith or religion of the Engliſhmen, nor would communicate with them more than with the pagans, becauſe they differed in rites from their accuſtomed traditions.

The crueltie of Penda and Cadwallo.

When the countrie of the Northumbers was brought into this miſerable caſe by the enimies inuaſion, the archbiſhop Pauline taking with him the quéene Ethelburga, whom he had brought thither, returned now againe with hir by water into Kent, where he was honorablie receiued of the archbiſhop Honorius, and king Eadbald. He came thither in the conduct of one Baſſus a valiant man of warre, hauing with him Eanfred the daughter, and Vlfrea the ſonne of Edwin, & alſo Iffi the ſonne of Oſtride Edwins ſonne, whom their mother after for feare of the kings Edbold and Oſwold did ſend into France where they died. The church of Rocheſter at that time was deſtitute of a biſhop, by the death of Romanus, who being ſent to Rome vnto pope Honorius, was drowned by the way in the Italian ſeas. Whereupon at the requeſt of archbiſhop Honorius, and king Eadbald, Pauline toke vpon him the charge of that ſee, and held it till he died.

The archbiſhop Pauline flieth into Kent.

Beda lib. 3. ca. 1.

Oſrike king of Deira.

After it was knowne that Edwin was ſlaine in battell (as before ye haue heard) Oſrike the ſonne of his vncle Elfrike toke vpon him the rule of the kingdome of Deira, which had receiued the ſacrament of baptiſme by the preaching and vertuous inſtruction of Pauline. But the other kingdome of Northumberland called Bernicia, Eanfride the ſon of Edelfred or Edelfride, toke vpon him to gouerne. This Eanfride during the time of Edwins reigne, had continued in Scotland, and there being conuerted to the chriſtian faith was baptiſed. But both theſe princes, after they had obteined poſſeſſion of their earthlie kingdoms, did forget the care of the heauenlie kingdome, ſo that they returned to their old kind of idolatrie. But almightie God did not long ſuffer this their vnthankefulneſſe without iuſt puniſhment: for firſt in the nert ſummer, when Oſrike had raſhlie beſieged Cadwallo king of the Britains, within a certeine towne, Cadwallo brake forth vpon him, and finding him vnprouided to make reſiſtance, ſlue him with all his armie. Now after this, whileſt Cadwallo not like a conqueror gouerned the prouinces of the Northumbers, but like a tyrant waſted and deſtroied them, in fleaing the people in tragicall maner, he alſo ſlue Eanfride, the which with twelue men of warre came vndiſcréetlie vnto him to ſue for peace: and thus within leſſe than twelue moneths ſpace both theſe runagate kings were diſpatched.

Eanfrid king of Bernicia.

The two kings of Northumberland ſlaine.

Oſwald began his reigne in the yeare 635. Beda lib. 3. cap. 3.

Then Oſwald the ſonne of Edelfred, and brother to the foreſaid Eanfride was created king of the Northumbers, the firſt in number from Ida. This Oſwald after that his father was ſlaine, liued as a baniſhed perſon a long time within Scotland, where he was baptiſed, and profeſſed the chriſtian religion, and paſſed the flower of his youth in good exerciſes, both of mind & bodie. Amongſt other things he practiſed the vnderſtanding of warlike knowledge, minding ſo to vſe it as it might ſtand him in ſtead to defend himſelfe from iniurie of the enimies that ſhould prouoke him, and not otherwiſe. Herevpō Cadwallo king of the Britains made in maner no account of him: for by reaſon that he had atchiued ſuch great victories againſt the Engliſhmen, and hauing ſlaine their two kings (as before is expreſſed) he ceaſſed not to proceed in his tyrannicall doings, reputing the Engliſh people for ſlouthfull, and not apt to the warre, boaſting that he was borne to their deſtruction. Thus being ſet vp in pride of courage, he feared no perils, but boldlie (without conſidering at all the ſkilfull knowledge which Oſwald had ſufficientlie learned in feates of war) toke vpon him to aſſaile the foreſaid Oſwald, that had brought an armie againſt him, and was encamped in a plaine field nére vnto the wall which the Romans had builded in times paſt againſt the inuaſion of Scots and Picts.

Cadwallo ſtreight prouoked Oſwald to trie the matter by battell, but Oſwald forbare the firſt day, and cauſed a croſſe to be erected in the ſame place where he was incamped, in full hope that it ſhould be an enſigne or trophie of his victorie, cauſing all ſouldiers to make their praiers to God, that in time of ſuch neceſſitie it might pleaſe him to ſuccour them that worſhip him. It is ſaid, that the croſſe being made, and the hole digged wherein it ſhould be ſet, he toke the croſſe in his owne hands, and putting the foot thereof into that hole, ſo held it till his ſouldiers had filled the hole, and rammed it vp: and then cauſed all the ſouldiers to knéele downe vpon their knées, and to make interceſſion to the true and liuing God for his aſſiſtance againſt the proud enimie, with whom they ſhould fight in a iuſt quarell for the preſeruation of their people and countrie.

After this, on the nert morning he boldlie gaue battell to his enimies, ſo that a ſore and cruell fight inſued betwixt them. At length Oſwald perceiued that the Britains began ſomwhat to faint, and therfore cauſed his people to renew their force, and more luſtilie to preaſſe forward, ſo that firſt he put that moſt cruell enimie to flight, and after purſuing the chaſe ouertoke him, and ſlue him with the moſt part of all his huge and mightie armie, at a place called Denisborne, but the place where he cauſed the croſſe to be erected he named Heuenfield. Thus Cadwallo

Beda. Wil. Malm.

wallo the moſt cruell enimie of the Engliſh name ended his life: he was terrible both in nature and countenance, for the which cauſe they ſay the Britains did afterwards ſet vp his image, that the ſame might be a terror to the enimies when they ſhould behold it.

¶ But here is to be remembred by the Britiſh hiſtorie of Gal. Mon. it ſhould appeare that Cadwallo was not ſlaine at all, but reigned victoriouſlie for the ſpace of 48 yeeres, and then departed this life, as in place afterwards it ſhall appeare. But for that the contrarietie in writers in ſuch points may ſooner be perceiued than reformed, to the ſatisfieng of mens fanſies which are variable, we will leaue euerie man to his libertie to thinke as ſeemeth him good, noting now and then the diuerſitie of ſuch writers, as occaſion ſerueth.

Penda. 636

PEnda the ſonne of Wilba ſucceeded in the gouernement of the kingdome of Mercia after Eorlus, and began his reigne in the yeere of our Lord 636. He was fiftie yeeres of age before he came to be king, and reigned 30 yeres, he was a prince right hardie and aduenturous, not fearing to ieopard his perſon in place of danger, aſſured and readie of remembrance in time of greateſt perill. His bodie could not be ouercome with anie trauell, nor his mind banquiſhed with greatneſſe of buſineſſe. But theſe his vertues were matched with notable vices, as firſt with ſuch bitterneſſe of maners as had not beene heard of, crueltie of nature, lacke of courteſie, great vnſtedfaſtneſſe in performing of word and promiſe, and of vnmeaſurable hatred toward the chriſtian religion.

Now vpon confidence in theſe his great vertues and vices from that time he was made king (as though the whole Ile had bene due to him) he thought not good to let anie occaſion paſſe that was offered to make war, as wel againſt his friends & confederats, as alſo againſt his owne ſworne enimies. Part of his doings ye haue heard, and more ſhall appeare hereafter. ¶ Of the kings of the Eaſtſaxons & Eaſtangles ye haue heard before: of whom in places conuenient ye ſhall find further mention alſo, and ſo likewiſe of the kings of the Southſaxons: but becauſe their kingdom continued not paſt fiue ſucceſſions, little remembrance of them is made by writers.

Cadwallo king of Britain, diuers deeds of his as the Britiſh writers haue recorded them, wherevpon diſcord aroſe betweene Cadwallo & Edwin, who for two yeres ſpace were linked in friendſhip, Cadwallo vanquiſht, his flight, of Pelitus the Spaniſh wizard, Cadwallo ouerthroweth Penda and his power beſieging Exceſter, he arreareth battell againſt the Northumbers, and killeth Edwin their king, he ſeeketh to expell the Saxons out of the land, Penda ſlaieth Oſwald, whoſe brother and ſucceſſor Oſunus by gifts and ſubmiſſion obteineth peace, whom Penda ſpitefullie attempting to kill is killed himſelfe, Cadwallo dieth, a braſen image on horſſebacke ſet vp in his memoriall, ſaint Martins at Ludgate builded.

The xxviij. Chapter.

Cadwallo, or Cadwalline. 635.

CAdwallo or Cadwalline, (for we find him ſo named) began his reigne ouer the Britains, in the yeere of our Lord 635, in the yeere of the reigne of the emperour Heracleus 35, and in the 13 yere of Dagobert K. of France. Of this man ye haue heard partlie before touching his dealings and warres againſt the Northumbers, and other of the Engliſh nation: but forſomuch as diuers other things are reported of him by the Britiſh writers, we haue thought good in this place to rehearſe the ſame in part, as in Gal. Mon. we find written, leauing the credit ſtill with the author, ſith the truth thereof may be the more ſuſpected, becauſe other authors of good authoritie, as Beda, Henrie Huntington, William Malmeſburie, and others ſeeme greatlie to diſagree from him herein. But thus it is written.

This Cadwallo and Edwin the ſonne of Ethelfred, as Galfride ſaith, were brought vp in Fraunce, being ſent thither vnto Salomon king of Britaine, by king Cadwane, when they were verie yong. Now after their returne into this land, when they were made kings, Cadwallo of the Britains, & Edwin of the Northumbers, there continued for the ſpace of two yeeres great friendſhip betwixt them, till at length Edwin required of Cadwallo that he might weare a crowne, and celebrate appointed ſolemnities within his dominion of Northumberland, as well as Cadwallo did in his countrie. Cadwallo taking aduice in this matter, at length by perſuaſion of his nephue Brian, denied to grant vnto Edwin his requeſt, wherewith Edwin toke ſuch diſpleaſure, that he ſent word vnto Cadwallo, that he would be crowned without his leaue or licence, ſith he would not willinglie grant it. Wherto Cadwallo anſwered, that if he ſo did, he would cut off his head vnder his diademe, if he preſumed to weare anie within the confines of Britaine. Hereof diſcord ariſing betwixt theſe two princes, they began to make fierce and cruell warre either of them againſt the other, and at length ioining in batell with their maine forces, Cadwallo loſt the field, with many thouſands of his men, and being chaſed fled into Scotland, and from thence got ouer into Ireland, and finally paſſed the ſeas into Britaine Armorike, where, of his couſin king Salomon he was courteouſlie receiued, and at length obteined of him 10000 men to go with him backe into his countrie, to aſſiſt him in recouerie of his lands & dominions, the which in the meane time were cruellie ſpoiled, waſted and harried by king Edwin.

Edwin was not ſonne to Ethelfred, but to Alla, or Elle, as in other places plainlie appeareth.

Cadwallo vanquiſhed by Edwin.

Cadwallo flieth the land.

At the ſame time Brian the nephue of Cadwallo, whom he had ſent into Britaine a little before to flea a certeine wizard or ſouthſater, whom king Edwin had gotten out of Spaine named Pelitus, that by diſcloſing the purpoſe of Cadwallo vnto Edwin, greatlie hindered Cadwallos enterpriſes, had fortified the citie of Exceſter, meaning to defend it till the comming of Cadwallo, whereupon Penda king of Mercia beſieged that citie with a mightie army, purpoſing to take it, and Brian within it. Cadwallo then aduertiſed hereof, immediatlie after his arriuall haſted to Exceſter, and diuiding his people in 4 parts, ſet vpon his enimies, toke Penda, and ouerthrew his whole armie. Penda hauing no other ſhift to eſcape, ſubmitted himſelfe wholie vnto Cadwallo, promiſing to become his liegeman, to fight againſt the Saxons in his quarrell. Penda being thus ſubdued, Cadwallo called his nobles togither which had bene diſperſed abroad a long ſeaſon, & with all ſpeed went againſt Edwin king of Northumberland, and ſlue him in battell at Hatfield (as before is mentioned) with his ſon Offride, and Godbold king of the Iles of Orknie, which was come thither to his aid.

634.

¶ By this it ſhould appeare, that Fabian hath gathered amiſſe in the account of the reignes of the Britiſh kings: for it appeareth by Beda and others, that Edwin was ſlaine in the yeere of our Lord 634. And where Fabian (as before is ſaid) attributeth that act & diuers other vnto Cadwan the father of this Cadwallo: yet both Gal. Mon. and Beda with the moſt part

part of all other writers ſignifie that it was done by Cadwallo. Harding aſſigneth but 13 yéeres to the reigne of Cadwan, and declareth that he died in the yéere of our Lord 616, in the which (as he ſaith) Cadwallo began his reigne, which opinion of his ſéemeth beſt to agrée with that which is written by other authors. But to returne to the other doings of Cadwallo, as we find them recorded in the Britiſh ſtorie. After he had got this victorie againſt the Northumbers, he cruellie purſued the Saxons, as though he ment ſo farre as in him lay, to deſtroie the whole race of them out of the coaſts of all Britaine: and ſending Penda againſt king Oſwald that ſucceéded Edwin, though at the firſt Penda receiued the ouerthrow at Heauenfield, yet afterwards Cadwallo himſelfe highly diſpleaſed with that chance, purſued Oſwald, and fought with him at a place called Bourne, where Penda ſlue the ſaid Oſwald. Wherevpon his brother Oſwius ſucceéding in gouernment of the Northumbers, ſought the fauour of Cadwallo now ruling as king ouer all Britaine, and at length by great gifts of gold and ſiluer, and vpon his humble ſubmiſſion, obteined peace, till at length vpon ſpite, Penda king of Mercia obteined licence of Cadwallo to make warres againſt the ſaid Oſwius, in the which (as it hapned) Penda himſelfe was ſlaine. Then Cadwallo after two yéeres granted that Alfridus the ſonne of Penda ſhould ſucceéd in Mercia.

Oſwald ſlaine

Oſwis. Matth. Weſt. 654

Thus Cadwallo ruled things at his appointment within this land. And finallie when he had reigned 48 yéeres, he departed this life the 22 of November. His bodie being embalmed and dreſſed with ſwéet confections, was put into a brazen image by maruellous art melted and caſt, which image being ſet on a brazen horſſe of excellent beautie, the Britains ſet vp aloft vpon the weſt gate of London called Ludgate, in ſigne of his conqueſts, and for a terror to the Saxons. Moreouer the church of S. Martin vnderneath the ſame gate, was by the Britains then builded. Thus haue the Britains made mention of their valiant prince Cadwallo, but diuerſe thinke that much of this hiſtorie is but fables, bicauſe of the manifeſt varieng both from Beda and other autentike writers (as before I haue ſaid.)

678 Matt. Weſt. ſaith 676.

The true ſtorie of the forenamed king *Oſwald, his deſire to reſtore chriſtian religion*, Cormans preaching taking ſmall effect *among the Northumbers, perſuadeth him to de-*

part into his owne countrie, he ſlandereth them be-*fore the Scotiſh clergie, Aidan a godlie man telleth the cauſe* of the peoples not profiting by Cormans preaching, Aidan commeth into England to inſtruct the people in the faith, he varieth in the obſeruation of Eaſter from the Engliſh churches cuſtome, the Northumbers haue him & his doctrine in reuerence, Oſwalds earneſt zeale to further religion by Aidans preaching and miniſterie, 15000 baptiſed within 7 daies; Oſwald hath the Britains, Scots, Picts, & Engliſh at his commandement, his commendable deed of chriſtian charitie, the Weſt ſaxons conuerted to the faith by the preaching of Birinus, king Kinigils is baptiſed, he maketh Birinus biſhop of Dorceſter, Penda king of Mercia maketh war againſt the chriſtian kings of the Weſtſaxons, both ſides after a bloudie battell fall to agrement, Ercombert the firſt Engliſh king that deſtroied idols throughout the whole land, he ordeineth Lent; why Engliſh men became moonks, and Engliſh women nunnes in monaſteries beyond the ſeas; why Penda king of Mercia enuieth vertuous king Oſwald, he is aſſaulted, ſlaine in battell, and canonized a ſaint after his death.

The xxix. Chapter.

NOw will we (after all theſe differing diſcourſes of the Britiſh chronologers) approch and draw as néere as we can to the truth of the hiſtorie touching Oſwald king of the Northumbers, of whom we find, that after he had taſted of Gods high fauour extended to him wards, in vanquiſhing his enimies, as one minding to be thankefull therefore, he was deſirous to reſtore the chriſtian faith through his whole kingdome, ſore lamenting the decay thereof within the ſame, and therefore euen in the beginning of his reigne, he ſent vnto Donwald the Scotiſh king (with whome he had béene brought vp in the time of his baniſhment the ſpace of 18 yéeres) requiring him to haue ſome learned Scotiſhman ſent vnto him, skilfull in preaching the word of life, that with goodly ſermons and wholeſome inſtructions, he might conuert the people of Northumberland vnto the true and liuing God, promiſing to interteine him with ſuch proviſion as apperteined.

Oſwald meaneth to be thankefull to God for his benefits. Beda li. 3. cap. 3. 5. 6. Hector Boet.

At his inſtance, there was ſent vnto him one Corman, a clerke ſingularlie well learned, and of great grauitie in behauiour: but for that he wanted ſuch facilitie, and plaine vtterance by waie of gentle perſuading, as is requiſite in him that ſhall inſtruct the ſimple, onelie ſetting forth in his ſermons high myſteries, and matters of ſuch profound knowledge, as the verie learned might ſcarſelie perceiue the perfect ſenſe and meaning of his talke, his trauell came to ſmall effect, ſo that after a yéere remaining there, he returned into his countrie, declaring amongſt his brethren of the cleargie, that the people of Northumberland was a froward, ſtubborne and ſtiffe-harted generation, whoſe minds he could not frame by anie good meanes of perſuaſion to receiue the chriſtian faith: ſo that he iudged it loſt labour to ſpend more time amongſt them, being ſo vnthankfull and intractable a people, as no good might be done vnto them.

Corman.

Amongſt other learned and vertuous prelats of the Scots, there chanced one to be there preſent at the ſame time called Aidan, a man of ſo perfect life, that (as Beda writeth) he taught no otherwiſe than he liued, hauing no regard to the cares of this world, but whatſoeuer was giuen him by kings or men of wealth and riches, that he freélie beſtowed vpon the poore, exhorting other to do the like. This Aidan hearing Cormans words, perceiued anon that the fault was not ſo much in the people as in the teacher, and therefore declared, that (as he thought) although it were ſo that the people of Northumberland gaue no ſuch attentiue eare vnto the preaching of that reuerend prelate Corman, as his godlie expectation was they ſhould haue done, yet might it be that his vttering of ouer manie myſticall articles amongſt them, farre aboue the capacitie of the vnderſtanding of ſimple men, was the cauſe why they ſo lightlie regarded his diuine inſtructions, whereas if he had (according to the counſell of Saint Paule) at the firſt miniſtred vnto their tender vnderſtandings, onelie milke, without harder nouriſhments, he might happilie haue wone a farre greater number of them vnto the receiuing of the faith, and ſo haue framed them by little and little to haue digeſted ſtronger food. And therefore he thought it neceſſarie in diſcharge of their duties towards God, and to ſatiſfie the earneſt zeale of king Oſwald, that ſome one amongſt them might be appointed to go againe into Northumberland, to trie by proceéding in this maner afore alledged, what profit would thereof inſue.

Aidan.

S. Paules counſell.

The biſhops hearing the opinion of Aidan, and therewith knowing Cormans maner of preaching, iudged the matter to be as Aidan had declared, and therevpon not onelie allowed his words, but alſo willed him to take the iournie vpon him, ſith they knew none ſo able with effect to accompliſh their wiſhed deſires in that behalfe. Aidan, for that he would not ſéeme to refuſe to take that in hand which he himſelfe had motioned, was contented to ſatiſfie their requeſt, and ſo ſet forward towards Northumberland,

Aidan commeth into England to preach the goſpell.

berland, and comming thither, was ioifullie receiued of king Oſwald, who appointed him the Ile of Lindesfarne, wherein to place the ſee of his new biſhoprike.

Beda li.3.ca.3. Hector Boet.

This Aidan in one point varied from the vſe of the new begun church of England, that is to ſay, touching the time of obſeruing the feaſt of Eaſter, in like maner as all the biſhops of the Scots and Picts inhabiting within Britaine in thoſe daies did, following therein (as they take it) the doctrine of the holie and praiſe-worthie father Anatholius. But the Scots that inhabited the ſouth parts of Ireland, alreadie were agreed to obſerue that feaſt, according to the rules of the church of Rome. Howbeit Aidan being thus come into Northumberland, applied himſelfe ſo earneſtlie in praier and preaching, that the people had him within ſhort while in wonderfull eſtimation, chiefelie for that he tempered his preachings with ſuch ſweet and pleaſant matter, that all men had a great deſire to heare him, inſomuch that ſometime he was glad to preach abroad in churchyards, becauſe the audience was more than could haue rome in the church.

One thing was a great hinderance to him, that he had not the perfect knowledge of the Saxon tong. But Oſwald himſelfe was a great helpe to him in that matter, who being deſirous of nothing ſo much, as to haue the faith of Chriſt rooted in the harts of his ſubiects, vſed as an interpretor to report vnto the people in their Saxon tong, ſuch whole ſermons as Aidan vttered in his mother tong. For Oſwald hauing beene brought vp (as ye haue hard) in Scotland during the time of his baniſhment, was as readie in the Scotiſh, as he was in the Saxon tong. The people then ſeeing the kings earneſt deſire in furthering the doctrine ſet forth by Aidan, were the more inclined to heare it: ſo that it was a maruellous matter to note, what numbers of people dailie offred themſelues to be baptiſed, inſomuch that within the ſpace of ſeuen daies (as is left in writing) he chriſtened 15 thouſand perſons, of the which no ſmall part forſaking the world, betooke themſelues to a ſolitarie kind of life.

Beda. Oſwald an interpretor to the preacher.

Hector Boet.

Thus by his earneſt trauell in continuall preaching and ſetting forth the goſpell in that countrie, it came to paſſe in the end, that the faith was generallie receiued of all the people, and ſuch zeale to aduance the glorie of the chriſtian religion dailie increaſed amongſt them, that no where could be found greater. Hereupon were no ſmall number of churches built in all places abroad in thoſe parties by procurement of the king, all men liberallie conſenting (according to the rate of their ſubſtance) to be contributorie towards the charges. By this meanes the kingdome of the Northumbers flouriſhed, as well in fame of increaſe in religion, as alſo in ciuill policie and prudent ordinances: inſomuch that (as Beda writeth) Oſwald atteined to ſuch power, that all the nations and prouinces within Britaine, which were diuided into foure tongs (that is to ſay) Britains, Picts, Scots, and Engliſhmen, were at his commandement. But yet he was not lifted vp in anie pride or preſumption, but ſhewed himſelfe maruellous courteous and gentle, and verie liberall to poore people and ſtrangers.

Oſwalds zeale to aduance religion

Beda lib.5.ca.6

Oſwald had in eſtimation with his neighbours.

It is ſaid, that he being ſet at the table vpon an Eſter day, & hauing biſhop Aidan at diner then with him, his almoner came in as the biſhop was about to ſay grace, and declared to the king that there was a great multitude of poore folks ſet before the gates to looke for the kings almes. The king herewith take a ſiluer diſh, which was ſet on the table before him with meate, & commanded the ſame meate ſtreightwaies to be diſtributed amongſt the poore, & the diſh broken into ſmall peeces, and diuided amongſt them: for which act he was highlie commended of the biſhop, as he well deſerued. By the good policie and diligent trauell of this king, the prouinces of Deira and Bernicia, which hitherto had beene at variance, were brought to peace and made one.

About the ſame time, the Weſt ſaxons were conuerted to the chriſtian faith, by the preaching of one Birinus a biſhop, who came into this land at the exhortation of pope Honorius, to ſet forth the goſpell vnto thoſe people which as yet were not baptiſed. By whoſe diligent trauell in the Lords harueſt, Cinigils or Kinigils, one of the kings of that countrie receiued the faith, and was baptiſed about the fiue & twentith yeere of his reigne. K. Oſwald that ſhould haue had his daughter in mariage, was preſent the ſame time, who firſt per he became a ſonne in law, was made a godfather vnto Kinigils (that ſhould be his father in law) by receiuing him at the fontſtone, in that his ſecond birth of regeneration. To this Birinus, who was an Italian, king Kinigils (now that he was become a conuert or chriſtian) appointed and aſſigned the citie of Dorceſter, ſituat by the Thames, diſtant from Oxford about ſeuen miles, to be the ſee of his biſhoprike, where he procured churches to be built, and by his earneſt trauell & ſetting forth the word of life, conuerted much people to the right beliefe. In the yeere following, Quichelmus the other king of the Weſt ſaxons, and ſonne to Kinigils was alſo chriſtened, and died the ſame yeere, and ſo Cinigilſus or Kinigils reigned alone.

Beda lib.3. ca.7 Birinus conuerteth the Weſtſaxons to the chriſtian faith.

Kinigils king of Weſtſaxon becommeth a chriſtian.

Polydor.

Dorceſter ordeined a biſhops ſee.

In this meane while Penda king of Mercia that ſucceeded next after Ciarlus, being a man giuen to ſeeke trouble in one place or other, leauied warre againſt the kings of Weſtſaxon, Kinigils and Quichelmus, the which gathering their power, gaue him battell at Cirencheſter, where both the parties fought it out to the vttermoſt, as though they had forſworne to giue place one to enother, inſomuch that they continued in fight and making of cruell ſlaughter till the night parted them in ſunder. And in the morning, when they ſaw that if they ſhuld buckle togither againe, the one part ſhould vtterlie deſtroie the other, they fell to agreement in moderating ech others demands.

Henr. Hunt.

This chanced in the yeere 620, as Matth. Weſt. ſaith.

After this, in the yeere of our Lord 640, Eadbald king of Kent departed this life, after he had reigned 24 yeeres, leauing his kingdome to his ſonne Ercombert. This Ercombert was the firſt of the Engliſh kings, which toke order for the vtter deſtroieng of all idols throughout his whole kingdome. He alſo by his roiall authoritie commanded the faſt of fortie daies in the Lent ſeaſon to be kept and obſerued, appointing worthie and competent puniſhment againſt the tranſgreſſors of that commandement. He had by his wife Segburga, that was daughter vnto Anna king of the Eaſtangles, a daughter named Earlongatha, a profeſſed nunne within the monaſterie of Brige or Cala in France: for in thoſe daies, becauſe there were not manie monaſteries builded within this land, a great number of Engliſhmen, that toke vpon them the profeſſion of a religious life, got them ouer vnto abbeies in France, and there profeſſed themſelues monks: and manie there were which ſent their daughters ouer to be profeſſed nuns within the nunneries there, and ſpeciallie at Briege, Cala, and Andelie: amongſt other, there were Sedrike the lawfull daughter, and Edelburgh the baſtard daughter of the ſaid king Anna, both which in proceſſe of time were made abbeſſes of the ſaid monaſterie of Briege.

640

Beda lib.3. cap.7. Matth. Weſt.

Lent firſt ordeined to be kept in England.

Segburga.

Aimoinus.

Ye haue heard alreadie, how Oſwald king of Northumberland bare himſelfe in all points like a moſt worthie prince, not ceaſing to releeue the neceſſitie

ceſſitie of the poore, aduancing the good, and reformming the euill, whereby he wan to himſelfe exceeding praiſe and commendation of all good men, and ſtill his fame increaſed for his vertuous doings; namelie, for the ardent zeale he had to the aduancing of the chriſtian faith. Herevpon Penda king of Mercia, enuieng the proſperous proceedings of Oſwald, as he that could neuer abide the good report of other mens well-doings, began to imagine how to deſtroie him, and to conquere his kingdome, that he might ioine it to his owne. At length he inuaded his countrie by open warre, met with him in the field at a place called Maſerfield, and there in ſharpe and cruell fight Oſwald was ſlaine on the fift day of Auguſt, in the yeare of our Lord 642, and in the 38 yeare of his age, after he had reigned the tearme of eight or nine yeares after ſome, which account that yeare vnto his reigne, in the which his predeceſſors Oſrike and Eanfride reigned, whome they number not amongeſt kings, becauſe of their wicked apoſtaſie and renouncing of the faith which before they had profeſſed. Such was the end of that vertuous prince king Oſwald, being cruellie ſlaine by that wicked tyrant Penda. Afterwards, for the opinion conceiued of his holineſſe, the foreſaid Oſwald was canonized a ſaint, and had in great worſhip of the people, being the firſt of the Engliſh nation that approued his vertue by miracles ſhewed after his departure out of this life.

Penda inuadeth the Northumbers. Beda. lib.3. cap. 9.

King Oſwald ſlaine. Matt. Weſtm. ſaith 644.

Will. Malmeſ.

Oſwie ſucceedeth Oſwald in the kingdome of Northumberland, he is ſore vexed by Penda, Oſwie and Oſwin are partners in gouernement, they fall at ſtrife, Oſwin is betrœied into the hands of Oſwie and ſlaine, a commendation of his perſonage and goodlie qualities, biſhop Aidan dieth, Cenwalch king of the Weſtſaxons, Penda maketh warre againſt him for putting away his wife, his flight, he becommeth a chriſtian and recouereth his kingdome, biſhop Agilbert commeth into Weſtſaxon, and afterwards departing (vpon occaſion) is made biſhop of Paris, Wini buieth the biſhoprike of London; Sigibert king of the Eaſtangles, the vniuerſitie of Cambridge founded by him, he reſigneth his kingdome and becometh a moonke, he and his kinſman Egric are ſlaine in a skirmiſh againſt Penda king of Mercia.

The xxx. Chapter.

Oſwie king of Northumberland. Beda li.3. ca.14

After that king Oſwald was ſlaine, his brother Oſwie (being about 30 yeares of age) toke vpon him the rule of the kingdome of Northumberland, gouerning the ſame with great trouble for the ſpace of 28 yeares, being ſore vexed by the foreſaid Penda king of Mercia and his people, which as yet were pagans. In the firſt yeare of his reigne, which was in the yeare

644

of our Lord 644. Pauline the biſhop of Rocheſter which had bene alſo archbiſhop of Yorke departed this life, and then one Thamar an Engliſhman of the parties of Kent was ordeined biſhop of Rocheſter by Honorius the archbiſhop of Canturburie. King Oſwie had one Oſwin partener with him in gouernment of the Northumbers in the firſt beginning of his reigne, which was ſonne to Oſrike, ſo that Oſwie gouerned in Bernicia, and Oſwin in Deira, continuing in perfect friendſhip for a ſeaſon, till at length, through the counſell of wicked perſons, that coueted nothing ſo much as to ſowe diſcord and variance betwixt princes, they fell at debate, and ſo began to make warres one againſt an other, ſo that finallie when they were at point to haue tried their quarrell in open battell, Oſwin perceiuing that he had not an armie of ſufficient force to incounter with Oſwie, brake vp his campe at Wilfaresdowne, ten mile by weſt the towne of Cataracton, and after withdrew himſelfe onelie with one ſeruant named Condhere vnto the houſe of earle Hunwald, whome he toke to haue bene his truſtie friend: but contrarie to his expectation, the ſaid Hunwald did betraie him vnto Oſwie, who by his captaine Edelwine ſlue the ſaid Oſwin and his ſeruant the foreſaid Condhere, in a place called Ingethling, the 13 kalends of September, in the ninth yeare of his reigne, which was after the birth of our Sauiour 651.

651

This Oſwin was a godlie gentleman of perſon, tall, and beautifull, and verie gentle of ſpeech, ciuill in manners, and verie liberall both to high & low, ſo that he was beloued of all. Such a one he was, to be breefe, as biſhop Aidan geſſed that he ſhould not long continue in life, for that the Northumbers were not worthie of ſo good and vertuous a gouernour. Such humblenelle and obedience he perceiued to reſt in him towards the law of the Lord, in taking that which was told him for his better inſtruction in good part, that he ſaid, he neuer ſaw before that time an humble king. The ſame Aidan liued not paſt 12 daies after the death of the ſaid Oſwin, whome he ſo much loued, departing this world the laſt daie of Auguſt, in the ſeuententh yeare after he was ordeined biſhop. His bodie was buried in the Ile of Lindeſferne. After Aidan, one Finan was made biſhop in his place, a Scotiſhman alſo, and of the Ile of Hui, from whence his predeceſſor the foreſaid Aidan came, being firſt a man of religion profeſſed in the monaſterie there (as ſome writers do report.)

Cenwalch. Hen. Hunt.

IN the meane time, after that Kinigils or Cinigilsus king of the Weſtſaxons had reigned 31 yeares, he departed this life *Anno* 643, leauing his kingdome to his ſonne Cenwalch or Chenwald, who held the ſame kingdome the tearme of 30 yeares, or 31 (as ſome write) in manner as his father had done before him. In the third, or (as others ſaie) in the fift yeare of his reigne, Penda king of Mercia made ſharpe warre againſt him, becauſe he had put awaie his wife the ſiſter of the ſaid Penda, and in this warre Chenwald was ouercome in battell, & driuen out of his countrie, ſo that he fled vnto Anna king of the Eaſtangles, with whome he remained the ſpace of a yeare, or (as other ſay) three yeares, to his great good hap: for before he was growen to be an enimie to the chriſtian religion, but now by the wholeſome admonitions and ſharpe rebukes of king Anna, he became a chriſtian, and receiued his wife againe into his companie, according to the preſcript of Gods law, and (to be breefe) in all things ſhewed himſelfe a new man, imbracing vertue, & auoiding vice, ſo that ſhortlie after (through the helpe of God) he recouered againe his kingdome.

943

Ran. Higd.

Now when he was eſtabliſhed in the ſame, there came a biſhop named Agilbertus out of Ireland, a Frenchman borne (but hauing remained in Ireland a long time) to reade the ſcriptures. This Agilbert comming into the prouince of the Weſtſaxons, was gladlie receiued of king Chenwald, at whoſe deſire he toke vpon him to exerciſe the rome of a biſhop there: but afterwards, when the ſaid king admitted another biſhop named Wini, which had bene ordeined in France, and knew the tong better than Agilbert, as he that was borne in England: Agilbert offended, for that the king had admitted him without making him of anie counſell therein, returned into France, and there was made biſhop of Paris: within a few yeares after, the foreſaid Wini was

Agilbertus a biſhop.

Bernicia.

it was expelled also by king Chenwald, who got him into Mercia vnto king Vulfhere, of whome he bought the bishoprike of London, which he held during his life, and so the countrie of Westsaron remained long without a bishop, till at length the said Agilbert at the request of king Chenwald sent to him Elutherius that was his nephue.

Sigibert.

YE haue heard that after Carpwald, his brother Sigibert succéded in rule of the Eastangles, a man of great vertue and worthinesse, who whilest he remained in France as a banished man, being constreined to flée his countrie vpon displeasure that king Redwald bare him, was baptised there, and after returning into his countrie, and obteining at length the kingdome, those things which he had séene well ordered in France, he studied to follow the example of the same at home, and hereupon considering with himselfe that nothing could more aduance the state of the common-wealth of his countrie than learning & knowledge in the tongs, began the foundation of certeine schooles, and namelie at Cambridge, where children might haue places where to be instructed and brought vp in learning vnder appointed teachers, that there might be greater numbers of learned men trained vp than before time had béene within this land, to the furtherance of true religion and vertue.

Beda lib. 3. cap. 4.

The vniuersitie of Cambridge founded by king Sigibert.

So that England hath good cause to haue in thankfull remembrance this noble prince king Sigibert, for all those hir learned men which haue bin brought vp & come forth of that famous vniuersitie of Cambridge, the first foundation or rather renouation whereof was thus begun by him about the yeare of our Lord 630. At length when this worthie king began to grow in age, he considered with himselfe how hard a matter, and how painefull an office it was to gouerne a realme as apperteined to the dutie of a good king, whereupon he determined to leaue the charge thereof to other of more conuenient yéeres, and to liue from thenceforth a priuat kind of life, and so resigning the administration vnto his kinsman Egricus, he became a monke, and led the rest of his life in a certeine abbeie.

Bale saith 636.

Sigibert resigneth his kingdome to Egricus.

Shortlie after it so came to passe that Penda king of Mercia (that cruell ethnike tyrant) made sore warres vpon Egricus, whervpon the people of Eastangles compelled Sigibert to come forth of his monasterie, & to go with them into the field against Penda. Sigibert being thus constreined against his will, would not put on armour or beare anie other kind of weapon, than onelie a wand in his hand in stéed of a scepter, and so the armie of the Eastangles in hope of good spéed by the presence of Sigibert, ioined in battell with their enimies, but the Eastangles were finallie vanquished, and the more part of them slaine, togither with Sigibert and his cosen Egricus their king. This happened in the yere after the birth of our Sauiour (as some haue noted) 652.

Sigibert and Egricus slaine.

652

Baleus. Beda lib. 3. cap. 19. Furseus.

In the daies whilest Sigibert as yet ruled the Eastangles, there came out of Ireland a deuout person named Furseus, who comming into the countrie of the Eastangles, was gladlie receiued of king Sigibert, by whose helpe afterwards he builded the abbeie of Cumbreburge, in the which Sigibert (as some haue written) when he renounced his kingdome, was professed a monke. Of this Furseus manie things are written, the which for briefenesse we ouerpasse. After that Felix the bishop of the Eastangles was dead, one Thomas was ordeined in his place, who after he had béene bishop fiue yéeres, died, and then one Beretgils was ordeined in his roome by Honorius the archbishop of Canturburie. The said Honorius himselfe when he had run the race of his naturall life, deceassed also the last of September in the yéere of our Lord 653.

653

Anna king of Eastangles is slaine by *Penda king of Mercia, his brother succeeding* him is slaine also by Oswie king of *Northumberland, the Mercians or Middleangles* receiue the faith vnder vertuous Peda their prince, he *requesteth Alchfled the king of Northumberlands daughter* in mariage, he is baptised by bishop Finnan, by whose meanes the Eastsaxons imbraced christian religion vnder Sigibert their king, he is murthered of two brethren that were his kinsmen vpon a conceiued hatred against him for his good and christian life, how dangerous it is to keepe companie with an excommunicate person, the authoritie of a bishop.

The xxxj. Chapter.

Anna.

AFter Egricus succeeded Anna the sonne of Enus in the kingdome of Eastangle, and was likewise slaine by Penda king of Mercia, with the most part of his armie, as he gaue battell vnto the said Penda that inuaded his countrie. He left behind him manie children, but his brother Edelhere succéded him in gouernment of the kingdome, who was slaine by Oswie the king of Northumberland, togither with the foresaid Penda, and worthilie, sith he would aid that tyrant which had slaine his kinsman and his brother that were predecessors with him in his kingdome. After this, when the sée of Canturburie had béene vacant by the space of one whole yeare and six moneths, one Deus dedit of the countrie of the Westsarons, was elected and consecrated by Ithamar the bishop of Rochester, on the 7 kalends of Aprill. He gouerned the church of Canturburie by the tearme of nine yéeres, foure moneths, and two daies. When he was departed this life, the foresaid Ithamar consecrated for him one Damianus of the countrie of Sussex.

Will. Malmes.

Edelhere K. of Eastangle.

Deus dedit.

ABout this time, the people of Mercia commonlie called Middleangles, receiued the christian faith vnder their king named Peda or Peada, the sonne of Penda king of Mercia, who being a towardlie yong gentleman, and worthie to haue the guiding of a kingdome, his father Penda aduanced him to the rule of that kingdome of the Middleangles during his owne life. [¶ Yéere maie you note, that the kingdome of the Middleangles was one, and the kingdome of Mercia another, though most commonlie the same were gouerned by one king.] This yong Peda came to Oswie king of Northumberland, requiring of him to haue his daughter Alchfled in mariage: but when he was informed that he might not haue hir except he would become a christian, then vpon hearing the gospell preached, with the promise of the celestiall ioies and immortalitie, by the resurrection of the flesh in the life to come, he said that whether he had king Oswies daughter to wife or not, he would suerlie be baptised, and chieflie he was persuaded thereunto by his kinsman Alchfrid, who had in mariage his sister the daughter of Penda named Cimburgh.

Beda hist. eccle. lib. 3. cap. 21.

653.

Peda or Peada king of Middleangles.

Wherefore he was baptised by bishop Finnan, with all those which came thither with him, at a place called At the wall, and taking with him foure priests which were thought méete to teach and baptise his people, he returned with great ioy into his owne countrie. The names of those priests were as followeth, Cedda, Adda, Betti, and Diuna, of the which, the last was a Scot by nation, and the other were Englishmen.

Ad murum.

glishmen. These preests comming into the prouince of the Middleangles, preached the word, and were well heard, so that dailie a great number of the nobilitie & communaltie renouncing the filthie dregs of idolatrie, were christned. Neither did king Penda forbid the preaching of the gospell within his prouince of Mercia, but rather hated and despised those whome he knew to haue professed themselues christians, and yet shewed not the workes of faith, saieng, that those were wretches and not to be regarded, which would not obeie their God in whome they beleeued. This alteration of things began, about two yeres before the death of king Penda.

The saieng of king Penda.

Beda lib. 3. cap. 22.

ABout the same time, the Eastsaxons at the instance of Oswie king of Northumberland, receiued eftsones the faith which they had renounced, when they banished their bishop Mellitus. We haue heard that Serred, Sward, and Sigibert brethren, and the sonnes of king Sabert (which brethren occasioned the reuolting of that prouince from the faith of Christ) were slaine in battell by the kings of Westsaxon, after whome succeeded Sigibert surnamed the little sonne to the middlemost brother Sward, as some write. This Sigibert the litle left the kingdome to an other Sigibert that was sonne to one Sigebald the brother of king Sabert, which second Sigibert reigned as king in that prouince of the Eastsaxons, being a most especiall friend of king Oswie, so that oftentimes he repaired into Northumberland to visit him, wherupon king Oswie ceassed not most earnestlie at times conuenient to exhort him to receiue the faith of Jesus Christ, and in the end by such effectuall persuasions as he vsed, Sigibert gaue credit to his words, and so being conuerted, receiued the sacrament of baptisme by the hands of bishop Finnan, at the kings house called, At the wall, so named, because it was built neere to the wall which the Romans had made ouerthwart the Ile, as is often before remembred, being twelue miles distant from the east sea.

King Sigibert receiued the faith.

This was about the yeere 649, as Matth. West. hath noted.

King Sigibert hauing now receiued the christian faith, when he should returne into his countrie, required king Oswie to appoint him certeine instructors and teachers which might conuert his people to the faith of Christ. King Oswie desirous to satisfie his request, sent vnto the prouince of the Middleangles, calling from thence that vertuous man Cedda, and assigning vnto him another priest to be his associat, sent them vnto the prouince of the Eastsaxons, there to preach the christian faith vnto the people. And when they had preached & taught through the whole countrie, to the great increase and inlarging of the church of Christ, it chanced on a time that Cedda returned home into Northumberland to conferre of certeine things with bishop Finnan which kept his see at Lindesferne, where vnderstanding by Cedda the great fruits which it had pleased God to prosper vnder his hands, in aduancing the faith among the Eastsaxons, he called to him two other bishops, and there ordeined the foresaid Cedda bishop of the Eastsaxons.

Cedda.

Cedd or Cedda bishop of the Eastsaxons.

Herevpon, the same Cedda returned vnto his cure, went forward with more authoritie to performe the worke of the Lord, & building churches in diuerse places, ordeined preests and deacons which might helpe him in preaching, and in the ministerie of baptising, speciallie in the citie of Ithancester vpon the riuer of Pent, and likewise in Tileburge on the riuer of Thames. Whilest Ced was thus busie to the great comfort and ioy of the king and all his people, in the setting forward of the christian religion with great increase dailie proceeding, it chanced thorough the instigation of the deuill, the common enimie of mankind, that king Sigibert was murthered by two of his owne kinsmen who were brethren, the which when they were examined of the cause that should moue them to that wicked fact, they had nothing to alledge, but that they did it because they had conceiued an hatred against the king, for that he was too fauourable towards his enimies, and would with great mildnesse of mind forgiue iniuries committed against him: such was the kings fault for the which he was murthered, because he obserued the commandements of the gospell with a deuout hart.

Tiberie.

Notwithstanding, in this his innocent death, his offense was punished, wherein he had suerlie transgressed the lawes of the church. For whereas one of them which slue him kept a wife, whome he had vnlawfullie maried, and refused to put hir away at the bishops admonition, he was by the bishop excommunicated, and all other of the christian congregation commanded to abstaine from his companie. This notwithstanding, the king being desired of him came to his house to a banket, and in his comming from thence met with the bishop, whome when the king beheld, he waxed afraid, and alighted from his horsse, and fell downe at his feet, beseeching him of pardon for his offense. The bishop, which also was on horssebacke likewise alighted, and touching the king with his rod which he had in his hand, as one something displeased, and protesting as in the authoritie of a bishop, spake these words; Because (saith he) thou wouldst not abstaine from entring the house of that wicked person being accursed, thou shalt die in the same house: and so it came to passe.

The authoritie of a bishop.

" "

Suidhelme king of the Eastsaxons, he *is baptised, the bishoplike exercises of Ced* in his natiue countrie of Northumberland; E*dilwald K. of Deira reuerenceth him, the kings* deuout mind to further and inlarge religion; the m*aner of consecrating a place appointed for a holie vse; the old* order of fasting in Lent, bishop Ced dieth; warre betweene Oswie and Penda, Oswie maketh a vow to dedicate his daughter a perpetuall virgine to God if he got the victorie, he obteineth his request and performeth his vow, she liueth, dieth, and is buried in a monasterie, the benefit insuing Oswies conquest ouer his enimies, the first second and third bishops of Mercia, the victorious proceeding of king Oswie; prince Peada his kinsman murthered of his wife.

The xxxij. Chapter.

Suidhelme.

Beda lib. 3. cap. 22. Matt. VVest.

AFter Sigbert succeeded Suidhelme in the kingdome of the Eastsaxons, he was the son of Serbald, and baptised of Ced in the prouince of the Eastangles, at a place of the kings there called Rendlesham. Edilwald king of the Eastangles (the brother of king Anna) was his godfather at the fontstone. Ced the bishop of the Eastsaxons vsed oftentimes to visit his countrie of Northumberland where he was borne, and by preaching exhorted the people to godlie life. Wherupon it chanced that king Edilwald the son of king Oswald which reigned in the parties of Deira, moued with the fame of his vertuous trade of liuing, had him in great reuerence: and therefore vpon a good zeale and great deuotion, willed him to chuse forth some plot of ground where he might build a monasterie, in the which the king himselfe and others might prate, heare sermons the oftener, and haue place where to burie the dead. The bishop consenting to the kings mind, at length espied a place amongst high and desert

Beda lib. 3. cap. 23.

sert mounteins, where he began the foundation of a monasterie, afterwards called Lestinghem.

Wherefore meaning first of all to purge the place with praier & fasting, he asked leaue of the king that he might remaine there all the Lent, which was at hand, and so continuing in that place for that time, fasted euerie daie (sundaie excepted) from the morning vntill euening, according to the maner, nor receiued anie thing then but onlie a little bread, and a hens eg, with a little milke mixt with water: for he said that this was the custome of them of whome he had learned the forme of his regular order, that they should consecrate those places vnto the Lord with praier and fasting, which they latelie had receiued to make in the same either church or monasterie.

The maner of the old fast.

And when there remained ten daies of Lent yet to come, he was sent for to the king: wherefore he appointed a brother which he had, being also a priest named Cimbill, to supplie his rome, that his begun religious worke should not be hindered for the kings businesse. Now when the time was accomplished, he ordeined a monasterie there, appointing the monks of the same to liue after the rules of them of Lindesferne where he was brought vp. Finallie this bishop Ced comming vnto this monasterie afterwards by chance in time of a sickenesse, died there, and left that monasterie to the gouernance of another brother which he had named Ceadda, that was after a bishop, as afterwards shall be shewed. There were foure brethren of them, and all priests, Ced, Cimbill, Ceulin, and Ceadda, of the which Ced and Ceadda were bishops, as before is said.

Lindesferne holie Iland.

About the same time, Oswie king of Northumberland was sore oppressed by the warres of Penda king of Mercia, so that he made great offers of high gifts, and great rewards vnto the said Penda for peace, but Penda refused the same, as he that meant vtterlie to haue destroied the whole nation of Oswies people, so that Oswie turning himselfe to seeke helpe at the hands of the almightie, said: If the pagan refuse to receiue the gifts which we offer, let vs make offer vnto him that knoweth how to accept them: and so binding himselfe by vow, promised that if he might obtein victorie, he would offer his daughter to be dedicate to the Lord in perpetuall virginitie: and further would giue twelue manors, lordships or farmes to the building of monasteries: and so with a small armie he put himselfe in hazard of battell.

Beda. lib. 3. cap. 24.

war betweene king Oswie & king Penda

It is said that Penda had thirtie companies of men of warre, furnished with thirtie noble capteins or colonels, against whome came Oswie with his sonne Alchfrid, hauing but a small armie, but confirmed yet with hope in Christ Jesus. His other son Ecgfrid remained in hostage at that time with queene Cinnise. Edilwald the sonne of Oswald that gouerned Deira, & ought to haue aided Oswie, was on the part of Penda against his countrie, and against his vncle, but in time of the fight he withdrew himselfe aside, to behold what chance would follow. The battell being begun, the thirtie pagan capteins were ouerthrowne and put to flight, and those that came to aid Penda were almost all slaine, among whome was Edilhere king of the Eastangles, that reigned after his brother Anna, and was the procurer of this warre. This battell was fought neere to the water of Inwet, the which being risen as then by reason of great raine, drowned more of the enimies than died of the Northumbers swords.

The victorie of the Northumbers.

After that Oswie had obteined this victorie, he performed promise in bestowing his daughter to the profession of virginitie, and also gaue the twelue manors, whereof six were in Deira, and six in Bernicia, conteining euerie of them ten houlholds a peece. Elfled also king Oswies daughter was professed in the monasterie of Herthew, where one Hilda was abbesse, which Hilda purchasing a lordship of ten houlholds in Streanshall, now called Whitbie, builded a monasterie there, in the which first the said Elfled was a nouice, and after a ruler, till at length being of the age of fortie yeeres she departed this life, and was buried there, and so likewise was hir mother Eafled, and hir grandfather Edwin, with manie other high estates within the church of saint Peter the apostle. The victorie aboue mentioned got by king Oswie in the countrie of Loides on the 17 kalends of December, & in the thirteenth yeere of his reigne, happened to the great commoditie and gaine of both the people, for by the same he deliuered his countrie of Northumberland from the cruell destruction made in the same by the pagan people of Mercia, and conuerted those pagans themselues, and the countries neere adioining to them wholie vnto the faith of Jesus Christ.

Elfled.

Herteshey saith Matt. West.

Hilda.

Loides.

The first bishop of Mercia.

The first bishop in the prouince of Mercia, and also of Lindesferne and the Middleangles was one Diuma, who died amongst the Middleangles. The second was Cellach, the which leauing his bishoprike returned into Scotland, for they were both of the nation of the Scots. The third was an Englishman named Trumhere, but instructed and ordeined of the Scots. He was abbat of the monasterie of Ingethlingum, being builded in that place where king Oswin was slaine (as before is mentioned.) Fornæne Eafled that was his kinswoman got of hir husband king Oswie a place there for the foresaid Trumhere to build that abbeie vpon.

The victorious proceeding of king Oswie.

King Oswie hauing slaine king Penda, gouerned the people of Mercia, and also other of the south prouinces, & subdued a great part of the Pictish nation to the English dominion. About the same time king Oswie gaue vnto Peada the son of king Penda (because he was his kinsman) the countrie of the Southmercies, conteining 5000 houlholds, and separated from the Northmercies by the riuer Trent. The countrie of the Northmercies conteined in those daies 7000 houlholds. But Peada in the next spring was wickedlie murthered through the treason of his wicked wife (as was said) in the feast of Easter.

Southmercia.

Northmercia.

659

Matt. West.

The dukes of Mercia rebell against Oswie, recouer their owne bounds, and create Wulfhere their king; Cenwald king of the *Westsaxons fighteth with the Britaines and preuaileth*, he is vanquished by Wulfhere; Adelwold *king of Sussex hath the Ile of Wight giuen him, and whys succession* of Edelher, Edelwald, and Aldulfe in the kingdome of Eastangles; Colman a Scot first made bishop of Northumberland, controuersie about the obseruation of Easter, about bald crownes or shauing the haire, superstition punished by God, Ceadda bishop of Yorke, his course of life and diligence in his office commended; Egbert king of Kent, the see of Canturburie void, the preferment thereto refused, Theodore a moonke supplieth the roome at the popes appointment, all the English clergie obey him as their head, his visitation and reformation, singing vsed in churches, Theodore and Adrian woorthilie praised, English men happie, glasiers first brought into this Iland.

The xxxiij. Chapter.

After three yeeres were complet, next ensuing the death of king Penda, the dukes of the countrie of Mercia, Immin, Eaba, and Eadbert rebelled against king Oswie, aduancing one Wulfhere a yong gentleman

Beda. lib. 3. cap. 24.

man the ſonne of Peda, and brother to Peada, whom they had kept in ſecret to be their king, and expelling the lieutenants of king Oſwie, they recouered both their owne confines and libertie withall, and ſo liuing in freedome with their owne naturall king the foreſaid Vulfhere, they alſo continued with glad hearts in ſeruice of the celeſtiall king our God and Sauior.

Vulfhere.

Beda.lib.3. cap. 24.

THis Vulfhere gouerned the Mercies ſeuentéene yeares, the which Mercies (during the reigne of the ſaid Vulfhere) had foure biſhops ſucceſſiuelie gouerning the church of that prouince one after another, as the aboue mentioned Trumhere, Jaroman, Ceadda, and Winfrid, as hereafter ſhall more at large appeare.

Henr. Hunt. Matt. Weſt.

About the beginning of king Vulfhers reigne, that is to ſay, in the ſeuentéenth yeare of the reigne of Chenwald king of the Weſtſaxons, the ſame Chenwald fought with the Britains at Pennum, where the Britains being aſſembled in great number, prouidlie incountred with the Engliſhmen, and at the firſt put them to the worſt, but when the Engliſhmen would in no wiſe giue ouer, but did ſticke to their tackle, at length the Britains were put to flight, ſo that the poſteritie of Brute receiued that day an incurable wound. But within three yeares after, that is, in the nineteenth yeare of the reigne of the ſaid Chenwald, he had not the like lucke in battell againſt the foreſaid Vulfhere king of Mercia, as he had before againſt the Britains, for the ſaid Vulfhere vanquiſhing him in the field, paſſed through his countrie with a great armie vnto the Ile of Wight, which he conquered, and deliuered it vnto Adelwold king of Suſſex, as a gift at that time, when he receiued him at the fontſtone after he had conuerted him to the faith. He gaue vnto Adelwold that Ile, to the end he ſhould cauſe the people there to receiue the faith and religon of Chriſt. Now after that Edelhere king of Eaſtangles was ſlaine, as before is mentioned, his brother Edelwald ſucceeded him in that kingdome, reigning as king thereof by the ſpace of nine yeares. Then after Edelwald ſucceeded Aldulfe the ſon of Edelhere in gouernment of that kingdome, and reigned 25 yeares.

Th Britains put to flight by Chenwald.

Chenwald vanquiſhed by Vulfhere.

Adelwold of Suſſex.

Beda.lib.3. cap.24.

After Finan biſhop of the Northumbers that held his ſee at Lindesferne, as Aidan did before him, one Colman was ordeined biſhop, a Scot borne, and an earneſt obſeruer of the cuſtomes vſed amongeſt them of his nation, ſo that when the controuerſie began to be reuiued for the holding of the feaſt of Eaſter, he would by no meanes yeeld to them that would haue perſwaded him to haue followed the rite of the Romane church. There was a great diſputation kept about this matter, and other things, as ſhauing or cutting of heares, and ſuch like in the monaſterie of Whitbie, at the which king Oſwie and his ſonne Alefrid were preſent, where Colman for his part alledged the cuſtome of John the euangeliſt, and of Anatholius; and the contrarie ſide brought in proofe of their opinion, the cuſtome of Peter and Paule. At length, when biſhop Colman perceiued that his doctrine was not ſo much regarded, as he thought of reaſon it ought to haue beene, he returned into Scotland with thoſe, which taking part with him, refuſed to obſerue the feaſt of Eaſter according to the cuſtome of the church of Rome, nor would haue their crownes ſhauen, about which point no ſmall reaſoning had beene kept. This diſputation was holden in the yeare of our Lord 664, and in the yeare of the reigne of king Oſwie 22, and 30 yeare after the Scotiſhmen began firſt to beare the office of biſhops within Northumberland, which was (as W. Harriſon ſaith) 624. For Aidan gouerned 17 yeares, Finan 10 yeares, & Colman 3 yeares. After that Colman was returned into his countrie, one Tuda that had beene brought vp amongeſt the Southerne Scots, and ordeined biſhop by them, ſucceeded in his roome, hauing his crowne ſhauen, and obſeruing the feaſt of Eaſter according to the cuſtome of the prouince and rite of the Romane church. The ſame yeare, there chanced a great eclipſe of the ſunne, the third of Maie about 10 of the clocke in the day. A great dearth and mortalitie inſued, both in all the parties of this our Britaine, and likewiſe in Ireland. Amongeſt other, the foreſaid biſhop Tuda died, and was buried in the abbeie of Pegnalech. After this Tuda, ſucceeded in gouernement of the church of Lindesferne, otherwiſe called Holie Iland, one Wilfrid, which was ſent by king Alefrid into France, to be ordeined there.

Tuda ordeined biſhop.

Cap. 27. Ineclipſe. Punniſhment of God for yelding to ſuperſtition.

Wilfrid biſhop.

About the ſame time king Oſwie, the father of king Alefrid, moued with the good example of his ſonne, ſent Ceadda, the brother of Ced ſometime biſhop of the Eaſtſaxons into Kent, to be ordeined biſhop of Yorke, but at his comming into Kent he found that Deus dedit the archbiſhop of Canturburie was dead, and none other as yet ordeined in his place, ſo that Ceadda repaired into the prouince of the Weſtſaxons, where he was ordeined by biſhop Wini, who toke two other biſhops of the Britiſh nation vnto him to be his aſſociats, which vſed to obſerue the feaſt of Eaſter contrarie to the cuſtome of the Romane church. But there was no other ſhift, ſith none other biſhop was then canonicallie ordeined in the prouince of the Weſtſaxons in thoſe dates, this Wini onlie excepted, and therefore was he conſtreined to take ſuch as he might get and prouide.

Cap. 28.

Ceadda ordeined archbiſhop of Yorke.

After that Ceadda was thus ordeined, he began forthwith to follow the true rules of the church, liued right chaſtlie, ſhewed himſelfe humble and continent, applied his ſtudie to reading, and trauelled abroad on foot and not on horſſebacke through the countries, townes, and villages, to preach the word of God. He was the diſciple of Aidan, and couered by his example, and alſo by the example of Ced, to inſtruct his hearers with the like doings & maners as he had knowen them to do. Wilfrid alſo being conſecrated biſhop, and returned into England, indeuored to plant the orders of the Romane church in the churches of England, whereby it came to paſſe, that the Scots which inhabited amongſt the Engliſhmen, were conſtreined either to follow the ſame, or elſe to returne into their owne countrie.

Controuerſie about ſhauing of crownes.

Cap. 6.

664

IN this meane time, king Ercombert being departed this life, after he had gouerned the Kentiſhmen by the ſpace of twentie yeares, his ſonne Egbert ſucceeded him in the kingdome, and reigned nine yeares. There is little remembrance of his doings, which in that ſhort time were not much notable, except ye will aſcribe the comming into this land of the archbiſhop Theodorus, and the abbat Adrian vnto his glorie, which chanced in his time. For in the yeare of the great eclipſe and ſore mortalitie that inſued, it chanced that both king Ercombert, & the archbiſhop Deus dedit departed this life, ſo that the ſee of Canturburie was void a certeine time, in ſo much that king Egbert, who ſucceeded his father Ercombert, togither with king Oſwie, did ſend one Wighart a prieſt of good reputation for his excellent knowledge in the ſcriptures, vnto Rome, with great gifts and rich veſſels of gold and ſiluer, to be preſented vnto the pope, requiring him that he would ordeine the foreſaid Wighart archbiſhop of Canturburie, to haue rule of the Engliſh church. But this Wighart comming vnto Rome,

Egbert king of Kent.

Beda. lib.3. cap.9. Wighart.

and

and declaring his message vnto Vitalianus then gouerning the church of Rome, immediatlie after he died of the pestilence (that then reigned in that citie) with all those that came with him.

Beda. lib. 4. cap. 1.

The pope then taking aduice whome he might ordeine vnto the see of Canturburie, being thus destitute of an archbishop, appointed a monke named Adrian to take that office vpon him, but Adrian excused himselfe as not sufficient for such a rome, and required the pope to appoint one Andrew a monke also, wherevnto the pope consented. But when Andrew was preuented by death, ere[illegible] Adrian should haue bene made archbishop, but that he named one Theodore an other monke that abode as then in Rome, but was borne in the citie of Tharsus in Cilicia, verie well learned both in the Greeke and Latine, and being of reuerend yeares, as of 76. This Theodore by the presentment of Adrian, was appointed to be ordeined archbishop of Canturburie, with condition, that Adrian should neuertheles attend vpon him into England, both for that he had bene twise before this time in France, and so knew the coasts; and againe, for that he might assist him in all things, and loke well to the matter, that Theodore should not bring into the church of England anie rite or custome of the Greekes, contrarie to the vse of the Romane church. Theodore being first ordeined subdeacon, tarried foure moneths till his heare was growen, that he might haue his crowne shaven after the maner of Peter. For he was rounded or shaven after the maner of the East church, which was as they persuaded themselues, according to the vse of saint Paule the apostle. And so at length was this Theodore ordeined archbishop of Canturburie by pope Vitalianus in the yeare of our Lord 668, the first kalends of June, and with Adrian sent into Britaine.

Adrian.

Theodore ordeined archbishop of Canturburie.

668

These with their retinue came to France, and being come thither, shortlie after king Egbert had knowledge thereof: whervpon with all conuenient speed he sent ouer one of his nobles named Redfrid to bring the archbishop into England, and so he did: but Adrian was staied for a time, because he was suspected to haue had some commission from the emperour to haue practised with the Englishmen, for the disquieting of the realme of France. Howbeit, after it was perceiued that this suspicion was grounded on no truth, he was also suffered to follow the archbishop, and so comming vnto Canturburie, he was made abbat of the monasterie of saint Augustines. The archbishop Theodore came thus vnto his church of Canturburie in the second yeare after his consecration, about the second kalends of June, being sundaie. He gouerned the same church also 21 yeares and 16 daies, and was the first archbishop to whome all the churches of England did acknowledge their obeisance.

Being accompanied with the foresaid Adrian, he visited all the parts of this land, ordeined bishops and ministers in churches where he thought conuenient, and reformed the same churches as seemed to him needfull, as well in other things which he misliked, as also in causing them to obserue the feast of Easter, according to the rite and vsage of the church of Rome. Ceadda that was bishop of Yorke, because he was not lawfullie ordeined, as he himselfe confessed, was remoued from the see of Yorke, and Wilfrid was therevnto restored, so that Ceadda (though he were not disgraded of his degree of bishop) liued yet a priuat kind of life, till he was admitted bishop of Mercia, as after shall be shewed. Also whereas before time there was in maner no singing in the English churches, except it were in Kent, now they began in euerie church to vse singing of diuine seruice after the rite of the church of Rome. The archbishop Theodore finding the church of Rochester void by the death of the last bishop named Damian, ordeined one Putta a simple man in worldlie matters, but well instructed in ecclesiasticall discipline, and namelie well sene in song and musicke to be vsed in the church after the maner as he had learned of pope Gregories disciples.

Ran. Cest. Matth. West.

Beda.

Singing in churches brought in vse.

Putta bishop of Rochester.

To be breefe, the archbishop Theodore, and the abbat Adrian deserued great commendation in this, that whereas they were notablie well learned themselues in the Greeke and the Latine tongs, and also had good knowledge as well in the liberall arts, as in the scripture, they toke great paines to traine vp scholers in knowledge of the same, so that the Englishmen had not sene more happie times than in those daies, hauing as then kings of great puissance, so as strangers stood in feare of them; and againe, those that coueted learning, had instructors at hand to teach them, by reason whereof diuers being giuen to studie, proued excellent both in knowledge of the Greeke and Latine. There came in companie of the said archbishop from Rome, an English man named Benedict Biscop, which had taken vpon him the habit of a monke in Italie, and now returning into his countrie, builded two abbeis, the one named Wiremouth, because it was placed at the mouth of the riuer of Wire, and the other Girwie, distant from Wiremouth about fiue miles, and from the towne of Newcastle foure miles, situated neere to the mouth of Tine. Wiremouth was built in the yeare 670, and Girwie in the yeare 673. There were a 600 monks found in those two houses, and gouerned vnder one abbat. The said Benedict was the first that brought glasiers, painters, and other such curious craftsmen into England. He went fiue times to Rome, and came againe.

The worthie praise of Theodore and Adrian.

Englishmen happie and why.

Beda. Benedict or Benet surnamed Biscop.

670

Glasiers first brought into England. Ran. Cest.

Sighere and Sebbie associats reigne ouer the Eastsaxons, the one falleth from, the other cleaueth to the faith, Vulfhere king of Mercia sendeth bishop Iaroman to redresse that apostasie of the prince and the people, Ceadd bishop of Mercia, the king of that countrie hath him in hie reputation, Egfrid king of Northumberland, a synod of bishops holden at Herford, articles propounded out of the canons by Theodore archbishop of Canturburie, Bisi vnable to discharge his episcopall office, a remedie therefore; Kenwalke of a very euill prince becometh a verie good ruler, his wife gouerneth the kingdome after his death, Escuius succeedeth hir in the roome, of Thunnir a murtherer king Egberts principall vicegerent, bishop Winfrid deposed for disobedience, Sebbie king of the Eastsaxons a professed monke, his death.

The xxxiiij. Chapter.

ABout the same time, after that Suidhelme king of the Eastsaxons was dead, Sighere the son of Sigbert the little, and Sebbie the son of Suward succeeded him in gouernement of that kingdome, albeit they were subiect vnto Vulfhere the king of Mercia. Sighere in that time, when the great mortalitie reigned, renounced the faith of Christ, with that part of the people which he had in gouernement, for both the same Sighere and others of his chiefest lords, and also part of his commons louing this life, and not regarding the life to come, began to repaire their idolish churches, and fell to the worshipping of idols, as though thereby they should haue bene defended from

Beda. lib. 3. cap. 30.

from that mortalitie. But his aſſociat Sebbie with great deuotion continued ſtedfaſt in the faith which he had receiued.

King Wulfhere being informed of Seghers apoſtaſie, and how the people in his part of the prouince of Eaſtſaxons were departed from the faith, ſent thither biſhop Jaruman or Jaroman, that was ſucceſſour vnto Trumhere, which vſed ſuch diligence and godlie meanes, that he reduced the ſaid king and all his people vnto the right beliefe, ſo as the idoliſh ſynagogs were deſtroied, and the idols alſo with their altars quite beaten downe, the chriſtian churches againe ſet open, and the name of Chriſt eſtſoones called vpon amongeſt the people, coueting now rather to die in him with hope of reſurrection in the world to come, than to liue in the ſeruice of idols, ſpotted with the filth of errors and falſe beléefe. And thus when biſhop Jaroman had accompliſhed the thing for the which he was ſent, he returned into Mercia.

Biſhop Jaruman or Jaroman.

After this, when the ſaid Jaroman was departed this life, king Wulfhere ſent vnto the archbiſhop Theodorus, requiring him to prouide the prouince of the Mercies of a new biſhop. Theodorus not minding to ordeine anie new biſhop at that time, required Oſwie king of Northumberland, that biſhop Cead might come into Mercia to exerciſe the office of biſhop there. This Cead liued as it were a priuat life at that time in his monaſterie of Leſtingham, for Wilfrid held the biſhoprike of Yorke, extending his authoritie ouer all Northumberland & amongeſt the Picts alſo, ſo farre as king Oſwies dominion ſtretched. Therefore Cead hauing licence to go into Mercia, was gladlie receiued of king Wulfhere, and well enterteined, in ſo much that the ſaid king gaue vnto him lands and poſſeſſions conteining 50 families or houſholds to build a monaſterie in a certeine place within the countrie of Lindſey called Etbearne. But the ſée of his biſhoprike was aſſigned to him at Lichfield in Staffordſhire, where he made him a houſe néere to the church, in the which he with 7 or 8 other of his brethren in religion vſed in an oratorie there to praie and reade, ſo often as they had leaſure from labour and buſineſſe of the world. Finallie, after he had gouerned the church of Mercia by the ſpace of two yeares and an halfe, he departed this life, hauing 7 daies warning giuen him (as it is reported) from aboue, before he ſhould die, after a miraculous maner, which becauſe in the iudgement of the moſt it may ſéeme méere fabulous, we will omit and paſſe ouer. His bodie was firſt buried in the church of our ladie, but after that the church of ſaint Peter the apoſtle was builded, his bones were tranſlated into the ſame.

671

Matth. Weſt.

In the yeare of our Lord 671 which was the ſecond yeare after that Theodorus the archbiſhop came into this land, Oſwie king of Northumberland was attached with a grieuous ſickneſſe, and died thereof the 15 kalends of March, in the 58 yeare of his age, after he had reigned 28 yeares complet.

858

Egfrid.
Beda lib. 4. cap. 5.
Matth. Weſt.

After Oſwie, his ſonne Egfrid ſucceeded in rule of the kingdome of Northumberland, in the third yeare of whoſe reigne, that is to ſay, in the yeare of our Lord 673, Theodorus the archbiſhop of Canturburie kept a ſynod at Herford, the firſt ſeſſion whereof began the 24 of September, all the biſhops of this land being preſent either in perſon or by their deputies, as Wilfrid biſhop of Eſtangle, Wilfrid of Northumberland by his deputie Putta biſhop of Rochéſter, Eleutherius biſhop of Weſtſaxon, and Wilfrid biſhop of Mercia. In the preſence of theſe prelats, the archbiſhop ſhewed a booke, wherein he had noted ten chapters or articles taken out of the booke of the canons, requiring that the ſame might be receiued.

673

A ſynod holden at Herford.

Articles propouned by Theodore.

1 The firſt chapter was, that the feaſt of Eaſter ſhould be kept, on the ſundaie following the fourteenth day of the firſt moneth.

2 The ſecond, that no biſhop ſhould intermedle in an others dioceſſe, but be contented with the cure of his flocke committed to him.

3 The third, that no biſhop ſhould diſquiet in anie thing anie monaſterie conſecrated to God, nor take by violence anie goods that belonged vnto the ſame.

4 The fourth, that biſhops being monks ſhould not go from monaſterie to monaſterie, except by ſufferance and permiſſion of their abbats, & ſhould continue in the ſame obedience wherein they ſtood before.

5 The fift, that none of the cleargie ſhould depart from his biſhop to run into anie other dioceſſe, nor comming from anie other place ſhould be admitted, except he brought letters of teſtimonie with him. But if anie ſuch chanced to be receiued, if he refuſed to returne, being ſent for home, both he and his receiuer ſhould be excommunicated.

6 The ſixt, that biſhops and other of the cleargie being ſtrangers ſhould hold them content with the benefit of hoſpitalitie, & ſhould not take in hand anie prieſtlie office, without licence of the biſhop, in whoſe dioceſſe he chanced ſo to be remaining.

7 The ſeuenth, that twice in the yeare a ſynod ſhould be kept, but becauſe of diuers impediments herein, it was thought good to them all, that in the kalends of Auguſt a ſynod ſhould be kept once in the yeare, at a certeine place called Clofeſhough.

8 The eighth chapter was, that no one biſhop ſhould by ambition ſéeke to be preferred aboue another, but that euerie one ſhould know the time and order of his conſecration.

9 The ninth, that as the number of the chriſtians increaſed, ſo ſhould there be more biſhops ordeined.

10 The tenth was touching mariages, that none ſhould contract matrimonie with anie perſon, but with ſuch as it ſhould be lawfull for him by the orders of the church: none ſhould match with their kinſfolke, no man ſhould forſake his wife, except (as the goſpell teacheth) for cauſe of fornication. But if anie man did put awaie his wife which he had lawfullie married, if he would be accounted a true chriſtian, he might not be coupled with an other, but ſo remaine, or elſe be reconciled to his owne wife.

These articles, being intreated of and concluded, were confirmed with the ſubſcribing of all their hands, ſo as all thoſe that did go againſt the ſame, ſhould be diſgraded of their prieſthood, and ſeparated from the companie of them all.

The forſaid Wilfrid that was biſhop of the Eaſtangles, and preſent at this ſynod, was ſucceſſor vnto Boniface, which Boniface held that ſée 17 yéeres, and then departing this life, Wilfrid was made biſhop of that prouince, and ordeined by the archbiſhop Theodore. This Wilfrid at length was ſo viſited with ſickneſſe, that he was not able to exerciſe the miniſtration, ſo that two biſhops were then there elected and conſecrated for him, the one named Aecci, and the other Baldwin.

Wilfrid biſhop of the Eaſtangles.

In this meane while, that is, about the yéere of our Lord 872, or in the beginning of 873, as Hariſon noteth, Kenwalch king of the Weſtſaxons departed this life, after he had reigned 30 yéeres. This Kenwalch was ſuch a prince, as in the beginning he was to be compared with the worſt kind of rulers, but in the middeſt and later end of his reigne, to be matched with the beſt. His godlie zeale borne towards the aduancing of the chriſtian religion well apéered in the building of the church at Wincheſter, where

872

Matt. Weſt. de reg. lib. 1.

the bishops sée of all that prouince was then placed. His wife Segburga ruled the kingdome of Westsarons after him, a woman of stoutnesse inough to haue atchiued acts of worthie remembrance, but being preuented by death yer she had reigned one whole yéere, she could not shew anie full proofe of hir noble courage. I remember that Matth. West. maketh other report hereof, declaring that the nobilitie removed hir from the gouernment. But I rather follow William Malmesburie in this matter.

Escuinus. Will. Malmes.

TO proceed, after Segburga was departed this life, or deposed (if you will néeds haue it so) Escuinus or Elcuinus, whose grandfather called Cuthgislo, the brother of B. Kinigils, succéeding in gouernment of the Westsarons, reigned about the space of two yéeres: and after his deceasse, one Centiuinus or Centwine toke vpon him the rule, and continued therein the space of nine yeeres. But Beda saith that these two ruled at one time, and diuided the kingdom betwixt them. Elcuinus fought against Wulfhere king of Mercia, a great number of men being slaine on both parties, though Wulfhere yet had after a maner the vpper hand, as some haue written.

Hen. Hunt.

Beda *lib. & ca. supr. dict.*

In the same yéere that the synod was holden at Herford, that is to say, in the yéere of our Lord 673, Egbert the king of Kent departed this life in Iulie, and left the kingdome to his brother Lothaire, which held the same eleuen yéeres, & seuen moneths. Some haue written that king Egbert by the suggestion of one Thunnir, who had the chiefe rule of the kingdome vnder him, suffered the same Thunnir in lamentable maner to kill the two innocent sonnes of Ermenredus the brother of king Ercombert, that was father vnto king Egbert, for doubt least they being towardlie yong gentlemen, might in time grow so into fauour with the people, that it should be easie for them to depriue both Egbert, and his issue of the kingdome. Also, that they were priuilie put to death, and secretlie buried at the first, but the place of their buriall immediatlie being shewed after a miraculous maner, their bodies long after in the daies of king Egilred the sonne of king Edgar, were taken vp, & conueied vnto Ramsey, and there buried. And although Egbert being giltie of the death of those his cosens, did sore repent him, for that he vnderstood they died giltlesse, yet his brother Lothaire was thought to be punished for that offense, as after shall be shewed.

Io. Lothaire.

Wil. Malm. Bedade reg. lib. 1. Thunnir. A vile murther.

Wilhop Winfrid deposed. Serbulfe ordeined bishop of the Mercies. 685, as Matth. VVestm. saith. Bishop Erkenwald.

Winfrid bishop of the Mercies, for his disobedience in some point, was depriued by archbishop Theodore, and one Serbulfe that was the builder and also the abbat of the monasterie of Weldhamsted, otherwise called Peterborough, was ordeined and consecrated in his place. About the same time, Erkenwald was ordeined bishop of the Eastsarons, and apointed to hold his sée in the citie of London. This Erkenwald was reputed to be a man of great holinesse and vertue. Before he was made bishop, he builded two abbeies, the one of monks at Chertsey in Southerie, where he himselfe was abbat, and the other of nuns at Berking, within the prouince of the Eastsarons, where he placed his sister Ethelburga, a woman also highlie estéemed for hir deuout kind of life. She was first brought vp and instructed in the rules of hir profession by one Hildelitha a nun of the parties beyond the seas, whome Erkenwald procured to come ouer for that purpose.

Ethelburga. Iohn Capgraue.

Waldhere. Sebbie king of Eastsarons Beda. lib. 4. cap. 16.

After Erkenwald, one Waldhere was made bishop of London, in whose daies Sebbie king of the Eastsarons, after he had reigned thirtie yéeres, being now vexed with a grieuous sickenesse, professed himselfe a monke: which thing he would haue done long before, if his wife had not kept him backe. He died shortlie after within the citie of London, and was buried in the church of saint Paule. King Sighere, which in the beginning reigned with him, and gouerned a part of the Eastsarons, was departed this life before, so that in his latter time, the foresaid Sebbie had the gouernment of the whole prouince of the Eastsarons, and left the same to his sonnes Sighard and Sewfred. About the yéere of our Lord 675, Wulfhere king of Mercia departed this life, after he had reigned (as some say) 19 yéeres, but (as other affirme) he reigned but 17 yéeres. Howbeit they which reckon 19, include the time that passed after the slaughter of Penda, wherein Oswie and Peada held the aforesaid kingdome.

Wil. Malm.

675 Will. Malmes. But other affirme that he reigned 17 yéeres. Beda. Peada or rather Weada.

Edilred king of Mercia inuadeth the *kingdome of Kent, and maketh great waste* without resistance of Lothaire the king thereof, *Putta of a bishop becommeth a poore curat and* teacheth musicke, Wilfred deposed from his bishoprike *by king Egfrid vpon displeasure, he preacheth the gospell* in Sussex by the licence of king Edilwalke no raine in Sussex for the space of three yeeres, the woord and sacraments bring blessings with them; bishop Wilfrid the first teacher to catch fish with nets, the people haue him in great reuerence, a great and bloudie battell betweene Egfrid & king Edilred, they are reconciled by the meanes of archbishop Theodore; a synod holden at Hatfield, the clergie subscribe to certeine articles, of Hilda the famous abbesse of Whitbie.

The xxxv. Chapter.

Edilred.

AFter Wulfhere, his brother Edilred or Ethelred succéeded in gouernment of the kingdome of Mercia. This Edilred inuaded the kingdome of Kent with a mightie armie, in the yéere of our Lord 677, destroieng the countrie afore him, not sparing churches nor abbeies, but spoiling the same without respect, as well as other common places. King Lothaire durst not appéere in the field to giue him battell, so that Edilred went thorough the countrie, destroied the citie of Rochester, and with great riches gotten by the spoile he returned home. Putta the bishop of Rochester, after that his church was spoiled and defaced by the enimies, went to Serbulfe bishop of Mercia, and there obteining of him a small cure, and a portion of ground, remained in that countrie, not once labouring to restore his church of Rochester to the former state, but went about in Mercia to teach song, and instruct such as would learne musicke, whersoeuer he was required, or could get intertainment.

677

Hen. Hunt.

Hereupon the archbishop Theodore consecrated one William bishop of Rochester in place of Putta, and after, when the said William constreined by pouertie, left that church, Theodore placed one Gebmound in his stéed. In the yéere of our Lord 678, in the moneth of August, a blasing starre appéered, with a long bright beame like to a piller. It was séene euerie morning for the space of three moneths together. The same Egfrid king of Northumberland, banished bishop Wilfrid vpon displeasure taken with him, out of his sée, and then were two bishops ordeined in his place, to gouerne the church of the Northumbers, the one named Bosa at Yorke, and the other called Eata at Hagustald or Lindesserne. Also one Eadhidus was ordeined about the same time bishop of Lindsey, the which prouince king Egfrid had of late conquered and taken from Wulfhere the late king of Mercia, whome he ouercame in battell, and droue him out of that countrie. The said three bishops

678 A blasing starre

Matth. West. Beda lib. 4. ca. 12. Bishop Wilfrid banished. Hagustald. Hexham. Eadhidus. Lindesserne Holie Iland.

biſhops were conſecrated at Yorke by the archbiſhop of Canturburie Theodorus, the which within three yeres after ordeined two biſhops more in that prouince of the Northumbers, that is to ſay, Tunibert at Hagulſtald, Eata that was appointed to remaine at Lindesferne, & Trumuine was ordeined to haue the cure of the prouince of thoſe Picts which as then were vnder the Engliſh dominion. Alſo becauſe Edilred king of Mercia recouered the countrie of Lindſey, and ioined it to his dominion, biſhop Eadhedus comming from thence, was appointed to gouerne the church of Ripon.

The church of Ripon.

After that biſhop Wilfrid was expelled out of his dioceſſe and prouince of the Northumbers, he went to Rome, and returning from thence, came into the kingdome of the Southſaxons, the which conteining ſeuen thouſand houſholds or families, as yet was not conuerted to the chriſtian faith. Wherefore the ſaid Wilfrid began there to preach the goſpell with licence of king Edilwalke, who (as before is mentioned) was conuerted and baptiſed in Mercia by the procurement of king Wolfher, that then became his godfather, and gaue him at the ſame time the Ile of Wight, and the prouince of the people anciently called Meanuari, which he had won from the Weſtſaxons. Biſhop Wilfrid then by king Edilwalke his furtherance and helpe baptiſed the chiefeſt lords and gentlemen of that prouince. But certein prieſts baptiſed the reſidue of the people, either then or in the time following.

Wilfrid by licence of king Edilwalke preacheth the goſpel to them of Suſſex.

¶ It chanced that for the ſpace of three yeres (as it is ſaid) before the comming thither of biſhop Wilfrid, there had fallen no raine from the aire within that prouince of the Southſaxons, ſo that the people were brought into great miſerie by reſon of famine, which through want of neceſſarie fruits of the earth ſore afflicted the whole countrie, inſomuch that no ſmall numbers threw themſelues headlong into the ſea, deſpairing of life in ſuch lacke of neceſſarie victels. But as God would, the ſame day that Wilfrid began to miniſter the ſacrament of baptiſme, there came downe ſweet and plentifull ſhowers of raine, ſo watering the earth, that thereby great ſtore of all fruits plentifullie toke rot, and yelded full increaſe in growth, to the great comfort and reliefe of all the people, which before were in maner ſtarued and loſt through want of food.

Lacke of raine.

Biſhop Wilfrid alſo taught them in that countrie the maner how to catch fiſh with nets, where before that time, they had no great ſkill in anie kind of fiſhing, except it were in catching eles. Hereby the ſaid biſhop grew there in great eſtimation with the people, ſo that his words were the better credited amongſt them, for that through him they receiued ſo great benefits, God by ſuch meanes working in the peoples hearts a deſire to come to the vnderſtanding of his lawes. The king alſo gaue vnto Wilfrid a place called Sealeſew, compaſſed about on each ſide (except on the weſt halfe) with the ſea, conteining 87 houſholds or families, where he built an abbeie, and baptiſed all his tenants there, amounting to the number of 250 bondmen and bondwomen, whome he made free both in bodie and ſoule: for he did not onelie baptiſe them, but alſo infranchiſed them of all bodilie ſeruitude and bondage.

Catching of fiſh with nets.

Bondmen made fruitie free.

In this meane while manie things happened in other parts of this land, and firſt in the yere after the appearing of the blaſing ſtarre before mentioned, a mightie battell was fought betwixt the ſaid Egfrid and Edilred king of Mercia, neere to the riuer of Trent, where Alfwine the brother of king Egfrid was ſlaine, with manie other of the Northumbers, ſo that king Egfrid was conſtreined to returne home with loſſe. The archbiſhop of Canturburie Theodorus perceiuing that great warre and effuſion of blood was like to follow thereupon, trauelled ſo in the matter betwixt them, that they were made friends, and Egfrid had a peece of monie in recompenſe of his loſſes. The foreſaid battell was fought in the yere of our Lord 679, and in the yere following, that is to ſay, in the yere of our Lord 680, which was alſo in the tenth yere of the reigne of Egfrid king of Northumberland, the firſt yere of Edelred king of Mercia, the 17 of Aldulfe king of Eaſtangles, and in the 7 of Lother king of Kent.

679
680

The archbiſhop of Canturburie Theodorus held another ſynod at Hatfield, about the 15 kalends of October, in the which all the clergie there preſent ſubſcribed to certeine articles touching the beleefe of the trinitie of perſons, in the vnitie of the Godhead of the like ſubſtance, and alſo of the ſame vnitie in trinitie, according to the true faith of the church of God. Moreouer, they acknowledged by the like ſubſcription, the fiue generall councels, of Nice, of Conſtantinople the firſt, of Epheſus, of Calcedon, and of Conſtantinople the ſecond, with the ſynod alſo holden at Rome in the daies of Martin biſhop of Rome about the yere of the emperour Conſtantine. At this ſynod holden at Hatfield, was preſent one John the archchanter of S. Peters church at Rome, ſent into this land of purpoſe to bring from hence a certificat vnto pope Agatho of the agreement of the Engliſh church in matters of faith, with other churches of the chriſtian world: but the foreſaid archchanter died by the way in France, as he returned homewards, and was buried at Towers in Towraine.

A ſynod at Hatfield.

Articles ſubſcribed.

The ſame yere that famous woman Hilda abbeſſe of Whitbie departed this life, or (as other ſay) fiue yeres after, hauing firſt bene deteined long with greeuous ſickeneſſe. She was the daughter of one Herericus the nephue of king Edwin, and conuerted to the faith of Chriſt at the preaching of biſhop Pauline, and afterwards inſtructed by biſhop Aidan, ſhe profeſſed hirſelfe a nun, applieng hir whole ſtudie to the reading of the ſcriptures, to prair, & other godlie exerciſes. She builded the abbeie of Whitbie, wherein were placed both men and women, with ſuch an equalitie in all things, that there was no rich perſon amongſt them, nor anie that wanted things neceſſarie. She departed this life on the 15 kalends of December, being 66 yeres of age. As ſome haue written ſhe argued ſtoutlie on biſhop Colmans part, at the diſputation holden in the monaſterie of Whitbie, in the yere of Grace 664, whereof ye haue heard before. About the yere of our Lord 682, that is to ſay, in the ſeuenth yere of Centwine or Centuinus king of Weſtſaxons, the ſame Centwine fought with the Britains, and ouercame them in battell, purſuing them with fire and ſword vnto the ſea ſide.

Bale. Ran. Ceſt. Matth. Weſt. Beda.

Henrie Hunt.

The Britains diſcomfited.

¶ Thus (at this time as alſo at diuerſe other times) they were diſcomfited and put to flight, being a people allotted and ſhared out as it were to ſuffer manie an ouerthrow, and abide manie a ſharpe and ſhamefull repulſe at the hands of their enimies, who conuerted the diſtreſſe of that people to their profit, and toke pleaſure in the extreamitie of the miſeries wherein they were plunged, as may be obſerued by the pitifull alteration of their ſtate vnder diuerſe gouernors, and ſpeciallie vnder the Daniſh dominion, who kept them in no leſſe vile ſeruitude than Pharao did the Hebrues at the making of bricke & chopping of ſtraw. So that ſome thinke this land to be corruptlie named Britania, but ought rather to be called Bridania, that is, *Libera Dania, ſiue regio in qua Dani liberè viuant*, for they liued as lords in the land, & did (for the time being) what they liſted. But of this matter more ſhall be ſpoken hereafter in place conuenient.

Bale. The abbeſſe Hilda. Beda.

Gorop. in Gotodanica lib. 7. pag. 759.

Cadwallader king of Britaine, the people *are brought into great miserie, and he* forced to flee the land, he dieth at Rome, the *British writers noted of error, Ceadwalla king of* the Westsaxons, the kingdome is diuided; the valorous *mind of Ceadwalla, he is forced to forsake his countrie, he* vanquisheth and killeth Edilwalke king of the Westsaxons, his returne into his kingdome with reuenge vpon Berthun duke of Sussex and other his heauie friends, his vow if he might conquer the Ile of Wight, his bountifull offer to bishop Wilfrid, the Ile of Wight receiueth the faith; Ceadwalla inuadeth Kent, of a barbarous warriour he becommeth a religious christian, his vertues, his death and buriall at Rome; Egfrid king of Northumberland inuadeth Ireland, he is slaine by Brudeus king of the Picts; the neglect of good counsell is dangerous; Etheldreda a wife and a widow (hauing vowed chastitie) liued a virgine 12 yeeres with hir husband Egfride, she was called saint Auderie of Elie.

The xxxvj. Chapter.

Cadwallader.

BVt now to returne vnto that which is found in the British histories, by the tenor wherof it should appeare, that when their king Cadwallo was dead, his son Cadwallader succéded him in gouernement of the Britains, in the yéere of our Lord 678, which was about the 10 yéere of the emperour Constantius Paganotus, and in the 13 yéere of the reigne of Childericus king of France. This Cadwallader, being the sonne of Cadwallo, was begot by him of the halfe sister of Penda king of Mercia, for one father begot them both, but of two sundrie mothers, for she had to mother a ladie descended of the noble blood of the Westsaxons, and was maried vnto Cadwallo when the peace was made betwixt him and hir brother the said Penda. After that Cadwallader had reigned the space of 12 yéers (as Geffrey of Monmouth saith) or (as others write) but 3 yéeres, the Britains were brought into such miserie through ciuill discord, and also by such great and extreme famine as then reigned through all the land, that Cadwallader was constreined with the cheefest part of his people to forsake their natiue countrie, and by sea to get them ouer into Britaine Armorike, there to séeke relefe by vittels for the sustentation of their languishing bodies.

678 saith Matth. West.

Galfrid.

Cadwallader constreined to forsake the land.

¶ Long processe is made by the British writers of this departure of Cadwallader, & of the Britains out of this land, and how Cadwallader was about to haue returned againe, but that he was admonished by a dreame to the contrarie, the which bicause it séemeth but fabulous, we passe ouer. At length he went to Rome, and there was confirmed in the christian religion by pope Sergius, where shortlie after he fell sicke, and died the 12 kalends of May, in the yéere of our Lord 689. But herein appeareth the error of the British writers in taking one for another, by reason of resemblance of names, for where Ceadwalla king of the Westsaxons about that time moued of a religious deuotion, after he was conuerted to the faith, went vnto Rome, and was there baptised, or else confirmed of the foresaid pope Sergius, and shortlie after departed this life in that citie in the foresaid yéere of 689 or therabouts. The Welshmen count him to be their Cadwallader: which to be true is verie vnlike by that which may be gathered out of the learned writings of diuers good and approued authors.

689

Ceadwalla.

THis Ceadwalla king of the Westsaxons succéded after Centwine or Centuinus, which Centwine reigned nine yéeres, though it should appeare by that which is written by authors of good credit, that during two of those yéeres at the least, the kingdome of Westsaxons was diuided betwixt him and Elcuinus or Escuinus, so that he should not reigne past seuen yéeres alone.

wil. Malm. Beda.

But now to Ceadwalla, whome some take to be all one with Cadwallader, we find that he was lineallie descended from Cutha or Cutwine, the brother of Ceauline or Keuling king of Westsaxons, as sonne to Kenbert or Kenbright that was sonne to Ceadda the sonne of the foresaid Cutha or Cutwin. Thus being extract of the noble house of the kings of Westsaxons, he proued in his youth a personage of great towardnesse, and such a one as no small hope was of him conceiued: he would let no occasion passe wherein he might exercise his force, to shew proofe of his high valiancie, so that in the end with his worthie attempts shewed therein, he purchased to himselfe the enuie of those that ruled in his countrie, by reason whereof he was banished in a conspiracie made against him. Where vpon he tooke occasion as it were in reuenge of such vnthankefulnesse to withdraw out of his countrie, leading with him all the principall youth of the same, the which either pitieng his present estate, or moued with pleasure taken in his valiant doings, followed him at his going into exile.

Wil. Malm. Ranulf. Cest.

Ceadwalla driuen to depart out of his countrie.

The first brunt of his furious attempts after he was out of his countrie, Edilwalke the king of the Southsaxons tasted, who in defense of himselfe comming to trie battell with Ceadwalla, was slaine with the most part of all his armie. Ceadwalla then perceiuing the valiant courages of his souldiers, filled with good hope of this happie atchiued victorie, returned with good and prosperous spéed into his owne countrie, and that yer he was looked for, and earnestlie pursuing his aduersaries, droue them out of the kingdome, and taking vpon him to rule the same as king, reigned two yéeres, during the which he atchiued diuers notable enterprises.

And first, whereas Berthun and Authun dukes of Sussex & subiects vnto the late king Edilwalke, had both expelled him out of that countrie, after he had slaine the said Edilwalke, and also taken vpon them the rule of that kingdome, hauing now attemed to the gouernement of the Westsaxons, he inuaded the countrie of Sussex againe, and slue Berthun in battell, bringing that countrie into more bondage than before. He also set vpon the Ile of Wight, and well-néere destroied all the inhabitants, meaning to inhabit it with his owne people. Yer bound himselfe also by vow, although as yet he was not baptised, that if he might conquer it, he would giue a fourth part thereof vnto the Lord. And in performance of that vow, he offered vnto bishop Wilfride (who then chanced to be present) when he had taken that Ile, so much therof as conteined 300 households or families, where the whole consisted in 1200 households. Wilfrid receiuing thankefullie the gift, deliuered the same vnto one of his clearks named Bernewine that was his sisters sonne, appointing to him also a priest named Hildila, the which should minister the word and the sacrament of baptisme vnto all those that would receiue the same. Thus was the Ile of Wight brought to the faith of Christ last of all other the parties of this our Britaine, after that the same faith had failed here by the comming of the Saxons.

Beda lib. 4. cap. 15.

Berthun & duke of Sussex slaine.

Ceadwalla his vow.

The Ile of Wight conquered.

The Ile of Wight receiueth the faith.

Moreouer, king Ceadwalla inuaded the kingdome of Kent, where he lost his brother Mollo, as after shall appéere, but yet he reuenged his death with great slaughter made of the inhabitants in that countrie. Finallie, this worthie prince Ceadwalla, turning

turning himselfe from the desire of warre and bloudshed, became right courteous, gentle and liberall towards all men, so that ye could not haue wished more vertuous manners to rest in one as yet not christened. And shortlie after, willing to be admitted into the fellowship of the christians (of whose religion he had taken good tast) he went to Rome, where of pope Sergius he was baptised, and named Peter, and shortlie after surprised with sickenesse, he died, and was buried there within the church of saint Peter in the yeare of our Lord 689.

689
Beda, lib. 4. cap. 26.

In the meane while, that is to say, in the yeare of our Lord 684, Egfride king of Northumberland sent an armie vnder the guiding of a capteine named Bertus into Ireland, the which wasted that countrie, sparing neither church nor monasterie, sore indamaging the people of that countrie, which had euer beene friends vnto the English nation, and deserued nothing lesse than so to be inuaded and spoiled at their hands. The Irish men defended themselues to their power, beseeching God with manie a salt teare, that he would reuenge their cause in punishing of such extreme iniuries. And though cursers may not inherit the kingdome of heauen, yet they ceased not to curse, hoping the sooner that those which with good cause were thus accursed, should worthilie be punished for their offenses by God, & so (peraduenture) it fell out. For in the yeare following, the said Egfride had lead an armie into Pictland against Brudeus king of the Picts, and being trained into straits within hils and craggie mounteins, he was slaine with the most part of all his armie, in the yeare of his age 40, and of his reigne 15, vpon the 13 kalends of June.

Ireland inuaded by the Northumbers.

King Egfride slain by Brudeus king of the Picts.

There were diuers of Egfrides friends, and namelie Cutberd (whome he had aduanced the same yeare vnto the bishops see of Lindesserne) that aduised him in no wise, either to haue taken this warre in hand against the Picts, or the other against them of Ireland, but he would not be counselled, the punishment appointed for his sinnes being such, that he might not giue eare to his faithfull friends that aduised him for the best. From that time forth, the hope and power of the English people began to decaie. For not onelie the Picts recouered that part of their countrie which the Englishmen had held before in their possession, but also the Scots that inhabited within this Ile, and likewise some part of the Britains tooke vpon them libertie, which they kept and mainteined a long time after, as Beda confesseth.

The le Britains were those vndoutedlie y dwelt in the northwest parts of this Ile, and is not ment onlie by them of Wales.

Egfride died without issue, & left no children behind him. He had to wife one Ethelreda or Etheldrida, daughter vnto Anna king of the Eastangles, which liued with hir husband the forsaid Egfride twelue yeares in perfect virginitie (as is supposed) contrarie to the purpose of hir husband, if he might haue persuaded hir to the contrarie, but finallie he was contented that she should keepe hir first vow of chastitie which she had made. She was both widow and virgine when he maried hir, being first coupled in wedlocke with one Eunbert a noble man, and a ruler in the south parts of the countrie, where the people called Giruij inhabited, which is the same where the fennes lie in the confines of Lincolnshire, Norfolke, Huntingtonshire, & Cambridgeshire, howbeit he liued with hir but a small while. After she had obteined licence to depart from the court, she got hir first into Coldingham abbeie, and there was professed a nun. Then she went to Elie, and there restored the monasterie, and was made abbesse of the place, in the which after she had gouerned seuen yeres, she departed this life, and was there buried. This same was she which commonlie is called saint Audrie of Elie, had in great reuerence for the opinion conceiued of hir great vertue and puritie of life.

Ethelreda.

Strug.

Alfride (the bastard) king of Northumberland, his life and death, Iohn archbishop of Canturburie resigneth his see, Lother king of Kent dieth of a wound, Edrike getteth the regiment thereof but not without bloudshed, Ceadwalla wasteth Kent being at strife in it selfe, his brother Mollo burned to death; Withred made king of Kent, he vanquisheth his enimies, Inas king of Westsaxons is made his friend, Suebhard and Nidred vsurpers of the Kentish kingdome, the age and death of Theodore archbishop of Canturburie, Brightwald the first archbishop of the English nation; the end of the British regiment, and how long the greatest part of this Iland was vnder their gouernement.

The xxxvij. Chapter.

Alfride 685.

After that king Egfride was slaine (as before is mentioned) his brother Alfride was made king of Northumberland. This Alfride was the bastard sonne of king Oswie, and in his brothers daies (either willinglie, or by violent means constreined) he liued as a banished man in Ireland, where applieng himselfe to studie, he became an excellent philosopher. And therfore being iudged to be better able to haue the rule of a kingdome, he was receiued by the Northumbers, and made king, gouerning his subiects the space of 20 yeares and more, with great wisedome and policie, but not with such large bounds as his auncestors had done: for the Picts (as before is mentioned) had cut off one peece of the north part of the ancient limits of that kingdome. About the 13 yeare of his reigne, that is to say, in the yeare of our Lord 698, one of his capteins named earle Berthred, or Bertus, was slaine in battell by the Picts, whose confins he had as then inuaded. The curse of the Irish men, whose countrie in the daies of king Egfrid he had cruellie wasted (as before is mentioned) was thought at this time to take place. Finallie king Alfride, after he had reigned 20 yeares & od months, departed this life, in the yeare of our Lord 705.

698
Beda in Epit. Matt. VVest.

705
Beda.

In the beginning of king Alfrids daies, Eata the bishop of Herham being dead, one John a man of great holinesse was admitted bishop, and after that, bishop Wilfrid was restored, when he had remained a long time in exile. The said John was remoued to the church of Yorke, the same being then void by the death of the archbishop Bosa. At length the foresaid John wearied with the cares of publike affaires resigned his see, and got him to Beuerley, where he liued a solitarie life for the space of foure yeares, and then died, about the yeare of our Lord 721, king Osrike as then reigning in Northumberland. He continued bishop for the space of 24 yeares, and builded a church, and founded a colledge of priests at Beuerley aforsaid, in which church he lieth buried.

John archbishop of Yorke.

He resigneth his see.

721

The same yeare, or in the yeare after that king Egfrid was slaine, Lother king of Kent departed this life, the 8 Ides of Februarie, of a wound by him receiued in a battell which he fought against the Southsaxons, the which came in aid of Edrike, that was sonne vnto his brother Egbert, and had mainteined warre against his vncle the said Lother, euen from the beginning of his reigne, till finallie he was now in the said battell striken thorough the bodie with a dart, and so died thereof, after he had reigned 11 yeares, and seuen moneths. It was thought

686 saith Matth. West. Lother king of Kent dieth of a wound.

that he was disquieted with continuall warres and troubles, and finallie brought to his end before the naturall course of his time, for a punishment of his wicked consent giuen to the putting to death of his cousins Ethelbert & Ethelbrit, as appeared, in that when they were reported to be martyrs, because it was knowen they died innocentlie, he mocked them and made but a iest at it, although his brother in acknowledging his fault, repented him thereof, and gaue in recompense to their mother a part of the Ile of Thanet to the building of a monasterie.

Wil. Malm.

Capgraue saith, their sister.

Edricke.

The foresaid Edricke (after Lother was dead) got the dominion of Kent, and ruled as king thereof, but not without ciuill warre, insomuch that before he had reigned the full terme of two yeares, he was slaine in the same warre. Then Ceadwalla king of the West saxons being thereof aduertised, supposing the time now to be come that would serue his purpose, as one still coueting to worke the Kentishmen all the displeasure he could, entred with an armie into their countrie, and began to waste and spoile the same on ech side, till finallie the Kentishmen assembled themselues togither, gaue battell to their enimies, and put them to flight. Mollo brother to Ceadwalla was driuen from his companie, and constrained to take an house for his refuge: but his enimies that pursued him set fire thereon, and burned both the house and Mollo within it to ashes. Yet did not Ceadwalla herewith depart out of the countrie, but to wreake his wrath, and to reuenge the griefe which he took for the death of his brother, he wasted and destroied a great part of Kent yer he returned home, and left (as it were) an occasion to his successor also to pursue the quarell with reuenging. Wherein we see the cankerd nature of man, speciallie in a case of wrong or displeasure; which we are so far from tollerating & forgiuing, that if with toth and naile we be not permitted to take vengeance, our hearts will breake with a full conceit of wrath. But the law of nature teacheth vs otherwise to be affected, namelie,

Mollo brother to king Ceadwalla burnt to death.

——— *per te nulli vnquam iniuria fiat,*
Sed verbis alÿsque modis fuge lædere quenquam,
Quod tibi nolles, alÿs feciſſe caueto,
Quódque tibi velles, alÿs præſtare ſtudeto;
Hæc eſt naturæ lex optima, quam niſi ad vnguem
Seruabis, non ipſe Deo (mihi crede) placebis,
Póſtque obitum infœlix non aurea ſydera adibis.

Which lesson taught by nature, and commanded of God, if these men had followed (as they minded nothing lesse in the fier of their furie) they would haue bene content with a competent reuenge, and not in such outragious maner with fier and sword haue afflicted one another, nor (which is more than tigerlike crueltie) haue ministred occasion to posterities to reuenge wrongs giuen and taken of their ancestors. But we will let this passe without further discourse, meaning hereafter in due place to declare the processe.

The Kentishmen being destitute of a king, after that diuers had coueted the place, and sought to attaine thereto, as well by force as otherwise, to the great disquieting of that prouince for the space of 6 yeares togither, at length in the 7 yeare after Edricks death, Withred an other of the sonnes of king Withred is made king of Kent.
Egbert, hauing with diligent trauell ouercome enuie at home, & with monie redeemed peace abroad, was with great hope conceiued of his worthinesse made king of Kent, the 11 of November, & 205 after the death of Hengist, he reigned 33 yeares, not deceiuing his subiects of their good conceiued opinion of him: for ouercomming all his aduersaries which were readie to leuie ciuill warre against him, he also purchased peace of Inas king of the West saxons, which ment to haue made him warre, till with monie he was made his friend.

A little before that Withred was confirmed in the kingdome of Kent, there reigned two kings in that countrie, Suebhard and Nidred, or rather the same Withred, if the printed copie of Bedas booke intituled *Eccleſiaſtica hiſtoria gentis Anglorum* haue not that name corrupted: for where he sheweth that the archbishop Theodorus being of the age of 88 yeares, departed this life in the yeare of our Lord 690, in the next chapter he declareth, that in the yeare 692, the first daie of Julie one Brightwald was chosen to succeed in the archbishops see of Canturburie, Withredus and Suebhardus as then reigning in Kent: but whether Withredus gouerned as then with Suebhardus, or that some other named Nidred, it forceth not: for certeine it is by the agreement of other writers, that till Withred obteined the whole rule, there was great strife and contention moued about the gouernement, and diuers there were that sought and fought for it. But this ought to be noted, that the forenamed Brightwald was the eight archbishop in number, and first of the English nation that sat in the see of Canturburie: for the other seuen that were predecessors to him, were strangers borne, and sent hither from Rome.

Hen. Hunt. Beda. lib. 5.

Suebhard and Nidred kings by vsurpation and not by succession, as Henr. Hunt. writeth.

Brightwald the first archbishop of the English nation.

¶ Here endeth the line and gouernement of the Britains, now called Welshmen, which toke that name of their duke or leader Wallo or Gallo; or else of a queene of Wales named Gales or Wales. But howsoeuer that name fell first vnto them, now they are called Welshmen, which sometime were called Britains or Brutons, and descended first of the Troians, and after of Brute, and lastlie of Pulmucius Dunwallo: albeit they were mingled with sundrie other nations, as Romans, Picts, &c. And now they be called English that in their beginning were named Saxons or Angles. To conclude therefore with this gouernement, so manie times intercepted by forren power, it appeareth by course of histories treating of these matters, that the last yeare of Cadwallader was the yeare of our Lord 686, which makes the yere of the world 4647. So that (as Fabian saith) the Britains had the greater part of this land in rule (reckoning from Brute till this time) 1822 yeares. Which terme being expired, the whole dominion of this realme was Saxonish.

Thus farre the interrupted regiment of the Britains, ending at the fift booke.

The

THE SIXT BOOKE
of the Historie of England.

Inas king of the Westsaxons, the whole *monarchie of the realme falleth into their* hands, Inas for a summe of monie granteth *peace to the Kentishmen, whom he was purposed to* haue destroied, he & his coosen Nun fight with Ge*rent king of the Britains, and Ceolred king of Mercia, and* Ealdbright king of Southsaxons, the end of their kingdoms, Inas giueth ouer his roialtie, goeth in pilgrimage to Rome, and there dieth; his lawes written in the Saxon toong; of what buildings he was the founder, queene Ethelburgas deuise to persuade Inas to forsake the world, he was the first procurer of Peter pence to be paid to Rome; king Ethelred, king Kenred, and king Offa become moonks; the setting vp of images in this land authorised by a vision; king Ethelbalds exploits, he is slaine of his owne subiects by the suggestion of Bernred the vsurper, Boniface his letter of commendation to king Ethelbald, nuns kept for concubines, their pilgrimage.

The first Chapter.

Inas. 689

AFter that Ceadwalla, late K. of the Westsaxons was gone to Rome, where he departed this life (as afore is shewed) his coosen Inas or Ine was made king of the Westsaxons, begining his reigne in the yeere of our Lord 689, in the third yeere of the emperor Iustinianus the third, the 11 yeere of the reigne of Theodoricus K. of France, and about the second yeere of the reigne of Eugenius king of Scots. Now because the rule of the Britains commonlie called Welshmen, ceassed in this realme, as by confession of their owne writers it appeareth, and that in the end the whole monarchie of the same realme came to the hands of the kings of Westsaxons, we haue thought meet to refer things generall vnto the reignes of the same kings, as before we did in the Britaine kings, reseruing the particular doings to the kings of the other prouinces or kingdoms, as the same haue fallen out, and shall come to hand.

The Britains ceasse to reigne in this land.

Fabian. H. Hunt.

This Inas, whome some (mistaking N for V) do wrongfullie name Iue or Iewe, proued a right excellent prince, he was descended of the ancient linage of the kings of the Westsaxons, as sonne to one Kenred, that was sonne to Ceolwald the son of Cutha or Cutwine, that was sonne to Kenricke the sonne of Certicus, the first king of Westsaxons. But he was admitted to the kingdome more for the valiant prowes knowne to rest in his worthie person, than for the succession of spring of which he was descended. The first voiage that he made, was against the Kentishmen, on whome he purposed to reuenge the death of his coosen Mollo, the griefe whereof as yet he kept in fresh memorie. But when the Kentishmen perceiued, that to resist him by force, they were nothing able, they attempted by monie to buy their peace, and so obteined their purpose, vpon paiment made to him of thirtie thousand marks of siluer. *Matt. Westm. Wil. Malm.*

After this, about the 21 yeere of his reigne, king Inas and his coosen Nun fought with Gerent king of the Britains. In the beginning of the battell, one Higelbald a noble man of the Westsaxons part was slaine, but in the end Gerent with his Britains was chased. In the 26 yeere of his reigne, the same Inas fought a mightie battell against Ceolred king of Mercia, at Wodenesburie, with doubtfull victorie, for it could not well be iudged whether part sustained greater losse. In the 36 yeere of his reigne, king Inas inuaded the Southsaxons with a mightie armie, and slue in battell Ealdbright or Aldinus king of the Southsaxons, and ioined that kingdome vnto the kingdome of the Westsaxons: so that from thencefoorth the kingdome of those Southsaxons ceassed, after they had reigned in that kingdome by the space of fiue kings successiuelie, that is to say, Ella, Cissa, Ethelwalke, Berutius, and this last Aldinius or Ealdbright. *Anno 708, as is noted by Matt. West. H. Hunt. Matt. VVest. saith 718. Matth. West. saith 722. The end of the kingdome of the Southsaxons.*

Finallie, when Inas had reigned 37 yeeres, and 100 or 11 od moneths, he renounced the rule of his kingdome, togither with all worldlie pompe, and went vnto Rome as a poore pilgrime, and there ended his life: but before this, during the time of his reigne, he shewed himselfe verie deuout and zealous towards the aduancement of the christian religion. He made and ordeined also good wholesome lawes for the amendment of maners in the people, which are yet extant and to be read, written in the Saxon toong, and translated into the Latine in times past, and now latelie againe by William Lambert gentleman, and printed by Iohn Day, in the yeere 1568, togither with the lawes and statutes of other kings before the conquest, as to the learned maie appeare. *Inas went to Rome and there died.*

Moreouer, king Ine builded the monasterie of Glastenburie, where Ioseph of Arimathea in times past builded an oratorie or chappell (as before is recited) when he with other christians came into this land in the daies of Aruiragus, & taught the gospell here to the Britains, conuerting manie of them to the faith. Moreouer, king Ine or Inas builded the church of Wells, dedicating it vnto saint Andrew, where afterwards a bishops see was placed, which at length was translated vnto Salisburie. He had to wife one Ethelburga, a woman of noble linage, who had beene earnest with him a long time to persuade him to forsake the world: but she could by no meanes bring hir purpose to passe, till vpon a time the king and she had lodged at a manor place in the countrie, where all prouision had beene made for the receiuing of them and their traine in most sumptuous maner that might be, as well in rich furniture of houshold, as also in costlie viands, and all other things ho-

Polydor. Ethelburga. Will. Malmes.

full,

full, or that might serue for pleasure, and when they were departed, the quéene the foresaid Ethelburga caused the keeper of that house to remoue all the bedding, hangings, and other such things as had béen brought thither and ordeined for the beautifull setting forth of the house, and in place thereof to bring ordure, straw, & such like filth, as well into the chambers and hall, as into all the houses of office, and that done, to laie a sow with pigs in the place where before the kings bed had stood. Hérevpon when she had knowledge that euerie thing was ordered according to hir appointment, she persuaded the king to returne thither againe, feining occasions great and necessarie.

The deuise of quéene Ethelburga to persuade hir husband to forsake the world

Now when he was returned to that house, which before séemed to the eie a palace of most pleasure, and now finding it in such a filthie state as might loath the stomach of anie man to behold the same, she toke occasion thereupon to persuade him to the consideration of the vaine pleasures of this world, which in a moment turne to naught, togither with the corruption of the flesh, being a filthie lumpe of clate, after it should once be dissolued by death: and in fine, where before she had spent much labour to moue him to renounce the world, though all in vaine, yet now the beholding of that change in his pleasant palace, wherein so late he had taken great delight, wrought such an alteration in his mind, that hir words lastlie toke effect: so that he resigned the kingdome to his cosen Ethelard, and went himselfe to Rome (as aboue is mentioned) and his wife became a nun in the abbeie of Barking, where she was made abbesse, and finallie there ended hir life. This Inas was the first that caused the monie called Peter pence, to be paid vnto the bishop of Rome, which was for euerie houshold within his dominion a penie.

Peter pence.

In this meane time Edilred or Ethelred, hauing gouerned the kingdome of Mercia by the tearme of 29 yéeres, became a monke in the abbeie of Bardenie, and after was made abbat of that house. He had to wife one Ostrida the sister of Egfride king of Northumberland, by whome he had a sonne named Ceolred. But he appointed Kenred the sonne of his brother Vulfher to succéed him in the kingdome. The said Ostrida was cruellie slaine by the treason of hir husbands subiects, about the yéere of our Lord 697. And as for Kenred, he was a prince of great vertue, deuout towards God, a furtherer of the commonwealth of his countrie, and passed his life in great sinceritie of maners. In the first yéere of his reigne, he renounced the world, and went to Rome, togither with Offa king of the Eastsaxons, where he was made a monke: and finallie died there, in the yéere of our Lord 711. By the aid and furtherance of this Kenred, a monke of saint Benets order (called Egwin) builded the abbeie of Euesham, who afterwards was made bishop of Worcester.

King Ethelred becommeth a monk. Ostrida.

Beda in Epit. 697

King Kenred

711 Nauclerus.

Egwin bishop of worcester.

¶ We find recorded by writers, that this Egwin had warning giuen him by visions (as he constantlie affirmed before pope Constantine) to set vp an image of our ladie in his church. Whereupon the pope approuing the testifications of this bishop by his buls, writ to Brightwald archbishop of Canturburie, to assemble a synod, and by authoritie thereof to establish the vse of images, charging the kings of this land to be present at the same synod, vpon paine of excommunication. This synod was holden about the yéere of our Lord 712, in the daies of Inas king of Westsaxons, and of Ceolred king of Mercia successor to the foresaid Kenred.

A fabulous and trifling deuise.

Bale. 712

After Kenred succéeded Ceolred, the sonne of his vncle Edilred, & died in the 8 yeere of his reigne, and was buried at Lichfield. Then succéeded Ethelbalds that was descended of Eoppa the brother of king Penda, as the fourth from him by lineall succession. This man gouerned a long time without anie notable trouble: some warres he had, and sped diuerslie. In the 18 yeere of his reigne, he besieged Sommerton and wan it. He also inuaded Northumberland, and got there great riches by spoile and pillage, which he brought from thence without anie battell offered to him.

Ran. Cestren.

He ouercame the Welshmen in battell, being then at quiet, and ioined as confederats with Cuthred k. of Westsaxons. But in the 37 yéere of his reigne, he was ouercome in battell at Bereford by the same Cuthred, with whome he was fallen at variance, and within foure yéeres after, that is to say, in the 41 yéere of his reigne, he was slaine in battell at Secandon, or Sekenton, by his owne subiects, which arreared warres against him, by the procurement and leading of one Bernred, who after he had slaine his naturall prince, toke vpon him the kingdome: but he prospered not long, being slaine by Offa that succéeded him in rule of the kingdome of Mercia, as after shall be shewed. The bodie of Ethelbald was buried at Ripton.

Hen. Hunt.

Bereford.

755 Elyer miles from Tamworth. Wil. Malm.

758 Matth. West.

Bonifacius the archbishop of Ment; or Mogunt, hauing assembled a councell with other bishops and doctors, deuised a letter, and sent it vnto this Ethelbald, commending him for his good deuotion and charitie in almes-giuing to the releefe of the poore, and also for his vpright dealing in administration of iustice, to the punishment of robbers and such like misdoers: but in that he abstained from marriage, and wallowed in filthie lecherie with diuerse women, and namelie with nuns, they fore blamed him, and withall declared in what infamie the whole English nation in those daies remained by common report in other countries for their licentious liuing in sinfull fornication, and namelie the most part of the noble men of Mercia by his euill example did forsake their wiues, and defloured other women which they kept in adulterie, as nuns and others. Moreouer, he shewed how that such euill women, as well nuns as other, vsed to make awaie in secret wise their children which they bare out of wedlocke, and so filled the graues with dead bodies, and hell with damned soules. The same Bonifacius in an other epistle which he wrote vnto Cutbert the archbishop of Canturburie, counselled him not to permit the English nuns to wander abroad so often on pilgrimage, because there were few cities either in France or Lombardie, wherein might not be found English women, that liued wantonlie in fornication and whordome.

The historie of Magd.

Nuns kept for concubines.

Pilgrimage of nuns.

Offa king of the Eastsaxons with other *go to Rome, he is shauen and becommeth a* moonke, succession in the kingdome of the *Eastsaxons and Eastangles, Osred king of Nor*thumberland hath carnall knowledge with nuns, he *is slaine in battell, Osrike renouncing his kingdome becom*meth a moonke, bishop Wilfrid twise restored to his see, Westsaxonie diuided in two dioceses, bishop Aldhelme a founder of religious houses; Ethelard succeedeth Inas in regiment, two blasing starres seene at once, and what insued, the king dieth: the successiue reigne of Wichtreds three sonnes ouer Kent, what prouinces were gouerned by bishops, of what puissance Ethelbald king of Mercia was, Egbert archbishop of Yorke aduanceth his see; a notable remembrance of that excellent man Beda, his death.

The second Chapter.

IN this meane time Sighard and Seufred, kings of the Eastsaxons, being departed this life, one Offa that was sonne to Sigerius succéeded in gouerne ment

Kings of the Eastsaxons. Beda lib. 5. cap. 20.

Offa king of Eastsaxons.

ment of that kingdome, a man of great towardneſſe, and of right comelie countenance: but after he had ruled a certeine time, being moued with a religious deuotion, he went to Rome in companie of Kenred king of Mercia, and of one Egwine biſhop of Worceſter, and being there ſhauen into the order of monks, ſo continued till he died. After him one

King Selred. Selred the ſonne of Sigbert the good, ruled the Eaſtſaxons the tearme of 38 yeeres. After Aldulfe the king of Eaſtangles departed this fraile life, which

688 chanced about the yeere of our Lord 688, his brother Elewold or Alwold ſucceeded him, and reigned about twelue yeeres. After whoſe deceaſe one Beorne was made king of Eaſtangles, and reigned about 26 yeeres. In this meane while, that is to ſay, in the

705 yeere of our Lord 705, Alfride king of Northumberland being dead, his ſonne Oſred, a child of 8 yeeres of age ſucceeded him in the kingdome, and reigned

Wil. Malm. Oſred king of Northumberland. 11 yeeres, ſpending his time when he came to ripe yeeres in filthie abuſing his bodie with nuns, and other religious women.

Henr. Hunt. About the ſeuenth yeere of his reigne, that is to ſay, in the yeere of our Lord 711, one of his capteins named earle Berthfride fought with the Picts, betwixt two places called Heue and Cere, and obteining the victorie, ſlue an huge number of the enimies. At length king Oſred by the traitorous meanes of his coſens that arreared warre againſt him, was

Picts ouerthrowne by the Northumbers.

King Oſred ſlaine in batell ſlaine in battell, and ſo ended his reigne, leauing to thoſe that procured his death the like fortune in time to come. For Kenred reigning two yeeres, and Oſricke ten yeeres, were famous onelie in this, that being worthilie puniſhed for ſhedding the blood of their naturall prince and ſouereigne lord, they finiſhed their liues with diſhonourable deaths, as they had well deſerued. Oſricke before his death, which chanced in the yeere of our Lord 729, appointed Ceol-

729 wolfe the brother of his predeceſſor Kenred, to ſucceed him in the kingdome, which he did, reigning as king of the Northumbers by the ſpace of 8 yeeres currant, and then renouncing his kingdom, became a monke in the Ile of Lindeſferne.

Beda. Acca biſhop of Herham. In this meane while, biſhop Wilfride being dead, one Acca that was his chapline was made biſhop of Herham. The ſaid Wilfride had beene biſhop by the ſpace of 45 yeeres: but he liued a long time in exile. For firſt being archbiſhop of Yorke, and exerciſing his iuriſdiction ouer all the north parts, he was after

? ? baniſhed by king Egbert, and againe reſtored to the ſee of Herham in the ſecond yeere of king Alfride, and within fiue yeeres after eftſoones baniſhed by the ſame Alfride, and the ſecond time reſtored by his ſucceſſor king Oſred, in the fourth yeere of whoſe reigne being the yeere after the incarnation of our Sauiour 709, he departed this life, and was buried at Ripon. Moreouer, after John the archbiſhop of Yorke had reſigned, one Wilfride ſurnamed the ſecond was made archbiſhop of that ſee: which Wilfride was chapline to the ſaid John, and gouerned that ſee by the ſpace of fiftéene yeeres, and then died.

710 About the yeere of our Lord 710, the abbat Adrian which came into this land with Theodore the archbiſhop of Canturburie (as before ye haue heard) departed this life, about 39 yeeres after his comming thither.

Two biſhops ſees. Matth. Weſt. Alſo Inas the king of Weſtſaxons, about the 20 yeere of his reigne, diuided the prouince of the Weſtſaxons into two biſhops ſees, whereas before they had but one.

Biſhop Daniell. Daniell was ordeined to gouerne the one of thoſe ſees, being placed at Wincheſter, hauing vnder him Suſſex, Southerie and Hamſhire.

Biſhop Aldhelme. And Aldhelme was appointed to Shireburne, hauing vnder him, Barkeſhire, Wiltſhire, Sommerſetſhire, Dorſetſhire, Deuonſhire, and Cornwall. This Aldhelme was a learned man, and was firſt made abbat of Malmeſburie, in the yeere of our Lord 675, by Eleutherius then biſhop of the Weſtſaxons, by whoſe diligence that abbeie was greatlie aduanced, being afore that time founded by one Medulfe a Scotiſh man, but of ſo ſmall reuenues afore Aldhelms time, that the monks were ſcarſe able to liue thereon. Alſo the ſame Aldhelme was a great furtherer vnto king Inas in the building of Glaſtenburie.

The abbeie of Malmeſburie

Ethelard. 728 Matt. Weſt. ſaith 727. Ethelard, the coſen of king Inas, to whome the ſame Inas reſigned his kingdome, began to gouerne the Weſtſaxons in the yeere of our Lord 728, or rather 27, which was in the 11 yeere of the emperor Leo Iſaurus, in the ſecond yeere of Theodorus king of France, and about the 8 or 9 yeere of Mordacke king of the Scots. In the firſt yeere of Ethelards reigne, he was diſquieted with ciuill warre, which one Oſwald a noble man, deſcended of the roiall blood of the Weſtſaxon kings, procured againſt him: but in the end, when he perceiued that the kings power was to ſtrong for him, he fled out of the countrie, leauing it thereby in reſt.

Matth. Weſt. 729 Blaſing ſtars In the yeere 729, in the moneth of Januarie there appeered two comets or blaſing ſtarres, verie terrible to behold, the one riſing in the morning before the riſing of the ſunne, and the other after the ſetting thereof: ſo that the one came before the breake of the day, and the other before the cloſing of the night, ſtretching forth their fierie brands toward the north, and they appeered thus euerie morning and euening for the ſpace of a fortnight togither, menacing as it were ſome great deſtruction or common miſhap to follow. The Saracens ſhortlie after entred France, and were ouerthrowne. Finallie, when king Ethelard had reigned the terme of foureteene yeeres currant, he departed this life.

Wil. Malm. NOw when Wichtred king of Kent had gouerned the Kentiſhmen by the ſpace of 33 yeeres, with great commendation for the good orders which he cauſed to be obſerued amongſt them, as well concerning matters eccleſiaſticall as temporall, he departed this life, leauing behind him three ſonnes, who ſucceſſiuelie reigned as heires to him one after another (that is to ſay) Edbert 23 yeeres, Ethelbert 11 yeeres currant, and Alrike 34 yeeres, the which three princes following the ſteps of their father in the obſeruance of politike orders & commendable lawes, vſed for the more part their fathers good lucke and fortune, except that in Ethelberts time the citie of Canturburie was burned by caſuall fire, and Alrike loſt a battell againſt them of Mercia, whereby the glorie of their times was ſomewhat blemiſhed: for ſo it came to paſſe, that whatſoeuer chanced euill, was kept ſtill in memorie, and the good haps that came forward, were ſoone forgotten and put out of remembrance.

Beda lib. 5. cap. 24.

721 In the yeere of our Lord 731, Betrwald archbiſhop of Canturburie departed this life in the fift ides of Januarie, after he had gouerned that ſee by the ſpace of 27 yeeres, 6 moneths, and 14 daies: in whoſe place the ſame yeere one Tacwine was ordeined archbiſhop, that before was a prieſt in the monaſterie of Bruidon within the prouince of Mercia. He was conſecrated in the citie of Canturburie, by the reuerend fathers Daniell biſhop of Wincheſter, Ingwald biſhop of London, Aldwin biſhop of Lichfield, and Aldwulfe biſhop of Rocheſter, the tenth day of June being ſundaie.

Biſhops what prouinces they gouerned. ¶ As touching the ſtate of the Engliſh church for eccleſiaſticall gouernours, certeine it is, that the ſame was as hereafter followeth. The prouince of Canturburie was gouerned touching the eccleſiaſticall ſtate by archbiſhop Tacwine, and biſhop Aldwulfe. The prouince of the Eaſtſaxons by biſhop Ingwald.

Ingwald, the prouince of Eastangles by bishop Eadbertus and Hadulacus, the one keeping his see at Elham, and the other at Dunwich. The prouince of the Westsaxons was gouerned by the foresaid Daniell and by Forthere, who succéeded next after Aldhelme in the see of Shereburne. This Forthere in the yeere of our Lord 738, left his bishoprike, and went to Rome in companie of the quéene of the Westsaxons. Many as well kings as bishops, noble and vnnoble, priests and laiemen, togither with women, vsed to make such iournies thither in those daies. The prouince of Mercia was ruled by the foresaid Aldwine bishop of Lichfield, and one bishop Walstod holding his see at Herford gouerned those people that inhabited beyond the riuer of Sauerne toward the west. The prouince of Wiccies, that is, Worcester, one Wilfride gouerned. The Southsaxons and the Ile of Wight were vnder the bishop of Winchester. In the prouince of the Northumbers were foure bishops, that is to say, Wilfride archbishop of Yorke, Edilwald bishop of Lindisserne, Acca bishop of Herham, and Pechelmus bishop of Whiterne, otherwise called Candida Casa, he was the first that gouerned that church after the same was made a bishops see. And thus stood the state of the English church for ecclesiasticall gouernors in that season.

Matth. West.

And as for temporall gouernement, king Ceolwulfe had the souereigne dominion ouer all the Northumbers: but all the prouinces on the southside of Humber, with their kings and rulers, were subiect vnto Edilbald or Ethelbald king of Mercia. The nation of the Picts were in league with the English men, and gladlie became partakers of the catholike faith and veritie of the vniuersall church. Those Scots which inhabited Britaine, contenting themselues with their owne bounds, went not about to practise anie deceitfull traines nor fraudulent deuises against the Englishmen. The Britains otherwise called Welshmen, though for the more part of a peculiar hatred they did impugne the English nation, & the obseruance of the feast of Ester appointed by the whole catholike church, yet (both diuine and humane force vtterlie resisting them) they were not able in neither behalfe to atteine to their wished intentions, as they which though they were partlie free, yet in some point remained still as thrall and mancipate to the subiection of the Englishmen: who (saith Beda) now in the acceptable time of peace and quietnesse, manie amongst them of Northumberland, laieng armour and weapon aside, applied themselues to the reading of holie scriptures, more desirous to be professed in religious houses, than to exercise feates of warre: but what will come therof (saith he) the age that followeth shall see and behold. With these words doth Beda end his historie, continued till the yeere of our Lord 731, which was from the comming of the Englishmen into this land, about 285 yeeres, according to his account.

Ethelbald K. of Mercia, of what puisance he was.

In the yeere following, that is to say 732, in place of Wilfrid the second, Egbert was ordeined bishop of Yorke. This Egbert was brother vnto an other Egbert, who as then was king of Northumberland, by whose helpe he greatlie aduanced the see of Yorke, and recouered the pall: so that where all the other bishops that held the same see before him sith Paulins daies, wanted the pall, and so were counted simplie but particular bishops: now was he intituled by the name of archbishop. He also got togither a great number of good books, which he bestowed in a librarie at Yorke. ¶ In the yeere 733, on the 18 kalends of September, the sunne suffered a great eclipse about three of the clocke in the after none, in somuch that the earth seemed to be couered with a blacke and horrible penthouse.

732

Wil. Malm.

733

In the yeere 735, that reuerend and profound learned man Beda departed this life, being 82 yeeres of age, vpon Ascension day, which was the 7 kalends of June, and 26 of Pate, as Matt. Westm. hath diligentlie obserued. W. Harison addeth hitherto, that it is to be read in an old epistle of Cutbert monke of the same house vnto Cuthwine, that the said Beda lieng in his death-bed, translated the gospell of saint John into English, and commanded his brethren to be diligent in reading and contemplation of good bookes, and not to exercise themselues with fables and friuolous matters. Finallie he was buried in the abbeie of Geruie, distant fiue miles from Wiremouth, an abbeie also in the north parts, not far from Newcastell (as is before remembred.) He was brought vp in those two abbeies, and was scholer to John of Beuerley. How throughlie he was séene in all kinds of good literature, the bookes which hée wrote do manifestlie beare witnesse. His iudgement also was so much estéemed ouer all, that Sergius the bishop of Rome wrote vnto Celfride the abbat of Wiremouth, requiring him to send Beda vnto the court of Rome for the deciding of certein questions mooued there, which without his opinion might séeme to rest doubtfull. But whether he went thither or not we can not affirme: but as it is thought by men worthie of credit, he neuer went out of this land, but continued for the most part of his life in the abbeies of Geruie and Wiremouth, first vnder Benet the first abbat and founder of the same abbeies, and after vnder the said Celfride, in whose time he receiued orders of priesthood at the hands of bishop John, surnamed of Beuerley: so that it may be maruelled that a man borne in the vttermost corner of the world, should prooue so excellent in all knowledge and learning, that his fame should so spread ouer the whole earth, and went neuer out of his native countrie to séeke it. But who that marketh in reading old histories the state of abbeies and monasteries in those daies, shall well perceiue that they were ordered after the maner of our schooles or colleges, hauing in them diuerse learned men, that attended onelie to teach & bring vp youth in knowledge of good learning, or else to go abroad and preach the word of God in townes and villages adioining.

735

Beda departed this life.

Crantzius.

The same yeere died archbishop Tacuine, and in the yeere following, that is to say 735, Nothelmus was ordeined archbishop of Canturburie in his place, and Egbert the archbishop of Yorke the same yeere got his pall from Rome, and so was confirmed archbishop, and ordeined two bishops, Fruidberd, and Fruidwald. But some refer it to the yeere 744.

735

Cuthred king of the Westsaxons, he is *greatlie troubled by Ethelbald king of* Mercia, they are pacified; Kenric king Cuthreds *sonne slaine, earle Adelme rebelleth against* him whom the king pardoneth; Cuthred fighteth *with Ethelbald at Hereford, he hath the victorie, he falleth* sicke and dieth; Sigebert succedeth him in the kingdome, he is cruell to his people, he is expelled from his roiall estate, murther reuenged with murther, succession in the kingdome of Eastangles, kings change their crownes for moonks cowles; the Britaines subiect to the king of Northumberland and the king of Picts, the moone eclipsed.

The third Chapter.

Cuthred.

After the decease of Ethelard king of Westsaxons, his cosine Cuthred was made king and gouernour of those people, reigning the tearme of 16 yeeres. He began his reigne in the

740 yere of our Lord 740, in the twentie fourth yere of the emperour Leo Iſaurus, in the 14 yere of the reigne of the ſecond Theodorus Cala K. of France, and about the 6 yere of Ethſine king of Scots. This Cuthred had much to do againſt Edilbald king of Mercia, who one while with ſtirring his owne ſubiects the Weſtſaxons to rebellion, an other while with open warre, and ſometime by ſecret craft and ſubtill practiſes ſought to diſquiet him. Howbeit, in the fourth yere of his reigne, a peace was concluded betwixt them, and then ioining their powers togither, they went againſt the Welſhmen, & gaue them a great ouerthrow, as before is partlie touched. In the 9 yere of this Cuthreds reigne, his ſonne Henric was ſlaine in a ſeditious tumult amongſt his men of warre, a gentleman yong in yeres, but of a ſtout courage, and verie forward, wherby (as was thought) he came the ſoner to his wofull end.

Matt. Weſt. Hen. Hunt.

Henric the kings ſonne ſlaine.

749 Matth. Weſt.

751 In the 11 yere of his reigne, Cuthred had wars againſt one of his earls called Adelme, who raiſing a commotion againſt him, aduentured to giue battell though he had the ſmaller number of men, and yet was at point to haue gone away with victorie, if by a wound at that inſtant receiued, his perſurie had not beene puniſhed, and the kings iuſt cauſe aduanced to triumph ouer his aduerſarie, whom yet by way of reconciliation he pardoned. In the 13 yere of his

752 reigne, king Cuthred being not well able to ſuſteine Matt. Weſt. the proud eractions and hard dooings of Edilbald king of Mercia, raiſed his power, and encountered with the ſame Edilbald at Hereford, hauing before him the ſaid earle Adelme, in whoſe valiant proweſſe he put great hope to atteine victorie: neither was he deceiued, for by the ſtout conduct and noble courage of the ſaid Adelme, the loftie pride of king Edelbald was abated, ſo that he was there put to flight, and all his armie diſcomfited, after ſore and terrible fight continued and maintained euen to the vttermoſt point. In the 24 yere of his reigne, this Cuthred fought eſtſones with the Welſhmen, and obteined the vpper hand, without anie great loſſe of his people: for the enimies were eaſilie put to flight and chaſed, to their owne deſtruction. In the yere after, king Cuthred fell ſicke, and in the 16 yere of his reigne he departed this life, after ſo manie great victories got againſt his enimies.

K. Edilbald put to flight.

Sigibert.

755 After him ſucceeded one Sigibert, a cruell and vnmercifull prince at home, but yet a coward abroad. This Sigbert or Sigibert began his reigne in the yeare of our Lord 755, verie nere ended. He intreated his ſubiects verie euill, ſetting law and reaſon at naught. He could not abide to heare his faults told him; and therefore he cruellie put to death an earle named Cumbra, which was of his councell, and faithfullie admoniſhed him to reforme his euill doings: wherevpon the reſt of his nobles aſſembled themſelues togither with a great multitude of people, and expelled him out of his eſtate in the beginning of the ſecond, or (as ſome ſay) the firſt yeare of his reigne. Then Sigibert, as he was fearefull of nature, fearing to be apprehended, got him into the wood called as then Andredeſwald, and there hid himſelfe, but by chance a ſwineheard that belonged to the late earle Cumbra at Priuetſtoud found him out, and perceiuing what he was, ſlue him in reuenge of his maiſters death.

¶ Lo here you may ſee how the righteous iuſtice of God rewardeth wicked doings in this world with worthie recompenſe, as well as in the world to come, appointing euill princes ſometimes to reigne for the puniſhment of the people, according as they deſerue, permitting ſome of them to haue gouernment a long time, that both the froward nations may ſuffer long for their ſins, and that ſuch wicked princes may in an other world taſt the more bitter torments. Againe, other he taketh out of the waie, that the people may be deliuered from oppreſſion, and alſo that the naughtie ruler for his miſdemeanour may ſpedilie receiue due puniſhment.

Ethelred.

738 After Beorne king of Eaſtangles one Ethelred ſucceeded in gouernment of that kingdome a man noted to be of good and vertuous qualities, in that he brought vp his ſonne Ethelred (which ſucceeded him) ſo in the feare of the Lord, that he proued a right godlie prince. This Ethelbert reigned (as writers ſay) the terme of 52 yeares.

Egbert king of Northumberland.

758 After that Ceolwulfe king of Northumberland was become a monke in the abbie of Lindeſferne, his vncles ſonne Egbert (by order taken by the ſaid Ceolwulfe) ſucceeded him in the kingdome, and gouerned the ſame right worthilie for the terme of 24 yeares, and then became a monke, by the example both of his predeceſſor the foreſaid Ceolwulfe, and alſo of diuers other kings in thoſe daies, ſo that he was the eight king who in this land had changed a kings crowne for a monks cowle (as Simon Dunel. writeth.)

Changing of crownes for monkes cowles.

756 This Egbert (in the 18 yeare of his reigne) and Vngus king of Picts came to the citie of Alcluid with their armies, and there receiued the Britains into their ſubiection, the firſt day of Auguſt: but the tenth day of the ſame month, the armie which he led from Duan vnto Nelwbourgh, was for the more part loſt and deſtroied. ¶ The ſame yeare on the 8 kalends of December, the mone being as then in hir full, appeared to be of a bloudie colour, but at length ſhe came to hir accuſtomed ſhew, after a marueilous meanes, for a ſtarre which followed hir, paſſed by hir, & went before hir, the like diſſace as it kept in following hir before ſhe loſt hir vſuall light.

Offa king of Mercia, his manhood and victories againſt the Kentiſhmen and Weſtſaxons, he killeth Egilbert king of Eaſtangles by a policie or ſubtill deuiſe of profered curteſie, he inuadeth his kingdome, and poſſeſſeth it, the archbiſhops ſee of Canturburie remoued to Lichfield; archbiſhop Lambert laboring to defend his prerogatiue is depriued by king Offa, he ſeizeth vpon churches and religious houſes; miſtruſting his eſtate, he alieth himſelfe with other princes; he maketh amends for the wrongs that he had doone to churches and religious houſes, he goeth to Rome, maketh his realme tributarie to the ſaid ſee, Peter pence paid, he falleth ſicke and dieth, places to this day bearing his name in memorie of him, the ſhort reigne of his ſonne.

The fourth Chapter.

Offa.

After that Offa had ſlaine Bernred the vſurper of the kingdome of Mercia (as before is mentioned) the ſame Offa toke vpon him the gouernment of that kingdome 758, a man of ſuch ſtoutneſſe of ſtomach, that he thought he ſhould be able to bring to paſſe all things whatſoeuer he conceiued in his mind. He reigned 39 yeares. His doings were great and marueilous, and ſuch as ſome times his vertues ſurpaſſed his vices, and ſometime againe his vices ſeemed to ouermatch his vertues. He ouercame the Kentiſhmen in a great battell at Otteford, and the Northumbers alſo were by him vanquiſhed, and in battell put to flight. With Kenwulfe king of Weſtſaxons he fought

758 Matth. Weſt.

Wil. Malm.

The victories of king Offa. Matth. Weſt.

779

fought in open battell, and obteined a noble victorie, with small losse of his people, although the same Kenwulfe was a right valiant prince, and a good capteine.

Falsehood in fellowship.

Againe, perceiuing that to proceed with craft, should sooner aduance his purpose, than to vse open force against Egilbert king of Eastangles, vnder faire promises to giue vnto him his daughter in mariage, he allured him to come into Mercia, and receiuing him into his palace, caused his head to be stricken off, and after by wrongfull meanes inuaded his kingdome, and got it into his possession: yet he caused the bones of the first martyr of this land saint Albane (by a miraculous meanes brought to light) to be taken vp, and put in a rich shrine adorned with gold and stone, building a goodlie church of excellent workmanship, and founding a monasterie in that place in honor of the same saint, which he indowed with great possessions. He remoued the archbishops see from Canturburie vnto Lichfield, thereby to aduance his kingdome of Mercia, as well in dignitie & preheminence of spirituall power as temporall. He made great suit to bring his purpose to passe in the court of Rome, and at length by great gifts and rewards obteined it at the hands of pope Adrian the first, then gouerning the Romane see. And so Eadulfus then bishop of Lichfield was adorned with the pall, and taken for archbishop, hauing all those bishops within the limits of king Offa his dominion suffragans vnto him namelie, Denebertus bishop of Worcester, Werebertus bishop of Chester, Eadulfus bishop of Dorcester, Wilnardus bishop of Hereford, Halard bishop of Elham, and Cedferth bishop of Donwich. There remained onelie to the archbishop of Canturburie, the bishops of London, Winchester, Rochester, and Shireburne.

The archbishops see remoued from Canturburie to Lichfield.

785 Matt. VVest.

The archbishop Lambert defended his cause.

This separation continued all the life time of the archbishop Lambert, although he trauelled earnestlie to maintaine his prerogatiue. Now for that he still defended his cause, and would not reuolt from his will, Offa depriued him of all his possessions & reuenues that he held or inioied within anie part of his dominions. Neither was Offa satisfied herewith, but he also toke into his hands the possessions of manie other churches, and fleeced the house of Malmesburie of a part of hir reuenues. Because of these & other his hard doings, doubting the malice of his enimies, he procured the friendship of forren princes. Vnto Brightricke king of the Westsaxons he gaue his daughter Ethelburga in mariage. And sending diuers ambassadours ouer vnto Charles the great, that was both emperor & king of France, he purchased his friendship at length, although before there had depended a peece of displeasure betwixt them, insomuch that the intercourse for trade of merchandize was staied for a time. One of the ambassadours that was sent vnto the said Charles (as is reported) was that famous clearke Albine or Alcwine, by whose persuasion the same Charles erected two vniuersities, as in place due and conuenient may more largelie appeare.

Offa alieth himselfe with other princes.

Matt. Westm.

The intercourse of merchants staied.

Alcwine an Englishman.

Finallie king Offa (as it were for a meane to appease Gods wrath, which he doubted to be iustlie conceiued towards him for his sinnes and wickednesse) granted the tenth part of all his goods vnto churchmen, and to poore people. He also indowed the church of Hereford with great reuenues, and (as some write) he builded the abbeie of Bath, placing monkes in the same, of the order of saint Benet, as before he had done at saint Albons. Moreouer he went vnto Rome, about the yeare of our Lord 775, and there following the example of Inas king of the Westsaxons, made his realme subiect by way of tribute vnto the church of Rome, appointing that euerie house within the limits of his dominions, should yearelie pay vnto the apostolike see one pennie, which paiment was after named, Rome scot, and Peter pence. After his returne from Rome, perceiuing himselfe to draw into yeares, he caused his sonne Egfrid to be ordeined king in his life time: and shortlie after departing out of this world, left the kingdome vnto him, after he had gouerned it by the space of 39 yeares.

Polydor.

775

Peter pence, or Rome scot.

Will. Malmes. 797

Offa departed this life.

Amongst other the doings of this Offa, which suerlie were great and maruellous, this may not passe with silence, that he caused a mightie great ditch to be cast betwixt the marshes of his countrie, and the Welsh confines, to diuide thereby the bounds of their dominions. This ditch was called Offditch euer after, and stretched from the south side by Bristow, vnder the mountaines of Wales, running northward ouer the riuers of Seuerne and Dée, vnto the verie mouth of Dee, where that riuer falleth into the sea. He likewise builded a church in Warwikeshire, whereof the towne there taketh name, and is called Offchurch euen to this day. Egfrid taking vpon him the rule, began to follow the approued good doings of his father, and first restored vnto the churches their ancient priuileges, which his father sometimes had taken from them. Great hope was conceiued of his further good proceeding, but death cut off the same, taking him out of this life, after he had reigned the space of foure moneths, not for his owne offenses (as was thought) but rather for that his father had caused so much bloud to be spilt for the confirming of him in the kingdome, which so small a time he now inioied.

Offa ditch.

Egfrid king of Mercia.

Osulph king of Northumberland traitorouslie murthered, Edilwald succeedeth him, the reward of rebellion, a great mortalitie of foules fishes and fruits, moonkes licenced to drinke wine, great wast by fire, Edelred king of Northumberland is driuen out of his countrie by two dukes of the same, Ethelbert king of the Eastangles commended for his vertues, Alfred the daughter of king Mercia is affianced to him, tokens of misshaps towards him, his destruction intended by queene Quendred, hir platforme of the practise to kill him, Offa inuadeth Ethelberts kingdome, Alfred his betrothed wife taketh his death greuouslie, and becommeth a nun, the decaie of the kingdome of Eastangles, succession in the regiment of the Westsaxons, the end of the gouernement of the Eastsaxons, prince Algar is smitten blind for seeking to rauish virgine Frisswide, and at hir praiers restored to his sight.

The fift Chapter.

When Eadbert or Egbert K. of Northumberland was become a moonke, his sonne Osulphus succéeded him: but after he had reigned onelie one yeare, he was traitorouslie murthered by his owne seruants at Pikilwongton, on the 9 kalends of August. Then succéeded one Moll, otherwise called Edilwold or Edilwald, but not immediatlie, for he began not his reigne till the nones of August in the yeare following, which was after the birth of our sauiour 759. This man proued right valiant in gouernement of his subiects. He slue in battell an earle of his countrie named Oswin, who arrearing warre against him, fought with him in a pitcht field at Eadwines Clive, and receiued the worthie reward of rebellion.

Eadbert king of Northumberland. 758

Simon Dun. Hen. Hunt.

Edilwold king of Northumberland. Simon Dun. Henr. Hunt.

This

Simon Dun. 764

This chanced in the third yeare of his reigne, and shortlie after, that is to say, in the yeare of our Lord 764, there fell such a maruellous great snow, and therwith so extreame a frost, as the like had not béene heard of, continuing from the beginning of the winter, almost till the middest of the spring, with the rigour whereof, trees and fruits withered awaie, and lost their liuelie shape and growth: and not onelie feathered foules, but also beasts on the land, & fishes in the sea died in great numbers. The same yeare died Ceolwulf then king of Northumberland, vnto whome Beda did dedicate his booke of histories of the English nation. After that he was become a monke in the monasterie of Lindesserne, the monks of that house had licence to drinke wine, or ale, whereas before they might not drinke anie other thing than milke, or water, by the ancient rule prescribed them of the bishop Aidan first founder of the place. The same yeare sundrie cities, townes, and monasteries were defaced and sore wasted with fier chancing on the sudden, as Stretehu, Giwento Anwicke, London, Yorke, Doncaster, &c.

Monks licenced to drinke wine.

After that Poll had reigned 6 yeares, he resigned his kingdome. But other write that he reigned 11 yeares, and was in the end slaine by treason of his successor Altred. This Altred reigned ten years ouer the Northumbers, and was then expelled out of his kingdome by his owne subiects. Then was Ethelbert, named also Edelred, the sonne of the foresaid Poll, made king of Northumberland, and in the fift yeare of his reigne, he was driuen out of his kingdome by two dukes of his countrie named Edelbald and Herebert, who moning warre against him, had slaine first Aldulfe the sonne of Bosa the generall of his armie at Kingescliffe; and after Kinewulfe and Egga, other two of his dukes, at Helatherne in a sore foughten field: so that Ethelbert despairing of all recouerie, was constrained to get him out of the countrie. And thus was the kingdome of Northumberland brought into a miserable state, by the ambitious working of the princes and nobles of the same.

Wil. Malm. Altred began his reigne in the yeare 765 as Sim. Dun. saith. Henr. Hunt. Matt. West. Ethelbert,

After that Ethelbert king of Eastangles was dead, his sonne Ethelbert succéeded him, a prince of great towardnesse, and so vertuouslie brought vp by his fathers circumspect care and diligence, that he vtterlie abhorred vice, and delighted onelie in vertue and commendable exercises, for the better atteining to knowledge and vnderstanding of good sciences. There remaine manie sundrie saiengs & doings of him, manifestlie bearing witnesse that there could not be a man more honorable, thankfull, courteous or gentle. Amongest other he had this saieng oftentimes in his mouth, that the greater that men were, the more humble they ought to beare themselues: for the Lord putteth proud and mightie men from their seates, and exalteth the humble and meeke.

H. Hunt. Iohn Capgraue. Matth. West. and others. Ethelbert king of Eastangles.

The saieng of king Ethelbert.

Moreouer he did not onelie shew himselfe wise in words, but desired also to excell in stedfastnesse of maners, and continencie of life. Whereby he wan to him the hearts of his people, who perceiuing that he was nothing delighted in the companie of women, and therefore minded not marriage, they of a singular loue and fauour towards him, required that he should in anie wise yet take a wife, that he might haue issue to succeed him. At length the matter being referred to his councell, he was perswaded to follow their aduises. And so Alfreda the daughter of Offa king of Mercia was affianced to him so that he himselfe appointed (as meanes to procure more fauour at his father in lawes hands) to go fetch the bride from hir fathers house.

Many strange things that happened to him in taking vpon him this iournie, put him in great doubt of that which should follow. He was no sooner mounted on his horsse, but that (as séemed to him) the earth shooke vnder him: againe, as he was in his iournie, about the mid-time of the day, such a darke mist compassed him on each side, that he could not sée nor discerne for a certeine time anie thing about him at all: lastlie, as he late one night asléepe, he thought he saw in a dreame the roofe of his owne palace fall downe to the ground. But though with these things he was brought into great feare, yet he kept on his iournie, as he that mistrusted no deceit, measuring other mens maners by his owne. King Offa right honourablie receiued him: but his wife named Quendred, a wise woman, but therewith wicked, conceiued a malicious deuise in hir hart, & streightwaies went about to perswade hir husband to put it in execution, which was to murther king Ethelbert, and after to take into his hands his kingdome.

Tokens of mishap to follow.

The innocent mistrustfull of no euill.

Offa at the first was offended with his wife for this motion, but in the end, through the importunate request of the woman, he consented to hir mind. The order of the murther was committed vnto one Winnebert, that had serued both the said Ethelbert & his father before time, the which feining as though he had béene sent from Offa to will Ethelbert to come vnto him in the night season, slue him that once mistrusted not anie such treason. Offa hauing thus dispatched Ethelbert, inuaded his kingdome, and conquered it.

Iohn Capgr. Winnebert.

Sim. Dun. saith 771. Offa conquereth Eastangles.

But when the bride Alfreda vnderstood the death of hir liked make and bridegroome, abhorring the fact, the cursed father and mother, and as it were inspired with the spirit of prophesie, pronounced that worthie punishment would shortlie fall on hir wicked mother for hir heinous crime committed in perswading so detestable a deed: and according to hir words it came to passe, for hir mother died miserable within three moneths after. The maid Alfreda refusing the world, professed hirselfe a nun at Crowland, the which place began to wax famous about the yeare of our Lord 695, by the meanes of one Guthlake, a man esteemed of great vertue and holinesse, which chose to himselfe an habitation there, and departing this life about the yeare of our Lord 714, was buried in that place, where afterwards an abbeie of monks was builded of saint Benets order. The bodie of K. Ethelbert at length was buried at Hereford, though first it was committed to buriall in a vile place, neere to the banke of a riuer called Lug.

Alfreda a nun Beda. Matth. West.

The kingdome of Eastangles from thence forth was brought so into decaie, that it remained subiect one while vnto them of Mercia, an other while vnto the Westsaxons, and somewhile vnto them of Kent, till that Edmund surnamed the martyr got the gouernment thereof (as after shall appéere). After that Selred king of the Eastsaxons had gouerned the tearme of 38 yéeres, he was slaine, but in what maner, writers haue not expressed. After him succeeded one Swithred or Swithred, the 11 and last in number that particularlie gouerned those people. He was finallie expelled by Egbert K. of Westsaxons, the same yéere that the said Egbert ouercame the Kentishmen (as after shall be shewed) and so the kings of that kingdome of the Eastsaxons ceased and tooke end.

H. Hunt.

About this time, there was a maid in Oxford named Frideswide, daughter to a certeine duke or noble man called Didanus, with whome one Algar a prince in those parties fell in loue, and would haue rauished hir, but God the reuenger of sinnes was at hand (as the storie saith.) For when Algar followed the maid that fled before him, the getting into the

Frideswide a virgine.

towne, the gate was shut against him, and his sight also was suddenlie taken from him. But the maid by hir praiers pacified Gods wrath towards him, so that his sight was againe restored to him. But whether this be a fable or a true tale, hereof grew the report, that the kings of this realme long times after were afraid to enter into the citie of Orford. So easilie is the mind of man turned to superstition (as saith Polydor.)

Kinewulfe king of Westsaxons, his conquest ouer the Britains, his securitie and negligence, he is slaine by conspirators, inquisition for Kineard the principall procurer of that mischiefe, he is slaine in fight; legats from the pope to the kings and archbishops of this land about reformation in the church, a councell holden at Mercia; iudge Bearne burnt to death for crueltie, Alfwold reigneth ouer Northumberland, his owne subiects murther him; a booke of articles sent by Charles king of France into Britaine quite contrarie to the christian faith, Albinus writeth against it; great waste by tempests of wind and rage of fire.

The sixt Chapter.

Kinewulf Hen. Hunt.

AFter that the Westsaxons had depriued their vnprofitable king Sigibert, they aduanced Kinewulfe or Cinewulfus, the which began his reigne about the yeere of our Lord 756, which was in the 16 yeere of the emperor Constantinus, surnamed Copronimos, in the 6 yeere of the reigne of Pipin king of France, and about the 22 yeere of Ethfine king of Scots. This Kinewulfe proued a right worthie and valiant prince, and was descended of the right line of Cerdicus. He obteined great victories against the Britains or Welshmen, but at Bensington or Benton he lost a battell against Offa king of Mercia, in the 24 yeere of his reigne: and from that time forward tasting manie displeasures, at length through his owne follie came vnto a shamefull end. For whereas he had reigned a long time neither slouthfullie nor presumptuouslie, yet now as it were aduanced with the glorie of things passed, he either thought that nothing could go against him, or else doubted the surtie of their state whom he should leaue behind him, and therefore he confined one Kineard the brother of Sigibert, whose fame he perceiued to increase more than he would haue wished.

756 Simon Dun. saith 755.

The Britains vanquished.

This Kineard dissembling the matter, as he that could giue place to time, got him out of the countrie, and after by a secret conspiracie assembled togither a knot of vngratious companie, and returning priuilie into the countrie againe, watched his time, till he espied that the king with a small number of his seruants was come vnto the house of a noble woman, whome he kept as paramour at Merton, whereupon the said Kineard vpon the sudden beset the house round about. The king perceiuing himselfe thus besieged of his enimies, at the first caused the doores to be shut, supposing either by curteous words to appease his enimies, or with his princelie authoritie to put them in feare.

But when he saw that by neither meane he could do good, in a great chafe he brake forth of the house vpon Kineard, and went verie neere to haue killed him: but being compassed about with multitude of enimies, whilest he stood at defense, thinking it a dishonour for him to flee, he was beaten downe and slaine, togither with those few of his seruants which he had there with him, who chose rather to die in fier

Kinewulfe slaine by conspirators.

king reuenge of their maisters death, than by cowardise to yeeld themselues into the murtherers hands. There escaped none except one Welshman or Britaine, an hostage, who was neuertheless sore wounded and hurt.

The brute of such an heinous act was streight waies blowne ouer all, and brought with speed to the eares of the noble men and peeres of the realme, which were not farre off the place where this slaughter had beene committed. Amongst other, one Derike, for his age and wisedome accounted of most authoritie, exhorted the residue that in no wise they should suffer the death of their souereigne lord to passe vnpunished vnto their perpetuall shame and reproofe. Whereupon in all hast they ran to the place where they knew to find Kineard, who at the first began to plead his cause, to make large promises, to pretend cosenage, and so forth: but when he perceiued all that he could say or do might not preuaile, he incouraged his companie to shew themselues valiant, and to resist their enimies to the vttermost of their powers. Hereupon followed a doubtfull fight, the one part striuing to saue their liues, and the other to atteine honour, and punish the slaughter of their souereigne lord. At length the victorie rested on the side where the right was, so that the wicked murtherer after he had fought a while, at length was slaine, togither with fourescore and eight of his mates. The kings bodie was buried at Winchester, & the murtherers at Repingdon. Such was the end of king Kinewulfe, after he had reigned the tearme of 31 yeeres.

Simon Dun. H. Hunt.

In the yeere of our Lord 786, pope Adrian sent two legats into England, Gregorie, or (as some copies haue) George bishop of Ostia, and Theophylactus bishop of Tuderto, with letters commendatorie vnto Offa king of Mercia, Alfwold king of Northumberland, Jeanbright or Lambert archbishop of Canturburie, and Eanbald archbishop of Yorke. These legats were gladlie receiued, not onlie by the foresaid kings and archbishops, but also of all other the high estates, aswell spirituall as temporall of the land, namelie of Kinewulfe king of the Westsaxons, which repaired vnto king Offa to take counsell with him for reformation of such articles as were conteined in the popes letters.

Eccle. hist. Magd. 786 H. Hunt. Legats from the pope.

Twentie articles which the legats had to propone.

There were twentie seuerall articles which they had to propone on the popes behalfe, as touching the receiuing of the faith or articles established by the Nicene councell, and obeieng of the other generall councels, with instructions concerning baptisme and keeping of synods yeerelie, for the examination of priests and ministers, and reforming of naughtie liuers. Moreouer touching discretion to be vsed in admitting of gouernors in monasteries, and curats or priests to the ministerie in churches: and further for the behauior of priests in wearing their apparell, namelie that they should not presume to come to the altar bare legged, lest their dishonestie might be discouered. And that in no wise the chalice or paten were made of the horne of an ore, bicause the same is bloudie of nature: nor the host of a crust, but of pure bread. Also whereas bishops vsed to sit in councels to iudge in secular causes, they were now forbidden so to do.

Manie other things were as meanes of reformation articled, both for spirituall causes, and also concerning ciuill ordinances, as disabling children to be heirs to the parents, which by them were not begot in lawfull matrimonie but on concubines, whether they were nunnes or secular women. Also of paiment of tithes, performing of vowes, auoiding of vndecent apparell, and abolishing of all manner of heathenish vsages and customes that sounded contrarie

Mans concubines.

Curtailing of horses.

trarie to the order of christianitie, as curtailing of horses, and eating of horses flesh. These things with manie other expressed in 20 principall articles (as we haue said) were first concluded to be receiued by the church of the Northumbers in a councell holden there, and subscribed by Alfwold king of the Northumbers, by Delberike bishop of Yerham, by Eubald archbishop of Yorke, Higwald bishop of Lindisserne, Edelbert bishop of Whiterne, Aldulfe bishop of Pieth, Ethelwine also another bishop by his deputies, with a number of other of the clergie; and lords also of the temporaltie, as duke Alrike, duke Segwulfe, abbat Alebericke, and abbat Erhard. After this confirmation had of the Northumbers, there was also a councell holden in Mercia at Cealtide, in the which these persons subscribed, Jambert or Lambert archbishop of Canturburie, Offa king of Mercia, Hughbright bishop of Lichfield, Edeulfe bishop of Faron, with Anwone bishop of Ligor, and nine other bishops, besides abbats; and three dukes, as Brorda, Farwald, and Bercoald, with earle Othbald.

But now to returne backe to speake of other doings, as in other parts of this land they fell out. About the yeare of our Lord 764, the see of Canturburie being void, one Jambert or Lambert was elected archbishop there, and in the yeare 766, the archbishop of Yorke Egbert departed this life, in whose place one Adelbert succeeded. About the 25 yeare of Kenwulf king of Westsarons, the Northumbers hauing to their capteine two noble men, Osbald and Ethelherard, burned one of their iudges named Bearne, bicause he was more cruell in iudgement (as they toke the matter) than reason required. In which vengeance executed vpon the cruell iudge (if he were so seuere as this attempt of the two noble men doth offer the readers to suspect) all such of his liuerie & calling are taught lenitie & mildnes, wherwith they should leuen the rigor of the lawe. For

capit indulgentia mentes,
Asperitas odium sæuáque bella mouet.
Odimus accipitrem, quia viuit semper in armis,
Et pauidum solitos in pecus ire lupos.
At caret insidys hominum, quia mitis hirundo est,
Quáque colat turres Chaonîs ales habet.

Ouid. Lib. 2. de art. am.

At the same time, one Alswald or Alfewald reigned ouer the Northumbers, being admitted K. after that Ethelbert was expelled, and when the same Alfwald had reigned 10, or (as some say) 11 yeares, he was traitorously slaine and without all guilt made away; the chiefe conspirator was named Siga. The same Alfwald was a iust prince, and worthilie gouerned the Northumbers to his high praise and commendation. He was murthered by his owne people (as before ye haue heard) the 23 of September, in the yeare of our Lord 788, and was buried at Yerham.

He began his reigne Anno. 779, as saith Simon Dun. and reigned but ten yeares.

788 Matth. West. Simon Dun.

In the yeare 792, Charles king of France sent a booke into Britaine, which was sent vnto him from Constantinople, conteining certeine articles agreed vpon in a synod (wherein were present aboue the number of three hundred bishops) quite contrarie and disagreeing from the true faith, namelie in this, that images ought to be worshipped, which the church of God vtterlie abhorreth. Against this booke Albinus that famous clearke wrote a treatise confirmed with places taken out of holie scripture, which treatise, with the booke in name of all the bishops and princes of Britaine, he presented vnto the king of France. ¶ In the yeare 800, on Christmasse euen chanced a maruellous tempest of wind, which ouerthrew whole cities and townes in diuerse places, and trees in great number, beside other harmes which it did, as by death of cattell, &c. In the yeare following a great part of London was consumed by fire.

792

Sim. Dunel. 800

Britricus K. of the Westsaxons, his inclination, *Egbert being of the bloud roiall* is banished the land, & why; crosses of bloudie colour *and drops of bloud fell from heauen, what* they did prognosticate; the first Danes that arriued *on the English coasts, and the cause of their comming; firie dragons* flieng in the aire foretokens of famine and warre; Britricus is poisoned of his wife Ethelburga, hir ill qualities; why the kings of the Westsaxons decreed that their wiues should not be called queenes, the miserable end of Ethelburga; Kenulfe king of Mercia, his vertues, he restoreth the archbishops see to Canturburie which was translated to Lichfield, he inuaderh Kent, taketh the king prisoner in the field; and bountifullie setteth him at libertie, the great ioy of the people thereupon; his rare liberalitie to churchmen, his death and buriall.

The seuenth Chapter.

Britricus. Hen. Hunt. Matt. VVest. saith 787. Simon Dun. saith 786.

After Kenwulfe, one Britricus or Brightrike was ordeined king of Westsaxons, and began his reigne in the yeare of our Lord 787, which was about the 8 yeare of the gouernment of the empresse Eirene with hir son Constantinus, and about the second yeare of the reigne of Achaius K. of Scots. This Brightrike was descended of the line of Cerdicus the first king of Westsaxons, the 16 in number from him. He was a man of nature quiet & temperate, more desirous of peace than of warre, and therefore he stood in doubt of the noble valiancie of one Egbert, which after succeeded him in the kingdome. The linage of Cerdicus was in that season so confounded and mingled, that euerie one as he grew in greatest power, strooe to be king and supreame gouernour. But specially Egbertus was knowne to be one that coueted that place, as he that was of the bloud roiall, and a man of great power and lustie courage. King Brightrike therefore to liue in more safetie, banished him the land, and appointed him to go into France. Egbert vnderstanding certeinlie that this his departure into a forreine countrie should aduance him in time, obeied the kings pleasure.

Egbert banished.

About the third yeare of Brightrikes reigne, there fell vpon mens garments, as they walked abroad, crosses of bloudie colour, and bloud fell from heauen as drops of raine. Some toke this wonder for a signification of the persecution that followed by the Danes: for shortlie after, in the yeare insuing, there arriued three Danish ships vpon the English coasts, against whome the lieutenant of the parties adioining made forth, to apprehend those that were come on land, howbeit aduenturing himselfe ouer rashlie amongst them, he was slaine: but afterwards when the Danes perceiued that the people of the countries about began to assemble, and were comming against them, they fled to their ships, and left their prey and spoile behind them for that time. These were the first Danes that arriued here in this land, being onelie sent (as was perceiued after) to view the countrie and coasts of the same, to vnderstand how with a greater power they might be able to inuade it, as shortlie after they did, and warred so with the Englishmen, that they got a great part of the land, and held it in their owne possession. In the tenth yeare of king Brightrikes reigne, there were seene in the aire fiue dragons flieng, which betokened (as was thought) two grieuous plagues that followed. First a great dearth and famine: and secondlie a cruell war of the Danes, which shortlie followed, as ye shall heare.

A strange wonder.

Matt. West. Wil. Malm. Hen. Hunt. Danes.

Famine for a signified.

M. ij. Finallie

Finallie, after that Brightrike had reigned the space of 16 yéeres, he departed this life, and was buried at Warham. Some write that he was poisoned by his wife Ethelburga daughter vnto Offa king of Mercia (as before ye haue heard) and he married hir in the fourth yere of his reigne. She is noted by writers to haue bin a verie euill woman, proud, and high-minded as Lucifer, and therewith disdainfull. She bare hir the more statelie, by reason of hir fathers great fame and magnificence: whome she hated she would accuse to hir husband, and so put them in danger of their liues. And if she might not so wreake hir rancour, she would not sticke to poison them.

Ran. Cest. lib. 5. cap. 25. Brightrike departed this life.

Ethelburga hir conditions and wicked nature.

It happened one day, as she meant to haue poisoned a yong gentleman, against whome she had a quarell, the king chanced to taste of that cup, and died thereof (as before ye haue heard.) Hir purpose indeed was not to haue poisoned the king, but onelie the yong gentleman, the which drinking after the king, died also, the poison was so strong and vehement. For hir heinous crime it is said that the kings of the West saxons would not suffer their wiues to be called queenes, nor permit them to sit with them in open places (where their maiesties should bee shewed) manie yéeres after. Ethelburga fearing punishment, fled into France with great riches and treasure, & was well cherished in the court of king Charles at the first, but after she was thrust into an abbeie, and demeaned hirselfe so lewdlie there, in keeping companie with one of hir owne countriemen, that she was banished the house, and after died in great miserie.

A decrée of the kings of the west saxons against their wiues.

The end of Ethelburga. Simon Dun.

Egbert king of Mercia departing this life, after he had reigned foure moneths, ordeined his cosine Kenulfe to succeed in his place, which Kenulfe was come of the line of Penda king of Mercis, as rightlie descended from his brother Kenwalke. This Kenulfe for his noble courage, wisedome, and vpright dealing, was worthie to be compared with the best princes that haue reigned. His vertues passed his fame: nothing he did that enuie could with iust cause reproue. At home he shewed himselfe godlie and religious, in warre he became victorious, he restored the archbishops see againe to Canturburie, wherein his humblenes was to be praised, that made no account of worldlie honour in his prouince, so that the order of the ancient canons might be obserued. He had wars left him as it were by succession from his predecessour Offa against them of Kent, and thervpon entring that countrie with a mightie armie, wasted and spoiled the same, and encountering in battell with king Edbert or Ethelbert, otherwise called Prenne, ouerthrew his armie, and tooke him prisoner in the field, but afterwards he released him to his great praise and commendation. For whereas he builded a church at Winchcombe, vpon the day of the dedication thereof, he led the Kentish king as then his prisoner, vp to the high altar, and there set him at libertie, declaring thereby a great proofe of of his good nature.

Kenulfe. Wil. Malm.

The archbishops see restored to Canturburie.

The king of Kent taken prisoner.

There were present at that sight, Cuthred whom he had made king of Kent in place of Ethelbert, or Edbert, with 13 bishops, and 10 dukes. The noise that was made of the people in reioising at the kings bountious liberalitie was maruellous. For not onelie he thus restored the Kentish king to libertie, but also bestowed great rewards vpon all the prelates and noble men that were come to the feast, euerie priest had a peece of gold, and euerie monke a shilling. Also he dealt and gaue away great gifts amongst the people, and founded in that place an abbeie, indowing the same with great possessions. Finallie, after he had reigned 24 yéeres, he departed this life, and appointed his buriall to be in the same abbeie of Winchcombe, leauing behind him a sonne named Kenelme, who succeeded his father in the kingdome, but was soone murthered by his vnnaturall sister Quendred, the 17 of Julie, as hereafter shall be shewed.

Kenulfs liberalitie towards church men which was not forgotten by them in their histories.

Ofrike king of Northumberland leaueth the kingdome to Edelbert reuoked out of exile, king Alfwalds sons miserablie slaine, *Ofred is put to death, Ethelbert putteth away his* wife and marieth another, his people rise against *him therefore and kill him, Oswald succeeding him is driuen* out of the land; Ardulfe king of Northumberland, duke Wade raiseth warre against him and is discomfited; duke Aldred is slaine; a sore battell fought in Northumberland, the English men afflict one another with ciuill warres; king Ardulfe deposed from his estate; the regiment of the Northumbers refused as dangerous and deadlie by destinie, what befell them in lieu of their disloialtie; the Danes inuade their land and are vanquished; the roiall race of the Kentish kings decaieth, the state of that kingdome; the primasie restored to the see of Canturburie, Egbert (after the death of Britricus) is sent for to vndertake the gouernement of the Westsaxons, his linage.

The eight Chapter.

Ofred. 788

Wil. Malm. Matth. West. Hen. Hunt. Simon Dun.

When Aswald king of Northumberland was made away, his brother Ofred the sonne of Alred toke vpon him the rule of that kingdom anno 788, and within one yeere was expelled, and left the kingdome to Ethelbert or Edelred as then reuoked out of exile, in which he had remained for the space of 12 yéeres, and now being restored, he continued in gouernement of the Northumbers 4 yéeres, or (as some say) 7 yéeres; in the second yéere whereof duke Eardulfe was taken and led to Ripon, and there without the gate of the monasterie wounded (as was thought) to death by the said king, but the monks taking his bodie, and laieng it in a tent without the church, after midnight he was found aliue in the church.

Duke Ardulf taken and wounded.

Moreouer, about the same time the sonnes of king Alfwald were by force drawne out of the citie of Yorke, but first by a wile they were trained out of the head church where they had taken sanctuarie, and so at length miserablie slaine by king Ethelbert in Wonwaldremere, one of them was named Alfus, & the other Alfwin. In the yéere of our Lord 792, Ofred vpon trust of the othes and promises of diuerse noble men, secretly returned into Northumberland, but his owne souldiers forsoke him, and so was he taken, and by king Ethelberts commandement put to death at Cunburge on the 14 day of September.

792

The same yéere king Ethelbert maried the ladie Alfled the daughter of Offa king of Mercia, forsaking his former wife which he had, & hauing no iust cause of diuorce giuen on hir part, wherby his people toke such displeasure against him, that finallie after he had reigned now this second time 4 yéeres, or (as other say) seuen yéeres, he could not auoid the destinis of his predecessors, but was miserablie killed by his owne subiects at Cobre, the 18 day of Aprill. After whome, one Oswald a noble man was ordeined king, and within 27 or 28 daies after was expelled, and constreined to flie first into the Ile of Lindisferne, and from thence vnto the king of Picts.

Odlie Ilend Ardulfe.

Then Ardulfe that was a duke and sonne to one Arnulfe was reuoked out of exile, made king, & consecrated also at Yorke by the archbishop Cumbald, and

and three other bishops, the 25 of June, in the yeere 796. 396. About two yeeres after, to wit, in the yeere 798, one duke Wade, and other consorts which had beene also partakers in the murthering of king Ethelbert, raised warre against king Ardulfe, and fought a battell with him at Walleg, but king Ardulfe got the vpper hand, and chased Wade and other his enimies out of the field. In the yeere 799, duke Alored that had murthered Ethelbert or Athelred king of Northumberland, was slaine by another duke called Thorthmond, in reuenge of the death of his maister the said Ethelbert. Shortlie after about the same time that Brightrike king of Westsaxons departed this life, there was a sore battell fought-ten in Northumberland at Wellehare, in the which Alricke the sonne of Herbert, and manie other with him were slaine: but to rehearse all the battels with their successes and issues, it should be too tedious and irksome to the readers, for the English people being naturallie hard and high-minded, continuallie scourged each other with intestine warres. About six or seuen yeeres after this battell, king Ardulfe was expelled out of the state.

796
Walalege.
799
The Englishmen afflicted each other with ciuill warre.

¶ Thus ye may consider in what plight things stood in Northumberland, by the often seditions, tumults and changings of gouernors, so that there be which haue written, how after the death of king Ethelbert, otherwise called Edelred, diuers bishops and other of the chiefest nobles of the countrie disdaining such traitorous prince-killings, ciuill seditions, and iniurious dealings, as it were put in dailie practise amongst the Northumbers, departed out of their natiue borders into voluntarie exile, and that from thencefoorth there was not anie of the nobilitie that durst take vpon him the kinglie gouernement amongst them, fearing the fatall prerogatiue thereof, as if it had beene Seians horse, whose rider came euer to some euill end. But yet by that which is heeretofore shewed out of Simon Dunelm. it is euident, that there reigned kings ouer the Northumbers, but in what authoritie and power to command, it may be doubted.

Osred. 788
Wil. Malm. Matth. West. Hen. Hunt. Simeon Dun.

Howbeit this is certeine, that the sundrie murtherings and banishments of their kings and dukes giue vs greatlie to gesse, that there was but sorie obedience vsed in the countrie, whereby for no small space of time that kingdome remained without an head gouernor, being set open to the prey and iniurie of them that were borderers vnto it, and likewise vnto strangers. For the Danes, which in those daies were great rouers, had landed before in the north parts, & spoiled the abbeie of Lindisferne otherwise called holie Iland, and perceiuing the fruitfulnesse of the countrie, and easinesse for their people to inuade it (because that through their priuate quarelling there was little publike resistance to be looked for) at their comming home, entised their countriemen to make voiages into England, and so landing in Northumberland, did much hurt, and obteined a great part of the countrie in manner without resistance, because there was no ruler there able to raise anie power of men by publike authoritie to incounter with the common enimies, whereby the countrie was brought into great miserie, partlie with war of the Danes, and ciuill dissention amongest the nobles and people themselues, no man being of authoritie (I say) able to reforme such misorders. Yet we find that the nobles and capteines of the countrie assembling togither at one time against the Danes that were landed about Tinmouth, constreined them by sharpe fight to flee backe to their ships, and toke certeine of them in the field, whose heads they stroke off there vpon the shore. The other that got to their ships, suffered great losse of men, and likewise of their vessels by tempest.

This chanced in the yeere of our Lord 790, as Simon Dun. saith.
The Danes inuade Northumberland.
The Danes vanquished. This was in anno 794. as Simon Dun. saith.

¶ Here then we are taught that the safest way to mainteine a monarchie, is when all degrees liue in loialtie. And that it is necessarie there should be one supereminent, vnto whome all the residue should stope: this fraile bodie of ours may giue vs sufficient instruction. For reason ruleth in the mind as souereigne, and hath subiect vnto it all the affections and inward motions, yea the naturall actions are directed by hir gouernement: whereto if the will be obedient there cannot creepe in anie outrage or disorder. Such should be the sole regiment of a king in his kingdome; otherwise he may be called *Rex à regendo*, as *Mons à mouendo*. For there is not a greater enimie to that estate, than to admit participants in roialtie, which as it is a readie way to cause a subuersion of a monarchie; so it is the shortest cut ouer to a disordered anarchie. But to proceed in the historie.

After that Alrike (the last of king Witchtreds sonnes, which reigned in Kent successiuelie after their father) was dead, the noble offspring of the kings there so deceased, and began to vade awaie, that euerie one which either by flattering had got riches togither, or by seditious partaking was had in estimation, sought to haue the gouernement, and to vsurp the title of king, abusing by vnworthie means the honor and dignitie of so high an office. Amongest others, one Eobert or Edelbert, surnamed also Prenne, gouerned the Kentishmen for the space of two yeares, and was in the end vanquished by them of Mercia, and taken prisoner, as before is said: so that for a time he liued in captiuitie, and although afterwards he was set at libertie, yet was he not receiued againe to the kingdome, so that it is vncerteine what end he made. Cuthred that was appointed by kinebulfe the king of Mercia, to reigne in place of the same Eobert or Edelbert, continued in the gouernement eight yeeres as king, rather by name than by act, inheriting his predecessors euill hap and calamitie, through factions and ciuill discord.

Edelbert.

After that Jambrith or Lambert the archbishop of Canturburie was departed this life, one Edelred was ordeined in his place, vnto whome the primatie was restored, which in his predecessors time was taken awaie by Offa king of Mercia, as before is recited. Also after the death of Eubald archbishop of Yorke, another of the same name called Eubald the second was admitted to succeed in that see. After that Brightrike the king of Westsaxons was departed this life, messengers were sent with all speed into France, to giue knowledge thereof vnto Egbert, which as before is shewed, was constreined by the said Brightrike to depart the countrie. At the first, he withdrew vnto Offa king of Mercia, with whome he remained for a time, till at length (through suit made by Brightrike) he perceiued he might not longer continue there without danger to be deliuered into his enimies hands; and so Offa winking at the matter, he departed out of his countrie, and got him ouer into France. But being now aduertised of Brightriks death, and required by earnest letters sent from his friends to come and receiue the gouernement of the kingdome, he returned with all conuenient speed into his countrie, and was receiued immediatlie for king, by the generall consent of the Westsaxons, as well in respect of the good hope which they had conceiued of his worthie qualities and aptnesse to haue gouernement, as of his roiall linage, being lineallie descended from Inigils the brother of king Inas, as sonne to Alkemound, that was the sonne of one Cassa, which Cassa was sonne to Ope the sonne of the foresaid Inigils.

Lambert.
Egbert receiued as king of Westsaxons his linage.

M. iij. Egbert

Egbert reigneth ouer the Westsaxons, *his practise or exercise in the time of his* exile, his martiall exploits against the Cornishmen *and Welshmen, Bernulfe king of Mercia* taketh indignation at Egbert for the inlarging of his *roiall authoritie, they fight a sore battell, Egbert ouercometh*, great ods betweene their souldiers, bishop Alstan a warriour; Kent, Essex, Southerie, Sussex, and Eastangles subiect to Egbert; he killeth Bernulfe K. of Mercia, and conquereth the whole kingdome, Whitlafe the king thereof becommeth his tributarie, the Northumbers submit themselues to Egbert, he conquereth Northwales and the citie of Chester, he is crowned supreme gouernour of the whole land, when this Ile was called England, the Danes inuade the land, they discomfit Egberts host, the Welshmen ioine with the Danes against Egbert, they are both vanquished, Egbert dieth.

The ninth Chapter.

Egbert. 802 as Simon Dunel. and M. W. hath noted but 801.

THis Egbert began his reigne in the yeare of our Lord 800, which was the 4 yeare almost ended, after that the emperour Cirine began the second time to rule the empire, and in the 24 yeare of the reigne of Charles the great king of France, which also was in the same yeare after he was made emperour of the west, and about the second yeare of Conwall king of Scots. Whilest this Egbert remained in exile, he turned his aduersaries into an occasion of his valiancie, as it had bene a grindstone to grind awaie and remoue the rust of sluggish slouthfulnes, in so much that hawnting the wars in France, in seruice of Charles the great, he atteined to great knowledge and experience, both in matters apperteining to the wars, and likewise to the well ordering of the common wealth in time of peace. The first wars that he toke in hand, after he had atteined to the kingdome, was against the Cornishmen, a remnant of the old Britains, whome he shortlie ouercame and subdued. Then he thought good to tame the vnquiet Welshmen, the which still were readie to moue rebellion against the Englishmen, as they that being vanquished, would not yet seeme to be subdued, wherefore about the 14 yeare of his reigne, he inuaded the countrie of Wales, and went through the same from east to west, not finding anie person that durst resist him.

Simon Dun. Hen. Hunt.

King Egbert hauing ouercome his enimies of Wales and Cornewall, began to grow in authoritie aboue all the other rulers within this land, in so much that euerie of them began to feare their owne estate, but namelie Bernulfe king of Mercia sore stomached the matter, as he that was wise, and of a lofttie courage, and yet doubted to haue to do with Egbert, who was knowen also to be a man both skilfull and valiant. At length yet considering with himselfe, that if his chance should be to spæd well, so much the more should his praise be increased, he determined to attempt the fortune of warre, and therevpon intimated the same vnto Egbert, who supposing it should be a dishonor vnto him to giue place, boldlie prepared to meete Bernulfe in the field. Herevpon they incountred togither at Ellendon, & fought a sore battell, in the which a huge number of men were slaine, what on the one part, and on the other, but in the end the victorie remained with Egbert, although he had not the like host for number vnto Bernulfe, but he was a politike prince, and of great experience, hauing chosen his souldiers of nimble, leane, and hartie men; where Bernulfs souldiers (through long ease) were cowardlie persons, and ouercharged with flesh. The battell was fought in the yeare of our Lord 826.

Bernulf king of Mercia.

A battell fought at Ellendon.

Egbert wan the victorie.

Wil. Malm. 826

King Egbert hauing got this victorie, was aduanced into such hope, that he persuaded himselfe to be able without great adoo to ouercome the residue of his neighbours, whose estates he saw plainelie sore weakened and fallen into great decaie. Herevpon before all other, he determined to assaile Edelwulfe king of Kent, whome he knew to be a man in no estimation amongest his subiects. A competent armie therefore being leuied, he appointed his sonne Ethelwulfe & Alstan bishop of Shireborne, with earle Walhard to haue the conduct thereof, and sent them with the same into Kent, where they wrought such maisteries, that they chased both the king and all other that would not submit themselues, out of the countrie, constreining them to passe ouer the Thames. And herewith the Westsaxons following the victorie, brought vnder subiection of king Egbert the countries of Kent, Esser, Southerie, and Susser. The Eastangles also about the same time receiued king Egbert for their souereigne Lord, and comforted by his setting on against Bernulfe king of Mercia, inuaded the confines of his kingdome, in reuenge of displeasures which he had done to them latelie before, by inuading their countrie, and as it came to passe, incountring with the said Bernulfe which came against them to defend his countrie, they slue him in the field.

Alstan bishop of Shireborn a warrior.

The cõquests of the Westsaxons.

Henr. Hunt.

Bernulf king of Mercia slaine.

Thus their minds on both parts being kindled into further wrath, the Eastangles essoines in the yeare following fought with them of Mercia, and ouercame them againe, and slue their king Ludicenus, who succeeded Bernulfe in that kingdome, with 5 of his earles. The state of the kingdome of Mercia being weakened, Egbert conceiued an assured hope of good successe, & in the 27 yeare of his reigne, made an open inuasion into the countrie, and chasing Whitlafe king of Mercia (that succeeded Ludicenus) out of his estate, conquered the whole kingdome of the Mercies. But yet in the yeare next following, or in the third yeare after, he restored it againe to Whitlafe, with condition, that he should inioy the same as tributarie to him, and acknowledge him for his supreme gouernour. The same yeare that Bernulfe king of Mercia was slaine by the Eastangles, there was a sore battell foughten at Gauelford, betwixt them of Deuonshire, and the Britains, in the which manie thousands died on both parts.

Simon Dun.

These were the Cornish men as is to be supposed.

King Egbert hauing conquered all the English people inhabiting on the south side of Humber, led forth his armie against them of Northumberland: but the Northumbers being not onelie vexed with ciuill sedition, but also with the often inuasion of Danes, perceiued not how they should be able to resist the power of king Egbert: and therefore vpon good aduisement taken in the matter, they resolued to submit themselues, and therevpon sent ambassadors to him to offer their submission, committing themselues wholie vnto his protection. King Egbert gladlie receiued them, and promised to defend them from all forren enimies. Thus the kingdome of Northumberland was brought vnder subiection to the kings of the Westsaxons, after the state had been sore weakened with contention and ciuill discord that had continued amongst the nobles of the countrie, for the space of manie yeares, beside the inuasion made by outward enimies, to the grieuous damage of the people.

King Egbert inuadeth Northumberland.

The Northumbers submit themselues to king Egbert.

After that king Egbert had finished his businesse in Northumberland, he turned his power towards the countrie of Northwales, and subdued the same, with

Ran. Higd. Northwales and the citie of Chester conquered by Egbert.

with the citie of Chester, which till those daies, the Britains or Welshmen had kept in their possession. When king Egbert had obteined these victories, and made such conquests as before is mentioned, of the people here in this land, he caused a councell to be assembled at Winchester, and there by aduise of the high estates, he was crowned king, as souereigne gouernour and supreame lord of the whole land. It is also recorded, that he caused a commission to be directed forth into all parts of the realme, to giue commandement, that from thence forward all the people inhabiting within this land, should be called English men, and not Saxons, and likewise the land should be called England by one generall name, though it should appere (as before is mentioned) that it was so called shortlie after the first time that the Angles and Saxons got possession thereof.

The name of this Ile when it was changed.

Now was king Egbert setled in good quiet, and his dominions reduced out of the troubles of warre, when suddenlie newes came, that the Danes with a nauie of 35 ships, were arriued on the English coasts, and began to make sore warre in the land. K. Egbert being thereof aduertised, with all conuenient spéd got togither an armie, and went forth to giue battell to the enimies. Herevpon incountring with them, there was a sore foughten field betwixt them, which continued with great slaughter on both sides, till the night came on, and then by chance of warre the Englishmen, which before were at point to haue gone awaie with victorie, were vanquished and put to flight, yet king Egbert by couert of the night escaped his enimies hands: but two of his chiefe capteins Dudda and Osmond, with two bishops, to wit, Herferd of Winchester, and Wigfard of Shireborne, were slaine in that battell, which was foughten at Carrum, about the 834 of Christ, and 34 yere of king Egberts reigne.

The Danes.

The Englishmen discomfited by Danes. Simon Dun. H. Hunt. Matth. West. 834

In the yere following, the Danes with their nauie came into West wales, and there the Welshmen ioining with them, rose against king Egbert, but he with prosperous fortune vanquished and slue both the Danes and Welshmen, and that in great number, at a place called Hengistenton. The next yere after also, which was 836, he ouerthrew another armie of Danes which came against him, as one author writeth. Finallie, when king Egbert had reigned the tearme of 36 yeres and seuen moneths with great glorie for the inlarging of his kingdome with wide bounds, which when he receiued was but of small compasse, he departed this life, leauing to his issue matter of worthie praise to mainteine that with order which he with painefull diligence had ioined togither. His bodie was buried at Winchester, and he left behind him two sonnes Ethelwulfe, otherwise named Athaulfe and Adelstan. The first he appointed to succéd him in the kingdome of West saxons, and Adelstan he ordeined to haue the gouernment of Kent, Suller, and Esser.

Danes and Welshmen vanquished. 836. Matth. West.

Egbert departeth this life. 837 Matth. West.

¶ Here we sée the paterne of a fortunate prince in all his affaires, as well forren as domesticall, wherein is first to be obserued the order of his education in his tender yeres, which agreeing well with a princes nature, could not but in the progresse of his age bring great matters to passe, his manifold victories are an argument that as he lacked no policie, so he had prowesse inough to incounter with his enimies, to whome he gaue manie a foule discomfiture. But among all other notes of his skill and hope of happie successe in his martiall affaires, was the good choise that he made of seruiceable souldiers, being such as knew how to get the victorie, and hauing gotten it, were not vntaught to vse it to their behoofe, by their warinesse and hardinesse, for

Sepius vincendi nocuit victoria virtus.

The kingdome of Kent annexed to the *kingdome of the Westsaxons, the end of the* kingdome of Kent and Essex; Kenelme king of *Mercia murthered by the meanes of his owne sis-* ter Quendred, the order of hir wicked practise, his *death propheſied or foreshewed by a signe, the kings of Mercia* put by their roialtie one after another, the kingdome of Britaine beginneth to be a monarchie; Ethelwulfe king of the Westsaxons, he marrieth his butlers daughter, his disposition; the fourth destruction of this land by forren enimies, the Danes sought the ruine of this Ile, how long they afflicted and troubled the same; two notable bishops and verie seruiceable to king Ethelwulfe in warre, the Danes discomfited, the Englishmen chased, Ethelwulfs great victorie ouer the Danes, a great slaughter of them at Tenet, king Ethelwulfs deuotion and liberalitie to churches, Peter pence paid to Rome, he marrieth the ladie Iudith, his two sonnes conspire (vpon occasion of breaking a law) to depose him, king Ethelwulfe dieth, his foure sonnes by his first wife Osburga, how he bequeathed his kingdoms.

The tenth Chapter.

WHen Cuthred K. of Kent had reigned 8 yeres, as before is mentioned, he was constreined to giue place vnto one Baldred, that tooke vpon him the gouernment, & reigned the space of 18 yeres, without anie great authoritie, for his subiects regarded him but soslie, so that in the end, when his countrie was inuaded by the Westsaxons, he was easlie constreined to depart into exile. And thus was the kingdome of Kent annexed to the kingdome of the Westsaxons, after the same kingdome had continued in gouernment of kings created of the same nation for the space of 382 yeers, that is to say, from the yere of our Lord 464, vnto the yere 827. Suithred or Suthred king of Esser was vanquished and expelled out of his kingdome by Egbert king of Westsaxons (as before ye maie read) in the same yere that the Kentishmen were subdued by the said Egbert, or else verie shortlie after. This kingdome continued 281 yeres, from the yere 614, vnto the yere 795, as by the table of the Heptarchie set forth by Alexander Neuill appereth. After the decease of Kenwulfe king of Mercia, his sonne Kenelme a child of the age of seuen yeres was admitted king, about the yere of our Lord 821. He had two sisters, Quendred and Burgenild, of the which the one (that is to say) Quendred, of a malicious mind, moued through ambition, enuied hir brothers aduancement, and sought to make him awaie, so that in the end she corrupted the gouernour of his person one Athbert, with great rewards and high promises persuading him to dispatch hir innocent brother out of life, that she might reigne in his place. Athbert one day vnder a colour to haue the yong king forth on hunting, led him into a thicke wood, and there cut off the head from his bodie, an impe by reason of his tender yeres and innocent age, vnto the world void of gilt, and yet thus traitorouslie murthered without cause or crime: he was afterward reputed for a maryr.

Wil. Malm.

The end of the kingdome of Kent. 827

The end of the kingdome of Esser.

Matt. Westm. 821

The wickednes of Quendred.

King Kenelm murthered.

There hath gone a tale that his death should be signified at Rome, and the place where the murther was committed, by a strange manner: for (as they say) a white doue came and lighted vpon the altar of saint Peter, bearing a scroll in hir bill, which she let fall on the same altar, in which scroll among other things this was conteined, In clenc kou bath, Kenelme kinbarne lieth vnder thorne, heaued bereaued: that is, at Clenc in a cow pasture, Kenelme the kings child lieth beheaded vnder a thorne. This tale

See legenda aurea. fol. 167. in the life of S. Kenelme.

I rehearse, not for anie credit I thinke it worthie of, but onelie for that it seemeth to note the place where the yong prince innocentlie lost his life.

Ceolwulfe K. of Mercia. 823

After that Kenelme was thus made awaie, his vncle Ceolwulfe the brother of king Kenulfe was created king of Mercia, and in the second yeere of his reigne was expelled by Bernwulfe. Bernwulfe in the third yeere of his reigne, was vanquished and put to flight in battell by Egbert king of Westsarons, and shortlie after slaine of the Eastangles, as before ye haue heard. Then one Ludicenus or Ludicanus was created king of Mercia, and within two yeeres after came to the like end that happened to his predecessor before him, as he went about to reuenge his death, so that the kingdome of Britaine began now to reele from their owne estate, and leane to an alteration, which grew in the end to the erection of a perfect monarchie, and finall subuersion of their particular estates and regiments. After Ludicenus, succeeded Wightlafe, who first being vanquisht by Egbert king of Westsarons, was afterwards restored to the kingdome by the same Egbert, and reigned 13 yeeres, whereof twelue at the least were vnder tribute which he paied to the said Egbert and to his sonne, as to his souereignes and supreame gouernours. The kingdome of Northumberland was brought in subiection to the kings of Westsarons, as before is mentioned, in the yeere of our Lord 828, and in the yeere of the reigne of king Egbert 28, but yet heere it toke not end, as after shall appeere.

Matt. Westm. 728

828

Ethelwulfus.

Ethelwulfus, otherwise called by some writers Athaulfus, began his reigne ouer the Westsarons in the yeere 837, which was in the 24 yeere of the emperor Ludouicus Pius that was also K. of France, in the tenth yeere of Theophilus the emperor of the East, & about the third yeere of Kenneth, the second of that name king of Scots. This Ethelwulfe minding in his youth to haue beene a priest, entered into the orders of subdeacon, and as some write, he was bishop of Winchester: but howsoeuer the matter stood, or whether he was or not, sure it is, that shortlie after he was absolued of his vowes by authoritie of pope Leo, and then maried a proper gentlewoman named Osburga, which was his butlers daughter. He was of nature courteous, and rather desirous to liue in quiet rest, than to be troubled with the gouernment of manie countries, so that contenting himselfe with the kingdome of Westsarons, he permitted his brother Adelstan to inioy the residue of the countries which his father had subdued, as Kent and Esser, with other. He aided Burthred the king of Mercia against the Welshmen, and greatlie aduanced his estimation, by giuing vnto him his daughter in mariage.

Henrie Hunt. Matth. West.

Will. Malm.

Foure especiall destructions of this land.

But now the fourth destruction which chanced to this land by forren enimies, was at hand: for the people of Denmarke, Norway, and other of those northeast regions, which in that season were great rouers by sea, had tasted the wealth of this land by such spoiles and preies as they had taken in the same, so that perceiuing they could not purchase more profit anie where else, they set their minds to inuade the same on ech side, as they had partlie begun in the daies of the late kings Brightrike and Egbert. The persecution vsed by these Danes seemed more greeuous, than anie of the other persecutions, either before or sithens that time: for the Romans hauing quicklie subdued the land, gouerned it noblie without seeking the subuersion thereof. The Scots and Picts onelie inuaded the north parts. And the Saxons seeking the conquest of the land, when they had once got it, they kept it, and did what they could, to better and aduance it to a flourishing estate.

Simon Dun. Hen. Hunt.

The Normans likewise hauing made a conquest, granted both life, libertie, and ancient lawes to the former inhabitants: but the Danes long time and often assailing the land on euerie side, now inuading it in this place, and now in that, did not at the first so much couet to conquer it, as to spoile it, nor to beare rule in it, as to waste and destroie it: who if they were at anie time ouercome, the victors were nothing the more in quiet: for a new naule, and a greater armie was readie to make some new inuasion, neither did they enter all at one place, nor at once, but one companie on the east side, and an other in the west, or in the north and south coasts, in such sort, that the Englishmen knew not whether they should first go to make resistance against them.

The Danes sought the destruction of this land.

This mischiefe began chieflie in the daies of this king Ethelwulfe, but it continued about the space of two hundred yeeres, as by the sequele of this booke it shall appeere. King Ethelwulfe was not so much giuen to ease, but that vpon occasion for defense of his countrie and subiects, he was readie to take order for the beating backe of the enimies, as occasion serued, and speciallie chose such to be of his counsell, as were men of great experience and wisedome. Amongst other, there were two notable prelats, Suithune bishop of Winchester, and Adelstan bishop of Shireborne, who were readie euer to giue him good aduise. Suithune was not so much expert in worldlie matters as Adelstan was, & therefore chieflie counselled the king in things apperteining to his soules health: but Adelstan toke in hand to order matters apperteining to the state of the commonwealth, as prouiding of monie, and furnishing forth of men to withstand the Danes, so that by him manie things were both boldlie begun, and happilie atchiued, as by writers hath beene recorded. He gouerned the see of Shireborne the space of 50 yeeres, by the good counsell and faithfull aduise of those two prelats.

How long the persecution of the Danes lasted.

Will. Malmes.

Two notable bishops in Ethelwulfs daies.

King Ethelwulfe gouerned his subiects verie politikelie, and by himselfe and his capteins oftentimes put the Danes to flight, though as chance of warre falleth out, he also receiued at their hands great losses, and sundrie sore detriments. In the first yeere of his reigne, the Danes arriued at Hampton, with 33 ships, against whome he sent earle Wulhard with part of his armie, the which giuing battell to the enimies, made great slaughter of them, and obteined a noble victorie. He sent also earle Adelhelme with the Dorsetshire men against an other number of the Danes, which were landed at Portesmouth, but after long fight, the said Adelhelme was slaine, and the Danes obteined the victorie. In the yeere following, earle Herbert fought against the Danes at Werseware, and was there slaine, and his men chased. The same yeere, a great armie of Danes passing by the east parts of the land, as through Lindsey, Eastangle, and Kent, slue and murthered an huge number of people. The nert yeere after this, they entered further into the land, and about Canturburie, Rochester, and London, did much mischiefe.

Simon Dun. Hen. Hunt.

Danes discomfited. Matth. West.

Englishmen put to flight.

They are eftsoones vanquished.

King Ethelwulfe in the fift yeere of his reigne, with a part of his armie incountred with the Danes at Carrum, the which were arriued in those parties with 30 ships, hauing their full fraught of men, so that for so small a number of vessels, there was a great power of men of warre, in so much that they obteined the victorie at that time, and put the king to the worse. About the tenth yeere of king Ethelwulfs reigne, one of his capteins called Ernwulfe, and bishop Adelstan, with the Summersetshire men, and an other capteine called Osred, with the Dorsetshire men, fought against the Danes, at a place called Pedredesmuth, and vanquished them with great triumph. In the sixteenth yeere of his reigne, king Ethelwulfe and his sonne Edelbald hauing assembled

Carrum.

The Danes wan the victorie in battell.

Danes are quished. Simon. Dun. 851

all

Ocley.

all their powers togither, gaue battell at Ocley, to an huge hoſt of Danes, the which with foure hundred and ſixtie ſhips had arriued at Thames mouth, and deſtroied the famous cities of London and Canturburie, and alſo had chaſed Brightwulfe king of Mercia in battell, and being now entered into Southerie, were incountered by king Ethelwulfe at Ocley aforeſaid, & after ſore fight and incredible ſlaughter made on both ſides, in the end, the victorie by the power of God was giuen to thoſe that beléued on him, and the loſſe reſted with great confuſion to the miſcreants.

Two hundred and ſixtie ſhips ſaith Hen. Hunt.

The Danes eftſoones vanquiſhed.

Thus king Ethelwulfe obteined a glorious victorie in ſo mightie a battell, as a greater had not béene lightlie heard of to chance within the Engliſh dominions. The ſame yéere alſo Athelſtan king of Kent and duke Ealhere fought by ſea with the Danes, and tooke 9 of their ſhips, and chaſed the reſidue. Moreouer, one earle Ceorle hauing with him the power of Deuonſhire, fought with the Danes at Winleſhore, and got the victorie. This yéere was verie luckie to the Engliſh nation, but yet the armie of the Danes lodged all the winter ſeaſon in the Ile of Tenet. And this was the firſt time that they remained héere all the winter, vſing afore time but to come and make an inuaſion in one place or other, and immediatlie to returne home with the préy.

Danes ouercome by ſea.

The Deuonſhiremen vanquiſh the Danes.

Simon Dun. 852

In the 18 yéere of king Ethelwulfes reigne, he aided Burthred king of Mercia againſt the Welſhmen (as before is mentioned) and gaue to him his daughter in marriage, the ſolemnization whereof was kept at Chipnham. The ſame yéere king Ethelwulfe ſent his ſonne Alured as then but fiue yéeres of age to Rome, where he was conſecrated K. by pope Leo the fourth, and was receiued of him as if he had béene his owne ſonne. Duke Ealhere or Eachere with the Kentiſhmen, and one Huda or rather Wada, with the men of Southerie, fought againſt the armie of Danes at Tenet, where great ſlaughter was made on both ſides, the Engliſhmen préuailing in the beginning, but in the end, both their foreſaid dukes or leaders died in that battell, beſide manie other that were ſlaine and drowned.

Great ſlaughter of Danes at Tenet.

In the 19 yéere of his reigne, king Ethelwulfe ordeined that the tenths or tithes of all lands due to be paid to the church, ſhould be frée from all tribute, duties, or ſeruices regall. And afterwards, with great deuotion he went to Rome, where he was receiued with great honour, and taried there one whole yéere: he tooke with him his ſonne Alured, who had béene there before as ye haue heard. He repaired the Sarons ſchoole, which Offa king of Mercia had ſometime founded in that citie, and latelie had béene ſore decaied by fire. He confirmed the grant of Peter pence, to the intent that no Engliſhmen from thence-forth ſhould do penance in bounds as he ſaw ſome there to do before his face. It is alſo written, that he ſhould acquit all the churches of his realme of paieng tribute to his coffers (as before ye haue heard) & moreouer couenanted to ſend vnto Rome euerie yéere three hundred marks, that is to ſay, one hundred marks to ſaint Peters church, an other hundred marks to ſaint Paules light, and the third hundred marks to the Pope.

The Saxons ſchoole.

King Ethelwulfs liberalitie to churches.

Will. Malmeſ. Simon Dun. Mancuſa.

In his returne thorough France, he married the ladie Judith, daughter to Charles the bald, then K. of France, and bringing hir with him into his countrie, placed hir by him in a chaire of eſtate, with which déed he offended ſo the minds of his ſubiects, becauſe it was againſt the order taken before him, for the offenſe of Ethelburga, that his ſonne Ethelbald and Adelſtan biſhop of Shireborne, with Enwulfe earle of Summerſet, conſpired to depoſe him from his kinglie authoritie; but by mediation of friends, the matter was taken vp, and ſo ordered, that the kingdome was diuided betwixt the father and the ſonne, with ſuch partialitie, that the ſonne had the better part lieng weſtward, and the father was conſtreined to content himſelfe with the eaſt part being the woorſt.

The ladie Judith.

Of this trouble of Ethelwulfe ſome write otherwiſe, after this manner word for word. ¶ Ethelwulfe king of the Weſt ſaxons being returned from Rome & the parties beyond the ſeas, was prohibited the entrance into his realme by Adelſtane biſhop of Shireborne, and Ethelbald his eldeſt ſonne; pretending outwardlie the coronation of Alſtride, the marriage of Judith the French kings daughter, and open eating with hir at the table, to be the onelie cauſe of this their manifeſt rebellion. Whereby he ſéemeth to inferre, that this reuolting of Adelſtane and his ſon, ſhould proceed of the ambitious deſire of Ethelbald to reigne, and likelie inough, or elſe this vnequall partition ſhould neuer haue béene made.

Wil. Malm. 857

But howſoeuer the matter ſtood, king Ethelwulfe liued not long after his returne from Rome, but departed this life, after he had ruled the kingdome of the Weſt ſaxons the ſpace of 20 yéeres and od moneths. His bodie was buried at Wincheſter. He left behind him foure ſonnes, Ethelbald, Ethelbert or Ethelbright, Ethelred, and Alfred or Alured, which was begotten of his firſt wife Oſburga. A little before his death he made his teſtament and laſt will, appointing his ſonne Ethelbald to ſucceed him in the whole regiment of his kingdoms of Weſſex and Suſſex, which he held by inheritance: but the kingdoms of Kent and Eſſex he aſſigned to his ſon Ethelbright. About the ſame time alſo the Danes ſoiourned all the winter ſeaſon in the Ile of Shepie.

Onelie Weſſex ſaith Matt. Weſtm. and Sim. Dunel. ſaith that Ethelbright had Suſſex alſo, and ſo doth H. Hunt.

Math. Paris.

¶ The old Saxons doo bring the genealogie of this Ethelwulfe to Adam, after this maner following.

Ethelwulfe the ſonne of Egbert,

the ſon of Alemund,	the ſon of Frethelwold,
the ſon of Eafa,	the ſon of Freolafe,
the ſon of Eopa,	the ſon of Frethewolfe,
the ſon of Ingils,	the ſon of Finnie,
the ſon of Benred,	the ſon of Godulfe,
the ſon of Coelwald,	the ſon of *Geta,
the ſon of Cudwine,	the ſon of Teathwie,
the ſon of Ceawlin,	the ſon of Beame,
the ſon of Kenric,	the ſon of Sceldie,
the ſon of Cerdic,	the ſon of Beafe,
the ſon of Elſie,	the ſon of Heremod,
the ſon of Gewiſe,	the ſon of Itermod,
the ſon of Wingie,	the ſon of Hordie,
the ſon of Freawin,	the ſon of Wale,
the ſon of Fridagare,	the ſon of Bedwie,
the ſon of Brendle,	the ſon of Sem,
the ſon of Beldegie,	the ſon of Noah,
the ſon of Woden,	and ſo forth to Adam, as

*De quo Solinus in cer. paſch.

you ſhall find it by retrogradation from the 32 verſe vnto the firſt of the fift chapter of Geneſis. Which genealogicall recapitulation in their nationall families and tribes, other people alſo haue obſerued: as the Spaniards, who reckon their deſcent from Heſperus, before the Gothes and Moors ouerran their land; the Italians from Aeneas, before they were mingled with the Vandals and Lumbards; the Saxons from Woden, before they were mired with the Danes and Normans; the Frenchmen at this day from the Thracians; the Germans from the children of Gwillon; and other people from their farre fetcht anceſtrie. To conclude, of this Ethelwulfe it is written, that he was ſo well learned & deuout, that the clerks of the church of Wincheſter did chuſe him in his youth to be biſhop, which function he vndertooke, and was biſhop of the ſaid ſée by the ſpace of ſeuen yéeres before he was king.

Iohn Caſtor. Simon Dun Matt. Parker. A kings ſon and heire a biſhop.

Bertwolfe

Bertwolfe king of Mercia tributarie to *the West saxons, the fame of Modwen an* Irish virgine, she was a great builder of monasteries, *she had the gift of healing diseases, Ethelbald* and Ethelbright diuide their fathers kingdome *betwixt them, Ethelbald marieth his mother, he dieth, Win*chester destroied by the Danes, they plaied the trucebreakers and did much mischiefe in Kent, Ethelbright dieth; Ethelred king of the West saxons, his commendable qualities, his regiment was full of trouble, he fought against the Danes nine times in one yere with happie successe, the kings of Mercia fall from their fealtie and allegiance to Ethelred, Hungar & Vbba two Danish capteines with their power lie in Eastangle, Osbright and Ella kings of Northumberland slaine of the Danes in battell, they set Yorke on fire, a commendation of bishop Adelstan, his departure out of this life.

The eleuenth Chapter.

Bertwolfe. of Mercia.

AFter Wightlafe king of Mercia, one Bertwolfe reigned as tributarie vnto the West saxons, the space of 13 yeeres, about the end of which tearme he was chased out of his countrie by the Danes, and then one Burthred was made king of that kingdome, which maried Ethelswida the sister of Ethelwolfe king of West saxons. In this season, one Modwen a virgine in Ireland was greatlie renowmed in the world, vnto whome the forenamed king Ethelwolfe sent his sonne Alfred to be cured of a disease, that was thought incurable: but by hir meanes he recouered health, and therefore when hir monasterie was destroied in Ireland, Modwen came ouer into England, vnto whom king Ethelwolfe gaue land to build two abbeies, and also deliuered vnto hir his sister Edith to be professed a nun. Modwen herevpon built two monasteries, one at Pouleswoorth, ioining to the bounds of Arderne, wherein she placed the foresaid Edith, with Osith and Athea: the other, whether it was a monasterie or cell, she founded in Strenshall or Trentsall, where she hir selfe remained solitarie a certeine time in praier, and other vertuous exercises. And (as it is reported) she went thrice to Rome, and finallie died, being 130 yeeres of age. Hir bodie was first buried in an Iland compassed about with the riuer of Trent called Andresey, taking that name of a church or chappell of saint Andrew, which she had built in the same Iland, and dwelled therein for the space of seuen yeeres. Manie monasteries she builded, both in England (as partlie aboue is mentioned) and also in Scotland, as at Strieuling, Edenbrough; and in Ireland, at Celestline, and elsewhere.

Matth. West. saith the daughter. Ranulf. Cest. Iohn Capgraue.

Ethelbald and Ethelbright. 857

Ethelbald and Ethelbright diuiding their fathers kingdom betwixt them, began to reigne, Ethelbald ouer the West saxons and the South saxons, and Ethelbright ouer them of Kent and Esser, in the yeere of our Lord 857, which was in the second yeere of the emperor Lewes the second, & the 17 of Charles surnamed Caluus or the bald king of France, and about the first yeere of Donald the fift of that name king of Scots. The said Ethelbald greatlie to his reproch toke to wife his mother in law queene Iudith, or rather (as some write) his owne mother, whom his father had kept as concubine. He liued not past fiue yeeres in gouernement of the kingdome, but was taken out of this life to the great sorrow of his subiects whome he ruled right worthilie, and so as they had him in great loue and estimation. Then his brother Ethelbright toke on him the rule of the whole gouernment, as well ouer the West saxons & them of Suller, as ouer the Kentishmen and them of Esser.

The vnlawful mariage of Ethelbald. Wil. Malm.

In his daies the Danes came on land, and destroid the citie of Winchester: but duke Osrike with them of Hamshire, and duke Adelwolfe with the Barkeshire men gaue the enimies battell, & vanquishing them, slue of them a great number. In the fift yeere of Ethelbrights reigne, a navie of Danes arriued in the Ile of Tenet, vnto whome when the Kentishmen had promised a summe of monie to haue a truce granted for a time, the Danes one night, before the tearme of that truce was expired, brake forth and wasted all the east part of Kent: whereupon the Kentishmen assembled togither, made towardes those trucebreakers, and caused them to depart out of the countrie. The same yeere, after that Ethelbright had ruled well and peaceably the West saxons fiue yeeres, and the Kentishmen ten yeeres, he ended his life, and was buried at Shireborne, as his brother Ethelbald was before him.

Hen. Hunt. Winchester destroied by Danes.

Danes vanquished.

Ethelred. 867

AFter Ethelbright succeeded his brother Ethelred, and began his reigne ouer the West saxons and the more part of the English people, in the yeere of our Lord 867, and in the 12 yeere of the emperour Lewes, in the 27 yeere of the reigne of Charles Caluus king of France, and about the 6 yeere of Constantine the second king of Scots. Touching this Ethelred, he was in time of peace a most courteous prince, and one that by all kind of meanes sought to win the hearts of the people: but abroad in the warres he was sharpe and sterne, as he that vnderstood what apperteined to good order, so that he would suffer no offense to escape vnpunished. By which meanes he was famous both in peace and warre: but he neither liued any long time in the gouernement, nor yet was suffered to passe the short space that he reigned in rest and quietnesse.

Foure yeres six moneths saith Harison. Wil. Malm.

For whereas he reigned not past six yeeres, he was continuallie during that tearme vexed with the inuasion of the Danes, and spectallie towards the latter end, insomuch that (as hath beene reported of writers) he fought with them nine times in one yeere: and although with diuers and variable fortune, yet for the more part he went away with the victorie. Beside that, he oftentimes lay in wait for their forragers, and such as straied abroad to rob and spoile the countrie, whom he met withall and ouerthrew. There were slaine in his time nine earles of those Danes, and one king, beside other of the meaner sort without number.

Ethelred fought with the Danes nine times in one yere.

But here is to be vnderstood, that in this meane time, whilest Ethelred was busied in warre to resist the inuasions of the Danes in the south and west parts of this land, the kings and rulers of Mercia and Northumberland taking occasion therof, began to withdraw their couenanted subiection from the West saxons, and toke vpon them as it were the absolute gouernment and rule of their countries, without respect to aid one another, but rather were contented to sustaine the enimies within their dominions, than to preuent the iniurie with dutifull assistance to those, whom by allegiance they were bound to serue and obeie.

The kings of Mercia and Northumberland neglect their duties.

By reason hereof, the Danes without resistance grew into greater power amongst them, whilest the inhabitants were still put in feare each day more than other, and euerie late gotten victorie by the enimies by the increase of prisoners, ministred occasion of some other conquest to follow. Euen about the beginning of Ethelreds reigne, there arriued vpon the English coasts an huge armie of the Danes, vnder the conduct of two renowmed capteins Hungar and Vbba, men of maruellous strength and valiancie, but both of them passing cruell of nature. They

The Danes grow in puissance.

Hungar and Vbba.

lay all the winter season in Estangle, compounding with them of the countrie for truce vpon certeine conditions, sparing for a time to shew their force for quietnesse sake.

In the second yeare of king Ethelred, the said capteins came with their armies into Yorkshire, finding the country vnprouided of necessarie defense because of the ciuill discord that reigned among the Northumbers, the which had latelie expelled king Osbright, that had the gouernement of those parts, and placed one Ella in his roome: howbeit now they were constreined to reuoke him home againe, and sought to accord him and Ella. But it was long yer that might be brought to passe, notwithstanding yet at length they were made friends, by reason of this inuasion attempted by forren enimies, and then raising their powers they came to Yorke, where the Danes, hauing wasted the countrie euen to the riuer of Tine, were lodged.

Hen. Hunt. King Osbright depосed and Ella placed.

The English host entring the citie, began to fight with the Danes, by reason whereof a sore battell insued betwixt them: but in the end the two kings Osbright and Ella were slaine, and a great number of the Northumbers, what within the citie, and what without lost their liues at that time, the residue were constreined to take truce with the Danes. This battell was fought the 21 day of March being in Lent, on the Friday before Palmsunday, in the yere 657.

Osbright and Ella kings of Northumberland slaine.

It must be vpon the 10 kalends of April, or else it will not concurre with Palmsunday. Hé Mat. West.

¶ Some haue written otherwise of this battell, reporting that the Northumbers calling home king Osbright (whome before they had banished) incountred with the Danes in the field, without the walles of Yorke, but they were easilie beaten backe, and chased into the citie, the which by the Danes pursuing the victorie, was set on fier and burnt, togither with the king and people that were fled into it for succour. How soeuer it came about, certeine it is, that the Danes got the victorie, and now hauing subdued the Northumbers, appointed one Egbert to reigne ouer them as king, vnder their protection, which Egbert reigned in that sort fiue yeares ouer those which inhabited beyond the riuer of Tine. In the same yeare, Adelstane bishop of Shireborne departed this life, hauing gouerned that see the terme of 50 yeares. This Adelstane was a man of high wisedome, and one that had borne no small rule in the kingdome of the Westsaxons, as hereby it may be coniectured, that when king Ethelwulfe returned from Rome, he would not suffer him to be admitted king, because he had done in certeine points contrarie to the ordinances and lawes of the same kingdome, whereupon by this bishops meanes Ethelbald the sonne of the same king Ethelwulfe was established king, and so continued till by agreement the kingdome was diuided betwixt them, as before is mentioned. Finallie, he greatlie inriched the see of Shireborne, and yet though he was feruentlie set on couetousnesse, he was neuertheless verie free and liberall in gifts: which contrarie extremities so ill matched, though in him (the time wherein he liued being considered) they might seeme somewhat tollerable, yet simplie & in truth they were vtterlie repugnant to the law of the spirit, which biddeth that none should do euill that good may come thereof. Against which precept because Adelstane could not but offend in the heat of his couetousnes, which is termed the root of all mischiefe, though he was exceeding bountifull and large in distributing the wealth he had greedilie gotten togither, he must needs incur reprehension. But this is so much the lesse to be imputed vnto him as a fault, by how much he was ignorant what (by the rule of equitie and conscience) was requirable in a christian man, or one of his vocation.

The commendation of Adelstan bishop of Shireborne.

Bishop Adelstan couetous. Hen. Hunt.

Burthred king of Mercia with aid beseegeth the Danes in Notingham, Basreeg and Halden two Danish kings with their powers inuade the Westsaxons, they are incountred by Ethelwulfe earle of Barkelhire; King Ethelred giueth them and their cheefe guides a sore discomfiture; what Polydor Virgil recordeth touching one Iuarus king of the Danes, and the warres that Ethelred had with them, his death; Edmund king of Eastangles giueth battell to the Danes, he yeeldeth himselfe, and for christian religion sake is by them most cruellie murthered, the kingdome of the Eastangles endeth, Guthrun a Dane gouerneth the whole countrie, K. Osbright rauisheth the wife of one Bearne a noble man, a bloodie battell insueth thereupon, wherein Osbright and Ella are slaine.

The twelft Chapter.

IN the yeare following, that is to say, in the third yeare of Ethelreds reigne, he with his brother Alured went to aid Burthred king of Mercia, against the two foresaid Danish capteines Hungar and Ubba, the which were entred into Mercia, and had won the towne for the winter season. Whereupon the foresaid Ethelred and Burthred with their powers came to Notingham, and besieged the Danes within it. The Danes perceiuing themselues in danger, made suite for a truce & abstinence from war, which they obteined, and then departed backe to Yorke, where they soiourned the most part of all that yeare.

Burthred king of Mercia.

Danes besieged in Notingham.

In the first yeare of king Ethelreds reigne, a new armie of great force and power came into the countrie of the Westsaxons vnder two leaders or kings of the Danes, Basreeg and Halden. They lodged at Reding with their mayne armie, and within three daies after the earle of Berrocksshire Edelwulfe fought at Englefield with two earles of those Danes, vanquished them, and slue the one of those earles, whose name was Sidroc. After this king Ethelred and his brother Alured came with a great host vnto Reding, and there gaue battell vnto the armie of Danes, so that an huge number of people died on both parts, but the Danes had the victorie.

Basreeg and Halden.

Edelwulfe. erle of Barkshire fought at Englefield with the Danes.

After this also king Ethelred and his brother Alured fought againe with those Danes at Aschdon, where the armies on both sides were diuided into two parts, so that the two Danish kings lead the one part of their armie, & certeine of their earles lead the other part. Likewise on the English side king Ethelred was placed with one part of the host against the Danish kings, and Alured with the other part was appointed to incounter with the earles. Herevpon they being on both parts readie to giue battell, the euening comming on caused them to deferre it till the morow. And so earlie in the morning when the armies should ioine, king Ethelred hated in his tent the heare diuine seruice, whilest his brother vpon a forward courage hasted to incounter his enimies, the which receiued him so sharplie, and with so cruell fight, that at length, the Englishmen were at point to haue turned their backs. But herewith came king Ethelred and manfullie ended the battell, staied his people from running away, and so encouraged them, and discouraged the enimies, that by the power of God (whom as was thought in the morning he had serued) the Danes finallie were chased and put to flight, losing one of their kings (that is to say) Basreeg or Osreeg, and 5 earles, Sidroc the elder, and Sidroc the yonger, Osberne, Freine,

The Danes wan the victorie at Reading.

The Danes discomfited.

Freine, and Harold. This battell was sore fought-ten, and continued till night, with the slaughter of manie thousands of Danes. About 14 daies after, king Ethelred and his brother Alured fought eftsones with the Danish armie at Basing, where the Danes had the victorie. Also two moneths after this they likewise fought with the Danes at Merton. And there the Danes, after they had béene put to the worse, & pursued in chase a long time, yet at length they also got the victorie, in which battell Edmund bishop of Shireborne was slaine, and manie other that were men of worthie fame and good account.

A battell at Merton.

He was bishop of Shireborne as Matt. West. saith.

In the summer following, a mightie host of the Danes came to Reading, and there soiourned for a time. ¶ These things agrée not with that which Polydor Virgil hath written of these warres which king Ethelred had with the Danes: for he maketh mention of one Iuarus a king of the Danes, who landed (as he writeth) at the mouth of Humber, and like a stout enimie inuaded the countrie adioining. Against whome Ethelred with his brother Alured came with an armie, and incountring the Danes, fought with them by the space of a whole day togither, and was in danger to haue béene put to the worse, but that the night seuered them asunder. In the morning they ioined againe: but the death of Iuarus, who chanced to be slaine in the beginning of the battell, discouraged the Danes, so that they were easilie put to flight, of whome (before they could get out of danger) a great number were slaine. But after that they had recouered themselues togither, and found out a conuenient place where to pitch their campe, they chose to their capteines Agnerus, and Hubba, two brethren, which indeuored themselues by all meanes possible to repaire their armie: so that within 15 daies after, the Danes eftsones fought with the Englishmen, and gaue them such an ouerthrow, that little wanted of making an end of all incounters to be attempted after by the Englishmen.

Polyd. Virg.

Iuarus.

Danes put to flight.

Agnerus and Hubba.

But yet within a few daies after this, as the Danes attended their market to spoile the countrie and range somewhat licentiouslie abroad, they fell within the danger of such ambushes as were laid for them by king Ethelred, that no small slaughter was made of them, but yet not without some losse of the Englishmen. Amongest others, Ethelred himselfe receiued a wound, whereof he shortlie after died. Thus saith Polydor touching the warres which king Ethelred had with the Danes, who yet confesseth (as the truth is) that such authors as he herein followed, varie much from that which the Danish writers do record of these matters, and namelie touching the doings of Iuarus, as in the Danish historie you may sée more at large.

But now to our purpose touching the death of king Ethelred, whether by reason of hurt receiued in fight against the Danes (as Polydor saith) or otherwise, certeine it is, that Ethelred anon after Easter departed this life, in the first yeare of his reigne, and was buried at Winborne abbey. In the dates of this Ethelred, the foresaid Danish capteins, Hungar, otherwise called Agnerus, and Hubba returning from the north parts into the countrie of the Eastangles, came vnto Thetford, whereof Edmund, who reigned as king in that season ouer the Eastangles, being aduertised, raised an armie of men, and went forth to giue battell vnto this armie of the Danes. But he with his people was chased out of the field, and fled to the castell of Framingham, where being enuironed with a siege by his enimies, he yelded himselfe vnto them. And because he would not renounce the christian faith, they bound him to a tree, and shot arrowes at him till he died: and afterwards cut off his head from his bodie, and threw the same into a thicke grone of bushes. But afterwards his friends tooke the bodie with the head, and buried the same at Egleston: where afterward also a faire monasterie was builded by one bishop Aswin, and changing the name of the place, it was after called saint Edmundsburie. Thus was king Edmund put to death by the cruell Danes for his constant confessing the name of Christ, in the 16 yeare of his reigne, and so ceased the kingdome of Eastangles. For after that the Danes had thus slaine that blessed man, they conquered all the countrie, & wasted it, so that through their tyrannie it remained without anie gouernor by the space of nine yeares, and then they appointed a king to rule ouer it, whose name was Guthrun, one of their owne nation, who gouerned both the Eastangles and the Eastsaxons.

Winborne abbeie.

Agnerus. Fabian.

870

Edmund K. of the Eastangles.

Framingham castell.

King Edward shot to death.

Egleston.

Wil. Malm.

Eastangles without a gouernour.

Guthrun a Dane king of Eastangles.

We haue heard how the Danes slue Osrike and Ella kings of Northumberland. After which victorie by them obteined, they did much hurt in the north parts of this land, and amongest other cruell déeds, they destroied the citie of Aelud, which was a famous citie in the time of the old Saxons, as by Beda and other writers doth manifestlie appeare. Here is to be remembred, that some writers rehearse the cause to be this. Osbright or Osrike king of Northumberland rauished the wife of one Berne that was a noble man of the countrie about Yorke, who tooke such great despight thereat, that he fled out of the land, and went into Denmarke, and there complained vnto the king of Denmarke his cosin of the iniurie done to him by king Osbright. Wherevpon the king of Denmarke, glad to haue so iust a quarell against them of Northumberland, furnished forth an armie, and sent the same by sea (vnder the leading of his two brethren Hungar and Hubba) into Northumberland, where they slue first the said king Osbright, and after king Ella, at a place beside Yorke, which vnto this day is called Ellas croft, taking that name of the said Ella, being there slaine in defense of his countrie against the Danes. Which Ella (as we find registred by writers) was elected king by such of the Northumbers, as in fauour of Berne had refused to be subiect vnto Osbright.

Polychron.

Caxton.

Alfred ruleth ouer the Westsaxons and *the greatest part of England, the Danes* afflict him with sore warre, and cruellie make *wast of his kingdome, they lie at London a whole* winter, they inuade Mercia, the king whereof (Burthred by name) *forsaketh his countrie and goeth to Rome*, his death and buriall; Halden king of the Danes diuideth Northumberland among his people; Alfred incountreth with the Danes vpon the sea, they sweare to him that they will depart out of his kingdome, they breake the truce which was made betwixt him and them, he giueth them battell, and (beside a great discomfiture) killeth manie of their capteines, the Danes and English fight neere Abington, the victorie vncerteine, seuen foughten fields betwixt them in one yeare, the Danes soiourne at London.

The xuj. Chapter.

Alured or Alfred.

After the decease of king Ethelred, his brother Alured or Alfred succéeded him, and began his reigne ouer the Westsaxons, and other the more part of the people of England, in the yeare of our Lord 872, which was in the 19 yeare of the emperour Lewes the second, and 32 yeare of the reigne of Charles the bald, king of France, and about the eleuenth yeare of Pope Adrian

871. as Mat. West. & Sim. Dunelmen. do note it. Henr. Hunt.

tine the second king of Scotland. Although this Alured was consecrated king in his fathers life time by pope Leo (as before ye haue heard) yet was he not admitted king at home, till after the decease of his three elder brethren: for he being the youngest, was kept backe from the gouernement, though he were for his wisdome and policie most highlie esteemed and had in all honour.

Alured persecuted by Danes.

In the beginning of his reigne he was wraped in manie great troubles and miseries, specially by the persecution of the Danes, which made sore and grieuous wars in sundrie parts of this land, destroieng the same in most cruell wise. About a moneth after he was made king, he gaue battell to the Danes of Wilton, hauing with him no great number of people, so that although in the beginning the Danes that day were put to the worse, yet in the end they obteined the victorie. Shortlie after, a truce was taken betwixt the Danes and the Westsarons. And the Danes that had lien at Reading, remoued from thence vnto London, where they lay all the winter season. In the second yeare of Alured his reigne, the Danish king Halden led the same armie from London into Lindsey, and there lodged all that winter at Torksey. In the yeare following, the same Halden inuaded Mercia, and wintered at Ripindon. There were come to him three other leaders of Danes which our writers name to be kings, Godrun, Esketell, & Ammond, so that their power was greatlie increased. Burthred king of Mercia which had gouerned that countrie by the space of 22 yeares, was not able to withstand the puissance of those enimies: wherevpon he was constreined to auoid the countrie, and went to Rome, where he departed this life, and was buried in the church of our ladie, neere to the English schole.

The Danes obteine the victorie.

The Danes wintered at London.

874

Repton.

Burthred king of Mercia.

875

In the fourth yeare of king Alured the armie of the Danes diuided it selfe into two parts, so that king Halden with one part thereof went into Northumberland, and lay in the winter season neere to the riuer of Tine, where hee diuided the countrie amongest his men, and remained there for the space of two yeares, and oftentimes fetched thither booties and preies out of the countrie of the Picts. The other part of the Danish armie with the three foresaid kings or leaders came vnto Cambridge, and remained there a whole yeare. In the same yeare king Alured fought by sea with 7 ships of Danes, tooke one of them, & chased the residue. In the yeare next insuing, the Danes came into the countrie of the Westsarons, and king Alured tooke truce with them againe, and they sware to him (which they had not vsed to do to anie afore that time) that they would depart the countrie. Their armie by sea sailing from Warham toward Excester, sustained great losse by tempest, for there perished 120 ships at Swanewicke.

The Danes went into Northumberland.

The Danes at Cambridge

876

The Danes tooke an oth. Hen. Hunt.

Moreouer the armie of the Danes by land went to Excester in breach of the truce, and king Alured followed them, but could not ouertake them till they came to Excester, and there he approched them in such wise, that they were glad to deliuer pledges for performance of such couenants as were accorded betwixt him and them. And so then they departed out of the countrie, and drew into Mercia. But shortlie after, when they had the whole gouernment of the land, from Thames northward, they thought it not good to suffer king Alured to continue in rest with the residue of the countries beyond Thames. And therefore the three foresaid rulers of Danes, Godrun, Esketell, and Ammond, inuading the countrie of Westsarons came to Chipnam, distant 17 miles from Bristow, & there pitched their tents.

The Danes went to Excester.

Henr. Hunt.

877

Polydor.

King Alured aduertised hereof, hasted thither, and lodging with his armie nere to the enimies, prouoked them to battell. The Danes perceiuing that either they must fight for their liues, or die with shame, boldlie came forth, and gaue battell. The Englishmen rashlie incountered with them, and though they were ouermatched in number, yet with such violence they gaue the onset, that the enimies at the first were abashed at their hardie assaults. But when as it was perceiued that their slender ranks were not able to resist the thicke leghers of the enimies, they began to shrinke & looke backe one vpon an other, and so of force were constreined to retire: and therewithall did cast themselues into a ring, which though it seemed to be the best way that could be deuised for their safetie, yet by the great force and number of their enimies on each side assailing them, they were so thronged togither on heaps, that they had no rome to stir their weapons. Which disaduantage notwithstanding, they slue a great number of the Danes, and amongest other, Hubba the brother of Agner, with manie other of the Danish captains. At length the Englishmen hauing valiantlie foughten a long time with the enimies, which had compassed them about, at last brake out and got them to their campe. To be briefe, this battell was foughten with so equall fortune, that no man knew to whether part the victorie ought to be ascribed. But after they were once seuered, they tooke care to cure their hurt men, and to burie the dead bodies, namelie the Danes interred the bodie of their captaine Hubba with great funerall pompe and solemnitie: which done, they held out their iournie till they came to Abington, whither the English armie shortlie after came also, and incamped fast by the enimies.

Hubba slaine.

The victorie doubtfull.

Abington.

In this meane while, the rumor was spread abroad that king Alured had beene discomfited by the Danes, because that in the last battell he withdrew to his campe. This turned greatlie to his aduantage: for thereby a great number of Englishmen hasted to come to his succour. On the morrow after his comming to Abington, he brought his armie readie to fight into the field: neither were the enimies slacke on their parts to receiue the battell, and so the two armies ioined and fought verie sore on both sides: so that it seemed the Englishmen had not to do with those Danes, which had beene diuerse times before discomfited and put to flight, but rather with some new people fresh and lustie. But neither the one part nor the other was minded to giue ouer: in so much that the horsemen alighting on foot, and putting their horsses from them, entered the battell amongst the footmen, and thus they continued with equall aduantage till night came on, which parted the affraie, being one of the sorest foughten fields that had beene heard of in those daies. To whether partie a man might iustlie attribute the victorie, it was vterlie vncerteine, with so like losse & gaine the matter was tried & ended betwixt them. With the semblable chance of danger and glorie seuen times that yeere did the English and Danes incounter in battell, as writers haue recorded. At length, when their powers on both parts were sore diminished, they agreed vpon a peace, with these conditions, that the Danes should not attempt anie further warre against the Englishmen, nor bring into this land anie new supplie of souldiers out of Denmarke. But this peace by those peacemakers was violated and broken, in so much as they ment nothing lesse than to fall from the conceiued hope which they had of bearing rule in this land, and of inriching themselues with the goods, possessions, rents and reuenues of the inhabitants. The same yeere the Danes soiorned in the winter season at London, according as they had done often times before.

The Danes and Englishmen fight not to Abington.

Uncertein victorie. Thus farre Polydor.

Ran. Higd.

A peace agreed vpon.

The Danes soiourned at London.

Rollo a noble man of Denmarke with *a fresh power entreth England, and beginneth* to waste it, king Alured giueth him battell, *Rollo saileth ouer into France, who first inhabited* Normandie, and whereof it tooke that name; the *Danes breake the peace which was made betwixt them and* Alured, he is driuen to his shifts by their inuasions into his kingdome, a vision appeereth to him and his mother; king Alured disguising himselfe like a minstrell entereth the Danish campe, marketh their behauiour vnsuspected, assalteth them on the sudden with a fresh power, and killeth manie of them at aduantage; the Deuonshire men giue the Danes battell vnder the conduct of Haldens brother, and are discomfited; Alured fighteth with them at Edanton, they giue him hostages, Gurthrun their king is baptised and named Adelstan, a league concluded betwixt both the kings, the bounds of Alureds kingdome.

The xiij Chapter.

Ann. 876 Ex ith Simon Dun.

ABout the same time, or shortlie after, there came into England one Rollo, a noble man of Denmarke or Norway, with a great armie, and (notwithstanding the peace concluded betweene the Englishmen and the Danes) began to waste and destroy the countrie. King Alured hearing these newes, with all speed thought best in the beginning to stop such a common mischiefe, and immediatlie assembling his people, went against the enimies, and gaue them battell, in the which there died a great number of men on both sides, but the greater losse fell to Rollo his armie. Yet Matthew Westmin. saith, that the Englishmen were put to flight. After this, it chanced that Rollo being warned in a dreame, left England, & sailed ouer into France, where he found fortune so fauourable to him, that he obteined in that region for him and his people a countrie, the which was afterwards named Normandie, of those northerne people which then began to inhabit the same, as in the histories of France you maie see more at large.

30 yeares after this he was baptised.

The Danes which had concluded peace with king Alured (as before you haue heard) shortlie after, vpon the first occasion, brake the same, and by often inuasions which they made into the countrie of Westsaxons, brought the matter to that passe, that there remained to king Alured but onelie the three countries of Hamshire, Wiltshire, & Summersetshire, in so much that he was constreined for a time to keepe himselfe close within the fennes and maresh grounds of Summersetshire, with such small companies as he had about him, constreined to get their liuing with fishing, hunting, and other such shifts. He remained for the most part within an Ile called Edlingsey, that is to say, the Iland of noble men, enuironed about with fennes and mareshes.

King Alured driuen to his shifts.

Edlingsey.

While he was thus shut vp within this Iland, he was by dreame aduertised of better hap shortlie to follow: for as it hath beene said, saint Cuthbert appeered to him as he laie in sleepe, and comforted him, declaring to him, that within a while fortune should so turne, that he should recouer againe his kingdome to the confusion of his enimies. And to assure him that this should prooue true, he told him that his men which were gone abroad to catch fish, should bring home great plentie, although the season was against them, by reason that the waters were frosen, and that a cold rime fell that morning, to the hinderance of their purpose. His mother also at that time being in sleepe, saw the like vision. And as they had dreamed, so it came to passe: for being awakened out of their sleepe, in came his men with so great foison of fish, that the same might haue sufficed a great armie of men, for the victelling of them at that season.

A vision if it be true.

Shortlie after, king Alured tooke vpon him the habit of a minstrell, and going forth of his closure, repaired to the campe of the Danish king, onelie accompanied with one trustie seruant, and tarrieng there certeine daies togither, was suffered to go into euerie part, and plaie on his instrument, as well afore the king as others, so that there was no secret, but that he vnderstood it. Now when he had seene and learned the demeanour of his enimies, he returned againe to his people at Edlingsey, and there declared to his nobles what he had seene and heard, what negligence was amongst the enimies, and how easie a matter it should be for him to indamage them. Whereupon they conceiuing a marueilous good hope, and imboldened with his words, a power was assembled togither, and spies sent forth to learne and bring word where the Danes lodged: which being done, and certificat made accordinglie, king Alured comming vpon them on the sudden, slue of them a great number, hauing them at great aduantage.

King Alured disguiseth himselfe. Polydor. Fabian.

Henr. Hunt. 877 878 Matth. West.

About the same time the brother of king Halden came with thirtie and three ships out of Wales into the countrie of Westsaxons, on the coast of Deuonshire, where the Deuonshire men gaue him battell, and slue him with 840 persons of his retinue. Other write, that Halden himselfe was present at this conflict, with Inguare, otherwise called Hungar, and that they were both slaine there, with twelue hundred of their companie (before a certeine castell called Kinwith) receiuing as they had deserued for their cruell dealing latelie by them practised in the parties of Southwales, where they had wasted all afore them with fire and sword, not sparing abbeies more than other common buildings.

Simon Dun.

King Alured being with that good lucke the more comforted, builded a fortresse in the Ile of Edlingsey, afterwards called Athelney, and breaking out oftentimes vpon the enimies, distressed them at sundrie times with the aid of the Summersetshire men, which were at hand. About the seuenth weeke after Easter, in the seuenth yeere of his reigne, king Alured went to Egleringhston, on the east part of Selwood, where there came to him the people of Summersetshire, Wiltshire, & Hamshire, reioising greatlie to see him abroad. From thence he went to Edanton, & there fought against the armie of the Danes, and chased them vnto their strength, where he remained afore them the space of fourteene daies. Then the armie of the Danes deliuered him hostages and couenants to depart out of his dominions, and that their king should be baptised, which was accomplished: for Gurthrun, whome some name Gurmond, a prince or king amongst these Danes, came to Alured and was baptised, king Alured receiuing him at the fontstone, named him Adelstan, and gaue to him the countrie of Eastangle, which he gouerned (or rather spoiled) by the space of twelue yeeres.

Athelney.

Edandune.

This battell should seeme the same that Polydor speaketh of fought at Abingdon. Polychron. Iohn Pike.

Gurthrun or Gurmond baptised, and named Adelstan, is made king of Eastangle.

Diuerse other of the Danish nobilitie to the number of thirtie (as Simon Dunelmensis saith) came at the same time in companie of their king Gurthrun, and were likewise baptised, on whome king Alured bestowed manie rich gifts. At the same time (as is to be thought) was the league concluded betwixt king Alured and the said Gurthrun or Gurmond, in which the bounds of king Alureds kingdome are set forth thus: First therefore let the bounds or marshes of our dominion stretch vnto the riuer of Thames, » and from thence to the water of Lee, euen vnto the » head of the same water, and so forth streight vnto » Bedford: and finallie going alongst by the riuer of » Ouse, let them end at Watlingstreet. »

This league being made with the aduise of the same

sage personages as well English as those that inhabited within east England, is set forth in maister Lamberts booke of the old English lawes, in the end of those lawes or ordinances which were established by the same king Alured, as in the same booke ye may see more at large.

Th'English called diuers people Danes *whom the French named Normans, wher-* vpon that generall name was giuen them; Gurmo *Anglicus K. of Denmark, whose father Frotto* was baptised in England; the Danes besiege Rochester, *Alfred putteth them to flight, recouereth London out* of their hands, and committeth it to the custodie of duke Eldred his sonne in law; he assaulteth Hasting a capteine of the Danes, causeth him to take an oth, his two sonnes are baptised; he goeth forth to spoile Alfreds countrie, his wife, children, and goods, &c: are taken, and fauourablie giuen him againe; the Danes besiege Excester, they flie to their ships, gaine with great losse, they are vanquished by the Londoners, the death of Alfred, his issue male and female.

The xv. Chapter.

HEre is to be noted, that writers name diuerse of the Danish capteins, kings (of which no mention is made in the Danish chronicles) to reigne in those parties. But true it is, that in those daies, not onelie the Danish people, but also other of those northeast countries or regions, as Swedeners, Norwegians, the Wondens, and such other (which the English people called by one generall name Danes, and the Frenchmen Normans) vsed to roaue on the seas, and to inuade foren regions, as England, France, Flanders, and others, as in conuenient places ye may find, as well in our histories, as also in the writers of the French histories, and likewise in the chronicles of those north regions. The writers verelie of the Danish chronicles make mention of one Gurmo, whome they name Anglicus, bicause he was borne here in England, which succeeded his father Frotto in gouernement of the kingdome of Denmarke, which Frotto receiued baptisme in England, as their stories tell.

Gurmo.

Hen. Hunt. 878

In the eight yeere of king Alfred his reigne, the armie of the Danes wintered at Cirencester, and the same yeere an other armie of strangers called Wincigi laie at Fulham, and in the yeere following departed forth of England, and went into France, and the armie of king Godrun or Gurmo departed from Cirencester, and came into Eastangle, and there diuiding the countrie amongst them, began to inhabit the same. In the 14 yeere of king Alfred his reigne, part of the Danish armie which was gone ouer into France, returned into England and besieged Rochester. But when Alfred approched to the reskue, the enimies fled to their ships, and passed ouer the sea againe. King Alfred sent a naue of his ships well furnished with men of warre into Eastangle, the which at the mouth of the riuer called Sture, incountering with 16 ships of the Danes, set vpon them, and ouercame them in fight: but as they returned with their praises, they incountered with another mightie armie of the enimies, and fighting with them were ouercome and vanquished.

879 Simon Dun. Matth. West.

Rochester besieged. 885

In the yeere following, king Alfred besieged the citie of London, the Danes that were within it fled from thence, and the Englishmen that were inhabitants thereof gladlie receiued him, reioising that there was such a prince bred of their nation, that was of power able to reduce them into libertie. This citie being at that season the chiefe of all Mercia, he deliuered into the keeping of duke Eldred, which had maried his daughter Ethelfleda, & held a great portion of Mercia, which Colwolphus before time possessed by the grant of the Danes, after they had subdued K. Burthred (as before is said.) About the 21 yere of K. Alfred, an armie of those Danes & Normans, which had beene in France, returned into England, and arriued in the hauen or riuer of Limene in the east part of Kent, neere to the great wood called Andredesley, which did conteine in times past 120 miles in length, and thirtie in breadth. These Danes landing with their people builded a castle at Apledore.

889 London recouered out of the hands of the Danes.

In the meane time came Hasting with 80 ships into the Thames, and builded a castle at Middleton, but he was constreined by siege which king Alfred planted about him, to receiue an oth that he should not in any wise annoie the dominion of king Alfred, who vpon his promise to depart, gaue great gifts as well to him as to his wife and children. One of his sonnes also king Alfred held at the fontstone, and to the other duke Aldred was god father. For (as it were to win credit, and to auoid present danger) Hasting sent vnto Alfred these his two sonnes, signifieng that if it stood with his pleasure, he could be content that they should be baptised. But neuertheless this Hasting was euer most vntrue of word and deed, he builded a castle at Beamfield. And as he was going forth to spoile and waste the kings countries, Alfred tooke that castle, with his wife, children, ships and goods, which he got togither of such spoiles as he had abroad: but he restored vnto Hasting his wife and children, bicause he was their godfather.

Wil. Malm. Ethelfleda. Colwolphus.

Limer, now Rother. Andredesleyis

A castell built at Appledore.

893 Simon Dun. At Milton.

Hasting the capteine of the Danes besieged. He receiueth an oth.

Beamfield saith M. West.

Shortlie after, newes came that a great number of other ships of Danes were come out of Northumberland, and had besieged Excester. Whilest king Alfred went then against them, the other armie which lay at Apledore inuaded Esser, and built a castell in that countrie, and after went into the borders of Wales, and builded another castell neere vnto the riuer of Seuerne: but being driuen out of that countrie, they returned againe into Esser. Those that had besieged Excester, vpon knowledge had of king Alfreds comming, fled to their ships, and so remaining on the sea, roaued abroad, seeking preies. Besides this, other armies there were sent forth, which comming out of Northumberland tooke the citie of Chester, but there they were so beset about with their enimies, that they were constreined to eate their horses. At length, in the 24 yeere of king Alfred, they left that citie, and fetcht a compas about North-wales, and so meaning to saile round about the coast to come into Northumberland, they arriued in Esser, and in the winter following drew their ships by the Thames into the water of Luie. That armie of Danes which had besieged Excester, tooke preies about Chichester, and was met with, so that they lost manie of their men, and also diuerse of their ships.

This enterprise was atchiued by Etheldred duke of Mercia in the absence of the king, as Matth. West. hath noted. Excester besieged.

Seuerne.

Chester taken by Danes.

Great famine

Hen. Hunt.

The water of Luie, now Lee.

In the yeere following, the other armie which had brought the ships into the riuer Luie, began to build a castell neere to the same riuer, twentie miles distant from London: but the Londoners came thither, and giuing battell to the Danes, slue foure of the chiefe capteins. But by Simon Dunel. and Matt. Westm. it should seeme, that the Londoners were at this time put to flight, and that foure of the kings barons were slaine in fight. Howbeit Henrie Hunt. hath written as before I haue recited; and further saith, that when the Danes fled for their refuge to the castell, king Alfred caused the water of Luie to be diuided into three chanels, so that the Danes should not bring backe their ships out of the place where they laie at anchor. When the Danes

Hen. Hunt.

The Londoners victors against the Danes.

Quathbridge or wakebridge.

perceiued this, they left their ships behind them, and went into the borders of Wales, where at Cartbridge vpon Seuerne they built another castell, and lay there all the winter following, hauing left their wiues and children in the countrie of Eastangles. King Alfred pursued them, but the Londoners toke the enimies ships, and brought some of them to the citie, and the rest they burnt.

Thus for the space of three yéeres after the arriuing of the maine armie of the Danes in the hauen of Lute, they sore indamaged the English people, although the Danes themselues sustained more losse at the Englishmens hands than they did to them with all pilfering and spoiling. In the fourth yéere after their comming, the armie was diuided, so that one part of them went into Northumberland, part of them remained in the countrie of Eastangles, & another part went into France. Also certeine of their ships came vpon the coast of the Westsaxons, oftentimes setting their men on land to rob and spoile the countrie. But king Alfred toke order in the best wise he might for defense of his countrie and people, and caused certeine mightie vessels to be builded, which he appointed forth to incounter with the enimies ships.

The Danish armie diuided into parts.

Thus like a worthie prince and politike gouernor, he preuented each way to resist the force of his enimies, and to safegard his subiects. Finallie after he had reigned 29 yéeres and an halfe, he departed this life the 28 day of October. His bodie was buried at Winchester: he left behind him issue by his wife Ethelwitha the daughter vnto earle Ethelred of Mercia, two sonnes, Edward surnamed the elder, which succéeded him, and Adelwold: also three daughters, Elfleda or Ethelfleda, Ethelgeda or Edgiua, and Ethelwitha.

The death of king Alfred.

His issue.

Elfleda.

How Elfleda king Alfreds daughter *(being maried) contemned fleshlie pleasure*; the praise of Alfred for his good qualities, *his lawes for the redresse of theeues, his diuiding of* countries into hundreds and tithings, of what monasteries *he was founder, he began the foundation of the vniuersitie* of Oxford, which is not so ancient as Cambridge by 265 yeeres; king Alfred was learned, his zeale to traine his people to lead an honest life, what learned men were about him, the pitifull murthering of Iohn Scot by his owne scholers, how Alfred diuided the 24 houres of the day and the night for his necessarie purposes, his last will and bequests; the end of the kingdome of Mercia, the Danes haue it in their hands, and dispose it as they list, Eastangle and Northumberland are subiect vnto them, the Northumbers expell Egbert their king, his death; the Danes make Guthred king of Northumberland, priuileges granted to S. Cuthberts shrine; the death of Guthred, and who succeeded him in the seat roiall.

The xvj. Chapter.

IN the end of the former chapter we shewed what children Alfred had, their number & names, among whome we made report of Elfleda, who (as you haue heard) was maried vnto duke Edelred. This gentlewoman left a notable example behind hir of despising fleshlie pleasure, for bearing hir husband one child, and sore handled before she could be deliuered, she euer after forbare to companie with hir husband, saieng that it was great foolishnesse to vse such pleasure which therwith should bring so great griefe.

The notable saieng of Elfleda.

To speake sufficientlie of the worthie praise due to so noble a prince as Alfred was, might require eloquence, learning, and a large volume. He was of person comelie and beautifull, and better beloued of his father and mother than his other brethren. And although he was (as before is touched) greatly disquieted with the inuasion of forren enimies, yet did he both manfullie from time to time indeuour himselfe to repell them, and also attempted to sée his subiects gouerned in good and vpright iustice. And albeit that good lawes amongst the clinking noise of armor are oftentimes put to silence, yet he perceiuing how his people were grieued with theeues and robbers, which in time of warre grew and increased, deuised good statutes and wholsome ordinances for punishing of such offendors.

Will. Malmes.

King Alfred his lawes.

Amongst other things he ordeined that the countries should be diuided into hundreds and tithings, that is to say, quarters conteining a certeine number of townships adioining togither, so that euerie Englishman liuing vnder prescript of lawes, should haue both his hundred and tithing; that if anie man were accused of anie offense, he should find suertie for his good demeanor: and if he could not find such as would answer for him, then should he tast extremitie of the lawes. And if anie man that was giltie fled before he found suertie, or after: all the inhabitants of the hundred or tithing where he dwelt, should be put to their fine. By this deuise he brought his countrie into good tranquillitie, so that he caused bracelets of gold to be hanged vp aloft on hils where anie common waies lay, to sée if anie durst be so hardie to take them away by stealth. He was a liberall prince namelie in relieuing of the poore. To churches he confirmed such priuileges as his father had granted before him, and he also sent rewards by way of deuotion vnto Rome, and to the bodie of saint Thomas in India. Sighelmus the bishop of Shireborne bare the same, and brought from thence rich stones, and swéet oiles of inestimable valure. From Rome also he brought a péece of the holy crosse which pope Martinus did send for a present vnto king Alfred.

Moreouer king Alfred founded three godlie monasteries, one at Edlingsey, where he liued sometime when the Danes had bereaued him almost of all his kingdome, which was after called Athelney, distant from Taunton in Sumersetshire about fiue miles: the second he builded at Winchester, called the new minster: and the third at Shaftesburie, which was an house of nuns, where he made his daughter Ethelgeda or Edgiua abbesse. But the foundation of the vniuersitie of Oxford passed all the residue of his buildings, which he began by the good exhortation and aduise of Neotus an abbat, in those daies highlie estéemed for his vertue and lerning with Alfred. This worke he toke in hand about the 23 yéere of his reigne, which was in the yéere of our Lord 895. So that the vniuersitie of Cambridge was founded before this other of Oxford about 265 yeeres, as Polydor gathereth. For Sigebert king of the Eastangles began to erect that vniuersitie at Cambridge about the yéere of our Lord 630.

Foundation of monasteries

8 9 5

Polydor.

The vniuersitie of Oxford erected.

King Alfred was learned himselfe, and giuen much to studie, insomuch that beside diuerse good lawes which he translated into the English tong, gathered togither and published, he also translated diuerse other bookes out of Latine into English, as *Orosius, Pastorale Gregorij, Beda de gestis Anglorum, Boetius de consolatione philosophiæ*, and the booke of Psalmes; but this he finished not, being preuented by death. So this worthie prince minded well toward the common wealth of his people, in that season when learning was little estéemed amongst the west nations, did studie by all meanes possible to instruct his subiects

The vertuous zeale of Alured to bring his people to an honest trade of life.

iects in the trade of leading an honest life, and to incourage them generallie to imbrace learning. He would not suffer anie to beare office in the court, except he were lerned: and yet he himselfe was twelue yéeres of age before he could read a word on the booke, and was then trained by his mothers persuasion to studie, promising him a goodlie booke which she had in hir hands, if he would learne to read it.

He is persuaded by his mother, to applie himselfe to learning.

Herevpon going to his booke in sport, he so earnestlie set his mind thereto, that within a small time he profited marueilouslie, and became such a fauorer of learned men, that he delighted most in their companie, to haue conference with them, and allured diuerse to come vnto him out of other countries, as Asserius Menevensis bishop of Shirborne, & Werefridus the bishop of Worcester, who by his commandement translated the bookes of Gregories dialogs into English. Also I. Scot, who whiles he was in France translated the book of Dionysius Ariopagita, intituled *Hierarchia*, out of Greeke into Latine, and after was scholemaister in the abbeie of Malmesburie, and there murthered by his scholers with penknives. He had diuerse other about him, both Englishmen & strangers, as Plelmond afterward archbishop of Canturburie, Grimbald gouernor of the new monasterie at Winchester, with others.

Asserius Menevensis. Werefridus. John Scot.

Grimbald.

But to conclude with this noble prince king Alured, he was so carefull in his office, that he diuided the 24 houres which conteine the day and night, in three parts, so that eight houres he spent in writing, reading, and making his praiers, other eight he employed in refreshing his bodie with meat, drinke and sléepe, and the other eight he bestowed in dispatching of businesse concerning the gouernement of the realme. He had in his chapell a candle of 24 parts, whereof euerie one lasted an houre: so that the sexton, to whome that charge was committed, by burning of this candle learned the king euer how the time passed away. A little before his death, he ordained his last will and testament, bequeathing halfe the portion of all his goods fullie gotten, vnto such monasteries as he had founded. All his rents and reuenues he diuided into two equall parts, and the first part he diuided into three, bestowing the first vpon his seruants in household, the second to such labourers and workemen as he kept in his works of sundrie new buildings, the third part he gaue to strangers. The second whole part of his reuenues was so diuided, that the first portion thereof was dispersed amongst the poore people of his countrie, the second to monasteries, the third to the finding of poore scholers, and the fourth part to churches beyond the sea. He was diligent to inquire how the iudges of his land behaued themselues in their iudgements, and was a sharpe corrector of them which transgressed in that behalfe. To be briefe, he liued so as he was had in great fauour of his neighbours, & highlie honored among strangers. He maried his daughter Ethelswida or rather Elstrine vnto Baldwine earle of Flanders, of whome he had two sonnes Arnulfe and Adulfe, the first succeeding in the erledome of Flanders, and the yonger was made earle of Boulogne.

His last will and testament

The bodie of king Alured was first buried in the bishops church: but afterwards, because the Canons raised a fond tale that the same should walke a nights, his sonne king Edward remoued it into the new monasterie which he in his life time had founded. Finallie, in memorie of him a certeine learned clarke made an epitaph in Latine, which for the worthinesse thereof is likewise (verse for verse, and in a maner word for word) translated by Abraham Fleming into English, whose no little labor hath beene diligentlie imployed in supplieng sundrie insufficiences found in of this huge volume.

NObilitas innata tibi probitatis honorem
Nobilitie by birth to thee (ô Alfred strong in armes)
(Armipotens Alfrede) dedit, probitâlque laborem,
Of goodnes hath the honor giuen, and honor toilesome harmes,
Perpetuúmque labor nomen, cui mixta dolori
And toilesome harmes an endlesse name, w ose ioies were alwaies mext
Gaudia semper erant, spes semper mixta timori.
With sorow, and whose hope with feare was euermore perplext.
Si modò victor eras, ad crastina bella pauebas,
If this day thou wert conqueror, the next daies warre thou dredst,
Si modò victus eras, in crastina bella parabas,
If this day thou wert conquered, to next daies war thou spedst,
Cui vestes sudore iugi, cui sica cruore
Whose clothing was with dailie swet, whose blade with bloudie staine,
Tincta iugi, quantum sit onus regnare probârunt.
Do proue how great a burthen tis in roialtie to raine,
Non fuit immensi quisquam per climata mundi,
There hath not beene in anie part of all the world so wide,
Cui tot in aduersis vel respirare liceret,
One that was able breath to take, and troubles such abide,
Nec tamen aut ferro contritus ponere ferrum,
And yet with weapons wearie would not weapons lay aside,
Aut gladio potuit vitæ finisse labores:
Or with the sword the toilesomnesse of life by death diuide,
Iam post transactos regni vitæque labores,
Now after labours past of realme and life (which he did spend)
Christus ei fit vera quies sceptrúmque perenne.
Christ is to him true quietnesse and scepter void of end.

In the daies of the foresaid king Alured, the kingdome of Mercia tooke end. For after that the Danes had expelled king Burthred, when he had reigned 22 yeares, he went to Rome, and there died, his wife also Ethelswida, the daughter of king Athulfe that was sonne to king Egbert followed him, and died in Pauia in Lumbardie. The Danes hauing got the countrie into their possession, made one Cetwulfe K. thereof, whome they bound with an oth and deliuerie of pledges, that he should not longer kéepe the state with their pleasure, and further should be readie at all times to aid them with such power as he should be able to make. This Cetwulfe was the seruant of king Burthred. Within foure yeares after the Danes returned, and tooke one part of that kingdome into their owne hands, and left the residue vnto Cetwulfe. But within a few yeares after, king Alured obteined that part of Mercia which Cetwulfe ruled, as he did all the rest of this land, except those parcels which the Danes held, as Northumberland, the countries of the Eastangles, some part of Mercia, and other

Cetwulfe.

the yeare, in the which king Alured thus obteined all the dominion of that part of Mercia, which Cetwulfe had in gouernance, was after the birth of our Sauiour 886, so that the foresaid kingdome continued the space of 302 yeares vnder 22 kings, from Crida to this last Cetwulfe. But there be that account the continuance of this kingdome, onelie from the beginning of Penda, vnto the last yeare of Burthred, by which reckoning it stood not full 270 yeares vnder 18, or rather 17 kings, counting the last Cetwulfe for none, who began his reigne vnder the subiection of the Danes, about the yeare of our Lord 874, where Penda began his reigne 604.

886

Matth. West.

The Eastangles and the Northumbers in these daies were vnder subiection of the Danes, as partlie may be perceiued by that which before is rehearsed. After Guthrun that gouerned the Eastangles by the terme of 12 yeares, one Eohricke or Eadrike had the rule in those parts, a Dane also, and reigned 14 yeares, and was at length bereued of his gouernement by king Edward the sonne of king Alured, as after shall appeare. But now, although that the Northumbers were brought greatlie vnder foot by the Danes, yet could they not forget their old accustomed manet to stirre tumults and rebellion against their gouernours, insomuch that in the yeare 872 they expelled not onelie Egbert, whome the Danes had appointed king ouer one part of the countrie (as before you haue heard) but also their archbi-

Guthrun K. of the eastangles died 890. Simon Dun.

Simon Dun.

872

Egbert king of Northumberland expelled from his kingdome.

archbishop Wilfehere. In the yeare following, the same Egbert departed this life, after whome one Rigsig or Ricsige succéded as king, and the archbishop Wolfehere was restored home.

Egbert departed this life. Ricsig.

In the same yeare the armie of Danes which had wintered at London, came from thence into Northumberland, and wintered in Lindseie, at a place called Torksete, and went the next yeare into Mercia. And in the yeare 975, a part of them returned into Northumberland, as before ye haue heard. In the yeare following, Ricsig the king of Northumberland departed this life: after whome an other Egbert succéded. And in the yeare 983, the armie of the Danes meaning to inhabit in Northumberland, and to settle themselues there, chose Guthred the sonne of one Hardicnute to their king, whome they had sometime sold to a certeine widow at Wstingham. But now by the aduise of an abbat called Aldred, they redéemed his libertie, and ordeined him king to rule both Danes and Englishmen in that countrie. It was said, that the same Aldred being abbat of holie Iland, was warned in a vision by S. Cuthberd, to giue counsell both to the Danes and Englishmen, to make the same Guthred king. This chanced about the 13 yeare of the reigne of Alured king of Westsaxons.

The Danes winter in Lindsete.

975

Ricsig departed this life.

983

Guthred ordeined king of Northumberland.

When Guthred was established king, he caused the bishops sée to be remoued from holie Iland vnto Chester in the stréet, and for an augmentation of the reuenues and iurisdiction belonging thereto, he assigned and gaue vnto saint Cuthbert all that countrie which lieth betwixt the riuers of Tese and Tine. ¶ Which christian act of the king, liuing in a time of palpable blindnesse and misticie superstition, may notwithstanding be a light to the greatmen and péres of this age (who pretend religion with zeale, and professe (in shew) the truth with feruencie) not to impouerish the patrimonie of the church to inrich themselues and their posteritie, not to pull from bishoprikes their ancient reuenues to make their owne greater, not to alienate ecclesiasticall liuings into temporall commodities, not to seeke the conuersion of college lands into their priuat possessions, not to intend the subuersion of cathedrall churches to fill their owne cofers, not to ferret out concealed lands for the supporte of their pyne priuat lordlines, not to destroy whole tovneships for the erection of one statelie manor, not to take and pale in the commons to inlarge their seueralles, but like good and gratious common-wealth-men, in all things to preferre the peoples publike profit before their owne game and glorie, before their owne pompe and pleasure, before the satisfieng of their owne inordinate desires.

The bishops sée remoued frō holie Iland to Chester in the stréet.

Moreouer, this priuiledge was granted vnto saint Cuthberts shrine: that whosoeuer fled vnto the same for succour and safegard, should not be touched or troubled in anie wise for the space of thirtie seuen daies. And this freedome was confirmed not onelie by king Guthred, but also by king Alured. Finallie king Guthred departed this life in the yeare of our Lord 894, after he had ruled the Northumbers with much cruelties (as some say) by the terme of 12 yeares, or somewhat more. He is named by some writers Gurmond, and also Gurmo, & thought to be the same whome king Alured caused to be baptised. Whereas other affirme, that Guthred, who ruled the Eastangles, was he that Alured receiued at the font stone: William Malmesburie taketh them to be but one man, which is not like to be true. After this Guthred or Gurmo his sonne Sithrike succeeded, and after him other of that line, till king Adelstane depriued them of the dominion, and tooke it into his owne hands.

Priuiledges granted to S. Cuthberts shrine.

888

894

Polydor. Will. Malmes.

Wil. Malm. Sithrike.

Edward succeedeth his father Alured in regiment, he is disquieted by his brother Adelwold a man of a defiled life, he flieth to the Danes and is of them receiued, king Edwards prouision against the irruptions and forraies of the Danes, Adelwold with a nauie of Danes entreth Eastangles, the Essex men submit themselues, he inuadeth Mercia, and maketh great wast, the Kentishmens disobedience preiudiciall to themselues, they and the Danes haue a great conflict, king Edward concludeth a truce with them, he maketh a great slaughter of them by his Westsaxons and Mercians, what lands came to king Edward by the death of Edred duke of Mercia, he recouereth diuers places out of the Danes hands, and giueth them manie a foile, what castels he builded, he inuadeth Eastangles, putteth Ericke a Danish king therof to flight, his owne subiects murther him for his crueltie, his kingdome returneth to the right of king Edward with other lands by him thereto annexed, his sister Elfleda gouerned the countrie of Mercia during hir life.

The xvij. Chapter.

Edward the elder.

901

After the decease of Alured, his sonne Edward surnamed the elder began his reigne ouer the more part of England, in the yeare of our Lord 901, which was in the second yeare of the emperor Lewes, in the eight yeare of the reigne of Charles surnamed Simplex king of France, and about the eight yeare of Donald king of Scotland. He was consecrated after the maner of other kings his ancestors by Athelred the archbishop of Canturburie. This Edward was not so learned as his father, but in princelie power more high and honorable, for he ioined the kingdome of Eastangles and Mercia with other vnto his dominion, as after shall be shewed, and banquished the Danes, Scots, and Welshmen, to his great glorie and high commendation.

In the beginning of his reigne he was disquieted by his brother Apelwold, which tooke the towne of Winborne beside Bath, and maried a nun there, whome he had defloured, & attempted manie things against his brother. Whereupon the king came to Bath, and though Adelwold shewed a countenance as if he would haue abidden the chance of warre within Winborne, yet he stole awaie in the night, and fled into Northumberland, where he was ioifullie receiued of the Danes. The king tooke his wife being left behind, and restored hir to the house from whence she was taken. ¶ Some haue written, that this Adelwold or Ethelwold was not brother vnto king Edward, but his vnkles sonne.

Winborne.

Hen. Hunt. Adelwold fleeth to the Danes.

Wil. Malm.

After this, king Edward prouiding for the suertie of his subiects against the forraies which the Danes vsed to make, fortified diuers cities and townes, and furnished them with great garrisons of souldiers, to defend the inhabitants, and to expell the enimies. And suerlie the Englishmen were so inured with warres in those daies, that the people being aduertised of the inuasion of the enimies in anie part of their countrie, would assemble verie timelie without knowledge of king or capteins, and setting vpon the enimies, went commonlie awaie with victorie, by reason that they ouermatched them both in number and practise. So were the enimies despised of the English souldiers, and laughed to scorne of the king for their foolish attempts. Yet in the third yeare of king Edwards reigne, Adelwold his brother came with a nauie of Danes into the parties of the Eastangles, and euen at the first the Essex men yelded themselues vnto him. In the

The English nation practised in wars, go commonlie awaie with the victorie.

Hen. Hunt.

Essex yelded to Adelwold.

yeare

yére following he inuaded the countrie of Mercia with a great armie, walking and ſpoiling the ſame vnto Crikelade, and there paſſing ouer the Thames, rode forth till he came to Baſingſtoke, or (as ſome bookes haue) Brittenden, harieng the countrie on each ſide, and ſo returned backe vnto Eaſtangles with great ioy and triumph.

Ran. Higd.

Brittenden.

Hen. Hunt.

King Edward awakened herewith, aſſembled his people, and followed the enimies, walking all the countries betwixt the riuer of Duſe and ſaint Edmunds ditch. And when he ſhould returne, he gaue commandement that no man ſhould ſtaie behind him, but come backe together for doubt to be forelaid by the enimies. The Kentiſhmen notwithſtanding this ordinance and commandement, remained behind, although the king ſent ſeuen meſſengers for them. The Danes awaiting their aduantage, came together, and fiercelie fought with the Kentiſhmen, which a long time valiantlie defended themſelues. But in the end the Danes obteined the victorie, although they loſt more people there than the Kentiſhmen did: and amongſt other, there were ſlaine the foreſaid Adelwold, and diuerſe of the chiefe capteins amongſt the Danes. Likewiſe of the Engliſh ſide, there died two dukes, Siwolfe & Singlem or Sigbelme, with ſundrie other men of name, both temporall and alſo ſpirituall lords and abbats. In the fift yére of his reigne, king Edward concluded a truce with the Danes of Eaſtangle and Northumberland at Itingford. But in the yére following, he ſent an armie againſt them of Northumberland, which ſlue manie of the Danes, and toke great booties both of people and cattell, remaining in the countrie the ſpace of fiue weekes.

The Kentiſhmen diſobeieing the kings commandement, are ſurpriſed by the enimies.

Adelwold king Edwards brother.

Fortie daies ſaith Simon Dun.

The yére next inſuing, the Danes with a great armie entered into Mercia, to rob & ſpoile the countrie, againſt whome king Edward ſent a mightie hoſt, aſſembled together of the Weſtſaxons & them of Mercia, which ſet vpon the Danes, as they were returning homeward, and ſlue of them an huge multitude, togither with their chiefe capteins and leaders, as king Halden, and king Eolwils, earle Ulter, earle Sturfa, and diuerſe other. In the yére 911, or (as Simon Dunelm ſaith) 908, the duke of Mercia Edred or Ethelred departed this life, and then king Edward ſeized into his hands the cities of London and Orford, and all that part of Mercia which he held. But afterwards he ſuffered his ſiſter Elfleda to inioy the moſt part thereof, except the ſaid cities of London and Orford, which he ſtill reteined in his owne hand. This Elfleda was wife to the ſaid duke Edred or Ethelred, as before you haue heard: of whoſe worthie acts more ſhall be ſaid hereafter.

Hen. Hunt.

Wighthan.

In the ninth yére of his reigne, king Edward built a caſtell at Hertford, and likewiſe he builded a towne in Eſſex at Wighthan, and lay himſelfe in the mean time at Maldon, otherwiſe Mealdun, bringing a great part of the countrie vnder his ſubiection, which before was ſubiect to the Danes. In the yére following, the armie of the Danes departed from Northampton and Chester in breach of the former treâce, and ſlue a great number of men at Hochterton in Oxfordſhire. And ſhortlie after their returne home, an other companie of them went forth, and came to Leighton, where the people of the countrie being aſſembled together, fought with them, put them to flight, taking from them all the ſpoile which they had got, and alſo their horſſes.

Chester, or rather Leiceſter, as I thinke.

Digetune.

In the 11 yére of king Edward, a fleet of Danes compaſſed about the weſt parts, & came to the mouth of Seuerne, and ſo toke préies in Wales: they alſo toke priſoner a Welſh biſhop named Camelgaret, at Irchenfield, whome they led to their ſhips: but king Edward redéemed him out of their hands, paieng them fortie pounds for his ranſome. After that the armie of Danes went forth to ſpoile the countrie about Irchenfield, but the people of Cheſter, Hereford, and other townes and countries thereabout aſſembled togither, and giuing battell to the enimies, put them to flight, and ſlue one of their noble men called earle Rehald, and Geolcil the brother of earle Ulter, with a great part of their armie, & draue the reſidue into a caſtell, which they beſieged till the Danes within it gaue hoſtages, and couenanted to depart out of the kings land. The king cauſed the coaſts about Seuerne to be watched, that they ſhould not breake into his countrie: but yet they ſtale twiſe into the borders: neuertheleſſe they were chaſed and ſlaine as manie as could not ſwim, and ſo get to their ſhips. Then they remained in the Ile of Stepen, in great miſerie for lacke of vittels, becauſe they could not go abroad to get anie. At length they departed into Northwales, and from thence ſailed into Ireland.

Irchenfield.

Danes diſcomfited.

The Ile of Stepen.

Deomedun.

Danes ſaile into Ireland.

The ſame yére king Edward came to Buckingham with an armie, and there taried a whole moneth, building two caſtels, the one vpon the one ſide of the water of Duſe, and the other vpon the other ſide of the ſame riuer. He alſo ſubdued Turketillus an earle of the Danes that dwelt in that countrie, with all the reſidue of the noble men and barons of the ſhires of Bedford and Northampton. In the 12 yére of king Edwards reigne, the Kentiſhmen and Danes fought togither at Holme: but whether partie had the victorie, writers haue not declared. Simon Dunelm. ſpeaketh of a battell which the citizens of Canturburie fought againſt a number of Daniſh roners at Holme, where the Danes were put to flight, but that ſhould be (as he noteth) 8 yéres before this ſuppoſed time, as in the yére 904, which was about the third yére of king Edwards reigne.

Turketillus an earle.

Simon Dun.

After this, other of the Danes aſſembled themſelues togither, and in Staffordſhire at a place called Totenhall fought with the Engliſhmen, and after great ſlaughter made on both parties, the Danes were ouercome: and ſo likewiſe were they ſhortlie after at Woodfield or Wodenfield. And thus king Edward put the Danes to the worſe in each place commonlie where he came, and hearing that thoſe in Northumberland ment to breake the peace, he inuaded the countrie, and ſo afflicted the ſame, that the Danes which were inhabitants there, gladlie continued in reſt and peace. But in this meane time, Ericke the king of thoſe Danes which held the countries of Eaſtangle, was about to procure new warre, and to allure other of the Danes to ioine with him againſt the Engliſhmen, that with common agreement they might ſet vpon the Engliſh nation, and vtterlie ſubdue them.

Anno, 911. Simon Dun.

Polydor. Ericke king of Eaſtangles.

King Edward hauing intelligence héereof, purpoſed to préuent him, and thereupon entering with an armie into his countrie, cruellie waſted and ſpoiled the ſame. King Ericke hauing alreadie his people in armor through diſpleaſure conceiued hereof, and deſire to be reuenged, haſted forth to incounter his enimies: and ſo they met in the field, and fiercelie aſſailed ech other. But as the battell was rathlie begun on king Ericks ſide, ſo was the end verie haineful to him: for with ſmall a do, after great loſſe on both ſides, he was vanquiſhed and put to flight.

King Edward inuadeth the countrie of the Eaſtangles.

Ericke put to flight.

After his comming home, becauſe of his great ouerthrow and foule diſcomfiture, he began to gouerne his people with more rigor & ſharper dealing than before time he had vſed. Whereby he prouoked the malice of the Eaſtangles ſo highlie againſt him, that they fell vpon him and murthered him: yet did they not gaine ſo much hereby as they looked to haue done:

dome: for shortlie after, they being brought low, and not able to defend their countrie, were compelled to submit themselues vnto king Edward. And so was that kingdome ioined vnto the other dominions of the same king Edward, who shortlie after annexed the kingdome of Mercia vnto other of his dominions, immediatlie vpon the death of his sister Elfleda, whom he permitted to rule that land all hir life.

The kingdom of the Eastangles subdued by K. Edward

Elfleda the sister of king Edward highlie commended for gouernment, what a necessarie staie she was vnto him in hir life time, what townes she builded and repared, hir warlike exploits against the Danes, hir death and buriall; the greatest part of Britaine in K. Edwards dominion, he is a great builder and reparer of townes, his death, the dreame of his wife Egina, and the issue of the same, what children king Edward had by his wiues, and how they were employed, the decay of the church by the meanes of troubles procured by the Danes, England first cursed and why; a prouinciall councell summoned for the reliefe of the churches ruine, Pleimond archbishop of Canturburie sent to Rome, bishops ordeined in sundrie prouinces; dissention among writers what pope should denounce the foresaid curse; a succession of archbishops in the see of Canturburie, one brother killeth an other.

The xviij. Chapter.

NOt without good reason did king Edward permit vnto his sister Elfleda the gouernment of Mercia, during hir life time: for by hir wise and politike order vsed in all hir doings, he was greatlie furthered & assisted; but specialtie in reparing and building of townes & castels, wherein she shewed hir noble magnificence, in so much that during hir gouernment, which continued about eight yeares, it is recorded by writers, that she did build and repare these towns, whose names here insue: Tamworth beside Lichfield, Stafford, Warwike, Shrewsburie, Watersburie or Weddesburie, Elilsburie or rather Eadsburie, in the forrest of De la mere besides Chester, Brinsburie bridge vpon Seuerne, Runcorne at the mouth of the riuer of Mercia with other. Moreouer, by hir helpe the citie of Chester, which by Danes had beene greatlie defaced, was newlie repared, fortified with walls and turrets, and greatlie inlarged. So that the castell which stood without the walls before that time, was now brought within compasse of the new wall.

Hen. Hunt. Matth. West. Simon Dun.

Tamworth was by hir repared, anno 914.

Eadsburie and Warwike.

915

Chester repared, 905. Sim. Dun.

Moreouer she boldlie assaulted hir enimies which went about to trouble the state of the countrie, as the Welshmen and Danes. She sent an armie into Wales, and won the towne of Brecknocke with the queene of the Welshmen at Brecenamere. Also she wan from the Danes the towne of Darbie, and the countrie adiointing. In this enterprise she put hir owne person in great aduenture; for a great multitude of Danes that were withdrawen into Darbie, valiantlie defended the gates and entries, in so much that they slue foure of hir chiefe men of warre, which were named wardens of hir person, euen fast by hir at the verie entrie of the gates. But this notwithstanding, with valiant fight hir people entered, and so the towne was won: she got diuerse other places out of their hands, & constreined them of Yorkeshire to agree with hir, so that some of them promised to become hir subiects: some vowed to aid hir, and some sware to be at hir commandement.

Queene of the Welshmen taken. Brecanamere Ran. Higd. Hen. Hunt.

918

Darbie won from the Danes.

Finallie, this martiall ladie and manlie Elfleda, the supporter of hir countriemen, and terrour of the enimies, departed this life at Tamworth about the 12 of June, in the 18 or rather 19 yeare of hir brother king Edwards reigne, as by Matth. West. it should appeare. But Simon Dunelm. writeth, that she deceassed in the yeare of Christ 915, which should be about the 14 yeare of king Edwards reigne. Hir bodie was conueied to Gloucester, and there buried within the monasterie of S. Peter, which hir husband and she in their life time had builded, and translated thither the bones of saint Oswill from Bardona. The same monasterie was after destroied by Danes. But Aldredus the archbishop of Yorke, who was also bishop of Worcester, repared an other in the same citie, that was after the chiefe abbeie there. Finallie, in memorie of the said Elfleds magnanimitie and valorous mind, this epitaph was fixed on hir tombe.

Anno Christi 919

Matt. West. Simon Dun.

Ranul.

O Elfleda potens, ô terror virgo virorum,
O Elfleda potens, nomine digna viri.
Te quóque splendidior fecit natura puellam,
Te probitas fecit nomen habere viri.
Te mutare decet sed sólum nomina sexus,
Tu regina potens réxque trophea parans.
Iam nec Cæsareos tantùm mirere triumphos,
Cæsare splendidior virgo virago, vale.

O puissant Elfled, ô thou maid
of men the dread and feare,
O puissant Elfled worthie maid
the name of man to beare.
A noble nature hath thee made
a maiden mild to bee,
Thy vertue also hath procurde
a manlie name to thee.
It doth but onelie thee become,
of sex to change the name,
A puissant queene, a king art thou
preparing trophes of fame.
Now maruell not so much at Cæsars triumphs [trim to view;]
O manlike maiden more renowmd
than Cæsar was, adieu.

Translated by Abraham Fleming.

After the decease of Elfleda, king Edward tooke the dominion of Mercia (as before we haue said) into his owne hands, and so disherited his neece Alfwen or Elfwen, the daughter of Elfleda, taking hir awaie with him into the countrie of West saxons. By this meanes he so amplified the woonds of his kingdome, that he had the most part of all this Iland of Britaine at his commandement: for the kings of the Welshmen; namelie the king of Stretcled, and of the Scots, acknowledging himself to their chiefe soueresigne lord; and the Danes in Northumberland were kept so short, that they durst attempt nothing against him in his latter daies: so that he had time to applie the building and reparing of cities, townes, and castels, wherein he so much delighted. He builded a new towne at Notingham on the southside of Trent, and made a bridge ouer that riuer betwixt the old towne and the new. He also repared Manchester beyond the riuer of Mercia in Lancashire, accounted as then in the south end of Northumberland, and he built a towne of ancient writers called Thilwall, neere to the same riuer of Mercia, and placed therein a garrison of souldiers: diuerse other townes and castels he built, as two at Buckingham on either side the water of Ouse (as before is shewed) and also one at the mouth of the riuer of Auon. He likewise built or new repared the townes of Toceter and Wigmore, with diuerse other, as one at Glademuth, about the last yeare of his reigne. Some also he destroied which seemed to serue the enimies turne for harborough, as a castell at Temnesford, which the Danes builded and fortified.

This Alfwen was sister to Edelfled, as H. Hunt. saith.

Stratcluid or Stretcled, a kingdome in Wales.

K. Edward a great builder and reparer of townes.

Notingham bridge built.

Matt. West. Manchester repared. Anno 816. Simon Dun.

Hen. Hunt.

At length, after that this noble prince king Edward had reigned somewhat aboue the tearme of 23 yeares, he was taken out of this life at Farington: his

his bodie was conueied from thence vnto Winchester, and there buried in the new abbeie. He had three wiues, or (as some haue written) but two, affirming that Edgiua was not his wife, but his concubine, of whome he begat his eldest sonne Adelstan, who succéeded him in the kingdome. This Edgiua (as hath béene reported) dreamed on a time that there rose a moone out of hir bellie, which with the bright shine thereof gaue light ouer all England: and telling hir dreame to an ancient gentlewoman, who coniecturing by the dreame that which followed, toke care of hir, and caused hir to be brought vp in good manners and like a gentlewoman, though she were borne but of base parentage.

Polydor.

A dreame.

Hereupon when she came to ripe yéres, king Edward by chance comming to the place where she was remaining, vpon the first sight was streight rauished with hir beautie (which in déed excelled) that she could not rest till he had his pleasure of hir, and so begot of hir the foresaid Adelstan: by hir he had also a daughter that was maried vnto Sithrike a Dane and K. of Northumberland. The Scotish writers name hir Beatrice, but our writers name hir Editha. His second or rather his first wife (if he were not maried to Egwina mother to Adelstan) was called Elfleda or Elfrida, daughter to one earle Etheline, by whom he had issue; to wit, two sonnes Ethelward and Edwin, which immediatlie departed this life after their father; and sir daughters, Elfleda, Edgiua, Ethelhilda, Ethilda, Edgitha, and Elfgiua. Elfleda became a nun, and Ethelhilda also liued in perpetuall virginitie, but yet in a laie habit.

Matt. West. Polydor.

The issue of K. Edward.

Alias Edgiua

Edgitha was maried to Charles king of France, surnamed Simplex. And Ethilda by helpe of hir brother Adelstan was bestowed vpon Hugh sonne to Robert earle of Paris, for hir singular beautie most highlie esteemed: sith nature in hir had shewed as it were hir whole cunning, in perfecting hir with all gifts and properties of a comelie personage. Edgitha and Elgiua were sent by their brother Adelstan into Germanie, vnto the emperor Henrie, who bestowed one of them vpon his sonne Otho, that was after emperor, the first of that name; and the other vpon a duke inhabiting about the Alpes: by his last wife named Edgiua, he had also two sonnes, Edmund & Eldred, the which both reigned after their brother Adelstan successiuelie. Also he had by hir two daughters, Edburge that was made a nun, and Edgiue a ladie of excellent beautie, whom hir brother Adelstan gaue in mariage vnto Lewes king of Aquitaine.

Wil. Malm.

While this land was in continuall trouble of warres against the Danes, as before is touched, small regard was had to the state of the church, in so much that the whole countrie of the Westsaxons by the space of seuen yéres togither (in the daies of this king Edward) remained without anie bishop, to take order in matters apperteining to the church. Whereupon the pope had accursed the English people, because they suffred the bishops sées to be vacant so long a time. King Edward to auoid the curse, assembled a prouinciall councell, 905, in the which the archbishop of Canturburie Pleimond was president. Wherein it was ordeined, that whereas the prouince of Westsaxons in times past had but two bishops, now it should be diuided into fiue dioceses, euerie of them to haue a peculiar bishop.

Ran. Higd. Wil. Malm. Matth. West.

England first accursed.

Anno 903.

When all things were ordered and concluded in this synod (as was thought requisite) the archbishop was sent to Rome with rich presents, to appease the popes displeasure. When the pope had heard what order the king had taken, he was contented therewith. And so the archbishop returned into his countrie, and in one day at Canturburie ordeined seuen bishops, as fiue to the prouince of Westsaxons, that is to say, Fridestane to the sée of Winchester, Adelstan to S. German in Cornwall, Werstan to Shireborne, Adelme to Welles, and Edulfe to Kirton. Also to the prouince of Suffex he ordeined one Bernegus, and to Dorchester for the prouince of Mercia one Cenulfus.

Winchester. Cornwall. Shireborne. Welles. Kirton. Mercia.

¶ Héere ye must note, that where William Malme. Polychro. and other do affirme, that pope Formosus did accurse king Edward and the English nation, for suffering the bishops sées to be vacant, it can not stand with the agréement of the time, vnlesse that the curse pronounced by Formosus for this matter long afore was not regarded, vntill Edward had respect thereto. For the same Formosus began to gouerne the Romane sée about the yéere of our Lord 892, and liued in the papasie not past fiue yeeres, so that he was dead before king Edward came to the crowne. But how so euer this matter maie fall out, this ye haue to consider: although that Pleimond was sent vnto Rome to aduertise the pope what the king had decréed & done, in the ordeining of bishops to their seuerall sées, as before ye haue heard, yet (as maister Fox hath noted) the gouernance and direction of the church depended chiefly vpon the kings of this land in those daies, as it manifestlie appeareth, as well by the decrees of king Alfred, as of this king Edward, whose authoritie in the election of bishops (as before ye haue heard) séemed then alone to be sufficient.

Wil. Malm. saith that pope Formosus pronounced this curse.

904

Polydor.

Moreouer, I thinke it good to aduertise you in this place, that this Pleimond archbishop of Canturburie (of whome ye haue heard before) was the 19 in number from Augustine the first archbishop there: for after Brightwold that was the 8 in number, and first of the English nation that gouerned the sée, succéeded Tadwin, that sat three yéeres, Notelm fiue yéeres, Cuthbert 18 yéeres, Brethwin three yeeres, Lambert 27 yéeres, Adelard 13 yéeres, Wilfred 28 yéeres, Theologildus or Pleogildus 3 yéeres, Celnotus or Chelnotus 10 yéeres. Then succéeded Aldred, of whome king Edward receiued the crowne, and he was predecessor to Pleimond. A little before the death of king Edward, Sithrike the king of Northumberland killed his brother Rigellus, and then king Reinold conquered the citie of Yorke.

Hen. Hunt.

Adelstane succeedeth his father Edward in the kingdome, *Alfred practising* by treason to keepe him from the gouernement, *sanke downe suddenlie as he was taking his* oth for his purgation; the cause why Alfred opposed *himselfe against Adelstane, whose praise is notable, what he* did to satisfie the expectation of his people, ladie Beatrice king Edwards daughter maried to Sithrike a Danish gouernor of the Northumbers, by whose meanes Edwin king Edwards brother was drowned, practises of treason, the ladie Beatrice strangelie put to death by hir stepsons for being of counsell to poison hir husband Sithrike, hir death reuenged vpon the tormentors by hir father king Edward, and how chronographers varie in the report of this historie.

The xix. Chapter.

Adelstan. Matt. West. Will. Malmes. 924

ADelstane the eldest sonne of king Edward began his reigne ouer the more part of all England, the yéere of our Lord 924, which was in the 6 yere of the emperour Henrie the first, in the 31 yéere of the reigne of Charles surnamed Simpler king of France, three moneths after the burning of Pauie, & about the 22 or 23 yéere of Constantine the third, king of Scotland. This Adelstane

delstane was crowned and consecrated king at Kingstone vpon Thames, of Aldelme the archbishop of Canturburie, who succéded Pleimond. He was the 24 king in number from Cerdicus or Cerdike the first king of the Westsarons. There were in the beginning some that set themselues against him, as one Alfred a noble man, which practised by treason to haue kept him from the gouernement: but he was apprehended per he could bring his purpose to passe, and sent to Rome there to trie himselfe giltie or not giltie. And as he toke his oth for his purgation before the altar of saint Peter, he suddenlie fell downe to the earth, so that his seruants toke him vp, and bare him into the English schole or hospitall, where the third night after he died.

Alfred striueth in vaine to kéepe Adelstane from the gouernment. Wil. Malm. Sée more hereof in the acts and monuments set forth by M. Fox, vol. 1. leafe 195.

Pope Iohn the tenth sent vnto king Adelstane, to know if he would that his bodie should be laid in christian buriall or not. The king at the contemplation of Alfreds friends and kinsfolks, signified to the pope that he was contented that his bodie should be interred amongst other christians. His lands being forfeited were giuen by the king vnto God and saint Peter. The cause that moued Alfred and other his complices against the king, was (as some haue alledged) his bastardie. But whether that allegation were true or but a slander, this is certeine, that except that steine of his honor, there was nothing in this Adelstane worthie of blame: so that he darkened all the glorious fame of his predecessors, both in vertuous conditions and victorious triumphs. Such difference is there to haue that in thy selfe wherein to excell, rather than to stand vpon the worthinesse of thine ancestors, sith that can not rightlie be called a mans owne.

After that king Adelstane was established in the estate, he indeuored himselfe to answer the expectation of his people, which hoped for great wealth to insue by his noble and prudent gouernance. First therfore meaning to prouide for the suertie of his countrie, he concluded a peace with Sithrike king of the Northumbers, vnto whome (as ye haue heard) he gaue one of his sisters named Editha in mariage. Sithrike liued not past one yéere after he had so maried hir. And then Adelstane brought the prouince of the Northumbers vnto his subiection, expelling one Aldulph out of the same that rebelled against him. There be that write, that Godfrie and Aulafe the sonnes of Sithrike succéeding their father in the gouernement of Northumberland, by practising to moue warre against king Adelstane, occasioned him to inuade their countrie, and to chase them out of the same, so that Aulafe fled into Ireland, & Godfrie into Scotland: but other write, that Godfrie was the father of Reignold which wan Yorke, after that Sithrike had slaine his brother Rigellus, as before is mentioned.

Anno 925. Simon Dun. Polydor.

Wil. Malm.

H. Hunt.

¶ The Scotish chronicles varie in report of these matters from the English writers: whose chronicles affirme, that in the life time of king Edward, his daughter Beatrice was giuen in mariage to Sithrike, the gouernor of the Danes in Northumberland, with condition that if anie male were procreated in that mariage, the same should inherit the dominions of king Edward after his decease. King Edward had a brother (as they say) named Edwin, a iolie gentleman, and of great estimation amongst the Englishmen. He by Sithrikes procurement was sent into Flanders in a ship that leaked, and so was drowned, to the great reioising of all the Danes, least if he had surviued his brother, he would haue made some businesse for the crowne.

Hect. Boetius. The Scotish writers varie from our English authors. Beatrice daughter to K. Edward as the Scotish writers say. Edwin was not brother to K. Edward but son to him.

About the same time Adelstane a base sonne of K. Edward fled the realme, for doubt to be made away by some like traitorous practise of the Danes. Shortlie after, king Edward vnderstanding that Sithrike went about some mischiefe toward him, persuaded his daughter to poison hir husband the said Sithrike. Then Aulafe or Aualassus, and Godfrie the sonnes of Sithrike, finding out by diligent examination, that Beatrice was of counsell in poisoning hir husband, they caused hir to be apprehended and put to death on this wise. She was set naked vpon a smithes cold anuill or stithie, and therewith hard rosted egs being taken out of the hot imbers were put vnder hir armepits, and hir armes fast bound to hir bodie with a cord, and so in that state she remained till hir life passed from hir. King Edward in reuenge of his daughters death moued warre against the two brethren, Aulafe and Godfrie, and in battell finallie vanquished them, but was slaine in the same battell himselfe.

Beatrice put to death by hir stepsons.

Thus haue the Scotish chronicles recorded of these matters, as an induction to the warres which followed betwixt the Scots and Danes as confederates against king Adelstane: but the truth thereof we leaue to the readers owne iudgement. For in our English writers we find no such matter, but that a daughter of king Edward named Edgitha or Editha, after hir fathers decease was by hir brother king Adelstane, about the first yéere of his reigne, giuen in mariage (as before ye haue heard) vnto the foresaid Sithrike king of Northumberland, that was descended of the Danish bloud, who for the loue of the yong ladie, renounced his heathenish religion and became a christian; but shortlie after, forsaking both his wife and the christian faith, he set vp againe the worshipping of idols, and within a while after, as an apostata miserablie ended his life. Wherupon the yong ladie, hir virginitie being preserued, and hir bodie vndefiled (as they write) passed the residue of hir daies at Polleswoorth in Warwikeshire, spending hir time (as the same writers affirme) in fasting, watching, praieng, and doing of almesdéedes, and so at length departed out of this world. Thus our writers differ from the Scotish historie, both in name and maner of end as concerning the daughter of king Edward that was coupled in mariage with Sithrike.

Editha a virgin.

Adelstane subdueth Constantine king *of Scots, Howell king of Wales, and Wul-* ferth king of Northwales, the Scots possesse a *great part of the north countries, Adelstane con-* quereth the Scots for aiding Godfrie his enimie; a *miracle declaring that the Scots ought to obey the king of Eng-* land; king Adelstane banisheth his brother Edwin, he is for a conspiracie drowned in the sea, Adelstane repenteth him of his rigour (in respect of that misfortune) against his brother; Aulafe sometimes king of Northumberland inuadeth England, he disguiseth himselfe like a minstrell and surueieth the English campe vnsuspected, he is discouered after his departure, he assaileth the English campe, Adelstane being comforted with a miracle discomfiteth his enimies, he maketh them of Northwales his tributaries, he subdueth the Cornishmen, his death; the description of his person, his vertues, of what abbeis & monasteries he was founder, his estimation in forren realmes, what pretious presents were sent him from other princes, and how he bestowed them; a remembrance of Guy the erle of Warwike.

The xx. Chapter.

After that king Adelstane had subdued them of Northumberland, he was aduertised, that not onelie Constantine king of Scots, but also Yuduale or Howell K. of Wales went about a priuie conspiracie against him.

Herr-

Wil. Malm. Herevpon with all conuenient speed assembling his power, he went against them, and with like good fortune subdued them both, and also Vmer or Wulferth K. of Northwales, so that they were constreined to submit themselues vnto him, who shortlie after moued with pitie in considering their sodden fall, restored them all three to their former estates, but so as they should acknowledge themselues to gouerne vnder him, pronouncing withall this notable saieng, that More honorable it was to make a king, than to be a king.

Math. West. The noble saieng of king Adelstane.

926

We must vnderstand, that (as it appeareth in the Scotish chronicles) the Scotishmen in time of warre that the Danes gaue the English nation, got a part of Cumberland and other the northerne countries into their possession, and so by reason of their neere adioining vnto the confines of the English kings, there chanced occasions of warre betwixt them, as well in the daies of king Edward, as of this Adelstane his sonne, although indeed the Danes held the more part of the north countries, till that this Adelstane conquered the same out of their hands, and ioined it vnto other of his dominions, constreining as well the Danes (of whome the more part of the inhabitants then consisted) as also the Englishmen, to obey him as their king and gouernour. Godfrie (as is said) being fled to the Scots, did so much preuaile there by earnest sute made to king Constantine, that he got a power of men, and entring with the same into Northumberland, besieged the citie of Duresme, soliciting the citizens to receiue him, which they would gladlie haue done, if they had not perceiued how he was not of power able to resist the puissance of king Adelstane: and therefore doubting to be punished for their offenses if they reuolted, they kept the enimies out. King Adelstane being sore moued against the king of Scots, that thus aided his enimies, raised an armie, and went northward, purposing to reuenge that iniurie.

Polydor.

934

Ran. Higd. At his comming into Yorkshire, he turned out of the way, to visit the place where saint John of Beuerlie was buried, and there offered his knife, promising that if he returned with victorie, he would redeeme the same with a worthie price: and so proceeded and went forwards on his iournie, and entring Scotland, walked the countrie by land vnto Dunfoader and Wertermore, and his naule by sea destroied the coasts alongst the shore, euen to Catnesse, and so he brought the king of Scots and other his enimies to subiection at his pleasure, constreining the same K. of Scots to deliuer him his son in hostage.

Sim. Dun.

The Scots subdued.

It is said, that being in his iournie neere vnto the towne of Dunbar, he prated vnto God, that at the instance of saint John of Beuerlie, it would please him to grant, that he might shew some open token, whereby it should appeare to all them that then liued, and should hereafter succeed, that the Scots ought to be subiect vnto the kings of England. Herewith, the king with his sword smote vpon a great stone standing neere to the castle of Dunbar, and with the stroke, there appeared a clift in the same stone to the length of an elme, which remained to be shewed as a witnesse of that thing manie yeares after. At his comming backe to Beuerlie, he redeemed his knife with a large price, as before he had promised.

A token shewed miraculouslie that the Scots ought to be subiect to the kings of England.

Wil. Malm. Matt. West. 934

After this was Edwin the kings brother accused of some conspiracie by him begun against the king, whereupon he was banished the land, and sent out in an old rotten vessell without rower or mariner, onelie accompanied with one esquier, so that being launched forth from the shore, through despaire Edwin leapt into the sea, and drowned himselfe, but the esquier that was with him recouered his bodie, and brought it to land at Withsand besides Canturburie. But Iames Maier in the annales of Flanders saieth, that he was drowned by fortune of the seas in a small vessell, and being cast vp into a creeke on the coast of Picardie, was found by Adolfe earle of Bullongne that was his cosin germane, and honorablie buried by the same Adolfe in the church of Bertine. In consideration of which deed of pietie and dutie of mindfull consanguinitie, the king of England both hartlie thanked earle Adolfe, and bestowed great gifts vpon the church where his brother was thus buried. For verelie king Adelstane after his displeasure was allwaged, and hearing of this miserable end of his brother, sore repented himselfe of his rigour so extended towards him, in so much that he could neuer abide the man that had giuen the information against him, which was his cupbearer, so that on a time as the said cupbearer serued him at the table, and came towards him with a cup of wine, one of his feet chanced to slide, but he recouered himselfe with the helpe of the other foot, saieng, One brother yet hath holpen & succored the other: which words cost him his life. For the king remembring that by his accusation he had lost his brother that might haue beene an aid to him, caused this said cupbearer to be straight put to death.

Repentance too late.

Wil. Malm. In this meane while, Aulafe the sonne of Sithrike, late king of Northumberland (who is also named by writers to be king of the Irishmen, and of manie Ilands) assembled a great power of Danes, Irishmen, Scots, and other people of the out Iles, and imbarked them in 615 ships and craiers, with the which he arriued in the mouth of Humber, and there comming on land, began to inuade the countrie. This Aulafe had maried the daughter of Constantine king of Scots, by whose procurement, notwithstanding his late submission, Aulafe toke in hand this iournie. King Adelstane aduertised of his enimies arriuall, gathered his people, and with all conuenient speed hasted towards them, and approching neere vnto them, pitcht downe his field at a place called by some Brimesburie, by others Brimesford, and also Brunanburgh, and by the Scotish writers Browningfield.

937

Simon Dun.

Hen. Hunt. Wil. Malm. Matth. West. Hector Boet. Ran. Higd.

When knowledge hereof was had in the enimies campe, Aulafe enterprised a maruelous exploit, for taking with him an harpe, he came into the English campe, offring himselfe disguised as a minstrell, to shew some part of his cunning in musicke vpon his instrument: and so being suffered to passe from tent to tent, and admitted also to plaie afore the king, surueied the whole state and order of the armie. This done, he returned, meaning by a cammisado to set vpon the kings tent. But one that had serued as a souldier sometime vnder Aulafe, chanced by marking his demeanour to know him, and after he was gone, vttered to the king what he knew. The king seemed to be displeased, in that he had not told him so much before Aulafs departure: but in excusing himselfe, the souldier said: We must remember (if it like your grace) that the same faith which I haue giuen vnto you, I sometime owght vnto Aulafe, therfore if I should haue betraied him now, you might well stand in doubt least I should hereafter do the like to you: but if you will follow mine aduise, remoue your tent, least haplie he assaile you vnwares. The king did so, and as it chanced in the night following, Aulafe came to assaile the English campe, and by fortune comming to the place where the kings tent stood before, he found a bishop lodged, which with his companie was come the same day to the armie, and had pitcht vp his tent in that place from whence the king was remoued: and so was the same bishop, and most part of his men there slaine. which slaughter executed, Aulafe passed forward,

Aulafe disguised, commeth to view the English camp

Aulafe assaileth the English campe.

ward, and came to the kings tent, who in this meane time, by reason of the alarum raised, was got vp, and taking to him his sword in that sudden fright, by chance it fell out of the scabbard, so that he could not find it, but calling to God and S. Aldelme (as Ran. Higd. saith Polychron.) his sword was restored to the scabbard againe. The king comforted with that miracle, boldlie prealed forth vpon his enimies, and so valiantlie resisted them, that in the end he put them to flight, and chased them all that morning and day following, so that he slue of them an huge number. Wil. Malm. The enimies discomfited. Some haue written, that Constantine king of Scots was slaine at this ouerthrow, and fiue other small kings or rulers, with 12 dukes, and welneere all the armie of those strange nations which Aulafe had gathered togither. But the Scotish chronicles affirme, that Constantine was not there himselfe, but sent his sonne Malcolme, which yet escaped sore hurt and wounded from the battell, as in the same chronicles ye may see more at large.

Ran. Higd. When K. Adelstane had thus vanquished his enimies in the northparties of England, he went against them of Northwales, whose rulers and princes he caused to come before him at Hereford, and there handled them in such sort, that they couenanted to pay him yearlie in lieu of a tribute 20 pounds of gold, 300 pounds of siluer, and 25 head of neate, with hawks and hounds a certeine number. After this, he subdued the Cornishmen: and whereas till those daies they inhabited the citie of Excester, mingled amongest the Englishmen, so that the one nation was as strong within that citie as the other, he rid them quite out of the same, and repared the walles, and fortified them with ditches and turrets as the maner then was, and so remoued the Cornish men further into the west parts of the countrie, that he made Tamer water to be the confines betweene the Englishmen and them. Finallie the noble prince king Adelstane departed out of this world, the 26 day of October, after he had reigned the tearme of 16 yeares. His bodie was buried at Malmesburie.

Tribute. The Cornish men subdued. Excester repared.

940 Simon Dun. The decease of king Adelstane.

The description of king Adelstane. He was of such a stature, as exceeded not the common sort of men, stoping somewhat, and yellowe haired, for his valiancie ioined with courtesie beloued of all men, yet sharpe against rebels, and of inuincible constancie: his great deuotion toward the church appeared in the building, adorning & indowing of monasteries and abbeis. He built one at Wilton within the diocesse of Salisburie, and an other at Michelnie in Summersetshire. But besides these foundations, there were few famous monasteries within this land, but that he adorned the same either with some new peece of building, iewels, bookes, or portion of lands. He had in exceeding fauour Wolstan archbishop of Yorke that liued in his daies, for whose sake he greatlie inriched that bishoprike. His fame spread ouer all the parties of Europe, so that sundrie princes thought themselues happie if they might haue his friendship, either by affinitie or otherwise: by meanes whereof, he bestowed his sisters so highlie in mariage as before ye haue heard. He received manie noble and rich presents from diuers princes, as from Hugh king of France, horsses and sundrie rich iewels, with certeine relikes: as Constantines sword, in the hilt whereof was set one of the nailes wherewith Christ was fastened to the crosse, the speare of Charles the great, which was thought to be the same wherewith the side of our sauiour was pearced, the banner of saint Maurice, with a part of the holie crosse, and likewise a part of the thorned crowne: yet Mandeuile saw the one halfe of this crowne in France, and the other at Constantinople, almost 400 yeares after this time, as he writeth. Of these iewels king Adelstane gaue part to the abbie of saint Swithun at Winchester, and part to the abbie of Malmesburie. Moreouer, the king of Norwaie sent vnto him a goodlie ship of fine workmanship, with gilt sterne and purple sailes, furnished round about the decke within with a rowe of gilt pauises. ¶ In the dates of this Adelstane reigned that right worthie Guy earle of Warwike, who (as some writers haue recorded) fought with a mightie giant of the Danes in a singular combat, and vanquished him. Harding.

Wolstan archbishop of Yorke.

His estimation in forraine realmes.

Edmund succeedeth Adelstane in the kingdome, the Danes of Northumberland rebell against him, a peace concluded betwene Aulafe their king and king Edmund vpon conditions, Aulafe dieth, another of that name succeedeth him; king Edmund subdueth the Danes, and compelleth them to receiue the christian faith, Reinold and Aulafe are baptised, they violate their fealtie vowed to king Edmund, they are put to perpetuall exile; why king Edmund wasted all Northumberland, caused the eies of king Dunmails sonnes to be put out, and assigned the said countrie to Malcolme king of Scots; the Scotish chroniclers error in peruerting the time & order of the English kings, king Edmunds lawes, by what misfortune he came to his end, how his death was foreshewed to Dunstane in a vision, a tale of the vertue of the crosse, Dunstane reproueth duke Elstane, his dreame, and how the interpretation thereof came to passe.

The xxj. Chapter.

Edmund. AFter that Adelstane was departed this life, without leauing issue behind to succéed him in the kingdome, his brother Edmund, sonne of Edward the elder, borne of his last wife Edgiue, toke vpon him the gouernement of this land, and began his reigne in the yeare of our Lord 940, which was in the fift yeare of the emperor Otho the 1, in the 13 of Lewes surnamed Transmarinus king of France, and about the 38 yeare of Constantine the third king of Scotland. The Danes of Northumberland rebelled against this Edmund, and ordeined Aulafe to be their king, whom they had called out of Ireland. Some write that this Aulafe, which now in the beginning of Edmunds reigne came into Northumberland, was king of Norwaie, & hauing a great power of men with him, marched forth towards the south parts of this land, in purpose to subdue the whole: but king Edmund raised a mightie armie, and incountred with his enimies at Leicester. Howbeit, yer the matter came to the vttermost triall of battell, through the earnest sute of the archbishop of Canturburie and Yorke Odo and Wolstan, a peace was concluded; so as Edmund should inioy all that part of the land which lieth from Watlingstréet southward, & Aulafe should inioy the other part as it lieth from the same stréet northward. Then Aulafe toke to wife the ladie Aldiua, daughter to earle Ormus, by whose counsell and assistance he had thus obteined the vpper hand. But this Aulafe in the yeare following, after he had destroied the church of saint Walter, and burned Tinningham, departed this life. Then the other Aulafe that was sonne to king Sithrike, toke vpon him to gouerne the Northumbers.

Wil. Malm. 940 Simon Dun. A peace concluded. 941 Matth. West. Aulafe deceaseth. Another Aulafe taketh vpon him to rule.

After this, in the yeare 942, king Edmund assembling an armie, first subdued those Danes which had got into their possession the cities and townes of Lincolne, Leicester, Darbie, Stafford, and Notingham, 942

ham, constreining them to receiue the christian faith, and reduced all the countries euen vnto Humber vnder his subiection. This done, Aulafe and Reinold the sonne of Gurmo, who (as you haue heard) subdued Yorke, as a meane the sooner to obteine peace, offered to become christians, & to submit themselues vnto him: wherevpon he receiued them to his peace. There be that write, that this Aulafe is not that Aulafe which was sonne to king Sithrike, but rather that the other was he with whom king Edmund made partition of the realme: but they agree, that this second Aulafe was a Dane also, & being conuerted to the faith as well through constraint of the kings puissance, as through the preaching of the gospell, was baptised, king Edmund being godfather both vnto him, and vnto the foresaid Reinold, to Aulafe at the verie font stone, and to Reinold at his confirmation at the bishops hands. Neuertheless, their wicked natures could not rest in quiet, so that they brake both promise to God, and to their prince, and were therefore in the peare next following driuen both out of the countrie, and punished by perpetuall exile. And so king Edmund adioined Northumberland, without admitting anie other immediat gouernor, vnto his owne estate.

Gurmo or Godfrey. Will. Malm.

944
Simon. Dun.

Moreouer, he wasted and spoiled whole Cumberland, because he could not reduce the people of that countrie vnto due obeisance, and conformable subiection. The two sonnes of Dunmaile king of that prouince he apprehended, and caused their eies to be put out. Herewith vpon consideration either of such aid as he had receiued of the Scots at that time, or some other friendlie respect, he assigned the said countrie of Cumberland vnto Malcolme king of Scots, to hold the same by fealtie of him and his successors. The Scotish chronicles, peruerting the time and order of the acts and doings of the English kings which reigned about this season, affirme, that by couenants of peace concluded betwixt Malcolme king of Scotland, and Adelstan king of England, it was agreed, that Cumberland should remaine to the Scots: as in their chronicles you may find at full expressed. And againe, that Indulfe, who succeeded Malcolme in the kingdome of Scotland, aided king Edmund against Aulafe, whom the same chronicles name Aualassus, but the time which they attribute vnto the reignes of their kings, will not alow the same to stand. For by account of their writers, king Malcolme began not his reigne till after the decease of king Adelstan, who departed this life in the yeare 940. And Malcolme succeeded Constantine the third in the yeare 944, which was about the third yeare of king Edmunds reigne, and after Malcolme (that reigned 15 yeares) succeeded Indulfe in the yeare 959. The like discordance preceedeth and followeth in their writers, as to the diligent reader, in conferring their chronicles with ours, manifestlie appeareth. We therefore (to satisfie the desirous to vnderstand and see the diuersitie of writers) haue for the more part in their chronicles left the same as we found it.

Leolin king of South-wales aided king Edmund in this enterprise.
946

Simon. Dun.

Polydor.

But now to the other doings of king Edmund: it is recorded, that he ordeined diuers good and wholsome lawes, verie profitable and necessarie for the commonwealth, which lawes with diuers other of like antiquitie are forgot and blotted out by rust of time, the consumer of things worthie of long remembrance (as saith Polydor:) but sithens his time they haue beene recouered for the more part, & by maister William Lambert turned into Latine, & were imprinted by Iohn Day, in the yeare 1568, as before I haue said. Finallie, this prince king Edmund, after he had reigned fiue yeares and a halfe, he came to his end by great misfortune. For (as some say) it chanced, that espieng where one of his seruants was in danger to be slaine amongest his enimies that were about him with drawen swords, as he stepped in to haue holpen his seruant, he was slaine at a place called Pulcher church, or (as other haue) Michelsbourgh.

The laws of king Edmund.

Fiue yeares and 7 months hath Si. Dun.

Other say, that keeping a great feast at the aforesaid place on the day of saint Augustine the English apostle (which is the 26 of Maie, and as that yeare came about, it fell on the tuesday) as he was set at the table, he espied where a common robber was placed neere vnto him, whome sometime he had banished the land, and now being returned without licence, he presumed to come into the kings presence, wherewith the king was so moued with high disdaine, that he suddenlie arose from the table, and flew vpon the theefe, and catching him by the heare of the head, threw him vnder his feet, wherewith the theefe, hauing fast hold on the king, brought him downe vpon him also, and with his knife stroke him into the bellie, in such wise, that the kings bowels fell out of his cheft, and there presentlie died. The theefe was hewen in peeces by the kings seruants, but yet he slue and hurt diuers before they could dispatch him. This chance was lamentable, namelie to the English people, which by the ouertimelie death of their king, in whome appeared manie euident tokens of great excellencie, lost the hope which they had conceiued of great wealth to increase by his prudent and most princelie gouernement. His bodie was buried at Glastenburie where Dunstane was then abbat.

Polydor. Hist. Angl. lib. 6. fol. 94. Matth. West. Iohannes Bromton. Another tale. Ex Capgraue.

There be that write, that the death of king Edmund was signified aforehand to Dunstane, who about the same time attending vpon the same king, as he remoued from one place to an other, chanced to accompanie himselfe with a noble man, one duke Elstane, and as they rode togither, behold suddenlie Dunstane saw in the waie before him, where the kings musicians rode, the diuell running and leaping amongst the same musicians after a reioising maner, whome after he had beheld a good while, he said to the duke; Is it possible that you may see that which I see? The duke answered that he saw nothing otherwise than he ought to see. Then said Dunstane, Blesse your eies with the signe of the crosse, and trie whether you can see that I see. And when he had done as Dunstane appointed him, he saw also the feend in likenesse of a little short euill fauoured Aethiopian dansing and leaping, whereby they gathered that some euill hap was towards some of the companie: but when they had crossed and blessed them, the foule spirit vanished out of their sight.

Crossing driueth sight of the diuels, and crossing driueth them away.

Now after they had talked of this vision, and made an end of their talke touching the same, the duke required of Dunstane to interpret a dreame which he had of late in sleepe, and that was this: He thought that he saw in a vision the king with all his nobls sit in his dining chamber at meate, and as they were there making merrie togither, the king chanced to fall into a dead sleepe, and all the noble men, and those of his councell that were about him were changed into robucks and goats. Dunstane quicklie declared that this dreame signified the kings death, and the changing of the nobles into dum and insensible beasts betokened that the princes & gouernors of the realme should decline from the waie of truth, and wander as foolish beasts without a guide to rule them. Also the night after this talke when the king was set at supper, Dunstane saw the same spirit, or some other, walke vp and downe amongst them that waited at the table, and within three daies after, the king was slaine, as before ye haue heard.

Dunstane an interpretor of dreames.

Dunstan seeth the diuell often, but now he was become a waiter at the table when Dunstane sat with the king.

O.f. Edred

Edred succedeth his brother Edmund *in the realme of England, the Northumbers* rebell against him, they and the Scots *sweare to be his true subiects, they breake their* oth and ioine with Aulafe the Dane, who returneth *into Northumberland, and is made king thereof, the people* expell him and erect Hericius in his roome, king Edred taketh reuenge on the Northumbers for their disloialtie, the rereward of his armie is assalted by an host of his enimies issuing out of Yorke, the Northumbers submit themselues, and put awaie Hericius their king, Wolstane archbishop of Yorke punished for his disloialtie, whereto Edred applied himselfe after the appeasing of ciuill tumults, his death and buriall, a speciall signe of Edreds loue to Dunstane abbat of Glastenburie, his practise of cousenage touching king Edreds treasure.

The xxij. Chapter.

Edred.

EDred the brother of Edmund, and sonne to Edward the elder and to Edgiue his last wife, began his reigne ouer the realme of England in the yere of our Lord 946, or (as other say) 997, which was in the twelfe yere of the emperor Otho the first, and in the 21 yere of the reigne of Lewes K. of France, & about the third or fourth yere of Malcolme the first of that name, king of Scotland. He was crowned and annointed the 16 day of August by Odo the archbishop of Canturburie at Kingstone vpon Thames. In the first yere of his reigne, the Northumbers rebelled against him, whereupon he raised an armie, inuaded their countrie, and subdued them by force. This done, he went forward into Scotland: but the Scots without shewing anie resistance submitted themselues vnto him, and so both Scots and Northumbers receiued an oth to be true vnto him, which they obserued but a small while, for he was no sooner returned into the south parts, but that Aulafe which had beene chased out of the countrie by king Edmund, as before ye haue heard, returned into Northumberland with a great nauie of ships, and was ioifullie receiued of the inhabitants, and restored againe to the kingdome, which he held by the space of foure yeres, and then by the accustomed disloialtie of the Northumbers he was by them expelled, and then they set vp one Hirke or Hericius the sonne of one Harrold to reigne ouer them, who held not the estate anie long time. For in the third yere of his reigne, Edred in the reuenge of such disloiall dealings in the Northumbers, destroied the countrie with fire & sword, sleaing the most part of the inhabitants. He burnt the abbeie of Ripon, which was kept against him.

946

Hen. Hunt. The Northumbers rebell and are subdued.

Aulafe returned into Northumberland.

Hirke or Hericius.

Wil. Malm. The disloialtie of the Northumbers punished.

As he was returning homeward, an host of enimies brake out of Yorke, and setting vpon the rereward of the kings armie at a place called Easterford, made great slaughter of the same. Wherefore the king in his rage ment to haue begun a new spoile and destruction, but the Northumbers humbled themselues so vnto him, that putting awaie their forsaid king Hirke or Hericius, and offering great rewards and gifts to buy their peace, they obteined pardon. But bicause that Wolstane the archbishop of Yorke was of counsell with his countriemen in reuolting from king Edred, and aduancing of Hericius, king Edred toke him and kept him in prison a long time after, but at length in respect of the reuerence which he bare to his calling, he set him at libertie, and pardoned him his offense. Matth. Westm. reciteth an other cause of Wolstans imprisonment, as thus. In the yere of Grace, saith he, 951, king Edred put the archbishop of Yorke in

Ran. Higd. Simon Dun.

Easterford.

The archbishop of Yorke imprisoned. Matth. West.

951

close prison, bicause of often complaints exhibited against him, as he which had commanded manie townesmen of Theadford to be put to death, in reuenge of the abbat Aldelme by them vniustlie slaine and murthered.

After this, when Edred had appeased all ciuill tumults and dissentions within his land, he applied him selfe to the aduancing of religion, wholie following the mind of Dunstane, by whose exhortation he suffered patientlie manie torments of the bodie, and exercised himselfe in praier and other deuout studies. This Edred in his latter daies being greatlie addicted to deuotion & religious priests, at the request of his mother Edgiua, restored the abbeie of Abington which was built first by king Inas, but in these daies sore decaied and fallen into ruine. Finallie, after he had reigned nine yeres and a halfe, he departed this life to the great greeuance of men, and reioising of angels (as it is written) and was buried at Winchester in the cathedrall church there. ¶ Here is to be noted, that the foresaid Edred, when he came first to the crowne, vpon a singular and most especiall fauour which he bare towards Dunstane the abbat of Glastenburie, committed vnto him the chiefest part of all his treasure, as charters of lands with other monuments, and such ancient princelie iewels as belonged to the former kings, with other such as he got of his owne, willing him to lay the same in safe keeping within his monasterie of Glastenburie.

Wil. Malm.

Edredus departeth this life.

Dunstane in fauour.

Afterward, when king Edred perceiued himselfe to be in danger of death by force of that sickenesse, which in deed made an end of his life, he sent into all parties to such as had anie of his treasure in keeping, to bring the same vnto him with all speed, that he might dispose thereof before his departure out of this life, as he should see cause. Dunstane toke such things as he had vnder his hands, & hasted forward to deliuer the same vnto the king, and to visit him in that time of his sickenesse according to his dutie: but as he was vpon the waie, a voice spake to him from heauen, saieng; Behold king Edred is now departed in peace. At the hearing of this voice, the horsse whereon Dunstane rode fell downe and died, being not able to abide the presence of the angell that thus spake to Dunstane. And when he came to the court, he vnderstood that the king died the same houre in which it was told him by the angell, as before ye haue heard.

But was not this a deuise thereby to deteine the treasure? for I doo not read that he deliuered it out of his hands.

An angell, or as some think a woorse creature.

Edwin succeedeth Edred in the kingdome *of England, his beastlie and incestu-* ous carnalitie with a kinswoman of his on the *verie day of his coronation, he is reproued of Dun-* stane and giueth ouer the gentlewomans companie, *Dunstane is banished for rebuking king Edwin for his vnlaw-* full lust and lewd life, the diuell reioised at his exile, what reuenging mischiefs the king did for displeasure sake against the said Dunstane in exile, the middle part of England rebelleth against king Edwin, and erecteth his brother Edgar to roiall roome ouer them, he taketh thought and dieth; Edgar succeedeth him, he is a fauourer of moonks, his prouision for defense of his realme, his policie and discretion in gouernment, what kings he bound by oth to be true vnto him, eight princes row his barge in signe of submission, the vicious inconueniences that grew among the Englishmen vpon his fauouring of the Danes, a restraint of excessiue quaffing; Dunstane is made bishop of Worcester and Ethelwold bishop of Winchester; iustice in Edgars time seuerelie executed, theft punished with death, a tribute of woolfs skins paid him out of Wales, and the benefit of that tribute.

The xxiij. Chapter.

Edwin.

AFter the decease of Edred, his nephue Edwin the eldest sonne of king Edmund was made king of England, and began his reigne

955 reigne ouer the same in the yere of our Lord 955, & in the 20 yere of the emperor Otho the first, in the 28 and last yere of the reigne of Lewes king of France, and about the twelfe yere of Malcolme the first of that name, king of Scotland. He was consecrated at Kingston vpon Thames by Odo the archbishop of Canturburie. On the verie day of his coronation, as the lords were set in councell about weightie matters touching the gouernment of the realme, he rose from the place, gat him into a chamber with one of his nere kinswomen, and there had to do with hir, without anie respect or regard had to his roiall estate and princelie dignitie. Dunstane latelie before named abbat of Glastenburie, did not onlie without feare of displeasure reprooue the K. for such shamefull abusing of his bodie, but also caused the archbishop of Canturburie to constreine him to forsake that woman whom vnlawfullie he kept.

Will. Malmes. Polydor.

Iohn Capgraue.

There be that write, that there were two women, both mother and daughter, whome king Edward kept as concubines: for the mother being of noble parentage, sought to satisfie the kings lust, in hope that either he would take hir or hir daughter vnto wife. And therefore perceiuing that Dunstane was sore against such wanton pastime as the king vsed in their companie, she so wrought, that Dunstane was through hir earnest trauell banished the land. This is also reported, that when he should depart the realme, the diuell was heard in the west end of the church, taking vp a great laughter after his roring maner, as though he should shew himselfe glad and ioifull at Dunstanes going into exile. But Dunstane perceiuing his behauiour, spake to him, and said: Well thou aduersarie, do not so greatly reioise at the matter, for thou dwell not now so much reioise at my departure, but by Gods grace thou shalt be as sorrowfull for my returne.

Dunstane banished the realme.

Dunstane sæth not the diuell.

Thus was Dunstane banished by king Edwine, so that he was compelled to passe ouer into Flanders, where he remained for a time within a monasterie at Gant, finding much friendship at the hands of the gouernor of that countrie. Also the more to wreake his wrath, the king spoiled manie religious houses of their goods, and droue out the monks, placing secular priests in their romes, as namelie at Malmesburie, where yet the house was not empaired, but rather inriched in lands and ornaments by the kings liberalitie, and the industrious meanes of the same priests, which toke vp the bones of saint Aldelme, and put the same into a shrine. At length the inhabitants of the middle part of England, euen from Humber to Thames rebelled against him, and elected his brother Edgar to haue the gouernement ouer them, wherwith king Edwine toke such griefe, for that he saw no meane at hand how to remedie the matter, that shortlie after, when he had reigned somewhat more than foure yeres, he died, and his bodie was buried at Winchester in the new abbeie.

Dunstane departed into exile.

Wil. Malm. Edwine displaceth monks and putteth secular priests in their romes.

Rebellion raised against king Edwine Simon Dun.

Edwin departeth this life.

Edgar.

959 EDgar the second sonne of Edmund late king of England, after the decease of his elder brother the foresaid Edwine, began his reigne ouer this realme of England in the yere of our Lord God 959, in the 22 yere of the emperour Otho the first, in the fourth yere of the reigne of Lotharius king of France, 510 almost ended after the comming of the Saxons, 124 after the arriuall of the Danes, and in the last yere of Malcolme king of Scotland. He was crowned & consecrated at Bath, or (as some say) at Kingstone vpon Thames by Odo the archbishop of Canturburie, being as then not past 16 yeres of age, when he was thus admitted king. He was no lesse indued with commendable gifts of mind, than with strength and force of bodie. He was a great fauorer of monks, and speciallie had Dunstane in high estimation. Aboue all things in this world he regarded peace, and studied dailie how to preserue the same, to the commoditie & aduancement of his subiects.

Polydor.

Edgar a fauorer of monks.

When he had established things in good quiet, and set an order in matters as seemed to him best for the peaceable gouernement of his people, he prepared a great nauie of ships, and diuiding them in three parts, he appointed euerie part to a quarter of the realme, to wast about the coast, that no forren enimie should approch the land, but that they might be incountered and put backe, before they could take land. And euerie yere after Easter, he vsed to giue order, that his ships should assemble togither in their due places: and then would he with the east nauie saile to the west parts of his realme, and sending those ships backe, he would with the west nauie saile into the north parts; and with the north nauie come backe againe into the east. This custome he vsed, that he might scowre the seas of all pirats & theeues. In the winter season and spring time, he would ride through the prouinces of his realme, searching out how the iudges and great lords demeaned themselues in the administration of iustice, sharpelie punishing those that were found guiltie of extortion, or had done otherwise in anie point than dutie required. In all things he vsed such politike discretion, that neither was he put in danger by treason of his subiects, nor molested by forren enimies.

The diligent prouision of K. Edgar for defense of the realme.

Wil. Malm.

He caused diuerse kings to bind themselues by oth to be true and faithfull vnto him, as Kinadius or rather Induf king of Scotland, Malcolme king of Cumberland, Maleutius an archpirat, or (as we may call him) a maister rouer, and also all the kings of the Welshmen, as Dufnall, Girffith, Huuall, Jacob, and Judithill, all which came to his court, and by their solemne othes receiued, sware to be at his commandement. And for the more manifest testimonie therof, he hauing them with him at Chester, caused them to enter into a barge vpon the water of Dee, and placing himselfe in the forepart of the barge, at the helme, he caused those eight high princes to row the barge vp and downe the water, shewing thereby his princelie prerogatiue and roiall magnificence, in that he might vse the seruice of so manie kings that were his subiects. And there vpon he said (as hath bin reported) that then might his successours account themselues kings of England, when they inioied such prerogatiue of high and supreme honor.

Maleutius.

Kings of Welshmen.

King Edgar roweth on the water of Dee.

The fame of this noble prince was spred ouer all, as well on this side the sea as beyond, insomuch that great resort of strangers chanced in his daies, which came euer into this land to serue him, and to see the state of his court, as Sarons and other, yea and also Danes, which became verie familiar with him. He fauored in deed the Danes (as hath beene said) more than stood with the commoditie of his subiects, for scarse was anie street in England, but Danes had their dwelling in the same among the Englishmen, whereby came great harme: for whereas the Danes by nature were great drinkers, the Englishmen by continuall conuersation with them learned the same vice. King Edgar to reforme in part such excessiue quaffing as then began to grow in vse, caused by the procurement of Dunstane, nailes to be set in cups of a certeine measure, marked for the purpose, that none should drinke more than was assigned by such measured cups. Englishmen also learned of the Sarons, Flemings, and other strangers, their peculiar kind of vices, as of the Sarons a disordered fiercenesse of mind, of the Flemings a feeble tendernesse of bodie: where before they reioised in their owne simplicitie, and esteemed not the lewd and vnprofitable manners of strangers.

Ran. Higd. King Edgar fauoureth Danes.

English learned to quaffe of the Danes.

Wil. Malm.

Englishmen learne other vices of strangers.

Dunstane was made bishop of Worcester, and had also the administration of the see of London committed vnto him. He was in such fauor with the king, that he ruled most things at his pleasure. Ethelwold, which being first a monke of Glastenburie, and after abbat of Abington, was likewise made bishop of Winchester, and might do verie much with the king. Also Oswald, which had beene a monke in the abbeie of Floris in France, and after was made bishop of Worcester, and from thence remoued to the see of Yorke, was highlie in fauor with this king; so that by these three prelates he was most counselled. Iustice in his daies was strictlie obserued, for although he were courteous and gentle towards his friends, yet was he sharpe and hard to offendors, so that no person of what estate or degree soeuer he was escaped worthie punishment, if he did transgresse the lawes and ordinances of the realme. There was no pruie theefe nor common robber that durst lay hands vpon other mens goods, but he might looke to make amends with losse of his life, if he were knowne to be giltie. For how might men that did offend, thinke to escape his hands, which deuised waies how to rid the countrie of all wild rauening beasts, that liued vpon sucking the blood of others? For as it is said, he appointed Iudweall or Ludweall king of Wales to present him with three hundred woolues yerelie in name of a tribute, but after three yeres space, there was not a woolfe to be found, and so that tribute ceased in the fourth yere after it began to be paid.

Ethelwold made bishop of winchester.

Oswald. Floriacum.

Monks must needs write much in praise of Edgar who had men of their cote in such estimatiõ

A tribute instituted of woolfskins.

Erle Ethelwold deceiueth the king of his wife.

In loue, that not regarding the kings pleasure, who had sent him thither, he began to purchase the good will of both father and daughter for himselfe, and did so much that he obteined the same in deed. Herevpon returning to the king, he informed him that the damosell was not of such beautie and comelie personage, as might be thought worthie to match in mariage with his maiestie.

Shortlie after perceiuing the kings mind by his wrongfull misreport to be turned, and nothing bent that way, he began to sue to him that he might with his fauour marie the same damosell: which the king granted, as one that cared not for hir, because of the credit which he gaue to Ethelwolds words. And so by this meanes Ethelwold obteined Alfred in mariage, which was to his owne destruction, as the case fell out. For when the fame of hir passing beautie did spread ouer all the realme, now that she was maried and came more abroad in sight of the people, the king chanced to heare thereof, and desirous to see hir, deuised vnder colour of hunting to come vnto the house of Ethelwold, and so did: where he had no soner set his eie vpon hir, but he was so farre wrapped in the chaine of burning concupiscence, that to obteine his purpose, he shortlie after contriued Ethelwolds death, and maried his wife.

King Edgar seeketh the destruction of earle Ethelwold.

Some say, that the woman kindled the brand of purpose: for when it was knowne, that the king would see hir, Ethelwold willed hir in no wise to trim vp hir selfe, but rather to disfigure hir in fowle garments, and some euill fauored attire, that hir natiue beautie should not appeare: but she perceiuing how the matter went, of spite set out hir selfe to the vttermost, so that the king vpon the first sight of hir, became so farre inamored of hir beautie, that taking hir husband forth with him on hunting into a forrest or wood then called Warlewood, after Horewood, not shewing that he meant him anie hurt, till at length he had got him within the thicke of the wood, where he suddenlie stroke him through with his dart. Now as his bastard son came to the place, the king asked him how he liked the maner of hunting, whereto he answered; Verie well if it like your grace, for that that liketh you, ought not to displease me. With which answer the king was so pacified, that he indeuored by pretending his fauor towards the sonne, to extenuat the tyrannicall murther of the father. Then did the king marie the countesse Alfred, and of hir begat two sonnes, Edmund which died yong, and Ethelred or Egelred.

King Edgar a murtherer.

Besides this cruell act wrought by king Edgar, for the satisfieng of his flethlie lust, he also plaied another part greatlie to the staine of his honor, moued also by wanton loue, with a yong damosell named Wilfrid, for after that she had (to auoid the danger of him) either professed hir selfe a nun, or else for colour (as the most part of writers agree) got hirselfe into a nunrie, and clad hir in a nuns weed, she tooke hir forth of hir cloister, and lay by hir sundrie times, and begat on hir a daughter named Edith, who comming to conuenient age, was made a nun. A third example of his incontinencie is written by authors, and that is this. It chanced on a time that he lodged one night at Andeuer, and hauing a mind to a lords daughter there, he commanded that she should bee brought to his bed. But the mother of the gentlewoman would not that hir daughter should be defloured: and therefore in the darke of the night brought one of hir maidseruants, and laid hir in the kings bed, she being both faire, proper, and pleasant.

His licentious life & incontinencie.

In the morning when the day began to appeare, she made hast to arise: and being asked of the king why she so hasted; That I may go to my daies worke if it please your grace (quoth she.) Herewith she being

The death of Alfred king Edgars wife (or concubine) causeth him to fall into a fowle offense, an example teaching men to take heed how they put others in trust to woo for them; earle Ethelwold cooseneth the king of his wife, the danger of beholding a womans beautie with lustfull eies; king Edgar killeth earle Ethelwold to marrie faire Alfred his wife; the bloudie and vnnaturall speach of Ethelwolds base sonne; examples of king Edgars great incontinencie and lewd life; Dunstane putteth the king to penance for his vnchastitie, the Welshmen rebell against him and are corrected, king Edgars vision before his death, of what religious buildings he was founder, his example a spur to others to doo the like, monks esteemed and secular priests little regarded, king Edgars deformed reformation, his vices, stature, and bodilie qualities, he offereth to fight hand to hand with Kinadius king of Scots vpon occasion of words euill taken, Kinadius submitteth himselfe and is pardoned; his wiues and children, the good state of the realme in king Edgars time, the ampleness of his dominions.

The xxiiij. Chapter.

Osborne and Capgraue hold that she was not his wife but a nun. Wil. Malm.

IN this meane time, Alfred the wife of king Edgar (as some say) or rather (as others write) his concubine died, of whome he had begot a sonne named Edward. The death of this woman caused the king to commit an heinous offense. For albeit at the same time the fame went, that Horgerius duke of Cornewall, or rather Deuonshire, had a daughter named Alfred, a damosell of excellent beautie, whome Edgar minding to haue in mariage, appointed one of his noble men called earle Ethelwold, to go with all speed into Cornewall or Deuonshire, to see if the yong ladies beautie answered the report that went of hir, and so to breake the matter to hir father in his behalfe: yet Ethelwold being a yong iollie gentleman, tooke his iournie into Cornewall, and comming to the duke, was well receiued, and had a sight of his daughter, with whose beautie he was streight rauished so far

Horger.

ing staied by the king, as it were against hir will, she fell downe on hir knees, & required of him that she might be made free, in guerdon of hir nights worke. For (saith she) it is not for your honor, that the woman which hath tasted the pleasure of the kings bodie should anie more suffer seruitude vnder the rule and appointment of a sharpe & rough mistresse. The king then being moued in his spirits, laughed at the matter, though not from the heart, as he that tooke great indignation at the doings of the dutchesse, and pitied the case of the poore wench. But yet in fine (turning earnest to a iest) he pardoned all the parties, and aduanced the wench to high honor, farre aboue those that had rule of hir afore, so that she ruled them (willed they nilled they:) for he vsed hir as his paramour, till he maried the foresaid Alfred.

For these youthfull parts, & namelie for the rauishing of Wilfride (which though she were no nun, yet the offense seemed verie heinous, for) that he should not once touch anie woman shadowed vnder that habit) he greatlie displeased Dunstane, so that by him he was put to his seuen yeres penance, and kept from the crowne till the 12 yere of his reigne or more. For some write that he was not crowned nor annointed king, till the 30 yere of his age, which should be about the 13 or 14 yere of his reigne by that account, sith he entred into the rule of the kingdome about the 16 yere of his age. In deed one author witnesseth, that he was consecrated at Bath on a Whitsunday, the 13 yere of his reigne, and that by Dunstane archbishop of Canturburie, and Oswold archbishop of Yorke. But some which suppose that he was consecrated king immediatlie vpon the death of Edrius, affirme that he was crowned and annointed king by the archbishop Odo, Dunstane as then remaining in exile, from whence he was immediatlie reuoked by Edgar, and first made bishop of Worcester (as hath beene said) and after the decease of Odo was aduanced to be archbishop of Canturburie. But by some writers it appeareth, that Dunstane was reuoked out of exile immediatlie vpon partition of the realme betwixt Edwin and Edgar, which chanced in the yere 957, by the rebellion of the people of Mercia, & others (as before ye haue heard:) and that in the yere following the archbishop Odo died, after whome succeeded Alfin bishop of Winchester, who also died the same yere that king Edward deceassed, as he went to fetch his pall from Rome, and then Brightheline bishop of Dorchester was elected archbishop. But bicause he was not able to discharge so great an office, by K. Edgars commandement he was forced to giue place to Dunstane.

Toward the latter end of king Edgars daies, the Welshmen moued some rebellion against him. Whereupon he assembled an armie, and entering the countrie of Glamorgan, did much hurt in the same, chastising the inhabitants verie sharpelie for their rebellious attempts. Amongst other spoiles taken in those parties at that time by the men of war, the bell of saint Ellutus was taken away, and hanged about a horsses necke, and (as hath beene reported) in the after none, it chanced that king Edgar laid him downe to rest, whereupon in sleepe there appeared one vnto him, and smote him on the breast with a speare. By reason of which vision he caused all things that had beene taken away to be restored againe. But within nine daies after the king died. Whether anie such thing chanced, or that he had anie such vision it forceth not. But truth it is, that in the 37 yere of his age, after he had reigned 16 yeres and two moneths he departed this life, the 8 day of Julie, and was buried at Glastenburie.

This Edgar is highlie renowmed of writers for such princelie qualities as appeared in him, but chiefly for that he was so beneficiall to the church, namelie to monks, the aduancement of whome he greatlie sought, both in building abbeies new from the ground, in reparing those that were decaied: also by inriching them with great reuenues, and in conuerting collegiat churches into monasteries, remouing secular priests, and bringing in monks in their places. There passed no one yere of his reigne, wherin he founded not one abbeie or other. The abbeie of Glastenburie which his father had begun he finished. The abbeie of Abington also he accomplished and set in good order. The abbeies of Peterborough & Thornie he established. The nunrie of Wilton he founded and richlie endowed, where his daughter Editha was professed, and at length became abbesse there. To be briefe, he builded (as the chronicles record) to the number of 40 abbeies and monasteries, in some of which he placed monks, and in some nuns. By his example in those daies, other nobles, as also prelates, & some of the laitie, did begin the foundation of sundrie abbeies and monasteries: as Adelwold bishop of Winchester builded the abbeie of Elie, and (as some say) Peterborough & Thornie, though they were established by the king (as before is mentioned.) Also earle Ailewin, at the erhortation of the same bishop Adelwold, builded the abbeie of Ramsey, though some attribute the doing thereof vnto Oswold the archbishop of Yorke, and some to king Edward the elder.

To conclude, the religious orders of monks and nuns in these daies florished, and the state of secular priests was smallie regarded, insomuch that they were constreined to auoid out of diuerse colleges, and to leaue the same vnto monks, as at Worcester and Winchester, where in the new monasterie, bicause the kings liued not in such sort as was then thought requisite, the prebends were taken from them and giuen to vicars. But when the vicars were thought to vse themselues no better, but rather worse than the other before them, they were likewise put out, and monks placed in their roomes by authoritie of pope Iohn the 13. This reformation, or rather deformation was vsed by king Edgar in many other places of the realme.

He was (as appeareth by diuers writers) namelie in his beginning, cruell against his owne people, and wanton in lusting after young women (as you haue heard before.) Of stature & proportion of bodie he was but small and low, but yet nature had inclosed within so little a personage such strength, that he durst incounter and combat with him that was thought most strong, onelie doubting this, least he which should haue to do with him should stand in feare of him. And as it chanced at a great feast (where oftentimes men vse their tongs more liberallie than needeth) Kenneth the king of Scots cast out certeine words in this maner: It may (saith he) seeme a maruell that so manie countries and prouinces should be subiect to such a little litle bodie as Edgar is. These words being borne awaie by a iester or minstrell, and afterwards vttered to Edgar with great reproch, he wiselie dissembled the matter for a time, although he kept the remembrance thereof inclosed within his breast: and vpon occasion, at length feigned to go on hunting, taking the king of Scots forth with him: and hauing caused one of his seruants to conuey two swords into a place within the forrest by him appointed in secret wise, of purpose he withdrew from the residue of his companie, and there accompanied onelie with the Scotish king, came to the place where the swords were laid; and there taking the one of them, deliuered the other to the Scotish king, willing him now to assaie his strength, that they might shew by

Note the deep hypocrisie of Dunstane. — Ran. Higd. Fabian out of Guido de Columna. Wil. Malm.

Hen. Hunt. Ranul. Hig. — Polydor. — Matt. West. Simon Dun.

Fabian. Ran. Higd. The welshmen rebel and are chastised.

Will. Malmes. Hen. Hunt. King Edgar departeth this life.

wherfore Edgar is praised of some writers.

Fabian. Ran. Higd. Hen. Hunt.

Wil. Malm.

Matt. West. Monks esteemed & secular priests little regarded.

Ran. Higd. lib. 6. cap. 9.

Wil. Malm. Ran. Higd. Tho. Eliot.

Edgar small of stature but strong and hardie.

Kenneth king of Scots.

The noble courage of king Edgar.

prose whether of them ought to be subiect to the o-
ther; Start not, but trie it with me (saith he:) for it
is a shame for a king to be full of brags at bankets,
and not to be readie to fight when triall should be
made abroad. The Scotish king herewith being a-
stonied and maruellouslie abashed, fell downe at his
feet, and with much humilitie confessed his fault,
& desired pardon for the same, which vpon such his
humble submission king Edward easilie granted.

This noble prince had two wiues, Egelfrida or Elfrida, surnamed the white, the daughter of a mighty duke named Ordiner, by whome he had issue a sonne named Edward that succéded him. His second wife was called Alfreda the daughter of Ogar duke of Deuon or Cornewall (as some saie) by whome he had issue Edmund that died before his father, and Egelred which afterwards was king. Also he had issue a base daughter named Editha, begotten of his concubine Wilfrid (as before ye haue heard.) The state of the realme in king Edgars daies was in good point, for both the earth gaue hir increase verie plentiouslie, the elements shewed themselues verie fauorable, according to the course of times: peace was mainteined, and no inuasion by forraine enimies attempted. For Edgar had not onelie all the whole Ile of Britaine in subiection, but also was ruler & souereigne lord ouer all the kings of the out Iles that lie within the seas about all the coasts of the same Britaine euen vnto the realme of Norwaie. He brought also a great part of Ireland vnder his subiection, with the citie of Dublin, as by authentike records it doth and may appeare.

Wil. Malm.

Ireland subiect to king Edgar.

Contention amongest the peeres and *states about succession to the crowne, the* monkes remoued and the canons and secular *priests restored by Alfer duke of Mercia and his* adherents, a blasing starre with the euents insuing *the same, the rood of Winchester speaketh, a prettie shift of* moonks to defeat the priests of their possessions, the controuersie betweene the moonks and the priests ended by a miracle of archbishop Dunstane, great hope that Edward would tread his fathers steps, the reuerent loue he bare his stepmother queene Alfred and hir sonne Egelred, hir diuelish purpose to murther Edward hir stepsonne accomplished, his obscure funerall in respect of pompe, but famous by meanes of miracles wrought by and about his sepulture, queene Alfred repenting hir of the said prepensed murther, doth penance, and imploieth hir substance in good woorkes as satisfactorie for hir sinnes, king Edwards bodie remoued, and solemnlie buried by Alfer duke of Mercia, who was eaten vp with lice for being against the said Edwards aduancement to the crowne, queene Alfreds offense by no meanes excusable.

The xxv. Chapter.

Edward.

Some write that the father king Edgar appointed Edward to succéd him. Simon Dun. Iohn Capg.

After the decease of king Edgar, there was some strife and contention amongst the lords & péeres of the realme about the succession of the crowne: for Alfred the mother of Egelredus or Ethelredus, and diuers other of hir opinion, would gladlie haue aduanced the same Egelredus to the rule: but the archbishop Dunstan taking in his hands the baner of the crucifix, presented his elder brother Edward vnto the lords as they were assembled togither, and there pronounced him king, notwithstanding that both queene Alfred and hir friends, namelie Alfer the duke of Mercia were sore against him, especiallie for that he was begot in vnlawfull bed of Elfleda the nun, for which offense he did seuen yeares penance, and not for liuing with Wilfrid (as maister Fox thinketh.) But Dunstane iudging (as is to be thought) that Edward was more fit for their behoofe to continue the world in the former course as Edgar had left it, than his brother Egelred (whose mother and such as tooke part with hir vnder hir sonnes authoritie were likelie inough to torne all vpside downe) vsed the matter so, that with helpe of Oswald the archbishop of Yorke, and other bishops, abbats, and certeine of the nobilitie, as the earle of Esser and such like, he preuailed in his purpose, so that (as before is said) the said Edward, being the second of that name which gouerned this land before the conquest, was admitted king, and began his reigne ouer England in the yeare of our Lord 975, in the third yeare of the emperour Otho the second, in the 20 yeare of the reigne of Lothar king of France, and about the fourth yeare of Cumelerne king of Scotland. He was consecrated by archb. Dunstane at Kingston vpon Thames, to the great griefe of his mother in law Alfred and hir friends. ¶ About the beginning of his reigne a blasing starre was séene, signifieng (as was thought) the miserable haps that followed. And first there insued barrennesse of ground, and thereby famine amongest the people, and morraine of cattell.

Alfer duke of Mercia and other immediatlie vpon Edgars death before the crowne was established, remoued the moonks and restored the canons. Simon Dun.

975

Wil. Malm.

Also duke Alfer or Elfer of Mercia, and other noble men destroied the abbies which king Edgar and bishop Adelwold had builded within the limits of Mercia. The priests or canons, which had bæne expelled in Edgars time out of the prebends and benefices, began to complaine of the wrongs that were done to them, in that they had bæne put out of possession from their liuings, alleging it to be a great offense and miserable case, that a stranger should come and remoue an old inhabitant, for such maner of doing could not please God, not yet be allowed of anie good man, which ought of reason to doubt, least the same should hap to him which he might see to haue bæne an other mans vndoing. About this matter was hard hold, for manie of the temporall lords, and namelie the same Alfer, iudged that the priests had wrong. In so much that they remoued the moonks out of their places, and brought into the monasteries secular priests with their wiues. But Edelwin duke of the Eastangles, & Alfred his brother, with Brightnoth or Brighnode earle of Esser, withstood this doing, & gathering an armie, with great valiancie mainteined the moonks in their houses, within the countrie of Eastangles. Herevpon were councels holden, as at Winchester, at Kirthling in Eastangle, and at Calne.

Elfer or Elfer duke of Mercia.

Iohn Capg. Wil. Malm. Ran. Higd. Matt. West. Simon Dun.

At Winchester, when the matter was brought to that passe that the priests were like to haue had their purpose, an image of the rood that stood there in the refectorie where they sat in councell, vttered certeine words in this wise; God forbid it should be so. God forbid it should be so: ye iudged well once, but ye may not change well againe. As though (saith Polydor Virgil) the moonks had more right, which had bereft other men of their possessions, than the priests which required restitution of their owne. But (saith he) because the image of Christ hanging on the crosse was thought to speake these words, such credit was giuen thereto, as it had bæne an oracle, that the priests had their suite dashed, and all the trouble was ceassed. So the moonks held those possessions, howsoeuer they came to them, by the helpe of God, or rather (as saith the same Polydor) by the helpe of man. For there were euen then diuers that thought this to be rather an oracle of Phebus than of God, that is to say, not published by Gods power, but by the fraud and craftie deceit of men.

Simon Dun.

Polydor.

A prettie shift of the moonks to disappoint the priests. Polydor.

The

The matter therefore was not ſo quieted, but that vpon new trouble an other councell was had at a manour houſe belonging to the king, called Calne, where they that were appointed to haue the hearing of the matter, ſat in an vpper loft. The king by reaſon of his yong yeeres was ſpared, ſo that he came not there. Heere as they were buſied in arguing the matter, either part laieng for himſelfe what could be ſaid, Dunſtane was ſore reuiled, and had ſundrie reproches laid againſt him: but ſuddenlie euen in the verie heat of their communication, the ioiſts of the loft failed, and downe came all the companie, ſo that manie were ſlaine and hurt, but Dunſtane alone ſtanding vpon one of the ioiſts that fell not, eſcaped ſafe and ſound. And ſo this miracle with the other made an end of the controuerſie betweene the prieſts and monks, all the Engliſh people following the mind of the archbiſhop Dunſtane, who by meanes thereof had his will.

Wil. Malm.

Dunſtane by working miracles had his will, when arguments failed.

In this meane while, king Edward ruling himſelfe by good counſell of ſuch as were thought diſcreet and ſage perſons, gaue great hope to the world that he would walke in his fathers vertuous ſteps, as alreadie he well began, and bearing alwaie a reuerence to his mother in law, and a brotherlie loue to hir ſonne Egelred, vſed himſelfe as became him towards them both. Afterward by chance as he was hunting in a foreſt neere the caſtell of Corfe, where his mother in law and his brother the ſaid Egelred then ſoiourned, when all his companie were ſpred abroad in following the game, ſo that he was left alone, he tooke the waie ſtreight vnto his mother in lawes houſe, to viſit hir and his brother. The queene hearing that he was come, was verie glad thereof, for that ſhe had occaſion offered to worke that which ſhe had of long time before imagined, that was, to ſlea the king hir ſonne in law, that hir owne ſonne might inioy the garland. Wherefore ſhe required him to alight, which he in no wiſe would yeeld vnto, but ſaid that he had ſtolne from his companie, and was onelie come to ſee hir and his brother, and to drinke with them, and therefore would returne to the forreſt againe to ſee ſome more ſport.

Polydor. Wil. Malmſ.

The wicked purpoſe of queene Alfred.

The queene perceiuing that he would not alight, cauſed drinke to be fetched, and as he had the cup at his mouth, by hir appointment, one of hir ſeruants ſtroke him into the bodie with a knife, whereupon feeling himſelfe wounded, he ſet ſpurres to the horſſe thinking to gallop awaie, and ſo to get to his companie. But being hurt to the death, he fell from his horſſe, ſo as one of his feet was faſtened in the ſtirrup, by reaſon whereof his horſſe drew him through woods and launds, & the bloud which guſhed out of the wound ſhewed token of his death to ſuch as followed him, and the waie to the place where the horſſe had left him. That place was called Corfes gate or Corfes gate. His bodie being found was buried without anie ſolemne funerals at Warham.

The ſhameful murther of K. Edward.

Matth. Weſt. Fabian. Sim. Dun. Wil. Malm.

For they which enuied that he ſhould inioy the crowne, enuied alſo the buriall of his bodie within the church: but the memorie of his fame could not ſo ſecretlie be buried with the bodie, as they imagined. For ſundrie miracles ſhewed at the place where his bodie was interred, made the ſame famous (as diuerſe haue reported) for there was ſight reſtored to the blind, health to the ſicke, and hearing to the deafe, which are eaſilier to be told than beléeued.

Miracles.

Queene Alfred alſo would haue ridden to the place where he laie, moued with repentance (as hath beene ſaid) but the horſſe whereupon ſhe rode would not come neere the graue, for anie thing that could be done to him. Neither by changing the ſaid horſſe could the matter be holpen: for euen the ſame thing happened to the other horſſes. Heerevpon the woman perceiued hir great offenſe towards God for murthering the innocent, and did ſo repent hir afterward for the ſame, that beſides the chaſtiſing of hir bodie in faſting, and other kind of penance, ſhe imploied all hir ſubſtance and patrimonie on the poore, and in building and reparing of churches and monaſteries. She founded two houſes of nuns (as is ſaid) the one at Warwell, the other at Ambreſburie, and finallie profeſſed hirſelfe a nun in one of them, that is to ſay, at Warwell, which houſe ſhe builded (as ſome affirme) in remembrance of hir firſt huſband that was ſlaine there by king Edgar for hir ſake (as before is mentioned.)

Building of abbeies in thoſe daies was thought to be a full ſatiſfaction for all maner of ſinnes.

The bodie of this Edward the ſecond, and ſurnamed the martyr, after that it had remained three yeeres at Warham where it was firſt buried, was remoued vnto Shaftesburie, and with great reuerence buried there by the forenamed Alfer or Elfer, duke of Mercia, who alſo did ſore repent himſelfe, in that he had beene againſt the aduancement of the ſaid king Edward (as ye haue heard.) But yet did not he eſcape worthie puniſhment: for within one yeere after, he was eaten to death with lice (if the hiſtorie be true.) King Edward came to his death after he had reigned three yeeres, or (as other write) three yeeres and eight moneths. ¶ What ſoeuer hath beene reported by writers of the murther committed on the perſon of this king Edward, ſure it is that if he were baſe begotten (as by writers of no meane credit it ſhould appeere he was in deed) great occaſion vndoubtedlie was giuen vnto queene Alfred to ſeeke reuenge for the wrongfull keeping backe of hir ſon Egelred from his rightfull ſucceſſion to the crowne: but whether that Edward was legitimate or not, ſhe might yet haue deuiſed ſome other lawfull meane to haue come by hir purpoſe, and not ſo to haue procured the murther of the yong prince in ſuch vnlawfull maner. For hir doing therein can neither be worthilie allowed, nor throughlie excuſed, although thoſe that occaſioned the miſchiefe by aduancing hir ſtepſonne to an other mans right, deſerued moſt blame in this matter.

Elfernus.

Polydor. Will. Malmeſ.

Thus farre the ſixt booke, compriſing the firſt arriuall of the Danes in this land, which was in king Britricus his reigne, pag. 135, at which time the moſt miſerable ſtate of England tooke beginning.

THE

THE SEVENTH BOKE of the Historie of England.

Egelred succeedeth Edward *the martyr in the kingdome of Eng-* land, the decaie of the realme in his *reigne*, *Dunstane refusing to consecrate* him is therevnto inforced, Dunstans prophe- *sies of the English people and Egelred their king*, his slouth and idlenes accompanied with other vi- *ces, the Danes arriue on the coasts of Kent and make spoile of* manie places; warre betwixt the king and the bishop of Rochester, archbishop Dunstans bitter denunciation against the king because he would not be pacified with the bishop of Rochester without monie; Dunstans parentage, his strange trance, and what a woonderfull thing he did during the time it lasted, his education and bringing vp, with what good qualities he was indued, an incredible tale of his harpe, how he was reuoked from louing and lusting after women whereto he was addicted, his terrible dreame of a rough beare, what preferments he obteined by his skill in the expounding of dreames.

The first Chapter.

Egelred.

IN the former boke was discoursed the troubled state of this land by the manifold and mutinous inuasions of the Danes; who though they sought to ingrosse the rule of euerie part and parcell therof in to their hands; yet being resisted by the valiantnesse of the gouernors supported with the aid of their people, they were disappointed of their expectation, and receiued manie a dishonorable or rather reprochfull repulse at their aduersaries hands. Much mischiefe doubtlesse they did, and more had done, if they had not béene met withall in like measure of extremitie as they offred, to the offense and ouerthrow of great multitudes. Their first entrance into this land is controuersed among writers, some saieng that it was in the daies of king Britricus, other some affirming that it was in the time of king Egbert, &c: about which point (sith it is a matter of no great moment) we count it labour lost to vse manie words: onelie this by the waie is notewoorthie, that the Danes had an vnperfect or rather a lame and limping rule in this land, so long as the gouernors were watchfull, diligent, politike at home, and warlike abroad. But when these kind of kings discontinued, and that the raines of the regiment fell into the hands of a peazant not a puissant prince, a man euill qualified, dissolute, slacke and licentious, not regarding the dignitie of his owne person, nor fauoring the good estate of the people; the Danes who before were coursed from coast to coast, and pursued from place to place, as more willing to leaue the land, than desirous to tarrie in the same; toke occasion of stomach and courage to reenter this Ile, & waxing more bold and confident, more desperate and venturous, spared no force, omitted no opportunitie, let slip no aduantage that they might possiblie take, to put in practise and fullie to accomplish their long conceiued purpose.

Now bicause the Danes in the former kings daies were reencountred (and that renowmedlie) so often as they did encounter, and séeking the totall regiment, were dispossessed of their partile principalitie, which by warlike violence they obteined; and for that the Saxons were interessed in the land, and these but violent incrochers, vnable to keepe that which they came to by constreint; we haue thought it conuenient to comprise the troubled estate of that time in the sixt boke; the rather for the necessarie consequence of matters then in motion: and héere déeme it not amisse, at so great and shamefull loosenesse (specially in a prince) ministring hart and courage to the enimie, to begin the seuenth boke. Wherin is expressed the chiefest time of their flourishing estate in this land; if in tumults, vprores, battels, and bloudshed, such a kind of estate may possiblie be found. For héere the Danes lord it, héere they take vpon them like souereignes, & héere (if at anie time they had absolute authoritie) they did what they might in the highest degrée: as shall be declared in the vnfortunate affaires of vngratious Egelred or Ethelred, the sonne of king Edgar, and of his last wife quéene Alfred, who was ordeined king in place of his brother Edward, after the same Edward was dispatched out of the waie, and began his reigne ouer this realme of England, in the yéere of our Lord 979, which was in the seuenth yéere of the emperor Otho the second, in the 24 of Lothaire K. of France, and about the second or third yéere of Kenneth the third of that name king of Scotland.

979 Simeon Dun.

This Egelred or Ethelred was the 30 in number from Cerdicus the first king of the Westsaxons: through his negligent gouernment, the state of the commonwealth fell into such decaie (as writers do report) that vnder him it may be said, how the kingdome was come to the vttermost point or period of old and feéble age, which is the next degrée to the graue. For whereas, whilest the realme was diuided at the first by the Saxons into sundrie dominions, it grew at length (as it were increasing from youthfull yeeres) to one absolute monarchie, which passed vn-

der

der the late remembred princes, Egbert, Adelſtane, Edgar, and others, ſo that in their daies it might be ſaid, how it was growne to mans ſtate, but now vnder this Egelred, through famine, peſtilence, and warres, the ſtate thereof was ſo ſhaken, turned vpſide downe, and weakened on ech part, that rightlie might the ſeaſon be likened vnto the old broken yéeres of mans life, which through féeblenéſſe is not able to helpe it ſelfe. Dunſtane archbiſhop of Canturburie was thought to haue foreſéene this thing, and therfore refuſed to annoint Egelred king, which by the murther of his brother ſhould atteine to the gouernment: but at length he was compelled vnto it, and ſo he conſecrated him at Kingſton vpon Thames, as the maner then was, on the 24 day of Aprill, aſſiſted by Oſwald archbiſhop of Yorke, and ten other biſhops.

Will. Malmeſ. But (as hath béene reported) Dunſtane then ſaid that the Engliſh people ſhould ſuffer condigne puniſhment generallie, with loſſe of ancient liberties, which before that time they had inioied. Dunſtane alſo long before prophéſied of the ſlouthfulneſſe that ſhould remaine in this Egelred. For at what time he miniſtred the ſacrament of baptiſme to him, ſhortlie after he came into this world, he defiled the font with the ordure of his wombe (as hath béene ſaid:) wherupon Dunſtane being troubled in mind; By the Lord (ſaith he) and his bleſſed mother, this child ſhall prooue to be a ſlouthfull perſon. It hath béene written alſo, that when he was but ten yéeres of age, and heard that his brother Edward was ſlaine, he ſo offended his mother with wéeping, becauſe ſhe could not ſtill him, that hauing no rod at hand, ſhe toke tapers or ſizes that ſtood before hir, and beat him ſo ſore with them, that ſhe had almoſt killed him, whereby he could neuer after abide to haue anie ſuch candels lighted before him.

Polydor. This Egelred (as writers ſay) was nothing giuen to warlike enterpriſes, but was ſlouthfull, a louer of idleneſſe, and delighting in riotous luſts, which being knowne to all men, cauſed him to be euill ſpoken of amongſt his owne people, and nothing feared amongſt ſtrangers. Hérevpon the Danes that exerciſed rouing on the ſeas, began to conceiue a boldneſſe of courage to diſquiet and moleſt the ſeacoaſts of the realme, in ſo much that in the ſecond

Ran. Higd. 980 yéere of this Egelreds reigne, they came with ſeuen ſhips on the Engliſh coaſts of Kent, and ſpoiled the Ile of Tenet, the towne of Southampton, and in the yéere following they deſtroied S. Petroks abbeie in Cornwall, Porthland in Deuonſhire, and diuerſe other places by the ſea ſide, ſpeciallie in Deuonſhire & Cornwall. Alſo a great part of Cheſhire was deſtroied by pirats of Norway.

Sim. Dun. Ran. Higd. 982 The ſame yéere by caſualtie of fire, a great part of the citie of London was burnt. In the yéere of our Lord 983, Alfer duke of Mercia departed this life, who was coſen to king Edgar, & his ſonne Alfrike toke vpon him the rule of that dukedome, and within thrée yéeres after was baniſhed the land. About the eight yéere of his reigne, Egelred maried one Elgina or Ethelgina, daughter of earle Egbert. In the ninth yéere of his reigne, vpon occaſion of ſtrife betwéene him and the biſhop of Rocheſter, he made warre againſt the ſame biſhop, waſted his lordſhips, and beſieged the citie of Rocheſter, till Dunſtan procured the biſhops peace with paiment of an hundred pounds in gold. And becauſe the K. would not agrée with the biſhop without monéie at the onelie requeſt of Dunſtane, the ſaid Dunſtane did ſend him word, that ſithens he made more account of gold than of God, more of monie than of S. Andrew, patrone of the church of Rocheſter, and more of couetouſneſſe than of him being the archbiſhop, the miſchiefs which

983 Alfer or Elfer duke of Mercia departed this life.

979 Simeon Dun. Alfrike or Elfrike duke of Mercia. Fabian.

Wil. Malm. Matt. Weſt. the Lord had threatned would ſhortlie fall and come to paſſe, but the ſame ſhould not chance whileſt he was aliue, who died in the yéere following, on the 25 of Maie, being ſaturdaie.

Vita Dunſtani. Of this Dunſtane manie things are recorded by writers, that he ſhould be of ſuch holineſſe and vertue, that God wrought manie miracles by him, both whileſt he liued héere on earth, and alſo after his deceaſſe. He was borne in Weſtſaxon, his father was named Heorſtan, and his mother Cinſtride, who in his youth ſet him to ſchoole, where he ſo profited, that he excelled all his equals in age. Afterward he fell ſicke of an ague, which vered him ſo ſore that it draue him into a frenſie: and therefore his parents appointed him to the cure and charge of a certeine woman, where his diſeaſe grew ſo on him, that he fell in a trance, as though he had béene dead, and after that he ſuddenlie aroſe, & by chance caught a ſtaffe in his hand, and ran vp and downe through hils and dales, and laid about him as though he had béene afraid of mad dogs. The nert night (as it is ſaid) he gat him to the top of the church (by the helpe of certeine ladders that ſtood there for workemen to mend the roofe) and there ran vp and downe verie dangerouſlie, but in the end came ſafelie downe, and laid him to ſléepe betwéene two men that watched the church that night, & when he awaked, he maruelled how he came there. Finallie, recouering his diſeaſe, his parents made him a prieſt, and placed him in the abbeie of Glaſtenburie, where he gaue himſelfe to the reading of ſcriptures and knowledge of vertue. But as well his kinſmen as certeine other did raiſe a report of him, that he gaue not himſelfe ſo much to the reading of ſcriptures, as to charming, conſuring and ſorcerie, which he vtterlie denied: howbeit learned he was in déed, & could do manie prétie things both in handie worke and other deuiſes: he had good ſkill in muſicke and delighted much therein. At length he grew in ſuch fauour, that he was aduanced into the ſeruice of king Adelſtane.

Upon a time, as he came to a gentlewomans houſe with his harpe, and hong the ſame on the wall, while he ſhaped a prieſts ſtole, the harpe ſuddenlie began to plaie a pſalme, which draue the whole houſhold in ſuch feare, that they ran out and ſaid, he was to cunning, and knew more than was expedient: wherevpon he was accuſed of necromancie, and ſo baniſhed out of the court. After this he began to haue a liking to women, and when Elfeagus then biſhop of Wincheſter and his coſen, perſuaded him to become a monke, he refuſed it, for he rather wiſhed to haue maried a yong damoſell, whoſe pleaſant companie he dailie inioied. But being ſone after ſtriken with ſuch a ſwelling diſeaſe in his bellie, that all his bodie was brought into ſuch ſtate, as though he had béene infected with a foule leproſie, he bethought him ſelfe, and vpon his recouerie ſent to the biſhop, who immediatlie ſhore him a monke, in which life he liued in ſo great opinion of holineſſe, as he in time became abbat of Glaſtenburie: where on a time as he was in his praiers before the altar of S. George, he fell aſléepe: and imagining in his dreame, that an vglie rough beare came towards him with open mouth, and ſet his forefæt vpon his ſhoulders readie to deuoure him, he ſuddenlie wakening for feare, caught his walking ſtaffe which he commonlie went with, and laid about him, that all the church rang thereof, to the great wonder of ſuch as ſtood by. The common tale of his plucking the diuell by the noſe with a paire of pinſors, for tempting him with women, while he was making a chalice: the great loue that the ladie Elfleda néere kinſwoman to king Adelſtane bare him to hir dieng day, with a great manie of other ſuch like matters, I leaue as friuo- Polychron.

lous,

lous, and wholie impertinent to our purpose: onelie this I read, that through declaring of his dreames and visions, he obteined in the time of king Edgar, first the bishoprike of Worcester, after of London, & last of all the archbishoprike of Canturburie. But leauing Dunstane and the fond deuises depending vpon the commemoration of his life, we will now returne to the doings of Egelred, and speake of such things in the next chapter as chanced in his time.

The Danes inuade England on each side, *they are vanquished by the English*, Goda earle of Deuonshire slaine; the Danes in a battell fought at Maldon kill Brightnod earle of Essex and the most of his armie, ten thousand pounds paid to them by composition that they should not trouble the English subiects, they cease their crueltie for a time, but within a while after fall to their bloudie bias, the English people despaire to resist them; Egelred addresseth a nauie against the Danes vnder the erles Alfrike and Turold, Alfrike traitorouslie taketh part with the Danes, his ship and souldiers are taken, his sonne Algar is punished for his fathers offense, the Danes make great wast in many parts of this Iland, they besiege London and are repelled with dishonor, they driue king Egelred to buy peace of them for 16000 pounds; Aulafe king of Norwey is honorablie interteined of Egelred, to whome he promiseth at his baptisme neuer to make warre against England, the great zeale of people in setting forward the building of Durham towne and the minster.

The second Chapter.

Wil. Malm. Matt. Westm. The Danes inuade this land.

SHortlie after the decease of Dunstane, the Danes inuaded this realme on each side, wasting and spoiling the countrie in most miserable wise. They arriued in so manie places at once, that the Englishmen could not well deuise whither to go to encounter first with them. Some of them spoiled a place or towne called Wichport, and from thence passing further into the countrie, were met with by the Englishmen, who giuing them battell, lost their capteine Goda: but yet they got the victorie, and beat the Danes out of the field, and so that part of the Danish armie was brought to confusion. Simon Dunel. saith, that the Englishmen in deed wan the field here, but not without great losse. For besides Goda (who by report of the same author was Earle of Deuonshire) there died an other valiant man of warre named Strenwold. In the yeare 991, Brightnod earle of Esser, at Maldon gaue battell to an armie of Danes (which vnder their leaders Justine and Guthmond had spoiled Gipswich) and was there ouercome and slaine with the most part of his people, and so the Danes obteined in that place the victorie.

Alias Wecederport. H. Hunt. Simon Dun. Danes vanquished.

Simon Dun.

Goda earle of Deuonshire slains.

Matt. VVest.

991

In the same yeare, and in the 13 yeare of king Egelreds reigne, when the land was on each side sore afflicted, wasted and haried by the Danes, which couered the same as they had beene grashoppers: by the aduise of the archbishop of Canturburie Siricius (which was the second of that see after Dunstane) a composition was taken with the Danes, so that for the sum of ten thousand pounds to be paied to them by the king, they should couenant not to trouble his subiects anie further. This monie was called Danegilt or Dane monie, and was leuied of the people. Although other take that to be Danegilt, which was giuen vnto such Danes as king Egelred afterwards reteined in his seruice, to defend the land frm other Danes and enimies that sought to inuade his dominions. But by what name so euer this monie (which the Danes now receiued) was called, true it is that hereupon they ceassed from their most cruell inuasions for a time. But shortlie after they had refreshed themselues, and recouered new strength, they began to play their old parts againe, doing the like mischefe by their semblable inuasions, as they had vsed before. By reason hereof such feare came vpon the English people, that they despaired to be able to resist the enimies.

Ten thousand pounds paid to the Danes. Danegilt.

Wil. Malm. 992

The king yet caused a nauie to be set forth at London, whereof he appointed earle Alfrike (whome before he had banished) to be high admerall, ioining with him earle Turold. This nauie did set forward from London toward the enimies, who hauing warning giuen them from Alfrike, escaped away without hurt. Shortly after a greater nauie of the Danes came, and incountered with the kings fleet, so that a great number of the Londoners were slaine, and all the kings ships taken: for Alfrike like a traitor turned to the Danes side. ¶ Matt. West. maketh other report of this matter, declaring that Alfrike in deed being one of the chiefe capteins of the fleet, aduertised them by forewarning of the danger that was toward them, and that when they should come to ioining, the same Alfrike like a traitor fled to the Danes, and after vpon necessitie being put to flight escaped away with them: but the other capteins of the kings fleet, as Theodred, Elstan, and Escwen, pursued the Danes, tooke one of their ships, and slue all those that were found therein. The Londoners also (as the same Matt. West. saith) met with the nauie of the Danish rouers as they fled away, and slue a great number, and also tooke the ship of the traitor Alfrike with his souldiers & armor, but he himselfe escaped, though with much paine, hauing plaied the like traitorous part once before, and yet was reconciled to the kings fauor againe. Vpon this mischiefe wrought by the father, the king now tooke his sonne Algar, and caused his eies to be put out.

Hen. Hunt. A nauie set forth.

Alfrike a traitour to his countrie. Matth. West.

Henr. Hunt. The son punished for his fathers offense

993

About the same time was Bamburgh destroied by the Danes, which arriued after in Humber, and wasted the countrie of Lindsey and Yorkeshire, on either side that riuer. And when the Englishmen were assembled to giue them battell, before they ioined, the capteines of the English armie, Frena, Godwin, and Fredegist, that were Danes by their fathers side, began to flie away, and escaped, so giuing the occasion of the ouerthrow that lighted on their people. But by some writers it should apeere, that after the Danes had destroied all the north parts, as they spred abroad without order and good arraie, the people of the countrie fell vpon them, and slue some of them, and chased the residue. Other of the Danes with a nauie of 94 ships entered the Thames, and besieged London about our ladie daie in September. They gaue a verie sore assault to the citie, and assaied to set it on fire: but the citizens so valiantlie defended themselues, that the Danes were beaten backe and repelled, greatlie to their losse, so that they were constreined to depart thence with dishonor. Then they fell to and wasted the countries of Esser, Kent, Suster, and Hamshire, and ceassed not till they had inforced the king to compound with them for 16 thousand pounds, which he was glad to pay to haue peace with them.

Simon Dun. Polydor. Matth. West.

Anlafe king of Norway, & Swein king of Denmarke were capteins of this fleet, as saith Simon Dun.

994

Moreouer, whereas they wintered that yeare at Southampton, the king procured Aulafe king of the Norwegians to come vnto Andeuer (where at that time he lay) vpon pledges receiued of the king for his safe returne. Elphegus bishop of Winchester, and duke Ethelwold were appointed by king Egelred to bring Aulafe vnto him in most honorable maner. The same time was Aulafe baptised, king Egel-

Hen. Hunt. Wil. Malm. The king compoundeth with the Danes for monie.

Matt. West. Simon Dun. Aulafe king of Norwey baptised.

red

His promise. red receiuing him at the fontstone, and so he promised neuer after to make anie war within this land. And receiuing great gifts of the king, he returned into his countrie, and kept his promise faithfullie: but the euils toke not so an end, for other of the Danes sprang vp, as they had béene the heads of the serpent Hydra, some of them euer being readie to trouble the quiet state of the English nation.

John Leland. Simon Dun. 995 About this season, that is to say, in the yéere of our Lord 995, bishop Aldaine which was fled from Chester in the street (otherwise called Cunecester) with the bodie of saint Cuthbert for feare of the inuasion of Danes, vnto Rippon, brought the same bodie now vnto Durham, and there began the foundation of a church; so that the sée of that bishoprike was from thencefoorth there established, and the woods were there cut downe, which before that time couered and ouergrew that place, whereupon it began first to be inhabited. Earle Uthred, who gouerned that countrie, greatlie furthered the bishop in this woorke, so that all the people inhabiting betweene the riuers of Coquid and Theis, came togither to rid the woods, and to helpe forwards the building of the church and towne there.

The church of Durham builded.

Earle Uthred

Durham town and minster builded.

The Danes inuading the west parts of *this land make great hauocke by fire and* sword, they arriue at Rochester, and conquer *the Kentishmen in field, king Egelred ouercom-* meth the Danes that inhabited Cumberland and *wasteth the countrie, the Summersetshire men are foiled; the* miserable state of the realme in those daies; the English bloud mixed with the Danes and Britaines, and what inconueniences grew thervpon, the disordered gouernement of king Egelred, sicknesses vexing the people, treason in the nobles, the tribute paid to the Danes vnmercifullie inhansed, the realme brought to beggerie; king Egelred by politike persuasion and counsell marrieth Emma the duke of Normandies daughter, vpon what occasion the Normans pretended a title to the crowne of England, they conquer the whole land, what order king Egelred tooke to kill all the Danes within his kingdome, and what rule they bare in this realme yer they were murdered, the thraldome of the English people vnder them, whereof the word Lordane sprang.

The third Chapter.

997 IN the nintéenth yere of king Egelreds reigne, the Danes sailed about Cornewall, and comming into the Seuerne sea, they robbed & toke preies in the coasts of Deuonshire & Southwales, and landing at Wichepoort, they burned vp the countrie, and came about vnto Penwithstrét on the south coast, and so arriuing in the mouth of Tamer water, came vnto Lidford, and there wasted all afore them with force of fire. They burned, amongst other places, the monasterie of saint Odulfe at Ellingstocke. After this they came into Dorcetshire, and passed through the countrie with flame and fire, not finding anie that offered to resist them. The same yéere also they soiourned in the Ile of Wight, and liued vpon spoiles & preies which they toke in Hampshire and Suller. At length they came into the Thames, and so by the riuer of Medwey arriued at Rochester. The Kentishmen assembled togither and fought with the Danes, but they were ouercome, and so left the field to the Danes. After this, the same Danes sailed into Normandie, and king Egelred went into Cumberland, where the Danes inhabited in great numbers, whome he ouercame with sore warre, and wasted almost all Cumberland, taking great spoiles in the same. About the same time, or shortlie after, the Danes with their nauie, returning out of Normandie, came vnto Exmouth, and there assaulted the castell, but they were repelled by them that kept it. After this they spread abroad ouer all the countrie, exercising their accustomed trade of destroieng all before them with fire and sword. The men of Summersetshire fought with them at Pentho, but the Danes got the vpper hand.

1001 Exmouth.

Pentho.

Thus the state of the realme in those daies was verie miserable, for there wanted worthie chieftains to rule the people, and to chastise them when they did amisse. There was no trust in the noble men, for euerie one impugned others doing, and yet would not deuise which way to deale with better likelihood. When they assembled in councell, and should haue occupied their heads in deuising remedies for the mischiefe of the common wealth, they turned their purpose vnto altercation, about such strifes, contentions and quarels as each one had against other, and suffered the generall cause to lie still in the dust. And if at anie time there was anie good conclusion agreed vpon, for the withstanding of the enimie, & releefe of the common wealth, anon should the enimie be aduertised thereof by such as were of aliance or consanguinitie to them. For (as Caxton, Polychr. and others say) the English bloud was so mixed with that of the Danes and Britains, who were like enimies to the Englishmen, that there was almost few of the nobilitie and commons, which had not on the one side a parent of some of them.

Disagreement with counceilors what fruit it bringeth.

Whereby it came to passe, that neither the secret purposes of the king could be concealed till they might take due effect; neither their assemblies proue quiet without quarelling and taking of parts. Manie also being sent forth with their powers one way (whilest the king went to make resistance another) did reuolt to his enimies, and turned their swords against him (as you haue heard of Elfrike and his complices, and shall read of manie others) so that it was no maruell that Egelred sped no better, and yet was he as valiant as anie of his predecessors, although the monks fauour him not in their writings, because he demanded aid of them toward his warres, and was nothing fauorable to their lewd hypocrisie. But what is a king if his subiects be not loiall? What is a realme, if the common wealth be diuided? By peace & concord, of small beginnings great and famous kingdomes haue oft times procéeded; whereas by discord the greatest kingdoms haue oftner bene brought to ruine. And so it proued here, for whilest priuat quarels are pursued, the generall affaires are vtterlie neglected: and whilest ech nation séeketh to preferre hir owne aliance, the Iland it selfe is like to become a desert.

But to proceed with our monasticall writers: certes they lay all the fault in the king, saieng that he was a man giuen to no good exercise, he delighted in fleshlie lusts and riotous banketings, and still sought waies how to gather of his subiects what might be got, as well by vnlawfull meanes as otherwise. For he would for feined or for verie small & light causes disherit his natiue subiects, and cause them to redéeme their owne possessions for great summes of monie. Besides these oppressions, diuers kinds of sicknesses vered the people also, as the bloodie flix, and hot burning agues which then raged through the land, so that manie died thereof. By such manner of meanes therefore, what through the misgouernance of the king, the treason and disloialtie of the nobilitie, the lacke of good order and due correction amongst the people, and by such other scourges and mishaps as afflicted the English nation

The misgouernement of the king.

Sicknesse vexing the people.

Treason in the nobilitie.

998

999 The Danes arriue in the Thames.

1000

tion in that season, the land was brought into great ruine, so that, where by strength the enimie could not be kept off, there was now no helpe but to appease them with monie. By reason hereof from time of the first agreement with the Danes for 10 thousand pounds tribute, it was inhanced to 16000 pounds, (as you haue heard) & after that to 20000 pounds, then to 24000 pounds, & so to 30000 pounds, & lastlie to 40000 pounds, till at length the relme was emptied in maner of all that monie and coine that could be found in it. In this meane time died Elgina or Ethelgina the quéene. Shortlie after it was deuised that the king should be a suter vnto Richard duke of Normandie, for his sister Emma, a ladie of such excellent beautie, that she was named the floure of Normandie. This suite was begun and toke such good successe, that the king obteined his purpose. And so in the yeare of our Lord 1002, which was about the 24 yeare of king Egelreds reigne, he maried the said Emma with great solemnitie.

The inhancing of the tribute paid to the Danes.

The death of quéene Elgina. Emma.

Hen. Hunt.

1002

Emma daughter of R. duke of Normandie maried to K. Edgar.

This mariage was thought to be right necessarie, honorable, and profitable for the realme of England, because of the great puissance of the Norman princes in those daies: but as things afterward came to passe, it turned to the subuersion of the whole English state: for by such affinitie and dealing as happened hereby betwixt the Normans and Englishmen, occasion in the end was ministred to the same Normans to pretend a title to the crowne of England, in prosecuting of which title, they obteined and made the whole conquest of the land, as after shall appeare.

Egelred being greatlie aduanced (as he thought) by reason of his mariage, deuised vpon presumption thereof, to cause all the Danes within the land to be murthered in one day. Herevpon he sent priuie commissioners to all cities, burrowes and townes within his dominions, commanding the rulers and officers in the same, to kill all such Danes as remained within their liberties, at a certeine day prefixed, being saint Brices day, in the yeare 1012, and in the 34 yeare of king Egelreds reigne. Herevpon (as sundrie writers agree) in one day & houre this murther began, and was according to the commission and iniunction executed. But where it first began, the same is vncerteine: some say at Wellowin in Herefordshire, some at a place in Staffordshire called Hownhill, & others in other places, but wheresoeuer it began, the doers repented it after.

1012

The 13 of Nouember. The murder of the Danes.

Hownhill, or Houndhill, a place within Merchington parish beside the forest of Mædwood, somewhat more than two miles from Worcester.

But now per we proceed anie further, we will shew what rule the Danes kept here in this realme before they were thus murthered, as in some bookes we find recorded. Whereas it is shewed that the Danes compelled the husbandmen to til the ground & do all maner of labour and toile to be done about husbandrie: the Danes liued vpon the fruit and gaines that came thereof, and kept the husbandmens wiues, their daughters, maids and seruants, vsing and abusing them at their pleasures. And when the husbandmen came home, then could they scarse haue such sustenance of meats and drinkes as fell for seruants to haue: so that the Danes had all at their commandements, eating and drinking of the best, where the sillie man that was the owner, could hardlie come to his fill of the worst. Besids this, the common people were so oppressed by the Danes, that for feare and dread they called them in euerie such house where anie of them sojourned, Lord Dane. And if an Englishman and a Dane chanced to méet at a nie bridge or streight passage, the Englishman must staie till the Lord Dane were passed. But in processe of time, after the Danes were voided the land, this word Lord Dane was in derision and despight of the Danes turned by Englishmen into a name of reproch, as Lordane, which till these our daies is not forgotten. For when the people in manie parts of this realme will note and signifie anie great idle lubber that will not labour nor take paine for his liuing, they will call him Lordane. Thus did the Danes vse the Englishmen in most vile manner, and kept them in such seruile thraldome as cannot be sufficientlie vttered.

The tyrannie of the Danes here in England.

Hector Boet.

Lordane whereof the word came.

A fresh power of Danes inuade England to reuenge the slaughter of their countrimen that inhabited this Ile, the west parts betraied into their hands by the conspiracie of a Norman that was in gouernement, earle Edrike feigned himselfe sicke when king Egelred sent vnto him to leuie a power against the Danes, and betraieth his people to the enimies; Sweine king of Denmarke arriueth on the coast of Northfolke, and maketh pitifull spoile by fire and sword; the truce taken betweene him and Vikillus is violated, and what reuengement followeth; king Sweine forced by famine returneth into his owne countrie, he arriueth againe at Sandwich, why king Egelred was vnable to preuaile against him, the Danes ouerrun all places where they come and make cruell waste, king Egelred paieth him great summes of monie for peace; the mischiefes that light vpon a land by placing a traitorous stranger in gouernement, how manie acres a hide of land conteineth, Egelreds order taken for ships and armour, why his great fleet did him little pleasure; a fresh host of Danes vnder three capteines arriue at Sandwich, the citizens of Canturburie for monie purchase safetie, the faithlesse dealing of Edrike against king Egelred for the enimies aduantage, what places the Danes ouerran and wasted.

The fourth Chapter.

VPon knowledge giuen in to Denmarke of the cruell murder of the Danes here in England, truth it is, that the people of the countrie were greatlie kindled in malice, and set in such a furious rage against the Englishmen, that with all speed they made forth a nauie full fraught with men of warre, the which in the yeare following came swarming about the coasts of England, and landing in the west countrie, toke the citie of Excester, and gat there a rich spoile. One Hugh a Norman borne, whome quæne Emma had placed in those parties as gouernour or shirife there, conspired with the Danes, so that all the countrie was ouerrun and wasted.

Hen. Hunt. Simon Dun. The Danes returne to inuade England.

Excester taken.

1002

Hugh a Norman conspireth with the Danes.

The king hearing that the Danes were thus landed, and spoiled the west parts of the realme, he sent vnto Edricus to assemble a power to withstand the enimies. Herevpon the people of Hampshire and Wiltshire rose and got togither: but when the armies should ioine, earle Edricus surnamed de Strecona feigned himselfe sicke, and so betraied his people, of whome he had the conduct: for they perceiuing the want in their leader, were discouraged, and so fled. The Danes followed them vnto Wilton, which towne they rifled and ouercame. From thence they went to Salisburie, and so taking their pleasure there, returned to their ships, because (as some write) they were aduertised that the king was comming towards them with an huge armie. In the yeare next insuing, that is to saie 1004, which was about the 24 yeare of K. Egelreds reigne, Sweine or Swanus, king of Denmarke, with a mightie nauie of ships came on the coast of Northfolke, and there landing with his people, made toward Norwich, and comming thither toke that citie, and spoiled it. Then went he vnto Thetford, and when he had taken and rifled that towne, he burnt it, notwithstanding a truce taken by Vikillus or Wilketell

The counterfeit sickenesse of duke Edrike.

Wilton spoiled.

Simon Dun.

1004

Sweyn king of Denmarke.

Norwich taken by the Danes.

Thetford burnt.

ketell gouernor of those parties with the same king Swaine after the taking of Norwich. In reuenge therefore of such breach of truce, the same Wikillus, or Wilseketell, with such power as he could raise, assaulted the host of Danes as they returned to their ships, and slue a great number of them, but was not able to mainteine the fight, for his enimies ouermatched him in number of men. And so he was constrained in the end to giue backe: and the enimies kept on their waies to their ships.

Wikillus or wilseketell gouernour of Northfolke.

Hen. Hunt.

1005

Swaine returned into Denmarke. Simon Dun.

In the yeare following king Swaine returned into Denmarke with all his fleet, partlie constrained so to do (as some write) by reason of the great famin & want of necessarie sustenance, which in that yeare sore oppressed this land. In the yeare of our Lord 1006, king Swaine returned againe into England with a mightie & huge nauie, arriuing at Sandwich, and spoiled all the countrie neere vnto the sea side. King Egelred raised all his power against him, and all the haruest time laie abroad in the field to resist the Danes, which according to their wonted maner spared not to exercise their vnmercifull cruelties, in wasting and spoiling the land with fire and sword, pilfering and taking of preies in euerie part where they came. Neither could king Egelred remedie the matter, because the enimies still conueied themselues with their ships into some contrarie quarter, from the place where they knew him to be, so that his trauell was in vaine.

1006

Hen. Hunt. Swaine returned into England.

1111

The Danes winter in the Ile of wight. They inuade Hampshire, Barkeshire, &c.

About the beginning of winter they remained in the Ile of Wight, & in the time of Christmasse they landed in Hampshire, and passing through that countrie into Barkeshire, they came to Reading, and from thence to Wallingford, and so to Coleseie, and then approching to Ellington, came to Achikelmeslawe, and in euerie place whersoeuer they came, they made cleane worke. For that which they could not carie with them, they consumed with fire, burning vp their innes and fleaing their hoasts. In returning backe, the people of the west countrie gaue them battell, but preuailed not, so that they did but inrich their enimies with the spoile of their bodies. They came by the gates of Winchester as it were in maner of triumph, with vittels and spoiles which they had fetched fiue miles from the sea side. In the meane time king Egelred lay about Shrewsburie sore troubled with the newes hereof, and in the yeare next insuing, by the aduise of his councell he gaue to king Swaine for the redeeming of peace 30000 pounds.

Winchester.

1007

30000 pounds giuen Si. Dun.

Edrike de Strenna made duke or earle of Mercia.

In the same yeare K. Egelred created the traitor Edrike earle of Mercia, who although he had married Edgiua the kings daughter, was yet noted to be one of those which disclosed the secrets of the realme, and the determinations of the counceil vnto the enimies. But he was such a craftie dissembler, so greatlie prouided of sleight to dissemble and cloake his falshood, that the king being too much abused by him, had him in singular fauour, whereas he vpon a malicious purpose studied dailie how to bring the realme into vtter destruction, aduertising the enimies from time to time how the state of things stood, whereby they came to knowlege when they should giue place, and when they might safelie come forward. Moreouer, being sent vnto them oftentimes as a commissioner to treat of peace, he persuaded them to warre. But such was the pleasure of God, to haue him and such other of like sort aduanced to honor in this season, when by his diuine prouidence he meant to punish the people of this realme for their wickednesse and sinnes, whereby they had iustlie prouoked his wrath and high displeasure.

Wil. Malm.

Henr. Hunt. Simon Dun.

In the 30 yeare of king Egelreds reigne, which fell in the yeare of our Lord 1008, he tooke order that of euerie three hundred and ten hides of land within this realme, there should one ship be builded, and of euerie eight hides a complet armor furnished. In the yeare following, the kings whole fleet was brought togither at Sandwich, and such souldiers came thither as were appointed to go to sea in the same fleet. There had not beene seene the like number of ships so trimlie rigged and furnished in all points, in anie kings daies before. But no great profitable peece of seruice was wrought by them: for the king had about that time banished a noble yong man of Sussex called Wilnot, who getting togither twentie sailes, laie vpon the coasts taking prices where he could get them. Brithrike the brother of earle Edrike, being desirous to win honor, toke forth foure score of the said ships, and promised to bring in the enimie dead or aliue. But as he was sailing forward on the seas, a sore tempest with an outragious wind rose with such violence, that his ships were cast vpon the shore: and Wilnot comming vpon them, set them on fire, and so burned them euerie one. The residue of the ships, when newes came to them of this mishap, returned backe to London; and then was the armie dispersed, and so all the cost and trauell of the Englishmen proued in vaine.

In hundred acres is an hide of land.

1008

Prouision for ships and armour.

Matt. West.

1101

After this, in the haruest time a new armie of Danes, vnder the conduct of three capteines, Turkill, Henning, and Aulafe landed at Sandwich, and from thence passed forth to Canturburie, and had taken the citie but that the citizens gaue them a 1000 pounds to depart from thence, and to leaue the countrie in peace. Then went the Danes to the Ile of Wight, and afterwards landed and spoiled the countrie of Sussex and Hampshire. King Egelred assembled the whole power of all his subiects, and comming to giue them battell, had made an end of their cruell harieng the countrie with the slaughter of them all, if earle Edrike with forged tales (deuised onelie to put him in feare) had not disswaded him from giuing battell. The Danes by that meanes returning in safetie, immediatlie after the feast of saint Martine, returned into Kent, and lodged with their nauie in the winter following in the Thames, and oftentimes assaulting the citie of London, were still beaten backe to their losse.

Danes land at Sandwich.

1009.

3000 pound saith Si. Dun.

Sussex and Hampshire spoiled.

The Danes returne into Kent.

After the feast of Christmasse they passed through the countrie and woods of Chilterne vnto Oxford, which towne they burned, and then returning backe they fell to wasting of the countrie on both sides the Thames. But hearing that an armie was assembled at London to giue them battell; that part of their host which kept on the northside of the riuer, passed the same riuer at Stanes, and so ioining with their fellowes marched forth through Southerie, and comming backe to their ships in Kent, fell in hand to repare & amend their ships that were in anie wise decaied. Then after Easter, the Danes sailing about the coast, arriued at Gipswich in Suffolke, on the Ascension day of our Lord: and inuading the countrie, gaue battell at a place called Wigmere or Rigmere, vnto Wikill or Wilseketell leader of the English host in those parties, on the fift of Maie. The men of Northfolke and Suffolke fled at the first onset giuen: but the Cambridgshire men sticked to it valiantlie, winning thereby perpetuall fame and commendation. There was no mindfulnesse amongest them of running awaie, so that a great number of the nobilitie and other were beaten downe and slaine, till at length one Turketell Mireneheued, that had a Dane to his father, first began to take his flight, and deserued thereby an euerlasting reproch.

1010

Oxford burnt.

Stanes.

Gipswich in Suffolke. Simon Dun.

Caput formicæ.

The Danes obteining the vpper hand, for the

space of three moneths togither went vp and downe the countries, & wasted those parties of the realme, that is to say, Northfolke, and Suffolke, with the borders of Lincolnshire, Huntingtonshire, and Cambridgeshire where the fens are, gaining exceeding riches by the spoile of the great and wealthie abbies and churches which had their situation within the compasse of the same fens. They also destroied Thetford, and burnt Cambridge, and from thence passed through the pleasant mountaine-countrie of Belsham, cruellie murdering the people without respect of age, degree or ser. After this also they entred into Esser, and so came backe to their ships, which were then arriued in the Thames. But they rested not anie long time in quiet, as people that minded nothing but the destruction of this realme. So as some after, when they had somwhat refreshed them, they set forward againe into the countrie, passing through Buckinghamshire, & so into Bedfordshire. And about saint Andrewes tide they turned towards Northampton, & comming thither set fire on that towne. Then turning through the west countrie, with fire & sword they wasted and destroied a great part thereof, & namelie Wiltshire, with other parties. And finallie about the feast of Christmas they came againe to their ships. Thus had the Danes wasted the most part of 16 or 17 shires within this realme, as Northfolke, Suffolke, Cambridgeshire, Esser, Middlesex, Hartfordshire, Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire, and Bedfordshire, with a part of Huntingtonshire, and also a great portion of Northamptonshire. This was done in the countries that lie on the northside of the riuer of Thames. On the southside of the same riuer, they spoiled and wasted Kent, Southerie, Sussex, Barkeshire, Hampshire, and (as is before said) a great part of Wiltshire.

Thetford. Cambridge. Hen. Hunt.

The Danes arriue in the Thames.

1011

Northampton burnt by Danes.

How manie shires the Danes wasted.

King Egelred offereth the Danes great *summes of moneie to desist from destroieng* his countrie, their vnspeakable crueltie, bloud*thirstinesse, and insatiable spoiling of Canturburie* betraied by a churchman; their merciles murthe*ring of Elphegus archbishop of Canturburie*, *Turkillus the* Dane chiefe lord of Norfolke and Suffolke, a peace concluded betweene the Danes and the English vpon hard conditions; Gunthildis a beautifull Danish ladie and hir husband slaine, hir courage to the death.

The fift Chapter.

THe king and the peeres of the realme, vnderstanding of the Danes dealing in such merciles maner (as is aboue mentioned) but not knowing how to redresse the matter, sent ambassadors vnto the Danes, offering them great summes of moneie to leaue off such cruell walking and spoiling of the land. The Danes were contented to reteine the moneie, but yet could not abstaine from their cruell doings, neither was their greedie thirst of bloud and spoile satisfied with the walking and destroieng of so manie countries and places as they had passed through. Wherevpon, in the yeere of our Lord 1011, about the feast of S. Matthew in September, they laid siege to the citie of Canturburie, which of the citizens was valiantlie defended by the space of twentie daies. In the end of which terme it was taken by the enimies, through the treason of a deacon named Almaricus, whome the archbishop Elphegus had before that time preserued from death.

The king sendeth to the Danes. Simon Dun.

1011

Canturburie woone by Danes.

The Danes exercised passing great crueltie in the winning of that citie (as by sundrie authors it doth and maie appeere.) For they slue of men, women, and children, aboue the number of eight thousand. They tooke the archbishop Elphegus with an other bishop named Godwine; also abbat Leofwin and Alsewold the kings bailife there. They spared no degree, in so much that they slue and tooke 900 priests, and other men of religion. And when they had taken their pleasure of the citie, they set it on fire, and so returned to their ships. There be some which write that they tithed the people after an inuerted order, slaieng all by nines through the whole multitude, and reserued the tenth: so that of all the monks there were but foure saued, and of the laie people 4800, whereby it followeth that there died 43200 persons. Whereby is gathered that the citie of Canturburie, and the countrie thereabouts (the people whereof belike fled thither for succor) was at that time verie well inhabited, so as there haue not wanted (saith maister Lambert) which affirme that it had then more people than London it selfe.

Fabian ex Antonino.

The archbishop Elphegus taken. Hen. Hunt.

Antoninus. Vincentius.

Wil. Lamb. *ex Asserio Menenensi, & alijs.*

But now to our purpose. In the yeere next insuing, vpon the saturday in Easter weeke, after that the bishop Elphegus had beene kept prisoner with them the space of six or seuen moneths, they cruellie in a rage led him forth into the fields, and dashed out his braines with stones, because he would not redeeme his libertie with three thousand pounds, which they demanded to haue beene leuied of his farmers and tenants. This cruell murther was committed at Greenewich foure miles distant from London, the 19 of Aprill, where he lay a certeine time vnburied, but at length through miracles shewed (as they say, for miracles are all wrought now by dead men, and not by the liuing) the Danes permitted that his bodie might be caried to London, and there was it buried in the church of S. Paule, where it rested for the space of ten yeeres, till king Cnute or Knought had the gouernment of this land, by whose appointment it was remoued to Canturburie.

1 1 1 2

Henr. Hunt.

The archbishop Elphegus murthered.

Miracles.

Elphegus buried in London.

Turkillus the leader of those Danes by whome the archbishop Elphegus was thus murthered, held Northfolke and Suffolke vnder his subiection, & so continued in those parties as chiefe lord and gouernor. But the residue of the Danes at length, compounding with the Englishmen for a tribute to be paid to them of eight thousand pounds, spred abroad in the countrie, soiorning in cities, townes and villages, where they might find most conuenient harbour. Moreouer, fortie of their ships, or rather (as some write) 45 were reteined to serue the king, promising to defend the realme; with condition, that the souldiers and mariners should haue prouision of meate and drinke, with apparell found them at the kings charges. As one author hath gathered, Swaine king of Denmarke was in England at the concluding of this peace, which being confirmed with solemne othes and sufficient hostages, he departed into Denmarke.

Translated to Canturburie. Wil. Malms.

Turkillus held Norfolke and Suffolke.

4 thousand pound as saith Sim. Dun. and M. West. Henr. Hunt.

The same author bringeth the generall slaughter of Danes vpon S. Brices day, to haue chanced in the yeere after the conclusion of this agreement, that is to say, in the yeere 1012, at what time Gunthildis the sister of king Swaine was slaine, with hir husband & hir sonne, by the commandement of the false traitor Edrike. But because all other authors agree that the same murther of Danes was executed about ten yeeres before this supposed time: we haue made rehearsall thereof in that place. Howbeit, for the death of Gunthildis, it maie be, that she became hostage either in the yeere 1007, at what time king Egelred paied thirtie thousand pounds vnto king Swaine to haue peace (as before you haue heard) or else

March. West.

Gunthildis the sister of K. Swaine murthered.

1013

elſe might ſhe be deliuered in hoſtage, in the yéere 1011. when the laſt agréement was made with the Danes (as aboue is mentioned.) But when or at what time ſocuer ſhe became hoſtage, this we find of hir, that ſhe came hither into England with hir huſband Palingus, a mightie earle, and receiued baptiſme héere. Wherevpon ſhe earneſtlie trauelled in treatie of a peace betwixt hir brother and king Egelred: which being brought to paſſe chieflie by hir ſute, ſhe was contented to become an hoſtage for performance thereof (as before is recited.) And after by the commandement of earle Edrike ſhe was put to death, pronouncing that the ſhedding of hir blood would cauſe all England one day ſore to rue. She was a verie beautifull ladie, and toke hir death without all feare, not once changing countenance, though ſhe ſaw hir huſband and hir onelie ſonne (a yong gentleman of much towardneſſe) firſt murthered before hir face.

Wil. Malm.

Turkillus the Daniſh capteine telleth *king Swaine the faults of the king, nobles,* & commons of this realme, he inuadeth Eng*land, the Northumbers and others ſubmit them*ſelues to him, Danes receiued into ſeruice vnder E*gelred, London aſſalted by Swaine, the citizens behaue them*ſelues ſtoutlie, and giue the Daniſh hoſt a ſhamefull repulſe, Ethelmere earle of Deuonſhire and his people ſubmit themſelues to Swaine, he returneth into Denmarke, commeth back againe into England with a freſh power, is incountred withall of the Engliſhmen, whoſe king Egelred is diſcomfited, his oration to his ſouldiers touching the preſent reliefe of their diſtreſſed land, their reſolution and full purpoſe in this their perplexitie, king Egelred is minded to giue place to Swaine, he ſendeth his wife and children ouer into Normandie, the Londoners yeeld vp their ſtate to Swaine, Egelred ſaileth ouer into Normandie, leauing his land to the enimie.

The ſixt Chapter.

Turkillus diſcloſeth the ſecrets of the realme to K. Swaine.

NOw had Turkillus in the meane time aduertiſed king Swaine in what ſtate things ſtood here within the realme: how king Egelred was negligent, onlie attending to the luſts & pleaſures of the fleſh: how the noble men were vnfaithfull, and the commons weake and féeble through want of good and truſtie leaders. Howbeit, ſome Simon Dun. write, that Turkillus as well as other of the Danes which remained héere in England, was in league with king Egelred, in ſomuch that he was with him in London, to helpe and defend the citie againſt Swaine when he came to aſſalt it (as after ſhall appéere.) Which if it be true, a doubt may riſe whether Swaine receiued anie aduertiſement from Turkillus to moue him the rather to inuade the realme: but ſuch aduertiſements might come from him before that he was accorded with Egelred.

Swaine prepareth an armie to inuade England.

Swaine therefore as a valiant prince, deſirous both to reuenge his ſiſters death, and win honor, prepared an huge armie, and a great number of ſhips, with the which he made towards England, and firſt comming to Sandwich, taried there a ſmall while, and taking eaſtſomes the ſea, compaſſed about the coaſts of the Eaſtangles, and arriuing in the mouth of Humber, ſailed vp the water, and entering into the riuer of Trent, he landed at Gainſbourgh, purpoſing to inuade the Northumbers. But as men brought into great feare, for that they had béene ſubiect to the Danes in times paſt, and thinking therefore not to reuolt to the enimie, but rather to their old acquaintance, if they ſhould ſubmit themſelues to

He landeth at Sandwich. 1013

Gainſbourgh

the Danes, ſtreightwaies offered to become ſubiect vnto Swaine, togither with their duke named Wighthred. Alſo the people of Lindſey and all thoſe of the northſide of Watlingſtreet yéelded themſelues vnto him, and deliuered pledges. Then he appointed his ſonne Cnutus to haue the kéeping of thoſe pledges, and to remaine vpon the ſafegard of his ſhips, whiles he himſelfe paſſed forward into the countrie. Then marched he forward to ſubdue them of South Mercia: and ſo came to Oxford, to Winchester, making the countries ſubiect to him through out whereſoeuer he came.

The Northumbers yéeld to Swaine.

The people of Lindſey yéeld themſelues to him.

Simon Dun.

South Mercia.

With this proſperous ſucceſſe Swaine being greatlie incouraged, prepared to go vnto London, where king Egelred as then remained, hauing with him Turkillus the Dane, which was reteined in wages with other of the Danes (as by report of ſome authors it maie appeare) and were now readie to defend the citie againſt their countriemen in ſupport of king Egelred, togither with the citizens. Swaine, becauſe he would not ſtep ſo farre out of the way as to go to the next bridge, loſt a great number of his men as he paſſed through the Thames. At his comming to London, he began to aſſault the citie verie fiercelie, in hope either to put his enimie in ſuch feare that he ſhould deſpaire of all reliefe and comfort, or at the leaſt trie what he was able to do. The Londoners on the other part, although they were brought in ſome feare by this ſudden attempt of the enimies, yet conſidering with themſelues, that the hazard of all the whole ſtate of the realme was annexed to theirs, ſith their citie was the chiefe and metropolitane of all the kingdome, they valiantlie ſtood in defenſe of themſelues, and of their king that was preſent there with them, beating backe the enimies, chaſing them from the walles, and otherwiſe doing their beſt to kéepe them off. At length, although the Danes did moſt valiantlie aſſault the citie, yet the Engliſhmen to defend their prince from all iniurie of enimies, did not ſhrinke, but boldlie ſallied forth at the gates in heapes togither, and incountered with their aduerſaries, and began to fight with them verie fiercelie.

Sim. Dunel.

Swaine aſſaulteth London.

Polydor.

Swaine whileſt he went about to kéepe his men in order, as one moſt deſirous to reteine the victorie now almoſt gotten, was compaſſed ſo about with the Londoners on each ſide, that after he had loſt a great number of his men, he was conſtreined for his ſafegard to breake out through the midſt of his enimies weapons, and was glad that he might ſo eſcape: and ſo with the reſidue of his armie ceaſſed not to iourne day and night till he came to Bath, where Ethelmere an earle of great power in thoſe weſt parts of the realme ſubmitted himſelfe with all his people vnto him, who ſhortlie after neuertheleſſe (as ſome write) was compelled through want of victuels to releaſe the tribute latelie couenanted to be paied vnto him for a certeine ſumme of monie, which when hée had receiued, he returned into Denmarke, meaning ſhortlie to returne againe with a greater power.

Wil. Malm. Erle of Deuonſhire as ſaith Matt. Weſt. Polydor.

Swaine returneth into Denmarke.

King Egelred ſuppoſed that by the paiment of that monie he ſhould haue béene rid out of all troubles, of warre with the Danes. But the nobles of the realme thought otherwiſe, and therefore willed him to prepare an armie with all ſpéed that might be made. Swaine taried not long (to proue the doubt of the noble men to be grounded of foreknowledge) but that with ſwift ſpéed he returned againe into England, and immediatlie vpon his arriuall was an armie of Engliſhmen aſſembled and led againſt him into the field. Herevpon they ioined in battell, which was ſore foughten for a time, till at length by reaſon of diuerſe Engliſhmen that turned to the

Swaine returneth into England to make warre.

King Egelred diſcomfited in battell.

enimies side, the discomfiture fell with such slaughter vpon the English host, that king Egelred well perceiued the state of his regall gouernement to bee brought into vtter danger. Whereupon after the losse of this field, he assembled the rest of his people that were escaped, and spake vnto them after this manner.

The oration of king Egelred to the *remanent of his souldiers.*

SHould for euer be put to silence, if there wanted in vs the vertue of a fatherlie mind, in giuing good aduise & counsel for the well ordering and due administration of things in the common wealth, or if their lacked courage or might in our souldiers and men of warre to defend our countrie. Trulie to die in defense of the countrie where we are borne, I confesse it a worthie thing, and I for my part am readie to take vpon me to enter into the midst of the enimies in defense of my kingdome. But here I see our countrie and the whole English nation to be at a point to fall into vtter ruine. We are ouercome of the Danes, not with weapon or force of armes; but with treason wrought by our owne people: we did at the first prepare a nauie against the enimies, the which that false traitour Elfrike betraid into their hands. Againe, oftentimes haue we giuen battell with euill successe, and onelie through the fault of our owne people that haue bene false and disloiall: whereby we haue bin constreined to agree with the enimies vpon dishonorable conditions, euen as necessitie required, which to ouercome, resteth onelie in God. Such kind of agreement hath bene made in deed to our destruction, sith the enimies haue not sticked to breake it (they being such a wicked kind of people as neither regard God nor man) contrarie to right and reason, and beside all our hope & expectation. So that the matter is come now to this passe, that we haue not cause onlie to feare the losse of our gouernement, but least the name of the whole English nation be destroied for euer. Therefore sithens the enimies are at hand, and as it were ouer our heads, you to whom my commandement hath euer bene had in good regard, prouide, take counsell, and see to succor the state of your countrie now readie to decay and to fall into irrecouerable ruine.

Hereupon they fell in consultation, euerie one alledging and bringing forth his opinion as seemed to him best: but it appeared they had the woolfe by the eare, for they wist not which way to turne them. If they should giue battell, it was to be doubted least through treason among themselues, the armie should be betraied into the enimies hands, the which would not faile to execute all kind of crueltie in the slaughter of the whole nation. And if they stood not valiantlie to shew themselues readie to defend their countrie, there was no shift but yeeld themselues. Which though it were a thing reprochfull and dishonorable, yet should it be lesse euill, as they toke the matter, for thereby might manie be preserued from death, and in time to come, be able to recouer the libertie of their countrie, when occasion should be offered. This point was allowed of them all, and so in the end they rested vpon that resolution.

King Egelred therefore determined to commit himselfe into the hands of his brother in law Richard duke of Normandie, whose sister (as ye haue heard) he had maried. But bicause he would not do this vnaduisedlie, first he sent ouer his wife quæne Emma, with his sonnes which he had begotten of hir, Alfred and Edward, that by their interteinment he might vnderstand how he should be welcome. Duke Richard receiued his sister and his nephues verie loiallie, and promised to aid his brother king Egelred in defense of his kingdome. But in this meane while had Swaine conquered the more part of all England, and brought (by little and little) that which remained vnder his subiection. The people through feare submitting themselues on each hand, king Egelred in this meane time (for the Londoners had submitted themselues to Swaine) was first withdrawne vnto Grenewich, and there remained for a time with the nauie of the Danes, which was vnder the gouernement of earle Turkill, and from thence sailed into the Ile of Wight, and there remained a great part of the winter, and finallie after Christmas himselfe sailed into Normandie, and was of his brother in law loiallie receiued & greatlie comforted in that his time of necessitie.

King Egelred determineth to giue place vnto Swaine.

He sendeth his wife and sonnes ouer into Normandie.

Richard duke of Normandie.

Simon Dun. Hen. Hunt. Turkill.

1014

King Egelred passeth into Normandie.

Swaine king of Denmarke is reputed *king of this land, he oppresseth the English* people cruellie, and spoileth religious houses, *the strange and miraculous slaughter of Swaine* vaunting of his victories; the Danish chronicles *write partiallie of him and his end, Cnute succeedeth his father* Swaine in regiment, the Englishmen send king Egelred woord of Swaines death, Edward king Egelreds eldest sonne commeth ouer into England to know the state of the countrie and people of certeintie; Egelred with his power returneth into England; what meanes Cnute made to establish himselfe king of this land, and to be well thought of among the English people, Egelred burneth vp Gainesbrough, and killeth the inhabitants therof for their disloialtie; Cnutes flight to Sandwich, his cruel decree against the English pledges, he returneth into Denmarke, why Turkillus the Danish capteine with his power compounded with the Englishmen to tarrie in this land, his faithlesse seruice to Egelred, his drift to make the whole realme subiect to the Danish thraldome.

The seuenth Chapter.

SWaine hauing now got the whole rule of the land, was reputed full king, and so commanded that his armie should be prouided of wages and vittels to be taken vp & leuied through the realme. In like maner Turkill commanded that to his armie lodged at Grenewich, wages and vittels sufficient should be deliuered, for the finding, releuing, succouring, and sustaining thereof. Swaine vsed the victorie verie cruellie against the Englishmen, oppressing them on each hand; to the intent that them being brought low he might gouerne in more suertie. The yeere in which he obteined the rule thus of this realme, and that king Egelred was constreined to flie into Normandie, was in the 35 yeere of the same Egelred his reigne, and after the birth of our Lord 1014. Swaine being once established in the gouernment, did not onelie vse much crueltie in oppressing the laitie, but also stretched forth his hand to the church, and to the ministers

Swaine handleth the Englishmen hardlie.

nisters in the same, fleecing them and spoiling both churches and ministers, without anie remorse of conscience, insomuch that hauing a quarell against the inhabitants within the precinct of S. Edmunds land in Suffolke, he did not onelie harrie the countrie, but also rifled and spoiled the abbeie of Burie, where the bodie of saint Edmund rested.

Fabian. S. Edmund fighteth for the wealth, but not for the slaughter of his people. Simon Dun. 1115

Wherevpon shortlie after, as he was at Gainesborough or Thetford (as some say) and there in his tollitie talked with his Nobles of his good successe in conquering of this land, he was suddenlie stricken with a knife, as it is reported, miraculouslie, for no man wist how or by whome: and within three daies after, to wit, on the third of Februarie, he ended his life with grieuous paine and torment in yelling and roring, by reason of his extreame anguish beyond all measure. There hath sprong a pleasant tale among the posteritie of that age, how he should be wounded with the same knife which king Edmund in his life time vsed to weare. Thus haue some of our writers reported, but the Danish chronicles report a farre more happie end which should chance to this Swaine, than is before mentioned out of our writers: for the said chronicles report, that after he had subdued England, he toke order with king Egelred, whome they name amisse Adelstane, that he should not ordeine any other successor, but onlie the said Swaine. Then after this, he returned into Denmarke, where vsing himselfe like a right godlie prince, at length he there ended his life, being a verie old man.

Albertus Crantz. Saxo Grammaticus.

Notwithstanding all this, when or howsoeuer he died, immediatlie after his decease the Danes elected his sonne Cnute or Knought to succeed in his dominions. But the Englishmen of nothing more desirous than to shake off the yoke of Danish thraldome besides their necks & shoulders, streightwaies vpon knowledge had of Swaines death, with all speed aduertised king Egelred thereof, and that they were readie to receiue and assist him if he would make hast to come ouer to deliuer his countrie out of the hands of strangers. These newes were right ioifull vnto Egelred, who burning in desire to be reuenged on them that had expelled him out of his kingdome, made no longer tariance to set that enterprise forward. But yet doubting the inconstancie of the people, he sent his elder son (named Edmund) to trie the minds of them, and to vnderstand whether they were constant or wauering in that which they had promised.

Wil. Malm. H. Hunt. Canute or Cnute.

Egelred sent for home.

Edmund K. Egelreds eldest sonne.

The yong gentleman hasting ouer into England, and with diligent inquirie perceiuing how they were bent, returned with like speed as he came into Normandie againe, declaring to his father, that all things were in safetie if he would make hast. King Egelred then conceiued an assured hope to recouer his kingdom, aided with his brother in laws power, and trusting vpon the assistance of the Englishmen, returned into England in the time of Lent. His returne was ioifull and most acceptable to the English people, as to those that abhorred the rule of the Danes, which was most sharpe and bitter to them, although Cnute did what he could by bountifulnesse and courteous dealings to haue reteined them vnder his obeisance.

King Egelred returneth into England

Cnutes endeuor to establish himselfe in the kingdome.

And of an intent to procure Gods fauour in the well ordering of things for the administration in the common wealth, he sought first to appease his wrath, and also to make amends to saint Edmund for his fathers offense committed (as was thought) against him: insomuch that after he had obteined the kingdome, he caused a great ditch to be cast round about the land of saint Edmund, and granted manie freedoms to the inhabitants, acquiting them of certeine taskes and paiments, vnto the which other of their neighbours were contributarie. He also builded a church on the place where saint Edmund was buried, and ordeined an house of monks there, or rather remooued the canons or secular priests that were there afore, and put monks in their roomes. He offered vp also his crowne vnto the same S. Edmund, and redeemed it againe with a great summe of monie, which maner of doing grew into an vse vnto other kings that followed him. He adorned the church there with manie rich iewels, and indowed the monasterie with great possessions.

S. Edmunds ditch.

Polydor. Fabian.

But these things were not done now at the first, but after that he was established in the kingdome. For in the meane time, after that king Egelred was returned out of Normandie, Cnute as then sojourning at Gainesborough, remained there till the feast of Easter, and made agreement with them of Lindsey, so that finding him horsses, they should altogither go forth to spoile their neighbors. King Egelred aduertised thereof, sped him thither with a mightie host, and with great crueltie burned vp the countrie, and slue the more part of the inhabitants, bicause they had taken part with his enimies. Cnute as then was not of power able to resist Egelred, and therefore taking his ships which lay in Humber, fled from thence, & sailed about the coast, till he came to Sandwich, and there sore greeued in his mind to remember what mischéefe was fallen and chanced to his friends and subiects of Lindsey, onelie for his cause; he commanded that such pledges as had béene deliuered to his father by certeine noble men of this realme, for assurance of their fidelities, should haue their noses slit, and their eares stuffed, or (as some write) their hands and noses cut off.

Cnute driuen to forsake the land.

He was driuen thither by force of contrarie winds as should appeare by Matth. West.

The cruell decree of Cnute against the English pledges. Will. Malmes.

When this cruell act according to his commandement was done, taking the sea, he sailed into Denmarke: but yet toke not all the Danes with him which his father brought thither. For earle Turkill perceiuing the wealthinesse of the land, compounded with the Englishmen, and chose rather to remaine in a region replenished with all riches, than to returne home into his owne countrie that wanted such commodities as were here to be had. And yet (as some thought) he did not forsake his souereigne lord Cnute for anie euill meaning towards him, but rather to aid him (when time serued) to recouer the possession of England againe, as it afterwards well appeared. For notwithstanding that he was now reteined by K. Egelred with fortie ships, and the flower of all the Danes that were men of warre, so that Cnute returned but with 60 ships into his countrie: yet shortlie after, erle Turkill with 9 of those ships sailed into Denmarke, submitted himselfe vnto Cnute, counselled him to returne into England, and promised him the assistance of the residue of those Danish ships which yet remained in England, being to the number of thirtie, with all the souldiers and mariners that to them belonged. To conclude, he did so much by his earnest persuasions, that Cnute (through aid of his brother Harrold king of Denmarke) got togither a naule of two hundred ships, so roiallie decked, furnished, and appointed, both for braue shew and necessarie furniture of all maner of weapons, armors munition, as it is strange to consider that which is written by them that liued in those daies, and toke in hand to register the doings of that time. Howbeit to let this pompe of Cnutes fleete passe, which (no doubt) was right rotall, consider a little and loke backe to Turkill, though a sworne seruant to king Egelred, how he did direct all his drift to the aduancement of Cnute, and his owne commoditie, cloking his purposed treacherie with pretended amitie, as shall appeare hereafter by his deadlie hostilitie.

This Turkill was reteined in seruice with Egelred, as I thinke.

Encomium Emmæ.

A great waste by an inundation or in-*breaking of the sea, a tribute of* 30000 pounds to the Danes, king Egelred holdeth a *councell at Oxford, where he causeth two noble* men of the Danes to be murdered by treason, Ed-*mund the kings eldest sonne marieth one of their wiues, and* seizeth vpon his predecessors lands; Cnute the Danish king returneth into England, the Danish and English armies encounter, both susteine losse; Cnute maketh waste of certeine shires, Edmund preuenteth Edriks purposed treason, Edrike de Streona flieth to the Danes, the Westernemen yeeld to Cnute; Mercia refuseth to be subiect vnto him, Warwikeshire wasted by the Danes; Egelred assembleth an armie against them in vaine; Edmund & Vtred with ioined forces lay waste such countries and people as became subiect to Cnute; his policie to preuent their purpose, through what countries he passed, Vtred submitteth himselfe to Cnute, and deliuereth pledges, he is put to death and his lands alienated, Cnute pursueth Edmund to London, and prepareth to besiege the citie, the death and buriall of Egelred, his wiues, what issue he had by them, his infortunateneſse, and to what affections and vices he was inclined, his too late and bootlesse seeking to relieue his decaied kingdome.

The eight Chapter.

BVt now to returne to our purpose, and to shew what chanced in England after the departure of Cnute. In the same yeare to the forsaid accustomed mischiefes an vnwonted misaduenture happened: for the sea rose with such high spring-tides, that ouerflowing the countries next adioining, diuers villages with the inhabitants were drowned and destroied. Also to increase the peoples miserie, king Egelred commanded, that 30000 pounds should be leuied to paie the tribute due to the Danes which lay at Grænewich. This yeare also king Egelred held a councell at Oxford, at the which a great number of noble men were present, both Danes and Englishmen, and there did the king cause Sigeferd and Morcad two noble personages of the Danes to be murdered within his owne chamber, by the traitorous practise of Edrike de Streona, which accused them of some conspiracie. But the quarell was onelie as men supposed, for that the king had a desire to their goods and possessions.

Their seruants toke in hand to haue reuenged the death of their maisters, but were beaten backe, whereupon they fled into the steeple of saint Frideswids church, and kept the same, till fire was set vpon the place, and so they were burned to death. The wife of Sigeferd was taken, & sent to Malmsburie, being a woman of high fame and great worthinesse, whereupon the kings eldest sonne named Edmund, toke occasion vpon pretense of other businesse to go thither, and there to see hir, with whome he fell so far in loue, that he toke and maried hir. That done, he required to haue hir husbands lands and possessions, which were an earles liuing, and lay in Northumberland. And when the king refused to graunt his request, he went thither, and seized the same possessions and lands into his hands, without hauing anie commission so to do, finding the farmers and tenants there readie to receiue him for their lord.

Whilest these things were a doing, Cnute hauing made his prouision of ships and men, with all necessarie furniture (as before ye haue heard) for his returne into England, set forward with full purpose, either to recouer the realme out of Egelreds hands, or to die in the quarrell. Herevpon he landed at Sandwich, and first earle Turkill obteined licence to go against the Englishmen that were assembled to resist the Danes, and finding them at a place called Scorastan, he gaue them the ouerthrow, got a great bootie, and returned therewith to the ships. After this, Edrike gouernor of Norwaie made a rode likewise into an other part of the countrie, & with a rich spoile, and manie prisoners, returned vnto the naule. After this iournie atchiued thus by Edrike, Cnute commanded that they should not waste the countrie anie more, but gaue order to prepare all things readie to besiege London: but before he attempted that enterprise, as others write, he marched forth into Kent, or rather sailing round about that countrie, toke his iournie westward, & came to Fromundham, and after departing from thence, wasted Dorsetshire, Summersetshire, & Wiltshire.

Encomium Emmæ.

Wil. Malm. Hen. Hunt. Matth. West. Sim. Dun.

King Egelred in this meane time lay sicke at Cossam; and his sonne Edmund had got togither a mightie hoast, howbeit yer he came to ioine battell with his enimies, he was aduertised, that earle Edrike went about to betraie him, and therefore he withdrew with the armie into a place of suertie. But Edrike to make his traitorous purpose manifest to the whole world, fled to the enimies with fortie of the kings ships, fraught with Danish souldiers. Herevpon, all the west countrie submitted it selfe vnto Cnute, who receiued pledges of the chiefe lords and nobles, and then set forward to subdue them of Mercia. The people of that countrie would not yéeld, but determined to defend the quarrell and title of king Egelred, so long as they might haue anie capteine that would stand with them, and helpe to order them. In the yeare 1016, in Christmas, Cnute and earle Edrike passed the Thames at Kirkelade, & entring into Mercia, cruellie began with fire and sword to waste and destroie the countrie, and namelie Warwikeshire.

King Egelred sicke. Matth. West.

Edrike de Streona fleeth to the Danes. Simon Dun. The west countrie.

The people of Mercia would not yéeld. Matth. West. Hen. Hunt.

1016

Warwikeshire wasted by the Danes.

In the meane time was king Egelred recouered of his sicknesse, and sent summons forth to raise all his power, apointing euerie man to resort vnto him, that he might incounter the enimies and giue them battell. But yet when his people were assembled, he was warned to take heed vnto himselfe, and in anie wise to beware how he gaue battell, for his owne subiects were purposed to betraie him. Herevpon the armie brake vp, & king Egelred withdrew to London, there to abide his enimies within the walles, with whom in the field he doubted to trie the battell. His sonne Edmund got him to Vtred, an earle of great power, inhabiting beyond Humber, and persuading him to ioine his forces with his, forth they went to waste those countries that were become subiect to Cnute, as Staffordshire, Leicesterhire, and Shropshire, not sparing to exercise great crueltie vpon the inhabitants, as a punishment for their reuolting, that others might take example thereby.

King Egelred recouered of his sicknesse

He assembleth an armie in vaine.

Wil. Malm. Edmund king Egelreds sonne.

But Cnute perceiuing whereabout they went, politikelie deuised to frustrate their purpose, and with doing of like hurt in all places where he came, passed through Buckinghamshire, Bedfordshire, Huntingtonshire, and so through the fens came to Stamford, and then entred into Lincolnshire, and from thence into Nottinghamshire, & so into Yorkeshire, not sparing to do what mischiefe might be deuised in all places where he came. Vtred aduertised hereof, was constreined to depart home to saue his owne countrie from present destruction, and therefore comming backe into Northumberland, & perceiuing himselfe not able to resist the puissant force of his enimies, was constreined to deliuer pledges, and submit himselfe vnto Cnute. But yet was he not hereby warranted from danger, for shortlie after he was taken, and put to death, and then were his

Cnute, what countries he passed through

Earle Vtred deliuereth pledges to Cnute.

Edmund the kings eldest sonne marrieth the widow of Sigeferd.

Cnute returneth into England.

1015

Matt. VVest.

Simon Dun.

Wil. Malm. Matth. West.

A councell at Oxford.

Sigeferd and Morcad murdered.

Alias Egricus.

his lands giuen vnto one Iricke or Iricius, whome afterward Cnute did banish out of the realme, because that he did attempt to chalenge like authoritie to him in all points as Cnute himselfe had. After that Cnute had subdued the Northumbers, he pursued Edmund, till he heard that he had taken London for his refuge, and staied there with his father. Then did Cnute take his ships, and came about to the coasts of Kent, preparing to besiege the citie of London.

Cnute prepareth to besiege London.

King Egelred departed this life. Simon Dun. Matth. West.

In the meane time, king Egelred sore worne with long sickenesse, departed this life on the 23 of Aprill, being saint Georges day, or (as others say) on saint Gregories day, being the 12 of March, but I take this to be an error growen, by mistaking the feast day of saint Gregorie for saint George. He reigned the tearme of 37 yeares, or little lesse. His bodie was buried in the church of saint Pauls, in the north Ile besids the quére, as by a memoriall there on the wall it maie appeare. He had two wiues (as before is mentioned.) By Elgina his first wife he had issue three sonnes, Edmund, Edwine, and Adelstane; besides one daughter named Egiua. By his second wife Emma, daughter to Richard the first of that name, duke of Normandie, and sister to Richard the second, he had two sonnes, Alfrid and Edward.

He is buried in the church of S. Paul at London.

This Egelred (as you haue heard) had euill successe in his warres against the Danes, and besides the calamitie that fell thereby to his people, manie other miseries oppressed this land in his daies, not so much through his lacke of courage and slouthfull negligence, as by reason of his presumptuous pride, whereby he alienated the hearts of his people from him: His affections he could not rule, but was led by them without order of reason, for he did not onlie disherit diuerse of his owne English subiects without apparant cause of offense by plaine forged cauillations; and also caused all the Danes to be murdered through his realme in one day, by some light suspicion of their euill meanings: but also gaue himselfe to lecherous lusts, in abusing his bodie with naughtie strumpets, forsaking the bed of his owne lawfull wife, to the great infamie & shame of that high degrée of maiestie, which by his kinglie office he bare and sustained. To conclude, he was from his tender youth more apt to idle rest, than to the exercise of warres; more giuen to pleasures of the bodie, than to anie vertues of the mind: although that toward his latter end, being growen into age, and taught by long experience of worldlie affaires, and proofe of passed miseries, he sought (though in vaine) to haue recouered the decaied state of his common wealth and countrie.

The pride of king Egelred alienated the harts of his people.

¶ In this Egelreds time, and (as it is recorded by a British chronographer) in the yeere of our Lord 984, one Cadwalhon, the second sonne of Ieuaf toke in hand the gouernance of Northwales, and first made warre with Ionauall his cosen, the sonne of Meyric, and right heire to the land, and slue him, but Edwall the yongest brother escaped awaie priuilie. The yeere following, Meredith the sonne of Owen king or prince of Southwales, with all his power entered into Northwales, and in fight slue Cadwalhon the sonne of Ieuaf, and Meyric his brother, and conquered the land to himselfe. Wherein a man maie see how God punished the wrong, which Iago and Ieuaf the sonnes of Edwall Ioell did to their eldest brother Meyric, who was first disherited, and afterward his eies put out, and one of his sonnes slaine. For first Ieuaf was imprisoned by Iago; then Iago with his sonne Constantine by Howell the son of Ieuaf: and afterward the said Howell, with his brethren Cadwalhon and Meyric, were slaine and spoiled of all their lands.

See the historie of Cambria pag. 62, 63

Edmund Ironside succedeth his father *in the kingdome, the spiritualtie fauouring* Cnute would haue him to be king, the Londoners *are his backe friends, they receiue Edmund* their king honorablie and ioifullie, Cnute is proclaimed *king at Southampton, manie of the states cleaue vnto him,* he besiegeth London by water and land, the citizens giue him the foile, he incountreth with king Edmund and is discomfited, two battels fought betweene the Danes and English with equall fortune and like successe, the traitorous stratagem of Edrike the Dane, king Edmund aduisedlie defeateth Edriks trecherie, 20000 of both armies slaine, Cnute marching towards London is pursued of Edmund, the Danes are repelled, incountred, and vanquished; queene Emma prouideth for the safetie of hir sonnes; the Danes seeke a pacification with Edmund, thereby more easilie to betraie him; Cnute with his armie lieth neere Rochester, king Edmund pursueth them, both armies haue a long and a sore conflict, the Danes discomfited, and manie of them slaine; Cnute with his power assemble at Essex and there make waste, king Edmund pursueth them, Edrike traitorouslie reuolteth from the English to succour the Danes, king Edmund is forced to get him out of the field, the Englishmen put to their hard shifts and slaine by heapes; what noble personages were killed in this battell, of two dead bodies latelie found in the place where this hot and heauie skirmish was fought.

The ninth Chapter.

Edmund Ironside.

After that king Egelred was dead, his eldest sonne Edmund surnamed Ironside was proclaimed king by the Londoners and others, hauing the assistance of some lords of the realme, although the more part, and speciallie those of the spiritualtie fauoured Cnute, bicause they had aforetime sworne fealtie to his father. Some write, that Cnute had planted his siege both by water and land verie stronglie about the citie of London, before Egelred departed this life, and immediatlie vpon his decease was receiued into the citie; but the armie that was within the citie, not consenting vnto the surrender made by the citizens, departed the night before the day on the which Cnute by appointment should enter, and in companie of Edmund Ironside (whome they had chosen to be their king and gouernour) they prepared to increase their numbers with new supplies, meaning eftsones to trie the fortune of battell against the Danish power. Cnute perceiuing the most part of all the realme to be thus against him, and hauing no great confidence in the loialtie of the Londoners, toke order to leauie monie for the paiment of his men of warre and mariners that belonged to his nauie, left the citie, and imbarking himselfe, sailed to the Ile of Shepie, and there remained all the winter. In which meane while, Edmund Ironside came to London, where he was ioifullie receiued of the citizens, and continuing there till the spring of the yeere, made himselfe strong against the enimies.

The kingdom goeth where the spiritualtie fauoureth.

The author of the booke intituled *Encomium Emme* saith that it was reported that Edmund offered the combate vnto Cnute at his going from the citie, but Cnute refused it.

1016

This Edmund for his noble courage, strength of bodie, and notable patience to indure and suffer all such hardnesse and paines as is requisite in a man of warre, was surnamed Ironside, & began his reigne in the yeere of our Lord 1016, in the fiftéenth yeere of the empero: Henrie the second surnamed Claudus, in the twentieth yeere of the reigne of Robert king of France, & about the first yeere of Malcolme the second king of the Scots. After that king Edmund had receiued the crowne in the citie of London by the hands of the archbishop of Yorke, he assembled togither such a power as he could make, and with the same marched forth towards the west parts, and made the countrie subiect to him. In the meane time was Cnute proclaimed and ordeined king

Ran. Higd.

king at Southampton by the bishops and abbats, and diuerse lords also of the temporaltie there togither assembled, vnto whome he sware to be their good and faithfull souereigne, and that he would see iustice trulie and vprightlie ministred.

Hen. Hunt. Simon Dun.

After he had ended his businesse at Southampton, he drew with his people towards London, and comming thither, besieged the citie both by water and land, causing a great trench to be cast about it, so that no man might either get in or come forth. Manie great assalts he caused to be giuen vnto the citie, but the Londoners and others within so valiantlie defended the wals and gates, that the enimies got small aduantage, and at length were constreined to depart with losse. Cnute then perceiuing that he might not haue his purpose there, withdrew westward, and besides Gillingham in Dorsetshire, incountred with K. Edmund in the Rogation weeke, and after sore & sharpe battell was put to the worse, and constreined to forsake the field by the high prowesse & manhood of the said Edmund. King Cnute the same night, after the armies were seuered, departed towards Winchester, so to get himselfe out of danger. Shortlie after, king Edmund hearing that an other armie of the Danes had besieged Salisburie, marched thither to succour them within, and immediatlie Cnute followed him, so that at a place in Worcestershire called Scorastan, on the foure and twentith of June, they incountred togither, and fought a verie cruell battell, which at length the night parted with equall fortune. And likewise on the next day they buckled togither againe, and fought with like successe as they had done the day before, for towards euening they gaue ouer well wearied, and not knowing to whome the victorie ought to be ascribed.

London besieged.

Cnute at Gillingham in Dorsetshire put to flight.

Polydor.

Salisburie besieged.

Simon Dun. Matt. West. Wil. Malm.

A battell with equall fortune.

An other battell with like successe.

Writers haue reported, that this second day, when duke Edrike perceiued the Englishmen to be at point to haue got the vpper hand, he withdrew aside, and hauing by chance slaine a common souldier called Osmear, which in visage much resembled king Edmund, whose head he cut off, held it vp, & shaking his sword bloudie with the slaughter, cried to the Englishmen; Flee ye wretches, flee and get awaie, for your king is dead, behold heere his head which I hold in my hands. Herewith had the Englishmen fled immediatlie, if king Edmund aduised of this stratagem, had not quicklie got him to an high ground where his men might see him aliue and lustie. Herewith also the traitor Edrike escaped hardlie the danger of death, the Englishmen shot so egerlie at him. At length, as is said, the night parting them in sunder, they withdrew the one armie from the other, as it had beene by consent. The third day they remained in armor, but yet abstaining from battell, sate still, in taking meate and drinke to relieue their wearied bodies, and after gathered in heapes the dead carcases that had beene slaine in the former fight, the number of which on either partie reckoned, rose to the point of twentie thousand and aboue.

Edrike de Strrona his treason. Simon Dun.

Twentie thousand dead bodies.

The armies dislodged.

In the night following, Cnute remoued his campe in secret wise, and marched towards London, which citie in a maner remained besieged by the nauie of the Danes. King Edmund in the morning when the light had discouered the departure of his enimies, followed them by the trace, and comming to London with small adoo remoued the siege, and entered the citie like a conqueror. Shortlie after he fought with the Danes at Brentford, and gaue them a great ouerthrow. In this meane while queene Emma the widow of king Egelred, doubting the fortune of the warre, sent hir two sonnes Alfred and Edward ouer into Normandie vnto hir brother duke Richard, or rather fled thither hirselfe with them (as some write.)

The Danes ouercome at Brentford. Wil. Malm. Hen. Hunt. Fabian. Caxton. Polydor.

Moreouer, earle Edrike, perceiuing the great manhood of king Edmund, began to feare, least in the end he should subdue and vanquish the Danes, wherefore he sought meanes to conclude a peace, and take such order with him as might stand with both their contentations, which yer long he brought about. This was done (as you shall heare) by the consent of Cnute (as some write) to the intent that Edrike being put in trust with king Edmund, might the more easilie deuise waies how to betraie him. But Cnute disappointed of his purpose at London, and fetching a great bootie and preie out of the countries next adioining, repared to his ships, to see what order was amongst them, which a little before were withdrawen into the riuer that passeth by Rochester called Medwaie. Heere Cnute remained certeine daies, both to assemble a greater power, and also to hearken and learne what his enimies ment to do, the which he easilie vnderstood.

Henr. Hunt.

The riuer of Medwaie.

King Edmunds diligence.

King Edmund, who hated nothing worse than to linger his businesse, assembled his people, and marching forward toward his enimies, approched neere vnto them, & pitcht downe his tents not farre from his enimies campe, exhorting his people to remember their passed victories, and to do their good willes, at length by one battell so to ouerthrow them, that they might make an end of the warre, and dispatch them cleerelie out of the realme. With these and the like words he did so incourage his souldiers, that they disdaining thus to haue the enimies dailie pronoke them, and to put them to trouble, with eger minds and fierce courages offered battell to the Danes, which Cnute had prepared to receiue whensoeuer the Englishmen approched: and herewith bringing his men into araie, he came forth to meet his enimies. Then was the battell begun with great earnestnesse on both sides, & continued foure houres, till at length the Danes began somewhat to shrinke, which when Cnute perceiued, he commanded his horsemen to come forward into the forepart of his dawnted host.

The battell is begun.

But whilest one part of the Danes gaue backe with feare, and the other came slowlie forward, the arraie of the whole armie was broken, & then without respect of shame they fled amaine, so that there died that day of Cnutes side foure thousand and fiue hundred men; and of king Edmunds side, not past six hundred, and those were footmen. This battell was fought as should appeare by diuerse writers, at Okeford or Otesord. It was thought, that if king Edmund had pursued the victorie and followed in chase of his enimies in such wise as he safelie might haue done, he had made that day an end of the warres: but he was counselled by Edrike (as some write) in no condition to follow them, but to staie and giue time to his people to refresh their wearie bodies. Then Cnute with his armie passed ouer the Thames into Esser, and there assembled all his power togither, and began to spoile and waste the countrie on each hand. King Edmund aduertised thereof, hasted forth to succour his people, and at Ashdone in Esser three miles from Saffron Walden, gaue battell to Cnute, where after sore and cruell fight continued with great slaughter on both sides a long time, duke Edrike fled to the comfort of the Danes, and to the discomfort of the Englishmen.

The Danes put to flight.

The number of Danes slaine. Polydor. Fabian. Ran. Higd. Matt. West.

Hen. Hunt. Will. Malmes. Edrikes counsell.

Herevpon king Edmund was constreined in the end to depart out of the field, hauing first done all that could be wished in a worthie chieftaine, both by words to incourage his men, & by deeds to shew them good example; so that at one time the Danes were at point to haue giuen backe, but that Cnute aduised

aduiſed thereof, ruſhed into the left wing where moſt danger was, and ſo relieued his people there, that finallie the Engliſhmen, both wearied with long fight, and alſo diſcouraged with the running awaie of ſome of their companie, were conſtreined to giue ouer, and by flight to ſeeke their ſafegard, ſo that king Edmund might not by anie meanes bring them againe into order. Herevpon all the waies and paſſages being forelaid and ſtoped by the enimies, the Engliſhmen wanting both carriage to make longer reſiſtance, and perceiuing no hope to reſt in fleeing, were beaten downe and ſlaine in heapes, ſo that few eſcaped from that dreadfull and bloudie battell.

Noble men ſlaine at the battell of Aſhdone. Simon Dun. Wil. Malm.

There died on king Edmunds ſide, duke Edmund, duke Alfrike, and duke Godwine, with earle Ulfkettell or Urchell of Eaſtangle, and duke Aileward, that was ſonne to Ardelwine late duke of Eaſtangle; and to be briefe, all the floure of the Engliſh nobilitie. There were alſo ſlaine at this battell manie renowmed perſons of the ſpiritualtie, as the biſhop of Lincolne, and the abbat of Ramſey, with others: king Edmund eſcaping awaie, got him into Glocеſterſhire, and there began to raiſe a new armie. In the place where this field was fought, are yet ſeuen or eight hils, wherein the carcaſes of them that were ſlaine at the ſame field were buried: and one being digged downe of late, there were found two bodies in a coffin of ſtone, of which the one laie with his head towards the others feet, and manie chaines of iron, (like to the water-chains of the bits of horſſes) were found in the ſame hill. But now to the matter.

King Edmund withdraweth into Glocеſterſhire

London & other great cities & townes *ſubmit themſelues to Cnute, he haſteth af-* ter Edmund with his power, both their armies *being readie to incounter by occaſion are ſtaied,* the oration of a capteine in the hearing of both hoſts; *the title and right of the realme of England is put to the triall* of combat betweene Cnute and Edmund, Cnute is ouermatched, his woords to king Edmund, both kings are pacified and their armies accorded, the realme diuided betwixt Cnute and Edmund, king Edmund traitorouſlie ſlaine, the diſſonant report of writers touching the maners of his death and both the kings dealing about the partition of the realme, Cnute cauſeth Edrike to be ſlaine for procuring king Edmunds death, wherein the reward of treaſon is noted; how long king Edmund reigned, and where he was buried, the eclipſed ſtate of England after his death, and in whoſe time it recouered ſome part of it brightneſſe.

The tenth Chapter.

IN the meane while that Edmund was buſie to leauie a new armie in Glocеſter, and other parties of Mercia, Cnute hauing got ſo great a victorie (as before is mentioned) receiued into his obeiſance, not onelie the citie of London, but alſo manie other cities and townes of great name, and ſhortlie after haſted forward to purſue his enimie king Edmund, who was readie with a mightie hoſt to trie the vttermoſt chance of battell if they ſhould eftſoones ioine. Herevpon, both the armies being readie to giue the onſet, the one in ſight of the other at a place called Dearehurſt, neere to the riuer of Seuerne, by the drift of duke Edrike, who then at length began to ſhew ſome token of good meaning, the two kings came to a communication, and in the end concluded an agreement, as ſome haue written, without anie more ado. Others write, that when both the armies were at point to haue ioined, one of the capteins (but whether he were a Dane or an Engliſhman, it is not certeinlie told) ſtood vp in ſuch a place, as he might be heard of both the princes, & boldlie vttered his mind in forme following.

Polydor. Matth. Weſt.

Simon Dun.

Matth. Weſt. ſaith this was Edrike.

The oration of a capteine in the audience of the Engliſh and Daniſh armie.

WE haue, moſt worthie capteins, fought long inough one againſt another, there hath beene but too much bloud ſhed betweene both the nations, and the valiancie of the ſouldiers on both ſides is ſufficientlie ſeene by triall, & either of your manhoods likewiſe, and yet can you beare neither good nor euill fortune. If one of you win the battell, he purſueth him that is ouercome; and if he chance to be banquiſhed, he reſteth not till he haue recouered new ſtrength to fight eftſoones with him that is victor. What ſhould you meane by this your inuincible courage? At what marke ſhooteth your greedie deſire to beare rule, and your exceſſiue thirſt to atteine honour? If you fight for a kingdome, diuide it betweene you two, which ſometime was ſufficient for ſeuen kings: but if you couet to winne fame and glorious renowme, and for the ſame are driuen to try the hazard whether ye ſhall command or obeie, deuiſe the waie whereby ye may without ſo great ſlaughter, and without ſuch pitifull bloudſhed of both your guiltleſſe peoples, trie whether of you is moſt worthie to be preferred.

Thus made he an end, and the two princes allowed well of his laſt motion, and ſo order was taken, that they ſhould fight togither in a ſingular combat within a litle Iland incloſed with the riuer of Seuerne called Oldney, with condition, that whether of them chanced to be victor, ſhould be king, and the other to reſigne his title for euer into his hands. The two princes entering into the place, appointed in faire armour, began the battell in ſight of both their armies ranged in goodlie order on either ſide the riuer, with doubtfull minds, and nothing toſſell, as they that wauered betwixt hope and feare. The two champions manfullie aſſailed either other, without ſparing. Firſt, they went to it on horſſebacke, and after on foot. Cnute was a man of a meane ſtature, but yet ſtrong and hardie, ſo that receiuing a great blow by the hand of his aduerſarie, which cauſed him ſomewhat to ſtagger; yet recouered himſelfe, and boldly ſtept forward to be reuenged. But perceiuing he could not find aduantage, and that he was rather too weake, and ſhrewdlie ouermatched, he ſpake to Edmund with a lowd voice on this wiſe: What neceſſitie (ſaith he) ought thus to moue vs, moſt valiant prince, that for the obteining of a kingdome, we ſhould thus put our liues in danger. Better were it that laieng armour and malice aſide, we ſhould condeſcend to ſome reaſonable agreement. Let vs become ſworne brethren, and part the kingdome betwixt vs; and let vs deale ſo friendlie, that thou maiſt vſe my things as thine owne, and I thine as though they were mine. King Edmund with thoſe woords of his aduerſarie was ſo pacified, that immediatlie he caſt awaie his ſword, and comming to Cnute, ioined hands with him. Both the armies by their example did the like, which looked for the ſame fortune to fall on their countries, which ſhould happen to

The two kings appoint to try the matter by a combat. Oldney.

Matt. Weſtm. Cnute of what ſtature he was.

Cnute ouermatched. Cnutes woords to Edmund.

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" H. Hunt.

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They take vp the matter betwixt themſelues.

to their princes by the successe of that one battell. After this, there was an agreement deuised betwixt them, so that a partition of the realme was made, and that part that lieth fore against France, was assigned to Edmund, and the other fell to Cnute. There be that write, how the offer was made by king Edmund for the auoiding of more bloudshed, that the two princes should trie the matter thus togither in a singular combat. But Cnute refused the combat, bicause (as he alledged) the match was not equall. For although he was able to match Edmund in boldnesse of stomach, yet was he farre too weake to deale with a man of such strength as Edmund was knowne to be. But sith they did pretend title to the realme by due and good direct meanes, he thought it most conuenient that the kingdome should be diuided betwixt them. This motion was allowed of both the armies, so that king Edmund was of force constreined to be contented therewith.

Wil. Malm.

¶ Thus our common writers haue recorded of this agreement, but if I should not be thought presumptuous, in taking vpon me to reproue, or rather but to mistrust that which hath béene receiued for a true narration in this matter, I would rather giue credit vnto that which the author of the booke intituled *Encomium Emmæ*, doth report in this behalfe. Which is that through persuasion of Edrike de Streona, king Edmund immediatelie after the battell fought at Ashdone, sent ambassadors vnto Cnute to offer vnto him peace, with halfe the realme of England, that is to say, the north parts, with condition that king Edmund might quietlie inioy the south parts, and therevpon haue pledges deliuered interchangeablie on either side.

Encomium Emmæ.

Cnute hauing heard the effect of this message, staied to make answer till he heard what his councell would aduise him to do in this behalfe: and vpon good deliberation taken in the matter, considering that he had lost no small number of people in the former battell, and that being farre out of his countrie, he could not well haue anie new supplie, where the Englishmen although they had likewise lost verie manie of their men of warre, yet being in their owne countrie, it should be an easie matter for them to restore their decaid number, it was thought expedient by the whole consent of all the Danish captains, that the offer of king Edmund should be accepted.

Herevpon Cnute calling the ambassadors before him againe, declared vnto them, that he was contented to conclude a peace vpon such conditions as they had offered: but yet with this addition, that their king whatsoeuer he should be, should paie Cnutes souldiers their wages, with monie to be leuied of that part of the kingdome which the English king should possesse. For (this saith he) I haue vndertaken to see them paid, and otherwise I will not grant to anie peace. The league and agreement therefore being concluded in this sort, pledges were deliuered and receiued on both parties, and the armies discharged. But God (saith mine author) being mindfull of his old doctrine, that Euerie kingdome diuided in it selfe cannot long stand, shortlie after toke Edmund out of this life: and by such meanes seemed to take pitie of the English kingdome, lest if both the kings should haue continued in life togither, they should haue liued in danger. And incontinentlie herevpon was Cnute chosen and receiued for absolute king of all the whole realme of England. Thus hath he written that liued in those daies, whose credit thereby is much aduanced.

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This is alleged touching the partitiõ of the kingdome.

Howbeit the common report of writers touching the death of Edmund varieth from this, who do affirme, that after Cnute and Edmund were made friends, the serpent of enuie and false conspiracie burnt so in the hearts of some traitorous persons, that within a while after king Edmund was slaine at Orford, as he sat on a priuie to do the necessaries of nature. The common report hath gone, that earle Edrike was the procurer of this villanous act, and that (as some write) his sonne did it. But the author that wrote *Encomium Emmæ*, writing of the death of Edmund, hath these words (immediatlie after he had first declared in what sort the two princes were agréed, and had made partition of the realme betwixt them:) But God (saith he) being mindfull of his old doctrine, that Euerie kingdome diuided in it selfe can not long stand, shortlie after toke Edmund out of this life: and by such meanes séemed to take pitie vpon the English kingdome, least if both the kings should haue continued in life togither, they should both haue liued in great danger, and the realme in trouble. With this agreeth also Simon Dunel. who saith, that king Edmund died of naturall sickenesse, by course of kind at London, about the feast of saint Andrew next insuing the late mentioned agreement.

K. Edmund traitorouslie slaine at Orford.

Fabian.

Simon. Dun.

This is alleged against for the proofe of Edmunds naturall death.

Fabian.

And this should séeme true: for whereas these authors which report, that earle Edrike was the procurer of his death, do also write, that when he knew the act to be done, he hasted vnto Cnute, and declared vnto him what he had brought to passe for his aduancement to the gouernment of the whole realme. Wherevpon Cnute, abhorring such a detestable fact, said vnto him: Bicause thou hast for my sake, made away the worthiest bodie of the world, I shall raise thy head aboue all the lords of England, and so caused him to be put to death. Thus haue some bookes. Howbeit this report agreeth not with other writers, which declare how Cnute aduanced Edrike in the beginning of his reigne vnto high honor, and made him gouernor of Mercia, and vsed his counsell in manie things after the death of king Edmund, as in banishing Edwin, the brother of king Edmund, with his sonnes also, Edmund and Edward.

Ranul. Hig.

Hen. Hunt.

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Some thinke that he was duke of Mercia before, and now had Essex adioined thereto.

But for that there is such discordance and variable report amongst writers touching the death of king Edmund, and some fables inuented thereof (as the manner is) we will let the residue of their reports passe; sith certeine it is, that to his end he came, after he had reigned about the space of one yéere, and so much more as is betweéne the moneth of June and the latter end of November. His bodie was buried at Glastenburie, nære his vncle Edgar. With this Edmund, surnamed Ironside, fell the glorious maiestie of the English kingdome, the which afterward as it had bæne an aged bodie being sore decaied and weakened by the Danes, that now got possession of the whole, yet somewhat recouered after the space of 26 yéers vnder king Edward, surnamed the Confessor: and shortlie therevpon as it had bæne falne into a resiluation, came to extreame ruine by the inuasion and conquest of the Normans: as after by Gods good helpe and fauorable assistance it shall appeare. So that it would make a diligent and marking reader both muse and mourne, to sée how variable the state of this kingdome hath bæne, & thereby to fall into a consideration of the frailtie and vncerteintie of this mortall life, which is no more frée from securitie, than a ship on the sea in tempestuous weather. For as the casualties wherewith our life is inclosed and beset with round about, are manifold; so also are they miserable, so also are they sudden, so also are they vnauoidable. And true it is, that the life of man is in the hands of God, and the state of kingdoms doth also belong vnto him, either to continue or discontinue. But to the processe of the matter.

Dyuerse and discordant reports of Edmunds death. Ran. Higd. Will. Malm.

Cnute

Cnute vndertaketh the totall regiment *of this land, he aſſembleth a councell at* London, the nobles doo him homage, he diui*deth the realme into foure parts to be gouerned* by his aſſignes; Edwin and Edward the ſonnes of *Edmund are baniſhed, their good fortune by honorable mari*ages, King Cnute marieth queene Emma the widow of Egelred, the wiſe and politike conditions wherevpon this mariage was concluded, the Engliſh bloud reſtored to the crowne and the Danes excluded, queene Emma praiſed for hir high wiſedome in chooſing an enimie to hir husband; Cnute diſmiſſeth the Daniſh armie into Denmarke; Edrike de Streona bewraieth his former trecherie, and procureth his owne death through raſhneſſe and follie, the diſcordant report of writers touching the maner & cauſe of his death, what noble men were executed with him, and baniſhed out of England, Cnute a monarch.

The xj. Chapter.

Canute, Knought or Cnute.

CAnute, or Cnute, whome the Engliſh chronicles doo name Knought, after the death of king Edmund, toke vpon him the whole rule ouer all the realme of England, in the yeere of our Lord 1017, in the ſeuentéenth yeere of the emperour Henrie the ſecond, ſurnamed Claudus, in the twentith yeere of the reigne of Robert king of France, and about the 7 yeere of Malcolme king of Scotland. Cnute ſhortlie after the death of king Edmund, aſſembled a councell at London, in the which he cauſed all the nobles of the realme to doo him homage, in receiuing an oth of totall obeiſance. He diuided the realme into foure parts, aſſigning Northumberland vnto the rule of Irke or Iricius, Mercia vnto Edrike, and Eaſtangle vnto Turkill, and reſerving the weſt part to his owne gouernance. He baniſhed (as before is ſaid) Edwin, the brother of king Edmund; but ſuch as were ſuſpected to be culpable of Edmunds death, he cauſed to be put to execution: whereby it ſhould appeere, that Edrike was not then in anie wiſe detected or once thought to be giltie.

1017

Wil. Malm.

The ſaid Edwin afterwards returned, and was then reconciled to the kings fauor (as ſome write) but ſhortlie after traitorouſlie ſlaine by his owne ſeruants. He was called the king of churles. Others write, that he came ſecretlie into the realme after he had béene baniſhed, and kéeping himſelfe cloſelie out of ſight, at length ended his life, and was buried at Tauelſtocke. Moreouer, Edwin and Edward the ſonnes of king Edmund were baniſhed the land, and ſent firſt vnto Sweno king of Norweie to haue bin made away: but Sweno vpon remorſe of conſcience ſent them into Hungarie, where they found great fauor at the hands of king Salomon, inſomuch that Edwin maried the daughter of the ſame Salomon, but had no iſſue by hir. Edward was aduanced to marie with Agatha, daughter of the emperour Henrie, and by hir had iſſue two ſonnes, Edmund and Edgar ſurnamed Edeling, and as many daughters, Margaret and Chriſtine, of the which in place conuenient more ſhall be ſaid.

Ran. Higd.

King of churles. Wil. Malm.

Ran. Higd.

When king Cnute had eſtabliſhed things, as he thought ſtood moſt for his ſuertie, he called to his remembrance, that he had no iſſue but two baſtard ſonnes Harold and Sweno, begotten of his concubine Alwine. Wherefore he ſent ouer to Richard duke of Normandie, requiring to haue queene Emma, the widow of king Egelred in mariage, and ſo obteined hir, not a little to the wonder of manie, which thought a great ouerſight both in the woman and in hir brother, that would ſatiſfie the requeſt of Cnute herein, conſidering he had béene ſuch a mortall enimie to hir former husband. But duke Richard did not onelie conſent, that his ſaid ſiſter ſhould be maried vnto Cnute, but alſo he himſelfe toke to wife the ladie Heſtritha, ſiſter to the ſaid Cnute.

Polydor.

Polydor. King Cnute maried to queene Emma the widow of Egelred, in Julie, anno. 1017.

¶ Here ye haue to vnderſtand, that this mariage was not made without great conſideration & large couenants granted on the part of king Cnute: for before he could obteine queene Emma to his wife, it was fullie condeſcended & agréed, that after Cnuts decreaſe, the crowne of England ſhould remaine to the iſſue borne of this mariage betwixt hir & Cnute, which couenant although it was not performed immediatlie after the decreaſe of king Cnute, yet in the end it toke place, ſo as the right ſéemed to be deferred, and not to be taken away nor aboliſhed: for immediatlie vpon Harolds death that had vſurped, Hardicnute ſucceeded as right heire to the crowne, by force of the agréement made at the time of the mariage ſolemnized betwixt his father and mother, and being once eſtabliſhed in the kingdome, he ordeined his brother Edward to ſucceed him, whereby the Danes were vtterlie excluded from all right that they had to pretend vnto the crowne of this land, and the Engliſh bloud reſtored thereto, chieflie by that gratious concluſion of this mariage betwixt king Cnute and queene Emma. For the which no ſmall praiſe was thought to be due vnto the ſaid queene, ſith by hir politike gouernement, in making hir match ſo beneficiall to hir ſelfe and hir line, the crowne was thus recouered out of the hands of the Danes, and reſtored againe in time to the right heire, as by an auncient treatiſe which ſome haue intituled *Encomium Emmæ*, and was written in thoſe daies, it doth and may appeare. Which booke although there be but few copies thereof abroad, giueth vndoubtedlie great light to the hiſtorie of that time.

The couenants made at the mariage betwixt Cnute and Emma.

The engliſh bloud reſtored.

The praiſe of queene Emmas for hir wiſedome.

Encomium Emmæ.

But now to our purpoſe. Cnute the ſame yeare in which he was thus maried, through perſuaſion of his wife queene Emma, ſent awaie the Daniſh nauie and armie home into Denmarke, giuing to them fourteſcore and two thouſand pounds of ſiluer, which was leuied throughout this land for their wages. In the yeare 1018, Edrike de Streona earle of Mercia was ouerthrowen in his owne turne: for being called before the king into his priuie chamber, and there in reaſoning the matter about ſome quarrell that was picked to him, he began verie preſumptuouſlie to vpbraid the king of ſuch pleaſures as he had before time done vnto him; I did (ſaid he) for the loue which I bare towards you, forſake my ſouereigne lord king Edmund, and at length for your ſake ſlue him. At which words Cnute began to change countenance, as one maruellouſlie abaſhed, and ſtraightwaies gaue ſentence againſt Edrike in this wiſe; Thou art worthie (ſaith he) of death, and die thou ſhalt, which art guiltie of treaſon both towards God and me, ſith that thou haſt ſlaine thine owne ſouereigne lord, and my déere alied brother. Thy bloud therefore be vpon thine owne head, ſith thy tong hath vttered thy treaſon. And immediatlie he cauſed his throat to be cut, and his bodie to be throwen out at the chamber window into the riuer of Thames. ¶ But others ſay, that hands were laid vpon him in the verie ſame chamber or cloſet where he murdered the king, & ſtraightwaies to preuent all cauſes of tumults & hurlieburlies, he was put to death with terrible torments of fierbrands & links; which execution hauing paſſed vpon him, a ſecond ſucceeded; for both his féet were bound together, and his bodie drawne through the ſtréets of the citie, & in fine caſt into a common ditch called Houndsditch,

Matth. Weſt.

Wil. Malm. 1018

Edrike put to death.

ditch; for that the citizens threw their dead dogs and stinking carrion with other filth into it, accounting him worthie of a worse rather than of a better buriall. In such hatred was treason had, being a vice which the verie infidels and grosse pagans abhorred, else would they not haue said; *Proditionem amo, proditorem odi*; Treason I loue, but a traitor I hate. This was the end of Edrike, surnamed de Stratten or Streona, a man of great infamie for his craftie dissimulation, falshood and treason, vsed by him to the ouerthrow of the English estate, as partlie before is touched.

Simon Dun.

Encomium Emmæ.

But there be that concerning the cause of this Edriks death, seeme partlie to disagree from that which before is recited, declaring that Cnute standing in some doubt to be betraied through the treason of Edrike, sought occasion how to rid him and others (whome he mistrusted) out of the way. And therefore on a day when Edrike craued some preferment at Cnuts hands, & said that he had deserued to be well thought of, sith by his flight from the battell at Ashendon, the victorie therby inclined to Cnutes part: Cnute hearing him speake these words, made this answere: And canst thou (quoth he) be true to me, that through fraudulent meanes diddest deceiue thy souereigne lord and maister? But I will reward thee according to thy deserts, so as from henceforth thou shalt not deceiue anie other, and so forthwith commanded Erike one of his chiefe capteines to dispatch him, who incontinentlie cut off his head with his axe or halbert. Verelie Simon Dunelmensis saith, that K. Cnute vnderstanding in what sort both king Egelred, and his sonne king Edmund Ironside had beene betraied by the said Edrike, stood in great doubt to be likewise deceiued by him, and therefore was glad to haue some pretended quarell, to dispatch both him and others, whome he likewise mistrusted, as it well appeared. For at the same time there were put to death with Edrike earle Norman the sonne of earle Leofwin, and brother to earle Leofrike: also Adelward the sonne of earle Agelmare and Brightrike the sonne of Alfegus gouernor of Deuonshire, without all guilt or cause (as some write.) And in place of Norman, his brother Leofrike was made earle of Mercia by the king, and had in great fauour. This Leofrike is commonlie also by writers named earle of Chester. After this, Cnute likewise banished Iric and Turkill, two Danes, the one (as before is recited) gouernor of Northumberland, and the other of Northfolke and Suffolke or Eastangle.

Hen. Hunt.

Lords put to death.

Then rested the whole rule of the realme in the kings hands, whereupon he studied to preserue the people in peace, and ordeined lawes, according to the which both Danes and Englishmen should be gouerned in equall state and degree. Diuers great lords whome he found vnfaithfull or rather suspected, he put to death (as before ye haue heard) beside such as he banished out of the realme. He raised a tax or tribute of the people, amounting to the summe of fourescore & two thousand pounds, besides 11000 pounds, which the Londoners paid towards the maintenance of the Danish armie. But whereas these things chaunced not all at one time, but in sundrie seasons, we will returne somewhat backe to declare what other exploits were atchiued in the meane time by Cnute, not onelie in England, but also in Denmarke, and elsewhere: admonishing the reader in the processe of the discourse following, that much excellent matter is comprehended, whereout (if the same be studiouslie read and diligentlie considered) no small profit is to be reaped, both for the augmentation of his owne knowledge and others that be studious.

Cnute saileth into Denmarke to subdue the Vandals, earle Goodwins good seruice with the English against the said Vandals, *and what benefit accrewed vnto the English*men by the said good seruice, he returneth into England *after the discomfiture of the enimie, he saileth ouer a*gaine into Denmarke and incountreth with the Sweideners, the occasion of this warre or incounter taken by Olauus, his hard hap, vnluckie fortune, and wofull death wrought by the hands of his owne vnnaturall subiects; Cnuts confidence in the Englishmen, his deuout voiage to Rome, his returne into England, his subduing of the Scots, his death and interrement.

The twelfth Chapter.

1019

IN the third yeare of his reigne Cnute sailed with an armie of Englishmen and Danes into Denmarke, to subdue the Vandals there, which then sore annoied and warred against his subiects of Denmarke. Earle Godwine, which had the souereigne conduct of the Englishmen, the night before the day appointed for the battell got him forth of the campe with his people, and suddenlie assailing the Vandals in their lodgings, easilie distressed them, sleaing a great number of them, and chasing the residue. In the morning earlie, when as Cnute heard that the Englishmen were gone forth of their lodgings, he supposed that they were either fled awaie, or else turned to take part with the enimies. But as he approched to the enimies campe, he vnderstood how the mater went; for he found nothing there but bloud, dead bodies, and the spoile. For which good seruice, Cnute had the Englishmen in more estimation euer after, and highlie rewarded their leader the same earle Godwine. When Cnute had ordered all things in Denmarke, as was thought behouefull, he returned againe into England: and within a few daies after, he was aduertised that the Swedeners made warre against his subiects of Denmarke, vnder the leding of two great princes, Ulfe and Ulafe. Wherefore to defend his dominions in those parts, he passed againe with an armie into Denmarke, incountred with his enimies, and receiued a sore ouerthrow, losing a great number both of Danes and Englishmen. But gathering togither a new force of men, he set againe vpon his enimies, and ouercame them, constreining the two foresaid princes to agree vpon reasonable conditions of peace. Matth. West. recounteth, that at this time earle Godwine and the Englishmen wrought the enterprise aboue mentioned, of assaulting the enimies campe in the night season, after Cnute had first lost in the day before no small number of his people: and that then the foresaid princes or kings, as he nameth them Ulfus and Eulafus, which latter he calleth Eiglafe, were constrained to agree vpon a peace. The Danish chronicles alledge, that the occasion of this warre rose hereof. This Olauus aided Cnute (as the same writers report) against king Edmund and the Englishmen. But when the peace should be made betweene Cnute and Edmund, there was no consideration had of Olauus: whereas through him the Danes chiefly obteined the victorie. Herevpon Olauus was sore offended in his mind against Cnute, and now vpon occasion sought to be reuenged. But what soeuer the cause was of this warre betwixt these two princes, the end was thus: that Olauus was expelled out of his kingdome, and constreined to flee

King Cnute passeth into Denmarke.

Earle Godwin his seruice in Denmarke.

Cnute had the Englishmen in estimation for their good seruice.

1028

Cnute passeth againe into Denmarke.

Will. Malm.

Matt. Westm.

Albertus Crantz.

flée to Gerithallaus a duke in the parties of Eastland, and afterward returning into Norwaie, was slaine by such of his subiects as toke part with Cnute, in manner as in the historie of Norwaie, appeareth more at large, with the contrarietie found in the writings of them which haue recorded the histories of those north regions.

Magnus Olaus.

But here is to be remembred, that the fame and glorie of the English nation was greatlie aduanced in these warres, as well against the Swedeners as the Norwegians, so that Cnute began to loue and trust the Englishmen much better than it was to be thought he would euer haue done. Shortlie after that Cnute was returned into England, that is to say (as some haue) in the 15 yeare of his reigne, he went to Rome to performe his vow which he had made to visit the places where the apostles Peter and Paule had their buriall, where he was honorablie receiued of pope John the 20 that then held the see. When he had done his deuotion there, he returned into England. In the yeare following, he made a iournie against the Scots, which as then had rebelled; but by the princelie power of Cnute they were subdued and brought againe to obedience: so that not onelie king Malcolme, but also two other kings Melbeath and Jeohmare became his subiects. Finallie after that this noble prince king Cnute had reigned the tearme of 20 yeares current, after the death of Ethelred, he died at Shaftsburie, as the English writers affirme, on the 12 of November, and was buried at Winchester. But the Danish chronicles record that he died in Normandie, and was buried at Rone (as in the same chronicles ye may reade more at large.)

Fabian. Polydor. Hen.Hunt.

Other say, that he went forth of Denmarke to Rome. Simon Dun. Anno 1031.

1032

Wil.Malm. Matth.West.

1033

Scots subdued. Hen.Hunt. Anno 1035. Wil.Malm.

The death of king Cnute.

Hen.Hunt. Alb.Crantz.

The trespuissance of Cnute, the amplenesse of his dominions, the good and charitable fruits of his voiage to Rome redounding to the common benefit of all trauellers from England thither, with what great personages he had conference, and the honour that was doone him there, his intollerable pride in commanding the waters of the flouds not to rise, he humbleth himselfe and confesseth Christ Iesus to be king of kings, he refuseth to weare the crowne during his life, he reproueth a gentleman flatterer, his issue legitimate and illegitimate, his inclination in his latter yeares, what religious places he erected, repaired, and inriched; what notable men he fauoured and reuerenced, his lawes; and that in causes as well ecclesiasticall as temporall he had cheefe and sole gouernement in this land, whereby the popes vsurped title of vniuersall supremasie is impeached.

The xiij. Chapter.

The large dominion of K. Cnute. Hen.Hunt. Alb.Crantz.

THis Cnute was the mightiest prince that euer reigned ouer the English people: for he had the souereigne rule ouer all Denmark, England, Norwaie, Scotland, and part of Sweiden. Amongest other of his roiall acts, he caused such tolles and tallages as were demanded of way-goers at bridges and streets in the high way betwixt England and Rome to be diminished to the halfes, and againe got also a moderation to be had in the paiment of the archbishops fees of his realme, which was leuied of them in the court of Rome when they should receiue their palles, as may appeare by a letter which he himselfe being at Rome, directed to the bishops and other of the nobles of England. In the which it also appeareth, that besides the roiall interteinment, which he had at Rome of pope John, he had conference there with the emperour Conrad, with Rafe the king of Burgongne, and manie other great princes and noble men, which were present there at that time: all which at his request, in fauour of those Englishmen that should trauell vnto Rome, granted (as we haue said) to diminish such duties as were gathered of passingers.

Grants made to the benefit of Englishmen. at the instance of king Cnute.

He receiued there manie great gifts of the emperour, and was highlie honored of him, and likewise of the pope, and of all other the high princes at that time present at Rome: so that when he came home (as some write) he did grow greatlie into pride, insomuch that being neere to the Thames, or rather (as other write) vpon the sea strand, neere to Southhampton, and perceiuing the water to rise by reason of the tide, he cast off his gowne, and wrapping it round togither, threw it on the sands verie neere the increasing water, and sat him downe vpon it, speaking these or the like words to the sea: Thou art (saith he) within the compasse of my dominion, and the ground whereon I sit is mine, and thou knowest that no wight dare disobeie my commandements; I therefore do now command thee not to rise vpon my ground, nor to presume to wet ante part of thy souereigne lord and gouernour. But the sea keeping hir course, rose still higher and higher, and ouerflowed not onelie the kings feet, but also flashed vp vnto his legs and knees. Wherewith the king started suddenlie vp, and withdrew from it, saieng withall to his nobles that were about him: Behold you noble men, you call me king, which can not so much as staie by my commandement this small portion of water. But know ye for certeine, that there is no king but the father onelie of our Lord Jesus Christ, with whome he reigneth, & at whose becke all things are gouerned. Let vs therefore honor him, let vs confesse and professe him to be the ruler of heauen, earth, and sea, and besides him none other.

He repared in his time manie churches, abbeies, and houses of religion, which by occasion of warres had beene sore defaced by him and his father, but spectallie he did great cost vpon the abbeie of saint Edmund, in the towne of Burie, as partlie before is mentioned. He also built two abbeies from the foundation, as saint Benets in Norffolke, seuen

Polydor. Matt.West.

He caused his chaire to be set there, as Matth.West. saith. Hen.Hunt.

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The saieng of king Cnute.

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" Jealousie inough, if it had bin according to true knowledge.

Ran.Higd. Polydor. Matth.West.

Polydor.

Flatterie reproued.

Polydor.

Alb.Crantz.

Polydor. Fabian.

miles distant from Norwich, and an other in Norwaie. He did also build a church at Ashdone in Esser, where he obteined the victorie of king Edmund, and was present at the hallowing or consecration therof with a great multitude of the lords and nobles of the realme, both English and Danes. He also holpe with his owne hands to remoue the bodie of the holie archbishop Elphegus, when the same was translated from London to Canturburie. The roiall and most rich iewels which he & his wife quéene Emma gaue vnto the church of Winchester, might make the beholders to wonder at such their exceeding and bountifull munificence.

which is supposed to be Barclow: for Ashdone it selfe is halfe a mile from thence.

1020

Simon Dun.

Thus did Cnute striue to reforme all such things as he and his ancestors had done amisse, and to wipe awaie the spot of euill doing, as fuerlie to the outward sight of the world he did in deed; he had the archbishop of Canturburie Achelnotus in singular reputation, and vsed his counsell in matters of importance. He also highlie fauoured Leofrike earle of Chester, so that the same Leofrike bare great rule in ordering of things touching the state of the common wealth vnder him as one of his chiefe councellors. Diuerse lawes and statutes he made for the gouernment of the common wealth, partlie agreeable with the lawes of king Edgar, and other the kings that were his predecessors, and partlie tempered according to his owne liking, and as was thought to him most expedient: among the which there be diuerse that concerne causes as well ecclesiasticall as temporall. Whereby (as maister Fox hath noted) it maie be gathered, that the gouernment of spirituall matters did depend then not vpon the bishop of Rome, but rather apperteined vnto the lawfull authoritie of the temporall prince, no lesse than matters and causes temporall. But of these lawes & statutes enacted by king Cnute, ye may read more as ye find them set forth in the before remembred booke of maister William Lambert, which for briefenesse we here omit.

Leofrike earle of Chester.

King Cnutes lawes.

Variance amongest the peeres of the *realme about the roiall succession, the kingdome* is diuided betwixt Harold the bastard *sonne and Hardicnute the lawfullie begotten son* of king Cnute late deceassed, Harold hath the totall *regiment, the authoritie of earle Goodwine gardian to the* queenes sonnes, Harold is proclaimed king, why Elnothus did stoutlie refuse to consecrate him, why Harold was surnamed Harefoot, he is supposed to be a shoomakers sonne, and how it came to passe that he was counted king Cnutes bastard; Alfred challengeth the crowne from Harold, Goodwine (vnder colour of friendlie interteinment) procureth his retinues vter vndooing, a tithing of the Normans by the poll, whether Alfred was interessed in the crowne, the trecherous letter of Harold written in the name of queene Emma to hir two sons in Normandie, wherevpon Alfred commeth ouer into England, the vnfaithfull dealing of Goodwine with Alfred and his people, teaching that in trust is treason, a reseruation of euerie tenth Norman, the remanent slaine, the lamentable end of Alfred, and with what torments he was put to death; Harold banisheth queene Emma out of England, he degenerateth from his father, the short time of his reigne, his death and buriall.

The xiiij. Chapter.

Harold.
Matth. West.
Wil. Malm.

After that Cnute was departed this life, there arose much variance amongst the peeres and great lords of the realme about the succession. The Danes and Londoners (which through continuall familiaritie with the Danes, were become like vnto them) elected Harold the base sonne of king Cnute, to succéed in his fathers rome, hauing earle Leofrike, and diuerse other of the noble men of the north parts on their side. But other of the Englishmen, and namelie earle Godwine earle of Kent, with the chiefest lords of the west parts, coueted rather to haue one of king Egelreds sonnes, which were in Normandie, or else Hardicnute the sonne of king Cnute by his wife quéene Emma, which remained in Denmarke, aduanced to the place. This controuersie held in such wise, that the realme was diuided (as some write) by lot betwixt the two brethren Harold and Hardicnute. The north part, as Mercia and Northumberland fell to Harold, and the south part vnto Hardicnute: but at length the whole remained vnto Harold, bicause his brother Hardicnute refused to come out of Denmarke to take the gouernment vpon him.

Controuersie for the crowne

Simon Dun.

The realme diuided betwixt Harold and Hardicnute.

But yet the authoritie of earle Godwine, who had the quæne and the treasure of the realme in his kéeping, staied the matter a certeine time, (professing himselfe as it were gardian to the yong men, the sonnes of the quæne, till at length he was constreined to giue ouer his hold, and conforme himselfe to the stronger part and greater number.) And so at Oxford, where the assemblie was holden about the election, Harold was proclaimed king, and consecrated according to the maner (as some write.) But it should apeere by other, that Elnothus the archbishop of Canturburie, a man indued with all vertue and wisedome refused to crowne him: for when king Harold being elected of the nobles and péeres, required the said archbishop that he might be of him consecrated, and receiue at his hands the regall scepter with the crowne, which the archbishop had in his custodie, and to whome it onelie did apperteine to inuest him therewith, the archbishop flatlie refused, and with an oth protested, that he would not consecrate anie other for king, so long as the quénes children liued: for (saith he) Cnute committed them to my trust and assurance, and to them will I kéepe my faith and loiall obedience. The scepter and crowne I héere lay downe vpon the altar, and neither do I denie nor deliuer them vnto you: but I forbid by the apostolike authoritie all the bishops, that none of them presume to take the same awaie, and deliuer them to you, or consecrate you for king. As for your selfe, if you dare, you maie vsurpe that which I haue committed vnto God and his table.

The authoritie of earle Godwine.
H. Hunt.

The reuolt of the archbishop Elnothus to consecrate king Harold.

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But whether afterwards the king by one meane or other, caused the archbishop to crowne him king, or that he was consecrated of some other, he was admitted king of all the English people, begining his reigne in the yéere of our Lord a thousand thirtie and six, in the fourteenth yéere of the emperor Conrad the second, in the sixt yéere of Henrie the first, king of France, and about the seuen and twentith yéere of Malcolme the second, king of Scots. This Harold for his great swiftnesse, was surnamed Harefoot, of whome little is written touching his doings, sauing that he is noted to haue béene an oppressor of his people, and spotted with manie notable vices. It was spoken of diuerse in those dates, that this Harold was not the sonne of Cnute, but of a shoomaker, and that his supposed mother Elgina, king Cnutes concubine, to bring the king further in loue with hir, feined that she was with child: and about the time that she should be brought to bed (as she made hir account) caused the said shoomakers son to be secretlie brought into hir chamber, and then vntrulie caused it to be reported that she was deliuered, and the child so reputed to be the kings sonne.

1036

Harold why he is surnamed Harefoot.

Harold euill spoken of.

Ran. Higd. ex Mariano.

Immediatlie vpon aduertisement had of Cnutes death, Alfred the sonne of king Egelred, with fiftie saile landed at Sandwich, meaning to challenge the crowne,

Matth. West.

crowne, and to obteine it by lawfull claime with quietnesse, if he might; if not, then to vse force by aid of his friends, and to assaie that waie forth to win it, if he might not otherwise obteine it. From Sandwich he came to Canturburie: and shortlie after, earle Godwine feining to receiue him as a friend, came to meet him, and at Gilford in the night season appointed a number of armed men to fall vpon the Normans as they were asleepe, and so tooke them togither with Alfred, & slue the Normans by the poll, in such wise that nine were slaine, & the tenth reserued. But yet when those that were reserued, seemed to him a greater number than he wished to escape, he fell to and againe tithed them as before. Alfred had his eies put out, and was conueied to the Ile of Elie, where shortlie after he died.

Ran. Higd.

¶ How Alfred should claime the crowne to himselfe I see not: for verelie I can not be persuaded that he was the elder brother, though diuers authors haue so written, sith Gemeticensis, & the author of the booke called *Encomium Emmæ*, plainlie affirme, that Edward was the elder: but it might be, that Alfred being a man of a stouter stomach than his brother Edward, made this attempt, either for himselfe, or in the behalfe of his brother Edward, being as then absent, and gone into Hungarie, as some write: but other say, that as well Edward as Alfred came ouer at this time with a number of Norman knights, and men of warre imbarked in a few ships, onelie to speake with their mother, who as then lay at Winchester, whether to take aduise with hir how to recouer their right here in this land, or to aduance their brother Hardicnute, or for some other purpose, our authors do not declare.

See maister Fox acts and monuments, pag. 112. Simon Dun.

But the lords of the realme that bare their good wils vnto Harold, and (though contrarie to right) ment to mainteine him in the estate, seemed to be much offended with the comming of these two brethren in such order: for earle Godwine persuaded them, that it was great danger to suffer so manie strangers to enter the realme, as they had brought with them. Whereupon earle Godwine with the assent of the other lords, or rather by commandement of Harold, went forth, and at Gilford met with Alfred that was comming towards king Harold to speake with him, accordinglie as he was of Harold required to do. But now being taken, and his companie miserablie murthered (as before ye haue heard) to the number of six hundred Normans, Alfred himselfe was sent into the Ile of Elie, there to remaine in the abbeie in custodie of the monks, hauing his eies put out as soone as he entered first into the same Ile. William Malmesburie saith, that Alfred came ouer, and was thus handeled betwixt the time of Harolds death, & the comming in of Hardicnute. Others write, that this chanced in his brother Hardicnuts daies, which seemeth not to be true: for Hardicnute was knowne to loue his brethren by his mothers side too deerelie to haue suffered anie such iniurie to be wrought against either of them in his time.

¶ Thus ye see how writers dissent in this matter, but for the better clearing of the truth touching the time, I haue thought good to shew also what the author of the said booke intituled *Encomium Emmæ* writeth hereof, which is as followeth. When Harold was once established king, he sought meanes how to rid quéene Emma out of the way, and that secretlie, for that openlie as yet he durst not attempt anie thing against hir. She in silence kept hir selfe quiet, looking for the end of these things. But Harold remembring himselfe, of a malicious purpose, by wicked aduise tooke counsell how he might get into his hands and make away the sons of quéene Emma, & so to be out of danger of all annoiance that by them might be procured against him. Wherefore he caused a letter to be written in the name of their mother Emma, which he sent by certeine messengers suborned for the same purpose into Normandie, where Edward and Alfred as then remained. The tenour of which letter here insueth.

A counterfet letter.

The tenour of a letter forged and sent *in queene Emmas name to hir* two sonnes.

EMmat antùm nomine regina filijs Edwardo & Alfredo materna impertit salutamina. Dũ domini nostri regis obitum separatim plangimus (filij charissimi) dúmq; dietim magis magisque regno hæreditatis vestræ priuamini, miror quid captetis consilij, dum sciatis intermissionis vestræ dilatione inuasoris vestri imperij fieri quotidiè soliditatẽ. Is enim incessanter vicos & vrbes circuit, & sibi amicos principes muneribus, minis, & precibus facit: sed vnum è vobis super se mallent regnare quàm istius (qui nunc ijs imperat) teneri ditione. Vnde rogo vnus vestrum ad me velociter & priuatè veniat, vt salubre à me consilium accipiat, & sciat quo pacto hoc negotium quod volo fieri debeat, per præsentem quóque internuncium quid super his facturi estis remandate. Valete cordis mei viscera.

The same in English

EMma in name onelie queene to hir sons Edward and Alfred sendeth motherlie greeting. Whilest we separatelie bewaile the death of our souereigne lord the king (most deare sonnes) and whilest you are euerie day more and more depriued from the kingdome of your inheritance, I maruell what you doo determine, sith you know by the delay of your ceassing to make some enterprise, the grounded force of the vsurper of your kingdom is dailie made the stronger. For incessantlie he goeth from towne to towne, from citie to citie, and maketh the lords his friends by rewards, threats, and praiers, but they had rather haue one of you to reigne ouer them, than to be kept vnder the rule of this man that now gouerneth them. Wherefore my request is, that one of you doo come with speed, and that priuilie ouer to me, that he may vnderstand my wholesome aduise, and know in what sort this matter ought to be handled, which I would haue to go forward, and see that ye send mee word by this present messenger what you meane to doo herein. Fare ye well euen the bowels of my heart.

These letters were deliuered vnto such as were made priuie to the purposed treason, who being fullie instructed how to deale, went ouer into Normandie, and presenting the letters vnto the yong gentlemen, vsed the matter so, that they thought verelie that this message had béene sent from their mother, and wrote againe by them that brought the letters, that one of them would not faile but come ouer vnto hir according to that she had requested, and withall appointed the day and time. The messengers returning to king Harold, informed him how they

had sped. The yonger brother Alfred, with his brothers consent, toke with him a certeine number of gentlemen and men of warre, and first came into Flanders, where after he had remained a while with earle Baldwine, he increased his retinue with a few Bullogners, and passed ouer into England, but approching to the shore, he was streightwaies descried by his enimies, who hasted forth to set vpon him; but perceiuing their drift, he bad the ships cast about, and make againe to the sea; then landing at an other place, he ment to go the next way to his mother.

Godwin was suspected to do this vnder a colour to betray him as by writers it seemeth.

But earle Godwine hearing of his arriuall, met him, receiued him into his assurance, and binding his credit with a corporall oth, became his man, and therwith leading him out of the high way that leadeth to London, he brought him to Gilford, where he lodged all the strangers, by a score, a dozen, and halfe a score togither in innes, so as but a few remained about the yong gentleman Alfred to attend vpon him. There was plentie of meat and drinke prepared in euerie lodging, for the refreshing of all the companie. And Godwine taking his leaue for that night, departed to his lodging, promising the next morning to come againe to giue his dutifull attendance on Alfred.

Not onelie Godwine but other such as king Harold appointed, took Alfred with his Normans

But behold, after they had filled themselues with meats and drinks, and were gone to bed, in the dead of the night came such as king Harold had appointed, and entring into euerie inne, first seized vpon the armor and weapons that belonged to the strangers: which done, they toke them, and chained them fast with fetters and manacles, so keeping them sure till the next morning. Which being come, they were brought forth with their hands bound behind their backs, and deliuered to most cruell tormentors, who were commanded to spare none but euerie tenth man, as he came to hand by lot, and so they slue nine and left the tenth aliue. Of those that were left aliue, some they kept to serue as bondmen, other for couetousnesse of gaine they sold, and some they put in prison, of whome yet diuerse afterwards escaped. This with more hath the foresaid author written of this matter, declaring further, that Alfred being conueied into the Ile of Elie, had not onelie his eies put out in most cruell wise, but was also presentlie there murthered. But he speaketh not further of the maner how he was made away, sauing that he saith he forbeareth to make long recitall of this matter, because he will not renew the mothers greefe in hearing it, sith there can be no greater sorrow to the mother than to heare of hir sonnes death.

¶ I remember in Caxton we read, that his cruell tormentors should cause his bellie to be opened, & taking out one end of his bowels or guts, tied the same to a stake which they had set fast in the ground; then with needels of iron pricking his bodie, they caused him to run about the stake, till he had wound out all his intrailes, & so ended he his innocent life, to the great shame & obloquie of his cruel aduersaries. But whether he was thus tormented or not, or rather died (as I thinke) of the anguish by putting out his eies, no doubt but his death was reuenged by Gods hand in those that procured it. But whether erle Godwine was cheefe causer thereof, in betraieng him vnder a cloked colour of pretended freendship, I cannot say: but that he toke him and slue his companie, as some haue written, I cannot thinke it to be true, both as well for that which ye haue heard recited out of the author that wrote *Encomium Emmæ*, as also for that it should seeme he might neuer be so directlie charged with it, but that he had matter to alledge in his owne excuse. But now to other affaires of Harold.

Simon Dun. Queene Emma banished.

After he had made away his halfe brother Alfred, he spoiled his mother in law queene Emma of the most part of hir riches, and therewith banished hir quite out of the realme: so that she sailed ouer to Flanders, where she was honourablie receiued of earle Baldwine, and hauing of him honourable prouision assigned hir, she continued there for the space of three yeres, till that after the death of Harold, she was sent for by hir sonne Hardiknought, that succeeded Harold in the kingdome. Moreouer, Harold made small account of his subiects, degenerating from the noble vertues of his father, following him in few things (except in eracting of tributes and paiments.) He caused indeed eight markes of siluer to be leuied of euerie port or hauen in England, to the reteining of 16 ships furnished with men of warre, which continued euer in a readinesse to defend the coasts from pirats. To conclude with this Harold, his speedie death prouided well for his fame, because (as it was thought) if his life had beene of long continuance, his infamie had beene the greater. But after he had reigned foure yeres, or (as other gathered) three yeres and three moneths, he departed out of this world at Orford, & was buried at Winchester (as some say.) Other say he died at Meneford in the moneth of Aprill, and was buried at Westminster, which should appeare to be true by that which after is reported of his brother Hardiknoughts cruell dealing, and great spite shewed toward his dead bodie, as after shall be specified.

Polydor. Harold degeneracth from his father. Hen. Hunt.

A nauie in a readinesse.

Euill men, the longer they liue, the more they grow into miserie.

Wil. Malm. Hen. Hunt. Wil. Malm.

Hardicnute is sent for into England to *be made king; alteration in the state of* Norwaie and Denmarke by the death of king *Cnute, Hardicnute is crowned, he sendeth for his* mother queene Emma, Normandie ruled by the *French king, Hardicnute reuengeth his mothers exile vpon* the dead bodie of his stepbrother Harold, queene Emma and erle Godwine haue the gouernment of things in their hands, Hardicnute leuieth a sore tribute vpon his subiects; contempt of officers & deniall of a prince his tribute sharpelie punished; prince Edward commeth into England; the bishop of Worcester accused and put from his see for being accessarie to the murthering of Alfred, his restitution procured by contribution; Earle Godwine being accused for the same trespasse excuseth himselfe, and iustifieth his cause by swearing, but specially by presenting the king with an inestimable gift; the cause why Godwine purposed Alfreds death; the English peoples care about the succession to the crowne, moonke Brightwalds dreame and vision touching that matter; Hardicnute poisoned at a bridall, his conditions, speciallie his hospitalitie, of him the Englishmen learned to eate and drinke immoderatlie, the necessitie of sobrietie, the end of the Danish regiment in this land, and when they began first to inuade the English coasts.

The xv. Chapter.

Hardicnute, or Hardiknought.

After that Harold was dead, all the nobles of the realme, both Danes & Englishmen agreed to send for Hardiknought, the sonne of Canute by his wife queene Emma, and to make him king. Heare is to be noted, that by the death of king Canute, the state of things was much altered in those countries of beyond the seas wherein he had the rule and dominion. For the Norwegians elected one Magnus, the sonne of Olauus to be their king, and the Danes chose this Hardiknought, whome their writers name Canute the third, to be their gouernor. This Hardiknought or Canute being aduertised of the death of his halfe brother Harold, and that the lords of England had chosen him to their king, with all conuenient speed prepared a nauie, and imbarking a certeine number of men of warre, toke the sea, and had the wind so fauorable for his purpose, that he arriued vpon the coast of Kent the sixt day after he set out of Denmarke, and

Alteration in the state of things.

Simon Dun. & Matt. West. say, that he was at Bruges in Flanders with his mother when he was thus sent for, being come thither to visit hir.

and so comming to London, was ioifullie receiued, and proclaimed king, and crowned of Athelnotus archbishop of Canturburie, in the yere of our Lord 1041, in the first yere of the emperour Henrie the third, in the 9 yere of Henrie the first of that name king of France, and in the first yere of Magfinloch, *alias* Machabeda king of Scotland. Incontinentlie after his establishment in the rule of this realme, he sent into Flanders for his mother queene Emma, who during the time of hir banishment, had remained there. For Normandie in that season was gouerned by the French king, by reason of the minoritie of duke William, surnamed the bastard.

1041

Quéene Emma sent for.

Moreouer, in reuenge of the wrong offered to quéene Emma by hir sonne in law Harold, king Hardicnute did cause Alfrike archbishop of Yorke and earle Godwine, with other noble men to go to Westminster, and there to take vp the bodie of the same Harold, and withall appointed, that the head thereof should be striken off, and the trunke of it cast into the riuer of Thames. Which afterwards being found by fishers, was taken vp and buried in the churchyard of S. Clement Danes without Temple barre at London. He committed the order and gouernement of things to the hands of his mother Emma, and of Godwine that was erle of Kent. He leuied a sore tribute of his subiects here in England to pay the souldiers and mariners of his nauie, as first 21 thousand pounds, & 99 pounds, and afterward vnto 32 ships there was a paiment made of a 11 thousand and 48 pounds. To euerie mariner of his nauie he caused a paiment of 8 marks to be made, and to euerie master 12 marks. About the paiment of this monie great grudge grew amongst the people, insomuch that two of his seruants, which were appointed collectors in the citie of Worcester, the one named Feader, and the other Turkane, were there slaine. In reuenge of which contempt a great part of the countrie with the citie was burnt, and the goods of the citizens put to the spoile by such power of lords and men of warre as the king had sent against them.

The bodie of king Harold taken vp, and throwen into Thames.

S. Clement Danes.

A tribute raised. Hen. Hunt.

Simon Dun. Wil. Malm. Matth. West. Sim. Dun.

Shortlie after, Edward king Hardicnutes brother came forth of Normandie to visit him and his mother quéene Emma, of whome he was most ioifullie and honorablie welcomed and interteined, and shortlie after made returne backe againe. It should appeare by some writers, that after his comming ouer out of Normandie he remained still in the realme, so that he was not in Normandie when his halfe brother Hardicnute died, but here in England: although other make other report, as after shall be shewed. Also (as before ye haue heard) some writers seeme to meane, that the elder brother Alfred came ouer at the same time. But suerlie they are therein deceiued: for it was knowne well inough how tenderlie king Hardicnute loued his brethren by the mothers side, so that there was not anie of the lords in his daies, that durst attempt anie such iniurie against them. True it is, that as well earle Godwine, as the bishop of Worcester (that was also put in blame and suspected for the apprehending and making away of Alfred, as before ye haue heard) were charged by Hardicnute as culpable in that matter, insomuch that the said bishop was expelled out of his see by Hardicnute: and after twelue moneths space was restored, by meanes of such summes of monie as he gaue by waie of amends.

Matt. West. Ran. Higd. Marianus.

Polydor.

The bishop of Worcester accused for making away of Alfred.

Earle Godwin excuseth himselfe.

The gift which earle Godwin gaue to the king.

Earle Godwine was also put to his purgation, by taking an oth that he was not guiltie. Which oth was the better allowed, by reason of such a present as he gaue to the king for the redéeming of his fauour and good will, that is to say, a ship with a sterne of gold, containing therein 80 souldiers, wearing on each of their armes two bracelets of gold of 16 ounces weight, a triple habergion guilt on their bodies, with guilt burgenets on their heads, a sword with guilt hilts girded to their wastes, a battell-axe after the maner of the Danes on their left shoulder, a target with bosses and nails guilt in their left hand, a dart in their right hand: and thus to conclude, they were furnished at all points with armor and weapon accordinglie. It hath béene said, that earle Godwine minded to marie his daughter to one of these brethren, and perceiuing that the elder brother Alfred would disdaine to haue hir, thought good to dispatch him, that the other taking hir to wife, hée might be next heire to the crowne, and so at length inioy it, as afterwards came to passe.

Polydor.

Also about that time, when the linage of the kings of England was in maner extinct, the English people were much carefull (as hath béene said) about the succession of those that should inioie the crowne. Whereupon as one Brightwold a monke of Glastenburie, that was afterward bishop of Wincester, or (as some haue written) of Worcester, studied oftentimes thereon: it chanced that he dreamed one night as he slept in his bed, that he saw saint Peter consecrate & annoint Edward the sonne of Egelred (as then remaining in exile in Normandie) king of England. And as he thought, he did demand of saint Peter, who should succéed the said Edward? Whereunto answer was made by the apostle; Haue thou no care for such matters, for the kingdome of England is Gods kingdome. Which suerlie in good earnest may appeare by manie great arguments to be full true vnto such as shall well consider the state of this realme from time to time, how there hath béene euer gouernours raised vp to maintéine the maiestie of the kingdome, and to reduce the same to the former dignitie, when by anie infortunate mishap it hath béene brought in danger.

But to returne now to king Hardicnute, after he had reigned two yéers lacking 10 daies, as he sat at the table in a great feast holden at Lambeth, he fell downe suddenlie with the pot in his hand, and so died not without some suspicion of poison. This chanced on the 8 of June at Lambeth aforesaid, where, on the same day a mariage was solemnized betwéene the ladie Githa, the daughter of a noble man called Osgot Clapa, and a Danish lord also called Canute Pyndan. His bodie was buried at Wincester besides his fathers. He was of nature verie curteous, gentle and liberall, speciallie in kéeping good chéere in his house, so that he would haue his table couered foure times a day, & furnished with great plentie of meates and drinks, wishing that his seruants and all strangers that came to his palace, might rather leaue than want. It hath béene commonlie told, that Englishmen learned of him their excessiue gourmandizing & vnmeasurable filling of their panches with meates and drinkes, whereby they forgat the vertuous vse of sobrietie, so much necessarie to all estates and degrées, so profitable for all commonwealthes, and so commendable both in the sight of God, and all good men.

The death of K. Hardicnute Sim. Dunel. Matth. West. 1042

K. Hardicnute his conditions and liberalitie in housekéeping.

Hen. Hunt.

Of whom the Englishmen learned excessiue féeding.

In this Hardicnute ceased the rule of the Danes within this land, with the persecution which they had executed against the English nation, for the space of 250 yeres & more, that is to say, euer since the tenth yeere of Brithrike the king of Westsarons, at what time they first began to inuade the English coasts. Howbeit (after others) they should séeme to haue ruled here but 207, reckoning from their bringing in by the Welshmen in despite of the Saxons, at which time they first began to inhabit here, which was 835 of Christ, 387 after the comming of the Saxons, and 35 néere complet of the reigne of Egbert.

The end of the Danish rulers.

¶ But to let this peece of curiositie passe, this land felt that they had a time of arriuall, a time of inuading, a time of ouerrunning, and a time of ouerruling the inhabitants of this maine continent. Whereof manifest proofes are at this day remaining in sundrie places, sundrie ruines I meane and wastes committed by them; vpon the which whensoeuer a man of a relenting spirit casteth his eie, he can not but enter into a dolefull consideration of former miseries, and lamenting the defacements of this Ile by the crueltie of the bloudthirstie enimie, cannot but wish (if he haue but *Minimam misericordiæ guttam quæ maior est spatioso oceano*, as one saith) and earnestlie desire in his heart that the like may neuer light vpon this land, but may be auerted and turned away from all christian kingdomes, through his mercie, whose wrath by sinne being set on fire, is like a consuming flame; and the sword of whose vengeance being sharpened with the whetstone of mens wickednesse, shall hew them in peeces as wood for the fornace.

Thus farre the tumultuous and tyrannicall regiment of the Danes, inferring fulnesse of afflictions to the English people, wherewith likewise the seuenth booke is shut vp.

THE EIGHT BOOKE of the Historie of England.

Edward the third of that name is chosen king of England by a generall consent, ambassadours are sent to attend him homewardes to his kingdome, and to informe him of his election, William duke of Normandie accompaneth him, Edward is crowned king, the subtill ambition or ambitious subtiltie of earle Goodwine in preferring Edward to the crowne and betraieng Alfred; the Danes expelled and rid out of this land by decree; whether earle Goodwine was guiltie of Alfreds death, king Edward marieth the said earles daughter, he forbeareth to haue carnall knowledge with hir, and why? he vseth his mother queene Emma verie hardlie, accusations brought against hir, she is dispossessed of hir goods, and imprisoned for suffering bishop Alwine to haue the vse of hir bodie, she purgeth and cleareth hir selfe after a strange sort, hir couetousnesse: mothers are taught (by hir example) to loue their children with equalitie: hir liberall deuotion to Winchester church cleared hir from infamie of couetousnesse, king Edward loued hir after hir purgation, why Robert archbishop of Canturburie fled out of England into Normandie.

The first Chapter.

Edward.
Hen. Hunt.
Polydor.

IMmediatlie vpon the deth of Hardiknought, and before his corps was committed to burriall, his halfe brother Edward, sonne of king Egelred begotten of quéene Emma, was chosen to be K. of England, by the generall consent of all the nobles and commons of the realme. Thervpon were ambassadours sent with all spéed into Normandie, to signifie vnto him his election, and to bring him from thence into England in deliuering pledges for more assurance, that no fraud nor deceit was ment of the Englishmen, but that vpon his comming thither, he should receiue the crowne without all contradiction. Edward then aided by his cosine William duke of Normandie, tooke the sea, & with a small compane of Normans came into England, where he was receiued with great ioy as king of the realme, & immediatlie after was crowned at Winchester by Edsinus then archbishop of Canturburie, on Easter day in the yeare of our Lord 1043, which fell also about the fourth yeare of the emperour Henrie the third, surnamed Niger, in the 12 yeare of Henrie the first of that name king of France, and about the third yeare of Macbeth king of Scotland.

Henr. Hunt. Wil. Malm. The third of April. 1043

This Edward the third of that name before the conquest, was of nature more mæke and simple than apt for the gouernement of the realme, & therefore did earle Goodwine not onelie séeke the destruction of his elder brother Alfred, but holpe all that he might to aduance this Edward to the crowne, in hope to beare great rule in the realme vnder him, whome he knew to be soft, gentle, and easie to be persuaded. But what soeuer writers do report hereof, sure it is, that Edward was the elder brother, and not Alfred: so that if earle Goodwine did shew his furtherance by his pretended cloake of offering his friendship vnto Alfred to betraie him, he did it by king Harolds commandement, and yet it may be that he meant to haue vsurped the crowne to him selfe, if each point had answered his expectation in the sequele of things, as he hoped they would; and therfore had not passed if both the brethren had béene in heauen. But yet when the world framed contrarie (peraduenture) to his purpose, he did his best to aduance Edward, trusting to beare no small rule vnder him, being knowen to be a man more apliable to be gouerned by other than to trust to his owne wit; and so chiefly by the assistance of earle Goodwine

wine (whoſe authoritie, as appeareth, was not ſmall within the realme of England in thoſe daies) Edward came to atteine the crowne: whereunto the earle of Cheſter Leofrike alſo ſhewed all the furtherance that in him laie.

Ran. Higd. ex Mariano. Alb. Crantz.

Some write (which ſeemeth alſo to be confirmed by the Daniſh chronicles) that king Hardiknought in his life time had received this Edward into his court, and reteined him ſtill in the ſame in moſt honorable wiſe. But for that it may appeare in the abſtract of the Daniſh chronicles, that their writers had of this matter recorded, we do here paſſe ouer, referring thoſe that be deſirous to know the diuerſitie of our writers and theirs, vnto the ſame chronicles, where they may find it more at large expreſſed. This in no wiſe is to be left vnremembred, that immediatlie after the death of Hardiknought, it was not onelie decreed & agreed vpon by the great lords & nobles of the realme, that no Dane from thenceforth ſhould reigne ouer them, but alſo all men of warre and ſouldiers of the Danes, which laie within anie citie or caſtell in garriſon within the realme of England, were then expelled and put out or rather ſlaine (as the Daniſh writers do rehearſe.) Amongſt other that were baniſhed, the ladie Gonild neece to king Swaine by his ſiſter, was one, being as then a widow, and with hir two of hir ſonnes, which ſhe had then liuing; Heming and Turkill were alſo cauſed to auoid. Some write that Alfred the brother of king Edward, came not into the realme till after the death of Hardiknought, and that he did helpe to expell the Danes, which being don, he was ſlaine by earle Godwine and other of his complices. But how this may ſtand, conſidering the circumſtances of the time, with ſuch things as are written by diuers authors hereof, it may well be doubted. Neuertheleſſe, whether earle Godwine was guiltie to the death of Alfred, either at this time, or before, certeine it is, that he ſo cleared himſelfe of that crime vnto king Edward the brother of Alfred, that there was none ſo highlie in fauour with him as earle Godwine was, inſomuch that king Edward maried the ladie Editha, the daughter of earle Godwine, begotten of his wife Thira that was ſiſter to king Hardiknought, and not of his ſecond wife, as ſome haue written. Howbeit, king Edward neuer had to do with hir in fleſhlie wiſe. But whether he abſteined becauſe he had hapilie vowed chaſtitie, either of impotencie of nature, or for a priuie hate that he bare to hir kin, men doubted. For it was thought, that he eſteemed not earle Godwine ſo greatlie in his heart, as he outwardlie made ſhew to do, but rather for feare of his puiſſance diſſembled with him, leaſt he ſhould otherwiſe put him ſelfe in danger both of loſſe of life and kingdome.

Polydor. Danes expelled. Simon Dun. Gonill neece to K. Swaine Polydor. K. Edward marieth the daughter of earle Godwine. Polydor. K. Edward abſteineth from the companie of his wife.

Howſoeuer it was, he vſed his counſell in ordering of things concerning the ſtate of the common wealth, and namelie in the hard handling of his mother queene Emma, againſt whome diuers accuſations were brought and alledged: as firſt, for that ſhe conſented to marie with K. Cnute, the publike enimie of the realme: againe, for that ſhe did nothing aid or ſuccour hir ſons while they liued in exile, but that worſe was, contriued to make them away; for which cauſe ſhe was deſpoiled of all hir goods. And becauſe ſhe was defamed to be naught of hir bodie with Alwine or Adwine biſhop of Wincheſter, both ſhe and the ſame biſhop were committed to priſon within the citie of Wincheſter (as ſome write.) Howbeit others affirme, that ſhe was ſtrictlie kept in the abbie of Warwell, till by way of purging hir ſelfe, after a maruellous manner, in paſſing barefoted ouer certeine hot ſhares or ploughirons, according to the law *Ordalium*, ſhe cleared hir ſelfe (as the world tooke it) and was reſtored to hir firſt eſtate and dignitie.

K. Edward vſeth ſtrictlie his mother queene Emma. Queene Emma deſpoiled of hir goods. She is accuſed of diſſolute liuing. Ran. Higd. She purgeth hir ſelfe by the law Ordalium.

Hir exceſſiue couetouſneſſe, without regard had to the poore, cauſed hir alſo to be euill reported of. Againe, for that ſhe euer ſhewed hir ſelfe to be more naturall to the iſſue which ſhe had by hir ſecond huſband Cnute, than to hir children which ſhe had by hir firſt huſband king Egelred (as it were declaring how ſhe was affected toward the fathers, by the loue borne to the children) ſhe loſt a great peece of good will at the hands of hir ſonnes Alfred and Edward: ſo that now the ſaid Edward inioieng the realme, was eaſilie induced to thinke euill of hir, and therevpon vſed hir the more vncurteouſlie. But hir great liberalitie imploied on the church of Wincheſter, which ſhe furniſhed with maruellous rich iewels and ornaments, wan hir great commendation in the world, and excuſed hir partlie in the ſight of manie, of the infamie imputed to hir for the immoderate filling of hir coffers by all waies and meanes ſhe could deuiſe. Now when ſhe had purged hir ſelfe, as before is mentioned, hir ſonne king Edward had hir euer after in great honor and reuerence. And whereas Robert archbiſhop of Canturburie had beene ſore againſt hir, he was ſo much abaſhed now at the matter, that he fled into Normandie, where he was borne. But it ſhould ſeeme by that which after ſhal be ſaid in the nert chapter, that he fled not the realme for this matter, but bicauſe he counſelled the king to baniſh earle Godwine, and alſo to vſe the Engliſhmen more ſtrictlie than reaſon was he ſhould.

Wil. Malm. Ran. Higd.

Why Robert archbiſhop of Canturburie (*queene Emmas heauie friend*) *fled out* of England, the Normans firſt entrance into *this countrie, dearth by tempeſts, earle Goodwines* ſonne baniſhed out of this land, he returneth in hope *of the kings fauour, killeth his cooſen earle Bearne for his good* will and forwardnes to ſet him in credit againe, his flight into Flanders, his returne into England, the king is pacified with him; certeine Daniſh rouers arriue at Sandwich, ſpoile the coaſt, inrich themſelues with the ſpoiles, make ſale of their gettings, and returne to their countrie; the Welſhmen with their princes rebelling are ſubdued, king Edward keepeth the ſeas on Sandwich ſide in aid of Baldwine earle of Flanders, a bloudie fraie in Canturburie betwixt the earle of Bullongne and the townesmen, earle Goodwine fauoureth the Kentiſhmen againſt the Bullongners, why he refuſeth to puniſh the Canturburie men at the kings commandement for breaking the kings peace; he ſetteth the king in a furie, his ſuborned excuſe to ſhift off his comming to the aſſemblie of lords conuented about the foreſaid broile, earle Goodwine bandeth himſelfe againſt the king, he would haue the ſtrangers deliuered into his hands, his requeſt is denied; a battell readie to haue bene fought betweene him and the king, the tumult is pacified and put to a parlement, earle Goodwines retinue forſake him; he, his ſonnes, and their wiues take their flight beyond the ſeas.

The ſecond Chapter.

Robert archbiſhop of Canturburie. Frenchmen or Normans firſt entered into England

WE muſt vnderſtand, that K. Edward brought diuerſe Normans ouer with him, which in time of his baniſhment had ſhewed him great friendſhip, wherefore he now ſought to recompenſe them. Amongſt other, the forenamed Robert of Canturburie was one, who before his comming ouer was a monke in the abbeie of Gemeticum in Normandie, and being by the king firſt aduanced to gouerne the ſee of London, was after made archbiſhop of Canturburie, and bare great rule vnder the king, ſo that he could not auoid the enuie

nie of diuerse noble men, and specíallie of earle Godwine, as shall apéere. About the third yéere of king Edwards reigne, Osgot Clapa was banished the realme. And in the yéere following, that is to say, in the yéere 1047, there fell a maruellous great snow, couering the ground from the beginning of Januarie vntill the 17 day of March. Besides this, there hapned the same yéere such tempest and lightnings, that the corne vpon the earth was burnt vp and blasted: by reason whereof, there followed a great dearth in England, and also death of men and cattell.

1047
A great derth. Ran. Higd.

Swain Godwines sonne banished.

About this time Swaine the sonne of earle Godwine was banished the land, and fled into Flanders. This Swaine kept Edgiua, the abbesse of the monasterie of Leoffe, and forsaking his wife, ment to haue married the foresaid abbesse. Within a certeine time after his banishment, he returned into England, in hope to purchase the kings peace by his fathers meanes and other his friends. But vpon some malicious pretense, he slue his cosen earle Bearne, who was about to labour to the king for his pardon, and so then fled againe into Flanders, till at length Allered the archbishop of Yorke obteined his pardon, and found meanes to reconcile him to the kings fauour.

Edgiua abbesse of Leoffe.

This Bearne was the sonne of Ulfus a Dane, vncle to this Swaine by his mother, the sister of K. Swaine. H. Hunt.

In the meane time, about the first yéere of king Edwards reigne, certeine pirats of the Danes arriued in Sandwich hauen, and entring the land, wasted and spoiled all about the coast. There be that write, that the Danes had at that time to their leaders two capteins, the one named Lother, and the other Irling. After they had béene at Sandwich, and brought from thence great riches of gold and siluer, they coasted about vnto the side of Esser, and there spoiling the countrie, went backe to the sea, and sailing into Flanders, made sale of their spoiles and booties there, and so returned to their countries. After this, during the reigne of king Edward, there chanced no warres, neither forren nor ciuill, but that the same was either with small slaughter luckilie ended, or else without anie notable aduenture changed into peace. The Welshmen in déed with their princes Rise and Griffin wrought some trouble, but still they were subdued, and in the end both the said Rise and Griffin were brought vnto confusion: although in the meane time they did much hurt, and namelie Griffin, who with aid of some Irishmen, with whome he was alied, about this time entred into the Seuerne sea, and tooke preies about the riuer of Wie: and after returned without anie battell to him offered.

Hen. Hunt.

The Danes spoile Sandwich.

Rise & Griffin princes of wales.

1049
Simon Dun.

About the same time, to wit, in the yéere 1049, the emperor Henrie the third made warres against Baldwine earle of Flanders, and for that he wished to haue the sea stopped, that the said earle should not escape by flight that waie forth, he sent to king Edward, willing him to kéepe the sea with some number of ships. King Edward furnishing a nauie, lay with the same at Sandwich, and so kept the seas on that side, till the emperor had his will of the earle. At the same time, Swaine, sonne of earle Godwine came into the realme, and traitorouslie slue his cosen Bearne (as before is said) the which trauelled to agrée him with the king. Also Gospat Clapa, who had left his wife at Bruges in Flanders, comming amongst other of the Danish pirats, which had robbed in the coasts of Kent & Esser, as before ye haue heard, receiued his wife, and departed backe into Denmarke with six ships, leauing the residue, being 23 behind him.

Hermanus. Contractus. Ia. Meir.

Simon Dun.

Fabian.

1051
Matth. West.

About the tenth yéere of king Edwards reigne, Eustace earle of Bullongne, that was father vnto the valiant Godfrey of Bullongne, & Baldwin, both afterward kings of Hierusalem, came ouer into England in the moneth of September, to visit his brother in law king Edward, whose sister named Goda, he had maried, she then being the widow of Gualter de Paunt. He found the king at Glocester, and being there ioifullie receiued, after he had once dispatched such matters for the which he chieflie came, he toke leaue, and returned homeward. But at Canturburie one of his herbingers, dealing roughlie with one of the citizens about a lodging, which he sought to haue rather by force than by intreatance, occasioned his owne death. Whereof when the erle was aduertised, he hasted thither to reuenge the slaughter of his seruant, and slue both that citizen which had killed his man, and eightéene others.

The earle of Flanders commeth into England. Ran. Higd. Wil. Malm.

Goda sister to K. Edward.

Wil. Malm.

Doner saith Matth. West.

The citizens hérewith in a great furie, got them to armor, and set vpon the earle and his retinue, of whom they slue twentie persons out of hand, & wounded a great number of the residue, so that the earle scarse might escape with one or two of his men from the fraie, & with all spéed returned backe to the king, presenting gréeuous information against them of Canturburie, for their cruell vsing of him, not onlie in sleaing of his seruants, but also in putting him in danger of his life. The king crediting the earle, was highlie offended against the citizens, and with all spéed sending for earle Godwine, declared vnto him in gréeuous wise, the rebellious act of them of Canturburie, which were vnder his iurisdiction.

A fraie in Canturburie betwixt the earle of Bullongne and the townesmen.

The earle complaineth to the king.

The earle who was a man of a bold courage and quicke wit, did perceiue that the matter was made a great deale worse at the first in the beginning, than of likelihod it would proue in the end, thought it reason therefore that first the answere of the Kentishmen should be heard, before anie sentence were giuen against them. Hérevpon, although the king commanded him forthwith to go with an armie into Kent, and to punish them of Canturburie in most rigorous maner, yet he would not be too hastie, but refused to execute the kings commandement, both for that he bare a péece of grudge in his mind, that the king should fauour strangers so highlie as he did; and againe, bicause hereby he should séeme to do pleasure to his countriemen, in taking vpon him to defend their cause against the rough accusations of such as had accused them. Wherefore he declared to the king that it should be conuenient to haue the supposed offendors first called afore him, and if they were able to excuse themselues, then to be suffered to depart without further veration: and if they were found faultie, then to be put to their fine, both as well in satisfieng the king, whose peace they had broken, as also the earle, whom they had indamaged.

Earle Godwine offended with the king for fauouring strangers.

Earle Godwine departed thus from the king, leauing him in a great furie: howbeit he passed little thereof, supposing it would not long continue. But the king called a great assemblie of his lords togither at Glocester, that the matter might be more déepelie considered. Siward earle of Northumberland, and Leofrike earle of Chester, with Rafe earle of Hereford, the kings nephue by his sister Goda, and all other the noble men of the realme, onlie earle Godwine and his sonnes ment not to come there, except they might bring with them a great power of armed men, and so remained at Beuerstane, with such bands as they had leuied, vnder a colour to resist the Welshmen, whome they bruted abroad to be readie to inuade the marches about Hereford. But the Welshmen preuenting that slander, signified to the king that no such matter was ment on their parties, but that earle Godwine and his sonnes with their complices went about to moue a commotion against him. Hérevpon a rumor was raised in the court, that the kings power should shortlie march forth

A counsel called at Glocester.

Siward earle of Northumberland, Leofrike earle of Chester, Rafe earle of Hereford. Will. Malmes.

forth to aſſaile earle Godwine in that place where he was lodged. Wherevpon the ſame earle prepared himſelfe, and ſent to his friends, willing to sticke to this quarrell, and if the king ſhould go about to force them, then to withſtand him, rather than to yéeld and ſuffer themſelues to be troden vnder foot by ſtrangers. Godwine in this meane time had got togither a great power of his countries of Kent, Southerie, and other of the weſt parts. Swaine likewiſe had aſſembled much people out of his countries of Barkeſhire, Oxfordſhire, Summerſetſhire, Herefordſhire, and Glouceſterſhire. And Harold was alſo come to them with a great multitude, which he had leuied in Eſſex, Norffolke, Suffolke, Cambridgeſhire, & Huntingtonſhire.

Earle Godwine meaneth to defend him ſelfe againſt the king. Swaine. Ran. Higd. Matth. Weſt. Simon Dun. Harold.

Simon Dun.

On the other part, the earles that were with the king, Leofrike, Siward, and Raſe, raiſed all the power which they might make, and the ſame approching to Glouceſter, the king thought himſelfe in more ſuertie than before, inſo much that whereas earle Godwine (who lay with his armie at Langton there not farre off in Glouceſterſhire) had ſent vnto the king, requiring that the earle of Buſſongne, with the other Frenchmen and alſo the Normans which held the caſtell of Douer, might be deliuered vnto him. The king, though at the firſt he ſtood in great doubt what to do, yet hearing now that an armie of his friends was comming, made anſwere to the meſſengers which Godwine had ſent, that he would not deliuer a man of thoſe whome Godwine required, and herewith the ſaid meſſengers being departed, the kings armie entered into Glouceſter, and ſuch readie good wils apéered in them all to fight with the aduerſaries, that if the king would haue permitted, they would forthwith haue gone out and giuen battell to the enimies.

Thus the matter was at point to haue put the realme in hazard not onelie of a field, but of vtter ruine that might thereof haue inſued: for what on the one part and the other, there were aſſembled the chiefeſt lords and moſt able perſonages of the land. But by the wiſedome and good aduiſe of earle Leofrike and others, the matter was pacified for a time, and order taken, that they ſhould come to a parlement or communication at London, vpon pledges giuen and receiued as well on the one part as the other. The king with a mightie armie of the Northumbers, and them of Mercia, came vnto London, and earle Godwine with his ſonnes, and a great power of the Weſtſaxons, came into Southwarke, but perceiuing that manie of his companie ſtale awaie and ſlipt from him, he durſt not abide anie longer to enter talke with the king, as it was couenanted, but in the night next inſuing fled awaie with all ſpéed poſſible.

Wil. Malm. Swaine eldeſt ſonne to Godwine baniſhed.

Some write, how an order was preſcribed that Swanus the eldeſt ſonne of Godwine ſhould depart the land as a baniſhed man to qualifie the kings wrath, and that Godwine and one other of his ſons, that is to ſay, Harold ſhould come to an other aſſemblie to be holden at London, accompanied with 12 ſeruants onelie, & to reſigne all his force of knights, gentlemen and ſouldiers vnto the kings guiding and gouernment. But when this laſt article pleaſed nothing earle Godwine, and that he perceiued how his force began to decline, ſo as he ſhould not be able to match the kings power, he fled the realme, and ſo likewiſe did his ſonnes. He himſelfe with his ſonnes Swanus, Toſtie, and Girth, ſailed into Flanders: and Harold with his brother Leofwine gat ſhips at Weſtow, and paſſed into Ireland. Githa the wife of Godwine, and Judith the wife of Toſtie, the daughter of Baldwine earle of Flanders went ouer alſo with their huſbands.

Earle Godwine and his ſonnes proclaimed outlawes.

Godwine and his ſonnes are proclaimed outlawes, *their lands are giuen from them*, king Edward putteth awaie the queene *his wife who was earle Goodwines daughter*, ſhe cleareth hir ſelfe at the houre of hir death from ſuſpicion *of incontinencie and lewdneſſe of life*; *why king Edward* forbare to haue fleſhlie pleaſure with hir; earle Godwine and his ſonnes take preies on the coaſts of Kent and Suſſex; Griffin king of Wales deſtroieth a great part of Herefordſhire, and giueth his incounterers the ouerthrow; Harold and Leofwine two brethren inuade Dorſet and Summerſetſhires, they are reſiſted, but yet preuaile, they coaſt about the point of Cornwall and ioine with their father Godwine, king Edward maketh out threeſcore armed ſhips againſt them, a thicke miſt ſeparateth both ſides being readie to grapple and fight, a pacification betweene the king and earle Godwine, he is reſtored to his lands and libertie, he was well friended, counterpledges of agreement interchangablie deliuered; Swanus the eldeſt ſonne of Godwine a notable rebell and pirat, his troubled conſcience, his wicked life and wretched death.

The third Chapter.

THE king hauing perfect knowledge, that earle Godwine had refuſed to come to the court in ſuch order as he had preſcribed him, and that he was departed the realme with his ſonnes; he proclaimed them outlawes, and gaue the lands of Harold vnto Algar, the ſonne of earle Leofrike, who guided the ſame verie worthilie, and reſigned them againe without grudging vnto the ſame Harold when he was returned out of exile. Alſo vnto earle Oddo were giuen the counties of Deuonſhire and Summerſetſhire.

Moreouer, about the ſame time the king put his wife quéene Editha from him, and appointed hir to ſtreit keeping in the abbeie of Warwell. This Editha was a noble gentlewoman, well learned, and expert in all ſciences, yet hir good name was ſtained ſomewhat, as though ſhe had not liued ſo continentlie as was to be wiſhed, both in hir huſbands life time, and after his deceaſſe. But yet at the houre of hir death (which chanced in the daies of William Conqueror) ſhe cleared hir ſelfe, in taking it vpon the charge of hir ſoule, that ſhe had euer liued in perfect chaſtitie: for king Edward (as before is mentioned) neuer touched hir in anie actuall maner. By this ſtreit dealing with the quéene that was daughter to earle Godwine, now in time of hir fathers exile, it hath ſéemed to manie, that king Edward forbare to deale with hir in carnall wiſe, more for hatred of hir kin, than for anie other reſpect. But to proceed.

The king put awaie his wife Editha.

In the ſecond yéere of Godwines baniſhment, both he and his ſonnes hauing prouided themſelues of ſhips and men of warre conuenient for the purpoſe, came vpon the coaſts of England, and after the maner of rouers, toke preies where as they eſpied aduantage, namelie on the coaſts of Kent and Suſſex. In the meane time alſo Griffin the K. of Wales deſtroid a great part of Herefordſhire, againſt whom the power of that countrie, & alſo manie Normans that lay in garriſon within the caſtell of Hereford, comming to giue battell, were ouerthrowne on the ſame day, in the which about two and twentie yéeres before, or (as ſome copies haue) thirteene yéeres, the Welſhmen had ſlaine Edwine, the brother of earle Leofrike. Shortlie after, earle Harold and his brother Leofwine returning out of Ireland, entered into the Seuerne ſea, landing on the coaſts of Summerſetſhire and Dorſetſhire, where falling to ſpoile, they were incountred by a power aſſembled out of the

1052 Hen. Hunt.

Griffin king of wales deſtroieth Herefordſhire.

Harold inuadeth the ſhires of Dorſet and Summerſet.

the counties of Deuonshire and Sommersetshire: but Harold put his aduersaries to flight, and slue thirtie gentlemen of honor, or thanes (as they call-wo them) with a great number of others. Then Harold and his brethren, returning with their preie and bootie to their ships, and coasting about the point of Cornwall, came and ioined with their father & their other brethren, their soiorning in the Ile of Wight.

Simon Dun. King Edward to withstand their malice, had rigged and furnished forth fortie ships of warre, with the which he himselfe went to the water, not sticking to lie aboord at that season, although he had appointed for captaines and admerals two earles that were his cosins, Odo and Rafe, who had charge of the whole armie. Rafe was his nephue, as sonne to his sister Goda by hir first husband Gualter de Maunt. But although they were knowne to be sufficient men for the ordering of such businesse, yet he thought the necessitie to be such, as his person could not be presentlie spared. Therefore he was diligent in foreseeing of things by good aduise, although age would not giue him leaue to execute the same by his owne hand and force of bodie. But as the navies on both parts were readie to haue ioined, they were severed by reason of a thicke mist that then rose, whereby their furious rage was restreined for that time: and immediatlie thereupon, Godwine and his complices were forced by a contrarie wind, to returne to the places from whence they came. Shortlie after by mediation of friends, a peace was made, and earle Godwine restored home, and obteined againe both the kings fauour, and all his former liuings: for he was such an eloquent & wise man, that he cleared and purged himselfe of all such crimes and accusations, as in anie sort had béene laid against him. Thus haue some written concerning this agréement betwixt king Edward and erle Godwine, where other make somewhat larger report thereof, as thus.

At the same time that the two sonnes of erle Godwine Harold and Leofwine came forth of Ireland, and inuaded the west countrie, king Edward rigged forth fortie ships, the which throughlie furnished with men, munition, and vittels, he sent vnto Sandwich, commanding the capteines there to wait for the comming of erle Godwine, whom he vnderstood to be in a readinesse to returne into England: but notwithstanding, there wanted no diligence in them to looke to their charge, erle Godwine secretlie with a few ships which he had got togither, arriued in Kent; and sending forth his letters and messengers abroad to the citizens of Canturburie, to them of Sussex, Southerie, & others, required aid of them, who with one consent promised to liue and die with him.

The capteines of the navie at Sandwich aduertised hereof, made towards the place where they thought to haue found earle Godwine: but he being warned of their comming, escaped by flight, and got him out of their danger, whereupon they withdrew to Sandwich, and after returned to London. Earle Godwine aduertised thereof, sailed to the Ile of Wight, and wasted vp and downe those seas, till his sonnes Harold and Leofwine came and ioined their navie with his, and ceasing from spoile, onlie sought to recouer vittels to serue their turne. And increasing their power by such aid as they might any where procure, at length they came to Sandwich, wherof king Edward hauing knowledge, being then at London, he sent abroad to raise all the power he might make. But they that were appointed to come vnto him, limited time, in which meane while earle Godwine comming into the Thames, & so vp the riuer, arriued in Southwarke, on the day of the exaltation of the crosse in September, being monday, and their staieng for the tide, solicited the Londoners, so that he obteined of them what he could desire.

It séemeth that earle Godwine was well friended.

Afterwards, without disturbance, he passed vp the riuer with the tide through the south arch of the bridge, & at the same instant, a mightie armie which he had by land, mustered in the fields on that south side the same riuer, and herewith his navie made towards the north side of the riuer, as if they ment to inclose the kings navie, for the king had also a navie & an armie by land: but yet sith there were few either on the one part or the other, that were able to do anie great feat except Englishmen, they were loth to fight one against another, whereupon the wiser sort on both sides sought meanes to make an atonement: and so at length by their diligent trauell, the matter was taken vp, and the armies being dismissed on both parts, earle Godwine was restored to his former dignitie. Hereupon were pledges deliuered on his behalfe, that is to say, Wilnotus one of his sonnes, and Hacun the sonne of Swanus the eldest sonne of Godwine. These two pledges were sent vnto William duke of Normandie, to be kept with him for more assurance of Godwines loialtie.

Ran. Higd. Matth. West. Simon Dun. Wil. Malm. Some write that Swanus the eldest sonne of Godwine was not reconciled to the kings fauour at this time; but whether he was or not, this is reported of him for a truth, that after he had attempted sundrie rebellions against king Edward, he lastlie also rebelled against his father Godwine, and his brother Harold, and became a pirate, dishonouring with such manifold robberies as he made on the seas, the noble progenie whereof he was descended. Finallie vpon remorse of conscience (as hath béene thought) for murthering of his cosine (or as some say his brother) erle Bearne, he went on pilgrimage to Hierusalem, and died by the way of cold which he caught in returning homeward (as some write) in Licia: but others affirme, that he fell into the hands of Saracens that were robbers by the high waies, and so was murthered of them.

Ran. Higd. Will. Malmes.

At what time William duke of Normandie came ouer into England, king Edward promiseth to make him his heire to the kingdom and crowne, the death of queene Emma, earle Godwine being growne in fauor againe seeketh new reuenges of old grudges, causing archbishop Robert and certeine noble Normans his aduersaries to be banished; Stigand intrudeth himselfe into archbishop Roberts see, his simonie and lacke of lerning; what maner of men were thought meet to be made bishops in those daies, king Edward beginneth to prouide for the good and prosperous state of his kingdome, his consideration of lawes made in his predecessours times and abused; the lawes of S. Edward vsuallie called the common lawes, how, whereof, and whereupon instituted; the death of earle Godwine being sudden (as some say) or naturall (as others report) his vertues and vices, his behauiour and his sonnes vpon presumption and will in the time of their authorities; his two wiues and children; the sudden and dreadfull death of his mother; hir selling of the beautifull youth male and female of this land to the Danish people.

The fourth Chapter.

William duke of Normandie commeth ouer into England.

THe foresaide William duke of Normandie (that after conquered this land) during the time of Godwines outlawrie, came ouer into this land with a faire retinue of men, and was ioifullie receiued of the king, and had great chere. Now after he had tarried a season, he returned into his countrie, not without great gifts of iewels and other things, which the king most liberallie

rallie beſtowed vpon him. And (as ſome write) the king promiſed him at that time, to make him his heire to the realme of England, if he chanced to die without iſſue. ¶ Shortlie after, or rather somewhat before, quæne Emma the kings mother died, and was buried at Winchester.

Polydor. K. Edwards promise to duke William.

After that earle Godwine was reſtored to the kings fauour, bicauſe he knew that Robert the archbiſhop of Canturburie had bæne the cheefe procurer of the kings euill will towards him, he found meanes to weare him out of credit, and diuers other ſpecially of the Normans, bearing the world in hand, that they had ſought to trouble the ſtate of the realme, & to ſet variance betwixt the king and the lords of the Engliſh nation: whereas the Normans againe alledged, that earle Godwine and his ſonnes abuſed the kings ſoft and gentle nature, & would not ſticke to ieaſt and mocke at his curteous and mild proceedings. But howſoeuer the matter went, archbiſhop Robert was glad to depart out of the realme, and going to Rome, made complaint in the court there, of the iniuries that were offred him: but in returning through Normandie, he died in the abbeie of Gemmeticum, where he had bene monke before his comming into England.

The archbiſhop of Canturburie baniſhed.

Diuerſe others were compelled to forſake the realme at the ſame time, both ſpirituall men and temporall, as William biſhop of London, and Ulfe biſhop of Lincolne. Oſberne named Pentecoſt, and his companion Hugh, were conſtreined to ſurrender their caſtels, and by licence of earle Leofrike withdrew thorough his countrie into Scotland, where, of king Mackbeth they were honorablie receiued. Theſe were Normans: for (as partlie ye haue heard) king Edward brought with him no ſmall number of that nation, when he came from thence to receiue the crowne, and by them he was altogither ruled, to the great offending of his owne naturall ſubiects the Engliſhmen, namelie earle Godwine and his ſonnes, who in thoſe daies for their great poſſeſſions and large reuenues, were had in no ſmall reputation with the Engliſh people.

Normans baniſhed the realme.

After that Robert the archbiſhop of Canturburie was departed the realme, as before ye haue heard, Stigand was made archbiſhop of Canturburie, or rather thruſt himſelfe into that dignitie, not being lawfullie called, in like manner as he had done at Winchester: for whereas he was firſt biſhop of Shireborne, he left that church, and toke vpon him the biſhoprike of Winchester by force, and now attaining to be archbiſhop of Canturburie, he kept both Winchester and Canturburie in his hand at one inſtant. This Stigand was greatlie infamed for his couetous practiſes in ſale of poſſeſſions apperteining to the church. He was nothing learned: but that want was a common fault amongeſt the biſhops of that age, for it was openlie ſpoken in thoſe daies, that he was meet onelie to be a biſhop, which could vſe the pompe of the world, voluptuous pleaſures, rich rayment, and ſet himſelfe forth with a tollie retinue of gentlemen and ſeruants on horſeback, for therein ſtood the countenance of a biſhop, as the world then went; and not in ſtudie how to haue the people fed with the word of life, to the ſauing of their ſoules.

Stigand archbiſhop of Canturburie.

Ranul. Hig. Fabian. Stigand infamed of couetouſnes.

what maner of men meet to be biſhops in thoſe daies.

Polydor.

King Edward now in the twelfth yeare of his reigne, hauing brought the ſtate of the realme quite from troubles of warre both by ſea and land, began to foreſee as well for the welth of his ſubiects, as for himſelfe, being naturallie inclined to wiſh well to all men. He therefore conſidered, how by the manifold lawes which had bæne made by Britaines, Engliſhmen and Danes within this land, occaſion was miniſtred to manie, which meaſured all things by reſpect of their owne priuate gaine and profit, to peruert iuſtice, and to vſe wrongfull dealing in ſtead of right, clouding the ſame vnder ſome branch of the lawe naughtilie miſconſtrued. Wherevpon to auoid that miſchiefe, he picked out a ſumme of that huge and vnmeaſurable maſſe and heape of lawes, ſuch as were thought moſt indifferent and neceſſarie, & therewith ordeined a few, & thoſe moſt wholeſome, to be from thenceforth vſed: according to whoſe preſcript, men might liue in due forme and rightfull order of a ciuill life. Theſe lawes were afterwards called the common lawes, and alſo ſaint Edward his lawes; ſo much eſteemed of the Engliſhmen, that after the conqueſt, when the Normans oftentimes went about to abrogate the ſame, there chanced no ſmall mutinies and rebellions for reteining of thoſe lawes. But here is to be noted, that although they were called ſaint Edwards lawes, they were for the more part made by king Edgar; but now by king Edward reſtored, after they had bin abrogated for a time by the Danes.

The lawes of S. Edward inſtituted.

About this time, earle Godwine died ſuddenlie (as ſome haue recorded) as he ſat at table with the king: and vpon talke miniſtred of the death of Alfred the kings brother, to excuſe himſelfe, he toke a peece of bread, and did eate it, ſaieng; God let me neuer ſwallow this bread downe into my cheſt, but that I may preſentlie be choked therewith, if euer I was wetting or conſenting vnto Alfreds death! and immediatlie therewith he fell downe ſtarke dead. Other ſay, that he ended his life at Winchester, where being ſuddenlie ſurpriſed with ſickneſſe, as he ſat at the table with the king vpon an Eaſter monday; yet he liued till the Thurſday following, and then died. His earledome was giuen vnto his ſonne Harold; and Harolds earledome, which was Oxford, was giuen vnto Algar the ſonne of Leofrike.

1052. or 1054. Hector Boet. Polydor. Will. Malmeſ. Matth. Weſt.

Ran. Higd. ex Mariano.

Simon Dun. This is the likeſt tale.

This Godwine, as he was a man of great power, wiſe, hardie, and politike; ſo was he ambitious, deſirous to beare rule, and loth that anie other perſon ſhould paſſe him in authoritie. But yet, whether all be true that writers report of his malicious practiſes to bring himſelfe and his ſonnes to the chiefe ſeat of gouernement in the kingdome, or that of hatred ſuch ſlanders were raiſed of him, it may of ſome perhaps be doubted; becauſe that in the daies of king Edward (which was a ſoft and gentle prince) he bare great rule and authoritie, and ſo might procure to himſelfe euill report for euerie thing that chanced amiſſe: as oftentimes it commeth to paſſe in ſuch caſes, where thoſe that haue great doings in the gouernement of the common wealth, are commonlie euill ſpoken of, and that now and then without their guilt. But truth it is, that Godwine being in authoritie both in the daies of king Edward and his predeceſſors, did manie things (as ſhould appeare by writers) more by will than by law, and ſo likewiſe did his ſonnes; vpon preſumption of the great puiſſance that they and their father were of within the realme.

Hen. Hunt.

He had to wife Editha, the ſiſter of king Cnute, of whome he begat three ſonnes (as ſome write) that is to ſay, Harold, Biorne, & Toſtie: alſo his daughter Editha, whome he found meanes to beſtow in mariage vpon K. Edward, as before ye haue heard. But other write, that he had but one ſon by Cnutes ſiſter, the which in riding of a rough horſſe was throwen into the riuer of Thames, and ſo drowned. His mother alſo was ſtricken with a thunderbolt, & ſo periſhed worthilie (as is reported) for hir naughtie doings. She vſed to buy great numbers of yong perſons, and namelie maids that were of anie excellent beautie and perſonage, whome ſhe ſent ouer into Denmarke, and there ſold them to hir moſt advantage.

Polydor.

Will. Malm.

vantage. After hir decease (as the same authors record) Godwine maried another woman, by whome he had issue six sonnes, Swanus or Swaine, Harold, Tostie or Tosto, Wilnot, Girth, and Leofrike; of whom further mention is & shall be made, as places conuenient shall serue thereto.

Edward earle of Northumberland discomfiteth *Mackbeth the vsurper of the* Scotish kingdome and placeth Malcolme in *the same, a controuersie whether Siward were at* this discomfiture or no; his stout words when he *heard that one of his sonnes was slaine in the field, bishop Al-*dred is sent to fetch home Edward the sonne of K. Edmund Ironside into England; earle Algar being banished ioineth with the Welshmen against the English and Normans, and getteh the victorie; Harold the son of earle Goodwine putteth earle Algar & his retinue to their shifts by pursute, pacification betweene the generals of both armies, their hosts, Siward earle of Northumberland dieth; his giantlike stature, his couragious heart at the time of his decease, why Tostie one of Goodwins sonnes succeeded him in the earledome.

The fift Chapter.

Matth. West. 1054 Hector Boet.

ABout the thirteenth yeare of king Edward his reigne (as some write) or rather about the nineteenth or twentith yeare, as should apeare by the Scotish writers, Siward the noble earle of Northumberland with a great power of horsemen went into Scotland, and in battell put to flight Mackbeth that had vsurped the crowne of Scotland, and that done, placed Malcolme surnamed Camoir, the sonne of Duncane, sometime king of Scotland, in the gouernement of that realme, who afterward slue the said Mackbeth, and then reigned in quiet. Some of our English writers say, that this Malcolme was king of Cumberland, but other report him to be sonne to the king of Cumberland. But heere is to be noted, that if Mackbeth reigned till the yeare 1061, and was then slaine by Malcolme, earle Siward was not at that battell; for as our writers do testifie, he died in the yeare 1055, which was in the yeare next after (as the same writers affirme) that he vanquished Mackbeth in fight, and slue manie thousands of Scots, and all those Normans which (as ye haue heard) were withdrawen into Scotland, when they were driuen out of England.

Simon. Dun. M. West.

It is recorded also, that in the foresaid battell, in which earle Siward vanquished the Scots, one of Siwards sonnes chanced to be slaine, whereof although the father had good cause to be sorowfull, yet when he heard that he died of a wound which he had receiued in fighting stoutlie in the forepart of his bodie, and that with his face towards the enimie, he greatlie reioised thereat, to heare that he died so manfullie. But here is to be noted, that not now, but a little before (as Henrie Hunt. saith) that earle Siward went into Scotland himselfe in person, he sent his sonne with an armie to conquere the land, whose hap was there to be slaine: and when his father heard the newes, he demanded whether he receiued the wound whereof he died, in the forepart of of the bodie, or in the hinder part: and when it was told him that he receiued it in the forepart; I reioise (saith he) euen with all my heart, for I would not wish either to my sonne nor to my selfe any other kind of death.

" " " "

Shortlie after, Aldred the bishop of Worcester was sent vnto the emperour Henrie the third, to fetch Edward the sonne of Edmund Ironside into England, whome king Edward was desirous to see, meaning to ordeine him heire apparant to the crowne: but he died the same yeare after he came into England. This Edward was surnamed the outlaw: his bodie was buried at Winchester, or (as an other saith) in the church of S. Pauls in London.

Matth. West. 1057

Henr. Hunt. 1055

¶ About the same time K. Edward by euill counsell (I wot not vpon what occasion, but as it is thought without cause) banished Algar the sonne of earle Leofrike: wherevpon he got him into Ireland, and there prouiding 18 ships of rouers, returned, & landing in Wales, ioined himselfe with Griffin the king or prince of Wales, and did much hurt on the borders about Hereford, of which place Rafe was then earle, that was sonne vnto Goda the sister of K. Edward by hir first husband Gualter de Maunt. This earle assembling an armie, came forth to giue battell to the enimies, appointing the Englishmen contrarie to their manner to fight on horsebacke, but being readie (on the two & twentith of October) to giue the onset in a place not past two miles from Hereford, he with his Frenchmen and Normans fled, and so the rest were discomfited, whome the aduersaries pursued, and slue to the number of 500, beside such as were hurt and escaped with life. Griffin and Algar hauing obteined this victorie, entered into the towne of Hereford, set the minster on fire, slue seuen of the canons that stood to defend the dores or gates of the principall church, and finallie spoiled and burned the towne miserablie.

Matth. West. Simon Dun.

The welshmen obteine the victorie against Englishmen and Normans.

The king aduertised hereof, gathered an armie, ouer the which Harold the sonne of earle Goodwine was made generall, who followed vpon the enimies that fled before him into Northwales, & staied not, till hauing passed through Stratcluid, he came to the mountaines of Snowdon, where he pitched his field. The enimies durst not abide him, but got them into Southwales, whereof Harold being aduertised, left the more part of his armie in Northwales to resist the enimies there, & with the residue of his people came backe vnto Hereford, recouered the towne, and caused a great and mightie trench to be cast round about it, with an high rampire, and fenced it with gates and other fortifications. After this, he did so much, that comming to a communication with Griffin and Algar at a place called Biligelhage, a peace was concluded, and so the naue of earle Algar sailed about, and came to Chester, there to remaine, till the men of warre and marriners had their wages, while he went to the king, who pardoned his offense, & restored him to his earledome.

Stratcluid. Snowdon.

The citie of Hereford fortified by Harold.

After this, in the verie same yeare, being the 15 of king Edwards reigne, as some writers affirme, Siward the noble earle of Northumberland died of the flix, of whom it is said, that when he perceiued the houre of death to be neere, he caused him selfe to be put in armour, & set vp in his chaire, affirming that a knight and a man of honour ought to die in that sort, rather than lieng on a couch like a feeble and fainthearted creature: and sitting so vpright in his chaire armed at all points, he ended his life, and was buried at Yorke. [O stout harted man, not vnlike to that famous Romane remembred by Tullie in his Tusculane questions, who suffered the sawing of his leg from his bodie without shrinking, loking vpon the surgeon all the while, & hauing no part of his bodie bound for shrinking!] The said Siward earle of Northumberland was a man of a giantlike stature, & thereto of a verie stout and hardie courage, & because his sonne Walteif was but an infant, and as yet not out of his cradell, the earledome was giuen vnto earle Tostie one of Godwins sonnes,

The decease of Siward earle of Northumberland. Ran. Higd.

Edward the ſonne of Edmund Ironſide *is ſent for to be made heire apparant to* crowne, his death, the deceaſſe of Leofrike *earle of Cheſter, the vertues and good deeds of* him and his wife Gudwina, Couentrie free from *cuſtome and toll, churches and religious places builded and re-*pared, Algar ſucceedeth his father Leofrike in the earledome, he is accuſed of treaſon and baniſhed, he recouereth his earledome by force of armes; Harold is ſent with a power againſt Griffin king of Wales; the countrie waſted, and the people forced to yeeld, they renounce Griffin their king, kill him, and ſend his head to Harold, Griffins brethren rule Wales after him by grant of king Edward; Harolds infortunate going ouer into Normandie, the earle of Ponthieu taketh him priſoner, and releaſeth him at the requeſt of William duke of Normandie, for whoſe vſe Harold ſweareth to keepe poſſeſſion of the realme of England, the duke promiſeth him his daughter in mariage.

The ſixt Chapter.

NOt long after, in the yeare 1057, Aldred biſhop of Worceſter, was ſent ouer vnto the emperour Henrie the third, to fetch Edward the ſonne of Edmund Ironſide into England, whome king Edward was deſirous to ſée, meaning to ordeine him heire apparant to the crowne: but he died the ſame yeare, after that he was returned into England. This Edward was ſurnamed the outlaw: his bodie was buried at Weſtminſter, or (as others ſay) in the church of S. Paule within London. The ſame yeare, that is to ſay, in the ſeuenteenth yeare or in the ſirteenth yeare of king Edwards reigne (as ſome write) Leofrike the noble earle of Cheſter, or Mercia, that was ſonne to duke Leofwine, departed this life in his owne towne of Bromelie on the laſt day of Auguſt, and was buried at Couentrie in the abbeie there which he had builded. This earle Leofrike was a man of great honor, wiſe and diſcréet in all his dooings. His high wiſdome and policie ſtood the realme in great ſtéed whileſt he liued.

Edward the outlaw departed this life.

1057

Leofrike earle of Cheſter departed this life. Ran. Higd. Mat. Weſt.

He had a noble ladie to his wife named Gudwina, at whoſe earneſt ſute he made the citie of Couentrie free of all manner of toll, except horſſes: and to haue that toll laid downe alſo, his foreſaid wife rode naked through the middeſt of the towne without other couerture, ſaue onlie hir haire. Moreouer, partlie moued by his owne deuotion, and partlie by the perſuaſion of his wife, he builded or beneficiallie augmented and repared manie abbeies & churches, as the ſaid abbeie or priorie at Couentrie, the abbeies of Wenlocke, Worceſter, Stone, Eueſham, and Leof beſides Hereford. Alſo he builded two churches within the citie of Cheſter, the one called S. Johns, and the other S. Werburgh. The value of the iewels & ornaments which he beſtowed on the abbeie church of Couentrie, was ineſtimable.

Couentrie made frée of toll and cuſtome.

Churches in Cheſter built.

After Leofriks death, his ſonne Algar was made earle, and intituled in all his lands and ſeignories. In the yeare following, to wit, 1058 the ſame Algar was accuſed againe (through malice of ſome enuious perſons) of treaſon, ſo that he was exiled the land, whereupon he repaired againe vnto his old friend Griffin prince of Northwales, of whome he was ioifullie receiued, & ſhortlie after by his aid, & alſo by the power of a nauie of ſhips that by chance arriued in thoſe parts at that ſelfe ſame ſeaſon vnlooked for out of Norwaie, the ſaid Algar recouered his earledome by force, as ſome haue written. King Edward about the twentith yeare of his reigne, as then remaining at Gloceſter, appointed earle Harold to inuade the dominions of Griffin king of Wales. Harold taking with him a power of horſſemen, made ſpéed, and came to Rutland, and there burned Griffins palace, and alſo his ſhips, and then about Midlent returned againe into England.

Henr. Hunt. Algar earle of Cheſter exiled.

1058

Simon Dun.

1063

Simon Dun. Mat. Weſt.

After this, about the Rogation wéeke, Harold eſſoones by the kings commandement went againſt the Welſhmen, and taking the ſea, ſailed by Briſtow, round about the coaſt, compaſſing in maner all Wales. His brother Toſtie that was earle of Northumberland, met him by appointment with an hoſt of horſſemen, and ſo ioining togither, they deſtroied the countrie of Wales in ſuch ſort, that the Welſhmen were compelled to ſubmit themſelues, to deliuer hoſtages, and conditioned to paie the ancient tribute which before time they had paied. And moreouer, they renounced their prince the forenamed Griffin, ſo that he remained as a baniſhed perſon: and finallie, about the firſt day of Auguſt, they ſlue him, and ſent his head to earle Harold. Afterwards king Edward granted the rule of Wales vnto Blengent or Blethgent, & Riuall, Griffins two brethren, which did homage vnto him for the ſame, and had ſerued vnder Harold againſt their brother the foreſaid Griffin. There be which write, that not onelie Griffin, but alſo another of his brethren called Rice, was brought to his death by the manfull meanes and politike order of earle Harold, & all the ſauage people of Wales reduced into the forme of good order vnder the ſubiection of king Edward.

Wales deſtroied and harried by the Engliſhmen. The Welſhmen agrée to pay their accuſtomed tribute.

1064

Wil. Malm. Simon. Dun.

Wil. Malm.

Shortlie after, earle Harold chanced to paſſe ouer into Normandie, whither of hap or of purpoſe it is hard to define, writers do varie ſo much in report thereof. Some write that he made earneſt ſute to king Edward, to haue licence to go ouer to ſée his brother Wilnot, and his nephue Hacune, which (as ye haue heard) were deliuered as pledges to king Edward, & ſent into Normandie to remaine there with duke William, and at length with much adoo, got leaue: but yet he was told afore hand of the king, that he would repent his iournie, and do the thing that ſhould be prejudiciall to the realme. Other write that Harold lieng at his manor of Boſham, went aboord one day into his fiſhers boat or craier, and cauſed the ſame to launch forth to the ſea for his pleaſure: but by misfortune at the ſame time, a contrarie wind ſuddenlie came about, and droue the veſſell on land into France vpon the coaſt of Ponthieu, where he was taken by the countrie people, & preſented to the earle of Ponthieu named Guie or Guido, who kept him as priſoner, meaning to put him to a grieuous ranſome. But Harold remembring himſelfe of a wile, diſpatched a meſſenger forth with all ſpéed vnto William duke of Normandie, ſignifieng vnto him, that he being ſent from king Edward to confirme ſuch articles, as other meane men that had béene ſent vnto him afore had talked of, by chance he was fallen into the hands of the earle of Ponthieu, and kept as priſoner againſt all order of law, reaſon, or humanitie. Duke William thus informed by the meſſenger, ſent to the earle of Ponthieu, requiring him to ſet earle Harold at libertie, that he might repaire to him according to his commiſſion. The earle of Ponthieu at the dukes requeſt, did not onelie reſtore Harold to his libertie, but alſo brought him into Normandie, and preſented him there to the duke, of whome he was moſt ioifullie receiued.

Mat. Weſt. Wil. Malm.

Harold goeth ouer into Normandie. Polydor.

Edmerus.

Harold is preſented to William duke of Normandie. Hen. Hunt.

There be that agrée partlie with this report, and partlie varie: for they write, that earle Harold toke the ſea vpon purpoſe to haue ſailed into Flanders, and that by force of wind he was driuen to the coaſt of Pouthieu, and ſo after came into Normandie in

maner as before is mentioned. But by what means or occasion soeuer he came thither, certeine it is, that he was ioifullie receiued, and had great chere made him by the said duke William, who at that time was readie to make a iournie against the Britains, and toke earle Harold with him to haue his companie in armes in that iournie, that he might haue the better triall of his valiancie. Earle Harold behaued himselfe so, that he shewed good proofe both of his wisedome and policie, and also of his forwardnesse to execute that with hand, which by wit he had deuised, so that duke William had him in high fauour, and (as it hath beene said) earle Harold (to procure him more friendship at the dukes hands) declared vnto him, that king Edward had ordeined him his heire if he died without issue, and that he would not faile to keepe the realme of England to the dukes vse, according to that ordinance, if K. Edward died without issue. And to performe this promise, he receiued a corporall oth, whether willinglie to win the more credit, or forced thereto by duke William, writers report it diuerslie. At the same time, duke William promised vnto him his daughter in marriage, whom Harold couenanted in like maner to take to wife.

Harold was highlie welcomed of duke William.

Matth. West. Duke William promised to Harold his daughter in marriage.

Harold at his returne into England reporteth to K. Edward what he had doone beyond the seas, and what the king said vnto him in that behalfe, who foresaw the comming of the Normans into this land to conquer it; when and why king Edward promised to make duke William his heire,

(wherein note his subtiltie) dissention betwixt Harold and Tostie two brethren the sonnes of earle Goodwine, their vnnaturall and cruell dealing one with another, speciallie of the abhominable and merciles murthers committed by Tostie, against whome the Northumbers rebell vpon diuerse occasions, and reward him with answerable reuengement; Harold is sent against them, but preuaileth not; they offer to returne home if they might haue a new gouernor; they renounce Tostie and require Marchar in his roome, Tostie displeased getteth him into Flanders; king Edward dieth, his manners and disposition note-woorthie, his charitie and deuotion, the vertue of curing the maladie called the kings euill deriued from him to the succeeding kings of this land, he was warned of his death by a ring, he is canonized for a saint, the last woords that he spake on his death-bed, wherein he vttered to the standers by a vision, propheseieng that England should be inhabited with strangers, a description of the kings person, of a blasing starre fore-telling his death, the progenie of the West-saxon kings, how long they continued, the names of their predecessors and successors; whence the first kings of seuen kingdoms of Germanie had their pedegree, &c.

The seuenth Chapter.

NOw when Harold should returne into England, duke William deliuered him his nephue Hacune, but kept his brother Wilnote with him still as a pledge. Then went earle Harold into England, and declared vnto king Edward what he had doone, who said vnto him; Did not I tell thee that thou wouldest doo the thing whereof thou shouldest repent thee, and procure a mischiefe to follow vnto thy countrie? But God of his mercie turne that euill hap from this realme, or at the least, if it be his pleasure, that it must needs come to passe, yet to staie it till after my daies! Some by Harolds purposed going ouer into Normandie, do gather, that king Edward foresaw the comming of the Normans; and that he meant nothing lesse, than to performe the promise made vnto duke William, as to adopt him his heire, which promise should seeme to be made in time of his banish-

Polydor.

when the promise was made by king Edward to

ment, when he stood in need of his friendship; as the maner of men in such cases is, to promise much, how so euer they intend to fulfill. But rather it maie be thought, that king Edward had made no such promise at all, but perceiued the ambitious desire of duke William, and therefore would not that anie occasion should be ministred vnto him to take hold of. Wherefore, he was loth that Harold should go ouer vnto him, least that might happen, which happened in deed.

make duke William his heire.

In the foure and twentieth and last yeere of king Edward his reigne, or therabout, there fell variance betwixt the two brethren, earle Harold and earle Tostie at Windsor, where the court then lay, in so much that earle Harold caught Tostie by the haire of the head in the kings presence, and stroke him. Herevpon, Tostie departing from the court in great anger, came to Hereford in the marches of Wales, where Harolds seruants were preparing for the kings comming to their maisters house, which seruants he toke and slue, chopping them in peeces, and threw into this hogshead of wine a leg, into that barrell of sider an arme, into this vessell of ale an head: and so into the lomes of meth and tubs of brine and other liquor he bestowed the parts of the dead carcasses of his brothers seruants, sending the king word that he had prouided at his brothers manor, against his coming, good plentie of sowse & powdred meat, what soeuer he should find beside.

Hen. Hunt. Matth. West. Fabian. Falling out betwixt brethren.

The cruell dealing of earle Tostie.

The rumor of this cruell deed sprang ouer all the realme, whereupon the Northumbers, whome he had gouerned for the space of ten yeeres verie cruellie, toke occasion to rebell against him, and slue his seruants both Englishmen and Danes, spoiled his houses, and toke awaie his horsses, his armour, and all other his goods and houshold stuffe. The chiefest cause (as is remembred by some writers) that moued the Northumbers thus to rise and rebell against Tostie, was for the detestable murther of certeine gentlemen of their countrie, seruants vnto Gospatrike, whom the queene in behalfe of hir brother had caused to be slaine in the court by treason, in the fourth night of Christmas last past, and also in reuenge of other noblemen, which in the last yeere Tostie himselfe had commanded to be murthered in his owne chamber at Yorke, whither he had allured them to come vnder colour of concluding a peace with them. Also the greeuous paiments, wherewith he charged the people of that countrie, set them in a great rage against him.

The Northumbers rebell against Tostie their earle.

But the king aduertised hereof, liked not their doings, for that they had done it without commandement or commission, and therefore sent earle Harold with an armie to chastise them, but they were strong inough to withstand him, as those which were assembled in armour togither with the people of Lincolneshire, Nottinghamshire, and Darbishire, and hauing with them Marcharus or Malcharus, the sonne of earle Algar, were come as farre as Northampton, doing much hurt in the parts therabouts. Howbeit to haue the kings peace, they offered to returne home, so that they might haue an other earle appointed them, for that they plainlie protested, that they being freemen, borne and bred out of bondage, might not suffer ante cruell gouernor to rule ouer them, being taught by their ancestors, either to liue in libertie, or to die in defense thereof. If therefore it might please the king to assigne Marcharus the son of earle Algar to be their ruler, he should see how obedient subiects they would proue & shew themselues to be, when they should be vsed after a reasonable and courteous manner. All things considered, their request seemed reasonable, or at least it was thought necessarie that it should be granted. And so was

Wil. Malm.

Marcharus

Marcharus made earle of Northumberland.

Marcharus or Malcherus made earle of Northumberland. Tolkie in great displeasure with his wife and children sailed ouer into Flanders, and there remained till after the decease of king Edward.

K. Edward departed this life. Simon Dun.

Finallie, after that this courteous prince king Edward had reigned three and twentie yéeres, seuen moneths, and od daies, he departed this life at London the fourth of Januarie, and was buried in the church of Westminster, which he had in his life time rotallie repared, after such a statelie sort as few churches in those daies were like thereunto within this realme, so that afterwards the same was a paterne for other to be built after the same forme. This Edward was a prince of such a vertuous disposition of mind, that his fame of holinesse sprang ouer all. He abhorred warres and shedding of bloud, in so much that when he liued as a banished man in Normandie, he had this saieng oftentimes in his mouth, that he had rather liue a priuate life for euer, than to obteine the kingdome by the slaughter and death of anie man. He could not abide to haue the people oppressed with tributes or exactions, in so much that he caused the paiment called Danegilt (which had continued for the space almost of fortie yéeres) to cease. It hath béene said, that when the collectors of this monie, or some other subsidie, had got an huge quantitie of treasure togither, they brought it vnto him, and laid it altogither vpon an heape, so to delight his eies: but he declaring that he saw a diuell plaieng and fetching gambols about that heape of monie, commanded that it should be had awaie, and restored againe to them of whome it was leauied.

A diuell fetching gambols.

In diet and apparell he was spare and nothing sumptuous: and although on high feasts he ware rich apparell, as became the maiestie of his rotall personage: yet he shewed no proud nor loftie countenance, rather praising God for his bountifull goodnesse towards him extended, than esteeming herein the vaine pompe of the world. The pleasure that he toke chieflie in this world for refreshing of his wits, consisted onelie in hawking and hunting, which exercises he dailie vsed, after he had first béene in the church at diuine seruice. In other things he seemed wholie giuen to a deuout trade of life, charitable to the poore, and verie liberall, namelie to hospitals and houses of religion in the parties of beyond the sea, wishing euer that the monks and religious persons of his realme would haue followed the vertue and holinesse of life vsed amongst them of forren parties. As hath béene thought he was inspired with the gift of prophesie, and also to haue had the gift of healing infirmities and diseases. He vsed to helpe those that were vexed with the disease, commonlie called the kings euill, and left that vertue as it were a portion of inheritance vnto his successors the kings of this realme.

A tale of a ring.

He was warned (as hath béene reported) of his death certeine daies before he died, by a ring that was brought him by certeine pilgrims comming from Hierusalem, which ring he had secretlie giuen to a poore man that asked his charitie in the name of God and saint John the Euangelist. But to conclude, such was the opinion conceiued of his holinesse of life, that shortlie after his decease, he was canonized amongst the number of saints, and named Edward the Confessor. Whilest he lay sicke of that sickenesse, whereof at length he died, after he had remained for two daies speechlesse, the third day after when he had laine for a time in a slumber or soft sléepe, at the time of his waking, he fetched a déepe sigh, and thus said; Oh Lord God almightie, if this be not a vaine fantasticall illusion, but a true vision which I haue séene, grant me space to vtter the same vnto these that stand héere present, or else not. And

King Edward canonized for a saint.

Wil. Malms. Matt. Westm.

cc
cc
cc

herewith hauing his speech perfect, he declared how he had séene two monks stand by him as he thought, whome in his youth he knew in Normandie to haue liued godlie, and died christianlie. These monks (said he) protesting to me that they were the messengers of God, spake these words; Bicause the chéefe gouernors of England, the bishops and abbats, are not the ministers of God, but the diuels, the almightie God hath deliuered this kingdome for one yéere and a day into the hands of the enimie, and wicked spirits shall walke abroad through the whole land. And when I made answer that I would declare these things to the people, and promised on their behalfe, that they should do penance in following the example of the Niniuites: they said againe, that it would not be, for neither should the people repent, nor God take anie pitie vpon them. And when is there hope to haue an end of these miseries said I: Then said they; When a grene trée is cut in sunder in the middle, and the part cut off is caried three acres bredth from the stocke, and returning againe to the stoale, shall ioine therewith, and begin to bud & beare fruit after the former maner, by reason of the sap renewing the accustomed nourishment; then (I say) may there be hope that such euils shall cease and diminish. ¶ With which words of the king, though some other that stood by were brought in feare, yet archbishop Stigand made but a leasl thereof, saieng, that the old man raued now in his sickenesse, as men of great yéeres vse to do. Nevertheless the truth of this prophesie afterwards too plainlie appeared, when England became the habitation of new strangers, in such wise, that there was neither gouernor, bishop, nor abbat remaining therein of the English nation. But now to make an end with king Edward, he was of person comelie, & of an indifferent stature, of white haire, both head and beard, of face ruddie, and in all parts of his bodie faire skinned, with due state and proportion of limbs as was thereto conuenient. In the yéere before the death of king Edward, a blasing starre appeared, the which when a monke of Malmesburie named Eilmer beheld, he vttered these words (as it were by way of prophesieng:) Thou art come (saith he) thou art come, much to be lamented of manie a mother: it is long agone sith I saw thée, but now I do behold thée the more terrible, threatening destruction to this countrie by thy dreadfull appearance. In the person of king Edward ceased by his death the noble progenie of the Westsaxon kings, which had continued from the first yeare of the reigne of Cerdike or Cerdicius, the space of 547 yéeres complet. And from Egbert 266 yéeres.

Moreouer, sith the progenie of the Saxon kings seemeth wholie to take end with this Edward surnamed the Confessor, or the third of that name before the conquest, we haue thought good for the better helpe of memorie to referre the reader to a catalog of the names as well of those that reigned among the Westsaxons (who at length, as ye haue heard, obteined the whole monarchie) as also of them which ruled in the other seuen kingdomes before the same were vnited vnto the said kingdome of the Westsaxons, which catalog you shall find in the description of Britaine, pag. 17, 18, 19.

Here is to be remembred, that as partlie before is expressed, we find in some old writers, how the first kings of seuen kingdomes of the Germane nation that bare rule in this Ile, fetcht their pedegrées from one Woden, who begat of Frea his wife seuen sonnes, that is to say, 1 Aecta, of whome came the kings of Kent, 2 Fethelgeta, or Frethegeath, from whome the kings of Mercia descended, 3 Balday, of whose race the kings of the Westsaxons had their

Matt. West.

originall, 4 Beldagius, ancestor to the kings of Bernicia, and the Northumbers, 5 Wegodach or Wegdagus, from whome came the kings of Deira, 6 Caser, from whome proceeded the kings of the Eastangles, 7 Pascad aliàs Saruad, of whome the kings of the Eastsarons had their beginning. And here you must note, that although the kings of the eight kingdome, that is, of the Southsarons or Susser, were descended of the same people, yet were they not of the same line. By other it should seeme, that Woden had but fiue sonnes: as Uecta, great grandfather to Hengist; Wepedeg, ancestor to the kings of the Eastangles; Wiclac, from whome proceeded the kings of Yerria; Saruad, from whom the kings of Esser came; and Beldag, of whose generation proceeded the kings of the Southsarons, Westsarons, and the Northumbers. Moreouer, there be that bring the genealogie from Noe or Noah, the sonne of Lamech, which Noe was the 9 in descent from Adam, and Woden the 15 from Noe, as you shall find in the historie of England, lib. 6. pag. 141. col. 2. Noe was the father to Sem the father of Bedwi, the father of Wala, the father of Hatria or Hathra, the father of Itermod, the father of Heremod, the father of Sheaf or Seaf, the father of Seldoa or Sceldua, the father of Beatu or Beau, the father of Theathwy aliàs Tadwa or Teathwy, the father of Geta, reputed for a god among the gentiles, the father of Fingodulph otherwise Godulph, the father of Fritwolfe otherwise Friuin, the father of Freolaf aliàs Freolater, the father of Frethwold or Friderwald, the father of the aforenamed Woden or Othen.

Simon Dun. Io. Textor.

The peeres are in doubt to whome the *rule of the land should be committed*, why they durst not that Edgar Edeling should vn*dertake it though he was interessed to the same*, how William duke of Normandie pretended a right *to the crowne*, *Harold the sonne of earle Goodwine crowned*, proclaimed, and consecrated king; his subtill and adulatorie meanes to win the peoples fauour; duke William sendeth ambassadors to Harold to put him in mind of a promise passed to the said duke for his furtherance to obteine the crowne; Harolds negatiue answer to the said ambassage, as also to the marieng of the dukes daughter which was Harolds owne voluntarie motion; he prouideth against the inuasions of the enimie as one doubting afterclaps, a blasing starre of seuen daies continuance.

The eight Chapter.

Harold.

K. Edward departed this life An Christi 1065, after the account of the church of England. Matth. West. Polydor.

KIng Edward being thus departed this life, the peeres of the land were in great doubt & perplexitie to whome they might best commit the roiall gouernement of the realme. For there was not anie among them that had iust title thereto, or able and apt to take the charge vpon him. For although Edgar surnamed Edeling, the sonne of Edward the outlaw, that was sonne of Edmund Ironside, was at the same time latelie come into England, with his mother and sisters out of Hungarie where he was borne: yet for that he was but a child, & not of sufficient age to beare rule, they durst not as then commit the gouernement of the realme vnto him, least (as some haue thought) his tendernesse of age might first breed a contempt of his person, and therewith minister occasion to ciuill discord, wherby a shipwracke of the estate might ensue, to the great annoie and present ouerthrow of such as then liued in the same. But what consideration soeuer they had in this behalfe, they ought not to haue defrauded the yong gentleman of his lawfull right to the crowne. For as we haue heard and seene, God, whose prouidence and mightie power is shewed by ouerthrowing of high and mightie things now and then, by the weake and feeble hath gouerned states and kingdomes oftentimes in as good quiet and princelie policie by a child, as by men of age and great discretion.

Edeling, that is, a noble man, and such one as is come of the kings bloud.

But to the purpose, beside the doubt which rested among the lords, how to bestow the crowne, the manifold and strange wonders, which were seene and heard in those daies, betokening (as men thought) some change to be at hand in the state of the realme, made the lords afraid, and namelie because they stood in great doubt of William duke of Normandie, who pretended a right to the crowne, as lawfull heire appointed by king Edward, for that he was kin to him in the second and third degree. For Richard the first of that name duke of Normandie, begot Richard the second, and Emma; which Emma bare Edward by hir husband Ethelred. Richard the second had also issue Richard the third, and Robert, which Robert by a concubine had issue William, surnamed the bastard, that was now duke of Normandie, and after the death of his cosine king Edward, made claime (as is said) to the crowne of England.

Dukes of Normandie.

Whilest the lords were thus studieng and consulting what should be best for them to do in these doubts, Harold, the son of Godwine earle of Kent, proclaimed himselfe king of England: the people being not much offended therewith, because of the great confidence and opinion which they had latelie conceiued of his valiancie. Some write (among whome Edmerus is one) how king Edward ordeined before his death, that Harold should succeed him as heire to the crowne, and that thereupon the lords immediatlie after the said Edwards decease, crowned Harold for their king, and so he was consecrated by Aldred archbishop of Yorke, according to the custom and maner of the former kings, or (as other affirme) he set the crowne on his owne head without anie the accustomed ceremonies, in the yeere after the birth of our sauiour 1066, or in the yeere of Christ 1065, after the account of the church of England (as before is noted.)

Harold proclaimed king of England.

Edmerus.

Matth. West.

But how and whensoeuer he came to the seat roiall of this kingdome, certeine it is, that this Harold in the begining of his reigne, considering with himselfe how and in what sort he had taken vpon him the rule of the kingdome, rather by intrusion than by anie lawfull right, studied by all meanes which way to win the peoples fauour, and omitted no occasion whereby he might shew anie token of bountious liberalitie, gentlenesse and courteous behauiour towards them. The greeuous customes also and tares which his predecessors had raised, he either abolished or diminished: the ordinarie wages of his seruants and men of warre he increased, and further shewed himselfe verie well bent to all vertue and godnesse, whereby he purchased no small fauor among such as were his subiects.

Harold seeketh to win the peoples hearts. Sim. Dunel.

Whilest Harold went about thus to steale the peoples good willes, there came ouer vnlooked for sundrie ambassadours from William the bastard duke of Normandie, with commission to require him to remember his oth sometime made to the said William in the time of his extremitie, which was, that he the said Harold should aid him in the obteining of the crowne of England, if king Edward should happen to die without issue. This couenant he made (as it is supposed) in king Edwards daies, when (by licence of the same Edward, or rather (as Edmerus writeth) against his will) he went ouer into Normandie to visit his brethren, which laie there as

In ambassage from Normandie.

as pledges.

K. Harolds answer.

Howbeit at this present, Harolds answer to the said ambassadors was, that he would be readie to gratifie the duke in all that he could demand, so that he would not aske the realme, which alreadie he had in his full possession. And further he declared vnto them (as some write) that as for the oth which he had made in times past vnto duke William, the same was but a constreined & no voluntarie oth, which in law is nothing; since thereby he toke vpon him to grant that which was not in his power to giue, he being but a subiect whilest king Edward was liuing. For if a promised vow or oth which a maid maketh concerning the bestowing of hir bodie in hir fathers house, without his consent, is made void; much more an oth by him made that was a subiect, and vnder the rule of a king, without his souereignes consent, ought to be void and of no value. He alledged moreouer, that as for him to take an oth to deliuer the inheritance of anie realme without the generall consent of the estates of the same, could not be other than a great peece of presumption, yea although he might haue iust title therevnto; so it was an vnreasonable request of the duke at this present to will him to renounce the kingdome, the gouernance whereof he had alreadie taken vpon him, with so great fauor and good liking of all men.

Eadmerus.

Matth. West.

Duke William eftsones sendeth to king Harold.

Duke William hauing receiued this answer, and nothing liking thereof, sent once againe to Harold, requiring him then at the least-wise, that he would take his daughter to wife, according to his former promise; in refusing whereof he could make no sound allegation, bicause it was a thing of his owne motion, and in his absolute power, both to grant and to performe. But Harold being of a stout courage, with proud countenance frowned vpon the Norman ambassadors, and declared to them that his mind was nothing bent as then to yeeld therevnto in anie maner of wise. And so with other talke tending to the like effect he sent them awaie without anie further answer. The daughter of duke William whome Harold should haue maried, was named Adeliza, as

Gemeticensis.

Gemeticensis saith, and with hir (as the same author writeth) it was couenanted by duke William, that Harold should inioy halfe the realme in name of hir dower. Howbeit some write that this daughter of duke William was departed this life before the comming of these ambassadors, and that Harold thereupon thought himselfe discharged of the oth and couenants made to duke William, and therefore sent them away with such an vntoward answer.

Wil. Malm.

Polydor.

But howsoeuer it was, after the departure of these ambassadors, king Harold (doubting what would insue) caused his ships to be newlie rigged, his men of warre to be mustered, and himselfe put in a readinesse, to the end that if anie sudden inuasion should be made and attempted by his enimie, he might be able to resist them. ¶ About the same time also, and vpon the 24 of Aprill (whilest Harold was making prouision to withstand the Norman force) there appeared a blasing starre, which was seene not onelie here in England, but also in other parts of the world, and continued the space of seuen daies. This blasing starre might be a prediction of mischefe imminent & hanging ouer Harolds head: for they neuer appeare but as prognosticats of afterclaps. To be resolutelie instructed herein, doo but peruse a treatise intituled; A doctrine generall of comets or blasing starres published by a bishop of Mentz in Latine, and set forth in English by Abraham Fleming vpon the apparition of a blasing starre seene in the southwest, on the 10 of Nouember 1577, and dedicated to the right worshipfull sir William Cordell knight, then maister of hir maiesties rolles, &c.

Rog. Houed. Simon Dun.

Earle Tostie afflicteth his brother Harold on sea and land, he taketh the repulse, and persuadeth Harfager king of Norweie to attempt the conquest of England against Harold, Harfager & Tostie with their powers arriue at Humber, they fight with the Northumbers vnder the conduct of Edwine and Marchar, and discomfit them; Harold leuieth an armie against them, the rare valiantnes of a Norwegian souldior; Harfager and Tostie slaine in battell; the Norwegians are foiled and flie; Harolds vnequall and parciall diuiding of the spoile, he goeth to Yorke to reforme things amisse.

The ninth Chapter.

WHilest Harold desirous to reteine, and verie loth to let go his vsurped roialtie, had cracht his credit with the duke of Normandie, and by his lewd reuolting from voluntarie promises ratified with solemne othes, had also kindled the fire of the dukes furie against him; it came to passe, that the proud and presumptuous man was (to begin withall) vexed in his owne flesh, I meane his owne kinred. For Tostie the brother of king Harold (who in the daies of king Edward for his crueltie had beene chased out of the realme by the Northumbers) returning out of Flanders, assembled a nauie of ships from diuers parts to the number of 60, with the which he arriued in the Ile of Wight, & there spoiled the countrie, and afterward sailing about by the coasts of Kent, he toke sundrie preies their also, and came at the last to Sandwich: so that Harold was now constreined to appoint the nauie which he had prepared against the Normans, to go against his brother earle Tostie. Whereof the said Tostie being aduertised, drew towards Lindsey in Lincolnshire, and there taking land did much hurt in the countrie, both with sword and fire, till at length Edwine earle of Mercia, and Marchar earle of Northumberland, aided with the kings nauie, chased him from thence, and caused him to flie into Scotland, not without some losse both of his men and ships.

Tostie seeketh to disquiet his brother. Matt. VVest. saith but 40.

Polydor. Ran. Higd. Sim. Dun.

Wil. Malm.

Tostie repelled. Polydor. Ran. Higd.

This trouble was scarse quieted, but streightwaies another came in the necke thereof, farre more dangerous than the first. For Tostie, perceiuing that he could get no aid in Scotland to make anie account of, sailed forth into Norweie, and there persuaded Harold Harfager king of that realme, to saile with an armie into England, persuading him that by meanes of ciuill dissention latelie kindled betwixt the king and his lords (which was not so) it should be an easie matter for him to make a conquest of the whole realme, and reigne ouer them as his predecessors had done before. Some authors affirme, that Harold king of Norwey toke this enterprise in hand of his owne mind, and not by procurement of Tostie, saieng, that Tostie meeting with him in Scotland, did persuade him to go forward in his purposed businesse, and that the said Harold Harfager with all conuenient speed passed forth, & with a nauie of 300 saile entered into the riuer of Tine, where after he had rested a few daies to refresh his people, earle Tostie came also with his power (according to an appointment which should be made betweene them.) They adde furthermore, that they sailed forth alongst the coast, till they arriued in the mouth of Humber, & then drawing vp against the streame of the riuer Owse, they landed at length at a place called Richhall, from whence they set forward to inuade

Harold Harfager king of Norweie.

Matt. West. Simon Dun.

Simon Dun. saith 500.

The Norwegians arriue in Humber.

Richhall. Hen. Hunt.

uade the countrie, & neere vnto Yorke on the north side of the citie, they fought with the power of the Northumbers, which was led by the earls Edwine and Marchar (two brethren) and there discomfited and chased them into the citie, with great slaughter and bloudshed.

The Englishmen discomfited.

This battell was fought on the euen of S. Matthew the apostle, as saith Si. Dun.

Harold king of England being aduertised of this chance, made the more hast forward (for he was alreadie in the field with his armie, intending also to come towards his enimies) so that vpon the fift day after he came to Stamford bridge, finding there the said king Harfager and Tostie readie imbattelled, he first assailed those that kept the bridge, where (as some writers affirme) a Norwegian souldier with his axe defended the passage, mauger the whole host of the Englishmen, and slue fortie of them or more with his axe, & might not be ouercome, till an Englishman went with a boat vnder the said bridge, and through an hole thereof thrust him vp into the bodie with his speare: yet Matt. West. saith that he was slaine with a dart which one of king Harold his seruants threw at him, & so ended his life. Which bridge being woone, the whole host of the Englishmen passed ouer, and ioined with their enimies, and after a verie great and sore battell put them all to flight.

Wil. Malm. Hen. Hunt. Matt. West.

The Norwegians discomfited.

In this conflict Harold Harfager king of the Norwegians was slaine, & so was Tostie the king of England his brother, besides a great number of other, as well in the battell as in the chase: neither did the Englishmen escape all frée, for the Norwegians fought it out a long time verie stoutlie, beating downe and killing great numbers of such as assailed them with great courage and assurance. The residue of the Norwegians that were left to keepe their ships vnder the guiding of Olaue sonne to the king of Norwaie, and Paule earle of Orkneie, after they vnderstood by their fellowes that escaped from the field, how the mater went with Harfager and Tostie, they hoised vp their sailes and directed their course homewards, bearing sorowfull newes with them into their countrie, of the losse of their king and ouerthrow of all his people. Some write, that the king of England permitted them franklie to depart with 20 ships, hauing first caused them to deliuer such hostages as they had receiued of the citizens of Yorke. Harold reioising in that he had atteined so glorious a victorie, and being now surpised with pride and couetousnesse togither, he diuided the spoile of the field nothing equallie, but to such as he fauored he distributed liberallie, and to other (though they had much better deserued) he gaue nothing at all, reteining still the best part of all to himselfe, by reason whereof he lost the fauor of manie of his men, who for this his discourtesie, did not a little alienate their good willes from him. This done, he repaired to Yorke, and there staied for a time to reforme the disordered state of the countrie, which by reason of these warres was greatlie out of frame.

The king of Norwaie and Tostie slaine.

This battell was fought on the 25 of September as saith Si. Dun.

Matth. West.

Simon Dun.

M. West. Vnequall diuiding of the spoile.

Wil. Malm.

¶ But Harold being more presumptuous and sole hardie, than prouident and wise in his enterprise; bending all his force to redresse enormities in those quarters of Yorkeshire (much like vnto him, whom the Comediographer marketh for a sole, *Ea tantùm quæ ad pedes iacent contemplans, non autem ventura præuidens*) neglected the kinglie care which he should haue had of other parts of his realme, from the which he had withdrawen himselfe, and (as it is likelie) had not left sufficientlie prouided of a conuenient vicegerent to gouerne the same by his warranted authoritie, and such fortifications as might expell and withstand the enimie. Which want of foresight gaue occasion to the enimie to attempt an inuasion of the English coasts, as in the next chapt. shall be shewed.

William duke of Normandie prepareth *to inuade England and to conquere it*, the earle of Flanders and the French king assist *him, the number of his ships, his arriuall at Peuensey* in Sussex, vpon what occasions he entred this *realme; the pope liked well duke Williams attempt, why king* Harold was hated of the whole court of Rome; why duke William would not suffer his souldiers to wast the countries where they came; Harold goeth towards his enimies, why his vnskilfull espials tooke the Normans (being old beaten souldiers) for priests; Girth dissuadeth his brother Harold from present incountering with the duke; where note the conscience that is to be had of an oth, and that periurie can not scape vnpunished.

The tenth Chapter.

WIlliam duke of Normandie hauing knowledge after what maner K. Harold was busied in the north parts of his realme, and vnderstanding that the south parts thereof remained destitute of due prouision for necessarie defense, hasted with all diligence to make his puruetance of men and ships, that he might vpon such a conuenient occasion set forward to inuade his enimie. And amongest other of his friends, vnto whome he laboured for aid, his father in law Baldwine earle of Flanders was one of the chiefest, who vpon promise of great summes of monie and other large offers made, did aid him with men, munition, ships, and victuals, verie frælie. The French king also did as much for his part as laie in him to helpe forwards this so high an enterprise. Wherefore when all things were now in a readinesse, he came to the towne of S. Valerie, where he had assembled togither an huge naule of ships (to the number (as some authors affirme) of three hundred saile; and when he had taried there a long time for a conuenient wind, at length it came about euen as he himselfe desired. Then shipping his armie which consisted of Normans, Flemings, Frenchmen, and Britains, with all expedition he toke the sea, and directing his course towards England, he finallie landed at a place in Sussex, auncientlie called Peuensey, on the 28 day of September, where he did set his men on land, & prouided all things necessarie to incourage and refresh them.

Ia. Meir. Baldwine earle of Flanders aided duke William to conquere England.

Wil. Geme. The chronicles of Normandie haue 896 ships.

Duke William landed at Peuensey, now Pemsey.

At his going out of his ship vnto the shore, one of his feet slipped as he stepped forward, but the other stacke fast in the sand: the which so soone as one of his knights had espied, and seing his hand therevpon he staied full of earth, when he rose, he spake alowd and said: Now sir duke, thou hast the soile of England fast in thy hand, & shalt of a duke verie long become a king. The duke hearing this tale, laughed merilie thereat, and comming on land, by and by he made his proclamation, declaring vpon what occasions he had thus entered the realme.

Hen. Hunt.

The first and principall cause which he alleged, was for to chalenge his right, vnwitting the dominion of the land that to him was giuen and assigned (as he said) by his nephue king Edward late ruler of the same land. 1

The second was, to reuenge the death of his nephue Alured or Alfred the brother of the same king Edward, whome Godwine earle of Kent and his adherents had most cruellie murthered. 2

The third was to be reuenged of the wrong done vnto Robert archbishop of Canturburie, who (as he was informed) was exiled by the meanes and labor 3

of

of Harold in the daies of king Edward.

Wherein we haue to note, that whether it were for displeasure that the pope had sometime conceiued for the wrong done to the archbishop, or at the onlie sute of duke William, certeine it is that the pope, as then named Alexander the second, fauored this enterprise of the duke, and in token thereof sent him a white banner, which he willed him to set vp in the decke of the ship, wherein he himselfe should saile. In deed (as writers report) the pope with his cardinals, and all the whole court of Rome had king Harold euer in great hatred and disdaine, because he had taken vpon him the crowne without their consent, or anie ecclesiasticall solemnitie or agreement of the bishops. And although the pope and his brethren the said cardinals dissembled the matter for the time, yet now beholding to what end his bold presumption was like to come, with frowning fortune they shewed themselues open aduersaries, inclining streightwaies to the stronger part, after the manner of couetous persons, or rather of the reed shaken with a sudden puffe of wind.

Duke William at his first landing at Peuensey or Pemsey (whether you will) fortified a peece of ground with strong trenches, and leauing therein a competent number of men of warre to keepe the same, he sped him toward Hastings, and comming thither, he built an other fortresse there with all speed possible, without suffering his souldiers to rob or harrie the countrie adioining, saieng that it should be great follie for him to spoile that people, which yer manie daies to come were like to be his subiects. K. Harold being as yet in the north parts, and hearing that duke William was thus landed in England, sped him southward, and gathering his people together out of the countries as he went forwards, at length came neere his enimies: and sending espials into their campe to vnderstand of what strength they were; the vnskilfull messengers regarding smallie their charge, brought word againe of nothing else, but that all duke Williams souldiers were priests. For the Normans had at that time their vpper lips and cheekes shauen, whereas the Englishmen vsed to suffer the haire of their vpper lips to grow at length. But Harold answered, that they were not priests, but wether-beaten and hardie souldiers, and such as were like to abide well by their capteine.

In the meane season, Girth one of Harolds yonger brethren (considering that periurie is neuer left vnpunished) aduised his brother not to aduenture himselfe at this present in the battell, for so much as he had beene sometime sworne to duke William, but rather to suffer him and other of the nobilitie to incounter with the said duke, that were not bound to him by former oth, or otherwise: but Harold answered that he was free from anie such oth, and that in defense of his countrie he would fight boldly with him as with his greatest enimie. ¶ Where (by the waie) would be noted the conscience which Girth a yonger brother made of an oth, not concerning himselfe directlie, but his elder brother Harold, who had sworne the same; meaning nothing lesse than the performance therof, as the sequele of his doings to his discredit and vndoing euidentlie declared, which euents might seeme countable to him as due punishments and deserued plagues inflicted vpon him and others, for his sake; sith he made no reckoning of violating a vow ratified with an oth to a prince of no small puissance, who after waids became a whip vnto him for his periurie; a sinne detested of the heathen, and whereof the poet notablie speaketh, saieng:

Ah miser, & si quis primò periuria celat,
Sera tamen tacitis pœna venit pedibus.

Will. Lamb. The pope fauored duke Williams enterprise.

Matth. West.

Gemeticensis.

Wil. Malm.

Matth. West.

Normans beards shauen. Wil. Malm. Hen. Marle.

Girth would not haue his brother king Harold fight himselfe. Gemeticensis.

Tibul. lib. 1.

After peace offered & refused on each *side, both armies meete in the field, the order* of the Englishmens attire & araie, the *maner how the Normans were placed to fight in battell*; the dissolute and drounken behauior of the *Englishmen the night before the incounter farre differing from* the Normans deuout demenour; duke Williams speech vpon occasion of wrong putting on his armour, the battell betwixt him and king Harold is valiantlie tried, the English by duke Williams politike stratagem are deceiued, king Harold slaine, his armie put to flight and manie of them slaine after a long and bloudie incounter, manie of the Normans pursuing the English ouerhastilie procure their owne death, they take the spoile of the English, the dead bodies of both armies are licenced to be buried; the differing reports of writers touching the maner of Harolds death, a description of his person, his ambition did him much hurt and hinderance, the number that were slaine on both sides, his bodie buried at Waltham, nothing dispraise-worthie in him but his ambitious mind, a view of his valiantnesse in a conflict against the VVelshmen, his rigorous or rather pitilesse handling of them, his seuere law or decree touching their bounds, they are vtterlie subdued, and (by the kings leaue) the VVelshwomen marrie with the Englishmen, the Saxon line ceasseth, how long it lasted, and how long it was discontinued by the inuasion of the Danes.

The eleuenth Chapter.

NOw it fortuned that both armies, as well the kings as the earles, being prepared to battell, diuerse offers were made on each side (before they fell to the conflict) for an vnitie to haue beene had betwixt the two princes: but when no conditions of agreement could take place, they forthwith prepared themselues to trie the matter by dint of sword. And so on the 14 day of October, being saturday, both hosts met in the field, at a place in Sussex not farre from Hastings, whereas the abbeie of Battell was afterward builded. The Englishmen were all brought into one entire maine batell on foot, with huge axes in their hands, and paled a front with paueises, in such wise that it was thought vnpossible for the enimie to breake their arraie. On the other side, the Normans were diuided into seuerall battels, as first the footmen that were archers, and also those that bare gleiues and axes were placed in the forefront, and the horsemen diuided into wings stood on the sides in verie good order.

All the night before the battell, the Englishmen made great noise and slept not; but sang and fell to drinking and making of reuell pastime, as though there had beene no account to be made of the next daies trauell. But the Normans behaued themselues warilie and soberlie, spending all that night in praier and confessing their sinnes vnto God; and in the morning earelie they receiued the communion before they went forth to the battell. Some write, that when duke William should put on his armour to go to the field, the backe halfe of his curasses by chance was set on before by such as holpe to arme him: at which chance he toke occasion of laughter, saieng merrilie to them that stood by; No force, this is good lucke, for the estate of my dukedome shall be per night changed into a kingdome. Beside this, he spake manie comfortable words vnto his men, to incourage them to the battell. Neither was Harold forgetfull in that point on his part. And so at conuenient time when both armies were readie, they made forward each to incounter with other, on the foresaid fourtéenth day of October, with great force and assurance.

In the beginning of the battell, the arrowes flue abroad

Will. Malmes.

The order of the Englishmen.

Matth. West.

The arraie of the Normans

Hen. Hunt. Will. Malmes.

Polydor.

The battell betwixt king Harold and duke William is begun.

abroad freshlie on both sides, till they came to ioine at hand strokes, and then preassed each side vpon his counterpart with swords, axes, and other hand weapons verie egerlie. Duke William commanded his horssemen to giue the charge on the breasts of his enimies battels: but the Englishmen keeping themselues close togither without scattering, receiued their enimies vpon the points of their weapons with such fiercenesse and in such strike order, that manie of the Normans horssemen were ouerthrowne without recouerie, and slaine at the first brunt. When duke William perceiued this inconuenience (as he that well and throughlie vnderstood the skilfull points of warre as well as the best) he gaue a signe to his men (according to an order appointed before hand vpon anie such occasion) that they should giue backe, and make a countenance as though they did flee, which was quicklie done by the Normans, and withall they imbattelled their footmen in a new order, so that their horssemen shifted themselues on the wings, readie to rescue the footmen if their arraie should happen to be disturbed.

The policie of duke William to disorder his enimies. H. Hunt. Will. Malm.

By this wilie stratagem and policie of warre, the Englishmen were deceiued: for they beholding the Normans somwhat shrinking backe to bring themselues into the aboue said order, thought verelie that they had fled, and therevpon meaning to pursue them before they should recouer their ground, they brake their arraie, and began to follow the chase: whereupon the Normans (perceiuing now that all things came to passe as they desired) spedilie returned, and casting themselues togither quicklie into arraie, began to charge them againe afresh, and so hauing them at that aduantage, they slue them downe on euerie side. The Englishmen on the other part fought sore, and though their king was beaten downe among them and slaine, yet were they loth to flee or giue ouer; so sharpe was the battell, that duke William himselfe had three horsses slaine vnder him that day, and not without great danger of his person.

A sore foughten battell. King Harold slaine.

Some of the Englishmen got them to the height of an hill, and beate backe the Normans that forced themselues to win the hill of them, so that it was long yer the Normans could preuaile, being oftentimes driuen downe into the botome of the vallie beneath. At length the Englishmen, perceiuing themselues to be ouermatched and beaten downe on euerie side, and thereunto greatlie discouraged with slaughter of their king, began first to giue ground, and after to scatter and to run away, so that well was he that might then escape by flight. When they had fought the most part of all that saturday, the Normans followed the chase with such eger rashnesse, that a great number of them falling with their horsses and armour into a blind ditch (shadowed with reed and sedges which grew therein) were smouldered and pressed to death, yer they could be succoured or get anie releefe. The next day the Normans fell to gathering in the spoile of the field, burieng also the dead bodies of their people that were slaine at the battell, giuing licence in semblable manner to the Englishmen to do the like. Of the death of Harold diuerse report diuerslie, in so much that Girald Cambrensis saith, that after king Harold had receiued manie wounds, and lost his left eie, he fled from the field vnto the citie of Westchester, and liued there long after, an holie life, as an anchoret in the cell of S. Iames, fast by S. Johns church, and there made a godlie end. But the saieng of Girald Cambren. in that point is not to be credited, bicause of the vnlikelihood of the thing it selfe, and also generall consent of other writers, who affirme vniuersallie that he was killed in the battell, first being striken thorough the left eie by the scull into the braine with an arrow, whereupon falling from his horsse to the ground, he was slaine in that place, after he had reigned nine moneths and nine daies, as Floriacensis doth report. He was a man of a comelie stature, and of a hawtie courage, & albeit that for his valiancie he was highlie renowmed and honored of all men, yet through his pride and ambition he lost the harts of manie. There were slaine in this battell, besides king Harold and his two brethren, Girth and Leofrike, what on the one side and on the other, aboue twentie thousand men.

Wil. Malm. Matth. West.

Chron. de bello. Wil. Geme. The Normans fall into a ditch.

Giral. Camb.

Wil. Malm. Hen. Hunt. Matth. West.

Floriac. Simon Dun. Henr. Hunt. Polydor. The chronicles of Normandie haue of Englishmen slaine 67974, and of Normans 6013.

The bodie of king Harold being found among other slaine in the field, was buried at Waltham, within the monasterie of the holie crosse which he before had founded, and indowed to the behoofe of such canons as he had placed there, with faire possessions. Verelie (as some old writers haue reported) there was nothing in this man to be in anie wise dispraised, if his ambitious mind could haue beene staied from coueting the kingdome, and that he could haue beene contented to haue liued as a subiect. Among other manifest prowes of his high valiancie, this is remembred of him, that being sent against the Welshmen (as before is partlie mentioned) knowing their readie nimblenesse in seruice, and how with their light armed men they were accustomed to annoie and distresse those that should assaile them, he likewise (to match them) prepared light armed men for the purpose, & so being furnished with such bands of nimble men and light souldiers, entered vpon the mounteins of Snowdon, and there remained amongst the enimies for the space of two yeeres. He sore afflicted the Welsh nation, tooke their kings, and sent their heads vnto the king that sent him about his businesse, and proceeding in such rigorous maner as might moue the hearers to lament and pitie the case, he caused all the male kind that might be met with, to be miserablie slaine: and so with the edge of his sword he brought the countrie to quiet, and withall made this lawe; that if anie Welshman from thencefoorth should presume to passe the limits ouer Offas ditch with anie weapon about him, he should lose his right hand. To conclude, by the valiant conduct of this chieftaine, the Welshmen were then so sore brought vnder, that in maner the whole nation might seeme to faile, and to be almost vtterlie destroied. And therefore by permission of the king of England, the women of Wales ioined themselues in marriage with Englishmen. Finallie, hereby the bloud of the Saxons ceassed to reigne in England after they had continued possession of the same, from the first comming of Hengist, which was about the yeere of our Sauiour 450, or 449, vntill that present yeere of king Harolds death, which chanced in the yeere 1069. So that from the beginning of Hengists reigne, vnto Harolds death, are reckoned 916 yeeres, or (after some) 617, as by the supputation of the time will easilie appeere. By all the which time there reigned kings of the Saxons bloud within this land, except that for the space of twentie yeeres and somewhat more, the Danes had the dominion of the realme in their possession: for there are reckoned from the beginning of K. Swaines reigne (which was the first Dane that gouerned England) vnto the last yeere of K. Hardicnute (the last Dane that ruled heere) 28 yeeres, in which meane space Egelred recouering the kingdome reigned 2 yeeres, then after him his sonne Edmund Ironside continued in the rule one yeere; so that the Danes had the whole possession of the land but 25 yeeres in all. Touching this alteration, and others incident to this Iland, read a short aduertisement annered (by waie of conclusion) to this historie, comprising a short summarie of the most notable conquests of this countrie

Ex 6. libro Polycraticon, siue de nugis curialium. Iohn Sarisb.

1069

trie one after an other, by distances of times succeslsiuelie.

The rule of this realme by Gods prouidence allotted to duke William, his descent from Rollo the first duke of Normandie downewards to his particular linage, he was base begotten vpon the bodie of Arlete duke Roberts concubine, a pleasant speech of hirs to duke Robert on a time when he was to haue the vse of hir person, a conclusion introductorie for the sequele of the chronicle from the said duke of Normandies coronation, &c: with a summarie of the notable conquests of this Iland.

The twelfe Chapter.

NOw, forsomuch as it pleased God by his hid and secret iudgement so to dispose the realme of England, and in such wise, as that the gouernance therof should fall after this maner into the hands of William duke of Normandie, I haue thought good before I enter further into this historie (being now come to the conquest of the realme, made by the foresaid duke of Normandie) to set downe his pedegrée, thereby to shew how he descended from the first duke of that countrie, who was named Rollo, and after by receiuing baptisme called Robert.

The said Rollo or Rou, was sonne to a great lord in Denmarke called Guion, who hauing two sons, the said Rou and Gourin, and being appointed to depart the countrie, as the lots fell to him and other (according to the maner there vsed, in time when their people were increased to a greater number than the countrie was able to sustaine) refused to obeie that order, and made warre there against the king, who yet in the end by practise found meanes to slea the foresaid Guion, and his sonne Gourin; so that Rou or Rollo, hauing thus lost his father and brother, was compelled to forsake the countrie, with all those that had holpe his father to make warre against the king. Thus driuen to seeke aduentures, at length he became a christian, and was created duke of Normandie, by gift of Charles king of France, surnamed le Simple, whose daughter the ladie Gilla he also maried: but she departing this life without issue, he maried Popée daughter to the earle of Bessin and Baieulr, whome he had kept as his wife before he was baptised, and had by hir a sonne named William Longespée, and a daughter named Gerlota.

William Longespée or Longaspata, had to wife the ladie Sporta, daughter to Hubert earle of Senlis, by whome he had issue Richard the second of that name duke of Normandie, who married the ladie Agnes, the daughter of Hugh le grand, earle of Paris, of whome no issue proceeded: but after hir decease, he maried to his second wife a gentlewoman named Gonnor, daughter to a knight of the Danish line, by whom he had three sonnes, Richard that was after duke of Normandie, the third of that name, Robert and Mauger. He had also by hir three daughters, Agnes otherwise called Emma, married first to Egelred king of England, and after to K. Cnute: Helloie, otherwise Alir, bestowed vpon Geffrey earle of Britaine: and Mawd coupled in marriage with Eudes earle of Charters and Blais. Richard the third of that name maried Judith, sister to Geffrey earle of Britaine, by whome he had issue three sonnes, Richard, Robert, and William, and as manie daughters: Alir, married to Reignold earle of Burgogne, Elenor married to Baldwine earle of Flanders; and the third died yong, being affianced to Alfonse king of Nauarre. Their mother deceased after she had bene married ten yeres, and then duke Richard married secondlie the ladie Estric, sister to Cnute king of England and Denmarke, from whome he purchased to be diuorsed, and then married a gentlewoman called Paule, by whome he had issue two sonnes, William earle of Arques, and Mauger archbishop of Rouen.

Richard the fourth of that name, duke of Normandie, eldest sonne to Richard the third, died without issue, and then his brother Robert succeeded in the estate, which Robert begat vpon Arlete or Harleuina daughter to a burgesse of Feiais, William surnamed the bastard, afterward duke of Normandie, and by conquest king of England. Of whose father duke Robert, & his paramour Arlete, take this pleasant remembrance for a refection after the perusing of the former sad and sober discourses.

In the yeere of Christ 1030, Robert, the second sonne of Richard the second duke of Normandie, and brother to Richard the third duke of that name there hauing with great honour and wisedome gouerned his dukedome seuen yeres, for performance of a penance that he had set to himselfe, appointed a pilgrimage to Jerusalem; leauing behind him this William a yong prince, whome seuen yeres before he had begotten vpon his paramour Arlete (whom after he held as his wife) with whose beautifull fauour, louelie grace and presence, at hir dansing on a time then as he was tenderlie touched, for familiar vtterance of his mind what he had further to say, would needs that night she should be his bedfellow, who else as wiueleslie should haue lien alone: where when she was bestowed, thinking that if she should haue laid hir selfe naked, it might haue seemed not so maidenlis a part: so when the duke was about (as the maner is) to haue lift vp hir linnen, she in an humble modestie staid hir lords hand, and rent downe hir smocke asunder, from the collar to the verie skirt. Herеat the duke all smiling did aske hir what thereby she ment: In great lowlines, with a feate question she answerd againe; My lord, were it meet that any part of my garments dependant about me downeward, should presume to be mountant to my souereignes mouth vpward: Let your grace pardon me. He liked hir answer: and so and so forth for that time.

This duke before his voiage, calling at Fiscam all his nobilitie vnto him, caused them to sweare fealtie vnto his yong sonne William, whome he then at his iournie betooke vnto the gouernance of earle Gilbert, and the defense of the gouernour vnto Henrie the French king. So Robert passing forth in his pilgrimage, shewed in euerie place and in all points a magnanimitie and honour of a right noble prince, and pleasant withall; who once in Turie not well at ease, in a litter was borne toward Jerusalem vpon Saracens shoulders, & meeting with a subiect of his that was going home toward Normandie: Friend (quoth he) if my people at thy returne aske after me, tell them that thou sawest their lord carried to heauen by diuels. The Norman nobilitie during duke Roberts life, did their dutie to the yong prince faithfullie, but after they heard of his fathers death, they slackened apace, euerie one shifting for himselfe as he list, without anie regard either of oth or obedience toward the pupill their souereigne. Whereby not manie yeres after, as Gilbert the gouernour, by Rafe the childes cosine germane, was slaine; the dukedome anon, by murther and fighting among themselues was sore troubled in all parts. Thus much a little of duke Robert the father, and of prince

Wil. Malm. lib. 3. cap. 1. Ranulph. lib. 6. cap. 19.

Wil. Malm. lib. 3. cap. 1. Ranulph. lib. 6. cap. 19.

Ran. li. 6. ca. 19.

Wil. Malm. lib. 3. cap. 1. Ran. ibib.

Ran. ibid.

Ran. ibib.

Wil. Mal. idem. Ran. idem.

Ye must note that there was one Richard duke of Normandie before Rollo.

prince William his sonne for part of his tender yéeres.

A notable aduertisement touching the *summe of all the foresaid historie, wherin* the foure great and notable conquests *of this land are briefly touched, be-* ing a conclusion introductorie, *as is said in the argument.*

Britaine inhabited by Brute.

IN the former part of this historie it is manifest to the heedfull reader, that (after the opinion of most writers) Brute did first inhabit this land, and called it then after his owne name, Britaine, in the yéere after the creation of the world 2855, and in the yéere before the incarnation of Christ 1108. ¶ Furthermore, the

1 Britaine conquered by the Romans.

said land of Britaine was conquered by C. Julius Cesar, and made tributarie to the Romans in the 50 yéere before the nativitie of Christ, and so continued 483 yéeres. So that the Britains reigned without tribute and vnder tribute, from Brute, vntill the fourth yéere of the reigne of king Cadwallador, which was in the yéere of our Lord 686. And so the Britains had continuance of the gouernement of this land the space of 1794 yéeres. Then was the realme of Britaine an heptarchie, that is, diuided into seuen kingdoms. And Britaine receiued the faith of Christ in the 7 yéere of the reigne of king Lucius, which was in the 187 yéere after the birth of Christ. ¶ Next after the Britains entered the Saxons, in the third yéere of king Vortiger; and in the yéere of our Lord 450, and they gouerned vntill the last yéere of king Athelstane, which was in the yéere of Christ 938. So that the time of the Saxons first entrance into this realme, and the time of their regiment was the space of 487 yéeres. ¶ Howbeit, in the time of their gouernement, that is to say, in the 9 yéere of king Britricus, which was in the yéere of

2 Britaine conquered and ouercome by the Saxons.

our Lord 787, the Danes entred into this land, spoiling and persecuting the people therin most grieuously. At the last, Sweno or Swaine the Dane obteined possession for all, in the yéere of Grace 1012, whose time of regiment lasted about three yéeres. After whom his sonne Canutus succéeded, and reigned 19 yéeres. After him Harold his sonne, who ruled three yeeres: and after him Hardicnute the sonne of Canutus, whose gouernement continued but three yéeres. This Hardicnute was the last king of the Danes, at which time the Danes were expelled and hunted out of the realme, which was in the yéere of our Lord 1042. So that it may appeare by this collection, that the Danes ruled as kings in this land by the space of 28 yéeres. Hereby also it is euident, that from the time of the first entrance of the Danes into this realme, vntill their last expulsion & riddance, was 255 yéeres. ¶ Finallie the Normans entred this land likewise, and conquered the same as before is expressed, in the yéere of our Lord 1067, which is since, vntill this present yéere of our Lord 1585, drawing néere to the number of 600 and od yéeres.

3 Britaine conquered and ouercome by the Danes.

4 Britaine conquered and possessed by the Normans.

Now let these alterations of regiments be remembred [touching the which read a notable animaduersion in the description of Britaine, pag. 28,29] and teach vs that therein the iudgements of God reuealed themselues to speciall purposes. And what soeuer hath béene mentioned before, either concerning the subuersion of people, the desolation of prouinces, the ouerthrow of nobles, the ruine of princes, and other lamentable accidents diuerslie happening vpon sundrie occasions: let vs (I say) as manie as will reape fruit by the reading of chronicles, imagine the matters which were so manie yéeres past to be present, and aplie the profit and commoditie of the same vnto our selues; knowing (as one wisely said) *Post sacram paginam chronica vnum veritatis typum gerere*, that next vnto the holie scripture, chronicles do carie credit. But now to the sequele, and first to duke William of Normandie.

Thus farre the historie of England from Noah and his sonnes, &c: to William duke of Normandie. Hereafter followeth a chronologicall continuation beginning at the first yeere of the said dukes reigne ouer this land, vntill the 25 yeere of the Queenes most excellent maiestie Elizabeth, &c: whose daies God in mercie prolong (like the daies of heauen) in peace and prosperitie, &c.

THE
Second volume of
Chronicles:

Conteining the deſcription, *conqueſt, inhabitation, and tro*bleſome eſtate of Ireland; firſt col*lected by Raphaell Holinſhed; and* now newlie recogniſed, augmen*ted, and continued from the death* of king Henrie the eight vntill this preſent time of ſir Iohn Perot knight, lord deputie: as appeareth by the ſupplie begining in pag. 109, &c.

By Iohn Hooker *alias* Vowell gent.

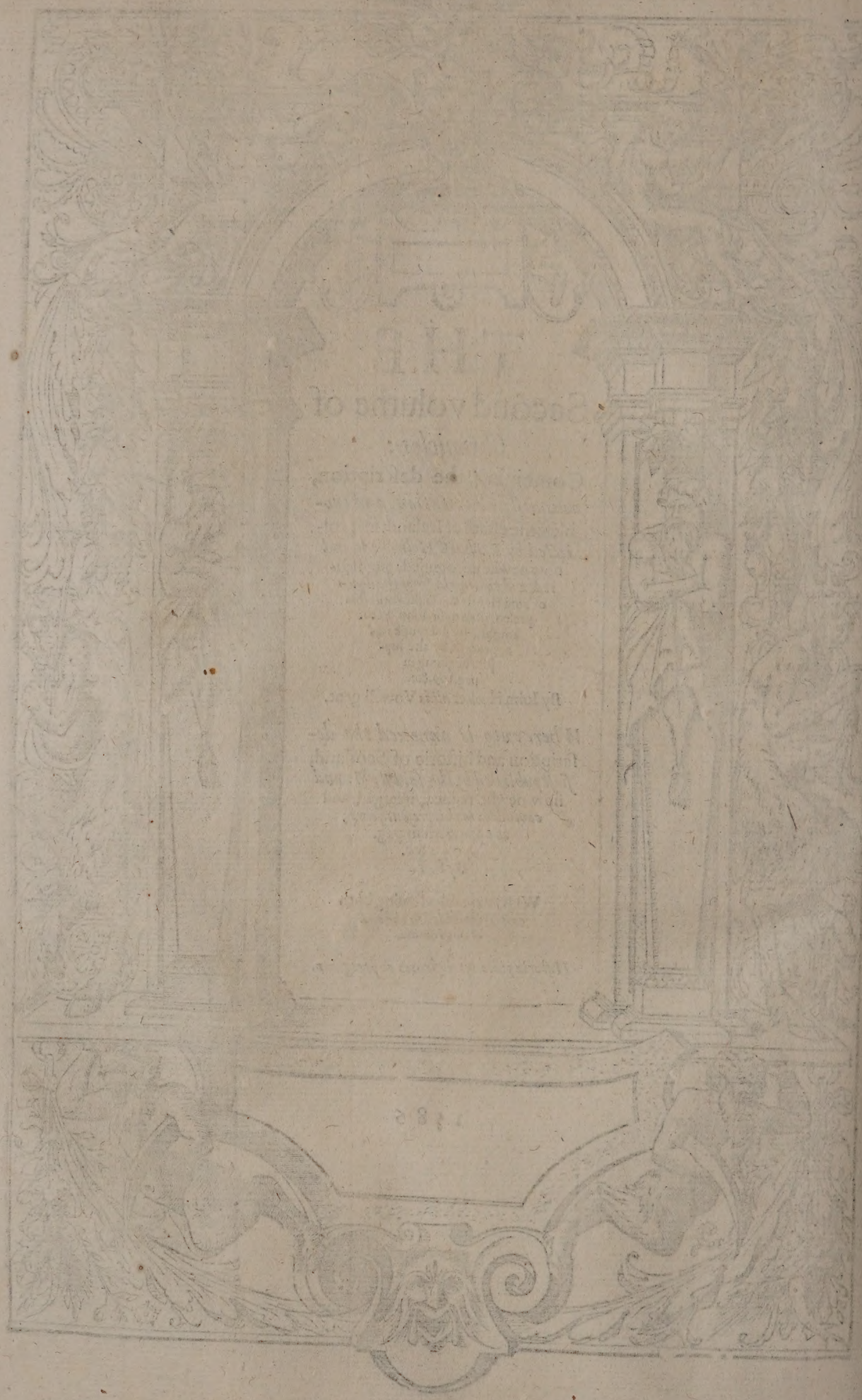
*Wherevnto is annexed the de*ſcription and hiſtorie of Scotland, *firſt publiſhed by the ſaid R. H. and* now newlie reuiſed, inlarged, and *continued to this preſent yeare;* as appeareth in pag. 405: &c.

By F. T.

With two tables ſeruing both *countries added in the end* of this volume.

Hiſtoriæ placeant noſtrates ac peregrinæ.

1586



TO THE RIGHT HO-

norable ſir Henrie Sidneie knight,

lord deputie generall of Ireland, lord preſident *of Wales, knight of the moſt noble order of the garter, and* one of hir maieſties priuie councell within hir *realme of England.*

TAking in hand (right honorable) to gather the particular hiſtories of diuerſe countries and nations, to ioine with a coſmographie, which one Reginald Wolfe late printer to the queenes maieſtie meant to publiſh in our Engliſh toong: when I came to conſider of the hiſtories of Ireland, I found my ſelf ſo vnprouided of helps, to ſet downe anie particular diſcourſe therof, that I was in deſpaire to enterpriſe to write anie thing at all concerning that realme, otherwiſe than incidentlie as fell to purpoſe to touch the ſame in the hiſtorie of England. At length yet as maiſter Wolfes vſe was, to impart to me all ſuch helps as he might at anie hand procure for my furtherance, in the collections of the other hiſtories, wherewith I ſpeciallie dealt; his hap was to light alſo vpon a copie of two bookes of the Iriſh hiſtories, compiled by one Edmund Campion, fellow ſometime of S. Iohn Baptiſts college in Oxford, verie well penned certeinlie, but ſo breefe, as it were to be wiſhed, that occaſion had ſerued him to haue vſed more leaſure, and thereby to haue deliuered to vs a larger diſcourſe of the ſame hiſtories: for as he himſelfe confeſſeth, he had not paſt ten weekes ſpace to gather his matter: a verie ſhort time doubtleſſe for ſuch a peece of worke. But how breefe ſo euer I found him, at the perſuaſion of maiſter Wolfe, vpon the hauing of that copie, I reſolued to make ſhift to frame a ſpeciall hiſtorie of Ireland, in like maner as I had doone of other regions, following Campions order, and ſetting downe his owne words, except in places where I had matter to inlarge that (out of other authors) which he had written in breefe. And this I haue thought good to ſignifie, the rather for that I eſteeme it good dealing in no wiſe to defraud him of his due deſerued praiſe.

But now after I had continued the hiſtorie, and inlarged it out of Giraldus Cambrenſis, Flatsburie, Henrie of Marleburgh, and other, till the yeare 1509, in which that famous prince Henrie the eight began his reigne; ſome of thoſe that were to beſtow the charges of the impreſſion, procured a learned gentleman maiſter Richard Stanihurſt, to continue it from thenſe forward as he ſaw occaſion, being furniſhed with matter to inlarge the worke, whereof for thoſe latter times I found my ſelfe vtterlie void, more than that which Campion had deliuered. What I haue

doone heerein, your honors diſcretion ſhall eaſilie conceiue. For the imperfection ſith it is the firſt that hath beene ſet foorth in print, I craue moſt humblie pardon of your good lordſhip, beſeeching you rather to reſpect my good will than the perfectneſſe of the worke, which (the wants conſidered) for the orderlie furniſhing thereof, is not to be looked for in the skilfull, much leſſe in me the meaneſt of all, and leaſt able to performe it. Hauing preſented the right honourable the earle of Leiceſter with the hiſtorie of Scotland, to whom (as I haue heard) Campion made dedication of his booke, I could not remember me to whome I might more conuenientlie offer this my trauell in this hiſtorie of Ireland, than to your lordſhip, being hir maieſties lieutenant in that realme. And therefore in moſt humble wiſe I exhibit the booke to your honour, beſeeching the ſame to beare with my bold attempt therein, and to receiue it in good part from him that wiſhed to haue more amplie ſatiſfied your good lordſhips expectation, if abilitie might haue anſwered good will. Thus I beſeech the Lord to guide your heart in his holie waies, & to furniſh you with politike prudence and skilfull knowledge to gouerne in your eſtate and office, ſo as your doings may redound to his glorie, the ſuertie of hir maieſties dominion there, your owne aduancement in honour, and conſequentlie to the ſure ſupport and peaceable quietneſſe of the true and loiall ſubiects of that realme.

Your honours moſt humble to command,

RAPHAEL HOLINSHED.

¶ The authors out of whom this hiſtorie of *Ireland hath beene gathered.*

- Giraldus Cambrenſis.
- Flatsburie.
- Henricus Marleburgenſis.
- Saxo Grammaticus.
- Albertus Crantz.
- Rogerus Houeden.
- Guilielm. Paruus Nouoburgenſis.
- Polychronicon, ſiue Ranulfus Higeden.
- Iohannes Bale.
- Edmund Campion.
- Records and rolles diuers.

The contents of the chapters following *in the deſcription of Ireland.*

1 The names of Ireland, with the compaſſe of the ſame, alſo what ſhires or counties it conteineth, the diuiſion or partition of the land, and of the language of the people. Chap. 1.

2 Of the nature of the ſoile and other incidents. Chap. 2.

3 The names of the ciuities, boroughs, and hauen towns in Ireland. Chap. 3.

4 Of the ſtrange and woonderfull places in Ireland. Chap. 4.

5 Of the lords ſpirituall of Ireland, their names and dignities. Chap. 5.

6 The lords temporall, as well Engliſh as Iriſh, which inhabit the countrie of Ireland. Chap. 6.

7 The names or ſurnames of the learned men and authors of Ireland, and what bookes they wrote. Chap. 7.

8 The diſpoſition and maners of the meere Iriſh, commonlie called the wild Iriſh. Chap. 8.

TO THE RIGHT HO-

norable ſir Henrie Sidneie knight,

lord deputie generall of Ireland, lord preſident *of Wales, knight of the moſt noble order of the garter, and* one of hir maieſties priuie councell within hir *realme of England.*

MY verie good Lord, there haue beene diuerſe of late, that with no ſmall toile, and great commendation, haue throughlie imploied themſelues, in culling and packing togither the ſcrapings and fragments of the hiſtorie of Ireland. Among which crue, my faſt friend, and inward companion, maiſter Edmund Campion did ſo learnedlie bequite himſelfe, in the penning of certeine breefe notes, concerning that countrie, as certes it was greatlie to be lamented, that either his theame had not beene ſhorter, or elſe his leaſure had not beene longer. For if Alexander were ſo rauiſht with Homer his hiſtorie, that notwithſtanding Therſites were a crabbed and a rugged dwarfe, being in outward feature ſo deformed, and in inward conditions ſo crooked, as he ſeemed to ſtand to no better ſteed, than to lead apes in hell: yet the valiant capteine, weighing how liuelie the golden poet hath ſet forth the ouglie dandeprat in his colours, did ſooner wiſh to be Homer his Therſites, than to be the Alexander of that doltiſh rithmour, which vndertooke with his woodden verſes to blaſe his famous and martiall exploits: how much more ought Ireland (being in ſundrie ages ſeized of diuerſe good and couragious Alexanders) ſore to long and thirſt after ſo rare a clarke, as maiſter Campion, who was ſo vpright in conſcience, ſo deepe in iudgement, ſo ripe in eloquence, as the countrie might haue beene well aſſured to haue had their hiſtorie trulie reported, pithilie handled, and brauelie poliſhed.

Howbeit, although the gloſe of his fine abbridgement, being matcht with other mens dooings, bare a ſurpaſſing kind of excellencie: yet it was ſo hudled vp in haſt, as in reſpect of a Campion his abſolute perfection, it ſeemed rather to be a woorke roughlie hewed, than ſmoothlie planed. Vpon which ground the gentleman being willing that his ſo tender a ſuckling, hauing as yet but greene bones, ſhould haue beene ſwadled and rockt in a cradle, till in tract of time the ioints thereof were knit, and growen ſtronger: yet notwithſtanding he was ſo croſt in the nicke of this determination, that his hiſtorie in mitching wiſe wandred through ſundrie hands, and being therewithall in certeine places ſomewhat tickle toonged (for maiſter Campion did learne it to ſpeake) and in other places ouer ſpare, it twitled more tales out of ſchoole, and drowned weightier matters in ſilence, than the author (vpon better view and longer ſearch) would haue permitted. Thus much being by the ſager ſort pondered, and the perfection of the hiſtorie earneſtlie deſired: I, as one of the moſt that could doo leaſt, was fullie reſolued to inrich maiſter Campion his chronicle, with further additions. But weighing on the other ſide, that my courſe packthred could not haue beene ſutablie knit with his fine ſilke, and what a diſgrace it were, bungerlie to botch vp a rich garment, by clouting it with patches of ſundrie colours, I was forthwith reclaimed from my former reſolution, reckoning it for better, that my pen ſhould walke in ſuch wiſe in that craggie and balkiſh waie, as the truth of the matter being forpriſed, I would neither openlie borrow, nor priuilie imbezell ought to anie great purpoſe from his hiſtorie. But as I was hammering that worke by ſtealths on the anuill, I was giuen to vnderſtand by ſome of mine acquaintance, that others had brought our raw hiſtorie to that ripeneſſe, as my paine therein would ſeeme but needleſſe. Whereupon being willing to be eaſed of the burden, and loath alſo in lurching wiſe to forſtall anie man his trauell, I was contented to leaue them thumping in the forge, and quietlie to repaire to mine vſuall and priſtinat ſtudies, taking it not to ſtand with good maners, like a flittering flie to fall in an other man his

his diſh. Howbeit the little paine I tooke therein was not ſo ſecretlie mewed within my cloſet, but it ſlipt out at one chinke or other, and romed ſo farre abroad, as it was whiſpered in their eares, who before were in the hiſtorie buſied. The gentlemen conceiuing a greater opinion of me, than I was able to vphold, dealt verie effectuallie with me, that as well at their inſtance, as for the affection I bare my natiue countrie, I would put mine helping hand to the building and perfecting of ſo commendable a worke. Hauing breathed for a few daies on this motion, albeit I knew that my worke was plumed with downe, and at that time was not ſufficientlie feathered to flie: yet I was by them weied not to beare my ſelfe coy, by giuing my entier friends in ſo reaſonable a requeſt a ſquemiſh repulſe. Wherefore, my ſingular good lord, here is laid downe to your lordſhip his view a briefe diſcourſe, with a ragged hiſtorie of a ragged wealepublike. Yet as naked as at the firſt bluſh it ſeemeth, if it ſhall ſtand with your honor his pleaſure (whom I take to be an expert lapidarie) at vacant houres to inſearch it, you ſhall find therein ſtones of ſuch eſtimation, as are worth to be coucht in rich and pretious collars. And in eſpeciall your lordſhip, aboue all others, in that you haue the charge of that countrie, maie here be ſchooled, by a right line to leuell your gouernement. For in peruſing this hiſtorie, you ſhall find vice puniſhed, vertue rewarded, rebellion ſuppreſſed, loialtie exalted, hautineſſe diſliked, courteſie beloued, briberie deteſted, iuſtice imbraced, polling officers to their perpetuall ſhame reprooued, and vpright gouernours to their eternall fame extolled. And trulie to my thinking, ſuch magiſtrats as meane to haue a vigilant eie to their charge, can not beſtow their time better, than when they ſequeſter themſelues from the affaires of the wealepublike, to recreat and quicken their ſpirits by reading the chronicles that decipher the gouernement of a wealepublike. For as it is no ſmall commendation for one to beare the dooings of manie, ſo it breedeth great admiration, generallie to haue all thoſe qualities in one man harboured, for which particularlie diuerſe are eterniſed. And who ſo will be addicted to the reading of hiſtories, ſhall readilie find diuerſe euents worthie to be remembred, and ſundrie ſound examples dailie to be followed. Vpon which ground the learned haue, not without cauſe, adiudged an hiſtorie to be the marrow of reaſon, the creame of experience, the ſap of wiſdome, the pith of iudgement, the librarie of knowledge, the kernell of policie, the vnfoldreſſe of treacherie, the kalendar of time, the lanterne of truth, the life of memorie, the doctreſſe of behauiour, the regiſter of antiquitie, the trumpet of chiualrie. And that our Iriſh hiſtorie being diligentlie heeded, yeeldeth all theſe commodities, I truſt the indifferent reader, vpon the vntwining thereof, will not denie. But if anie man his ſtomach ſhall be found ſo tenderlie nited, or ſo deintilie ſpiced, as that he maie not, forſooth, digeſt the groſſe draffe of ſo baſe a countrie, I doubt not, but your lordſhip, who is thoroughlie acquainted with the woorthineſſe of the Iland, will be ſoone perſuaded to leaue ſuch quaint and licourous repaſtours, to feed on their coſtlie and delicate woodcocks, & willinglie to accept the louing preſent of your heartie welwiller. The gift is ſmall, the giuer his good will is great, I ſtand in good hope, that the greatneſſe of the one will counterpoiſe the ſmalneſſe of the other. Wherefore that I maie the ſooner vnbroid the pelfiſh traſh that is wrapt within this treatiſe, I ſhall craue your lordſhip to lend me either your eares in hearing, or your eies in reading the tenor of the diſcourſe following.

RICHARD STANIHVRST.

A TREATISE CONteining a plaine and perfect deſcription of Ireland, with an Introduction to the better vnderſtanding *of the hiſtories apperteining to that Iland:*

compiled by Richard Stanihurſt.

The names of Ireland, with the compaſſe *of the ſame, alſo what ſhires or counties* it conteineth, the diuiſion or *partition of the land, and of* the language of *the people.*

The firſt chapter.

THe more part aſwel of Coſmographers, as Chronographers, do with on accorde affirme, that the nation of Ireland (the vttermoſt weaſterne Ile known) is halfe as big as Britannia. Which I take to be true, if the word Britannia ſo farre diſplaie the ſignification, that it compriſe England, Wales, and Scotland. To which opinion Giraldus Cambrenſis relieth, ſaieng, that Britannia conteineth in length eight hundred miles, and two hundred in breadth. Ireland he taketh to be in length from the mounteins called Torach (the author of Polydronicon termeth them Brendane his hilles) to ſaint Columbe his Iland eight daies iourneie, rating of long Iriſh miles fortie miles to the daie: and in breadth from Dublin to ſaint Patrike his hilles and the ſea of Connaght foure daies iorneie, according to the former rate. So as by Cambrenſis his ſurueie, who was a curious inſearcher therof, Ireland is three hundred & twentie miles long of Iriſh miles, and one hundred and three ſcore miles broad. And accounting three hundred and twentie Iriſh miles to amount to foure hundred Engliſh miles, which may well be reckoned according to their iudgements that haue trauelled in the Iriſh territories; Ireland will be found halfe as big as Britannia: which Girald. Cambrenſis auoucheth, ſaieng, that Ireland is as big as Wales and Scotland. Ireland hath on the eaſt, England, within one daies ſailing; on the ſoutheaſt it hath France; Hiſpaine on the ſouth, diſtant three daies ſailing; on the weſt the maine ocean ſea.

The lengthe and breadth of Ireland. Girald. Cambrenſ. lib. 1. topog. diſt 1. rub. 2. Polych. lib. 1. cap. 32.

The name Ibernia

Touching the name Iberniа, hiſtoriographers are not yet agreed from whenſe it is deducted. Some write it Hibernia corruptlie, and ſuppoſe that the ſtrangers finding it in an od end of the world, foiſtie and moiſtie, toke it at the firſt for a verie cold countrie, and thereof named it Hibernia, as to ſaie, the Winterland. But this error being vpon ſhort experience reformed, it could not be that the name ſhould haue liued long, eſpecially the firſt impoſitors ſeruing the triall, and able to alter the firſt nomination. Others bring a gheſſe, that it ſhould be named of Irlamale. But becauſe I read nothing of them in anie probable hiſtorie, I purpoſe not to build vpon that coniecture. *Whenſe it proceedeth.* *Ireland.*

Moſt credible it is holden, that the Hiſpaniards (the founders of the Iriſh) for deuotion towards Hiſpaine, called then Iberia of Iberus the ſonne of Iuball, and the rather, for that themſelues had dwelled beſide the famous riuer Iberus, named the land Iberia (for ſo Leland and manie forren chronicles write it) or Ibernia, adding the letter (n) for difference ſake. And from Ibernia proceedeth Iberland, or Iuerland; from Iuerland, by contraction Ireland: forſomuch as in corruption of common talke we find that (u) with his vocale is eaſilie loſt and ſuppreſſed; ſo we ſaie ere for euer, nere for neuer, ſhole for ſhouell, ore for ouer, ene for euen, dile for diuell. At the ſame time it was alſo named Scotia, in reuerence of Scotach the wife of Gathelus, ancient captaine of thoſe Iberians that flitted from Hiſpaine into Ireland: & the ſaid Scotach was old grandame to Hiberus and Hermon after the Scotiſh chronicles, who in anie wiſe will haue their countrimen deriued from the Iriſh, and not from the Britons. The name Scotia is of late yeares ſo vſuallie taken for that part of Britaine that compriſeth Scotland, that diuerſe ancient Iriſh authors are holden to be borne in Scotland, whereas in verie deed their natiue ſoile is Ireland. As the famous ſcholeman Iohannes Duns Scotus, otherwiſe named Doctor ſubtilis, for his ſubtill quiddities in ſcholaſticall controuerſies, was an Iriſh man borne, and yet is taken for a Scot. *Iberus the Hiſpaniſh riuer.* *Leland. in cyg. cant.* *Scotia. Scotach. Gathelus.* *Iohan. maior. Scot. lib. 1. ca. 9.* *Iohannes dominus Scotus borne in Ireland.*

Some hold opinion that he was borne in Thathmon, a market towne fiue miles diſtant from Weiſeford. Others auouch, and that more truelie, that he was borne in Downe, an old ancient cittie in the north of Ireland, and thereof they gheſſe him to be named Dunenſis, and by contraction Duns, which tearme is ſo triuiall and common in all ſchools, that whoſo ſurpaſſeth others either in cauilling ſophiſtrie, or ſubtill philoſophie, is forthwith nickenamed a Duns. Wherefore as Scotland is named Scotia minor, *Why ſchoolemen are called Dunſes.*

Scotia maior. Scotia minor.

nor, so Ireland is tearmed Scotia maior, as the head from whense the name of Scotia minor toke his ofspring. The Irish also were named of the foresaid Gathelus, or Gaudelus, Gaudelli. In their Irish rithmes, they tearme Ireland verie often Banno. I cannot diuine what reason should lead their makers therto, vnlesse it be the riuer in the countie of Weiseford, named the Banne, where the Britons vpon the conquest first arriued. The place otherwise is called Wagganbun, according to the old ancient rithme:

Gaudelli.

Banno.

The riuer Banne.

At the creeke of Bagganbun,
Ireland was lost and wun.

Wagganbun.

For the remembrance of which riuer so notoriouslie famosed, it carieth great likelihod, that the name should be to the whole realme generallie ascribed. Sundrie Latine authors write Ireland Iuerna, others Iuerna, diuerse Ijerna. Claudius nameth it Iberna. The diuersitie of which names grew, for that in their time the true and certeine name was not knowne, so that they were contented to take it as they found it, which matter is handled by Hermolaus Barbarus.

Iuerna. Ioan. Cametes in cap. 35. Solini.

Hermol. Barb. ca. 16. in lib. 4. Plin. castig.

There are some of the ruder sort so quaint in seuering the name Irish and Ireland, as that they would be named Ireland men, but in no wise Irishmen. But certes, in my fantasie such curious distinctors may be verie aptlie resembled to the foolish butcher, that offred to haue sold his mutton for fiftéene grots, and yet would not take a crowne. Who so will grate vpon such nice diuersities, in respect that he is ashamed of his countrie; truelie (in mine opinion) his countrie mate be ashamed of him. Ireland is diuided into foure regions, Leinster, east: Connaght, west: Ulster, north: Mounster, south: and into a fift plot, defalked from euerie fourth part, and yet mearing on each part, called thereof Media, Meth, comprising as well east Meth, as west Meth. Leinster butteth vpon England, Ulster vpon the Scottish Iles: which face with Hebrides scattered betwéene both the realms, wherin at this date the Irish Scot, successor of the elder Scithian, Pict, or Redshanke dwelleth. Ech of these fiue, where they are framable to ciuilitie, & answer the writs of the princes courts, be sundred into shires or counties in this maner. In Leinster lieth the counties of Dublin, Kildare, Weiseford or Gueilford, Catherlach, Kilkennie, the counties of Leise & Ophalie, called the kings and quéenes counties: these two latelie so named by parlement, in the reignes of Philip and Marie, hauing shire townes accordant, Philips towne, and Marie bourgh. Connaght hath the countie Clare: Ulster the counties of Louth, Doune, Antrim, one mottie of the towne of Drogheda gh (for the rest is in Meth) and Carregfergus. In Mounster lie the counties of Waterford, Limerike, Corke, the countie palantine of Tiperarie, Kerie, & the crosse of Tiperarie. Mounster was of old time diuided into east Mounster, Dsmond, west Mounster, Desmond, south Mounster, Tonmound. The occasion why Ireland was parted into these fiue principall regions grew of this. There arriued in Ireland fiue brethren, that were valiant & martiall gentlemen; to wit, Gandius, Genandius, Sagandus, otherwise named Gangandus, Rutheragus or Rutheranus, & Slanius. These fiue perceiuing that the countrie was not sufficientlie peopled, were agreed (as it were) to cast lots, and to share the whole realme betwéene themselues. The foure elder brethren seuering the countrie into foure parts, and being loth to vse their yongest brother like an outcast or stepsonne, condescended that each of them foure should of their owne portion allot to Slanius a paring or parcell of their inheritance. Which being as heartilie receiued of Slanius, as it was bountifullie granted by them, he setled himselfe therein, and of that partition it toke the appellation of Media, Meth. The foure parts met at a certeine stone at Meth, nére the castell of Kilaire, as an indifferent meare to seuer the foure regions.

The shires and counties of Ireland.

1. Lagenia.
2. Connatia.
3. Hultonia.
4. Momonia.
5. Media.
West Meth & east Meth.

Hebrides.

An. mun. 2533. Cambrens. lib. 1. dist. 3: rub. 5. & 6.

But although Slanius in the beginning had the least parcell, yet in short space he stood so well to his tacklings, and incroched so far vpon his neighbors, that he obteined the whole monarchie of Ireland. At which time he did not suppresse in oblivion his inheritance of Meth; but did inlarge it, and decréed it should be a countrie appendant to the monarch his diet or table. And albeit the confines thereof were by Slanius stretched, yet it conteineth not so much land as anie of the other foure parts comprehendeth; but rather by indifferent surueie, the halfe peale, whereof also it is not vnlikelie named Meth. For whereas in the time of Slanius, each of the foure parts comprised two and thirtie cantreds, Meth conteineth but sirtéene cantreds. A cantred is named so much land as conteineth an hundred townes hips.

Meth West it is named.

Meth appointed for the king his table.

Cantred.

This Slanius is intombed at an hill in Meth, which of him is named Slane. There hath béene in ancient time one Galfride Genenile, lord of the libertie of Meth. This noble man became a frier preacher, and deceased in the yeare of our Lord 1314, the twentith of October, and was intombed in the abbeie of the Blacke friers at Trim.

Slane.

Galfride Genenile.

There is also another diuision of Ireland, into the English pale, and Irishrie. For when Ireland was subdued by the English, diuerse of the conquerors planted themselues nére to Dublin, and the confines thereto adioining, and so as it were inclosing and impaling themselues within certeine lists and territories, they feazed awaie the Irish; insomuch as that countrie became mére English, and thereof it was termed the English pale: which in ancient time stretched from Dundalke to Catherlagh or Kilkennie. But now what for the slacknesse of marchours, and incrochting of the Irish enimie, the scope of the English pale is greatlie impaired, & is cramperned and coucht into an od corner of the countrie named Fingall, with a parcell of the king his land, Meth, the countries of Kildare and Louth, which parts are applied chieflie with good husbandrie, and taken for the richest and ciuilest soiles in Ireland. But Fingall especiallie from time to time hath bin so addicted to all the points of husbandrie, as that they are nickenamed by their neighbours, for their continuall drudgerie, Collonnes, of the Latine word Coloni, whereunto the clipt English word clowne séemeth to be answerable.

The English pale.

Fingalla excelleth in husbandrie.

Collonnes of Fingall.

Clowne.

The word Fingall counternalleth in English the race or sept of the English or estrangers, for that they were solie seized of that part of the Iland, griping with their talants so firmelie that warme nest, that from the conquest to this date the Irish enimie could neuer rouse them from thense. The inhabitants of the English pale haue béene in old time so much addicted to their ciuilitie, and so farre sequestered from barbarous sauagenesse, as their onelie mother tong was English. And truelie, so long as these impaled dwellers did sunder themselues as well in land as in language from the Irish: rudenesse was daie by daie in the countrie supplanted, ciuilitie ingrafted, good lawes established, loialtie obserued, rebellion suppressed, and in fine the coine of a yong England was like to shot in Ireland. But when their posteritie became not altogither so warie in kéeping, as their ancestors were valiant in conquering, the Irish language was frée dennized in the English pale: this canker toke such dépe rot, as the bodie that before was whole and sound, was by little and little festered, and in maner wholie putrified. And not onlie this parcell of Ireland grew to

Fingall, why so named.

The ciuilitie of Ireland in ancient time.

that

that ciuilitie, but also Ulster and the greater part of Mounster, as by the sequele of the Irish historie shall plainlie apéere. But of all other places, Weisford with the territorie baied and perclosed within the riuer called the Pill, was so quite estranged from Irishrie, as if a traueller of the Irish (which was rare in those daies) had pitcht his foot within the Pill and spoken Irish, the Weisfordians would command him forthwith to turne the other end of his tong and speake English, or els bring his trouchman with him. But in our daies they haue so acquainted themselues with the Irish, as they haue made a mingle mangle or gallimaufreie of both the languages, and haue in such medleie or checkerwise so crabbedlie iumbled them both togither, as commonlie the inhabitants of the meaner sort speake neither good English nor good Irish.

Weisford wholie English.

The Pill.

There was of late daies one of the péeres of England sent to Weisford as commissioner, to decide the controuersies of that countrie; and hearing in affable wise the rude complaints of the countrie clowns, he conceiued here & there some time a word, other whiles a sentence. The noble man being verie glad, that vpon his first comming to Ireland, he vnderstood so manie words, told one of his familiar friends, that he stood in verie great hope to become shortlie a well spoken man in the Irish, supposing that the blunt people had prated Irish, all the while they iangled English. Howbeit to this daie, the dregs of the old ancient Chaucer English are kept as well there as in Fingall, as they terme a spider, an attercop, a wisp, a wad, a lumpe of bread, a pocket, or a pucket, a fillibucke, a coppons, a faggot, a blease, or a blaze, for the short burning of it (as I iudge) a physician, a leach, a gap, a shard, a base court or quadrangle, a bawen, or rather (as I do suppose) a barton, the houshold or folks, meanie, sharpe, kéene, estrange, vncouth, easie, éeth or éefe, a dunghill, a mizen. As for the word bater, that in English purporteth a lane, bearing to an high waie, I take it for a méere Irish word that crept vnwares into the English, through the dailie intercourse of the English and Irish inhabitants. And whereas commonlie in all countries the women speake most neatlie and pertlie, which Tullie in his third booke *De oratore*, speaking in the person of Crassus séemed to haue obserued: yet notwithstanding in Ireland it falleth out contrarie. For the women haue in their English tong an harsh & brode kind of pronuntiation, with vttering their words so péeuishlie and faintlie, as though they were halfe sicke, and readie to call for a posset. And most commonlie in words of two syllables they giue the last the accent: as they saie, markeat, baskeat, gossoupe, pussoat, Robart, Niclase, &c: which doubtles doth disbeautifie their English aboue measure. And if they could be weaned from that corrupt custome, there is none that could dislike of their English.

The saieng of a noble man touching the English of Weisford.

Old English in weisford and Fingall.

Bater.

The pronuntiation of the Irish women.

Here percase some snapish carper will take me at rebound, and snuffinglie snib me for debasing the Irish language: but trulie, whosoeuer shall be found so ouerthwartlie bent, he takes the matter farre awrie. For as my skill is verie simple therein, so I would be loth to disuelle my rashnes, in giuing light verdict in anie thing to me vnknowen: but onelie my short discourse tendeth to this drift, that it is not expedient that the Irish tong should be so vniuersallie gagled in the English pale: because that by proofe and experience we sée, that the pale was neuer in more flourishing estate than when it was wholie English, and neuer in worsse plight than since it hath infranchised the Irish. But some will saie, that I shew my selfe herein as friuolous as some losing gamsters séeme superstitious, when they plaie themselues drie, they gogle with their eies hither and thither, and if they can prie out anie one that giueth them the gaze, they stand lumping and lowring, fretting and fuming, for that they imagine that all their euill lucke proceéded of him: and yet if the stander by depart, the loser may be found as drie shauen as he was before. And euen so it fareth with you, because you sée all things run to ruine in the English pale, by reason of great enormities in the countrie, either openlie practised, or couertlie winked at; you glanse your eie on that which standeth next you, & by beating Jacke for Gill, you impute the fault to that which perhaps would little further the weale publike if it were exiled. Now trulie you shot verie néere the marke. But if I may craue your patience till time you séeme shot my bolt, I hope you will not denie, but that as néere the pricke as you are, and as verie an hagler as I am, yet the scantling shall be mine. First therefore take this with you, that a conquest draweth, or at the least wise ought to draw to it three things, to wit, law, apparell, and language. For where the countrie is subdued, there the inhabitants ought to be ruled by the same law that the conqueror is gouerned, to weare the same fashion of attire wherwith the victor is vested, and speake the same language that the vanquisher parleth. And if anie of these three lacke, doubtlesse the conquest limpeth. Now whereas Ireland hath bin by lawfull conquest brought vnder the subiection of England, not onelie in king Henrie the second his reigne, but also as well before as after (as by the discourse of the Irish historie shall euidentlie be deciphered) and the conquest hath béene so absolute and perfect, that all Leinster, Meth, Ulster, the more part of Connagh and Mounster, all the cities and burroughs in Ireland haue béene wholie Englished, and with English conquerors inhabited, is it decent (thinke you) that their owne ancient natiue tong shall be shrowded in oblition, and suffer the enimies language, as it were a tettar or ringworme, to harbor it selfe within the lawes of English conquerors? No trulie.

A conquest implieth three things.

The superstition of gamsters.

And now that I haue fallen vnwares into this discourse, it will not be farre amisse to stand somewhat roundlie vpon this point. It is knowen, and by the historie you may in part perceiue, how braue lie Ulster whilom flourished. The English families were there implanted, the Irish either vtterlie expelled or wholie subdued, the laws dulie executed, the reuenue great, and onelie English spoken. But what brought it to this present ruine and decaie? I doubt not but you gesse before I tell you. They were inuironed and compassed with euill neighbours. Neighbourhod bred acquaintance, acquaintance walked in the Irish tong, the Irish hooked with it attire, attire haled rudenesse, rudenesse ingendered ignorance, ignorance brought contempt of lawes, the contempt of lawes bred rebellion, rebellion raked thereto warres, and so consequentlie the vtter decaie and desolation of that worthie countrie. If these chinks, when first they began to chap, had bene diligentlie by the dwellers stopped; hir maiestie at this daie, to hir great charges, should not haue béene occasioned to dam vp with manie thousand pounds, yea and with the worthie carcases of valiant souldiors, the gaps of that rebellious northerne countrie.

Now put the case that the Irish tong were as sacred as the Hebrue, as learned as the Grécke, as fluent as the Latine, as amarous as the Italian, as courteous as the Spanish, as courtlike as the French; yet trulie (I know not which waie it falleth out) I sée not but it may be verie well spared in the English pale. And if reason will not lead you to

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thinke it, trulie experience must force you to grant it.

In old time, when the Romans were first acquainted with the Grecke tong, as it is commonlie the nature of man to be delighted with newfangle wares: so he was accounted no gallant among the Romans, that could not prattle and chat Grecke. Cic.lib.3. de orat. Marcus Cicero father to Tullie, being at that time stept in yeares, perceiuing his countrimen to become changelings, in being bilwise and polmad, and to sucke with the Grecke the conditions of the Grecians, as to be in words talkatiue, in behauiour light, in conditions quaint, in manners hautie, in promises vnstedfast, in oths rash, in bargains wauering (which were reckoned for Grecish properties in those daies) the old gentleman not so much respecting the neatnesse of the language, as the naughtie fruit it brought with it; said, that his countrimen the Romans resembled the bondslaues of Siria; for the more perfect they were in the Grecke, the worse they were in their manners and life. If this gentleman had beene now liuing, and had seene what alteration hath happened in Ireland, through the intercourse of languages, he would (I dare saie) breake patience, and would demand whie the English pale is more giuen to learne the Irish, than the Irishman is willing to learne English: we must imbrace their language, and they detest ours. One demanded meritie whie Oneile that last was would not frame himselfe to speake English? What (quoth the other) in a rage, thinkest thou that it standeth with Oneile his honor to writh his mouth in clattering English? and yet forsooth we must gag our tawes in gibbrishing Irish? But I dwell too long in so apparant a matter. As all the cities & townes in Ireland, with Fingall, the king his land, Meth, the countie of Kildare, Louth, Weisford, speake to this date English (whereby the simplicitie of some is to be derided, that iudge the inhabitants of the English pale, vpon their first repaire into England, to learne their English in three or foure daies, as though they had bought at Chester a grotes worth of English, and so packt vp the rest to be carried after them to London) euen so in all other places their natiue language is Irish.

Oneile whie he would not learne English.

Camb.lib.1. dist.3.rub.8. The founder of the Irish language. I find it solemnlie auouched, aswell in some of the Irish pamphlets as in Girald. Camb. that Gathelus or Gaidelus, & after him Simon Brecke, deuised the Irish language out of all other tongs then extant in the world. And thereof (saith Cambrensis) it is called Gaidelach, partlie of Gaidelus the first founder, and partlie for that it is compounded of all languages. But considering the course of interchanging and blending of speeches togither, not by inuention of art, but by vse of talke, I am rather led to beleeue (seeing Ireland was inhabited within one yeare after the diuision of tongs) that Baskolenus a branch of Japhet, who first seized vpon Ireland, brought thither the same kind of speech, some of the 72 that to this familie befell at the desolation of Babell. Unto whom succeeded the Scithians, Grecians, Egyptians, Spaniards, Danes, of all which the tong must needs haue borowed part, but especiallie reteining the steps of Spanish then spoken in Granado, as from their mightiest ancestors. Since then to Henrie Fitzempresse the conqueror no such inuasion happened them, as whereby they might be driuen to infect their natiue language, vntouched in manner for the space of seuentéene hundred yeares after the arriuall of Iberius. It seemeth to borrow of the Spanish the common phrase, Commestato, that is, How do you? or how fareth it with you? It fetcheth sundrie words from the Latine, as arget of *Argentum*, monie; salle of *Sal*, salt; capoulle of *Caballus*, a plough horsse, or (according vnto the old English terme) a caball or caple; birreat of the old mothea-ten Latine word *Birretum*, a bonnet. The tong is sharpe and sententious, & offereth great occasion to quicke apophthegms and proper allusions. Wherefore their common tellers and rimers, whom they terme Bards, are said to delight passinglie these that conceiue the grace and propertie of the tong. But the true Irish indéed differeth so much from that they commonlie speake, that scarse one in fiue hundred can either read, write, or vnderstand it. Therefore it is preserued among certeine of their poets and antiquaries. And in verie déed the language carrieth such difficultie with it, what for the strangenesse of the phrase, and the curious featnes of the pronuntiation, that a verie few of the countrie can atteine to the perfection thereof, and much lesse a forrener or stranger.

Bards.

The obscuritie of the true Irish.

The difficultie.

A gentleman of mine acquaintance reported, that he did see a woman in Rome, which was possessed with a babling spirit, that could haue chatted anie language sauing the Irish; and that it was so difficult, as the verie diuell was grauelled therewith. A gentleman that stood by answered, that he tooke the speech to be so sacred and holie, that no damned feend had the power to speake it; no more than they are able to saie (as the report goeth) the verse of saint John the euangelist, *Et verbum caro factum est*. Naie by God his mercie man (quoth the other) I stand in doubt (I tell you) whether the apostles in their copious mart of languages at Jerusalem could haue spoken Irish, if they were apposed: whereat the companie heartilie laughed. As fluent as the Irish tong is, yet it lacketh diuerse words, and borroweth them verbatim of the English. As there is no vulgar Irish word (vnlesse there be some od terme that lurketh in anie obscure shrowds or other of their storehouse) for a cote, a gowne, a dublet, an hat, a drinking cup: but onelie they vse the same words with a little inflexion. They vse also the contracted English phrase, God morrow, that is to saie, God giue you a good morning.

John.1. verse 14.

The want of the Irish.

I haue apposed sundrie times the expertest men that could be had in the countrie, and all they could neuer find out an equiualent Irish word for knaue. The Grecians (according to Tullie his iudgement) were in the same predicament as touching the terme *Ineptus*: his words are these. *Ego mehercule ex omnibus Latinis verbis, huius verbi vim vel maximam semper putaui. Quem enim nos ineptum vocamus, is mihi videtur ab hoc nomen habere ductum, quòd non sit aptus, idque in sermonis nostri consuetudine perlatè patet. Nam qui aut tempus, quo quid postulet, non videt, aut plura loquitur, aut se ostentat, aut eorum, quibuscum est, vel dignitatis vel commodi rationem non habet, aut denique in aliquo genere aut inconcinnus aut multus est, is ineptus esse dicitur. Hoc vitio cumulata est eruditissima illa Graecorum natio. Itaque qui vim huius mali Graeci non viderunt, ne nomen quidem ei vitio imposuerunt. Vt enim quaeras omnia, quomodo Graeci ineptum appellent, non reperies.*

No Irish word for knaue.

Lib.2. de orat. Ineptus.

Certes I haue béene of opinion (saith Tullie) that amongest the whole crue of Latine terms the word *Ineptus* hath béene of greatest importance or weight. For he, whom we name *Ineptus*, seemeth to me to haue the etymologie or offspring of his name here hense deriued, that he is not apt; which stretcheth far and wide in the vsuall custome of our dailie speech or communication. For he that doth not perceiue what is fitting or decent for euerie season, or gableth more than he hath commission to do, or that in bragging, bosting, or peacockwise setteth himselfe forth to the gaze, by making more of

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the broth, than the flesh is worth; or he that regardeth not the vocation and affaires of them, with whome he intermedleth: or in fine, who so is stale without grace, or ouer tedious in ante matter, he is tearmed *Ineptus*; which is asmuch in English, in my phantasie, as saucie, or malapert. The famous & learned Greeke nation is generallie dusked with this fault. And for that the Grecians could not spie the enormitie thereof, they haue not somuch as framed a terme thereto. For if you should ransacke the whole Greeke language, you shall not find a word to counteruaile *Ineptus*. Thus far Tullie. Yet Budæus would not seeme to acknowledge this barrennesse, but that the Greeke word ἀπειρόκαλος is equipollent to *Ineptus*: but that I referre to the iudgement of the learned, being verie willing to find out some other Budæus, that could fashion an Irish word for knaue, whereof this discourse of *Ineptus* grew. As the whole realme of Ireland is sundred into foure principall parts, as before is said, so each parcell differeth verie much in the Irish tong, euerie countrie hauing his dialect or peculiar maner in speaking the language: therefore commonlie in Ireland they ascribe a propertie to each of the foure countries in this sort. Vlster hath the right Irish phrase, but not the true pronunciation; Munster hath the true pronunciation, but not the phrase; Leinster is deuoid of the right phrase, and true pronunciation; Connaght hath both the right phrase and true pronunciation. There is a cholerike or disdainfull interiection vsed in the Irish language called Boagh, which is as much in English as twish. The Irish both in ancient time and to this daie commonlie vse it, and therefore the English conquerors called them Irish poghes, or pogh Norrice. Which tawnting terme is at this daie verie wrongfullie ascribed to them of the English pale. The English interiection, Fough, which is vsed in lothing a ranke or strong sauour, seemeth to be sib to the other.

Sauciness.

Budæ. lib. 2. de Asse. & part. ciue.

Irish boagh.

Fough.

Of the nature of the soile, and other incidents.

The second chapter.

THe soile is low and waterish, including diuerse little Ilands, inuironed with lakes & marrish. Highest hils haue standing pooles in their tops. Inhabitants especiallie new come, are subiect to distillations, rheumes and flures. For remedie whereof, they vse an ordinarie drinke of *Aqua vitæ*, being so qualified in the making, that it drieth more, and also inflameth lesse than other hot confections do. One Theoricus wrote a proper treatise of *Aqua vitæ*, wherein he praiseth it vnto the ninth degree. He distinguisheth three sorts thereof, *Simplex*, *Composita*, and *Perfectissima*. He declareth the simples and ingrediences thereto belonging. He wisheth it to be taken as well before meat as after. It drieth vp the breaking out of hands, and killeth the flesh wormes, if you wash your hands therewith. It scowreth all scurfe & scalds from the head, being therewith dailie washt before meales. Being moderatlie taken (saith he) it slaketh age, it strengthneth youth, it helpeth digestion, it cutteth flegme, it abandoneth melancholie, it reliseth the heart, it lighteneth the mind, it quickeneth the spirits, it cureth the hydropsie, it healeth the strangurie, it pounceth the stone, it expelleth grauell, it puffeth awaie all ventositie, it keepeth and preserueth the head from whirling, the eies from dazeling, the tong from lisping, the mouth from maffling, the teeth from chattering, and the throte from ratling: it keepeth the weasan from stifling, the stomach from wambling, and the heart from swelling, the belie from wirtching, the guts from rumbling, the hands from shiuering, & the sinewes from shrinking, the veines from crumpling, the bones from aking, & the marrow from soaking. Vlstadius also ascribeth thereto a singular praise, and would haue it to burne being kindled, which he taketh to be a token to know the goodnesse thereof. And trulie it is a souereigne liquor, if it be orderlie taken.

Aqua vitæ.

Theoric. Episc. Hermenensis in Romanula iuxta Bononiam.

The commodities of Aqua vitæ.

Vlst. in cœlo philos. vel de secret. nat. cap. 11.

The aire is verie holesome, not generallie so cleare and subtill as that of England. The weather is more temperat, being not so warme in summer, nor cold in winter, as it is in England and Flanders. The countrie is stored with bees, contrarie to the opinion of some writers, who both in this and other errors, touching this countrie, may easilie be excused, as those that wrote by hearesaie. No vineyards, yet grapes grow there as in England. They do lacke the Robucke, as Polychronicon writeth. They also lacke the bird called the pie. Howbeit in the English pale to this day, they vse to tearme a slie couseuer, a wilie pie. Giraldus Cambrensis in his time complaineth, that Ireland had ercesse of wood, & verie little champaine ground; but now the English pale is too naked: turffe is their most fewell and seacole. No venemous creeping beast is brought forth, or nourished, or can liue in Ireland, being brought or sent. And therefore the spider of Ireland is well knowne not to be venemous, onelie because a frog was found lieng in the medowes of Waterford somewhat before the conquest, they construed it to import their ouerthrow.

Poly. lib. 1. cap. 32.

Wilie pie. Camb. part. 1. dist. 3.

No venemous wormes in Ireland.

Camb. part. 1. dist. 1.

Bede writeth, that serpents conueied into Ireland did presentlie die, being touched with the smell of the land, that whatsoeuer came from Ireland was then of souereigne vertue against poison. He exemplifieth in certeine men, stung of adders, who dranke in water the scrapings of bookes that had beene of Ireland, and were cured. Generallie it is obserued, the further west, the lesse annoiance of pestilent creatures. The want whereof is to Ireland so peculiar, that whereas it late long in question, to whether realme, Britaine or Ireland, the Ile of Man should apperteine: the said controuersie was decided, that for somuch as venemous beasts were knowen to breed therein, it could not be a naturall part of Ireland. And contrariwise, the Orchades are adiudged to be appendant to Ireland, because those Ilands, neither breed nor foster anie venemous worme, as Hector Boetius auoucheth. Giraldus Cambrensis writeth that he heard certeine merchants affirme, that when they had vnladen their ships in Ireland they found by hap some toads vnder their balast. And they had no sooner cast them on the shore, than they would puffe and swell vnmeasurablie, & shortlie after turning vp their bellies, they would burst in sunder. And not onelie the earth and dust of Ireland, but also the verie thongs of Irish leather haue the verie same force and vertue. I haue seene it, saith Cambrensis, experimented, that a toad being incompassed with a thong of Irish leather, and creeping thitherward, indeuoring to haue skipt ouer it, suddenlie reculed backe, as though it had beene rept in the head: whereupon it began to sprall to the other side. But at length perceiuing that the thong did embaie it of all parts, it began to thirle, and as it were to dig the earth, where finding an hole, it slunke awaie in the presence of sundrie persons.

Bed. lib. 1. Angl. Hist. cap. 1.

The controuersie of the Ile of Man decided.

Orchades appendant to Ireland.

Hector Boet. in Scot. reg. descrip. pag. 9. Sect. 50. Camb. topo. lib. 1. dist. 1. rub. 29.

Cam. ibid. rub. 30. 31.

Irish leather expelleth venemous wormes.

It happened also in my time, saith Giraldus Cambrensis, that in the north of England a knot of pongkers tooke a nap in the fields: as one of them late snorting with his mouth gaping, as though he would

Cambr. in eodem loco.

haue caught flies, it happened that a snake or adder slipt into his mouth, and glided downe into his belie, where harboring it selfe, it began to roame vp and downe and to feed on the yong man his entrals. The patient being sore distracted and aboue measure tormented with the biting pangs of this greedie ghest, incessantlie praied to God, that if it stood with his gratious will, either wholie to bereaue him of his life, or else of his vnspeakeable mercie to ease him of his paine. The worme would neuer cease from gnawing the patient his carcasse, but when he had taken his repast, and his meat was no sooner digested, than it would giue a freth onset in boring his guts. Diuerse remedies were sought, and medicins, pilgrimages to saints, but all could not preuaile. Being at length schooled by the graue aduise of some sage and expert father, that willed him to make his spedie repaire to Ireland, would trace no time, but bushed himselfe ouer sea, and arriued in Ireland. He did no sooner drinke of the water of that Iland, and taken of the bittels of Ireland, but forthwith he kild the snake, auoided it downeward, and so being lustie and liuelie he returned into England. Thus far Giraldus Cambrensis.

Whether venemous wormes were expelled Ireland through the praiers of saint Patrike.

There be some that moue question, whether the want of venemous wormes be to be imputed to the propertie of the soile, or to be ascribed to the praiers of saint Patrike, who conuerted that Iland. The greater part father it on saint Patrike, especiallie such as write his life aswell apart, as in the legend of Irish saints. Giraldus Cambrensis disalloweth flatlie that opinion, and taketh it to be a secret or hidden propertie naturallie vnited to the soile, from whom Polychronicon dooth not swarue. For my part as I am wedded to neither of both the opinions, so I would haue beene easilie persuaded, being neither hot nor cold in the matter, to rest as a lukewarme neuter, in omitting the one and the other vnskand, were it not that one maister Alan Cope, or some other that masketh vnder his visors, more slanderouslie than pithilie had busied himselfe therein. Wherefore, sith I may with better warrant defend my native countrie, than he or his betters may remoue it, especiallie where his slanderous reports are vnderpropt with slim slam surmises: I purpose vnder maister Cope his correction to cope and buckle with him herein: and before he beare the ball to the goale, to trip him if I may in the way. And because (gentle reader) I mind to make thée an indifferent vmpier in this controuersie, for the better vnderstanding of the matter, I will laie downe maister Cope his words, in such wise as they are imprinted in his booke. First therefore thou must vnderstand, that his booke is made in dialog wise, a kind of writing as it is vsed, so commended of the learned. In these dialogs Irenæus an Englishman and Critobulus a Germane plaie the parts. Irenæus entreth into the stage, and in this wise beginneth.

Polychr. lib. 1. cap. 33.

Alan. Copus dialog. 3. acd. 28.

Incipiam à sancto Paulo: nosti in Melita (quam hodie Maltam appellant) Paulum viperam à manu pendentem in ignem excussisse. In ea insula scorpiones, qui alibi sunt lætales, Pauli, vt creditur, munere sunt innoxij.

Critobulus. *Fortasse hoc habet à natura.*

Irenæus. *Falleris: nam insulani, vt Lucas refert, clamabant, delatum eo parricidam, cui cùm mare peperciisset, irati dij serpentes, qui eum tollerent, immisissent: nec quicquam magis quàm præsentem eius mortem expectabant. A qua cùm ille tantùm abesset, vt nihil omnino damni aut doloris inde sentiret, in admirationem acti, dixerunt, eum longè supra hominem esse, & deum sub humana specie.*

Critobulus. *Sic est, vt dicis.*

Irenæus. *Cætera itaque audi. E specu, ad quem diuertisse dicitur, colliguntur lapides in tota fermè Europa salutares. Adhæc, quos nasci vltrà calendas Februarij contingit (qui dies conuersionis eius memoriæ dicatus est) quæcunque eos vbique in lucem proferat, non horrent nec formidant angues, imò, quod magis est, sola salium horum morsibus medentur. Id quod homo doctissimus & diligentissimus Thomas Fazellus nuper prodidit, vsu ipso rerum, & certè, ni fallar, exemplis ab eo obseruatum.* Thomas Fazellus.

Critobulus. *Ista quidem digna sanè obseruatione: & laudo equidem, me legisse ac sæpius audisse, precibus beati Patricij Hiberniæ apostoli, et regioni simile beneficium indultum, vt ea insula aliquid letale pariat. Diuersa siquidem animalia solet, nihil esse in Hibernia venenati præter ipsos homines, quod propter feros & agrestes eorum mores dictum non impleriùs accipitur.*

Irenæus. *Eam regionem nihil pestiferum aut venenatum alere, tum ex multorum sermonibus, tum ex Beda intelligo: adeò vt terra illius regionis exportata, pestifera ac venenata animalia extinguat. Verùm id quicquid est, non Patricio, sed naturæ regionis tribuo, propterea quòd longè ante Patricium natum constet, eam fuisse eius regionis dotem, quam non est difficile alibi reperiri.* Bed. lib. 1. Ang. hist. c. 1. Sententia definitiua Solin. cap 35.

I will begin (saith Irenæus) with saint Paule. You know that in Melita (which at this daie is called Malta) saint Paule flung into the fire a viper that stucke or did cleaue to his hand. In that Iland scorpions which are elsewhere deadlie or venemous, are become through the gift of saint Paule (as it is supposed) harmelesse.

Tush (quoth Critobulus) that may be percase incident to the nature of the soile.

Naie then (repleth Irenæus) you are in a wrong bor. For the Ilanders (as saint Luke mentioneth) showed, that a patent quellor was brought thither, and because he was not swallowed in the gulfes of the sea, the gods being in their fustian fumes, sent serpents to slaie him. And they looked for nothing sooner than to see him euen at a twinkling to perish. But when they perceiued him to be so farre distant from death, as that he susteined no harme, ne felt anie paine, the people therewith amazed, said he far surpassed mans estate, & that he was a god inuested in man his shape.

You haue reason (answereth Critobulus) you haue hit the naile on the head.

Yea but I praie you clip not my tale (saith Irenæus) but take me with you. Stones are culled in the caue or den wherein saint Paule is said to haue baited or soiorned, which stones in maner in all Europe are souereigne medicines to cure the bitings and stinges of scorpions and serpents. Furthermore, they that are borne the fiue and twentith of Januarie (which daie is named the conuersion of S. Paule) in what part soeuer of the world they are borne, they force not or grudge not at snakes: yea, that which is more to be admired, the stingings of poisoned worms are healed by the verie spittle of this Januarie brood. Which thing hath beene of late published by a well lettered man Thomas Fazellus, to haue beene curiouslie noted of him, as well by proofe and experience, as by sure and substantiall examples, if I take not the matter amisse.

Then commeth in Critobulus, whome maister Cope maketh (I will not saie the vice or hiscorner) but the pleasant conceipted gentleman of this enterlude, and fetcheth a long leape (for I am sure he could not iumpe so farre) from Malta to Ireland, and frameth his tale in this sort. By the faith of my bodie sir, here is stuffe worth the noting. And now I call to mind, that I haue read and often heard, that the like benefit hath beene imparted to Ireland, through the praiers of saint Patrike the apostle of the said Iland, that is to saie, that Ireland breedeth no venemous worme. And thereupon percase some are accustomed to saie, that there is no poisoned or venemous

cc mous thing in Ireland, but onelie the people, which is taken to haue bëne said of most men for their cc brutish and sauage maners.

To this (saith Irenæus) I am done to vnderstand cc by the report of diuerse, and also by Bede, that no poi- cc soned or venemous thing is bred in that realme: in cc somuch that the verie earth of that countrie being cc brought into other realmes, killeth all venemous and poisoned wormes. But let the matter fall out Iudgement. which waie it will; I ascribe that propertie not to saint Patrike, but to the nature of the soile, because it hath bëen knowen long before saint Patrike was borne, that Ireland was indued with that propertie, which is elsewhere easie to be found. Hitherto Mai- ster Cope.

In this discourse (gentle reader) thou seest that Maister Cope handleth two principall points, the propertie of Malta, and the nature of Ireland in de- stroieng venemous wormes, the one he ascribeth to the blessed apostle saint Paule, the other he will not in anie wise impute to saint Patrike. Touching the first, as I haue no occasion to intermeddle there- in, so I purpose not for the quarell I haue to the person, to disprooue his opinion so farre as it stan- deth with truth. Wherefore that God that of his bounti- Exod.c 7. full goodnesse gaue the grace to Moses, to turne Aa- verse 10. rons rod into a serpent, to turne the riuer into bloud, and to worke diuerse other effects that are mentioned in the scripture; to [a] Iosue, to staie the sun; to [b] Elias to raise the dead child; to [c] Peter to make the lame go; to heale [d] Eneas; to reuiue [e] Ta- bitha; yea with his verie [f] shadow to cure the sicke; and the God that gaue to that Paule, of whome mai- ster Cope speaketh, his gratious gift to make the [g] lame go; to [h] quicken and raise the deceased, and for his sake to [i] salue his fellow passengers: it is not to be denied, but that God would impart his goodnes to anie region, euen the soner that any of his blessed seruants would harborough there. And as I doubt not but Simon the tanners house was nothing the worse for lodging so happie a ghest as Peter: so I am sure Malta was farre the better for harboring so blessed a trauceller or passenger as Paule. Which S. Luke letteth not to tell, declaring that all they which were sicke in the Iland, flocked to Paule, and were cured; and also that the patient that was father to Publius, in whose house they were three daies verie courteoullie interteined, was by S. Paule healed. Which cure as well of that patient, as of the residue of the Ilanders, did not onlie extend to their bodies, but chiefflie & especiallie to their soules, according to Augu. tract.30 the opinion of the learned diuines. For as our saui- in Iohan. our Iesus Christ was neuer thought to cure anie ones Th.p.3 q.44. a.3 ad.3 m. bodie, but he would also heale his soule: so it must be thought of his apostles, in whose steps both in life and miracles they traced. And therfore the learned hold opinion, that S. Paule being in Malta expelled from Gen.3 verse.13. diuerse of their soules the old serpent that deceiued our progenitors Adam and Eue; for which God is to be magnified and glorified. Thus much I thought good here to insert, as a clause not wholie swaruing from that we treat of, and also that I would be found prest and readie, as farre as my simple skill stretch- eth, to vnderstand anie opinion that tendeth to the honor and glorie of God.

Howbeit forsomuch as M. Cope hath so strictlie dealt with Ireland, as with a countrie nothing ap- perteining to his matter, I trust he will pardon me, to be somewhat bold with him, touching the hi- storie of Malta, that as his negligence shall be in the one dischowed, so his slanderous iudgement mate be in the other reuersed. First therfore where he wri- teth, that the inhabitants of Malta *Clamabant*, that is, cried, or showted, it was not so. The Greeke text run- neth, ἔλεγον πρὸς ἀλλήλους, *Dicebant ad inuicem*, that is Act.28.verse.4. to saie, They muttered one to an other. And saint Luke paraphraseth his meaning after. For when they perceiued that the viper did not annoie Paule, then saith saint Luke, *Conuertentes se, dicebant eum esse deum*; They turning the ons towards the other, whi- spered or muttered that Paule was a god. Now put Saint Paule heard not the inhabitants of Malta. the case they cried, as M. Cope saith, is it like that Paule was so busie in making of a fire, or that his eares did wander so farre off, as that he could not heare them? And if he heard them, thinke you that he would haue bëne whist, in hearing God so farre blasphemed, as that he would suffer himselfe to be de- fied? No trulie. He would haue taken on, as he and Act.14.verse.11. 12,13,14. Barnabas did at Listris, where the inhabitants named them gods, Barnabas to be Iupiter, and Paule, for that he was well spoken, to be Mercurie. For when the apostles heard of their idolatrie, ren- ting their clothes, they ruisht into the throng, crieng and speaking, that they were mortall men, &c. In which place S. Luke putteth an expresse difference as it were of set purpose, betweene both the words, *Clamantes & dicentes*. M. Cope addeth further, *Dela- tum eò parricidam*, and yet the Greeke hath πάντας φο- νεύς, *Omninò interfector*, or as the vulgar text is, *Vtique homicida est homo hic*. So that they take him to be but a manqueller, yet M. Cope maketh him a parricide, which is worse. For although euerie parricide be a manqueller, yet *E conuerso*, euerie manqueller is not a parricide.

M. Cope procedeth further, *Irati dij, serpentes, qui* „ *eum tollerent, immisissent*: The gods being angrie sent „ serpents to dispatch Paule. And yet forsooth, all these „ serpents were but one viper, as is plainelie expresst in the text, vnlesse M. Cope would teach saint Luke to tell his tale after the finest fashion, least the apo- stle should haue bëne thought to haue fitoned. As I parson his sermon. the parson that preached to his parishoners of the go- spell, wherein mention is made of them that Christ fed in the desert, or wilderneste. Mquoth the parson) what a Christ was that, that with fiue barlie loaues, and fiue fishes fed fiue hundred persons. The clerke hearing his master to grate ouerlong on that point, for he did often iterate that sentence, stole vp to the pulpit, and plucking the parson by his gowne, whi- spered in his eare that Christ fed fiue thousand. Hold thee contented thou foolish fellow (quoth the parson) if I should tell mine hearers of so great a number, I should but discredit the gospeller, and they would not beleeue me. So it fareth with M. Cope. Belike he mistrusted, that if he had said, that one viper could haue slaine Paule, the reader would haue suspected the vntruth of the matter: because it carrieth great likelihood with it, that one man could withstand one viper: and therefore to saue saint Luke his credit, he increaseth the number by putting the plurall for the singular. Whereas therefore it standeth with M. Cope his rhetorike. M. Cope his pleasure, to flourish in his rhetoricall figure named, *Veritatis superlatio*, in terming muttering, showting, a manqueller, a parricide, one viper, ser- pents: he must be borne withall, if in the heat of his figure he step a little awrie in the remnant of his dis- course. For thus he saith.

And therevpon it is reported percase by some men, that there is nothing venemous or poisoned in Ireland, but the men and women. Which is taken to haue bëene spoken by most men for their brutish and sauage maners. Here (good reader) thou must vnder- stand that M. Cope putteth the text downe and the glose. The text is, There is nothing in Ireland vene- mous but the inhabitants. The glose is, This is said to haue bëen spoken for their brutish and sauage con- ditions. Now well harpt by saint Lankfield. Here is a glose, I vndertake you, sutable to the text. But

[a] Iosu.c.10 verse 13.
[b] 3.Reg.17 verse 22, and Eccles. 48 verse 50.
[c] Act 3 vers.7.
[d] Act.9.ver.34.
[e] Act.9 vers.40
[f] Act.5 vers.13.
[g] Act.14 verse 10.
[h] Act.20 verse 10 & 11.
[i] Act. 27 verse 23 Act.9 vers.43 Act.28 verse 9.

let vs see, how cunninglie M. Cope bequiteth himselfe. First he obserueth not *Decorum personæ*, secondlie he followeth not *Decorum dialogi*, thirdlie he shweth herein little diuinitie. Touching the first point, who knoweth not, that these tapes and gibes are onelie fit for ruffians, vices, swashbucklers & tospots. And trulie they beset a diuine as well, as for an asse to twang quipassa on a harpe or gitterne, or for an ape to friske trenchmore in a paire of buskins and a doublet. The heathen misliked in an orator squirtlitie, what should be thought then of a diuine, whome saint Paule would haue to be sober, modest, graue, and wise? Unlesse M. Cope leaning to the letter of saint Paule his words would beare vs in hand, that saint Paule would haue modestie to rest onelie in bishops. We are commanded in the old and new testament, to loue our neighbors as our selues. Which doth implie, that we ought not to slander our neighbours.

Cic. lib. 2. de orat.

1. Tim 3. vers. 2. & 3.

And shall a diuine then speake vncharitablie, not onelie of one, but of an whole realme, and not onelie speake but also write, yea and that in the language that is vniuersallie spoken, thoroughout the greater part of the world, vpon no sure ground, but onelie vpon hearesaie, weieng not what the prophet writeth, *Perdes omnes qui loquuntur mendaciũ*. Thou shalt destroie all them that speake vntruths? And were it that anie such fim flam flirts were sothed by anie person of credit; yet (as me seemeth) it would stand more with the grauitie of a diuine, that such childish quips, and scornefull tawnts should soner by his meanes charitablie be whisked, than thorough his procurement carpinglie published. I will stand no longer on this point, but onelie craue M. Cope to resort to the fift of Matthew, and there peruse Christ his verdict touching slanderous tongs. To come to the second part, in which he obserueth not *Decorum dialogi*, thou shalt vnderstand (good reader) that Critabulus, or Critobulus, whome M. Cope maketh his bagpipe to belch out his rancour, is a Germane borne, as M. Cope saith, who seemeth to be Critabulus his godfather. Now let anie one, that is acquainted with the maners of Germans, iudge, if it be decent, that one of them should scoffe and scorne the conditions and fashions of other countries. I will not speake by heare saie, as M. Cope doth, but by eiesight. I could neuer espie nor probablie haue I heard it reported, no not of the mere sauage Irish, such quaffing, such swilling, such bolling, such gulling, such brutish drunkennesse, such surfetting, such vomitting, as I haue seene some Germans do. In good soth it is knowne, and for my part I haue seene it being beyond the seas, that in their carowsing and cup friendship, they threaten such kindnesse on their companions, that least their felowes should mistrust them with double dealing, they will not sticke to shew them the bottome of their stomachs; & to the end they should take the better view thereof, they will place it now and then in their neighbors bosome.

Psal. 5. ver. 7. Sapient. 1. Vide August in eundem Psal.

Matth. 5. vers. 22.

The German his friendship.

Thus when they haue cast their gorges, they clap on their thrumd hats, and run like bedlem barretors into the streets with their naked slatchets, and there they keepe such a stinking sturre with hacking of stones, with hewing of blocks, with thwitting of stocks, with striking of stalles, with thumping at doores, that it would make a horsse breake his halter, to see so drunken a pageant. In fine, this qualitie is so naturallie ingrafted in the greater part of them, that a famous diuine did not sticke of late to saie openlie in his lecture, that drunkennesse in that countrie man, was either *Peccatum originale* or *Accidens inseparabile*. I write not this (I take God to record) to the reproch or slander of that countrie (being loth to commit the selfe same fault that I reprehend in anie other) but onelie my meaning is to settle before the reader his eies the absurditie of M. Cope, in framing poore Critabolus to flout Ireland, considering that if he cast his eie homeward, he shall find as filthie puddle in his owne countrie, as in other realms. And therefore this quip sate as vnsæmelie in his mouth, as for an whore to reprehend bitcherie, or for an vsurer to condemne simonie. For as there is nothing lesse to be tollerated, than for anie one to haue an other to account for his life, that can pæld no account of his owne: so there is nothing that ought to mozzell vp anie one from rebuking other nations, than to see the misdemeanor of his owne natiue countrie. I would wish M. Critabolus or M. Cope, if it shall please him to make vp the muster, with indifferencie to weie the estate of Ireland, and so without partialitie to frame his iudgement.

Ireland how it maie be reformed.

Ireland, and especiallie the ruder part is not stored with such learned men as Germanie is. If they had sound preachers, and sincere liuers, that by the imbalming of their carian soules with the swæt and sacred flowers of holie writ, would instruct them in the feare of God, in obeieng their prince, in obserning the lawes, in vnderpropping in ech man his vocation the weale publike; I doubt not, but within two or three ages M. Critabolus his heires should heare so good a report run of the reformation of Ireland, as it would be reckoned as ciuill as the best part of Germanie. Let the soile be as fertile and betle as anie would wish, yet if the husbandman will not manure it, sometime plow and eare it, sometime harrow it, sometime till it, sometime marle it, sometime delue it, sometime dig it, and sow it with good and sound corne, it will bring forth weeds, bindcorne, cockle, darnell, brambles, briers, and sundrie wild shots. So it fareth with the rude inhabitants of Ireland, they lacke vniuersities, they want instructors, they are destitute of teachers, they are without preachers, they are deuoid of all such necessaries as apperteine to the training vp of youth: and notwithstanding all these wants, if anie would be so frowardlie set, as to require them, to vse such ciuilitie, as other regions, that are sufficientlie furnished with the like helps; he might be accounted as vnreasonable, as he that would force a créeple that lacketh both his legs to run, or one to pipe or whistle a gallard that wanteth his vpper lip.

But such is the corrupt nature of vs worldings, and me thinketh such vaine humors are not vtterlie dried vp in our sage and mortified diuines. We are most commonlie giuen rather to tawnt that which is amisse, than to praise that which is good; and rather we follow the spider in soking the poison, than in imitating the bée by sucking the honie. Now that it appeareth, that it was not sitting for the author being a diuine, to write so vncharitablie, nor for M. Critabolus being a Germane to carpe other countries so snappishlie: let vs see what wholesome diuinitie hath bene here vttered, and how well the sinewes of M. Critabolus his argument shall be found to hang together, when the anatomie therof by peecemeale shall be examined. I call to mind (quoth M. Critabolus) that I haue read and often heard, that the like benefit hath beene granted to Ireland through the praiers of S. Patrike. M. Critabolus read & heard that by the praiers of S. Patrike, Ireland hath no venemous worme: *Ergo* some hold opinion, that the poison resteth onlie in the people. Truly this argument hangeth togither by verie strange gimbols. And I dare say, M. Cope neuer learned this kind of reasoning in the famous college of Magdalene in Oxford, what soeuer M. Critabulus did in Germanie. But let vs put the logike apart, & scan the singular point of diuinitie. I would gladlie lerne in what part of scripture

or

or in what ancient father M. Critabulus read or heard (for most of his learning hath beene, as it semeth, purchased by heare-saie) that anie holie prelat, that came of meere charitie to conuert a countrie from night to light, from rudenesse to knowledge, from infidelitie to christianitie, from vice to vertue, from the diuell to God (which doth implie an especiall zeale in saluing their soules) would purge the soile of all venemous wormes, & leaue the soules that haue more need to be weeded, wholie infected with the contagion of vice and sinne. Wherby insueth that the place is better than the inhabitants, and so consequentlie the saieng of the Machabées must be falsified: *Non propter locum gentem, sed propter gentem locum Deus elegit:* God did not chuse the people for the place, but he elected the place in respect of the people. Our sauiour Jesus Christ dispossessing the patient of the legion of diuels, permitted them to enter into an heard of hogs. Critabulus would haue Christs saints do the contrarie, to dispossesse the hogs, and to leaue the men possessed with diuels. For so he reporteth saint Patrike to haue done, by riding the land of all poisoned wormes, & leauing the rancour to lurke in the people. Trulie if the matter stood so farre out of ioint, I doubt not, but the Ilanders might haue come as lawfullie to him, as the Gergesens came ingratefullie to Christ, requiring him to depart their countrie. For such a scoffing prelat, his rome had béene better than his companie, sith his abode would tend rather to the peruerting, than the conuerting of their Iland.

2. Mac. 5. ver. 19.

Luc. 8. ver. 32.

Luc. 2. ver. 37.

Hitherto thou hast heard (gentle reader) how gallantlie Critabulus hath plaied his part: now shall I desire thée to view how sagelie Ireneus claspeth vp all the whole controuersie. He saith it is the nature of the soile, not to breed anie venemous worme, and that was incident thereto before saint Patrike was borne. How proue you that sir? Pleaseth you to shew your eie towards the margent, and there shall you find the fiue and thirtith chapter of Solinus solemnlie quoted. Touching this matter, there is nothing in Solinus but this: *Illic anguis nullus, auis rara,* In Ireland is no snake, and seldome a bird, & yet birds are as commonlie there as in anie other countrie. But I would gladlie vnderstand how this authoritie of Solinus furthereth M. Ireneus his opinion. Ireland bred no snake before saint Patrike was borne: *Ergo* it ingendred no toad, no adder, no frog, nor anie other virulent worme. As if a man would reason thus: Before saint Patrike his time there was no horsemill in Ireland: *Ergo* before his time there was no milhorse. Certes he that would wind vp his conclusion so fondlie, might be thought to haue as much wit as a rosted horse. This authoritie of Solinus is so far from vpholding Ireneus his assertion, as that it plainelie seemeth quite to ouerthrow it, & as it were in his owne turne, it giueth him a fall.

For the cause whie saint Patrike was moued to expell all the venemous wormes out of Ireland, might probablie haue béene coniectured, to haue proceeded of this: that he persecuing the land to breed no snakes, therof was occasioned, for the furthering of christian faith, to expell other kind of wormes that lurked there before his comming, as toades, adders, blindworms, frogs, &c. Héere perchase M. Cope may blench me, in replieng that *Anguis* may be construed generallie for all kind of vermine, and so I might be taken tardie in building my discourse vpon a misconstruction.

Obiection.

In good soth to omit what strange and absurd signification *Anguis* should beare, by notifieng a poisoned spider and such like, and in mine opinion further from the purpose, than the father that dissuading his sonne from plaieng on sundaie, fortified his reason with the old said saw, *Non est bonum ludere cum sanctis,* It is not good, quoth he, to plaie on sundaies or holie daies. Is it (thinke you) felonie or treason, to bring the credit of Solinus in question, for mistaking *Anguis* aswell as *Auis?* For as he was grosslie deceiued in the one, in writing that birds were rare in Ireland; so might he haue straied as likelie in the other, by disburdening Ireland of all venemous wormes, bicause the Iland wanted in his time but one or two kinds, as a snake and a toad. Where a man buildeth vpon euerie twatling and pratling rumor, and his iudge, he may be sure, that such flieng tales will catch manie feathers before they come at him that is as far distant from their nests, as Solinus was from Ireland when he wrote his pamphlet. The proofe whereof as it is dailie tried, so not manie yeares past hath béene verie pretilie verified. There was a gentleman of mine acquaintance that met his enimie in the fields, where they both vpon a trifling quarell fought so frendlie, as they had more need to haue bene grapled togither with cables, than parted by indifferent sticklers. Howbeit, bicause the gentleman was neuer before flesht, and yet nothing at all that daie, for each of their blowes did commonlie light on the medow where they fought; a friend of his reported well of him to an other, saieng, that he was like in time to proue a proper man of his hands, for the well handling of his weapon in his late combat. Whereupon soone after, the other doubling the gentleman his praise, gaue notice to an other, that such a gentleman (naming him) fought valiantlie such a daie in such a place. Immediatlie vpon this in a shire or two off, it was noised that the partie praised, fought with two at once in such a place, naming the medow. At length it was bruted, that he fought foure seuerall daies; and I am well assured that was the first fraie that euer he made, and I thinke it will be the last, vnlesse he be forced maugre his heart to the contrarie.

Rumor catcheth fethers.

Not long after it happened, that a gentleman and I trauelled abroad the countrie of set purpose to disport our selues, and so to returne afresh to our books, where entering in communication with a blunt countrie lob (yet such an one as toke his halfepenie to be good siluer) that knew the foresaid champion. My companion and I made wise, as though we were not acquainted with him, or euer heard of the combat: Now in good faith gentleman (quoth he) you would do verie well to enter in acquaintance with him; for ouer this, that he is a gentleman abundantlie endued with singular good qualities, he is become of late so valiant a cutter, as he maketh blading his dailie breakefast. By saint Marie, quoth my companion, that is verie cold rosse, and if his breakefasts be no better than a péece of cold yron, I little weigh how seldome I take a repast in his companie at anie such ordinarie. Naie, my meaning is (quoth the other) that he vseth to fight fresh and fasting euerie morning, in so much that of late, I dare bide by it, he fought eight daies in one weeke. At which words I for my part could not refraine from laughing, séeing how demurelie the fellow kept his countenance, and how that he spake *Bona fide.* Whereupon I shaped him an answer and said, that I neuer heard of anie that fought eight daies in one weeke, but onelie in old time, when fiue quarters made vp the yeare.

A frendlie commendation.

The fellow perceiuing that he ouershot himselfe, replied: Sir, you take me verie short, as long and as verie a lowbie as you imagine to make me: my meaning is, that he fought eight seuerall times in one weeke. Eight times (quoth my companion) then belike he fought once aboue commons. For you told vs right now, that he made his fraie his morning

Answer.

breakefast, and whereas there are but seauen daies in the weeke, he fought (as you report) eight times, and you know that eight maketh one aboue seauen, and seauen maketh six and one vnder eight; either you must confesse that he fought out his breakfast, dinner, beuer or supper; or else you must grant that there be eight daies in one weeke, or at the least two breakefasts in one daie: and that I am sure you will confesse to be as great an absurditie as the other. Naie (quoth the clowne) and you intrap me with such sophistrie, you shall dine, sup and breake your fast alone for me, and therewithall departed. Wherby may be gathered, that if he had bin soothed vp, & his tong let to run at libertie vncontrold, like a bowle that runneth in a smoth allie without anie rub, he would haue brought himselfe to that baie, as he would not sticke to saie that his frend had fought eight daies in one houre. Wherefore as this pudding his pricke grew at length by report to an huge post, so the want of one venemous worme in Ireland, being bruted in foren realmes, might haue bene so thwitted and mangled in the cariage before it came to Solinus his eares, as he might haue bene informed, that the countrie was devoid of all venemous wormes, whereas indeed there lacked but one kind.

Like as God of his iustice punisheth a countrie that is hardhearted, with outward wormes: so of his mercie they are removed from a realme that is pliant to follow his lawes and precepts. As when Pharao would not listen to God his threats denounced him by the preachers of God, Moses and Aaron, Egypt was punished with frogs and diuerse kind of flies, as is expresse at full in holie writ: and againe vpon Pharao his feined promises (the secrets of whose hollow heart God perfectlie knew) at the instance of Moses, these plagues were appeased, and the vermine quite extinguished: so I praie you, is it so absurd a position to hold, that saint Patrike finding the Irish priest to embrace the gospell, as he did in verie deed, might stand so highlie in God his fauor, as through his earnest petition made to God, the poisoned wormes should be abandoned? This is not so rare a thing vpon the implanting of christian faith in anie region, but rather a propertie incident thereto, according to Christ his promise: *Signa autem eos, qui crediderint, hæc sequentur; In nomine meo dæmonia eijcient: linguis loquentur nouis: serpentes tollent: & si mortiferum quid biberint, non eis nocebit: super ægros manus imponent, & bene habebunt*. And these tokens shall follow them that beléeue; In my name shall they cast out diuels, they shall speake with new tongs, they shall driue awaie serpents, and if they drinke anie deadlie thing it shall not hurt them: they shall laie hands on the sicke, and they shall be cured. Wherefore, sith it is so euidentlie warranted by scripture, that in the name of Jesus, serpents may be driuen awaie, if Ireland be found through anie such means to be devoid of poisoned wormes, we are to ascribe the glorie hereof to God, according to the saieng of the prophet; *A domino factum est istud, & est mirabile in oculis nostris*, That hath béene done by God, and it séemeth wonderfull in our eies.

Exod. 8. vers. 7, 17, & 24. Vide Apoc. 9. verse 3, at 2. Reg. 8. verse. 37.

Gregor. hom. 29. in euang. Mar. 16. d. 17.

Psalm. 117, verse. 22.

Thus farre (gentle reader) incrochting vpon thy patience, I haue imploied my trauell in defending my native countrie, against such as labour to distaine it with their slanderous scoffes. Touching the principall question, whether S. Patrike did expell poisoned wormes out of Ireland, or whether it be the nature of the soile, as I said in the entrie of this discourse; so I saie againe, that I weigh not two chips which waie the wind bloweth, bicause I see no inconuenience that may insue either of the affirmatiue or negatiue opinion. And therefore if M. Cope had dealt as modestlie as Cambrensis, the author of Polychronicon or others, that stood to the denisall, haue done; he should haue gone scotfree with his complices, and haue made in mounterbankwise the most he could of his wares. But for that he would nœds see further in a milstone than others, and not onelie slenderlie disproue the trivtall opinion, but scornefullie slander an whole realme, wherein he shall find his superiors in honour, his betters in parentage, his pœres in learning, his mates in wisdome, his equals in courtesie, his matches in honestie: I must craue him to beare it patientlie, if by crieng him quittance, I serued him with a dish of his owne cookerie. And if for this my streict dealing with him (whereunto I was the soner led, for that as it is courtesie to mollifie wild speaches with mild answers, so I reckon it for good policie now and then to cleaue knurd knobs with crabbed wedges) he will séeme to take pepper in the nose, for anie recompense he is like to haue at mine hands, he may wipe his nose on his sléeue. And if it shall stand with his pleasure, to replie either in English or in Latine (the occasion of which is rather of him growne than by me giuen) he shall find me willing, if God spare me health, to reioine with him in so good a quarrell, either in the one language or the other: and when both tales are heard, I beseech him, for my part, that shall be driuen to the wall.

The barnacle.

Cambrensis reporteth of his owne knowledge, and I heare it auowed by credible persons, that barnacles thousands at once are noted along the shores in Ireland to hang by the beakes, about the edges of putrified timber, as ships, oares, masts, anchor holds, and such like, which in processe taking liuelie heat of the sunne, become waterfoules, and at their time of ripenesse either fall into the sea, or flie abroad into the aire. The same do neuer couple in the act of generation, but are from time to time multiplied, as before is expresse.

Sabel. part. 3. Ene. 10. lib. 5. Cam. lib. topog. dist. 1. rub. 15. Thom. p. 3. q. 31. ar. 4. corp.

Æneas Syluius writeth himselfe to haue pursued the like experiment in Scotland, where he learned the truth hereof to be found in the Ilands Orchades. Giraldus Cambrensis gathereth hereof a pretie conclusion against the Jewes in this wise following: *Respice infœlix Iudæe, respice, vel serò, primã hominis generationem ex limo sine mare & fœmina. Secundámque ex mare sine fœmina, ob legis venerationem, diffiteri non audes. Tertiam solam ex mare scilicet & fœmina, quia vsualis est, dura ceruice approbas & affirmas. Quartam verò, in qua sola salus est ex fœmina scilicet sine mare obstinata malicia in propriam perniciem detestaris. Erubesce miser, erubesce, & saltem ad naturam recurre, quæ ad argumenta fidei, ad institutionem nostram noua quotidie animalia sine omni mare vel fœmina procreat & producit. Prima ergo generatio ex limo, & hæc vltima ex ligno. Illa quidem quoniam à Domino naturæ tantùm semel, ideò semper obstupenda processit. Istam verò non minùs admirabilem, minus tamen admirandam (quia sæpè fit) imitatrix natura administrat. Sic enim composita est humana natura, vt nihil, præter inusitatum & raro contingens vel pretiosum ducat vel admirandum. Solis ortum & occasum, quo nihil in mundo pulchrius, nihil stupore dignius, quia quotidie videmus, sine omni admiratione præterimus. Eclipsin verò solis, quia rariùs accidit, totus orbis obstupescit. Ac idem etiam facere videtur, flatu solo, & occulta quadam inspiratione citra omnem mixturam apum ex fauo procreatio.*

Marke thou wretched Jew, saith Cambrensis, marke yet at length the first creation (that is of Adam) of earth without male or female. As for the second, of a man without a woman (that is to saie Eue) for that thou hast the old law in reuerence, thou darest not denie. As for the third, both of man and woman, bicause it is dailie vsed as stiffeneckt as thou art, thou dowst acknowledge and confesse. But the fourth procreation, in which consisteth our onelie iustification (he meaneth the incarnation of Christ) of

of a woman without man, with ſtardie and obſtinat
ranco⁊ to thine vtter deſtruction thou doſt deteſt.
Bluſh therefo⁊e thou vnhappie Iew, be aſhamed of
this thy follie, and at the leaſt wiſe haue recourſe to
nature, and ſettle hir wo⁊kes before thine eies, that
fo⁊ the increaſe of faith, and to the leſſoning of vs,
dailie bræ̃deth & ingend⁊eth new liuing creatures,
without the coupling of maſcle o⁊ female. Adam
was created of earth, the barnacles are ingend⁊ed
of wood, bicauſe Adam was once created by him, who
is Lo⁊d of nature, therefo⁊e it is continuallie admi-
red. But fo⁊ that dame nature the counterfeitreſſe
of the celeſtiall wo⁊keman, eſtſones bræ̃deth barna-
cles, therefo⁊e their b⁊od is accompted mo⁊e mar-
uellous than to be maruelled, mo⁊e wonderfull than
wondered. Fo⁊ ſuch is the framing of man his na-
ture, as he dæmeth nothing p⁊etious o⁊ wonderfull,
but ſuch things as ſeldome happen. What may be
thought mo⁊e beautifull than the courſe of the ſunne?
And yet bicauſe we ſee it dailie riſe and ſet, we let it
ouerſlip vs as an vſuall cuſtome, without anie ſta-
ring o⁊ gazing. Yet we are amazed and aſtonied at
the eclipſe, bicauſe it happeneth verie ſeldome. The

Bées how they are ingendered.

bées that are ingend⁊ed of the honie combe, onlie by
a puffe o⁊ ſecret b⁊eathing without anie coupling,
ſéeme to vphold this p⁊ocreation of barnacles. Hi-
therto Cambrenſis, with whom concerning the in-
gend⁊ing of bées Iohannes de ſancto Geminiano
acco⁊deth.

Iohan. de S. Gem. in lib. de exempl. & ſimili. rerum li. 4. c. 31.

The inhabitants of Ireland are accuſtomed to
mœue queſtion, whether barnacles be fiſh o⁊ fleſh, &
as yet they are not fullie reſolued; but moſt vſuallie
the religious of ſtreicteſt abſtinence do eat them on
fiſh daies. Giraldus Cambrenſis, and after him Po-
lychronicon ſuppoſe, that the Iriſh cleargie in this
point ſtraie. Fo⁊ they hold of certeintie that barna-
cles are fleſh. And if a man ſaie they had eaten a
collop of Adam his leg, he had eaten fleſh. And yet
Adam was not ingend⁊ed of maſcle o⁊ female, but
onelie created of claie, as the barnacles of wood &
rotten timber. But the Iriſh cleargie did not ſo farre
ſtraie in their opinion, as Cambrenſis & Polychro-
nicon, in their diſp⁊oſe. Fo⁊ the framing of Adam
and Eue was ſupernaturall onelie done by God,
& not by the helpe of angels o⁊ anie other creature.
Fo⁊ like as it ſurpaſſeth natures courſe to raiſe the
dead, to lig⁊ten o⁊ inſight the blind, ſo it ſtood not
with the vſuall & common linage of nature, but onlie
with the ſupereminent power of God, to frame a
man of claie, and a woman of a mans rib. But the
ingend⁊ing of barnacles is naturall, & not ſo won-
derfull as Cambrenſis maketh it. And therefo⁊e the
examples are not like.

Whether the barnacle be fiſh o⁊ fleſh. Cambr. lib. 1. topog. diſt. 1. rub. 15. Polychr. lib. 1. c. 32.

Adam & Eue onelie created by God. Auguſt. ſuper Geneſ. ad lit. lib. 9. c. 18.

Now it ſhould ſéeme that in Cambrenſis his time,
the Iriſh cleargie builded their reaſon vpon this plot.
What ſoeuer is fleſh, is naturallie begotten o⁊ in-
gend⁊ed of fleſh; barnacles are not naturallie in-
gend⁊ed of fleſh, but onelie of timber and wood; bar-
nacles therfo⁊e are not fleſh, vnleſſe you would haue
them to be wooden fleſh. And if the reaſon be ſo knit
it may not be diſiointed by Cambrenſis his example.
As if a man ſhould argue thus. She that is begotten
of anie man, muſt be of fo⁊ce daughter to that man;
Melcha was begotten of Aran; *Ergo* Melcha was A-
rans daughter. This argument is of all parts ſo fo⁊-
tified, as it ſéemeth of all ſides to be imp⁊egnable.
Yet a buſie b⁊aine ſophiſter cauilling on the terme
(begotten) might ſaie, that Eue was begotten of A-
dam, and yet ſhe is not Adams daughter. True it is
that Adam was not Eues father, no mo⁊e than Eue
was Adams mother, neither by that ingend⁊ing
was there anie degræ of conſanguinitie ſp⁊ong be-
twéene them. But bicauſe the wo⁊d (begotten) is ta-
ken in the argument fo⁊ the naturall ingend⁊ing of

Geneſ. 11. verſe 29.

Adam & Eua of no kin. Thom. p. 1. q. 92. art. 2. ad 3. m.

man and woman, the inſtance giuen of Eue doth
not diſp⁊oue the *Maior*. And yet fo⁊ the better vn-
derſtanding of the queſtion, it is to be noted that the
philoſophers diſtinguiſh *Animalia ſenſitiua*, that is, ſen-
ſible liuing things, in two ſo⁊ts, perfect and vnper-
fect. The perfect are they that are ingend⁊ed of ſæd,
the vnperfect without ſæd. Thoſe that are naturallie
ingend⁊ed with ſéed, can neuer be naturallie ingen-
d⁊ed without ſéed: albeit Auicenna verie erroniouſ-
lie holdeth the contrarie: as fo⁊ example.

Thom. p. 1. q. 91. art. 2. ad 2. m. Liuing things are of two ſo⁊ts. Thom. p. 1. q. 71. 1. o. 1. m. Auicenna.

Bicauſe man is naturallie ingend⁊ed of man and
woman, no man may naturallie be ingend⁊ed with-
out the copulation of man and woman: yet ſuper-
naturallie it may be. As Adam was made without
man and woman: Eue framed without woman:
our ſauiour Chriſt begotten without man. And ther-
fo⁊e the diuell could not haue attainted him of o⁊igi-
nall ſinne. Contrariwiſe, the vnperfect may be in-
gend⁊ed without ſéed by mire, mud, dong, carien,
rotten timber, o⁊ anie other thing; and chiefliе by the
ſecret influence and inſtillation of the celeſtiall pla-
nets, as the ſunne and ſuch other. As if you put the
haire of an ho⁊ſſe taile in mire, puddle, o⁊ in a dong-
hill fo⁊ a certeine ſpace, it will turne to a little thin
ſp⁊alling wo⁊me, which I haue often ſéene & experi-
mented. And they are termed vnperfect, not in re-
ſpect of their owne nature, in which they are perfect,
but in compariſon of other ſo⁊ts of liuing things.
Among this crue muſt barnacles be ſetled. But here
ſome will ſaie; Let them be perfect o⁊ vnperfect, what
then? I would faine know, whether Cambrenſis be
in an errour, o⁊ the Iriſh clergie. Fo⁊ hitherto I ſée
nothing, but Cambrenſis his reaſon diſp⁊oued. And
it is often ſéene that a ſound opinion may be weake-
ned by a féeble reaſon, as we ſée manie faire gar-
ments mard in the making. It is true: and if anie
be deſirous to know my mind herein, I ſuppoſe, ac-
co⁊ding to my ſimple iudgement, vnder the co⁊rec-
tion of both parties, that the barnacle is neither fiſh
no⁊ fleſh, but rather a meane betwéene both. As put
the caſe it were enacted by parlement, that it were
high treaſon to eat fleſh on fridaie, and fiſh on ſun-
daie. Trulie I thinke that he that eateth barnacles
both theſe daies, ſhould not be within the compaſſe
of the eſtatute: yet I would not wiſh my friend to
hazard it, leaſt the barnacle ſhould be found in law
fiſh o⁊ fleſh, yea and perhaps fiſh and fleſh. As when
the lion king of beaſts made p⁊oclamation, that all
ho⁊ned beaſts ſhould auoid his court, one beaſt ha-
uing but a bunch of fleſh in his fo⁊ehead departed
with the reſt, leaſt it had béene found in law that his
bunch were an ho⁊ne.

The barnacle neither fiſh no⁊ fleſh.

But ſome will peraduenture maruell, that there
ſhould be anie liuing thing, that were not fiſh no⁊
fleſh. But they haue no ſuch cauſe at all. Nits,
fleſhwo⁊mes, bées, butterflies, caterpillers, ſnailes,
graſſehoppers, bætels, earewikes, reremiſe, frogs,
toads, adders, ſnakes, & ſuch other, are liuing things,
and yet they are neither fiſh no⁊ fleſh, no⁊ yet red her-
ring: as they that are trained in ſcholaſticall points
may eaſilie iudge. And ſo I thinke, that if anie were
ſo ſharpe ſet (the eſtatute aboue rehearſed, p⁊eſupo-
ſed) as to eat fried flies, butterd bæs, ſtued ſnailes,
either on fridaie o⁊ ſundaie, he could not be there-
fo⁊e indicted of haulte treaſon; albeit I would not be his
gheſt, vnleſſe I tooke his table to be furniſht with
mo⁊e wholeſome and licio⁊ous viands. The like que-
ſtion may be moued of the ſell, and if it were well
canuaſſed, it would be found at the leaſt wiſe a mot
caſe. But thus farre of barnacles.

The ſell whether it be fiſh o⁊ fleſh. Thom. p. 1. a. 71. 2. 1. o. 3. o.

Ireland is fo⁊ed of cowes, of excellent ho⁊ſſes, of
hawkes, of fiſh and of foule. They are not without
wolues & greihounds to hunt them, bigger of bone
and lim than a colt. Their cowes as alſo the reſt of
their

their cattell, and commonlie what else soeuer the countrie ingendreth (except man) is much lesse in quantitie than those of England, or of other realms.

Shéepe. Shéepe few, and those bearing course fléeces, whereof they spin notable rug. Their shéepe haue short and curt tailes. They shéere their shéepe twise yearelie, and if they be left vnshorne, they are therewith rather pained than otherwise. The countrie is verie fruitfull both of corne and grasse. The grasse (for default of good husbandrie) suffered vncut, groweth so ranke in the north parts, that oftentimes it rotteth their cattell.

Egle. Egles are well knowen to bréed in Ireland, but neither so big, nor so manie as bookes tell.

The Irish hobbie. The horsses are of pase easie, in running wonderfull swift, in gallop both false and full indifferent.

The nag. The nag or the hackeneie is verie good for trauelling, albeit others report the contrarie. And if he be broken accordinglie, you shall haue a little tit that will trauell a whole daie without ante bait.

The chiefe horsse. Their horsses of seruice are called chiefe horsses, being well broken they are of an excellent courage. They reine passinglie, and champe vpon their bridels brauelie, commonlie they amble not but gallop and run. And these horsses are but for skirmishes, not for trauelling, for their stomachs are such, as they disdaine to be hacknied. Thereof the report grew, that the Irish hobbie will not hold out in trauelling. You

The mongrell hobbie. shall haue of the third sort a bastard or mongrell hobbie, néere as tall as the horsse of seruice, strong in trauelling, easie in ambling, and verie swift in running. Of the horsse of seruice they make great store, as wherin at times of néed they repose a great péece of safetie.

Volat. lib. 3. Geog. Asturcones. This brood Volaterane writeth to haue come from Austurea, the countrie of Hispaine, betweene Gallicia and Portugall, whereof they were named Asturcones, a name now properlie applied to the Hispanish genet.

The names of the ciuities, boroughs *and hauen townes in Ireland.*

The third chapter.

Dublinum. DUblin the beautie and eie of Ireland, hath béene named by Ptolome, in ancient time, Eblana. Some terme it Dublina, others Dublinia, manie write it Dublinum, authors of better skill name it Dublinium. The Irish call it, Balliée er Cleagh, that is, a towne planted vpon hurdels. For the common opinion is, that the plot vpon which the ciuitie is builded, hath béene a marish ground; and for that by the art or inuention of the first founder, the water could not be voided, he was forced to fasten the quakemire with hurdels, and vpon them to build the citie. I heard of some that came of building of houses to this foundation: and other hold opinion that if a cart or waine run with a round and maine pase through a stréet called the high stréet, the houses on ech side shall be perceiued to shake.

Dublin builded. This citie was builded, or rather the buildings thereof inlarged, about the yeare of our Lord 155. For about this time there arriued in Ireland three noble Easterlings that were brethren,

Auellanus the founder of Dublin. Auellanus, Sitaracus, and Puorus. Auellanus being the eldest brother builded Dublin, Sitaracus Waterford, and Puorus Limerike.

Auellana. Eblana. Of the founder Auellanus, Dublin was named Auellana, and after by corruption of speach Eblana. This citie, as it is not in antiquitie inferiour to anie citie in Ireland, so in pleasant situation, in gorgious buildings, in the multitude of people, in martiall chiualrie, in obedience and loialtie, in the abundance of wealth, in largenesse of hospitalite, in maners and ciuilitie it is superiour to all other cities and townes in that realme. And therefore it is commonlie called the Irish or yong London. The seat of this citie is of all sides pleasant, comfortable, and wholesome. If you would trauerse hils, they are not far off. If champion ground, it lieth of all parts. If you be delited with fresh water, the famous riuer called the Liffie, named of Ptolome Lybnium, runneth fast by. If you will take the view of the sea, it is at hand. The onlie fault of this citie is, that it is lesse frequented of merchant estrangers, bicause of the bare hauen.

Dublin the Irish London. The situation of Dublin. The Liffie.

The sword giuen to Dublin. Their charter is large. King Henrie the fourth gaue this citie the sword, in the yeare of our Lord 1409, and was ruled by a maior and two bailiffes, which were changed into shiriffes by a charter granted by Edward the first, in the yeare of our Lord 1547. In which yeare John Rian and Roberts Jans, two worshipfull gentlemen, were collegues in that office, & thereof they are named the last bailiffes & first shiriffes that haue bene in Dublin. It appéareth by the ancient seale of this citie, called *Signum præposituræ*, that this citie hath bene in old time gouerned by a prouost.

Shiriffes of Dublin 1547. Dublin gouerned by a prouost.

The hospitalitie of the maior and the shiriffes for the yeare being, is so large and bountifull, that sothlie (London forepriced) verie few such officers vnder the crowne of England kéepe so great a port, none I am sure greater. The maior, ouer the number of officers that take their dailie repast at his table, kéepeth for his yeare in maner open house. And albeit in tearme time his house is frequented as well of the nobilitie as of other potentats of great calling: yet his ordinarie is so good, that a verie few set feasts are prouided for them. They that spend least in their maioralte (as those of credit, yea and such as bare the office haue informed me) make an ordinarie account of fiue hundred pounds for their viand and diet that yeare: which is no small summe to be bestowed in houskéeping, namelie where vittels are so good cheape, and the présents of friends diuerse and sundrie.

The hospitalitie of the maior and shiriffes.

1551 There hath béene of late yeares a worshipfull gentleman, named Patrike Scarsefield, that bare the office of the maioraltie in Dublin, who kept so great port in this yeare, as his hospitalitie to his fame and renowme resteth as yet in fresh memorie. One of his especiall and entire friends entring in communication with the gentleman, his yeare being well nére expired, moued question, to what he thought his expenses all that yeare amounted? Trulie James (so his friend was named) quoth maister Scarsefield, I take betwéene me and God, when I entered into mine office, the last saint Hierome his daie (which is the morrow of Michaelmasse, on which daie the maior taketh his oth before the chiefe baron, at the ercheker within the castell of Dublin) I had thrée barnes well stored and thwackt with corne, and I assured my selfe, that anie one of these three had bene sufficient to haue stored mine house with bread, ale, and bére for this yeare. And now God and good companie be thanked, I stand in doubt, whether I shall rub out my maioraltie with my third barne, which is well nigh with my yeare ended. And yet nothing smiteth me so much at the heart, as that the knot of good fellowes that you sée here (he ment the sergeants and officers) are readie to flit from me, and make their next yeares abode with the next maior.

Patrike Scarsefield his hospitalitie. The maior of Dublin when he is sworne.

And certes I am so much wedded to good fellowship, as if I could mainteine mine house to my contentation, with defraieng of fiue hundred pounds yearelie; I would make humble sute to the citizens, to

to be their officer theſe three yeares to come. Ouer this, he did at the ſame time proteſt with oth, that he ſpent that yeare in houſekéeping twentie tuns of claret wine, ouer and aboue white wine, ſacke, malmeſeis, muſcadell, &c. And in verie déed it was not to be maruelled: for during his maioraltie, his houſe was ſo open, as commonly from fiue of the clocke in the morning, to ten at night, his butterie and cellars were with one crew or other frequented. To the haunting of which ghests were the ſoner allured, for that you ſhould neuer marke him or his bedfellow (ſuch was their buromneſſe) once frowne or wrinkle their foreheads, or bend their browes, or glowme their countenances, or make a ſowre face at anie ghest, were he neuer ſo meane. But their intertainment was ſo notable, as they would ſauce their bountifull & deintie faire with heartie and amiable chére. His porter or anie other officer durſt not for both his eares giue the ſimpleſt man that reſorted to his houſe Tom drum his interteinment, which is, to hale a man in by the head, and thruſt him out by both the ſhoulders. For he was fullie reſolued, that his worſhip and reputation could not be more diſtained, than by the curriſh interteinment of anie ghest. To be briefe (according to the golden verſes of the ancient and famous Engliſh poet Geffreie Chaucer:

Tom drum his interteinment.

Chaucer in the prolog of his Canturburie tales

An houſholder, and that a great, was hee,
Saint Iulian he was in his countrie.
His bread, his ale, was alwaie after one,
A better viended man was no where none.
Without bakte meat was neuer his houſe,
Of fiſh and fleſh, and that ſo plenteouſe.
It ſnewed in his houſe of meat and drinke,
Of all deinties that men could thinke.
After the ſundrie ſeaſons of the yere,
So changed he his meat and his ſuppere.
Full manie a fat partrich had he in mew,
And manie a breme, and manie a luce in ſtew.

Some of his friends, that were ſnudging penie fathers, would take him vp verie roughlie for his lauiſhing & his outragious expenſes, as they tearme it. Tuſh my maiſters (would he ſaie) take not the matter ſo hot: who ſo commeth to my table, and hath no néed of my meat, I know he commeth for the good will he beareth me; and therefore I am beholding to thanke him for his companie: if he reſort for néed, how maie I beſtow my goods better, than in reléeuing the poore? If you had perceiued me ſo far behind hand, as that I had bene like to haue brought haddocke to paddocke, I would patientlie permit you, both largelie to controll me, and friendlie to reproue me. But ſo long as I cut ſo large thongs of mine owne leather, as that I am not yet come to my buckle, and during the time I kéepe my ſelfe ſo farre aflote, as that I haue as much water as my ſhip draweth: I praie pardon me to be liberall in ſpending, ſith God of his goodneſſe is gratious in ſending.

And in déed ſo it fell out. For at the end of his maioraltie he owght no man a dotkin. What he diſpended was his owne: and euer after during his life, he kept ſo worthie a ſtanding houſe, as that hée ſéemed to ſurrender the princes ſword to other maiors, and reſerued the port & hoſpitalitie to himſelfe. Not long before him was Nicholas Stanihurſt their maior, who was ſo great and good an houſholder, that during his maioraltie, the lord chancellor of the realme was his dailie and ordinarie ghest. There hath beene of late worſhipfull ports kept by maiſter Flan, who was twiſe maior, maiſter Sedgraue, Thomas Fitz Simons, Robert Cuſacke, Walter Cuſacke, Nicholas Fitz Simons, James Bedlow, Chriſtopher Fagan, and diuerſe others. And not onelie their officers ſo farre excell in hoſpitalitie, but alſo the greater part of the ciuitie is generallie addicted to ſuch ordinaris and ſtanding houſes, as it would make a man muſe which waie they are able to beare it out, but onelie by the goodneſſe of God, which is the vpholder and furtherer of hoſpitalitie. What ſhould I here ſpeake of their charitable almes, dailie and hourelie extended to the néedie? The poore priſoners both of the Newgate and the caſtell, with three or foure hoſpitals, are chieflie, if not onelie, relieued by the citizens.

Nicholas Stanihurſt.

The holpitalitie of Dublin.

Furthermore, there are ſo manie other extraordinarie beggers that dailie ſwarme there, ſo charitablie ſuccored, as that they make the whole ciuitie in effect their hoſpitall. The great expenſes of the citizens maie probablie be gathered by the worthie and fairlike markets, weéklie on wedneſdaie and fridaie kept in Dublin. Their ſhambles is ſo well ſtored with meat, and their market with corne, as not onelie in Ireland, but alſo in other countries you ſhall not ſée anie one ſhambles, or anie one market better furniſhed with the one or the other, than Dublin is. The citizens haue from time to time in ſundrie conflicts ſo galled the Iriſh, that euen to this daie, the Iriſh feare a ragged and tagged blacke ſtandard that the citizens haue, almoſt through tract of time worne to the hard ſtumps. This ſtandard they carrie with them in hoſtings, being neuer diſplaied but when they are readie to enter into battell, and come to the ſhocke. The ſight of which danteth the Iriſh aboue meaſure.

The ſhambles and markets at Dublin.

The blacke ſtandard.

And for the better training of their youth in martiall exploits, the citizens vſe to muſter foure times by the yeare: on Blacke mondaie, which is the morrow of Eaſter daie, on Maie daie, ſaint John Baptiſt his éeue, and ſaint Peter his éeue. Whereof two are aſcribed to the maior & ſhiriffes: the other two, to wit, the muſters on Maie daie and ſaint Peter his éeue, are aſſigned to the maior and ſhiriffes of the Bull ring. The maior of the Bull ring is an office elected by the citizens, to be as it were capteine or gardian of the batchelers and the vnwedded youth of the ciuitie. And for the yeare he hath authoritie to chaſtiſe and puniſh ſuch as frequent brothelhouſes, and the like vnchaſt places. He is tearmed the maior of the Bull ring, of an iron ring that ſticketh in the corne market, to which the bulles that are yearelie bated be vſuallie tied: which ring is had by him and his companie in ſo great price, as if anie citizen batchelor hap to marrie, the maior of the Bull ring and his crue conduct the bridegroome vpon his returne from church, to the market place, and there with a ſolemne kiſſe for his *vltimum vale*, he doth homage vnto the Bull ring.

The muſters of Dublin.

The maior of the Bull ring

The Blacke mondaie muſter ſprong of this occaſion. Soone after Ireland was conquered by the Britons, & the greater part of Leinſter pacified, diuerſe townesmen of Briſtow flitted from thence to Dublin, and in ſhort ſpace the ciuitie was by them ſo well inhabited, as it grew to bée verie populous. Whereupon the citizens hauing ouer great affiance in the multitude of the people, and ſo conſequentlie being ſomewhat retchleſſe in héeding the mounteine enimie that lurked vnder their noſes, were wont to rome and roile in cluſters, ſometime three or foure miles from the towne. The Iriſh enimie eſpieng that the citizens were accuſtomed to fetch ſuch od vagaries, eſpeciallie on the holie daies, & hauing an inkling withall by ſome falſe clatterfort or other, that a companie of them would haue ranged abrode, on mondaie in the Eaſter wéeke towards the wood of Cullen, which is diſtant two miles from Dublin, they laie in ſtale verie well appointed, and laid in ſundrie places for their comming. The citizens rather minding the pleaſure they ſhould preſentlie inioy, than

The blacke mondaie.

Dublin inhabited by the Briſtoillians. This was about the yeare of our Lord 1209.

than forecalling the hurt that might insue, flockt vnarmed out of the cruitte to the wood, where being intercepted by them that laie bowing in ambush, they were to the number of fiue hundred miserablie slaine. Whervpon the remnant of the citizens deeming that vnluckie time to be a crosse or a dismall daie, gaue it the appellation of Blacke mondaie.

The citie sone after being peopled by a fresh supplie of Britollians, to dare the Irish enimie, agreed to banket yearelie in that place, which to this daie is obserued. For the maior and the shiriffs with the citizens repaire to the wood of Cullen, in which place the maior bestoweth a costlie dinner within a mote or a rundell, and both the shiriffs within another: where they are so well garded with the youth of the cruitie, as the mounteine enimie dareth not attempt to snatch as much as a paltie crust from thense. Dublin hath at this daie within the citie and in the suburbs these churches that insue, of which the greater number are parioch churches, onelie Christs church with a few oratories and chapels excepted. Christs church, otherwise named *Ecclesia sanctæ trinitatis*, a cathedrall church, the ancientest that I can find recorded of all the churches now standing in Dublin. I take it to haue beene builded, if not in Auellanus his time, yet sone after by the Danes. The building of which was both repared & inlarged by Critius prince of Dublin, at the earnest request of Donat the bishop, and sone after the conquest it hath beene much beautified by Robert Fitz Stephans and Strangbow the erle of Penbroke, who with his sonne is in the bodie of the church intombed. The chappell that standeth in the choir, commonlie called the new chappell, was builded by Gerald Fitz Thomas earle of Kildare, in the yeare of our Lord 1510, where he is intombed.

The churches of Dublin.

Christs church.

Saint Patrikes church, a cathedrall church, indued with notable liuings, and diuerse fat benefices. It hath a chappell at the north doore which is called the paroch church. This church was founded by the famous and worthie prelate John Commin, about the yeare of our Lord 1197. This foundation was greatlie aduanced by the liberalitie of king John. There hath risen a great contention betwixt this church and Christes church for antiquitie, wherein doubtlesse S. Patrike his church ought to giue place, vnlesse they haue further matter to shew, and better reasons to build vpon than their foundations, in which this church by manie yeares is inferior to the other. Saint Nicholas, Saint Michaell, Saint Werberosse, or Saint Warburgh, so called of a Chesshire virgine. The citizens of Chester founded this church, with two chappels thereto annexed; the one called our ladies chappell, the other S. Martins chappell. Hir feast is kept the third of Februarie. This church with a great part of the citie was burned in the yeare 1301: but againe by the parochians reedified. Saint John the euangelist, Saint Audeon, which is corruptlie called Saint Owen, or Owen. His feast is solemnized the fourteenth of August. The paroch of this church is accounted the best in Dublin, for that the greater number of the aldermen and the worships of the citie are demurrant within that paroch.

The controuersie betweene Christ church and saint Patriks church.

Saint Tullocke now prophaned. In this church in old time, the familie of the Fitz Simons was for the more part buried. The paroch was meared from the Crane castell, to the fish shambles, called the Cockhill, with Preston his innes, & the lane thereto adioining, which scope is now united to Saint John his paroch. S. Katharine, S. Michan or Migban, Saint James; his feast is celebrated the fiue and twentith of Julie, on which daie in ancient time was there a worthie faire kept at Dublin, continuing six daies, vnto which resorted diuers merchants, as well from England, as from France and Flanders. And they affoorded their wares so dogcheape, in respect of the citie merchants, that the countrie was yeare by yeare sufficientlie stored by strangers: and the citie merchants not vttering their wares, but to such as had not readie chinkes, and therevpon forced to run on the score, were verie much impouerished. Wherefore partlie thorough the canuasing of the towne merchants, and partlie by the winking of the rest of the citizens, being won vpon manie gaie gloses promises, by plaieng bopeepe to beare themselues ouerlie in the matter, that famous mart was suppressed, and all forren saile wholie abandoned. Yet for a memoriall of this notable faire, a few cottages, booths, and alepoles are pitched at Saint James his gate. Saint Michaell of Poules, *alias* Paules, Saint Brigide, Saint Keuin, Saint Peter *Demonte*, or vpon the hill, appendant to Saint Patrikes church. Saint Stephan; this was erected for an hospitall for poore, lame, and impotent lazers, where they abide to this daie, although not in such chast and sincere wise, as the founders will was vpon the creation thereof. The maior with his brethren on Saint Stephan his daie (which is one of their station daies) repaireth thither, and there doth offer. Saint Andrew now prophaned.

Fitz Simons.

S. James his faire.

The names of the gates of the citie and suburbs of Dublin.

Both the gates neere the White friers, Saint Keuen his gate, Hogs gate, Dammes gate, Poule gate, *alias* Paules gate, Newgate, a goale or prison, Wine tauerne gate, Saint Audeon his gate, hard by the church going downe towards the Cockestreet. The reason why this gate, and the Wine tauerne gate were builded, proceeded of this. In the yeare 1315, Edward Bruise a Scot, & brother to Robert Bruise king of Scots arriued in the north of Ireland. From whence he marched on forwards with his armie, vntill he came as far as Castleknocke. The citizens of Dublin being sore amazed at the sudden & Scarborough approch of so puissant an enimie, burned all the houses in Saint Thomas his street, least he should vpon his repaire to Dublin haue anie succour in the suburbs. The maior (named Robert Nottingham) and communaltie being in this distresse, razed downe an abbeie of the frier preachers, called Saint Saulour his monasterie, and brought the stones thereof to these places, where the gates now stand; and all along that waie did cast a wall for the better fortifieng of the cruitte, misdrusting that the wals that went along both the keies, should not haue beene of sufficient force to outhold the enimie. The Scots hauing intelligence of the fortifieng of Dublin, and reckoning it a folie to laie siege to so impregnable a cruitte, marched toward a place not far from Dublin, called the Salmon leape, where pitching their tents for foure daies, they remoued towards the Naas. But when the cruitte was past this danger, king Edward the second gaue strict commandement to the citizens to build the abbeie they razed; saieng, that although lawes were squatted in warre, yet notwithstanding they ought to be reuiued in peace. Gurmund his gate, hard by the Cucull, or Cockolds poll. Some suppose, that one Gurmundus builded this gate, and thereof to take the name. Others iudge, that the Irish assaulting the cruitte, were discomfited by the earle of Ormond, then by good hap sojourning at Dublin. And because he issued out at that gate, to the end the valiant exploit and famous conquest of so worthie a potentate should be ingrailed in perpetuall memorie, the gate bare the name of Ormond his gate. The bridge gate, Saint Nicholas his gate, Saint Patrike his gate, Bungan his gate, the Newstreet gate, Saint Thomas his gate, Saint James his gate.

The

The names of the streets, bridges, lanes and other notorious places in Dublin.

The Damnes stræt, the Castle stræt, stretching to the pillorie, Saint Werberosses stræt, Saint John his stræt, *alias* fish shamble stræt, Skinners row reaching from the pillorie to the tolehall, or to the high crosse. The High stræt bearing to the high pipe. John Decer. This pipe was builded in the yeare 1308, by a worthie citizen named John Decer, being then maior of Dublin. He builded not long before that time the bridge hard by Saint Wolstans, that reacheth ouer the Liffie. The Newgate stræt, from the Newgate to Saint Audoon his church. Saint Nicholas his stræt, the Wine tauerne stræt, the Tooke stræt, the Bridge stræt. This stræt with the greater part of the keie was burnt in the yeare 1304. The Woodkeie, the Merchant keie, Ostmontowne, so called of certeine Easterlings or Normans, properlie the Danes that were called Ostmanni. They planted themselues hard by the water side neere Dublin, and discomfited at Clontarfe in a skirmish diuerse of the Irish. The names of the Irish capteins slaine were Brian Borrough, Magh inacke Bren, Eadie Okellie, Dolin Abertegan, Gille Barramede. These were Irish potentates, and before their discomfiture they ruled the rost. They were interred at Kilmainanne ouer against the great crosse. There arriued a fresh supplie of Easterlings at Dublin in the yeare 1095. and setled themselues on the other side of the citie, which of them to this daie is called Ostmantowne, that is, the towne of the Ostmannes, whereof there ariseth great likelihood to haue béene a separat towne from the citie, being parted from Dublin by the Liffie, as Southwarke is seuered from London by Thames. Saint Thomas his stræt, this stræt was burnt by mishap in the yeare 1343. The New buildings, the New stræt, Saint Francis his stræt, the Bowne, Saint Patrike his stræt, the backeside of Saint Sepulchres, Saint Beuen his stræt, the Poule, or Paulmilstræt, Saint Brigids stræt, the Shéepe stræt, *alias* the Ship stræt. For diuerse are of opinion, that the sea had passage that waie, and thereof to be called the Ship stræt.

Ostmanni.

1050

1095

Ostmantowne, why so called.

This as it seemeth not wholie impossible, considering that the sea floweth and ebbeth hard by it: so it carieth a more colour of truth with it, because there haue béene found there certeine iron rings fastned to the towne wall, to hold and graple botes withall. Saint Werberosses lane, vp to Saint Nicholas his stræt, now inclosed, Saint Michaell his lane, beginning at Saint Michaell his pipe, Christchurch lane, Saint John his lane, Ram lane, *alias* the Scholehouse lane, Saint Audoen his lane, Resers lane. This lane is steepe & slipperie, in which otherwhiles, they that make more hast, than good spéed, clinke their bums to the stones. And therefore the ruder sort, whether it be through corruption of spéech, or for that they giue it a nickename, commonlie terme it, not so homelie, as trulie, Kisse arse lane. Rochell lane, *alias* Backelane, on the southside of the flesh shambles, the Cookestræt lane, Frapper lane, Giglottes hill, Marie lane, Saint Tullocke his lane, Scarlet lane, *alias* Isouds lane, Saint Pulchers lane, Saint Kenin his lane, the White friers lane, Saint Stephan his lane, Hogs lane, the Sea lane, Saint George his lane, where in old time were builded diuerse old and ancient monuments. And as an insearcher of antiquities may (by the view there to be taken) coniecture, the better part of the suburbs of Dublin should séeme to haue stretched that waie. But the inhabitants being dailie and hourelie molested and preided by their prolling mounteine neighbors, were forced to suffer their buildings fall in decaie, and embaied themselues within the citie wals.

The lanes.

Among other monuments, there is a place in that lane called now Collets inues, which in old time was the Escacar or Exchéker. Which should implie that the princes court would not haue béene kept there, vnlesse the place had béene taken to be exchsure. But in fine it fell out contrarie. For the baron sitting there solemnlie, and as it séemed, retchlesse: the Irish espieng the opportunitie, rushed into the court in plumps, where sarpsing the vnweaponed multitude, they committed horrible slaughters by sparing none that came vnder their dint; and withall, as far as their Scarborough leasure could serue them, they ransacke the prince his thesaure, vpon which mishap the exchéker was from thense remoued. There hath béene also in that lane a chappell dedicated to saint George, likelie to haue béene founded by some worthie knight of the garter. The maior with his brethren was accustomed with great triumphs and pageants yérelie on saint George his feast to repaire to that chappell, and there to offer. This chappell hath béene of late razed, and the stones therof by consent of the assemblie turned to a common ouen, conuerting the ancient monument of a dontie, aduenturous, and holie knight, to the colerake swéeping of a pusloafe baker. The great bridge going to Ostmantowne, saint Nicholas his bridge, the Poule gate bridge, repared by Nicholas Stanihurst about the yeere one thousand fiue hundred fortie & foure, the Castell bridge, S. James his bridge.

The old Escacar.

S. George his chappell.

The bridges.

1544.

The castell of Dublin was builded by Henrie Loundres (sometime archbishop of Dublin, and lord iustice of Ireland) about the yéere of our Lord one thousand two hundred and twentie. This castell hath beside the gate house foure goodlie and substantiall towers, of which one of them is named Bermingham his tower, whether it were that one of the Berminghams did inlarge the building therof, or else that he was long in duresse in that tower. This castell hath béene of late much beautified with sundrie and gorgious buildings in the time of sir Henrie Sidneie, sometimes lord deputie of Ireland. In the commendation of which buildings an especiall welwiller of his lordships penned these verses:

The castell.

1220.

Bermingham his tower.

1566.

Gesta libri referunt multorum clara virorum,
Laudis & in chartis stigmata fixa manent.
Verùm Sidnæi laudes hæc saxa loquuntur,
Nec iacet in solis gloria tanta libris.
Si libri pereant, homines remanere valebunt,
Si pereant homines, ligna manere queunt.
Lignáque si pereant, non ergò saxa peribunt,
Saxáque si pereant tempore, tempus erit.
Si pereat tempus, minimè consumitur æuum,
Quod cum principio, sed sine fine manet.
Dum libri florent, homines dum viuere possunt,
Dum quoque cum lignis saxa manere valent,
Dum remanet tempus, dum denique permanet æuum,
Laus tua, Sidnæi, digna perire nequit.

There standeth nere the castell ouer against a void rome called Preston his inns, a tower named Isouds tower. It toke the name of la Beale Isoud, daughter to Anguish king of Ireland. It séemeth to haue béene a castle of pleasure for the kings to recreat themselues therein. Which was not vnlike, considering that a meaner tower might serue such single soule kings as were at those daies in Ireland. There is a village hard by Dublin, called of the said la Beale, chappell Isoud.

Isouds tower.

Chappell Isoud.

Saint Pulchers, the archbishop of Dublin his house, as well pleasantlie sited, as gorgeouslie builded. Some hold opinion, that the beautifuller part of this house was of set purpose fired by an archbishop, to the end the gouernors (which for the more part laie there) should not haue so good liking to the house: not far disagréeing from the policie that I heard a noble man

Saint Pulchers.

man tell he vsed, who hauing a surpassing good horse, and such a one as ouer ran in a set race other choise horses, did bobtaile him vpon his returne to the stable, least anie of his frends casting a fantasie to the beast, should craue him. The noble man being so bountifullie giuen, as that of liberalitie he could not, of discretion he would seeme to giue his frend the repulse in a more weightie request than that were.

The names of the fields adioining to Dublin.

Saint Stephans greene, Hogging greene, the Steine, Oxmantowne greene. In the further end of this field is there a hole commonlie termed Scaldbrothers hole, a labyrinth reaching two large miles vnder the earth. This hole was in old time frequented by a notorious theefe named Scaldbrother, wherein he would hide all the bag and baggage that he could pilfer. The varlet was so swift on foot, as he hath eftsones outrun the swiftest and luskiest young men in all Oxmantowne, maugre their heads, bearing a pot or a pan of theirs on his shoulders to his den. And now and then, in derision of such as pursued him, he would take his course vnder the gallows, which standeth verie nigh his caue (a fit signe for such an inne) and so being shrowded within his lodge, he reckoned himselfe cocksure, none being found at that time so hardie as would aduenture to intangle himselfe within so intricat a maze. But as the pitcher that goeth often to the water, commeth at length home broken: so this luskie youth would not surcease from open catching, forcible snatching, and priuie polling, till time he was by certeine gaping groomes that laie in wait for him, intercepted, flieing toward his couch, hauing vpon his apprehension no more wrong done him, than that he was not sooner hanged on that gallowes, through which in his youth and lolitie he was wont to run. There standeth in Oxmantowne greene an hillocke, named little John his shot. The occasion proceeded of this.

Scaldbrother executed.

Little John. 1189.

In the yeare one thousand one hundred foure score and nine, there ranged three robbers and outlaws in England, among which Robert Hood and little John were cheefetteins, of all theeues doubtlesse the most courteous. Robert Hood being betraied at a nunrie in Scotland called Bricklies, the remnant of the crue was scattered, and euerie man forced to shift for himselfe. Whereupon little John was faine to flee the realme by sailing into Ireland, where he sojorned for a few daies at Dublin. The citizens being done to vnderstand the wandering outcast to be an excellent archer, requested him hartilie to trie how far he could shoot at random: who yeelding to their behest, stood on the bridge of Dublin, and shot to that mole hill, leauing behind him a monument, rather by his posteritie to be wondered, than possiblie by anie man liuing to be counterfeited. But as the repaire of so notorious a champion to anie countrie would soone be published, so his abode could not be long concealed: and therefore to eschew the danger of lawes, he fled into Scotland, where he died at a towne or village called Morauie. Gerardus Mercator in his cosmographie affirmeth, that in the same towne the bones of an huge and mightie man are kept, which was called little John, among which bones, the hucklebone or hipbone was of such largenesse, as witnesseth Hector Boetius, that he thrust his arme through the hole thereof. And the same bone being suted to the other parts of his bodie, did argue the man to haue beene fourteene foot long, which was a prettie length for a little John. Whereby appeareth that he was called little John ironicallie, like as we terme him an honest man whom we take for a knaue in graine.

Robert Hood.

Little John deceased.

The king his land.

Neere to the citie of Dublin are the foure ancient manors annexed to the crowne, which are named to this daie, the kings land; to wit, Newcastell, Mallaggard, Eschire, and Crumlin. The manor of Crumlin paieth a greater cheefe rent to the prince than anie of the other three, which proceeded of this. The seneschall being offended with the tenants for their misdemeanor, tooke them vp verie sharplie in the court, and with rough and minatorie speeches began to menace them. The lobbish and desperat clobbertousnesse, taking the matter in dudgeon, made no more words, but knockt their seneschall on the costard, and left him there sprawling on the ground for dead. For which detestable murther their rent was inhansed, and they paie at this daie nine pence an acre, which is double to anie of the other three manors.

Crumlin.

Waterford was founded by Sitaracus (as is aforesaid) in the yeare one hundred fiftie and fiue. Ptolome nameth it Manapia, but whie he appropriateth that name to this citie, neither doth he declare, nor I ghesse. This citie is properlie builded, and verie well compact, somewhat close by reason of their thicke buildings and narrow streets. The hauen is passing good, by which the citizens through the intercourse of forren traffike in short space atteine to abundance of wealth. The soile about it is not all of the best, by reason of which the aire is not verie subtill, yea natheless the sharpnesse of their wittes seemeth to be nothing rebated or duld by reason of the grossenesse of the aire. For in good soth the townesmen, and namelie students are pregnant in conceiuing, quicke in taking, and sure in keeping. The citizens are verie heedie and warie in all their publike affaires, slow in the determining of matters of weight, louing to looke yer they leape. In chosing their magistrate, they respect not onlie his riches, but also they weigh his experience. And therefore they elect for their maior neither a rich man that is young, nor an old man that is poore. They are cheerfull in the interteinment of strangers, hartie one to another, nothing giuen to factions. They loue no idle benchwhistlers, nor luskish faitors: for young and old are wholie addicted to thriuing, the men commonlie to traffike, the women to spinning and carding. As they distill the best *Aquauita*, so they spin the choisest rug in Ireland. A frend of mine being of late demurrant in London, and the weather by reason of an hard hoare frost being somwhat nipping, repaired to Paris garden, clad in one of these Waterford rugs. The maistifs had no sooner espied him, but deeming he had beene a beare, would faine haue baited him. And were it not that the dogs were partlie muzled, and partlie chained, he doubted not, but that he should haue beene well tugd in this Irish rug: whereupon he solemnlie vowed neuer to see beare baiting in anie such weed. The citie of Waterford hath continued to the crowne of England so loiall, that it is not found registred since the conquest to haue beene distained with the smallest spot, or dusked with the least freckle of treason; notwithstanding the sundrie assaults of traitorous attempts: and therefore the cities armes are deckt with this golden word, *Intacta manet*: a posie as well to be hartilie followed, as greatlie admired of all true and loiall townes.

Waterford.

Manapia.

The posie of Waterford.

Limerike called in Latine *Limericum* was builded by Nuorus, as is before mentioned, about the yeare one hundred fiftie and fiue. This citie coasteth on the sea hard vpon the riuer Sennan, whereby are most notablie seuered Mounster and Connaght: the Irish name this citie Loumneagh, and thereof in English it is named Limerike. The towne is planted in an Iland, which plot in old time, before the building of the citie was stored with grasse. During which time it happened, that one of the Irish potentates, raising warre against another of his peers, incamped

Limerike.

Sennan the riuer of Limerike.

Limerike whie so called.

incamped in that Ile, hauing ſo great a troope of horſſemen, as the horſſes eate vp the graſſe in foure and twentie houres. Wherevpon for the notorious number of horſes, the place is called Loum ne augh; that is, the horſe bare, or a place made bare or eaten vp by horſes. The verie maine ſea is three ſcore miles diſtant from the towne, and yet the riuer is ſo nauigable, as a ſhip of two hundred tuns may ſaile to the keie of the citie. The riuer is termed in Iriſh Shaune amne, that is, the old riuer; for ſhaune is old, & amne is a riuer, deducted of the Latine word *Amnis*. The building of Limerike is ſumptuous and ſubſtantiall.

Corke. Corke, in Latine *Coracium*, or *Corracium*, the fourth citie of Ireland happilie planted on the ſea. Their hauen is an hauen roiall. On the land ſide they are incombred with euill neighbors, the Iriſh outlawes, that they are faine to watch their gates hourlie, to keepe them ſhut at ſeruice times, at meales from ſun to ſun, nor ſuffer anie ſtranger to enter the citie with his weapon, but the ſame to leaue at a lodge appointed. They walke out at ſeaſons for recreation with power of men furniſhed. They truſt not the countrie adioining, but match in wedlocke among themſelues onelie, ſo that the whole citie is welnigh linked one to the other in affinitie. Drogheda. Drogheda, accounted the beſt towne in Ireland, and trulie not far behind ſome of their cities. The one moitie of this towne is in Meth, the other planted on the further ſide of the water lieth in Vlſter. There runneth a blind prophecie on this towne, that Roſſe was, Dublin is, Drogheda ſhall be the beſt of the three.

Roſſe. Roſſe, an hauen towne in Mounſter not far from Waterford, which ſeemeth to haue béene in ancient time a towne of great port. Whereof ſundrie & probable coniectures are giuen, as well by the old ditches that are now a mile diſtant from the wals of Roſſe, betweene which wals and ditches the reliks of the ancient wals, gates, and towers, placed betweene both are yet to be ſeene. The towne is builded in a barren ſoile, and planted among a crue of naughtie and prolling neighbours. And in old time when it flouriſhed, albeit the towne were ſufficientlie peopled, yet as long as it was not compaſſed with wals, they were forced with watch & ward, to keepe it from the greedie ſnatching of the Iriſh enimies. With whome as they were generallie moleſted, ſo the priuat couſening of one pezzant on a ſudden, incenſed them to inuiron their towne with ſtrong and ſubſtantiall wals. There repaired one of the Iriſh to this towne on horſſebacke, & eſpieng a peece of cloth on a merchants ſtall, toke hold thereof, and bet the cloth to the loweſt price he could. As the merchant and he ſtod dodging one with the other in cheaping the ware, the horſſeman conſidering that he was well mounted, and that the merchant and he had growne to a price, made wiſe as though he would haue drawne to his purſe, to haue defraied the monie. The cloth in the meane while being tucked vp and placed before him, he gaue the ſpur to his horſſe and ran awaie with the cloth, being not imbard from his poſting paſe, by reaſon the towne was not incloſed either with ditch or wall. The townesmen being pinched at the heart, that one raſcall in ſuch ſcornefull wiſe ſhould giue them the ſlampame, not ſo much weieng the ſlendernes of the loſſe, as the ſhamefulneſſe of the foile, they put their heads togither, conſulting how to preuent either the ſudden ruſhing, or the poſthall flieng of anie ſuch aduenturous rakehell hereafter.

Roſe, of Roſſe. In which conſultation a famous Dido, a chaſt widow, a politike dame, a bountifull gentlewoman, called Roſe, who repreſenting in ſincéritie of life the ſweetneſſe of that hearbe whoſe name ſhe bare, vnfolded the deuiſe, how anie ſuch future miſchance ſhould be preuented: and withall opened hir coffers liberallie, to haue it furthered: two good properties in a councellor. Hir deuiſe was, that the towne ſhould incontinentlie be incloſed with wals, & therewithall promiſed to diſcharge the charges, ſo that they would not ſticke to find out labourers. The deuiſe of this worthie matrone being wiſe, and the offer liberall, the townesmen agreed to follow the one, and to put their helping hands to the atchiuing of the other. The worke was begun, which thorough the multitude of hands ſéemed light. For the whole towne was aſſembled, tag and rag, cut and long taile: none exempted, but ſuch as were bedred and impotent. Some were taſked to delue, others appointed with mattocks to dig, diuerſe allotted to the vnheaping of rubbiſh, manie beſtowed to the cariage of ſtones, ſundrie occupied in tempering of morter, the better ſort buſied in ouerſéeing the workmen, ech one according to his vocation imploied, as though the ciuitie of Carthage were afreſh in building, as it is featlie verified by the golden poet Virgil, and neatlie Engliſhed by maſter doctor Phaer.

The Moores with courage went to worke,
ſome vnder burdens grones:
Some at the wals and towrs with hands
were tumbling vp the ſtones.
Some meaſurd out a place to build
their manſion houſe within:
Some lawes and officers to make
in parlment did begin.
An other had an hauen caſt,
and deepe they trench the ground,
Some other for the games and plaies
a ſtatelie place had found.
And pillers great they cut for kings,
to garniſh forth their wals.
And like as bees among the flours,
when freſh the ſummer fals,
In ſhine of ſunne applie their worke,
when growne is vp their yoong:
Or when their hiues they gin to ſtop,
and honie ſweet is ſproong,
That all their caues and cellars cloſe
with dulcet liquor fils,
Some doo outlade, ſome other bring
the ſtuffe with readie wils.
Sometime they ioine, and all at once
doo from their mangers fet
The ſlothfull drones, that would conſume,
and nought would doo to get.
The worke it heats, the honie ſmels
of flours and thime ywet.

But to returne from Dido of Carthage, to Roſe of Roſſe, and hir worke. The labourers were ſo manie, the worke, by reaſon of round and exchéker paiment, ſo well aplied, the quarrie of faire marble ſo néere at hand (for they affirme, that out of the trenches and ditches hard by their rampiers, the ſtones were had: and all that plot is ſo ſtonie, that the foundation is an hard rocke) that theſe wals with diuerſe braue turrets were ſuddenlie mounted, and in maner ſoner finiſhed, than to the Iriſh enimies notified: which I wiſſe was no ſmall corſie to them. Theſe wals in circuit are equall to London wals. It hath three gorgeous gates, Biſhop his gate, on the eaſt ſide: Algate, on the eaſt ſoutheaſt ſide: and Southgate, on the ſouth part. This towne was no more famouſed for theſe wals, than for a notable wooden bridge that ſtretched from the towne vnto the other ſide of the water, which muſt haue béene by reaſonable ſurueie twelue ſcore, if not more. Diuerſe of the poales, logs, and ſtakes, with which the bridge was vnderpropt, ſticke to this daie in the water. A man

would here suppose, that so flourishing a towne, so firmelie builded, so substantiallie walled, so well peopled, so plentiouslie with thriftie artificers stored, would not haue fallen to ante sudden decaie.

Rosse decaied. But as the secret and deepe iudgements of God are veiled within the couerture of his diuine maiestie, so it standeth not with the dulnesse of man his wit, to beat his braines in the curious insearching of hidden mysteries. Wherefore I, as an historian vndertaking in this treatise, rather plainelie to declare what was done, than rashlie to inquire why it should be done: purpose, by God his assistance, to accomplish, as neere as I can, my dutie in the one, leauing the other to the friuolous deciding of busie heads. This Rose, who was the foundresse of these former rehearsed wals, had issue three sonnes (howbeit some hold opinion, that they were but hir nephues) who being bolstered out thorough the wealth of their mother, and supported by their traffike, made diuerse prosperous voiages into forren countries. But as one of the three chapmen was imploied in his traffike abroad, so the prettie poplet his wife began to be a fresh occupieng giglot at home, and by report fell so farre acquainted with a religious cloisterer of the towne, as that he gat within the lining of hir smocke. Both the parties wallowing ouerlong in the stinking puddle of adulterie, suspicion began to creepe in some townesmens brains: and to be briefe, it came so farre. thorough the iust iudgement of God, to light, whether it were that she was with child in hir husband his absence, or that hir louer vsed hir fondlie in open presence, as the presumption was not onelie vehement, but also the fact to apparent: hir vnfortunat husband had no soner notice giuen him vpon his returne of these sorowfull newes, than his fingers began to nibble, his teeth to grin, his eies to trickle, his eares to dindle, his head to dazell, insomuch as his heart being seared with The pangs of gelousie. gelousie, and his wits installed thorough phrensie, he became as mad as a March hare.

But how heautie soeuer hir husband toke it, dame Rose and all hir friends (which were in effect all the townesmen, for that she was their common benefactresse) were galled at their hearts, as well to heare of the enormious adulterie, as to see the bedlem pangs of brainsicke gelousie. Whereupon diuerse of the townesmen grunting and grudging at the matter, said that the fact was horrible, and that it were a deed of charitie vtterlie to grub awaie such wild shrubs from the towne: and if this were in anie dispunishable wise raked vp in the ashes, they should no soner trauerse the seas, than some other would inkindle the like fire afresh, and so consequentlie dishonest their wiues, and make their husbands to become changelings, as being turned from sober mood to be hornewood, because rutting wiues make often rammish husbands, as our prouerb doth inferre. Others soothing their fellowes in these mutinies turned the priuat iniurie vnto a publike quarrell, and a number of the townesmen conspiring togither flocked in the dead of the night, well appointed, to the abbeie, wherein the frier was cloistered (the monument of which abbeie is yet to be seene at Rosse on the south side) where vndersparing the gates, and bearing vp the dormitorie doore, they stabbed the adulterer with the rest of the couent thorough with their weapons. Where they left them goaring in their blood, roaring in their cabbins, and gasping vp their fitting ghosts in their couches.

The vprore was great, and they to whome the slaughter before hand was not imparted, were wonderfullie thereat astonied. But in especiall the remnant of the cleargie bare verie hollow hearts to the townesmen; and how freendlie their outward countenances were, yet they would not with inward thought forget nor forgiue so horrible a murther, but were fullie resolued, whensoeuer opportunitie serued them, to sit in their skirts, by making them soulse as sorowfull a kyrie. These three brethren not long after this bloudie exploit, sped them into some outlandish countrie to continue their trade. The religious men being done to vnderstand, as it seemed, by some of their neighbors, which foresailed them homeward, that these three brethren were readie to be imbarked, flunkt priuilie out of the towne, and resorted to the mouth of the hauen, neere a castell, named Hulke tower. Hulke tower, which is a notable marke for pilots, in directing them which waie to sterne their ships, and to eschew the danger of the craggie rocks there on euerie side of the shore peking. Some iudge that the said Rose was foundresse of this tower, and of purpose did build it for the safetie of hir children, but at length it turned to their bane. For these reuengers nightlie did not misse to laie a lanterne on the top of the rocks, that were on the other side of the water. Which practise was not long by them continued, when these three passengers bering saile with a lustie gale of wind, made right vpon the lanterne, not doubting, but it had beene the Hulke tower. But they toke their marke so farre amisse, as they were not ware, till time their ship was dasht and palsht against the rocks, and all the passengers ouerthirled in the sea.

This heauie hap was not so sorowfull vnto the townesmen, as it was gladsome to the religious, thinking that they had in part cried them acquittance, the more that they, which were drowned, were the archbrochers of their brethrens blood. Howbeit they would not crie hoa here, but sent in post some of their couent to Rome, where they inhansed the slaughter of the fraternitie so heinouslie, and concealed their owne prankes so couertlie, as the pope excommenged the towne, the towne accursed the friers: so that there was such curssing and banning of all hands, and such dissentious hurlie burlie raised betweene themselues, as the estate of that flourishing towne was turned arsie uersie, topside the otherwais, and from abundance of prosperitie quite exchanged to extreame penurie.

The wals stand to this date, a few streets and houses in the towne, no small parcell thereof is turned to orchards and gardens. The greater part of the towne is steepe and steaming vpward. Their church is called Christs church, in the north side whereof is placed a monument called the king of Denmarke his tome: whereby coniecture may rise, that the Danes were founders of that church. This Rosse is called Rosse *Noua*, or Rosse *Ponti*, by reason of their bridge. That which they call old Rosse, beareth east three miles from this Rosse, into the countrie of Weisford, an ancient manour of the earle of Kildares. There is the third Rosse on the other side of the water, called Rosse Ibarcan, so named, for that it standeth in the countrie of Kilkennie, which is diuided into three parts, into Ibircan, Ida, & Idouth. Weisford a hauen towne not far from Rosse, I find no great matters thereof recorded, but onelie that it is to be had in great price of all the English posteritie, planted in Ireland, as a towne that was the first fortresse and harborresse of the English conquerors.

The present estate of Rosse.

New Rosse, old Rosse.

Rosse Ibarcan.

Weisford.

Kilkennie, the best vplandish towne, or (as they terme it) the properest drie town in Ireland, it is parted into the high towne, and the Irish towne. The Irish towne claimeth a corporation apart from the high towne, whereby great factions grow dailie betweene the inhabitants. True it is, that the Irish towne

Kilkennie.

towne is the ancienter, and was called the old Kilkennie, being vnder the bishop his becke, as they are or ought to be at this present. The high towne was builded by the English after the conquest, and had a parcell of the Irish towne thereto vnited, by the bishop his grant, made vnto the founders vpon their earnest request. In the yeare 1400, Robert Talbot a worthie gentleman, inclosed with wals the better part of this towne, by which it was greatlie fortified. This gentleman deceased in the yeare 1415. In this towne in the quire of the frier preachers, William Marshall earle marshall and earle of Penbroke was buried, who departed this life in the yeare 1231. Richard brother to William, to whome the inheritance descended, within three yeares after deceased at Kilkennie, being wounded to death in a field giuen in the heath of Kildare, in the yeare 1234, the twelfe of Aprill, and was interred with his brother, according to the old epitaph heere mentioned:

1400 Robert Talbot.

William Marshall.

1234

Hic comes est positus Richardus vulnere fossæ,
Cuius sub fossa Kilkenia continet ossa.

The churches of Kilkennie.

This towne hath three churches, saint Kennies church, our ladies church, *alias* S. Maries church; and S. Patrikes church, with the abbeie of S. John. S. Kennies church is their cheefe and cathedrall church, a worthie foundation as well for gorgeous buildings, as for notable liuings. In the west end of the churchyard of late haue beene founded a grammar schole by the right honorable Pierce or Peter Butler erle of Ormond and Ossorie, and by his wife the countesse of Ormond, the ladie Margaret fitz Gerald, sister to Girald fitz Girald the earle of Kildare that last was. Out of which schole haue sprouted such proper impes, through the painefull diligence, and the laboursome industrie of a famous lettered man M. Peter White (sometime fellow of Oriall college in Oxford, and schoolemaister in Kilkennie) as generallie the whole weale publike of Ireland, and especiallie the southerne parts of that Iland are greatlie thereby furthered. This gentlemans method in training vp youth was rare and singular, framing the education according to the scholers veine. If he found him free, he would bridle him like a wise Isocrates from his booke; if he perceiued him to be dull, he would spur him forward; if he vnderstood that he were the worse for beating, he would win him with rewards: finallie, by interlasing studie with recreation, sorrow with mirth, paine with pleasure, sowernesse with swætnesse, roughnesse with mildnesse, he had so good successe in schooling his pupils, as in good soth I may boldlie bide by it, that in the realme of Ireland was no grammar schole so good, in England I am well assured none better. And because it was my happie hap (God and my parents be thanked) to haue béene one of his crue, I take it to stand with my dutie, sith I may not stretch mine abilitie in requiting his good turnes, yet to manifest my good will in remembring his paines. And certes, I acknowledge my selfe so much bound and beholding to him and his, as for his sake I reuerence the meanest stone cemented in the wals of that famous schole.

The grammar schole. Pierce Butler. Margaret Fitzgerald.

Peter white.

Kilkennie why so called.

This towne is named Kilkennie, of an holie and learned abbat called Kanicus, borne in the countie of Kilkennie, or (as it is in some bookes recorded) in Connaught. This prelat being in his suckling yeres fostered, through the prouidence of God, with the milke of a cow, and baptized and bishoped by one Lutacus, thereto by Gods especiall appointment deputed, grew in tract of time to such deuotion and learning, as he was reputed of all men to be as well a mirrour of the one, as a paragon of the other: whereof he gaue sufficient coniecture in his minoritie. For being turned to the keeping of sheepe, and his fellow sheepheards, wholie yeelding themselues like luskish vagabunds to slouth and sluggishnesse, yet would he still find himselfe occupied in framing with ossars and twigs, little wodden churches, and in fashioning the furnitures thereto appertreining. Being kept further in yeares, he made his repaire into England, where cloistering himselfe in an abbeie, whereof one named Doctus was abbat, he was wholie wedded to his booke, and to deuotion: wherein he continued so painefull and diligent, as being on a certeine time penning a serious matter, and hauing not fullie drawne the fourth vocall, the abbeie bell tingd to assemble the conent to some spirituall exercise. To which he so hastened, as he left the letter in semicirclewise vnfinished, vntill he returned backe to his booke. Some after being promoted to ecclesiasticall orders, he trauelled by the consent of his fellow monks to Rome, and in Italie he gaue such manifest proofe of his pietie, as to this date in some parts thereof he is highlie renowmed.

The life of Kanicus.

Thomas towne, a proper towne builded in the countie of Kilkennie, by one Thomas Fitzantonie an Englishman. The Irish thereof name it Ballie mac Andan: that is, the towne of Fitzantonie. This gentleman had issue two daughters, the one of them was espoused to Denne, the other married to Archdeacon, or Mackodo, whose heires haue at this date the towne betweene them in coparcenarie. But because the reader may see in what part of the countrie the cities and cheefe townes stand, I take it not far amisse to place them in order as insueth.

Thomas towne. Thomas Fitzantonie.

The names of the cheefe townes in Vlster.

Drogheda, Carregfargus, Downe, Armagh, Arglash, Cloagher, Puncighan, Donnegaule, Karreg mac Rosse, Newrie, Carlingford, Ardie, Dondalke, Louth, Dublin, Bulrudrie, Luske, Swords, Tachaggard, Lions, Newcastle, Rathcoule, Oughter arde, Naas, Clane, Mainoth, Kilrocke, Rathaimgan, Kildare, Luianne, Castletowne, Philips towne, Wexiborough, Kilcullen, Castle Parten, Thistledermot, Kilca, Achie, Catherlaugh, Leighelen, Gauranne, Thomas towne, Enestiocke, Cashelle, Callanne, Kilkennie, Knocktofer, Rosse, Clonmelle, Wexford, Fernes, Fiddord, Enescortie, Tathmon, Wicklow, Ackloa. Waterford, Lismore, Dongaruan, Poghill, Corke, Limerike, Kilmallocke. Aloane, Galuoie, Anrie, Louaghtiagh, Clare, Toame, Sligagh, Rossecomman, Arclowne. Trimme, Donshaghlenne, Rathlouth, Nauanne, Aboie, Scrine, Taraugh, Remles, Donboine, Grænocke, Dulecke. Nolingare, Fower, Loughseude, Kilkenitwest, Nolagagh, Delwinne.

Cheefe towns in Mounster.

Cheefe towns in Connaght.

Cheefe towns in Meath.

Cheefe towns in westmeath.

In the foure and thirtith yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the eight, it was enacted in a parlement holden at Dubline before sir Anthonie Sentleger knight, lord deputie of Ireland, that Meath should be diuided and made two shires, one of them to be called the countie of Meath, the other to be called the countie of Westmeath, and that there should be two shiriffes and officers conuenient within the same shires, as is more expresse in the act.

1542

Loughfoile, the Banne, Wolderfrith, Craregfergus, Strangford, Ardglas, Loughneuen, Carlingford, Kilkeale, Dundalke, Kilclogher, Dunane, Drogheda, Houlepatrike, Nanie, Baltraie, Brimore, Balbriggen, Roggers towne, Skerrish, Kuth, Malahide, Banledwile, Houth, Dublin, Dalkie, Wickincloa, Arckloa, Wexford, Bagganbun, the Passage, Waterford, Dungaruan, Rosse noua, Poughille, Corke mabegge, Corke, Kinsale, Kierie, Rosse Ilbere, Dorrie, Baltintmore, Downenere, Downehead, Downclounge, Attannanne, Craghanne, Downenebwine, Balineskiliedge, Daugine Ichouse, Tralie, Seninne, Castanne, Kilnewine, Limerike, Innistartie, Belalenne, Arinenewne, Glanemaugh, Balliweiham, Binwarre,

The names of the chiefe hauen townes in Ireland.

Dowzis, Wozan, Roskam, Galwaie, Killinillie, Innesboſinne, Dwzan, Moare, Kilcolken, Burske, Belleclare, Rathesilbene, Bierweisowze, Burauets hare, Ardne makow, Rosbare, Kilgolinne, Wallalele, Kabzanne, Strone, Burweis now, Zaltra, Kalbalie, Ardnocke, Adzowse, Sligaghe, Innes Bowsenne.

Camb. lib. 1. topog. dist. 2. rub. 3. & 4.

Cambrensis obserued in his time, that when the sea doth eb at Dublin, it ebbeth also at Bristow, and floweth at Milford and Weisford. At Wickloa the sea ebbeth when in all other parts it commonlie floweth. Furthermoze this he noted, that the riuer which runneth by Wickloa vpon a low eb is salt, but in Arckloa the nert hauen towne, the riuer is fresh when the sea is at full. He writeth also, that not far from Arckloa standeth a rocke, and when the sea ebbeth in one side thereof, it floweth in the other side as fast. Cambrensis inlearcheth diuerse philosophicall reasons in finding out the cause, by obseruing the course of the mione, who is the empzesse of moisture. But those subtilties I leaue for the scholestreets.

Of the strange and woonderfull *places in Ireland.*

The fourth chapter.

S. Patrike his purgatorie.

I Thinke it good to begin with S. Patrike his purgatozie, partlie bicause it is most notozioustie knowne, & partlie the mozе, that some writers, as the author of Polychronicon and others that were miscaried by him, seeme to make great doubt where they need not. For they ascribe the finding out of the place not to Patrike that conuerted the countrie, but an other Patrike an abbat, whom likewise they affirme to haue beene imploied in conuerting the Iland from heathenrie to christianitie.

But the author that brocheth this opinion, is not found to carie anie such credit with him, as that a man may certeinlie affirme it, or probablie coniecture it; vnlesse we relie to the old withered wormeeaten legend, loded with as manie lowd lies, as lewd lines. The better and the mozе certeine opinion is, that the other Patrike found it out, in such wise as Cambrensis repozteth. There is a pole or lake, saith he, in the parts of Ulster, that inuironneth an Iland, in the one part whereof there standeth a church much lightned with the brightsome recourse of angels: the other part is ougtie and gastlie, as it were a bedlem allotted to the visible assemblies of horrible and grislie bugs. This part of the Iland conteineth nine caues. And if anie dare be so hardie, as to take one night his lodging in anie of these ins, which hath beene experimented by some rash & harebraine aduenturers, streight these spirits claw him by the backe, and tug him so ruggedlie, and tosse him so crabbedlie, that now and then they make him mozе franke of his bum than of his tong; a paiment correspondent to his interteinement. This place is called S. Patrike his purgatozie of the inhabitors. For when S. Patrike laboured the conuersion of the people of Ulster, by setting before their eies in great heat of spirit, the creation of the world, the fall of our progenitors, the redemption of man by the blessed and pretious bloud of our sauiour Jesus Christ, the certeintie of death, the immortalitie of the soule, the generall resurrection, our latter doome, the ioies of heauen, the paines of hell, how that at length euerie man, small and great, yong and old, rich and poze, king and keaser, potentate and pezzant must either through God his gratious mercie be exalted to the one, to flozish in perpetuall felicitie, or through his vnsearchable iustice tumble downe to the other, to be tormented in eternall miserie. These and the like graue and weightie sentences, wherwith he was abundantlie stozed, so far sunke into their harts, as they seemed verie flexible in condescending to his behest: so that some prose of his estrange preaching could haue beene verefied. Where vpon, without further delaie, they spake to the prelat in this wise.

Sir, as we like of your preaching, so we dislike not of our libertie. You tell vs of manie gugawes and estrange dreames. You would haue vs to abandon infidelitie, to cage vp our libertie, to bridle our pleasure: for which you promise vs for our toile and labour a place to vs as vnknowen, so as yet vncerteine. You sermon to vs of a dungeon appointed for offendors and miscredents. In deed if we could find that to be true, we would the soner be weaned from the swet nipple of our libertie, and frame our selues pliant to the will of that God, that you reueale vnto vs. S. Patrike considering, that these sealie soules were (as all dulcarnanes for the more part are) more to be terrified from infidelitie through the paines of hell, than allured to christianitie by the ioies of heauen, most hartilie besought God, so it stood with his gratious pleasure, for the honour and glozie of his diuine name, to giue out some euident or glimsing token of the matter they importunatlie required. Finallie by the especiall direction of God, he found in the north edge of Ulster a desolate corner hemmed in round, and in the middle thereof a pit, where he reared a church, called Reglis or Reglasse. Reglasse.

At the east end of the churchyard a dore leadeth into a closet of stone like a long ouen, which they call S. Patrike his purgatozie, for that the people resort thither euen at this daie for penance, and haue repozted at their returne estrange visions of paine and blisse appearing vnto them.

Polychr. lib. 1. c. 36. 1138

The author of Polychronicon writeth that in the reigne of king Stephan, a knight named Owen pilgrimaged to this purgatozie, being so appalled at the strange visions that there he saw, as that vpon his returne from thense he was wholie mortified, and sequestring himselfe from the world, he spent the remnant of his life in an abbete of Ludensis.

Dyon. Cart. in lib. de quatu. nouiss. art. 48.

Also Dyonisius a charterhouse monke recordeth a vision seene in that place by one Agneius, or Egneius, whereof who so is inquisitiue, may resort to his treatise written *De quatuor nouissimis*.

Ioh. Camert. in lib. Solini. cap. 35.

Iohannes Camertes holdeth opinion, which he surmiseth vpon the gesse of other, that Claudius writeth of this purgatozie. Which if it be true, the place must haue beene extant before saint Patrike, but not so famouslie knowen. The poet his verses are these following:

Claud. lib. 1. in Ruffin.

Est locus, extremum pandit qua Gallia littus,
Oceani prætentus aquis, quo fertur Vlysses
Sanguine libato populum mouisse silentum,
Flebilis auditur quæstus, simulachra coloni
Pallida, defunctáque vident migrare figuras.

There is a place toward the ocean sea
from brim of Galliſh shore,
Wherein Vlysses pilgrim strange
with offred bloud ygore,
The people there did mooue, a skritching shrill from dungeon lug
The dwellers all appall with gastlie galpe of grislie bug.
There onelie shapes are seene to stare
with visage wan and sad,
From nouke to nouke, from place to place,
in eluish skips to gad.

They that repaire to this place for deuotion his sake

ſake vſe to continue therein foure & twentie houres, which doing otherwhile with ghoſtlie meditations, and otherwhile a dread for the conſcience of their deſerts, they ſaie they ſée a plaine reſemblance of their owne faults and vertues, with the horror and comfort therevnto belonging, the one ſo terrible, the other ſo ioious, that they verelie déeme themſelues for the time to haue ſight of hell and heauen. The reuelations of men that went thither (S. Patrike yet liuing) are kept written within the abbeie there adioining. When anie perſon is diſpoſed to enter (for the doore is euer ſpard) he repaireth firſt for deuiſe to the archbiſhop, who caſteth all perils, and diſſuadeth the pilgrime from the attempt, bicauſe it is knowen that diuerſe entering into that caue, neuer were ſeene to turne backe againe. But if the partie be fullie reſolued, he recommendeth him to the prior, who in like maner fauourablie exhorteth him to chooſe ſome other kind of penance, and not to hazard ſuch a danger. If notwithſtanding he find the partie fullie bent, he conducteth him to the church, iniotneth him to begin with praier and faſt of fiftéene daies, ſo long togither as in diſcretion can be indured. This time expired, if yet he perſeuere in his former purpoſe, the whole conuent accompanieth him with ſolemne proceſſion & benediction to the mouth of the caue, where they let him in, and ſo bar vp the doore vntill the next morning. And then with like ceremonies they await his returne and reduce him to the church. If he be ſéene no more, they faſt and praie fiftéene daies after. Touching the credit of theſe matters, I ſée no cauſe, but a chriſtian being perſuaded that there is both hell and heauen, may without vanitie vpon ſufficient information be reſolued, that it might pleaſe God, at ſometime, for conſiderations to his wiſdome knowen, to reueale by miracle the viſion of ioies and paines eternall. But that altogither in ſuch ſort, and by ſuch maner, and ſo ordinarilie, and to ſuch perſons, as the common fame doth vtter; I neither beléeue nor with to be regarded. I haue conferd with diuerſe that had gone this pilgrimage, who affirmed the order of the premiſſes to be true; but that they ſaw no ſight, ſaue onelie fearefull dreams when they chanced to nod, and thoſe they ſaid were exceéding horrible. Further they added, that the faſt is rated more or leſſe, according to the qualitie of the penitent.

The ceremonies vſed in entering S. Patrike his purgatorie.

Cambrenſis affirmeth, that in the north of Mounſter there be two Ilands, the greater and the leſſe. In the greater there neuer entereth woman or anie liuing female, but forthwith it dieth. This hath béene often proued by bitches and cats, which were brought thither to trie this concluſion, and preſentlie they died. In this Iland the cocke or maſcle birds are ſeene to chirpe, and pearch vp and downe the twigs, but the hen or female by inſtinct of nature abandoneth it, as a place vtterlie poiſoned. This Iland were a place alone for one that were vered with a ſhrewd wife. The leſſe Iland is called *Inſula viuentium*, bicauſe none died there, ne maie die by courſe of nature, as Giraldus Cambrenſis ſaith. Howbeit the dwellers when they are ſore frusht with ſickneſſe, or ſo farre withered with age as there is no hope of life, they requeſt to be conueied by boate to the greater Iland, where they are no ſooner inshored, than they yéeld vp their ghoſts. For my part, I haue béene verie inquiſitiue of this Iland, but I could neuer find this eſtrange propertie ſoothed by anie man of credit in the whole countrie. Neither trulie would I wiſh anie to be ſo light, as to lend his credit to anie ſuch feined gloſes, as are neither verefied by experience, nor warranted by anie colourable reaſon. Wherfore I ſée not why it ſhould be termed *Inſula viuentium*, vnleſſe it be that none dieth there, as long as he liueth.

Camb. lib. 1. topog. diſtinct. 2. cap. 5.

Inſula viuentium.

Cambrenſis telleth further, that there is a churchyard in Vlſter, which no female kind maie enter. If the cocke be there, the hen dareth not follow. There is alſo in the weſt part of Connaght an Iland, placed in the ſea, called Aren, to which ſaint Brendan had often recourſe. The dead bodies néed not in that Iland to be grauelled. For the aire is ſo pure, that the contagion of anie carrien maie not infect it. There, as Cambrenſis ſaith, maie the ſonne ſée his father, his grandfather, his great grandfather, &c. This Iland is enimie to mice. For none is brought thither, but either it leapeth into the ſea, or elſe being ſtaied it dieth preſentlie. There was in Kildare an ancient monument named the Firehouſe, wherein Cambrenſis ſaith, was there continuall fire kept day and night, and yet the aſhes neuer increaſed. I trauelled of ſet purpoſe to the towne of Kildare to ſée this place, where I did ſée ſuch a monument like a vault, which to this daie they call the Firehouſe.

Cambren. in eodem loco.

Aren.

The Firehouſe of Kildare.

Touching the heath of Kildare Cambrenſis writeth that it maie not be tild: and of a certeintie within this few yeares it was tried, and found, that the corne which was ſowed did not proue. In this plaine (ſaith Cambrenſis) ſtood the ſtones that now ſtand in Salisburie plaine, which were conueied from thenſe by the ſleight of Merlin the Welſh prophet, at the requeſt of Aurelius Ambroſius king of the Britons. There is alſo in the countie of Kildare a goodlie field called Molleaghmaſt, betwéene the Norrough and Kilka. Diuers blind prophecies run of this place, that there ſhall be a bloudie field fought there, betwéene the Engliſh inhabitants of Ireland and the Iriſh, and ſo bloudie forſooth it ſhall be, that a mill in a vale hard by it ſhall run foure and twentie houres with the ſtreame of bloud that ſhall powre downe from the hill. The Iriſh doubtleſſe repoſe a great aſſiance in this balducktum dreame. In the top of this height ſtand motes or rundels verie formalie faſhioned, where the ſtrength of the Engliſh armie (as they ſay) ſhall be incamped.

The heath of Kildare.

The ſtones of Salisburie plaine.

Molleagh maſt.

The Earle of Suſſex being lord lieutenant of Ireland, was accuſtomed to wiſh, that if anie ſuch propheſie were to be fulfilled, it ſhould happen in his gouernement, to the end he might be generall of the field. Not farre from Molleaghmaſt, within a mile of Caſtledermot, or Chriſtledermot, is there a place marked with two hillocks, which is named the Geraldine his throw or caſt. The length of which in verie déed is wonderfull. The occaſion proceéded of this. One of the Geraldins, who was anceſtor to thoſe that now are lords of Lackath, preéed an enimie of his. The earle of Kildare hauing intelligence therof, ſuppreſſing affection of kinred, and moued by zeale of iuſtice, purſued him with a great troope of horſemen, as the other was bringing of the preéde homeward. The Geraldine hauing notice giuen him, that the earle was in hot purſute, and therefore being warned by the meſſenger to hie him with all ſpeed poſſible: the gentleman being nettled, that his kinſman would ſéeme to reſcue the preéde of his deadlie foe; and as he was in ſuch fretting wiſe fleing in his greaſe, he brake out in theſe cholerike words; And doth my couſine Kildare purſue me in déed? Now in good faith, whereas he ſéemeth to be a ſuppreſſer of his kindred, and an vpholder of my mortall enimie, I would wiſh him no more harme, than that this dart were as far in his bodie, as it ſhall ſticke forthwith in the ground: and therewithall giuing the ſpurres to his horſſe, he hurled his dart ſo farre, as he abaſhed with the length thereof aſwell his companie as his poſteritie.

The Earle of Suſſex.

The Geraldines throw. 1470.

The Geraldines wiſh.

The Geraldine was not verie farre from thenſe, when the earle with his band made hot foot after, and

dogging still the tracke of the prædours, he came to the place where the dart was hurled, where one pickthanke or other let the earle to vnderstand of the Geraldine his wild spæches there deliuered. And to inhanse the heinousnesse of the offense, he shewed how farre he hurled his dart, when he wished it to be pitched in his lordship his bodie. The erle astonied at the length thereof, said: Now in good soth, my cousine in behauing himselfe so couragiouslie, is worthie to haue the præde shot frē. And for my part I purpose not so much to stomach his cholerike wish, as to imbrace his valiant prowesse. And therewithall commanded the retreat to be blowne and reculed backe.

The earle of Kildares answer.

There is in Meath an hill called the hill of Taragh, wherein is a plaine twelue score long, which was named the Kempe his hall: there the countrie had their meetings and folkemotes, as a place that was accounted the high palace of the monarch. The Irish historians hammer manie fables in this forge of Finmac Cotle and his champions, as the French historie doth of king Arthur and the knights of the round table. But doubtlesse the place seemeth to beare the shew of an ancient and famous monument.

The hill of Taragh.

There is in Castleknocke a village not far from Dublin, a window not glazed nor latized, but open, and let the weather be stormie, the wind blustor boisterouslie on euerie side of the house; yet place a candle there, and it will burne as quietlie as if no puffe of wind blew. This maie be tried at this daie, who so shall be willing to put it in practise. Touching the strange wels that be in Ireland, I purpose to speake litle more than that which I find in Cambrensis, whose words I will English, as they are Latined in his booke. There is (saith he) a well in Mounster, with the water of which if anie be washed, he becōmeth forthwith hoare. I haue seene a man that had one halfe of his beard, being died with that water hoare; the other halfe vnwashed was browne, remaining still in his naturall colour. Contrariwise, there is a founteine in the further edge of Vlster, and if one be bathed therewith, he shall not become hoare: in which well such as loath grete heares are accustomed to diue. There is in Connaght a well that springeth on the top of an hill farre and distant from anie sea, ebbing and flowing in foure and twentie houres, as the sea doth; and yet the place is vplandish, and the water fresh. There is another spring in the same countrie, the water of which is verie wholsome to men and women, but poison to beasts: and if a man put but the grauell of this well into his mouth, it quencheth presentlie his thirst.

Castleknocke. The strange welles.

Camb. in lib. 1. topog. dist. 1. rub. 8. & 10.

There is in Vlster a standing pole thirtie thousand pases long, and fifteene thousand pases brode, out of which springeth the noble northerne riuer, called the Banne. The fishers complaine more often for bursting of their nets with the ouer great lake of fish, than for anie want. In our time vpon the conquest a fish swam from this pole to the shore, in shape resembling a salmon, but in quantitie so huge, that it could not be drawne or caried wholie togither, but the fishmongers were forced to hacke it in gobbets, and so to carrie it in peecemeale throughout the countrie, making thereof a generall dole. And if the report be true, the beginning of this pole was strange. There were in old time where the pole now standeth, vicious and beastlie inhabitants. At which time was there an old said saw in euerie man his mouth, that as soone as a well there springing (which for the superstitious reuerence they bare it, was continuallie couered and signed) were left open and vnsigned, so soone would so much water gush out of that well, as would forthwith ouerwhelme the whole territorie. It happened at length, that an old trot came thither to fetch water, and hearing hir child whine, she ran with might and maine to dandle hir babie, forgetting the obseruance of the superstitious order tofore vsed. But as she was returning backe to haue couered the spring, the land was so farre ouerflowne, as that it past hir helpe: and shortlie after she, hir suckling, & all those that were within the whole territorie were drowned. And this seemeth to carie more likelihood with it, because the fishers in a cleare sunnie daie see the steeples and other piles plainlie and distinctlie in the water. And here would be noted, that the riuer of the Banne flowed from this head spring before this flood, but farre in lesse quantitie than it doth in our time. Hitherto Giraldus Cambrensis.

Boetius telleth a rare propertie of a pole in Ireland, & for that he maketh himselfe an eie witnesse of the matter, he shall tell his owne tale. *Ac quoniam Hiberniæ incidit mentio, præter infinita in ea rerum miracula, haud importunum fore existimem, si vnum, quod obportentuosam nouitatem fidem omnium excedere videatur, nos tamen verum experti sumus, adiunxerimus. Lacus in eu est, circa quem amplissimo circumquaque spatio nec herba nec arbor vlla nascitur, &c: in quem si lignum infigas anni circiter vnius curriculo, id quod in terra fixum erat, in lapidem conuertetur; quod deinceps aquâ operietur, in ferrum: reliquum aquâ exstans ligni formam naturámque seruabit. Ita coniuncta, lapis, ferrum & lignum eodem in stipite inaudita nouitate conspectantur.* But for that mention is made of Ireland, ouer and aboue the infinite number of wonders in that land, it will not be vnfit beside the purpose, to insert one maruellous thing, which although it may seeme to some to haue no colour of truth: yet because it hath beene by vs experimented, and found out to be true, we maie the better aduouch it. There is a standing pole in that Iland, neere which of all sides groweth neither herbe, shrub, nor bush. If you sticke a rod or peece of timber in this pole, that which sticketh in the earth within the space of one yeare turneth to a stone; as much as is dipt in the water, is conuerted to iron; all that is aboue the water remaineth still in the pristinat and former wodden shape. So that you may see that which is strange, in one stocke or sticke, stone, iron and wood linkt and knit togither. Thus much Hector Boetius.

Hector Boet. in Scot. reg. descript. pag. 9 Sect. 50.

In the countrie of Kilkennie and in the borders thereto confining, they vsed a solemne triall by a water they call Melashée. The propertie of this water is, as they say, that if a periured person drinke thereof, the water will gush out at his bellie, as though the drinker his nauill were bord with an auger. The riuer that runneth by Dublin named the Liffie hath this propertie for certeine, and I haue obserued it at sundrie times. As long as it reigneth, yea if it stod powring six daies, you shall find diuerse shallow brookes, and the riuer will be nothing thereby increased: but within foure and twentie houres after the showres are ceast, you shall perceiue such a sudden spring flow, as if the former raine were great; a verie few places or none at all will be found passable. Cambrensis writeth, that in the south part of Mounster, betweene the maine sea coasting on Hispaine and saint Brendan his hills, there is an Iland of the one side incompassed with a riuer abundantlie stored with fish, & on the other part inclosed with a little brooke. In which place saint Brendan was verie much resiant. This plot is taken to be such a sanctuarie for beasts, as if anie hare, fox, stag, or other wild beast be chased neere that Iland by dogs, it maketh straight vpon the brooke, and assoone as it passeth the streame, it is so cocksure, as the hunter may perceiue the beast resting on the one banke, & the dogs questing on the other brim, being as it were by some inuisible railes imbard from dipping their feet in the shallow ford, to pursue the

Melashée.

The Liffie.

Cambr. lib. 1. dist. 2. rub. 41.

the beast chased. On the other side of this Iland there runneth a riuer stored aboue measure with fresh water fish, and in especiallie with salmon. Which abundance, as Cambrensis writeth, proceeded of God, to mainteine the great hospitalitie that was kept there. And because the dwellers thereabout shall not like pinching coistrels make anie sale of the fish, let it be poudered as artificiallie as may be, yet it will not keepe (as though it were manna) aboue the first night or daie that it be taken. So that you must eate it within that short compasse, otherwise it putrifieth and standeth to no steed.

The Salmon leape.

This riuer ouerflowеth a great rocke, vsuallie called the Salmon leape: for as it is commonlie the propertie of all fish to swim against the tide, as for birds to flitter against the wind; so it is naturallie giuen to the salmon to struggle against the streme, and when it approcheth neere this high rocke, it bendeth his taile to his head, and sometime taketh it in his mouth; and therewithall beareth it selfe ouer the water, and suddenlie it fetcheth such a round whiske, that at a trice it skippeth to the top of the rocke. The like salmon leape is neere Leislip, but not so high as this. There be also, as witnesseth Cambrensis, in the further part of Ulster, certeine hils neere to saint Bean his church, where cranes pearelis breed. And when they haue laied their egs, if anie purpose to ransacke their nests, let him but attempt to touch the egs, they will shew like yong scralling pullets without feather or downe, as though they were new hatched, and presentlie brought out of their shels. But if the partie plucke his hand from the nest, forthwith they shew (whether it be by anie metamorphosis, or some iugling legier de maine by dazeling the eies) as though they were transformed into egs. And further, saith Cambrensis, let two at one instance be at the nest, and let the one of them onelie giue the gaze, and the other attempt to take awaie the egs, they will seeme to the loker on as egs, and to the taker as yong red little cranets, being as bare as a bird his arsse.

Armagh.

The towne of Armagh is said to be enimie to rats, and if anie be brought thither, presentlie it dieth. Which the inhabitants impute to the praiers of saint Patrike. But to omit the strange places, that either by false reports are surmised, or by proofe and experience dailie beresied: there are in this Iland such notable quaries of greie marble and touch, such store of pearle and other rich stones, such abundance of cole, such plentie of lead, iron, latin and tin, so manie rich mines furnished with all kind of metals, as nature seemed to haue framed this countrie for the storehouse or iewelhouse of hir chiefest thesaure. Howbeit she hath not shewed hir selfe so bountifull a mother in powring forth such riches, as she proueth hir selfe an enuious stepdame; in that she instilleth in the inhabitants a drousie lithernesse to withdraw them from the insearching of hir hourded and hidden iewels. Wherein she fareth like one, that to purchase the name of a sumptuous frankelen or a good blander, would bid diuerse ghests to a costlie and deintie dinner, and withall for sauing of his meat with some secret inchantment would benum them of their limbs, or with some hidden lothsomnesse would dull their stomachs, as his ghests by reason of the one are not able, or for the other not willing, by taking their repast to refresh themselus, in so much as in my phantasie it is hard to decide whether estate is the better: either for a diligent labrer to be planted in a barren or stonie soile, or for a luskish lotterer to be setled in a fertill ground; because the one will, and may not; the other may and will not through his painefull trauell reape the fruit and commoditie that the earth yeeldeth.

Ireland the storehouse of nature.

Of the lords spirituall of Ireland, *their names and dignities.*

The fift chapter.

THe spirituall iurisdiction is ordered into foure prouinces, whereof the primasie was euer giuen (in reuerence of saint Patrike that conuerted the countrie) to the archbishoprike of Armagh, who is called *Primas totius Hiberniæ*, and the archbishop of Dublin, *Primas Hiberniæ*. This custome was since confirmd by Eugenius the third, 1148, or 1152: who sent withall three other palles of archbishops to be placed, one at Dublin, one at Cashill, & the last at Twene. To these are suffragans in right nine and twentie, and they all to the *Primas* of Armagh, vnder whose prouince are the bishops of Meath and Deren, Ardach, Kilmore, Clogher, Doune, Coner, Clonknos, Rabo, Dromore. Armagh.

Under Dublin, whereunto Innocentius the third vnited Glandelagh, the bishop of Elphine, Kildare, Fernes, Mssorie and Leighlin. Dublin.

Under Cashill, the bishop of Waterford, to whome Lismore is vnited, Corke and Clone, Rosse, Ardigh, Limerike, Emelie, Killaloe, and Ardfert. Cashill.

Under Twene, Kilmaco, Olfine, Anaghdoune, Clonfert, Morro. In this recount some difference hapneth by reason of personall and reall vnion of the sees, and for other alterations. I haue obserued in perusing of old bookes the names of certeine bishops and archbishops of Dublin: and albeit I could not find a iust register or catalog of them, yet I take it to be better to place such as I could find, than to omit the whole. ¶ Cormachus was one of the first bishops that I haue read of, but I am well assured, that there were diuerse others before his time. He flourished about the yeare 893, of this bishop Hector Boetius maketh mention. Lib. 10. Scot. Hist. fol. 212. sect. 40.

¶ Dunanus was bishop of Dublin long after Cormachus: for Dunanus died in the yeare 1074. He was buried in Christs church in Dublin, in the vpper part of the chancell on the right hand.

¶ Patricius was consecrated bishop of Dublin in Paule his church at London by the archbishop of Canturburie Lanfranus or Lanfrancus. The reason of this consecration was, for that as yet the metropolitans of Ireland receiued not their pall. A pall is an indowment appropriated to archbishops, made of white silke the breadth of a stole, but it is of another fashion. And where you shall espie the armes of anie archbishop blazed, there you may perceiue the pall set out in white, with a great manie blacke crosses vpon it. An archbishop within three moneths after his consecration or confirmation ought to demand his pall, otherwise he may be remoued; neither ought he to name himselfe archbishop before the receit, neither may he before summon or call a councell, make chrisme, dedicate churches, giue orders, or consecrat bishops. He may not weare his pall without the church, neither in other prouinces; albeit in another prouince he may be in his pontificalibus, so that pontificalia differeth from the pall. Furthermore, an archbishop may not lend his pall vnto another, but it ought to be interred with him. But to returne to Patricius, his time was but short, for some after as he was crossing the seas to Dublin ward, he was drowned with his felow passengers the same yere that he was consecrated, the ninth of October. 1074.

Pall what it is.

c. quoniam, c. dis. 100

c. quod sicut de elect. penul.

De priuil. & excess. priuil. cap. Archie. & in glos. c. ex tuatum, & c. adhoc. de aut. & vsu. pal.

¶ Donatus, of some called Bungus, succeeded Patricius, and likewise consecrated by Lanfrancus archbishop of Canturburie, at the instance of Terdilnacus king of Ireland, the bishops of Ireland, the clergie and the citizens of Dublin: he deceassed 1075.

1095. in the yere one thousand nintie and fiue. Samuell succéded Donatus, and died in the yére one thousand one hundred two and twentie. Gregorius did not succéd immediatlie after Samuell, for there be thirtie yéres betweene them both. This Gregorius was the first metropolitan of Dublin, and was consecrated archbishop in the yére one thousand one
1152. hundred fiftie and two, and died in the yére one thousand one hundred thrée score and two.

1162. S. Laurentius Othothille. This prelat was first abbat of S. Kenins in Glindelagh, and after he was solemnlie consecrated and installed in Christ church at Dublin by Gelacius the primat of Armagh, and not by Canturburie, as the bishops of Dublin were before the pall giuen them. He died in Normandie, and was buried in our ladie church of Angie in the yeare one thousand one hundred and foure score, the fourtéenth of Nouember.

Johan Cummin an Englishman succéded Laurence. This famous prelat being cloistered vp in the abbeie of Eusham in Worcestershire was highlie renowned of all men, as well for his déepe learning, as for the integritie of his life. The clergie of Dublin being giuen to vnderstand of so worthie a clerke, became humble petitioners to the king his maiestie Henrie the second, that through his means such an vnualuable iewell should be installed in
1180. Laurence his dignitie. The king bowing to their earnest sute agréd he should be consecrated their archbishop: which was an happie houre for that countrie. For besides the great trauell he indured in edifieng his flocke in Christian religion, he was founder of S. Patrike his church in Dublin, as is before specified. He deceassed in the yére one thousand two hundred and twelue, and was intomed in the quére of Christs church.

Henrie Londres succéded Cummin. This man was nicknamed Scorchbill, or Scorchvillein thorough this occasion. Being setled in his sée, he gaue commandement to all his tenants to make their appærance before him at a daie apointed: and for that he was raw as yet in his reuenues, he toke it to stand best with their ease and quietnes, and his commoditie, that ech of them should shew their euidences, whereby he might learne, by what tenure they held of him. His tenants mistrusting no sluttish dealing, but construing all to be meant for the best, deliuered their euidences to their landlord, who did scantlie well peruse them when he flong them all in the fire. The poore tenants espieng this subtill pranke to be verie vnfitting for a bishop, could not bridle their tongs, but brake out on a sudden: Thou an archbishop? Naie, thou art a scorchvillein. But it could not be gessed to what end this fact of his tended; for notwithstanding this, the tenants inioied their lands, vnlesse he did it because they should be tenants at will, and so to stand to his deuotion. This prelat doubtlesse was politike, and well lettered, and for his wisedome and learning he was elected lord iustice of Ireland. He was the founder of the castell of Dublin, as is before mentioned. He deceassed in the yeare one thousand two hundred twentie & fiue, and lieth buried in Christs church. Wherby appéreth that Matthæus Parisiensis did ouershot himselfe, in writing one Hu or Hugo to be archbishop of Dublin in the yeare one thousand two hundred and thirtéene, whereas Londres at that time was in the sée, as from his consecration to his death may be gathered, being the space of thirtéene yeares.

Scorchvillein.

Matth. Paris. in vita Ioan. pag. 316.

Johan Stamford succéded Londres, but not immediatlie, and was consecrated in the yeare one
1285. thousand two hundred foure score and fiue. This man, vpon the death of Stephan Fulborne archbishop of Dune, was made lord iustice of Ireland in the yeare one thousand two hundred foure score and seauen. And some after being in England he was sent from Edward the first as ambassador to the French king, and vpon his returne he deceassed in England, & some after was buried in saint Patrike his church at Dublin. 1294.

Willielmo Hothom is placed by some antiquaries to be archbishop of Dublin much about this time, but whether the man haue béene installed in this see at all or no, I am not able to affirme, nor to denie: but certeine it is that the date is mistaken, for vpon Johan Stamford his death, Richard Flerings was consecrated archbishop of Dublin, betweene whome and the lord Edmund Butler there arose a great controuersie in law, touching the manner of Holliwood with the appurtenances. Which manor the lord Butler recouered by an arbitrement or composition taken betweene them in the king his bench at Dublin. This prelat departed this life in the yere one thousand thrée hundred and six. 1297. Ioan. Caius de antiqu. Cant. Academ. lib. 1. Edmund Butler. 1032. Holliwood in Fingall. 1306.

Richard de Hauerings was successor vnto Flerings, who after that he had continued welnére the space of fiue yeares in the see, was sore appalled, by reason of an estrange and wonderfull dreame. For on a certeine night he imagined that he had séene an vglie monster standing on his breast, who to his thinking was more weightie than the whole world, in so much as being as he thought in maner squised or prest to death with the heft of this huge monster, he would haue departed with the whole substance of the world, if he were thereof possessed, to be disburdened of so heauie a load. Upon which with he suddenlie awoke. And as he beat his braines in diuining what this dreame should import, he bethought himselfe of the flocke committed to his charge, how that he gathered their fléeces yearelie, by receiuing the reuenues and perquisits of the bishoprike, and yet suffered his flocke to starue for lacke of preaching and teaching. Wherefore being for his former slacknesse sore wounded in conscience, he trauelled with all spéd to Rome, where he resigned vp his bishoprike, a burthen too heauie for his weake shoulders, and being vpon his resignation competentlie beneficed, he bestowed the remnant of his life wholie in deuotion. Hauerings dreame.

Johan Lech nephue to Hauerings, vpon the resignation was consecrated archbishop. This prelat was at contention with the primat of Armagh, for their iurisdictions: insomuch as he did imbarre the primat from hauing his crosse borne before him within the prouince of Leinster, which was contrarie to the canon law, that admitteth the crosier to beare the crosse before his archbishop in an other prouince. This man deceassed in the yeare one thousand thrée hundred and thirtéene. 1311. De priui. & excess. pri. c. Archiep.

Alexander Bigenor was next Lech consecrated archbishop with the whole consent aswell of the chapter of Christs church as of S. Patriks. Howbeit vpon the death of Lech there arose a schisme & diuision betweene Walter Thorneburie lord chancellour of Ireland and Bigenor then treasuror of the same countrie. The canceller to further his election determined to haue posted to Rome, but in the waie he was drowned with the number of 156 passengers. Bigenor staieng in Ireland, with lesse aduenture and better spéd, with the consent of both the chapters was elected archbishop. And in the yeare 1317 there came buls from Rome to confirme the former election. At which time the archbishop and the earle of Ulster were in England. This prelat some after returned lord iustice of Ireland, and some after he had landed at Poghill, he went to Dublin, where as well for his spirituall iurisdiction, as his temporall promotion he was received with procession and great solemnitie. 1313. 1318.

1320. solemnitie. In this man his time was there an vniuersitie founded in Dublin, whereof maister William Rodiard was chancellor, a well learned man and one that proceeded doctor of the canon law in this vniuersitie. Bigenor deceased in the yeare 1349.

1349 John de saint Paule was consecrated archbishop vpon Bigenor his death. He deceased in the yeare

1363 one thousand three hundred sixtie and two. Thomas Minot succeeded John, and died in the yeare one

1375 thousand three hundred seuentie & sir. Robert Wikeford succeeded Thomas, and died in the yeare one

1390 thousand three hundred and nintie. Robert Waldebie succeeded Wikeford, this prelat was first an Augustine frier, and a great preacher, and accounted a vertuous and sincere liuer. He deceased in the yeare

1397 one thousand three hundred ninetie and seauen. Richard Northalis was remoued from an other see and chosen archbishop of Dublin, who likewise deceased the same yeare he was elected. Thomas Crawlie an Englishman succeeded him the same yeare, and came into Ireland in the companie of the duke of Surrete. This archbishop was chosen lord iustice of Ireland in the yeare one thousand foure hundred

1413 and thirteene. In whose gouernement the English

The skirmish of Kilka. did skirmish with the Irish in the countie of Kildare neere Kilka, where the English vanquished the enimie, slue an hundred of the Irish. During which time the archbishop being lord iustice, went in procession with the whole clergie in Trifeldermot, or Castledermot, a towne adioining to Kilka, praieng for the prosperous successe of the subiects that went to skirmish with the enimie. This prelat was of stature tall, well featured, and of a sanguine complexion, decking his outward comelinesse with inward qualities. For he was so liberall to the rich, so charitable to the poore, so deepe a clerke, so profound a doctor, so sound a preacher, so vertuous a liuer, and so great a builder, as he was not without good cause accounted the phenix of his time. In dailie talke as he was short, so he was sweet. Hard in promising, bountifull in performing. In the yeare one thousand foure hundred and seuentene, he sailed into England, and ended his life at Faringdon, and was buried in New

1439 college at Oxford. In the yeare one thousand foure hundred thirtie & nine, there hath beene one Richard archbishop of Dublin, and lord iustice of Ireland, before whome a parlement was holden at Dublin, in the eightéenth yeere of the reigne of king Henrie the

1460 first. In the yeare one thousand foure hundred and sixtie, Walter was archbishop of Dublin, & deputie to Jasper duke of Bedford, lieutenant of Ireland.

The bishops of Kildare. I found in an ancient register the names of certeine bishops of Kildare, that were in that see since the time of saint Brigid: the names of whome I thought here to insert. Lonie was bishop in saint Brigids time, which was about the yeare of our Lord foure

448 hundred fortie and eight; the rest do here follow:

2	Iuor.	14	Robert.
3	Conlie.	15	Bonifacius.
4	Donatus.	16	Padogge.
5	Dauid.	17	William.
6	Magnus.	18	Galfride.
7	Richard.	19	Richard.
8	John.	20	James.
9	Simon.	21	Wale.
10	Nicholas.	22	Baret.
11	Walter.	23	Edmund Lane, who
12	Richard.		florished in the yeare
13	Thomas.		1518.

Maurice Jake. There hath beene a worthie prelat, canon in the cathedrall church of Kildare, named Maurice Jake,

1319 who among the rest of his charitable deeds, builded

The bridge of Kilcullen, and Leighlin. the bridge of Kilcullen, and the next yeare following he builded in like maner the bridge of Leighlin, to the great and dailie commoditie of all such as are occasioned to trauell in those quarters.

The lords temporall, as well English as *Irish, which inhabit the countrie* of Ireland.

The sixt chapter.

GErald Fitzgerald, earle of Kildare. This house was of the nobilitie of Florence, came from thense into Normandie, and so with the ancient earle Strangbow his kinsman, whose armes he giueth, into Wales, neere of bloud to Rice ap Griffin, prince of Wales by Nesta the mother of Maurice Fitzgerald & Robert Fitzstephans, with the said earle Maurice Fitzgerald remoued into Ireland, in the yeare one thousand one hundred sixtie and nine. The familie is verie properlie toucht in a sonnet of Surreies, made vpon the earle of Kildares sister, now countesse of Lincolne. 1169

From Tuscane came my ladies worthie race,
Faire Florence was sometime hir ancient seat:
The westerne Ile whose pleasant shore doth face
Wild Cambers cliffes, did giue hir liuelie heat:
Fostred she was with milke of Irish brest,
Hir sire an earle, hir dame of princes bloud,
From tender yeares in Britaine she doth rest
With kings child, where she tasts costlie food.
Hunsdon did first present hir to mine eine,
Bright is hir hew, and Geraldine she hight,
Hampton me taught to wish hir first for mine:
And Windsor, alas, doth chase me from hir sight,
Hir beautie of kind, hir vertues from aboue,
Happie is he, that can obteine hir loue.

The corrupt orthographie that diuerse vse in writing this name, doth incorporat it to houses thereto linked in no kinred, and consequentlie blemisheth diuerse worthie exploits atchiued as well in England and Ireland, as in forren countries and dominions. Some write Gerold, sundrie Gerald, diuerse verie corruptlie Gerrot, others Gerard. But the true orthographie is Girald, as maie appeare both by Giraldus Cambrensis, and the Italian authors that make mention of the familie. As for Gerrot it differeth flat from Girald: yet there be some in Ireland, that name and write themselues Gerrots, notwithstanding they be Giraldins, whereof diuerse gentlemen are in Meath. But there is a sept of the Gerrots in Ireland, and they seeme forsoth by threatning kindnesse and kindred of the true Giraldins, to fetch their petit degrees from their ancestors, but they are so neere of bloud one to the other, that two bushels of beanes would scantlie count their degrees. An other reason why diuerse estrange houses haue beene shuffled in among this familie, was, for that sundrie gentlemen at the christening of their children, would haue them named Giralds, and yet their surnames were of other houses, and if after it happened that Girald had issue Thomas, John, Robert, or such like, then would they beare the surname of Girald, as Thomas Fitzgirald: and thus taking the name of their ancestors for their surname, within two or three descents they showe themselues among the kindred of the Giraldins. This is a generall fault in Ireland and Wales, and a great confusion and extinguishment of houses.

This noble and ancient familie of the Giraldins, haue in sundrie ages florished in the most renowmed countries of Europe. Warring Fitzgirald was one in great credit with king John. I find an other Giraldine

Matth. Paris in vita Ioh. pag. 316. vers. 40.

1 2 3 4 raldine *Archiepiscopus Burdegalensis*, who flourished in king Henrie the third his time. There was an other Giraldine patriarch of Jerusalem, in the yere one thousand two hundred twentie and nine, as witnesseth Matthæus Parisiensis. There was one Girald of Berneill an excellent poet in the Italian tong: an other named Baptist Girald, was a famous citizen of Ferrara, an expert physician, and an exquisit philosopher, being publike professor of philosophie in the said citie, during the space of ten yeares. I haue seene a worke of one *Gregorius Giraldus Ferrariensis de dijs gentium*, dedicated to Hercules duke of Ferrara, a pithie booke and verie well penned. Also Sylvester Giraldus Cambrensis hath been one of this familie, nere of kin to sir Maurice Fitzgirald. This gentleman was borne in Wales, and thereof he is named Cambrensis, of the word *Cambria*, that in old time was adapted to that part of *Britannia*. He was verie inward with Henrie the second, conqueror of Ireland, being at that time the kings secretarie. And for that speciall affiance king Henrie reposed in him, he was appointed to accompanie prince John the kings sonne into Ireland, as one of his chiefest and discreetest councellors.

Pag. 480.

Giraldus Cambrensis.

This gentleman was verie well learned, a tollerable diuine, a commendable philosopher, not rude in physike, skilfull in cosmographie, a singular good antiquarie, an orator, in indeuor comparable to the best, in his stile not in those dates taken for the worst, rather eschewing the name of a rude writer, than purchasing the fame of an eloquent chronicler. Among other his works, he wrote one booke of the description of Ireland, other two of the conquest thereof. John the abbat of saint Albons saith, that this clerke was somewhat spare in words, and liberall in sentences. What he meaneth by this verdict I know not, vnlesse he taketh the man to be ouerlauish of his pen in stumping of his aduersaries with quipping tawnts, which (as I gesse) flowed rather from a flanting ostentation of a roisting kind of rhetorike, than from anie great malice he bare anie one. Howbeit, I mate not gainesate, but as he was kind where he toke, so he was somewhat biting where he disliked. But what his iudgement is of the Giraldins mate plainlie appeare in his chronicle, out of which I haue culled this praiseworthie sentence insuing.

Ioannes de loco frumenti part. prima granarij.

Cambrensis lib. 2. conqu. Hib. rub. 17.

Hoc est huius generis omen & hæc conditio. Semper in armata militia chari, semper primi, semper rebus in Martijs ausis nobili præstantissimi. Cessante verò necessitatis articulo, statim exosi, statim vltimi, statim ad ima liuore depressi. Veruntamen tantæ generositatis syluam liuor ad plenum extirpare non potuit. Vnde & vsque in hodiernum gens hæc nouis plantularum succrementis vires in insula non modicas habet. Qui sunt, qui penetrant hostium penitralia? Giraldidæ. Qui sunt, qui patriam conseruant? Giraldidæ. Qui sunt, quos hostes formidant? Giraldidæ. Qui sunt, quos liuor detractat? Giraldidæ. Si principem tantæ strenuitatis merita dignè pensantem reperissent, quàm tranquillum, quàm pacificum olim Hiberniæ statum reddidissent? Sed horum sine causa semper est suspecta strenuitas. This hath been continuallie, saith Cambrensis, a destinie or fatall propertie annexed to this house. In warre and martiall broiles they are dandled, they are colled, they are lulled, who but they? They rule the rost. But when these martiall garboiles are appeased, they are either through false informations wrongfullie behated, or else by enuious carpers sinisterlie suspected. Howbeit, enuie with all hir malicious drifts, could neuer wholie supplant the fertill groue of this couragious & noble progenie. And maugre the heads of all malicious promoters, this sept, yea euen at this date beareth, with the few slips there ingrafted, no small stroke in Ireland. Who are they that scale the enimies fort? The Giraldines; Who are they that defend their countrie? the Giraldines. Who are they that make the enimie quake in his skin? The Giraldines. And who are they whome enuie backbiteth? The Giraldines. If it had stood with the good fortune of the Giraldines, that the king with equall balance would poise their valure, long per this had all Ireland beene put in quiet and peaceable state. But their valiantnesse and power hath been from time to time without sufficient cause suspected. Hitherto Cambrensis.

And soothlie, as often as I call to mind the saieng of this historiographer, I may not but muse how iumpe he hitteth the naile on the head. And who so will conferre their continuall successe from the penning of this sentence (which was written aboue 400 yeares and vpward) with this age of ours, shall soone perceiue, that these words were rather prophesies of future mishap, than complaints of former iniuries. At this daie let them behaue themselues valiantlie in warre, and loiallie in peace; yet notwithstanding, such slanders are raised, such rumors noised, such tales bruted, such fables twitled, such vntrue reports twatled, such malicious inuentions forged, that such as are in authoritie cannot but of force suspect them, vnlesse they were able, like gods, to prie in the bottome of each mans conscience. But who so wisheth anie goodnesse to that miserable countrie, and noble progenie, let him with all the veines of his heart beseech God, first that the higher powers be slowe in beleeuing the despitefull reports of enuious backbiters. Secondlie, that the Giraldines beare themselues in all their affaires so dutifullie, that these curious inserchers be not able to depaint their feigned gloses with anie probable colours. So shall suspicion be abandoned, so shall malicious slanders be squatted, so shall that noble house be trusted, and consequentlie the battered weale-publike of Ireland reedified. The familie is English, and it is well knowne that the Irish rather feare their force, than loue their persons. And reason good pardie. For the Irish bearing in mind, that the Giraldine being thereto deputed by the prince, hath in all ages conquered their lands, abated their courages, discomfited their men, vanquished their armies, daunted their power, suppressed their force, and made them become true and tributarie subiects to the crowne of England: they haue good cause to beare that sept but holow hearts, what shew so euer they make in outward aperance. Thus much generallie of the Giraldines, now I purpose particularlie to treat of the house of Kildare.

Maurice Fitzgirald, one of the earles progenitors, was lord iustice of Ireland in the yeare 1242, at which time he builded the castell of Sligagh. This Maurice was lord of Tireconille, and being entirelie seized of the whole countrie, he gaue the one moitie thereof to Cormocke mac Dermot, mac Kotie. I read the Giraldine baron of Ophalie, in the yeare 1270. I haue seene it registred, that there died a Giraldine the fourth earle of Kildare, in the yeare 1287. But I take that kalendar to beare a false date. Wherefore the truth & certeintie is, that John Fitzgirald, sonne to Thomas Fitzgirald, was the first earle of Kildare, and was created earle vpon this occasion.

The castell of Sligagh. Tireconille.

Baron of Ophalie.

The first erle of Kildare.

In the yeare 1290, and in the eightéenth yeare of Edward the first, William Vescie was made lord iustice of Ireland. This man being either negligent or raw in the gouernment of the countrie, emboldened the Irish enimie to indamage the kings subiects more ettsones than they were accustomed to do. These enormities being for the space of foure years tolerated, the subiects misliking of the slackenesse of their gouernour, gaue out such sinister speeches of the

1290 Vescie lord iustice.

lord

lord iustice, as he was glad to the hart rot. Soone after, as the nobles in open assemblie were ripping vp by peecemele the seuerall harms their tenants suffered, the lord iustice willing to disburden himselfe of the crime, began with mistie kind of speaches to laie the whole fault on the lord John Fitzgiralds shoulders, saieng in parable wise, that he was a great occasion of these disorders, in that he bare himselfe in priuat quarrels as fierce as a lion, but in these publike iniuries he was as meeke as a lambe. The baron of Ophalie spelling and putting these syllables together, spake in this wise.

Uescie accuseth the lord Fitzgirald.

The lord Giraldes answer.

My lord, I am hartilie sorie that among all this noble assemblie, you make me your onelie marke whereat to shoot your bolt. And trulie were my deserts so heinous as I suppose you would wish them to be, you would not labour to cloud your talke with such darke ridles, as at this present you haue done; but with plaine & flat English, your lordship would not sticke to impeach of felonie or treason. For as mine ancestors with spending of their bloud in their souereignes quarell aspired to this type of honour, in which at this daie (God and my king be thanked) I stand: so your lordship taking the nigher waie to the wood, by charging me with treason, would gladlie trip so roundlie on my top, that by shedding of my bloud, and by catching my lands into your clouches, that butt so neere vpon your manors of Kildare and Kathimgan, as I dare saie they are an eie-sore vnto you, you might make my maister your sonne a proper gentleman.

The lord iustice replieth.

A gentleman? quoth the lord iustice: Thou bald baron, I tell thee the Uescies were gentlemen before the Giraldines were barons of Ophalie, yea and before that Welsh bankrupt thine ancestour (he meant sir Maurice Fitzgirald) fethered his nest in Leinster. And whereas thou takest the matter so farre in snuffe, I will teach thee thy lyripups after an other fashion than to be thus malepertlie cocking and billing with me that am thy gouernour. Wherefore, albeit thy taunts are such as they might force the patientest philosopher that is, to be chokt with choler: yet I would haue thee ponder my speeches, as though I deliuered them in my most sober and quiet mood. I saie to the face of thee, and I will auow what I say vnto thee, that thou art a supporter of theeues, a bolsterer of the kings enimies, an vpholder of traitors, a murtherer of subiects, a firebrand of dissention, a ranke theefe, an arrant traitor: and before I eate these words, I will make thee eate a peece of my blade.

The baron bridling with might and maine his choler, bare himselfe as cold in countenance, as the lord iustice was hot in words, and replied in this wise. My lord I am verie glad, that at length you vnwraped your selfe out of that net, wherein all this while you masked. As for mine ancestor, whome you terme a bankerupt, how rich or how poore he was vpon his repaire to Ireland, I purpose not at this time to debate. Yet thus much I may boldlie saie, that he came hither as a bier, not as a begger. He bought the enimies land by spending his bloud: but you lurking like a spider in his copweb to intrap flies, endeuor to beg subiects liuings wrongfullie, by despoiling them of their innocent liues. And whereas you charge me with malepertnes, in that I presume to chop logike with you being gouernour, by answering your snapish *Quid*, with a knapish *Quo*, I wold wish you to vnderstand, now, that you put me in mind of the distinction, that I as a subiect honour your roiall authoritie, but as a noble man I despise your dunghill gentilitie. Lastlie, whereas you charge me with the odious termes of traitor, murtherer, and the like, and there withall you wish me to resolue my selfe, that you rest vpon reason, not vpon rage: if these words proceed from your lordship, as from a magistrate, I am a subiect, to be tried by order of law, and am sorie that the gouernour, who ought by vertue of his publike authoritie to be my iudge, is by reason of priuat malice become mine accuser.

But if you vtter these speeches as a priuat person, then I John Fitzgirald, baron of Ophalie, do tell thee William Uescie, a single sole gentleman, that I am no traitor, no felon; and that thou art the onelie buttresse, by which the kings enimies are supported, the meane and instrument by which his maisties subiects are dailie spoiled. Therefore I as a loiall subiect saie traitor to thy teeth, and that shalt thou well vnderstand when we both shall be brought to the rehersall of these matters before our betters. Howbeit, during the time you beare office, I am resolued to giue you the mastrie in words, and to suffer you like a brawling cur to barke, but when I see my time I will be sure to bite.

The lord Girald posteth into England

These biting speeches passing to and fro, great factions on both sides were raised, with high and mightie words, and deepe othes; till time either part appeased his owne. The baron of Ophalie not sleeping nor slacking his matter, sudded with all hast into England, where he was no sooner inshored, than Uescie, after he had substituted William Haie in his rome, was imbarked, making as hot sot after the baron as he could. The king and his councell vnderstanding the occasion of their sudden arriuals, to the end the truth should be brought to light, appointed a set daie for the deciding of their controuersie, and that each of them should speake for himselfe what he could. Whereupon Uescie being commanded to begin, spake to this effect.

Uescie followeth.

Uescies oration.

My dread souereigne, as I must acknowledge my selfe somewhat agreeued, to be intangled in so intricate a matter, so I am as glad as hart can thinke that so weightie a controuersie is brought to the deciding of so vpright an vmpire. And whereas it stood with your maiesties pleasure, with the aduise of this your honourable councell, that I, as vnworthie, should haue the gouernment of your realme of Ireland; and during my time, your maiesties subiects, haue beene, I may not denie it, diuerslie annoied, for my discharge, as I said in Ireland: so I auow heere in England, that he kneeleth heere before your highnesse (pointing to the baron of Ophalie) that is the rot and crop of all these enormities. For it is well knowne, that he beareth that stroke with the Irish, as if he once but frowne at them, they dare not be so hardie as once to peake out of their cabbins. And whereas his force doth greatlie amaze them, thinke you but his countenance doth wonderfullie incourage them? To the furtherance of which, it is apparantlie knowne, and it shall be proued, that he hath not onelie in hucker mucker, by sundrie messages imboldened your maiesties enimies, to spoile your subiects, but also by his personall presence, in secret meetings, he gaue them such courage, as neither the roialtie of your highnesse, nor the authoritie of your deputie, neither the force of your lawes, nor the strength of your puissant armie, was able to quench the flame of these hurlie burlies, that through his traitorous drifts were inkindled. These and the like enormities through his priuie packing with rebels being dailie committed, to bring me your maisties gouernour in the hatred of the people, his adherents both secretlie muttered, and openlie exclamed against me and my gouernment, as though the redresse of all these harmes had wholie lien in mine hands.

Whereupon being in conference with such as were the chiefteins of your realme of Ireland, albeit

" beit I take it to be expedient, to point with my fin-
" ger to the verie sinke or headspring of all the trea-
" sons, that by secret conspiracies were pretended and
" practised against your maiestie and your subiects,
" yet notwithstanding hauing more regard to mode-
" stie, than to the deserts of the baron of Dphalie, I
" did but glanse at his packing in such secret sort, as
" none or a verie few of the companie could gesse,
" whome with my mistie speaches I did touch. And as
" commonlie the gald horsse doth soonest kicke, so this
" gentelman being prickt, as it should seeme with the
" sting of his giltie conscience, brake out on a sudden,
" and forgetting his allegiance to your highnesse, and
" his dutie to me your deputie, he take me vp so
" roughlie, as though I had beene rather his vnder-
" ling than his gouernour. The summe of which des-
" pitefull speaches I refer to the testimonie of the ho-
" norable audience where they were deliuered. As for
" his manifold treasons, I am ashamed to rehearse
" such things as he did not sticke to commit. And if it
" shall stand with your maiesties pleasure, to adiourne
" the triall for a few daies, I will charge him with such
" apparent Items, as were his face made of brasse, he
" shall not be able to denie anie one article that shall
" be booked against him. When Uescie had ended, the
" baron of Dphalie prest himselfe somewhat forward,
" and in this wise spake.

The lord Giraldus oration.

" Most puissant prince and my dread souereigne,
" were maister Uescie his mouth so full a measure, as
" what he spake, should be holden for gospell, this had
" beene no fit place for so arrant a traitor, as he with
" his feigned glosing would gladlie prooue me to be.
" But sith it pleased your maiestie, with so indifferent
" balance to ponder both our tales, I am throughlie
" persuaded, that my loiall innocencie shall be able, to
" ouerpoise his forged treacherie. Your maiestie hath
" heard manie words to small purpose. And as his
" complaint hitherto hath beene generallie hudled vp,
" so mine answer thereto may not particularlie be
" framed. Whereas therefore he termeth me a suppor-
" ter of theeues, a packer with rebels, a conspirator
" with traitors, if I should but with a bare word denie
" the premisses, all his gaie glose of glitring speaches
" would suddenlie fade awaie. Yea, but he craueth res-
" pit for the booking of his articles. Trulie so he hath
" need. For loitering and lingring is the onlie waie he
" may deuise to cloke his feigning and forging. Wher-
" in he sheweth himselfe as craftie, as the philosopher
" was accounted wise that promised a tyrant vpon
" menacing wordes, to schole his asse in philosophie,
" so he had seuen yeares respit; bicause that in that
" space he was persuaded, that either the tyrant, the
" asse, or he would die. In likewise maister Uescie, vp-
" on respit granted him, would hang in hope, that ei-
" ther the life of your maiestie (which God forbid)
" should be shortened; or that I, in tract of time, would
" be disfauoured; or that he by one subtill prancke or o-
" ther should be of this heauie load disburdened.

" But if I haue beene as manie yeares a malefac-
" tor as he auoucheth, how happeneth it, that his tong
" was tied before this late dissention begun? Whie did
" he not from time to time aduertise the councell of
" my treasons? Whereas now it may be probablie
" conjectured, that he was egd to this seruice rather
" for the hatred he beareth me, than for anie loue he
" oweth your roiall maiestie. Touching the words I
" spake in Ireland, I purpose not, for ought I heard
" as yet, to eat them in England. And when I shall be
" cald to iustifie such speaches as I deliuered there, I
" will not be found so raw in my matter, as to lose
" my errant in the carriage, as maister Uescie hath
" done, or to craue further respit for the registring of
" his manifold treasons. As for my secret meetings
" with Irish rebels, where I persuaded maister Uescie,
" that you were able to proue them, I would be found
" willing to acknowledge them. For if my conscience
" were so deepelie stong, as you pretend, I would take
" it for better policie, by acknowledging my trespasse,
" to appeale to my king his mercie, than by denieng
" my faults, to stand to the rigor of his iustice.

" And as for meetings, I had neuer so manie in
" woods with rebels, as you maister Uescie, haue had
" in your chamber with cowes. For it hath beene ma-
" nifestlie aparented, that when the baron of Dphalie,
" and the best of the nobilitie of Ireland haue beene
" imbard from entring your chamber, an Irish cow
" should haue at all times accesse vnto you. No, ma-
" ster Uescie: a cow, an horsse, an hauke, and a siluer
" cup haue beene the occasion of your slacknesse. When
" the subiects were preied, you would be content to
" winke at their miserie, so that your mouth were
" stopt with briberie. And when you had gathered your
" crums sufficientlie togither, you held it for a pretie
" policie (and yet it was but a bare shift) to charge the
" nobilitie with such packing, as you dailie did prac-
" tise. But you must not thinke that we are babes, or
" that with anie such stale deuise, or grosse iuggling
" tricke, you may so easilie duske or dazell our eies.
" Can anie man that is but slenderlie witted, so far be
" caried, as to beleeue, that master Uescie, being the
" kings deputie in Ireland, hauing his maiesties trea-
" sure, hauing the nobilitie at his becke, the kings ar-
" mie at his commandement; but that, if he were dis-
" posed to besturre himselfe, he were able to ferret out
" such barebreech brats as swarme in the English
" pale? If he said he could not, we must smile at his
" simplicitie; if he could and would not, how may he
" colour his dissolutlie?

" Yea, but I beare such stroke with the Irish, as
" that vpon anie priuat quarrell I am able to annoie
" them. What then? Bicause the baron of Dphalie
" can reuenge his priuat iniuries without the assi-
" stance of the deputie; therefore the deputie may not
" vanquish weake and naked rebels without the fur-
" therance of the baron of Dphalie: whereas the con-
" trarie ought to be inferd, that if a priuat person can
" tame the Irish, what may then the publike magi-
" strat do, that hath the princes paie? But in deed it is
" hard to take hares with fores. You must not thinke,
" maister Uescie, that you were sent gouernour into
" Ireland to dandle your trols, to pen your selfe vp
" within a towne or citie to giue rebels the gaze, to pill
" the subiects, to animat traitors, to fill your coffers,
" to make your selfe by marring true men, to gather
" the birds whilest other beat the bushes, and after to
" impeach the nobilitie of such treasons, as you onelie
" haue committed.

" But for so much as our mutuall complaints stand
" vpon the one his yea, and the other his naie, and that
" you would be taken for a champion, & I am knowne
" to be no coward: let vs, in Gods name, leaue lieng
" for varlets, berding for ruffians, facing for crakers,
" chatting for twatlers, scolding for callets, booking
" for scriueners, pleading for lawyers; and let vs trie
" with the dint of sword, as become martiall men to
" do, our mutuall quarels. Wherefore to iustifie that
" I am a true subiect, and that thou Uescie art an arch-
" traitor to God & to my king, here in the presence of
" his highnesse, and in the hearing of this honorable
" assemblie, I chalenge the combat. Whereat all the
" auditorie shouted. The combat chalenged.

" Now in good faith, quoth Uescie, with a right good
will. Whereupon both the parties being dismist vn-
till the kings pleasure were further knowne, it was
agreed at length by the councell, that the fittest triall
should haue beene by battell. Wherefore the parties
being as well thereof aduertised, as the daie by the
king appointed, no small prouision was made for so

eager

vager a combat, as that was presupposed to haue bene. But when the prefixed daie approched nere, Uescie turning his great boast to small rost, began to crie creake, and secretlie sailed into France. King Edward thereof aduertised, bestowed Uescies lordships of Kildare and Rathingan on the baron of Dphalie, saieng that albeit Uescie conueied his person into France, yet he left his lands behind him in Ireland.

Uescie fled into France.

Kildare bestowed on the lord Girald.

The baron returned to Ireland with the gratulation of all his friends, and was created earle of Kildare, in the ninth yeare of Edward the second his reigne, the fouretenth of Maie. He deceased at Laraghbrine (a village nere to Walwoth) in the yeare 1316, and was buried at Kildare, so that he was earle but one yeare. The house of Kildare among diuerse gifts, wherewith God hath abundantlie indued it, is for one singular point greatlie to be admired, that notwithstanding the seuerall assaults of diuerse enimies in sundrie ages, yet this earle that now liueth is the tenth earle of Kildare, to whome from John the first earle, there hath alwaies continued a lineall descent from father to son: which trulie in mine opinion is a great blessing of God. And for as much as this earle now liuing as his ancestors before him, haue bene shrewdlie shoued at by his euill willers, saieng that he is able, but not willing to profit his countrie: the posie that is framed for him, signifieng his mind, runneth in this wise:

The first erle of Kildare created. 1315

The numbers of the earles of Kildare.

Quid possim, iactant: quid velim, scire recusant:
Vtraque Reginæ sint, rogo, nota meæ.

His eldest sonne is lord Girald, baron of Dphalie, for whom these two verses following are made:

Lord Girald.

Te pulchrum natura fecit, fortuna potentem,
Te faciat Christi norma, Giralde, bonum.

Sir Thomas Butler earle of Drmond and Osserie. The Butlers were ancient English gentlemen, and worthie seruitors in all ages, Theobald Butler lord of Carrike and John Cogan were lord iustices of Ireland. This Butler died in the castell of Arekelow, in the yeare 1285. This lord Theobald Butler the ponger, and son to the elder Theobald, was sent for by Edward the first, to serue against the Scots. This noble man deceased at Turuie, and his bodie was conueighed to Weneie, a towne in the countie of Limerike. Sir Edmund Butler a wise and valiant noble man was dubbed knight at London by Edward the second.

Earle of Drmond. 1247

The Butlers (as I am informed) are found by antient records to haue bene earles of the Carrike. 1299

1309

This man being appointed lieutenant of Ireland, vpon the repaire of John Wogan (who before was lord iustice) to England, besieged the Obrenies in Glindalorie: and were it not that they submitted themselues to the king and the lieutenants mercie, they had not bene onelie for a season vanquished, but also vtterlie by him extirped. This noble man was in his gouernement such an incourager and furtherer of seruitors, as that he dubd on saint Michaell the archangels daie thirtie knights in the castell of Dublin. He was a scourge vnto the Scots that inuaded Ireland, when he was lieutenant. He discomfited Dmourgh a notorious rebell, neare a towne named Balie lethan. After diuerse victorious exploits by him atchiued, he sailed into England, and so to Hispaine in pilgrimage to saint Iames. Upon his returne to England, he deceased at London, and his bodie being conueied into Ireland was interred at Balligauran.

1312

1313

1315

1316

1321

1421

James Butler earle of Drmond was lord iustice of Ireland, in the yeare 1359. The lord Butler and vicount Thurles was dubd knight by Henrie the first in England, in the yeare 1425, at which time sir James Butler, sir John Butler, sir Rafe Butler, were in like maner knighted. James Butler, who maried the earle of Herefords daughter, was preferred to the earledome of Drmond in the first yeare of Edward the third, which fell vpon the heirs generall, lastlie vpon sir Thomas Butler earle of Wilshire, after whome it reuersed to Pierce Butler, whome a little before king Henrie the eight had created erle of Ossorie. I read Butler earle of Tipperarie in the yeare 1300. The Latine historie calleth him *Dominum de pincerna*, the English le Butler. Whereby it appeareth, he had some such honour about the prince. His verie name is Becket, who was aduanced by Henrie the seconds eldest sonne, lord Butler, in recompense of the death of Thomas of Canturburie their kinsman. His eldest sonne is the lord Butler and vicount Thurles. For the earle now liuing these two verses (in the remembrance of him) are made:

The first earle of Drmond. 1359

1425

1327

Tipperarie.

Magnus auus, maiorq; pater, sed natus vtroq;
Corporis aut animi non bonitate minor.

Gerald fitz Gerald earle of Desmond. Maurice fitz Thomas a Geraldine, was created earle of Desmond the same yeare, sone after that Butler became earle of Drmond. His eldest sonne is lord fitz Gerald of Desmond. The erle now liuing, thus speaketh:

Desmond.

Euasi tandem, iactatus fluctibus alti,
Et precor in portu sit mea tuta ratis.

Sir Richard Bourke earle of Clenrickard, a branch of the English familie de Burgo. The Bourkes haue bene ancient noble men before their comming to Ireland: and in old time they haue bene earles of Ulster. His eldest sonne is lord Bourke baron of Enkelline. His verse is this:

Clenrickard.

Quam mihi maiorum fama bona gesta dederunt,
Hanc mihi natorum barbara facta negant.

Connogher Obren earle of Tomond: the name of earle giuen to Murragh Obren for tearme of life, and after to Donogh Obren, in the first yeare of the reigne of Edward the sixt, now confirmed to the heires males, his eldest sonne is baron of Ibracan. Upon the erle now liuing this fantasie was deuised:

Tomond. 1550

Non decet externos, sine causa, quærere reges,
Cum liceat in tuta viuere pace domi.

Mac Cartie More earle of Clencare, created in the yeare 1565. Vicount Barrie. Vicount Roch. Preston Vicount of Gormanstowne: whervnto is latelie annexed the baronie of Lawnegresse. One of their ancestors sir Robert Preston, then chiefe baron of the exchequer, was dubbed knight in the field, by Lionell duke of Clarence. This gentleman matched in wedlocke with Margaret Birmingham ladie of Carbrie, who deceased in the yeare 1361. After whose death sir Robert Preston was seized of the said lordship in the right of his wife, and being molested by rebels, placed a garison in the castell, whereby the subiects were greatlie eased, and the rebels greatlie annoied.

Clencare. Barrie. Roch. Gormanstowne.

1361

1367

There hath bene another sir Robert Preston of this house, great grandfather to the vicount now liuing. This gentleman was deputie to Richard, second son to Edward the fourth, in the sixteenth yeare of the reigne of his father: and after likewise in the reigne of Henrie the seuenth, he was deputie to Jasper duke of Bedford, erle of Penbroke, lieutenant of Ireland: and at the same time was he appointed by the king generall receiuer of his reuenue in Ireland. How wiselie this noble man behaued himselfe in peace, and how valiantlie he acquit himselfe in warre, sundrie of king Henrie the seuenth his letters to him being deputie, addressed, do manifestlie witnesse. There was a parlement holden before him at Drogheda, which was repealed in the tenth yeare of Henrie the seuenth. Sir Christopher Preston was dubbed knight in the field by Edmund earle of March, lord deputie of Ireland. William Preston was lord iustice of Ireland in Henrie the eight his reigne. The house is ancient, planted in Lancashire,

1476

1492

1494

1397

Preston came from Lancashire. and from thense departed into Ireland, being to this daie seized of a manour in Lancashire, named of the house Preston. The vicount now liuing speaketh in this wise, as it were present in person, and saith:

Si quantum vellem, tantum me posse putarem,
Nota esset patriæ mens mea firma meæ.

Waltinglasse. Eustace *aliâs* Powar, vicount of Waltinglasse, lord of Kilcullen to him and his heires males, the foure and thirtith yeare of Henrie the eight. Their ancestor Robert de Powar was sent into Ireland 1542 with commission, and his offspring hath resided there since the yeare 1175. Powar *aliâs* Eustace is written baron of Domuile in the yeare 1317. The vicounts poesie now liuing is this that followeth: 1175

Cùm bonus ipse manes, an non laus magna putatur,
Prudenter cuiuis posse placere viro?

Mountgaret. Sir Richard Butler vicount Mountgaret to him and his heires males in the fift yeare of Edward the 1550 first. Vicount Déece. Lord Bermingham baron of Déece. Athenrie, now degenerate and become mère Irish, Athenrie. against whome his ancestors serued valiantlie in the yeare 1300. John Bermingham was lord of Athenrie Anno 1316. John Bermingham baron of Ardigh, Ardigh. called in Latine de alrio Dei, in the yere 1318. Kerie. Mac Maurice, *aliâs* Fitzgerald, baron of Kerie. L. Courcie. Courcie, not verie Irish; the ancient descent of the Courcies planted in Ireland with the conquest. Fleming baron of Slane. Slaine. Simon Fleming was baron of Slane, 1370. The L. now liuing thus speaketh:

Slanius inuictus princeps mihi nomen adaptat,
In bello clarum nomen & omen habens.

Killine. Plunket baron of Killine, his familie came in with the Danes, whereof they haue as yet speciall monuments. Sir Christopher Plunket lord of Killine, was lord lieutenant of Ireland, which title is to be seene at this day in Killine, grauen on his tombe. The baron that now liueth, thus frameth his poesie:

Ornant viuentem maiorum gesta meorum,
Talia me nequeunt viua cadente mori.

Deluin. Nugent baron of Deluen, an ancient house. Sir Gilbert de Nogent, or Nugent, came into Ireland, with sir Hugh de Lacie, one of the first and valiant conquerors of the countrie. This Gilbert matched with Rosa de Lacie, sister to Hugh de Lacie. He had giuen him vpon the conquest the baronies of foure, and of Deluine by the said sir Hugh, of whose brother Richard de Nogent, otherwise called Richardus de Capella, the house of Deluin is descended. In a conueiance past from sir Gilbert to his brother Richard, these words are inserted: *Dedi & concessi fratri meo Richardo de Capella totum conquestum meum in Hibernia, & terram quam dedit mihi dominus meus Hugo de Laci, qui vocatur Deluin, & totam terram meam in Anglia.* The baron now liuing ꝛ louing his countrie thus speaketh:

In patria natus, patriæ prodesse laboro,
Viribus in castris, consiliisq; domi.

Howth. S. Laurence, baron of Howth, signifieng the disposition of his mind, he speaketh in this wise:

Si redamas, redamo, si spernis, sperno. Quid ergo?
Non licet absq; tuis viuere posse bonis?

Dunsanie. Plunket baron of Dunsanie. Upon the baron now liuing, this deuise was framed as you see:

Gratia quod dederat, si non fortuna negabit,
Dux tam præclaro stemmate dignus eris.

Trimlestowne. Barnewall baron of Trimlestowne. They came from litle Britain, where they are at this day a great surname. Upon their first arriuall, they wan great possessions at Beirhauen, where at length by conspiracie of the Irish they were all slaine, except one yong man, who then studied the common lawes in England, who returning, dwelt at Dzunnagh besides Dublin, where his heires to this daie are setled. This house as well for antiquitie, as for the number of worshipfull gentlemen that be of the surname, beareth no small stroke in the English pale of Ireland: howbeit of late it hath béene greatlie maimed thorough the decease of three worthie and famous Barnewals. The first was Robert Barnewall L. of Trimlestowne that last was, a rare noble man, and indued with sundrie good gifts, who hauing wholie wedded himselfe to the reformation of his miserable countrie, was resolued for the whetting of his wit, which natheless was pregnant and quicke, by a short trade and method he toke in his studie, to haue spit vp the verie sap of the common law, and vpon this determination sailing into England, sickened shortlie after at a worshipfull matrones house at Cornuberie, named Margaret Tiler, where he was to the great greefe of all his countrie pearsed with death, when the weale publike had most néed of his life. The second Barnewall that deceased was M. Marcus Barnewall of Donbroa, whose credit and authoritie had it béene correspondent to his valure and abilitie, he would (I doubt not) haue béene accounted and knowne for as od a gentleman (none dispraised) as anie in the English pale of Ireland. Robert Barnewall. 1572 1574 Marcus Barnewall.

The third of the surname that departed this life, was sir Christopher Barnwall knight, the lanterne and light as well of his house, as of that part of Ireland where he dwelt: who being sufficientlie furnisht as well with the knowlege of the Latine tong, as of the common lawes of England, was zealouslie bent to the reformation of his countrie. A déepe and a wise gentleman, spare of spéech, and therewithall pithie, wholie addicted to grauitie, being in ante pleasant conceipt rather giuen to simper than smile, verie vpright in dealing, measuring all his affaires with the safetie of conscience, as true as steele, close and secret, fast to his friend, stout in a good quarell, a great housholder, sparing without pinching, spending without waisting, of nature mild, rather chosing to pleasure where he might harme, than willing to harme where he might pleasure. He sickened the three and twentith of Julie of an hot burning ague, and ended his life at his house of Turuie the fift of August, to the great losse as well of his friends as of his countrie, vpon whose death a sonne in law of his framed this epitaph consisting of sixteene verses. Sir Christopher Barnwall knight. 1575

Læta tibi, sed mœsta tuis mors accidit ista,
Regna dat alta tibi, damna dat ampla tuis.
Lætus es in cœlis vllo sine fine triumphans,
Mœstus at in terris diues inópsque iacet.
Nam sapiente caret diues, qui parta gubernet,
Nec, qui det misero munera, pauper habet.
Te gener ipse caret, viduæ, te rustica turba,
Atque urbana cohors, te (socer alme) caret.
Non est digna viro tali respublica tanto,
Nam sanctos sedes non nisi sancta decet.
Mira loquor, sed vera loquor, non ficta reuolue,
Si maiora loquar, nil nisi vera loquar.
Mortuus es? Nobis hoc crimina nostra dederunt.
Mortuus es? Virtus hoc tibi sacra dedit.
Viuus es in cœlo, dedit hoc tibi gratia Christi,
Viuus vt in mundo sis, tibi fama dabit.

For the lord of Trimlestownell now liuing, desiring a name of fame after death, this was deuised.

Quod mihi vita dedit, fratri Mors sæua negauit,
Quod dederat fratri, det mihi fama precor.

Dunboin. Edward Butler baron of Donboin, giuen to Edmund Butler esquier, and his heires males, in the three and thirtith yeare of king Henrie the eight. 1541 For the baron now liuing, these verses are made.

Dum sequitur natus summi vestigia patris,
Filius optato tramite cuncta geret.

Upper Osserie. Sir Barnabie Fitzpatrike baron of Vpper Osserie, giuen to Barnabie Mac Gullopatrike and his heires males, in the three and thirtith yeare of Henrie the eight. Donat Clonnagh Pachgilpatrike 1542

trike was a peereleſſe warriour in the yeare 1219.

1558 Sir Barnabie Fitzpatrike, now lord of vpper Oſſerie, was knighted by the duke of Norffolke at the ſiege of Leith in Scotland: in the begining of Q. Elizabeths reigne, for whom theſe verſes are made:

Principis in gremio ſummi nutritus & altus,
Hauſit ab illuſtri regia dona ſchola.

Louth. 1541 Plunket, baron of Louth, to ſir Chriſtopher Plunket and his heires males, in the 33 yeare of K. Henrie the eight. This baronie was an erldome perteining to the Berminghams, in the yeare 1316, & ſoner. For the baron now liuing, this was deuiſed:

Nobilis, ingenuus, firmis quoque firmus amicis,
Nubila ſeu cœlum luxue ſerena regat.

Dungauon. Curraghmore. Deſert. Inſirkoin: 1543 Baronets. Banret what it ſignifieth. Dueſſe, baron of Dungauon, to whom the erldome of Tiron was intailed by gift of king Henrie the eight. Powar, baron of Curraghmore. Mac Surtan, lord Deſert, his anceſtors were lords in the time of Lionell duke of Clarence, earle of Ulſter, in the yeare 1360: now verie wild Iriſh. Murragh Obrene, baron of Inſirkoine, to him and his heires males, in the fiue and thirtith yeare of king Henrie the eight. There are beſides theſe noblemen, certeine gentlemen of worſhip, commonlie called baronets, whom the ruder ſort doth regiſter among the nobilitie, by terming them corruptlie barons; whereas in verie deed they are to be named neither barons, nor baronets, but banrets. He is properlie called a banret, whoſe father was no carpet knight, but dubbed in the field vnder the banner or enſigne. And becauſe it is not vſuall for anie to be a knight by birth, the eldeſt ſonne of ſuch a knight with his heires, is named a bannerret, or a banret. Such are they that here inſue. Sentleger, banret of Flemarge, méete Iriſh. Den, banret of Pormanſtowne, waring Iriſh. Fitzgirald, banret of Burnechurch. Welleſlie, banret of Norragh, Huſeie, banret of Galtrim. Saint Highell, banret of Scrine. And Nangle, banret of the Nauan. Engliſh gentlemen of longeſt continuance in Ireland are thoſe, which at this day either in great pouertie or perill do keepe their properties of their anceſtors lands in Ulſter, being then companions to Courcie, the conqueror and earle of that part. Theſe are the Sauages, Iordans, Fitz Simons, Chamberleins, Ruſſels, Benſons, Audleies, Whites, Fitz Urſulies, now degenerat and called in Iriſh Mac Mahon, the Beares ſonne.

The names or ſurnames of the learned men and authors of Ireland, and what bookes they wrote.

The ſeuenth chapter.

Arderius. ARderius, whome Marianus Scotus termeth Barboſus, becauſe of his long beard, a learned man, greatlie in old time renowned in Ireland. But for as much as in his age the countrie was not ſtored with ſuch as imploied their labors in gathering together the ſaiengs and doings of ſage perſons, the diſcontinuance of his fame is rather to be imputed to the ignorance of the time, than to the want of his deſerts. He flouriſhed in the yeare 1053. Alen, a learned phyſician. Iames Archer a ſtudent of diuinitie. Argobaſtus, the ſecond biſhop of Argentine, ſucceſſor to the holie prelat ſaint Amand, borne in Ireland, a learned and deuout clerke: who leauing his countrie and liuing in heremit wiſe, in certeine ſolitarie places of France, inſtructed the people of that realme in the feare of God, and the knowlege of the ſcriptures. Alen. Archer. Argobaſtus. In his preaching he was noted to haue ſo ſingular a grace, and ſo proſperous ſucceſſe, that ſuch as were by anie worldlie miſaduenture afflicted, vpon the hearing of his godlie ſermons would ſuddenlie be comforted. The French king Dagobertus, aduertiſed of his lerning and vertue, cauſed him to be ſent for, vſing him as his chiefe councellor in all his weightié affaires; and after aduanced him to be biſhop of Argentine: he wrote a booke of homilies. He deceaſſed in the yeare 658: & was buried hard by a gibbet nére the citie, pitcht on the top of an hill called ſaint Michaels hill, which was done by his owne appointment, in that he would follow the example of his maiſter Chriſt, who did vouchſafe to ſuffer without the citie of Ieruſalem, where offendors and malefactors were executed. Barnwall. Bzade a preacher. Brendan an abbat borne in Connagh, in his youth trained vp vnder Hercus a biſhop: and being further ſkept in yeares, he trauelled into England, where he became a profeſt monke, vnder an abbat named Congellus, he flouriſhed in the yeare 560: and wrote theſe bookes inſuing. Confeſſio chriſtiana lib. 1. Charta cœleſtis hæreditatis lib. 1. Monachorum regula lib. 1. 646 Barnwall. Bzade. Brendan.

Edmund Bernerden a frier, he proceeded doctor of diuinitie in Dublin, in the yeare 1320. Brigide the virgine, borne in Leinſter, ſhe flouriſhed in the yeare 510: ſhe wrote a booke of hir reuelations. Browne a ciuilian. Burnell. Butler a Waterfordian, ſometime ſcholer to maiſter Peter White; he tranſlated Maturinus Corderius his booke of phraſes into Engliſh, in the yeare 1562. James Caddell, he wrote Diuerſa epigrammata. Carberie a profound ciuilian. Celſus archbiſhop of Armagh, borne in Ireland, and ſchooled in the vniuerſitie of Oxford, he flouriſhed in the yeare 1128: he wrote theſe bookes following. Teſtamentum ad eccleſias lib. 1. Conſtitutiones quædam lib. 1. Ad Malachiam epiſtolæ complures. Cléere, borne in Kilkennie, and procéeded maiſter of art in Oxford. John Clin borne in Leinſter, being profeſt a greie frier, he beſtowed his time in preaching, chiefly in the towne of Kilkennie. This man was a good antiquarie, as appeared by a chronicle he wrote, beginning at the natiuitie of Chriſt, and ſtretching to the yeare 1350: in which yeare he flouriſhed. He wrote theſe bookes following. Annalium chronicon lib. 1. De regibus Anglorum lib. 1. De cuſtodijs prouinciarum lib. 1. De Franciſcanorum cœnobijs & eorum diſtinctionibus lib. 1. Wernerden. Brigide. Browne. Burnell. Butler. Caddell. Carberie. Celſus. Cléere. Clin.

Henrie Cogte doctor of diuinitie, proceeded in the vniuerſitie of Dublin, in the yeare 1320. Colme, a learned and an holie monke, he flouriſhed in the yeare 670: he wrote a booke intituled Pro ſocijs Quartadecimanis. Columbanus, borne in Ulſter, and trained in learning and knowledge as well in England as in France, for his learning and vertue, was elected to be abbat. Hauing trauelled diuerſe countries, at length he repaired to Italie, and there in an abbeie by him founded, called *Monaſterium Bobienſe*, he ended his life the twentith of Nouember. He left to his poſteritie theſe bookes: In pſalterium commentarios lib. 1. Collationes ad monachos librum 1. De moribus monachorum metricè lib. 1. Monaſteriorum methodos lib. 1. Epiſtolas ad commilitones lib. 1. Aduerſus regem adulterum lib. 1. Conganus an Iriſh abbat, of whom ſaint Barnard maketh great account, he flouriſhed in the yeare 1150: and wrote to ſaint Bernard Geſta Malachiæ archiepiſcopi lib. 1. Ad Bernardum Clareuallenſem epiſt. plures. Connour. Walter Conton: he wrote in the Latine tong diuerſe epigrams and epitaphs. Simon Conſell a diuine. Cornelius Hibernus, otherwiſe named Cogte. Colme. Columbanus. 598 Conganus. Barnardus in vita Malachiæ in præfat. Connour. Conton. Conſell. Cornelius.

named Historicus, by reason that he was taken in his time for an exquisit antiquarie, as may appeare by the Scotish historian Hector Boetius, by whom he acknowledgeth himselfe to be greatlie furthered. He flourished in the yeare 1230: and wrote Multarum rerum Chronicon. lib. 1. Richard Creagh borne in Limerike, a diuine, he wrote Epistolas complures. Responsiones ad casus conscientiæ. De vitis sanctorum Hiberniæ. Topographiam Hiberniæ, with diuerse other bookes.

Hector Boet. in præsul. Scot. hist.

Creagh.

Henrie Crumpe borne in Ireland, and brought vp in the vniuersitie of Oxford, where he grew by reason of his profound knowledge in diuinitie to no small credit. Hauing repaired to his native countrie, minding there to defraie the talent wherewith God had indued him, he was suddenlie apprehended by Simon bishop of Meth, and kept in duresse, by reason that he was suspected to be of no sound religion. He florished in the yeare one thousand three hundred ninetie and two, and wrote these bookes: Determinationes scholast. lib. 1. Contra religiosos mendicantes lib. 1. Responsiones ad obiecta lib. 1. Edmund Curren archdeacon of old Laghlin, there hath bene an Irish bishop of the name. Patrike Cusacke a gentleman borne, and a scholer of Oxford, sometime schoolemaister in Dublin, and one that with the learning that God did impart him, gaue great light to his countrie; he imploied his studies rather in the instructing of scholers, than in penning of books, he florished in the yeare one thousand fiue hundred three score and six, and wrote in Latine Diuersa epigrammata.

Crumpe.

Curren. Cusacke.

Dalie scholed in the vniuersitie of Paris, hauing a prettie insight in scholasticall diuinitie, he made Diuersas conciones. Sir Willielme Darcie knight, a wise gentleman, he wrote a booke intituled, The decaie of Ireland. Dauid Delahide, an exquisite and a profound clerke, sometime fellow of Merton college in Oxford, verie well seene in the Latine and Greeke tongs, expert in the mathematicals, a proper antiquarie, and an exact diuine. Whereby I gather that his pen hath not bene lazie, but is dailie breeding of such learned bookes as shall be available to his posteritie. I haue seene a proper oration of his in the praise of master Heiwood being Chiefe masse lord in Merton college intituled, De ligno & fœno, also Schemata rhetorica in tabulam contracta. Deuor, there are two brethren of the name learned, the elder was sometimes schoolemaister in Weisford.

Dalie.

Darcie.

Delahide.

Deuor.

Peter Dillon a diuine, and John Dillon likewise a student in diuinitie. Doudall, sometime primat of Armagh, a graue, a learned, and a politike prelat, verie zealouslie affected to the reformation of his countrie, he made Diuersas conciones. Dormer a lawyer, borne in Rosse, scholer of Oxford, he wrote in ballat roiall, The decaie of Rosse. Iohannes Duns Scotus an Irishman borne, as in the forefront of this treatise I haue declared. Howbeit Iohannes Maior a Scotish chronicler would faine proue him to be a Scot. Leland on the other side saith he was borne in England. So that there shall as great contention rise of him, as in old time there rose of Homers countrie. For the Colophonians said that Homer was borne in their citie; the Chyans claimed him to be theirs, the Salaminians auouched that he was their countriman: but the Smirnians were so stiffelie bent in prouing him to be borne in their territorie, as they would at no hand take no naie in the matter, & thervpon they did consecrat a church to the name of Homer. But what countriman soeuer this Scotus were, he was doubtlesse a subtill and profound clerke. The onelie fault wherewith he was dusked, was a litle spice of vaineglorie, being giuen to carpe and taunt his predecessor diuines, rather for blemishing the fame of his aduersaries than for aduancing the truth of the controuersies. Whereupon great factions are growen in the schooles betweene the Thomists and Scotists; Thomas being the ring-leader of the one sect, and Scotus the belweadder of the other. He was fellow of Merton college in Oxford, and from thense he was sent for to Paris to be a professor of diuinitie. Finallie, he repaired vnto Cullen, where in an abbeie of grete friers (of which profession he was one) he ended his life. The bookes he wrote are these: Commentarij Oxonienses lib. 4. Reportationes Parisienses lib. 4. Quodlibeta scholastica lib. 1. In Analytica posteriora lib. 2. In metaphysicam quæstiones lib. 12. De cognitione Dei lib. 1. De perfectione statuum lib. 1. Sermones de tempore lib. 1. Sermones de Sanctis lib. 1. Collationes Parisienses lib. 1. Lectura in Genesim lib. 1. De rerum principio lib. 1. Commentarij in euangelia lib. 4. In epistolas Pauli lib. plures. Quæstiones vniuersalium lib. 1. Quæstiones prædicamentorum lib. 1. In Aristotelis physica lib. 8. In categorias Aristotelis lib. 1. Tetragrammata quædam lib. 1. Commentariorum imperfectorum lib. 1.

Thomistæ. Scotistæ. 1308.

Doctor. Dillon. Doudall. Dormer.

Duns Iohannes maior lib. 4. cap. 10.

Cic. in orat. pro Arch. poëta.

Eustace a doctor of diuinitie, a verie good scholeman, he florished in the yeare one thousand fiue hundred thirtie and six. Oliuer or Oliuer Eustace a student of the ciuill and canon law, a good humanician, and a proper philosopher. Nicholas Eustace a gentleman borne, surpassing birth by learning, and learning by vertue. Maurice Eustace a student of diuinitie, one that notwithstanding he were borne to a faire liuing, yet did wholie sequester himselfe from the world.

Eustace.

Fagan a batchellor of art in Oxford, and a schoolemaister in Waterford. Daniell Ferrarle, a diuine and a schoolemaister. Fergutius son to Ferquhardus king of Ireland, the first king of Scots, whome some affirme to be borne in Denmarke, the more part suppose him to haue bene an Irish man. He florished in the yeare of the world three thousand six hundred seuentie and eight, and before the incarnation two hundred ninetie and two, in the fiue and twentith yeare of his reigne. He was by by misaduenture drowned nere a rocke in the north of Ireland that of him is called to this daie Carregfergus; vpon whose mishap these verses were made:

Icarus Icareis vt nomina fecerat vndis,
Fergusius petræ sic dedit apta suæ.

Fagan. Ferrarle. Fergutius. Carregfergus.

This Fergusius wrote a booke intituled, Leges politicæ lib. 1. Finnanus scholer to one Nennius and Segenius, taken for a deepe diuine in his age; he florished in the yeare six hundred sixtie and one; he wrote Pro veteri pascha tis ritu lib. 1. Field a physician. Thomas Field a master of art. John Fitzgirald, commonlie named John Fitzedmund, a verie well lettered ciuilian, a wise gentleman, and a good housholder.

Finnanus. Field.

Robert Fitzgirald *alias* Robert Fitzmaurice borne in the countie of Kildare. Dauid Fitzgirald, vsuallie called Dauid Duffe, borne in Kerie, a ciuilian, a maker in Irish, not ignorant of musike, skilfull in physike, a good & generall craftsman much like to Hippias, surpassing all men in the multitude of crafts, who comming on a time to Pisa to the great triumph called Olympicum, ware nothing but such as was of his owne making; his shoes, his pattens, his cloke, his cote, the ring that he did weare, with a signet therin verie perfectlie wrought, were all made by him. He plaied excellentlie on all kind of instruments, and song therto his owne verses, which no man could amend. In all parts of logike, rhetorike, and philosophie he vanquished all men, and was vanquished of none.

Fitzgirald. Hippias.

Richard

Fitzrafe. Richard Fitzrafe, primat of Armagh, scholer in the vniuersitie of Oxford to Baconthorpe a good philosopher, a no ignorant diuine: an enimie to friers, namelie such as went begging from doore to doore, whereby he purchased the hatred of all religious persons. He was by Edward the third his meanes made archdeacon of Lichfield, after created primat of Armagh, being cited before pope Clement the first, for reprouing the begging friers. In the heat of the 1360 said contention he died at Italie, whose bones were caried into Ireland, and buried at Dondalke, where he was borne. He wrote these bookes in Irish: De paupertate seruatoris lib. 1. Contra fratres mendicantes lib. 16. In euangelium Ioannis lib. 1. Determinationes ad eundem lib. 1. Contra sum ardiaconum lib. 1. Propositiones ad papam lib. 1. Contra fratrum appellationem lib. 1. Sermones ad fratres Pauli lib. 1. Sermones coram pontifice lib. 1. De statu vniuersali ecclesiæ lib. 1. Lectura sententiarum lib. 4. Quæstiones earundem lib. 1. Lectura theologica lib. 1. Sermones ad clerum lib. 1. Sermones de tempore lib. 1. Sermones de sanctis lib. 1. Matutinales laudes Auenionis lib. 1. Illustrationes euangeliorum lib. 4. De passione dominica lib. 1. De peccato ignorantiæ lib. 1. De Iure spirituali lib. 1. De vafacijs Iudæorum lib. 1. Propositionum suarum lib. 1. Epistolarum ad diuersos lib. 1. Dialogorum plurium librum vnum.

Fitzsimons. Walter Fitzsimons, archbishop of Dublin, lord iustice and lord chancellor of Ireland at one time, a famous clerke, and exquisitelie learned both in philosophie and diuinitie: being in companie with king Henrie the seuenth, and hearing an oration that was made in his praise, the king demanded him, what fault he found most in the oration? Trulie (quoth he) if it like your highnesse, no fault, sauing onelie that the orator flattered your maiestie ouermuch. Now in good faith, our father of Dublin (quoth the king) we minded to find the same fault our selues. Thomas Fitzsimons, a verie proper diuine: he wrote in English a treatise of the church. Leonard Fitzsimons, a deepe and pithie clerke, well seene in the Greeke and Latine tong, sometime fellow of Trinitie college in Oxford, perfect in the mathematicals, and a painefull student in diuinitie: he hath a brother that was trained vp in learning in Cambridge now beneficed in Trim. Michaell Fitzsimons, schoolemaster in Dublin, a proper student, and a diligent man in his profession, he wrote Orationem in aduentum comitis Essexiæ Dublinium, Epitaphion in mortem Iacobi Stanihursti, Diuersa epigrammata.

Flattisburie. Philip Flattisburie, a worthie gentleman, and a diligent antiquarie, he wrote in the Latine tong, at the request of the right honourable Girald Fitzgirald erle of Kildare, Diuersas chronicas: he florished in the yeare one thousand fiue hundred and seauentéene, & deceased at his towne named Johnstowne néere the Naas. Thomas Fleming: there is a Fleming now liuing, of whome I heare great report to be an absolute diuine, and a professor thereof.

Fleming.

Foillanus. Foillanus a learned monke, he trauelled into France, where thorough the liberalitie of an holie virgine, named Gertrude, he founded an abbeie called Monasterium Fossense, where at length he suffered martyrdome. Fursæus peregrinus, so called, because he was borne in Ireland, and did bestow his yeares as an estranger in France, where he founded an abbeie named Cœnobium Latiniacense: he wrote certeine pamphlets, that by tract of time are perished, he florished in the yeare six hundred and sixtie, and was buried in his owne monasterie.

654

Fursæus.

647

Garuie. Robert Garuie, fellow of Oriall college in Oxford, a student of both the lawes, a man well spoken as well in the English as in the Latine. Robert Gogan a preacher. William Hardit a doctor of diuinitie, proceeded in the vniuersitie of Dublin, in the yeare one thousand three hundred and twentie. Hickie, physicians, the father and his sonne. Hugo de Hibernia, so called, because his surname is not knowne, he was a grete frier, and a great trauailer, he flourished in the yeare one thousand three hundred and sixtie, he wrote Itinerarium quoddam lib. 1.

Gogan. Hardit. Hickie. Hugo.

Huscie. Hurlie. Ioise. Kellie.

Oliuer Huscie, a professor of the arts in Dowaie. Derbie Hurlie, a cruilian, and a commendable philosopher: he wrote In Aristotelis physica. Robert Ioise, borne in Kilkennie, a good humanitian. Radulphus Kellie a monke, brought vp in the knowledge of the Latine tong in Kildare, in which he profited so well, that for his eloquence and wisedome he was sent to Clement the first, as the speaker or prolocutor of all his order, and also was appointed the generall aduocat or deputie vnder Petrus de Casa, master generall of the order. After he was aduanced to be archbishop of Cathill, in which honour he deceassed, hauing at vacant houres written In iure canonico lib. 1, Epistolarum familiarium lib. 1. Thomas Benedic, a cruilian.

1342

Benedic. Kernie. Kenannagh.

Kernie, he wrote in Irish Catechisinum, Translationem bibliæ. Cagher, a nobleman borne, in his time called Mac Murrough, he descended of that Mac Murrough that was sometime king of Leinster, he was a surpassing diuine, and for his learning and vertue was created bishop of Leighlin and abbat of Grage. He florished in the yeare one thousand fiue hundred and fiftie, and was an hundred yeares old when he deceased. James King, borne in Dublin, and scholer to M. Patrike Cusacke, vnder whome being commendablie trained, he repaired to the vniuersitie of Cambridge, where he deceased before he could atteine to that ripenesse of learning, whereto one of so pregnant a wit was like in time to aspire, he wrote Carmina in laudem Henrici Sidnæi, Diuersa epigrammata.

King.

1569

Leie. Leurouse.

Leie, a learned and an expert physician. Leurouse a learned diuine, sometime bishop of Kildare, and deane of saint Patriks in Dublin.

1556

Loghlen. Long.

Aeneas Loghlen, or Mackleighlen, master of art, and a preacher. Thomas Long doctor of both the lawes, he proceeded at Paris, in the yeare one thousand fiue hundred seuentie and six in August, he is a proper philosopher, no stranger in scholasticall diuinitie, a pretie Latinist: he wrote De speciebus contra mendacem monachum, In Aristotelis physica, Theses ex præcipuis iuris vtriusque partibus selectas Carolo Borbonio cardinali consecratas.

Lombard. Peter Lombard borne in Waterford, scholer to master Peter White, hauing imploied two yeares and a halfe in the studie of philosophie at Louaine, he was chosen when he proceeded master of art, Primus vniuersitatis, by the vniforme consent of the foure principals, which preferment did happen to none in such consenting wise, in manie yeares before: he wrote Carmen heroicum in doctoratum Nicholai Quemerfordi. Dorbie Macchragh, a student in diuinitie. Macgrane, a schoolemaster in Dublin, he wrote carols and sundrie ballads. Malachias borne in Vlster, his life is exactlie written by saint Barnard, in whose abbeie he died in the yeare one thousand one hundred fortie and eight, he wrote Constitutorum communium lib. 1. Legum cœlibatus lib. 1. Nouarum traditionum lib. 1. Ad D. Barnardum epist. plures. Malachias, the minorit or greie frier, a student in the vniuersitie of Oxford, where he attained to that knowledge in diuinitie, as he was the onelie man in his time that was appointed to preach before the king and the nobilitie, a sharpe reprouer of vice, a zelous imbracer of vertue, enimie to flatterie, friend to simplicitie; he florished in the yeare

Macchragh. Macgrane. Malachias.

Malachias minorit.

one thousand three hundred and ten, he wrote De peccatis & remedijs, lib. 1. Conciones plures, lib. 1.

Mauritius. Iohannes Camert. in cap. 35. Sol.

Mauritius Hybernus, of him Iohannes Camertes, thus writeth. *Annicah his proximo excellunt, ex ea insula oriundus Mauritius, D. Francisci ordinis professus, in dialecticis, vtraque philosophia, metaphysicis, ac sacra theologia plurimum eruditus. Vix insuper dici potest, qua humanitate, quáue morum sanctimonia præditus fuerit. Is cùm annis plurimis in Patauino gymnasio bonas artes docuisset, cum summa omnium gratia, ob eius singularem eruditionem, ac candidissimos mores, à Iulio secundo pontifice maximo in Tuunensem archiepiscopum creatus est. Quò cum relicta Italia bellis in ea scientibus proficisceretur, non multum post, magna studiorum iactura, cùm nondum quinquagesimum ætatis suæ attigisset annum, mortem obijt. Erant plurima suæ doctrinæ in manibus monumenta, sed ea ob immaturam eius mortem edere non licuit. Quantum fuerit inter eum, dum viueret, & me necessitudinis vinculum, testantur sexcentæ epistolæ, quas plenas charitatis indicijs, variis temporibus ad me dedit. Eas (quitta tam amicitiæ vis) post amici obitum, relegens solet assidue* 10 20 30 *reuocari.*

There did (saith Ioannes Camertes) of late yeares one Mauricius borne in Ireland excell, a greie frier professe, verie well seene in logike, deepelie grounded in philosophie, both morall & naturall, learned in the metaphysiks, in diuinitie peerelesse. Scantlie maie I tell with how great courtesie & vertue he was indued. When he had professed at Padua the liberall arts manie yeares with no small renowme, he was created by Julius the second, not onelie for his profound knowledge, but also for the sinceritie of his life, archbishop of Tuen. When he was trauelling thitherward, being departed frō Italie, by reason of the vprores that were there daily increasing, he ended his life to the great losse of learning, before he was full fiftie yeares old. He had sundrie works in hand, which he could not haue finished by reason of his vntimelie death. How deere and entier friends he and I were one to the other during his life, the letters he addressed me from time to time, to the number of six hundred, thwackt with loue and kindnesse, do manifestlie declare. And by perusing of them after his death (such is the force of friendship) I am greatlie comforted. Thus farre Camertes. This Mauricius wrote Commentarios super Scotum in prædicabilia, In magistrum sententiarum lib. 4. Mauricius archbishop of Cashill, he flourished in king Johns reigne.

Mauricius Cassilienſis.

Giraldus Cambrensis, vpon his comming into Ireland, and debasing the countrie in the hearing of this prelat, saieng that albeit the inhabitants were wont to brag of the number of their saints, yet they had no martyrs: You saie verie well sir (quoth the archbishop) indeed as rude as this countrie is or hath beene, yet the dwellers had the saints in some reuerence. But now that the gouernement of the countrie is come to your kings hands, we shall (I trust) shortlie be stored with martyrs.

Wiagh.

John Wiagh a diuine, he wrote a treatise, De possessione monasteriorum.

Wonete. Neilan.

Wonete a ciuilian and a good Latinist. Neilan, sometime fellow of Alsoules college in Oxford, a learned physician. Patrike Nigran a diuine. Philip Norris a scholer of Oxford and after deane of S. Patrikes in Dublin, he flourished in the yeare 1446, and wrote these workes.

Nigran. Norris.

Declamationes quasdam lib. 1. Lecturas scripturarum lib. 1. Sermones ad populum, lib. 1. Contra mendicitatem validam lib. 1.

Nugent.

Nugent, baron of Deluin, scholed in the vniuersitie of Cambridge. William Nugent a proper gentleman, and of a singular good wit, he wrote in the English tong diuerse sonets.

Obuge.

Dauid Obuge, borne in the towne of Kildare; for his learned lectures, and subtile disputations openlie published in Oxford and Treuers in Germanie, he was taken for the gem and lanterne of his countrie. In his time Giraldus Bononiensis, being maister generall of the Carmelits, was at iar with William Lidington, the prouincial of all the English Carmelites. Whereupon tenne of the wisest and learnedest Carmelits that then were resiant in England, being fullie elected to resist their generall, Obuge was chosen to be the forman of all the said crew. Giraldus Bononiensis vnderstanding that he being an Irishman, was so hot in the controuersie, was egerlie bent against Obuge, because he assured himselfe to haue had fauour at his hands, by reason Obuge was borne in that countrie where the Giraldines his kinsmen were planted, and there vpon he was banished Italie. This storme in processe of time being appeased, the outcast Carmelite was made the generall gardian of all his fraternitie in Ireland: which countrie by his continuall teaching and preaching was greatlie edified. Ouer this he was so politike a councellor, that the nobilitie and estates in causes of weight, would haue recourse to him as to an oracle. He was in philosophie an Aristotle, in eloquence a Tullie, in diuinitie an Augustine, in the ciuill law a Iustinian, in the canon a Panormitane, he flourished in the yeare 1320, he deceased at Kildare, leauing these learned workes insuing to posteritie. Sermones ad Clerum lib 1. Epistolæ 32 ad diuersos lib. 1. Propositiones disputatæ lib. 1. Lectiones Treuerenses lib. 1. Regulæ Iuris lib. 1. Contra Giraldum Bononiensem.

Giraldus Bononiensis.

Obuge.

Odwhee.

Owen Odwhee, a preacher, and a maker in Irish.

Oheirnain.

Thomas Oheirnaine, deane of Corke, a learned diuine, he wrote in Latine Ad Iacobum Stanihurstum epist. plures.

Oheirligh.

Thomas Oheirligh, bishop of Rosse, an exquisite diuine, brought vp in Italie.

Pander.

Pander, a man zelouslie addicted to the reformation of his countrie, whereof he wrote a politike booke in Latine, intituled Salus populi.

Patricius.

Patricius, who notwithstanding he be no Irishman borne, yet I may not ouerslip him in the catalog of Irish authors, for as much as his whole works tended to the conuersion and reformation of that countrie: he was surnamed Succetus or Magonius, an absolute diuine, adorning his deepe knowledge therein with sinceritie of life. Being sent into Ireland by the appointment of Celestinus the first, accompanied with Segetius a priest, he conuerted the Iland from idolatrie and paganisme to christianitie. He wrote these bookes following. De antiquitate Aualonica lib. 1. Itinerarium confessionis lib. 1. Odorporicon Hyberniæ lib. 1. Historia Hyberniæ ex Ruano lib. 1. De tribus habitaculis lib. 1. De futura electorum vita lib. 1. Abiectoria quædam 366. lib. 1. Ad Cereticum tyrannum epist. 1. Sermones lib. 1. Ad Aualonicos incolas epist. 1. Ad Hybernicas ecclesias epist. plures. Ad Britannos epist. plures. He deceased, being one hundred, twentie, and two yeares old, in the yeare 458, or as some suppose 491, and lieth buried in an ancient citie, in the north of Ireland, named Downe, according to the old verse, which saith:

Hi tres in Duno tumulo tumulantur in vno,
Brigida, Patricius, átque Columba pius.

Patricius Abbas a learned man, and much giuen to the edifieng of his countriemen: he flourished in the yeare 850, and deceased at Glasconburie. Some ascribe the finding of saint Patrikes purgatorie to this abbat, not to Patrike that conuerted the countrie; but that errour hath beene before sufficientlie reproued. This abbat wrote Homilias lib. 1. Ad Hybernos epist. plures.

Patricius abbas.

Petrus Hybernicus, professor of philosophie in Naples, at which time Thomas Aquinas that after became the lanterne of scholemen, both in philosophie and diuinitie, was his scholer; being therefore as highlie renowmed as Socrates is

Petrus Hybernicus.

for

for being maister to Plato; or Plato is, for having Aristotle to his scholer. This Petrus flourished in the yeare 1230, he wrote Quodlibeta theologica lib. 1.

Plunket. Plunket, baron of Dunsanie, scholer in Katough, to M. Staghens, after sent by sir Christopher Barnewall knight, his frendlie father in law, to the vniuersitie of Oxford. Where, how well he profited in knowledge, as such as are of his acquaintance presentlie perceiue, so hereafter when his workes shall take the aire, that now by reason of bashfull modestie, or modest bashfulnesse are wrongfullie imprisoned, and in manner stifled in shadowed couches, I doubt not, but by his fame and renowme in learning, shall be answerable to his desert and valure in writing.

Pomrell. Pomrell, a batchelor of diuinitie, sometime chapleine in New college in Oxford, after returning to his countrie, he was beneficed in Drogheda, from thense flitted to Louaine, where through continuall hearing of lectures and disputations, more than by his priuat studie, he purchased a laudable knowledge in diuinitie. Whereby he gaue manifest shew of the profit that riseth of exercise and conference. The force of exercise. Upon this occasion, one of his acquaintance was accustomed to tell him that he had all his diuinitie by heare say. He deceased at Louaine in the yere 1573.

Quemerford. 1575 Nicholas Quemeford, doctor of diuinitie, proceeded the three and twentith of October, he wrote in English a verie pithie and learned treatise, and therewithall exquisitelie pend, intituled; Answers to certeine questions propounded by the citizens of Waterford; Diuerse sermons. There liued latelie of the surname a graue prelat in Waterford, and properlie learned.

Rian. Richard. Rian, there liued two brethren of the surname, both scholers of Oxford, the one a good ciuilian, the other verie well seene in the mathematicals. Richard archdeacon of saint Patricks, chancellor in the vniuersitie of Dublin, proceeded doctor of the canon law, in the yeare one thousand three hundred and twentie.

Rochford. Robert Rochford borne in the countrie of Weiseford, a proper diuine, an exact philosopher, and a verie good antiquarie. There is another Rochford that is a student of philosophie.

Roth. Roth, batchelor of law, proceeded in the vniuersitie of Oxford. There hath beene another Roth vicar of S. Johns in Kilkennie pretilie learned.

De sacro bosco. Iohannes de sacro bosco, borne in Holiwood, and thereof surnamed De sacro bosco; he wrote an excellent introduction, De Sphæra.

Sedgraue. Shaghens. Sedgraue, two brethren of the name, both students in diuinitie. Shaghens fellow of Baliol college in Oxford, after scholemaister in Ireland, a learned and a vertuous man.

Sheine. Sheth. Sheine, scholer in Oxford and Paris; he wrote, De Repub. Elias Sheth borne in Kilkennie, sometime scholer of Oxford, a gentleman of a passing good wit, a pleasant conceited companion, full of mirth without gall; he wrote in English diuerse sonets. Michaell Sheth borne in Kilkennie, master of art.

Skidmor. Skidmor borne in Corke, and gardian of Poghill.

Smith. Richard Smith borne in a towne named Rackmacknete, three miles distant from Weiseford, surnamed Smith; of his father, who was by occupation a smith, being fourteene yeares of age he stole into England, and repaired to Oxford, where in tract of time he proceeded doctor of diuinitie, was elected doctor of the chaire, taken in those daies for a peereles pearle of all the diuines in Oxford, as well in scholasticall as in positiue diuinitie. Upon the death of quæne Marie he went to Louaine, where he read openlie the apocalypse of saint John, with little admiration and lesse reprehension; he wrote in English against licentious fasting, or the libertie of fasting; The assertion of the sacrament of altar; A defense of the sacrifice of the masse one booke; Of vnwritten verities one booke; Retractations one booke. In the Latin tong he wrote De cœlibatu sacerdotum lib. 1. De votis monasticis lib. 1. De iustificatione hominis librum vnum.

Stanihurst. Nicholas Stanihurst, he wrote in Latine Dietam medicorum lib. 1: he died in the yeare one thousand fiue hundred fiftie and foure. James Stanihurst, late recorder of Dublin, ouer his exact knowlege in the common lawes, he was a good orator, and a proper diuine. He wrote in English, being speaker in the parlements; An oration made in the beginning of a parlement holden at Dublin before the right honorable Thomas earle of Sussex, &c. in the third and fourth yeares of Philip and Marie; 1557. An oration made in the beginning of the parlement holden at Dublin before the right honorable Thomas earle of Sussex, in the second yeare of the reigne of our souereigne ladie quæne Elisabeth; 1560 An oration made in the beginning of a parlement holden at Dublin before the right honorable sir Henrie Sidneie knight, &c: in the eleuenth yeere of the reigne of our souereigne ladie quæne Elisabeth. He wrote in Latine, Pias orationes. Ad Corcacienſem decanum epistolas plures: he deceased at Dublin the seuen and twentith of December, being one and fiftie yeares old. 1573 Upon whose death, I, as nature and dutie bound me, haue made this epitaph following:

Vita breuis, mors sancta fuit (pater optime) visa,
Vita timenda malis, mors redamanda bonis.
Vrbs est orba sopho, legum rectore tribunal,
Causidicoque cliens, atque parente puer.
Plurima proferrem, sed me prohibere videtur,
Fingere vera dolor, fingere falsa pudor.
Non opus est falsis, sed quæ sunt vera loquenda,
Non mea penna notet, buccina fama sonet.
Hoc scripsisse satis, talem quandoque parentem
Est habuisse decus, sed caruisse dolor.
Filius hæc dubitans, talem vix comperit vsquam,
Vllus in orbe patrem, nullus in vrbe parem.
Mortuus ergo, pater, poteris bene viuus haberi,
Viuis enim mundo nomine, mente Deo.

Circa annum Dom. 1506. Walter Stanihurst, sonne to James Stanihurst, he translated into English Innocent de contemptu mundi. There flourished before anie of these a Stanihurst, that was a scholer of Oxford, brother to Gennet Stanihurst, a famous and an ancient matrone of Dublin, she lieth buried in saint Michaels church.

Sutton. Talbot. Sutton, one of that name, is a verie good maker in English. Matthew Talbot schoolemaister, a student in Cambridge. William Talbot. John Talbot sonne to William, a maister of art, he wrote in Latine, Orationem in laudem comitis Essexiæ, Diuersa epigrammata.

Tanner. Edmund Tanner a profound diuine, he wrote Lectiones in summam D. Thomæ.

Taller. Taller batchelor of art, proceeded in the vniuersitie of Oxford, he wrote in Latine Epigrammata diuersa.

Thomas Hybernus. Thomas Hybernus borne in Palmerstowne neere the Naas, he proceeded doctor of diuinitie in Paris, a deepe clerke and one that read much, as may easilie be gathered by his learned workes: he flourished in the yeare 1290, and wrote with diuerse other workes, these bookes insuing: Flores bibliæ, Flores doctorum lib. 2. De christiana religione lib. 1. De illusionibus dæmonum lib. 1. De tentatione diaboli lib. 1. De remedijs vitiorum lib. 1.

Toole. Laurentius Toole archbishop of Dublin.

Trauerse. Trauerse doctor of diuinitie, he florished in the reigne of Henrie the eight. There hath beene after him a scholemaister in Dublin of that name.

Tundalus. Tundalus Magus a knight, after he became a Charterhouse monke, much giuen to contemplation, wherein he is reported to haue seene diuerse visions of heauen and hell, and thereupon he wrote

wrote Apparitionum suarum lib. 1. he flourished in the yeare 1149.

Virgilius Soliuagus.

Virgilius Soliuagus a noble man borne, being stept in yeares, he trauelled into Germanie, where being knowen for a vertuous and learned prelat, he was chosen by Odilon duke of Bauaria, to be their rector or gardian of an ancient abbeie, named S. Peters abbeie, placed in the citie of Salisburgh, after he was created Episcopus Iuuauiensis, and founded in the said towne of Salisburgh a church. In his time one Bonifacius an Englishman, being generall visitour in Bauaria, rebaptized certeine, whome he suspected not to haue bene orderlie baptized. Virgilius detesting the fact, hauing consulted with Sidonius archbishop of Bauaria, withstood Bonifacius in his fond attempt. The controuersie being brought before pope Zacharias, he decreed that Bonifacius held an error, and that Virgilius and Sidonius published in that point sound doctrine, as who so will read Zacharias his epistle vnto Bonifacius shall plainelie see. Virgilius deceassed 784, and lieth buried in his church at Salisburgh: he wrote Ad Zachariam Rom. pontificem.

Tomo primo conciliorum.

Ultagh.

Diuen Ultagh a physician, his father procéeded doctor of physike in Paris.

Vltanus.

Vltanus a lerned monke fellow to Foillanus, with whome he trauelled into France, and with continuall preaching edified the inhabitants of that realme; he flourished in the yeare 640.

Virgalius.

Gilbertus Virgalius a profest Carmelite, and a student in Orford, he flourished in the yeare 1330, he wrote in two great tomes, Summam quarundam legum, De rebus theologicis lib. 1.

Vsher.

Vsher, or Vscher a student in Cambridge, and a preacher.

Wadding.

Wadding, a proper versifier, he wrote in Latine vpon the burning of Paules steeple, Carmen heroicum, Diuersa epigrammata.

Walsh.

Edward Walsh, he flourished in the yeare 1550, and wrote in English, The dutie of such as fight for their countrie, The reformation of Ireland by the word of God.

James Walsh, master of art, and student in diuinitie, he translated into English, Giraldum Cambrensem, he wrote in Latine Epigrammata diuersa.

Richard Walsh master of art and student in diuinitie. There is a learned man of the name beneficed in S. Patrikes church in Dublin, student in Cambridge, and now a preacher.

Peter Walsh a proper youth, and one that would haue bene an ornament to his countrie, if God had spared him life, he died of a surfet at London, about the yeare 1571.

There dwelleth in Waterford a lawyer of the surname, who writeth a verie proper Latine verse.

Wellesleie.

Welleslete deane of Kildare, there liueth an other learned man of the name, who is archdeacon of saint Patrikes.

White.

Peter White borne in Waterford, fellow of Oriall college in Orford, the luckie schoolemaster of Mounster; he bestowed his time rather in the making of scholers, than in the penning of bookes, and to the instruction of youth, he wrote Epitom. in copiam Erasmi, Epitom. figurarum rhetoricar. Annotationes in orat. pro Archia poeta. Annotat. in orationem pro T. A. Milone. Epigrammata diuersa.

John White batchelor of diuinitie borne in Clonmell, he wrote in Latine Diuersa pia epigrammata.

Andrew White a good humanician, a pretie philosopher.

Wise.

Wise, of this surname there flourished sundrie learned gentlemen. There liueth one Wise in Waterford, that maketh verie well in the English.

William.

Andrew Wise a toward youth, and a good versifier.

William an abbat, and (as it is thought) a soothsaier, he flourished in the yeare 1298, and wrote Prophetias rerum futurarum lib. 1.

Woulfe.

Dauid Woulfe, a diuine.

Thus far (gentle reader) haue I indeuoured to heape vp togither a catalog of such learned Irishmen, as by diligent insearch could haue bin found. Howbeit, I am to request thee not to measure the ample number of the learned of that countrie by this briefe abstract: considering, that diuerse haue bene, yea and are yet liuing, of profound knowledge that to me are vnknowne, and therefore in this regester not recorded.

The disposition and maners of the meere Irish, commonlie called the wild Irish.

The eight chapter.

Before I attempt the vnfolding of the maners of the meere Irish, I thinke it expedient, to forewarne the reader, not to impute anie barbarous custome that shall be here laid downe, to the citizens, townesmen, and inhabitants of the English pale, in that they differ little or nothing from the ancient customes and dispositions of their progenitors, the English and Welsh men, being therefore as mortallie behated of the Irish, as those that are borne in England. For the Irish man standeth so much vpon his gentilitie, that he termeth anie one of the English sept, and planted in Ireland, Bobdeagh Galteagh, that is, English churle: but if he be an Englishman borne, then he nameth him, Bobdeagh Saxonnegh, that is, a Saxon churle: so that both are churles, and he the onelie gentleman. And therevpon if the baselt peazant of them name himselfe with his superior, he will be sure to place himselfe first, as I and Oneile, I and you, I and he, I and my master, whereas the courtesie of the English language is cleane contrarie.

Irish gentilitie.

The people are thus inclined, religious, franke, amorous, irefull, sufferable of infinit paines, verie glorious, manie sorcerers, excellent horsemen, delighted with wars, great almesgiuers, passing in hospitalitie. The lewder sort, both clearkes and laie men are sensuall and ouer lose in liuing. The same being vertuouslie bred vp or reformed, are such mirrors of holinesse and austeritie, that other nations reteine but a shadow of deuotion in comparison of them. As for abstinence and fasting, it is to them a familiar kind of chastisement. They follow the dead corpse to the graue with howling and barbarous outeries, pitifull in aparance: whereof grew, as I suppose, the prouerbe; To weepe Irish.

The inclination of the people.

To weepe Irish.

Greedie of praise they be, & fearefull of dishonor, and to this end they estéeme their poets, who write Irish learnedlie, and pen their sonets heroicall, for the which they are bountifullie rewarded; if not, they send out libels in dispraise, whereof the lords and gentlemen stand in great awe. They loue tenderlie their foster children, and bequeath to them a childes portion, whereby they nourish sure friendship: so beneficiall euerie waie, that commonlie fiue hundred cowes and better, are giuen in reward to win a noble mans child to foster, they loue & trust their foster brethren more than their owne. The men are cleane of skin and hew, of stature tall. The women are well fauoured, cleane coloured, faire handed, big & large, suffered from their infancie to grow at will, nothing curious of their feature and proportion of bodie.

Poets estéemed.

Foster children.

The stature of the people.

Their infants, they of meaner sort, are neither swadled nor laped in linnen; but folded vp starke naked in a blanket till they can go. Proud they are of long crisped bushes of heare which they terme glibs, and the same they nourish with all their cunning, to crop the front thereof they take it for a notable peece

Infants.

Glibs.

one

of villanie. Water cresses, which they tearme shamrocks, rootes and other herbs they feed vpon, otemeale and butter they cram togither, they drinke wheie, milke, and beese-broth. Flesh they deuoure without bread, and that halfe raw: the rest boileth in their stomachs with *Aqua vitæ*, which they swill in after such a surfet by quarts and pottels: they let their cowes blood, which growne to a gellie, they bake and ouerspread with butter, and so eate it in lumps. No meat they fansie so much as porke, and the fatter the better. One of John Onels household demanded of his fellow whether beefe were better than porke? That (quoth the other) is as intricat a question, as to aske whether thou art better than Onele.

Their diet.

Porke.

Their noble men, and noble mens tenants, now and then make a set feast, which they call cosbering, whereto flocke all their reteiners, whom they name followers, their rithmours, their bards, their harpers that feed them with musike: and when the harper twangeth or singeth a song, all the companie must be whist, or else he chaseth like a cutpurse, by reason his harmonie is not had in better price. In their cosbering they sit on straw, they are serued on straw, and lie vpon mattresses and pallets of straw. The antiquitie of this kind of feasting is set forth by Virgil, where Dido interteineth the Trojan prince and his companie. They obserue diuerse degrees, according to which each man is regarded. The baselt sort among them are little yong wags, called Daltins, these are lackies, and are seruiceable to the gromes or hostleboies, who are a degree aboue the Daltins. Of the third degree is the Kerne, who is an ordinarie souldior, bsing for weapon his sword and target, and sometimes his peece, being commonlie so good marhemen as they will come within a scope of a great cassell. Kerne signifieth (as noble men of deepe iudgement informed me) a shower of hell, because they are taken for no better than for rakehels, or the diuels blacke gard, by reason of the stinking sturre they keepe, whersoeuer they be.

Cosbering.

Followers.

Lib. pri. Aen. circa finem.

Daltin.

Grome.

Kerne.

Kigheiren.

The fourth degree is a galloglasse, bsing a kind of pollax for his weapon. These men are commonlie weieward rather by profession than by nature, grim of countenance, tall of stature, big of lim, burlie of bodie, well and stronglie timbered, chiefflie feeding on beefe, porke & butter. The fift degree is to be an horseman, which is the chiefest next the lord and capteine. These horsemen, when they haue no staie of their owne, gad & range from house to house like arrant knights of the round table, and they neuer dismount vntill they ride into the hall, and as farre as the table. There is among them a brotherhood of karrowes, that proffer to plaie at cards all the yeare long, and make it their onelie occupation. They plaie awaie mantle and all to the bare skin, and then trusse themselues in straw or leaues, they wait for passengers in the high waie, inuite them to game vpon the greene, and aske no more but companions to make them sport. For default of other stuffe, they pawne their glibs, the nailes of their fingers and toes, their dimissaries, which they lese or redeeme at the courtesie of the winner.

Galloglasse.

Horseman.

Karrow.

A taleteller.

One office in the house of noble men is a taleteller, who bringeth his lord asleepe with tales vaine and friuolous, whereunto the number giue oth and credit. Without either precepts or obseruations of congruitie, they speake Latine like a vulgar language, learned in their common schooles of leachcraft and law, whereat they begin children, and hold on fiftene or twentie yeares, conning by rote the aphorismes of Hipocrates, and the ciuill institutes, with a few other parings of those faculties. In their schooles they grouell vpon couches of straw, their bookes at their noses, themselues lie flat prostrate, and so they chant out with a lowd voice their lessons by peecemeale, repeating two or three words thirtie or fortie times togither. Other lawyers they haue liable to certeine families, which after the custome of the countrie determine and iudge causes. These consider of wrongs offered and receiued among their neighbors: be it murther, felonie, or tresplasse, all is remedied by composition (except the grudge of parties seeke reuenge) and the time they hatie to spare from spoiling and preiding, they lightlie bestow in parling about such matters. The Breighon (so they call this kind of lawyers) sitteth on a banke, the lords and gentlemen at variance round about him, and then they proceed. To rob and spoile their enimies they deeme it none offense, nor seeke anie meanes to recouer their losse, but euen to watch them the like turne. But if neighbors & friends send their pursuiors to purloine one another, such actions are iudged by the Breighons aforesaid. They honour and reuerence friers and pilgrims, by suffering them to passe quietlie, and by sparing their mansions, whatsoeuer outrage they shew to the countrie besides them. The like fauor do they extend to their poets & rithmours.

Breighon.

Religions fauoured.

In old time they much abused the honorable state of mariage, either in contracts vnlawfull, meeting the degrees of prohibition, or in diuorsements at pleasure, or in reteining concubines or harlots for wiues: yea euen at this daie, where the clergie is faint, they can be content to marrie for a yeare and a daie of probation; and at the years end, or anie time after, to returne hir home with hir mariage goods, or as much in value, vpon light quarels, if the gentlewomans friends be vnable to reuenge the iniurie. In like maner maie she forsake hir husband. In some corner of the land they vsed a damnable superstition, leauing the right armes of their infants vnchristened (as they tearme it) to the intent it might giue a more vngratious and deadlie blow. Others write that gentlemens children were baptised in milke, and the infants of poore folke in water, who had the better or rather the onelie choise. Diuerse other vaine and execrable superstitions they obserue, that for a complet recitall would require a seuerall volume. Whereto they are the more stiffelie wedded, bicause such single preachers as they haue, reproue not in their sermons the preusshnesse and fondnesse of these friuolous dreamers. But these and the like enormities haue taken so deepe rot in that people, as commonlie a preacher is soner by their naughtie liues corrupted, than their naughtie liues by his preaching amended.

Matrimonie abused.

Superstition in baptisme.

Iohn Cai. li. 2. Cant. ant.

Ireland why superstitious.

Againe, the verie English of birth, conuersant with the sauage sort of that people become degenerat, and as though they had tasted of Circes poisoned cup, are quite altered. Such force hath education to make or mar. God with the beams of his grace clarifie the eies of that rude people, that at length they maie see their miserable estate: and also that such as are deputed to the gouernement thereof, bend their industrie with conscionable policie to reduce them from rudenes to knowledge, from rebellion to obedience, from trecherie to honestie, from sauageneste to ciuilitie, from idleneste to labour, from wickedneste to godlineste, whereby they maie the soner espie their blindneste, acknowledge their losenes, amend their liues, frame themselues pliable to the lawes and ordinances of hir maiestie, whome God with his gratious assistance preserue, aswell to the prosperous gouernment of hir realme of England, as to the happie reformation of hir realme of Ireland.

Latin spoken as a vulgar language.

FINIS.

The firſt inhabitation of Ireland,

by whome it vvas inſtructed in the faith,

with the ſeuerall inuaſions of the ſame, &c.

The authors preface or introduction to the *ſequele of the hiſtorie.*

ALthough (vndoutedlie) the originall of all nations for the more part is ſo vncerteine, that who ſoeuer ſhall enter into the ſearch thereof, further than he findeth in the holie ſcriptures, may ſeeme as it were rather to talke with men that dreame, than to gather authorities ſufficient whereupon to ground anie warranted opinion: yet for as much as the authors (whom in this Iriſh hiſtorie we chieflie follow) haue ſet downe what they haue found in the Iriſh antiquities, concerning the firſt inhabitation of this countrie of Ireland, and becauſe the reader alſo may be peraduenture deſirous to vnderſtand the ſame, we haue thought good to recite [illegible] they haue written thereof, leauing the credit vnto the due conſideration of the circumſpect reader; and where the errors are too groſſe, giuing by the way ſome cautions, in like ſort as our authors themſelues haue doone. According therefore to the order of all other nations and people that ſeeke to aduance the glorie of their countries, in fetching their beginning with the furtheſt from ſome one of ancient antiquitie: ſo likewiſe the Iriſhmen haue regiſtred in their chronicles, that their countrie was firſt inhabited by one of Noahs neeces, after the manner following.

THE

THE FIRST INHABITATION of Ireland, &c.

IN the yeare of the world, 1525: the patriarch Noah began to admonish the people of vengeance to followe for their wickednesse and detestable sins, to build his arke to foreshew his kinsfolkes and friends of that vniuersall flood which was to come, wherewith the whole face of the earth should be couered with water; & that within fewe yeares, except they amended in time. This did he before the generall flood, one hundred & fiue and twentie yeares. But when euerie man seemed to neglect this wholesome admonition, one Cesara that was néece to Noah, hearing hir vncles prophesie, doubted least the same should come to passe; and therefore determined with certeine hir adherents to séeke aduentures in some forren region, persuading hir selfe, that if she might find a countrie neuer yet inhabited, and so with sin vnspotted, the generall sentence of Gods wrath should not there take effect. Whereupon rigging a naule, she committed hir selfe to the seas, sailing forth, till at length she arriued in Ireland onelie with three men, & fiftie women, hauing lost the residue of hir companie by misfortune of sundrie shipwracks made in that hir long & troublesome iourneie. The names of the men were these, Bithi, Laigria, and Fintan. The coast where she first set foot on land, and where also she lieth buried, is called *Nauicularelittus*, that is, the shipping riuage or shore. The stones wherein the memorie hereof was preserued from violence of waters, haue béene séene of some (as they themselues haue reported) but how trulie I haue not to say: within fortie daies after hir comming on land there, the vniuersall flood came & ouerflowed all that coast as well as all other parts of the world. But where as this tale bewraieth it selfe to manifestlie to be a meere vntruth, if the time and other circumstances be throughlie examined, I will not stand longer about the prowfe or disprowfe thereof; sauing that it is sufficient (as I thinke) to bring it out of credit, to consider, how that the art of sailing was vnknowne to the world before the vniuersall flood, and no part inhabited except the continent of Syria, and thereabouts. But to passe such a forged fable, with the record thereof grauen in a stone (a deuise borowed from Iosephus, as some thinke) it shall be sufficient for the glorie of the Irish antiquitie to grant that Ireland was discouered and peopled by some of Noahs kinred, euen with the first Ilands of the world (if they will néeds haue it so, as the likelihod is great) according to that which is set forth in their histories, when about three hundred yeares after the generall flood immediatlie vpon the confusion of tongs, Japhet & his posteritie imboldened by Noahs example, aduentured to commit themselues by ship to passe the seas, & to search out the vnknowne corners of the world, and so finding out diuerse Iles in these west parts of the world.

There was (saie they) in that retinue one of the same progenie named Bartolenus or Bastolenus, who incouraged with the late attempt and successe of Nimrod kinsman to Ninus (then newlie intruded vpon the monarchie of Assyria) searched so far west, intending to atteine to some gouernement, where he might rule without anie partner in authoritie, till at length fortune brought him and his people vpon the coast of Ireland. Here he settled himselfe with his three sonnes Languina, Salamis, and Ruthurgus, right actiue and stout gentlemen, who searching the land from side to side, and from end to end, left remembrances of their names in certeine notable places named after them; as Languinie, Stragruus, and mount Salanga, since named saint Dominiks hill, and Ruthurgus his pole. Little is remembred of Bartolenus, sauing that in short space with manie hands working at once, he rid and made plaine a great part of the countrie ouergrowen with woods and thickets.

Thus was Ireland inhabited by this people vnder the gouernment of those three sons of Bartolenus and their offspring, about the space of three hundred yeares. Togither with Bartolenus arriued Ireland certeine godles people of Nimrods flocke, worthilie termed giants, as those that in bodilie shape exceeded the common proportion of others, and vsed their strength to gaine souereigntie, and to oppresse the weake with rapine and violence. That linage (Chams brood) did grow in short while to great numbers, and alwaie indeuored themselues where soeuer they came to beare the rule ouer others. One cause hereof was their bodilie strength, answerable to their hugenesse of stature; another, the examples of Cham or Zoroastres the magician, and Nimrod grandfather to Ninus. Which two persons in themselues and their progenies were renowmed through the world as victorious princes, ruling ouer two mightie kingdoms Egypt and Assyria. A third cause there was, as this: they repined at the blessings bestowed vpon Sem and Japhet, thinking it necessarie to withstand and preuent all lawfull rule and dominion, least the cursse of slauerie prophesied by Noah should light vpon them, as at length it did. Hereupon

An. mundi. 1557 After the best authors make 300 yeares, and not 100 betweene Noahs flood and Babell.

Bartolenus, or Bastolenus. Clem. lib. 4. Cambreid. lib. 3.

Ruthurgi stagnum.

Ireland first inhabited.

Giants.

Bergon the sonne of Neptune and brother to Albion (as Iohn Bale hath) conquered Ireland and the Orkneis.

Euill examples soone followed.

Celara néce to Noah.

An. mundi. 1556

Rab. Isaac in Gene. 5.

vpon rebellious withdrawing their due obedience from their lawfull gouernors here in Ireland, and taking head, set vp a king of their owne faction, and maintening his estate to the oppression of the subiects, by bringing them into continuall bondage. The successe was variable on both sides betwixt the lawfull gouernors & these vsurpers, with dailie raises and skirmishes, so much to the griefe of them that coueted to liue in quiet vnder their rightfull princes, that they determined with the chance of one generall battell, either wholie to subdue those proud rebellious tyrants, or else to end their liues in frēdome, and so to be rid of further miserie. But first, where there had growen certeine debates and enimitie among themselues, whereby they had infeebled their owne forces, they thought good to make peace togither, before they put their whole state in hazard of one battell against the giants, concluding therefore an agreement, and ioining in league with promise to assist ech other to subdue their common enimies, they assemble their power forth of all parts of the land, and comming to ioine battell with the giants, after they had fought right fiercelie togither for the space of certeine houres, the victorie inclined to the rightfull part; so that the lawfull kings prevailing against the wicked tyrants, great slaughter was made on the whole brood of that mischeefous generation. For the kings meaning to deliuer themselues of all danger in time to come, vsed their happie victorie with great cruelti, which turned to their owne confusion: for where they neither spared man, woman, nor child that came in the waie for more despite, & fuller satisfieng of their whole reuenge, they did not vouchsafe to burie the carcasses of their slaine enimies; but cast them out like a sort of dead dogs: whereof through stench of the same, such an infectiue pestilence insued in all places through corruption of aire, that few escaped with life, beside those that got them awaie by sea.

Rebellion against gouernors.

A worthie resolution.

Victorie too cruellie vsed.

Anno mundi. 2257

And hereby lieth a vaine tale among the Irishmen, that one of the giants named Ruanus, chancing to be preserued from this mortalitie, liued forsoth two thousand and one and fortie yeares, which is more than twise the age of Methusalem. By this man (saie they) saint Patrike was informed of all the estate of the countrie: and after that vpon request he had receiued baptisme of the said Patrike, he deceassed in the yeare after the birth of our sauior foure hundred and thirtie, as in the Irish histories hath bin vnadvisedlie registred. But such foolish tales and vaine narrations may warne the aduised reader how to beware of yēlding credit vnto the like idle fantasies and forged tales, when they hap to light vpon such blind legends. For where some of the poets vsed for inuention sake to faine such dreaming fables for exercise of their stiles and wits: afterwards through error and lacke of knowledge, they haue bēene taken with the ignorant for verie true and most assured histories. But now to the matter, as we find it recorded of an infinit number of giants slaine and made awaie in manner afore rehearsed, certeine there were that got them into some lurking dens or caues, and there kept them till lacke of vittels inforced them to come forth, and make shift for sustenance; and perceiuing no resistance because the land was in manner left desolat, they waxed bolder; and when they vnderstood how things had passed, they settled themselues in the best part of the countrie, easilie subduing the poore sēelie soules that remained, and so reuiuing their linage, they became lords of the whole Iland, keeping the same in subiection for the space of three score yeares togither.

Ruanus how long he liued.

Forged tales and fables won credit in time, to passe among the vnskilfull people for true histories.

Gen. 10.

Among Japhets sons we read in Genesis that Magog was one, who planted his people in Scythia nere Tanais, from whense about the yeare of the world two thousand three hundred & seuentene. Nemodus with his foure sonnes, Starius, Garbaneles, Annius, Fergusius, capteins ouer a faire companie of people, were sent into Ireland, who passing by Cicia, and taking there such as were desirous to seeke aduentures with them, at length they landed in Ireland, inhabited the countrie, and multiplied the reth, although not without continuall warre, which they held with the giants for the space of two hundred and sixtene yeares, in the end of which terme the giants prevailing chased them thense againe, so that they retired into Syria. This was about the yeare after the creation (as by their account it should seeme) two thousand fiue hundred thirtie and three, from which time the giants kept possession of the land without forren inuasion, till the yeare two thousand seauen hundred and foure tēene; but yet in all that space they were not able to frame a common-welth: for falling at variance among themselues, and measuring all things by might, seditiouslie they vexed ech other. Which thing comming to the knowledge of the Grecians moued fiue brethren, sonnes to one Dela, being notable seamen and skilfull pilots to rig a naute, and to attempt the conquest of this Iland. These were of the posteritie of Nemodus, and named Gandius, Genandius, Saganous, Rutherantus, & Slanius. When all things were readie, and their companies assembled, they toke the sea, and finallie arriuing here in Ireland, found the puissance of the giants sore weakened through their owne ciuill dissention: so that with more ease they atchiued their purpose, and wan the whole countrie, viterlie destroieng and roting out that wicked generation enimies to mankind; and after diuided the Iland into fiue parts, and in each of them they seuerallie reigned. Furthermore, to satisfie all sides, and auoid contention, they concluded to fix a mere-stone in the middle point of Ireland, to the which ech of their kingdoms should reach, so as they might be equallie partakers of the commodities found within that countrie soile.

Anno mundi. 2317

Nemodus with his foure sonnes.

Ireland eftsoones inhabited by the ofspring of Japhet.

The giants prevaile. 2533

The sonnes of Dela a Grecian skilfull in the art of sailing.

They passe into Ireland, and destroied the giants.

They diuide the countrie into foure parts.

These are also supposed to haue inuented the distribution of shires into cantreds, euerie cantred or baronie conteining one hundred townships. At length desire of souereigntie set the fiue brethren at variance, & greatlie hindred their growing wealths. But Slanius getting the vpper hand, and bringing his foure brethren to a low eb, toke on him as cheefe aboue his other brethren, incroching round about the midle stone for the space of certeine miles, which plot in time obteined the priuilege & name of one entier part, & now maketh vp the number of fiue parts (into the which Ireland is said to be diuided) and is called Meth, and in Latine *Media*, taking that name (as some haue gessed) for that in respect of the other, it conteined but the moitie of cantreds, that is, fifteene (where ech of the other comprehended two and thirtie a peece) or else for that it lieth in the middest of the land. This part Slanius ioined as a surplusage ouer and aboue his inheritance, to the monarchie: which part notwithstanding grew to a seuerall kingdome. Thirtie yeares the monarchie yet continued in this order, but finallie Slanius departed this life, and was buried in a mounteine of Meth, that beareth hitherto (as they saie) the name after him. Then the princes subiect to him, began to stomach the matter, and denied their obeisance to his successor: whereupon insued continuall wars betwixt them, falling still at debat for the land of Meth, which strife of long time might neuer fullie be appeased. In the necke of these troubles also there arriued in Ireland a new armie of Scythians, who made claime to the land by a title of right which they pretended from their

A cantred.

Desire of souereingtie cause of variance.

Slanius departed this life.

A new armie of Scythians land in Ireland. Partakings.

their forefather Nemodus: and so taking & making parts, they set all in an vproare, that hauocke was made on each side with fire and sword in most miserable maner.

To be short, they spent themselues in pursuing one an other with such outrage, that now they cared not what nation or what souldier they receiued to their aid, to keepe vp or beat downe a side. By which occasion the Britons also put in a foot among them, who procured Brennus the brother of Belinus to direct his course thither, with the same nauie which he had made readie to passe ouer into Gallia, now called France, to the aid of Segwin then king of the Allobroges that inhabited the countries called Sauoie and the Delphinat. But his enterprise into Ireland toke small effect, though there were other kings of the Britons that gat dominion there, in so much that Gurguntius, or Gurgwintius, the sonne of Belinus, accompted Ireland among other his dominions to belong to him by lineall descent: notwithstanding the British princes neuer inioied the quiet possession thereof, longer than they held it by maine force, but were often repelled and put to the worse with seeking after it, finding there small gaine other than stripes, whereof they bare awaie great plentie. But now to come to the Spaniards, that lastlie (vnder the conduct of foure capteins) passed into Ireland from Biscaie, and inhabited that Iland, it shall not be impertinent in following the order which our author keepeth, to speake somewhat of their originall, that it may appeare from whense the Irish nation had their first beginning.

Brennus called into Ireland to aid one part of the factious people.

Segwin.

Allobroges.

2436 In the yeare of the world 2436, after the vniuersall flood 788, whilest the Israelits serued in Egypt, Gathelus the sonne of one Neole, a great lord in Grecia, was vpon displeasure exiled his countrie with a number of his factious adherents and friends. This noble gentleman being right wise, valiant, and well spoken, comming into Egypt, got honorable interteinment of Pharao surnamed Orus, as in the Scotish historie more plainelie appeareth. And afterwards departing that countrie, trauersed the seas, and landing first in Portingall, after some bickering with the inhabitants; at length yet he got by their consent a portion of the countrie, lieng by the banks of the riuer ancientlie called Munda, & now Mondego, where shortlie after he began to build a citie first named Brachara, but now Barsalo, as Hector Boetius hath. After this, when Gathelus his people began to increase in power, through persuasion of the Spaniards their neighbors, they remoued into Galicia, where they also builded a citie named Brigantium, which is now called Corunna. Finallie, when they grew into such an huge multitude, that Galicia was not able to sustaine them, Gathelus with a certeine number of them passed ouer into Ireland, and there grew into such estimation with the barbarous people, that for his knowledge speciallie in all languages, he was highlie honored: for he not onelie inriched and beautified the Irish tong, but also taught them letters, sought vp their antiquities, practised their youth in warlike feats after the maner of the Greekes and Egyptians, from whense he descended.

See more of this matter in the beginning of the Scotish historie.

The riuer of Munda, now Mondego.

Brachara now Braga.

Brigantium. See more hereof in Scotland.

Gathelus passeth into Ireland.

To conclude, he was so acceptable to them, that to gratifie such a benefactor, they agreed to name the Iland after him Gathelia, and after his wife Scotia. This is one opinion but yet incredible, not onelie to Humfreie Lhuid, but also to other learned men, and diligent searchers of antiquities, by reason of the sundrie arguments of improbabilitie, aswell in the miscount of yeares as other vnlikelihods found therein, when the circumstances come to be dulie examined, throughlie weied, and well considered. Yet certeine it is, that Ireland was anciently named Scotia, and the people Scots, as by diuerse old writers it may be sufficientlie proued: albeit by what occasion it first toke that name, or from whense they came, it is as yet doubted. But to proceed with the historie as we find it. The residue of Gathelus his people, which remained in Spaine, founded the cities of Baion in the confines of Gascoigne, and replenished the seacoasts of Spaine with store of inhabitants, and welnere about two hundred yeares after their first arriuall there (when they were eftsones pestered with multitude of people) they began to fansie a new voiage, but whether at that time they passed ouer into Ireland, or some whither else, it is vncerteine.

Notwithstanding sure it is, that in the daies of Gurguntius king of the Britons, the chiefe gouernour of Baion with foure brethren Spaniards, of the which two are said to be Hiberus and Hermion, not the sonnes (some thinke) of Gathelus (as Hector Boetius affirmeth) but some other perhaps that were descended from him, who vnderstanding that diuerse of the westerne Iles were emptie of inhabitants, assembling a great number of men, women, and children, imbarked with the same in three score great vessels, and directing their course westward, houered a long time in the sea about the Iles of Orkenie, vntill by good hap they met with Gurguntius then returning from the conquest of Denmarke (as in the British historie it appeareth) whom they besought in consideration of their want of vittels and other necessaries, being such as they were not able longer to abide the seas, incumbred with a sort of women and children, to direct and appoint them to some place where to inhabit; promising to hold the same of him, and to become liege people to him and his heires for euer.

Gurguntius.

Gurguntius adulsing himselfe hereof, remembred with what trouble he held the Irish in subiection, and conceiuing hope that those strangers should either subdue or wholie destroie that vnrulie generation, toke the othes of those Spaniards with hostages; and furnishing them and their ships with all things needfull, set them ouer into Ireland, where assisted with such Britons as Gurguntius had appointed to go with them for their guids, they made a conquest of the whole countrie, & setled themselues in the same. Some write, that Ireland was before that present void of all inhabitants: but yet they agree that these Spaniards were guided thither by the Britons, & that vnder such conditions as before is recited. So that it appeareth the kings of this our Britain had an elder right to the realme of Ireland, than by the conquest of Henrie the second, which title they euer mainteined, and sometimes preuailed in pursuing thereof, as in the daies of king Arthur, to whom the Irish (as in some histories is remembred) acknowledged their due subiection with paiement of their tribute, and making their appearance at the citie called in the British tong Caer Lheon. Whereunto when their free assent, the submission of their princes with lawfull conquest and prescription are adioined, an inuincible title must needs be inforced.

Gurguntius appointeth the Spaniards seats in Ireland to liue vnder his subiection.

The arriuall of the Spaniards in Ireland, Geffreie Mon.

The Irish were subiect to K. Arthur, westchester.

But now to our purpose. The Spaniards substantiallie aided by the Britons, setled themselues, and diuided their seats in quarters, the foure brethren reigning seuerallie apart in foure sundrie portions in good quiet and increase of welth, vntill their pride and ambition armed two of them against the other two: as Hiberus and one of his brethren against Hermion and the other brother. In this dissention Hermion slue his brother Hiberus. Of whom at the same time the countrie (as some hold) was named Hibernia, as in the description further

Dissention betwixt the brethren.

Such are the fruits of ambition.

See more hereof in the description.

appeareth: although some rather hold, that it toke the name of iron, of the plentifull mines of that kind of mettall wherewith that land aboundeth: and so those ancient writers which name it Jerna, named it more aptlie after the spæch of the inhabitants than others, which name it Hibernia. But to procéed. Hermion hereupon to auoid the ill opinion of men, for that he had thus atteined to the souereignetie by the vnnaturall slaughter of his brother, in that vnhappie ciuill warre, purged himselfe to his subiects, that neither maliciouslie nor contentiouslie, but for his necessarie defense and safetie he had borne armes against his brethren: and to witnesse how farre he was from all desire to rule alone, he appointed certeine capteins as kings, to rule vnder him seuerall countries, reseruing to himselfe but one fourth part, and the portion of Meth allotted to the monarchie for the better maintenance of his estate.

No crime so manifest or detestable that wanteth a coloursble pretense to excuse it.

Ireland diuided into fiue kingdomes.

One souereigne ruler ouer the rest.

These parts apointed forth in this wise at length grew to fiue kingdomes, Leinster, Connagh, Ulster, and Mounster diuided into two parts, and sometime to more, by vsurping or compounding among themselues: but euer one was chosen to be chiefe souereigne monarch ouer them all. Thus it séemeth that certeinelie the Spaniards of the north parts of Spaine, inhabiting the countries about Biscaie and Galicia, came and peopled Ireland (as both their owne histories and the Britith do wholie agrée:) but from whense they came first to inhabit those countries of Spaine, verelie I haue not otherwise to anouch: for no other writers that I can remember, but (such as haue registred the Scotish chronicles) make mention of the comming thither of Gathelus with his wife Scota and their people, in maner as by the said chronicles is pretended. But now to our purpose. An hundred and thirtie chiefe kings are reckoned of this nation from Hermion to Laogirius, the sonne of Nealus Magnus, in whose time that holie estéemed man Patrike conuerted them to christianitie. But now in the meane time whilest the Irishmen liued in some tollerable order and rest vnder their seuerall kings, one Rodorike a Scithian prince with a small companie of men, being weather driuen round about the coasts of Britaine, was by chance cast vpon the shore of Ireland.

Picts arriue in Ireland.

These were Picts, and the first that had béen heard of in these parties (as some authors haue recorded) a people from their verie cradle giuen to dissention, landleapers, mercilesse, fierce and hardie. They being brought and presented to the Irish king, craued interpretors, which granted, Rodorike their chéefeteine made this request for him and his, as followeth: Not as denegrate from the courage of our ancestours, but fashioning our selues to fortunes course, we are become to craue of Ireland, as humble supplicants that neuer before this present haue so embased our selues to anie other nation. Behold sir king, and regard vs well, no light occasion causeth these lustie valiant bodies to stope. Scithians we are, & Picts of Scithia, no small portion of glorie resteth in these two names. What shall I speake of the ciuill warre that hath expelled vs from our natiue homes, or rip vp old histories to moue strangers to bemone vs: Let our seruants and children discourse therof at leisure, if perhaps you will vouchsafe to grant vs some time of abode in your land, to the which effect and purpose our vrgent necessitie beséecheth your fauors, a king of a king and men of men are to craue assistance. Princes can well discerne and consider how nére it toucheth their honour and suertie, to vphold and releeue the state of a king, by treason deceiued. And manifest it is to all men of reasonable consideration, that nothing more beséemeth the nature of man, than to be moued with compassion, and as it

The oration of Rodorike king of the Picts king of Ireland.

were to féele themselues hurt, when they heare and vnderstand of other mens calamities. Admit (we beséech you) and receiue amongst you these few scattered remnants of Scithia: if your rowmes be narrow, we are not manie: if the soile of your countrie be barren, we are borne and enured to hardnesse: if you liue in peace, we are at commandement as subiects: if you warre, we are readie to serue you as souldiours: we demand no kingdome, no state, no pompous triumph in Ireland: we are héere alone, and haue left such things behind vs with our enimies: howsoeuer you estéeme of vs, we shall content our selues therewith, and learne to frame our liking to yours, calling to mind not what we haue béene, but what we are.

Doubtfull consultation.

Great consultation was had about this request of these strangers, and manie things debated to and fro. In conclusion, the Irish laid forth for answer the opinions of their antiquaries; that is, such as were skilfull in old histories and saiengs of their elders, whereunto they gaue credit, and therefore they gathered it could not be expedient to accept the Scithians into the land, for that mingling of nations in one realme breédeth quarels: moreouer, that the multitude of the inhabitants was such, as rowme in the whole Ile was vneth able to receiue them, and therefore those few new commers, being placed among so manie old inhabitants, might breéd quicklie some disturbance to bring all out of ioint. But (said they) though we may not conuensentlie receiue you among vs, yet shall you find vs readie to further you to be our neighbours.

The answer of the Irish to the request of the Picts.

The Irish persuadeth the Picts to place themselues in Britaine.

Not far hense there lieth the great Ile of Britaine, in the north part whereof, being void of inhabitants, your manhods and policies may purchase for you rowmes to place your selues at ease: we shall apoint you capteins to guide you thither, we shall assist to settle you with our forces in that countrie, make readie your ships that yée may passe thither with all conuenient spéed. Incouraged with this persuasion, they toke their course towards the north parts of Britaine now called Scotland, where contrarie to their expectation Marius king of Britaine was readie to await their comming, and with sharpe battell vanquishing them in field, slue Rodorike with a great number of his retinues. Those that escaped with life, and sought to him for grace, he licenced to inhabit the vttermost end of Scotland. This Marius Humfrie Lhuid taketh to be the same, whome the Romane writers name Aruiragus, who reigned about the yere of our Lord seuentie, a prince of a noble courage and of no small estimation in his daies (as should séeme by that which is written of him.) His right name (as the said Humfreie Lhuid anoucheth) was Meurig.

Marius otherwise called Aruiragus king of Britons.

But now concerning the Picts, whether that those that escaped with life, got seats by king Meurigs grant (as aboue is specified) or that getting to their ships, they withdrew into the Iles of Orkeneie, and there remained. Wiues they wanted also to increase their issue: and bicause the Britons thought scorne to match their daughters with such an vnknowne and new come nation, the Picts continued their first acquaintance with the Irish, and by intreatie obteined wiues from them, with condition, that if the crowne should hap to fall in contention, they should yéeld thus much to the prerogatiue of the woman, that the prince should be elected rather of the bloud rotall of the female kind than of the male. Which order (saith Beda) the Picts were well known to kéepe vnto his time.

Picts marieng with the Irish do couenant the succession of their kings.

But howsoeuer we shall giue credit to this histo-rie of the first comming of Picts into this land, if we grant that to be true which Geffreie of Monmouth reporteth

repoꝛteth of this victoꝛie obteined by Marius against the Picts: yet haue I thought good to aduertise the reader, that the Britons of this Ile were disquieted by that nation long before the supposed time of the said king Marius. Foꝛ Mamertinus in his oration intituled Panegyricus, Max. Dictus hath these woꝛds (speaking of the conquest which Julius Cesar had heere against the Britons.) But in that age (saith he) Britaine was neither furnished with anie ships of warre foꝛ battell on the sea, and the Romans after the warres of Affrike and Asia, were well practised with the late warres against pirats, and after that against Mithꝛidates, in which they were exercised as well by sea as land. Moꝛeouer, the British nation was then vnskilfull, and not trained to feats of war, foꝛ the Britons then being onelie vsed to the Picts and Irish enimies, people halfe naked through lacke of skill, easilie gaue place to the Romans foꝛce, so that Cesar might onelie as it were glorie in this, to haue passed in that iourneie ouer the ocean sea.

Hereby it should seeme that the Picts and Irish did disquiet the Britons, before the comming of Julius Cesar into this Ile of Britaine. But whether they inhabited at that time in some part of Ireland, oꝛ in some of the out Iles by Scotland, either in anie part of Germanie, oꝛ Scandinauia; oꝛ else whether they were alreadie setteled in the furthest parts of Scotland, as in Cathnesse, towards Dungesbie head: we haue not to affirme, other than that which in Scotland we haue written, in following Hector Boetius, whose opinion how farre it is to be suspected in matters of antiquitie, I leaue to the consideration of others. But foꝛ the first comming as well of the Picts as Scots (whom he maketh inhabitants within this Ile so long before) either the name of the one nation oꝛ the other is remembꝛed to haue had anie gouernement heere, by anie ancient oꝛ approued writer. I cannot persuade my selfe, that either Scots oꝛ Picts had anie setteled seats within the bounds of this Ile of Britaine, till after the birth of our sauiour: but that rather the Scots, as yet inhabiting in Ireland, and in the westerne Iles called by the Romane writers Hebꝛides, and the Picts, in the Iles of Oꝛkneie called in Latine *orchades*, did vse to make often inuasions vpon the Britons, dwelling vpon the coasts that lie neere to the sea side ouer against those Iles.

From whense they comming ouer in such vessels oꝛ boats, as the fishermen doo yet vse, at length the Picts first about the yere of our Loꝛd 290, as Humfreie Lhuid hath noted, entred generallie into Cathnesse, and other the noꝛth parts of Britaine, where they setteled themselues, and remoued the Britons that there inhabited before that time: and shoꝛtlie the Scots likewise came ouer and got seats in the west parts ouer against the noꝛth of Ireland, and in those westerne Iles, which Iles they first got into their possession. And in this soꝛt those nations Picts and Scots came first to inhabit heere in this our Ile of Britaine, as the said Humfreie Lhuid, not without aduised coniectures grounded vpon good reason and sufficient authoꝛitie to lead him so to esteeme, hath written in his shoꝛt commentaries of the descꝛiption of Britaine.

And verelie I thinke we may moꝛe safelie beleeue that which he auoucheth in this behalfe, than that which Hector Boetius setteth downe, sith foꝛ anie thing I can perceiue, his authoꝛities bring no such warrant with them, but we may with good reason suspect them. But foꝛ the man himselfe, euen as he hath verie oꝛderlie, and with no lesse cunning than eloquence set downe diuerse things incredible, and repoꝛted some other contrarie to the truth of the histoꝛie foꝛ the glorie of his nation, as we may take it; so in his excuse it may be alledged, that he was not the authoꝛ of those matters, but wꝛote what he found in Cambell, Veremound, Cornelius Hibernensis, and such other, in like case as Gefferie of Monmouth wꝛote what he found in old ancient British monuments, & was not the deuiser himselfe (as some haue suspected) of such things as in his booke are by him expꝛessed. But now to returne to the Picts. It may be that they came at seuerall times in like manner as the Scots did out of Ireland, of whome the first is remembꝛed to be Fergus, the son of Ferquhard, a man right skilfull in blasoning of armoꝛie, himselfe bare a lion gules in a field of gold. The marble stone wherof in the Scotish histoꝛie is mentioned, bꝛought into Ireland by Simon Bꝛethus, and kept till those daies as a pꝛetious iewell, this Fergus obteined towards the pꝛospering of his iourneie: foꝛ that it was thought, who so had the same in possession, could not but obteine souereignetie and rule ouer others as a king, namelie those of the Scotish nation. This stone Fergus bꝛinging into Scotland, left it there. But although that Fergus be put in ranke among those Scotish kings that should reigne in Britaine, yet he bare small rule there, & was diuers times beaten backe into Ireland, where finallie he was dꝛowned by misfoꝛtune in the cꝛeeke of Knockfergus.

That he incountred with Coilus king of the Britons (as the Scots wꝛite) is not possible, as our authoꝛ hath verie well noted; except they mistake the name of Coilus foꝛ Tailus, with whome the age of Fergus might well meet: the rather, foꝛ that in the first yeare of Tailus reigne the Picts entered, Fergus immediatlie after them, 330 yeares per Chꝛist was boꝛne; where Coilus reigned in the yeare after the incarnation 124, about which time befell the second arriuall of the Picts in Britaine. And thus it may be they mistake, by errour of the name, Coilus foꝛ Tailus, and the second arriuall of the Picts foꝛ the first. But now to the course of the histoꝛie. Whilest the Picts were seated in the noꝛth of Britaine, and grew to a great multitude; the Irish made sundꝛie errands ouer to visit their daughters, nephues, and kinsfolks, and by their often comming and going they were aware of certeine waste coꝛners, and small Ilands void of inhabitants, as that which seemed rather neglected and suffered to lie waste.

Hereof they aduertised their pꝛinces, namelie Reuther oꝛ Renda, who being descended of Fergus, determined to inuest himselfe in certeine poꝛtions of land beside the Picts. He therefoꝛe well appointed passed ouer, and partlie by composition, and partlie by foꝛce, got possession of those quarters which were desolate, & began to erect a kingdome there, by little and little increasing his limits: and finallie got betwixt the Picts and Britons, possessing that countrie which toke the name of him called Rendersdahall, and now Riddesdale (as you would saie) Rhendas part; foꝛ Dahall in the Scotish tong signifieth a part. In these quarters he could not setle himselfe, but that he was oftentimes assailed by the Britons that boꝛdered next vnto him, and at length his chance was to be slaine, but the kingdome continued still in the hands of his succesꝛs: and the Picts and Scots grew in friendship togither, permitting ech other to liue in quiet.

The Scots nestled themselues in the Iles and coasts alongst the sea side. The Picts held the middle part. But shoꝛtlie after, the peace began to hang doubtfull betwixt them: foꝛ the diuersitie of people, place, custome and language, togither with the memoꝛie of old grudges, mooued such gelousie and inward hate betwixt those nations, that it seemed they were readie to bꝛeake out into open dissention vpon the first occasion. And as in such cases there neuer

Gefferie Monmouth the translatoꝛ not the authoꝛ of the British histoꝛie.

The doubt of the time of the comming of Picts and Scots into Britaine.

Fergus king of Scots.

The marble stone.

Knockfergus

Reuther oꝛ Renda.

The amitie betwixt Scots and Picts.

Their falling out.

See Diodorus Siculus lib. 6. cap. 9. Who saith they should inhabit a poꝛtion of Britaine.

Hect. Boetius.

See moꝛe heereof in England.

The Picts when they first inhabited Britaine.

The Scots in Britaine.

Hum. Lhuid.

wanteth one deuise or other to raise tumults: it chanced that certeine of the Scotish nobilitie had got out of Græce (as some write) a Molossian hound, which both in swiftnesse of foot, and pleasantnesse of mouth, was accounted peerlesse. This hound being stollen by a Pict, was cause of the breach of peace; so that cruell wars thereof insued, as in the Scotish historie more at large appéreth. But where some write, that Eugenius should reigne ouer the Scots when this quarell fell out for stealing of this hound, Hector Boetius saith, it was in king Crathlinths daies. Moreouer it should séeme by that which the same Boetius writeth, that the hound or greihound for the which this trouble rose, was not fetched so far as out of Grecia, but rather bred in Scotland: notwithstanding bicause the Latinists call such kind of dogs *Molossi*, for that the first generation of them, or the like, came from a citie of Grecia called Molosse; it may be, that some haue thought that this greihound came from thense, for that he was so called after the name of that place from whense the bréed of him first came. But to returne to the historie.

Strife about a dog.

After the Scots and Picts had tugged togither a while, at length one Carausius a Briton laboured a friendship betwixt them, and bringing his purpose to passe, persuaded them to lend him their helpe to expell the Romans out of Britaine: but his hap was shortlie after to be slaine by the Romane captéine Alectus. And so new stirs were in hand betwixt the Britons and Romans, the Scots & Picts for the most part taking part with the Britons, till at length Maximus the Romane lieutenant found means to set the Scots and Picts at variance, and ioining with the Picts in league, vsed their aid against the Scots, whome he so earnestlie pursued with all the power he might make, that in the end they were vtterlie expelled out of all the coasts of Britaine, so that they fled some into one part, some into another, but the most number got them ouer into Ireland, and the Iles, where they remained for the space of fourtie three yeares, and then at length returned thither, vnder the leading of their prince Fergus, being the second of that name, as they account him. From thenseforth the Scots kept such foot in Britaine, that they incroched vpon their neighbors, in such wise as they wared stronger than the Picts, whome in the end they quite rooted forth, and nestled themselues in their seats, although now at their first returne they concluded a firme amitie with the same Picts, that ioining their forces togither, they might the better make head against both Romans and Britons, whome they reputed as common enimies to them both.

Carausius agréeth them. Anno Christi. 288

The Scots expelled. See more of this matter in Scotland. 326

The Picts rooted forth by the Scots.

Thus the Scots a liuelie, cruell, vnquiet, ancient and victorious people, got place within this Ile of Britaine, mired first with Britons, secondlie with Picts, thirdlie and chiefflie with the Irish, which after this time left their name of Scots vnto those in Britaine, and those rather to be called Irish: and then came vp the distinction of the name, as *Scotia maior* for Ireland, *Scotia minor* for the countrie inhabited by the Scots within Britaine. But Cambrensis saith, that the Scots chiefflie preuailed vnder the leading of six valiant gentlemen, sons to Muridus king of Ulster, who in the time of Neale, surnamed the great that inioied the monarchie of Ireland, passing ouer into Scotland to succour their countriemen there, at length toke vp for themselues certeine parcels of ground, which their posteritie were owners of in the time that Cambrensis liued, to wit, about the yeare of our Lord 1200, who treateth hereof more largelie in his booke intituled Topographia Britanniæ. Since which time they haue béene euer taken, reputed and named Scots, the Pictish nation being driuen into corners, albeit the mounteine parts and out Iles euen vnto this daie are inhabited with a wild kind of people called Redshanks, estéemed by some to be mingled of Scots and Picts.

Giraldus Cambrensis.

The Scots write, that their king Gregorie the sonne of Dongall, who began his reigne in the yeare of our Lord 875, pretending a title to Ireland, as belonging to him by right of lawfull succession, made a iourneie thither, and within a small time made a conquest of the countrie. This Gregorie lieth buried in one of the out Iles called Iona, or Colmekill, where they speake naturallie Irish: and therefore some of the Scots would séeme to make the conquest of Henrie the second in Ireland, a reuolting from the right inheritors: although they do confesse they can not tell how they came from the possession of it, otherwise than by forging a tale that they willinglie forewent it, as reaping lesse by reteining it, than they laid forth, and so not able to discharge that which was to be defraied about the kéeping of it they gaue it ouer, persuading themselues that the kings of England haue gained little or nothing by the hauing of Ireland. And yet in the time whilest sir Henrie Sidneie was gouernour there, when the countie of Ulster was auouched to belong vnto the crowne: it was proued in open parlement, that the reuenues of that earldome, in the daies of Edward the third were reckoned, and found to amount vnto the summe of one and thirtie thousand marks yearelie, the same being but a fift part of Ireland: so that if things were well loked vnto, and such improuement made as might be, Ireland would suffice to beare the necessarie charges, and yéeld no small surplusage vnto the princes coffers.

Gregorie king of Scots subdueth Ireland. 875

Sir Henrie Sidneie.

But now as it falleth forth in the historie. We haue thought good here to shew in what sort Ireland came to receiue the christian faith. We find in deed that immediatlie after Christes time, saint James the apostle, & other trauelling into these west parts, did first instruct the Irish people, and teach them the glad tidings of the gospell, so that diuerse amongst them euen then were christened, and beléeued, but not in such numbers (as may be thought) whereby it should be said, that the countrie was generallie conuerted. Notwithstanding, the Scotish chronicles auouch, that in the daies of their king Fincomarke, who departed this life in the yeare of our redemption three hundred fiftie and eight, Ireland was conuerted to the faith by this meanes.

Ireland instructed in the faith by saint James the apostle.

A woman of the Pictish bloud chanced (saie they) to serue in those daies the quæne of Ireland, which woman being a christian hir selfe, first instructed hir mistresse in the faith and true points of christianitie; and the quæne hir husband, who conuerted the whole Irish nation. Howbeit, by the report of the Irish writers themselues, this should not séeme altogither true: for they affirme, that their countrie was rather still estéemed as one of the vnchristened Iles, till about the yeare foure hundred twentie and six, whilest Celestine the first of that name gouerned the sée of Rome, who vpon conference had with his cleargie, touching the restoring of the christian faith in the west parts of the world, greatlie decaied there by the heresie of Pelagius, vnderstood that Ireland also by reason of distance from the hart of christendome, and rudenesse of the nation, had receiued little fruit at all of true religion, a thing much to be lamented.

Among other that then were assembled to treat of those matters was one Paladius archdeacon of Rome, who offered his charitable trauell towards the conuersion of anie of those lands whither it should please them to appoint him to go. Celestine knowing the sufficiencie of the man consecrated him bishop, authorised his iourneie by letters vnder his seale,

Paladius offereth to go into Ireland.

He is consecrated bishop.

seale, furnished his wants, and associating to him such religious persons and others as were thought necessarie to assist him, deliuered to him the bible with great solemnitie, & other monuments in furtherance of his good speed. At length he landed in the north of Ireland, from whense he escaped right hardlie with his life into the Iles adioining, where he preached the gospell, and conuerted no small number of Scots to the christian beliefe, and purged that part that was christened from the infection of the Pelagians, as in the Scotish historie more at large appeareth. He was required by the Scots that inhabited here in Britaine, to leaue the Iles and come ouer vnto them, there to instruct the people in the waie of true saluation, to the which with the popes licence he seemed willing enough: and the bishop of Rome the more readilie condescended thereto, for that in the instant time, when Paladius was to depart, one Patrike attended at Rome, suing for licence to be sent into Ireland.

Paladius landed in Ireland.

Patrike sent into Ireland.

The pope therefore granted that Paladius might passe ouer to the Scots in Britaine, and appointed Patrike to go with authoritie from him into Ireland; where, vpon his arriuall he found the people so well bent to heare his admonitions, contrarie to their accustomed frowardnesse, that a man would haue thought that had seene their readines, how that the land had beene reserued for him to conuert. And because it pleased God to bestow such an vniuersall benefit to this land by his meanes, we haue thought good in following our author herein, to touch some part of the course of his life. This Patrike in Latine called *Patricius*, was borne in the marches betwixt England and Scotland, in a towne by the sea side called Ciburne, whose father hight Calphurnius, a deacon and sonne to a priest: his mother named Conches, was sister to saint Martine that famous bishop of Towers in France.

Paladius appointed to go into Scotlād.

The towardnesse of the Irishmen to heare Patriks preaching.

Where saint Patrike was borne.

Patrike of a child was brought vp in learning, and well instructed in the faith, and much giuen to deuotion. The Irishmen in those dates afflicted with Scots and Picts were become archpirats, sore disquieting the seas about the coasts of Britaine, and vsed to sacke litle small villages that laie scattered along the shore, and would often lead awaie captiue the inhabitants home into their countrie. And as it chanced, Patrike being a lad of sixteene yeares old, and a scholer then in secular learning, was taken among other, and became slaue to an Irish lord called Macbuaine, from whome after six yeares terme he redeemed himself with a pece of gold which he found in a clod of earth, that the swine had newlie turned vp as he followed them in that time of his captiuitie, being appointed by his maister to keepe them. And as affliction commonlie maketh men religious, the regard of his former education printed in him such remorse and humilitie, that being thenceforth weaned from the world, he betooke himself to contemplation, euer lamenting the lacke of grace and truth in that land: and herewith not despairing, but that in continuance some good might be wrought vpon them, he learned their tong perfectlie. And alluring one of that nation to beare him companie for exercise sake, he departed from thense, and got him into France, euer hauing in his mind a desire to see the conuersion of the Irish people, whose babes yet vnborne seemed to him in his dreames (from out of their mothers wombs) to call for christendome.

The like of saint Patrike in briefe.

S. Patrike was take prisoner when he was yong.

Affliction maketh men religious.

In this purpose he sought out his vncle Martine, by whose means he was placed with Germanus the bishop of Aurerre, continuing with him as scholer or disciple for the space of fortie yeares: all which time he bestowed in like studie of the holie scriptures, praiers, and such godlie exercises. Then at the age of threescore and two yeares, being renowmed through the Latine church for his wisedome, vertue and skill, he came to Rome, bringing letters with him in his commendation from the French bishops vnto pope Celestine, to whom he vttered his full mind and secret pow, which long since he had conceiued touching Ireland. Celestine inuested him archbishop and primat of the whole Iland, set him forward with all fauour he could deuise, and brought him and his disciples onward to their countrie.

He passeth into France.

Patrike is inuested archbishop of Ireland.

In the three and twentith yeare therefore of the emperor Theodosius the yonger, being the yeare of our Lord 430, Patrike landed in Ireland, & because he spake the tong perfectlie, and withall being a reuerend personage in the eies of all men, manie listened and gaue good eare to his preaching, the rather for that (as writers haue recorded) he confirmed his doctrine with diuerse miracles: but specially those regarded his words before all others, that had some tast of the christian faith aforehand, either by the coming into those parties of Paladius, and his disciple one Albius an Irish bishop, or otherwise by some other: for it is to be thought, that continuallie there remained some sparke of knowledge of christianitie euer since the first preaching of the gospell (which was shortlie after the ascension of our sauiour) by saint James (as before is mentioned.) In continuance of time Patrike wan the better part of that kingdome to the faith.

430

Albius an Irish bishop, disciple to Paladius.

Laigerius sonne of Neale the great monarch, although he receiued not the gospell himselfe, yet permitted all that would to imbrace it. But sith he refused to be baptised, & aplie to his doctrine; the bishop denounced against him a curse from God accordinglie, but tempered yet with mercie and iudgement, as thus: That during his life he should be victorious, but after him neither the kingdome should stand, nor his linage inherit. From thense he toke his waie vnto Conill lord of Connagh, who honourablie receiued him, and was conuerted with all his people; and after sent him vnto his brother Logan king of Leinster, whome he likewise conuerted. In Mounster he found great friendship and fauour by means of an earle there, called the earle of Maris, who honoured him highlie, and gaue him a dwelling place in the east angle of Armagh called Sorta, where he erected manie celles and monasteries, both for religious men and women. He trauelled thirtie yeares in preaching through the land, planting in places conuenient bishops and priests, whose learning and vertuous conuersation by the speciall grace and fauor of God, established the faith in that rude nation. Other thirtie years he spent in his prouince of Armagh among his brethren, placed in those houses of religion, which by his meanes were founded, and so he liued in the whole about one hundred twentie two yeares, and lieth buried in Downe.

Laigerius son to Neale the great monarch of Ireland, permitteth the Irishmen to become christians.

Conill lord of Connagh.

Logan king of Leinster.

The earle of Maris.

Of saint Patrikes purgatorie ye shall find in the description of the countrie, and therefore we doo here omit it. But yet because we are entered to speake of the first foundation of churches and religious houses here in Ireland, in following our author in that behalfe: we will speake somewhat of such other holie men and women as are renowmed to haue liued in Ireland, as ornaments to that Ile, more glorious than all the triumphs & victories of the world, if their zeale had beene seasoned with true knowledge of the scriptures: as it maie well be that in some of them it was, howsoeuer mistaken by the iudgement and report of the simple, which hath raised not onlie of these persons, but also of the verie apostles themselues, certeine fantasticall tales, which with the learned are out of all credit. But this matter I will leaue to diuines to discusse, trusting that the reader will con-

S. Patrikes purgatorie.

Religious houses & churches founded.

Mens doings mistaken.

tent himselfe to heare what we find recorded by old writers, which we shall set downe, and offer to their considerations to thinke thereof as reason maie best moue them.

Giral.Camb. Giraldus Cambrensis telleth, that in saint Patriks time flourished saint Brizde the virgine, and saint Colme, which two, with the same Patrike, were buried in Downe (as in the Scotish historie ye maie find) and (as the same Giraldus saith) their three bodies were found there shortlie after the conquest. Sir John Conweie being president of Ulster, in viewing the sepulture, testified to haue seene three principall iewels, which were then translated, as honourable monuments worthie to be preserued. Of saint Colme it is doubted in what age he liued. Brigget, otherwise called Brizde, was base daughter to one Dubtactus, a capteine in Leinster, who perceiuing the mother with child, sold hir secretlie (fearing the gealousie of his wife) to an Irish Pæt, reseruing to himselfe the fruit of hir wombe. She was there deliuered of this Brigget, whome the Pæt trained vp in learning, and vertuous education, and at length brought hir home to hir father.

Sir John Conweie president of Vlster.
S. Colme.
Pæt, that is, Magus in Latine, or (as we may say) a magician or soothsaier in English.
An. Dom. 439.

The damsell also was instructed in the faith by saint Patrike, that preached then in those quarters, whervpon she became so religious and ripe in iudgement, that not onlie the multitude of people, but also a whole synod of bishops assembled neere to Dublin to heare hir aduise in weightie causes, such estimation they had of hir. One fact of hir being yet a child, made hir famous. The king of Leinster had giuen to hir father Dubtactus as a token of his good liking towards him for his valiant seruice, a rich sword, the furniture whereof was garnished with manie costlie iewels. And as it chanced, the damsell visiting the sicke neighbours diuerslie distressed for want of necessarie releefe (hir father being a stearne man, and his ladie a cruell shrew) she could deuise no other shift to helpe to releeue the want of those poore and needie people, but to impart the same iewels of that sole sword among them. This matter was heinouslie taken, and being brought to the kings eares, it chanced that shortlie after he came to a banket in hir fathers house, and calling the maid afore him that was not yet past nine yeres of age, he asked hir how she durst presume to deface the gift of a king in such wise as she had don his. She answered that the same was bestowed vpon a better king than he was, whom (quoth she) finding in such extremitie, I would haue giuen all that my father hath, and all that you haue, yea your selues too, if all were yeeu in my power to giue, rather than Christ should starue. She professed virginitie, and allured other noble yong damsels vnto hir fellowship, with whome she continued in hir owne monasterie, where she was first professed, vntill the yeare of our Lord 500, and then departing this life, she was buried in Downe in saint Patriks towne.

The estimatiõ wherein she was had.
The king of Leinster.
She professed virginitie.
An. Dom. 500. Brigget departed this life.

Giraldus Cambrensis reporteth of his owne knowledge, that among other monuments of hirs, there was found a concordance of the foure euangelists, seeming to be written with no mortall hand, beautified with mysticall pictures in the margent, the colours and cunning workemanship whereof at the first blush appeared darke and nothing delectable, but in the heedfull view of the diligent beholder verie liuelie and wonderfull artificiall. Cenanus that was first a souldier, succeeded saint Patrike in the see of Armagh, after he had certeine yeares followed the warres. Brendan abbat at the age of ten yeares was of such incomparable holinesse (as they saie) and therwith so wise and learned, that his father and mother, thinking themselues to haue gained the most worthie fruit that might insue of their mariage, by

A concordance of the foure euangelists.
Cenanus first a man of war, and after a bishop.
Abbat Brendan.

mutuall consent professed continencie, and abandoned matrimoniall companie. He flourished in the daies of saint Brigget, and liued in familiar societie with saint Arons the bishop, and Fintan the abbat.

Madoc *alias* Odan of noble parentage taken prisoner by the king of Demore, and kept in his court with diuerse yong men his schoolefellowes, openlie adiured the king to licence him and them to depart, that they might serue God as they were accustomed, the while being now kept in sunder and restreined of libertie, they were forced to discontinue. Herevpon immediatlie they were dismissed. He died bishop of Fernes, and laid the foundation of that burrow. His successor Melingus, although he was bishop, gaue himselfe yet to voluntarie labour, and with his owne hands deruied and brought a running spring to his monasterie, induring that trauell daily after praier and studie for the space of eight yeares together.

Madoc.
Melingus.

Fintan abbat was had in such reuerence, that whereas Colme king of Leinster kept Cormake the kings son of Tehill prisoner, he went boldlie with twelue of his disciples through the preasse of all the souldiors, and in sight of the king was suffered to borow the yong prince. For the Irish are not sterne against those of whom they haue conceiued an opinion of holinesse. I remember (saith our author) that Cambrensis writeth himselfe merilie to haue obiected to Ioyce then archbishop of Cashill, that Ireland in so manie hundred yeares had not brought forth one martyr. The bishop answered pleasantlie (alluding to the late dispatching of Thomas archbishop of Canturburie) Our people (quoth he) notwithstanding their other enormities, yet haue spared euer the bloud of vertuous men. Marie now we are deliuered to such a nation that is well acquainted with making martyrs, so that from henceforth I trust no complaint shall need for want of martyrs. Malachias was borne in Armagh of a noble progenie, brought vp in vertue by the example of his mother, and trained forth in learning, profited greatlie in deuotion: so that being yet but a verie babe, he was espied diuerse times to steale awaie from his companions to praie in secret. He was so graue and modest, that of himselfe he chose the most graue and seuere schoolemaister, refusing an excellent clearke, because he saw him somewhat lightlie demeaning himselfe at game. In the beginning of his youthfull yeares, he became the disciple of Imarius an old recluse, whose austeritie of conuersation the whole towne had in great reuerence. There he became a deacon, and at fiue and twentie yeares a priest.

Colme king of Leinster.
The answer of the archbishop of Cashill to Giraldus Cambrensis.
Malachias.

The archbishop, for the fame and the opinion of his worthinesse, receiued him to be assistant to him in office, in the which he so behaued himselfe, that he reformed superstitions, and reuiued the force of religion, namelie in the vniformitie of their church seruice, wherin before time they iarred. The famous monasterie of Banchor he reedified of the patrimonie and legacies by his vncle left him. The same monasterie was of old time gouerned by Congellus, and after him by Columbanus the father of manie religious houses in France. This abbeie being spoiled and ninetie of his brethren murdered in one day by the prior, the possessions whereof being come to the hands of Malachias by his vncles assignement, he restored forthwith, and aduanced the foundation. At the age of thirtie yeares he was by canonicall election forced to accept the bishoprike of Conereth, a people of all the Irish then most sauage and wild, whome with inestimable trauell he reclaimed from their beastlie maners. In the meane while died Celsus bishop of Armagh, after whome succeeded

The monasterie of Banchor repared.

ded Malachias at the age of eight and thirtie yeares.
But before this, neere hand the space of two hundred yeares togither, a custome had crept into the countrie, that the metropolitane sée was conferred vpon such bishops as were maried, and were of the blood roiall, in maner by way of inheritance. Wherefore Nigellus or Neale the nert of kinred, animated by the partialitie of some princes, and getting into his custodie the bible and staffe, and other monuments of saint Patrike, whereunto opinion of the common people tied the prelacie, came to his palace with a band of souldiors to haue slaine the bishop. When all the people wept and houled for his perill, he alone stepped into the bosome of his enimies, demanding what was their purpose? The bloudie souldiors letting fall their weapons, in stead of executing the pretensed murtherer, fell to reuerence him, and at length departed from him as friends.

Maried bishops held the see successiuelie and of one familie, neither would the Irish haue had anie other than of the house.

See saint Barnard. In vita Malachiæ.

Bale, &c.

The bible and staffe.

Three yeares he sat in the primasie rather to discontinue the horrible corruption before vsed, than with intent to settle himselfe there. After he had remoued the abuse, he procured Oclasius to succéed him in the archbishops sée, and he returned to his former see of Downe, to the which as then was annexed the bishoprike of Coner. But Malachias vnderstanding that in times past they were six seuerall sées, he diuided them againe, and ordeined an other to the bishoprike of Coner, desirous rather to lessen his cure than to inlarge the fruits by taking more charge vpon him. Malachias being demanded of his brethren the monkes of Benchor, where and when he would wish to die and to be buried, if it laie in his choise? He answered: If in Ireland, beside the bodie of saint Patrike: if beyond the seas, at Clareuale where saint Barnard was then resiant, and in the feast of Allsoules. He purposed within few daies to sue to pope Eugenius for increase of the number of metropolitans, which request was shortlie after accomplished. And in this viage which he thus made, he staied at Clareuale, and there diuerse times openlie foreshewed, that the yeare of his departure forth of this world was come; and accordinglie when he had taken leaue of saint Barnard and the brethren, he went downe from his chamber to the church and there did communicat. Which done, he returned to his lodging, and there on Allsouls daie in the yeare of his age 54 he gaue vp the ghost, so mildlie and quietlie, that it séemed rather a sléepe than a death.

For lineall descent of bishops.

Malchus, though borne in Ireland, yet he spent the most part of his time in the monasterie of Winchester in England, and from thense was taken and admitted bishop of Lismore. Saint Barnard remembreth of him, by occasion he cured a lunatike child in confirming, else (as they termed it) in bishopping him. This miracle séene and confessed by manie hundreds of people, was blowen through the world. The same time happened discord betwixt the king of Mounster and his brother, and as the matter was handled, the king was ouermatched and fled into England, where he visited Malchus in his abbeie, and would by no meanes depart from him; but remaine there vnder his rule and gouernment, so long as it pleased God to denie him quiet returne into his countrie: he contented himselfe with a poore cell, vsed dailie to bath himselfe in cold water, to asswage the wanton motions of his flesh, and for his diet receiued none other delicats than bread, water, and salt, day and night, sobbing and bewailing with great remorse of consience his former misdemened life. At length the other kings and people of Ireland began to repine at the vsurper, set vpon him with open war, vanquished him in a pitcht field, and called home the rightfull prince his brother

Malchus.

Discord betwéene the king of Mounster and his brother.

againe, to resume his kingdome, who with manie earnest persuasions of Malchus and of Malachias could vneth be brought to forsake that trade of life and companie, the which he had with such delectation inured himselfe vnto.

Thus far of the Irish saints. Of the which, as some of them are to be estéemed right vertuous and godlie men, so other of them are to be suspected as persons rather holie by the superstitious opinion of the people, than indued with anie such knowledge of true godlinesse and sincere religion, as are worthie to be registred in the number of those that of right ought to passe for saints, as by certeine late writers may appeare. But this we leaue to the iudgement of the aduised reader, for that in such matters we mind not to préiudice anie mans opinion, but onelie wish the reader to take héed how he giueth credit to that which oftentimes is found written by authors touching feigned miracles, and other vaine superstitions dealings, wherethrough manie zealous persons haue often béene deceiued. Now therefore to leaue saints, and returne to other matters touching the Irish historie. In the yeare 586: the Norwegians had got dominion ouer the Ilands in the northwest ocean called the Iles of Orkeneie, and scowred the seas, that none other nation durst vneth appeare in sight for dread of them. A people giuen greatlie to séeke the conquests of other realmes, as they that could not faile to find more warme and fruitfull places for to inhabit than their owne. These hot fellowes chanced to light into Ireland by this meanes. Careticus the king of Britaine ran into such hatred of his people, that they raised warres against him. The Saxons that possessed now six seuerall kingdomes in the Ile of Britaine, reioised not a litle at this ciuill discord betwixt the Britaine king and his subiects.

Fox. Bale.

586

The Norwegians scowre the seas, and inuade the Iles of Orkeneie.

They inuade Ireland.

Whereupon meaning to make a full conquest of the Britains, & vtterlie to expell them forth of all the Ile, he assembled their powers, & ioined to the same Gurmundus, a notable rouer of the Norwegians, who hauing at all times a nauie in a readinesse, and men to furnish it, holpe the Saxons to chase the Britains into the marches of Wales. For from thense (being retired into the mounteins and woods) they could not driue them. This Gurmound (as some thinke) builded at the same time the towne of Gurmondchester, and after being assisted by the Saxons, made a viage into Ireland, where he sped not greatlie to his desire, and therefore the Irish account not this for anie of their conquests, as some of their antiquaries informed our author. Gurmound therefore finding but sorrie successe, built a few slight castels and forts in the frontiers, and so left the land, and sailed from thence into France, where at length he was slaine. Our chronicles in déed name him king of Ireland; but the Irish affirme that before Turgesius, there was none of the easterne people that obteined dominion in their countrie.

Gurmundus an archpirat of the nation of Norwaie.

Campion.

Turgesius.

Giraldus Cambrensis to make the matter whole (a Gods name) thinketh Turgesius to haue conquered the land, as lieutenant or deputie vnder Gurmundus. But this being granted, there ariseth a more manifest contradiction than the former: for he himselfe numbreth betwixt Laogirius king of Ireland that liued in the yére foure hundred and thirtie, and Edlumding, whome Turgesius vanquished, 33 monarchs, whose reigns comprehended foure hundred yeares, so that Turgesius liued in the yeare after the incarnation eight hundred and thirtie. Then it is too plaine that he could not haue anie doings with Gurmundus, who ioined with the Saxons against Careticus, in the yeare fiue hundred foure score and six. This knot (saith our author) might be vntwined

Laogirius. 439

The doubt resolued.

vntwined with more facilitie thus. Gurmundus made much of that little he got, and wrote himſelfe king, which title our hiſtories do allow him, becauſe he made the waie plaine, inioied it a while, and ſet open the gate vnto his countrimen. Turgeſius atchiued the whole exploit, and brought it to perfection, and in theſe reſpects either of them may be called king and conqueror of Ireland.

Turgeſius what he did.

Turgeſius therefore with his Norwegians the ſecond time inuaded Ireland, ſuſteined diuerſe loſſes and ouerthrowes: but in the end fortifieng himſelfe by the ſea coaſts, & receiuing thereby his frends at his pleaſure, waxed ſo ſtrong that he ſubdued the whole Ile, ſtill erecting caſtels and fortreſſes as he wan ground, ſo to maiſter the Iriſh that with ſuch manner of ſtrengths of wals and rampires had not as yet bene acquainted: for till thoſe daies they knew no defenſe but woods, bogs, or ſtrokes. Turgeſius ſo bridled the Iriſh kings, and kept them in awe, that without interruption he reigned like a conqueror thirtie yeares. He cried hauocke & ſpoile where anie rich preie was to be had, ſparing neither thoſe of the laitie nor of the clergie, neither church nor chapell, abuſing his victorie verie inſolentlie. Omalaghlilen king of Meth was in ſome truſt with the tyrant. His onelie daughter Turgeſius craued for his concubine. The father hauing a readie wit, and watching his time, began to breake with Turgeſius in this wiſe: Sauing your fauſie my lord (quoth he) there are diuerſe ladies of blood in this countrie meeter bedfellows for a king than that browne griſtle: and therewith he began to reckon vp a number of his neeces and couſines, indowed (as he ſet them forth) with ſuch ſingular beautie, as they ſeemed rather angels than mortall creatures. The tyrant as it were rauiſhed, and doting in loue of thoſe peereles peeces before he ſaw them, by reaſon of ſuch exceeding praiſes as he thus heard of them, doubted yet leaſt Omalaghlilen extolled them to preſerue his daughter out of his hands: and the ſubtill father cloked his drift with modeſt behauior, lingering time to inflame the leachers follie, as he that wiſhed anie thing more to be ſuſpected, than that which he meant moſt earneſtlie to bring to paſſe.

He buildeth fortreſſes.

Turgeſius reigned in Ire and thirtie yeares.

Omalaghlilen king of Meth.

The policie of Omalaghlilen.

At length, when Turgeſius ſeemed to take his delaieng thus of time ſomewhat diſpleaſantlie, he vſed this or the like ſpech: If I ſhould ſaie (quoth he) that
"I gaue you my ſole daughter with goodwill to be defloured, your high wiſdome would ſone ghelſe that
"I did but flatter you; and yet if ten daughters were
"derer to me than your good pleaſure and contentation, by whoſe bountifull goodnes both ſhe, & I, and we
"all are ſupported, I were vnworthie that ſecret and
"nere friendſhip wherin it liketh you to vſe me. As for
"the wench, it will be in part honorable for hir to be required to the bed of ſuch a prince, ſith quenes haue
"not ſticked to come from farre, and yeld the vſe of
"their bodies to noble conquerors, in hope by them to haue iſſue. And howſoeuer it be taken, time will
"weare it out, and redeeme it; but ſuch a frend as
"you are to me and mine, neither I nor mine ſhall
"liue to ſee. And verelie I meane not to hazard your diſpleaſure, if it were for a greater matter than the
"value of twentie maidenheads; ſeeing fathers haue
"not ſticked to giue vp their owne wiues to quench the luſts of their ſons. Therefore am I thus agreed,
"name the daie and place, ſeparat your ſelfe from the
"view of your court, conferre with thoſe that haue a
"deintie inſight, & ſkilfull eies in diſcerning beuties;
"I will ſend you my daughter, & with hir the choiſe of
"twelue or fiftene gentlewomen, the meaneſt of the
"which may be an empreſſe in compariſon. When they
"are before you, make your game as you like, and
"then if my child pleaſe your fantaſie beſt, ſhe is not
to good to be at your commandement: onelie my requeſt is, that if ante other ſhall preſume vpon your leauings, your maieſtie will remember whoſe child ſhe is."

The like was practiſed by Alexander ſon to Amyntas king of Macedon againſt the Perſian ambaſſadors. Carion lib. 3. fol. 109.

This liberall proffer was of Turgeſius accepted (whoſe deſire was moſt inſatiable) with manie good words, thanks, & faire promiſes. To be ſhort, the ſame daie Omalaghlilen put his daughter in princelike aparell, attired after the trimmeſt wiſe, and with hir fiftene proper yong men beautifull and amiable to behold: and ſo being ſent to the king were preſented vnto him in his priuie chamber, hauing none about him but a few diſſolute youthfull perſons; whervpon thoſe diſguiſed yong ſtriplings drew forth from vnder their long womaniſh garments their skeins, and valiantlie beſtirring themſelues, firſt ſtabbed their weapons points through the bodie of the tyrant, and then ſerued all thoſe youths that were about him with the like ſawce, they making ſmall or no reſiſtance at all. The brute of this murther was quicklie blowne abrode through all Ireland: and the princes readie to catch hold on ſuch aduantage, roſe in armes with one aſſent, in purpoſe to deliuer themſelues from bondage, and recouer libertie.

The perſuaſion of Omalaghlilen.

All Meth and Leinſter were ſpædilie got together, reſorting vnto Omalaghlilen the author of this practiſe, who lightlie leapt to horſſe, and commending their forward redineſſe in ſo naturall a quarell, ſaid:
"My lords and frends, this caſe neither admitteth delaie, nor requireth policie; hart and haſt is all in all.
"Whileſt the matter is freſh and greene, and that ſome
"of our enimies lie ſtill and ſleepe, ſome lament, ſome curſſe, ſome are togither in councell, and all the whole
"number diſmaied: let vs preuent their furie, diſmember their force, cut off their flight, ſeize vpon
"their places of refuge and ſuccour. It is no victorie
"to plucke their feathers, but to breake their necks;
"not to chaſe them in, but to rowſe them out; to weed
"them, not to rake them; not to tread them downe,
"but to rot them vp. This leſſon the tyrant himſelfe
"did teach me. I once demanded of him as it were in
"a parable, by what good huſbandrie the land might be
"rid of certeine rauening foules that annoied it. He
"aduiſed vs to watch where they bred, and to fire their neſts about their eares. Go we then vpon theſe coz-
"uorants which ſhrowd themſelues in our poſſeſſions,
"and let vs ſo deſtroie them, that neither neſt nor rot,
"neither ſeed nor ſtalke, neither branch nor ſtumpe
"ſhall remaine of this vngratious generation. Scarſe
"had he ended his tale, but that with great ſhowts and clamors they extolled the king, as defendor of their liues and liberties; aſſuring them both of their bold and hardie ſtomachs and ſpædfull expedition ioined with their confederats, and with a running campe ſwept euerie corner of the land, raſed the caſtels to the ground, chaſed awaie the ſtrangers, ſlue all that abode battell, ech man recouering his owne, with the ſtate of gouernment.

Thus in effect haue the Iriſh writers reported of Turgeſius a Norwegian, whether he did reigne before the ſuppoſed time of Gurmond, or whether that he came thither as lieutenant to him: which if it ſhould be true, no doubt the ſame Gurmond was ſome king of the Danes, or Norwegians, and not of the Affricans (as ſome of our countrimen name him.) Which error is ſone committed, in taking one heathenith nation for another, as thoſe men haue done that haue named the Hungarians (when they did inuade Gallia before they were chriſtians) Saracens. And ſo likewiſe might that author (whoſoeuer he was) whome Geffreie of Monmouth followeth, finding Gurmond written to be a king of the miſcreants, miſtake the Norwegians for Affricans, be-

Gurmond

cauſe

cauſe both thoſe nations were infidels: and therfore ſith happilie the Affricans in the daies when that author liued, bare all the bynte aboue other heathenish nations then, as the Turks do now, he named them Affricans. Howſoeuer it was, certeine it is that the Danes or Norwegians made ſundrie inuaſions into Ireland, and that at ſeuerall times. But for Turgeſius, whether he were an abſolute king, or but a lieutenant of ſome armie, vnder ſome other king named Gurmound, or peraduenture Gormo, (as ſuch names are ſon corrupted) I cannot affirme, bicauſe that no certeine time is ſet downe in the chronicles which are written of thoſe nations, whereby they may be ſo reconciled togither, as ſufficeth to warrant anie likelie coniecture in this behalfe.

But if I ſhould ſaie (with the readers licence) what I thinke, this Gurmound what ſoeuer he was, made no ſuch conqueſt of Ireland, nor of this our Ile of Britaine (as by ſome writers is ſuppoſed) but yet might he peraduenture land in Wales, and either in fauor of the Saxons then enimies to the Britons, or in hatred of the chriſtian name perſecute by cruell wars the Britiſh nation, and vſe ſuch crueltie as the heathenish nations then were accuſtomed to practiſe againſt the chriſtians in all places where they came, and chanced to haue the vpper hand. The chiefeſt cauſe that moueth me to doubt thereof, is for that I find not in anie of our approued ancient Engliſh writers, as Beda, Malmesburie, Huntington, Houeden, or ſuch like, anie plaine mention made of him; whereby I may be throughlie induced to credit that which I find in Geffrie Monmouth and others recorded of him, except his name be miſtaken, and ſo thereby ſome error crept in, which I am not able to reſolue.

But ſith we are entred to ſpeake thus farre of the Norwegians, here by the waie I haue thought it not impertinent to the purpoſe of this Iriſh hiſtorie, to write what we find recorded in the chronicles of thoſe northernlie regions, Denmarke, Norweie, and Sweden, written by Saxo Grammaticus, Albertus Crantz, and others, concerning the ſundrie inuaſions made by the Danes, Norwegians, or Normans (whether we liſt to call them) into Ireland.

Saxo Gram. Alber. Crantz.

Fridlenus.

Fridleie or Fridlenus king of Denmarke that ſucceeded Dan the third of that name, ſurnamed the Swift, arriuing in Ireland, beſieged the citie of Dublin, & perceiuing by the ſtrength of the walles, that it would be an hard matter to win it by plaine force of hand without ſome cunning policie, he deuiſed to catch a ſort of ſwallowes that had made their neſts in the houſes within the towne, tied wild fier to their wings, and therewith caſt them vp, and ſuffered them to flie their waies, whereupon they coming to their neſts, ſet the houſes on fier, which whiles the citizens went about to quench, the Danes entred the citie and wan it.

Dublin beſieged.

Dublin ſet on fire, and won by the Danes.

Frotho the third.

Secondlie, Frotho king of Denmarke, the third of that name, after he had ſubdued the Britons here in this Ile, made a voiage into Ireland alſo, where he landed with ſome danger: for the Iriſhmen had ſtrawed all alongeſt the ſhore a great number of caltrops of iron, with ſharpe pricks ſtanding vp, to wound the Danes in the feet, as they ſhould come forth of their ſhips to follow them, for they meant to flee of a pretenſed policie for that purpoſe. But Frotho perceiuing their deceitfull craft, followed them more aduiſedlie than raſhlie, and ſo put their capteine named Keruill to fight, and ſlue him in the field; whoſe brother remaining in life, & miſtruſting his owne puiſſance, yeelded himſelfe to Frotho, who diuiding the preie amongſt his ſouldiers and men of warre, ſhewed thereby that he onelie ſought for glorie and not for gaine, reſeruing not a pennie of all the ſpoile to his owne vſe. After this, in the daies of king Frotho the fourth of that name, which reigned ouer the Danes, one Starcater a giant, in companie of Haco a Daniſh capteine, made a iournie likewiſe into Ireland, where in the ſame ſeaſon, one Huglet reigned as monarch ouer that Ile: who hauing plentie of treaſure, was yet ſo giuen to couetouſneſſe, that by ſuch vnprincelie parts as he plaid, to ſatiſfie his grædie deſire to fill his coffers, he became right odious, and farre out of all fauor with his ſubiects. Yet there were of his nobles, verie valiant and worthie men, namelie two, Gegathus, & Suibdanus: whereupon, when it came to paſſe that he ſhould ſoine in battell with his enimies the Danes, the moſt part of all his people fled out of the field, ſo that Gegath and Suibdaue were in maner left alone. For they regarding their honors and dutie that apperteined to men of their calling, would not flie, but manfullie did what laie in their powers to beat backe the enimies, inſomuch that Gegathus raught Haco ſuch a wound, that the vpper part of his liuer appeared bare. He alſo wounded Starcater in the head right ſore, ſo that in all his life daies, he had not before that time receiued the like hurt: in the end yet Huglet the monarch of Ireland was ſlaine, and Starcater obteining the victorie, did make great ſlaughter of the Iriſh ſubiects, the which had followed their king to this battell, being men (through his corrupt example and ſlouthfull trade of life) degenerat from all warliſke order and vſe of manlike exerciſe.

Frotho the fourth.

Starcater a giant.

Huglet king of Ireland.

Gegathus & Suibdanus.

Haco wounded.

Starcater wounded.

Huglet ſlaine.

After this, the Danes went vnto Dublin, which towne they eaſilie tooke, and found ſuch ſtore of riches and treaſure therein, that euerie man had ſo much as he could wiſh or deſire; ſo as they needed not to fall out among themſelues for the partition, ſith there was ſo much for each mans ſhare as he could conuenientlie carrie awaie. Thus hath Saxo Grammaticus written in effect of Starcaters comming into Ireland: of whome the Daniſh writers make ſuch mention, both for his huge ſtature and great manhood. Some haue thought, that Starcater was the verie ſame man which the Scots name Finmaccole, of whome in the Scotiſh hiſtorie we haue made mention: but whereas the Scotiſh writers affirme that he was a Scotiſh man borne, the Daniſh writers report that he was borne in Eaſtland, among the people called Eſtones. Reignirus the ſonne of Siwardus the ſecond king of Denmarke, hauing atchiued ſundrie victories in England and Scotland, and ſubdued the Iles of Orkneie, he paſſed likewiſe into Ireland, ſlue Melbricke king of that land, and tooke the citie of Dublin by ſiege, where he remained the whole tearme of twelue moneths before he departed from thenſe.

Dublin ſacked.

Reignirus.

Melbricke king of Ireland ſlaine.

After this, Gormo the third of that name king of Denmarke, although an infidell himſelfe, and a cruell perſecutor of the chriſtian religion, yet tooke to wife a chriſtian ladie named Thira, daughter to Ethelored king of England, who had iſſue by him two ſonnes Knaught, or Canute, and Harold, proouing men of high valiancie and notable proweſſe, inſomuch that after the atchiuing of diuerſe worthie victories againſt the enimies neere home, they made a voiage into England, not ſparing to inuade the dominions of their grandfather king Ethelored: who rather reioiſing, than ſeeming to be offended with thoſe manlike enterpriſes of his couſins, proclamed them his heires to ſucced after him in all his lands and dominions, although of right the ſame were to deſcend firſt vnto their mother Thira. The yong men being incouraged with their grandfather his bountifull magnificence, attempted the inuaſion of Ireland, where at the ſiege of Dublin, Canute or Knaught

Gormo the third of that name king of Denmarke. He marrieth Thira daughter to Ethelored king of England.

Canute and Harold.

They inuade Ireland.

Canute is ſlaine.

knought the elder brother was shot into the bodie with an arrow, and died of the wound: howbeit his death was kept close by his owne commandement giuen before he died, till his people had got the citie into their possession. But the gaine was small in respect of the losse, which was thought to redound vnto the whole Danish nation by the death of that noble yong gentleman Canute, who for his high prowesse and valiantie was most tenderlie beloued of all men; but namelie of his father king Gormo, insomuch that he sware to kill him with his owne hands, whosoeuer should first tell him newes of his death.

This Gormo was now a man far stricken in age, and blind, hauing small ioie of anie worldlie pleasures, otherwise than to heare of the welfare and prosperous proceedings of his sonnes. When therefore his wife queene Thira had perfect aduertisement of hir sonnes death, and that neither she nor anie other durst breake the matter vnto hir husband, she deuised a shift how to signifie that vnto him by outward signes, which by word of mouth she was afraid to expresse, as thus. She caused mourning apparell to be made for hir husband, & putting off his roiall robes, clad him therewith, and other things appertaining to mourners she also put about him, and prepared all such furniture and necessaries as were vsed for funerall exequies, wil nelling the lamentable griefe conceiued for the losse of some friend, with that kind of mourning wand and funerall ceremonies. Which when Gormo perceiued: Wo is me (saith he) you then signifie the death of my sonne Canute. Whereto she made answer, that he and not she did discouer the truth of that which was meant by those mourning garments; and with that speech ministred cause of hir husbands death, whereby she became presentlie a widow, not openlie mourning for hir sonne, before she mourned likewise for hir husband: for he tooke such griefe for Canutes death, that immediatlie he died thorough sorow and dolor: so as Thira was thus driuen to lament, as well the death of hir sonne, as of hir husband both at once. But now to the purpose of the Irish historie.

The policie of Thira to signifie to hir husband the death of their sonne Canute.

Gormo dieth of sorrow.

We haue thus partlie heard what the Danish writers do record in their histories, touching the conquests which their people made in Ireland; but whether the same be meant of that which goeth before, or rather of that which followeth, touching the trade which the Norwegian merchants vsed thither; or whether the Irish writers haue passed these tournies ouer with silence, which the Danish writers in some (as before is touched) do make mention of, I cannot affirme. But like it is that as the Danes, or Normans, whether you will call them, did inuade Ireland as well as England, France, and Scotland, in those daies according to the report of their writers, and that by waie of open warre as well to conquer the countrie, as to take preies, prisoners, and booties, and not for trade of merchandize onelie: albeit that they might peraduenture so get entrie at the first, as by the Irish histories it should seeme they did shortlie after the slaughter of Turgesius. And afterwards when they saw themselues setled, and perceiued that they began to grow to be enuied of their Irish neighbours, who thereupon would not sticke to molest them as occasions serued, they saw no better meane to assure themselues against their aduersaries, than to send vnto their countriemen, which in those daies roued abroad (as before I haue said) in euerie quarter of this our west ocean, waiting for opportunitie to aduance their conquests in each countrie where anie thing might be gotten. And so this maie agree verie well with the Irish writers, whom as I do not take vpon me to controll, but rather to report the storie as I find it by them written, I will proceed with the order which they follow. After the countrie was deliuered of the tyrannie wherewith it was oppressed by the same Turgesius & his people, Danes or Norwegians whether they were (for so Cambrensis esteemeth them) the Irish deliuered of seruile bondage, fell to their old wonted vomit, in persecuting each other: and hauing latelie defaced their fortified townes and castels, as receptacles and couerts for the enimie, all sides late more open to receiue harme.

This being perceiued and thoroughlie considered, the princes that in the late rule of Turgesius had espied some towardnesse to wealth & ease, fell in hand to discourse the madnesse & follie of their ancestors, which saw not the vse of that which their enimies abused: they begun to loth their vnquiet trade of life, to wish either lesse discord, or more strength in each manis dominion; to call the danger of naked countries, readie to call in the enimies, as the strength of forts & castels was a meane to preserue them from losse. Faine would they haue prouided remedie in this case, if they had knowne how. The former subiection, though it seemed intollerable, yet they felt therein proceeding steps towards peace. The gaine that rose of merchandize, rest and suertie to the whole estate of the countrie. For the difference was great betwixt the indeuours of the two nations, Norwegians and Irish. The first knew the waie to thriue, might they get some commodious seats and soile. The other had commodities plentie, and cared not for them.

While the princes and potentats staied vpon such a good consideration, certeine merchants of Norwaie, Denmarke, and of other those parties, called *Ostomanni*, or (as in our vulgar language we tearme them) Easterlings, because they lie East in respect of vs, although indeed they are by other named properlie Normans, and partlie Saxons, obteined licence safelie to arriue here in Ireland with their wares, and to vtter the same. Hereupon the Irish, thorough traffike & bartering with these Normans or Danes (for so they are called also in our English chronicle) by exchanging of wares and monie, finding them ciuill and tractable, and deliting also with gaie conceipts, brought into them by those merchants (such as till they saw them they neuer esteemed needfull) they began to enter into a desire that a trade might be open betwixt them & the other nations, whereupon to allure other, they licenced these merchant strangers to build (if they thought good) hauen townes in places most commodious. This was no sooner granted, than begun, and with speed finished.

Easterlings began to trade into Ireland.

They build townes on the sea coasts.

Amlanus founded Waterford; Sutaricus, Limerike; Ingrus, Dublin; and so by others diuerse other townes were built as leisure serued. Then by the helpe and counsell of these men, manie castles, forts, steeples, and churches, euerie where were repared. And thus are the Irish mingled also with the bloud of the Danes, Norwegians, or Normans, who from thenceforth continuallie flocked into Ireland, to the great commoditie of the inhabitants, liuing amongst them obedientlie, till wealth pricked and moued them to raise rebellion: but they could not haue holden out, had not the conquest insuing determined both their quarrels. In the meane while they became lords of the hauens and burrow townes, planted men of warre in the same, and oftentimes skirmished with their aduersaries; but yet measured their fortune with indifferent gaines, and crept no higher than the same would giue them leaue. Onelie a memorie is left of their field in Clontarf, where diuerse of the Irish nobilitie were slaine, that lie buried before the crosse of Kilmainam. These are by our author, not without good iudgement, reported to be

Waterford, Limerike, Dublin.

The merchant strangers moue rebellion.

The field of Clontarf.

Danes,

The seuerall names of the strangers which in these daies afflicted France, England, Scotland and Ireland.

Danes, which people then being pagans, sore afflicted England, and after that France, from whense they came againe into England with William Conqueror. So that those people called *Ostomanni*, Esterlings, Normans, Danes, Norwegians, & Suedeners, are in effect all one nation, borne in that huge region called Scandinauia; and as it appeareth by conference of times and chronicles, much what about one season, vexed the Frenchmen, afflicted Scotland, subdued England, and multiplied in Ireland. But in the yeare of Christ 1095, perceiuing great enuie to remaine and lurke in the distinction of the names Easterlings and Irish, that were altogither westerne; and the Easterlings not easterne indeed, but rather simplie northerne: in consideration whereof, and bicause they magnified themselues in the late conquest of their countriemen, who from Normandie comming ouer into England ruled there at their pleasure, these strangers in Ireland would algate now be also called and accompted Normans.

1095

The Easterlings will be called Normans.

Long before this time (as yée haue heard) Ireland was bestowed into two principall kingdomes, and sometime into more, whereof one was euer elected and reputed to be cheefe, and as it were a monarch, whome in their histories they name *Maximum regem*, that is, the greatest king, or else without addition, *Regem Hiberniæ*, the king of Ireland: the other they name *Reguli* or *Reges*, that is to wit, small kings or else kings, by limitting the places whereof they were to be reputed kings, as of Leinster, Connagh, Ulster, Mounster, or Meth. To the monarch, besides his allowance of dominion, titles of honor, and other priuileges in iurisdiction, there was granted to him a negatiue in nomination of bishops, when they were vacant: for the cleargie and laietie of the diocesse commended one, whom they thought conuenient vnto their king, the king to the monarch, the monarch to the archbishop of Canturburie: for that as yet the metropolitans of Ireland had not receiued their palles.

Maximus Rex the great king or monarch of Ireland.

The power of the monarch in election of bishops.

In this sort was nominated to the bishoprike of Dubline then void, in the yeare of Christ 1074, at the petition of Goderius king of Leinster, by sufferance of the cleargie and people there, with the assent of Terdienatus the monarch, a learned prelat called Patricius, whome Lanfranke of Canturburie consecrated in Paules church at London, and sware him to obedience after the manner of his ancestors. Christian bishop of Lismore, legat to Eugenius the third, summoned a prouinciall councell in Ireland, wherein were authorised foure metropolitan seas, Armagh, Dublin, Cashill, and Tuen; of the which places were bishops at that present, Gelasius, Gregorius, Donatus, Edonius. For hitherto though they yéelded a primasie to the bishop of Armagh in reuerence of saint Patrike the first bishop there: yet the same was but of good will, and confirmed rather by custome than by sufficient decree; neither did that archbishop take vpon him to inuest other bishops, but sent them to Canturburie (as before is mentioned) which from henseforth they vsed not to do, insomuch that the next bishop named Laurence, sometime archbishop of saint Kenins in Golandilagh, was ordered and installed at home by Gelasius primat of Armagh.

Goderius king of Leinster.

Terdienatus the monarch

Patricius consecrated bishop of Dublin by Lanfranke.

1152

Christian bishop of Lismore.

Foure metropolitan sées in Ireland.

The bishop of Armagh.

Laurence archbishop of S. Kenins.

1162

FINIS.

Not well vnderstanding what the writer of this part of the Irish historie ment to fall vpon so blunt a conclusion; but supposing it was vpon some reasonable inducement: we thought it conuenient to leaue it as we found it: intending (without anie addition herevnto) to set downe the conquest of Ireland, as the same was left recorded by Girald of Cambria: whose prefaces and historie, right worthie the reading, doo immediatlie follow.

The names of the gouernors, lieutenants, lord iuſtices, and deputies of Ireland, ſince the *conqueſt thereof by king Henrie the ſecond.*

The yeare of our Lord.

1174 Richard Strangbow earle of Penbroke gouernor, hauing Reimond le Grace ioined in commiſſion with him.

1177 Reimond le Grace lieutenant by himſelfe.
William Fitz Aldelme lieutenant, hauing Iohn de Curcie, Robert Fitz Stephans, and Miles Cogan ioined in commiſſion with him.
Hugh Lacie lieutenant.

1182 Iohn Lacie conſtable of Cheſter and Richard de Peche } gouernors.
Hugh Lacie againe lieutenant.
Hugh Lacie the yoonger, lord iuſtice.

1227 Henrie Loandoris archbiſhop of Dublin, lord iuſtice.
1228 Maurice Fitzgirald lord iuſtice.
1253 Iohn Fitzgeffreie knight, lord iuſtice.
Alain de la Zouch lord iuſtice.
1258 Stephan de Long Eſpe lord iuſtice.
William Deane lord iuſtice.
1261 Sir Richard Rochell or Capell lord iuſtice.
1267 Dauid Barrie lord iuſtice.
1268 Robert Vfford lord iuſtice.
1269 Richard de Exceſter lord iuſtice.
1270 Iames lord Audleie lord iuſtice.
1272 Maurice Fitzmaurice lord iuſtice.
Walter lord Genuille lord iuſtice.
Robert Vfford againe lord iuſtice.
1281 Fulborne biſhop of Waterford lord iuſtice.
Iohn Samford the archbiſhop of Dublin, lord iuſtice.
William Veſcie lord iuſtice.
1295 William Dodingſels lord iuſtice.
Thomas Fitzmaurice lord iuſtice.
1298 Iohn Wogan lord iuſtice.
1314 Theobald Verdon lord iuſtice.
1315 Edmund Butler lord iuſtice.
1317 Roger lord Mortimer lord iuſtice.
Alexander Bignor archbiſhop of Dublin lord iuſtice.
1319 Roger lord Mortimer ſecond time lord iuſtice.
1320 Thomas Fitziohn earle of Kildare lord iuſtice.
1321 Iohn Birmingham earle of Louth lord iuſtice.
1323 Iohn lord Darcie lord iuſtice.
1327 Roger Outlaw prior of Kilmainan lord iuſtice.
Anthonie lord Lucie lord iuſtice.
1332 Iohn lord Darcie ſecond time lord iuſtice.
1337 Iohn lord Charleton lord iuſtice.
1338 Thomas biſhop of Hereford lord iuſtice.
1339 Iohn lord Darcie ordeined lord iuſtice by patent during his life, by Edward the third.
Rafe Vfford lord iuſtice.
1346 Robert Darcie lord iuſtice.
Iohn Fitzmaurice lord iuſtice.
Walter lord Bermingham lord iuſtice, his deputies were Iohn Archer prior of Kilmainan & Baron Carew, with ſir Thomas Rokesbie.
Maurice Fitzthomas earle of Deſmond had the office of lord iuſtice for terme of his life, of king Edward the third his grant.
Thomas Rokesbie knight lord iuſtice. 1355
Almericke de ſaint Amand, Iohn Butler earle of Ormond, Maurice Fitzth. earle of Kild. } appointed L. I. by turnes. 1357
Lionell duke of Clarence lord iuſtice. 1361
Gerald Fitzmaurice earle of Deſmond L.I. 1367
William lord Windſor the firſt lieutenant in Ireland. 1369
Richard Aſhton lord iuſtice. 1372
Roger Mortimer, Philip Courtneie, Iames erle of Orm. } Iuſtices and lieutenants ſpeciallie recorded in Richard the ſeconds daies. 1381
Robert Vere earle of Oxford marques of Dublin created duke of Ireland.
Roger Mortimer earle of March lientenant. 1394
Roger Mortimer earle of March and Vlſter lieutenant.
Roger Greie lord iuſtice.
Iohn Stanleie knight lord lieutenant.
Thomas of Lancaſter brother to king Henrie the fourth lord lieutenant, whoſe deputies at ſundrie times were Alexander biſhop of Meth, Stephan Scrope knight, and the prior of Kilmainan. 1401
Iames Butler earle of Ormond lord iuſtice. 1403
Girald earle of Kildare lord iuſtice.
Iames Butler earle of Ormond, ſonne to the foreſaid Iames, lord iuſtice. 1407
Iohn Stanleie againe lord lieutenant. 1413
Thomas Crauleie archbiſhop of Dublin lord iuſtice.
Iohn lord Talbot of Shefield lieutenant. 1414
Iames Butler erle of Ormond the ſecond time lieutenant. 1420
Edmund earle of March, Iames earle of Ormond his deputie.
Iohn Sutton lord Dudleie, ſir Thomas Strange knight his deputie.
Sir Thomas Stanleie, ſir Chriſtopher Plunket his deputie.
Lion lord Welles, the earle of Ormond his deputie.
Iames erle of Ormond by himſelfe.
Iohn earle of Shrewesburie, the archbiſhop of Dublin in his abſence lord iuſtice.
} Lieutenants to king Henrie the ſixt.
Richard Plantagenet duke of Yorke, father to king

The yeare of our Lord.

king Edward the fourth, had the office of lieutenant by king Henrie the ſixt his letters patents for ten yeares. His deputies at ſundrie times were, the baron of Deluin, Richard Fitzeuſtace knight, Iames earle of Ormond, and Thomas Fitzmoris earle of Kildare.

Thomas Fitzmoris earle of Kildare, lord iuſtice in king Edward the fourth his daies, vntill the third yeare of his reigne. After which George duke of Clarence brother to the K. had the office of lieutenant during his life, & made his deputies by ſundrie times theſe:

1470 Thomas earle of Deſmond, Iohn Tiptoft erle of Worceſter, Thomas earle of Kildare, Henrie lord Graie of Ruthine. } Deputies to the duke of Clarence.

Sir Rouland Euſtace lord deputie.

Richard duke of Yorke, yoonger ſonne to king Edward the fourth, lieutenant.

Edward ſonne to Richard the third lieutenant, his deputie was Girald earle of Kildare.

Iaſper duke of Bedford and earle of Penbroke, lieutenant, his deputie was Walter archbiſhop of Dublin. The yeare of our Lord.

Edward Poinings knight, lord deputie. 1494

Henrie duke of Yorke, after king by the name of Henrie the eight, lieutenant, his deputie Girald earle of Kildare. 1501

Girald Fitzgirald earle of Kildare, lord deputie.

Thomas Howard earle of Surreie, after duke of Norfolke, lieutenant. 1520

Piers Butler earle of Oſſorie, lord deputie. 1523

Girald Fitzgirald earle of Kildare againe lord deputie.

The baron of Deluin lord deputie.

Piers Butler earle of Oſſorie againe lord deputie. 1529

William Skeffington knight, lord deputie.

Girald Fitzgirald earle of Kildare, againe lord deputie.

William Skeffington againe lord deputie.

Leonard lord Graie, lord deputie. 1534

Sir William Brereton knight, lord iuſtice. 1540

Sir Anthonie Sentleger knight, lord deputie. 1541

The names of all the lords deputies and iuſtices in Ireland, *ſince the death of king Henrie the eight* 1546, *who died in Januarie.*

1546 Sir Anthonie Sentleger knight by patent, dated *24 Martij, Anno primo Edw. 6.*

1546, 1547 Sir Edward Bellingham lord deputie, *22 Aprilis, Anno eodem.*

1548 Sir Francis Brian lord iuſtice.

1549 Sir William Brabeſton lord iuſtice.

1550 Sir Anthonie Sentleger lord deputie, 3. *4 Auguſti.*

1551 Sir Iames Crofts lord deputie, *29 Aprilis.*

1553 Sir Anthonie Sentleger lord deputie, *1 Sept. 4.*

1555 Thomas lord Fitzwalter lord deputie, *27 April.*

1556 Sir Henrie Sidneie, Doctor Coren } Lords iuſtices.

1556 Sir Henrie Sidneie lord iuſtice alone, *18 Ianuarij.*

1557 Thomas erle of Suſſex L. lieutenant, *19 Martij.*

1558 Sir William Fitzwilliams lord iuſtice.

Thomas earle of Suſſex lord deputie, *6 Maij.* 1559

Sir Nicholas Arnold lord iuſtice. 1564

Sir Henrie Sidneie lord deputie. 1565

Doctor Weſton lord chancellor, Sir William Fitzwilliams } 1567

Sid Henrie Sidneie lord deputie. 1568

Sir William Fitzwilliams lord iuſtice. 1570

Sir William Fitzwilliams lord deputie, *11. Decemb. Anno 14 Eliſab.* 1571

Sir Henrie Sidneie lord deputie 3. *5 Auguſti 3.* 1572

Sir William Drurie lord iuſtice, *14 Septemb.* by patent, *18 Maij.* 1579

Sir William Pelham lord iuſtice. 1580

The lord Arthur Graie. 1580

Adam archbiſhop of Dublin, Sir Henrie Wallop } Lord iuſtices. 1582

Sir Iohn Perot lord deputie. 1584

TO THE RIGHT WORthie and honorable gentleman ſir Walter Raleigh knight, ſeneſchall of the *duchies of Cornewall and Exceſter, and lord warden of the* ſtannaries in Deuon and Cornewall : Iohn Hooker *wiſheth a long, a happie, and a proſperous life, with the* increaſe of honour.

AMong all the infinit good bleſſings, right honorable, which the Lord God hath beſtowed vpon vs, I thinke none more expedient and neceſſarie, than the vſe and knowledge of hiſtories and chronicles: which are the moſt aſſured regiſters of the innumerable benefits and commodities, which haue and dailie doo grow to the church of God, and to the ciuill gouernment through out all nations. The vſe of them began and was receiued euen from the firſt beginning, and immediatlie vpon the diſperſing of the ſonnes of Adam through out the world: for they were no ſooner diuided into ſeuerall nations, but they did (as Cicero ſaith) make choiſe of ſome one man among themſelues, who ſurpaſſed the reſt in wiſedome, knowledge and vnderſtanding, *Ad quem confugiebant*. Theſe kind of men for the moſt part in thoſe daies were preeſts and philoſophers, and for their great knowledge, wiſedome and credit, had the charge to commend to their poſteritie ſuch notable and good acts as were woorthie the memorie. And as all other nations had ſuch men, ſo the remote Ilands in the great Ocean had the like. For Britaine, now conteining England, Scotland and Wales, had their Druides and Bardos, and Ireland had their Odalies or Rimers, who being verie wiſe men & of great credit, did deliuer all their ſaiengs in meeter, and were therefore called Poets. And theſe for the better alluring of the people to attention, and to frame them to the knowledge of vertue, did vſe to ſing with an inſtrument ſuch leſſons and inſtructions as they were woont to giue, whether it were concerning manners and common conuerſation, or matters of policie and gouernment, or of proweſſe and martiall affaires, or of the geſts of their anceſtors, or of anie other thing thought meet to be learned and woorthie the knowledge, by which meanes they made men the more apt, readie, and willing to applie themſelues to vertue and to a commendable courſe of life, both concerning God how he was to be honored, the magiſtrate how he was to be obeied, & the common ſocietie how it was to be conſerued; and finallie how the whole courſe of mans life was to be ordered and directed. Theſe and manie other like commodities when Cicero had conſidered, did grow by theſe means, which is the verie ſubſtance of an hiſtorie: he deſcribed the ſame to be the witneſſe of time, the light of truth, the life of memorie, and the miſtreſſe of life: willing and aduiſing euerie man at all times and in all matters to haue their recourſe to the ſame, and to be well exerciſed in the knowledge thereof, bicauſe the things paſt are ſet downe therin, and by them a man may learne what to doo in the life to come. For as the wiſe man ſaith, There is nothing new vnder the ſunne: for the thing which is now hath beene, and by the things paſt we are taught the things to come. And ſo ſaith Auguſtine: *Hiſtoria magis vel certè non minùs prænunciandis futuris, quàm enunciandis præteritis inuenitur intenta:* Hiſtories doo teach and aduertiſe vs as well of the things to come, as of the things paſt: and the knowledge thereof is ſo no neceſſarie that Melanćthon would haue no man to be vnlearned in hiſtories, bicauſe *Sine qua nulla in re quiſpiam lucem habet*. And Thucidides the old ancient hiſtoriographer of Grecia would that euerie man ſhould haue about him a booke of hiſtories, as a thing moſt neceſſarie for him in all matters whatſoeuer: and this did he draw and learne (as it ſhould ſeeme) from Moſes, who when he had faithfullie and diligentlie written and ſet downe the whole courſe of the world, the woonderfull works of God, and all the moſt neceſſarie precepts and rules for mans life, either concerning matters of religion or cauſes of ciuill policies, or of common ſocietie: then he and Ioſua aſſembling all the people togither, did deliuer vnto them the whole Pentatychon of Moſes to be dailie read & taught, with a commandement that they ſhould neuer haue that booke out of their hands, but to haue alwaies their continuall recourſe to them, as well for their life, as alſo for their direction in all their cauſes. Which thing they did moſt diligentlie obſerue and keepe, and not onelie in matters of religion, but in all doubtfull matters, as to the moſt true oracles, they would make their recourſe for their full reſolutions. As the enimies of Iehuda, when they ſaw the proſperous ſucceſſe of the building of the temple in the times of Ezras and Nehemias, and they much maligning the ſame, made ſute to king Artaxerxes that he would reuoke the decree which king Cyrus had made vnto the Iewes, licencing them to build the temple, alledging manie great and ſundrie matters againſt them. Wherevpon the king commanded the chronicles to be ſearched, whether it were true that had beene informed againſt them. Likewiſe when Hamon had greeuouſlie complained vnto king Ahaſuerus againſt Mardocheus and the Iewes, charging them with ſundrie hainous offenſes worthie death, the king commanded the chronicles to be ſearched. Alſo when Paule and Sylas firſt preached the goſpell at Theſſalonica and Bærea, a doctrine then accompted ſtrange and new, they ſearched and examined the books *Num hæc ita ſe haberent*. For as they found things there recorded, ſo gaue they credit, and by the ſame they did proceed in the like. For it was a common thing among the Romans, that not onelie they

The firſt vſe of hiſtories.

The firſt chronographers.

The firſt chronographers in England and Ireland.

Poets were the firſt chronographers in Britaine.

The definition of an hiſtorie. *Cicero de oratore.*

Eccleſiaſt. 1.3.

Auguſt. de ciuit. Dei.

Chronica Carionis.

Thucidides.

Deutero. 5.

Ioſue. 1.

1. Eſdras. 4. Nehemias.

Eſther. 6.

Acts. 17.

they would make recourse in all doubtfull matters to their owne annales: but what so euer they found in the like in anie other nation or commonwealth, which might further them in anie thing touching their owne affaires, they would draw the same into an example for themselues to follow, which was no small benefit to their commonwealth.

Alexander. Likewise Alexander the great, notwithstanding he were brought vp in all good letters vnder Aristotle, yet when he was to inlarge his empire, he gaue himselfe to the diligent reading of Homer, the most exact chronographer of the Troian wars: and so he esteemed that booke, that in the daie time he caried it about him, and in the night time he laid it vnder his beds head; and at all times conuenient he would be reading of it, and in the end was so perfect therein, that he could verbatim repeat the whole without booke; the stratagems, the policies, and the manie deuises vsed in those warres he practised in his owne warres, which stood him in great steed. Iulius Cæsar also in his wars searched the ancient bookes and histories of the citie of Rome: and did not onelie thereby draw a paterne for his owne direction, both for his ciuill and his martiall affaires: but also, he being then the greatest monarch of all the world, thought it not preiudiciall to his imperiall estate and maiestie, to commend vnder his owne hand writing vnto his posteritie, the historie of his owne age and doings. Manie like princes hath England bred, who haue bin verie carefull, that the memoriall of the good things doone in their times should be commended to their posteritie, to follow in the like. And therefore euerie king for the course of sundrie hundreds of yeares, was woont to reteine and keepe some wise, learned, and faithfull scribes, who should collect and record the things doone in euerie their seuerall times, and all which as time and course of yeares did serue, were published; and what great good benefits haue growne thereby to this present age, and like to serue to the future time, all the world maie easilie see and iudge. For this I dare boldlie saie and affirme: No realme, no nation, no state, nor commonwealth throughout all Europa, can yeeld more nor so manie profitable lawes, directions, rules, examples & discourses, either in matters of religion, or of ciuill gouernment, or of martiall affairs, than doo the histories of this little Isle of Britaine or England. I would to God I might or were able to saie the like, or the halfe like of Ireland, a countrie, the more barren of good things, the more replenished with actions of bloud, murther, and lothsome outrages; which to anie good reader are greeuous & irkesome to be read & considered, much more for anie man to pen and set downe in writing, and to reduce into an historie. Which hath beene some cause why I was alienated and vtterlie discouraged to intermedle therein: for being earnestlie requested, by reason of my some acquaintance with the maners and conditions of that nation during my short abode therein, to continue the historie of that land, from the death of king Henrie the eight vnto these presents, which hitherto hath not beene touched; I found no matter of an historie woorthie to be recorded: but rather a tragedie of cruelties to be abhorred, and no historie of good things to be followed: and therefore I gaue the matter ouer, and was fullie resolued not at all to haue intermedled therewith. Neuertheless, being againe verie earnestlie requested, and no excuse neither of my age, nor of my often sickness, nor of my calling in the seruice of the commonwelth, nor of my small learning and skill, sufficient to compas such a matter, could be accepted: then (but with an euill will) I entred into it, and the more I bethought my selfe of the matter, the more I began to consider, and at length to behold the great and woonderous workes of God, both of his seuere iudgement against traitors, rebels, and disobedient; and of his mercie and louing kindnesse vpon the obedient and dutifull. Whereof, though there be infinite examples both in the sacred histories and humane chronicles: yet I find none more apparant and effectuall, nor more fit for vs, and for this our time and age, than the histories of our owne nation, which yeeld vnto vs most infinite examples, how yoong princes rebelling against the kings their fathers, noble men against their souereignes, and the commons against the kings and rulers, some by the mightie hand of God swallowed vp in the seas, some deuoured with the swoord, some by martiall and some by ciuill lawes executed to death: and few or none haue escaped vnpunished. But of all others, none to be compared to this tragicall discourse of Ireland, and to the most vnnaturall wars of the Desmonds against hir sacred maiestie. Whose disobedience the Lord hath in iustice so seuerelie punished and reuenged, as the like hath not in our age beene seene nor knowne; which albeit somewhat at large it be set downe in the historie, yet breefelie and in effect is as followeth.

Mat. Parisiensis in præfat.

Ireland yeeldeth small matter for an historie.

The iustice of God against rebels.

Grafton, Holinshed, Polydore, in Hen. 2. Edw. 2.

The earle of Desmond, named Girald Fitzgirald, was descended of a yoonger house of the Giraldines of Kildare, and both of them descended from one and the same ancestor Girald of Windsor, a noble gentleman of Normandie; who after his arriuall into England, trauelled into Wales, and there maried the ladie Nesta daughter to the great Roesius prince of south Wales, and by hir among others had issue Moris Fitzgirald, ancestor to these the foresaid Giraldines; and he being assistant to Dermon mac Morogh king of Leinster in Ireland, was one of the cheefest and most principall seruitors in the conquest, or rather one of the conquerors of that land vnder king Henrie the second. The issue and offspring of this Moris as they were honourable in blood, so they were no lesse honorable in all their actions: they being verie famous for their good gifts of the mind, in wisedome and policie in their ciuill gouernment, and renowmed for their valiantnesse and prowesse in martiall affaires, in both which they had well tried themselues, and therefore manie times they had the cheefe gouernment of the whole realme, being sometime lord iustices, somtime lord lieutenants, and sometime lord deputies of the whole land: and for their truth and fidelitie were aduanced to honor. For Thomas Fitzgirald being the elder house, was created earle of Kildare in the ninth yeare of king Edward the second, in the yeare one thousand three hundred and fifteene. And in the beginning of king Edward the third his reigne, in the yeare one thousand three hundred twentie and seuen, Moris Fitzthomas a yoonger brother of that house was created earle of Desmond. And from thense as before, they continued verie honourable, dutifull & faithfull subiects, for the course of sundrie hundreds of yeares: vntill that this braineficke and breakedanse Girald of Desmond, and his brethren, alies, and complices, forgetting the honour of his house, and forsaking their faith, dutie and alegiance, did breake into treasons, and shewed themselues open enimies, traitors and rebels, vsing all maner of hostilities and outrages, to the impeach of hir most sacred maiestie, and the destruction of the commonwelth: the price whereof in the end he paied with his and their own bloods, to the vtter destruction of themselues and that whole familie, there being verie few Giraldines in the prouince of Mounster left to bemone or bewaile their deaths. For first the earle himselfe, the cheefe of his familie, after his long repast in his traitorous follies, was driuen in the end to all extremities and penuries, and at the last taken in an old cotage, and his head was cut off and sent to London, and there set vpon London bridge, and his lands and inheritance confiscated and discontinued from his house and name for euer. Sir Iames one of his yoonger brethren, in taking of a preie, was taken and made a preie; he was hanged as a theefe, quartered as a traitor, and his head and quarters dispersed and set vpon the gates and wals of the citie of Corke. Sir Iohn of Desmond, an other of his yoonger brethren, and next to himselfe the cheefe ringleader of this rebellion, was taken, his head cut off and set vpon the castell of Dublin, and his bodie hanged by the heeles at Corke. His onelie sonne and heire being wholie disinherited, is prisoner in the Tower of London. His ladie and wife destituted of all honour and liuings, leadeth a dolefull & a miserable life. His capteins, soldiers, and men of warre, put all for the most part to the swoord. The popes two prelats and nuncios, the one slaine in the field, and the other died most miserablie in the woods. The Italians and strangers few or none left aliue to returne to aduertise of their succesle vnto their holie father. The common people such as escaped the swoord, all for the most part are perished with famine, or fled the countrie. The land it selfe being verie fertile, is waxed baren, yeelding nor corne nor fruits; the pastures without cattell, and the aire without fowles, and the whole prouince for the most part desolate and vnhabited, sauing townes and cities: and finallie, nothing there to be seene but miserie and desolation.

Sir Iames of Desmond taken & hanged.

Sir Iohn of Desmond killed & hanged.

The earles sonne a prisoner in the Tower of Londō.

The countesse of Desmond liueth a wofull life.

D. Allen slaine

D. Sanders dieth miserablie.

The land left altogither baren.

A notable and a rare example of Gods iuſt iudgement and ſeuere puniſhment, vpon all ſuch as doo reſiſt and rebell againſt the higher powers and his annointed: which is ſo greeuous an offenſe in his ſight, that next to the capitall offenſes againſt the firſt table, this is accounted the greateſt and in the higheſt degree. For as it is written, Who reſiſteth againſt the higher power, reſiſteth againſt Gods ordinances, and he ſhall receiue iudgement. And the Lord ſhall root him from out of the face of the earth that ſhall blaſpheme his gods, and curſeth the prince of the people. Euen as of the contrarie, when the people liue in all ſubiection, humbleneſſe, and obedience, the Lord defendeth and keepeth them, and with his manifold bleſſings proſpereth them; as hir maieſties good ſubiects dwelling within the Engliſh pale, and inhabiting within hir cities and townes can witneſſe. They ſow and till the land, and doo reape the fruits. Their fields are full of ſheepe, and they are clothed with the wooll. Their paſtures are full of cattell, and they inioie them. Their cities and townes are well inhabited, and they liue in ſafetie. All things go well with them, and peace and plentie reſteth in their houſes. Two notable examples (I ſaie) and woorthie to be throughlie obſerued; the one of Gods iuſt iudgement againſt the rebels and traitors, and the other of mercie and loue towards the obedient and dutifull ſubiect. Which examples the later they are, the more ſhould they imprint in vs an inward affection and an vndoubted reſolution, to yeeld to the ſuperiours all dutie and obedience: and by the examples of the rebels, to ſhun as a peſtilence all diſobedience and rebellion; leaſt in dooing the like, we doo receiue the like iuſt iudgements with them. Let therefore the examples of the elders be ſufficient perſuaſions and inſtructions to the poſteritie, to follow that which is good, and to eſchew that which is euill. For albeit good counſell of our friends, and conferences with the good men, maie much preuaile with vs, yet none can ſo much preuaile nor be of ſuch vertue and effect, as the examples of our anceſtors, and the actions of our forefathers when they be laid before vs: *Magis enim exemplis poteſt perſuaderi, quàm argumentis extorqueri.* And therfore in times paſt, the ſureſt courſe which our forefathers tooke, either in ciuill gouernment or in martiall affaires, was that which they drew from the examples of their anceſtors before them. And for as much as ſuch is the value and vertue of the footſteps of our forefathers, I truſt it ſhall not be offenſiue vnto you, that I doo a little digreſſe and ſpeake ſomewhat of your ſelfe and of your anceſtors; who the more honourable they were in their times, the greater cauſe haue you to looke into the ſame: that what in ſome of your later forefathers was conſopited, maie not in you be conſepulted, but rouzed and raiſed vnto his former and priſtinat ſtate. And for as much as I am ſomewhat acquainted in their deſcents, let me make bold with you to laie the ſame downe before you.

Rom. 13.

The proſperitie and quietnes in the Engliſh pale.

Patric. de inſtit reip.

There were ſundrie of your anceſtors by the name of Raleigh, who were of great account & nobilitie, and alied as well to the Courtneis earls of Deuon, as to other houſes of great honour & nobilitie, & in ſundrie ſucceeding deſcents were honoured with the degree of knighthood. One of them being your anceſtor in the directeſt line, was named ſir Iohn de Raleigh, who then dwelled in the houſe of Furdell in Deuon, an ancient houſe of your anceſtors, and of their ancient inheritance: and which at theſe preſents is in the poſſeſſion of your eldeſt brother. This knight maried the daughter and heire to ſir Roger D'amerei, or de Amerei, whome our Engliſh chronicles doo name lord de Amereie, who was a noble man and of great linage, and deſcended of the earls de Amereie in Britaine, and alied to the earls of Montfort in the ſame duchie and prouince. This man being come ouer into England, did ſerue in the court, and by the good pleaſure of God and the good liking of the king he maried the ladie Eliſabeth, the third ſiſter and coheire to the noble Gilbert earle of Clare and of Gloceſter, who was ſlaine in the battell of Banokesborough in Scotland, in the time of king Edward the ſecond. This earle died ſans iſſue, he being the ſonne and the ſaid ladie Eliſabeth the daughter to Gilbert de Clare earle of Gloceſter, by his wife the ladie Iane de Acres or Acon, daughter to king Edward the firſt. This Gilbert deſcended of Robert earle of Gloceſter, ſonne to king Henrie the firſt, and of his wife the ladie Mawd, daughter and heire to Robert Fitzhamon, lord of Aſtrouill in Normandie, cooſen to the Conqueror, knight of the priuie chamber to king William Rufus, and lord of the lordſhip of Glamorgan in Wales. So that your anceſtor ſir Iohn de Raleigh married the daughter of de Amerie, Damereie of Clare, Clare of Edward the firſt, and which Clare by his father deſcended of king Henrie the firſt. And in like maner by your mother you maie be deriued out of the ſame houſe. Theſe all were men of great honour and nobilitie, and whoſe vertues are highlie recorded ſparſim in the chronicles of England; ſome greatlie commended for their wiſedomes and deepe iudgements in matters of counſell, ſome likewiſe much praiſed for their proweſſe & valiantneſſe in martiall affaires, and manie of them honored for both.

The deſcent of ſir Walter Raleigh lord warden.

But yet as nothing is permanent in this life, and all things variable vnder the ſunne, and time hath deuoured and conſumed the greateſt men and the mightieſt monarchs, and moſt noble commonwealths in the world, according to the old countrie ſaieng; Be the daie neuer ſo long, yet at length it will ring to euenſong: ſo this honorable race, though for ſo manie deſcents, and for the courſe of ſo manie yeares it continued in great honor, nobilitie, and reputation, yet in proceſſe of time the honour became to be of worſhip (neuertheleſſe alied alwaies and matched in houſes of great honour and nobilitie) and ſo euer ſince poſſeſſed by knights of your owne name, vntill by little and little the honour and eſtimation of your noble and worthie anceſtors ſeemed at length to be buried in obliuion, and as it were extinguiſhed and to be vtterlie forgotten as though it had neuer beene. And now when all was paſt anie hope and vnremembred to the world, it hath pleaſed God to raiſe the ſame euen as it were from the dead, and to looke vpon you the yoongeſt ſonne of manie, as he did vpon Ioſeph, one of the yoongeſt ſonnes of Iacob; and in you hath left a hope to reſtore the decaied houſe of your ſept and familie. He hath brought you into the good fauour of your prince, who hath pleaſed to reward and honour in you the approoued faithfull ſeruice of your late anceſtors and kindered deceaſſed, and inclined hir princelie hart, conceiuing a great hope of your owne ſufficiencie and abilitie to reſtore you againe, being the laſt branch remaining of ſo manie noble and famous houſes deſcended. And whereof commeth this, that the Lord hath thus bleſſed you, and ſo bountifullie hath dealt with you? but onelie (as the wiſe man ſaith) *Vt noſcas in omni virtute omnibus prodeſſe*, and that you ſhould be beneficiall and profitable to all men. And therefore in all our actions, *Semper aliquid ad communem vtilitatem eſt afferendum*: for we are not borne to our ſelues alone, but the prince, the countrie, the parents, freends, wiues, children and familie, euerie of them doo claime an intereſt in vs, and to euerie of them we muſt be beneficiall: otherwiſe we doo degenerate from that communitie and ſocietie, which by ſuch offices by vs is to be conſerued, & doo become moſt vnprofitable: *Nam inutilis prorſus eſt, qui nullam vtilitatem reipublicæ ac communi ſocietati poſſit afferre*, and euerie ſuch man, as a member vnprofitable is to be cut off. And as the bee is no longer ſuffered to haue a place in the hiue, than whiles he worketh; no more is that man to haue place in the publike weale than whiles he dooth ſome good therein, bicauſe through idleneſſe they doo not onelie no good, but as Cato ſaith, they doo euill: *Nihil agendo homines male agere diſcunt*. Idleneſſe therefore the mother of all wickedneſſe, and idlers the ſonnes of ſo bad a mother, are vtterlie to be exiled and expelled out of all well gouerned commonweales; and they onelie to be foſtered, nouriſhed and cheriſhed, who as they are borne to the countrie, ſo if they doo good and be beneficiall to the ſame.

All things haue an end.

Cicero de offis.

Cicero.

Cato.

Idlers ought not to haue place in the commonwealth.

And how great your care hath beene heerein, the courſe of your life hitherto dooth manifeſt it. For after that you had ſeaſoned your primer yeares at Oxford in knowledge and learning, a good ground and a ſure foundation to build therevpon all your good actions. You trauelled into France, and ſpent there a good part of your youth in the warres and martiall ſeruices. And hauing ſome ſufficient knowledge and experience therein, then after your returne from thenſe, to the end you might euerie waie be able to ſerue your prince and commonweale, you were deſirous to be acquainted in maritimall affaires. Then you, togither with your brother ſir Humfreie Gilbert, trauelled the ſeas, for the ſearch of ſuch countries, as which if they had beene then diſcouered, infinit commodities in

sundrie respects would haue insued, and whereof there was no doubt, if the fleet then accompanieng you, had according to appointment followed you, or your selfe had escaped the dangerous sea fight, when manie of your companie were slaine, and your ships therewith also sore battered and disabled. And albeit this hard beginning (after which followed the death of the said woorthie knight your brother) was a matter sufficient to haue discouraged a man of a right good stomach and value from anie like seas attempts; yet you, more respecting the good ends, wherevnto you leuelled your line for the good of your countrie, did not giue ouer, vntill you had recouered a land, and had made a plantation of the people of your owne English nation in *Virginia*, the first English colonie that euer was there planted, to the no little derogation of the glorie of the Spaniards, & an impeach to their vaunts; who bicause with all cruell immanitie, contrarie to all naturall humanitie, they subdued a naked and a yeelding people, whom they sought for gaine and not for anie religion or plantation of a commonwelth, ouer whome to satisfie their most greedie and insatiable couetousnesse, did most cruellie tyrannize, and most tyrannicallie and against the course of all humane nature did scorch and rost them to death, as by their owne hi-

Spanish brags. stories doth appeare. These (I saie) doo brag and vaunt, that they onelie haue drawne strange nations and vnknowne people to the obedience of their kings, to the knowledge of christianitie, and to the inriching of their countrie, and thereby doo claime the honor to be due to themselues onelie and alone. But if these your actions were well looked into, with such due consideration as apperteineth, it shall be found much more honorable in sundrie respects, for the aduancement of the name of God, the honour of the prince, and the benefit of the common wealth. For what can be more pleasant to God, than to gaine and reduce in all christianlike manner, a lost people to the knowledge of the gospell, and a true christian religion, than which cannot be a more pleasant and a sweet sacrifice, and a more acceptable seruice before God? And what can be more honorable to princes, than to inlarge the bounds of their kingdoms without iniurie, wrong, & bloudshed; and to frame them from a sauage life to a ciuill gouernment, neither of which the Spaniards in their conquests haue performed? And what can be more beneficiall to a common weale, than to haue a nation and a kingdome to transferre vnto the superfluous multitude of fruteless and idle people (heere at home dailie increasing) to trauell, conquer, and manure another land, which by the due intercourses to be deuised, may and will yeeld infinit commodities? And how well you doo deserue euerie waie in following so honourable a course, not we our selues onelie can witnesse, but strange nations also doo honour you for the same: as doth appeare by the epistle of *Bassimerus* of France, to the historie of *Florida*: and by *Iulius Cæsar* a citizen of Rome in his epistle to his booke intituled *Cullombeados*. It is well knowne, that it had beene no lesse easie for you, than for such as haue beene aduanced by kings, to haue builded great houses, purchased large circuits, and to haue vsed the fruits of princes fauours, as most men in all former and present ages haue doone; had you not preferred the generall honour and commoditie of your prince and countrie before all priuat gaine and commoditie: wherby you haue beene rather a seruant than a commander to your owne fortune. And no doubt the cause being so good, and the attempt so honorable, but that God will increase your talent, and blesse your doings, and euerie good man will commend and further the same. And albeit the more noble enterprises a man shall take in hand, the more aduersaries he shall haue to depraue and hinder the same: yet I am persuaded, as no good man shall haue iust cause, so there is none so much carried with a corrupt mind, nor so enuious of his countries honour, nor so bent against you, that he will derogate the praise and honour due to so worthie an enterprise; and that so much the sooner, bicause you haue indured so manie crosses, and haue through so much enuiengs and misfortunes perseuered in your attempts, which no doubt shall at last by you be performed when it shall please him, who hath made you an instrument of so worthie a worke. And by how much the more God hath pleased thus to blesse you, so much the more are you bound to be thankefull vnto him, and to acknowledge the same to proceed from his grace and mercie towards you. Giue me leaue therefore (I praie you) to be bold with you, not onelie to put you in mind hereof, but also to remember you, how it hath pleased God to bring you into the fauour of your prince and souereigne: who besides hir great fauour towards you manie waies, she hath also laid vpon you the charge of a gouernement in your owne countrie, where you are to command manie people by your honourable office of the stannarie, and where you are both a iudge and chancellor, to rule in iustice and to iudge in equitie. Wherin you are so much the more to be circumspect and wise, bicause vpon your iudgement (and such as you shall appoint to be vnder you) the determinations of all their causes doth rest and depend, knowing that a hard iudgement abideth for such as be in authoritie, if they iudge not vprightlie, and doo not yeeld iustice to euerie man indifferentlie. Be you therefore carefull in this respect, that you be well reported for your vpright dealings, both herein, & in euerie of all your other actions to all men. Be you a patterne of vertue, & an example of true nobilitie, which is grounded & hath hir foundation vpon vertue, for as the poet saith, *Ex virtute nobilitas nascitur, non ex nobilitate virtus: virtus sola nobilitat, nõ caro nec sanguis*. And therfore saith Demosthenes; If thou draw thy descent & pedegree euen from Iupiter himselfe, yet if thou be not vertuous, iust & good, *Ignobilis mihi videris*; In my opinion thou art no gentleman. It is a noble thing to be borne of noble ancestors (as Aristotle saith) but his nobilitie faileth, when his ancestors vertues in him faileth, *Hic enim verè nobilis est cẽsendus, cui non aliena sed sua virtus ad gloriam opitulatur*. Your ancestors were verie ancient, and men of great nobilitie, beneficiall to their princes and countrie manie & sundrie waies. And as in nature you are descended from them, so it hath pleased God to blesse you with knowledge in learning, with skill of warlike seruice, and in experience in maritimall causes, and besides hath placed you among the nobles, and in the good grace and fauour of your prince. Wherefore you are so much the more to be carefull to restore the house of your decaied forefathers to their ancient honor and nobilitie, which in this later age hath beene obscured, abiding the time by you to be restored to their first and primer state: which you are not onelie taught by their old and good examples, but also by

Palingenius. **Demosthenes.** **Fusils, instruments of labours.** the ensignes of their and your nobilitie. For the fusils, being an instrument of trauell and labour, doo aduertise you, that you are one of the sonnes of Adam, borne to walke in a vocation, and therein to be a profitable member in the church of God, and in maintenance of the common societie: which when you behold and looke vpon, you must so endeuour your selfe, euen as Agathocles king of Syracusa, whose cupbords, though they were well furnished with great store and varietie of rich plate, yet he thought not the same sufficientlie fraughted, vnlesse he had also his earthen pitchers and stone cups, in which he vsed to drinke, to teach & remember him in the middle of his roialtie, to be mindfull of his origin estate and dutie.

Agathocles.

White colour. The white colour or siluer mettall doth teach vnto you vertue, sinceritie & godlinesse. For as siluer is a most excellent mettall, and next vnto gold excelling all others, and with which for the excellencie thereof, the Lord God would haue his tabernacle and his temple to be adorned and beautified with vessels and ornaments thereof; and as the white colour, if it be spotted and foule, doth lose his grace: euen so it teacheth you to be a man of an honest and of a godlie conuersation, to lead a life in all vprightnesse, without reproch and disgrace: and that you should be seruiceable to God and your countrie in all good actions; and therewith also (which by the gulie co-

Gules. lour is meant) you be bold and valiant for the defense of your countrie, and for the safetie thereof to spend both life and goods, that you should be beneficiall to all men, hurtfull and iniurious to no man. And such kind of men were your ancestors, who for the same were beloued and honoured, and their names for euer registred in immortall fame and memorie. And so shall it be with you, if you doo the like, and follow their steps and examples, God shall blesse you, & you shall prosper & florish as did Ioseph; you shall be honored, as was Daniell; and you shall be in fauor before God & man, as were your ancestors; the whole people shall speake good of you, the honour of your house shall be restored, & your talent shall be augmented & increased, & all things shall go well with you. But to returne where we left. When I had waded as far as I could in the discourse of this historie, according to

such

ſuch inſtructions as partlie by my ſelfe,but more by other mens helps,I had collected and gathered;and thought to haue continued the ſame from the death of King Henrie the eight, vnto theſe preſents: it came vnto my mind,and I thought it verie expedient,to make a new review of that,which by others had beene doone in the interuall betweene *Cambrenſis* and my doings,wherein I found great paines had beene taken,and that the authors had well deſerued great praiſes and commendations.And yet in this they were much to be blamed, that all of them were beholding vnto *Giraldus*,and not one of them would yeeld that curteſie either to publiſh his hiſtorie, or vſing the ſame to acknowledge it.For ſome miſliking both method and phraſe,framed it into another forme, and penned it in a more loftie ſtile; and vnder that colour haue attributed vnto themſelues the honour and fruits of another mans doings.In which,their diſcourteſie was the more,becauſe they iniured ſo noble and woorthie a perſonage. For *Giraldus* was a noble man by birth, he being the ſonne vnto Mauricius, the ſonne vnto Giraldus de Windſor,and to his wife the ladie Neſta, daughter to the great Roeſius prince of ſouth Wales. He was from his youth brought vp in learning, and proued verie well learned in all good letters both diuine and likewiſe humane: and by profeſſion he was a man of the clergie, and liued by the patrimonie of the church.He was chapleine to king Henrie the ſecond,and to king Iohn his ſonne, and both of them he attended in their iorneis into Ireland,and at the requeſt and commandement of the king the father,he wrot the hiſtorie of this land according as what he ſaw and knew to be true.The more noble then that this man was by birth, the more reuerend in calling, the more painfull in trauels,and the better learned he was: euen ſo much the more is their fault,that will borrow of him and not acknowledge it,nor thinke themſelues beholding vnto him.For as Plinie ſaith,*Ingenui pudoris eſt,fateri per quos profecerimus*;It is the part of a good nature not to be aſhamed to acknowledge and confeſſe by whom he is the better, and benefited. I know it hath beene an old vſage in all ages, and among all the ancient writers,both Græcians & Latiniſts, that they would borrow of other mens writings, and inlarge their owne therewith: as Plato did of Socrates and Pythagoras, Ariſtotle out of Plato, Cicero of them both; and ſo likewiſe others: and theſe men would not onelie confeſſe the ſame,which was accounted to be ſome part of recompenſe,but alſo they accounted their owne doings to be ſo much the better, as that they were confirmed by the authoritie of ſuch wiſe,graue,and well learned men.The like reaſon might ſuffice to perſuade ſuch in this later age,as which be ſo curious that they will not haue anie father,doctor,or anie other writer to be named nor alleaged in ſermons,readings,prechings,or writings;and yet they will not ſticke to vſe & recite verbatim, whole ſentences,yea & whole pages out of other mens writings,and attribute the ſame to themſelues, as of their owne inuention.A great fault and a point of ingratitude,not allowed among the gentiles: much leſſe ſhould it be ſo among chriſtians,eſpeciallie among them of the higheſt profeſſion,*Non profiteri per quos profecerint.*

The ingratefulneſſe vnto *Cambrenſis.*

The genealogie of *Giraldus.*

Plinius.

The grateſulneſſe of the ancient writers.

But leauing euerie man to himſelfe,for as much as all hiſtories are to be doone with all ſinceritie & truth,which in this cannot be ſo well doone,vnleſſe the firſt writer and author of this hiſtorie of Ireland haue his place: I haue thought good to publiſh and ſet foorth *Giraldus* his owne workes as they are,which,leauing all other tranſlations, I haue as faithfullie tranſlated as the hiſtorie requireth,and in as fit an Engliſh phraſe as is moſt meete and conuenient for the reader.And becauſe the ſame ſo long henſe written,hath ſundrie obſcure things, which doo require ſome further opening,for the better vnderſtanding of the reader; I haue ſubnected and added to euerie chapter(ſo requiring)ſuch notes and obſeruations, as he ſhall be therewith the better inſtructed and ſatisfied. This thing thus by me doone,together with ſo much as I my ſelfe haue penned from the death of king Henrie the eight vnto theſe preſents: which although it maie ſeeme to be verie imperfect, and to want that fulneſſe as the courſe of ſo manie yeares might affoord; or that ſome things maie be miſreported and ſet downe,otherwiſe than the truth is,or that ſome things maie be miſtaken,&c: let this be imputed vnto them,through whoſe default the ſame is ſo befallen; for manie things were promiſed and little performed; and ſome,who had and haue an intereſt in the matter,haue refuſed and would doo nothing. But for my ſelfe,according to ſuch inſtructions and collections as are come to my hands,I haue after the method and nature of an hiſtorie,moſt ſincerelie and faithfullie ſet downe what is materiall and woorthie the writing.And for as much as your ſelfe was a partie and a doer in ſome part of the Deſmonds wars,in which you were a painfull and a faithfull ſeruitor, and therefore can giue ſome report and teſtimonie to this diſcourſe, and alſo for the loue and honour which I doo owe and beare vnto you,I thought it my part and dutie to offer and preſent,and preſentlie in moſt humble maner I doo offer and preſent the ſame vnto your good fauour and protection.And albeit the thing it ſelfe be verie ſlender,and too farre an inferior preſent to be offred to one of your eſtate and calling; yet let your courteſie couer that,and accept my good will,which as time and occaſion hereafter ſhall ſerue,I ſhall & will be moſt willing(as your lordſhips moſt deuout and aſſured)to ſupplie in all the good ſeruices I maie or ſhall be able to doo at your commandement. The Lord bleſſe you and multiplie your daies,to the honor of God, the good ſeruice of hir maieſtie, the benefit of the commonwelth, the comfort of your friends, and to your owne increaſe in all honour. Exon. Octob. 12.

1586.

Your L. verie good friend and alie at commandement,

IOHN HOOKER.

The first preface of Giraldus Cambrensis vnto his historie of the conquest of Ireland.

FOrsomuch as in our Topographie we haue at large set foorth and described the site of the land of Ireland, the natures of sundrie things therein conteined, the woonderous & strange prodigies which are in the same, and of the first origin of that nation, euen from the first beginning vntill this our time: it resteth, that at the request of sundrie men, and of some of great estate, we do now in a particular volume declare & set forth the conquest of the same land in these our daies, togither with the noble acts & gests therein doone. For if we haue well discouered the old & ancient times long before vs, how much more should we doo that which we haue seene, and for the most part are witnesses thereof, & which are yet in our fresh & perfect memorie? Our Topographie discouereth the things done in times past and long ago; but this present historie intreateth of the things presentlie doone, and in our daies. But me thinketh I see some man to shrinke vp the nose, and as it were to snuffe, because I haue written all things so plainelie and euidentlie; and therfore in great scorne he reacheth the booke to one, & with as great disdaine casteth it to another. But let him know this, that I haue now written this chieflie for the laie people, and for such princes as be not of greatest learning, and are therefore desirous to haue things to be vttered in such a plaine and sensible speech as they may best vnderstand the same. For whie, most plaine terms are most meet to be vsed, when the noble acts of noble men & worthie seruitors are to be published and set foorth to the notice and knowledge of all men. For this cause therefore haue I written this historie in as plaine & sensible maner as I can (leauing as much as may be) the darke & obscure maner of writing vsed in times past. And forsomuch as euerie age hath his peculiar manner, I haue according to the mind of the philosopher (whose aduise is, that the liues of the old men, and the pleasant speeches of yoong men should be receiued and followed) I haue (I saie) of purpose written in that order and phrase of speech as now is most in vre. For sith that words are but messengers of a mans mind, and giuen onelie to that end he should without close couering and couching plainelie disclose his mind and meaning: I haue purposelie indeuored my selfe, that seeing what others doo not see, and knowing what others doo not vnderstand, I might so write as I might of all men be vnderstood. For whie, Seneca saith: It is better to be dumbe and not to speake at all, than so to speake as not to be vnderstood, so that the speech be framed in such phrases & order as are most meet to be vsed, & with the wise and learned do most affect. But forsomuch as some men haue maliciouslie and slanderouslie depraued my Topographie, I haue thought good by the waie here to interlace a few words in defense therof. All men generallie concerning the beginning of a good or a learned matter, doo consider and haue respect speciallie to three things; the first is, the author of the thing, then the matter it selfe, and lastlie, the ordering and well handling of the thing so begun. Concerning the first and last of these three, the enuious man being afraid to vtter his malice, euen against his will giues praise & commendation to both. But yet as a staged man can not alwaies dissemble and cloke himselfe, so this man, who to haue his will ouer me & to depraue me, inueigheth against the second point, thinking and meaning by reproouing me to be a lier therein, to condemne all the rest; he obiecteth therefore and laieth to my charge the strange prodigies which I wrote, namelie how the woolfe spake and talked with a priest; of the man that in the hinder parts was like to an ox; of a woman that had a beard like a man; and a man like an horse; of a gote & a lion, which resorted and accompanied with a woman. But who so misliketh hereof, let him read in the booke of Numbers, & he shall find that Balaams asse spake and reproued his maister. Let him examine the liues of the fathers, and he shall learne how that a satyre in the wildernesse did talke with Anthonie the heremite; and how Paule the heremite was fed in the desert by a rauen. Let him read also the workes of Jerome, the Exameron of Ambrose, and the dialog of Gregorie. Let him likewise read saint Augustine his booke of the

citie

citie of God,eſpeciallie the xv.and xxi.bookes,which are full of ſtrange prodigies and woonders:let him read Iſodorus in the xi. booke of his Etymologies,concerning woonders,his xij. booke of beaſts,& his xvi.booke of pretious ſtones,and of their vertues;let him alſo read Valerius Maximus,Trogus Pompeius,Plinius,and Solinus,& in euerie of theſe he ſhall find manie things which he may miſlike and thinke to be vntruths, & ſo condemne the reſidue of all the writings of ſo noble and woorthie men.But let him be better aduiſed,& conſider well,how that as S. Ierome ſaith, there are manie things conteined in the ſcriptures which ſeeme to be incredible,and to carie no truth in them,and yet neuertheleſſe are moſt true.For whie,nature dooth not,nor can preuaile againſt the Lord of nature:and therfore euerie creature ought not to loth, but to reuerence,& haue in great admiration the works of God:& as S.Auguſt.ſaith, How can that be againſt nature which is doone by the will of God?Bicauſe the will of ſo great a creator is the nature and beginning of euerie thing created.A portent then or a monſter is not againſt nature,but againſt it which proceedeth from nature.And therfore as it is not impoßible to God to ordeine and creat what natures or things he liſteth; no more is it impoßible to him to alter and change into what forms he liſteth the things alreadie created.And yet I would not that euerie thing by me written,ſhould foorthwith be credited and receiued as an vndouted truth:for whie,I my ſelfe do not ſo firmlie beleeue of them,as of things moſt certeine and true,ſauing of ſuch things which by experience I know to be true,and which alſo euerie other man may by proofe ſo find it to be.For as for all other things, I ſo account of them,that I neither do nor will ſtand either in the deniall or affirmation of them. The iewellers & ſuch as haue,& be acquainted with the pretious ſtones come out of India,do not ſo ſtrangelie think or haue admiration of them, as they who neuer ſaw them afore:& yet they hauing had once experience of them,do the leſſe muſe & wonder at the ſtrangenes of them.For whie,the dailie vſe taketh awaie all ſtrangenes & admiration;and euerie thing be it neuer ſo ſtrange & maruellous at the firſt,yet by dailie viewing of them they wax to be contemned and the leſſe eſteemed:euen as the Indians themſelues do litle value or eſteeme their commodities, which we do ſo much maruell & wonder at. S. Auguſtine therfore vpon the goſpell,how the water was turned into wine hath theſe words : Maruellous great is the power of God in the creation of the heauen & earth,& of the gouerning of the ſame; & as great it is to ſee how the raine water,by the nature of the vine is turned into wine, and how of litle and ſmall ſeeds great trees and fruits do ſpring and grow; and yet becauſe we do ſee it this daie as it were by a naturall courſe,we do leſſe eſteeme & conſider of them.But yet God aboue the common courſe hath reſerued to himſelfe ſome ſmall things,& which ſeeme to be of no value,to the end that his power might appeare in greater things,and driue vs the more to conſider of them.Wherefore let the malicious & enuious be contented,& not to enuie againſt the Lord of nature, who of purpoſe in the ſight of man hath doone manie things againſt the common courſe of nature : becauſe it ſhould be apparant, & euerie man ſhould well ſee, that Gods power far exceedeth mans reach & knowledge,& his diuinitie ſurpaſſeth mans vnderſtanding. Caſsiodorus therfore ſaith : It is a great point of knowledge in man to vnderſtand & haue the knowledge, that God can and dooth ſuch great and woonderfull things as do far exceed and paſſe the capacitie & vnderſtanding of man.For God alwaies of purpoſe dooth tranſpoſe and alter his great things into ſtrange forms, that albeit men may in ſome reſpect diſcerne the ſame : yet fullie they can not comprehend the ſame. If then the old and ancient writers haue diligentlie and with good allowance noted & regiſtred in their writings the ſtrange prodigies in their times; whie be we doing the like(vnleſſe the whole world be ſet in wickedneſſe)maligned and backbitten?For if there be anie new and ſtrange thing in our worke, and which heretofore hath not beene heard of: yet let not the malicious & ſpitefull man forthwith, without further allowance condemne & depraue it, but rather ſuffer it to remaine as it is.For as the poet ſaith: If our forefathers had reiected(as we do)all new things,what ſhuld now be old? Let him therfore ceaſe to blame or carpe at new things,becauſe in courſe of time they ceaſſe to be new,and wax to be old. He may therfore take his pleaſure,and depraue the ſame,& yet no doubt our poſteritie will allow thereof. He may do what he can to hurt it,yet they will accept and read it. He may do what he can to diſprooue and blame it,yet will they loue it.He may do what he can to reiect it,yet will they receiue and allow of it.

The ſecond preface of Giraldus Cambrenſis vnto the noble Earle of Poitiers.

HAuing beene eftſoones, and by manie requeſted, to regiſter and write the hiſtorie of ſuch noble acts doone in our times, which I haue either ſeene my ſelfe, or haue heard it crediblie reported; I was for my excuſe woont to alleage the wickednesse of the time, wherein, by reaſon of the exceſſiue riotouſneſſe which ſo aboundeth, all things are ſo farre out of order, and men ſo carefull to pamper vp the bodie, that the mind, which of his nature is free, is now in captiuitie, and cannot haue his libertie. Neuertheleſſe, conſidering, and diligentlie aduiſing with my ſelfe, how neceſſarie the knowledge of thoſe things will be to our poſteritie, and how nothing is more pernicious and hurtfull to a good wit, and an honeſt diſpoſition, than to lie wallowing in idleneſſe and ſloth; I did at length with much adoo yeeld my ſelfe to thoſe requeſts, and reſolued my ſelfe to ſatiſfie the ſame. But yet what can be more preſumptuous than to write when time ſerueth not, & leiſure wanteth? Or to deſire our owne bookes to be commonlie read, and yet at no leiſure to read our ſelues? Or that we ſhould be ſubiect to the examination and ſifting of a malicious reader, and an enuious iudge, and yet we not at leiſure to examine our ſelues? Tullius, the founteine and welſpring of all eloquence, being on a time requeſted to make an oration, is ſaid he did excuſe himſelfe, becauſe he had not ſtudied nor read the daie before. If ſo famous a man, and the father of all eloquence, did ſo eſteeme the benefit of ſtudieng, what ſhall others of a farre meaner eſtate and learning thinke of themſelues? For true it is, the wit of man if it be not reuiued with continuall and dailie reading waxeth faint and dull, and with reading it is increaſed and nouriſhed as it were with a naturall food and ſuſtenance. For as the full barns are ſoone ſpent, if they be not new ſtored; and the ſtocke of great wealth and treaſure ſoone waſted & conſumed, if it be not repared; euen ſo the knowledge of man being not dailie renewed by reading and peruſing of other mens works dooth ſoone periſh and decaie. We are compact and doo conſiſt of two natures, the one temporall, the other eternall; and hauing reſpect to both, are to noriſh both, the earthie part with things tranſitorie and earthie according to the time, the heauenlie part with things perpetuall and euerlaſting. The bodie for the time hath his cares; but the mind, which of his nature is free, and which cannot be ſhut vp, and as it were impriſoned, is neither vnder the power of vs, nor of anie others; let it therefore inioie his owne and proper libertie which to it apperteineth, and inioie the freedome to it belonging. As for the outward man, let him wander and ſtraie, and be troubled about manie things, let him follow vaine and trifling toies, and doo all things as will luſteth, & let him be ſubiect to the miſerable condition of the fleſh: but the inward man, which as the kernell is incloſed in the ſhell, let him inioie that right and priuilege which God hath giuen vnto it; let it be ſo warded and defended, that being in troubles, it be not troubled; and being ſolitarie, it be not deſtituted. God and the king haue eech of them their ſeuerall power and empire ouer vs: the king hath power onelie ouer the bodie, but the ſecret and incomprehenſible part within vs, namelie the ſoule, God onelie poſſeſſeth, and he alone knoweth and ſearcheth the ſame. For it is a moſt noble and excellent thing, paſſing all other the gifts of God vnder heauen, being incomprehenſible, and yet comprehending all things, and moſt euidentlie declaring the diuine power which is in it. For by a certeine naturall agilitie which is in him he comprehendeth all the foure corners of the world, and in a maruellous ſecret celeritie dooth diſcerne the whole world and all that therein is: it hath the knowledge and vnderſtanding of all arts, ſciences & knowledges: he is onlie knowen to him that is vnknowen, ſeene of him that is not ſeene, & cõprehended of him which is incomprehenſible. God forbid therefore, that the continuall exerciſes of this ſoule ſhould be hindered with vaine and worldlie cares, whereby things for a time omitted or ſet aſide ſhould periſh or be forgotten: for what is the bodie to the ſoule but a heauie burthen, a paine, & as it were a priſon, which though not holding him, yet hindering him? For what the ſhell is to the kernell, the ſame is the fleſh to the ſpirit, both of them carrieng his owne impediment and burthen. Wherefore right noble now earle of Poitiers, but ſhortlie which ſhall be king of England, & duke of Normandie, hauing the force and helpe of this, I haue yeelded my ſelfe, and haue now written and drawen out the hiſtorie of the conqueſt of Ireland, and the ſubduing of the barbarous nation of the ſame in theſe our daies, and haue dedicated the ſame vnto your highneſſe: that by recording the gifts thereof, and ſeeing how your father did grow in renowme and honor, ſo the ſame alſo may increaſe in you: and as you are knowen to be the right heire of your fathers inheritance, ſo you may ſucceed him alſo in his vertues and victories to your great honor. I haue hitherto trauelled in this rude and rough matter after a groſſe manner, but hereafter more fullie, and in better order to be expreſſed and ſet foorth, as time and yeares ſhall increaſe, and as I ſhall be more at full inſtructed.

To his moſt reuerend lord and belo-

ued in Chriſt, Iohn the noble and worthie

king of England, lord of Ireland, duke of Normandie and
of Aquitaine, and earle of Aniou: Giraldus offereth this
his ſimple worke, and wiſheth all health both of bodie
and of ſoule, and a proſperous ſucceſſe in all things
according to his hearts deſire.

IT pleaſed your noble and excellent father king Henrie, to ſend me being then attendant vpon him, ouer with you into Ireland, where when I had noted ſundrie notable things, and which were ſtrange and vnknowne to other nations: then at my returne, I made a collection and choiſe of the chiefeſt matters therein: and within three yeares, I made my booke of Topographie, of the woonders of Ireland, and of the deſcription of that land, doone in and for the honor of your father; who hauing good liking, and being well pleaſed with thoſe my trauels (for why, he was a prince (a thing rare in our times) verie well learned) his deſire and pleaſure was, I ſhould alſo write out the hiſtorie of the laſt conqueſt of the ſame land, made by him and his. Which renewing my former trauels I did: but neither it, nor theſe my paines were conſidered. For vertue commonlie is more commended than rewarded. But becauſe by negligence, or rather by reaſon of the great buſineſſe, where-with I was incumbred: I had almoſt forgotten the ſite, nature, and maner of the weſt parts of the ſaid land, which I had not ſeene a long time. I thought it good to ouerrun, and peruſe againe my ſaid worke, and being better corrected, to dedicat the ſame vnto your highneſſe. Wherein our hiſtorie taketh his beginning from the time that Dermon mac Morogh prince of Leinſter was driuen out of his countrie by his owne men, and fled to your father then being in Aquitane: moſt humblie crauing, and at length obteining aid and ſuccor, vntill your firſt comming into that land, when I was with you: and haue faithfullie declared in order, what things were there doone by euerie of theſe noble men and capteins, which then paſſed thither; euen from the firſt to the laſt; and what good or euill was doone by them.

In which hiſtorie as in a glaſſe, a man may moſt apparantlie and euidentlie ſee and diſcerne truth; who, and what they were which deſerued the moſt honor in this conqueſt; whether the firſt aduenturers out of the dioceſſe of ſaint Dauids my couſins and kinſmen; or they of the dioceſſe of Landaff, who came next, and who in verie deed are gentlemen, but more in name than valiant in act; and who vpon the good ſucceſſe of the firſt, hoping to haue the like themſelues, went ouer: or elſe they which paſſed ouer the third time, who were well and fullie furniſhed at all points with good ſtore of armor, vittell, and other neceſſaries. Surelie they deſerued well, who gaue the firſt aduenture: and they alſo are much to be commended, which continued the ſame: but they deſerued beſt, who went ouer laſt. For they not onelie did eſtabliſh and confirme the authoritie and doings of the firſt and ſecond, but alſo made a finall end, and brought the whole countrie into ſubiection. But alas, by reaſon of their too haſtie returning from thenſe, and of the vnnaturall warres and rebellion of the ſonnes againſt their father, the land could not be brought to a perfect order, nor the things begun could haue his full perfection. Wherefore, ô noble king, deſpiſe not the great trauels and labors of your father, nor yet my poore paines herein. Doo not impart your honor and glorie to the vnworthie and vnthankefull: neither for the coueting of an Iland of ſiluer to hazard the loſſe of one of gold: the one far paſſing and exceeding the other in value. For the gold of Arabia and the ſiluer of Achaia doo both fill a mans cofer alike: but the one more in price and value than the other. Beſides this, there is another thing which might perſuade you to be mindfull, and haue ſome regard of the land of Ireland. It hath pleaſed God and good fortune to ſend you manie children, both naturall, and alſo legitimat; and more hereafter you may haue. It were therefore verie good as you may, to appoint and place in thoſe two kingdomes, two of your ſonnes to be gouernors and rulers of them: and vnder them to appoint a great number of your men, and endow them liberallie with great liuings and liuelehoods; and eſpeciallie in Ireland, which as yet is rude, vnnurtured, and nothing to the purpoſe by our men inhabited. But if ſo be that neither for the increaſing of your owne honor, the inriching of your treaſurie, nor for the aduancing of your children, you will haue reſpect to your realme of Ireland; yet haue ſome conſideration of your poore veterans and old ſeruitors, who haue moſt faithfullie and truſtilie ſerued both you and your father, and by whoſe ſeruice that realme of Ireland was firſt conquered; and is yet kept and reteined; and yet are ſupplanted by ſuch yoong nouices and yoonkers as are of late gone

thither

thither, to inioy and to succeed into the fruits of other mens trauels, fortune better fauoring them, than vertue commending. And the follie of these men is growne to such a pride and arrogancie, that as it is said, they are greatlie to be suspected to aspire and to vsurpe the whole seigniorie and dominion to themselues, which it lieth you vpon to see to be quailed and abated.

And in following these your Irish affaires, you are to haue great care and regard, that when so euer you doo march and take anie iourneie, either for the vanquishing of the enimie, or for the reuenging of anie wrongs and iniuries; that you haue alwaies an eie backeward, and leaue all things behind you in such safe and sure order, that no danger thereof doo insue vnto you. For why, the houshold enimies be alwaies working of wiles, and waiting for an aduantage; and doo but looke when time and place may serue for them to rebell: and therefore you are to haue great care and good regard, that you doo leaue all things behind you in safetie, and out of danger: and that you doo not suffer the serpent to lurke and hide himselfe, as it were in your bosome: nor to nourish and rake vp the fire as it were in your lap, the same being readie to breake out into great flames: for this shall not onelie be counted a great retchlesnesse, but also a great follie in you, and to your great reproch. It is verie expedient therefore to euerie prince, that in his land he doo not foster and mainteine anie such Hydras and venemous serpents. And for princes of Ilands, it should be good for them, that they in their dominions and realmes haue in no side anie other marches than the seas it selfe. But if it be so, that you will not be persuaded for anie of the foresaid reasons, to haue regard or remorse to your said land, being so oftentimes desolated, and almost vtterlie destroied; that it may be reduced to some better order and state, whereby it may be more profitable to your selfe and vnto yours: then I praie you to pardon vs Welshmen, notwithstanding we be of nature somewhat rash; and giue vs leaue to put you in remembrance touching which your father, for the aduancement of himselfe and of his posteritie, did promise to pope Adrian, when he first procured licence and libertie to inuade and to conquer the realme of Ireland. The first is, that you would set vp the true religion, and reforme the church of God in that realme: and then, as you doo now in England, so also in Ireland, you doo cause to be paied out of euerie house the Peter pence, according to the tenure of the said priuilege by your father obteined, and which remaineth in the treasurie of Winchester; that you maie so deliuer your fathers soule, and satisfie his promise. For why, as Salomon saith: A lieng toong beseemeth not a king, especiallie when he shall liue to God, and being a creature, wittinglie to offend his creator; for that is an offense verie heinous and dangerous.

And forsomuch as you are to answer before the high and strict iudge, hauing nothing for your excuse and defense than as before is said, for the so much innocent bloud by your father and your selfe alredie shed, and which hereafter maie be shed: you ought to be verie carefull and diligent, that Gods anger maie be appeased, and your fathers promise be performed: that God being thus honored for this conquest, you maie haue a prosperous successe, and all yours in this world: and also after this life inioie that perpetuall felicitie, which surpasseth all ioie and felicitie. And because you haue not kept nor performed these promises, these two defects by Gods iust iudgement are befallen vnto you. The one is, that this conquest could neuer be brought to his full effect and perfection. The other is, that they which were the cheefest and most principall seruitors in this conquest, namelie Robert Fitzstephans, who first entered into the land, and made waie vnto others, Henrie of monte Moris, Reimond, Iohn de Courcie, and Meilerius, neuer had anie lawfull issue of their bodies begotten. And no maruell: for notwithstanding the happie and fortunat successe of the conquest, the poore cleargie was neuer considered, but were driuen to beg; and the cathedrall churches which were richlie indued with great liuelehoods, possessions, and territories, were altogither wasted and spoiled. These things a good prince of his honor ought to see to be redressed, and to prouide that the cleargie, who are and ought faithfullie to assist and serue him in all weightie causes of councell and importance, should be releeued, and inioie the honor vnto them belonging, and that small portion which was promised vnto them; that God in some things maie be appeased and satisfied for these cruell and bloudie conquests. And moreouer, vnder your patience we saie also, that for the perpetuall memorie of this conquest made by Englishmen, and because in processe of time, and course of yeares, there happeneth great change of lords, and manie times the inheritance commeth to such as are furthest remoued in kinred, that therefore there be a yearelie tribute rated and yeelded vnto the king, to be paied in gold or such commodities as that land best yeeldeth: and that this be comprised in a publike instrument, that the whole world maie know how the realme and land of Ireland is subiect to the crowne of England. And forsomuch as things doone, being put and registred in writing, and to be read by an interpretor, are not sensible, nor so well vnderstanded of the hearer, as when he maie or dooth read the same in his owne speech and language; it were verie good (in my opinion) that some learned man, and skilfull in the French toong, should translate the same into French.

SYLVESTER GIRALdus Cambrensis, his vaticinall historie of the Conquest of Ireland.

The figures of (1)(2)(3) &c: set before certeine words of the chapters, are to be conferred with the like in the scholies or interpretations following euerie chapter, whereby the authors meaning is opened: this by the waie of a necessarie caueat to the reader in breuitie.

How Dermon Mac Morogh king of *Leinster fled out of his countrie vnto Henrie* the second king of England for *aid and succour.*

Chap.1.

DErmot (1) Mac Morogh prince of (2) Leinster & gouernour of the fift part or portion of Ireland, did in our time possesse & inioie the east part of the land, which bordereth and lieth towards England: being disseuered from the same by the maine seas. This man from his verie youth, and first entrie into his kingdome, was a great oppressor of his gentlmen, and a cruell tyrant ouer his nobles: which bred vnto him great hatred and malice. Besides this, there befell to him an other mischéefe: for Orrorke prince of (3) Meth was gone in a iornie, leauing his wife the daughter of Omolaghlin behind, in a certeine Iland in Meth: there to remaine and tarie vntill his returne. She (I saie) and this Dermon had bæne long inamoured and in loue the one with the other: and she watching a time how to haue loue and lust satisfied, taketh the aduantage of hir husbands absence, and yéeldeth hir selfe to be rauished, bicause she would be rauished: for by hir owne procurement and intisings, she became and would nœds be a preie vnto the preier. Such is the variable & fickle nature of a woman, by whome all mischiefes in the world (for the most part) do happen and come, as maie appeare by (4) Marcus Antonius, and by the destruction of (5) Troie. King Orrorke being aduertised hereof, was forthwith marueilouslie troubled & in a great choler, but more grieued for shame of the fact than for sorrow or hurt: and therefore is fullie determined to be auenged: and forthwith assembleth all his people and neighbors, as also procured into his aid and for his helpe Rothorike king of (6) Connagh and then monarch of all Ireland. The people of Leinster considering in what distresse their prince was, and how on euerie side he was beset of his enimies, they also call to mind the old sores and griefes, which they of long time had dissembled: & to be auenged & awrecked thereof, they make league and become friends with their enimies, and vtterlie leaue and forsake their king. Dermon séeing himselfe thus forsaken and left destitute, and that fortune frowned vpon him (for he had oftentimes incountered with his enimies and euer had the worst) determined at length, as to his last refuge to flie ouer the seas, and to séeke for some better chance. By this euent and sequele of this man, as also by manie other like examples it appeareth, that it is better for a prince to rule ouer a people, which of a good will and loue do obeie him, than ouer such as be froward and stubborne. This (6) Nero well felt and (7) Domitianus well knew (8) and Henrie duke of Saxonie and Bauire well tried. It is more necessarie and expedient for a prince to be rather beloued than feared. In dæd it is good to be feared; so that the feare do proceed rather from a good will than of compulsion. For whatsoeuer is outwardlie onelie and to the shew loued and receiued, the same of consequence must be feared: but whatsoeuer is feared, that is not forthwith loued. Wherefore feare must be so tempered with loue, that neither a remisse good will do war into a coldnesse, neither feare grounded vpon a rash insolencie be turned and become tyrannie. Loue did inlarge the empire of (9) Augustus, but feare shortened the life of (10) Julius Cesar. Well, Mac Morogh following fortune, and yet in hope that once againe she will turne hir wheele, hauing wind and wether at will, taketh ship, passeth ouer the seas, and went vnto Henrie the second king of England, and most humblie and earnestlie praieth his helpe and succor. Who being then in the remote places in France and Aquitaine, and busied in great and weightie affaires; yet most courteouslie he receiued him and liberallie rewarded him. And the king hauing at large and orderlie heard the causes of his exile and of his repaire vnto him, he take his oth of allegiance and swore him to be his true vassall and subiect: and thereupon granted and gaue him his letters patents in maner and forme as followeth. Henrie king of England, duke of Normandie and Aquitaine, and earle of Anion, vnto all his subiects, Englishmen, Normans, Scots, and all other nations and people being his subiects sendeth greeting. Whensoeuer these our letters shall come vnto you, know ye that we haue receiued Dermon prince of Leinster into our protec-

Henrie the 2. king of Englands stile and letter.

tion, grace, and fauour: wherefore whoſoeuer within our iuriſdiction will aid and helpe him, our truſtie ſubiect, for the recouerie of his land, let him be aſſured of our fauour and licence in that behalfe.

(1) Dermon is in Latine *Dermitius*, and Morogh is in Latine *Murchardes*, and are meere Iriſh names: and for a difference giuen commonlie to a child at his birth or chriſtening: Mac Morogh is a word compounded of Mac which is a ſonne and of Morogh the proper name of a man, and ſo Mac Morogh is the ſonne of Morogh: the Latine name is *Murchardides*, which is to ſaie *De Murcharde*, or of Morogh: according to the Welſh phraſe in which the word ap is vſed in the ſame ſenſe. And this is common to the Iriſh & Welſh, for they call not anie man by the name of his familie or nation as is vſed in England: but by the name of difference giuen to his father, as in this example: Dermon being Morroghs ſonne is called Dermon Mac Morogh. But this name of Mac Morogh is ſince turned and become the name of a familie or nation: for by reaſon that this Mac Morogh was a noble and valiant man aboue all the reſt of his nation in his daies: therefore his ſequele and poſteritie haue euer ſince and do yet keepe that name. Some are of the mind that Morogh and Maurice are one name: but the Latine differences importeth the contrarie, and the one is a meere Iriſh name, and the other a Welſh, and borowed out of Wales.

(2) Leinſter in Latine *Lagenia*, is one of the fiue parts or portions of Ireland (for into ſo manie is the whole land diuided.) It lieth vpon the eaſt ſeas, and extendeth in length from the further point of the territorie of Dublin, which is at the riuer of the Boine by Drogheda in the north, vnto the riuer of the Surie which fleeteth by the citie of Waterford in the ſouth. In it are one and thirtie cantreds otherwiſe named baronies or hundreds. It was ſometimes diuided into fiue, but now into ſeauen counties, that is, Dublin, Kildare, Catherlogh, Kilkennie, Werford, Lear, now called the quænes countie, and Oſſalie called the kings countie. There are alſo in it one archbiſhop; namelie Dublin, and foure biſhoprikes; that is, Kildare, Fernes, Leighlin, and Oſſorie.

(3) Meth in Latine *Media* is one of the fiue portions of Ireland according to the firſt diuiſion. It is the leaſt portion being but of eightéene cantreds, but yet the beſt and moſt fertile, and lieth for the moſt part all within the Engliſh pale: and euer ſince the conqueſt of king Henrie the ſecond, hath béene ſubiect and obedient to the Engliſh lawes and gouernement: and becauſe it lieth as it were in the nauill or bowels of the land, it taketh the name accordinglie, being called *Media*, which is the middle. In it is but one biſhop and the ſuffragan, and vnder the primat or archbiſhop of Ardmach. His ſee is at Trim and his houſe at Arbraghin. There was no prince ſole gouernour of this as was of the other portions: becauſe it was alwaies allowed & allotted to the monarch, whome they called *Maximum regem*, or *Regem Hiberniæ*, as a ſurplus towards his diet.

(4) Marcus Antonius was a famous and a noble Romane, excelling in wiſdome, knowledge and learning all the Romane princes in his daies; as alſo a verie noble and a valiant man in the fields, hauing atteined to great victories and atchiued to ſundrie conqueſts. And yet notwithſtanding being maried to Cleopatra quæne of Egypt, he ſo doted vpon hir, and was ſo bewitched in loue of hir: that leauing all his wonted manners, he conſumed his whole time in hir companie, and in the end was more infamous for his vitious, diſordered, and looſe life, than before commended for his proweſſe and vertue.

(5) Troia called alſo Ilion, was an ancient and a famous citie in Aſia the leſſe, and ſituated in the prouince of Dardania, builded by Tros the ſonne of king Erichthonius, who called it after his owne name. It was a citie verie large, ſtrong, and rich, and in thoſe daies thought impregnable; & yet by meanes that Helena was rauiſhed, the ſame was in the end vtterlie ſubuerted and deſtroied: the hiſtorie is this. Priamus the king of Troie had by his wife Hecuba a ſonne named Paris or Alexander: he dreamed on a time that Mercurius ſhould bring vnto him the three ladies, Uenus, Juno, & Minerua, that he ſhould giue his iudgement which was the faireſt and moſt beautifull of them. Then Uenus, to haue the iudgement for hir and in hir behalfe, did promiſe him that he ſhould haue for the ſame the faireſt woman in all Gréece. Not long after, Paris being in his fathers court in Troie, there were great ſpéeches made of Helena and of hir paſſing beautie. She was wife to Menelaus king of Sparta in Gréece. Wherupon Paris calling to memorie his former dreame, and alſo inflamed with a feruent deſire to ſee ſo faire a ladie, maketh preparation both of ſhips and of men to ſaile into Gréece. Howbeit, ſome write that he was ſent by the king his father in an ambaſſage to king Menelaus: but whether it was ſo or not, certeine it is he went thither, and was receiued with all courteſie, and had his interteinement in king Menelaus houſe. Paris hauing viewed and beholden quéene Helena, he was not ſo much warned before vpon the onelie report of hir, as now inflamed with hir paſſing forme and beautie; and taking the aduantage of king Menelans abſence, perforce taketh Helena, ſpoileth the kings houſe, and carieth all awaie with him. Menelans at his returne home, being diſmaied at ſo ſudden a change and chance, and gréeued with ſuch an iniurie, ſendeth his meſſenger firſt to Paris, and then his ambaſſadours to king Priamus for reſtitution and amends. But when no intreatie could take place nor requeſts be heard, the Grecians not minding to beare with ſuch an iniurie, do all conſent to be auenged thereof: and therefore with all their force and power do prepare to giue warres vnto Troie, and make choiſe of Agamemnon the kings brother to be their capteine. The warres were cruell and long, and endured for the ſpace of ten yeares, but in the end Troie was taken, ſpoiled, and alſo deſtroied.

6 Nero, whoſe name at the firſt was Claudius Domitius, was in his youthfull yeares well diſpoſed to good letters, & giuen to honeſt exerciſes. And Claudius the emperor hauing good liking of him, adopted him to be emperour, and married him vnto his daughter. After the death of Claudius, he being emperour, did gouerne well enough the firſt fiue yeares: but thenſeforth he wared ſo vicious, and became ſo horrible in all diſſolute wantonneſſe, prodigalitie, monſtruous lecherie, couetouſneſſe, and all other moſt wicked vices: that he ſeemed to be borne to the deſtruction of the whole world. And in the end he was and became ſo odious to the whole world, that it was decréed by the ſenat, and ſentence giuen, that he ſhould be beaten and whipped to death. Which thing he perceiuing, fled out of Rome, and finding none that would kill him, did runne himſelfe thorough with his owne ſword, ſaieng; Moſt wickedlie haue I liued, and moſt ſhamfullie ſhall I die.

7 Domitianus, the brother of Titus, and ſonne of Veſpaſian the emperors, was nothing like vnto them, but altogither reſembled & was of the nature

and

and diſpoſition of Nero: for at the firſt entrie into the empire, he did to his commendation ſundrie good acts; but in the end he became ſo wicked a man and ſo cruell a tyrant, that he generallie was hated of all men, and abhorred of his owne familie, of whom ſome of them, to rid the common wealth from ſo wicked a member, did murther and kill him in his owne chamber.

(8) This Henrie was the ſonne of Henrie the third of that name, and emperor of Rome, he was king of the Romans in his fathers time, and emperor next after him. His father died, he being verie yong, and left him to the gouernement of the empreſſe his mother; who during his minoritie did rule and gouerne the empire in verie good order: but when he himſelfe came to the ſole gouernment, great diſſentions fell betweene him and his nobles, bicauſe he contemned, deſpiſed, & oppreſſed them. He gaue himſelfe to wantonneſſe and pleaſure, and little eſteemed the execution of iuſtice; by meanes whereof he had manie enimies, who ſought what they might to depoſe him both of empire and of his life. The pope alſo and he were for the moſt part in continuall debates and ſtrifes, and who was the cheefe cauſe whie he was ſo ouerſet and hated of his nobles. And being thus ouermatched and in the hatred both of the temporall and eccleſiaſticall eſtates, he for verie ſorrow languiſhed and pined awaie, and ſo died.

(9) Auguſtus was the ſonne of Octauianus a ſenator in Rome, who married Accia the daughter of Julius Ceſar, and was firſt named Octauianus Julius Ceſar. His vncle hauing no ſon, adopted him, made him his heire, and appointed him to be his ſucceſſor in the empire. After the death of the ſaid Julius, the ſtate by reaſon he was ſo cruellie murthered, was maruelouſlie troubled and in great perils. But this Octauianus hauing atteined to ſit in Julius Ceſars ſeat, did ſo prudentlie order and direct his gouernement, that he did not onelie reduce and reſtore the citie and empire of Rome to a quietneſſe; but alſo increaſed the ſame with the conqueſts of ſundrie nations. Such alſo were his excellent vertues in wiſedome, magnanimitie, courteſie, affabilitie, & liberalitie, and ſuch others; that all people were not onelie rauiſhed in loue with him, but alſo came and reſorted of all nations vnto Rome, to viſit, ſee, and heare him. And hauing ſtabliſhed the empire in quietneſſe, inlarged it with manie nations, & increaſed vnto himſelfe the vniuerſall loue of all people, the ſenat gaue him not onelie the name of Auguſtus, but gaue vnto him alſo the titles of the higheſt and greateſt honors, and was called *Summus pontifix perpetuus dictator & pater patriæ*, and yelded vnto him the whole power and empire of the ſole monarch of the world, now repoſing that in him alone, which reſted before in the ſenat and people of Rome. Theſe be the fruites when a prudent magiſtrat and a wiſe gouernour ruleth in loue and gouerneth in wiſedome.

(10) Julius Ceſar was the ſonne of Lucius Julino a noble Romane, and came and deſcended of the ancient houſe of the Julies, who were of the race of Aeneas: he was as noble a man as euer Rome brought fourth, and excellent in all reſpects: moſt valiant and fortunate in the warres, and verie prudent in the ciuill gouernement, verie well learned, and a notable orator: he deſerued well of his common wealth, for he inriched the ſame with the conqueſts which he made ouer ſundrie nations. But his ambitious mind and immoderate deſire to reigne alone, and to be the ſole monarch of the world, drowned all the good vertues which were in him, and for which all the nations feared him, the citizens of Rome hated him, and the ſenators enuied him: and in the end a conſpiracie was made for the murthering of him, and by the ſenators executed. For he on a certeine daie, vpon occaſion being come into the ſenat houſe, and miſtrulling nothing, although he wanted not ſufficient warnings before giuen him, was there wounded in two and thirtie places to death, and ſo murthered.

The returne of Dermon Mac Morogh *from king Henrie through England, and of* his abode at Briſtow and other *places in Wales.*

Chap. 2.

DErmon Mac Morogh, hauing receiued great comfort and courteſie of the king, taketh his leaue, and returneth homeward through England. And albeit he had beene verie honourablie and liberallie rewarded of the king: yet he comforted himſelfe more with the hope of good ſucceſſe to come, than with liberalitie receiued. And by his daille ſoorneing he came at length vnto the noble towne of (1) Briſtow, where bicauſe ſhips and botes did dailie repaire and come from out of Ireland, and he verie deſirous to heare of the ſtate of his people and countrie, did for a time ſoiorne and make his abode: and whileſt he was there he would oftentimes cauſe the kings letters to be openlie red, and did then offer great interteinment, and promiſed liberall wages to all ſuch as would helpe or ſerue him; but it ſerued not. At length Gilbert the ſonne of Gilbert, earle of Chepſtone (2) came to ſee him and to talke with him: and they ſo long had conferred together, that it was agreed and concluded betweene them, that the erle in the next ſpring then following, ſhould aid and helpe him: and in conſideration thereof, the ſaid Dermon ſhould giue him his onelie daughter and heire to wife, togither with his whole inheritance, and the ſucceſſion into his kingdome. Theſe things orderlie concluded, Dermon Mac Morogh being deſirous (as all others are) to ſee his natiuall countrie, departed and toke his iourneie towards S. Dauids head or ſtone (3) in ſouth Wales: for from thence is the ſhorteſt cut ouer into Ireland, the ſame being not a daies ſailing, and which in a faire daie a man may ken and diſcerne. At this ſame time Rice Fitzgriffith was cheefe ruler vnder the king in thoſe parties; and Dauid the ſecond, then biſhop of S. Dauids, had great pitie and compaſſion vpon his diſtreſſe, miſerie, and calamitie.

Dermon thus languiſhing and lieng for paſſage, comforted himſelfe as well as he might, ſometime drawing and as it were breathing the aire of his countrie, which he ſeemed to breath and ſmell, ſometimes viewing and beholding his countrie, which in a faire daie a man may ken and deſcrie. At this time Robert Fitzſtephans vnder Rice had the gouernment, & was conſtable of Aberteſie the cheefe towne in Caretica (4) and by the treacherie and treaſon of his owne men was apprehended, taken and deliuered vnto Rice, and by him was kept in priſon three yeares, but now deliuered, vpon condition he ſhould take part and ioine with Griffith againſt the king. But Robert Fitzſtephans, conſidering with himſelfe that on his fathers ſide (who was a Norman) he was the kings naturall ſubiect, although by his mother the ladie Neſta, daughter to the great Rice Fitzgriffith, he were coſen germane to the ſaid Fitzgriffith, choſe rather to aduenture his life, and to ſeeke fortune abrode and in forren countries, than to hazard his faith, credit, and fame, to the ſlander, reproch, and infamie of himſelfe, and of his poſteritie. At length by the earneſt mediation and interceſſion of Dauid then biſhop of S. Dauids, and of Maurice

Fitzgerald, which were his halfe brothers by the mothers side, he was set free and at libertie: and then it was agreed and concluded betweene them and Mac Morogh, that he the said Mac Morogh should giue and grant vnto the said Robert Fitzstephans, and Maurice Fitzgerald, the towne of (5) Werford, with two (6) cantreds of land adioining, & to their heires in fee for euer: and they in consideration thereof, promised to aid and helpe him to recouer his lands the next spring then following: and to be then with him without all faile if wind and weather so serued. Dermon being wearie of his exiled life and distressed estate, and therfore the more desirous to draw homewards for the recouerie of his owne, and for which he had so long trauelled and sought abroad: he first went to the church of S. Dauids to make his orisons and praiers, and then the wether being faire, and wind good, he aduentureth the seas about the middle of August; and hauing a merrie passage, he shortlie landed in his ingratefull (7) countrie: and with a verie impatient mind, hazarded himselfe among and through the middle of his enimies; and comming safelie to (8) Fernes, he was verie honorablie receiued of the cleargie there: who after their abilitie did refresh and succour him: but he for a time dissembling his princelie estate, continued as a priuat man all that winter following among them.

(1) Bristow in the old time was named Odera, afterwards Venta, and now *Bristolium*, and standeth vpon the riuer Hauinum which is nauigable, & fleeteth into Seuerne or the Seuerne seas: in it there are two rodes, the one named Kingrode, fiue miles distant from Bristow, in which the ships do ride. The other is named Hongrode, a place where the ships lie bedded, and this is three miles from Bristow. It standeth vpon the borders or confines of the prouince of Glocestershire and Summersetshire: some would haue it to be in the marches and vnder the principalitie, but in the old times it was parcell of the valleie of Bath, which was the metropole of Summersetshire. It is verie old, ancient and honorable, and sometimes named but a towne: but since for desert and other good considerations, honoured with the name and title of a citie, as also is made a seuerall prouince or countie of it selfe, being distinct from all others; hauing a maior and aldermen according to the ancient times, as also two shiriffes according to the latter grants, by whome the same is directed and gouerned. It is the chiefest emporium in that part of England, the inhabitants being for the most part merchants of great wealth, aduentures, and traffikes with all nations: great delings they haue with the Camber people and the Irish nation, the one of them fast bordering vpon them, and the other by reason of the nereneste of the seas, and pleasantnesse of the riuer, dailie resorting by water to and from them.

(2) Chepstone is a market towne in Wales, in that prouince named in old time Venta, being now vnder the principalitie of Wales. In times past it was named Strigulia, whereof Richard Strangbow being earle he toke his name, being called *Comes Strigulensis*.

(3) S. Dauids head or stone is the promontorie in west Wales, which lieth and reacheth furthest into the seas towards Ireland: and the same being a verie high hill, a man shall the more easilie discerne in a faire daie the countrie of Werford: for that is the nerest part of Ireland vnto that part of Wales. Not farre from this promontorie or point is the cathedrall church of saint Dauids, which is the see of the bishop there: it was and is called Menenia, and was in times past an archbishoprike. But as it is written in the annales of the said church, that in the time of Richard Carew and two of his predecessors bishops there, they were by the kings commandement made to yeeld, and submit themselues vnto the metropolitane see of Canturburie.

(4) Aberteise is an old ancient towne standing vpon the mouth of the riuer of Teise, and thereof it taketh his name, that is to saie the mouth of Teise, but now it is called Cardigan. The countrie about it was in times past named Caretica, but now Cardiganshire, so Aberteise is Cardigan towne, and Caretica Cardiganshire.

(5) Werford in Latine named *Guesfordia*, is next after Dublin the chiefest towne in Leinster, it lieth full vpon the seas, but the hauen is a barred hauen and dangerous: from it is the shortest cut out of Ireland into England, if you do touch and take land either at saint Dauids or at Milford.

(6) A cantred (as Giraldus saith) is a word compounded of the British and of the Irish tongs, and conteineth so much ground as wherein are one hundred villages: which in England is termed a hundred. Men of later time to declare the same more plainelie, do saie that it conteined thirtie villages, & euerie village conteined eight plough lands. Other saie that a cantred conteineth twentie townes, and euerie towne hath eight plough lands arable, besides sufficient pasture in euerie for three hundred kine, and none to annoie another; and euerie plough land conteineth six score acres of land Irish, and euerie Irish acre farre exceedeth the content of the common acre.

(7) The place where Dermon landed is named Glasse caerge, it is a creke or a bate lieng vpon the open seas, and in the countie of Werford, sithence there was builded a monasterie which was and is dissolued.

(8) Fernes is the see and cathedrall church of the bishop, whose diocesse is the countie of Werford, it lieth neere in the midle of the prouince of Leinster, and was somtimes a church well adorned and maintained, but now in great ruine and decaie, the bishop & chapiter not remaining there at all. There is also a strong fort of the princes, wherein sometimes was kept a garrison at the princes charges, but now onelie a constable is placed therein, and he hath the sole charge thereof.

The going ouer and landing of Robert Fitzstephans and of his companie in Ireland, and of the winning of the towne of Wexford,

Cap. 3.

IN the meane time Robert Fitzstephans, not vnmindfull nor careles of his word and promise, prepareth and prouideth all things in a readinesse, and being accompanied with thirtie gentlmen of seruice of his owne kinsfolks & certeine armed men, and about three hundred of archers and footmen, which were all of the best chosen and piked men in Wales, they all ship and imbarke themselues in three sundrie barkes, and sailing towards Ireland, they land about the calends of Maie at the (1) Banne. Then was the old prophesie of Merlin fulfilled, which was, that A (2) knight biparted should first enter with force in arms & breake the bounds of Ireland. If you will vnderstand the mysterie herof, you must haue respect to his parents, for his father was a Norman and an Englishman, his mother the noble ladie Nesta was a Camber or a Britaine, in his companie also was Heruete of Mont Maurice, a man infortunat, vnarmed,

* Three score other in iacks.

armed, and without all furniture: but he trauelling in the behalfe of the earle Richard, to whome he was vncle, was rather a (3) ſpie than a ſouldier. On the nert daie following Maurice of Prendelgaſt a (4) luſtie and a hardie man, and borne about Milford in weſt Wales, he with ten gentlemen of ſeruice, and a good number of archers imbarke themſelues in two ſhips, and arriue alſo at the Banne. Theſe men thus landed at the Banne, and not ſtanding well aſſured of their ſafetie, by reaſon their comming was blowen abroad through the whole countrie, they with all haſt ſent meſſengers to Dermon, aduertiſing him of their comming. Whereupon diuerſe of that countrie, who dwelling vpon the ſea coaſts, and who when fortune frowned had and did ſhrinke awaie from Dermon, now perceiuing that ſhe fauored him againe, returned and fawned vpon him; according to the ſaieng of the poet in theſe words:

As fortune ſo the faith of man doth ſtand or fall.

Mac Morogh, aſſoone as he heard of their landing and comming, ſent his baſe ſon Donold, a valiant gentleman vnto them with fiue hundred men: and verie ſhortlie after he himſelfe alſo followed with great ioie and gladneſſe. And then when they had renewed their former couenants and leagues, and had ſworne each one to the other, to obſerue the ſame and to kéepe faith: then, though they were people of contrarie diſpoſitions, yet now being good frends and all of one mind, they ioine their forces togither, and with one conſent do march towards the towne of Werford, which is about twelue miles diſtant from the Banne. When they of the towne heard thereof, they being a fierce and vnrulie people, but yet much truſting to their wonted fortune, came forth about two thouſand of them, and were determined to wage and giue battell. But when they ſaw their aduerſaries armie to be better ſet in order than in times paſt, and that the horſſemen were well armed with armour and ſhield ſhining bright: then vpon new chances & changes taking new counſels, they ſet on fire and burned their ſuburbs, and retired into the towne.

Fitzſtephans minding and preparing to giue the aſſault, filleth the ditches with armed men, and ſetteth his archers to marke and watch well the turrets of the wals: which things done, he with great ſhowtes and force giueth the aſſault. The townеſmen within being readie to ſtand at defenſe, caſt ouer the wals great peces of timber & ſtones, and by that meanes hurting manie, made the reſt to giue ouer and retire. Among whom a luſtie yong gentleman named Robert Barrie, being hot and of a luſtie courage, and nothing afraid of death, ſo he might atchiue vnto honour, giueth the firſt aduenture to ſcale the wals: but he was ſtriken with a great ſtone vpon the headpece, wherwith he fell headlong downe into the ditch and eſcaped verie hardlie, for with much adoo did his fellowes draw & pull him out of the place. About ſirténe yeares after, all his great téeth with the force and violence of this ſtroke fell out; and that which is verie ſtrange, new téeth grew vp in their places. Vpon this repulſe they all retired and withdrew themſelues from the wals, & aſſembled themſelues vpon the ſea ſtrands, where forthwith they ſet on fire all ſuch ſhips and veſſels as they could there find. Among whome was one merchant ſhip latelie come out of England laden with wines and corne, which there laie then at anchor, and a companie of theſe luſtie youths hauing gotten botes for the purpoſe, would haue taken hir: which the mariners perceiuing, ſuddenlie cut their cabels and hoiſed vp their ſailes, & the wind being weſterlie and blowing a good gale, they recouered the ſeas. Theſe youths ſtill following them, had almoſt loſt all and marred the market: for if others their fellowes had not made good ſhift and rowed a good pace after them they would ſcarſelie haue recouered the land againe. Thus fortune, which is onlie conſtant in inconſtancie, ſéemed to haue forſaken Morogh and Fitzſtephans, and to haue left them deſtitute of all hope and comfort: neuertheleſſe, on the nert morow hauing heard diuine ſeruice through the whole campe, they determine with better aduiſe and circumſpection to giue a new aſſault, & with luſtie courages drew to the wals. The townеſmen within ſéeing this, began to diſtruſt themſelues, & to conſider how moſt vnnaturallie and vniuſtlie they had rebelled againſt their prince & ſouereigne: wherupon being better aduiſed, they ſend meſſengers to him to intreat for peace. At length by the earneſt interceſſion and mediation of two biſhops, and certeine good and peaceable men which were within the towne, peace was granted; and foure of the beſt & chiefeſt men within the towne were deliuered and giuen for pledges and hoſtages, for the true kéeping of the peace and their fidelitie. Mac Morogh, to gratifie his men in theſe his firſt ſucceſſes, and to acquit the firſt aduenturors, did (according to his former promiſe and couenant) giue vnto Robert Fitzſtephans and Maurice Fitzgerald the towne of Werford, and the territories thereunto adioining and apperteining, and vnto Hervеie of Mont Morice he gaue in fee two cantreds, lieng on the ſea ſide betwéene Werford and Waterford.

(1) The Banne is a little créke lieng in the countie of Werford, nére to Fither a fiſher towne, which is belonging to the biſhop of that dioceſſe, the open ſeas being on the eaſt and not farre from the hauen mouth of Waterford on the ſouth: and as it ſhould ſéeme, Fitzſtephans and his companie miſtooke the place or were driuen in there, the ſame being verie vnapt for a harborow: but the ſame being the place of the firſt receipt of Engliſhmen, there were certeine monuments made in memorie thereof, and were named the Banna & the Boenne, which were the names (as the common fame is) of the two greateſt ſhips in which the Engliſhmen there arriued.

(2) A knight biparted. The propheſie was not onelie verified in reſpect of the parents of Robert Fitzſtephans, the one being a Norman Saxon, and the other a Camber: but alſo in reſpect of his armes and enſigne which were biparted being of two ſundrie changes, namelie partie per pale gules, and ermine a ſaltier counterchanged. For commonlie all propheſies haue their alluſions vnto armes, and by them they are diſcouered, though at the firſt not ſo appearing before the euent thereof.

(3) Gentlemen. The Latine word is *Milites*, which in the now common ſpéeches is termed knights, a name of worſhip and honour: but the word it ſelfe importeth and meaneth men expert and ſkilfull to ſerue in the wars, whether it be on foot or horſſebacke. In times paſt when men ruled by the ſword, then ſuch as were valiant and of good experience grew into credit and eſtimation; and the people did make choiſe of ſuch to gouerne, rule, and defend them, and who for their excellent vertues were called *Nobiles*, which in Engliſh is gentlemen. And then men being ambitious of honour, did contend who might beſt excell in feats of prowеſſe and chiualrie: ſome deliting to excell in the ſeruice on foot: and becauſe they vſed chieflie the target and ſhield, they toke their name thereof, & were called *Scutiferi*. Some practiſed chieflie the ſeruice on horſſebacke, and they (according to the manner of their ſeruice) were named *Equites*: but both the one and the other were in proceſſe of time called *Armigeri*, in Engliſh eſquiers: and this is taken for a degrée ſomewhat aboue the eſtate of a one-

lie gentleman. And for somuch as seruice in the fields did carie awaie with it the greatest honor and credit, and princes willing & desirous to incourage gentlemen to excell that waie and in that kind of seruice, they deuised a third degree of honour named knighthood. And this, as it excelleth the others before and not to be giuen but for great desert: so to increase the credit and estimation thereof, it was not to be giuen but with great solemnities and ceremonies; and the person so to be honored, was to be adorned with such ornaments as doo speciallie apperteine to the furniture of such seruice, as namelie a sword, a target, a helme, a paire of spurres, and such like: and they which were thus aduanced were named *Milites* or knights, and thus the name of seruice was turned to the name of worship: yea this degree did grow and wax to be of such credit, honor and estimation, that kings and princes were and would be verie circumspect and aduised, before they would dub or promote anie man to this estate. Wherefore considering the estate, nature & worship of a knight, and weieng also the course of this historie, it cannot be intended that all they which went ouer and serued in this conquest, though they were named *Milites*, that therfore they should be compted & taken for knights of worship and high calling: but that they were such as were expert and skilfull to serue in warres according to the nature of the word *Miles*. Wherefore I haue and doo English the word *Miles* in this historie a gentleman of seruice.

(4) A spie, not to watch the doings of his countrimen, whereby to take them in a trip, but to note, marke and consider the nature, maner, and disposition of the countrie and people: whereby to aduertise the earle how he should prouide and order his doings against his comming ouer into the land.

(5) Maurice of Prendalgast was doubtlesse a valiant gentleman, and borne and bred in west Wales, in or about the prouince of Penbroke. He is not named nor mentioned in some books of this historie; but I finding in such exemplars as I haue of best credit, doo thinke I should haue done wrong to haue omitted him. There are yet of his race, posteritie and name, remaining at these daies in the countie of Wexford, and elsewhere.

Of the ouerthrow giuen in Offorie, *and of the submission of the* king thereof.

Chap.4.

THese things thus done and ended as they would themselues, they increase their armie with the townesmen of Wexford, and being then about three thousand men, they march towards (1) Offorie, whereof Donald was then the prince, & who of all the rebels was the most mortall enimie which Mac Morogh had. For on a time he hauing the said Dermons eldest son in his ward and handfast, was in gealousie of him, and mistrusted him with his wife: whereupon he did not onlie shut him vp in a closer prison; but also to be auenged thereof, and of other supposed iniuries, putteth out both of his (2) eies. First then Dermon and his companie enter into Offorie, but they durst not march or aduenture anie further than to the midst of the countrie, because the whole countrie else was full of woods, streicts, passes, and bogs, and no waie at all for men to trauell. But when they met and incountered with the Offorians, they found not cowards nor dastards, but valiant men, and who stood well to the defense of their countrie, and manfullie resisted their enimies. For they trusted so much to their wonted good fortune and successe in such like affaires, that they shronke not a whit from them, but draue them perforce out of the bogs and woods, and followed them into the champaine countrie.

Robert Fitzstephans being in the plaine and open fields with his horsemen, and seeing that the Osforians being there he had the aduantage of them, giueth most fiercelie the onset vpon them, and slue a great number of them; and such as straied and were scattered abrode, they either slue them or ouerthrew them: and such as were ouerthrowne, the kotmen with their Galloglasses axes did cut off their heads. And thus hauing gotten the victorie, they gathered vp and brought before Dermon Mac Morogh three hundred of their enimies heads, which they laid & put at his fet; who turning euerie of them one by one to know them, did then for ioy hold vp both his hands, and with a lowd voice thanked God most highlie. Among these there was the head of one, whom especiallie and aboue all the rest he mortallie hated. And he taking vp that by the heare and eares, with his teeth most horriblie and cruellie bit awaie his nose and lips.

After this, they made a rode through the whole countrie, & marched almost to the vttermost parts, and still as they passed they murthered the people, spoiled, burned, and wasted the whole countrie. And thereupon the prince of Offorie by the aduise of his friends, maketh sute and intreateth for peace: which obteined (although in verie deed it was but a coloured and a dissembled peace on both sides) they put in their hostages, made fealtie, and were sworne to bee faithfull and true to Mac Morogh, as vnto their lawfull and true lord. In these seruices, as in all other, Robert of Barrie, and Mellerius had the pricke and praise, and shewed themselues of all others the most valiant. Both these yong gentlemen were nephues to Fitzstephans (4) the one being his brothers sonne, and the other his sisters sonne. They both were of like valiantnesse, but of sundrie dispositions and natures. For Mellerius being ambitious and desirous of honour, referred all his doings to that end; and whatsoeuer he attempted, was to aduance his fame and credit, making more account to be reported and haue the name of a valiant man, than to be so in deed. The other being of a certeine naturall disposition both noble and valiant, was neither a greedie seeker of land and praise, nor an ambitious crauer of fame and honour; but being alwaies among the best, did rather seeke and trauell to the best, than to be onelie counted the best.

Besides, he was naturallie indued with such a maidenlie shamefastnesse, and no bragger nor boaster, would neither glorifie his doings, nor yet like well of anie others which would so doo of him. By means whereof it came to passe, that the lesse ambitious and desirous he was of honour, the more the same followed him: for glorie and honour follow alwaies vertue, as the shadow the bodie, shunning them who doo most seeke for hir, & following them who do lest regard hir. And manie men are the more liked of manie, bicause they seeme not to like of anie: and praise, fame, and honour most commonlie, the lesse it is esteemed, the more soner it is had & gotten. It fortuned on a time that the armie thus being in Offorie, they did on a night incampe themselues about an old castell. These two gentlemen as they were euer wont, laie togither, and suddenlie there was a great noise, as it were of an infinit number of men, which seemed to breake in and rush in among them, with great force and a rage, destroieng all that euer was, and making a great noise with clashing of their harnesse, and striking of their bils togither, and therewithall such a noise and a shout, as though hea-

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uen and earth would haue come togither.

Theſe kind of phantaſmes and illuſions doo often-times happen in Ireland, eſpeciallie when there be anie hoſtings. With this noiſe the more part of the armie was ſo afraid and diſmaid, that for the moſt part they all fled, ſome into the woods, and ſome into the bogs, euerie one ſeeking a place where to hide and ſuccour himſelfe. But theſe two onelie tarieng behind, raught to their weapons, and forthwith full boldlie ran to Fitzſtephans tents, and called againe togither all ſuch as were thus ſcattered, and incouraged them to take their weapons, and to ſtand to defenſe. Robert of Barrie in all his hurlie burlie, ſtanding alone by himſelfe muſing, except a man or two of his owne men about him, did aboue all others not without anie great admiration of manie, and to the great greefe of ſuch as enuied him, beſt acquit himſelfe. For among other good gifts which were in him, this was ſpeciallie reported of him; that no feare, or force, no ſudden miſhap or miſaduenture whatſoeuer, could at anie time make him afraid or diſcomforted, and to flie awaie. For howſoeuer things fell out and happened, he was alwaies at hand, and in a readines with his weapons to the fight. And ſuch a one as is alwaies readie to abide whatſoeuer ſhall happen, and to preuent what miſchefs maie inſue, is by all mens iudgements counted the beſt and valianteſt man. This man was he, who in this Iriſh warres was the firſt who either was ſtriken or hurt. As concerning the foreſaid phantaſme, this one thing is much noted of it; that in the morning following, when all things were pacified and quieted, the graſſe and weeds which the night before ſtood there vpright and of a great height, did now in the morrow lie downe flat vpon the ground, as though the ſame had bin troden with great multitude of people, and yet was it moſt certeine that none had beene there at all.

(1) There be two Oſſories, the one named the vpper Oſſorie, which is of the ancient inheritance of the Macguilfathrikes, and who are the barons therof; and this lieth in the dioceſſe of Leighling: the other lieth on the north of Ormond, and is vnder the iuriſdiction of the earle of Ormond, who is alſo the earle thereof, being named earle of Ormond and Oſſorie. It is a dioceſſe of it ſelfe, and the biſhop thereof is named the biſhop of Oſſorie, whoſe ſee and houſe is at Kilkennie. It is parcell of the prouince of Leinſter and vnder the obeiſance then of Dermon Mac Morogh.

(2) This was a courteous kind of puniſhing, for cõmonlie ſuch is the reuenging nature of the meere Iriſhman, that albeit he can or doo late neuer ſo manie plagues and puniſhments vpon his enimie: yet is he neuer ſatiſfied, vnleſſe he haue alſo his life, yea and manie not therewith contented, but will vtter their wicked nature euen vpon the dead carcaſe, as doth apeare in this chapter of the ſame Mac Morogh, who finding one of his enimies heads, was not ſatiſfied, vntill in moſt cruell maner he did with his teeth bite awaie his noſe and his lips.

(3) There are in Ireland three ſorts or degrees of ſoldiers: the firſt is the horſeman, who commonlie is a gentleman borne, and he is armed with ſuch armor as the ſeruice of that countrie requireth: the ſecond degree is the Kernaugh, & he alſo is a gentleman or a freeholder borne, but not of that abilitie to mainteine a horſſe with his furniture, and therefore he is a light ſouldier on foot; his armor is both light and ſlender, being a ſkull, a left gantlet or a target, a ſword and ſkeine, and three or foure darts: the third degree is the Galloglaſſe, who was firſt brought in to this land by the Engliſhmen, and thereof taketh his name. For Galloglas is to ſaie, an Engliſh yeoman or ſeruant; his armor is a ſkull, a iacke, an habergeon or ſhirt of male, a ſword and a ſparre, otherwiſe named a Galloglaſſe ax or halbert, & this man is counted the beſt ſouldier on foot, and the ſtrength of the battell. Theſe in all hoſtings haue attending vpon them a number of boies and Kernes, and who doo ſpoile and kill all ſuch as be ouerthrowne and hurt in the fields.

The conſpiracie of Rothorike monarch of Ireland, and of the reſidue of the princes againſt Mac Morogh and Fitzſtephans.

Chap. 5.

IN the meane time the wheele of fortune is turned vpſide downe, and they which before ſeemed to ſtand aloft, are now afraid of fliding: and they which were on high, in perill now to fall. For aſſoone as it was noiſed through the whole land of the good ſucceſſe of Dermon, and of the comming in of ſtrangers into the land, and whereof they were much afraid: Rothorike prince of (1) Conagh, and (2) monarch of the whole land, coniecturing how of ſmall things great doo grow; and conſidering that by the comming in of ſtrangers, the whole land was in ſome perill; ſendeth abrode his meſſengers, and ſummoneth a parlement of the whole land: who being aſſembled, and the matter at full debated, they doo with one voice and conſent conclude and determine to make open warres, and to giue the battell vnto Mac Morogh. And forthwith euerie man hauing made readie both men and armor to his vttermoſt power, doo ioine all their forces and ſtrengths togither, and with maine and ſtrength doo inuade the countrie of Okenſile in Leinſter.

Dermon Mac Morogh in this diſtreſſe was ſomwhat diſquieted, and in a great perplexitie; partlie bicauſe ſome of his (but gloſing) freends diſtruſting the ſequele, did ſhrinke from him, & hid themſelues: ſome of them moſt traitorouſlie, contrarie to their oth and promiſe, were fled to his enimies: and ſo in this his diſtreſſe he had verie few freends, ſauing onlie Robert Fitzſtephans and the Engliſhmen with him. He therefore with ſuch companie as he had, went vnto a certeine place not farre from Fernes, which was compaſſed and inuironed round about with great thicke woods, high ſtikie hilles, and with bogs and waters; a place ſo ſtrong of it ſelfe, as it was in a maner inacceſſible, and not to be entred into. And as ſoone as they were entred into the ſame, they forthwith by the aduiſe of Fitzſtephans (3) did fell downe trees, plaſhed the wood, caſt great trenches and ditches round about, and made it ſo ſtrict, narrow, croked, and ſtrong, that there was no paſſage nor entrie for the enimie: and yet by their art and induſtrie it was made much more ſtrong.

(1) Conagh, in Latine Conacia, is one of the fiue portions of the land, according to the ancient diuiſion. In it are thirtie cantreds or baronies; and before and vntill the conqueſt they were vnder the gouernment of the ſept of the O Conners, the eldeſt man of which ſept by the Iriſh law was ouer the prince: but at the conqueſt it was giuen to certeine noble men of England, & by certeine deſcents it came to ſir Walter de Burgo, who was lord of that whole prouince and earle of Wolſter. From theſe Burghs deſcend the Burghs now being in Conagh, they being of a baſe line, and firſt were put onlie in truſt to keepe that countrie to the vſe of their lords, who then dwelled and remained in England. This countrie lieth betweene Vlſter in the north, Mounſter in

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the ſouth, and the ſeas in the weſt. The cheefeſt and onelie merchant towne or emporium thereof is Gallowaie.

(2) There was alwaies one principall gouernor among the Iriſh, whom they named a monarch; and he was commonlie either of the Mac Carthies in Mounſter, or of the Morroghs in Leinſter, or of the O Connors in Connagh, as this Rothorike was. He was elected & choſen by the common conſent of all the nobilitie of the land: & being once choſen, all they did homage and fealtie vnto him. The prouince of Meth, which was the leaſt of the fiue ſeuerall portions, was reſerued alwais vnto him for his diet. For though the Omolaghlins did dwell in Meth, and were great inheritors or poſſeſſioners there, yet they were not counted for princes as the other were. This monarch did gouerne the whole land vniuerſallie, & all the princes were directed by him: in him it laie whether it ſhould be peace or warre; and what he commanded was alwaies done.

(3) The maner of the Iriſhrie is to keepe themſelues from force of the enimies, or in the bogs, or in the woods: the one of his nature is ſo ſtrong as no horſeman is to aduenture into the ſame; the other with induſtrie they make ſtrong, by felling of trees & plaſhing of the woods; and by theſe means the horſemen (in whom is all the ſtrength of their warres) can haue no paſſage nor entrie to the enimie, but muſt either retire, or go on foot, or ſeeke ſome other waie. If they will and muſt needs paſſe that waie, they muſt of neceſſitie go on foot, and then they are too weake, and eaſilie to be ouercome by the Kernes, whoſe ſeruice is onelie on foot: therefore they doo cheefelie keepe themſelues in ſuch places, as where they can take the aduantage of others, and not others of them.

The deſcription of Dermon Mac Morogh, and of the meſſage of Rothorike O Connor ſent vnto him for peace.

Cap. 6.

DErmon Mac Morogh was a tall man of ſtature, and of a large and great bodie, a valiant and a bold warrior in his nation: and by reaſon of his continuall halowing and crieng his voice was hoarſe: he rather choſe and deſired to be feared than to be loued: a great oppreſſor of his nobilitie, but a great aduancer of the poore and weake. To his owne people he was rough and greeuous, and hatefull vnto ſtrangers; he would be againſt all men, and all men againſt him. Rothorike minding to attempt anie waie whatſoeuer, rather than to aduenture and wage the battell, ſendeth firſt his meſſengers with great preſents vnto Fitzſtephans, to perſuade and intreat him: that for ſo much as he made no chalenge nor title to the land, that he would quietlie, and in peace returne home againe into his owne countrie, but it auailed not. Then they went vnto Mac Morogh himſelfe, & perſuaded him to take part with Rothorike, and to ioine both their forces and armies in one, and then with might and maine to giue the onſet vpon the ſtrangers, and ſo vtterlie to deſtroie them. And in this doing he ſhould haue Rothorike to his good freend, and all Leinſter in reſt and quietneſſe: manie reaſons alſo they alledged concerning their countrie and nation; but all was to no purpoſe.

The ſpeeches and oration which Rothorike O Connor made vnto his ſoldiors.

Chap. 7.

ROthorike O Connor, ſeeing that by theſe his deuiſes and practiſes he could doo no good at all, and thinking that forſomuch as he could not auaile with words, he with force and armes, as his laſt remedie and helpe, prepareth his armor, and maketh for the battell: and aſſembling his people togither, maketh vnto them theſe ſpeeches. Ye right noble and valiant defendors of your countrie and libertie, let vs conſider with what people, and for what cauſes we are now to fight and wage the battell. That enimie of his owne countrie, that tyrant ouer his owne people, and an open enimie vnto all men, and who ſometimes was an exiled man: ſee how he being inuironed with the force of ſtrangers, is now returned, & mindeth the vtter deſtruction of vs all, and of this his nation. He enuieng the ſafetie of his countrie and countrimen, hath procured and brought in a ſtrange nation vpon vs, that by the helpe of a hatefull people he might ſatiſfie and more effectuallie accompliſh his malice, which otherwiſe by no means he could haue brought to paſſe. He then being an enimie, hath brought in that enimie which hath beene euer hatefull both vnto him, and vnto vs; and who are moſt greedie to haue the ſouereignтie & dominion ouer vs all, proteſting and openlie affirming, that by a certeine fatall deſtinie they are to be rulers ouer this land: yea, & ſo far hath he ſhed out his venome, and almoſt euerie man is ſo inuenomed therewith, that now no fauor nor mercie is to be ſhewed. O cruell beaſt, yea more cruell than euer was beaſt! for to ſatiſfie his inſatiable malice, and to be auenged with the bloudſhedding of his owne people, he ſpareth neither himſelfe, nor his countrie, nor ſer. This is he who is a moſt cruell tyrant ouer his owne people: this is he who with the force and helpe of ſtrangers vſeth all force and crueltie againſt all men. He deſerueth well therefore to be hated of all, which ſeeketh to be an enimie vnto all. Looke therefore (ye worthie citizens) well to your ſelues; I ſaie looke and conſider well how by theſe meanes, I meane by ciuill diſcord, all realmes & nations haue for the moſt part beene ouerthrowen & vanquiſhed. (1) Julius Ceſar minding to inuade Britaine had the repulſe twiſe, & was driuen out by the Britons. But when Androgeus fell at variance with the king, he then to be reuenged, ſent againe for Julius, who thervpon returned and conquered the land. (2) The ſame Julius alſo conquerd all the weſt parts of the world, but when he waxed & became ambitious, & would be a ſole monarch, & haue the whole gouernement in himſelfe, then diſcord was raiſed, & debate was riſe, & by that meanes all Italie was filled with murthers and ſlaughters. (3) The Britons being at diſcord with their king, procured Gurmundus, who then was a terror to all the ocean Iles, that he with the Saxons ſhould purſue and make warre vpon their king, who ſo did: but in the end to their owne confuſion and deſtruction. Likewiſe not long after (4) Iſembertus the French king, being an enimie to his owne people, and at diſcord with them, he procured the ſaid Gurmund to aid and helpe him to ſubdue his people, who ſo did: but thereof he had but bad ſucceſſe. Wherfore let vs with one mind like to theſe Frenchmen ſtand ſtoutlie to the defenſe of our countrie, and couragiouſlie giue the onſet vpon our enimies. And whiles theſe ſtrangers be but few in number, let vs luſtilie iſſue out vpon them: for fire whiles it is but in ſparkles is ſone couered, but when

when it is in great flames, it is the harder to be quenched. It is good therefore to meet with things at the beginning, and to preuent sickneſſe at the first growing: for diseases by long continuance hauing taken deepe rot, are hardlie to be cured. We therefore, who are to defend our countrie and libertie, and to leaue to our posteritie an immortall fame: let vs valiantlie, and with a good courage aduenture and giue the onset, that the ouerthrow of a few may be a terror vnto manie; and that by this example all other forren nations may be afraid to aduenture the like attempt.

(1) Julius Cesar hauing receiued two repulses, retired & toke shipping, being in an vtter despaire & not minding to returne anie more. Wherupon Cassibelan then king of the land called & assembled all his nobles to London, where for ioie he kept a great and a solemne feast, and at the same were vsed all such games and pastimes, as in those daies were most accustomed. And at a wrestling game then it chanced two yong gentlemen, the one being nephue to the king, and the other cousine to the erle of London (Kent) to fall at variance, & in the end the kings nephue was slaine. The king much grieued therwith sent for the earle, whose name was Androgeus: and bicause he would not come vnto him he made wars vpon him. The earle considering in what distresse he was, and how farre vnable to incounter the power and withstand the displeasure of the king, sendeth his messenger with his letters vnto Julius Cesar, and besought him most earnestlie to returne with his armie, and he would aid and helpe him against the king with all the power he had. Julius Cesar glad of these tidings returneth with all speed, and in the end hath the victorie: and thus by meanes of debate and diuision the reime, which otherwise was thought to be impregnable, was subuerted and made tributarie.

(2) Julius Cesar hauing happie and fortunate successe in all his affaires, grew into such a liking of himselfe, that he would neds be the sole monarch and emperor ouer the whole world, taking foule euill that according to the ancient gouernement of the Romans anie one should be ioined with him: and ambitiouslie seeking the same, he became dreadfull to the people, lothsome to his friends, and in the displeasure of the senat: who maligning at his aspiring and mistrusting the sequele thereof, conspired his death, and in the end he comming into the senat house, and mistrusting nothing, was murthered and slaine.

(3) At this time Careticus was king and ruled ouer Britaine, now named England, who was so vitious a man in all respects, that he became hatefull both to God and man: and his subiects not abiding his tyrannie, nor brooking his wickednesse, fell at diuision with him. Wherupon Gurmundus then king of Ireland was procured (some saie by the Britons and some saie by the Saxons) who being entered into the land, and seeking by all the meanes they could to be the sole lords of the land, to inuade the land, which he did, and by the helpe of the Saxons droue the king out of his realme into Wales. And the Saxons hauing thus their wils droue also all the Britons out, who from thenceforth hauing lost the land of Britaine, did inhabit themselues in Wales, Cornewall, and elsewhere, where they might haue refuge and succour. And thus though they were reuenged of their king, yet they themselues in the end felt the smart thereof: for they were all destroied or banished: such are the fruits of dissention and debate.

(4) This Isembertus was not king of France, but as (Gaufred saith) was nephue to the king & and the land being then in great troubles, this Isembert made title vnto it, and seeking by all the meanes and waies he could how to compasse the same, procured Gurmundus to helpe and aid him, promising him great rewards. Wherevpon Gurmundus passed ouer into France, where he had but an euill successe: for there was he slaine, Isembert ouerthrowne and the French nation preuailed. And herevpon Rothorike taketh an occasion to incourage his people to stand to their tackle, and valiantlie to withstand Mac Morogh, who as Isembert had procured in Gurmundus; so had he flocked in Englishmen to ouerrun his countrie.

The oration and speeches of Mac Morogh to his souldiors and people.

Cap.8.

MAc Morogh beheld his men, & perceiuing them to be somewhat dismaied and out of heart, framed his speech to recomfort them, and thus saith vnto them. Ye men of Leinster, truth and kindred in all aduentures hath hitherto ioined vs in one fellowship: wherefore let vs now plucke vp our hearts and like men stand to our defense. For why, that wicked and ambitious man Rothorike, the author of all wickednesse & mischiefe, who desirous to haue the sole souereignetie and dominion doth now determine (which God forbid) either to driue vs cleane out of our countrie, or vtterlie to destroie vs: and marke you now how he lifteth vp his head and looketh aloft. He is so proud and glorieth so much in his great multitude, that by ambition and pride he measureth & valueth his force and strength: but yet (for all that) manie times a small number being valiant and well appointed are better and haue preuailed against great troops, being but sluggards and vnarmed. If he make chalenge and pretend title to Leinster, bicause the same sometimes hath bene tributarie to some one king of Conagh, then by the same reason (1) we also maie demand and chalenge all Conagh: for both thereof and of all Ireland our ancestors haue bene the sole gouernors & monarchs. But to the purpose and to speake plainelie, he seeketh not to rule and to reigne as a monarch, but to vsurpe and destroie as a tyrant, to driue vs out of our countrie, to succeed into euerie mans right & inheritance; and so alone to rule the rost, and to be master ouer all.

Manie there are which dow brag of their great multitudes, and put their trust therein: but let them be well assured that we Leinster men though we be but few in number; yet we neuer were nor yet are afraid to incounter euen with the best & proudest. For why, victorie is not gotten, neither doth it stand alwaies in the great multitude of people, but in vertue and valiantnesse, in strength and courage. We on our sides against pride, haue humilitie: against wrongs, equitie: against arrogancie, modestie: and against intemperance, discretion & moderation: and these vertues are to fight for vs. Men do not alwaie atteine vnto victorie by great troops and multitudes of people, but by vertues. The lawes of all nations dow grant and allow to resist and withstand force and iniurie with force and strength: it is a fauourable cause to fight for our countrie, and to defend our patrimonie. And forsomuch as they contend for the gaine, but we to eschew the losse; let vs be of a good courage: we stand vpon a good ground, and our seat is naturallie verie strong of it selfe, as also by our industrie made more strong: but by reason of the streictnesse thereof, the greater the companie is therin, the more comberous and troublesome it will be:

and

and yet to win the victorie, a small companie being valiant, couragious, and of a good agreement shall serue and be sufficient.

(1) There be (as is said) fiue portions of Ireland, and euerie of them (except Meth which was reserued to the monarch for the time being for his diet) had their particular princes, & none of these did hold anie one of the other: but of some one of them chosse was made by the whole estates of the land to be the monarch; and he for the time being did take and receiue homage and fealtie of all the others, not in respect that he was a particular prince, but because he was the monarch. And this Mac Morogh alleged for him selfe, denieng that he held anie of his lands of the king of Connagh otherwise than in respect that he was the monarch.

The oration of Robert Fitzstephans *made vnto his companions and souldiors.*

Chap.9.

When Dermon Mac Morogh had ended his speech, Robert Fitzstephans calleth his companie togither, & thus he speaketh vnto them. Ye lustie yong men and my companions in warres, which haue abiden with me in manie perils; & yet still of noble minds & valiant courages: if we would now consider with our selues, what we are, vnder what capteine, and wherefore we do aduenture and attempt these great enterprises, no doubt we shall excell in our wonted valiantnesse, and good fortune shall be on our side. We first came and descended from the (1) Troians, and since are of the French bloud and race: of the one we haue these our noble and valiant minds, and of the other the vse and experience in feats of armes: wherfore being thus descended of noble progenie by two maner of waies and in two respects; as we be now well armed and appointed, so let vs also be of valiant minds and lustie courages: and then no doubt this rascall and naked people shall neuer be able to resist nor withstand vs.

Besides you see and know how that at home, partlie by the subtill and craftie dealings of our owne cousines and kinsmen, and partlie by the secret malice and deuises of our familiars and acquaintances, we are bereft & spoiled both of our countrie and patrimonie. And now we are come hither, not as greedie crauers for large stipends, nor yet as couetous prollers for gaine and lucre: but onlie in respect and consideration to haue and inioie the lands & townes to vs, and to our heires after vs, offered and promised. We are not come hither like pirats or theeues to rob and spoile, but as faithfull friends, to recouer and to restore this noble and liberall gentleman to that his patrimonie, wherof he is spoiled and dispossessed. He it is that hath allured and flocked vs hither; he it is that loueth our nation: and he it is who purposeth to plant and settle vs and our heires in this Ile. And peraduenture by these meanes the whole land, which is now diuided into fiue prouinces or portions, maie be deduced and brought into one, and the same in time be wholie vnto vs and our heires: if that by our valiantnesse and prowesse the victorie be gotten, and Mac Morogh by our seruice, meanes, and industrie be restored, and then the whole dominion to vs and to our heires for euer to be reserued.

O how great were then our honor & glorie! yea so great, that with the perils of our bodies, losse of our liues, and the dangers of death, it is to be wished for, sought, & aduentured. For why should we be afraid? and what is death I praie you? Is it anie other than a short delaie or distance of time, & as it were a short sleepe betweene this transitorie life and the life eternall to come? What is death (I saie) but a short passage from vaine and transitorie things to perpetuall and euerlasting ioies? And certeine it is we must all once die: for it is that inenitable destinie, which is common to all men, and can be eschewed of no man: for be we idle, and do nothing worthie of perpetuall fame and memorie; or be we well occupied, whereof insueth praise and honor: yet die shall we. When the matter being so, let them be affraied of death, who when they die, all things die with them: but let not them shrinke nor be dismaied, whose vertue and fame shall neuer die but liue for euer. Wherefore ye worthie men, who are enoblished for your valiantnes and famous for your vertues, let vs with bold minds and good courages giue the onset vpon our enimies, that in vs our noble race & progenie be not stained, but that either by a glorious victorie, or a famous death, we do atchiue to perpetuall fame and honor.

How Rothorike intreateth for peace *and obteineth the same.*

Chap.10.

Rothorike, when he had well considered with himselfe how the euents of wars are doubtfull and vncerteine, & that as the wiseman saith; A man of wisedome and vnderstanding is to trie all manner of waies rather than the warres: and also being somewhat timorous to aduenture the battell with strangers, sendeth his messengers by all the waies they best might, to intreat for peace: who at length through their industrie, and by the mediation of good men, and by Gods goodnesse who prospered the same, obteined the same, and which was concluded in this order. That Dermon Mac Morogh should haue and enioy all Leinster in peace and quietnesse, to him and to his heires, acknowledging Rothorike to be the chefe king and monarch of all Ireland, and yeelding vnto him that seruice and dutie as vnto him therein apperteined. And for the performance hereof, he deliuered his sonne Cunthurus in pledge and for an hostage. To whome Rothorike then promised, vpon condition, that the peace and certeine other points obserued, he would giue his daughter vnto him in mariage. These things being openlie published, each partie swore the one to the other, for the performance and keeping of the same. And yet whatsoeuer the vtter shew, it was secretlie agreed betweene them, that Dermon Mac Morogh, when and assoone as he had quietlie setled Leinster in good order, he should returne and send home all the English people, as also in the meane time should not procure anie more to come ouer.

Of the comming of Maurice Fitzgerald into Ireland: of the yeelding vp of Dublin to Dermon Mac Morogh; and of the *warres betweene the two princes of Conagh and of Limereke.*

Chap.11.

These things thus done & performed, and fortune seeming with a more fauorable countenance to smile vpon them, behold Maurice Fitzgerald, of whom we spake before, who was the halfe brother by the mothers side to Robert Fitzstephans, arriued at Wexford in two ships, hauing in his companie (which he brought) ten gentlemen of seruice, thirtie horsemen, and of archers and footmen about one hundred. A man he

he was both honest and wise, and for his truth and valiantnesse verie noble and famous. He was a man of his word, and constant of mind, and therewithall adorned with a certeine kind of womanlie shamefastnesse. Mac Morogh being verie glad of this new repaire, as also much animated and incouraged therewith, beginneth to thinke vpon old sores, and to call to remembrance the great iniuries and wrongs which the citizens of Dublin had in times past done both vnto his father and to himselfe; and minding to be reuenged thereof, bendeth his force, and marcheth with his whole armie to besiege the citie, but left Fitzstephans behind, who was then building a hold or castell vpon a certeine rockie hill called the (1) Caricke, about two miles from Werford, which place although it were verie strong of it selfe, yet by industrie and labour it was made much stronger. Morice Fitzgerald, with all the force and companie of the Englishmen, accompanied and attended Mac Morogh, who was his guide, and conducted him vnto Dublin. Assone as they were entred within the borders and confines of the territorie of Dublin, they forthwith burned, spoiled, and wasted the same, and the whole countrie thereto adioining. The citizens of Dublin seeing and considering the same, began to quaile, and their hearts fainted, and do seeke and intreat for peace; and hauing obteined the same, did sweare fealtie, and gaue in hostages for the true and firme keeping of the same. In this meane time there fell a great enimitie and quarell betweene Rothorike of Connagh and Donald prince of Limereke. And assone as Rothorike was with all his force entered into the countrie of Limereke, Dermon Mac Morogh sent forthwith Robert Fitzstephans with all his power, to aid and helpe the said Donald: for he was Dermons sonne in law, by whose means he gat the victorie, and Rothorike with shame was driuen to retire out of the countrie, and to returne to his owne home: and left the chefterie which he demanded. In these and all other like seruices, Robert Barrie and Metlerius carried the best praise and commendations. At this time was seene a woman who had a great beard, and a man vpon hir backe, as a horsse; of whom I haue alreadie spoken in my topographie.

(1) The said Caricke (as is written) is distant from the towne of Werford about two English miles, and standeth vpon a high rocke, and is inuironed on two sides with the riuer which floweth to Werford towne, and it is verie deepe and nauigable: the other two sides are vpon the maine land, which is a verie fertile soile, and in height almost equall with the castell. It was at the first made but of rods and turffes, according to the maner in those daies; but since builded with stone, and was the strongest fort then in those parts of the land: but being a place not altogither sufficient for a prince, and yet it was thought too good and strong for a subiect, it was pulled downe, defaced and raced, and so doth still remaine.

Dermon Mac Morogh sendeth for the *earle Richard, who foorthwith maketh great* preparation for his comming.

Chap. 12.

MAc Morogh, being by meanes of his good successe well quieted and satisfied, bethinketh himselfe now of greater matters, and deuiseth how and by what means he might recouer his old and ancient rights; as also purchase all Connagh to his subiection. And herein he vsed a secret conference with Fitzstephans and Fitzgerald, vnto whome he vttereth and discouereth all his whole mind and intent: who forthwith gaue his answer that his deuise was verie easilie to be compassed, if he could get a greater supplie and aid of Englishmen. Whereupon he made most earnest requests vnto them, both for the procuring of their kinsmen and countriemen, as also for the furthering to effect his purpose and deuise. And that he might the better perswade them hereunto, he offereth to either one of them his daughter and heire in marriage with the inheritance of his kingdome: but they both being alreadie married, refused the offer. And at length after much talke they thus concluded, that he should with all spéed send his messengers with his letters vnto the earle Richard, of whome we spake before, and vnto whome he the said Mac Morogh at his being at or about Bristow, had promised his daughter to wife, which letters were as followeth.

Mac Moroghs letter to earle Richard.

Dermon Mac Morogh prince of Leinster, to Richard earle of Chepstone, and sonne of Gilbert the earle sendeth greeting. If you do well consider and marke the time as we do which are in distresse, then we do not complaine without cause nor out of time: for we haue alreadie seene the (1) storkes and swallows, as also the summer birds are come, and with the westerlie winds are gone againe; we haue long looked and wished for your comming, and albeit the winds haue béene at east and easterlie, yet hitherto you are not come vnto vs: wherefore now linger no longer, but hasten your selfe hither with spéed, that it may thereby appeare not want of good will, nor forgetfulnesse of promise, but the iniurie of time hath béene hitherto the cause of your long staie. All Leinster is alreadie wholie yéelded vnto vs: and if you will spéedilie come away with some strong companie and force, we doubt not but that the other foure portions will be recouered and adioined to this the fift portion. Your comming therefore the more spédie it is, the more gratefull; the more hastie, the more ioifull; and the sooner, the better welcome: and then our mislike of your long lingering shall be recompensed by your sone comming, for frendship & good will is recouered and nourished by mutuall offices, and by benefits it groweth to a more assurednesse.

When earle Richard had read these letters, he taketh aduise with his frends, and taking some comfort and stomach of the good successe of Fitzstephans, whereof he was at the first both fearefull and doubtfull, fullie determineth to bend his whole force and power to follow this seruice and hostings. This earle was a man of a verie noble parentage, and descended of verie honorable ancestors; but yet more famous in name, than rich in purse; more noble in blood, than endowed with wit; and greater in hope of succession, than rich in possessions. Well, he thought long yer he could wend himselfe ouer into Ireland, and therefore to compasse the same to good effect, maketh his repaire to king Henrie the second, and most humblie praieth and beséecheth him that he will either restore him to such possessions, as by inheritance did apperteine vnto him; or else to grant him the libertie to trie and séeke fortune in some other forren countrie and nation.

(1) The storke and the swallow are named *Aues semestres*, or the halfe yeares birds: for they come at the spring, and depart againe awaie at the autumne or fall of the leafe, for in the winter they are not séene. And by this Mac Morogh alludeth and meaneth that he hath awaited that whole halfe yeare for the earles comming: whose promise was, that in the spring of the yeare past he would haue come.

Of

Of the arriuall of Reimond le groſſe into Ireland, and of the fight which he had againſt the Waterford men at Dundorogh.

Chap.13.

THe king hauing heard the earles requeſts, bethought himſelfe a while thereof: but in the end he alowed not of the one, nor granted the other, but fed him ſtill with good ſpæches, and nouriſhed him with faire words, commending his noble mind, that he would aduenture ſo honorable an enterprize. And in words the king ſéemed to giue him leaue to follow his deuiſe, but to ſaie the truth, it was rather in game than in earneſt, for the king minded nothing leſſe. But the earle taking the aduantage of the kings words, and accepting the ſame for a ſufficient leaue and licence, returneth home. And the ſame being the winter ſeaſon & verie vnfit to trauell into forren nations in martiall affaires, doth now make preparation of all things fit to ſerue when time ſhould require. And aſſoone as the winter was paſt, he ſendeth ouer before him into Ireland, a gentleman of his owne houſhold and familie named Reimond le groſſe: who had with him ten gentlemen of ſeruice, and three ſcore and ten archers well appointed, and taking ſhipping about the kalends of Maie, then landed at the rocke of (1) Dundonolfe, which lieth ſouth from Werford, and about foure miles eaſt from Waterford: and there they caſt a trench, and builded a little caſtell or hold, with turffes and wattell. This Reimond was nephue to Robert Fitzſtephans and to Maurice Fitzgerald, being the ſonne vnto their elder brother named William, and was verie valiant, of great courage, and well expert in the warres and in all martiall affaires. The citizens of Waterford, and Omolaghlin Ofelin, being aduertiſed of this their arriuall, and nothing liking the neighborhood of ſuch ſtrangers, take counſell togither what were beſt to be done: and finding it moſt neceſſarie and needfull to withſtand at the beginning, they do conclude and determine to giue the onſet vpon them; and being about three thouſand men, they take botes, and rowe downe the riuer of the Sure (which fléeteth fall by the wals of Waterford on the eaſt, and diuideth Leinſter from Mounſter) and ſo came to the place where Reimond and his companie were, where they landed and ſet their men in order for the aſſaults, and marched boldlie to the ditches of Reimonds fortreſſe or caſtell: but then it appeared how valiantnes can neuer be hid, luſtie courage be daunted, nor yet prowelle or worthines be blemiſhed. For Reimond and his companie, although they were but few in number, and too weake to incounter with ſo great a companie as their aduerſaries were: yet being of courragious minds & luſtie ſtomachs, went out to meet with their enimies; but when they ſaw that their ſmall number was not ſufficient nor able in the plaines to abide and indure the force of ſo great a multitude, they retired to their fort. The enimies thinking then to diſcomfit and cleane to ouerthrow them, followed and purſued them ſo ſhortlie, that the Engliſhmen were no ſoner in at the gates, but the Iriſhmen were alſo at their heeles, and ſome of them within the gate. Which thing when Reimond ſaw, and conſidering alſo with himſelfe what a diſtreſſe and perill he and all his were in, ſuddenlie turneth backe his face vpon his enimies; and the firſt of them which entred, he ranne him thorough with his ſword (or as ſome ſaie claue his head aſunder) and then with a lowd voice cried out to his companie to be of a good comfort. Who forthwith as they turned and ſtood moſt manfullie to their defenſe: ſo their enimies alſo being diſmaied and afraid at the death of that one man, they all fled and ranne awaie: and then they which in this doubtfull chance of fight, were thought ſhould be vanquiſhed and cleane ouerthrowne, ſuddenlie became to be the victors and conquerors. And theſe ſharpelie then purſued their enimies, who were ſcattered abroad in the plaines and out of arraie; that in a verie ſhort time and ſpace they ſlue aboue fiue hundred perſons: and being wearie with killing, they caſt a great number of thoſe whome they had taken priſoners headlong from the rocks into the ſea, and ſo drowned them. In this fight and ſeruice a gentleman named William Ferand did moſt valiantlie acquit himſelfe. For albeit he were but of a weake bodie, yet was he of a verie ſtout ſtomach & courage: he was diſeaſed and ſicke of the leproſie, and therefore deſirous rather to die valiantlie, than to liue in miſerie: and for that cauſe would and did aduenture himſelfe in places where moſt perill and danger was and ſéemed to be; thinking it good with a glorious death to preuent the greéfe and lothſomneſſe of a greéuous diſeaſe.

Thus fell the pride of Waterford, thus decaied their ſtrength and force, and thus began the ruine and ouerthrow of that citie, which as it bred a great hope and conſolation to the Engliſhmen; ſo was it the cauſe of a great deſperation and terror to the enimies. It was a ſtrange matter and neuer heard of before in thoſe parties, that ſo great a ſlaughter ſhould be made by ſo ſmall a number: neuertheleſſe by euill counſell and too much crueltie, the Engliſhmen abuſed their good ſucceſſe and fortune. For hauing gotten the victorie, they ſaued ſeuentie of the beſt citizens, whom they kept priſoners; and for the ranſome or redemption of theſe, they might haue had either the citie of Waterford yelded & ſurrendred vnto them, or ſuch a maſſe of monie as they would themſelues. But Heruie of Mount Moris (who came ouer with three gentlemen of ſeruice, and ioined with his countrimen and Reimonds) being both of contrarie minds, ſtriued the one with the other, what were beſt to be done herein.

(1) Dundonolfe is a rocke ſtanding in the countie of Waterford vpon the ſea ſide, lieng eaſt from the citie of Waterford about eight Engliſh miles, and is from the towne of Werford about twelue miles, lieng ſouthwards from the ſame: it is now a ſtrong caſtell, and apperteining to the ancient houſe of the Powers of Kilmaithen, & called by the name of Dundorogh.

(2) The citie of Waterford or Guaterford, named ſometimes (as Ptolomeus writeth) Manapia, is a faire, ancient, and honorable citie, ſtanding vpon the ſouth ſide of the riuer of Sure, which fléeteth fast by the walles thereof, and was firſt builded by one named Sitaratus, one of the three princes which came out of the eaſt parts to inhabit that land. It was at the firſt but a ſmall pile, lieng in forme of a long triangle, but ſince & of late times inlarged by the citizens & inhabitants of the ſame. It is the chéefeſt empozium in a manner of all that land, and ſtandeth chéeflie vpon the trade of merchandize, they themſelues being not onelie great trauellers into forren nations, but alſo great reſort and dailie concourſes of ſtrangers are to it. Concerning the gouernement, order, ſtate and ſeruice of this citie, and of ſundrie other things incident to the ſame, are at large deſcribed in the later hiſtorie of this land.

The

The oration of Reimond for the *deliuerie of the prisoners taken.*

Chap.14.

REimond being verie desirous that the captiues taken might be deliuered, laboreth by all the waies he could how to compasse the same, & in presence of Heruie maketh these speeches, and vseth these persuasions to all his companie. Bée my noble and valiant companions and souldiers, for increase of whose honour, vertue and fortune séeme to contend; let vs now consider what is best to be done with these our prisoners and captiues. For my part I do not thinke it good, nor yet allow that anie fauour or courtesie should be at all shewed to the enimie. But vnderstand you, these are no enimies now, but men; no rebels, but such as be vanquished and cleane ouerthrowen, and in standing in defense of their countrie, by euill fortune and a worse destinie they are subdued. Their aduentures were honest and their attempts commendable, and therefore they are not to be reputed for théeues, factious persons, traitors, nor yet murtherers. They are now brought to that distresse and case, that rather mercie for examples sake is to be shewed, than crueltie to the increasing of their miserie is to be ministred. Suerlie our ancestors in times past (although in déed it be verie hard to be done) were wont in times of good successe and prosperitie, to temperat their lose minds and vnrulie affections with some one incommoditie or other. Wherfore let mercie and pitie, which in a man is most commendable, worke so in vs, that we who haue ouercome others, may also now subdue our owne minds, and conquer our owne affections: for modestie, moderation, and discretion are wont to staie hastie motions, and to stop rash deuises. O how commendable and honorable is it to a noble man, that in his greatest triumph and glorie, he counteth it for a sufficient reuenge, that he can reuenge and be wreaked?

Julius Cesar, whose conquests were such, his victories so great, and his triumphs so manie, that the whole world was noised therewith; he had not so manie frends who reioised for the same, but he had manie more enimies who maligned and enuied at him, not onelie in slanderous words and euill reports; but manie also secretlie conspired, deuised, and practised his death and destruction: and yet he was so full of pitie, mercie, and compassion, that he neuer commanded nor willed anie to be put to death for the same, sauing onelie one Domitius, whome he had of mere clemencie for his lewdnesse before pardoned, for his wickednesse released, and for his trecherie acquited. And thus as his pitie did much increase his honour, so did it nothing hinder his victories. O how beastlie then and impious is that crueltie, wherin victorie is not ioined with pitie? For it is the part of a right noble and a valiant man, to count them enimies which do wage the battell, contend and fight for the victorie; but such as be conquered, taken prisoners, and kept in bonds and captiuitie, to take and repute them for men, that hereby fortitude and force may diminish the battell and end the quarrell, as also humanitie may increase loue & make peace. It is therefore a great commendation and more praiseworthie to a noble man in mercie to be bountious, than in victorie to be cruell; for the one lieth onelie in the course of fortune, but the other in vertue: and as it had béene a great increase of our victorie, and an augmentation of honour, if our enimies had béene slaine in the field and ouerthrowen in the battell: so they being now taken and saued, and as it were men returned from rebels to the common societie and fellowship of men; if we should now kill them, it will be to our great shame, dishonor, and reproch for euer. And for somuch as by the killing and destroieng of them we shall be neuer the nerer to haue the countrie, nor neuer soner to be the lords of the land; and yet the ransoming of them verie good for the maintenance of the souldiers, the good fame of vs, and the aduancement of our honour: we must needs thinke it better to ransome them than to kill them. For as it is requisit and meet, that a souldier in the field fighting in armes, should then thirst for the bloud of his enimies, trie the force of his sword, and valiantlie stand to his tackle for victorie: so when the fight is ended, the wars are ceassed, & the armor laid downe, and all fiercenes of hostilitie set apart; then in a noble man must humanitie take place, pitie must be shewed, and courtesie must be extended.

The oration or speech which *Heruie made.*

Chap.15.

WHen Reimond had ended his speech, & the whole companie being in a muttering, and as it were men well pleased and verie well allowing his mind and opinion: then Heruie stood vp and spake to them all in this maner. Reimond hath verie exquisitlie discoursed with vs of pitie and mercie, and in set speeches vttering his eloquence, hath shewed his mind and declared his opinion; persuading and inducing vs to beléeue, that a strange land were to be conquered soner by mercie and fond pitie than by sword and fire. But I praie you, can there be a worse waie than so to thinke? Did Julius Cesar or Alexander of Macedonie by such means or in such order conquer the whole world? Did the nations from out of all places run to submit themselues vnder their yoke and empire, in respect of their pitie & mercie, & not rather compelled so to do for feare & perforce? For people, whiles they are yet proud and rebellious, they are (all pitie and mercie set apart) by all manner of waies and meanes to be subdued: but when they are once brought into subiection and bondage, and redie to serue and obeie, then they are with all courtesie to be intreated and dealt withall: so that the state of the gouernment may be in safetie and out of danger. Herein and in this point must pitie be vsed, but in the other seueritie or rather crueltie is more necessarie: here clemencie is to be shewed, but in the other rigour without fauour is to be exhibited and vsed. Reimond persuadeth that mercie is to be extended, as vpon a people alreadie subdued and subiected; or as though the enimies were so few and of so small a number, as against whome no valiant seruice nor chiualrie can be exploited, and yet they redie to ioine with vs: whereby our force may be increased, and our power augmented. But alas! Do not we sée how that the whole nation and people of Ireland are wholie bent, and not without cause altogither conspired against vs?

Suerlie me thinketh Reimond is contrarie vnto himselfe; for why, his comming hither was not to dispute of pitie, nor to reason of mercie; but to conquer the nation and to subdue the people. O what an example of impious pitie were it then, to neglect our owne safetie, and to haue remorse and compassion vpon others distresses? Moreouer, we haue here in the fields, and in armour more enimies than friends, we are in the middle of perils and dangers, our enimies being round about vs in euerie place: and shall we thinke this to be nothing, but that we must be also in the like distresse and danger among

our ſelues. Round about vs our enimies are infinit, and within our ſelues ſome there be which practiſe our deſtruction. And if it ſhould happen that our captiues and priſoners ſhould eſcape and breake looſe out of their bonds, which are but verie weake and ſlender, no doubt they will forthwith take our owne armours and weapons againſt vs. Well well, the mouſe is in the cupboord, the fire is in the lap, and the ſerpent is in the boſome; the enimie is at hand readie to oppreſſe his aduerſarie, and the geſt is in place with ſmall courteſie to requit his hoſt. And I praie you doth not Reimond execute that in his facts and doings, which he denieth in his words? Are not his ſpeeches contrarie to his deeds? Let him anſwer me to this. If our enimies when they come in good araie and well apointed to giue the onſet, and to wage the battell againſt vs, if they ſhould happen to haue the victorie and the ouerhand ouer vs, would they deale in pitie & mercie? Would they grant vs our liues? Would they put vs to ranſome? Tuſh what need manie words when the deeds are apparant? Our victorie is to be ſo vſed, that the deſtruction of theſe few may be a terror to manie; wherby all others and this wild and rebellious nation may take an example, and beware how they meddle and incounter with vs. Of two things we are to make choiſe of one; for either we muſt valiantlie and couragiouſlie ſtand to performe what we haue taken in hand; and all fond pitie ſet aſide, boldlie and ſtoutlie to ouerthrow and vanquiſh this rebellious and ſtubborne people: or (if we ſhall after the mind and opinion of Reimond altogither be pitifull and full of mercie) we muſt hoiſe vp our ſailes and returne home, leauing both the countrie and our patrimonie to this miſerable and wretched people. Herueies opinion was beſt liked, and the whole companie allowed his iudgement, whereupon the captiues (as men condemned) were brought to the rockes, and after their limbs were broken, they were caſt headlong into the ſeas, and ſo drowned.

The comming ouer of Richard Strangbow earle of Chepſtow into Ireland, and of the taking of the citie of Waterford.

Chap.16.

IN this meane time Richard the earle, hauing prouided and made all things in readineſſe fit for ſo great an enterprize, toke his iournie, and came through Wales to S. Dauids: and ſtill as he went he toke vp all the beſt choſen and piked men that he could get. And hauing all things in place and in a readineſſe meet and neceſſarie for ſuch a voiage, he went to Milford hauen, and hauing a good wind toke ſhipping and came to Waterford, in the kalends of September on the vigill of ſaint Bartholomew, and had with him about two hundred gentlemen of good ſeruice, and a thouſand others. Then was fulfilled Celidons prophecie, which was; that A little firebrand ſhall go before a great fire; and as the ſparkels inkindle the ſmall wood, ſo ſhall the ſame ſet the great wood a fire. Likewiſe was fulfilled the ſaieng of Merlin; A great forerunner of a greater follower ſhall come, and he ſhall tread downe the heads of Deſmond and Leinſter, and the waies before opened & made readie he ſhall inlarge. Reimond being aduertiſed of the earles arriuall, went the next morrow vnto him with great ioy, hauing with him in his companie fortie gentlemen of ſeruice. And on the morrow vpon ſaint Bartholomews date, being tueſdate, they diſplaied their banners, and in good arraie they marched to the wals of the citie, being fullie bent and determined to giue the aſſault: the citizens & ſuch others as had eſcaped at Dundorogh manfullie defending themſelues, and giuing them two repulſes. Reimond who by the conſent and aſſent of the whole armie was choſen and made generall of the field, and tribune of the hoſt, hauing eſpied a little houſe of timber ſtanding halfe vpon poſts without the wals, called his men togither, and incouraged them to giue a new aſſault at that (1) place. And hauing hewed downe the poſts whereupon the houſe ſtood, the ſame fell downe togither with a peece of the towne wall; and then a waie being thus opened, they entred into the citie, and killed the people in the ſtreets without pitie or mercie, leauing them lieng in great heaps; and thus with bloodie hands they obteined a bloodie victorie. In the tower called (2) Reinolds tower they toke two murtherers priſoners, whom they vnarmed and killed; alſo they toke there Reinold, and Machlathilen Ophelan prince of the Decies: but theſe were ſaued by meanes of the comming and ſuite of Mac Morogh, who was alſo come thither with Maurice Fitzgerald and Robert Fitzſtephans. And when they had ſet the citie and all other their things in good order, Mac Morogh gaue his daughter Eua, whom he had then brought thither with him, to be maried to the earle according to the firſt pact and couenant; and then the mariage ſolemnized and all things ſet in order, they diſplaid their baners & marched towards Dublin.

Prophecies of Celidon and Merlin fulfilled.

(1) In the verie place of the aſſault is now buſided a ſtrong fort and blockehouſe, which is verie well furniſhed and appointed with ordinance and ſhot. It is in the verie eaſt angle or point of the walles of the citie: and within on the ſouth ſide the walles doth it appeare how the ſame was burned by the Engliſhmen at this their entrie.

(2) The Reinolds tower is a little tower in the wall of the old citie, and is next or verie neere adioining to a late monaſterie or friers there: it is a verie ſlender thing, and not worthie of any report; ſauing that the author doth alledge it as a fort in thoſe dates vſed for a defenſe.

The beſieging and taking of the citie of Dublin.

Chap.17.

SIrmon being aduertiſed, and hauing perfect aduertiſement that they of Dublin had procured & flocked all or the moſt part of the land to come to aid, helpe and to defend them; and that they had laied all the waies, paſſages and ſtreets about the citie, whereby no man could paſſe that waie, he left all thoſe waies; and paſſing through the mounteines of Glindoloch, he brought his whole armie ſafe to (1) Dublin. And ſuch was his mortall hatred towards the Dublians, that he could not forget the iniuries don to himſelfe, and the ſhamefull reproch done to his father. For his father being on a time at Dublin, and there ſitting at the doore of a certein ancient man of the citie, they did not onelie there murther him; but for a further ſatiſfieng of their malice, they caſt him and buried him with a dog: and therefore aboue all others he moſt mortallie hated them. The citizens much miſtruſting themſelues, they ſend meſſengers to intreate for peace; and in the end by the meditation and meanes of Laurence then the archbiſhop of Dublin, a parlee and a treatie was obteined: but whiles the old and ancient men were talking of peace, the yonger ſort were buſie in weapons. For Reimond and Miles of Cogan, two luſtie yong gentlemen, but more deſirous to fight vnder Mars in the fields than to

to ſit in councell vnder Iupiter; and moze willing to purchaſe honoz in the warres, than gaine in peace. They with a companie of luſtie yong gentlemen ſuddenlie ran to the walles, & giuing the aſſalt, bzake in, entred the citie, and obteined the victozie, making no ſmall ſlaughter of their enimies: but yet the greater number of them, with Haſculphus their captein, eſcaped awaie with ſuch riches & iewels as they had, and recouered themſelues vnto certeine ſhips which laie there, & ſo ſailed to the nozth Ilands. At this time there happened two ſtrange miracles in the ſame citie, the one was of a croſſe oz a rod which the citizens minding to haue caried with them, was not noz would be remoued; the other was of a peece of monie, which was offered to the ſame rod twiſe, & euer it returned backe againe, as you may ſee moze therof in our topographie. When the earle had ſpent a few daies in the citie, about ſetting and ſetling the ſame in god ozder, he left the ſame to the charge and gouernance of Miles Cogan: but he himſelfe by the perſuaſion of Mac Mozogh (who ſought by all the waies he could, how to be reuenged vpon Dzozike king of Meth) inuaded the bozders of Meth, and waſted, ſpoiled, and deſtroied the ſame. All Meth being in the end waſted by the ſwozd and fire; Rothozike King of Connagh thought with himſelf what might herof befall vnto him, bicauſe his neighbozs houſe being ſet on fire, his was next to the like perill: he ſent his meſſengers vnto Dermon Mac Mozogh with this meſſage. Contrarie to the ozder of the peace, thou haſt pzocured, called, and flocked into this land a great multitude and number of ſtrangers, and as long as thou didſt ſtaie and kéepe thy ſelfe within thy owne countrie of Leinſter, we bare therwith, and were contented. But foꝛſomuch as now not caring foz thy oth, noz regarding the ſafetie of thy hoſtages, thou haſt ſo fondlie & lewdlie paſſed thy bounds: I am to require thée, that thou do retire and withdzaw theſe excurſes of ſtrangers; oz elſe without faile I will cut off thy ſonnes head, & ſend it thée. Mac Mozogh when he heard this meſſage, full ſtoutlie anſwered, and ſaid he would not giue ouer that which he had begun, noz deſiſt from his enterpziſe, vntill he ſubdued all Connagh his ancient inheritance, as alſo he had recouered the monarchie of all Ireland. Rothozike being aduertiſed of this anſwer, was ſomwhat warmed and offended therwith, & foꝛthwith in his rage commanded Mac Mozoghs ſonne, who was his pledge, to be beheaded.

(Two ſtrange miracles.)

of Ireland birth. The gouernment thereof is vnder a maioz and two ſhiriffes. And as concerning the ozder, gouernement, ſtate, policies, and god ſeruices of the ſame, I ſhall moze at large declare in my particular hiſtozie of this land.

The councell or ſynod kept *at Armagh.*

Chap. 18.

THeſe things thus ended & compleated, there was a ſynod oz councell of all the clergie called and aſſembled at Armagh: there to intreat and examine what ſhould be the cauſes and reaſons, why & wherefoze the realme was thus plagued by the reſoꝛt and repaire of ſtrangers in among them. At length it was fullie agreed, and euerie mans opinion was, that it was Gods iuſt plague foz the ſinnes of the people, and eſpeciallie bicauſe they vſed to buie Engliſhmen of merchants and pirats, and (contrarie to all equitie oz reaſon) did make bondſlaues of them: and God now to auenge and acquit this their iniquitie, plagued them with the like, and hath ſet theſe Engliſhmen & ſtrangers to reduce them now into the like ſlauerie and bondage. Foz the Engliſhmen, when their realme was at reſt and peace, and their land in quiet eſtate, and they not in anie diſtreſſe, want, oz penurie, their chilozen and kinſmen were ſold and made bondſlaues in Ireland. And therefoze it was moſt like, that God foz the ſin of the people would & did laie the like plague vpon the Iriſh people. It was therefoze decréed by the ſaid councell, and concluded by that ſynod, that all the Engliſhmen within that land, whereſoeuer they were, in bondage oz captiuitie, ſhould be manumiſſed, ſet frée and at libertie.

The proclamation of king Henrie *the ſecond againſt the earle, and of* the ſending of Reimond *to the king.*

Chap. 19.

WHen tidings was caried abzode of the god ſucceſſe which the Engliſhmen had in Ireland, & the newes the further it went, the moze it increaſed; and the king being aduertiſed that the earle had not onlie recouered Leinſter, but had alſo conquered ſundzie other territozies, wherevnto he had no title by the right of his wife, did ſet foꝛth his pzoclamation, foꝛbidding and inhibiting that from thenſefoꝛth no ſhip from out of any place, vnder his dominion, ſhould paſſe oz traffike into Ireland: and that all maner of his ſubiects which were within that realme, ſhould returne from thenſe into England befoze Eaſter then nert following, vpon paine of foꝛfeiture of all their lands, as alſo to be baniſhed men foꝛ euer. The earle when he ſaw him ſelfe in this diſtreſs, being in perill to loſe his friends, and in hazard to want his neceſſaries, taketh aduiſe and counſell what were beſt to be done. At length it was agreed and concluded, that Reimond ſhould be ſent ouer to the king then being in Aquitaine, with letters to this effect. My right honourable loꝛd, I came into this land with your leaue and fauour (as I remember) foz the aiding and helping of your ſeruant Dermon Mac Mozogh. And what ſoeuer I haue gotten and purchaſed, either by him oz by anie others, as I confeſſe and acknowledge the ſame from and by meanes of your gratious goodneſſe: ſo ſhall the ſame ſtill reſt and remaine at your deuotion and commandement.

(1) Dublin is the oldeſt and ancienteſt citie in all Ireland, and was builded by one Amelaus, the eldeſt of three bzethzen named Oſtimen oz Eaſterlings: which came firſt out of Noꝛwaie, oz (as ſome wzite) out of Noꝛmandie, and did inhabit the land. It was firſt named Aghalia, that is, the towne of hurdels; foz it ſtandeth ſomewhat low and in a mariſh ground: and bicauſe when the ſame was firſt builded, the labozers were wont and did go vpon hurdels, it toke the name thereof. It was alſo called Dolin, which is to ſaie blacke water, foz of that name is a certeine bzoke, fléeting not farre out of the towne, but now is called Dublin oz Diuelin; it ſtandeth vpon the riuer named Aneliphus oz the Liffer, and it is a poꝛt towne, being the chéefeſt citie and empoꝛium of all that land. It is walled with ſtone round about, & at the eaſt part therof is a verie old caſtle, builded firſt by Henrie Londers archbiſhop of Dublin, about the yéere 1212, which is now the quéenes caſtell, & wherin the loꝛd deputie of that land moſt commonly lieth, as alſo wherin the courts foz the common law at the vſuall terms are kept. The citie it ſelfe ſtands moſt on trade of merchandize, & is by that means of god wealth. The inhabitants are méere Engliſhmen, but

The departure of Reimond to the *king, and the death of Dermon* Mac Morogh.

Chap.20.

REimond (according to the order taken, and commandement giuen to him) made his repaire with all diligence to the king, & hauing deliuered his letters did await for his answer. But the king being in some dislike with the earle, and not fauourablie allowing his successe, differred the time, and lingered to giue anie answer. About this time (1) Thomas the archbishop of Canturburie was murthered or slaine; and the yeare following about the kalends of Maie, Dermon Mac Morogh, being of a good age, and well stricken in yeares died, and was buried at Fernes.

(1) The Romish or popish church make much a doo about this man, affirming him to be a man of much vertue and holinesse, and that he was martyred for the defending of the liberties of holie church, and for this cause the pope canonized him to be a saint. But who so list to peruse and examine the course of the English histories, shall find that he was a froward and obstinat traitor against his master & souereigne king and prince: as amongst other writers it appeareth in the booke of the Acts and Monuments of Iohn Fox. And forsomuch as the course of this chapter tendeth wholie in extolling of him, I haue omitted the same, and leaue to trouble the reader therewith.

The ouerthrow giuen to Hasculphus *and the Easterlings or Norwaie-* men at Dublin.

Chap.21.

AT this time about the feast of Pentecost or Whitsuntide, Hasculphus, who was sometime the chiefe ruler of Dublin, sought by all the waies he could how he might be reuenged for the reproch and shame which he had receiued when the citie of Dublin was taken, and he then driuen to flie to his ship, and to saue himselfe. This man had beene in Norwaie, and in the north Ilands to seeke for some helpe and aid; and hauing obteined the same he came with threescore ships well appointed, and full fraughted with lustie men of warre vnto the coasts of (1) Dublin, minding to assaile the citie, and hoping to recouer the same. And without anie delaiengs he landed and vnshipped his men, who were guided and conducted vnder a capteine named John Wood or John Mad, for so the word Wood meaneth. They were all mightie men of warre, and well appointed after the Danish maner, being harnessed with good brigandines, iacks, and shirts of male; their shields, bucklers, and targets were round, and coloured red, and bound about with iron: and as they were in armor, so in minds also they were as iron strong and mightie.

These men being set in battell araie, and in good order, do march onwards towards the east gate of the citie of Dublin, there minding to giue th'assault, and with force to make entrie. Miles Cogan then warden of the citie, a man verie valiant and lustie, although his men and people were verie few, and as it were but a handfull in respect of the others: yet boldlie giueth the aduenture and onset vpon his enimies: but when he saw his owne small number not to be able to resist nor withstand so great force, and they still pressing & inforcing vpon him, he was driuen to retire backe with all his companie, and with the losse of manie of his men, and of them one being verie well armed, yet was his thigh cut off cleane at a stroke with a Galloglasse axe. But Richard Cogan brother vnto Miles, vnderstanding how hardlie the matter passed and had sped with his brother, suddenlie and secretlie with a few men issueth out at the south posterne or gate of the citie, and stealing vpon the backs of his enimies, maketh a great shout, and therewith sharpelie giueth the onset vpon them. At which sudden chance they were so dismaied, that albeit some fighting before, and some behind, the case was doubtfull, & the euent vncerteine: yet at length they fled and ran awaie, and the most part of them were slaine, and namelie John Wood, whom with others Iohn of Ridensford tooke and killed. Hasculphus fleeing to his ships was so sharpelie pursued, that vpon the sands he was taken, but saued; and for the greater honour of the victorie was caried backe aliue into the citie as a captiue, where he was sometime the chiefe ruler and gouernour: and there hee was kept till he should compound for his ransome. And then he being brought and presented to Miles Cogan, in the open sight and audience of all the people, and fretting much for this euill fortune and ouerthrow, suddenlie and in great rage brake out into these speeches, saieng: We are come hither now but a small companie, and a few of vs, and these are but the beginings of our aduentures; but if God send me life, you shall see greater matters insue and follow. Miles Cogan when he heard these words (for in the tong standeth both life and death, the lord abhorreth the proud heart, and verie badlie doth he ease his greefe which augmenteth his sorrow) commanded him to be beheaded. And so the life to him before courteoulie granted, he by his fondnesse did foolishlie lose it.

(1) The port or hauen of Dublin is a barred hauen, and no great ships do come to the towne it selfe but at a spring or high water, and therefore they do lie in a certeine rode without the barre, which is about foure or fiue miles from the citie, and the same is called Ringwood; and from thence to Holie hed in Wales is counted the shortest cut betweene England and Ireland.

Rothorike prince of Connagh and *Gotred king of Man do be-* siege the citie of Dublin.

Chap. 22.

AFter this, the Irishmen perceiuing that by reason of the kings late proclamation, the earles men and victels did waste, decaie, and consume for want of their wonted suplies from out of England: all their princes assembled themselues, and do agree with all their power and force to besiege the citie of Dublin, being procured thereunto by Laurence then archbishop there; who for the zeale and loue of his countrie, did verie earnestlie trauell herein: and ioining with Rothorike king of Connagh, they sent their letters to Gotred king of the Ile of Man, and to all others the princes of the Ilands, making earnest requests, vsing their persuasions, and promising liberall rewards, if they would come to helpe and aid them to besiege Dublin; they on the water, and the other at land: who were easilie to be persuaded thervnto, and forthwith yeelded to these requests, not onelie for the desire of gaines offered: but especiallie, because they doubted, and were afraid of the Englishmen, who hauing dailie good successe they feared least they in time

time would giue the onſet on them, and make a conqueſt ouer their poſſeſſions. And therfore they forthwith made themſelues readie, and prepared their ſhips accordinglie. And as ſoone as the next good wind ſerued, they came in thirtie ſhips of warre, verie well appointed, and arriued into the hauen of Aneliffe, or port of Dublin: whoſe comming was verie thankfull and gratefull. For whie? Whoſe helps are beſt liked when men in their affaires haue thoſe to ioine with them which be or feare to be in the like perils and dangers? But the earle and his companie, who had béene ſhut vp now two moneths within the citie, and whoſe vittels failed, and were almoſt conſumed, by reaſon that vpon the kings commandement a reſtraint was made (and therefore none could be brought vnto them out of England) were in a great dumpe and perplexitie, and in a maner were at their wits end, and wiſt not what to do. And in this their caſe ſée the courſe and nature of fortune, who when ſhe frowneth, ſendeth not one euill alone, but heapeth miſchéefe vpon miſchéefe, and trouble vpon trouble. For behold Donald Mac Dermon came from out of the borders of Kencile, & brought newes that the men of Werford & of Kencile to the number of thrée thouſand perſons had beſéeged Robert Fitzſtephans and his few men in his caſtell of the Karecke, and vnleſſe they did helpe and reſcue him within thrée daies it would be to late; for they ſhould and would elſe be taken. At this time there was with the earle within the citie Maurice Fitzgerald, and his coſine Reimond, who was latelie returned from the court; and theſe were not onelie now troubled in reſpect of their owne cauſe, but for the diſtreſs of others, and ſpeciallie Maurice Fitzgerald, who tenderlie tooke and was grieued with the diſtreſſed ſtate of his brother Robert Fitzſtephans, and of his wife and children, that they being in the middle of their enimies, ſhould be in ſo weake a hold not able to kéepe out ſuch a companie: and ſo riſing vp maketh this ſpéech to the earle, and to ſuch as were about him, as followeth.

The oration of Maurice Fitzgerald.

Chap. 23.

ME worthie men, we came not hither, nor were we called into this countrie to be idle, nor to liue deliciouſlie: but to trie fortune, and to ſéeke aduentures. We ſtood ſomtimes vpon the top of the whéele, and the game was on our ſide; but now the whéele is turned, & we caſt downe: and yet no doubt ſhe will turne againe, and we ſhall be on the top. For ſuch is the mutabilitie of fortune, & ſuch is the vncertéine ſtate & courſe of this world, that proſperitie and aduerſitie do interchangeablie, and by courſe the one follow the other. After daie commeth the night; and when the night is paſſed, the daie returneth againe. The ſun riſeth, and when he hath ſpred his beames all the daie time, then he commeth to his fall: and as ſoone as the night is paſt, he is againe come and returned to his riſing againe. We who before this haue made great triumphs, & haue had fortune at will, are now ſhut vp on euerie ſide by our enimies. We be deſtitute of vittels, and can haue no reléefe neither by land nor yet by ſea: our frends cannot helpe vs, and our enimies readie to deuoure vs. Likewiſe Fitzſtephans, whoſe valiantneſſe and noble enterpriſe hath made waie vnto vs into this Iland, he now is alſo ſhut vp in a weake hold and fæble place, too weake and ſlender to hold and kéepe out ſo great a force. Whie then do we tarie? And wherefore do we ſo linger? Is there anie hope of reléefe from home? No no, the matter is otherwiſe, and we in worſe caſe. For as we be odious and hatefull to the Iriſhmen, euen ſo we now are reputed: for Iriſhmen are become hatefull to our owne nation and countrie, and ſo are we odious both to the one and to the other. Wherfore forſomuch as fortune fauoreth the forward, and helpeth the bold; let vs not longer delaie the matter, nor like ſluggards lie ſtill: but whiles we are yet luſtie, and our bittels not all ſpent, let vs giue the onſet vpon our enimies: for though we be but few in number in reſpect of them, yet if we will be of valiant minds and luſtie courages, as we were wont to be, we may happilie haue the victorie and conqueſt of theſe naked wretches and vnarmed people. Theſe ſpéeches he vſed as the ſicke man is wont to do, who in hope of recouerie of his health, doth manie times beare out a good countenance, and diſſemble his inward greefe and heauineſſe. When he had fullie ended his talke and ſpoken his mind, Reimond, who was alſo in the like anguiſh and heauineſſe ſpake thus.

The oration of Reimond.

Chap. 24.

DEre renowmed, and worthie, & noble men, whoſe fame for valiantneſſe and chiualrie is carried and ſpread beyond and through the ocean ſeas: we are now to looke well vnto our ſelues, and to haue good regard to our honor and credit. You haue heard how grauelie my vncle Maurice hath declared, how pithilie he hath aduiſed, and how prudentlie he hath counſelled vs what we ſhall do in this our diſtreſſe and preſent neceſſitie. Wherfore we are well to conſider thereof, & to determine and reſolue our ſelues what we will do. The time is ſhort, the perils imminent, and the dangers great, and therefore no delaies are now to be vſed. It is no time now to ſit in long councels, nor to ſpend much time in ſpeeches; but in preſent perils we muſt vſe preſent remedies. Ye ſée the enimies both at ſea and land round about vs, and no waie is there to eſcape; but we muſt either giue the aduenture vpon them like men, or die here like beaſts: for our vittels faile vs, and our prouiſion wareth ſcant & ſhort; and we know not how to renew the ſame. And how little comfort we are to looke for out of England, and what ſmall helpe we ſhall haue from the king, I haue alreadie at large declared vnto you. I know his excellencie diſpraiſeth not our actiuities, but yet he fauoreth not our ſucceſſes: he diſcommendeth not our valiantneſſe, but yet enuieth at our glorie: in words he reporteth well of our ſeruices, but he yet ſecretlie hindereth the ſame: he feareth that which we meane not, and doubteth of that which we thinke not. To truſt therefore vnto them, who care not for vs; to looke for helpe from them, who mind not anie; and to wait for reléefe where none is meant; it were but a meere follie, and a loſt labor on our parts, and in the end like to returne to our owne ſhame, reproch, & confuſion. Wherefore being out of all hope of anie further helpe or ſupplie; and out of all doubt of anie further comfort or reléefe: let vs as becommeth noble, luſtie, and valiant men, trie the courſe of fortune, and proue the force of the enimie. Let it appeere vnto them as it is knowen vnto vs, of what race we came, and from whom we deſcended. Camber (as it is well knowen) the firſt particular king of Cambria our native countrie, was our anceſtor, and he the ſonne of that noble Brutus the firſt, and ſole monarch of all England, whoſe anceſtor was Tros the founder of the moſt famous citie of Troie, and he deſcended from Dardanus the ſonne of Iupiter; from whom is deriued vnto vs not onlie the ſtemme

of ancient nobilitie, but alſo a certeine naturall inclination of valiant minds, & couragious ſtomachs, bent to follow all exploits in prowesſe and chiualrie, and wherein all our anceſtors haue béene verie skilfull and expert. And ſhall we now like ſluggards degenerate from ſo noble a race, and like a ſort of cowards be afraid of theſe naked and vnarmed raſcalls, in whome is no valor nor knowledge nor experience in armes? Shall ſuch a rabble of ſauages pinne vs vp within the walles of this little Dublin, and make vs afraid of them; when in times paſt all the princes of Gréece kept warres fo ten yeares & od moneths continuallie againſt our anceſtors in the famous citie of Troie, and could not preuaile againſt them, vntill they vſed treaſons and practiſed treacheries, which bred vnto them a more infamous victorie than a glorious triumph? Shall the honor of our anceſtors be withered by our ſluggiſhneſſe, and the glorie of their prowesſe be buried in our cowardneſſe? Shall we be afraid of a few, and vnarmed, when they withſtood infinit multitudes of the moſt worthieſt and valianteſt perſonages then in all the world? Let it neuer be ſaid, that the bloud of the Troians ſhall be ſtained in our puſillanimitie, and receiue reproch in our follie.

And what though our enimies be neuer ſo manie, and we in reſpect of them but a handfull; ſhall we therefore be afraied; as though victorie ſtood in multitude, and conqueſt in great numbers? No no, kings be not ſo ſaued nor princes do ſo conquer: for a few men well diſpoſed and a ſmall number well incouraged, are ſufficient to incounter with a greater number, being wretches and ſluggards. For fortune though ſhe be purtraied to be blind, as one void of right iudgement; and to ſtand vpon a rolling ſtone, as being alwaies fléeting and moueable: yet for the moſt part ſhe helpeth ſuch as be of bold minds and of valiant ſtomachs. If time did ſerue as matter is full and plentious, I could hereof recite manie yea infinite examples. (1) Thomiris the Scithian queene, did not ſhe with a few hundreds incounter with the great monarch Cyrus, hauing manie thouſands, and take him and ſlue him. Alexander with a few Macedonians, did not he ouercome Darius the great monarch of the Perſians, and take him, his wife, and daughters priſoners, & made a conqueſt of all Perſia? (2) Leonides the Spartan, did not he with ſix hundred men breake into the campes of the mightie Xerres, and there ſlaie ſiue thouſand of them? Let vs come a little nérer euen to our ſelues, who haue had in our owne perſons, and in this land the like ſucceſſes, namelie you my right honourable earle at Waterford, and my vncle Fitzſtephans at Werford; and I my ſelfe at Dundrogh: ſmall were our companies, and little was our force in reſpect of theirs, and yet we few throughout our valiantneſſe ouercame and conquered them being manie.

What ſhall I trouble you with the recitall of examples, ſith time ſhall ſooner faile than matter want: and ſhall we then giue ouer and be white liuered? Shall we like cowards couer our progenie, our nation, and our ſelues alſo, with perpetuall ſhame and infamie? God forbid. My mind then and opinion is, that we do iſſue out vpon them, as ſecretlie and as ſuddenlie as we maie, and boldlie giue the onſet vpon them. And forſomuch as Rothorike of Connagh is the generall of the field, in whom lieth the chiefe force, and on whom all the reſt do depend, it ſhall be beſt to begin with him, and then if we can giue the ouerthrow vnto him, all the reſidue will flie, and we ſhall obteine a glorious victorie: but if we ſhall fall into their hands and be killed, yet ſhall we leaue an honourable report and an immortall fame to all our poſteritie. When Reimond had ended his ſpéeches and finiſhed his oration, euerie one ſo well liked thereof, as with one conſent they gaue ouer, and yéelded to his reſolution and opinion.

(1) Cyrus the ſonne of Cambiſes the great monarch of Gréece, after that he had ſubdued all Aſia, he minding to do the like in Scithia did inuade the ſame: Thomiris being then quéene thereof. And on a certeine time hauing pitched his tents in a faire and pleaſant ſolle, ſuddenlie as though he had béene afraied of his enimies he fled, and left his tents full of wines and vittels. Which when the quéene heard, ſhe ſent hir onelie ſonne a yong gentleman with the third part of hir hoſt and armie to follow and purſue Cyrus: who when he came to the forſaken tents, and finding there ſuch abundance & plentie of wine and vittels, whereunto the Scithians had not before béene accuſtomed, they fell ſo hungerlie to their vittels, and dranke ſo liberallie of the wines, that they were ouerladen and ouercommed with ſurfetting. Which when Cyrus heard of, he ſuddenlie and ſecretlie in the night came vpon them, and finding them all aſléepe, killed them all. Thomiris hearing of this, was not ſo much grieued with ſorrow for the death of hir ſonne, as inflamed with the deſire to be reuenged. And ſhe likewiſe faining hir ſelfe to flie, Cyrus by purſuing of hir was brought into certeine narrow ſtreicts, where ſhe taking the aduantage of him, tooke him, killed him, and ſlue all his companie, to the number of two thouſand: inſomuch that there was not one left to returne with meſſage to declare the ſame.

(2) Leonides was king of Sparta or Lacedemonia, who being aduertiſed that the mightie monarch Xerres minding to continue the warres with his father Darius had appointed and begun againſt all Gréece, & that he had made preparation therefore fiue yeares togither, doth alſo prepare himſelfe to withſtand the ſame. And notwithſtanding that Xerres had in his armie thrée hundred thouſand of his owne ſubiects, and two hundred thouſand of ſtrangers: yet Leonides hauing gotten Xerres within the ſtreicts of Thermipolis, and he hauing but foure thouſand ſoldiers gaue the onſet vpon the monarch, and fought the battels thrée daies togither with him, and at length gaue him the ouerthrow.

How Rothorike of Connagh, and all *his whole armie was diſcomfited.*

Chap.25.

Immediatlie vpon the foreſaid perſuaſions, euerie man with all ſpéed had made him ſelfe readie and got on his armor, thinking it too long yer they did bicker with the enimie: and being all aſſembled and in good arraie, they diuided them into thrée wings or wards, though in number they were verie few. In the firſt was Reimond with twentie gentlemen and his few ſoldiers. In the ſecond Miles Cogan with thirtie gentlemen and his other few ſoldiers. And in the third was the earle and Maurice Fitzgerald with fortie gentlemen and all their ſoldiors. And in euerie ward were ſome of all the citizens, ſauing ſuch as were appointed for the gard and ſafetie of the citie. Thus all things being ſet in an order, they ſuddenlie in the morning about nine of the clocke iſſued out, but not without ſome contention and controuerſie: for they ſtriued among themſelues, who ſhould haue the fore ward, and giue the onſet vpon the enimies, who were in number about thirtie thouſand: neuertheleſſe they in the end agréed and appointed in order how all things ſhould be done: and forthwith iſſued out and gaue the onſet

vpon

vpon their enimies, who then were out of araie and order, being vnwares of their comming. Reimond among the firſt being the firſt was foremoſt, & gaue the firſt aduenture, and ſtriking two of his enimies through with his lance or ſtaffe ſlue them both. Meilerius alſo and Girald and Alexander the two ſonnes of Maurice, although they were in the rereward; yet they were ſo hot vpon the ſpurre, and followed in ſuch luſtie maner, that they were as forward as the foremoſt, and right valiantlie did ouerthrow and kill manie of the enimies.

The like valiant minds were in all the whole reſidue, who now ſtriued & ſerued all for the beſt game: and ſo luſtilie they acquitted themſelues, that the enimies being afraid, were faine to take their hæles and to run awaie. But they ſtill followed and purſued them euen vntill night, ſtill murthering & ſpoiling them. Rothorike the king himſelfe truſted ſo much in the great troops and multitudes of his people; that he thought nothing leſſe, than that ſo ſmall a number as were within, would iſſue out and giue the onſet vpon ſo manie as were without. And therfore taking his pleaſure and paſtance, he was then a bathing: but when he heard how the game went, and how his men were diſcomfited & the moſt part fled or flieng awaie, he neither tarried for his chamberleine to apparell him, nor for his page to help him: but with all the haſt and poſt haſt he could, he turneth a faire paire of hæles and runneth awaie: and albeit he were verie ſharpelie purſued, yet (though hardlie) he eſcaped. At night all the companie being returned, they recouered themſelues into the citie againe: not onelie with the honor of the field, but alſo with great bоties and preies of vittels, armor, and other traſh. Immediatlie alſo were diſperſed the other camps, namelie the archbiſhops, Machlaghlin, Machelewn, Gillemeholocke and Okencelos, who had all the force of Leinſter, ſauing a few of Kencile and Werford: and theſe were incamped on the ſouth ſide. Likewiſe Orthorike of Meth, Okarrell of Artell, Mac Shaghline and Mcadiſe which were incamped on the north ſide raiſed their campes and ſhifted for themſelues. On the morrow, all things being ſet in good order, and good watch appointed for the ſafe keeping and cuſtodie of the citie, they march towards Werford, and take the higher waie by Odrone.

The guilefull and treacherous taking *of Robert Fitzſtephans at the Karecke.*

Cap.26.

After this good ſucceſſe, fortune who cannot continue firme in one ſtaie, doth now change hir courſe, and interlineth aduerſitie with proſperitie. For whie, there is neither faith firme, nor felicitie permanent vpon the earth. For the Werford men and they of Kencile, forgetting their promiſe, and nothing regarding their faith which they had before made and aſſured vnto Robert Fitzſtephans, do now aſſemble themſelues to the number of three thouſand, and do march toward the Karecke, there to beſiege the ſame, where Robert Fitzſtephans was then: who miſtruſting & fearing nothing, had but fiue gentlemen and a few archers about him. The enimies giue the aſſalt, & not preuailing at the firſt, do renew the ſame againe and againe: but when they ſaw that all their labours were loſt, bicauſe that Fitzſtephans and his companie though they were but a few in number, yet they were verie nimble and verie readie to defend themſelues, and eſpeciallie one William Nott, who in this ſeruice did verie well and worthilie acquit himſelfe; they now do ſeeke to practiſe their old ſubtilties and guiles. They leauing therefore to vſe force and violence, do now vnder colour of peace come toward the Karecke and bring with them the biſhop of Kildare, the biſhop of Werford, & certeine other religious perſons, who brought with them a maſſe booke, *Corpus Domini*, and certeine relikes: and after a few ſpæches of perſuaſion had with Fitzſtephans, they to compaſſe their matter, tooke their corporall othes, and ſwore vpon a booke, that the citie of Dublin was taken: and that the earle, Maurice, Reimond, and all the Engliſhmen were taken and killed; that Rothorike of Connagh, with all the whole power and armie of Connagh & Leinſter, was comming towards Werford for the apprehenſion of him: but for his ſake, and for the good will which they bare vnto him, bicauſe they had alwaie found him a courteous and a liberall prince, they were come vnto him to conueie him awaie in ſafetie, and all his ouer into Wales, before the comming of that great multitude, which were his extreame and mortall enimies. Fitzſtephans giuing credit to this their ſwearing and auowries, did forthwith yæld himſelfe, his people, & all that he had vnto them and their cuſtodie: but they forthwith moſt traitorouſlie, of them that thus yælded into their hands ſome they killed, ſome they beat, ſome they wounded, and ſome they caſt into priſon. But aſſoone as newes was brought that Dublin was falſe, and that the earle was marching towards them; theſe traitors ſet the towne on fire, and they themſelues with bag and baggage and with their priſoners gat them into the Iland Begorie, which they call the holie Iland, and which lieth in the middle of the hauen there.

The deſcription of Robert *Fitzſtephans.*

Chap.27.

A Noble man, the onelie patterne of vertue, and the example of true induſtrie and labours: who hauing tried the variableneſſe of fortune, had taſted more aduerſitie than proſperitie! O worthie man, who both in Ireland and in Wales had traced the whole compaſſe of fortunes wheele, and had endured whatſoeuer good fortune or euill could giue! O Fitzſtephans, the verie ſecond an other (1) Marius, for if you do conſider his proſperitie, no man was more fortunate than he: and on the contrarie, if you marke his aduerſitie, no man was or could be more miſerable. He was of a large and full bodie, his countenance verie comelie: and in ſtature he was ſomewhat more meane: he was bountifull, liberall, and pleaſant, but yet ſometimes ſomewhat aboue modeſtie giuen to wine and women. The earle (as is aforeſaid) marched with his armie towards Werford, faſt by Odrone, which was a place full of ſtreicts, paſſes, and bogs, and verie hardlie to be paſſed through: but yet the whole power, force, and ſtrength of all Leinſter came thither, and met him and gaue him the battell, betweene whom there was a great fight, and manie of the enimies ſlaine. But the earle with the loſſe of one onelie youngman recouered himſelfe in ſafetie to the plaines, and there amongſt others, Meilerius ſhewed himſelfe to be a right valiant man.

(1) This Marius was named Caius Marius, his father was borne in Arpinia, and from thence came to Rome, and there dwelt, being a poore artificer and handicrafts man, but much relieued by Metellus a noble Roman, in whoſe houſe, and vnder whom, both the father and the ſonne were ſeruants: but being

giuen

giuen altogither to martiall affaires, he became a verie valiant man, and did as good ſeruice to the citie of Rome as anie before or after him. Affrica he conquered, and in his firſt triumph Jugurtha and his two ſonnes were bound in chaines, and caried captiues to Rome before his chariot. The Cambrians, Germans, and Tigurians wanting habitations, and thinking to ſettle themſelues in Italie, trauelled thitherwards for the ſame purpoſe; but being denied by the Romans, they made moſt cruell warres vpon them, and ſlue of them at one time foureſcore thouſand ſouldiers, and threeſcore thouſand of others, wherewith the ſtate of Rome and of all Italie was ſo broken, and ouerthrowne, that the Romans much bewailed themſelues, & did thinke verelie that they ſhould be vtterlie deſtroied. In this diſtreſſe Marius take the matter in hand, and meeting firſt with the Germans, gaue them the battell, ſlue their king Teutobochas, and two hundred thouſand men, beſide foureſcore thouſand which were taken. After that he met with the Cambrians, and ſlue their king Beleus, and an hundred and fortie thouſand with him, as alſo take fortie thouſand priſoners. For which victorie he triumphed the ſecond time in Rome, and was named then the third founder of Rome. Againe in the ciuill wars which grew by the means of Drusus, all Italie was then in armes, and the Romans in euerie place had the worſe ſide (for all Italie began to forſake them) and in this diſtreſſe Marius hauing gotten but a ſmall power in reſpect of the enimies, giueth the onſet vpon the Marſians, and at two times he ſlue foureteene thouſand of them: which ſo quailed the Italians, and incouraged the Romans, that the Romans recouered themſelues and had the maiſtrie. As in the warres ſo otherwiſe was Marius verie fortunat: for being but of a baſe ſtocke, yet he maried Julia, a noble woman of the familie of the Julies, and aunt vnto Julius Ceſar: he paſſed thorough the moſt part of the offices in Rome: he was firſt *Legatus à ſenatu*, then *Præfectus equitum*: after that *Tribunus plebis, Prætor, Aedilis*, and ſeuen times was he conſull. And as fortune ſeemed to fauour and countenance him aboue all other in Rome; ſo did ſhe alſo checke him with great reproches, & burdened him with great miſeries. For his pride was ſo exceſſiue, and his ambition ſo intollerable, that the beſt and moſt part of the Romans deadlie hated and enuied him; and therefore when he laboured to be *Aedilis, Prator, & Tribune*, he was reiected; he was accuſed for ambition, and proclamed a traitor and an enimie to the common-wealth: he was inforced to forſake Rome and flie into Affrike. Alſo being at the ſeas, the mariners caſt him on land among his enimies, and drawe him to ſhift for himſelfe. When he was purſued by his enimies, he was faine to hide himſelfe in a bog, and couered himſelfe with dirt & mire becauſe he would not be knowne. Neuertheleſſe he was taken and deliuered to a ſlaue to be killed. Manie other ſtormes of aduerſitie and miſerie did he abide and indure, and therefore it was ſaid of him, that in miſerie no man was more miſerable, and in felicitie none more fortunate and happie than he.

The deſcription of the earle *Strangbow*.

Chap.28.

The earle was ſomewhat ruddie and of ſanguine complexion and freckle faced, his eies greie, his face feminine, his voice ſmall, and his necke little, but ſomewhat of a high ſtature: he was verie liberall, courteous and gentle: what he could not compaſſe and bring to paſſe in deed, he would win by good words and gentle ſpeeches. In time of peace he was more readie to yeeld and obeie, than to rule and beare ſwaie. Out of the campe he was more like to a ſouldior companion than a capteine or ruler: but in the campe and in the warres he caried with him the ſtate and countenance of a valiant capteine. Of himſelfe he would not aduenture anie thing, but being aduiſed and ſet on, he refuſed no attempts: for of himſelfe he would not raſhlie aduenture, or preſumptuouſlie take anie thing in hand. In the fight and battell he was a moſt aſſured token and ſigne to the whole companie, either to ſtand valiantlie to the fight, or for policie to retire. In all chances of warre he was ſtill one and the ſame maner of man, being neither diſmaid with aduerſitie, nor puffed vp with proſperitie.

The earle leauing Wexford vpon the *newes that Fitzſtephans was in hold, went* to Waterford, and from thence ſailed *into England, & was reconciled* to the king.

Chap.29.

As the earle was marching towards Gueſford, and was come to the borders thereof, certeine meſſengers met him, and ſhewed to him the miſchance happened vnto Robert Fitzſtephans, and of the ſetting on fire the towne of Werford: adding moreouer, that the traitors were fullie determined if they trauelled anie further towards them, they would cut off all the heads of Fitzſtephans and his companie, and ſend them vnto him. Whereupon with heauie cheare & ſorrowfull hearts, they change their minds, and turne towards Waterford. Where when they were come, they found Heruie now latelie returned from the king with a meſſage and letters from him vnto the earle, perſuading and requiring him to come ouer into England vnto him. Whereupon the earle prepared and made himſelfe readie, and as ſoone as wind and weather ſerued he toke ſhipping, and caried Heruie along with him. And being landed he rode towards the king, and met him at a towne called Newham neere vnto Gloceſter, where he was in redines with a great armie to ſaile ouer into Irland. Where after ſundrie & manie altercations paſſed betweene them, at length by means of Heruie the kings diſpleaſure was appeaſed, and it was agreed that the erle ſhould ſweare allegeance to the king, and yeeld and ſurrender vnto him the citie of Dublin, with the cantreds therevnto adioining, as alſo all ſuch towns and forts as were bordering vpon the ſea ſide. And as for the reſidue he ſhould haue and reteine to him and his heirs, holding the ſame of the king & of his heirs. Theſe things thus concluded, the king with his armie marched along by Seuerne ſide, & the ſea coaſts of (1) Weſtwales, vnto the towne (2) of Penbroke, where he taried vntill he had aſſembled all his armie in (3) Milford hauen there to be ſhipped.

(1) Weſtwales in Latine is named *Demetia*, and is that which is now called Penbrokeſhire. It reacheth from the ſeas on the north vnto the ſeas on the ſouth. In the weſt part thereof is the biſhops ſee of Peneue named ſaint Dauids: and on the eaſt ſide it bordereth vpon Southwales named Dehenbart. In this part were the Flemmings placed firſt.

(2) Penbroke is the chiefeſt towne of all *Demetia*, and lieth on the eaſt ſide of Milford hauen, wherein was ſometimes a verie ſtrong caſtell builded (as ſome write) by a noble man named Arnulph Pontgomer.

(3) Milford

(3) Milford is a famous and a goodlie harborough lieng in *Demetia*, or Weſtwales. The Welſhmen name it the mouth of two ſwords. It hath two branches or armes, the one flowing hard to Hauerford weſt, and the other thorough the countrie named Roſſia.

Ororike prince of Meth beſieging Dublin, *is driuen off by Miles Cogan, and hath* the worſt ſide.

Chap.30.

IN the meane time Ororike, the one eied king of Meth, watching the abſence of the earle as alſo of Reimond, the one being in England, and the other at Waterford, he muſtered a great number of ſoldiors, and vpon a ſudden about the kalends of September, laieth ſiege to the citie of Dublin: within the which there were then but few men, but yet they were valiant and verie men indeed. And as the flame can not be ſuppreſſed, but that it will breake out: euen ſo vertue and valiantneſſe can not be ſhut vp, but that it will (when time and occaſion ſerueth) ſhew it ſelfe. For Miles Cogan and all his companie vpon a ſudden iſſue out vpon the enimies, and vnwares taking them napping, made a great ſlaughter of them: among whom there was the ſonne of Ororike, a luſtie young gentleman, and he ſlaine alſo. And at this time the king of England, lieng at Penbroke in Wales, he fell out with the noblemen and gentlemen of the countrie: becauſe they had ſuffered the earle Richard to take his paſſage among them from thenſe into Ireland. And remouing ſuch as had anie charge or kéeping of any forts there, he placed others therein: but at length his heat being cooled, & his diſpleaſure quailed, they were reconciled againe to his good fauour and grace.

Whileſt the king laie there, he had great pleaſure in hawking, and as he was walking abroad with a goſhawke of Norwaie vpon his fiſt, he had eſpied a falcon ſitting vpon a rocke; and as he went about the rocke to view and behold him, his goſhawke hauing alſo eſpied the falcon, bated vnto him, and therewith the king let him flie. The falcon ſéeing hir ſelfe thus béeſet, taketh alſo wing: and albeit hir flight was but ſlow at the firſt; yet at length ſhe maketh wing and mounteth vp of a great height: and taking the aduantage of the goſhawke hir aduerſarie, commeth downe with all hir might, and ſtriking hir ſhe claue hir backe aſunder, and fell downe dead at the kings foot: wherat the king and all they that were then preſent had great maruell. And the king hauing good liking, and being in loue with the falcon, did yearelie at the bréeding and diſcloſing time ſend thither for them: for in all his land there was not a better and a more hardie hawke.

The comming of king Henrie into *Ireland.*

Chap.31.

THeſe things thus done, and all prepared in a readineſſe fit for ſuch a noble enterpriſe, and for which the king had ſtaied a long time in Wales, he went to ſaint Dauids church, where when he had made his praiers and done his deuotion, the wind and the wether well ſeruing, he toke ſhipping and arriued vnto Waterford in the kalends of Nouember, being ſaint Luks date: hauing in his retinue fiue hundred gentlemen of ſeruice, and of bowmen and horſemen a great number. This was in the ſeuenteenth yeare of his reigne, the one & fortith of his age, and the in yeare of our Lord one thouſand one hundred ſeauentie & two, Alexander the third then pope, Frederike then emperor, and Lewes then French king. And now was fulfilled the prophecie of Merlin, that A firie globe ſhall come out of the eaſt, and ſhall deuour and conſume all Ireland round about: and likewiſe the prophecie of ſaint Molin, that Out of the eaſt ſhall come a mightie hurling wind, & ruſh thorough to the weſt, and ſhall run thorough, and ouerthrow the force and ſtrength of Ireland.

Prophecies of Merlin and Molin fulfilled.

The citizens of Wexford preſent vnto *the king Robert Fitzſtephans, and ſundrie* princes of Ireland come and ſubmit *themſelues to the king.*

Chap.32.

THe king being thus landed at Waterford, and there reſting himſelfe; the citizens of Wexford, vnder colour and pretenſe of great humbleneſſe and dutie, and in hope of ſome thanks, they brought Robert Fitzſtephans bound as a captiue and a priſoner, and preſented him to the king as one who deſerued ſmall fauor or courteſie, that he had without his conſent & leaue entered into Ireland, & giuen thereby an occaſion to others to offend and to do euill. The king not liking of him, fell out with him, and charged him verie déepelie and ſharplie for his raſh and haſtie aduentures, and that he would take vpon him to make a conqueſt of Ireland without his aſſent and leaue: and forthwith commanded him to be handlocked and fettered, with an other priſoner, and to be ſafelie kept in Renold tower. Then Dermon Mac Arth prince of (1) Corke came to the king of his owne frée will, ſubmitted himſelfe, became tributarie, and toke his oth to be true and faithfull to the king of England. After this the king remoued his armie and marched toward (2) Liſemore, and after that he had tarried about two dates, he went to (3) Caſhill, and thither came vnto him at the riuer of (4) Sure, Donold prince of (5) Limerike: where when he had obteined peace, he became tributarie and ſwore fealtie. The king then ſet (of his men) rulers and kéepers ouer the cities of Corke and Limerike.

Then alſo came in Donold prince of Oſſorie, and Macleighlin O Felin prince of the Decies, and all the beſt & chiefeſt men in all Mounſter, & did ſubmit themſelues, became tributaries and ſwore fealtie. Whome when the king had verie liberallie rewarded, he ſent them home againe: and he himſelfe returned backe againe to Waterford thorough (6) Tibrach. When he came to Waterford, Fitzſtephans was brought before him, & when he had well beheld him, and conſidered with himſelfe the valiantneſſe of the man, the good ſeruice he had done, & the perils & dangers he had béene in: he began to be moued with ſome pitie and compaſſion vpon him, and at the interceſſion & by the mediation of certeine noblemen, he heartilie forgaue him, and releaſed him from out of bonds, and reſtored him wholie to his former ſtate and libertie, ſauing that he reſerued to himſelfe the towne of Wexford, with the territories and lands therevnto adioining: & not long after ſome of thoſe traitors, who thus had betraied him, were themſelues taken and put to death.

(1) Corke, in Latine named *Corcagium*, is an ancient citie in the prouince of Mounſter, and builded (as it ſhould appeare) by the Eaſterlings or Norwaies. It ſtandeth now in a marſh or a bog, and vn-

to

to it floweth an arme of the ſeas, in the which are manie goodlie receptacles or harborroughs for ſhips, & much frequented as well for the goodlie commodities of fiſhings therein, as alſo for the trade of merchandize, by the which the citie is chieflie mainteined: for the inhabitants are not onlie merchants & great trauellers themſelues; but alſo great ſtore of ſtrange merchants do dailie reſort & traffike with them. It is walled round about, and well fortified for a ſufficient defenſe againſt the Iriſhrie. In it is the biſhops ſee of that dioceſſe, being called by the name of the biſhop of Corke. The citie is gouerned by a maior and two bailiffes, who vſing the gouernement according to the lawes of England, do keepe and mainteine the ſame in verie good order. They are verie much troubled with the enimie, and therefore they do continuallie, as men lieng in a garriſon, keepe watch and ward both daie and night. The prince of that countrie did moſt commonlie keepe & ſtaie himſelfe in all troubles within that citie, vntill the time the ſame was conquered by the Engliſhmen, who euer ſince haue inhabited in the ſame.

(2) Liſemore in times paſt was as faire a towne as it is ancient, and ſtandeth vpon a goodlie riuer, which flowеth vnto Youghall, and ſo into the maine ſeas. It was ſometimes a biſhoprike, but of late vnited to the biſhoprike of Waterford, and ſo it lieth in the countie and dioceſſe of Waterford, but the ſoile it ſelfe was within the countie of Corke.

(3) Caſhill is an old ruinous towne, but walled, and ſtandeth vpon the riuer Sure. In it is the ſee and cathedrall church of the biſhop, bearing the name therof, who is one of the foure archbiſhoprikes of that land, and vnder him are the biſhops of Waterford, Corke, and ſeuen others.

(4) The Sure is a goodlie and a notable riuer, and one of the chiefeſt in that land. It hath his head or ſpring in a certeine hill called Blandina, but in Iriſh Sloghblome, for the pleaſantneſſe thereof. Manie good townes are ſeated and builded vpon the ſame, & it is nauigable more than the one halfe. It fleeteth from the ſpring or head faſt by the towne of Thorleis, whereof the earle of Ormond is baron: from thenſe to the holie croſſe and ſo to Clomnell, & from thenſe to Carig Mac Griffith, where is an ancient houſe of the earles, ſometime named the earles of the Carig, but now earles of Ormond; and from thenſe fleeting by Tibrach, it commeth to Waterford; and fleeting by the wals thereof, it runneth into the ſeas.

(5) Limerike is one of the firſt cities builded by the Norwales or Eaſterlings, named ſometimes Oſtomen: the founder whereof was the yongeſt of three brethren whoſe name was Yuorus. It ſtandeth vpon the famous and noble riuer of Shenin, which goeth round about it, the ſame being as it were an Iland. The ſeat of it is ſuch, as none can be more faire or more ſtatelie. It lieth in the maine land within the prouince of Mounſter, called the north Mounſter, and is from the maine ſeas aboue fortie miles, and yet at the wals euen the greateſt ſhip at the ſeas maie be diſcharged and vnladen, and yeerelie ſo there are: for the citie it ſelfe is chieflie inhabited by merchants. It is gouerned by a maior and bailiffes after and according to the Engliſh lawes and orders. It was in times paſt vnder a particular prince of it ſelf, but euer ſince the conqueſt it hath beene inhabited by the Engliſhmen, who do ſo ſtill continue therin.

(6) Tibrach is an old towne, which in times paſt was rich and verie well inhabited, it lieth vpon the north ſide of the Sure, and about two miles from Carig Mac Griffith. In it is a great ſtone ſtanding, which is the bound betweene the counties of Kilkennie and Ormond.

Rothorike OConnor the monarch and *all the princes in Vlſter ſubmit and yeeld* themſelues vnto the king, as he paſſeth *towards Dublin.*

Chap. 33.

THeſe things thus done at Waterford, the king left Robert Fitzbarnard there with his houſhold, and marched himſelfe to Dublin through the countrie of Oſſorie: and ſtaieng ſomewhat by the waie in his iourneie, there came and reſorted vnto him out of euerie place there the great men & princes, as namelie Machelan Mhelan prince of Oſſorie, Mache Talewie, Mthwelie Gillemeholoch, Mchadeſe, O Carell of Vriell & Morike of Meth: all which yeelded & ſubmitted themſelues to the king in their owne perſons, & became his vaſſals, & ſwore fealtie. But Rothorike the monarch came no neerer than to the riuer ſide of the (1) Shenin, which diuideth Connagh from Meth, & there Hugh de Lacie and William Fitzaldeline by the kings commandement met him, who deſiring peace ſubmitted himſelfe, ſwore allegiance, became tributarie, and did put in (as all others did) hoſtages and pledges for the keeping of the ſame. Thus was all Ireland ſauing Vlſter brought in ſubiection, and euerie particular prince in his proper perſon did yeeld and ſubmit himſelfe, ſauing onelie Rothorike, the then monarch of all Ireland; and yet by him and in his ſubmiſſion all the reſidue of the whole land became the kings ſubiects, and ſubmitted themſelues. For indeed there was no one nor other within that land, who was of anie name or countenance, but that he did preſent himſelfe before the kings maieſtie, and yeelded vnto him ſubiection and due obedience.

Prophecies of Merlin and Molin fulfilled.

And then was fulfilled the old and vulgar prophecie of S. Molin; Before him all the princes ſhall fall downe, and vnder a diſſembled ſubmiſſion ſhall obteine fauor and grace. Likewiſe the prophecie of Merlin; All the birds of that Iland ſhall flee to his light, and the greater birds ſhall be taken & brought into captiuitie, and their wings ſhall be burned. Alſo the old prophecie of Merlin Ambroſe; Fiue portions ſhall be brought into one, & the firſt ſhall breake and ouerthrow the walles of Ireland. That which Ambroſe nameth heere the firſt, Celidonius nameth the fift, as appeareth in his booke of prophecies. Now when the feaſt of Chriſtmaſſe did approch and drawe neere, manie and the moſt part of the princes of that land reſorted and made repaire vnto Dublin, to ſee the kings court: and when they ſaw the great abundance of vittels, and the noble ſeruices, as alſo the eating of cranes, which they much lothed, being not before accuſtomed therevnto, they much wondered and maruelled thereat: but in the end they being by the kings commandement ſet downe, did alſo there eat and drinke among them. At this time there were certeine ſoldiors, being bowmen, ſeaſed at Finglas, and they hewed and cut downe the trees which grew about the churchyard, which had beene there planted of old time by certeine good and holie men: and all theſe ſoldiors ſuddenlie fell ſicke of the peſtilence and died all: as is more at large declared in our topographie.

(1) The Shenin is the cheefeſt and moſt famous riuer in that land, and doth in a manner inuiron and incloſe all Connagh, & diuideth it from the prouinces of Mounſter and Meth: his head and ſpring is in the hill named Therne, which boardereth vpon O Connor Slegos countrie, not farre from the riuer

of

of the Banne in Ulster, and in length is supposed to be about a hundred and twentie English miles. It is increased with sundrie brooks, and diuerse riuers run into the same; the chiefest whereof is that which riseth and commeth out of the logh or lake Foile. In it are manie loghs or lakes of great quantitie or bignesse, which are marueilouslie replenished and stored with abundance of fish: the chiefest of which are the logh Rie, and the logh Derigid. It is nauigable aboue three score miles, and vpon it standeth the most famous citie of Limerike. There is onlie one bridge ouer it, builded of late yeares at Alone, by the right honorable sir Henrie Sidneie knight, then lord deputie of the realme.

The councell or synod kept at *Cashill.*

Chap. 34.

THe realme being now in good peace and quietnesse, and the king now hauing a care and a zeale to set forth Gods honor and true religion, summoned a synod of all the clergie vnto Cashill, where inquirie and examination was made of the wicked and lose life of the people of the land and nation: which was registred in writing, and sealed vnder the seale of the bishop of Lisemore, who being then the popes legat was president of that councell. And then there were made and decreed sundrie good and godlie constitutions, which are yet extant; as namelie, for contracting of marriage, for paiment of tithes, for the reuerend and cleane keeping of the churches; and that the vniuersall church of Ireland should be reduced in all things to the order and forme of the church of England. Which constitutions were forthwith published throughout the realme, and do here follow.

Constitutions made at the coun- *cell of Cashill.*

Chap. 35.

IN the yere of Christs incarnation 1172, & in the first yere that the most noble king of England conquered Ireland, Christianus bishop of Lisemore, and legat of the apostolike see, Donat archbishop of Cashill, Laurence archbishop of Dublin, and Catholicus archbishop of Thomond with their suffragans and fellow-bishops, abbats, archdeacons, priors, deanes, & manie other prelats of the church of Ireland, by the commandement of the king did assemble themselues and kept a synod at Cashill: and there debating manie things concerning the wealth, estate, and reformation of the church, did prouide remedies for the same. At this councell were also for and in the behalfe of the king, whom he had sent thither, Rafe abbat of Buldewais, Rafe archdeacon of (1) Landaffe, Nicholas the chapleine, and diuerse other good clearks. Sundrie good statutes and wholesome laws were there deuised, which were after subscribed and confirmed by the king himselfe, and vnder his authoritie, which were these that follow. First, it is decreed that all good faithfull and christian people, throughout Ireland, should forbeare and shun to marrie with their neere kinsfolke and cousins, & marrie with such as lawfullie they should do. Secondarilie, that children shall be catechised without the church doore, and baptised in the font appointed in the churches for the same. Thirdlie, that euerie christian bodie do faithfullie and trulie paie yerelie the tithes of his cattels, corne, and all other his increase and profits to the church or parish where he is a parishioner. Fourthlie, that all the church lands and possessions, throughout all Ireland, shall be free from all secular exactions and impositions: and especiallie that no lords, earles, nor noblemen, nor their children, nor familie, shall extort or take anie coine and liuerie, cosheries, nor cuddies, nor anie other like custome from thenceforth in or vpon anie of the church lands and territories. And likewise that they nor no other person do henceforth exact out of the said church lands, old, wicked, and detestable customes of coine and liuerie, which they were wont to extort vpon such townes and villages of the churches, as were neere and next bordering vpon them. Fiftlie, that when earike or composition is made among the late people for anie murther, that no person of the cleargie, though he be kin to anie of the parties, shall contribute anie thing thereunto: but as they be guiltlesse from the murther, so shall they be free from paiment of monie, for anie such earike or release for the same. Sixtlie, that all and euerie good christian being sicke & weake, shall before the priest and his neighbors make his last will and testament; and his debts and seruants wages being paid, all his mouables to be diuided (if he haue anie children) into three parts: whereof one part to be to the children, another to his wife, and the third part to be for the performance of his will. And if so be that he haue no children, then the goods to be diuided into two parts, whereof the one moitie to his wife, and the other to the performance of his will and testament. And if he haue no wife, but onelie children, then the goods to be likewise diuided into two parts, whereof the one to himselfe, and the other to his children. Seuenthlie, that euerie christian being dead, and dieng in the catholike faith, shall be reuerendlie brought to the church, and to be buried as apperteineth. Finallie, that all the diuine seruice in the church of Ireland shall be kept, vsed, & obserued in the like order and maner as it is in the church of England. For it is meet and right, that as by Gods prouidence and appointment Ireland is now become subiect, and vnder the king of England: so the same should take from thense the order, rule, and maner how to reforme themselues, and to liue in better order. For whatsoeuer good thing is befallen to the church & realme of Ireland, either concerning religion, or peaceable gouernement, they owe the same to the king of England, and are to be thankefull vnto him for the same: for before his comming into the land of Ireland, manie and all sorts of wickednesses in times past flowed and reigned amongest them: all which now by his authoritie and goodnesse are abolished. The primat of Armagh, by reason of his weaknesse and great age, was not present at the synod: but afterwards he came to Dublin, and gaue his full consent to the same. This holie man (as the common saieng was) had a white cow, and being fed onelie by hir milke, she was alwaies carried with him whersoeuer he went and trauelled from home.

Ecclesiasticall constitutions for Ireland.

The tempestuous and stormie *winter.*

Chap. 36.

THe seas, which a long time had beene calme, began now to swell, and to be full of continuall storms and tempests, which were so raging, and so great, that in all that winter there arriued scarselie anie one ship or barke from anie place into that land: neither was there anie newes heard from out of anie countrie during that winter. Wherupon men began to be afraid, and thinke verelie that God in his anger would punish them,

them, and be reuenged for their wicked & ſinfull life, and therefore had ſent this plague vpon them. At this time in Southwales by reaſon of the extreme and continuall tempeſts, the ſea ſides and ſhores, which had manie yeares bene couered with great ſand ridges, were now waſhed and carried awaie with the ſeas, and then there appeared the former fall and firme earth, and therin a great number of trees ſtanding which did in times paſt grow there: and by reaſon they had bene ſo long couered, & as it were buried vnder the ſands, they ſtood as trunked and polled trees, and were as blacke as is the Ebenie. A maruelous alteration, that the place ſometimes couered with ſeas, and a waie for ſhips to paſſe, is now become a ſolle of ground and drie land. But ſome ſuppoſe that this was ſo at the firſt, and that thoſe trees were there growing before or ſhortlie after the flood of Noah. The king remained at Werford, ſtill longing to heare newes from beyond the ſeas: and thus lieng ſolitarie he practiſed by all the means and ſleights he could, how he might ſtocke and procure vnto him Reimond, Miles Cogan, William Makerell, & other of the beſt gentlemen; that he being aſſured of them to be firme of his ſide, he might be the ſtronger, and the earle the weaker.

The conſpiracie made againſt the king *by his ſonnes, and the ambaſſage of the legat* from the pope vnto him.

Chap. 37.

After Midlent the wind being eaſterlie, there came and arriued into Ireland certeine ſhips, as well from out of England, as alſo from out of Aquitaine in France, which brought him verie ill & bad newes. For there were come into Normandie from pope Alexander the third two cardinals in an ambaſſage, the one of them being named Albertus, and the other Theodinus, to make inquirie of the death of Thomas archbiſhop of Canturburie. They were thought and taken to be iuſt and good men, and therefore were choſen of truſt and of purpoſe for this matter: but yet for all that they were Romans, and who were fullie determined to haue interdicted, not onelie England, but alſo all the whole dominions ſubiect vnto the king, if he himſelfe had not the ſooner come and met with them. Beſides this, there was worſe newes told him, and a worſe miſhap befell vnto him (for commonlie good lucke commeth alone, but ill haps come by heapes and by huddels) which was, that his eldeſt ſonne whom he loued ſo dearlie, and whom he had crowned king, as alſo his two yonger ſonnes, with the conſent and helpe of ſundrie noble men, as well in England as beyond the ſeas, had confederated themſelues, and conſpired againſt the king in his abſence. Which newes and ſecret conſpiracie when he heard and vnderſtood, he was in a maruellous perplexitie, and for verie anguiſh and greefe of mind did ſweat. Firſt it greeued him that he ſhould be ſuſpected and infamed of the crime whereof he was giltleſſe. Alſo he feared of the great troubles which would grow and inſue hereby to his kingdome, & all other his dominions. Yea, and it greeued him verie much, that he being minded and determined the next ſummer then following to ſettle Ireland in ſome good ſtate, and to fortifie the ſame with holds and caſtels, he ſhould now be compelled and driuen to leaue the ſame vndone. Therefore ſending ſome before him into England, as well to aduertiſe his comming homewards, as alſo of the ſafetie he had taken for Ireland, he bethought himſelfe, as alſo tooke good aduiſe and counſell, what was beſt to be done in theſe his weightie cauſes.

The king returneth homewards *through Weſtwales, and of the ſpeaking* ſtone at ſaint Dauids.

Chap. 38.

The king being minded and determined to returne into England, ſet his realme of Ireland in good order, and left Hugh de Lacie (vnto whom he had giuen in fee the countrie of Meth) with twentie gentlemen, & Fitzſtephans & Maurice Fitzgerald with twentie other gentlemen, to be wardens and conſtables of Dublin. Likewiſe he left Humfrete de Bohune, Robert Fitzbarnard, and Hugh de Gundeuile, with twentie gentlemen, to keepe and gouerne Waterford. Alſo he left William Fitzaldelme, Philip of Haſtings, and Philip de Bruſe, to be gouernors and rulers of Werford: they hauing alſo twentie gentlemen of ſeruice apointed vnto them. And on the mondaie in the Eaſter weeke, earlie in the morning at the ſunne riſing, he tooke ſhipping without the barre of Werford; and the wind being weſterlie and blowing a good gale, he had a verie good paſſage, and arriued about the nonetide of the ſame daie vnto the bate of ſaint Dauids: where he being ſet on land, he went on foot with a ſtaffe in his hand in pilgrimage, and in great deuotion vnto the church of ſaint Dauids; whom the cleargie in proceſſion met at the gate called the white gate, and with great honour receiued him. And as they were going verie orderlie and ſolemnlie in proceſſion, there came vnto him a Welſh or a Camber woman; and falling downe at his feet, ſhe made a great complaint againſt the biſhop of that place: which being by an interpretor declared vnto the king, albeit he vnderſtood it well, yet he gaue hir no anſwer.

She thinking that hir ſute was not regarded, did wring hir fiſts, and cried out with a lowd voice; Reuenge vs this day O Lechlanar, Reuenge vs I ſay, our kindred, and our nation, from this man. And being willed by the people of that countrie, who vnderſtood hir ſpeach, to hold hir peace, as alſo did thruſt hir out of the companie; ſhe cried the more, truſting and alluding to a certeine blind prophecie of Merlin, which was; that the king of England the conqueror of Ireland, ſhould be wounded in Ireland by a man with a red hand, and in his returning homewards through Southwales ſhould die vpon Lechlanar. This (i) Lechlanar was the name of a certeine great ſtone which laie ouer a broke, which fleeteth or runneth on the north ſide of the churchyard, and was a bridge ouer the ſame: and by reaſon of the often and continuall going of the people ouer it, it was verie ſmooth and ſlipperie. In length it was of ten foot, in breadth ſix foot, and in thickneſſe one foot. And this word Lechlanar, in the Camber or Welſh tong, is to ſaie, The ſpeaking ſtone. For it was an old blind ſaieng among the people in that countrie, that on a time there was a dead corps caried ouer that ſtone to be buried, and the ſaid ſtone ſpake, and forthwith brake and claue aſunder in the middle, and which clift ſo remaineth vnto this daie. And therevpon the people of that countrie, of a verie vaine and barbarous ſuperſtition, haue not ſince, nor yet will carie anie more dead bodies ouer the ſame.

A prophecie of Merlin.

A ſpeaking ſtone.

The king being come to this ſtone, and hearing of this prophecie, pauſed and ſtaied a little while; and then vpon a ſudden, verie haſtilie he went ouer it: which done, he looked backe vpon the ſtone, and ſpake ſomewhat ſharpelie, ſaieng: Who is he that will beleeue that lieng Merlin anie more? A man of that place ſtanding thereby, and ſeeing what had happened, he to excuſe Merlin, ſaid with a lowd voice; Thou art

art not he that shall conquer Ireland, neither doth Merlin meane it of thée. The king then went into the cathedrall church which was dedicated to saint Andrew and to saint Dauid: and hauing made his praiers, and heard diuine seruice, he went to supper, and rode after to Hauerford west to bed, which is about twelue miles from thense.

(1) The writer hereof (of verie purpose) in the yeare 1575, went to the foresaid place to sée the said stone, but there was no such to be found; and the place where the said stone was said to lie, is now an arched bridge, vnder which fléeteth the broke aforesaid, which broke doth not diuide the churchyard from the church, but the churchyard & church from the bishops and prebendaries houses, which houses in times past were verie faire and good hospitalitie kept therein. But as the most part of houses are fallen down, and altogither ruinous, so the hospitalitie is also therewith decaied. And for the veritie of the foresaid stone, there is no certeintie affirmed, but a report is remaining amongst the common people of such a stone to haue béene there in times past.

The submission of king Henrie to the *pope, and his reconciliation, as also the* agreement betweene him and *the French king.*

Chap.39.

THe king then tooke his iornie from Hauerford homewards along by the sea side, euen the same waie as before he came thither; and forthwith in all hast he taketh shipping, and sailed into Normandie: and immediatlie vnderstanding where the popes legats were, he repaired vnto them, and presented himselfe in most humble maner before them. Where & before whome after sundrie altercations passed to and fro betwéene them, he purged himselfe by his oth, that he was guiltlesse of the death of the archbishop Thomas: neuertheles he was contented to do the penance inioined him. For although he did not kill, nor yet know, nor consent to the murthering of him, yet he denied not but that the same was done for his (1) sake. The ambassadors & legats hauing thus ended with the king, with much honour returned backe, and homewards to Rome. And then the king trauelled and went to the marches of France, there to talke and haue conference with Lewes the French king, betweene whome then was discord and debate. But after sundrie spæches past betweene them, at length by the meanes and intercession of sundrie good men, and especiallie of Philip earle of Flanders (who was but then returned from Compostella, where he had bene in pilgrimage vnto saint James) the same was ended; and the displeasure which he had conceiued about and for the death of the archbishop of Canturburie was clerelie released. And by these meanes, the great malice and secret conspiracies of his sonnes and their confederats was for this time suppressed and quailed, and so continued vntill the yeare following.

(1) They which do write and intreat of the life and death of this archbishop, do affirme that the king after the death of this man, did send his ambassadors to pope Alexander at Rome, to purge himselfe of this fact. And notwithstanding that he tooke a corporall oth, that he neither did it nor caused it to be done, nor yet gaue anie consent, or was priuie thereof, nor yet was giltie in anie respect, sauing that he confessed he did not so well saudur the bishop as he had done in times past: yet could not his ambassadors be admitted to the presence and sight of the pope, vntill he had yéelded himselfe to his arbitrement and iudgement: which was that he should do certeine penance, as also to performe certeine iniunctions which were as followeth. That the king at his proper costs and charges should kéepe and sustéine two hundred souldiers for one whole yeare, to defend the holie land against the Turke. That he should permit, and that it should be lawfull to all his subiects as often as them listed to appeale to the sée of Rome. That none should be accounted thenceforth to be lawfull king of England, vntill such time as he were confirmed by the Romish bishop. That he should restore to the church of Canturburie all such goods and possessions as were taken and deteined from the same since the death of the archbishop. That he should suffer all such people as were fled or banished out of the realme for his sake, to returne home without delaie or let, and to inioy and haue againe all such goods and lands whatsoeuer they had before. Other things this Romish antichrist did demand, and which the king was compelled to grant vnto before he could be released: whereby it doth appeare how much they do varie from the calling of Christs apostles; and how that (contrarie to the rule of the gospell) their onelie indeuour was to make and haue princes and kingdoms subiect to their becke and tyrannie.

Iniunctions by the pope to the king of England.

The vision which appeared vnto *the king at his being at Cardiffe.*

Chap.40.

BVt before we do proceed anie further, it were not amisse to declare what happened and befell vnto the king in his returning through Wales, after his comming from Ireland. In his iourneie he came to the towne of Cardiffe on the saturdaie in the Easter wéeke, and lodged there all that night. On the morrow being sundaie, and commonlie called little Easter daie or Low sundaie, he went somewhat earlie to the chapell of saint Perian, and there heard diuine seruice, but he staied there in his secret praiers behind all his companie, somewhat longer than he was wont to do: at length he came out, and leaping to his horsse, there stood before him one hauing before him a stake, or a post pitched in the ground. He was of colour somewhat yellowish, his head rounded and a leane face, of stature somewhat high, and aged about fortie yeares; his apparell was white, being close & downe to the ground, he was girded about the middle, and bare footed. This man spake to the king in Dutch, saieng; God saue thée O king, and then said thus vnto him: Christ and his mother Marie, Iohn baptist, and Peter the apostle do salute thée: and do strictlie charge and comm and thee, that thou do forbid, that henceforth throughout all thy kingdome and dominions, there be no faires nor markets kept in anie place vpon the sundaies: and that vpon those daies no maner or person do anie bodilie worke, but onelie to serue God, sauing such as be appointed to dresse the meat. If thou wilt thus do, all that thou shalt take in hand shall prosper, and thy selfe shalt haue a happie life. The king then spake in French to the gentleman, who held his horsse by the bridle, and whose name was Philip Mertros, a man borne in those parts, and who told me this tale: Aske him whether he dreame or not. Which when he had so done, the man loking vpon the king said: Whether I dreame or not, marke well and remember what daie this is: for if thou do not this, and spædilie amend thy wicked life, thou shalt before the yeare come about heare such euill news of those things which thou

loueſt beſt, and thou ſhalt be ſo much vnquieted therwith, that thou ſhalt not find anie eaſe or end vntill thy dieng daie. With this word the king put ſpur to the horſſe and rode awaie towards the towne gate, which was at hand: but thinking vpon the words aſſeigned his horſſe and ſaid; Call me yonder fellow againe. Whereupon the foreſaid gentleman as alſo one William, which two were onelie then attending vpon him, firſt called and then ſought him in the chappell, and finding him not there, ſought him throughout the court, the towne, and in all the Ins, but could not find him. The king being verie ſad and ſorie that he had not throughlie talked with the man, went abroad himſelfe to ſeeke him, but finding him not, called for his horſſes and rode from thence by Kempinbridge to Newberie. And as this man had before threatned and ſaid, it ſo came to paſſe before the yeare was ended: for his eldeſt ſonne Henrie, and his two yonger ſonnes Richard earle of Aquitaine, and Geffreie erle of Britaine, in the Lent following forſoke and thronke from him, and went to Lewes the French king. Whereof grew and inſued vnto him ſuch veration and vnquietneſſe, as he had neuer the like before, and which by one means and other neuer left him vntill his dieng daie. And ſuerlie it was thought the ſame by Gods iuſt iudgement ſo befell vnto him: for as he had béene and was a diſobedient ſonne to his ſpirituall father, ſo his carnall ſonnes ſhould be diſobedient and rebellious againſt their carnall father. Manie ſuch forewarnings the king had by Gods mercie and goodneſſe ſent vnto him before his death, to the end he ſhould repent and be conuerted, and not be condemned: which would to God that euerie prince and other man did not frowardlie and obſtinatlie condemne, but rather with an humble and a penitent heart they would (as they ought to dw) receiue and imbrace the ſame! And therefore I haue and mind to write more at large in my booke, concerning the inſtruction and inſtitution of a chriſtian prince.

The treaſon and killing of Ororike *prince of Meth.*

Chap.41.

In the meane time Ireland was in good reſt and peace, vnder ſuch as vnto whom the charge thereof was committed. And now on a time it happened, that the one eied Ororike of Meth, being at Dublin, complained vnto Hugh de Lacie of certeine iniuries done vnto him, praieng redreſſe: whereupon the daie and a place of (1) parlée was betweene them appointed for the ſame. The night next before the daie of this parlée, a yong gentleman named Griffith, the nephue of Robert Fitzſtephans, and Maurice Fitzgerald, being the ſonne to their eldeſt brother named William, dreamed in his ſléepe that he ſaw a great heard of wild hogs to ruſh and run vpon Hugh de Lacie and his vncle Maurice; and that one of them being more horrible and greater than the reſt, had with his tuſks rent and killed them: if he had not with all his force and ſtrength reſcued them, and killed the bore. On the morrow according to appointment, they came to the place appointed for the parlée, which was a certeine hill called Ororikes hill: but before they came to the verie hill it ſelfe, they ſent meſſengers the one to the other, requiring aſſurance and ſafetie: and hauing ſworne on each part to keepe faith and truth, they came to the place appointed and there met, but yet a ſmall companie on either ſide. For it was agréed vpon on both parties, & by couenant excepted, that on each part they ſhould bring but a few and the like number, and they to be all vnarmed; the ſwords on one ſide and the ſpars on the other ſide, and for all the reſidue of the people and companie to ſtand aloofe and a farre off. But Griffith, who came to the ſaid parlée with his vncle Maurice, was verie penſife and much troubled, concerning the viſion which he ſaw in his ſléepe; and doubting of the worſt, made choiſe of ſeuen of the beſt gentlemen of his kindred, whome he knew to be valiant, and in whome he had a ſpeciall truſt and confidence. Theſe he draweth to the one ſide of the hill, but as néere to the place of parlée as he could, where euerie of them hauing his ſword, ſpar and ſhield; lept and mounted vp to their horſſes, and ranging the fields they made ſundrie carrœrs and luſtie turnaments, vnder the pretenſe and colour of pleſantnes and paſtime; but in verie déed to be in a readineſſe if néed ſhould ſo require.

Griffiths dreame.

Hugh de Lacie and Ororike this meane while were talking and diſcourſing of manie things, but concluded not of anie thing; neither did Ororike meane anie ſuch thing. For hauing a traitorous mind, and watching his time when he might beſt powre out his venem, fained himſelfe to go out and abroad to make water, and vnder that colour beckened vnto his men, with whome he had concluded and agréed before, that with all haſt they ſhould come awaie vnto him; and they forthwith in all haſt ſo did, and he alſo then with a pale, grim, and murtherous countenance, hauing his ax or ſpar vpon his ſhoulder, returned backe againe. Maurice Fitzgerald, which was before warned by his couſine Griffith and aduertiſed of his dreame, gaue good eie and watched the matter verie narowlie; and therefore all the parlée time, he had his ſword readie drawne about him: and eſpieng the traitor to be fullie bent and about to ſtrike Hugh de Lacie, he cried out vnto him, willing him to looke vnto himſelfe, and to be at defenſe with himſelfe; wherewith the traitor moſt violentlie ſtrake vnto him, thinking verelie to haue murthered and diſpatched him. But the interpretor of the parlée ſteping in betweene, ſaued Hugh de Lacie; but he himſelfe was wounded to death, and his arme cleane cut off.

Then Maurice Fitzgerald with a lowd voice cried out to his companie, who with all haſt came awaie; and then began a hot and a ſharpe bickering of the Engliſh words againſt the Iriſh ſpars. In which skirmiſhing Hugh de Lacie was twiſe felled to the ground, and had ſuerlie béene killed, if Maurice had not valiantlie reſcued him. Likewiſe the Iriſhmen who were manie in number, they hauing eſpied the becking of the traitor, they came running in all haſt out of the vallies with their weapons, thinking verelie to haue made a cleane diſpatch and a full end of Hugh de Lacie and of Maurice Fitzgerald. But Griffith and his companions, ſtill watching for that which indéed did happen, were at the firſt call of Maurice in a readineſſe, and being on horſſebacke they came awaie with all ſpéed: which thing when the traitor ſaw, he gan to diſtruſt, and thought to ſhift himſelfe awaie and ſo to eſcape. But as he was leaping to his horſſe, Griffith was come, and with his ſtaffe or lance ſtrake downe and ran through both horſſe and man: who being thus ſtriken downe and killed, as alſo three other of his men, who brought him his horſſe and were in this bickering, they cut off his head from the bodie, and ſent it ouer into England to the king. The reſidue of the Iriſhmen fled forthwith and ranne awaie, but being hardlie purſued euen to the verie woods, there was a great diſcomfiture and ſlaughter made of them. Raſe the ſonne of Fitzſtephans, being a luſtie and a valiant

yong

yong gentleman, did well acquite himſelfe, and deſerued great commendation for his good ſeruice.

(1) The maner of the Iriſhrie was euer, and yet is, that when ſo euer there is anie controuerſie amongſt them, they will oftentimes appoint places where to meet and aſſemble themſelues for conference; which commonlie is vpon ſome hill diſtant and farre from anie houſe, and this aſſemblie is called among them a parlée or a parlement. And albeit the pretenſe hereof is of ſome quietneſſe and redreſſe: yet experience teacheth that there is not a worſſe thing to be vſed among them. For lightlie and moſt commonlie there are moſt treacheries and treaſons, moſt murthers and robberies, and all wickednelſe imagined, deuiſed, and afterwards put in practiſe among them: and for the moſt part there is no parlée among them, whereof inſueth not ſome miſchæfe.

(2) This hill lieth in the prouince of Meth, about twentie miles from Dublin, and is now called the Taragh: ſome thinke this to be the middle part or nauill of that prouince; it is a verie pleaſant and a fertile ſoile, and alſo for the moſt part champion.

Sundrie examples concerning *viſions.*

Chap.42.

FOr ſo much as there be ſundrie opinions and iudgments concerning viſions, it ſhall not be much amiſſe, or impertinent to our matter, to recite a few examples & true reports of the ſame. Valerius Maximus in his firſt booke and ſeauenth chapter writeth, that two men of Arcadia, iourneing togither in companie towards a towne named Megara, when they came thither, the one of them lodged himſelfe with his frend, but the other at a common Inne. He who laie in his frends houſe being in bed and aſléepe, dreamed that his companion came vnto him, and requeſted him to helpe him, bicauſe his hoaſt did oppreſſe him; wherewith he awoke, but verie ſhortlie he fell aſléepe againe, and dreamed that his ſaid companion came againe vnto him being verie ſore wounded, and praied him that although he would not at the firſt time come and helpe him, yet that he would now reuenge his death, declaring that his hoſt had taken his head and corps, and put it into a cart to be caried to the dunghill, and there to be buried. This man being awaked, and much troubled with this dreame, aroſe and ſought for his fellow, and finding his dreame to be true, cauſed the hoaſt to be taken and apprehended, who for that his fact was executed and put to death. Aterius Ruſus a gentleman of Rome likewiſe, being on a time at Siracuſa, he dreamed that he was killed by a maiſter of ſenſe, which came ſo to paſſe: for on the morrow after he was preſent at the plaie or game of ſwordplaiers or maiſters of defenſe, whereas a (1) netcaſter was brought in to fight with a ſwordplaier. Whereupon Aterius vttering his dreame to him that ſat next by him, would haue gone and departed awaie; but being perſuaded to the contrarie, did ſtaie to his owne deſtruction. For the netcaſter hauing ouerthrowne the ſwordplaier, and thinking to haue pearſed him through with his ſword, miſſed him and ſtroke Aterius, who ſat in place next thereunto, and ſo was he ſlaine. Alſo Simonides the poet, being on a time ſet on land vpon the ſea ſhore, he ſaw there a dead man lieng vnburied. The night following he dreamed that the ſaid dead man did aduiſe and admoniſh him, that he ſhould not take ſhip the daie following: but his felowes minding not to loſe anie time, and the weather ſeeming then to be faire, they went all aboord, and hoiſed vp their ſailes; which Simonides refuſed to do, and tarried at land. It was not long after but that the weather ware to be fowle, and the ſeas to be high, and in the end both the ſhip and men to be all loſt: but Simonides crediting his dreame, was ſaued. Moreouer Calphurnia, the wife vnto Julius Ceſar, the night before hir huſband was ſlaine, dreamed that ſhe ſaw him greatlie wounded to lie in hir lap: wherewith ſhe being afraid did awake, and told Julius hir dreame, requeſting him that he would forbeare to repaire to the ſenat houſe that daie: but he giuing ſmall credit to a womans dreame, followed his mind, and was ſlaine by the ſenators. But to leaue theſe examples fetched from out of other nations, let vs come neere home to our ſelues. A brother of mine named Walter Barrie, a luſtie yong gentleman, making himſelfe readie on a time to ſerue in a certeine hoſting againſt his enimie; the night before he ſhould take his iournie, he dreamed that my mother who was dead on long before, did come vnto him, and aduiſe & warne him, that if he loued his life he ſhould in anie wiſe refraine and forbeare that iournie. She in deed was not his naturall mother, but his mother in law, and yet loued him in hir life time as intirelie as hir owne child. When he had told this his dreame to his father and mine, for indeed we were both brothers by one father, though we had not one mother: he alſo gaue him the like aduiſe and counſell, but he of his preſumptuous mind, not regarding the ſame, followed his owne mind, and the ſame daie was killed by his enimie.

Prognoſticall dreames.

(2) As dreames ſometimes are good forewarnings to men to eſchew euils which are towards, yet they are not alwaies to be ſo receiued, as prognoſtications infallible. For ſometimes the ſame fall out to the contrarie, as doth appeare by Auguſtus the emperor; who hauing warres againſt Brutus and Caſſius, and he by reaſon of his ſickneſſe carried in a litter, his phyſician Arterius dreamed that the goddeſſe Minerua did appeare vnto him, willing him to aduiſe and counſell the emperor, that he ſhould not by reaſon of his ſickneſſe come into the field, nor be preſent in the battell, which he did. But the emperor notwithſtanding entered into the field, being carried in his litter, and toke maruellous great pains. And albeit Brutus taking the emperors tents, ſéemed to haue the victorie; yet was he for all that vanquiſhed, and the emperor had the conqueſt. Likewiſe in weſt Wales, of late yeares, it happened a certeine rich man dwelling on the north ſide of a certeine mounteine, he dreamed thrée nights togither, that there was a chaine of gold hidden in the head ſtone, which couered and laie vpon a certeine well or founteine, named ſaint Bernaces well, and that he ſhould go and fetch it. This man at length, ſomwhat beléeuing the dreame, and minding to trie the ſame, went to the place, and did put his hand into the hole or place: but his hand was no ſooner in, but that it was bitten, ſtong, and enuenomed with an adder. Wherefore a man may ſée hereby what credit is to be giuen to dreams, and I for my part do ſo credit of them as I do of rumors. But concerning ſuch viſions as God doth ſend by his angels to his prophets and holie men, we muſt otherwiſe thinke of them; bicauſe the effect of them is moſt vndoubted, certeine, and aſſured.

(1) The Romans had diuerſe games, plaies, and exerciſes amongſt themſelues, and had for the ſame certeine amphitheaters and theaters made of pur-

pose, til eretn the people might sit to view and behold the same. Of these plates or games some were of cruell beasts the one fighting with the other, some of men fighting with beasts, and some of men fighting the one with the other, and these plates were called *Ludi gladiatorij*, games of sword plateng or fighting: for as in combates in England, so they being vnharnelled, did fight with their swords or weapons in the open sight of the people, indeuouring ech one to kill the other, which were spectacles of crueltie to harden the peoples hearts against killing in the warres. Of these some were called *Mirmillones*, which were such as chalenged the fight; some were called *Gladiatores*, and these were such as we do name maisters of defenses, bicause they vsed onelie or chæflie the sword; and some were called *Retiarij*, and these besides their weapons did vse a certeine kind of net, which in fighting they were wont to take and intrap their enimies, and such a one was this man, who fighting with a chalenger, did by chance misse him and kill Aterius.

(2) In the old and first ages, men were much giuen to dreames and visions: and oftentimes great forewarnings and prognostications were giuen thereby, as doth appeare in the holie scriptures, as also in prophane histories. For Joseph the son of Jacob, king Pharao, king Nabuchodonozor, Mardocheus, Daniell, Judas Machabeus, Hercules, Pyrrhus, Cicero, Cassius, Parmensis, & manie others dreamed dreames, and the same came to passe. But yet these being but particular examples, and which it pleased God for some secret cause to vse: they are not to be drawne for presidents and examples to be dailie or in these daies vsed; but rather we must haue a respect and a regard to Gods spectall commandement, who by the mouths of his prophets hath vtterlie forbidden vs to listen to anie dreamer, or to giue credit vnto his words. Thou shalt not (saith he) hearken to the words of a dreamer of dreames, for dreames haue deceiued manie a man, and they haue failed them who haue put their trust in them: for whie, they are full of deceipts and guiles, and inuented either for the maintenance of superstition and error, or for the increasing of some filthie lucre and gaine. Thauorinus therefore inueighing against the Chaldeans, who were a people which were wont to relie much vpon dreames, willeth and aduiseth that no dreamer or interpreter of dreames should be sought or dealt withall. For (saith he) if they tell thee of anie good thing, and in the end do deceiue thee, thou shalt be in miserie to hope in vaine for the same. If they tell thée of some misfortune, and yet do lie, yet shalt thou be in miserie, bicause thou shalt be still in feare least it may happen. And likewise if they shew thée of euill haps, and the same do so follow, thou shalt be in miserie and vnquieted, that thy fortune and destinie is so euill. But if they tell thee of good things, and it be long yer the same do happen, thou shalt be much vnquieted to looke so long for it; and alwaies in feare least thine expectation shall be frustrated: wherefore in no wise do thou seeke anie such persons, nor giue anie credit vnto them.

The description of Maurice *Fitzgerald.*

Chap.43.

THis Maurice was a man of much nobilitie and worship, but somewhat shame fast and yet verie well coloured, and of a good countenance, of stature he was indifferent, being semelie and well compact at all points, in bodie and mind he was of a like composition, being not too great in the one, nor proud in the other; of nature he was verie courteous and gentle, and desired rather so to be in deed, than to be thought or reputed so to be: he kept such a measure and a moderation in all his doings, that in his daies he was a patterne of all sobrietie and good behauiour; a man of few words, and his sentences more full of wit and reason than of words and speeches; he had more stomach than talke, more reason than speech, and more wisedome than eloquence. And when so euer anie matter was to be debated, as he would take good leasure, and be aduised before he would speake: so when he spake he did it verie wiselie and prudentlie. In martiall affaires also he was verie bold, stout, and valiant, and yet not hastie to run headlong in anie aduenture. And as he would be well aduised before he gaue the attempt and aduenture, so when the same was once taken in hand, he would stoutlie pursue and follow the same. He was sober, modest, and chast, constant, trustie, and faithfull: a man not altogether without fault, and yet not spotted with anie notorious crime and fault.

The first dissention betweene the king *and his sonnes.*

Chap.44.

IN the moneth of Aprill then next following, the yong king sonne to king Henrie the elder, being no longer able to conceale or suppresse the wickednesse he had deuised against his father: he (I saie) and his two brethren the earls of Aquitaine and of Britaine suddenlie stole awaie into France, vnto Lewes the French king his father in law: for he had married his daughter, that hauing his aid he might ouer-run his owne father, and shorten his old yeares. And for his further helpe he had procured vnto him and on his side manie noble men both French and English, who openlie, but manie more, who secretlie did ioine with him to aid him. The elder king the father was verie much troubled and vnquieted for and about these and manie other sudden troubles, which on euerie side did grow vpon him; but yet he bare it out with a good face and countenance, dissembling that outwardlie which he conceiued inwardlie. And to stand firme and assured, he got and procured by all the meanes he could all such aid and helpe as was to be gotten and had. He sent into Ireland for his garrison, which he had left there; and being at Rone he committed the charge and gouernment of all Ireland vnto the earle Richard; but ioined Reimond in commission with him, bicause the earle without him would not do anie thing, nor take the charge vpon him. And then the king of his liberalitie gaue also vnto him the towne of Werford with the castell of Guikulo.

Of the victories of king Henrie *the second.*

Chap.45.

THe king hauing indured more than ciuill wars two whole years togither aswell in England as in Aquitaine, in great troubles, much wachings, & painfull trauels, yet at length most valiantlie he preuailed against his enimies; & surelie it was more of Gods godnes, than by mans power, and (as it is to be thought) for the reuenge of the disobedience & wrongs done by the sons against

againſt the father. But forſomuch as a mans owne houſhold are commonlie the worſt enimies; and of all enimies, the houſhold & familiar enimie is moſt dangerous: there was no one thing, which more troubled and greeued the king, than the gentlemen of his priuie chamber, and in whoſe hands in a manner late his life or death, would euerie night ſecretlie and with treacherous minds run and reſort to his ſonnes, and in the morning when they ſhould doo him ſeruice, they were not to be found. And albeit theſe warres in the beginning were verie doubtfull, and the king himſelfe in great deſpaire: yet his hard beginning had a good ending, and he in the end had the victorie to his great honor and glorie. And God, who at the firſt ſeemed to be angrie with him, and in his anger to powre vpon him his wrath and indignation: yet now vpon his amendement and conuerſion, he was become mercifull vnto him, and well pleaſed. And at the caſtell of Sandwich, whereof Reinulfe Glandeuill was then gouernor, who was a wiſe man, and alwaies moſt faithfull and truſtie to the king, there was a generall peace proclamed, and all England in reſt and quietneſſe.

In this warre the king had taken priſoners the king of Scots, the earles of Cheſter and of Leiceſter, beſides ſo manie gentlemen and good ſeruitors both Engliſh and French, that he had ſcarſe anie priſons for ſo manie priſoners, nor ſo manie fetters for ſo manie captiues. But forſomuch as in vaine doth a man triumph of the conqueſts vpon others, who cannot alſo triumph of the conquering of himſelfe; and although the king had indured and abiden manie ſtorms, great vnquietneſſe, and much trouble; and at length hauing ouercommed both them and his enimies, he might the ſoner haue bëen wreaked and auenged of them: yet ſetting apart thoſe affections euen in the middle of his triumphs vpon others, he alſo triumphed ouer himſelfe; vſing ſuch kinds of courteſies & clemencies as before had not bëene heard. For ſuppreſſing his malice and reuenging mind, he gaue honor to his aduerſaries, & life to his enimies. And the warres thus after two yeares ended, and all the great ſtormes ouercommed, he granted peace to all men, and forgaue ech man his offenſe and treſpaſſe. And in the end alſo his ſonnes repenting their follies, came and ſubmitted themſelues, with all humblenеſſe yëlding themſelues to his will and pleaſure.

The deſcription of king Henrie *the ſecond.*

Chap. 46.

IT were not now amiſſe, but verie requiſit that we ſhould (for a perpetuall remembrance of the king) deſcribe and ſet forth as well the nature and conditions of his inward man as of his outward; that men which ſhall be deſirous hereafter to learne and read his moſt noble acts in chiualrie, may alſo as it were before their eies conceiue his verie nature and liuelie portraiture: for he being ſo noble an ornament to this time and our hiſtorie; we might not well, neither doth this hiſtorie permit vs to omit and paſſe him ouer in ſilence. Wherein we are to craue pardon that we may plainelie declare and tell the truth: for in all hiſtories the perfect and full truth is to be alwaies opened, and without it the ſame wanteth both authoritie and credit: for art muſt follow nature. And the painter therfore, whoſe profeſſion and art is to make his portraiture as liuelie as may be, if he ſwarue from the ſame, then both he and his worke lacke and want their commendation. And albeit no man be borne without his fault, yet is he moſt to be borne withall who is leaſt ſpotted: & him muſt we account and thinke to be wiſe, who knowledgeth the ſame: for white, in all worldlie matters there is no certeintie; and vnder heauen is no perfect felicitie, but euill things are mixt with good things, and vices ioined with vertues. And therefore, as things ſpoken in commendation either of a mans good diſpoſition, or of his worthie doings, doo delight and like well the hearer: euen ſo let him not be offended, if things not to be well liked be alſo recited and written. And yet the philoſophers are of the opinion, that we ought to reuerence ſo the higher powers in all maner of offices and dueties, as that we ſhould not prouoke nor moue them with anie ſharpe ſpëeches or diſordered languages. For (as Terence ſaith) faire words and ſoothing ſpeeches breed frendſhip, but plaine telling of truth makes enimies. Wherfore it is a dangerous thing to ſpeake euill againſt him, though the occaſion be neuer ſo iuſt, as who can forthwith auenge the ſame. And it is a matter more dangerous, and he aduentureth himſelfe verie far, which will contend in manie words againſt him, who in one or few words can wreake the ſame. It were ſuerlie a verie happie thing, and that which I confeſſe paſſeth my reach, if a man intreating of princes cauſes might tell the truth in euerie thing, and yet not offend them in anie thing. But to the purpoſe.

Henrie the ſecond, king of England, was of a verie good colour, but ſomewhat red: his head great and round, his eies were fierie, red, and grim, and his face verie high coloured; his voice or ſpeech was ſhaking, quiuering, or trembling; his necke ſhort, his breaſt brode and big, ſtrong armed, his bodie was groſſe, and his bellie ſomewhat big, which came vnto him rather by nature than by anie groſſe feeding or ſurfetting. For his diet was very temperat, and to ſaie the truth, thought to be more ſpare than comelie, or for the ſtate of a prince: and yet to abate his groſſeneſſe, and to remedie this fault of nature, he did as it were puniſh his bodie with continuall exerciſe, and did as it were keepe a continuall warre with himſelfe. For in the times of his warres, which were for the moſt part continuall to him, he had little or no reſt at all; and in time of peace he would not grant vnto himſelfe anie peace at all, nor take anie reſt: for then did he giue himſelfe wholie vnto hunting, and to follow the ſame he would verie erlie euerie morning be on horſeback, and then into the woods, ſometimes into the forreſts, and ſometimes into the hilles and fields; and ſo would he ſpend the whole daie vntill night. In the euening when he came home, he would neuer or verie ſeldome ſit either before or after ſupper: for though he were neuer ſo wearie, yet ſtill would he be walking and going. And forſomuch as it is verie profitable for euerie man in his life time, that he doo not take too much of anie one thing; for the medicine it ſelfe which is appointed for a mans helpe & remedie, is not abſolutelie perfect and good to be alwaies vſed: euen ſo it befell and happened to this prince; for partlie by his exceſſiue trauels, and partlie by diuerſe bruſes in his bodie, his legs and feet were ſwollen and ſore. And though he had no diſeaſe at all, yet age it ſelfe was a breaking ſufficient vnto him. He was of a reſonable ſtature, which happened to none of his ſons; for his two eldeſt ſons were ſomwhat higher, & his two yonger ſons were ſomewhat lower and leſſe than was he. If he were in a good mood, and not angrie, then would he be verie pleaſant and eloquent: he was alſo (which was a thing verie rare in thoſe daies) verie well learned: he was alſo verie affable, gentle, and courteous; and beſides ſo pitifull, that when he had ouercome his enimie, yet would he be ouercome with pitie towards him.

In warres he was moſt valiant, and in peace he was as prouident and circumſpect. And in the wars miſtruſting and doubting of the end and euent therof, he would (as Terence writeth) trie all the waies and meanes he could deuiſe rather than wage the battell. If he loſt anie of his men in the fight, he would marueilouſlie lament his death, and ſéeme to pitie him more being dead than he did regard or account of him being aliue, more bewailing the dead than fauoring the liuing. In times of diſtreſſe no man more courteous, and when all things were ſafe no man more hard or cruell. Againſt the ſtubborne & vnrulie no man more ſharpe, nor yet to the humble no man more gentle; hard toward his owne men and houſhold, but liberall to ſtrangers, bountifull abrode, but ſparing at home: whom he once hated, he would neuer or verie hardlie loue; and whom he once loued, he would not lightlie be out with him, or forſake him: he had great pleaſure and delight in hawking and hunting. Would God he had béene as well bent and diſpoſed vnto good deuotion!

It was ſaid that after the diſpleaſure growne betweene the king and his ſonnes, by the meanes and thorough the inticing of the quéene their mother, he neuer accounted to kéepe his word and promiſe, but without anie regard or care was a common breaker thereof. And true it is, that of a certeine naturall diſpoſition he was light and inconſtant of his word: and if the matter were brought to a narrow ſtreit or pinch, he would not ſticke rather to couer his word, than to denie his déed. And for this cauſe he in all his doings was verie prouident and circumſpect, and a verie vpright and a ſeuere miniſter of iuſtice, although he did therein grœue and make his friends to ſmart. His anſwers for the moſt part were peruerſe and froward. Juſtice which is God himſelfe is frælie and without rewards to be miniſtred. And albeit for profit and lucre all things are ſet to ſale, and do bring great gaines as well to the clergie as to the laitie: yet they are no better to a mans heires or executors, than were the riches of (2) Gehezi the ſeruant to Elizeus, whoſe grœdie takings turned himſelfe to vtter ruine and deſtruction.

He was a great peacemaker, and a carefull kéeper thereof himſelfe: a liberall almes giuer, and a ſpeciall benefactor to the holie land, he loued humilitie, abhorred pride, and much oppreſſed his nobilitie. The hungrie he refreſhed, but the rich he regarded not. The humble he would exalt, but the mightie he diſdained. He vſurped much vpon the holie church, and of a certeine kind of zeale, but not according to knowledge; he did intermingle and conioine the prophane with holie things; for why, he would be all in all himſelfe. He was the child of the holie church, and by hir aduanced to the ſcepter of his kingdome, and yet he either diſſembled or vtterlie forgat the ſame: for he was ſlacke alwaies in comming to the church vnto the diuine ſeruice, and at the time thereof he would be buſied and occupied rather in councels and in conference about the affaires of his commonwealth, than in deuotion and prater. The liuelihods belonging to anie ſpirituall promotion, he would in time of vacation confiſcat to his owne treaſurie, and aſſume that to himſelfe which was due vnto Chriſt. When anie new troubles or wars did grow or come vpon him, then would he laſh & powre all that euer he had in ſtore or treaſurie; and liberallie beſtow that vpon a roiſter or a ſoldier, which ought to haue bœne giuen vnto the prieſt. He had a verie prudent & forecaſting wit, and therby foreſéeing what things might or were like to inſue, he would accordinglie order & diſpoſe either for the performance, or for the preuenting thereof: notwithſtanding manie times the euent happened to the contrarie, and he diſappointed of his expectation: and commonlie there happened no ill vnto him, but he would foretell therof to his friends and familiars.

He was a maruellous naturall father to his children, and loued them tenderlie in their childhood and yong yeares: but they being growne to ſome age and ripeneſſe, he was as a father in law, and could ſcarſelie brooke anie of them. And notwithſtanding they were verie handſome, comelie, and noble gentlemen: yet whether it were that he would not haue them proſper too faſt, or whether they had euill deſerued of him, he hated them; & it was full much againſt his will, that they ſhould be his ſucceſſors, or heires to anie part of his inheritance. And ſuch is the proſperitie of man, that as it can not be perpetuall, no more can it be perfect and aſſured: for why, ſuch was the ſecret malice of fortune againſt this king, that where he ſhould haue receiued much comfort, there had he moſt ſorrow: where quietneſſe & ſafetie, there vnquietneſſe and peril: where peace, there enimitie: where courteſie, there ingratitude: where reſt, there trouble. And whether this happened by the meanes of the (3) marriages, or for the puniſhment of the fathers ſinnes: certeine it is, there was no good agréement, neither betweene the father & the ſonnes, nor yet among the ſonnes themſelues.

But at length, when all his enimies and the diſturbers of the common peace were ſuppreſſed; and his brethren, his ſonnes, and all others his aduerſaries as well at home as abroad were reconciled: then all things happened and befell vnto him (though it were long firſt) after and according to his owne will and mind. And would to God he had likewiſe reconciled himſelfe vnto God, and by amendement of his life had in the end alſo procured his fauour and mercie! Beſides this, which I had almoſt forgotten, he was of ſuch a (4) memorie, that if he had once ſéene and knowne a man, he would not forget him: neither yet whatſoeuer he had heard, would he be vnmindfull thereof. And hereof was it, that he had ſo readie a memorie of hiſtories which he had read, as a knowledge and a maner of an experience in all things. To conclude, if he had bœne choſen of God, and bœne obſequious and carefull to liue in his feare and after his laws, he had excelled all the princes of the world: for in the gifts of nature no one man was to be compared vnto him. Thus much briefle, and yet not much beſides the matter, I haue thought good to deliuer, that hauing in few words made my entrie; other writers maie haue the better occaſion more at large to diſcourſe and intreat of this ſo worthie an hiſtorie. And therefore leauing the ſame to others, let vs returne to our Ireland, from whenſe we digreſſed.

(1) The words are *Oculis glaucis*: which ſome do Engliſh to be greie eies, like the colour of the ſkie, with ſpecks in it: but ſome do Engliſh it a bright red, as is the colour of a lions eie, which is commonlie a ſigne or an argument of a man which will be ſone warmed & angrie: & ſo it is to be taken in this place: for the words, which follow, be: *Ad iram torui*, which is to ſaie, grim looking eies diſpoſed to anger: which eies were anſwerable to the complexion and diſpoſition of this king.

(2) This hiſtorie is written in the fift chapter of the ſecond booke of the kings, & in effect is this. When the prophet Eliſha or Elizeus had healed Naaman the Syrian of his leproſie, he would haue rewarded the prophet, & haue giuen great and rich gifts: but he refuſed the ſame and would none thereof, wherefore Naaman departed awaie. But Gehezi the ſeruant of the prophet, being touched with a grœdie and a couetous

uetous mind, and angrie that his maister had refused such rich presents, secretlie he ran after the Syrian, and ouertaking him, did aske of him in his maisters name a talent of siluer, & certeine garments; which he receiued doubled, and returned therewith. But he was no soner come home, but that his couetousnesse was rewarded, and he plagued with the leprosie of Naaman, which cloue vnto him as white as the snow.

(3) The king maried Eleanor the daughter and heire to the erle of Poitiers (who before was maried to Lewes the eight and king of France, but diuorsed from him for nérenesse of blod) and after that he had continued with hir sundrie yeares, and receiued by hir six sonnes and three daughters, he fell in loue with a yong wench named Rosamund, and then waxed wearie of his wife. And she to be awreaked, did not onelie in continuance of time find the meanes to find out this Rosamund, who was kept secret in a house builded like a labyrinth of purpose for hir safe képing at Woodstocke, where when the quéen had found hir, Rosamund liued not long after: but also for a further reuenge, she by means of hir sonnes who were noble & valiant gentlemen, caused warres to be sturred and raised against the king to his great vnquietnesse: and this is one of the mariages of which this author meaneth. The other was of his son named Henrie, whome he did not onelie make and crowne king in his life time, but also for a confirmation of a peace to be had betwéene him and Lewes the eight then French king, he maried his said sonne to the ladie Margaret daughter to the said French king. By reason whereof his said sonne being once come to yéeres of age, and thinking it too long yer he could haue the sole gouernment, as also being by the quéene his mother intised, and taking hir part, he fled to the French king his father in law; and by his aid, as also of sundrie other noble men both English and French, who ioined with him, made warres vpon his said father: which bred vnto him no little trouble and vnquietnesse.

(4) There is not a more commendable & more necessarie vertue in a king, than is the gift of a quicke and good memorie: for by it knowledge doth increase and experience is perfected. And therefore saith Cicero, that memorie is the treasurie of all good things, and most necessarie to the life of man: wherein the more the gouernor excelleth, the more prouident is his gouernment. For why, as Plutarch writeth, the remembrance of things past are speciall presidents and examples of things to come. Diuers and sundrie men haue béene famous, and much commended for their excellencie in this vertue. Mithridates king of Pontus in Asia had vnder his dominion two and twentie nations, and he was of such singular memorie, that he did not onelie vnderstand their seuerall languages, but also spake them perfectlie: and in iudgements would heare each man to speake in his owne language, and answer them in the same. Cyrus king of Persia, the sonne of Cambises, so excelled in memorie, that hauing an exceeding great multitude of men in his host, he would call euerie man by his proper name and surname. Cineas an ambassador from king Pyrrhus to the Romanes, was not in Rome aboue one whole date, before he could salute euerie of the senators, and euerie noble man of Rome by his particular name. Likewise Julius Cesar and Adrianus the emperors of Rome were of such excellent memories, that euerie of them at one instant could both read and write, as also speake and heare. The like also is said of the famous and most excellentlie learned man Erasmus Roterodamus, who hauing alwaies or for the most part sundrie and diuers clearks writing at one time and instant, of sundrie matters, would walke vp and downe among them, and indite to euerie one what he should write. And this thing is so necessarie in all princes, that in the old ages they were euer wont to haue about them such men as were of a speciall memorie; to put them in mind of all such things as to them should be méet and requisite, and these were called Nomenclatores. Whether this king had any such attending vpon him or not, it is certeine that he himselfe was of an excellent good memorie.

Thus far the first booke of the Conquest of Ireland.

SYLVESTER GIRALdus Cambrenſis, his ſecond booke of the vaticinall hiſtorie of *the Conqueſt of Ireland*.

The Proheme of the author.

WE haue thus farre continued our hiſtorie, in as perfect and full order as we could, hauing omitted nothing worthie the memorie, as farre as the matter ſeemed to require: but being occupied and buſied with the generall and neceſſarie cauſes in religion, although we had not ſufficient leaſure and time to follow and proſecute this our enterpriſe and matter begun, yet did not we thinke it meet to giue the ſame ouer, and to leaue it halfe vndoone. We haue therefore, and yet doo continue the hiſtorie but breefelie, not in anie high or eloquent ſtile; but in a common phraſe and plaine ſpeeches, giuing rather thereby an occaſion to our poſteritie for them to ſet foorth this hiſtorie, than to doo it our ſelues. For indeed our leaſure is verie ſmall, and ſuch as it is, it is turned to troubles and vnquietneſſe, our loue and zeale into hatred, our ioy into ſorrow, and our reſt to moleſtations.

For now flouriſh not the honeſt exerciſes of ſtudies, but the buſie policies of warres: now the good ſtudies of the mind are contemned, and the luſts of the bodie imbraced: now we haue no leaſure to ſerue the Muſes, but to be hammering with weapons: quiet minds are not now at leaſure, but gliſtering weapons and armors are in euerie mans hands. Wherefore let not the reader looke now at our hands for anie good order, eloquence, or pleaſantneſſe in this our writing: for place muſt be giuen of neceſſitie vnto time. And as the ſame is now verie troubleſome, ſo can the ſame bring foorth but troubleſome matters. In theſe troubled times, and wanting conuenient leaſure and quietneſſe, I haue trauelled with the more paines to abſolue and end this my worke: not after the maner of a ſtudent, but as a traueller; whoſe nature and condition is, that when he dooth ſet foorth on his iournie verie ſlacklie and ſlowlie, then dooth he make the more haſt, and trauell the more ſpeedilie. How ſoeuer it ſhall pleaſe God to deale with vs in the ſeruices now in hand, I haue as diligentlie as I can compiled this my hiſtorie as alſo my topographie, leauing the ſame as a monument of our will, to remaine to our countrie and poſteritie for euer.

THE SECOND BOOKE of the Conqueſt of Ireland.

The earle is ſent backe againe into Ireland, *and is made generall of the land, and* Reimond is ioined in commiſſion with him.

Chap. 1.

EArle Richard, being now returned into Ireland, the people there being aduertiſed of the great trubles which were beyond the ſeas, they being a people conſtant onlie in inconſtancie, firme in wauering and faithfull in vntruths; theſe (I ſay) and all the princes of that land, the earle at his comming found to be reuolted and to become rebels. For the recouerie and ſuppreſſing of whom, the earle then wholie beſtirred himſelfe; and at length hauing ſpent and conſumed all his treaſure, which he had brought ouer with him, his ſoldiors who were vnder the guiding of Herueie being then conſtable, lacked their wages and were vnpaid: and by reaſon of the emulation betweene Herueie and Reimond, the ſeruice and exploits to be don againſt the Iriſhrie was verie ſlacke and ſlender; and by that meanes they wanted ſuch preies and ſpoiles of neat and cattell as they were wont to haue for their vittels. The ſouldiors in this diſtreſſe, wanting both monie for their wages and vittels for their food, aſſembled themſelues and went vnto the earle, vnto whome with one voice they exclamed and ſaid; that vnleſſe he would make and apoint Reimond to be their capteine againe, they would without all doubt forſake him, and would either returne home againe, or (that which is woꝛſe) would go and ſerue vnder the enimies.

In this diſtreſſe was Reimond apointed the capteine, & forthwith hauing muſtered his ſouldiers, he made a rode or iourneie into Ophalia vpon the rebels there, where he toke great preies, and were well recouered as well in horſſe as in armor. From thence they marched to Liſmore, where when they had ſpoiled both the towne and countrie, they returned with great boties, taking the waie vnto Waterford by the ſea ſide: and being come to the ſea ſhores, where they found thirteene botes latelie come from Waterford, as alſo others of other places; all theſe they laded with their preies, minding to haue paſſed by water vnto Waterford. But tarieng there for a wind, the men of Corke, who had heard of their doings, and being but ſixteene miles from them, do prepare two and thirtie barks of their owne towne, and do well man and furniſh them, being wholie determined to ſet vpon Reimond, and if they can to giue him the ouerthrow; which they did: betweene whom was a cruell fight, the one part giuing a fierce onſet with ſtones and ſpaths, & the other defending themſelues with bowes and weapons. In the end the men of Corke were ouercome, and their capteine named Gilbert Mac Turger was there ſlaine by a luſtie yong gentleman named Philip Welſh. And then Adam Herford, who was the generall or admerall of that nauie, being well increaſed and laden with great preies, ſailed with great triumph to the citie of Waterford.

But Reimond himſelfe was not preſent at this fight vpon the water, and yet hearing thereof, he came in all haſt and marched towards them, taking his waie by the ſea ſide, hauing in his companie twentie gentlemen, and threeſcore horſſemen. And by the waie in his iourneie he met with Dermond Mac Artie prince of Deſmond, who was comming with a great band of men to helpe and reſcue the men of Corke where they fought togither: but in the end Mac Artie had the woꝛſe ſide, and was ouerthrowne; and then Reimond hauing preied and taken about foure thouſand head of neat, he marched and came to Waterford. About this time alſo as they marched homewards, certeine Iriſhmen in thoſe parties lieng ſkulking & lurking in the woods, when the preies and cattell paſſed by, they iſſued out, toke and carried awaie certeine of the cattell into the woods, whereupon the crie was vp, and came as farre as Waterford. Whereupon the ſouldiers and moſt part of the gariſon iſſued out, among whom Meilerius was the beſt and moſt forward. For he being come to the woods, and hauing in his companie then onelie one ſouldier, put ſpur to the horſſe, and aduentured in the woods, following the Iriſhmen (by the abetting of the ſouldier who was with him) euen to the furtheſt & thickeſt part of the woods: where he was ſo farre entered, that he was in danger of the enimie: and the ſouldier being not able to retire was there taken, killed and hewed in peeces. Meilerius then ſeeing himſelfe to be inuironed round about with the enimies, and he in the like perill as the other was, becauſe he alone againſt a thouſand was neither able to reſcue his man, nor helpe himſelfe, but in danger to be taken as was the other, like a valiant gentleman draweth his ſword, and with a luſtie courage, euen in deſpite of their teeth maketh waie through them. And ſuch as ſet vpon him he ſpared not, but cut off an arme of this man, a hand of that man, a head of one, and a ſhoulder of another, & he eſcaped throughout them without anie harme or hurt to his owne bodie, ſauing that he brought two darts in his ſhield, and three in his horſſe.

The

The ouerthrow giuen by the Iriſh-men againſt the ſouldiers which came from Dublin; and what the Oſto-men were, of whom mention is made here and elſewhere.

Chap. 2.

WHen theſe things were thus done, & the ſouldiers well refreſhed by the booties and preies taken vpon the water and the land, Reimond being aduertiſed that his father William Fitzgerald was dead, he tooke ſhipping and paſſed ouer into Wales, there to take ſeiſen, and to enter into the land deſcended vnto him. And in his abſence Heruie was againe made lieutenant of the armie: who in the abſence of Reimond, thinking to doo ſome ſeruice and notable exploit, bringeth the earle vnto Caſhill; and for their better ſtrength and further helpe, ſent his commandement vnto Dublin, that the ſouldiers there ſhould come and meet them; who according came forth: and in the iourneie they paſſed thorough Oſſorie, where on a certeine night they lodged themſelues. Donald then prince of Limerike, a man verie wiſe in his nation, hauing vnderſtanding by his priuie eſpials of their cõming, ſuddenlie and vnwares verie earlie in the morning with a great force and companie ſtale vpon them, and ſlue of them foure gentlemen which were captеins, and foure hundred(1) Oſtomen in this ſore diſcomfiture.

The earle as ſone as he heard hereof, with great ſorow & heauineſſe returned vnto Waterford. By means of this miſhap, the Iriſhmen in euerie place tooke ſuch a heart and comfort, that the whole nation with one conſent and agreement roſe vp againſt the Engliſhmen, and the earle as it were a man beſieged, kept himſelfe within the wals and citie of Waterford, and from whence he moued not. But Rothorike Odonor prince of Connagh, comming and paſſing ouer the riuer of Shenin, thinking now to recouer all Meth, inuadeth the ſame with ſword and fire, and ſpoileth, burneth, and deſtroieth the ſame, & all the whole countrie euen to the hard walles of Dublin, leauing no caſtell ſtanding or vndeſtroied.

(1) Theſe Oſtomen were not Iriſhmen, but yet of long continuance in Ireland. Some ſaie they came firſt out of Norwaie, and were called Oſtomen, that is to ſaie Eaſterlings, or Eaſterne men, becauſe that countrie lieth Eaſt in reſpect of England and Ireland. Some thinke they were Saxons and Normans; but what ſoeuer they were, they were merchants and vſed the trade of merchandize, and in peaceable maner they came into Ireland; and there being landed they found ſuch fauour with the Iriſhrie, that they licenced them to build hauen townes wherein they might dwell & vſe their traffike. Theſe men builded the ancienteſt and moſt part of the cities and townes vpon or nére the ſea ſide within that land; as namelie Dublin, Waterford, Corke, Limerike, and others. And albeit they in proceſſe of time grew to be mightie and ſtrong, and for their ſafetie did build townes and caſtels: yet they durſt not to dwell among the Iriſh people, but ſtill continued and kept themſelues within their owne townes and forts, and thereof they are and were called ſince townеſmen. And of them were theſe, being the inhabitants of Dublin, which came to meet the earle, and were thus ſlaine.

The returning of Reimond into Ireland, and how he maried Baſilia the ſiſter vnto the earle.

Chap.3.

THe earle then ſeeing himſelfe to be now in great diſtreſſe, and in a narrow ſtreit, taketh aduiſe with his frends and councellors what were beſt to be done. At length, as vnto his laſt refuge, he ſendeth his letters to Reimond being yet in Wales, to this effect. As ſone as you haue read theſe our letters, make all the haſt you can to come awaie, and bring with you all the helpe and force that you can make: and then according to your owne will and deſire, you ſhall aſſuredlie and immediatlie vpon your comming haue and marrie my ſiſter Baſilia. Reimond, as ſone as he had read theſe letters, he was forthwith in haſt to be gone, and thought it long yer he could be gone; not onlie in reſpect of the faire ladie, whom he had long woed, loued, and deſired; but alſo that he might helpe and ſuccour his lord and maiſter in this diſtreſſe and neceſſitie. Wherefore he maketh preparation accordinglie, and by means of friendſhip and otherwiſe, he had gotten thirtie luſtie yong gentlemen of his owne coſins and kindred, and one hundred horſſemen; as alſo three hundred footmen and bowmen of the beſt and choſen men in all Wales: all which were in a readineſſe to go with him. And as ſone as the ſhipping for them was readie, and the wind ſeruing, he and his coſin Meilerius, with all the ſaid companie tooke the ſeas, and ſhortlie after arriued in twentie barks vnto (1) Waterford.

At the verie ſame time the townеſmen of Waterford, being in a verie great rage and furie againſt the Engliſhmen there, were fullie minded and determined to haue killed them all whereſoeuer they could find them. But when they ſaw theſe barks comming in with their flags, hanging to their top maſts, which to them were vnknowne, they were aſtonied at their ſo ſudden comming, and their deuiſes were daſhed. Reimond forthwith entered the towne with all his companie; and when all things were quieted and appeaſed, he & the earle went from thenſe vnto Werford, with all their force and ſtrength, leauing behind one (2) Prercll or Purcell his lieutenant at Waterford. But he verie ſhortlie minding to follow after the earle, tooke a boat, and as he paſſed ouer the riuer of the Sure, the maiſter of the boat and his companie which were townеſmen of Waterford, ſlue this Purcell, and thoſe few whom he had then attending vpon him. Which murther when they had thus done, they returned to the citie, and there without all pitie or mercie, ſpared neither man, nor woman, nor child; but ſlue as manie as they could find in the ſtreets, houſes, or anie other places. Howbeit the citie it ſelfe was ſafelie kept by ſuch as were then in Reinolds tower, who draue the traitors out of the citie, as alſo in the end compelled them to yeeld and ſubmit themſelues, and to intreat for peace, which they hardlie obteined, both with an euill credit and harder conditions.

But Reimond ſtill mindfull of the promiſe made vnto him, and he languiſhing vntill the ſame were performed, would not depart from out of Werford, vntill meſſengers were ſent to (3) Dublin to fetch and bring his louer Baſilia to (4) Werford to be maried vnto him. Which being done, and he maried, they ſpent all that daie and night in feaſtings & paſtimes. And as they were in their moſt iollitie, newes was brought vnto them, how that Rothorike prince of Connagh had deſtroied, waſted, & ſpoiled all Meth, and was entred into the borders of Dublin. Where-

vpon

vpon Reimond on the next morrow, ſetting apart and giuing ouer all wedding paſtimes, muſtereth all his ſouldiors, and without anie delaiengs marcheth towards the enimies. But Rothorike who had before tried his valiantneſſe, and experimented his force, hearing of his comming, and not minding to trie or abide the ſame, retireth backe, and getteth him to his owne home and countrie. Then Reimond recouereth againe all thoſe countries, and forthwith cauſeth all the forts and caſtels then before pulled downe and defaced, to be now reedified and repared, as alſo the caſtels of Trim, and of Dunlences in Meth, of which Hugh Tirell was before the conſtable, and for want of reſcue and helpe compelled to leaue and forſake them. And thus by the means of Reimond, all things being recouered and reſtored to their former and priſtine eſtate, the whole land for feare of him continued a good time in peace and reſt.

(1) There is great varietie in ſuch bookes and examples as I haue, and which I do follow in this point: ſome writing that Reimond did not land at Waterford, but at Werford; and the tumult there being appeaſed, he went from thenſe vnto Waterford, and brought the earle vnto Werford. Some write againe (as is aforeſaid) that he landed at Waterford, and not at Werford: but hauing ſaluted the earle, appeaſed the tumult, and ſet all things in order, he conducted the earle and the whole armie ouer land vnto Werford. Although there be ſome variance in the exemplars, yet concerning the ſubſtance of the hiſtorie it is not materiall.

(2) There is alſo a varietie in the exemplars of this name; ſome write Fricellus, and ſome Pricellus, and ſome Pircellus, or Purcell; it is like to be Purcell, for they of that name were ſeruitors in this conqueſt, and for their good ſeruice they were rewarded with lands and territories, and who are yet remaining about or neere the citie, and in the countie of Waterford.

(3) It is certeine that this Baſilia abode at Dublin, but whether ſhe were there married or at Werford it is doubted. Some hold opinion, that Reimond after that he had met and alſo ſaluted the erle, they forthwith hearing the countries in Leinſter, and eſpeciallie about Dublin to be in an vprore, marched thither ſtraitwaie without anie ſtaie. And there Reimond as a luſtie ſoldior in his armor married the ladie Baſilia, and they iſſued with aduantage vpon the enimie. But the writer of beſt credit ſaith that the marriage was at Werford.

The ſecret practiſe of Herueie againſt Reimond.

Chap. 4.

BVt Herueie ſeeing the honor and credit of Reimond dailie to increaſe more & more, and he much grieued therewith, deuiſeth all the meanes he can how to ſtop and hinder the ſame: and forſomuch as he could not compaſſe the ſame by anie open attempt, he practiſeth it ſecretlie, and by ſecret deuiſes. Wherfore he is now a ſuter to marrie the ladie Neſta, daughter to Maurice Fitzgerald, and couſine germane to Reimond; that vnder the colour of this new affinitie, alliance, and vnfained friendſhip he might take Reimond in a trip. Well, his ſecret deuiſes being to himſelfe, and no ſuch thing ſuſpected or miſtruſted as he vnderwent, he by his earneſt ſute obteineth this gentlewoman, and marrieth hir. And Reimond alſo to make friendſhip on all ſides to be the more ſtrongly procured that Aline the earls daughter was married to William eldeſt ſon of William Fitzgerald. And to Maurice Fitzgerald himſelfe, who was latlie come out of Wales, there was giuen the halfe cantred of Ophelan, which he had before of the kings gift, as alſo the caſtell of Guindoloke: and Meilerius becauſe he was the better marcher had the other halfe cantred. But the cantred of land which was neareſt towards Dublin, and which the king had once giuen vnto Fitzſtephans, was now beſtowed vpon the two Herfords.

The obteining of the priuilege at Rome.

Chap. 5.

IN this meane time the king, though he were in great troubles, & much vnquieted with the wars, yet was he not vnmindfull of his realme of Ireland, as alſo of the orders made and deuiſed at the councell of Caſhill, for the redreſſe and reformation of the filthie and looſe life of the Iriſhrie. And therevpon ſent his ambaſſadors vnto Rome to pope Alexander the third, of and from whom he obteined certeine priuileges, and vnder his authoritie; namelie, that he ſhould be lord ouer all the realme of Ireland; and by his power and authoritie they to be reduced and brought to the chriſtian faith, after the maner and order of the church of England. This priuilege the king ſent ouer into Ireland by one Nicholas Wallingford then prior, but afterwards abbat of Malmeſburie, and William Fitzaldelme. And then being at Waterford, they cauſed an aſſemblie and a ſynod to be had of all the biſhops and clergie within that land; and then in the open audience of them, the ſaid grant and priuilege was openlie read and publiſhed: as alſo one other priuilege before giuen and granted by pope Adrian an Engliſhman borne, at the ſute of one John of Saliſburie, who was made biſhop of Barnoceus at Rome. And by this man alſo he ſent vnto the king for a token, and in ſigne of a poſſeſſion thereof, one gold ring, which togither with the priuilege was laid vp in the kings treaſurie at Wincheſter. The tenure of both which priuileges it ſhall not be amiſſe here to inſert. And concerning the firſt, theſe are the words thereof.

Two priuileges ſent from Rome to the king of England.

Adrian the biſhop, the ſeruant of the ſeruants of God, to his moſt deere ſonne in Chriſt the noble king of England ſendeth greeting, and the apoſtolike benediction. Your excellencie hath beene verie carefull and ſtudious how you might inlarge the church of God here in earth, and increaſe the number of his ſaints and elects in heauen: in that as a good catholike king, you haue and do by all meanes labor and trauell to inlarge and increaſe Gods church, by teaching the ignorant people the true and chriſtian religion, and in aboliſhing and rooting vp the weeds of ſin and wickedneſſe: and wherin you haue and do craue for your better aid and furtherance the helpe of the apoſtolike ſee; wherein the more ſpeedilie and diſcreetlie you do proceed, the better ſucceſſe we hope God will ſend. For all they which of a feruent zeale, and loue in religion, do begin ſuch enterpriſe anie ſuch thing, ſhall no doubt in the end haue a good and proſperous ſucceſſe. And as for Ireland and all other Ilands where Chriſt is knowen, and the chriſtian religion receiued, it is out of all doubt, and your excellencie well knoweth, they do all appertaine and belong to the right of ſaint Peter, and of the church of Rome. And we are ſo much the more redie, deſirous, & willing to ſow the acceptable ſeed of Gods word, becauſe we know the time in the latter date ſhall be moſt ſeuerelie required at our hands. You haue (our welbeloued in Chriſt) aduertiſed and ſignified

vnto

vnto vs, that you will enter into the land and realme of Ireland, to the end to bring them obedient vnto law, and vnder your ſubiection, and to rot out from among them their foule ſins and wickednesſe, as alſo to yéld and paie yérelie out of euerie houſe a yearelie penſion of one penie vnto ſaint Peter: and beſides alſo will defend & kéepe the rites of thoſe churches whole and inuiolate. We therefore well allowing and fauouring this your godlie diſpoſition & commendable affection, do accept, ratifie, and aſſent vnto this your petition: and do grant that you for the dilating of Gods church, the puniſhment of ſin, the reforming of maners, planting of vertue, and the increaſing of chriſtian religion, you do enter to poſſeſſe that land, and there to execute according to your wiſedome whatſoeuer ſhall be for the honor of God, and the ſafetie of the realme. And further alſo we do ſtrictlie charge and require that all the people of that land do with all humbleneſſe, dutifulneſſe, and honor receiue and accept you as their liege lord and ſouereigne, reſeruing and excepting the right of the holie church, which we will be inuiolably preſerued; as alſo the yérelie penſion of the Peter pence out of euerie houſe, which we require to be truelie anſwered to ſaint Peter, and to the church of Rome. Iſ therfore you do mind to bring your godlie purpoſe to effect, indeuor to trauell to reforme the people to ſome better order and trade of life: and that alſo by your ſelfe, and by ſuch others as you ſhall thinke meet, true, and honeſt, in their life, maners and conuerſation, the church of God may be beautified, the true chriſtian religion ſowed and planted, and all other things to be done, that by anie meanes ſhall or may be to Gods honor, and the ſaluation of mens ſoules: whereby you may in the end receiue at Gods hands the reward of an euerlaſting life, as alſo in the meane time, and in this life carrie a glorious fame, and an honorable report among all nations. The tenure and effect of the ſecond priuilege is thus.

Peter pence.

The ſecond priuilege.

Alexander the biſhop, the ſeruant of the ſeruants of God, to his déerelie beloued ſon the noble king of England ſendeth gréeting, grace, and the apoſtolike benediction. Forſomuch as things giuen and granted vpon good reaſons by our predeceſſors, are to be well allowed of, ratified, and confirmed; we well conſidering and pondering the grant and priuilege, for and concerning the dominion of the land of Ireland to vs apertaining, and latelie giuen by Adrian our predeceſſor; we following his ſteps do in like maner confirme, ratifie, and allow the ſame: reſeruing and ſauing to ſaint Peter and to the church of Rome the yérelie penſion of one penie out of euerie houſe as well in England as in Ireland. Prouided alſo, that the barbarous people of Ireland by your meanes be reformed and recouered from their filthie life and abhominable converſation; that as in name ſo in maners and converſation they may be chriſtians: that as that rude and diſordered church by you being reformed, the whole nation alſo may with the profeſſion of the name be in acts and life followers of the ſame.

The titles of the kings of England *vnto Ireland.* Chap.6.

LEt then the enuious & ignorant ceaſe and giue ouer to quarrell, and auouch that the kings of England haue no right nor title to the realme of Ireland. But let them well vnderſtand that by fiue maner of waies, that is to ſaie, by two ancient titles, and three latter they haue to auouch and defend the ſame, as in our topography is declared. Firſt it is euident and apparent by the hiſtories of England, that Gurguntius the ſonne of Belin king of Britaine, as he returned with great triumph from out of Denmarke, he met at the Iles of the Orchades a nauie (1) of a certeine nation or people, named Baldenſes, now Baions, and thoſe he ſent into Ireland, appointing vnto them certeine guides and leaders to conduct & direct them thither.

Likewiſe the ſame hiſtories do plainlie witneſſe, that king Arthur, the famous king of Britaine, had manie of the Iriſh kings tributarie to him: & he on a time holding & kéeping his court at Weſtchéſter, Gillomarus king or monarch of Ireland, with other the princes thereof, came & preſented themſelues before him. Alſo the Iriſhmen came out of (2) Baion, the chiefe citie in Biſcaie. And forſomuch as men, be they neuer ſo frée, yet they maie renounce their right and libertie, and bring themſelues into ſubiection: ſo it is apparent that the princes of Ireland did frélie, and of their owne accord, ſubmit & yéld themſelues to king Henrie of England, & ſwore vnto him faith and loialtie. And albeit ſuch men of a kind of a naturall lightneſſe and inconſtancie, be not aſhamed nor afraied to denie and renounce their faith: yet that can not ſo releaſe and diſcharge them. Euerie man is at his owne choiſe and libertie how to contract and bargaine with anie one, but the ſame once made he can not fléet nor ſwarue from it. And finallie the holie pope, in whom is the effect of perfection, and who by a certeine prerogatiue and title requireth & claimeth all Ilands, becauſe by him and by his meanes they were firſt reduced and recouered to the chriſtian faith; he I ſaie hath ratified and confirmed this title.

(1) The hiſtorie is this, that Gurguntius the ſon of king Belin made a viage into Denmarke, there to appeaſe the people, who were then vp in rebellion againſt him: and hauing preuailed and ouercommed them, he in his returning homewards by the Iles of the Orchades, there met him a fléet or a nauie of thirtie or (as ſome ſaie) three ſcore ſailes of men and women latelie come and exiled from out of that part of Spaine, called then Baldenſis, whereof Baion was the chiefe citie, but now it is a part of the countrie of Gaſcoigne, whoſe capteine named (as ſome write) Bartholomew, did preſent himſelfe before Gurguntius, and diſcourſing vnto him the cauſe of their trauels, beſought him to conſider of their diſtreſſe, and to grant vnto them ſome dwelling place, and they would become his ſubiects. Which their requeſt the king granted, and taking their oth of allegiance ſent and cauſed them to be conducted into Ireland, where as his ſubiects they remained and continued.

(2) Theſe people were named Iberi, & before that they came to ſéeke vnto Gurguntius for a land to dwell in, they dwelled in that part of Spaine, whereof Baion is the metropole, which is now part of Biſcaie, and this countrie before and long after the time of Gurguntius, was ſtill ſubiect to the kings of Britaine, now called England.

The rebellion of Donald prince of Limerike, *and of the taking of the* citie of Limerike. Chap.7.

IN the meane while, Donald O Brin prince of Limerike waxed verie inſolent, and nothing regarding his former promiſe and oth made to the king, began & did withdraw his fealtie and ſeruice. Whereupon Reimond muſtering

muſtering his armie, gathered and picked out the beſt and luſtieſt men which he had. And hauing twentie and ſix gentlemen, three hundred horſſemen, and three hundred bowmen and footmen in readineſſe and well appointed, about the kalends of October marched towards Limeriſke to aſſaile the ſame. When they came thither, the riuer of the Shenin, which inuironeth and runneth round about the citie, they found the ſame to be ſo deepe and ſtikle, that they could not paſſe ouer the ſame. But the luſtie yong gentlemen who were greedie to haue the preie, but more deſirous to haue the honor, were in a great agonie and greefe, that they were thus abarred from approching to aſſaile the citie. Whereupon one (1) Dauid Welſh ſo named of his familie and kinred, although otherwiſe a Camber or a Welſhman borne, and nephue vnto Reimond, who was a luſtie and valiant yong ſoldior, and a verie tall man aboue all the reſt, was verie hot and impatient, that they ſo long lingered the time about nothing. Whereupon hauing a greater regard to win fame and honor, than fearing of anie perill or death, taking his horſſe and putting his ſpurres to his ſides aduentureth the water, which being verie ſtikle and full of ſtones and rocks was the more dangerous: but yet he ſo wiſelie marked the courſe of the ſtreame, and ſo aduiſed and guided his horſſe, that he paſſed the riuer, and ſafelie recouered the further ſide: and then he cried out alowd to his companie, that he had found a ford: but for all that there was neuer a one that would follow, ſauing one Geffreie.

But they both returning backe againe to conduct ouer the whole companie, the ſaid Geffreie, his horſſe being caried awaie with the violence of the ſtreame, they were both drowned. Which when Peilerius (who was alſo come thither) did ſee, he began to fret with himſelfe, partlie for that his couſine & kinſman of ſo noble an enterpriſe had ſo bad a ſucceſſe: partlie alſo diſdaining that anie ſhould atchiue to honor but himſelfe. Whereupon being mounted vpon a luſtie ſtrong horſſe, ſetteth ſpurre to his ſide, and being neither diſmaied with the ſtikleneſſe and danger of the water, nor afraied with the miſhap fallen to the gentleman, who was then drowned, more rathlie than wiſelie aduentureth the riuer & recouereth the further ſide & banke. The citizens ſome of them watching & meeting him at ỳ waters ſide, & ſome of them ſtanding vpon the towne wals faſt by the riuer ſide, minding and meaning to haue driuen him backe againe, or to haue killed him in the place, hurled ſtones a good pace vnto him. But this noble and luſtie gentleman, being thus ſharpelie and hardlie beſet in the middle of perils and dangers, his enimies on the one ſide hardlie aſſailing, and the riuer on the other ſide ſtopping and cloſing him vp from all reſcue, ſtandeth to his tackle, and as well as he could couering his head with his ſhield, defendeth and ſaueth himſelfe from his enimies. Whileſt they were thus bickering there was great ſhowting and noiſe on both ſides of the water. But Reimond being then the generall of the field, and in the rereward, knowing nothing hereof, as ſoone as he heard of it, came in all haſt through the campe vnto the waters ſide. Where when he ſaw his nephue on the other ſide, to be in the middle of his enimies, and like to be vtterlie caſt awaie and deſtroied vnleſſe he had ſome ſpeedie helpe and ſuccour, was in a marueilous griefe & agonie, & verie ſharplie crieth and calleth out to his men, as followeth.

(1) This Welſh was ſo called, the ſame being the name of his familie and kindred, and not of the countrie of Wales, wherein he was borne. He was a worthie gentleman, and of his race there are yet remaining manie good and worthie gentlemen, who are chieflie abiding in the prouince and citie of Waterford: for there were they firſt planted.

The oration and ſpeech of Reimond *vnto his companie, and of the recouerie of* the citie of Limerike.

Chap.8.

Ye worthie men, which of nature are valiant, and whoſe proweſſe we haue well tried, come ye awaie. The waie heretofore not knowne, and the riuer hitherto though not paſſable, by our aduentures a ford is now found therein: let vs therefore follow him that is gone before, and helpe him being now in diſtreſſe. Let vs not ſuffer, nor ſee ſo worthie a gentleman, thus for our common cauſe and honor oppreſſed, to periſh and be caſt awaie before our eies and in our ſights for want of our helpe, and by meanes of our ſluggiſhneſſe. It is no time now to vſe manie words, nor leiſure ſerueth to make manie ſpeeches. The ſhortneſſe of the time, the preſent neceſſitie of this noble gentleman, & the ſtate of our owne honors vrgeth expedition, & requireth haſt. And euen with theſe words he put ſpurres to the horſſe, and aduentureth the riuer: after whome followed the whole companie, euerie one ſtriuing who might be formoſt. And as God would they paſſed all ſafe ouer, ſauing two ſouldiors and one gentleman named Guido, who were drowned. They were no ſooner come to land, but that their enimies all fled and ran awaie, whome they purſued, and in the chaſe ſlue a number of them, as alſo entered and tooke the towne. And hauing thus gotten both the citie and the victorie, they recouered their ſmall loſſe with great ſpoiles & riches, as alſo reaped great honor and fame.

Now reader, which of theſe three thinkeſt thou beſt valiant, and beſt worthie of honor? Him who firſt aduentured the riuer, and taught the way? Or him who ſeeing the loſſe of his companion, the perill of the riuer, and the multitude of the enimies, did yet (not fearing death nor perill) aduenture himſelfe in the midle of his enimies? Or him who haſtilie ſetting all feare apart, did hazard himſelfe and all his hoaſt to ſaue the friend, and to aduenture vpon the enimie? And this one thing by the waie is to be noted, that on a tueſdaie Limeriſke was firſt conquered, on a tueſdaie it was againe recouered, on a tueſdaie Waterford was taken, on a tueſdaie Werford was gotten, and on a tueſdaie Dublin was wone. And theſe things came not thus to paſſe, as it were by a ſet match, but euen of a common courſe of fortune, or by Gods ſo appointment. And it is not altogither againſt reaſon, that martiall affaires ſhould haue good ſucceſſe vpon Mars his daie.

A note concerning tueſdaie or the daie of Mars.

The deſcription of Reimond.

Chap.9.

Reimond was a man big bodied and broade ſet, of ſtature ſomwhat more than meane, his haire yellow and curled, his eies big, greie, and round; his noſe ſomwhat high, his countenance well coloured, pleaſant, and merie. And although he were ſomewhat groſſe bellied, yet by reaſon of a certeine liuelineſſe which was in him, he couered that fault: and ſo that which ſeemed to be a blemiſh in his bodie, he couered with the vertue of his mind. He had ſuch a ſpeciall care of his men and ſoldiors, that he would be a ſpie ouer his watchmen, and in his trauell that waie he watched manie whole nights, ranging and walking abroad in the camps. And in this he was verie happie & fortunate, that he would

would neuer or verie seldome laie violent hands vpon anie, of whom he had charge or were vnder his gouernement, although he had rashlie or vnaduisedlie ouerthrowne himselfe, & straied out of the waie.

He was verie wise, modest, and warie, being nothing delicat in his fare, nor curious of his apparell. He could awaie with all wethers, both hot and cold; and indure anie paines: he was also verie patient, & could verie well rule his affections. He was more desirous to doo good to such as he gouerned, than to be glorious of his gouernement: for he would shew himselfe more like to be a seruant than a maister. Finallie and to conclude, he was a verie liberall, wise, gentle, and a circumspect man. And albeit he were a verie valiant capteine, and a noble soldior: yet in all martiall affaires, he passed and excelled in wisedome & prouidence. A man doubtles in both respects much to be praised and commended: hauing in him whatsoeuer apertained to a valiant souldior, but excelling in all things belonging to a good capteine.

The description of Meilerius.

Chap. 10.

MEilerius was a man of a browne hew and complexion, his eies blacke, his loke grim, and his countenance sowre & sharpe, and of a meane stature; his bodie for the bignesse verie strong, broad brested, & he was small bellied. His armes and other limbs more sinewous than fleshie, a stout and a valiant gentleman he was and emulous. He neuer refused anie aduenture or enterprise which were either to be done by one alone, or by mo; he would be the first that would enter the field, and the last that would depart from the same. In all seruices he would either haue the garland or die in the place, and so impatient he was in all exploits, that he would either haue his purpose, or lie in the dust: and so ambitious and desirous he was to haue honor, that to atteine therevnto, there was no means nor mild thing but that he would suerlie haue the same either in death or in life: for if he could not haue it and liue, he would suerlie haue it by dieng. And verelie both he and Reimond haue béen worthie of too too much praise and commendation, if they had bæne lesse ambitious of worldlie honors, and more carefull of Christes church, and deuout in christian religion, whereby the ancient rights thereof might haue bæne preserued and kept safe and sound: and also in consideration of their so manie conquests and bloudie victories, and of the spilling of so much innocent blood, and murthering of so manie christian people, they had béene thankefull to God, and liberallie contributed some good portion for the furtherance of his church and religion. But what shall I saie? It is not so strange but much more to be lamented, that this vnthankefulnesse euen from our first comming into this land, vntill these presents, this hath bæne the generall and common fault of all our men.

The commendation and praise of Robert Fitzstephans, and of his cousins.

Chap. 11.

WHat shall we speake or saie, how well Robert Fitzstephans and his sonnes haue deserued? What of Maurice Fitzgerald? What shall I saie of Robert of Barrie, a man verie honest and valiant, whose worthie commendations by the premisses are to be knowne? What shall be said of Miles of Cogan, the nephue vnto Fitzstephans and Maurice, who as he came ouer with the first, so in commendation and for his seruice deserueth to be the chéefe and first? What shall we saie of Robert Fitzhenrie, & the brother vnto Meilerius, who if he had not so soone bæne dead and cut, he would doubtlesse haue béene nothing behind his brother? What shall we speake of Reimond of Bantune & of Robert Barrie the yonger, they both were verie worthie, tall, handsome, and worthie men? What also shall be said of Reimond Fitzhugh, who although he were but of a little stature, yet for his honestie & prudence not to be forgotten? These thrée lastlie spoken of for their valiantnesse and prowesse done in the parties of Desmond, deserue great honor and commendation, and great is the pittie that through too much hardinesse their daies were so shortened, and their time so cut off? What did also a number of our gentlemen of the same their kindred & cousenage deserue, whose noble acts were such, and deserued such a perpetuall fame and memorie, that if I had a hundred tongs, a hundred mouthes, and so manie voices of yron; yet could I not vtter and at full declare their worthinesse and deserts. O kindred, O nation, which in double respects art noble! for of the Troians by a naturall disposition thou art valiant, of the French nation thou art most expert and skilfull of armes and chiualrie. O worthie nation and kindred! which of thy selfe art sufficient and able to haue conquered anie nation, if enuie and malice had not maligned at thy worthinesse. Well then Reimond had taken order for the kéeping of the citie, and had well vittelled the same, he left therein a garison of his owne men, fiftie gentlemen, two hundred horsemen, and two hundred bowmen; ouer whome he appointed Miles of S. Dauids his cosine to be leiutenant: and so as a noble conqueror he safelie returned into the borders of Leinster. But sée the nature of enuie, who neuer ceaseth to persecute vertue. For Heruie of Mount Maurice, notwithstanding by meanes of the late affinitie he were thought to be a good frend, yet could he not forget his old malicious mind and wicked deuises: for still he secretlie from time to time sent his messengers and letters to the king of England, and full vntrulie did aduertise the state, euent, and successe of all things, affirming that Reimond contrarie to the kings honor and his owne allegiance, had determined to haue assumed and chalenged vnto himselfe not onelie the citie of Limerike, but also the whole land of Ireland. And to make this the more probable, and himselfe of more credit, he aduertiseth that Reimond had placed and appointed garrisons for the purpose; and had sworne the whole armie to obserue certeine articles by him prescribed, to the great prejudice of the king. Which his aduertisment being interlined with manie good words, the king so credited the same, that he beléeued it to be most true: for as it is well séene, a little suspicion of an iniurie done or offered to be done vnto a prince, doth more sticke in his mind, than manie benefits and good seruices before done. The king therefore after the winter following, sent ouer foure of his seruants in message to Ireland; namelie Robert Powre, Osbert of Herloter or Herford, William Bendeger, and Adam of Gernemie: of which, two of them to come awaie and to bring Reimond with them, and the other to tarrie and remaine behind with the earle.

The description of Heruie.

Chap. 12.

AS we haue of others, so let vs also now make and set forth the description of Heruie. He was of stature a tall and a comelie man, his eies graie and somewhat big, amiable of face and pleasant of countenance, an eloquent man, hauing a long and a round necke, his shoulders some-

ſomewhat low, his armes and hands ſomthing long, he was broad breſted, but ſmall in waiſte, though the ſame being big in others is thought to be commendable, his bellie was ſomewhat big and round, his thighes, legs, and feet being well proportionated and anſwerable to his bodie; of ſtature he was indifferent. But as in bodie he was well beſet & compact, ſo on the contrarie, his mind, life, and conuerſation were corrupt & diſordered. For euen from his childhood he was giuen to lecherie, being readie and forward to performe in wanton & filthie actions, whatſoeuer liked him or anie others, who were of the like diſpoſition: and therefore he forbare neither inceſt nor edulteries, nor anie other ſuch like filthineſſe. Beſides, he was a priuie and an enuious accuſer, and a double man, vncerteine, vaine, and altogither vnconſtant, ſauing in inconſtancie; a verie ſubtill man and a deceitfull: vnder his tong he had both milke and honie, but both of them were mixed with poiſon. He was ſometimes in great proſperitie, and all things fell out according to his owne deſire; and ſuddenlie fortune turning hir wheele, he had ſuch a fall, that he did neuer recouer the ſame againe. He was ſometimes a verie good ſoldior, and had good experience in the feats of wars, after the maner vſed in France; but he was ſo ſuddenlie altred & changed, that he became more ſkilfull in malice than valiant in proweſſe, more full of deceit than renowned in honor, more puffed vp in pride than endowed with worthip, more haſtie than happie, and more full of words than abounding in truth.

The ſuccouring of the garriſon *at Limerike.*

Chap. 13.

KEimond hauing receiued the kings determination by the foreſaid foure meſſengers, prepared all things in a readineſſe for his paſſage ouer accordinglie, and nothing wanted therevnto but onelie a weſt wind. But before the ſame happened, meſſengers came from the garriſon at Limerike, aduertiſing that Donold prince of Thomond had beſieged the citie round about with a great armie, and that their vittels which they had in the towne, aſwell that which they found at their comming thither, as alſo what ſo euer was elſe prouided, were all ſpent and conſumed; and therefore requeſted that they might with all ſpeed be reſcued and holpen. The earle, who was verie ſorie & penſife for theſe newes, and deuiſing all the waies he could to helpe them, cauſed a muſter to be taken of all his ſouldiers; who were ſo greeued for the going awaie and departure of Keimond, that they vtterlie denied and refuſed to go and to ſerue that waie, vnles Keimond were their capteine and lieutenant. Whereupon they toke aduiſe with the kings meſſengers what were beſt to be done in this diſtreſſe. At length it was thought beſt, that Keimond ſhould take the enterpriſe in hand; and he though verie loth, yet at the requeſt of the earle and the foreſaid gentlemen, yeelded himſelfe to that ſeruice, and marched forth toward Limerike, hauing with him foure ſcore gentlemen of ſeruice, two hundred horſmen, & three hundred archers, beſides Morogh of Kencile, and Donold of Oſſorie, and certeine other Iriſhmen, who ſerued and attended him. And as he was marching and comming toward Caſhill, tidings was brought him that the prince of Thomond had raiſed his ſiege and was comming towards him to meet him, and was now come to the paſſe of Caſhill: which paſſe although naturallie of it ſelfe it were verie ſtrong, yet by meanes of new trenching, plaſhing of trees, and making of hedges, it was made ſo ſtrong, that no horſmen could either enter or paſſe through the ſame.

The oration of Donold to his ſoldiers, *the recouerie of the citie of Limerike.*

Chap. 14.

KEimond being now almoſt come to the place where his enimies laie, diuided his hoaſt or armie into three parts or companies, and determined to giue the onſet or aduenture. Whereupon Donold prince of Oſſorie, who was a mortall enimie to the prince of Thomond, and now verie deſirous that ſome good exploit ſhuld be done; and beholding the Engliſhmen now alſo ſet in good araie, for though they were but few in number in reſpect of the others, yet they were piked men, valiant and couragious: he alſo to incourage them, to ſhew themſelues like valiant men, vſeth and maketh theſe ſpeeches vnto them. Yee worthie, noble, and valiant conquerors of this land, you are this daie valiantlie to giue the onſet vpon your enimies, which if you do after your old and accuſtomed maner, no doubt the victorie will be yours; for we with our ſpars, and you with your ſwords, will ſo ſharplie them purſue, as they ſhall verie hardlie eſcape our hands, and auoid our force. But if it ſo fall out, which God forbid, that you be ouerthrowne and haue the worſſe ſide: be you aſſured that we will leaue you and turne to our enimies, and take part with them. Wherefore be of good courages, and looke well to your ſelues, and conſider that you are now far from anie fort or place of refuge, and therefore if you ſhould be driuen to flee, the ſame will be long and dangerous to you: as for vs yee may not truſt vnto vs, for we are determined to ſticke to them who ſhall haue the victorie, and will purſue and be on the backs of them who ſhall flee and run awaie; and therefore be no longer aſſured of vs than whileſt yee be conquerors. Meilerius who had the fore ward, hearing theſe words, being warmed with the ſame, ſuddenlie like a hurling and a bluſtering wind entered into the paſſe, pulled downe the faſtneſſe, and brake downe the hedges, and ſo made waie, with no ſmall ſlaughter of the enimies, whereby the paſſe was recouered and the enimies ouercome. And they then marched without perill vnto Limerike, where they entered the third daie in the Eaſter weeke, being on tueſdaie. And as the firſt conqueſt of Limerike was vpon a tueſdaie, ſo was the ſecond alſo, where for a time they ſtaied, and reſtored all things by the enimies before ſpoiled, & ſet the ſame in good order. The enimies finding themſelues to be too weake, and that it was better to bow than to breake, practiſe to haue a parlee and a communication with Keimond: & in the end the meſſengers of Rothorike king of Connagh, and of Donold of Thomond, did obteine the ſame; and a parlee was appointed for them both, which was in one daie, but not in one place; for Rothorike of Connagh came by boates vpon the riuer of Shenin, as far as the great logh of Dirigid, & there ſtaied. And Donold not far from thenſe kept himſelfe and his companie in a certeine wood. But Keimond choſe a place not far from Killalo, which is about ſeauentéene miles from Limerike, and in the midle betweene them both. The parlee betweene theſe continued a prettie while, but in the end both kings ſubmitted & yelded themſelues, gaue hoſtages, made fealtie, and were ſworne to be true from thenſe forth for euer, to the king of England and to his heires.

Theſe things thus done and concluded, Keimond returneth in great triumph and ſolitie vnto Limerike. And by and by there came meſſengers vnto him from Dermon Mac Artie prince of Deſmond, praieng and requeſting him to aid and helpe him,

being the king of Englands faithfull and leige man against his eldest sonne Cormon Mechan, who went about to driue and expell him out of his land and dominion: & promised him good interteinment both for himselfe and for his souldiors for the same. Reimond nothing refusing the offer, and verie desirous of honor, taketh aduise of his frends and companions; and by all their consents, the iorneie towards Corke was liked. Whereupon Reimond displaieth his banner, and marcheth thitherwards, and taketh by the waie great preies and boties of neat, cattell, and other things: of the cattels he sent a good portion backe vnto Limerike for vittelling of that citie; & in the end he conquered the whole countrie, subdued the rebellious sonne, and restored Dermon the prince to his estate and right. And thus by reason of Reimond Mac Artie, he was restored and recouered, who otherwise had beene in vtter despaire, and out of all remedie. And now to recompense his son Kormach, who before this, by waie of a peace and an intreatie, both vniustlie & guilefullie had taken and imprisoned him, he to acquite guile with guile, and the like with the like, toke his sonne and cast him into prison, and not long after smote off his head.

The death of the earle *Strangbow.*

Chap.15.

WHilest these things were thus adoing in Desmond, there came a messenger in all hast from Dublin, with letters to Reimond from his wife Basilia, the effect whereof the messenger knew not. These letters Reimond forthwith deliuered to a familiar frend of his to read them vnto him secretlie, and apart from all others, the tenure of them was as followeth. To Reimond hir most louing lord and husband, his owne Basilia wisheth health as to hir selfe. Know yee my deere lord that my great chæketoth, which was wont to ake so much, is now fallen out; wherefore if yee haue anie care or regard of me, or of your selfe, come awaie with all speed. Reimond hauing considered of this letter, did by the falling of the toth sullie coniecture the death of the earle, for he laie verie sicke at Dublin before his comming awaie from thense. But he being thus deceased, which was about the kalends of June, they at Dublin did what they could to keepe the same secret, for feare and in doubt of the Irishmen, vntill that Reimond were come with his band of souldiers vnto them. Reimond himselfe forthwith returned vnto Limerike: and notwithstanding he were verie sorrie and much greeued with this newes, yet dissembling the same, and bearing it out with a good countenance, would not nor did vtter or disclose it to anie bodie, sauing to a few wise and discreet men of his familiars and trustie councellors. And then vpon good aduise and deliberation had among them, it was concluded and agreed vpon, that forsomuch as the earle was dead, and that Reimond also was to depart awaie ouer into England; that the citie of Limerike which was so farre remoted and in the middle of manie enimies, should for the time be left, and the garrison to be conducted and brought from thense into Leinster, for the defense and safe keeping of the townes and forts vpon the sea coasts. There Reimond full much against his will yelded to this their aduise and counsell, being much greeued that hauing taken paines to recouer the citie of Limerike, he was now neither able to keepe it himselfe, nor yet had any to leaue behind him, who would take charge vpon him. But at length he sent for Donald prince of Thomond, being the kings baron & sworne subiect, and vnto him he committed the custodie and charge of the citie: who forthwith pretending all truth and fidelitie was contented therewith; and did not onelie put in hostages, but also toke a corporall oth, and was solemnlie sworne for the safe keeping and the restitution of the same at the kings will and pleasure, as also in the meane time to keepe the peace.

The ladie Basilias letter to hir husband Reimond.

Then Reimond and all his companie departed and went awaie: but they had not so soone passed ouer the one end of the bridge, but that the other end was forthwith broken downe, euen at their heeles; and the citie which was well walled, defended and vittelled, was set on fire in foure sundrie parts, which they saw and beheld with no small greefe of mind. The false traitor then openlie shewing and teaching what credit was to be giuen thenceforth to the Irish nation, who so wickedlie, impudentlie, and perfidiouslie did periure themselues. The king of England not long after, being aduertised hereof, is said to haue thus said: Noble was the enterprise in the giuing of the first aduenture vpon the citie, but greater was the rescuing and recouering thereof againe: but it was onelie wisedome, when they left and forsoke it. Reimond then returned vnto Dublin with his whole garrison in safetie, and then the erle, whose corps by his commandement was reserued vntill Reimonds comming, was buried in the church of the Trinitie at Dublin, before the rood there, by the apointment of Laurence the archbishop, who did execute all the funerall seruices and obsequies.

The comming of William Fitzaldelme *and others ouer into Ireland.*

Chap.16.

THese things thus doone, the kings messengers vpon these new changes and chances were to take new aduises; and hauing throughlie debated the state of the countrie, and the necessitie of the time, they thought it best and did conclude that Reimond should tarie behind, and keepe the countrie in good staie and order; but they themselues to returne backe to the king. Who accordinglie prepared themselues, and at the next westerlie wind then following, they toke shipping and passed ouer into England; and being landed, did in post and with all the hast they could, make their repaire vnto the king; vnto whom they declared the death of the earle, & all other things concerning the state of that land. The king then vpon aduise and deliberation had in this matter, sent ouer William Fitzaldelme, with twentie gentlemen of his houshold, to be his lieutenant, & ioined John de Courcie in commission with him, who had attending vpon him ten men. Likewise Robert Fitzstephans and Miles Cogan, who had noblie serued him in his wars two yeares, were also sent with them, hauing twentie men attending vpon them. These assone as they were arriued, and come to land, and Reimond hauing vnderstanding of the same, assembleth his companie and soldiors, which was a companie well beseene, and marcheth towards Wexford, and there in the confines or marches of the same he met Fitzaldelme and the rest of his companie, whom he verie louinglie saluted and imbraced: and forthwith according to the kings pleasure, he yelded and deliuered vp vnto Fitzaldelme, then the kings lieutenant, all the cities and townes, as also all such hostages as he had within that land.

Fitzaldelme when he saw and beheld so iolie and lustie

luſtie a companie about Reimond, and well marking alſo Metlerius, and others the nephues of Reimond, about the number of thirtie perſons, mounted vpon their horſſes, verie luſtie and braue, and well beſeene in like armor, with their ſhields about their necks, and their ſtaues in their hands; courſing vp & downe after their maner about the fields. He enuied thereat, and turning backe to his men, ſaid ſecretlie vnto them; I will ſhortlie cut off this pride, and quaile this brauerie. Which in the end it partlie ſo came to paſſe, for both he and all the reſt which followed him in that office, did as it were by a ſecret conſpiracie, enuie and maligne at Reimond, Metlerius, Fitzmaurice, ſonnes to Fitzſtephans, and all other of their race and kindred. For this was alwaies the lucke and fortune of this kindred and familie.

In all ſeruices of warres they were then the foremoſt, and had in beſt price, and in all martiall affaires they were the beſt and moſt valiant men: but when there was no ſuch ſeruice in hand, and no need of them, then were they contemned and no account was made of them; but by a ſecret malice they were abaſed, reiected and refuſed. And albeit great was their malice, yet was their nobilitie ſo honorable and great; that by no meanes, do what they could, was the ſame to be extirpated or rooted out. For euen at this date, ſuch good ſucceſſe hath their noble beginnings had, that their offſpring hath euer ſince (1) continued in that land, in much honor, force and power. And to ſaie the truth, who perſed the force of the enimies in that land? Euen the Geraldines. Who did beſt keepe & prefer the land in ſafetie? The Geraldines. Who made the enimies to go backe & be afraid? The Geraldines. Who be they which for their good deſerts are moſt maligned and enuied at? The Geraldines. Suerlie, if it had pleaſed the prince to haue conſidered of them, according to their deſerts and worthineſſe; no doubt the whole ſtate of Ireland long yer this had béene quieted and eſtabliſhed. But cauſeleſſe were they alwaies had in ſuſpicion, & their worthineſſe ſtill had in gelouſie: and they put in truſt, as in whome was neither valiantneſſe of ſeruice, nor aſſuredneſſe of truſt. But yet ye worthie and noble men, who for to atteine to honor, haue not béene afraid of death; and for to obteine fame and renowme, haue not eſtéemed your ſelues; be not diſmaid, though ye be vncourteouſlie conſidered, and without your deſerts diſdained and maligned at: but go ye onwards, and proceed in your wonted ſteps of vertue. And if my pen can go according to worthineſſe, I ſhall be happie, and receiue the guerdon of vertue & immortall fame: for vertue cannot faile nor die, but either in this life or in the life to come, or in both, ſhall haue his iuſt reward and deſert. And albeit your valiant ſeruice and worthineſſe, either by the ſlackenes of the king, or by meanes of other mens ſecret and enuious practiſes, haue not béene hitherto conſidered nor rewarded: yet ſhall not I faile, with my pen to publiſh, and in my writings to remember the ſame. And therefore ſhrinke not now, neither do you giue ouer to labor and trauell from daie to daie to grow and increaſe in honor, fame and renowme. For the memortall thereof (farre ſurpaſſing all the treaſures in the world) for a time through malice maie be couered, but neuer ſuppreſſed nor extinced: but as fire long hid, ſhall in the end breake out into great flames, and for euer remaine in perpetuall memorie.

A monſtrous man begotten vpon a cow.

About this time was borne in Gwendelocke a monſtrous man, begotten by a wicked man of that countrie vpon a cow, a vice then too common in that wicked nation. It had the bodie of a man, but all the extreame parts of an ore, for from the ankles of the legs and the wriſts of the armes, he had the hoofes of an ore, his head was all bald, ſauing a few ſmall & thin heares héere and there: his eies great, round and blacke, like an ore; noſe he had none but onelie two holes, ſpeake he could not but onelie bellowed like a cow. This monſter did dailie reſort vnto the houſe of Maurice Fitzgerald, about dinner times, and ſuch meate as was giuen him he would take in his hoofes, and put to his mouth, and ſo feed himſelfe, &c: but to returne to the matter. William Fitzaldelme, being now in high authoritie, and hauing the gouernement and charge of the land in his hands, marcheth along the ſea coaſts, and vieweth all the townes, forts and caſtels that wales: but for the inner countrie, the mounteines and hils vpon the maine land, and bordering vpon the Iriſhrie, he neither cared nor paſſed for the ſame: but yet miſliked not the welth and riches thereof. For being a verie grœdie and a couetous man, and eſpeciallie hungrie to haue gold and treaſure, whereof was good ſtore in that land, he grœdilie ſcraped and ſcratched togither whatſoeuer was to be gotten.

About this time, Maurice (2) Fitzgerald in the kalends of September died at Werford, whoſe death was lamented, & his departure bewailed of all the countrie. For whie, he was a verie graue & a valiant man, & who for his conſtancie, truth, courteſie & loue left not his like behind. After his death, William Fitzaldelme ſent for the ſonnes of the ſaid Maurice, and ſo dealt with them, that he neuer left them, vntill by one means or other he had craftilie gotten from them the caſtell of Guendoke. Howbeit afterwards he gaue them Fernes in exchange: which albeit it were in the middle of their enimies, yet like luſtie and couragious gentlemen, they builded there a ſtrong caſtell, which they kept & inhabited maugre all their enimies. Walter Almane, ſo called in name, and not for that he was either in nature or ſtature an Almane, being nephue to William Fitzaldelme, was made ſeneſchall of Werford; who nothing degenerated from the maners & conditions of his vncle, but was one who was a corrupt man in all his actions & doings, being couetous, proud, malicious and enuious. And ſuerlie it is commonlie ſéene, that there is none lightlie worſe, than when a beggerlie raſcall from nothing, and from a baſe eſtate, is aduanced to wealth, credit and eſtimation. For ſuch a one alwaies doubting and miſtruſting all things, ſuppreſſeth all things, & thinking all things to be lawfull for him to do, vſeth all extremities at his will and pleaſure. There cannot be (I ſaie) a worſe beaſt, than when a cruell raſcall and proud begger is raiſed to eſtate, and made a ruler ouer his betters.

This Walter entered into acquaintance with Morogh prince of Kencile, and by him being corrupted with great bribes, did what he could to procure the vtter deſtruction of Reimond, and all his foreſaid couſins and kinſmen. And to begin the execution of their practiſes, the foreſaid William firſt toke awaie from Reimond all his lands about Dublin, and about Werford. And whereas he receiued letters of commandement from the king, to reſtore vnto Fitzſtephans a cantred of land which he had in Dhelan, he being well bribed, detracted and lingered the execution thereof: but yet in the end appointed and aſſigned vnto them other places which were further off and remoted; and the ſame the more perillous, becauſe they were in the middle of the enimies.

(1) It is verie true, that theſe Geraldines euen euer ſince haue continued in this land of Ireland, and did dailie grow and increaſe to much honour: there being at this inſtant two houſes aduanced to

the titles of earledoms, and ſundrie to the eſtates of barons. And ſo long as they continued in the ſteps of their anceſtors, they were not ſo honourable as terrible to the Iriſh nation: but when they leauing Engliſh gouernment, liked the looſe life of that vperous nation, then they brought in coine and liuerie, and a number of manie other Iriſh and diueliſh impoſitions, which hath beene the ruine of their honour, the loſſe of their credit, & in the end will be the ouerthrow of all their houſes and families.

(2) This Fitzgerald was buried, and yet lieth in a monaſterie of Greie friers without the walles of the towne of Werford, which houſe is now diſſolued, and the monument of his buriall almoſt deſtroied: there wanting ſome good and worthie man to reſtore the ſame againe. He deſerued well of his prince and countrie: and therefore lamentable it is, that in ſo vnkind a countrie no one good man is to be found, that of ſo worthie a knight will not reſtore ſo worthie a monument.

The deſcription of William *Fitzaldelme*.

Chap. 17.

THis Fitzaldelme was a groſſe and corpulent man, as well in ſtature as in proportion, but of a reaſonable height; he was verie liberall and courtlike. And albeit he were of great courteſie, and would giue to anie man much honour and reuerence, yet was the ſame altogither with wiles and guiles: for vnder honie he gaue venem, and his ſugred words were mingled with poiſon. And as a venemous ſerpent couered with greene leaues, he with an outward ſhew of courteſie couered his mindfull trecherie. For to the outward ſhew he was liberall and courteous, but inwardlie full of rancor and malice. In countenance pleaſant, but in a ſtinking breaſt was hid a ſtinking vapor: outwardlie as meeke as a lambe, but within as wilie as a fox: carieng vnder ſweet honie moſt bitter venem. His words as ſmoth as oile, and yet indeed they were deadlie ſtrokes: whome he honoured and reuerenced this daie, he would either ſpoile or deſtroie the next daie. A cruell enimie againſt the weake and feeble, and a flatterer vnto the rebell and nightie: gentle to the wild and ſauage, and courteous to the enimie; but extreame to the good ſubiect, and cruell to the humble; and by that means he was not feareſull to the one, nor truſtie to the other. A man full of flatterie, and yet altogither craftie and deceitfull. He was alſo much giuen vnto wine and to women. He was a greedie couetous man, and an ambitious flatterer, being altogither bent to the one and the other.

(1) This William was the ſonne of Aldelme father to Burke erle of Kent (as ſome ſaie) and his ſon Richard was ſent into Ireland, and there greatlie aduanced: and of him (being lord of Connagh) deſcended the burgeſſes called Clanricards, who were the beſt blood of the foreſaid Richard, and theſe do yet remaine in Connagh, of whom is the earle of Clanrike now liuing.

How Iohn de Courcie inuadeth *Vlſter*.

Chap. 18.

IOhn Courcie, who (as is before ſaid) was ioined in commiſſion with William Fitzaldelme, when he ſaw the courſe and maner of his dealings, who as he was couetous, and did nothing but for monie; ſo was he timerous, and did all things in craft and deceit: as alſo that the enimie feared him not, and the good ſubiect loued him not. And conſidering alſo that the ſouldiers and garriſon at Dublin, by means of their capteins couetouſneſſe were vnpaid of their wages, and by reaſon of his ſlouth and ſluggiſhneſſe the victels ware ſcant, & none went & ſcouted anie more abrode as they were wont to get anie booties or preies, he ſecretlie dealeth with ſome of them, and by his wiſe conference, and wittie perſuaſions, allureth and inticeth vnto him euen ſuch as were the valianteſt, honeſteſt, and choſen men of them all: who were content and verie glad to accompanie and follow him. And hauing ſo gotten into his companie two and twentie gentlemen, and about three hundred others, he boldlie entreth and inuadeth into the prouince of Vlſter, a countrie which hitherto had not tried the force and ſtrength of the Engliſh nation. And then was fulfilled the prophecie of Merlin Colodine (as is ſaid, howbeit I will not ſo affirme it) A white knight ſitting vpon a white horſe, bearing birds in his ſhield, ſhall be the firſt which with force of armes ſhall enter and inuade Vlſter.

A prophecie of Merlin fulfilled.

This John Courcie was ſomewhat of a browne colour, but therewith ſomewhat whitiſh, and at that time he rode vpon a white horſe, as alſo did beare in his ſhield three painted (1) birds. After that he had paſſed three daies iourneie through the countrie of Vriell, he came the fourth daie (being the kalends of Februarie) to the citie of (2) Dowme, without anie reſiſtance of the inhabitants thereof: he being an enimie and a gheſt vnlooked for. And (3) Odonell then the ruler of that countrie, being aſtonied and amazed at their ſo ſudden comming, fled awaie. The ſouldiers which before their comming from Dublin were halfe pined with famine, and hunger ſtarued, hauing now recouered great booties and preies of neat and cattels, were full and well refreſhed.

At this verie preſent time, there was come thither out of Scotland a legat from Rome named Vtutanus, & he toke great pains to intreat & make a peace betweene Odonell & John de Courcie, vſing all the perſuaſions that he could, affirming that if he would depart and go awaie, there ſhould be a yearelie tribute paid to the king of England: but all his words anailed nothing. Odonell ſeeing that words could little anaſle, aſſembleth all the forces of the countrie: and within eight daies hauing gotten about ten thouſand ſouldiors, with force inuadeth, & with great courage commeth to enter & breake into the citie of Dowme. For in Ireland, as it is commonlie alſo in all other lands, they which inhabit in the north, are more warlike and cruell than anie others in other parts. John Courcie ſeeing the courſe and bent of the enimies, who not onelie vpon a hope and confidence of their great multitude againſt ſo few enimies; but alſo their valiant and couragious minds, who were fullie determined to inuade the citie: thought it better with his ſmall companie (which though they were but few in reſpect of their aduerſaries, yet they were ſouldiors valiant, couragious, and of good ſeruice) to iſſue out and aduenture the fight with them, than to be pinned & ſhut vp in a beggerlie ward made with turffes in a corner of the citie, and there for want of victels to be famiſhed. Wherefore he iſſued out and ioined the battell with them, where the fight was hot, the bowes a farre off on the one ſide, and the darts on the other ſide: then lance againſt lance, and the bill againſt the ſpar, and the ſword againſt the ſkeine: who buckled ſo luſtilie the one againſt the other, that manie a man fell that daie to the duſt. And in this terrible fight and buckling, he that had ſeene how valiantlie each man ſhewed

A prophecie of Colon fulfilled.

ſhewed himſelfe, and ſpecſallie how John Courcie moſt valiantlie with the ſtroke of his ſwoꝛd mangled manie a man, killing ſome, but wounded and maimed manie, would and muſt nèds haue commended him foꝛ a right woꝛthie, noble, and right valiant warꝛioꝛ.

(1) He glueth thꝛée birds as this authoꝛ ſaith, which by heralds are thus blaſoned. Argent thꝛée griphs oꝛ geires gules crowned gold: this griph oꝛ geire is a kind of an eagle, but ſuch as is rauenous, and fæ-deth moꝛe vpon carren than vpon anie foule of his owne pꝛeieug: & foꝛ his cowardneſſe carieth neither the name noꝛ pꝛaiſe apperteining to the true eagle.

(2) Dowue is a towne lieng in the Ards, which is in Vlſter, a pꝛofitable and a fertile ſeate: it is the ſeé of the biſhop of that dioceſſe, who beareth his name of the ſaid towne, being called the biſhop of Dowue.

(3) The Latine woꝛd is *Dunlenus*, which I do find to be Engliſhed Dunell, which is the name of a great familie oꝛ nation in the pꝛouince of Vlſter; but whether this Latine be trulie ſo interpꝛeted, I refer it to the reader, oꝛ ſuch as be expert in ſuch Iriſh names.

The commendation of Roger Power, *and the victorie of Iohn de Courcie, and of* the propheſies of Colodine.

Chap.19.

IN this fight there was manie a woꝛthie man, which valiantlie acquited himſelfe: but if it might be ſaid without offenſe, there was no one man who did moꝛe valiant acts than (1) Roger le Power, who albeit he were but a yoꝛng man and beardleſſe, yet he ſhewed himſelfe a luſtie, valiant, & couragious gentleman; & who grew into ſuch good credit, that afterwards he had the gouernment of the countrie about Leighlin, as alſo in Oſſoꝛie. This fight was verie long & doubtfull, each partie manfullie defending themſelues, and none pælding the one to the other. But as the common pꝛouerbe is, be the daie neuer ſo long, yet at the length it ringeth at euenſong: ſo likewiſe this fierce, long, and cruell fight had his end, and the victoꝛie fell to John de Courcie, and a great multitude of the enimies were ſlaine in the field, as alſo vpon the woars of the ſeas as they were fléeing and running awaie. Then was fulfilled the old pꝛopheſie of Colodine the Iriſh pꝛophet, who foꝛeſpeaking of this battell ſaid, that there ſhould be ſuch a great bloudſhed therein of the Iriſh people, that the enimies perceiuing them ſhould wade vp to the knées in bloud. Which thing came ſo to paſſe; foꝛ the Engliſhmen perceiuing them and killing them vpon the woars, the ſame were ſo ſoft, that with the weight of their bodies they ſunke downe vp to the hard knées oꝛ twiſels, and ſo the bloud fléeting and lieng vpon the woars, they were ſaid to be therein vp to the knées.

A pꝛopheſie of Colon fulfilled.

The ſame man alſo (as is ſaid) did wꝛite that a poꝛe ſtranger, and one come out from other countries, ſhould with a ſmall power come to the citie of Dowue, and againſt the will of the gouernoꝛ thereof ſhould take the ſame. Manie other things alſo he wꝛote of ſundꝛie battels to be waged, and of the euents thereof, which were all fulfilled in John de Courcie. This booke the ſaid John had, and he ſo eſtæmed the ſame, that ſtill he had it about him, and in his hands; and did manie times, yea and foꝛ the moſt part diꝛect his doings by the ſame. It was alſo wꝛitten in the ſame booke, that a yoꝛng man with foꝛce and armes ſhould bꝛeake and enter in thꝛough the wals of Waterfoꝛd, and conquer the ſame with the great ſlaughter of the townſmen: moꝛeouer, that the ſame man ſhould come to Werfoꝛd, & from thenſe to Dublin, where he ſhould enter in without anie great reſiſtance; & all theſe things (as is apparant) were fulfilled in earle Richard. Likewiſe he wꝛote in the ſame booke, that the citie of Limerike ſhould be twiſe left and foꝛſaken by the Engliſhmen: but the third time it ſhould be kept, which thing came ſo to paſſe. Foꝛ firſt (as is beforе wꝛitten) Reimond had it and gaue it ouer: the ſecond was, when the king had giuen the ſame to Philip de Bꝛuſe, foꝛ he being bꝛought thither by Fitzſtephans, and Miles Cogan, to take and enter into the ſame, and being come to the riuer ſide of Shenin foꝛ the ſame purpoſe, was there vtterlie diſcoꝛaged to pꝛoceéd anie further, and ſo without anie thing donе, leaueth the ſame as he found it, and came backe againe; as hereafter in his place it ſhall be ſhewed. And thus (accoꝛding to this vaticine) twiſe it was left, but the third time it ſhall be kept.

But this is to be implied and meant of Hamon de Valognes the iuſticiarie there apointed; in whoſe time the ſaid citie being vnder his gouernment, was by treacherie and treaſon deſtroied, and ſo foꝛſaken and left; but afterwards recouered by Meilerius: euer ſince which time it hath remained and bèene kept in the poſſeſſion of the Engliſhmen. Well then to the battels of John de Courcie, firſt he had the victoꝛie in two notable battels oꝛ fights at Dublin; the one in Feburarie, and the other in Julie: in which he hauing but a ſmall companie of men, fought againſt fiftéene hundꝛed of his enimies, of whome he ſlue and ouerthꝛew a great number, and had the victoꝛie. The third was at Ferlie about the taking of a pꝛeie, where by reaſon of the ſtreits & narrow paſſes, he was too much and euerie eſtſones ouerſet by the enimies, and ſo had the woꝛſe; ſome of his men being killed, and ſome ſcattered and diſperſed abꝛoad in the woods and fields, ſo that he had ſcant eleuen perſons left with him. And notwithſtanding that he had thus loſt his men and hoꝛſſes, yet was he of ſuch a valiant mind and courage, that with thoſe few which were left, he went thꝛough his enimies, and in ſpite of them all trauelled two daies and two nights on foot in their armour without meat oꝛ dꝛinke thirtie long miles, vntill he was paſt danger, & ſo came ſafelie vnto his owne caſtell againe. The fourth battell was at Vriell, where manie of his men were killed and manie fled. The fift was at the bꝛidge of Yuoꝛ, after and vpon his comming from out of England, and yet therein he had the victoꝛie and conqueſt. So in thꝛée battels he had the victoꝛie, but in two he receiued both the loſſe and hurt; and yet in them did moꝛe annoie the enimie, than was hurted himſelfe.

(1) The race & iſſue of the Powers hath euer ſince and yet doth remaine in Ireland, who nothing degenerating from this their anceſtoꝛ, haue foꝛ their part ſhewed themſelues valiant and men of good ſeruice, foꝛ which they haue bèene honoꝛablie rewarded, and are now barons and peeres of the realme. Their habitation and dwelling is in the pꝛouince oꝛ countie of Waterfoꝛd, and not far from the citie of Waterfoꝛd.

The deſcription of Iohn de *Courcie.*

Chap. 20.

THis Iohn de Courcie was white and pale of colour, but verie fierce and arrogant, he was ſinowous and a verie ſtrong made man, verie tall and mightie, and of a ſingular audacitie: and being from his verie youth

bent

bent to the wars proued a verie valiant ſouldior. He would be the firſt in the field and formoſt in the fight; and ſo ambitious and deſirous he was of honor, that were the enterprize neuer ſo perillous, and the ſeruice neuer ſo dangerous, yet he would giue the aduenture. And albeit he were the generall or capteine, yet letting the prioritie thereof apart, he would be as a common ſouldior, and ſerue in the place of a priuat ſeruitor; and manie times being more raſh than wiſe, and more haſtie than circumſpect, he had the worſt ſide and loſt the victorie. And although in ſeruice he were thus forward, earneſt, and vehement; yet in time of peace and reſt he was verie ſober, modeſt, and altogither giuen and diſpoſed to ſerue God, and hauing the victorie of his enimies and good ſucceſſe in his affaires, he would aſcribe the honor vnto God, and be thankefull for the ſame. But as Tullius writeth, nature neuer made anie thing perfect and abſolute in all points. And ſo it appeared in this man; for through his too much pinching and ſparing, and by reaſon he was verie vncerteine and vnconſtant, his vertues (otherwiſe great, and deſeruing great praiſes and commendations) verie much imperiſhed and blemiſhed. He maried the daughter of Gotred king of Maine. And after that he had waged manie battels, and fought ſundrie times with his enimies, he at length had the maſterie and conqueſt ouer them: and then hauing brought the whole countrie to a good peace and reſt, he builded ſundrie and diuerſe caſtels throughout Vlſter, in ſuch meete and conuenient places as he thought beſt. And by the way this one thing me thinketh is verie ſtrange, that theſe three notable & the chiefeſt poſts of Ireland, namelie Herueie, Ketmond, and this John de Courcie, by Gods ſecret (but not vniuſt iudgement) neuer had anie lawfull iſſue. I might alſo ſay the like of Wellerius, who as yet hath no lawfull iſſue by his wife. Thus much hauing breeflie and by the waie ſpoken of the noble acts of Iohn de Courcie, and leauing the ſame vnto others to be more at large ſet forth and deſcribed, we will now returne againe to Dublin.

The three chiefe poſts of Ireland without iſſue lawfull.

The councell or ſynod kept at Dublin; *of Viuian the popes legat, and of Miles Cogans* iſſuing into Connagh.

Chap. 21.

IN this meane time, Viuianus the popes legat remained ſtill in Ireland, and held a ſynod at Dublin of all the clergie, in which he openlie confirmed and publiſhed the right which the king of England hath to the realme of Ireland, as alſo the popes ratification and confirmation of the ſame; commanding and charging euerie perſon, of what eſtate, degree, or condition ſoeuer he were, that vpon paine of excommunication he ſhould not denie his loialtie, nor breake his allegiance vnto him. And moreouer (1) forſomuch as the manner and cuſtome was among the Iriſhrie, that whenſoeuer anie goods, corne, or victels, were put and kept in anie church, no man would medle or deale to carrie the ſame awaie; yet neuertheleſſe, he gaue licence and libertie to all Engliſhmen, that whenſoeuer they went, or were to go in anie hoſting, and could not elſewhere be prouided of anie victels, that they might lawfullie take what they found in anie church: ſo that they left with the churchwardens, or ſuch as had the charge thereof, the true and iuſt value of ſo much as they tooke awaie. Theſe things thus done, Miles of Cogan, who was lieutenant of the bands of ſouldiors vnder William Fitzaldelme, as alſo conſtable of the citie of Dublin, he with 40 gentlemen, whereof 20 were vnder the conduct of Ralph the ſon of Fitzſtephans, as alſo his lieutenant, and they hauing with them 200 horſſemen & 300 footmen, paſſed ouer the riuer of Shenin, & inuaded Connagh, which hitherto no Engliſhman had aduentured. The Connagh men forthwith ſet on fire and burned all their townes, villages, and churches, as alſo all ſuch corne as they had in their haggards, and in their caues, and could not carrie with them. Likewiſe they toke downe the images and crucifixes, and hurled them abroad in the fields. Neuertheleſſe, the Engliſhmen marched onwards, till they came to the towne of Athomond, where they ſtaied eight daies togither; and finding the countrie forſaken of the people, and barren of victels, they returned backe againe ouer the Shenin: and by the waie they met with Rothorthe prince of Connagh, who laie in a wood neere the Shenin watching for them, and he had three great troops and companies with him of the beſt fighting men of Connagh. Betweene them there was a long and a cruell fight, in which Miles loſt but three of his owne companie, but manie of his enimies were ſlaine. Which done, he recouered ouer the riuer, & ſo came ſafelie to Dublin.

(1) This vſage and cuſtome is yet at this preſent obſerued, and euerie church in the countrie ſtuffed and filled with great cheſts full of corne, which the husbandmen do for ſafetie keepe therein: and this lieth ſafe at all times, euen in the verie warres among themſelues: howbeit the ſame is not ſo religiouſlie kept and obſerued in theſe daies as in times paſt.

How William Fitzaldelme is ſent from *home into England, and Hugh de Lacie put in his* place: and how Miles Cogan and Robert Fitz*ſtephans haue the kingdome of Corke* giuen vnto them.

Chap. 22.

WIlliam Fitzaldelme, who during his abode and being in this land, had done nothing worthie the commendation, ſauing that he cauſed the ſtaffe called Johns ſtaffe to be fetched from Armach, and brought to Dublin; he (I ſaie) and Miles Cogan, with Robert Fitzſtephans were ſent for by the king to come home. In whoſe roome the king ſent ouer Hugh de Lacie, and made him his deputie ouer the whole land, ioining in commiſſion with him Robert Power then ſeneſchall of Werford and Waterford. The king, after the returne of the aforeſaid Fitzaldelme and others, thinking and conſidering with himſelfe the good ſeruice of Miles Cogan, Robert Fitzſtephans, and others; as alſo how neceſſarie it were, that ſuch noble ſeruitors and valiant men were placed among the Iriſh people, wherby to keepe them in good order and dutifull obeiſance; he gaue to Robert Fitzſtephans, and to Miles Cogan in fee for euer to be equallie diuided betweene them all ſouth Mounſter (1) that is to ſaie, the whole kingdome of Corke, from the weſt part of the riuer at Leiſmore vnto the ſeas, ſauing and reſeruing the citie of Corke, and one cantred of land there vnto adioining. Alſo he gaue vnto Philip de Braoſe all the north Mounſter, that is to ſaie, the kingdome of Limerike, ſauing and excepting the citie of Limerike it ſelfe with one cantred ther vnto adioining, to haue vnto him and to his heires for euer in fee. Theſe men thus rewarded, confederated themſelues togither to ſome and helpe one another, and euerie of them maketh the beſt preparation that he can. Which being in readineſſe they tooke ſhipping and arriued into Ireland in the moneth of Nouember, and landed at Waterford: from thenſe they coaſted

ſted along vnto Cozke, where they were receiued with much honoz both by the citizens, and alſo by an Engliſh gentleman named Richard of London, who was deputie there vnder Fitzaldelme.

As ſoone as they had pacified and quieted Dermon (2) Mac Artie prince of Deſmond, and the reſidue of the noble men and gentlemen in thoſe parties, Fitzſtephans and alſo Miles Cogan diuided betweene them the ſeauen cantreds, which were néereſt to the towne: foz theſe they kept and held in beſt peace and reſt. Fitzſtephans had the thzée cantreds which laie in the eaſt part, and Cogan had the foure which laie in the weſt, the one hauing the mozе becauſe they were the woꝛſer, and the other had the fewer cantreds that were the better ſoile and ground. The citie it ſelfe remained in their ioint gouernement, and the reſidue of the cantreds being foure and twentie remained in common, and the pzofits thereof growing they equallie diuided betweene them. A cantred both in Engliſh and in Iriſh is ſo much land as conteineth one hundzed villages, as is in our topographie declared, which is commonlie called an hundzed. Theſe things thus done, they bzing and conduct Philip de Bzuſe vnto Limerike. Fitzſtephans had with him twentie gentlemen & foztie hoꝛſſemen, Miles Cogan had twentie gentlemen & fiftie hoꝛſemen, Philip de Bzuſe had twentie gentlemen & thzée ſcoze hoꝛſſemen, beſides a great number of bowmen & ſotmen, which they all had when they were come to Limerike, which was about foztie miles from Cozke, & onlie the riuer of Shenin was betweene them and the citie: the ſame at their comming was ſet on fire befoze their eies by the citizens themſelues. Neuertheleſſe, Stephans and Miles offered to aduenture ouer the water, and to enter the towne; oz if Philip thought it ſo good, they would there build a caſtell vpon the riuers ſide right ouer againſt the towne. But Philip albeit he were a valiant and a good man, yet conſidering with himſelfe how dangerous the place was, being in the middle of the enimies, and farre remoted from all ſuccoꝛs and helpe, without which he was not able with his ſmall companie to defend and kéepe the ſame, as alſo being partlie perſuaded by the counſell and aduiſe of his companie, thought it better to returne home in ſafetie, than to dwell in the middle of his enimies in continuall perill and danger. And it is not to be much marueiled that in this iourneie he had ſo euill ſucceſſe: foz whie he had gathered & reteined to him the notableſt murtherers, théeues, & ſeditious perſons that were in all Southwales, and the marches of the ſame, and theſe were of beſt credit with him, and he moſt ruled by them.

What a cantred is.

About this time Amere duke Fitzſtephans ſon, a luſtie yong gentleman and a towardlie, died at Cozke in March, to the great ſoꝛrow and gréefe of all his frends. Neere about this time was found and ſeene a great tode at Waterfoꝛd, wherof was made much wondering, as is in our topographie declared.

Thzée eclipſes of the ſun in thzée yeres.

Alſo within the ſpace of thzée yeares there was ſéene thzée eclipſes of the ſun, howbeit theſe were not vniuerſall, but particular eclipſes ſeene onelie in the land. After that Fitzſtephans and Miles Cogan had quietlie and peaceablie gouerned and ruled the kingdome of Deſmond fiue yéres togither, and by their pzudence and modeſtie had reſtrained the haſtie foꝛwardneſſe, and raſh diſpoſition of their yong men, Miles and Rafe the ſonne of Fitzſtephans a luſtie yong gentleman, and who had maried Miles daughter, went toward Liſemoze, there to méet & to haue a parlée with Waterfoꝛd men: as they ſate in the fields waiting and loking foꝛ them, one Machture with whome they ſhould and had appointed to haue lien at his houſe the next night following, ſuddenlie and vnwares came ſtealing vpon them, and there traitoꝛouſlie ſlue them, and ſiue of their companie. By meanes whereof the whole countrie ſoꝛthwith was in an vpzoare, inſomuch that Dermon Mac Artie, and all the Iriſhzie in thoſe parties, as alſo the traitoꝛ Machture, were out: and denieng to be anie longer the kings loiall ſubiects, made wars againſt Fitzſtephans, who now once againe felt the courſe of foꝛtunes diſpoſition. And theſe ſo much annoied him, that he could neuer recouer himſelfe againe, vntill that his nephue Reimond, who ſucceéded him in the gouernement there, came and reſcued him: yet that notwithſtanding, he was neuer his owne man, neither could he be at a perfect peace and reſt.

And by the waie this is to be noted and conſidered, that as the noꝛtherne men be warlike and valiant; ſo are the ſoutherne men craftie and ſubtill, the one ſéeking honoꝛ, the other deliting in craft & deceit; the one valiant, the other wilie; the one of great courage, the other ſet all on treaſon and falſhood. But to the matter. When Reimond hard how foꝛtune frowned vpon his vncle Fitzſtephans, and what diſtreſſe he was in, being ſhut vp in the citie of Cozke, and his enimies aſſailing him round about, ſoꝛthwith aſſembleth his companie, and hauing in readineſſe twentie gentlemen, and one hundzed of ſotmen and bowmen, he taketh ſhipping at Werfoꝛd, and ſailing along the coaſts, maketh towards Cozke with all the haſt he can, that he might reléeue and comfoꝛt his friends, and be a terroꝛ vnto his enimies. And in the end hauing oftimes incountered with the enimies, ſome he killed, ſome he dzoue out of the countrie, and ſome he compelled (which was the greater number) to ſubmit themſelues and to ſue foꝛ peace: and thus in the end after great ſtoꝛmes and tempeſt followed a faire wether and a calme. Verie ſhoꝛtlie after Richard of Cogan, bzother vnto Miles, & nothing inferioꝛ vnto him in valiantneſſe, oꝛ anie other reſpect: came into Ireland with a ſtrong picked companie and choſen men, being ſent to the king to ſupplie his bzothers roome. Alſo in the end of the ſame winter, and in the moneth of Febzuarie (3) Philip Barrie nephue to Fitzſtephans, a verie honeſt and a wiſe gentleman, came ouer with a luſtie companie of choſen men, as well foꝛ the aid of his vncle, as alſo foꝛ the recouerie of his land in Olethan, which was perfoꝛce taken awaie (4) from Fitzſtephans, as alſo afterwards from Rafe Fitzſtephans ſonne. In the ſame paſſage alſo came Gerald an other nephue of Fitzſtephans, and bzother vnto Philip Barrie, who with his good aduiſe and counſell did verie much pleaſure and helpe both his vncle and bzother: foꝛ he was learned and a great traueller, in ſearching to learne the ſite and nature of that land, as alſo the firſt oꝛigine of that nation, and whoſe name the title of the booke beareth. About this time Herrie of Mont Moꝛis pzofeſſed himſelfe a monke in the monaſterie of the Trinitie in Canturburie, and gaue to the ſame in franke and pure almes all his patronages and impzopziations of all his churches, lieng by the ſea coaſts betweene Waterfoꝛd & Werfoꝛd, and ſo became a monke, & liued a ſolitarie life in a religious habit: who as he changed his habit, ſo would God he had changed his mind! & as he hath laid awaie his ſecular wæds, had caſt off his malicious diſpoſition!

(1) The gift which the king gaue vnto theſe two gentlemen of this countrie is yet extant vnder his bzoad ſeale, and was giuen by the name of the kingdome of Cozke, being bounded from the riuer which fléeteth by Liſemoze towards the citie of Limerike, vnto Knocke Bzendon vpon the ſeas on the weſt, to be holden of the king, and of his heires by thzée ſcoze knights fées. The citie it ſelfe without cantred of land

land was reſerued to the king, ſauing that they two had the cuſtodie thereof. This kingdome in courſe of time for want of heires male of them, came to two daughters. The one of them was married to Carew and the other to Courcie, & they in the right of their wiues inioied the ſame during their liues; and after them their heires, vntill ſuch time as by a diuiſion growing amongeſt the Engliſhmen, the Iriſhrie expelled them, and recouered the countrie vnto themſelues.

(2) Theſe Mac Arties are yet remaining in the ſaid prouince of Corke, and they be now diſperſed into ſundrie families, but the chiefeſt of them is named Mac Artie More, and he in the time of king Henrie the eight was aduanced to the honor and degrée of an earle, being called the earle Clan Artie, which in common ſpéech by interpoſition of the letter C is pronounced Clancartie.

(3) In this point there is a varietie among the writers, ſome writing that Fitzſtephans ſhould take awaie the land from Philip Barrie, and giue it to his ſon Rafe; and to recouer this out of their hands, the ſaid Philip came ouer with ſuch power and force as he could make. Some write againe that the land after that it was giuen to Philip Barrie, he departing into England left it in the cuſtodie and charge of Robert Fitzſtephans, who when he liſted not or could not kéepe it anie longer, deliuered the cuſtodie thereof to his ſonne Rafe: who as his father ſo was he wearie to kéepe the ſame. And for that cauſe Philip Barrie minding to inioie, and to make the beſt thereof, with ſuch force and helpe as he had gotten, came ouer both to helpe his vncle, & alſo to fortifie & build holds & caſtels vpon his ſaid land, whereby he might be the better able to defend and kéepe the ſame: and this ſéemeth to be the truth of the hiſtorie.

(4) This Philip of Barrie, hauing ſeized vpon lands and poſſeſſions in Ireland, his poſteritie haue euer ſince continued in that land; and nothing degenerating from their firſt anceſtor, haue from age and to age béene noble and valiant gentlemen, and who for their fidelitie and good ſeruices, were aduanced to honour and made vicounts: and in that title of honor do continue ſtill. But would to God they were not ſo nuzled, rooted, and altogither ſeaſoned in Iriſhrie! the name and honor being onelie Engliſh, all the reſt for the moſt part Iriſh.

How Hugh de Lacie builded caſtels, *and fortified in Leinſter and Meth.*

Chap.23.

WHileſt theſe things were thus a doing in Deſmond, Hugh de Lacie a good and a wiſe man buildeth ſundrie caſtels both in Leinſter and Meth, and fortifieth the ſame verie ſtronglie: and among others he builded one at (1) Leighlin vpon the riuer of (2) Barrow beſids Oſſorie, a place naturallie of it ſelfe verie ſtrong, which place Robert Powre by the kings commandement had the charge of, vntill he gaue the ſame ouer and forſoke it. O what worthie champions and fit marchmen were this Powre & Fitzaldelme, to be ſent to dwell and rule in a nation, which is deſtituted and wanteth noble and valiant men! But a man maie ſée the courſe of fortune, who when ſhe is diſpoſed to ſmile, how ſhe aduanceth and raiſeth vp men from baſe eſtate to high degrées: for why, theſe two had more pleaſure in chambering and plateng the wantons with yong girls, and to plaie vpon a harpe than to beare a ſhield or ſtaffe, or to weare armour. And truelie it was to be maruelled, that ſo noble a prince could ſend ſuch cowards to beare rule, and haue authoritie in places of ſeruice. But to the matter. Hugh de Lacie being a verie wiſe man, all his care was to bring all things to a peace and quietneſſe: and therefore ſuch as were oppreſſed or driuen out of their lands and territories, he reſtored them, and with ſuch courteous behauiour and gentle ſpéeches he dealt with all men, that in a verie ſhort time he drew vnto him the hearts of the people, who deſirous to dwell vnder his gouernment, manured the grounds; which being then waſt and vntilled, was in ſhort ſpace full ſtored and fraughted both with corne and cattell. And then for the ſafetie of the people and defenſe of the countrie, he builded townes and erected caſtels in euerie place, made orders & eſtabliſhed lawes for the gouernment of the people. And by this it came to paſſe, that ech man inioied the labours of his owne hands, and euerie man liued in peace one with the other, and euerie bodie loued him, and he aſſured of all men. But hauing thus by his wiſedome, policie, and good gouernement recouered that nation to good conformitie and obedience, behold enuie (which alwaies maligneth vertue) he was had in a gealouſie and ſuſpicion, that his drift and policie was to appropriat the whole land to himſelfe, and as the lawfull king and monarch would crowne himſelfe king of Ireland. Which opinion was ſo receiued & falſe rumour ſo ſpred, that it was in a ſhort time caried into England; which when it came to the kings eares, you maie not thinke that he at all liked thereof, or could brooke the ſame.

(1) This Leighlin ſtandeth full vpon the riuer of Barrow, and it is a verie old & ancient caſtell called by the name of the Blake caſtell, a fort in thoſe daies verie ſtrong: it ſtandeth in the baronie of Odrone, which is the ancient inheritance of the Carews, who being barons of Carew in Wales, one of them married the daughter and heire of the baron of this Odrone, & ſo the Carews became & were for the courſe of ſundrie yeares, vntill in the troubleſome times, in king Richard the ſeconds time they were expelled, as all others or the moſt part of the Engliſh were. But being dwelling there, ſome one of them builded a religious houſe of Greie friers nære adioining to the ſaid caſtell, which being ſince diſſolued in king Henrie the eights time, the ſame fell into the kings hands, who made thereof a fort, and kept there a perpetuall garriſon, and thus was it diſſeuered from the baronie. There is alſo one other Leighlin diſtant from this about an Engliſh mile, where is the cathedrall church of that dioceſſe, and whereof the biſhop taketh his name being called the biſhop of Leighlin; but for difference ſake the ſame is called old Leighlin, and this other Leighlin bridge, by reaſon of a bridge builded of ſtone ouer the riuer at that place, and whereof the one end butteth vpon the foreſaid Blake caſtell.

(2) The Barrow is a goodlie and a notable riuer, hauing his head or ſpring in the hill called Mons Blandina or Slogh Blome, in which alſo are the heads or ſprings of the two other notable riuers Sure and the other Eoire. This Barrow kéepeth & hath his courſe through the countie of Ler, and paſſeth by the market towne of Athie vnto Carlow, and from thenſe vnto Leighlin, and ſo to Roſſe, a little aboue which towne it méeteth and ioineth with the Eoire, and they togither kéepe their courſe about ſix miles, vntill they méet with the Sure, which is nære vnto the late abbeie of Dunbrattie: and as they all do ſpring and riſe out of one mounteine, ſo after they haue taken their ſeuerall courſes, they meet togither and take one waie into the ſeas. They are all nauigable, and all a like replenished with ſundrie ſorts and kinds of fiſhes.

The

The deſcription of Hugh *de Lacie*.

Chap.24.

IF you will know what manner of man Hugh de Lacie was, you ſhall vnderſtand his eies were blacke and dæpe, and his noſe ſomewhat flat, and the right ſide of his face from the chin vpwards by a miſchance was ſhrewdlie ſkalled: his necke was ſhort, and his bodie hairie, as alſo not fleſhie but ſinewie and ſtrong compact; his ſtature was but ſmall, and his proportion deformed, but in conditions he was verie ſober, truſtie, and modeſt. He was verie carefull in his owne priuat matters, but in cauſes of gouernment and in all publike affaires he was moſt vigilant and carefull. And albeit he were a verie good ſouldier, and one of great experience in martiall affaires; yet in his ſundrie aduentures wherin he was ſometimes raſh and verie haſtie, he ſped not alwaies beſt nor had the beſt ſucceſſe. After the death of his wife he was ſomewhat loſe of life, being much giuen to women, of whom he made no great choiſe: he was verie greedie and couetous of wealth and poſſeſſions, but ouermuch ambitious of honour and reputation. At this time in Leinſter flouriſhed Robert Fitzhenrie brother vnto (1) Meilerius, who in his youthfull yeares was verie luſtie like the flower of the garden, which when the winter draweth and is cold, doth vade and wither awaie. Likewiſe (2) Alexander and Giraldus the two ſonnes of Maurice. And albeit Girald were a man but of meane ſtature, yet verie wiſe, ſober, and honeſt. Alſo Roger le Powre conſtable of Leighlin, Hugh de Lacie, and William le Powre ſeneſchall of Waterford, Robert Barrie the yonger ſonne of Philip Barrie, and both the Reimonds were of beſt fame and credit in theſe daies. About this time befell and happened the two ſtrange wonders at Fother in Meth, whereof we haue ſpoken in our topographie; namelie, of the woman violentlie and perforce abuſed in a mill by a ſouldier, and of the otes there ſtolen and caried awaie.

(1) Neſſa the daughter of the great Rheſus had three husbands, by the firſt named Henrie ſhe had a ſonne, who being named after his name, was named Fitzhenrie, who was father to Henrie, Robert, and this Meilerius.

(2) This ſame Neſſa had to hir third husband one Gerald of Windſore, and by him had iſſue hir fourth ſon named Maurice, who was father to William Gerald and this Alexander. This Gerald was a baliant and a noble gentleman, and who had wars againſt Rheſus the father of this Neſſa, and kept the towne and caſtell of Penbroke againſt him and all his force: but in the end after a peace concluded betweene them, he maried this ladie, and had worthie iſſue by hir.

How Hugh de Lacie vpon a vaine ſuſpicion *was ſent for into England, and of his* returne againe from thenſe.

Chap.25.

THe ſuſpicion conceiued of Hugh de Lacie dailie increaſed more & more, and as is before ſaid came to the kings eares, who as princes in ſuch cauſes was verie gelous, and could not like thereof, and therefore forthwith ſent for Hugh de Lacie by John conſtable of Cheſter and Richard Pet, whome he appointed to tarrie and ſerue in his place, & to be the gouernors or lords iuſtices of the land. But before he ſhould depart and go awaie, it was agreed by a common conſent, that there ſhould diuerſe caſtels and ſundrie forts be builded in Leinſter: for Meth was alredie meetlie well and indifferentlie fortified & incaſtelled. Firſt therefore they builded two caſtels in Fotheret of Dnolan, the one for (1) Reimond, and the other for Griffith his brother: the third was at (2) Treſſeldermont neere to Morroghs countrie for Walter of Ridenſford: the fourth for John (3) Clauill vpon the riuer of Barrow not far from Leighlin: the fift at Collach for John Herford. And as for Kildare, which with the countrie adioining was before by the earle in his life time giuen to Meilerius, was taken from him; & in exchange the countrie of (4) Ler was giuen to him, which was a wild and ſauage countrie, full of woods, paſſes, and bogs, and in the middle of the enimies, as alſo from anie ſuccour or reſcue: howbeit not vnfit for this ſuch a champion of Mars and ſo worthie a ſouldier.

These things being thus done in the ſummer time, Hugh de Lacie toke his paſſage ouer to England, and made his ſpeedie repaire to the kings preſence, where he ſo wiſelie and dutifullie behaued himſelfe, that the king not onelie was reſolued of his truth and fidelitie, but alſo putting eſpeciall confidence in him, he ſent him backe againe. And calling home the foreſaid John de conſtable and Richard Pet, made him his generall and deputie of the land, and toke aſſurance of him for his truth in this behalfe: howbeit he ioined in commiſſion with him one Robert of Saliſburie, who ſhould in the kings behalfe be a councellor and a truſtie aſſiſtant vnto him in all his doings. Now Hugh de Lacie being returned backe againe into Ireland, and there ſettled and placed, thinketh vpon his firſt deuiſes, how to fortifie the countrie and to keepe it in good order. And the more caſtels he builded, and the more Engliſhmen he did beſtow and place therein, the ſooner and better did he thinke to bring the ſame to paſſe and effect. Among manie caſtels therfore which he builded, he made one at Tachmeho in Ler, which he gaue to Meilerius, as alſo gaue him his neece to wife; alſo one caſtell neere to Abowie which he gaue to Robert Bigaret, and not farre from thenſe an other caſtell which he deliuered to Thomas Fleming. And not farre from thenſe he builded one other caſtell at the Norach on the riuer of the Barrow, which Robert Fitzrichard had: beſides in Meth he builded the caſtels of Dunach and of Kilaire, as alſo Adam Fuceport and Gilbert Nigents caſtels, and manie others, which were now too long to be particularlie repeted and recited.

Talke betweene a prieſt and a wolfe.

And about this time was that ſtrange talke and communication in a wood in Meth, betweene a prieſt and a wolfe, whereof we haue ſpoken in our topographie: which thing though it may ſeeme verie ſtrange & moſt incredible, yet the ſame is not to be diſcredited. For as S. Jerome ſaith, you ſhall find in ſcripture manie ſtrange things, & which to a mans iudgement ſhall ſeeme to be nothing true at all: and yet neuertheles they are moſt true. For nature cannot preuaile nor do anie thing againſt the Lord of nature: neither ought anie creature to contemne or ſcorne, but rather with great reuerence and honour to conſider the workes of God his creator. Not long after this king Henrie the yonger, the ſon of king Henrie the elder, being ſeduced & caried (the more was the pitie) by lewd and naughtie counſels, rebelled the ſecond time againſt his father, and had gotten vnto him the moſt part of the beſt noble men in all Poitiers, & the luſtieſt gentlemen in all France: beſides his brother Geffreie the earle of Britaine the chiefe author and cauſe of this rebellion, and manie others of his confederates. But in the end, by

Gods

Gods iust iudgement and vengeance for his vnnaturall ingratitude against his father, who though he were a verie valiant and a lustie gentleman, yet against death nothing can helpe, and so died about June at Marels to the great sorrow of manie. And verie shortlie after also the foresaid Geffrete, a noble and a valiant gentleman, & who for his worthinesse and prowesse might haue bene the sonne of Ulysses or Achilles, who now revolting the third time from his father, and rebelling against him, was by Gods iust iudgement about the kalends of August taken out of his life, and so died.

(1) Nesta the daughter of the great Rhesus prince of Wales had three husbands, the third of them was Gerald of Windsore, and these had to their first sonne William Fitzgerald the father vnto this Reimond, and Griffith.

(2) Tresseldermont is a castell about a fiue miles from Catherlough, & somtimes a verie faire towne and walled round about, and bordering nere to the baronie of Odrone. The English writers do saie that this castell was not builded in this Tresseldermont, but at Kilken, a castell about three miles from this, and both now belonging to the earle of Kildare. But the Latine bookes, which are of eldest writing and credit, and whom I do herein follow, do write it by expresse words, Tresseldermont.

(3) This castell of Clauill not far from Leighlin, is supposed to be that which is now called Carlough or Catherlough: howbeit the common fame of the countrie doth attribute this castell of Carlough to Eua the earls wife, and the ladie and heire of Leinster, and that she should build the same. But there appeareth no such things of hir doings, for by the course of the historie it is plaine, that the castels builded in Leinster were done by the Englishmen onelie, and for their defense and safetie.

(4) The countrie of Ler is parcell of Leinster, & lieth in the marches and extreame confines of the same by the west: it is verie strong and fast, being full of woods and bogs, and therefore a safe receptacle for rebels and outlawes. It is within the diocesse of Leighlin, and before now of late no shire ground, but inhabited by the Moores, who were alwaies rebels and traitors. But in hope to reforme the same it was made a countie of it selfe, by an act of parlement in the third and fourth yeares of Philip and Marie, and named the Queenes countie.

The death of Laurence archbishop of Dublin, and of Iohn Comin made archbishop in his place.

Chap.26.

In this meane time Laurence archbishop of Dublin died at the castell of Angiers in Normandie, about the kalends of December 1180. He was a (1) iust and a good man, but somwhat in displeasure with the king, who had him in suspicion bicause he was at the councell of (2) Laterane, and there inueighed much against the king of England and his honour; & for that cause in his returne homewards through Normandie was staied, and in the end there died, where he was buried in the high church of our ladie. After him Iohn Comin an Englishman borne, and a monke in the abbeie of Euenham, was by the kings means elected orderlie by the clergie of Dublin archbishop, and afterwards confirmed by pope Lucius at Viterbe, where he was also made a cardinall. A man he was verie well learned and eloquent, and verie zealous in causes of the church, wherein he would haue done verie much good, if that he had not bene too worldlie, & haue sought to haue pleased worldlie princes, and to haue bene in the kings fauour.

(1) This one thing is and was a common obseruation in the Romish church, that if anie one had receiued the charact thereof, that although he were neuer so rebellious, nor so great a traitor against his prince; yet the same was to be interpreted to be in defense of the holie church, and such a one was counted a godlie and a holie man, though by the scriptures he who resisteth his prince is said to resist God himselfe.

(2) The councell of Laterane is said to be one of the greatest synods or generall councels that hath bin, it was kept at Rome vnder pope Innocent the third An. 1204. Manie decrees were there made for the aduancing of the Romish antichrist: but yet the councell could not be brought to his full perfection by reason of the ciuill wars in Italie. But among other decrees this was concluded, that all controuersies betweene kings and princes, the correction thereof should apperteine to the pope: as also no man should be counted emperour, except the pope had admitted him and crowned him.

The comming of Iohn the kings sonne into Ireland.

Chap.27.

The king to aduance his yonger sonne named Iohn had giuen him the dominion ouer Ireland, and he thereupon had taken homage of sundrie persons for the same: and now minding to bring the same to a finall end & perfect order, sendeth ouer into Ireland before his sonne Iohn the new archbishop of Dublin, who as a forerunner vnto his sonne should prepare all things in readinesse against his comming, who forthwith toke his iournie about the kalends of August, and sailed ouer into Ireland. Also in the moneth of September then next following, he sent ouer Philip of Worcester, a valiant souldier, a sumptuous and a liberall man, with fortie gentlemen, who was commanded to send ouer (1) Hugh de Lacie, and he to staie there as gouernour of the land vntill Iohn his sonne came ouer. This Philip being thus placed in authoritie, the first thing he did he resumed and toke into the kings vse the lands in Ochathelie, and diuerse other parcels which Hugh de Lacie had before sold, and these he appointed to serue for the kings prouision and diet. And after the winter was past, he assembled and mustered all his men and companie, & began to trauell from place to place; and in March about the middle of Lent he came to (2) Armagh, where when he had extorted and perforce eracted from the cleargie there a great masse of monie and treasure, he returned vnto the citie of Downe, and from thense to Dublin in safetie: being well laden with gold, siluer, and monie, which he had eracted in euerie place where he came: for other good he did none. In this iournie there happened two strange miracles, the one at Armach concerning the great anguish and griefe of (3) Philip when he departed and went out of the towne, the other was of a (4) fornace which Hugh Tirell toke away from the poore priests at Armagh, as more at large is declared in our topographie.

Two strange miracles.

(1) This Hugh de Lacie albeit he were thus sent for, yet he went not ouer, as it appeareth by the course of the histories of this time: he was about building of a castell at Dernagh, and there being among his labourers,

laboꝛers, and ſéeing one not to frame verie well in his woꝛke, taught him what he ſhould doo, taking his pickeax in both his hands and bꝛake the ground. This wicked Iriſhman when he ſaw his loꝛd and maſter thus ſtoping and labouring, ſuddenlie came behind him, and with his ax oꝛ weapon ſtrake him in the head and ſlue him, but his inheritance and poſſeſſions came & deſcended to his two ſonnes Walter and Hugh.

(2) In Ireland there are foure archbiſhopꝛikes, one at Dublin foꝛ the pꝛouince of Leinſter, another at Caſhill foꝛ the pꝛouince of Mounſter, the third at Thomond foꝛ the pꝛouince of Connagh, & the fourth at Armagh foꝛ the pꝛouince of Volſter. The chiefeſt of them is the archbiſhop of this Armagh, foꝛ although euerie one of the others be named a pꝛimat of Ireland, yet this one alone is named pꝛimat of all Ireland; which title he hath partlie bicauſe he is ſucceſſour to S. Patrike, who firſt conuerted Ireland to the chꝛiſtian faith, and had his ſee and church at this Armagh; one other cauſe is bicauſe this archbiſhop was the firſt that receiued a pall from the pope, This pall is a certeine inueſture of cloth, which the pope haloweth and giueth oꝛ ſendeth to euerie archbiſhop, who weareth the ſame vppermoſt vpon his garment. The nature of this pall, of the firſt inuention thereof and the cauſes whie it is giuen to euerie archbiſhop, is not incident noꝛ apperteining to the courſe and nature of this hiſtoꝛie, and therfoꝛe I will omit it. This Armagh was ſomtimes a faire towne, and therein a faire cathedꝛall church, lieng farre and remote from all good neighboꝛs, and in the middle of the Onels and other ſauage people; the ſame hath bæne and ſtill is and lieth waſt: and the archbiſhop remoued to a houſe of his named Terſeekam, which lieth neére the towne of Dꝛogheda, being a place of better ſafetie.

what the biſhops pall is.

(3) The hiſtoꝛie is, that this Philip of Woꝛceſter being well landed with great riches eracted from the cleargie and departed, he was no ſoner out of the towne, but that he was taken with a ſudden pang, which foꝛ the time was ſo vehement, that it was ſuppoſed he would neuer haue recouered it.

(4) This Hugh Tirell among other the ſpoiles which he toke, he had a great bꝛuing foꝛnace oꝛ pan which ſerued foꝛ the whole houſe, foꝛ which his doing the pꝛieſts curſſed him, and he caried this along with him vntill he came to the citie of Downe. And on a night he being in his lodging, the ſame was entred with fire, and the hoꝛſſes which dꝛew the ſaid pan, as alſo much goods which they bꝛought with them, and a great part of the towne was burned. In the moꝛning, when he ſaw the great ſpoile, and yet the ſaid pan as nothing hurt noꝛ periſhed, he began to repent and be ſoꝛie, and ſo reſtoꝛed the pan againe.

The comming of Heraclius the *patriarch into England.*

Chap.28.

WHile theſe things were doing in Ireland, Heraclius the reuerend patriarch of Jeruſalem, hauing gone a long iourneie from the eaſt to the weſt, came into England about the beginning of Febꝛuarie; who bꝛought with him the keies of the holie citie and ſepulchꝛe, with the kings enſigne and martiall ſigne, in the behoofe of all the ſtates of the holie land, as well of the bꝛethꝛen of th'oꝛder of the temple as hoſpitall: and with the conſent of all the cleargie and laitie, making ſupplication to king Henrie the ſecond, falling at his feet with teares, and humblie deſiring him, that he would be pitifullie moued to the aid of the holie land, and Chꝛiſtes patrimonie, deſperatlie afflicted by the infidels: otherwiſe affirming (which within two yeares happened) that the whole kingdome would fall ſhoꝛtlie into the hands of the Soldane of the Saracens and of Egypt. Oh what a gloꝛie was it to this king and kingdome, that he paſſing ſo manie emperours, kings and pꝛinces, as though there were no helpe in the middle part of the woꝛld, ſhould come into this coꝛner of the earth, & as it were into an other woꝛld to require aid! O how woꝛthie, perpetuall and incomparable had the kings gloꝛie bæne, if he ſetting aſide other buſineſſe, and foꝛſaking his kingdoms, had taken without delaie (at this calling of Chꝛiſt) Chꝛiſtes croſſe, and haue followed him! Merelie, he ſhould haue receiued of him the euerlaſting kingdome, if he had ſerued him in this neceſſitie of whom he receiued his kingdome, and ſo gloꝛious a grace of gouernement on earth. Oh if he would haue defended here (foꝛ his abilitie) the patrimonie of ſo woꝛthie a kingdome in this point of neceſſitie, and this triall of deuotion, he might haue bæne woꝛthilie foꝛtified in earth by ſuch a patrone and tutoꝛ in all his affaires and neceſſities whatſoeuer.

The anſwer of the king to the *patriarch.*

Chap.29.

A Daie foꝛ anſwer heroꝛ being appointed at laſt by the king at London, manie as well knights as of common ſoꝛt, by the admonithments of the patriarch, as the ſermons of Baldwin the archbiſhop were croiſed to the ſeruice of Chꝛiſt. At the laſt the patriarch receiued this anſwer of the king, that it was not good to leaue his realme without defenſe and gouernement, & leaue open his lands beyond ſea to the rapacitie of the Frenchmen that hated him: but as concerning monie, he would giue both that which he ſent thither, to be reſerued foꝛ him, and moꝛe alſo foꝛ the defenſe of the holie land. To whome the patriarch anſwered by following this aduiſe. O king you doo nothing: and by this meanes you ſhall neither ſaue your ſelfe, noꝛ reſerue Chꝛiſtes patrimonie. We come to ſéeke a pꝛince, and not monie. Euerie part of the woꝛld almoſt ſendeth vs monie, but none ſendeth vs a pꝛince. Therfoꝛe we deſire a man that may want monie, and not monie that may want a man. But, when the patriarch could get no other anſwer of the king, he taketh an other deuiſe: he deſireth him to giue to their aid one of his ſonnes, and if none other, yet his yongeſt ſonne John, that the bloud deſcending from the Aniowes might in a new bꝛanch raiſe vp the kingdome.

This was the ſaieng of Themiſtocles.

John himſelfe, albeit he was readie to paſſe into Ireland giuen him by his father, with a great armie, (pꝛoſtrating himſelfe at his fathers feet) deſired (as they ſaie) that he might be ſent to Jeruſalem, but he obteined it not. So the patriarch ſéeing he could doo nothing, and dꝛaw no oile out of the hard ſtone, hée ſpake thus againſt the king, in th'audience of manie, with a thꝛeatfull and pꝛopheticall ſpirit. O gloꝛious king, thou haſt reigned hitherto among the pꝛinces of the woꝛld with incomparable gloꝛie, and your pꝛincelie honour hath hitherto dailie increaſed to the type of highneſſe. But now doubtleſſe is this triall being foꝛſaken of God, whom you foꝛſake, and deſtitute of all heauenlie grace. From henſefoꝛth ſhall your gloꝛie be turned into ſoꝛrow, and your honoꝛ to repꝛoch ſo long as you liue. I would to God the king had auoided this thꝛeat by penance, like the king of Niniue, and had cauſed this ſentence to be altered!

The holie man ſpake this thing thrise, firſt at London, then at Douer, and laſtlie at Chinon caſtell beyond the ſea. And I would to God the patriarch had beene a man without that prophetical ſpirit, & had rather ſpoken a leſing, that we may for more euidence touch ſuch things briefly as were before ſpoken by that true forеſpeaker, which we ſaw ſhortlie to take effect. Whereas the king reigned thirtie and fiue yeares, thirtie years were granted him for worldlie glorie, expectation of his conuerſion, & triall of his deuotion; but the laſt fiue years fell vpon him, as vpon an vngratefull, reprobate, and abiect ſeruant, in reuengement, ſorrow, & ignominie. For in the two and thirtith yeare of his reigne, immediatlie after the comming of the patriarch, his firſt enterpriſe of ſending his ſonne John into Ireland, both the labour and coſt was fruſtrate and loſt. The three and thirtith yeare, whereas he neuer loſt land before, he loſt to king Philip (being but a child) almoſt all Anjou. The foure and thirtith yeere he loſt the caſtell Kader, and welneere all Berie. The fiue and thirtith yeare of his reigne, and the fourth yeere after the comming of the patriarch, not onelie king Philip of France, but his ſon Richard of Poitiers riſing againſt him, he loſt the cities of Towres and Maine, with manie caſtels, and himſelfe alſo; according to that in ſaint Gregorie: Thoſe that the Lord hath long forborne, that they might be conuerted, if they do not conuert, he condemneth them the more grieuouſlie.

The croiſing of kings.

Chap. 30.

But perchance the king was reſerued by heauenlie diſpoſition to the victorie of deſerued loue. How much greater is it to repare things caſt downe, than to vnderprop things likelie to fall? And who had knowne Hector, if Troie had continued in proſperitie? By ſo much as aduerſitie is more inſtant and vrged, by ſo much the glorie of valiantneſſe will ſhine the brighter. For by the ſecret iudgement of God, within two yeares after the victorie was giuen to the pagans and Parthians, againſt the chriſtians, either to reuenge the cold deuotion of the eaſt church, or to trie the deuout obedience of the weſterne men; the worthie Richard earle of Poitiers hearing this ouerthrow, toke deuoutlie the croiſure vpon him at Towres, giuing an example to other princes in that matter. Wherevpon the king of England, the earles father, and Philip king of France, who had bin before at variance (with Gods grace, and the archbiſhop of Towres perſuaſion) in that place and that houre, at their conference at Gutſors were croiſed, with manie other great men of the clergie and laitie. And as kings followed the example of the erle, ſo after their example the emperour Frederike, through the perſuaſion of the duke of Alba, with manie ſtates of Almane were croiſed in the lords court at Mentz. So as it is thought, the king of England being reſerued more than all other to the reſtoring of the decaied ſtate of the holie land, if he had finiſhed his life in this victorie; doubtleſſe that famous prophecie of Merlin Ambroſius had beene verified in him. His beginning (ſaith he) ſhall wauer with wild affections, and his end ſhall mount to heauen.

A prophecie of Merlin touching the king

The diſcord of the kings.

Chap. 31.

A ſudden diſcord roſe betweene the kings and that (which was worſe) betweene the father and the earle, through the working of the old enimie, & their ſinnes deſeruing the ſame, to the great hinderance of their noble enterpriſe: as though they being vnfit for it, the honor thereof was reſerued for other; or perchance according to the ſentence of Gregorie: Aduerſitie, which is obiected againſt good vowes, is a triall of vertue, and not a ſigne of diſpraiſe. Who is ignorant how haplie a thing it was that Paule was driuen into Italie, and yet he ſuffered ſhipwracke? But the ſhip of his heart was ſafe among the ſurges of the ſea. Likewiſe therfore as vertue is perfected in infirmitie, and gold tried in the fire: ſo the conſtancie of faith that cannot be crazed with tribulations, doth increaſe more as ſinapis; and the courage of the mind is more valiant againe than troublous aſſaults of fortune. O how much rather would I, that theſe kings accompanied with a few men acceptable to God, had taken vpon them this laborious, but yet a glorious iournete, than to war proud for the great wealth that they had gathered of manie people to this end. Read ouer the whole bible, and conſider theſe latter times, and you ſhall find, that victorie hath beene gained, not with force and humane power, but with Gods grace and ſtore of vertues. For as Caſſiodorus ſaith: An armed people without the Lord is vnarmed. And as Seneca ſaith, Not the number of the people, but the vertue of a few get the victorie. Of the foure before named, the emperour Frederike, albeit he was the laſt croiſed, yet in the execution thereof he was the firſt: whome therefore I account ſo much the more worthie of victorie in heauen, and glorie in earth, that he forſaking large kingdomes and his empire, delaied not out the matter.

A viſion and expoſition thereof.

Chap. 32.

Therfore I thought it not inconuenient to ſet downe a viſion, which he that hideth much from wiſemen & reuealeth it to babes viſited me withall, being a moſt ſimple and vile wretch. In the miſerie of this time, in that ciuill and deteſtable diſcord betweene the king and the erle of Poitiers, I being with the king at Chinon caſtell the ſeuenth ides of Maie: at night in my ſléepe about the cocke crowing, me thought I ſaw a great multitude of men loking vp into heauen, and as it were wondering at ſomewhat. So I lifting vp mine eies to ſée what the ſame was, I ſaw a bright light breake out betweene the thickeneſſe of the clouds, and the clouds being incontinentlie ſeuered aſunder, and the lower heauen as it were being opened, and the ſight of mine eies pearſing through that window to the empireall heauen, there appered the court thereof in great multitude, wide open as it were to be ſpoiled, all kinds of munition being bent againſt it. You might haue ſéene there a head cut from one, an arme from another, and ſome ſtriken through with arrowes, ſome with lances, and ſome with ſwords. And when manie of the beholders either for the brightnes, or terror, or pitie, had fallen flat on their faces: me thought that I (to ſée the end of the matter) did viewe it longer than the reſt. So they hauing gotten the victorie ouer all the other, the bloudie ſlaues fell vpon the prince of the heauenlie orders, ſitting in his throne as he was wont to be pictured, and drawing him from the throne on the right hand, hauing his breaſt naked, they thruſt him through the right ſide with their lances, and immediatlie there followed a terrible voice in this maner, Woch, woch, O Holi-ghoſt! But whether it came frō heauen, or was vttered by the people beneath, I can not tell; and ſo the terror of this voice & the viſion awakened me.

A ſtrange viſion.

I call him here to witnesse, to whome all things are apparant and manifest, that immediatlie as I sat in my bed, & reuolued these things in my mind, I was in so great an horror both of bodie and mind, for halfe an houre and more, that I feared least I should haue fallen besides my selfe. But recoursing deuoutlie to the onlie refuge of humane saluation, & blessing my forehead with the crosse effsones, & fortifieng my mind thereby, I passed the rest of the night without slèepe, & so through Gods grace returned fullie to my selfe: yet to this daie I can neuer remember that vision without horror. What may be more terrible to a creature than to sée his creator smitten through with weapons? What man without grèefe can abide to sée the seruants of God, & patrons of men to be murthered? Who can behold the Lord of nature to suffer, & doth not suffer therewith? What this vision portendeth, without prejudice to anie I will shew briefli.

The meaning of the foresaid vision.

He that suffered once in his owne person for all, giueth vs to vnderstand, that he now suffereth againe, but that in his flocke. And he that by triumphing ouer the crosse, and ascending to the right hand of his father, hath victoriouslie entered his kingdome; his enimies now go about to depriue him of his kingdome, and subuert his church, which he gathered vnto him by the shedding of his bloud. Therefore, as I do suppose, this passion did not appeare vpon the crosse, but his maiestie; as though the crosse now being taken awaie, his enimies go about to take that glorie from him, which he got on the crosse. Or else that his faithfull had suffered, not in the crosse, but with weapons in that holie land, which he after so manie miracles had consecrated with his bloud. So likewise he declared this his passion which he for his sustained, not in the crosse, but in his maiestie: so he signified, that all the court of heauen suffered with the like compassion, mouing his to reuengement with the shewing of so great grèefe. As concerning that voice beginning in a barbarous language and ending in Latine, what I thinke I will shew. Woch, woch, in the Germane tong, is a signe of grèefe doubled. And where that wofull mourning voice began in the Germane tong, and ended in Latine, it maie be signified thereby, that onelie the Almans and the Italians take this the affliction of their Lord more grieuouslie than other nations, as their hasting declareth. God forbid that the passion or lamentation be here vnderstood by anie slaughter of the christians and people in this expedition.

A strange vision.

The memorable euents of *our time*.

Chap. 33.

I Thinke it not impertinent to set downe here (by occasion) the aduentures and notable euents in England: and first of all, the sudden death of the deteiners of the kingdome of England against the lawfull heire, the nephue of Henrie by his daughter Matild: as well the death of the worthie knight Eustathius the son of king Stephan, and son in law to Lewes the French king: as of his mother quèene Matild the countesse of Bullogne. Then the concord adoption made betwèene king Stephan, and Henrie duke of Normandie. And then after the death of king Stephan, the marlage of quèene Elianor, and the translation from crowne to crowne. Immediatlie, the aduancement of the duke to the kingdome, and the coronation of king Henrie the second. The siege of the castell of Bridgenorth vpon Seuerne, and the compulsion of the worthie knight Hugh Mortimer to dedition, to the terrible example of all. What nédeth manie words? To confound the mightie, and to make euen the rugged, there were prosperous successes. And as destruction fell vpon the deteiners of the kingdome, so likewise it fell vpon the peacebreakers of the same, as well of the brethren, as also of the sons.

The subduing of prince Dene at Colchull in Northwales in a woddie streict, not without the losse of manie knights. A sumptuous expedition to Tholouse, albeit it was vnprofitable. An altercation & warre betwéene the king of England and Lewes of France, through the doting of both parts. The yéelding vp of prince Rhese by the means of his vncle Dene at Pencador in Southwales, the king of England comming thither. The vnwilling & wrested confession onelie by word & by writing (as some say) of Thomas of Canturburie, and his suffragans at Clarendon, as concerning annates: when that prophesie of Merlin Ambrosius séemed to be fulfilled; The buls tongs shall be cut out. The iniurious crieng out of all the court at Northampton against the father, bearing the crosse, & maintening the rights of the crucifix, and the priuie departure of him to exile that night. The ambassage of Reinold archbishop of Cullen, & chancellor to the emperor, from the said emperor to the king of England: who was an effectuous persuader of marlage to be had betwéene Henrie the emperors nephue duke of Saronie and Banier, and Matild the kings eldest daughter: he moued also, but in vaine, to set cleare the Almains schisme. Not long after the publike periurie through out all the realme, by the kings proclamation against the sée of saint Peter, and the archbishop of Canturburie. And incontinentlie the countie Gunceline, and other states of Saronie came from the duke into England for the kings daughter.

A prophesie of Merlin fulfilled.

The coronation of king Henrie the third, son to king Henrie, solemnized in London by the archbishop of Yorke, to the prejudice of the church of Canturburie. Ambassadors came from Spaine, and obteined the kings daughter Elianor, to be maried vnto Anfolfo, king of Toledo and Castile. The comming of Dernicius (being expelled) to the king, and the sailing ouer into Ireland of Fitzstephans, & earle Richard. The expedition of the lord of *Olwalstre in Powes, and his returne by occasion of raine: not without his hurtfull dismembring of the pledges, and great slaughter of his enimies. The martyrdome of Thomas. The often shining miracles. The departure of the noble Henrie bishop of Winchester, descended of the kings bloud at Winchester. The viage of the king into Ireland. The conspiracie of the states against their prince, and the children against their father. The comming of two cardinals into Normandie, to make inquirie of the death of the martyr. The sudden returne of the king out of Ireland into Wales, and so into England, thense into Normandie; with an appeasing of the said cardinals, and the French king. The first departure of the yong king with his two brethren from his father into France. The victorie of the ciuill and two yeares warre, and the kings mercie towards the vanquished, as we haue shewed before. The comming of Huguntio Petie Leon cardinall of the title of saint Angelo into England, and the celebration of a councell vnder him of all the clergie of England, at London, as concerning the contention of supremasie betwéene Richard archbishop of Canturburie, and Roger of Yorke: but the allegations on both sides with fists and staues brake it off. The bishop of Capua, and Diaferus elect of Croia, and earle Florius, came from William king of Sicill, to haue marlage betwéene him and Joane the kings yonger daughter.

*Albi monasterij.

The ambaſſadors of the kings of Spaine, Caſtile, and Nauar, came into England: who as concerning lands and caſtels (whereof they contended) promiſed altogither to ſtand vnto the king of Englands arbitrement. Wherefore the king aſſembling at London all the lawyers & wiſe men in the land of both orders; when the cauſe was propoſed, and the allegations heard on both ſides, by famous aduocats; among whome, Peter of Cardon, that came in the behalfe of the king of Nauar, excelled in eloquence: the king vſing wiſe counſell, and intending to end the contention by tranſaction, that giuing ſomewhat from one, and keeping ſomewhat from an other, he would hurt neither partie much. But as he was appointed iudge by both, ſo he was carefull for the commoditie of both as much as could be. So making a tranſaction, and ingroſſing it in writing, he writ the iudiciall examination for a prouiſo; That if either part refuſed to ſtand to his arbitrement, the definitiue ſtrife might be diſcrypted by ſentence. The comming of Lewes king of France into England, who went on pilgrimage to Canturburie, to the martyr Thomas, to require his helpe deuoutlie, whome he in the time of his exile had helped: and offering a cup pretious both for matter & ſubſtance in the place where the holie bodie was buried, when he had declined a while proſtrat on his face, and had laid his bare head a while in the right ſide hole of the marble ſtone that ſtandeth therby; at laſt, riſing from his praier (that he might confirme the memorie of his pilgrimage with euerlaſting record) in the preſence of the king of England, the earle of Flanders, the archbiſhop of the ſee, the prior of the couent, and other men of ſtate, he gaue yearelie vnto Canturburie abbete an hundred tuns of wine.

The ſecond defection of king Henrie the third, and earle Geffreie, with the ſudden death of the yonger king at Marcels. The comming on pilgrimage of Godfrie archbiſhop of Cullen, and Philip earle of Flanders vnto Canturburie. The death of earle Geffreie. The comming of Heraclius the patriarch, and the ſailing of earle John into Ireland. Almoſt all things as they be here ſet in order, chanced in our time, in no great diſtance betweene, in and about the ſpace of three and thirtie yeares. O how glorious had all theſe things beene, if they had ſorted to a good end! Which ſurelie would haue hapned, if he ſetting other things aſide, had followed Chriſt, when he was called, of whome he receiued all theſe benefits; and had ſpent the laſt fiue yeares reigne in his ſeruice. But theſe things being before rehearſed by the way, let vs returne to the hiſtorie.

The recapitulation of ſundrie acts, *and of the commming of Iohn the kings* ſonne to Ireland, with his *ſucceſſe there.*

Chap. 34.

NOw omitting the building of three caſtels, one at Tipperarie, the other at Archyhin, & the third at Liſmore, after the comming of earle John, & ſpeaking nothing of the euill fortune of three worthie yong men; Robert Barrie at Liſmore, Reimond Fitzhugh at Olethan, and Reimond Cantitinenſis at Odrona. Of part of the garriſon of Archyhin ſlaine in the wood there, by the prince of Limerike on Midſummer daie, & foure knights there killed, not without manfull defenſe. Of them of Limerike, and the noble man Ograine ſlaine at Tipperarie. Of them of Archyhin ſlaine againe by thoſe of Limerike in taking of a preie. Of Dermucius Mac Arthie prince of Deſmond, with others ſlaine in a parlée neere Corke by them of Corke, and the garriſon of Theobald brother to Walter. Of the ſlaughter of them of Kencolon, with their prince inuading Meth by the men thereof, & William Litle, and one hundred of their heads ſent to Dublin. Of the finding out of the bodies of Patrike, Brigid, & Columbe at Dundalke, & their tranſlation from thenſe by the procurement of John de Curcie.

Of the heading of Hugh Lacie at Dornach, through the treaſon of his owne Iriſhmen. Of the killing of twelue noble knights vnder John de Curcie, in the returne from Connagh. Of the traitorous and lamentable ſlaughter of Roger Powre, and manie others in Offerie: and thorough that occaſion, the priuie conſpiracie of all Ireland againſt the Engliſhmen, manie caſtels being therwith deſtroied. All which things are not vnworthie to be recorded, when the dominion was tranſlated to the kings ſon. But aſſigning theſe doings to other writers, we will proceed to more profitable matters. How and wherefore this firſt enterprize of the kings ſon had no good ſucceſſe I thought good to declare briefle: that this finall addition (albeit it can not be a cure to that which is paſt) yet it may be a caueat for things to come. ¶ This recapitulation followeth in a more abſolute forme, pag. 53. which being deliuered out of ſundrie copies, do perfect one another.] Note.

When all things meete and neceſſarie for ſo great a iournie or voiage were at the king his commandement and charges made readie; then John the kings yonger ſonne a little before made lord of Ireland, was ſent ouer; and in the Lent time (1) he toke leaue of his father, and as he trauelled towards ſaint Dauids to take ſhipping, he paſſed and rode along by the ſea coaſts of Southwals, and ſo came to (2) Penbroke. There brought and accompanied him vnto the ſhip a noble and a worthie man named Reinulfe Glanuile, one of the K. his moſt priuie councell in all weightie matters, as alſo cheefe iuſtice of England. And on wedneſdaie in the Eaſter weeke, the wind being at eaſt and blowing a good gale, he toke ſhip in Milford hauen, but for haſt he left to do his deuotion and oblation at ſaint Dauids, which was but an euill halſoning: neuertheleſſe on the nert morrow about nonetide he arriued in ſafetie vnto Waterford with all his companie, which were about three hundred gentlemen, and of bowmen, footmen, horſſemen, and others a great number. Then was fulfilled the vaticine or prophecie of old Merlin: A burning globe ſhall riſe out of the eaſt, & ſhall compaſſe about the land of Ireland, and all the foules of that Iland ſhall flée round about the fire. And hauing ſpoken theſe words of the father, he continueth his ſpeech, and thus ſpeaketh of his ſonne: And of this fire ſhall riſe a ſparkle, for feare of which all the inhabiters of the land ſhall tremble and be afraid: and yet he that is abſent ſhall be more eſteemed than he that is preſent, and better ſhall be the ſucceſſe of the firſt than of the ſecond. Prophecies of Merlin fulfilled.

John at this his firſt arriuall into Ireland was of the age of 12 yeres, which was from the firſt arriuall of his father thirteene yeares, of the landing of the earle Strangbow foureteene yeares, and from the firſt entrance of Robert Fitzſtephans fifteene yeares, and the yeare of our Lord one thouſand one hundred eightie and fiue, Lucius then Romane biſhop, Frederike the emperor, and Philip the French king. There paſſed ouer with the king in the ſame fleet manie good clerks, among whome (3) one was ſpeciallie commended vnto this yong lord by his father, for that he was a diligent ſearcher of naturall hiſtories,

hiſtories, as alſo had béene before two yeares in the ſame land, and there collected ſundrie notes, and ſufficient matter as well for his hiſtorie, as for his topographie: and which after that he was returned home, and attending in the court, did (as leiſure ſerued him) digeſt and ſet in good order of a booke, the ſame being his labor of three yéeres. A trauell to him painefull, but to his poſteritie profitable, although much miſliked and enuied at by ſuch as then were liuing: the one liked it well, but the other diſpraiſed it; the one reaped a benefit and commoditie, but the other of a ſecret malice maligning the ſame, fretted in his humor, and was grauelled in his owne follie.

(1) The firſt voiage of the king his ſonne, being then but a child of twelue yéeres of age: the Engliſh chronicles do make ſmall mention therof. But ſuch as do write thereof, do report that the king brought his ſonne as farre as Gloceſter on this iornie: and there dubbing and honoring him with the degrée of knighthod, ſent him on his iornie.

(2) Penbroke is an old and an ancient towne, builded by a noble man named Arnulph Montgomerie the anceſtor of the Carews, whoſe names are Montgomeries, & lieth in Weſtwales named Demetia, but now of this towne is called Penbrokeſhire. It ſtandeth vpon a créeke of Milford hauen, about two miles from the caſtell Carew: of which caſtell the Montgomeries builded, and there dwelling toke the name thereof, & were called Carews, which name that familie doth yet reteine. In this towne of Penbroke ſtandeth a goodlie and a ſtrong caſtell, which hath béene in times paſt the ſeat and houſe of manie a noble man bearing the name of the earles of Penbroke. In this was king Henrie the ſeuenth borne. It is now in great ruine and in decaie.

The ancient houſe of the Carews.

(3) This man ment here is Giraldus Cambrenſis the author of this booke, who (as it appeareth by this and other his works) was learned and much giuen to ſtudie. He was archdeacon of ſaint Dauids, and deſcended from Girald of Windſore, and the ladie Neſta his wife, for he was the ſon of Maurice, and the ſonne of the foreſaid Girald and Neſta: and ſo this Girald of Windſore was his Proauus or great grandfather.

The praiſe and commendation as alſo *the excuſe of Robert Fitzſtephans and* the earle Strangbow.

Chap. 35.

RObert Fitzſtephans was the firſt who taught and ſhewed the waie to the earle, the earle to the king, and the king to his ſonne. Great praiſe-worthie was he that gaue the firſt aduenture, and much was he to be commended who nert followed and increaſed the ſame: but aboue all others he deſerued beſt, who fulfilled, abſolued, and ended the ſame. And here is to be noted, that albeit both Fitzſtephans and the earle did helpe Dermon Mac Morogh to recouer his countrie of Leinſter, as alſo defended and kept the ſame from robbers, théeues, & enimies: yet they did it in diuerſe reſpects. The one in reſpect of his faith and promiſe, the other for loue of Eua, & of the (1) inheritance, which by hir ſhould grow and come vnto him. But as concerning the intruding vpon Waterford, and the conqueſts of ſundrie territories as well in Deſmond as in Meth, I can not excuſe them. The earle, who in right of his wife was lord of Leinſter, the firſt part or portion of Ireland, ſurrendred and yéelded vp all his right and title there vnto the king himſelfe, and toke it againe to hold of him. The like alſo did all the princes of the land. Whereby as alſo by other old and ancient records it is apparant, that the Engliſh nation entred not into this land by wrong and iniurie, (as ſome men ſuppoſe and dreame) but vpon a good ground, right, and title.

(1) The courſe of this hiſtorie in the beginning doth plainelie declare, how that Dermon after his departure from the king came to the citie of Briſtow, and there hauing conference with Richard Strangbow erle of Chepſtow, did offer vnto him his onelie daughter and heire in marriage, with the inheritance of all Leinſter: conditionallie that he would paſſe ouer into Ireland, and to helpe him to recouer his land, which conditions were accepted and afterwards performed. Afterwards he lieng at ſaint Dauids for paſſage, there he met with Robert Fitzſtephans, & did condition with him, that if he would paſſe ouer into Ireland to helpe him, he would giue him the towne of Werford with certeine cantreds therevnto adioining, which conditions were then accepted and afterwards performed. Thus it appeareth that the one for loue of the gentlewoman, and the other in reſpect of his promiſe did paſſe ouer into that land and realme.

The cauſes of lets whie this conqueſt could not nor had his full perfection.

Chap. 36.

HAppie and for euer happie had Ireland béene, which being valiantlie conquered, well repleniſhed with townes, and fortified with caſtels from ſea to ſea of the firſt (1) aduenturers, who were then minded to haue eſtabliſhed a good order and gouernment, had not they through the ſecret malice and treacherie of ſome men béene called awaie and ſent from home. Yea happie had it béene, if the firſt conquerors (being noble and valiant men) might according to their deſerts haue had the charge of gouernment committed vnto them. For whie, a nation which at the firſt comming ouer of our men, when they were galled with our arrowes, and afraid of our force, they were then eaſie to be reclamed. But partlie by meanes of trifling and delaieng of time, which is alwaies dangerous, and partlie by reaſon that the beſt ſeruitors being called home from thenſe, new rulers toke to much eaſe, and liued in to much ſecuritie; nothing was done to anie purpoſe: and thereupon the people of that countrie toke hart of grace, and practiſed our manners in ſhoting and the vſe of our weapons: and by little and little they became ſo well expert and skilfull therein, that whereas at the firſt they were eaſie to be ouercommed, were now ſtrong and hardie, and not onlie able to reſiſt, but alſo readie to put vs in danger and hazard. And the cauſes herof whoſo liſteth to ſearch, ſhall eaſilie find out the ſame: for if you will read ouer the bookes of the kings & prophets, examine the courſe of the old teſtament, and well conſider the examples of theſe our latter daies; you ſhall find it moſt certeine and true, that no nation, no ſtate, no citie, nor common-wealth was euer ouerthrowne by the enimie, nor ouercome by the aduerſarie but onelie for ſinne and wickednelle. And alſo the Iriſh people and nation for their ſinfull and abhominable life did well deſerue to be ouerthrowne and ouerrun by ſtrangers; yet was it not Gods will and pleſure that they ſhould vtterlie be brought into ſubiection: neither was it his good will & pleaſure that the Engliſhmen, though they had brought ſome of them into ſubiecti-

Sin the cauſe of ouerthrows by the enimie.

on, yet they should not therefore haue the whole empire and entire souereigntie ouer them: for both were sinfull people and merited not anie fauour at Gods hand, but deserued to be seuerelie punished, and therfore neither the one (albeit he were a conqueror, and had the ouer hand) could yet obteine a seat (2) in Pallas castell, nor yet the other be fullie subdued & brought into perfect subiection. The Irish people are said to haue the foure men whome they account to be great prophets, and whome they haue in great veneration and credit (3) Merlin, Bracton, Patrike, and Columkill, whose bookes and prophesies they haue among themselues in their owne language, and all they intreating and speaking of the conquest of this land, do affirme that the same shall be assailed with often warres, the strifes shall be continuall, and the slaughters great. But yet they do not assure nor warrant anie perfect or full conquest vnto the English nation (4) not much before doms daie. And albeit the whole land of Ireland, from sea to sea, haue for the most part béene in the power of the Englishmen, and by them fortified and replenished with sundrie and manie castels, though sometimes to their perilles and smarts: yet Bracton saith, that the king who shall make the absolute and finall conquest, shall come from out of the deserts and mounteins of saint Patrike, and vpon a sundaie at night shall with force breake into a castell builded in the saltnesse of Dhalie: and vntill that time the English nation shall from time to time be in continuall troubles with the Irishrie, sauing that they shall hold and inioie the whole land bordering vpon the east coasts of the seas.

The foure Irish prophets.

(1) The course of this historie doth at full declare in particulars, how the first aduenturers were maligned, & as much as might be discredited. First Robert Fitzstephans, whose seruice was counted notable, and his fidelitie to his prince and king trustie and assured: yet fell he into the kings displeasure, was cast into prison, and albeit deliuered out againe, yet the king conceiuing some gelousie of him, had him ouer into Normandie, where he serued two yeares in his warres: and although he were againe afterward sent ouer into Ireland, yet was he not in anie authoritie or office. The earle Strangbow although he came ouer with the king his speciall licence, yet his good successe was so enuied at, that the king made proclamation, that all his subiects being in Ireland with the earle, should returne & come home; and that no vittels, no munition, nor anie reléese should be transported out of anie of his dominions into Ireland. And albeit the earle afterwards were reconciled to the king, yet was he faine to yéeld vnto him all his land and dominion of Leinster vnto the kings deuotion, & to receiue the same againe to be holden of the king. Reimond who could not be charged, nor spotted with anie vntruth: yet the treacherous Heruie with his false informations so inueigled and falselie informed the king against him, that he was sent for home, and not trusted with anie gouernement. Hugh de Lacie, who (as the historie saith) was the first that made waie into Vlster, who fortified the prouince of Leinster and Meth with manie strong holds & castels, and brought all the countrie to a peaceable state; he was suspected to haue meant the imporpriation of the whole land to his owne vse, and was dismissed of his charge and gouernement, and sent for home: and in place and lieu of these were sent ouer William Fitzaldelme, Philip of Chester, and others, in whome was no value at all, but onelie to pill and poll the people, and to heape vp treasure and riches.

(2) Pallas was the daughter of Iupiter, who for her excellent gift in inuention, is said and fained by the poets to be borne of the braine of Iupiter without anie mother, she inuented the order of warres, and deuised the maner of fightings, she maketh men to be bold, and giueth the victorie. And bicause Englishmen could not obteine a full and a perfect victorie: therefore they were said not to sit in Pallas castell.

(2) There were two Merlins, and both were prophesiers: the one was named *Merlinus Calidonius*, or *Syluestris*, bicause his dwelling and habitation was néere or by a wood called *Calidonia*, he was borne in the marches of Scotland, but a man verie excellentlie well learned in philosophie, and in knowledge of all naturall causes; and by diligent obseruations he would gesse maruellouslie at the euents of manie things. Whereupon he was taken for a prophesier, and reputed for a magician or a diuinor. He was in the time of king Arthur, about the yeare fiue hundred and threescore, and of this Merlin it is spoken in this historie. The other Merlin was before this man and in the time of Vortiger: about the yeare of our Lord foure hundred and threescore, and he was named *Ambrosius Merlinus*, who was also excellentlie well learned, both in philosophie and the art magike; but his sentences were so darkelie couched, that nothing could be conceiued nor vnderstood by them before the euent.

(4) Much adoo there hath béene, and manie bookes written, concerning the full conquest of this land: so manie heads, so manie reasons. But if men would haue the truth plainelie told, it is some to be séene how the verie cause procéedeth and is continued for want of a generall reformation. But Pluto hath so blinded mens eies, that séeing they can not nor will not see: but hereof I shall more at large write in an other place.

A breefe repetition of certeine things *done within the course of the historie* that are omitted.

Chap. 37.

HEre by the waie it were not amisse briefelie to touch & declare of certeine things which happened, & which (for certeine causes) are not at full discoursed in this storie, as we wished that we might haue had the opportunitie so to haue done. First therfore you shall vnderstand, that John the kings sonne at his first comming ouer builded three castels, one at Tibrach, an other at Archephinan, and the third at Lisemore. Likewise three worthie gentlemen were lost and killed: namelie, Robert Barrie at Lisemore, Reimond Fitzhugh at Olithan, and Reimond Bantune at Ossorie. Also how Donald the prince of Limerike secretlie stole vpon the earles armie in Ossorie, as they were comming from Dublin towards Limerike, and slue foure hundred Ossomans, and foure noble gentlemen, which were their capteines; among whom was Ogranie an Irishman. And also Dermond Mac Artie prince of Desmond, being at parlee with certeine men of Corke not farre from the said towne, was there set vpon by the said Corkemen & (1) Theobald Fitzwalter, and there was he and the most part of his companie slaine. The like happened in Meth, where they of Kencole & their capteine made a rode, and being set vpon by one William the iustice of that countrie, they were all slaine and a hundred of their heads sent vnto Dublin. Moreouer John de Courcie found the bodies of saint Patrike, saint Brigid, and saint Colome at Downe, and remoued them from thense. Hugh de Lacie builded his castell

at

at Dernach, was there traiterouſlie ſlaine. John de Courcie at his returne from out of Connagh loſt fiftéene of his beſt gentlemen. Roger le Powre a valiant, and a luſtie yong gentleman, was by treaſon taken and murthered in Oſſorie, whereupon the Iriſhmen forthwith brake out from their due obeiſance to the king of England, and rebelled againſt the Engliſhmen, deſtroied manie caſtels, and ſet the whole realme in a great ſturre and vnquietneſſe. Other ſundrie things happened which were to long to recite: and therefore leauing the ſame, we will returne to our hiſtorie.

(1) This Theobald Fitzwalter, who by his nation was named Becket but by his office Butler, was the ſonne of Walter the ſonne of Gilbert: & was the firſt Butler that came into Ireland, who being a wiſe and an expert man, was firſt ſent with William Fitzaldelme. Afterwards he was ſent ouer by king John to view and ſerch the countrie; and in the end he grew into ſuch credit, that he was infeoffed with great liuings there, as alſo aduanced (and his poſteritie after him) to great honors & promotions, which now are named earles of Ormond and Oſſorie.

The cauſes why England could not *make the full and finall conqueſt* of Ireland.

Chap. 38.

IT were not amiſſe, that we now did conſider the cauſes, and declare the impediments, why the kings ſonne had not the beſt ſucceſſe in this his ſo honourable a iournie, and therefore his ſo famous attempt toke not effect: that albeit the ſame can not reuoke and remedie that which is paſt and done, yet that it maie be a forewarning to that which maie follow and inſue. The principall and chiefe cauſe I ſuppoſe and thinke to be, bicauſe that whereas the patriarch of Ieruſalem named Heraclius came in an ambaſſage vnto him, in the name and behalfe of all the whole land of Paleſtine called the holie land, requeſting that he would take vpon him to be their helpe, and defending the ſame againſt the Saladine then king of Egypt and of Damaſco: who hauing bent his whole force againſt them, was like within two yeares following vtterlie to be ouerrun, the ſaid holie land, vnleſſe ſome reſcue in the meane time and with expedition were prouided: he vtterlie denied and refuſed the ſame. And being further vrged to ſend one of his ſonnes, although it were the yongeſt: he denied that alſo: making no account neither of the cauſe it ſelfe, which was Chriſt; nor of the people, which were chriſtians: neither yet of the perſon, which was a reuerend and honourable perſonage.

And yet neuertheleſſe he ſent forth his yonger ſonne in a iournie or hoſting, more ſumptuous than néedfull or profitable: And whither I praie you? Was it into the eaſt and againſt the Saracens and miſcreants? No, no, it was into the weſt, & againſt his euen chriſtian, nothing ſéeking the aduancing of Gods glorie, nor promoting of his cauſe, but onelie for his owne priuat lucre and ſingular commoditie. An other cauſe was this. At the firſt landing and entrie of the kings ſonne at Waterford, a great manie of the chiefeſt of the Iriſhmen in thoſe parties, and who ſince their firſt ſubmiſſion to king Henrie had continued faithfull and true, they being aduertiſed of this his arriuall, did come and reſort vnto him in peaceable maner, and after their beſt order to ſalute him, and congratulate his comming. But our new men & Normans, who had not before béene in thoſe parties, making ſmall account of them, did not onelie mocke them, and laugh them to ſcorne for the manner of their apparell, as alſo for their long beards and great glibs, which they did then weare and vſe according to the vſage of their countrie: but alſo they did hardlie deale and ill intreat manie of them. Theſe men nothing liking ſuch interteinment ſhifted themſelues out of the towne, & with all haſt ſped themſelues home: euerie one into his owne houſe; & from thenſe they with their wiues, children, and houſhold, departed and went ſome to the prince of Limerike, ſome to the prince of Corke, ſome to Rothorike prince of Connagh, and ſome to one lord, and ſome to an other: and to theſe they declared orderlie how they had béene at Waterford, and what they had ſéene there, and how they were intreated; and how that a yong man was come thither garded with yong men, and guided by the counſels of yong men: in whom there was no ſtaie, no ſobrietie, no ſtedfaſtneſſe, no aſſuredneſſe, whereby they and their countrie might be aſſured of anie ſafetie.

Theſe princes and namelie they three of Connagh, Corke, and Limerike, who were the chéefeſt, and who were then preparing themſelues in a readineſſe to haue come and ſaluted the kings ſonne, and to haue yéelded vnto him the dutifull obeiſance of faithfull ſubiects: when they heard theſe newes, they began ſtreightwaies to imagine, that of ſuch euill beginnings worſe endings would inſue: and reaſoning the matter among themſelues, did conclude, that if they thus at the firſt did deale ſo diſcourteouſlie with the humble, quiet, and peaceable men: what would they do to ſuch as were mightie and ſtout, and who would be loth to receiue ſuch diſcourteſies at their hands? Wherefore with one conſent they concluded to ſtand and ioine togither againſt the Engliſh nation, and to their vttermoſt to aduenture their liues, and to ſtand to the defenſe of their countrie and libertie. And for the performance thereof, they enter into a new league among themſelues, and ſwore each one to the other, and by that means enimies before are now made frends and reconciled. This we know to be true, and therefore we ſpeake it, and that which we ſaw we do boldlie witneſſe. And for ſo much as we thus fondlie and in our pride did abuſe them, who in humbleneſſe came vnto vs: therefore did we well deſerue by Gods iuſt iudgement (who hateth the proud and high minded) to loſe the others, for by this example they were vtterlie diſcouraged to like of vs. And this people and nation though it be barbarous and rude, not knowing what apperteineth vnto honour: yet moſt and aboue all others do they deſire to be exalted and honoured. And although they be not aſhamed to be found falſe of their word, and vniuſt in their dealings: yet will they greatlie diſcommend lieng and commend truth, louing that in others, which is not to be found in themſelues. But to the matter. What great euils and inconueniences do grow by ſuch follies and inſolencies, a wiſe man may ſone learne by the example of Rehoboam the ſonne of Salomon, & ſo by an other mans harme learne to beware of his owne. (2) For he being lead and carried by yong mens councels, gaue a yong mans anſwer vnto his people, ſaieng vnto them; My finger is greater than was my fathers loins, and whereas he beat you with rods, I will ſcourge you with ſcorpions, by reaſon whereof ten tribes forſooke him for euer, and followed after Jeroboam. Another cauſe is this, when Robert Fitzſtephans came firſt ouer, and alſo the earle; there were certeine Iriſhmen which toke part with them, and faithfullie ſerued vnder them: and theſe were rewarded and had giuen vnto them for recompenſe certeine

lands

lands, which they quietlie held and inioied, vntill this time of the comming ouer of the king his ſonne: for now the ſame were taken from them, and giuen to ſuch as were new come ouer, contrarie to the promiſe & grant to them before made. Wherevpon they forſoke vs and fled to our enimies, and became not onelie ſpies vpon vs, but were alſo guiders and conductors of them againſt vs: they being ſo much the more able to hurt and annoie vs, becauſe they were before our familiars, and knew all our orders and ſecrets. Beſides this, the cities and townes vpon and nére the ſeacoaſts, with all ſuch lands, reuenues, tributes, and commodities as to the ſame did belong and apperteine, and which before was imploied and ſpent for the defenſe of the commonwealth & countrie, and in the ſeruice againſt the enimies, were now all aſſigned and beſtowed vpon ſuch as were giuen to pilling and polling, and who laie ſtill within the townes, ſpending their whole time, and all that they had in drunkennelle and ſurfetting, to the loſſe and damage of the good citizens and inhabitants, and not to the annoiance of the enimies. And beſides ſundrie other commodities, this was one, and a ſpeciall one; that at the verie firſt entrie of the king his ſonne into this vnrulie and rebellious land, the people being barbarous, and not knowing what it was to be a ſubiect, nor what apperteineth to gouernment, ſuch men were appointed to haue the charge, rule and gouernement, as who were more met to talke in a parlor than to fight in the fields, better ſkill to be clad in a warme gowne than to be ſhrowded in armor, and who knew better how to pill and poll the good ſubiects than to reſiſt and incounter the enimie: yea for their valiantneſſe and prowelſe they might well be reſembled vnto William Fitzaldelme, vnder whoſe gouernement both Ireland and Wales were almoſt vtterlie deſtroied & loſt. For whie, they were neither faithfull to their owne people nor dreadfull to their enimies; yea they were vtterlie void of that affect, which is naturallie ingraffed in man, which is to be pittifull to the humble and proſtrate, and to reſiſt the proud and obſtinat; but rather of the contrarie, they ſpoiled their owne citizens, and winked at their enimies: for to reſiſt and withſtand them nothing was done, no caſtels nor fortreſſes builded, no paſſes for ſafetie made, no waies for ſeruice opened, but althings went to ruine, and the common ſtate to wracke. Moreouer, the ſeruingmen and the ſoldiers which were in garriſon, they liking well of their capteins and maſters maners and loſe life, gaue themſelues to the like, ſpending their whole time in rioting, banketing, whoredome, and all other diſſolute and wanton orders, tarrieng ſtill within the townes and places far off from the enimies. For as for the marches (ſo called becauſe the ſame bordered vpon their enimies; or rather of Mars, becauſe in thoſe places martiall affaires were and are wont to be moſt exerciſed) they would not come nére the light thereof, and by that means the people there dwelling and ſeated, the ſoiles there manured, the caſtels there builded, were altogether deſtroied, waſted, ſpoiled, and burned. And thus the prowelſe of the old capteins, the good ſeruices of the veterans & well experimented ſoldiers by the inſolent, diſtemperat, and lewd life of theſe new comes was diſcredited: whereof was nothing elſe to be awaited for but after ſuch calmes muſt néeds inſue ſtormes and tempeſts. And albeit they thus lieng in the townes in ſecuritie and at reſt, wallowing in loſe and wanton life, euerie daie being a holie daie to Bacchus and Venus: yet the ſtate of the land at large was moſt miſerable and lamentable. For euerie where was howling and wéeping, the manured fields became waſte, the caſtels deſtroied, and the people murthered, and no newes but that the vtter deſtruction of the whole land was at hand. And in this diſtreſſe and neceſſitie it had béene verie requiſit and néedfull that the ſouldiers ſhould haue taken vp their weapons, ſerued againſt the enimie, and haue defended the common ſtate: but it was farre otherwiſe, for there was ſuch lawing & veration in the townes, one dailie ſuing and troubling another, that the veterane was more troubled with lawing within the towne, than he was in perill at large with the enimie. And thus our men, giuen ouer to this trade and kind of life, became faintharted, and afraid to loke vpon the enimie: and on the contrarie the enimie moſt ſtrong, ſtout, and bold. Thus was the land then gouerned, and thus the ſame poſted towards the deſtruction of the Engliſh nation and gouernment, which had doubtleſſe verie ſhortlie followed and inſued, had not the king prouided a ſpéedie remedie for the ſame. For the king being aduertiſed how diſorderlie things framed, and conſidering with himſelfe in what perill the ſtate of his realme and people ſtood, he with all ſpéed ſendeth for all theſe new come ſouldiors, in whome (other than the name of a ſouldior was nothing of ante value and commendation) and commandeth them to repaire and come home, and ſendeth ouer in their places theſe old beaten and well tried ſoldiors, by whoſe ſeruice the land before had béene conquered and kept among whome one and the cheefeſt was John de Courcie, who was made lord deputie, and had the gouernement of the land committed vnto him: who, according to his office and dutie, ſetteth in hand the reformation of all things méet and requiſit to be redreſſed: who the more valiant and forward he was in his ſaid affaires and ſeruices, the more the land grew to good order, and inioied peace & quietneſſe. For whie, he would not be idle himſelfe, neither would he ſuffer his ſouldiers to lie idle like lotterers and ſluggards: but was alwaies labouring and trauelling abroad, and marching ſtill towards the enimies, whome he followed and purſued euen through the whole land, to the vttermoſt parts thereof, as well in Corke, Thomond, Connagh, and elſewhere; and if by any means he could haue ante aduantage of them, he would ſuerlie giue the onſet and aduenture vpon them: which for the moſt part was to their ouerthrowe, though he and his ſometimes were galled, and felt the ſmart. And would to God he had bene as prudent a capteine as he was a valiant ſouldior; and as prouident in the one as ſkilfull and hardie in the other! But to my former purpoſe. Among the manie and ſundrie inconueniences happened by euill gouernment of theſe new officers (as is before ſaid) there was none greater, nor more to be lamented than was this: that notwithſtanding God of his goodneſſe did giue the victorie, and ſend the happie ſucceſſe in this noble conqueſt: yet was there neither due thanks attributed vnto God, nor anie remembrance giuen vnto his church; but to increaſe a further ingratitude, they toke and ſpoiled awaie from the ſame their lands and poſſeſſions, as alſo minded to abridge them of their old and ancient priuileges & liberties. Too great a note of ingratitude, and an argument of too much vnthankfulnes: wherof what vnquietneſſe and troubles did inſue, the ſequele therof (for the courſe of ſundrie years) did ſhew and declare.

So manie outrages & diſorders, which did crépe in by the diſordred gouernement vnder the king his ſonne, were not ſo much to be imputed to his young and tender yeares, as vnto the euill counſels and directions of ſuch as were about him, and had the ſpeciall charge thereof: for ſuch a ſauage, rude, and barbarous nation was by good counſels, diſcréet direc-

tions

The inconueniences following euill gouernment.

Lawing worſe than warring.

Iha Giraldus! could you ſée that curſſed fault and abuſe?

ctions and prudent gouernement to haue bene gouerned and reduced to good order and conformitie. For whie, if a realme which by wise and prudent gouernement is brought and reduced to a perfect state, yet being committed to the gouernement of a child is cursed and brought to manifold distresses, troubles and miseries (5) how much more then is it to be so thought of that land, which of it selfe being rude and barbarous, is committed to the gouernement of such as be not onelie rude and barbarous, but also lewd and euill disposed. And that this did so happen and come to passe in Ireland, all wisemen do know it, and the elder sort do confesse it to be true; although yong men to couer their follies, would reiect it to some other causes & impediments. For whie, such of them as had procured vnto themselues great liuings, lordships and territories, they pretended at the first that they would be readie to serue the king his sonne, to defend the countrie, to resist the enimie, and that they would do this and that with manie good morowes. But when they had gotten what they would, and had that they sought for, then it manifestlie appeared that it was singular gaine & priuat profit which they shot at: for hauing obteined that, they neuer remembred their oth to their lord, nor cared for the common state, nor passed for the safetie and defense of the countrie, which in dutie they ought chiefelie to haue considered.

(1) The Irish nation and people euen from the beginning haue bene alwaies of a hard bringing vp, & are not onelie rude in apparell but also rough & ouglie in their bodies: their beards and heads they neuer wash, cleanse, nor cut, especiallie their heads; the haire whereof they suffer to grow, sauing that some do vse to round it: and by reason the same is neuer kembed, it groweth fast togither, and in processe of time it matteth so thicke and fast togither, that it is in stéd of a hat, and kéepeth the head verie warme, & also will beare off a great blow or stroke, and this head of haire they call a glibe, and therein they haue a great pleasure.

(2) The historie is written in the first booke of the kings the twelfe chapter, and in the second of the chronicles the tenth chapter: the effect therof is, that after the death of Salomon the people of Israell requested Rehoboam his sonne, to ease them of the grieuous burdens and heauie yoke which his father laied vpon them, who leauing the counsell of the old counsellors, gaue them answer by the aduise of yong heads, as in this place is recited.

(3) What these Irishmen were, there are diuerse opinions. Some thinke that they were such as did inhabit about Werford, some thinke that they were they of Kencelo, for they faithfullie serued the Englishmen vnder their capteine named Morogh at Limerike, when the earle of Reimond recouered the same. But I find it to be noted of the Ostans, who are now dwelling within the baronie of Odzon, and had a seat there by the gift of the Kauenaughs, but since resisting against them and denieng to paie their accustomable cheuerie, yelded themselues vnto the earle of Ormond, paieng vnto him a certeine blacke rent to be their defendor against the said Kauenaughs, but in right they are tenants to the barons of Odzon.

(4) This is meant of that which is before spoken in the twentie chapter in the description of this John de Curcie, where his too much rashnes is noted to be a great fault in him.

(5) It is written by the preacher, or Ecclesiastes; Wo be vnto thee O thou land whose king is but a child. Which is not ment absolutelie of a child, but of such a one who (as a child) hath an euill affection, and is void of that grauitie, wisedome, and maiestie as is required in a prince and gouernour. For Iosias when he was crowned king of Iehuda, was but eight yeares of age; and yet bicause he did that which was right in the sight of God, and ruled the land godlie and vprightlie, he is commended in the scriptures for the same.

Three sorts of people which came *and serued in Ireland.*

Chap.39.

THere were three sundrie sorts of seruitors which serued in the realme of Ireland, (1) Normans, Englishmen, and the Cambrians, which were the first conquerors of the land: the first were in most credit and estimation, the second were nert, but the last were not accounted nor regarded of. The Normans were verie fine in their apparell, and delicate in their diets, they could not féed but vpon deinties, neither could their meat digest without wine at each meale; yet would they not serue in the marches, or ante remote place against the enimie, neither would they lie in garrison to kéepe ante remote castell or fort, but would be still about their lords side to serue and gard his person; they would be where they might be full and haue plentie, they could talke and brag, sweare and stare, and standing in their owne reputation, disdaine all others. They receiued great interteinement and were liberallie rewarded, and left no meanes vnsought how they might rule the rost, beare the sway, and be aduanced vnto high estate and honour. In these things they were the first and formost, but to serue in hosting, to incounter with the enimie, to defend the publike state, & to follow ante martiall affaires, they were the last and furthest off. And for asmuch as those noble and worthie seruitors, by whose seruice, trauels and industrie, the said land was first entred into and conquered, were thus had in contempt, disdaine, and suspicion, and onelie the new comes called to counsell, and they onelie credited and honored: it came to passe that in all their doings they had small successe, & by whole and little their credit decaied, and nothing came to effect or perfection which they toke in hand.

The Normans fine in their apparell and delicat in their diet.

(1) This king, besides England and Scotland, had in his rule and gouernement the duchie of Normandie, and the earledomes of Gascoine, Guien, Aniou, & Poitiers, beside the losse of that which came to him by the right of his wife. And albeit he trusted the Englishmen well inough, yet being borne on the other side of the seas, he was more affectionated to the people of those prouinces there subiect vnto him: for of them he chose both them which were of his councell in peaceable gouernment, as also his seruitors in martiall affaires. And albeit he had of euerie of these prouinces some, yet bicause Normandie was the chiefest, and he duke thereof, they went all vnder the name of Normans, and so called Normans.

How or by what manner the land of *Ireland is throughlie to be conquered.*

Chap.40.

IT is an old saieng, that euerie man in his owne art is best of credit & most to be beléeued: & so in this matter they are specialle to be credited, who haue bene the chiefest trauellers and seruitors in and about the first recouerie

uerie of this land, doo know and can beſt diſcouer the natures, manners, and conditions of theſe people and nation: for as the matter ſpecially toucheth them, ſo none can doo it better than they. For whie, by reaſon of their continuall warres with them being their moſt mortall enimies, none can better ſaie than they how they are either to be conquered or vanquiſhed. And here by the waie happie had Wales bin, I meane that Wales which the Engliſh people doo inhabit, if the king therof in gouerning the ſame or when he incountred with his enimies had vſed this deuiſe & policie. But to the matter. Theſe Normans although they were verie good ſouldiers and well appointed, yet the manner of the warres in France far differeth from that which is vſed in Ireland and Wales; for the ſoile & countrie in France is plaine, open, & champaine; but in theſe parts it is rough, rockie, full of hils, woods, & bogs. In France they weare complet harneſſe, and are armed at all points, not onelie for their honor, but eſpecially for their defenſe and ſafeties; but to theſe men the ſame are comberſome & a great hinderance. In France they kéepe ſtanding fields & trie the battels, but theſe men are light horſſemen & range alwaies at large. In France they kéepe their priſoners and put them to ranſomes, but theſe chop off their heads and put them to the ſword. And therefore when the battell is to be waged in the plaine, open, & champaine countrie, it behoueth all men to be armed, ſome in complet harneſſe, ſome in iackes, ſome in Almaine riuets, & ſome in brigandines & ſhirts of maile, according to their places of ſeruice. So on the contrarie, where the fight & triall is in narow ſtreicts, rockie places, & where it is full of woods & bogs, & in which footmen are to ſerue and not horſſemen, there light armor and ſlender harneſſe will beſt ſerue. To fight therefore in ſuch places and againſt ſuch men, as be but naked and vnarmed men, and whome at the firſt puſh and aduenture, either the victorie muſt be had or loſt, light and eaſie armor is beſt and conuenient. And againe theſe people are verie nimble & quicke of bodie, and light of foot, and for their ſafetie and aduantage they ſéeke waies through ſtreicts and bogs, and therefore it is not for anie man laden with much armor to follow and purſue them. Moreouer, the Frenchmen and Normans moſt commonlie are horſſemen, and doo ſerue on horſſebacke, & theſe men haue their ſadles ſo great and déepe, that they cannot at eaſe leape vp and downe; and being on foot by reaſon of their armor, they cannot ſerue nor trauell. And you ſhall further vnderſtand, that in all the ſeruices and hoſtings, both in Ireland & in Wales, the Welſh ſeruitors, and eſpecially ſuch as doo dwell in the marches, by reaſon of their continuall wars, they are verie valiant, bold, and of great experiences, they can endure anie paines and trauels, they are vſed to watchings and wardings, they can abide hunger and thirſt, and know how to take aduantage of their enimie; and their ſeruice by horſe is ſuch, that they are readie to take aduantage of the field, being quicke & readie to take and leape to the horſſe, as alſo to leaue the ſame, & to folow the enimie at their beſt aduantage, whether it be on horſſe or on foot. And ſuch kind of ſeruitors and ſouldiers were they, which firſt gaue the aduenture and firſt preuailed in Ireland: and by ſuch alſo in the end muſt the ſame be fullie conquered, that when the battell is to be fought & waged in the plaine and champaine countrie, and againſt ſuch as be throughlie armed and appointed for the ſame, it is reaſon that the aduerſe part be likewiſe armed and appointed. But when the matter is to be waged in ſtéepe places, rough fields, rockie hils, or in marſh and boggie grounds, and againſt ſuch as be quicke of foot, and doo ſéeke others to tops of hils, or to bogs, and woods: then men of the like exerciſe, and hauing light armour, are to be allowed. And in the Iriſh wars this one thing is to be conſidered, that you doo in euerie wing ſome your bowmen with your footmen and horſſemen; that by them they may be defended from the kerns, whoſe nature and conditions are to run in and out, and with their darts are wont ſhrewdlie to annoie their enimies, who by the bowmen are to be kept off. And moreouer, that the hither part of the land lieng on the eaſt ſide, or part of the Shenin which diuideth the three other parts from this, and this being the fourth part muſt be well fortified with caſtels and forts: but as for Connagh & Thomond, which lie in the further ſide of the Shenin, and all thoſe parties (ſauing the citie of Limerike which muſt néeds be recouered and kept in the Engliſh gouernement) muſt for a time be borne withall, and by little and little by fortifieng of the frontiers in meet places be gotten and recouered, and ſo by little and little to grow in vpon them as occaſion ſhall ſerue.

Great odds betweéne the warres in France and Ireland or Wales.

The kernes diſeaſe in battell.

How the Iriſh people being vanquiſhed are to be gouerned.

Chap. 41.

AS there be means and policies to be vſed in conquering this people, who are now more light in their bodies than conſtant in mind: ſo when they are vanquiſhed, they muſt in an order be ruled and gouerned. Firſt and principallie therefore it is to be conſidered, that whoſoeuer ſhall be gouernor ouer them, that he be wiſe, conſtant, diſcreet, and a ſtaied man; that in time of peace, and when they are contented to liue vnder law and in obedience, they maie be gouerned by law, directed by right, and ruled by iuſtice; as alſo to be ſtout and valiant, readie and able with force ſeuerelie to puniſh all ſuch as (contrarie to their dutie and allegiance) ſhall either rebell and breake out, or otherwiſe liue in diſordered maner. Moreouer, when anie haue done amiſſe, and contrarie to dutie haue rebelled, and doo yet afterwards knowledge their follie, and yéelding themſelues haue obteined pardon; that in no wiſe you doo afterwards euill intreat them, neither yet laie their former faults to their charges, neither caſt them in the teeth of their follies: but hauing taken ſuch aſſurance of them as you maie, to intreat them with all courteſies and gentleneſſe, that by ſuch good means they maie the better be induced and incouraged to kéepe themſelues within their dutie, for loue of their good gouernement which they ſée: and yet be afraid to doo euill for feare of puniſhment, which they are to receiue for their euill and lewd doings. And if they will not thus order and gouerne them, but confound their doings, being ſlacke to puniſh the euill, and quicke to oppreſſe the good and obedient, to flatter them in their rebellions and outrages, and to ſpoile them in peace; to fauor them in their treaſons and treacheries, and to oppreſſe them when they liue in loialtie, as we haue ſeene manie ſo to haue done: ſurelie theſe men ſo diſordredlie confounding all things, they in the end ſhall be confounded themſelues. And becauſe harms foreſéene do leaſt annoie & hurt, let them which be wiſe looke well, that in time of peace they doo prepare for the warres. For after the Alcion daies and calme ſeas doo follow ſtormes and tempeſts: and therefore, when they haue vacant times and leiſure, let them build and fortifie caſtels, cut downe and open the paſſes, and doo all ſuch other things as the nature of warres requireth to be preuented. For this people being vncerteine, craftie, and ſubtill, vnder colour of peace, are wont alwaies to be ſtudieng and deuiſing of miſchiefs. And alſo becauſe

cauſe it is good to be wiſe by another mans harme, & warie by other mens examples. For nothing doth better teach a man than examples, and the paterns of things done afore time. Let not them forget what became of theſe worthie men, Miles of Cogan, Rafe Fitzſtephans, Hugh de Lacie, Roger Powre, and others, who when they thought of leaſt danger they were in moſt perill: and when they thought themſelues in moſt ſafetie, they were intrapped and deſtroied. For as we haue ſaid in our Topographie; this people is a craftie and a ſubtile people, and more to be feared when it is peace, than when it is open warres: for their peace indeed is but enimitie, their policies but craft, their friendſhips but coloured, and therefore the more to be doubted and feared. And by experience the ſame in ſome part hath beene proued: and therfore, as Euodius ſaith, Let the fall and ruine of things paſt be forewarnings of things to come.

No better teachers than examples.

And becauſe herein a man can not be too wiſe nor warie, it were good that an order were taken (as it is in Sicilia) that none of them ſhould weare anie weapon at all, no not ſo much as a ſtaffe in their hands to walke by. For euen with that weapon, though it be but ſlender, they will (if they can) take the aduantage, and bewreake their malice and cankered ſtomachs. Finallie, forſomuch as the kings of England haue a iuſt title, and a full right to the land of Ireland in ſundrie and diuerſe reſpects; and conſidering alſo that the ſame is chieflie mainteined by the intercourſe and traffike of merchandizes out of England; and without the ſame cannot releeue and helpe it ſelfe; it were verie expedient that for the acknowledging of the one, and for the inioieng of the other, as alſo for the ſupporting of the continuall charges of the king of England there yearelie beſtowed: that there be a yearelie tribute paied and anſwered vnto the kings of England, either in monie, or in ſuch commodities as that land breedeth, aſwell for the continuance of the title in memorie, as alſo for the auoiding of manie inconueniences. And becauſe time weareth awaie, and men do dailie periſh and die, that this order for the perpetuall honour of the king and of his realme, and the memoriall of this conqueſt, the ſame be ingroſſed and regiſtred in a publike inſtrument to indure for euer. And thus hauing ſpoken what we know, and witneſſed what we haue ſeene, we do here end this hiſtorie, leaning vnto others of better knowledge and learning, to continue the ſame as to them ſhall be thought moſt needfull and conuenient.

Thus farre Giraldus Cambrenſis.

The proceſſe of Iriſh affaires (beginning where Giraldus did end) vntill this preſent age, being a witneſſe *of ſundrie things as yet freſh in memorie: which* proceſſe from henſeforward is intituled *the Chronicles of Ireland.*

LEauing at the conqueſt of Ireland penned by *Giraldus Cambrenſis*, we are now to proceed in that which followeth: wherin our authour (as he himſelfe writeth) vſed ſuch notes as were written by one Philip Flatſburie, out of a certeine nameleſſe author, from this place vnto the yeare 1370: and we hauing none other helpe beſides (except onelie Henrie of Marleborow) do ſet downe that which we find in our oft mentioned authour, and in the ſame Marleborow in all the whole diſcourſe that followeth, except in ſome certeine particular places, where we ſhew from whenſe we haue drawne that which we write as occaſion ſerueth.

THE CHRONICLES of Ireland, &c.

HVgh de Lacie (of whom such memorable mention is made hertofore) the rather to meet with such hurlie burlies as were like to put the state of the Irish countrie in danger, if the same were not the sooner brought to quiet, erected and built a number of castels and forts in places conuentientlie seated, well and sufficientlie garnished with men, munitions, and vittels, as one at Derwath, where diuerse of the Irish praied to be set on worke for wages. Lacie came sundrie times thither to further the worke, full glad to see them fall in vse with anie such exercise, wherein might they once begin to haue a delight, and tast the sweetnesse of a true mans life, he thought it no small token of reformation: for which cause he visited them the oftner, and merilie would command his gentlemen to giue the labourers example to take their toles in hand, and to worke a season, whilest the poore soules looking on might rest them. But this pastime grew to a tragicall end. For on a time, as each man was busilie occupied, some lading, some heauing, some plastering, some grauing, the generall also himselfe digging with a pickare: a desperat villaine among them, whose tole the noble man vsed, espieng both his hands occupied, and his bodie inclining downwards, still as he stroke watched when he so stooped, and with an axe cleft his head in sunder, little esteeming the torments that for this traitorous act insued. This Lacie was reputed to be the conqueror of Meth, for that he was the first that brought it to anie due order of obedience vnto the English power. His bodie the two archbishops, John of Dublin, and Matthew of Cashill buried in the monasterie of Bectie, and his head in saint Thomas abbeie at Dublin.

A castell built at Derwath.

1186 Lacie is traitorouslie slaine.

By occasion of this murther committed on the person of Hugh Lacie, John Curcie, and Hugh Lacie the yonger, with their assistants, did streight execution vpon the rebels; and preuenting euerie mischiefe yer it fell, staied the realme from vprores. Thus they knitting themselues togither in friendship, continued in wealth and honor vntill the first yeare of king Johns reigne, who succeeding his brother king Richard, toke his nephue Arthur, son to his brother Geffreie earle of Britaine, and dispatched him (some said) with his owne hands, because he knew what claime he made to the crowne, as descended of the elder brother. And therefore not onelie the French king, but also certeine lords of England and Ireland fauored his title: and when they vnderstood that he was made awaie, they toke it in maruelous euill part. And Curcie either of zeale to the truth, or partialitie, abhorring such barbarous crueltie, whereof all mens eares were full, spake bloudie words against king John, which his lurking aduersaries (that laie readie to vndermine him) caught by the end, and vsed the same as a meane to lift him out of credit: which they did not onelie bring to passe, but also procured a commission to attach his bodie, and to send him ouer into England. Earle Curcie mistrusting his part, and belike getting some inkeling of their drift, kept himselfe aloofe, till Hugh Lacie lord iustice was faine to leuie an armie and to inuade Vlster, from whense he was oftentimes put backe: whereupon he proclaimed Curcie traitor, and hired sundrie gentlemen with promise of great recompense, to bring him in either quicke or dead. They fought once at Downe, in which battell there died no small number on both parts; but Curcie got the vpper hand, and so was the lord iustice foiled at Curcies hands: but yet so long he continued in practising to haue him, that at length Curcies owne capteins were inueigled to betraie their owne maister: insomuch that vpon God fridaie, whilest the earle out of his armour visited barefooted certeine religious houses for deuotion sake, they laid for him, toke him as a rebell, & shipped him ouer into England the next waie, where he was adiudged to perpetuall prison. One Seintleger addeth in his collections (as Campion saith) that Lacie paied the traitors their monie, and forthwith therevpon hanged them.

Curcie bittereth displeasant words against King John.

He is accused.

He is proclaimed traitor.

He is taken.

This Curcie translated the church and prebendaries of the trinitie in Downe, to an abbeie of blacke monks brought thither from Chester, and caused the same to be consecrated vnto saint Patrike: for which alteration, taking the name from God to a creature; he deemed himselfe worthilie punished. Not long after (as saie the Irish) certeine French knights came to king Johns court, and one among them required the combat for triall of the right to the duchie of Normandie. It was not thought expedient to leopard the title vpon one mans lucke, yet the chalenge they determined to answer. Some friend put them in mind of the earle imprisoned, a warrior of notable courage, and in pitch of bodie like a giant. King John demanded Curcie, whether he could be content to fight in his quarrell: Not for thee said the erle, whose person I esteeme vnworthie th'aduenture of my bloud, but for the crowne & dignitie of the realme, in which manie a good man liueth against thy will, I shall be contented to hazard my life.

Translation of prebendaries to monks.

A chalenge for a combat made by certeine French knights.

Curcies answer to king John.

He taketh vpon him to defend the chalenge.

1199. King John slaieth his nephue Arthur.

Curcie and Hugh Lacie the yonger keepe the realme in quiet.

These

These words were not construed in the worst part, as proceeding from an offended mind of him that was therein esteemed moreplaine than wise. Therefore being cherished and much made of, he was fed so wonderfullie (now he came to so large allowance in diet after hard keeping) that the French chalenger tooke him for a monster: and fearing to deale with him, priuilie stole awaie into Spaine. It is further reported, that the French king, being desirous to see Curcie, requested king John that he might come before them, and shew of what strength he was by striking a blow at an helmet. Hereupon forth he was brought, and presented before the kings, where was an helmet set vpon a blocke. Curcie taking a sword in his hand, and with a sterne & frowning countenance cast vpon the kings, gaue such a stroke to the helmet, that cleauing it in sunder, the sword sticked so fast in the log, that no man there was able to plucke it forth, except Curcie himselfe. When he therefore had plucked forth the sword, the kings asked him what he meant to looke vpon them with such a grim & froward countenance before he gaue the blow to the helmet? He answered, that if he had missed in his stroke, he would haue killed all the whole companie, as well the kings as others. Then was he released of bonds, and crossing the seas towards Ireland whither he was bound, was fiftéene times beaten backe againe to the English shore, & going into France to change the coast died there. This Curcie was white of colour, mightie of limbs, with large bones and strong of sinews, tall & broad in proportion of bodie, so as his strength was thought to exceed, of boldnesse incomparable, and a warrior euen from his youth; the formost in the front of euerie battell where he came, and euer readie to hazard himselfe in place of most danger, so forward in fight, that oftentimes forgetting the office of a capteine, he tooke in hand the part of a souldior, pressing forth with the formost, so that with his ouer rash violence, and desire of victorie, he might seeme to put all in danger. But although he was thus hastie and hot in the field against his enimies, yet was he in conuersation modest and sober, and verie religious, hauing churchmen in great reuerence, ascribing all to the goodnesse of God, when he had atchiued anie praise-worthie enterprise, yeelding thankes to his diuine maiestie accordinglie. But as seldome times anie one man is found perfect in all things, so these vertues were spotted with some vices; namelie, too much nigardnesse in sparing, and inconstancie. He maried the daughter of Godred king of Man, and after manie conflicts and battels had against the Irish, he conquered (as before ye haue heard) the countrie of Vlster, and building diuerse strong castels therin, he established the same vnder his quiet rule and gouernment, till he and Lacie fell out, as before is expressed.

Curcie departeth this life.

The description of Curcie.

After Curcies decease, because he left no heires, the earledome of Vlster was giuen vnto Hugh Lacie in recompense of his good seruice. There was one of the Curcies remaining in Ireland that was lord of Rathermie and Kilbarrocke, whome (as an espiall of all their practises and informer thereof to the king) Walter and Hugh the sons of Hugh Lacie slue, by reason whereof great trouble and disquietnesse insued: those Lacies bearing themselues (now after the decease of their father) for gouernors out of checke. To set the realme in quiet, king John was faine to passe thither himselfe in person with a maine armie, banished the Lacies, subdued the residue of the countrie yet not conquered, tooke pledges, punished malefactors, established the execution of English lawes, coined monie of like value currant sterling in both realmes. The two Lacies repenting their misdemeanors, fled into France disguised in poore apparell, and serued there in an abbeie as gardeners, till the abbat by their countenance and behauior began to gesse their estates, and opposed them so farre that they disclosed what they were; beseeching the abbat to keepe their counsels, who commending their repentant humblenes, aduised them yet to make suite for their princes fauor, if it might be had, promising to doo what he could in the matter, and so tooke vpon him to be a suter for them vnto the king that was his godcept and well acquainted with him. He trauelled so earnestlie herein, that at length he obteined their pardons: but yet they were fined, Walter at foure thousand, and Hugh at fiue and twentie hundred markes: and herevpon Walter was restored vnto the lordship of Meth, and Hugh to the earledome of Vlster.

King John went into Ireland.

See more hereof in England.

They fled into France.

They are pardoned, and put to their fines.

King John apointed his lieutenants in Ireland, and returning home, subdued the Welchmen, and soone after with Pandulfus the legat of pope Innocentius the third, who came to release him of the censure, wherin he stood excommunicat, to whom as to the popes legat he made a personall surrender of both realmes in waie of submission; and after he was once absolued, he receiued them againe. Some adde, that he gaue awaie his kingdoms to the see of Rome for him and his successors, recognising to hold the same of the popes in fee, paieng yearelie therefore one thousand markes, as seauen hundred for England, and three hundred for Ireland. Blondus saith, *Centum pro vtroque auri marchias.* Sir Thomas Moore (as Campion saith) a man both in calling & office likelie to sound the matter to the depth, writeth precíselie, that neither such writing the pope can shew, neither were it effectuall if he could. How farre forth, and with what limitation a prince may or may not addict his realme feodarie to another, Iohn Maior a Scotish chronicler, and a Sorbonist not vnlearned partlie scanneth, who thinketh three hundred markes for Ireland no verie hard pennworth. The instrument (as Campion thinketh) which our English writers rehearse, might haplie be motioned and drawen, and yet not confirmed with anie seale, nor ratified: but though the copie of this writing remaine in record, yet certeine it is, king Johns successors neuer paid it. After John Comin archbishop of Dublin, and founder of saint Patriks church succéeded Henrie Londores in the see, who builded the kings castell there, being lord chéefe iustice of Ireland, him they nicknamed (as the Irish doo commonlie giue additions in respect of some fact or qualitie) Scorchuillein, that is, Burnebill, because he required to peruse the writings of his tenants, colorablie pretending to learne the kind of ech mans seuerall tenure, and burned the same before their faces, causing them either to renew their takings, or to hold at will.

In hundred marks of gold. Blondus.

John Bale in his apologie against vows.

In the yeare one thousand two hundred and sixtéene king John departed this life. In his daies diuerse monasteries were builded in Ireland, as (beside those that before are mentioned) in the fourth yeare of his reigne the abbeie of Dowish was founded; in the first the abbeie of Wetherham in the countie of Limerike, by Theobald le Butler lord of Cacrackie, and in the twelfe yeare Richard Dute builded the monasterie of Grenard. In the daies of Henrie the third that succéeded his father king John great warres were raised in Ireland betwixt Hugh Lacie & William Marshall, so that the countrie of Meth was grieuouslie afflicted. In the yeare of our Lord 1228, after the death of Londores archbishop of Dublin, that was lord chéefe iustice, king Henrie the third vnderstanding the good seruice done by the Giraldines euer since their first comming into Ireland, although by wrong re-

Henrie the third.

Warres betwixt Lacie and Marshall.

1228

The Giraldines.

poꝛts the ſame had bæne to their pꝛeiudice foꝛ a time ſiniſterlie miſconſtrued, ſo as the gentlemen had ſtill bæne kept backe, and not rewarded according to their deſerts. The king now informed of the truth made Moꝛice Fitzgerald the ſonne of Moꝛice aforeſaid loꝛd chæfe iuſtice of Ireland. Lucas ſucceæded Londꝛes in the archbiſhops ſæ, and was conſecrated.

Moꝛice Fitzgirald.
Lucas archbiſhop.

1230 In the yeare one thouſand two hundꝛed and thirtie, Richard Marſhall was taken pꝛiſoner in battell at Kildare. Some wꝛite that he was wounded there,

1234 and within few daies after died of the hurt at Kilkennie, and was buried there in the quære of the church of the friers pꝛeachers, nære to the place where his bꝛother William was interred, who departed this life in the yeare one thouſand two hundꝛed thirtie and one.

1241 In the yeare one thouſand two hundꝛed foꝛtie and one, Walter Lacie loꝛd of Meth departed this life in England: he left two daughters behind him that were his heires, Margaret married to the loꝛd Uerdon, and Matild the wife of Geffrie Genuill. King Henrie in the ſix & thirtith yeare of his reigne, gaue to Edward his eldeſt ſonne, Gaſcoigne, Ireland, and the countie of Cheſter. In the yeare following,

The loꝛd Uerdon.
Geffreie Genuill.
1252
1253 Hugh Lacie earle of Ulſter departed this life, and was buried at Cragfergus, in the church of the friers minoꝛs, leaning a daughter behind him, that was his heire, whome Walter de Burgh oꝛ Bourke married, and in right of hir was created earle of Ulſter, as after ſhall apeare. Moꝛice Fitzgirald loꝛd iuſtice of Ireland, being requeſted by this pꝛince to come and aſſiſt him with a power of men againſt the Welſh rebels, left a ſufficient garriſon of men in the caſtell of Scligath, which he had latelie builded, and then came ouer with Phelin Ochonher, and a luſtie band of ſouldiers: & mæting the pꝛince at Chepſtow, behaued themſelues ſo valiantlie, that returning with victoꝛie, they greatlie increaſed the fauoꝛ of the king and pꝛince towards them; and vpon their returne into Ireland, they ioined with Coꝛmacke Mac Dermot Mac Koꝛie, and made a notable iournie againſt Odonill the Iriſh enimie, that when Lacie was once dead, inuaded & ſoꝛe annoied the kings ſubiects of Ulſter. Odonill being vanquiſhed, the loꝛd iuſtice foꝛced pledges and tribute of Oneale to kæpe the kings peace, and diuerſe other exploits pꝛaiſe-woꝛthie did he, during the time of his gouernment, as Flatsburie hath gathered in his notes foꝛ the loꝛd Girald Fitzgirald earle of Kildare, in the yeare one thouſand fiue hundꝛed and ſeuentæne. After Moꝛice Fitzgirald ſucceæded in office of loꝛd iuſtice, John Fitzgeffrie knight, and after him Alaine de la Zouch, whome the earle of Surrie Fitzwarren ſlue. And after de la Zouch, in the yeare one thouſand two hundꝛed fiftie and eight, being the two and foꝛtith of Henrie the third his reigne, was Stephan de long Eſpæ ſent to ſuplie that ꝛome, who ſlue Oneale with thꝛæ hundꝛed fiftie & two of his men in the ſtæts of Dowme, and ſhoꝛtlie after departed this life; then William Dene was made loꝛd iuſtice, and Græne caſtell was deſtroied. Alſo Mac Careie plaid the diuell in Deſmond.

The caſtell of Scligath.
Odonill.
John Fitzgeffrie loꝛd iuſtice.
Alaine de la Zouch loꝛd iuſtice.
Stephan de long Eſpæ.
William Dene loꝛd iuſtice.
Græne caſtell deſtroied.
Mac Careie.

1261 In the yeare one thouſand two hundꝛed ſixtie and one, ſir William Dene loꝛd iuſtice of Ireland deceaſed, and ſir Richard Rochell (oꝛ Capell as ſome copies haue) was ſent to be loꝛd iuſtice after him, who greatlie enuied the familie of the Giraldins; during his gouernement the loꝛd John Fitzthomas and the loꝛd Moꝛice his ſon were ſlaine. In the yeare one thouſand two hundꝛed ſixtie and foure, Walter de Burgh was made earle of Ulſter, and Moꝛice Fitzmoꝛice toke the loꝛd iuſtice of Ireland togither with Theobald Butler, Miles Cogan, and diuerſe other great loꝛds at Triſtildermot, on ſaint Nicholas daie. And ſo was Ireland full of warres, betwixt the Burghs and Giraldins. In the yeare one thouſand two hundꝛed ſixtie and ſix, there chanced an earthquake in Ireland. In the yeare following, king Henrie toke vp the variance that was in Ireland betwixt the parties, and diſcharging Dene, appointed Dauid Barrie loꝛd iuſtice in his place, who tamed the inſolent dealings of Moꝛice Fitzmoꝛice, couſine germane to Fitzgirald.

Sir Richard Capell loꝛd iuſtice.
Loꝛd John Fitzthomas ſlaine.
The loꝛd iuſtice taken.

1266
1267
Dauid Barrie loꝛd iuſtice.

In the yeare one thouſand two hundꝛed ſixtie and eight, Conhur Obꝛen was ſlaine by Dermot Mac Monerd, and Moꝛice Fitzgirald earle of Deſmond was dꝛowned in the ſea, betwixt Wales & Ireland. And Robert Uffoꝛt was ſent ouer to remaine loꝛd iuſtice of Ireland, and Barrie was diſcharged, who continued till the yeare one thouſand two hundꝛed ſixtie and nine, and then was Richard de Erceſter made loꝛd iuſtice. And in the yeare following, was the loꝛd James Audleie made loꝛd iuſtice. Richard Uerdon, and John Uerdon were ſlaine, and Fulke archbiſhop of Dublin deceaſed. Alſo the caſtels of Aldlecke, Roſcoman, & Scheligagh, were deſtroied. The ſame yeare was a great dearth and moꝛtalitie in Ireland. In the yeare one thouſand two hundꝛed ſeuentie & two, the loꝛd James Audleie was ſlaine by a fall from his hoꝛſe in Thomond, and then was Moꝛice Fitzmoꝛice made loꝛd iuſtice of Ireland, and the caſtell of Kandon was deſtroied. In the yeare one thouſand two hundꝛed ſeauentie and two, king Henrie the third departed this life, and the loꝛd Walter Genuill latelie returned home from his iournie into the holie land, was ſent into Ireland, and made loꝛd iuſtice there. In the yeare one thouſand two hundꝛed ſeuentie and fiue, the caſtell of Roſcoman was eſtſoones repared and foꝛtified.

Robert Uffoꝛt.
Richard de Erceſter.
1270
1271
The loꝛd Audleie.
Kandon.
The deceaſe of king Henrie the third.
1272
Walter Genuill.
1275

In the yeare one thouſand two hundꝛed ſeuentie and ſix, there was an ouerthꝛow giuen at Glenburie, where William Fitzroger, pꝛioꝛ of the knights hoſpitalers, & manie other with him, were taken pꝛiſoners, and a great number of other were ſlaine. The ſame yeare, John de Uerdon departed this woꝛld, and Thomas de Clare maried the daughter of Moꝛice Fitzmoꝛice. In the yeare following, Robert Uffoꝛt was apointed to ſuplie the ꝛome of Genuill, being called home, and ſo was this Uffoꝛt the ſecond time oꝛdeined loꝛd iuſtice of Ireland. He hauing occaſion to paſſe into England, made his ſubſtitute Fulboꝛne biſhop of Waterfoꝛd till his returne, and then reſumed the gouernement into his owne hands againe. In the yeare one thouſand two hundꝛed ſeauentie and ſeauen, Thomas de Clare ſlue Obꝛenroth king of Tholethmond: and yet after this the Iriſh cloſed him vp in Slewbani, togither with Maurice Fitzmaurice, ſo that they gaue hoſtages to eſcape, and the caſtell of Roſcoman was wone. In the yere next inſuing, was John de Derlington conſecrated archbiſhop of Dublin. There was alſo a councell holden at Grenoke, and Mac Dermot ſlue Cathgur Oconchir king of Connagh. In the yeare one thouſand two hundꝛed ſeuentie and nine, Robert Uffoꝛt vpon occaſion of buſines came ouer into England, and left frier Fulboꝛne biſhop of Waterfoꝛd to ſuplie his ꝛome, and Rafe Pipard and Dhaulan chaſed Oneale in a battell.

In the yeare one thouſand two hundꝛed and foure ſcoꝛe, Robert Uffoꝛt came the third time to occupie the ꝛome of loꝛd chiefe iuſtice in Ireland, reſuming that ꝛome into his hands againe. In the yeare following, the biſhop of Waterfoꝛd was eſtabliſhed by the king of England loꝛd iuſtice of Ireland. Adam Cuſacke the yonger ſlue William Barret, and manie other in Connagh. And in the next yeare, to wit, one thouſand two hundꝛed foure ſcoꝛe and two, Penqueit ſlue Murertagh, & his bꝛother Art Mac Murgh

1276
An ouerthꝛow at Glenburie.
1277
1278
1280
1281

at

at Athlon. Also the lord James de Birmingham, and Piers de Tute departed this life. Also the archbishop Derlington deceased. And about the same time, the citie of Dublin was defaced by fire, and the steeple of Christs church vtterlie destroied. The citizens before they went about to repare their owne priuat buildings, agreed togither to make a collection for reparing the ruines of that ancient building first begun by the Danes, and continued by Citrius prince of Dublin at the instance of Donat sometime bishop of that citie, and dedicated to the blessed trinitie.

Christ church repared.

Donat bishop of Dublin.

At length Strangbow earle of Penbroke, Fitzstephans, & Laurence, that for his vertue was called saint Laurence archbishop of Dublin, and his foure successors, John of Cuesham, Henrie Scortchbill, and Lucas, and last of all John de saint Paule finished it. This notable building, since the time that it was thus defaced by fire, hath beene beautified in diuerse sorts by many zealous citizens. Strangbowes tome defaced, by the fall of the roofe of the church, sir Henrie Sidneie, when he was lord deputie, restored; & likewise did cost vpon the earle of Kildares chappell for an ornament to the quier, ouer the which he left also a monument of capteine Randolfe, late coronell of the English bands of footmen in Ulster that died there valiantlie, fighting in his princes seruice, as after shall appeare. In the yeare one thousand two hundred foure score and three, Furmund chancellor of Ireland, and Richard Tute departed this life, and frier Stephan Fulborne was made lord iustice of Ireland.

Strangbowes tome restored by Henrie Sidneie.

Capteine Randolfe.

1285 In the yeare 1285, the lord Theobald Butler fled from Dubline, and died shortlie after, and the lord Theobald Verdon lost his men and horsses as he went towards Offalie, & the next day Gerald Fitzmaurice was taken, and John Samford was consecrated archbishop of Dublin. Moreouer at Rathod, the lord Geffrete Genuill fled, and sir Gerard Doget, and Rafe Petit were slaine, with a great number of others. The Norwagh and Ardscoll with other townes and villages were burnt by Philip Stanton the sixteenth daie of Nouember, in the yeare 1286. Also Calwagh was taken at Kildare. In the yeare 1287, diuerse nobles in Ireland deceased, as Richard Deceter, Gerald Fitzmaurice, Thomas de Clare, Richard Taffe, & Nicholas Teling knights. The yeare next insuing, deceased frier Fulborne lord iustice of Ireland, and John Samford archbishop of Dublin was aduanced to the roome of lord iustice. Also Richard Burgh earle of Ulster besieged Theobald Verdon in the castell of Athlon, and came with a great power vnto Trim, by the working of Walter Lacie.

John Samford consecrated archbishop of Dublin.

In ouerthrow at Rathod.

Norwagh and Ardscol burnt

1286

1288 Samford archbishop of Dublin lord iustice.

1290 In the yeare 1290, was the chase or discomfiture of Offalie, & diuerse Englishmen slaine. Also Mac Coghlan slue Omolaghelin king of Meth, and William Burgh was discomfited at Deluin by Mac Coghlan. The same yeare 1290, William Vescie was made lord iustice of Ireland, and entered into that office on S. Martins daie. Vnto this iustice, Edward Baliol king of Scotland did homage for an earledome which he held in Ireland, in like maner as he did to king Edward for the crowne of Scotland. In the yeare 1292, a fifteenth was granted to the king, of all the temporall goods in Ireland, whilest Vescie was as yet lord iustice. This Vescie was a sterne man and full of courage, he called John earle of Kildare before him, charging him with foule riots and misdemeanors, for that he ranged abroad, and sought reuenge vpon priuat displeasures out of all order, and not for anie aduancement of the publike wealth or seruice of his souereigne.

William Vescie lord iustice.

1292

The earle of Kildare.

The earle as impatient to heare himselfe tou-ched as the iustice to suffer euill doing, answered thus. By your honor and mine (my lord) and by king Edwards hand (for that was accompted no small oth in those daies among the Irish) you would if you durst apeach me in plaine termes of treason or felonie: for where I haue the title, and you the fleece of Kildare, I wote well how great an eiesore I am in your sight, so that if I might be handsomlie trussed vp for a fellon, then might my master your sonne become a gentleman. A gentleman quoth the iustice, thou proud earle: I tell thee, the Vescies were gentlemen before Kildare was an earledome: and before that Welsh bankrupt thy cousine fethered his nest in Leinster. But seeing thou darest me, I will suerlie breake thy heart. And therwith he called the earle a notorious theefe and a murtherer. Then followed facing and bracing among the souldiers, with high words, and terrible swearing on both sides, vntill either part appeased his owne.

The lord iustice shortlie after, leauing his deputie William Hale, tooke the sea, and hasted ouer to the king. The earle immediatlie followed, and as he nouslie as the lord iustice accused him of felonie, Kildare no lesse appealed him of treason. For triall hereof, the earle asked the combat, and Vescie refused not: but yet when the lists were prouided, Vescie was slipt awaie into France, and so disherited of all his lands in the countie of Kildare, which were bestowed vpon the earle and his heires for euer. The earle waxing lostie of mind in such prosperous successe, squared with diuerse nobles, English and Irish of that land. The same yeare died John Samford archbishop of Dublin, and John Fitzthomas earle of Kildare, and John de la Mare tooke prisoners, Richard Burgh earle of Ulster, and William Burgh within the countrie of Meth, and the castell of Kildare was taken, and all the countrie wasted by the English on the one side, and the Irish on the other, and Calwagh burnt all the rolles and tallies concerning the records & accompts of that countie. Great dearth and death reigned in Ireland this yeare, and the two yeares next insuing. The earle of Kildare detained the earle of Ulster prisoner, vntill by authoritie of a parlement holden at Kilkennie, he was deliuered out of the castell of Lese, for his two sonnes, and for the inuasion which the earle of Kildare had made into Meth, and other his vnrulie and misordred parts, was disseized of the castell of Sligagh, and of all his lands in Connagh.

1294 The death of the archbishop Samford.

The earle of Ulster taken prisoner.

Great dearth and death.

William Dodingsels being this yeare made lord iustice of Ireland, after Vescie died, in the yeare next following, that is 1295, and the three and twentith of king Edward the first. After him succeeded in that roome the lord Thomas Fitzmaurice. In the yeare 1296, frier William de Bothum was consecrated archbishop of Dublin. In the yeare 1298, and six and twentith of Edward the first, the lord Thomas Fitzmaurice departed this life, and an agreement was made betwixt the earle of Ulster and the lord John Fitzthomas earle of Kildare, by John Wogan that was ordeined lord iustice of Ireland. In the yeare 1299 William archbishop of Dublin departed this life, and Richard de Ffingis was consecrated archbishop in his place. The king went vnto John Wogan lord iustice, commanding him to giue summons vnto the nobles of Ireland, to prepare themselues with horsse and armor to come in their best arraie for the warre, to serue him against the Scots: and withall wrote vnto the same nobles, as to Richard de Burgh earle of Ulster, Geffrete de Genuill, John Fitzthomas, Thomas Fitzmaurice, Theobald lord Butler, Theobald lord Verdon, Piers lord Birmingham of Thetemoie, Eustace lord Powre, Hugh lord Purcell, John de Cogan, John

William Dodingsels lord iustice.

1295 Thomas Fitzmaurice lord iustice.

1296

1298 Rec. Turris.

1299

de Barrie, William de Barrie, Walter de Laffice, Richard de Ercester, John Pipurd, Walter Lenfant, John of Oxford, Adam de Stanton, Simon de Pheibe, William Cadell, John de Vale, Maurice de Carre, George de la Roch, Maurice de Rochford, and Maurice Fitzthomas de Kerto, commanding them to be with him at Withwelaun the first of March. Such a precept I remember I haue read, registred in a close roll among the records of the tower. But where Marlburrow saith, that the said John Wogan lord iustice of Ireland, and the lord John Fitzthomas, with manie others, came to king Edward into Scotland, in the nine and twentith yeare of king Edwards reigne, Campion noteth it to be in the yere 1299, which fell in the seuen & twentith of the reigne of king Edward: & if my remembrance faile me not, the close roll aforementioned beareth date of the foure and twentith yeare of king Edwards reigne. All which notes may be true, for it is verie like, that in those warres against the Scots, the king sent diuerse times to the Irish lords to come to serue him, as it behoued them to do by their tenures: and not onelie he sent into Ireland to haue the seruices of men, but also for prouision of vittels, as in close rolles I remember I haue also séene recorded of the seauen and twentith and thirtith yeare of the said king Edward the first his reigne. For this we find in a certeine abstract of the Irish chronicles, which should séeme to be collected out of Flatsburie, whom Campion so much followed, that in the yeare 1301, the lord John Wogan lord iustice, John Fitzthomas, Peter Birmingham, & diuerse others went into Scotland in aid of king Edward, in which yeare also a great part of the citie of Dublin, with the church of saint Werburgh was burnt in the night of the feast daie of saint Colme. Also the lord Genuill married the daughter of John de Montfort, and the lord John Mortimer married the daughter and heire of Peter Genuill, also the lord Theobald de Verdon married the daughter of the lord Roger Mortimer. The same yeare in the winter season, the Irish of Leinster raised warre against the townes of Wicklow and Rathdon, doing much hurt by burning in the countrie all about: but they were chastised for their wickednesse, losing the most part of their prouision and cattell. And in the Lent season the more part of them had béene vtterlie destroied, if discord and variance had not risen among the Englishmen, to the impeachment of their purposed enterprises.

Chr. Pembrig.

1301 Irishmen inuade Scotland.

In haruest there were three hundred théeues slaine by the Phelanes. Also Walter le Power wasted a great part of Mounster, burning manie farmes and places in that countrie. In the yeare 1302, pope Boniface demanded a tenth of all the spirituall liuings in England and Ireland, for the space of three yeares, to mainteine wars in defense of the church of Rome, against the king of Arragon. In the yeare 1303, the earle of Ulster, and Richard Burgh, and sir Eustace le Power, with a puissant armie entered Scotland. The earle made three and thirtie knights at Dublin, before he set forwards. The same yeare Girald, sonne and heire to the lord John Fitzthomas departed this life, and likewise the countesse of Ulster. William de Wellisleie, and sir Robert de Perssnall were slaine the two and twentith of October. In the yeare 1304, a great part of the citie of Dublin was burnt by casuall fire. In the yeare next insuing, Jordaine Comin with his complices slue Maritagh Oconhur king of Offalie, and his brother Calwagh, with diuerse others within the court of Piers de Birmingham at Carricke in Carbrie. Also sir Gilbert Sutton steward of Werford was slaine by the Irishmen, neere to the farme of Heimond de Grace, which Heimond bare himselfe right valiantlie in that fight, and in the end through his great manhood escaped.

Walter Power.

1302

1303 The earle of Ulster.

1304

In the yeare 1306 a great slaughter was made in Offalie neere to the castell of Geischill, the thirteenth daie of Aprill vpon Oconhur and his frends by the Odempsies, in the which place were slaine a great number of men. Also Brien king of Thomond was slaine. Moreouer, Donald Oge Mac Arthie slue Donald Kulle king of Desmond. And vpon the twelfe of Maie in the confins of Meth, a great ouerthrow chanced to the side of the lord Piers Butler, and Balimore in Leinster was burnt by the Irish, where Henrie Telse was slaine at that present time. Hereof followed great wars betwixt the English and Irish in Leinster, so that a great armie was called togither forth of diuerse parts of Ireland, to restreine the malice of the Irish in Leinster, in which iournie sir Thomas Mandeuill knight entred into a conflict with the Irish neere to Glensell, in the which he bare himselfe right manfullie, till his horse was slaine vnder him, and yet then to his great praise and high commendation he saued both himselfe and manie of his companie. The lord chancellor of Ireland, Thomas Caucocke, was consecrated bishop of Imaleie within the Trinitie church at Dublin, and kept such a feast as the like had not lightlie bene séene nor heard of before that time in Ireland, first to the rich & after to the poore. Richard Flerings archbishop of Dublin deceased on the euen of saint Luke the euangelist, to whom succéeded Richard de Hauerings, who after he had continued in that sée about a fiue yeares, resigned it ouer by dispensation obteined from Rome, and then his nephue John Lech was admitted archbishop there.

1306 A discomfiture at Offalie.

Balimore burnt.

warres in Leinster.

The lord chancellor consecrated bishop of Imaleie.

The archbishop of Dublin deceased.

In the yeare 1307 the first of Aprill, Murcod Ballagh was beheaded neere to Perton by sir Dauid Caunton knight, and shortlie after was Adam Daune slaine. Also, a great discomfiture and slaughter fell vpon the Englishmen in Connagh by the Oscheles the first daie of Maie, and the robbers that dwelt in the parties of Offalie raised the castell of Geischell, and in the vigill of the translation of Thomas Becket, being the first of Julie, they burnt the towne of Leie and besieged the castell: but they were constreined to depart from thense shortlie after, by John Fitzthomas and Edmund Butler that came to remoue that siege. In the yeare 1308 king Edward the first departed this life the seuenth of Julie.

1307

A discōfiture in Connagh.

1308

Edward the second.

RIchard archbishop of Dublin, after that he had gouerned that sée the space of fiue yeares, by reason of a vision that he saw in his sléepe, féeling himselfe troubled in conscience, with consideration of that dreame, resigned the next morrow all his title to the archbishops dignitie (as before ye haue heard) and contented himselfe with other ecclesiasticall benefices as séemed conuenient to his estate. This yeare by vertue of letters directed from the pope to the king of England, he caused all the Templers as well in England as Ireland to be apprehended, and committed to safe kéeping. The profession of these Templers began at Jerusalem, by certeine gentlemen that remained in an hostell néere to the temple, who till the councell of Trois in France were not increased aboue the number of nine, but from that time forth in little more than fiftie yeares, by the zealous contribution of all christian

1300 The order of the Templers suppressed.

ſtian realmes, they had houſes erected euerie where, with liuings bountifullie aſſigned to the ſame for their maintenance, in ſo much as they were augmented vnto the number of three hundred, that were knights of that order, beſide inferiour brethren innumerable: but now with wealth they ſo forgot themſelues, that they nothing leſſe regarded, than the purpoſe of their foundation: and withall being accuſed of horrible hereſies (whether in all things iuſtlie or otherwiſe, the Lord knoweth) they were in the counſell at Lions in France condemned, and their liuings tranſpoſed to the knights Hoſpitalers, otherwiſe called the knights of the Rhodes, and now of Malta. The manner of their apprehenſion and committing was ſudden, and ſo generall in all places vpon one daie, that they had no time to ſhift for themſelues.

For firſt, the king ſent forth a precept to euerie ſhiriffe within the realme of England, commanding them within each of their roomes to cauſe a preſcribed number of knights, or rather ſuch men of credit, on whoſe fidelities he might aſſure himſelfe to aſſemble at a certeine towne named in the ſame writ, the ſundaie next after the Epiphanie, & that ech of the ſame ſhiriffes failed not to be there the ſame daie, to execute all that ſhould be intoined them by anie other writ, then and there to be deliuered. The ſhiriffe of Yorke was commanded to giue ſummons to foure and twentie ſuch knights, or other ſufficient men to met him at Yorke. The ſhiriffe of Norfolke and Suffolke, to ſummon twentie to meet him at Thetford. The other ſhiriffs were apointed to call to them ſome ten, ſome twelue, or ſome fourteene, to met them at ſuch townes as in their writs were named. The date of this writ was from Weſtminſter the fifteenth of December, in the firſt yeare of this king Edward the ſeconds reigne. The other writ was ſent by a chapleine authorized both to deliuer the ſame writ, and to take an oth of the ſhiriffe, that he ſhould not diſcloſe the contents, till he had put the ſame in execution, which was to attach by aſſiſtance of thoſe aforementioned knights, or as manie of them as he thought expedient to vſe, all the Templers within the precinct of his rome, and to ſeize all their lands, goods, and cattels into the kings hands, and to cauſe an inuentarie of the ſame indented be made in preſence of the warden of the place, whether he were knight of the order or anie other, and in the preſence of other honeſt men neighbours thereabouts, keeping the one counterpane with himſelfe, ſealed with his ſeale that made the ſeizure, and leauing the other in the hands of the ſaid warden: and further to ſee the ſame goods and cattels to be put in ſafe keeping, and to prouide that the quicke goods might be well kept and loked vnto, and the grounds manured to the moſt profit, and to cauſe the bodies of the Templers attached, to be ſo detained in all ſafetie, as that they be not yet committed to irons nor to ſtrict priſon, but to remaine in ſome conuenient place other than their owne houſes, and to be found of the goods ſo ſeized accordinglie as falleth for their eſtates, till he haue other wiſe in commandement from the king: and what is done herein, to certifie into the exchequer the morrow after the purification. The date of this ſecond writ was from Biſlet the twentith of December. There was likewiſe a writ directed to John Wogan lord iuſtice of Ireland, ſignifieng vnto him what ſhould be done in England, touching the apprehenſion of the Templers, and ſeizure of their lands and goods, commanding him to proceed in ſemblable manner againſt them in Ireland: but the daie and place when the ſhiriffes ſhould there aſſemble, was left to the diſcretion of the ſaid iuſtice and treaſuror of the exchequer there, but ſo as the ſame might be done before anie rumour of this thing could be brought ouer out of England thither. Alſo a like commandement was ſent vnto John de Britaine earle of Richmond, lord warden of Scotland, and to Euſtace Coteſbach chamberleine of Scotland, alſo to Walter de Pederton lord iuſtice of weſt Wales, to Hugh Aldigheigh *alias* Auderleie lord iuſtice of north Wales, and to Robert Holland lord iuſtice of Cheſter. Thus much for the Temples. But now to other doings in Ireland.

In the yeare 1308 the twelfe of Aprill deceaſed Peter de Birmingham a noble warriour, and one that had beene no ſmall ſcourge to the Iriſh. The eleuenth of Maie the caſtell of Kennun was burnt, and diuers of them that had it in keeping were ſlaine by William Macbalther, and other of the Iriſh, and likewiſe the towne of Courcoulie was burnt by the ſame malefactors. And the firſt of June, John lord Wogan lord iuſtice was diſcomfited neere to Glindelorie, where John de S. Hogelin, John Norton, John Breton, and manie other were ſlaine. The ſixteenth of June, Dunlovan, Tobir, and manie other townes were burnt by the Iriſh rebels. About this ſeaſon, John Decer maior of Dublin builded the high pipe there, & the bridge ouer the Liffie towards S. Uliſtons, and a chappell of our ladie at the friers minors, where he was buried, repared the church of the friers preachers, and euerie fridaie tabled the friers at his owne coſts.

1308 This Macbalther was after hanged at Dublin. The lord iuſtice diſcomfited. 1308 John Decer maior of Dublin.

John Wogan hauing occaſion to paſſe into England, William Burgh did ſupplie his rome, vnto whom king Edward recommended Piers de Gaueſton, when (contrarie to the kings mind) he was baniſhed by the lords of England, and about the natiuitie of our ladie he came ouer into Ireland, being ſent thither by the king with manie iewels: and beſide the letters which he brought of recommendation from the king, he had aſſigned to him the commodities roiall of that realme, which bred ſome trouble and bickerings there, betwixt Richard Burgh earle of Ulſter, and the ſaid Gaueſton, who notwithſtanding bought the good willes of the ſouldiers with his liberalitie, ſlue Dermot Odempſie, ſubdued Obren, edified ſundrie caſtels, cauſeies, and bridges, but the next yeare he was reuoked home by the king, as in the hiſtorie of England it maie apeare.

Burgh. Piers Gaueſton ſent into Ireland.

In the vigill of Simon and Jude, the lord Roger Mortimer landed in Ireland with his wife, right heire to the ſeignirie of Meth, as daughter to Piers Genuill, that was ſonne to the lord Geffreie Genuill, which Geffreie became a frier at Trim of the order of the preachers: by reaſon whereof, the lord Mortimer and his wife entered into poſſeſſion of the lands of Meth. In the yeare 1309, on Candlemas day, the lord John Bonneuill was ſlaine neere to the towne of Ardſcoll, by the lord Arnold Powre and his complices, his bodie was buried at Athie in the church of the friers preachers. In the yere following, at a parlement holden at Kildare, the lord Arnold Powre was acquit of that ſlaughter, for that it was proued it was done in his owne defenſe. In the yeare 1311, or (as ſome bookes haue) the yeare 1309, Wogan lord iuſtice ſummoned a parlement at Kilkennie, where diuerſe wholeſome lawes were ordeined, but neuer executed. There fell the biſhops in contention about their iuriſdictions, namelie the biſhop of Dublin forbad the primat of Armagh to raiſe his croiſier within the prouince of Leinſter.

Lord Roger Mortimer. 1309 Lord John Bonneuill ſlaine. 1310 1311 A parlement at Kilkennie. Campion.

Shortlie after, Rowland Joice the primat ſtale by night (in his pontificals) from Howth to the priorie of Grace Dieu, where the biſhops ſeruants met him, & with force chaſed him out of the dioceſſe. This biſhop was named John a Leekes, and was conſecrated

not long before he kept this sturre. Richard earle of Ulster with a great armie came to Monrath in Thomond, where as sir Robert or rather sir Richard de Clare discomfited his power, toke sir William de Burgh prisoner, or (as some bookes haue) the earle himselfe. John Lacie the sonne of Walter Lacie, and diuerse others were slaine. The twelfe of November this yere, Richard de Clare slue sir hundred Galloglasses, and John Morgoghedan was slaine by Omolmoie. Also Donat Obren was murthered by his owne men in Thomond.

Sir Richard de Clare.

John Lacie slaine.

1312 Robert Uerdon raiseth a riotous tumult. John Wogan lord iustice.

The one and twentith of Februarie began a riot in Argile by Robert Uerdon, for the appeasing wherof an armie was lead thither by John Wogan lord chiefe iustice in the beginning of Julie, but the same was discomfited, and diuerse men of account slaine, as sir Nicholas Auenell, Patrike de Roch, & others. At length yet the said sir Robert Uerdon, and many of his complices came and submitted themselues to prison within the castell of Dublin, abiding there the kings mercie. The lord Edmund Butler was made deputie iustice vnder the lord John Wogan, who in the Lent next insuing besieged the Obrens in Glindelow, and compelled them to yeld themselues to the kings peace. Also in the yeare aboue said 1312, Maurice Fitzthomas maried the ladie Katharine, daughter to the earle of Ulster at Greene castell, and Thomas Fitziohn maried an other of the said earles daughters in the same place, but not on the same daie: for the first of those two mariages was celebrated the morrow after saint Dominikes daie, and this second mariage was kept the morrow after the feast of the assumption of our ladie. Also Robert de Bruse ouerthrew the castell of Pan, and toke the lord Donegan Odowill on saint Barnabies daie.

1313 Campion.

In the yeare 1313, John a Lekes archbishop of Dublin departed this life: after whose decease were elected in schisme and diuision of sides two successors, Walter Thorneburie lord chancellor, and Alexander Bignor treasuror of Ireland. The chancellor to strengthen his election, hastilie went to sea, and togither with an hundred and fiftie and six persons perished by shipwracke. The other submitting his cause to the processe of law, taried at home and sped. Moreouer, the lord John de Burgh, sonne and heire to the earle of Ulster, deceased at Galbie on the feast daie of saint Marcell & Marcelline. Also the lord Edmund Butler created thirtie knights in the castle of Dublin on saint Michaels daie being sundaie. The knights hospitalers or of saint Johns (as they were called) were inuested in the lands of the Templers in Ireland. The same yeare was the lord Theobald Uerdon sent lord iustice into Ireland.

The earle of Ulsters sonne and heire deceaseth.

1314

1315 Edward Bruse inuadeth Ireland.

In the ninth yeare of king Edwards reigne, Edward Bruse, brother to Robert Bruse king of Scots, entered the north part of Ireland with six thousand men. There were with him diuerse capteins of high renowme among the Scotish nation, of whome the chiefe were these: the earles of Murrie and Mentith, the lord John Steward, the lord John Campbell, the lord Thomas Randolfe, Fergus de Andresan, John Wood, and John Bisset. They landed nere to Cragfergus in Ulster the fiue & twentith of Maie, and ioining with the Irish, conquered the earledome of Ulster, and gaue the English there diuerse great ouerthrowes, toke the towne of Dundalke, spoiled & burnt it, with a great part of Argile: they burnt churches & abbeies, with the people whom they found in the same, sparing neither man, woman nor child. Then was the lord Edmund Butler chosen lord iustice, who made the earle of Ulster and the Giraldines friends, and reconciled himselfe with sir John Mandeuill, thus seeking to preserue the residue of the realme which Edward Bruse meant wholie to conquer, hauing caused himselfe to be crowned king of Ireland. The lord iustice assembled a great power out of Mounster, and Leinster, and other parts thereabouts, and the earle of Ulster with another armie came vnto him nere vnto Dundalke, where they consulted togither how to deale in defending the countrie against the enimies: but hearing the Scots were withdrawne backe, the earle of Ulster folowed them, and fighting with them at Coiners, hee lost the field.

Captens of name with Bruse.

Dundalke taken and burnt

Edmund Butler lord iustice.

There were manie slaine on both parts, and William de Burgh the earls brother, sir John Mandeuill, and sir Alane Fitzalane were taken prisoners. Herewith the Irish of Connagh and Meth began forthwith to rebell against the Englishmen, and burnt the castell of Athlon and Randon. And the Bruse comming forward burnt Kenlis in Meth, and Granard, also Finnagh, and Newcastell, and kept his Christmas at Loghsudie. From thense he went through the countrie vnto Kashimegan and Kildare, and to the parties about Tristeldermot and Athie, then to Raban, Sketlier, & nere to Ardstoll in Leinster: where the lord iustice Butler, the lord John Fitzthomas, the lord Arnold Powre, and other the lords and gentlemen of Leinster and Mounster came to incounter the Bruse: but through discord that rose among them, they left the field vnto the enimies, sir William Pendergast knight, and Heimond le Grace a right valiant esquier were slaine there. And on the Scotish side sir Fergus Andresan and sir Walter Murrete, with diuerse other that were buried in the church of the friers preachers at Athie.

After this the Bruse in his returne towards Meth burnt the castell of Leie, and so passed forth till hee came to Kenlis in Meth. In which meane time Roger lord Mortimer, trusting to win himselfe fame if he might ouerthrow the enimies, called forth fifteene thousand men, and vnderstanding that the Scots were come to Kenlis, made thitherwards, and there incountering with them, was put to the worse, his men (as was supposed) wilfullie thrinking from him, as those that bare him hollow hearts. With the newes of this ouerthrow, vprtart the Irish of Mounster, the Otolies, Obrens, Omores, and with fire and sword wasted all from Arclow to Leix. With them coped the lord iustice, and made of them a great slaughter, fourescore of their heads were sent to the castell of Dublin.

The lord Mortimer discomfited by the Scots.

In time of these troubles and warres in Ireland by the inuasion thus of the Scots, certeine Irish lords, faithfull men and true subiects to the king of England, did not onelie promise to continue in their lotall obeisance towards him, being their souereigne prince; but also for more assurance deliuered hostages to be kept within the castell of Dublin. The names of which lords that were so contented to assure their allegiance were these, John Fitzthomas lord of Offalie, Richard de Clare, Morice Fitzthomas, Thomas Fitziohn le Power baron of Donoille, Arnold le Power, Morice de Rochford, Dauid de la Roch, and Piles de la Roch. These and diuerse other resisted with all their might and maine the iniurious attempts of the Scots, although the Scots had drawne to their side the most part of the wild Irish, and no small number also of the English Irish, as well lords, as others of meaner calling: so that the countrie was miserablie afflicted, what by the Scots on the one part, and the Irish rebels on the other, which rebels notwithstanding were ouerthrowne in diuerse particular conflicts. But yet to the farther scattering of the English forces in Ireland, there rose foure princes of Connagh, but the

Assurance giuen by the lords of Ireland for their lotaltie.

Burghes

A great ouerthrow.

The king of Connagh slaine.

Burghes and Birminghams discomfited them, and slue eleuen thousand of them beside Athenrie. Amongst other were slaine in this battell Fedelmicus, Oconhur king of Connagh, Okellie, and diuerse other great lords and capteins of Connagh and Meth. The lord Richard Birmingham had an esquier that belonged to him called John Hulsete, who by the commandement of his maister went forth to take view of the dead bodies, and to bring him word whether Okellie his mortall foe were slaine among the residue. Hulsete comming into the field with one man to turne vp and surueie the dead carcases, was streight espied by Okellie, that late lurking in a brake bush thereby, who hauing had good proofe of Hulsete his valiancie before that time, longed sore to traine him from his capteine, and presuming now vpon his good opportunitie, discouered himselfe, not doubting, but either to win him with courteous persuasions, or by force to worke his will of him, and so comming to him said: Hulsete, thou seest that I am at all points armed, & haue mine esquire here likewise furnished with armour & weapon readie at mine elbow; thou art naked with thy page, a yongling, & not to be accounted of: so that if I loued thee not, and meant to spare thee for thine owne sake, I might now do with thee what I would, and slea thee for thy maisters sake. But come & serue me vpon this request here made to thee, and I promise thee by saint Patrikes staffe to make thee a lord in Connagh, of more possessions than thy maister hath in Ireland. When these words might nothing weie him, his owne man (a great stout lubber) began to reproue him of follie, for not consenting to so large an offer, which was assured with an oth, whereupon he durst gage his soule for performance.

Okellie slaine.

Sir Thomas Mandeuill slaine.

Now had Hulsete three enimies, and first therefore turning to his knaue, he dispatched him. Next he raught vnto Okellies esquier such a knocke vnder the pit of the eare, that downe he came to the ground and there he late. Thirdlie, he laid so about him, that per anie helpe could be looked for, he had also slaine Okellie, and perceiuing the esquire to be but astonied he recouered him, and holpe him vp againe, and after he was somewhat come to himselfe, he forced him vpon a truncheon, to beare his lords head into the high towne before him, who did so; and Hulsete presented it to Birmingham, who after the circumstances declared, he dubbed Hulsete knight, aduancing him to manie preferments. The successors of that familie afterwards were barons of Galtrim. Sir Thomas Mandeuill and others in this meane while made oftentimes enterprises against the Scots, and slue diuerse of them in sundrie conflicts. But howsoeuer it chanced, we find recorded by Henrie Marlburrow, that either the said sir Thomas Mandeuill (that thus valiantlie behaued himselfe against the Scots) or some other bearing the same name, and his brother also called John Mandeuill were both slaine shortlie after at Downe, vpon their comming forth of England, by the Scots that were readie there to assaile them.

Thus may we see, that those lords and knights, which had giuen pledges for their loialtie to the king of England, sought by all waies and meanes how to beat backe the enimies: which they might haue done with more ease, if the Irish had not assisted the Scots, and presuming of their aid, rebelled in sundrie parts of the countrie; who neuertheless were oftentimes well chastised for their disloiall dealings, as partlie we haue touched; although we omit diuerse small ouerthrowes and other particular matters, sith otherwise we should increase this booke further than our first purposed intent would permit.

Whilest the Scots were thus holden vp in Ireland, that they could not in all things worke their wils, Robert le Bruse king of Scots came ouer himselfe, landed at Cragfergus to the aid of his brother, whose souldiors most wickedlie entred into churches, spoiling and defacing the same of all such tombes, monuments, plate, copes, & other ornaments which they found, and might late hands vpon.

Campion.

1316

The king of Scots in Ireland.

Cragfergus deliuered vp to the Scots.

The castell of Cragfergus, after it had béene strictlie besieged a long time, was surrendred to the Scots, by them that had kept it, till they for want of other vittels were driuen to eate leather, and eight Scots (as some write) which they had taken prisoners. The lord Thomas, sonne to the earle of Ulster departed this life. And on the sundaie next after the natiuitie of our ladie, the lord John Fitzthomas deceased at Laragh Brine néere to Mainoth, and was buried at Kildare, in the church of the friers preachers. This John Fitzthomas, a little before his death, was created earle of Kildare; after whome succéeded his sonne Thomas Fitzjohn a right wise and prudent personage. The fourteenth of September, Conhor Mac Kele, & fiue hundred Irishmn were slaine by the lord William de Burgh, and lord Richard Birmingham in Connagh. Also on the mondaie after the feast of All saints, John Loggan and sir Hugh Bisset slue a great number of Scots, among the which were one hundred with double armors, and two hundred with single armors: so that of their men of armes there died three hundred beside footemen.

When eaten.

John Fitzthomas the first earle of Kildare deceaseth.

Scots ouerthrowne.

The fifteenth of Nouember chanced a great tempest of wind and raine, which threw downe manie houses, with the steeple of the Trinitie church in Dublin, and did much other hurt both by land and water. On the first of December, sir Alane Steward that had béene taken prisoner in Ulster by John Loggan, and sir John Sandale, was brought to the castell of Dublin. After Canlemas, the Lacies came to Dublin, & procured an inquest to be impanelled to inquire of their demeanor, for that they were accused to haue procured the Scots to come into Ireland: but by that inquest they were discharged, and therewith toke an oth to kéepe the kings peace, and to destroie the Scots to the vttermost of their power. In the beginning of Lent, the Scots came in secret wise vnto Slane, with twentie thousand armed men: and with them came the armie of Ulster, destroieng all the countrie before them. Moreouer, on mondaie before the feast of S. Matthias the apostle, the earle of Ulster lieng in the abbeie of S. Marie néere to Dublin, Robert Notingham maior of that citie, with the communaltie of the same went thither, toke the earle, and put him in prison within the castell of Dublin, slue seuen of his men, and spoiled the abbeie.

A great tempest.

1317

The earle of Ulster apprehended.

The same wéeke, Edward Bruse marched towards Dublin, but herewith, turning to the castell of Knoke, he entred the same, and toke Hugh Tirrell the lord thereof, togither with his wife, and ransomed them for a summe of monie. The citizens of Dublin burnt all their suburbs for feare of a siege, and made the best puruiance they could to defend their citie, if the Bruse had come to haue besieged them: but he turning another waie, went vnto the towne of Naas, and was guided thither by the Lacies, contrarie to their oth. From thense he passed vnto Trisseldermot, and so to Baliganam, and to Callan, at length he came to Limerike, and there remained till after Easter. They of Ulster sent to the lord iustice lamentable informations of such cruelties as the enimies practised in those parts, beséeching him to take some order for their releefe in that their so miserable estate. The lord iustice deliuered to

Hugh Tirrell taken by the Scots.

The kings standard deliuered to therle of Vlster.

to them the kings power with his standard, wherewith vnder pretense to expell the Scots, they got vp in armor, and ranging through the countrie, did more vere and molest the subiects, than did the strangers. The Scots proceeded and spoiled Cashels, & wheresoeuer they lighted vpon the Butlers lands, they burnt and spoiled them vnmercifullie.

In this meane while had the lord iustice and Thomas Fitziohn earle of Kildare, Richard de Clare, and Arnold le Powre baron of Donnoill leuied an armie of thirtie thousand men, readie to go against the enimies, and to giue them battell, but no good was done. For about the same time the lord Roger Mortimer was sent into Ireland as lord iustice, and landing at Poghall, wrote his letters vnto the lord Butler, & to the other capteins, willing them not to fight till he came with such power as he had brought ouer with him. Whereof the Bruse being warned, retired first towards Kildare. But yet after this he came within foure miles of Trim, where he laie in a wood, and lost manie of his men through famine, and so at length about the beginning of Maie he returned into Vlster.

Roger Mortimer iustice of Ireland.

Slaughter of Irishmen.

The lord Edmund Butler made great slaughter of the Irish neere to Trislledermot, and likewise at Balithan he had a good hand of Omorch, and slue manie of his men. The lord Mortimer pacified the displeasure and variance betwixt Richard earle of Vlster, and the nobles that had put the said earle vnder safe keeping within the castell of Dublin, accusing him of certeine riots committed to the prejudice and losse of the kings subiects, whereby the Scots increased in strength and courage, whose spoiling of the countrie caused such horrible scarsitie in Vlster, that the soldiors which the yeare before abused the kings authoritie, to purueie themselues of ouer fine diet, surfetted with flesh and *Aqua vitæ* all the Lent long, polled and pilled insatiablie wheresoeuer they came without need, and without regard of the poore people, whose onelie prouision they deuoured. These people now liuing in slauerie vnder the Bruse, starued for hunger, hauing first experienced manie lamentable shifts, euen to the eating of dead carcasses.

1317

The earle of Vlster deliuered out of prison.

Scarsitie of victels in Vlster.

The earle of Vlster deliuered.

The earle of Vlster was deliuered by mainprise and vpon his oth, by the which he vndertoke neuer to seeke reuenge of his apprehension otherwise than by order of law, and so had daie giuen him vnto the feast of the natiuitie of saint Iohn baptist: but he kept not his daie, whether for that he mistrusted to stand in triall of his cause, or through some other reasonable let, I cannot tell. A great dearth this yeare afflicted the Irish people: for a measure of wheat called a chronecke was sold at foure and twentie shillings, & a chronecke of otes at sixteene shillings, and all other victels likewise were sold according to the same rate; for all the whole countrie was sore wasted by the Scots and them of Vlster, insomuch that no small number of people perished through famine.

Great dearth.

About the feast of Pentecost the lord iustice Mortimer tooke his iornie towards Drogheda, and sent to the Lacies, commanding them to come vnto him, but they refused so to do. Whervpon he sent sir Hugh Crofts vnto them, to talke with them about some agreement of peace: but they slue the messenger, for whome great lamentation was made, for that he was reputed & knowne to be a right worthie knight. The lord iustice sore offended herewith, gathereth an armie, & goeth against the Lacies, whome he chased out of Connagh, so that Hugh Lacie withdrew to Vlster, & there ioined himselfe with Edward Bruse. Wherevpon, on the thursdaie next before the feast of saint Margaret, the said Hugh Lacie and also Walter Lacie were proclamed traitors. This yeare passed verie troublesome vnto the whole realme of Ireland, as well through slaughter betwixt the parties enimies one to another, as by dearth and other misfortunes. Hugh Canon the kings iustice of his bench was slaine by Andrew Birmingham betwixt the towne of Naas and castell Warten. Also in the feast of the purification, the popes bulles were published, whereby Alexander Bignor was consecrated archbishop of Dublin. About the same time was great slaughter made of Irishmen, through a quarrell betwixt two great lords in Connagh: so that there died in fight to the number of foure thousand men on both parties.

Sir Hugh Crofts slaine.

The Lacies reuolt to the Scots.

1318

Bignor consecrated archbishop of Dublin.

After Easter Walter Islep treasuror of Ireland was sent ouer into that realme, who brought letters to the lord Mortimer, commanding him to returne into England vnto the king: which he did, and departing forth of Ireland, remained indebted to the citizens of Dublin for his prouision of victels in the summe of a thousand pounds, wherof he paid not one farthing, so that manie a bitter curse he carried with him to the sea, leauing William archbishop of Cashell lord chancellor gouernor of the land in his place: and so by this meane was the said archbishop both chancellor and iustice, and so continued till the feast of saint Michaell. At what time Alexander Bignor archbishop of Dublin arriued at Poghall, being constituted lord iustice, and came to Dublin on saint Denise daie, being the seauenth of October. But here is to be remembred, that a little before the departure of the lord Mortimer forth of Ireland, to wit, the fift of Maie, the lord Richard de Clare with foure knights, sir Henrie Capell, sir Thomas de Naas, sir James Caunton, and sir John Caunton; also Adam Aplgard and others (to the number of foure score persons) were slaine by Obren and Mac Arthie. It was said that the enimies in despite caused the lord Richards bodie to be cut in peeces, so to satisfie their malicious stomachs; but the same peeces were yet afterwards buried in the church of the friers minors at Limerike. Also before the lord Mortimers returne into England, John Lacie was had forth of the castell of Dublin, and carried to Trim, where he was arreigned and adiudged to be prested to death, and so he died in prison.

Walter Islep treasuror of Ireland.

The lord Richard de Clare slaine.

But now to returne vnto the doings in time of Bignors gouernment. Immediatlie vpon his arriuall, the lord John Birmingham being generall of the field, and hauing with him diuerse capteins of worthie fame, namelie sir Richard Cute, sir Miles Verdon, sir Hugh Trippetton, sir Herbert Sutton, sir John Cusacke, sir Edmund Birmingham, sir William Birmingham, Walter Birmingham the primat of Armagh, sir Walter de la Pulle, and John Naupas led forth the kings power, to the number of one thousand three hundred foure and twentie able men against Edward Bruse, who being accompanied with the lord Philip Powbrale, the lord Walter de Soules, the lord Alaine Steward, with his three brethren, sir Walter, and sir Hugh, sir Robert, and sir Aimerie Lacies, and others, was incamped not past two miles from Dundalke with three thousand men, there abiding the Englishmen, to fight with them if they came forward: which they did with all conuenient speed, being as desirous to giue battell as the Scots were to receiue it.

The lord Birmingham and other capteins against the Scots.

The primat of Armagh personallie accompanieng the English power, & blessing their enterprise, gaue them such comfortable exhortation, as he thought serued the time yer they began to incounter. And herewith buckling togither, at length the Scots fullie and wholie were vanquished, and two thousand of them slaine, togither with their capteine Edward Bruse. Naupas that pressed into the throng

The primat of Armagh.

The battell of Armagh.

The Scots vanquished.

Edward Bruse slaine.

throng to incounter with Bruse hand to hand, was found in the search dead aloft vpon the slaine bodie of Bruse. The victorie thus obteined vpon saint Calixtus daie, made an end of the Scotish kingdome in Ireland, & lord Birmingham sending the head of Bruse into England, or as Marlburrow hath, being the messenger himselfe, presented it to king Edward, who in recompense gaue to him and his heires males the earledome of Louth, and the baronie of Ardich and Athenrie to him and his heirs generall for euer. Shortlie after sir Richard de Clare with foure other knights of name, and manie other men of warre were slaine in Thomond. The lord Roger Mortimer came againe into Ireland to gouerne as lord iustice there now the second time, and the townes of Athessell and Plebs were burned by the lord Fitzthomas brother to the lord Maurice Fitzthomas. And about this season the bridge of Kilcolin was builded by Maurice Jakis.

Birmingham made earle of Louth.

Sir Richard de Clare slaine.

1319

1320

In the yeare following, to wit, one thousand three hundred and twentie, which was the fourteenth yeare of king Edwards reigne, Thomas Fitzjohn earle of Kildare was made lord iustice of Ireland. Here is to be remembred, that about this time also Alexander Bignor archbishop of Dublin sent to pope John the two and twentith, for a priuilege to institute an vniuersitie within the citie of Dublin, and his suite tooke effect: and the first three doctors of diuinitie did the said archbishop himselfe creat, William Harditie a frier preacher, Henrie Cogie a frier minor, and frier Edmund Bernerden: and beside these one doctor of canon law, to wit, Richard archdeacon of saint Patrikes that was chancellor of the same vniuersitie, who kept their terms and commensements solemnlie: neither was this vniuersitie at anie time since disfranchised, but onlie through change of times discontinued, and now since the dissoluing of monasteries vtterlie decaied.

The earle of Kildare lord iustice.

In vniuersitie erected at Dublin.

A motion was made (as Campion hath noted) in a parlement holden there, whilest sir Henrie Sidneie was the quænes lieutenant, to haue it againe erected, by waie of contributions to be laid togither: the said sir Henrie offering twentie pounds lands, and an hundred pounds in monie. Other there were also, that according to their abilities and deuotions followed with their offers. The name was deuised; A worthie plantation of Plantagenet & Bullogne. But while they disputed of a conuenient place for it, and of other circumstances, they let fall the principall.

1321

In the yeare one thousand three hundred twentie and one, there was a great slaughter made of the Oconhurs at Balibagan, by the English of Leinster and Meth. And John Birmingham earle of Louth was lord iustice of Ireland. Unto this man, whilest he was lord iustice, the king wrote, commanding him to be with him at Carleill in the octaues of the Trinitie, in the fiftéenth yeare of his reigne, with three hundred men of armes, one thousand hobellars, and six thousand footmen, ech of them armed with an aketon, a sallet, and gloues of maill, which number was to be leuied in that land: besides three hundred men of armes which the earle of Ulster was appointed to serue within that tournie, which the king at that time intended to make against the Scots. The date of the letter was the third of Aprill. In the yeare one thousand three hundred twentie and two, diuerse nobles in Ireland departed this life, as the lord Richard Birmingham, the lord Edmund Butler, and the lord Thomas Persiuall. Moreouer, the lord Andrew Birmingham, and sir Richard de la Lond were slaine by Onotan. In the eightéenth yéere of king Edward the second his reigne, the lord John Darcie came into Irel and to be lord iustice, and the kings lieutenant there. In these daies liued in the dioceese of Ossorie the ladie Alice Kettle, whome the bishop ascited to purge hir selfe of the same of inchantment and witchcraft imposed vnto hir, and to one Petronill and Basill hir complices. She was charged to haue nightlie conference with a spirit called Robin Artisson, to whome she sacrificed in the high waie nine red cocks, and nine peacocks eies. Also that she swept the streets of Kilkennie betweene compleine and twilight, raking all the filth towards the doores of hir sonne William Outlaw, murmuring & muttering secretlie with hir selfe these words:

1322

John Darcie lord iustice.

Rec. Turris.

1321

1322

1323

The ladie Alice Kettle accused of sorcerie.

To the house of William my sonne,
Hie all the wealth of Kilkennie towne.

At the first conuiction they abiured & did penance, but shortlie after they were found in relapse, & then was Pentronill burnt at Kilkennie, the other twaine might not be heard of. She at the houre of hir death accused the said William as priuie to their sorceries, whome the bishop held in durance nine weeks, forbidding his keepers to eat or to drinke with him, or to speake to him more than once in the daie. But at length, thorough the suite and instance of Arnold le Powre then seneschall of Kilkennie, he was deliuered, and after corrupted with bribes the seneschall to persecute the bishop; so that he thrust him into prison for three moneths. In rifling the closet of the ladie, they found a wafer of sacramentall bread, hauing the diuels name stamped thereon in stéed of Jesus Christ, and a pipe of ointment, wherewith she greased a staffe, vpon the which she ambled and galloped thorough thicke and thin, when and in what maner she listed. This businesse about these witches troubled all the state of Ireland, the more; for that the ladie was supported by certeine of the nobilitie, and lastlie conueied ouer into England, since which time it could neuer be vnderstood what became of hir. In the yeare one thousand three hundred twentie and six, & last of king Edwards the seconds reigne, Richard Burgh earle of Ulster departed this life.

Edward the third.

1326

VNneth was the businesse about the witches at an end, when it was signified, that a gentleman of the familie of the Otwlies in Leinster, named Adam Duffe, possessed by some wicked spirit of error, denied obstinatelie the incarnation of our sauior, the trinitie of persons in the vnitie of the Godhead, & the resurrection of the flesh; as for the holie scripture, he said it was but a fable: the virgin Marie he affirmed to be a woman of dissolute life, and the apostolike sée erroneous. For such assertions he was burnt in Hogging greene beside Dublin. About the same time, Fitzarke Macmorch, and sir Henrie Traherne were taken prisoners. In the yeare following, the lord Thomas Fitzjohn erle of Kildare, and the lord Arnold Powre & William earle of Ulster were sent ouer into Ireland, & Roger Outlaw prior of saint Johns of Jerusalem in Ireland, commonlie called the prior of Kilmainan, was made lord iustice. This man by reason of variance that chanced to rise betwixt the Giraldins, the Butlers, and Birminghams, on the one side; and the Powres & Burghs on the other, for terming the earle of Kildare a rimer, to pacifie the parties called a parlement, wherein he himselfe was faine to make his purgation of a slander imposed to him, as suspected of heresie.

1327

Adam Duffe an heretike.

The prior of Kilmainan lord iustice.

The bishop of Ossorie had giuen an information against Arnold le Powre, conuented & conuicted in his

Arnold Powre accused of heresie.

his consistorie of certeine heretical opinions, but bicause the beginning of Powers accusation concerned the iustices kinsman, and the bishop was mistrusted to prosecute his owne wrong, and the person of the man rather than the fault: a date was limited for the iustifieng of the bill, the partie being apprehended and respited thereunto. This dealing the bishop (who durst not stirre out of Kilkennie to prosecute his accusation) was reputed partiall: and when by meanes hereof the matter hanged in suspense, he infamed the said prior as an abbettor and fauourer of Arnolds heresie. The prior submitted himselfe to the triall, and thereupon were seuerall proclamations made in court, that it should be lawfull to anie man to come into the court, and to inferre, accuse, and declare what euidence he could, against the lord iustice: but none came. Then passed a decrée by the councell, commanding all bishops, abbats, priors, and the maiors of Dublin, Corke, Limerike, Waterford, and Drogheda, the shiriffs, knights, & seneschals of euerie shire, to appeare at Dublin. From amongst all these, they appointed sir inquisitors, which examining the bishops and other persons aforesaid singularlie one by one, found that with an vniuersall consent they deposed for the prior, affirming that (to their iudgements) he was a zelous and a faithfull child of the catholike church. In the meane time, Arnold le Powre the prisoner deceased in the castell, & bicause he stood vnpurged, long he late vnburied.

1329 The earle of Louth slaine.

In the yeare one thousand three hundred twentie and nine, John de Birmingham earle of Louth, and his brother Peter, with many other of that surname, and Richard Talbot of Malahide were slaine on Whitsun euen at Balibragan by men of the countrie. Also the lord Thomas Butler, and diuerse other noblemen were slaine by Mac Gogoghdan & other Irishmen nére to Polinger. For the Irish as well in Leinster as in Meth made insurrections in that season, and so likewise did they in Mounster vnder the leading of Obren, whom William earle of Ulster and James earle of Ormond vanquished. So outragious were the Leinster Irish, that in one church they burnt foure score innocent soules, asking no more but the life of their priest then at masse, whome they notwithstanding sticked with their iauelins, spurned the host, and wasted all with fire: neither forced they of the popes interdiction, nor anie ecclesiasticall censures denounced against them (matters of no small consideration among them namelie in those daies) but maliciouslie perseuered in the course of their furious rage, till the citizens of Wexford somewhat tamed them, and slue foure hundred of them in one skirmish, the rest fleing were all drenched in the water of Slane. In the yeare one thousand three hundred and thirtie, the earle of Ulster with a great armie made a iournie against Obren, and the prior of Kilmainan lord iustice put Maurice Fitzthomas earle of Desmond in prison in the marshalsie, out of the which he shortlie escaped, and the lord Hugh Lacie returned into Ireland, and obteined the kings peace and fauour.

1330 The prior of Kilmainan lord iustice.

1331 Anthonie Lucie lord iustice.

In the yeare one thousand three hundred thirtie and one, the earle of Ulster passed ouer into England, and great slaughter was made vpon the Irish in Okenslie. Also the castell of Arclo was taken by the Irishmen, and great slaughter made of the English in the Towlagh by Otothell and others. Also the lord Anthonie Lucie was sent ouer lord iustice into Ireland, and great slaughter was made of the Irish at Thurles by the knights of the countrie, & at Finnath in Meth, there were manie of them slaine by the English; but yet was the castell of Fernis taken and burnt by the Irish. On the feast daie of the assumption of our ladie, which falleth on the fifteenth of August, Maurice Fitzthomas earle of Desmond was apprehended at Limerike by the lord iustice, and sent vnto the castell of Dublin. Moreouer, the lord iustice tooke sir William Birmingham at Clonmell by a wile, whilest he was sicke in his bed, & sent him (together with his sonne Walter Birmingham) vnto the castell of Dublin, the thirtith of April. In the yeare one thousand three hundred thirtie and two the said sir William was hanged at Dublin, but Walter was deliuered by reason he was within orders.

The earle of Desmond apprehended.

1332 William Birmingham executed.

Campion following such notes as he hath séene, writeth that the death of this William Birmingham chanced in time of the gouernement of William Outlaw prior of Kilmainan, being lieutenant vnto John lord Darcie, that was made lord iustice (as the said Campion hath noted) in the yeare one thousand three hundred twentie and nine. Although Marlburrow affirmeth that he came thither to beare that office, in the yeare one thousand three hundred thirtie and two, after the lord Lucie was discharged, as hereafter shall be recited. But whensoeuer, or vnder whome soeuer Birmingham was executed, he was accounted an od knight, and such a one as for his valiancie, his match was not lightlie to be anie where found. The castell of Clonmore was taken the same yeare by the Englishmen, and the castell of Bonrath was destroid by the Irish of Thomond. Also Henrie de Mandenill was taken and sent prisoner to be safelie kept in Dublin. Likewise Walter Burgh with two of his brethren were taken in Connagh by the earle of Ulster, and sent to the castell of Norburgh.

Campion.

This yeare the lord Antonie Lucie was discharged of his rome by the king, and so returned with his wife & children into England, and the lord John Darcie was sent ouer lord iustice in Lucies place, and great slaughter was made vpon Bren Obren, and Mac Arthie in Mounster, by the English of that countrie. This John Darcie (as should appeare by gifts bestowed vpon him by the king) was in singular fauour with him. Amongst other things which he had of the kings gift, we find that he had the manors of Louth, and Baliogarie, and other lands in Ireland which belonged to the earle of Ew. And for that the said earle was a Frenchman, and tooke part with Philip de Valois the kings enimie, they were seized into the kings hand. The earle of Desmond vpon suerties was set at libertie, and by the parlement holden at Dublin in this yeare 1333, was sent ouer into England vnto the king; and William erle of Ulster a yong gentleman of twentie yeares of age, in going towards Knockfergus the seauenth of June, was slaine nére to the fords in Ulster, by his owne people, but his wife and daughter escaped into England: and the daughter was after maried vnto the lord Lionell the kings sonne. She deceased afterwards at Dublin, and left a daughter behind hir that was his heire, maried to Roger Mortimer earle of March, and lord of Trim.

The lord Butler slaine.

The lord Darcie iustice.

The earle of Ew.

1333 Parlement.

This murther was procured by Robert Fitzmartine Mandeuill, who was the first that presumed to giue to the earle anie wound. To reuenge the death of this earle of Ulster (slaine as ye haue heard beside Knockfergus) the lord iustice Darcie with a great power went into Ulster, to pursue those that through Mandeuils seditious tumults had so traitorouslie murthered their lord. At his setting forward, the said iustice Darcie appointed sir Thomas Burgh treasuror, to gouerne as lieutenant to him in his absence. When the lord iustice had punished the traitors in Ulster, he passed ouer into Scotland, there to make warre against the Scots that were enimies

The earle of Ulster slaine.

Sir Thomas Burgh.

The lord iustice inuadeth Scotland.

at

at that present to the king of England, and on the feast daie of saint Margaret, great slaughter was made of the Scots by the Irishmen: and so what by the king in one part, and the lord iustice of Ireland in another, Scotland was in maner wholie conquered, and Edward Baliol was established king of Scotland. The lord iustice might haue possessed the Iles if they had béene worth the kéeping: into the which Iles, except the said Darcie and the earle of Suffer late lieutenant of Ireland, no gouernor at anie time yet aduentured. At Darcies comming backe into Ireland, and exercising the office of lord iustice, he deliuered Walter Birmingham out of the castell of Dublin.

1336 In the yeare 1336, and tenth of Edward the thirds reigne, on S. Laurence daie, the Irish of Connagh were discomfited and put to flight by the Englishmen of the countrie there, with the losse of one Englishman, and ten thousand of the enimies. The lord

1337 Sir John Charleton iustice. John Charleton baron came into Ireland to be lord iustice, and with him his brother Thomas bishop of Hereford lord chancellor, and John Rice lord treasurer, and two hundred Welshmen souldiors. The bi-

1338 The bishop of Hereford lord iustice. shop was ordeined afterward lord iustice, in whose time all the Irish of Ireland were at defiance with the English, and shortlie brought againe into quiet by the earles of Kildare and Desmond. The lord

1340 John Darcie lord iustice during life. John Darcie by the kings letters patents was (during life) ordeined lord iustice of Ireland, in the fourteenth yeare of king Edward the thirds reigne, which king abused by euill counsell and sinister informers, called in vnder his signet roiall, the franchises,

Calling in of liberties. liberties and grants, whatsoeuer had béene deuised, made and ratified to the realme of Ireland, and to euerie each person thereof. This reuoking of liberties was displeasantlie taken. The English of birth and the English of blood falling at words, were diuided into factions about it, for which contention the Irish still waited, so as the realme was euen vpon the point to giue ouer all, and to rebell. For redresse whereof, the lord iustice called a parlement at Dublin, to the which the nobles refused to come, and in quiet wise assembled themselues togither at Kilkennie, where they with the commons agréed vpon certeine questions to be demanded of the king by waie of supplication, signifieng in the same partlie their gréefes. Which questions were in effect as followeth.

Articles or questions. 1 How a realme of warre might be gouerned by one both vnskilfull and vnable in all warlike seruice?

2 How an officer vnder the king, that entered verie poore, might in one yeare grow to more excessiue wealth, than men of great patrimonie and liuelihood in manie yeares?

3 How it chanced, that sith they were all called lords of their owne, that the souereigne lord of them all was not a pennie the richer for them?

The cheefe of them that thus séemed to repine with the present gouernment, was Thomas Fitzmaurice earle of Desmond, through whose maintenance and bearing out of the matter, the countrie was in great trouble; so as it had not lightlie béene séene, that such contrarietie in minds and disliking had appeared amongst those of the English race, in that realme at anie time before. Herewith Rafe

1343 Rafe Vffort lord iustice. Vffort was sent ouer lord iustice, who bringing his wife with him, the countesse of Vlster arriued about the thirteenth of Julie. This man was verie rigorous, and through persuasion (as was said) of his wife, he was more extreame and couetous than otherwise he would haue béene, a matter not to be

The countesse of Vlster. forgotten. For if this ladie had béene as readie to moue hir husband to haue shewed himselfe gentle and mild in his gouernement, as she was bent to pricke him forward vnto sharpe dealings and rigorous proceedings, she had béene now aswell reported of, as she is infamed by their pens that haue registred the doings of those times. But to the purpose. This Vffort lord iustice, in paine of forfeiture of all his lands, commanded the earle of Desmond to make his personall appearance at a parlement, which he called to be holden at Dublin, there to begin the seuenth of June. And bicause the earle refused to come according to the summons, he raised the kings standard, and with an armie marched into Mounster, and there seized the earles possessions into the kings hands, letting them forth to farme for an annuall rent vnto other persons.

The earle of Desmond.

And whilest he yet remained in Mounster, he deuised waies how to haue the earle of Desmond apprehended: which being brought to passe, he afterward deliuered him vpon mainprise of these suerties whose names insue. William de Burgh earle of Vlster, James Butler earle of Ormond, Richard Tute, Nicholas Verdon, Morice Rochford, Eustace le Powre, Gerald de Rochford, John Fitzrobert Powre, Robert Barrie, Maurice Fitzgirald, John Wellesleie, Walter le Fant, Richard Rokelleie, Henrie Traherne, Roger Powre, John Lenfant, Roger Powre, Matthew Fitzhenrie, Richard Walleis, Edmund Burgh sonne to the earle of Vlster, knights: Dauid Barrie, William Fitzgirald, Foulke de Fraxinus, Robert Fitzmaurice, Henrie Fitzberkleie, John Fitzgeorge de Roch, Thomas de Lées de Burgh. These (as yée haue heard) were bound for the earle. And bicause he made default, the lord iustice verelie toke the aduantage of the bond against the mainpernours, foure of them onelie excepted, the two earles and two knights.

Suerties for the earle of Desmond.

The lord iustice is charged with strict dealing by writers in this behalfe, for that the same persons had assisted him in his warres against Desmond. But trulie if we shall consider the matter with indifferencie, he did no more than law and reason required. For if euerie suertie vpon forfeiture of his bond should be forborne, that otherwise doth his duetie, what care would men haue either to procure suerties or to become suerties themselues? But such is the affection of writers, specially when they haue conceiued anie misliking towards those of whome they take occasion to speake, so as manie a worthie man hath béene defamed, and with slander greatlie defaced in things wherein he rather hath deserued singular commendation. But howsoeuer this matter was handled touching the earle of Desmond, vpon the death of the lord iustice, which insued the next yeare, bonfiers were made, and great ioy shewed through all the relme of Ireland. His ladie verelie (as should appeare) was but a miserable woman, procuring him to extortion and briberie. Much he abridged the prerogatiues of the church, and was so hated, that euen in the sight of the countrie he was robbed without rescue by Mac Cartie, notwithstanding he gathered power, and dispersed those rebels of Vlster.

Vffort euill spoken of.

Ioie conceiued for the death of the lord iustice Vffort.

1346 Robert Darcie lord iustice. Robert Darcie was ordeined iustice by the councell till the kings letters came to sir John Fitzmaurice, who released Fitzthomas earle of Kildare left in durance by Vffort at his death. Fitzmaurice continued not long, but was discharged, and the lord Walter Birmingham elected to succeed in that rome, who procured a safe conduct for Desmond to plead his cause before the king, by whom he was liberallie intreated, and allowed towards his expenses there twentie shillings a day at the princes charge. In consideration of which courtesie shewed to his kinsman, the earle of Kildare, accompanied with diuerse lords, knights, and chosen horsemen, serued the king at

John Fitzmorice iustice. L. Birmingham iustice.

Calis,

Calis, a towne thought impregnable, & returned after the winning therof in great pompe and follitie.

1347 Record. Tur. We find that Thomas Berkeleie, and Reinold lord Cobham, and sir Morice Berkleie became mainpernours for the said earle of Desmond, that he should come into England, and abide such triall as the law would award. John Archer prior of Kilmainan was substituted lieutenant to the lord iustice. To whom succéded Baron Carew, and after Carew followed sir Thomas Rokesbie knight, vnto whom was assigned aboue his ordinarie retinue of twentie men of armes, a supplie of ten men of armes, and twentie archers on horssebacke, so long as it should be thought néedfull. Great mortalitie chanced this yeare, as in other parts of the world, so especiallie in places about the seacoasts of England and Ireland. In the yeare following departed this life Alexander Bignor archbishop of Dublin. And the same yeare was John de saint Paule consecrated archbishop of that sée. This yeare deceased Kenwrike Shereman somtime maior of Dublin, a great benefactor to euerie church and religious house within twentie miles round about the citie. His legacies to the pore and others, beside his liberalitie shewed in his life time, amounted to thrée thousand marks.

1348 The prior of Kilmainan. Baron Carew iustice. Sir Thomas Rokesbie iustice, Record. Tur.

1349

John de S. Paule archbishop of Dublin.

1350 Kenwrike Shereman.

In this season dwelled in Ulster a welchie knight one sir Robert Sauage, who the rather to preserue his owne, began to wall and fortifie his manor houses with castels and piles against the Irish enimie, exhorting his heire Henrie Sauage to aplie that worke so beneficiall for himselfe & his posteritie. Father (quoth yong Sauage) I remember the prouerbe Better a castell of bones than of stones. Where strength & courage of valiant men are prest to helpe vs, neuer will I (by the grace of God) cumber my selfe with dead walles. My fort shall be where soeuer yong bloods be stirring, & where I find rome to fight. The father in a fume let lie the building, and forsware to go anie further forward in it. But yet the want therof and such like hath bene the decaie as well of the Sauages, as of all the English gentlemen in Ulster: as the lacke also of walled townes is one of the principall occasions of the rude wildnesse in other parts of Ireland.

Sir Robert Sauage.

This Sauage, hauing prepared an armie against the Irish, allowed to euerie souldier before they should buckle with the enimie, a mightie draught of *Aqua vitæ*, wine, or old ale, and killed in prouision for their returne, béefe, venison, and fowle, great plentie: which doings diuerse of his capteins misliked, bicause they considered the successe of warre to be vncerteine, and therefore estéemed it better policie to poison the cates, or to do them awaie, than to kéepe the same; and hapilie to féed a sort of roges with such princelie food, if ought should happen to themselues in this aduenture of so few against so manie. Herat smiled the gentleman and said, Tush ye are too full of enuie: this world is but an in, to the which ye haue no speciall interest, but are onelie tenants at will of the Lord. If it please him to command vs from it as it were from our lodging, and to set other good fellowes in our romes, what hurt shall it be for vs to leaue them some meat for their supers? Let them hardlie win it & weare it. If they enter our dwellings, good maner would no lesse but to welcome them with such fare as the countrie bréedeth, and with all my heart much good may it do them. Notwithstanding I presume so far vpon your noble courages, that verelie my mind giueth me we shall returne at night, & banket our selues with our owne store. And so did, hauing slain 3000 Irishmen.

1355 The earle of Desmond

In the yeare 1355 deceased Maurice Fitzthomas earle of Desmond lord iustice of Ireland, who had that office of the kings grant for terme of life. After him succéeded in that rome Thomas de Rokesbie, a knight, sincere and vpright of conscience, who being controlled for suffering himselfe to be serued in trécne cups, answered: Those homelie cups & dishes paie trulie for that they conteine: I had rather drinke out of trécne cups & paie gold and siluer, than drinke out of gold & make wodden paiment. This yeare began great variance betwixt Richard Rafe primat of Armagh, & foure orders of begging friers, which ended at length by the deaths of the said Richard Rafe, and Richard Kilminton, in the yeare 1360: Rafe deceasing in the popes court, and Kilminton in England. Almerike de S. Amand, John or (as other haue) James Butler earle of Ormond, and Maurice Fitzthomas earle of Kildare, were appointed lord iustices of Ireland by turnes. In Ormonds time, and in the thrée and twentith yeare of king Edward the thirds reigne, order was taken that the Irish lords should remaine and dwell in their houses on the marches, to defend the subiects from inuasions of enimies. And further, proclamation went forth, that no méere Irish borne should be made maior, bailiffe, porter, officer, or minister in anie towne or place within the English dominions: nor that anie archbishop, abbat, prior, or anie other being of the kings allegiance, vpon forfeiture of all that he might forfeit, should aduance anie that was méere Irish borne to the rome of a canon, or to haue anie other ecclesiasticall benefice that laie among the English subiects.

lord iustice deceased. Thomas Rokesbie lord iustice his saieng.

1357 Dissention betwixt the primat of Armagh, & the foure orders of friers. Thrée lord iustices.

Record. Tur.

To Maurice Thomas earle of Kildare, when he was ordeined lord iustice, the kings letters assigned in yearelie fee for his office 500 pounds, with condition, that the said gouernour should find twentie great horsses to serue in the field, he himselfe to be the twentith man in going against the enimie: which allowance and conditions in those daies (so farre as I can gesse) should séeme to be ordinarie to the office. Lionell duke of Clarence sonne to king Edward the third, came ouer into Ireland to be lord iustice there, and was in right of his wife earle of Ulster. He published an inhibition to all of the Irish birth not once to approch his armie, nor to be in anie wise imploied in seruice of the wars. He vanquished Odwen, but yet sudenlie (no man vnderstanding how) an hundred of his souldiers were wanting as they laie in garrison, the losse of whom was thought to be occasioned by that displeasant decrée afore rehearsed. Wherevpon he toke better aduise, and receiued the Irish into like fauour, as other lieutenants had them in before that present, shewing a tender loue towards them all, and so euer after prospered in his affaires. He created diuerse knights, as Preston, now knowne by the name of the familie of Gormanston, Hollewood, Talbot, Cusac, de la Hide, Patrike, Robert and John de Fraxinis: all these being gentlemen of worthie fame in chiualrie. The ercheker he remoued to Catherlagh, & bestowed in furnishing that towne fiue hundred pounds.

The earle of Kildare lord iustice.

Lionell duke of Clarence.

In the yeare 1362 John de S. Paule archbishop of Dublin departed this life the fift ides of September. And in the yeare following was Thomas Minot consecrated archbishop of that place. Girald Fitzmaurice earle of Desmond was appointed lord iustice, vntil the comming of the lord Windsor, the first lieutenant in Ireland, who came ouer in the yeare 1369. This Windsore called a parlement at Kilkennie, in the which was granted to the king a subsidie of thrée thousand pounds to be leuied of the people, subiects to the king in that land. And in an other parlement holden by him at Balidoill they granted two thousand pounds to be likewise leuied. Which said sums were granted of the méere and frée good wils of the nobles and communaltie of the land

1362

1367 The lord windsor lieutenant.

1369 Record. Turris A parlement. A subsidie.

land, towards the maintenance of the kings expenses in his warres. Yet the king in the three and fortith yeare of his reigne, directing his letters vnto the said lord Windsor, cõmanded him to surceale from leuieng the foresaid monie, although afterwards he commanded againe that the arrerages should be leuied and paid to his lieutenant the said Windsor.

Mortalitie of people.

The third pestilence in Ireland made awaie a great number of people. In the yeare 1370 the lord Gerald Fitzmorice earle of Desmond, and the lord John Fitzrichard, and the lord John Fitziohn, and manie other noble men were slaine by Obren, and Mac Conmard of Thomond in the moneth of Julie. In the yeare 1372 sir Richard Ashton was sent ouer to be lord iustice in Ireland. In the yeare following great warre was raised betwixt the English of Meth, and Offeroll, in the which manie vpon both sides were slaine. In Maie, the lord John Husseie baron of Galtrim, John Fitzrichard shiriffe of Meth, and William Dalton were slaine in Kinaleigh. In the yeare 1375 Thomas archbishop of Dublin departed this life, and the same yeare was Robert de Wikeford consecrated archbishop there.

1370 Conhar. 1372 Sir Richard Ashton lord iustice. 1373 Slaughter. 1375

Richard the second.

1381 The earle of March the kings lieutenant.

Edmund Mortimer earle of March & Ulster was made the kings lieutenant in Ireland. In the yeare 1383 a great mortalitie reigned in that countrie. This was called the fourth pestilence. In the yeare 1385 Dublin bridge fell. Beside Edmund Mortimer earle of March, Campion affirmeth, that in this Richard the seconds daies, there are iustices and lieutenants of Ireland specially recorded; Roger Mortimer sonne to the said Edmund, Philip Courtneie the kings cousine, James earle of Ormond, and Robert Vere earle of Orford, marquesse of Dublin lord chamberleine, who was also created duke of Ireland by parlement, and was credited with the whole dominion of the realme by grant for tearme of life, without paieng anie thing therefore, passing all writs, and placing all officers, as chancellor, treasurer, chiefe iustice, admerall, his owne lieutenant, and other inferiour charges vnder his owne Teste. In the yeare 1390, Robert de Wikeford archbishop of Dublin departed this life, and the same yeare was Robert Waldebie translated vnto the archbishop of Dublin an Augustine frier.

1383 1385 1390

In the yeare 1394, king Richard sore afflicted and troubled in mind with sorrow for the decease of his wife quéene Anne, that departed this life at Whitsuntide last past, not able without teares to behold his palaces and chambers of estate, that represented vnto him the solace past, & doubled his sorrow, sought some occasion of businesse: and now about Michaelmas passed ouer into Ireland, where diuerse lords and princes of Ulster renewed their homages, & placing Roger Mortimer erle of March his lieutenant, returned about Shrouetide. In the yeare 1397, Richard de Northalis archbishop of Dublin departed this life, that was the same yeare from another see remoued thither: he was a frier of the order of the Carmelites.

1394 King Richard goeth ouer into Ireland. Roger Mortimer lord lieutenant. Thom. Wals. 1397

The same yeare Thomas de Craulie was chosen and consecrated archbishop of Dublin. Also sir Thomas de Burgh, and sir Walter de Birmingham, slue six hundred Irishmen, with their capteine Macdowne. Moreouer, Edmund earle of March lord deputie of Ireland, with the aid of the erle of Ormond, wasted the countrie of an Irish lord called Obren, and at the winning of his chiefe house he made seuen knights, to wit, sir Christopher Preston, sir John Bedlow, sir Edmund Londores, sir John Londores, sir William Nugent, Walter de la Hide, and Robert Cadell. But after this it chanced, that on the Ascension daie, certeine Irishmen slue fortie Englishmen: and among them these were accounted as principall, John Fitzwilliams, Thomas Talbot, and Thomas Cambzie. But shortlie after Roger Mortimer earle of March and Ulster the kings lieutenant was slaine, with diuerse other, by Obren and other Irishmen of Leinster at Kenlis. Then was Roger Greie elected Lord iustice of Ireland.

Six hundred Irishmen slaine. Roger Greie lord iustice of Ireland.

The same yeare on the feast daie of saint Marke the pope, the duke of Surreie landed in Ireland, and with him came sir Thomas Craulie the archbishop of Dublin. King Richard informed of the vnrulie parts and rebellious sturres of the Irishmen, minded to appease the same, and specially to reuenge the death of the earle of March: wherevpon with a nauie of two hundred sails he passed ouer into Ireland, and landed at Waterford on a sundaie, being the morrow after saint Petronilla the virgins day. The fridaie after his arriuall at Ford in Kenlis within the towne of Kildare, there were slaine two hundred Irishmen by Jenicho de Artois a Gascoigne, and such Englishmen as he had with him: and the morrow after, the citizens of Dublin brake into the countrie of Obren, slue thirtie & three of the enimies, and toke fourescore men with children.

1398 King Richard passeth the second time ouer into Ireland.

The fourth kalends of Julie, king Richard came to Dublin, and remained there for a time; during the which diuerse lords and princes of the countrie came in and submitted themselues vnto him, by whome they were courteouslie vsed, and trained to honourable demeanor and ciuilitie, as much as the shortnes of time would permit, as in the English historie you maie find set forth more at large. Whilest king Richard thus laie in Dublin to reduce Ireland into due subiection, he was aduertised that Henrie duke of Lancaster, that latelie before had bene banished, was returned, & ment to bereaue him of the crowne. The sonne of which duke, togither with the duke of Glocesters sonne, the king shut vp within the castell of Trim, and then taking the seas, he returned and landed in Wales, where he found his defense so weake, and vnsure, that finallie he came into his aduersaries hands, and was deposed by authoritie of parlement, and then was the said duke of Lancaster admitted to reigne in his place.

The king commeth to Dublin. Sée more hereof in England.

Henrie the fourth.

1400

At Whitsuntide in the yeare 1400, which was the first yeare of the reigne of Henrie the fourth, the constable of Dublin castell, and diuerse other at Stanford in Ulster, fought by sea with Scots, where manie Englishmen were slaine and drowned. In the second yeare of king Henrie the fourth, sir John Stanleie the kings lieutenant in Ireland returned into England, leauing his vnder lieutenant there sir William Stanleie. The same yeare on Bartholomew euen, sir Stephan Scrope, deputie vnto the lord Thomas of Lancaster the kings brother, and lord lieutenant of Ireland, arriued there to supplie the roome of Alexander bishop of Meth, that exercised the same office vnder the said lord Thomas of Lancaster, before the comming of this sir Stephan Scrope; which sir Stephan for his violence and extortion before time vsed in the same office vnder king Richard, was sore cried out vpon by the voices of the

1401 Sir John Stanleie lord lieutenant. Sir Steph. Scrope.

poꝛe people, insomuch that the ladie his wife hearing of such exclamations, would in no wise continue with him there, except he would receiue a solemne oth on the bible, that wittinglie he should wꝛong no chꝛistian creature in that land, but dulie and trulie he should sée paiment made foꝛ all expenses: and hereof (she said) she had made a vow to Chꝛist so determinatlie, that vnlesse it were on his part firmelie pꝛomised, she could not without perill of soule go with him. Hir husband assented and accomplished hir request effectuallie, recouered a good opinion foꝛ his vpꝛight deling, reformed his caters & puruetoꝛs, inriched the countrie, maintained a plentifull house, remission of great offenses, remedies foꝛ persons indangered to the pꝛince, pardons of lands and liues he granted so charitablie and so discrétlie, that his name was neuer recited among them without manie blessings and pꝛaiers, and so chéerefullie they were readie to serue him against the Irish vpon all necessarie occasions. The loꝛd Thomas of Lancaster the kings sonne, and loꝛd lieutenant of Ireland, aꝛriued the same yeare at Dublin, vpon saint Bꝛices daie.

The maioꝛ of Dublin John Dꝛake, with a band of his citizens nœre to Bꝛe, slue foure thousand of the Irish outlawes (as Campion moteth out of the recoꝛds of Chꝛists church) but Marlburrow speaketh onelie of 493, and these being all men of warre. The verie same daie that this victoꝛie was atchiued, to wit, the eleuenth day of Julie, the church of the friers pꝛechers of Dublin was dedicated by the archbishop of that citie. The same yeare in September, a parlement was holden at Dublin, during the which in Vrgile sir Bartholomew Verdon knight, James White, Stephan Gernon, and other their complices, slue the shiriffe of Louth John Dowdall. In the yere 1403, in Maie, sir Walter Vetterlete steward of Vlster, a right valiant knight was slaine, and to the number of thirtie other with him. The same yeare about the feast of saint Martin, the loꝛd Thomas of Lancaster the kings sonne returned into England leauing the loꝛd Stephan Scrope his deputie there: who also in the beginning of Lent sailed ouer into England, and then the loꝛds of the land chose the earle of Dꝛmond to be loꝛd iustice.

The Irish ouerthꝛowne by the maioꝛ of Dublin.

1403

Stephan Scrope.

The earle of Dꝛmond loꝛd iustice.

In the fift yere of Henrie the fourth, John Colton archbishop of Armagh the seuen & twentith of Apꝛill departed this life, vnto whom Nicholas Stoning succéeded. The same yeare on the daie of saint Vitale the martyꝛ, the parlement of Dublin began beforе the earle of Dꝛmond then loꝛd iustice of Ireland, where the statutes of Kilkennie and Dublin were confirmed, and likewise the charter of Ireland. In the sixt yeare of Henrie the fourth, in the moneth of Maie, thꝛée Scotish barks were taken, two at Green castell, and one at Alkeie, with capteine Macgolagh. The same yeare the merchants of Bꝛodagh entered Scotland, and toke pꝛeies and pledges. Also on the éeuen of the feast day of the seuen bꝛethꝛen, Oghgard was burnt by the Irish. And in June sir Stephan Scrope that was come againe into Ireland, returned effsones into England, leauing the earle of Dꝛmond loꝛd iustice of Ireland. About the same time they of Dublin entered Scotland at saint Ninian, and valiantlie behaued themselues against the enimies, and after crossing the seas, directed their course into Wales, and did much hurt to the Welshmen, bꝛinging from thense the shꝛine of saint Cubins, & placed it in the church of the Trinitie in Dublin. James Butler earle of Dꝛmond died at Baligam, whilest he was loꝛd iustice, vnto whom succéeded Gerald earle of Kildare.

1404

The archbishop of Armagh deceased.

1405

The citizens of Dublin inuade Scotland.

They inuade wales.

The earle of Dꝛmond deceased.

In the seuenth yeare of king Henrie on Coꝛpus Chꝛisti day, the citizens of Dublin with the countrie people about them, manfullie vanquished the Irish enimies, and slue diuerse of them, and toke two ensignes oꝛ standards, bꝛinging with them to Dublin the heads of those whom they had slaine. The same yeare the pꝛioꝛ of Conall, in the plaine of Kildare, fought manfullie with the Irish, & vanquished two hundꝛed that were well armed, slaieng part of them, and chasing the residue out of the field, and the pꝛioꝛ had not with him past the number of twentie Englishmen: but God (as saith mine authoꝛ) assisted those that put their trust in him. The same yeare after Michaelmas, Stephan Scrope deputie iustice to the loꝛd Thomas of Lancaster the kings sonne, and his lieutenant of Ireland, came againe ouer into Ireland. And in the feast of saint Hilarie was a parlement holden at Dublin, which in Lent after was ended at Trim. And Peter de Birmingham slue Cathole Oconhur about the end of Febꝛuarie. In the yere 1407, a certeine false and heathenish wꝛetch an Irish man, named Mac Adam Mac Gilmoꝛe, that had caused foꝛtie churches to be destroied, as he that was neuer chꝛistened, and therefoꝛe called Coꝛbi, chanced to take pꝛisoner one Patrike Sauage, and receiued foꝛ his ransome two thousand markes, though afterwards he slue him, togither with his bꝛother Richard.

Hen. Marlb.

A parlement at Dublin.

1407

Coꝛbi what it signifieth.

The same yeare in the feast of the exaltation of the crosse, Stephan Scrope deputie to the loꝛd Thomas of Lancaster, with the earles of Dꝛmond and Desmond, and the pꝛioꝛ of Kilmainan, and diuerse other capteins and men of warre of Peth, set from Dublin, and inuaded the land of Mac Murch, where the Irish came into the field and skirmished with them, so as in the foꝛmer part of the daie they put the English power to the woꝛse; but at length the Irish were vanquished and chased, so that Onolan with his son and diuerse others were taken pꝛisoners. But the English capteins aduertised here, that the Burkens and Okeroll in the countie of Kilkennie, had foꝛ the space of two daies togither done much mischiefe, they rode with all spéed vnto the towne of Callan, and there incountering with the aduersaries, manfullie put them to flight, slue Okeroll, and eight hundꝛed others. There went a tale, and beléeued of manie, that the sunne stood still foꝛ a space that daie, till the Englishmen had ridden six miles: so much was it thought that God fauoured the English part in this enterpꝛise, if we shall beléeue it.

Okeroll slaine.

The same yeare the loꝛd Stephan Scrope passed once againe ouer into England, and James Butler earle of Dꝛmond was elected by the countrie loꝛd iustice of Ireland. In the dais of this K. Henrie the fourth, the inhabitants of Coꝛke being soꝛe afflicted with perpetuall oppꝛessions of their Irish neighboꝛs, complained themselues in a generall wꝛiting directed to the loꝛd Rutland and Coꝛke, the kings deputie there, and to the councell of the realme then assembled at Dublin: which letter because it openeth a window to behold the state of those parties, and of the whole realme of Ireland in those daies, we haue thought good to set downe here, as it hath bœne enterd by Campion, according to the copie deliuered to him by Francis Agard esquire, one of the quœnes maiesties pꝛiuie councell in Ireland.

A letter from Corke out of an old *record that beareth no date.*

IT may please your wisedomes to haue pittie on vs the kings poꝛe subieas within the countie of Coꝛke, oꝛ else we are cast awaie foꝛ euer. Foꝛ where there are in this countie these loꝛds by name, beside knights,

knights, esquiers, gentlemen, and yeomen, to a great number that might dispend yearelie eight hundred pounds, fiue hundred pounds, foure hundred pounds, two hundred pounds, one hundred pounds, an hundred markes, twentie markes, twentie pounds, ten pounds, some more, some lesse, to a great numbers, besides these lords. First the lord marques Caro, his yearelie reuenues was beside Dorsete hauen and other creekes, two thousand two hundred pounds sterling. The lord Barneuale of Berhauen, his yearelie reuenue was beside Bodre hauen and other creekes, one thousand six hundred pounds sterling. The lord Wogan of the great castell, his yearelie reuenue beside his hauens and creekes, thirteene thousand pounds. The lord Balram of Enfort, his yearelie reuenue beside hauens and creekes, one thousand three hundred pounds sterling. The lord Curcie of Kelbretton, his yearelie reuenue beside hauens and creekes, one thousand two hundred pounds sterling. The lord Mandeuile of Barenstellie, his yearelie reuenue beside hauens and creekes, one thousand two hundred pounds sterling. The lord Arundell of the Strand, his yearelie reuenue beside hauens and creekes, one thousand fiue hundred pounds sterling. The lord Barod of the gard, his yearelie reuenues beside hauens & creekes one thousand one hundred pounds sterling. The lord Steineie of Baltmore, his yearelie reuenue beside hauens and creekes, eight hundred pounds sterling. The lord Roch of Pole castell, his yearelie reuenues besides hauens and creekes, ten thousand pounds sterling. The kings maiestie hath the lands of the late yong Barrie by forfeiture, the yearelie reuenue whereof, besides two riuers and creekes, and all other casualties, is one thousand eight hundred pounds sterling.

I thinke rather Greene castell.

And that at the end of this parlement, your lordship, with the kings most noble councell may come to Corke, & call before you all these lords, and other Irishmen, and bind them in paine of losse of life, lands and goods, that neuer one of them do make warre vpon an other, without licence or commandement of you my lord deputie, and the kings councell; for the vtter destruction of these parts is that onelie cause. And once all the Irishmen, and the kings enimies were driuen into a great vallie called Clane onight, betwixt two great mounteines called Maccort, or the leprous Iland: and there they liued long and manie yeares with their white meat, till at the last these English lords fell at variance among themselues, and then the weakest part toke certeine Irishmen to take their part, and so vanquished their enimies. And thus fell the English lords at warre among themselues, till the Irishmen were stronger than they, and draue them awaie, and now haue the countrie whole vnder them; but that the lord Roch, the lord Barrie, and the lord Curcie onelie remaine with the least part of their ancestors possessions: and yong Barrie is there vpon the kings portion, paieng his grace neuer a pennie rent. Wherefore we the kings poore subiects of the citie of Corke, Kinsale, and Poghall, desire your lordship to send hither two good iustices to see this matter ordred, and some English capteins with twentie Englishmen that may be capteins ouer vs all: and we will rise with them to redresse these enormities all at our owne costs. And if you will not come nor send, we will send ouer to our liege lord the king, and complaine on you all. Thus far that letter.

The citie of Corke.

And (as saith Campion) at this daie the citie of Corke is so incumbred with vnquiet neighbors of great power, that they are forced to gard their gates continuallie, & to keepe them shut at seruice times, at meales, and from sun setting to sun rising, not suffering anie stranger to enter the towne with his weapon, but to leaue the same at a lodge appointed. They dare vnneth at anie time walke abroad far from the towne for their recreation, except at seasons; and then with strength of men furnished with armor and weapon for their safegard. They match in wedlocke among themselues, so that welnere the whole citie is allied and ioined togither in consanguinitie. But now to returne vnto the doings of the earle of Ormond that was placed lord iustice in Scrops roome. We do find that in the yeare 1408 he called a parlement at Dublin, in which the statutes of Kilkennie and Dublin were eftsones reuiued, and certeine ordinances established vnder the great seale of England against purueiors. The same yeare, the morrow after Lammas daie, the lord Thomas of Lancaster sonne to king Henrie the fourth, lord lieutenant of Ireland, landed at Carlingford, and in the weeke following he came vnto Dublin, and put the earle of Kildare vnder arrest, comming to him with three of his familie. He lost all his goods, being spoiled & rifled by the lord lieutenant his seruants, & himselfe kept still in prison in the castell of Dublin, till he had paid 300 marks fine.

1408
A parlement at Dublin.

The lord Thomas of Lancaster commeth ouer into Ireland.

On the daie of saint Marcell the martyr deceased the lord Stephan Scrope at Trilleldermot. The same yeare also was the lord Thomas of Lancaster at Kilmainan wounded (I know not how) and vnneth escaped with life, and after caused summons to be giuen by proclamation, that all such as ought by their tenures to serue the king, should assemble at Rosse. And after the feast of saint Hilarie, he held a parlement at Kilkennie for a tallage to be granted. And after the thirteenth of March, he returned into England, leauing the prior of Kilmainan for his deputie in Ireland. This yeare also Hugh Macgilmore was slaine in Cragfergus within the church of the friers minors, which church he had before destroied, and broken downe the glasse windowes to haue the iron bars, thorough which his enimies the Sauages entred vpon him. This yeare being in the tenth of Henrie the fourth, in June, Janico de Artois with the Englishmen slue foure score of the Irish in Vlster. This yeare king Henrie gaue the sword to the citie of Dublin, which citie was first gouerned (as appeareth by their ancient seale called *Signum præposituræ*) by a prouost: and in the thirteenth of Henrie the third by a maior and two bailifes, which were changed into shiriffes, by charter granted by Edward the first, 1547.

The lord Scrope deceaseth.

The lord Thomas returneth into England.

1409
James de Artois.

The sword giuen to the citie of Dublin.

Bailiffes changed into shiriffes.

This maioralitie, both for state and charge of office, and for bountifull hospitalitie, exceedeth anie citie in England, London excepted. In the yeare following, the one and twentith daie of Maie, a parlement began at Dublin, which lasted three weekes, the prior of Kilmainan sitting as lord iustice. The same yeare, the two and twentith of June, the same iustice toke the castels of Wibraclide, Oferoll, and de la Mare. Ireland this yeare was sore afflicted for want of corne. The lord iustice entred into the land of Obren with 1500 Kernes, of which number eight hundred reuolted to the Irish, so that if the power of Dublin had not beene there, it had gon euill with the lord iustice: and yet he escaped not without losse, for John Derpatrike was slaine there. In the yeare 1411, mariages were celebrated among the nobilitie in Ireland. William Preston maried the daughter of Edward Paris, and John Wogan matched with the eldest daughter of Christopher Preston; and Walter de la Hide with the second daughter of the same Christopher. In the yeare 1412, about the feast of Tibertius and Valerianus, which falleth on the tenth of Aprill, Oconthir did much mis-

1410

A iournie made by the lord iustice.

1411
Mariages.

1412
Oconthir.

chiefe in Meth, and toke 160 Englishmen. The same yeare Odoles a knight, and Thomas Fitzmorice sought togither, and either slue other. The foure & twentith of Maie, Robert Mounteine bishop of Meth departed this life, to whome succéeded Edward de Audiseie sometime archdecon of Cornwall. This yeare on saint Cutberts daie king Henrie the fourth departed this life.

The bishop of Meth deceaseth.

The death of king Henrie the fourth.

Henrie the fift.

IN the first yeare of this king, the fiue and twentith of September, landed in Ireland at Clawcarse, John Stanlie the kings lieutenant of that land. He departed this life the 18 of Januarie next insuing at Athird, in Latine called *Atrium Dei*. After his decease, Thomas Cranleie archbishop of Dublin was chosen lord iustice of Ireland. Janico de Artois led forth a power against Maginors, a great lord of Ireland, but nére to a place called Inor manie Englishmen were slaine. The morrow after saint Matthias daie, a parlement began againe at Dublin, which continued for the spaes of fiftéene daies, in which meane time the Irish did much hurt by inuasions made into the English pale, and burning vp all the houses afore them that stood in their waie, as their vsuall custome was in times of other parlements: whereupon a tallage was demanded, but not granted. In the yeare 1414, the Englishmen fought with the Irish nére to Kilka, and slue an hundred of the enimies, whilest the archbishop being lord iustice in Trisseldermot, went in procession with his clergie, praieng for the good spéed of his men and other of the countrie that were gone forth to fight with the aduersaries. In the feast of saint Gordian and Epimachus, to wit the tenth of Maie, were the English of Meth discomfited by Oconthir and his Irish, where they slue Thomas Maurenar baron of Serin; and there were taken prisoners Christopher Fleming, John Dardis, and diuerse others, beside manie that were slaine.

1413 John Stanleie the kings lieutenant in Ireland.

Thomas Cranleie archbishop of Dublin.

A parlement.

1414

Englishmen slaine.

On saint Martins éeuen sir John Talbot of Holomshire, lord Furniuale landed at Dalkeie, the kings lieutenant in Ireland, a man of great honor. In the yeere one thousand foure hundred and fiftéene in Nouember, Robert Talbot, a right noble man that walled the suburbs of Kilkennie, departed this life. Also Patrike Baret bishop of Fernis deceased, and was buried among the canons at Kenlis. This yeare on the feast daie of Gerualius and Prothasius which falleth on the nineténth of June, the lord lieutenants wife the ladie Furniuall was brought to bed at Finglasse of a sonne named Thomas. About the same time also Stephan Fleming archbishop of Armagh departed this life, after whome succéeded John Suanig. On the daie of saint Laurence the lord Furniuals sonne Thomas Talbot that was borne at Finglasse in Nouember last past, departed this life, and was buried in the quéere of the friers preachers church in Dublin. About the same time the Irish fell vpon the Englishmen, and slue manie of them, among other Thomas Baltimore of Baliquelan was one. The parlement which the last yeare had béene called and holden at Dublin, was this yeare remoued to Trim, & there began the eleuenth of Maie, where it continued for the space of eleuen daies, in the which was granted to the lord lieutenant a subsidie in monie.

John lord Talbot of Sherfield.

1415 Robert Talbot deceaseth.

1416 The archbishop of Armagh deceaseth.

The parlement remoued to Trim.

A subsidie.

1417

In the yeare following, the archbishop of Dublin passed ouer into England, and deceased at Faringdon, but his bodie was buried in the new college at Orford. This man is greatlie praised for his liberalitie, he was a god almesman, a great clerke, a doctor of diuinitie, an excellent preacher, a great builder, beautifull, tall of stature, and sanguine of complexion. He was foure score and ten yeares of age when he died, and had gouerned the church of Dublin in god quiet by the space of twentie yeres. This yeare shortlie after Easter, the lord deputie spoiled the tenants of Henrie Crus, and Henrie Bethat. Also at Midane on the feast date of saint John and saint Paule, the erle of Kildare, sir Christopher Preston, and sir John Bedlow were arrested and committed to ward within the castell of Trim, because they sought to commune with the prior of Kilmainan.

The archbishop of Dublin deceased.

His praise.

1418

The nine and twentith of June Matthew Hulseie baron of Galtrim deceased, & was buried at the friers preachers of Trim. In the yeare one thousand foure hundred & nineténe a roiall councell was holden at Naas, where was granted to the lord lieutenant a subsidie in monie. The same yeare vpon Cenethursdaie Othoell toke foure hundred kine that belonged vnto Ballimore, so breaking the peace contrarie to his oth. The fourth ides of Maie, Mac Murch chéefe capteine of his nation, and of all the Irish in Leinster was taken prisoner, and the same daie was sir Hugh Cokeseie made knight. The last of Maie the lord lieutenant, and the archbishop of Dublin with the maior raised the castell of Kennie. The morrow after the feast daie of Processus and Martinianus, that is the twentith of June, the lord William de Burgh and other Englishmen slue fiue hundred Irishmen, & toke Okellie. On the feast daie of Marie Magdalen the lord lieutenant Talbot returned into England, leauing his deputie there the archbishop of Dublin. This yeare about saint Laurence daie, diuerse went forth of Ireland to serue the king in his warres of Normandie, as Thomas Butler that was prior of Kilmainan, and manie others. John Fitzhenrie succéeded the said Butler in gouernment of the priorie of Kilmainan. The archbishop of Dublin that remained as lord deputie slue thirtie Irishmen nére vnto Rodiston. Also the thirtenth of Februarie John Fitzhenrie prior of Kilmainan departed this life, and William Fitzthomas was chosen to succeed in his place, and was confirmed the morrow after saint Valentines daie.

1419 A councell or parlement holden.

Mac Murch taken prisoner.

Okellie taken.

The prior of Kilmainan went to serue the king in France.

James Butler earle of Ormond appointed the kings lieutenant in Ireland, in place of John lord Talbot and Furniuall, landed at Waterford about the fourth ides of Aprill: and shortlie after his comming ouer, he caused a combat to be fought betwixt two of his cousins, of whom the one was slaine in that place, and the other carried awaie sore wounded. On saint Georges daie, he held a councell in Dublin, & summoned a parlement to begin there the seuenth of June. In the meane while he fetcht great booties out of the countries of the Irish lords, Oralie, Mac Mahun, and Maginois. But first yer we go further to shew what Marlburrow hath noted of the doings, whilest this earle of Ormond gouerned as the kings lieutenant in Ireland, we haue thought good to set downe what Campion also writeth thereof, as thus.

1420 James Butler erle of Ormond lord lieutenant.

A parlement summoned.

In the red more of Athie (the sunne almost lodged in the west, and miraculouslie standing still in his epicicle by the space of three houres, till the feat was accomplished, and no hole nor quakemire in all that bog annoieng either horsse or man of his part) he vanquished Omore and his terrible armie with a few of his owne meinie, and with the like number he

Iames Yong an author alleaged by Campion.

The sunne staieth his course.

he ouercame Arthur Mac Morogh, at whose might & puissance all Leinster trembled. To the instruction of this mans worthinesse, the compiler of certeine precepts touching the rule of a common-wealth exciteth his lord the said earle in diuerse places of that worke incidentlie, ofttsons putting him in mind that the Irish are false by kind, that it were expedient, and a worke of charitie to execute vpon them wilfull and malicious transgressors the kings lawes somewhat sharplie, that Odemplie being winked at a while, abused that small time of sufferance to the iniurie of the earle of Kildare, intruding vnlawfullie vpon the castell of Leie, from whense the said deputie had lawfullie expelled him, and put the earle in possession thereof, that notwithstanding their oths and pledges, they are yet no longer true than they feele themselues the weaker. This deputie tamed the Byens, the Burghs, Mac Banons, Oghaghucaght, Morris Mac Mahun, all the capteins of Thomond: & all this he did in three months; the clergie twise euerie weeke in solemne procession praieng for his good succes against those disordered persons, which now in euerie part of Ireland degenerated from the English ciuilitie, to their old trade of life vsed in that countrie, repined at the English maner of gouernment. So far Campion.]

Diuerse parlements vpon prorogations were holden in time that this earle of Ormond was gouernor. The first began at Dublin the seauenth of June in this yeare one thousand foure hundred and twentie, which continued about sixteen daies. At this parlement was granted to the lord lieutenant a subsidie of seauen hundred marks. At the sixteene daies end this parlement was adiorned till the mondaie after saint Andrews daie. In the same parlement the debts of the lord John Talbot, which were due to certeine persons for vittels and other things, taken vp whilest he was lord lieutenant there, were reckoned vp; which lord Talbot verelie, for that he saw not the creditors satisfied before his comming awaie, was partlie euill spoken of in the countrie. The morrow after the feast of Simon and Jude, the castell of Colmolin was taken by Thomas Fitzgirald. And on saint Katharins eeuen, the sonne and heire of the earle of Ormond lord lieutenant was borne, for the which there was great reioising. In the parlement begun againe at Dublin the mondaie after saint Andrews daie, another subsidie of three hundred marks was granted vnto the lord lieutenant. And after they had sat thirteene daies, it was ofttsons adiorned vntill the mondaie after saint Ambrose daie. Then rumors were spred abrode, that Thomas Fitz-John earle of Desmond was departed this life at Paris vpon saint Laurence daie, after whome succeeded his vncle James Fitzgirald, whome he had three seuerall times renounced, as one that was a waster of his patrimonie both in England and Ireland, and not like to come to anie good proofe.

1420 The parlement began.

The castell of Colmolin.

The earle of Ormonds sonne and heire borne.

In the yeare one thousand foure hundred twentie and one, the parlement began againe vpon the last prorogation, the mondaie after saint Ambrose daie: in which parlement it was ordeined that certeine persons should be sent to the king, to sue that a reformation might be had in matters touching the state of the land. The chiefe of those that were thus sent, were the archbishop of Armagh, and sir Christopher Preston knight. Moreouer Richard Ohedian bishop of Cashill was accused by John Gese bishop of Lismore and Waterford, who laid thirtie articles vnto his charge. Amongst other, one was for that he loued none of the English nation, and that he bestowed not one benefice vpon anie Englishman, and counselled other bishops that they should not bestow anie within their diocesse vpon anie Englishman. Moreouer, another article was for counterfeting the kings seale. And another, for that he went about to make himselfe king of Mounster, and had taken a ring from the image of saint Patrike (which the earle of Desmond had offered) and giuen it to his lemman. Manie other crimes were laid to him by the said bishop of Lismore and Waterford, which he exhibited in writing. Also in the same parlement there rose contention betwixt Adam Paine bishop of Clone, and another prelat, whose church he would haue annexed vnto his see. At length, after the parlement had continued for the space of eightéene daies, it brake vp. Herewith came news of the slaughter of the lord Thomas of Lancaster duke of Clarence, that had béene lord lieutenant of Ireland. And vpon the seuenth of Maie certeine of the erle of Ormonds men were ouerthrowen by the Irish, nére to the abbete of Leis, and seuen and twentie Englishmen were slaine there: of whom the chéefe were two gentlemen, the one named Purcell, & the other Grant. Also ten were taken prisoners, and two hundred escaped to the forsaid abbete, so sauing themselues. About the same time Mac Mahun an Irish lord did much hurt within the countrie of Argile, by burning & wasting all afore him. Also vpon the morrow after Midsummer daie, the earle of Ormond lord lieutenant entred into the countrie about Leis vpon Omorris, and for the space of foure daies togither did much hurt, in slaieng and spoiling the people, till the Irish were glad to sue for peace.

The duke of Clarence slaine in France.

Mac Mahun

Henrie the sixt.

LIeutenants to Henrie the first ouer the relme of Ireland were these, Edmund earle of March, and James earle of Ormond his deputie; John Sutton lord Dudleie, and sir Thomas Strange knight his deputie; sir Thomas Stanleie, and sir Christopher Plunket his deputie. This sir Thomas Stanleie on Michaelmasse daie, in the twelfe yeare of king Henrie the first, with all the knights of Meth & Irrell, fought against the Irish, slue a great number, & toke Neill Odonell prisoner.]

Here endeth Marlburrow, and all that followeth is taken out of Campion.

Lion lord Wels, and the earle of Ormond his deputie. James earle of Ormond by himselfe, John earle of Shrewesburie, and the archbishop of Dublin lord iustice in his absence. Richard Plantagenet duke of Yorke, father to king Edward the fourth & earle of Ulster, had the office of lieutenant by the kings letters patents during the terme of tenne yeares, who apointed to rule vnder him as his deputies at sundrie times the baron of Deluin, Richard Fitzeustace knight, James earle of Ormond, and Thomas Fitzmorice earle of Kildare. To this Richard duke of Yorke and Ulster then resident in Dublin, was borne within the castell there his second sonne the lord George that was after duke of Clarence. His godfathers at the fontstone were the earles of Ormond and Desmond. Whether the commotion of Jacke Cade an Irishman borne, naming himselfe Mortimer, and so pretending cousinage to diuerse noble houses in this land, proceeded from some intelligence with the dukes frends here in Ireland, it is vncerteine: but surelie the duke was vehementlie suspected, and immediatlie after began the troubles, which through him were raised. Which broiles being couched for a time, the duke held himselfe in Ireland, being latelie by parlement ordeined protector of the realme of England: he left his agent in the court, his brother the earle of Salisburie, lord chancellor, to whom he declared the truth of the trou-

Campion out of the records of Christs church.

George duke of Clarence borne at Dublin.

Jacke Cade.

bles then toward in Ireland: which letter exemplified by ſir Henrie Sidneie lord deputie, a great ſearcher and preſeruer of antiquities, as it came to Campions hands, and by him ſet downe we haue thought good likewiſe to preſent it here to your view.

To the right worſhipfull, and with all *mine heart entierelie beloued brother*, the earle of Salisburie.

The copie of a letter.

RIght worſhipfull, & with all my hart entierelie beloued brother, I recommend me vnto you as heartilie as I can. And like it you to wit, ſith I wrote laſt vnto the king our ſouereigne lord his highneſſe, the Iriſh enimie, that is to ſaie Magoghigam, and with him three or foure Iriſh capteins, aſſociat with a great fellowſhip of Engliſh rebels, notwithſtanding that they were within the king our ſouereigne lord his peace, of great malice, and againſt all truth haue maligned againſt their legiance, and vengeablie haue brent a great towne of mine inheritance in Meth, called Ramore, and other villages thereabouts, and murthered and brent both men, women, and children, without mercie: the which enimies be yet aſſembled in woods and forts, awaighting to do the hurt and grieuance to the kings ſubiects, that they can thinke or imagine. For which cauſe I write at this time vnto the kings highneſſe, and beſeech his good grace for to haſten my paiment for this land, according vnto his letters of warrant now late directed vnto the treaſuror of England, to the intent I may wage men in ſufficient number for to reſiſt the malice of the ſame enimies, & puniſh them in ſuch wiſe, that other which would do the ſame for lacke of reſiſtance, in time maie take example. For doubtleſſe, but if my paiment be had in all haſt, for to haue men of warre in defenſe and ſafegard of this land; my power can not ſtretch to keepe it in the kings obeiſance: and verie neceſſitie will compell me to come into England to liue there vpon my poore liuelihood. For I had leauer be dead than anie inconuenience ſhould fall thervnto by my default: for it ſhall neuer be chronicled nor remaine in ſcripture (by the grace of God) that Ireland was loſt by my negligence. And therefore I beſeech you right worſhipfull brother, that you will hold to your hands inſtantlie, that my paiment maie be had at this time in eſchewing all inconueniences. For I haue example in other places (more pitie it is) for to dread ſhame, and for to acquit my troth vnto the kings highneſſe, as my dutie is. And this I praie and exhort you good brother, to ſhew vnto his good grace, and that you will be ſo good, that this language maie be inacted at this preſent parlement for mine excuſe in time to come, and that you will be good to my ſeruant Roger Ro the bearer of theſe, and to my other ſeruants, in ſuch things as they ſhall purſue vnto the kings highnes, and to giue full faith and credence vnto the report of the ſaid Roger, touching the ſaid matters. Right worſhipfull, and with all my heart intierlie beloued brother, our bleſſed Lord God preſerue and keepe you in all honour, proſperous eſtate, and felicitie, & grant you right good life and long. Written at Dublin the fiftéenth date of June.

Your faithfull true brother
Richard Yorke.

Roger Ro.

Magoghigam his power.

Of ſuch power was Magoghigam in thoſe daies, who as he wan and kept it by the ſword, ſo now his ſucceſſors in that ſtate liue but as meane capteins, yéelding their winnings to the ſtronger. This is the miſerie of lawleſſe people, reſembling the rudeneſſe of the rude world, wherein euerie man was richer and power than other, as he was in might and violence more or leſſe inabled. Here began factions of the nobilitie in Ireland, fauouring diuerſe ſides that ſtroue for the crowne of England. For the duke of Yorke, in thoſe ten yeares of his gouernement, exceedinglie wan the hearts of the noblemen and gentlemen of that land, of the which diuerſe were ſlaine with him at Wakefield; as the contrarie part was the nert yeare by his ſonne Edward earle of March at Mortimers croſſe in Wales. In which meane time the Iriſh grew hardie, & vſurped the Engliſh countries in ſufficientlie defended, as they had done by like opportunitie in the latter end of Richard the ſecond. Theſe two ſeaſons ſet them ſo aſlote, that henſeforward they could neuer be caſt out from their forcible poſſeſſions, holding by plaine wrong all Vlſter, and by certeine Iriſh tenures no ſmall portions of Mounſter and Connagh, leaſt in Meth and Leinſter, where the ciuill ſubiects of the Engliſh blood did euer moſt preuaile.

Edward the fourth and Edward *the fift.*

Lieutenants and deputies in king Edward the fourth his daies.

THomas Fitzmorice earle of Kildare, lord iuſtice till the third yeare of Edward the fourth, after which time the duke of Clarence, brother to the king, had the office of lieutenant while he liued, & made his deputies by ſundry turnes, Thomas earle of Deſmond, John Tiptoft earle of Worceſter the kings couſine, Thomas earle of Kildare, and Henrie lord Greie of Ruthin. Great was the credit of the Giraldins euer when the houſe of Yorke proſpered, and likewiſe the Butlers thriued vnder the blood of the Lancaſters: for which cauſe the earle of Deſmond remained manie yeres deputie to George duke of Clarence his good brother: but when he had ſpoken certeine diſdainefull words againſt the late marriage of king Edward with the ladie Elizabeth Greie, the ſaid ladie being now queene, cauſed his trade of life after the Iriſh maner, contrarie to ſundrie old ſtatutes inacted in that behalfe, to be ſifted and examined by John earle of Worceſter his ſucceſſor; ſo that he was atteinted of treaſon, condemned, and for the ſame beheaded at Drogheda.

The Butlers.

The earle of Worceſter. 1467

James the father of this Thomas earle of Deſmond, being ſuffered and not controlled, during the gouernment of Richard duke of Yorke his godcept, and of Thomas earle of Kildare his kinſman, put vpon the kings ſubiects within the countries of Waterford, Corke, Kerrie, and Limerike, the Iriſh impoſitions of quinto and liuerie, cartings, carriages, lodgings, cocherings, bonnaght, and ſuch like, which cuſtomes are the verie breeders, mainteiners, and vpholders of all Iriſh enormities, wringing from the poore tenants euerlaſting teſſe, allowance of meat and monie, whereby their bodies and goods were brought in ſeruice and thraldome, ſo that the men of warre, horſſes, and their Galloglaſſes lie ſtill vpon the farmers, eat them out, begger the countrie, foſter a ſort of idle vagabonds, readie to rebell if their lord command them, euer nuzled in ſtealth and robberies.

Campion out of Hentiegen in his collections.

Iriſh impoſitions.

Theſe euill preſidents giuen by the father, the ſon did exerciſe, being lord deputie, to whome the reformation of that diſorder ſpeciallie belonged. Notwithſtanding the ſame fault being winked at in other, and with ſuch rigor auenged in him, was manifeſtlie taken for a quarrell ſought and procured. Two yeares after, the ſaid earle of Worceſter 1469

loſt

lost his head, whilest Henrie the first taken out of the tower was set vp againe, and king Edward proclamed vsurper, and then was Kildare inlarged, whom likewise atteinted, they thought also to haue rid, and shortlie both the earles of Kildare & Desmond were restored to their bloud by parlement. Sir Rowland Eustace, sometime treasuror and lord chancellor, was lastlie also lord deputie of Ireland. He founded saint Francis abbeis beside Kilcollen bridge. King Edward a yeare before his death honored his yonger sonne (Richard duke of Yorke) with the title of lieutenant ouer this land, which he inioied till his vnnaturall vncle bereft both him and his brother king Edward the fift of their naturall liues.

Restitution to bloud. 1470 Flatsburie.

Richard the third.

Richard the third.

WHen this monster of nature & cruell tyrant Richard the third had killed his two yong nephues, and taken vpon him the crowne & gouernement of England, he preferred his owne sonne Edward to the dignitie of lord lieutenant of Ireland, whose deputie was Girald earle of Kildare that bare that office all the reigne of king Richard, and a while in Henrie the seuenth his daies.

Henrie the seuenth.

Henrie the seuenth. Sir Richard Simon priest. Lambert counterfeit to be the earle of Warwike.

TO which earle came the wilie priest sir Richard Simon, bringing with him a lad that was his scholer, named Lambert, whome he feined to be the sonne of George earle of Clarence, latelie escaped forth of the tower of London. And the boie could reckon vp his pedegrée so readilie, & had learned of the priest such princelie behauiour, that he lightlie moued the said earle, and manie others the nobles of Ireland (tendering as well the linage roiall of Richard Plantagenet duke of Yorke, and his sonne George their countrieman borne, as also maligning the aduancement of the house of Lancaster in Henrie the seuenth) either to thinke or to faine, that the world might beléeue they thought verelie this child to be Edward earle of Warwike, the duke of Clarence his lawfull sonne.

And although king Henrie more than halfe marred their sport, in shewing the right earle through all the streets of London, yet the ladie Margaret duches of Burgongne, sister to Edward the fourth, hir nephue John de la Pole, the lord Louell, sir Thomas Broughton knight, and diuers other capteins of this conspiracie, deuised to abuse the colour of this yong earles name, for preferring their purpose: which if it came to good, they agréed to depose Lambert, and to erect the verie earle indéed, now prisoner in the tower, for whose quarrell had they pretended to fight, they déemed it likelie he should haue béene made awaie. Wherefore it was blazed in Ireland, that the king to mocke his subiects, had scholed a boie to take vpon him the earle of Warwikes name, and had shewed him about London, to blind the eies of the simple folke, and to defeat the lawfull inheritour of the good duke of Clarence their countriman and protector during his life, vnto whose linage they also deriued title in right to the crowne.

The lord Louell. Sir Thomas Broughton.

In all hast they assembled at Dublin, and there in Christs church they crowned this idoll, honoring him with titles imperiall, feasting and triumphing, raising mightie shouts and cries, carrieng him from thense to the castell vpon tall mens shoulders, that he might be séene and noted, as he was sure an honorable child to looke vpon. Herewith assembling their forces togither, they prouided themselues of ships, and imbarking therein, they tooke the sea, and landing in Lancashire, passed forwards, till they came to Newarke vpon Trent. Thereupon insued the battell of Stoke, commonlie called Martin Swarts field, wherein Lambert and his maister were taken, but yet pardoned of life, and were not executed. The erle of Lincolne, the lord Louell, Martin Swart, the Almaine capteine, and Maurice Fitzthomas capteine of the Irish, were slaine, and all their power discomfited, as in the English histo-rie it may further appeare. Jasper duke of Bedford, and earle of Penbroke lieutenant, and Walter archbishop of Dublin his deputie.

Lambert crowned.

1486 Jasper duke of Bedford lieutenant.

In this time befell another like Irish illusion, procured by the duchesse aforesaid, and certeine nobles in England, whereby was exalted as rightfull king of England, and vndoubted earle of Ulster, the counterfeit Richard duke of Yorke, preserued from king Richards crueltie (as the adherents faced the matter downe) and with this maigame lord, named indéed Peter (in scorne Perkin) Warbecke, they flattered themselues manie yeares after. Then was sir Edward Poinings knight sent ouer lord deputie, with commission to apprehend Warbecks principall parteners in Ireland: amongst whom was named Girald Fitzgirald, whose purgation the king (notwithstanding diuerse surmising and auouching the contrarie) did accept. After much adoo, Perkin being taken, confessed by his owne writting the course of his whole life, and all his procéedings in this enterprise, whereof in the English historie, as we haue borowed the same forth of Halles chronicles, ye may read more, and therefore héere we haue omitted to speake further of that matter.

Perkin warbecke.

1494 Sir Edward Poinings lord deputie.

Perkin warbecke taken.

In the yeare 1501, king Henrie made lieutenant of Ireland his second sonne Henrie, as then duke of Yorke, who after reigned by the name of Henrie the eight. To him was appointed deputie the foresaid Girald erle of Kildare, who accompanied with John Blake maior of Dublin, warred vpon William le Burgh, Obren, and Mac Nemarre, Mcarroull, and fought with the greatest power of Irishmen that had béene togither since the conquest, vnder the hill of Knocktow, in English the hill of the ares, six miles from Galowaie, and two miles from Belliclare Burghes manour towne. Mac William and his complices were there taken, his souldiers that escaped the sword were pursued fleeing, for the space of fiue miles: great slaughter was made of them, and manie capteins caught, without the losse of one Englishman. The earle of Kildare at his returne was made knight of the noble order of the garter, and liued in worthie estimation all his life long, as well for this seruice, as diuerse other his famous exploits.

1501 Henrie duke of Yorke, after king Henrie the eight, lord lieutenant.

The field of Knocktow.

The earle of Kildare, knight of the garter.

Thus farre the Irish Chronicles continued and ended at Henrie the seauenth.

TO THE RIGHT HO-
norable ſir Henrie Sidneie
knight, lord deputie of Ireland, lord preſident *of Wales, knight of the moſt noble order of the* garter, and one of hir maieſties priuie *councell within hir realme of* England.

How cumberſome (right honorable) and dangerous a taske it is, to ingroſſe & divulge the doings of others, eſpeciallie when the parties regiſtred or their iſſue are liuing: both common reaſon ſufficientlie acknowledgeth, and dailie experience infalliblie prœueth. For man by courſe of nature is ſo parciallie affected to himſelfe and his bloud, as he will be more agreeued with the chronicler for recording a peeuiſh treſpaſſe, than he will be offended with his friend for committing an heinous treaſon. Ouer this, if the hiſtorian be long, he is accompted a trifler: if he be ſhort, he is taken for a ſummiſter: if he commend, he is twighted for a flatterer: if he reprœue, he is holden for a carper: if he be pleaſant, he is noted for a ieſter: if he be graue, he is reckoned for a drœper: if he miſdate, he is named a falſifier: if he once but trip, he is tearmed a ſtumbler: ſo that let him beare himſelfe in his chronicle as vprightlie and as conſcionablie as he may poſſible, yet he ſhall be ſure to find them that will be more preſt to blab foorth his pelfiſh faults, than they will be readie to blaze out his good deſerts. Others there be, that although they are not able to reprœue what is written, yet they will be ſure to caſt in his diſh what is forgotten. Heere, ſaie they, this exploit is omitted: there that policie is not detected: heere this ſaieng would haue beene interlaced: there that trecherie ſhould haue beene diſplaied. Theſe & the like diſcommodities, with which hiſtoriographers are vſuallie cloid, haue borne backe diuers and ſundrie willing minds, who taking the waie to be thornie, the credit ſlipperie, the carpers to be manie, would in no caſe be medlers, chooſing rather to ſit by their owne fire obſcurelie at home, than to be baited with enuious toongs openlie abroad.

Others on the contrarie ſide, being reſolute fellowes, and trampling vnder foot theſe curious faultfinders, would not ſticke to put themſelues foorth in preſſe, and maugre all their hearts, to buskle forward, and ruſh through the pikes of their quipping nips, and biting frumps. But I taking the meane betweene both theſe extremities, held it for better, not to be ſo faint and peeuiſh a meacocke, as to ſhrinke and couch mine head for euerie mizeling ſhoure, nor yet to beare my ſelfe ſo high

in

in heart, as to pranſe and iet like a proud gennet through the ſtreet, not weighing the barking of curriſh bandogs. And therefore, if I ſhall be found in mine hiſtorie ſometime too tedious, ſometime too ſpare, ſometime too fawning in commending the liuing, ſometime too flat in reproouing the dead: I take God to witneſſe, that mine offenſe therein proceedeth of ignorance, and not of ſet wilfulneſſe. But as for the paſſing ouer in ſilence of diuerſe euents (albeit the law or rather the libertie of an hiſtorie requireth that all ſhould be related, and nothing whuſted) yet I muſt confeſſe, that as I was not able, vpon ſo little leaſure, to know all that was ſaid or doone; ſo I was not willing for ſundrie reſpects, to write euerie trim tram that I knew to be ſaid or doone. And if anie be ouerthwartlie waiwarded, as he will ſooner long for that I haue omitted, than he will be contented with that I haue chronicled; I cannot deuiſe in my iudgement a better waie to ſatiſfie his appetite, than with one Dolie, a peintor of Oxford, his anſwer: who being appointed to tricke out the ten commandements, omitted one, and pourtraied but nine. Which fault eſpied by his maiſter that hired him, Dolie anſwered, that in verie deed he peinted but nine: howbeit, when he vnderſtood that his maſter had well obſerued and kept the nine commandements that alreadie were drawne, he gaue his word at better leiſure throughlie to finiſh the tenth. And truelie ſo muſt I ſaie: I haue laid downe heere to the reader his view, a breefe diſcourſe, wherof I truſt he ſhall take no great ſurfet. And when I am aduertiſed, that he will digeſt the thin fare that heere is diſht before him: it may be (God willing) heereafter, that he ſhall find my booke with ſtore of more licorous deinties farſed and furniſhed; leauing to his choiſe, either nicelie to pickle, or greedilie to ſwallow, as much as to his contentation ſhall beſt beſeeme him. Wherefore my good lord, ſith I may not denie, but that the worke is painfull, and I doo forecaſt that the miſconſtruction may be perilous: the toileſomneſſe of the paine I refer to my priuat knowledge, the abandoning of the perill, I commit to your honorable patronage, not doubting thereby to be ſheelded againſt the ſiniſter gloſing of malicious interpretors. Thus betaking your lordſhip to God, I craue your attentiuenes, in peruſing a cantell or parcell of the Iriſh hiſtorie that heere inſueth.

RICHARD STANIHVRST.

A continuation of the Chronicles of Ireland, comprising the reigne of *king Henrie the eight.*

GErald Fitzgirald earle of Kildare, son to Thomas Fitzgirald, of whō mention hath bēne made in the latter end of the former storie, a mightie man of stature, full of honor & courage, who had bēne deputie & lord iustice of Ireland first & last 33 yéeres, deceased at Kildare the third of September, & lieth intombed in the quære of Christes church at Dublin, in a chappell by him founded. Betweēn him & James Butler earle of Ormond (their owne gelousies fed with enuie & ambition, kindled with certeine lewd factious abettors of either side) as generallie to all noblemen, so especiallie to both these houses verie incident, euer since the ninth yeare of Henrie the seuenth, bred some trouble in Ireland. The plot of which mutuall grudge was grounded vpon the factious dissention, that was raised in England betweene the houses of Yorke & Lancaster, Kildare cleauing to Yorke, and Ormond relieng to Lancaster. To the vpholding of which discord, both these noble men laboured with toth and naile to ouercrow, and consequentlie to ouerthrow one the other. And for somuch as they were in honour peeres, they wrought by hooke and by crooke to be in authoritie superiours. The gouernement therfore in the reigne of Henrie the seuenth, being cast on the house of Kildare; James earle of Ormond a deepe and a farre reaching man, giuing backe like a butting ram to strike the harder push, deuised to inueigle his aduersarie by submission & courtesie, being not then able to ouermatch him with stoutnesse or preheminence. Wherevpon Ormond addressed his letters to the deputie, specifieng a slander raised on him and his, that he purposed to deface his gouernement, and to withstand his authoritie. And for the clearing of himselfe and of his adherents, so it stood with the deputie his pleasure, he would make his spéedie repaire to Dublin, & there in an open audience would purge himselfe of all such odious crimes, of which he was wrongfullie suspected.

1514

The occasion of the dissention betweene Kildare and Ormond.

To this reasonable request had the lord deputie no sooner condescended, than Ormond with a puissant armie marched towards Dublin, incamping in an abbeie in the suburbs of the citie, named saint Thomas court. The approching of so great an armie of the citizens suspected, and also of Kildares councellors greatlie disliked, lastlie the extortion that the lawlesse souldiers vsed in the pale by seuerall complaints detected: these three points, with diuerse other suspicious circumstances laid and put togither, did minister occasion rather of further discord, than of anie present agreement. Ormond persisting still in his humble sute, sent his messenger to the lord deputie, declaring that he was prest and readie to accomplish the tenour of his letters, and there did attend (as became him) his lordship his pleasure. And as for the companie, he brought with him from Mounster, albeit suspicious braines did rather of a malicious craftinesse surmise the worst, than of charitable wisedome did iudge the best; yet notwithstanding, vpon conference had with his lordship, he would not doubt to satisfie him at full in all points, wherewith he could be with anie colour charged, and so to stop vp the spring, from whense all the enuious suspicions gushed. Kildare with this mild message intreated, appointed the méeting to be at saint Patrike his church: where they were ripping vp one to another their mutuall quarrels, rather recounting the damages they susteined, than acknowledging the iniuries they offered: the citizens and Ormond his armie fell at some iar, for the oppression and exaction with which the souldiers surcharged them. With whom as part of the citizens bickered, so a round knot of archers rushed into the church, meaning to haue murthered Ormond, as the capteine and belwedder of all these lawlesse rabble. The earle of Ormond suspecting that he had bēne betraied, fled to the chapiter house, put to the doore, sparring it with might and maine. The citizens in their rage, imagining that euerie post in the church had bēne one of the souldiers, shot hab or nab at random vp to the rodloft and to the chancell, leauing some of their arrowes sticking in the images.

The citie in an vproare.

Ormond marcheth to Dublin.

Kildare pursuing Ormond to the chapiter house doore, vndertooke on his honor that he should receiue no villanie. Wherevpon the recluse craning his lordships hand to assure him his life, there was a clift in the chapiter house doore, pearsed at a trise, to the end both the earles should haue shaken hands and be reconciled. But Ormond surmising that this drift was intended for some further treacherie, that if he would stretch out his hand, it had bēne percase chopt off, refused that proffer; vntill Kildare stretcht in his hand to him, and so the doore was opened, they both imbraced the storme appeased, and all their quarrels for that present rather discontinued than ended. In this garboile, one of the citizens, surnamed Blanchfield was slaine. This latter quarrell being like a greene wound, rather bungerlie botcht than soundlie cured, in that Kildare suspected that so great an armie (which the other alledged to be brought for the gard

The earles reconciled.

Blanchfield slaine.

gard of his person) to haue bene of purpose assembled, to outface him & his power in his owne countrie. And Ormond mistrusted, that this treacherous practise of the Dublinians was by Kildare deuised. These and the like surmises lightlie by both the noble men misdeemed, and by the continuall twatling of tiring clawbacks in their eares whispered, bred and fostered a malice betwixt them and their posteritie, manie yeares incurable, which caused much stur and vnquietnesse in the realme, vntill the confusion of the one house and the nonage of the other ended and buried their mutuall quarrels.

The description of Ormond. The description of Kildare.

Ormond was nothing inferiour to the other in stomach, and in reach of policie far beyond him. Kildare was in gouernement mild, to his enimies sterne, to the Irish such a scourge, that rather for despite of him than for fauor of anie part, they relied for a time to Ormond, came vnder his protection, serued at his call, performed by starts (as their manner is) the dutie of good subiects. Ormond was secret and of great forecast, verie staied in speech, dangerous of euerie trifle that touched his reputation. Kildare was open and plaine, hardlie able to rule himselfe when he were moued to anger, not so sharpe as short, being easilie displeased and soner appeased. Being in a rage with certeine of his seruants for faults they committed, one of his horsemen offered master Boice (a gentleman that reteined to him) an Irish hobbie, on condition, that he would plucke an haire from the earle his beard. Boice taking the proffer at rebound, stept to the earle (with whose good nature he was throughlie acquainted) parching in the heat of his choler, and said: So it is, and if it like your good lordship, one of your horsemen promised me a choise horse, if I snip one haire from your beard. Well quoth the earle, I agree thereto, but if thou plucke anie more than one, I promise thee to bring my fist from thine eare.

Boice.

The branch of this good nature hath bene deriued from him to an earle of his posteritie, who being in a chase for the wrong sawcing of a patridge, arose suddenlie from the table, meaning to haue reasoned the matter with his cooke. Hauing entred the kitchen, drowning in oblivion his chalenge, he began to commend the building of the roome, wherein he was at no time before, & so leauing the cooke vncontrold, he returned to his ghests merilie. This old earle being (as is aforesaid) some hot and some cold, was of the English well beloued, a good iusticier, a suppressor of the rebels, a warriour incomparable, towards the nobles that he fansied not somewhat headlong and vnrulie. Being charged before Henrie the seuenth, for burning the church of Cashell, and manie witnesses prepared to auouch against him the truth of that article, he suddenlie confessed the fact, to the great wondering and detestation of the councell. When it was loked how he wold iustifie the matter; By Jesus (quoth he) I would neuer haue done it, had it not been told me that the archbishop was within. And bicause the same archbishop was one of his busiest accusers there present, the king merilie laughed at the plainnesse of the noble man, to see him alledge that thing for excuse, which most of all did aggrauate his offense.

The last article against him they conceiued in these tearmes; Finallie all Ireland can not rule this earle. Nor quoth the king: then in good faith shall this earle rule all Ireland. Thus was that accusation turned to a iest. The earle returned to his countrie lord deputie, who (notwithstanding his simplicitie in peace) was of that valour and policie in war, as his name bred a greater terror to the Irish, than other mens armies. In his warres he vsed for policie a retchlesse kind of diligence, or a headie carelesnesse, to the end his souldiors should not faint in their attempts, were th' enimie of neuer so great power. Being generall in the field of Knocktow, where in effect all the Irish rebels of Ireland were gathered against the English pale, one of the earle his capteins presented him a band of Kerns, euen as they were readie to ioine battell, and withall demanded of the erle in what seruice he would haue them imploied. Parte (quoth he) let them stand by and giue vs the gaze. Such was his courage, that notwithstanding his enimies were two to one: yet would he set so good a face on the matter, as his souldiors should not once suspect, that he either needed, or longed for anie further helpe.

Kildare returneth lord deputie.

Kildares policie in warre.

Hauing triumphantlie vanquished the Irish in that conflict, he was shortlie after, as well for that, as other his valiant exploits, made knight of the garter: and in the fift yeare of Henrie the eight in that renowme & honour he died, wherein for the space of manie yeares he liued. No maruell if this successe were a cosie to the aduerse part, which the longer it held aloofe, and bit the bridle, the more egerlie it followed the course, hauing once got scope and roome at will, as shall be hereafter at full declared. Ormond bearing in mind the treacherie of the Dublinians, procured such as were the grauest prelats of his clergie, to intimate to the court of Rome the heathenish riot of the citizens of Dublin, in rushing into the church armed, polluting with slaughter the consecrated place, defacing the images, prostrating the reliks, rasing downe altars, with barbarous outeries, more like miscreant Saracens, than christian catholikes. Whereupon a legat was posted to Ireland, bending his course to Dublin, where some after hee was solemnelie receiued by Walter Fitzsimons, archbishop of Dublin, a graue prelat, for his lerning and wisedome chosen to be one of king Henrie the seuenth his chapleins, in which vocation he continued twelue yeares, and after was aduanced to be archbishop of Dublin.

1514

The Dublinians accused.

A legat sent from Rome.

Walter Fitzsimons.

The legat vpon his arriuall indicted the citie for his execrable offense: but at length, by the procurement as well of the archbishop as of all the cleargie, he was weighed to giue the citizens absolution with this caueat, that in detestation of so horrible a fact, and *Ad perpetuam rei memoriam*, the maior of Dublin should go barefoted thorough out the citie in open procession before the sacrament, on Corpus Christi daie: which penitent satisfaction was after in euerie such procession dulie accomplished. Girald Fitzgirald, sonne and heire to the aforesaid erle of Kildare, was shortlie after his fathers decease constituted lord deputie of Ireland, before whome in the seuenth yeare of Henrie the eight, there was a parlement holden at Dublin, wherein it was established, that all such as bring out of England the kings letters of priuat seale, for particular causes against anie of the king his subiects in Ireland, should find sufficient suerties in the king his chancerie in Ireland; to bee bound by recognisance, that the plaintife shall satisfie the defendant, that purgeth or acquiteth himselfe of the matter to him alledged, for his costs and damages susteined by such wrongfull veration. This noble man being valiant and well spoken, was nothing inferior to his father in martiall prowesse, chasing in the time of his gouernment the familie of the Toles, battering Ocarrell his castels, and bringing in awe all the Irish of the land.

Penance inioined to the citizens of Dublin.

The earle of Kildare lord deputie.

A parlement holden at Dublin.

This earle of good meaning, to vnite the houses in friendship, matched his sister Margaret Fitzgirald with Piers Butler earle of Ossorie, whome he also helped to recouer the earldome of Ormond, into the which, after the decease of the earle James, a bastard Butler had by abatement intruded. Great and manifold

Piers Butler and Margaret Fitzgirald espoused.

manifold were the miseries the ladie Margaret susteined, hir husband Piers Butler being so egerlie pursued by the vsurper, as he durst not beare vp hed, but was forced to houer and lurke in woods and forrests. The noble woman being great with child, and vpon necessitie constreined to vse a spare diet (for hir onelie sustenance was milke) she longed sore for wine, and calling hir lord, and a trustie seruant of James White his, James White vnto hir, she requested them both to helpe hir to some wine, for she was not able anie longer to indure so strict a life. Trulie Margaret, quoth the earle of Ossorie, thou shalt haue store of wine within this foure and twentie houres, or else thou shalt feed alone on milke for me.

The Nert daie following, Piers hauing intelligence that his enimie the base Butler would haue trauelled from Donmore to Kilkennie, notwithstanding he were accompanied with six horsemen: yet Piers hauing none but his lackie, did forestall him in the waie, and with a couragious charge gored the baskard through with his speare. This prosperous calme succeeding the former boisterous storme, the ladie Margaret began to take heart, hir naturall stoutnesse stoted, as well by the remembrance of hir noble birth, as by the intelligence of hir honorable match. Kildare all this while kept in authoritie, notwithstanding the pushes giuen against him by secret heauers that enuied his fortune, and sought to nourish the old grudge, was at length by their priuie packing fetched vp to the court of England by commission, and caused him to be examined vpon diuerse interrogatories touching the affaires of Ireland.

The baskard Butler slaine.

Kildare sent for into England.

He left in his rome Maurice Fitzthomas of Lackragh lord iustice: and shortlie after came ouer lord lieutenant Thomas Howard earle of Surreie, who was after duke of Norffolke, grandfather to the last duke, accompanied with two hundred yeomen of the crowne: before whome, shortlie after his repaire thither, there was a parlement holden at Dublin, in which there past an act, that all wilfull burning of corne, as well in rekes in the fields, as also in villages and townes, should be high treason. Item, an act against loding of woolles & flor, vpon paine of forfeiture of the double value of the same, the one halfe to the king, and the other halfe to him that will sue therefore. Item, that anie person seized of lands, rents, or tenements in possession or in vse, vnto the yearelie value of ten markes aboue the charges, in fee simple, fee taile, or for terme of life, copie hold, or ancient demeane, shall passe in euerie atteint. While the lord lieutenant sat at dinner in the castell, of Dublin, he heard news that the Mores with a maine armie were euen at the entrie of the borders, readie to inuade the English pale. Immediatlie men were leuied by John Fitzsimons then maior of Dublin, and the next morrow ioining them vnto his band, the lieutenant marched towards the frontiers of Leir.

Maurice Fitzthomas lord iustice. Surrie lord lieutenant of Ireland.

1521 A parlement holden at Dublin.

The Mores in rebellion.

John Fitzsimons.

The Mores vpon the lieutenant his approch, seuered themselues into sundrie companies, and vnderstanding that the cariage was dragging after the armie, and slenderlie manned, certeine of them charged the lieutenant his seruants, and such of the citizens as were appointed to gard the cariage. Patrike Fitzsimons, a strong sturdie yonker, kept the enimies such tacke, as he chased part of them awaie, rescued the cariage, slue two of the rebels, and brought the heads with him to maister maior his tent. The nert morning, two of the lieutenant his men, that slunke awaie from Fitzsimons, thinking that the cariage had beene lost, aduertised their lord that Fitzsimons fled awaie; and the Mores were so manie in companie, as it had beene but follie for two to bicker with so great a number. The lieutenant posted in a rage to the maior his pauilion, telling him that his man Fitzsimons was a cowardlie traitor in running awaie, when he should haue defended the cariage.

Patrike Fitzsimons.

What am I, my lord (quoth Patrike Fitzsimons) skipping in his shirt out of the tent, with both the heads in his hands? My lord, I am no coward, I stood to my tacklings when your men gaue me the slip, I rescued the cariage, and haue here sufficient tokens of my manhod, tumbling downe both the heads. Saist thou so Fitzsimons, quoth the lieutenant? I crie thee mercie, and by this George, I would to God it had beene my good hap to haue beene in thy companie in that skirmish. So drinking to Fitzsimons in a boll of wine, and honourablie rewarding him for his good seruice, he returned to his pauilion, where hauing knowledge of Mores his recule, he pursued him with a troope of horsmen. The lieutenant thus passing forwards, was espied a gunner of Mores, who lodged close in a wood side, and watching his time, he discharged his peece at the verie face of the lieutenant, strake the visor off his helmet, and pearsed no further, as God would.

A valiant saieng.

The earle of Surreie in danger to haue beene slaine.

This did he (retchlesse in maner what became of himselfe, so he might amaze the armie for a time) and surelie hereby he brake the swiftnesse of their following, & aduantaged the flight of his capteine, which thing he wan with the price of his owne bloud. For the souldiors would no further, till they had ransacked all the nookes of this wood, verelie suspecting some ambush thereabout, and in seuerall knots serretted out this gunner, whome Fitzwilliams and Bedlow of the Roch were faine to mangle and to hew in peeces, because the wretch would neuer yeeld. In the meane while, defiance was proclamed with France and Scotland both at once, which moued the king to call home Surreie out of Ireland, that he might imploie him in those wars. His prowesse, integritie, good nature, and course of gouernment, the countrie much commended. Piers Butler earle of Ossorie was appointed lord deputie. In the meane time, Kildare attending the king his pleasure for his dispatch, recouered fauour through the instance of the marques Dorset, whose daughter dame Elizabeth Greie he espoused, and so departed home. Now was partaker of all the deputies counsell one Robert Talbot of Belgard, whome the Giraldines deadlie hated: him they procured to keepe a kalendar of all their doings, who incensed brother against brother. In which rage, James Fitz-Girald meeting the said gentleman beside Wallmore, slue him euen then vpon his iourneie toward the deputie to keepe his Christmas with him.

Fitzwilliams Bedlow.

1523 Surreie sent for home.

Piers Butler earle of Ossorie lord deputie.

1524 Robert Talbot of Belgard.

With this despitefull murther both sides brake out into open enimitie, and especiallie the countesse of Ossorie, Kildare his sister, a rare woman, and able for wisedome to rule a realme, had not hir stomach ouerruled hir knowledge. Here began informations of new treasons, palling to and fro, with complaints and replies. But the marques Dorset had wrought so for his sonne in law, that he was suffered to rest at home, and onelie commissioners directed into Ireland, with authoritie to examine the rot of their griefes: wherein if they found Kildare anie thing at all purged, their instructions were to depose the plaintiffe, and to sweare the other lord deputie. Commissioners were these, sir Rafe Egerton, a knight of Chelhire, Anthonie Fitzherbert, second iustice of the common plees, and James Denton, deane of Litchfield; who hauing examined these accusations, suddenlie toke the sword from the earle of Ossorie, sware Kildare lord deputie, before whome Con Oneale bare the sword that daie.

Margaret countesse of Ossorie.

Commissioners sent to Ireland.

Kildare sworne lord deputie.

Con-

Concerning the murtherer whom they might haue hanged, they brought him prisoner into England, presented him to the cardinall Wolsele, who was said to hate Kildare his bloud: and the cardinall intending to haue put him to execution, with more reproch and dishonor to the name, caused him to be led about the streets of London haltered, and hauing a taper in his hand: which asked so long time, that the deane of Lichfield stepped to the king, and begged his pardon. The cardinall was sore inflamed herewith, & the malice not hitherto so ranke, was throughlie ripened, & therfore henseforward Ossorie brought forth diuerse proofes of the deputie his disorder, for that (as he alledged) the deputie should winke at the earle of Desmond, whome by vertue of the king his letters he ought to haue attached. Also, that he sought for acquaintance and affinitie with meere Irish enimies, that he had armed them against him, then being the king his deputie; he hanged and headed good subiects, whome he mistrusted to leane to the Butlers friendship. Kildare was therfore presentlie commanded to appeare, which he did, leauing in his rome his brother Fitzgirald of Lerlip, whom they shortlie deposed, and chose the baron of Deluin, whome Oconor tooke prisoner, & then the earle of Ossorie (to shew his abilitie of seruice) brought to Dublin an armie of Irishmen, hauing capteins ouer them Oconor, Omore, & Ocarroll, & at S. Marie abbeie was chosen deputie by the kings councell.

Cardinall Wolseie enimie to the Giraldines.

Pardon granted.

Kildare accused.

The articles.

Fitzgirald lord iustice.

The earle of Ossorie chosen lord deputie.

In which office, being himselfe (saue onelie in feats of armes) a simple gentleman, he bare out his honor, and the charge of gouernement verie worthilie, through the singular wisedome of his countesse, a ladie of such a port, that all estates of the realme crouched vnto hir; so politike, that nothing was thought substantiallie debated without hir aduise: manlike and tall of stature, verie liberall and bountifull; a sure friend, a bitter enimie, hardlie disliking where she fansied, not easilie fansieng where she disliked: the onelie meane at those daies whereby hir husband his countrie was reclamed from sluttishnesse and slouenrie, to cleane bedding and ciuilitie. But to these vertues was linked such a selfe liking, such an ouerweening, and such a maiestie aboue the tenure of a subiect, that for assurance thereof, she sticked not to abuse hir husbands honor against hir brothers follie. Notwithstanding, I learne not that shee practised his vndoing (which insued, and was to hir vndoubtedlie great heauinesse, as vpon whome both the blemish thereof, and the substance of the greater part of that familie depended after) but that she by indirect meanes lifted hir brother out of credit to aduance hir husband, the common voice, and the thing it selfe speaketh. All this while abode the earle of Kildare at the court, and with much adoo found shift to be called before the lords to answer suddenlie. They sat vpon him diuerslie affected, and namelie the cardinall lord chancellor misliking the earle his cause, comforted his accusers, and inforced the articles obiected, in these words.

The countesse of Ossorie.

Kildare conuented before the councell.

The cardinall lord chancellor chargeth Kildare.

I wot well (my lord) that I am not the meetest at this bord to charge you with these treasons, because it hath pleased some of your fellowes to report that I am a professed enimie to all nobilitie, & namelie to the Giraldines: but seeing euerie curst boy can say as much when he is controlled, and seeing these points are so weightie, that they should not be dissembled of vs; and so apparant, that they can not be denied of you; I must haue leaue (notwithstanding your stale slander) to be the mouth of these honorable at this present, and to trumpe your treasons in your waie, howsoeuer you take me

First you remember, how the lewd earle of Desmond your kinsman (who passeth not whome he serueth, might he change his maister) sent his confederats with letters of credence vnto Francis the French king: and hauing but cold comfort there, went to Charles the emperor, proffering the helpe of Mounster and Connagh towards the conquest of Ireland, if either of them would helpe to win it from our king. How manie letters, what precepts, what messages, what threats haue bin sent you to apprehend him, and yet not done? Why so? Forsooth I could not catch him. Nay nay earle, forsooth you would not watch him. If he be suslie suspected, why are you partiall in so great a charge? If not, why are you fearefull to haue him tried? Yea, for it will be sworne and deposed to your face, that for feare of meeting him, you haue winked wilfullie, shunned his sight, altered your course, warned his friends, stopped both eares and eies against his detectors, and when soeuer you toke vpon you to hunt him out, then was he sure afore hand to be out of your walke.

Surelie, this iugling and false plaie little became either an honest man called to such honor, or a noble man put in so great trust. Had you lost but a cow or a horsse of your owne, two hundred of your reteiners would haue come at your whistle to rescue the preie from the vttermost edge of Ulster: all the Irish in Ireland must haue giuen you the way. But in pursuing so needfull a matter as this was, merciefull God, how nice, how dangerous, how waiteward haue you beene? One while he is from home, another while he keepeth home, sometimes fled, sometimes in the borders, where you dare not venture. Iwis my lord, there be shrewd bugs in the borders for the earle of Kildare to feare: the earle nay the king of Kildare; for when you are disposed, you reigne more like than rule in the land: where you are malicious, the truest subiects stand for Irish enimies: where you are pleased, the Irish foe standeth for a iust subiect: hearts & hands liues & lands are all at your courtesie: who fauneth not thereon cannot rest within your smell, and your smell is so ranke that you take them out at pleasure. ¶ Whilest the cardinall was speaking, the earle chafed and changed colour, and at last brake out, and interrupted him thus.

Kildare interrupteth the cardinals tale.

My lord chancellor, I beseech you pardon me, I am short witted, and you I perceiue intend a long tale: if you proceed in this order, halfe my purgation will be lost for lacke of carriage. I haue no schole trickes, nor art of memorie: except you heare me while I remember your words, your second processe will hammer out the former. The lords associat, who for the most part tenderlie loued him, and knew the cardinall his manner of tawnts so lothsome, as wherewith they were inured manie yeares ago, humblie besought his grace to charge him directlie with particulars, and to dwell in some one matter, vntill it were examined throughlie.

The lords tender Kildare.

That granted, it is good reason (quoth the earle) that your grace beare the mouth of this bord: but my lord, those mouths that put these things into your mouth, are verie wide mouths, such in deed as haue gaped long for my wracke; and now at length, for want of better stuffe, are faine to fill their mouths with smoke. What my cousine Desmond hath compassed, as I know not, so I beshrew his naked heart, for holding out so long. If he can be taken by mine agents that presentlie wait for him, then haue mine aduersaries bewraied their malice; and this heape of heinous words shall resemble a scarecrow, or a man of straw that seemeth at a blush to carrie some proportion, but when it is felt and pressed, discouereth a vanitie, seruing onelie to feare crowes: and I

He answereth the cardinals obiection.

" verelie trust, your honors shall see the prose by the " thing it selfe, within these few dates. But go to: " suppose he neuer be had: What is Kildare to blame " for it, more than my good brother of Ossorie: who " notwithstanding his high promises, hauing also the " kings power, is yet content to bring him in at lea- " sure: Can not the erle of Desmond shift but I must " be of counsell: Cannot he hide him except I winke: " If he be close, am I his mate: If he be frended am " I a traitor: This is a doubtie kind of accusation, " which they vrge against me, wherein they are stabled " and mired at my first dentall. You would not see him " (saie they.) Who made them so familiar with mine " eiesight: Or when was the erle within my view: Or " who stood by when I let him slip: Or where are the " tokens of my wilfull hudwinke: But you sent him " word to beware of you. Who was the messenger: " Where are the letters: Conuince my negatiues, " see how lose this idle geare hangeth togither. Des- " mond is not taken. Well, you are in fault. Whie: " Because you are. Who proueth it: No bodie. What " coniectures: So it seemeth. To whome: To your " enimies. Who told it them: They will sweare it. " What other ground: None. Will they sweare it " my lord: Whie then of like they know it, either they " haue mine hand to shew, or can bring forth the mes- " senger, or were present at a conference, or priuie to " Desmond, or some bodie bewraied it to them, or they " themselues were my carriers or vicegerents there- " in: which of these parts will they chose, for I know " them too well. To reckon my selfe conuict by their " bare words or headlesse saiengs, or frantike othes, " were but mere mockerie. My letter were some read, " were any such writing ertant, myne ruants & frends " are readie to be sifted: of my cousine of Desmond " they may lie lowdly, since no man here can well con- " trarie them! Touching my selfe, I neuer noted in " them much wit, or so fast faith, that I would haue ga- " ged on their silence the life of a good hound, much lesse " mine owne. I doubt not, may it like your honors to " appose them, how they came to the knowlege of those " matters, which they are so readie to depose: but you " shall find their tongs chained to another man his " trencher, and as it were knights of the post, suborned " to saie, sweare and stare the vttermost they can, as " those that passe not what they saie, nor with what face " they saie it, so they saie no truth. But of another " side it greeueth me that your good grace whom I take " to be wise and sharpe, and who of your blessed disposi- " tion wisheth me well, should be so farre gone in cre- " diting these corrupt informers that abuse the igno- " rance of your state and countrie to my perill. Little " know you (my lord) how necessarie it is, not onelie " for the gouernor, but also for euerie noble man in " Ireland to hamper his vnciuill neighbors at discre- " tion, wherein if they waited for processe of law, and " had not those liues and lands you speake of within " their reach, they might hap to lose their owne liues " and lands without iaw. You heare of a case as it " were in a dreame, and feele not the smart that vereth " vs. In England there is not a meane subiect that " dare extend his hand to fillip a peere of the realme. " In Ireland except the lord haue cunning to his " strength, and strength to saue his crowne, and suffi- " cient authoritie to take theeues & varlets when they " stir, he shall find them swarme so fast, that it will be " too late to call for iustice. If you will haue our seruice " take effect, you must not tie vs alwaies to these " iudiciall procedings, wherewith your realme (thank- " ed be God) is inured. Touching my kingdome, I " know not what your lordship should meane thereby. " If your grace imagine that a kingdome consisteth " in seruing God, in obeieng the prince, in gouerning " with loue the common-wealth, in shouldering sub-

In what case stand the noble men of Ireland with rebels.

iects, in suppressing rebels, in executing iustice, in " bridling blind affections, I would be willing to be " inuested with so vertuous and rotall a name. But if " therefore you terme me a king, in that you are per- " suaded that I repine at the gouernment of my soue- " reigne, or winke at malefactors, or oppresse ciuill li- " uers, I vtterlie disclame in that odious terme, mar- " ueling greatlie that one of your grace his profound " wisedome, would seeme to appropriat so sacred a " name to so wicked a thing. But howsoeuer it be " (my lord) I would you and I had changed kingdoms " but for one moneth, I would trust to gather vp more " crummes in that space, than twise the reuenues of " my poore earledome: but you are well and warme, " and so hold you, and vpbraid not me with such an odi- " ous terme. I slumber in an hard cabin, when you " sleepe in a soft bed of downe: I serue vnder the king " his cope of heauen, when you are serued vnder a ca- " nopie: I drinke water out of my skull, when you " drinke wine out of golden cups: my course for is trai- " ned to the field, when your genet is taught to amble: " when you are begraced and belorded, and crouched & " kneeled vnto, then find I small grace with our Irish " borderers, except I cut them off by the knees. "

At these girds the councell would haue smiled, if they durst, but ech man bit his lip, & held his counte- nance: for howsoeuer some of them leaned to the erle of Ossorie, they all hated the cardinall, who perce- uing that Kildare was no babe, rose in a fume from the councell table, committed the erle, & deferred the matter till more direct probations came out of Ire- land. The duke of Norffolke, who was late lieutenant in Ireland, perceiuing the cardinall to be sore bent against the nobleman, rather for the deadlie hatred he bare his house, than for anie great matter he had wherewith to charge his person, stept to the king, and craued Kildare to be his prisoner, offering to be bound for his forth comming, ouer and aboue all his lands, bodie for bodie. Whereupon, to the cardinall his great griefe, the prisoner was bailed, and hono- rablie by the duke interteined. During his abode in the duke his house, Oneale and Oconor, and all their frends and alies, watching their time to an- noie the pale, made open insurrection against the earle of Ossorie then lord deputie of Ireland, in so- much that the noble man mistrusting the fickleneſſe of Desmond on the one side, & the force of these new start vp rebels on the other side, stood halfe amazed, as it were betweene fire & water. For remedie where- of, letters thicke and threefold were addressed to the councell of England, purporting that all these late hurlie burlies were of purpose raised by the meanes of Kildare, to the blemishing and staining of his bro- ther Ossorie his gouernment. And to put the mat- ter out of doubt, it was further added, that Kildare commanded his daughter Elice Fitzgirald, wife to the baron of Slane, to excite in his name the afore- said traitors to this open rebellion.

The cardinall not beloued.

The duke of Norffolke bound for Kil- dare.

1528 The Irish in rebellion.

Kildare a- fresh impea- ched.

The cardinall herevpon caused Kildare to be examined before the councell, where he pressed him so deepelie with this late disloialtie, that the presumpti- on being (as the cardinall did force it) vehement, the treason odious, the king suspicious, the enimie eger, the frends faint (which were sufficient grounds to o- uerthrow an innocent person) the earle was repri- ued to the tower. The nobleman betooke himselfe to God & the king, he was hartilie beloued of the lieu- tenant, pitied in all the court, and standing in so hard a case, altered little of his accustomed hue, comfor- ted other noble men prisoners with him, dissembling his owne sorrow. On a night when the lieutenant and he for their disport were playeng at slidegrote or shoueboord, sodenlie commeth from the cardinall a

The earle of Kildare com- mitted.

A mandatum to execute Kildare.

mandatum

mandatum to execute Kildare on the morrow. The earle marking the lieutenants deepe sigh: By saint Bride lieutenant (quoth he) there is some mad game in that scroll; but fall how it will, this throw is for an huddle. When the worst was told him: Now I praie thee (quoth he) doo no more but learne assuredlie from the king his owne mouth, whether his highnesse be witting thereto or not? Sore doubted the lieutenant to displease the cardinall: yet of verie pure loue to his freend, he posteth to the king at midnight, and deliuered his errand: for at all houres of the night the lieutenant hath accesse to the prince vpon occasions. The king controlling the saucinesse of the priest (for those were his termes) deliuered to the lieutenant his signet in token of countermand, which when the cardinall had seene, he began to breath out vnseasoned language, which the lieutenant was loth to heare, & so left him pattring & chanting the diuell his *Pater noster*. Thus brake vp the storme for that time, & the nert yeare Wolsele was cast out of fauour, and within few yeares sir William Skeffington was sent ouer lord deputie, and brought with him the erle pardoned and rid from all his troubles.

The cardinall his presumptuousnes blamed of the king.

1529 Sir william Skeffington deputie of Ireland.

When it was bruted, that Skeffington, the earle of Kildare, and Edward Staples bishop of Meth landed nere Dublin, the maior and citizens met him with a solemne procession on saint Marie abbets greene, where maister Thomas Fitzsimons recorder of Dublin made a pithie oration to congratulate the gouernor and the earle his prosperous arriuall, to whome Skeffington shaped an answere in this wise: Maister maior and maister recorder, you haue at length this noble man here present, for whom you sore longed, whilest he was absent. And after manie stormes by him susteined, he hath now to the comfort of his freends, to the confusion of his foes, subdued violence with patience, iniuries with sufferance, and malice with obedience: and such butchers as of hatred thirsted after his bloud, are now taken for outcast mastiues, littered in currish bloud. How well my master the king hath beene of his gratious inclination affected to the earle of Kildare (his backe freend, being by his iust desert from his maiestie withdrawen) the credit wherein this noble man at this present abideth, manifestlie declareth. Wherefore it resteth, that you thanke God and the king for his safe arriuall. As for his welcome, maister recorder his courteous discourse, your great assemblies, your chearefull countenances, your willing meetings, your solemne processions do so far shew it, as you minister me occasion on his lordship his behalfe, rather to thanke you for your courtesie, than to exhort you to anie further ceremonie.

Edward Staples bishop of Meth.

Thomas Fitzsimons.

Skeffington his answere.

He glanseth at the cardinall who was taken to be a butcher his sonne.

Having ended his oration, they rode all into the citie, where shortlie after the earle of Offorie surrendred the sword to sir William Skeffington. During the time that Kildare was in England, the sept of the Toles making his absence their haruest, ceased not to molest and spoile his tenants, and therefore the erle meaning not to wrap vp so lightlie their manifold iniuries, was determined presentlie vpon his arriuall to crie them quittance: to the speedinesse of which seruice he requested the aid of the citizens of Dublin: & expecting in Christs church their answere touching this motion, the maior & his brethren promised to assist him with two hundred archers. The late come bishop of Meth being then present, mooued question, whether the citizens were pardoned for crowning Lambert contrarie to their dutie of allegiance; and if they were not pardoned, he thought they might aduantage the king thereby. Whereat one of their sagest and expertest aldermen, named John Fitzsimons, stept forth and said: My lord of Meth, may I be so bold as to craue what countrie,

Kildare inuadeth the Toles.

Meth his question.

John Fitzsimons answereth Meth.

man you are? Marie sir (quoth the bishop) I would you should know it, I am a gentleman and an Englishman. My lord (quoth Fitzsimons) my meaning is to learne, in what shire of England you were borne? In Lincolnshire good sir (quoth Staples.) Whie then my lord (quoth Fitzsimons) we are no traitors, because it was the earle of Lincolne and the lord Louell that crowned him: and therefore if you be a gentleman of Lincolnshire, see that you be pardoned, for God and our king be thanked we haue need of none. At this answer Meth was set, and such as were present were forced to smile, to see what a round fall he caught in his owne turne.

In the second yeare of Skeffington his gouernement, it happened that one Henrie White, seruant to Benet a merchant of Dublin, was pitching of a cart of haie in the high street; and hauing offered boies plate to passengers that walked to and fro, he let a bottle of his haie fall on a souldiors bonet, as he passed by his cart. The souldior taking this knauish knacke in dudgeon, hurled his dagger at him, and hauing narrowlie miss the princocks, he sticked it in a post not farre off. White leapt downe from the cart, and thrust the souldior through the shoulder with his pike. Whereupon there was a great vprore in the citie betweene the souldiors and the apprentises, insomuch as Thomas Barbie being the maior, hauing the king his sword drawne, was hardlie able to appease the fraie, in which diuerse were wounded, and none slaine. The lord deputie issued out of the castell, and came as farre as the pillorie, to whome the maior posted thorough the prease with the sword naked vnder his arme, & presented White that was the brewer of all this garboile to his lordship, whome the gouernour pardoned, as well for his courage in bickering as for his retchlesse simplicitie and pleasantnesse in telling the whole discourse. Whereby a man maie see how manie bloudie quarels a brailing swashbuckler maie picke out of a bottle of haie, namelie when his braines are forebitten with a bottle of nappie ale.

Henrie white raised an vprore in Dublin.

Thomas Barbie maior.

white pardoned.

About this time there was a great sturre raised in England, about the king his diuorse, who thinking it expedient in so fickle a world to haue a sure post in Ireland, made Kildare lord deputie, Cromer the primat of Armagh lord chancellor, and sir James Butler lord treasurer. Skeffington, supposing that he was put beside the cushin by the secret canualsing of Kildare his friends, conceiued therof a great gelousie, being therein the deeper drenched, because that Kildare hauing receiued the sword, would permit Skeffington, who was late gouernour, now like a meane priuat person, to danse attendance among other suters in his house at Dublin, named the Carbrie. Skeffington plaieng thus on the bit, shortlie after sailed into England, vpon whose departure the lord deputie summoned a parlement at Dublin, where there past an act against leasers of corne: also for the vniting and appropriation of the parsonage of Galtrim to the priorie of saint Peters by Trim. In the parlement time, Oneale on a sudden inuaded the countrie of Vriell, rifling and spoiling the king his subiects, at which time also was the earle of Offorie greatlie vered by the Giraldins, by reason of the old quarrels of either side afresh reuiued.

Kildare lord Deputie.
Cromer.
Butler.
Skeffington offended with Kildare.

He saileth into England.

1532 A parlement summoned at Dublin.

Vriell inuaded by Oneale.

The nert yeare, the lord deputie going against Mcarroll, was pitifullie hurt in the side with a gun, at the castell of Birre; so that he neuer after inioied his limbs, nor deliuered his words in good plight, otherwise like inough to haue beene longer forborne in consideration of his manie noble qualities, great good seruices, and the state of those times. Straightwaies complaints were addressed to the king of these

Kildare hurt.

Kildare accused.

enormities, and that in most heinous maner that could be deuised, boulting out his doings as it were to the last brake of sniffler surmises, turning euerie priuat iniurie to be the king his quarrell, & making euerie puddings pricke as huge in shew as Samson his piller. Whereupon Kildare was commanded by sharpe letters to repaire into England, leauing such a person for the furniture of that realme, and the gouernance of the land in his absence, for whose doings he would answer. Being vpon the sight of this letter prepared to saile into England, he sat in councell at Dublin, and hauing sent for his sonne & heire the lord Thomas Fitzgirald (a yong stripling of one and twentie yeares of age, borne in England, sonne to the lord Zouch his daughter, the earle of Kildare his first wife) in the hearing of the whole bord thus he spake.

He is sent for to England.

Thomas Fitzgirald.

The earle of Kildare his exhortation to *his sonne the lord Thomas.*

SOnne Thomas, I doubt not, but you know that my souereigne lord the king hath sent for me into England, and what shall betide me God knoweth, for I know not. But howsoeuer it falleth, both you and I know that I am well stept in yeares: and as I maie shortlie die, for that I am mortall, so I must in hast decease, bicause I am old. Wherefore insomuch as my winter is welneere ended, and the spring of your age now buddeth, my will is that you behaue your selfe so wiselie in these your greene yeares, as that to the comfort of your friends you maie inioie the pleasure of summer, gleane and reape the fruits of your haruest, that with honour you maie grow to the catching of that hoarie winter, on which you see me your father fast pricking. And whereas it pleaseth the king his maiestie, that vpon my departure here hense, I should substitute in my roome such one, for whose gouernement I would answer: albeit I know, that your yeares are tender, your wit not setled, your iudgement not fullie rectified, and therefore I might be with good cause reclamed from putting a naked sword in a yong mans hand: yet notwithstanding, forsomuch as I am your father, and you my sonne, I am well assured to beare that stroke with you in steering your ship, as that vpon anie information I maie command you as your father, and correct you as my sonne for the wrong handling of your helme.

There be here that sit at this bord, far more sufficient personages for so great charge than you are. But what then? If I should cast this burthen on their shoulders, it might be that hereafter they would be so farre with enuie carried, as they would percase hazzard the losse of one of their owne eies, to be assured that I should be depriued of both mine eies. But forsomuch as the case toucheth your skin as neere as mine, and in one respect nigher than mine, bicause (as I said before) I rest in the winter, and you in the spring of your yeares, and now I am resolued daie by daie to learne rather how to die in the feare of God, than to liue in the pompe of the world, I thinke you will not be so brainesicke, as to stab your selfe thorough the bodie, onelie to scarifie my skin with the point of your blade. Wherefore (my sonne) consider, that it is easie to raze, and hard to build, and in all your affaires be schooled by this bord, that for wisedome is able, and for the entier affection it beareth your house, will be found willing, to lesson you with sound and sage aduise. For albeit in authoritie you rule them, yet in councell they must rule you. My sonne, you know that my late maimes stifleth my talke: otherwise I would haue grated longer on this matter. For a good tale maie be twise told, and a sound aduise (eftsones iterated) taketh the deeper impression in the attentiue hearer his mind. But although my fatherlie affection requireth my discourse to be longer, yet I trust your good inclination asketh it to be shorter; and vpon that assurance, here in the presence of this honourable assemblie, I deliuer you this sword. ¶ Thus he spake for his last farewell with trickling teares, and hauing ended, he stood, imbraced the councell, committed them to God, and immediatlie after he was imbarked.

Kildare saileth into England.

But although with his graue exhortation the frosen hearts of his aduersaries for a short spirt thawed, yet notwithstanding they turned sone after all this gaie *Gloria patri* vnto a further fetch; saieng that this was nothing else but to dazell their eies with some iugling knacke, to the end they should aduertise the king of his lotall speeches: adding further, that he was to too euill that could not speake well. And to force the prepensed treasons they laied to his charge, with further surmises they certified the councell of England, that the earle before his departure furnished his owne piles and forts with the king his artillerie and munition taken forth of the castell of Dublin. The earle being examined vpon that article before the councell, although he answered that the few potguns and chambers he toke from thense, were placed in his castell to strengthen the borders against the inrodes of the Irish enimie; and that if he intended anie treason, he was not so foolish, as to fortifie walles and stones, and to commit his naked bones into their hands: yet notwithstanding he deliuered his speeches by reason of his palsie, in such staggering and masling wise, that such of the councell as were not his friends, persuading the rest that he had sunke in his owne tale, by imputing his lisping and dragging answer rather to the gilt of conscience, than to the infirmitie of his late maime, had him committed, vntill the king his pleasure were further knowne.

His oration misconstrued.

He is accused for taking the king his artillerie.

Kildare committed.

But before we wade anie further in this matter, for the better opening of the whole ground, it would be noted, that the earle of Kildare, among diuerse hidden aduersaries, had in these his later troubles foure principall enimies that were the chiefe means & causes of his ouerthrow, as in those daies it was commonlie bruted. The first was John Alen archbishop of Dublin, a gentleman of a good house, chapleine to cardinall Wolsele, & after by the cardinall his means constituted archbishop of Dublin, a learned prelat, a good housholder, of the people indifferentlie beloued, and more would haue beene, had he not ouerbusied himselfe in supplanting the house of Kildare. And although it were knowne, that his first grudge towards the Giraldins proceeded from the great affection he bare his lord and master the cardinall, insomuch as he would not sticke, were he able, for the pleasuring of the one to vndo the other; yet such occasions of greater hatred after insued (namelie for that he was displaced from being lord chancellor, & Cromer the primat of Armagh by Kildare his drifts setled in the office) as notwithstanding the cardinall his combe was cut in England, yet did he persist in pursuing his wonted malice toward that see.

Kildare his chiefe enimies.

John Alen archbishop of Dublin.

The second that was linked to this confederacie, was sir John Alen knight, first secretarie to this archbishop, after became maister of the rolles, lastlie lord chancellor. And although sir John Alen were not of kin to the archbishop, but onelie of the name; yet notwithstanding the archbishop made so great reckoning of him, as well for his forecast in matters of weight, as for his faithfulnesse in affaires of trust, as whatsoeuer exploit were executed by the one, was forth-

Sir John Alen knight.

Thomas Canon.

Robert Cowlie.

The lord Thomas inkindleth the Iriens against him.

The propertie of the marmoset.

The archbishop his taunt

The enimies conspire the overthrow of the Giraldins

forthwith deemed to haue béene deuised by the other. The third of this crew was Thomas Canon, secretarie to Skeffington, who thinking to be reuenged on Kildare for putting his lord and maister beside the cushin, as he surmised, was verie willing to haue an oze in that bote. The fourth that was suspected to make the muller, was Robert Cowlie, first bailiffe in Dublin, after seruant to the ladie Margaret Fitzgirald, countesse of Ormond and Ossorie, lastlie maister of the rolles in Ireland, and finallie he deceased at London.

This gentleman for his wisdome and policie was well estéemed of the ladie Margaret countesse of Ossorie, as one by whose aduise she was in all hir affaires directed. Whereupon some suspicious persons were perswaded and brought in mind, that he was the lower of all the discord that rested betwéene the two brethren Kildare and Ossorie: as though he could not be voted in the fauour of the one, but that he must haue professed open hatred vnto the other. These foure, as birds of one feather, were supposed to be open enimies to the house of Kildare, bearing that swaie in the commonwealth, as they were not occasioned (as they thought) either to craue frendship of the Giraldines, or greatlie to feare their hatred and enimitie. There were beside them diuerse other secret vndermíners, who wrought so cunninglie vnder the thumbe, by holding with the hare, and running with the hound, as if Kildare had prospered, they were assured, their malice would not haue béene in manner suspected: but if he had béene in his affaires stabled, then their fine deuises for their further credit should haue bene apparented. Wherefore the heauing of his backe frends not onelie surmised, but also manifested by Kildare, the lord Thomas being iustice or vicedeputie in his fathers absence, fetcht both the Aliens so roundlie ouer the hips, as well by secret drifts as open taunts, as they were the more egerlie spurd to compasse his confusion.

For the lord iustice and the councell, with diuerse of the nobilitie, at a solemne banket discoursing of the ancientie of houses, and of their armes, sir John Alen spake to the lord iustice these words.

Thy lord, your house giueth the marmoset, whose propertie is to eat his owne taile. Meaning thereby (as the lord Thomas supposed) that Kildare did vse to pill and poll his frends, tenants & reteiners. These words were no soner spoken, than the lord Thomas striking the ball to Alen againe, answered, as one that was somewhat slipper tonged, in this wise. You saie truth sir, indéed I heard some saie, that the marmoset eateth his owne taile. But although you haue béene fed by your taile, yet I would aduise you to beware, that your taile eat not you. Shortlie after this quipping gamegall, the lord iustice and the councell rode to Drogheda, where hauing for the space of three or foure daies soiourned, it happened that the councellors awaited in the councell chamber the gouernour his comming, vntill it was hard vpon the stroke of twelue. The archbishop of Dublin rawlie digesting the vicedeputie his long absence, said: My lords, is it not a prettie matter, that all we shall staie thus long for a boie? As he vttered these speches, the lord iustice vnluckilie was comming vp the staires, and at his entrie taking the words hot from the bishop his mouth, and iterating them verie coldlie, he said: My lords, I am heartilie sorie, that you staied thus long for a boie. Whereat the prelat was appalled, to see how vnhaplie he was gald with his owne caltrop. These & the like cutting speeches inkindled such coles in both their stomachs, as the flame could not anie longer be smouldered, but at one cliff or other must haue fumed. The enimies therefore hauing welnigh knedded the dough that should haue béene baked for the Giraldines bane, deuised that secret rumors should sprinkle to and fro, that the earle of Kildare his execution was intended in England; and that vpon his death the Lord Thomas and all his blood should haue bene apprehended in Ireland. As this false muttering flue abroad, it was holpen forward by Thomas Canon, and others of Skeffington his seruants, who sticked not to write to certeine of their frends, as it were, verie secret letters, how that the earle of Kildare their maister his secret enimie (so they toke him, bicause he got the gouernement ouer his head) was alreadie cut shorter, as his issue presentlie should be: and now they trusted to see their maister in his gouernment, after which they sore longed, as for a preferment that would in short space aduantage them. Such a letter came vnto the hands of a simple preest, no perfect Englishman, who for hast hurled it amongest other papers in the chimnies end of his chamber, meaning to peruse it better at more leisure. The same verie night, a gentleman reteining to the lord Thomas, the lord iustice or vicedeputie, as is before specified, toke vp his lodging with the preest, and sought in the morning when he rose for some paper, to draw on his strait stockings; and as the diuell would, he hit vpon the letter, bare it awaie in the hæle of his stocke, no earthlie thing misdéeming. At night againe he found the paper vnstretted, and musing thereat he began to pore on the writing, which notified the earle his death, and the apprehension of the lord Thomas. To horsse goeth he in all hast, brought the letter to James de la Hide, who was principall councellor to the lord Thomas in all his doings. De la Hide hauing scantlie ouerread the letter, making more hast than good spéed, posted to the lord Thomas, imparted him that letter, and withall putting fire to flax, before he diued to the bottome of this trecherie, he was contented to swim on the skum and froth thereof, as well by sowing vp the tenor of the letter, as by inciting the lord Thomas to open rebellion, cloking the odious name of treason with the zealous reuengement of his fathers wrongfull execution, and with the warie defense of his owne person.

The occasion of Thomas Fitzgirald his rebellion.

James de la Hide.

The lord Thomas being youthfull, rash, and headlong, and assuring himselfe that the knot of all the force of Ireland was twisted vnder his girdle, was by de la Hide his counsell so far caried, as he was resolued to cast all on sir and seauen. Wherefore hauing confedered with Oneale, Oconor, and other Irish potentats, he rode on saint Barnabies date, accompanied with seauen score horsemen in their shirts of maile, through the citie of Dublin, to the Dam his gate, crost ouer the water to saint Marie abbeie, where the councell according to appointment waited his comming, not being priuie to his intent: onelie Cromer the lord chancellour excepted, who was secretlie aduertised of his reuolt, and therefore was verie well prouided for him, as hereafter shall be declared. This Cromer was a graue prelat, and a learned, well spoken, mild of nature, nothing wedded to factions, yet a welwiller of the Giraldines, as those by whose means he was aduanced to dignitie. When the lord Thomas was set in councell, his horsemen and seruants rusht into the councell chamber armed and weaponed, turning their secret conference to an open parlée. The councell hereat amazed, and silence with securitie commanded, the lord Thomas in this wise spake.

Cromer lord chancellor.

Thomas Fitzgirald his rebellious oration.

HOwsoeuer iniuriouslie we be handled, and forced to defend our selues in armes, when neither our seruice nor our good meaning towards our prince his

crowne auaileth: yet fate not hereafter, but in this open hostilitie which here we professe and proclame, we haue shewed our selues no villaines nor churles, but warriours and gentlemen. This sword of estate is yours, and not mine; I receiued it with an oth, and haue vsed it to your benefit. I should staine mine honour, if I turned the same to your annoiance. Now haue I need of mine owne sword, which I dare trust. As for the common sword, it flattereth me with a painted scabberd, but hath indeed a pestilent edge, alreadie bathed in the Giraldines bloud, and now is newlie whetted in hope of a further destruction. Therefore saue your selues from vs, as from open enimies, I am none of Henrie his deputie, I am his foe, I haue more mind to conquer than to gouerne, to meet him in the field than to serue him in office. If all the hearts of England and Ireland, that haue cause thereto, would ioine in this quarrell (as I hope they will) then should he soone abie (as I trust he shall) for his crueltie and tyrannie, for which the age to come may lawfullie score him vp among the ancient tyrants of most abhominable and hatefull memorie.

Hauing added to this shamefull oration manie other slanderous and foule tearmes, which for diuerse respects I spare to pen, he would haue surrendered the sword to the lord chancellor, who (as I said before) being armed for the lord Thomas his comming, and also being loath that his slacknesse should seeme disloiall in refusing the sword, or his frowardnesse ouer cruell in snatching it vpon the first proffer, toke the lord Thomas by the wrist of the hand, and requested him for the loue of God, the teares trilling downe his cheekes, to giue him for two or three words the hearing, which granted, the reuerend father spake as insueth.

The chancellor his oration.

My lord, although hatred be commonlie the handmaiden of truth, bicause we see him that plainelie expresseth his mind, to be for the more part of most men disliked: yet notwithstanding I am so well assured of your lordship his good inclination towards me, and your lordship so certeine of mine entire affection towards you, as I am imboldned, notwithstanding this companie of armed men, freelie and frankelie to vtter that, which by me declared, and by your lordship followed, will turne (God willing) to the auaile of you, your friends, allies, and this countrie. I doubt not (my lord) but you know, that it is wisedome for anie man to loke before he leape, and to sowne the water before his ship hull thereon, & namelie where the matter is of weight, there it behoueth to follow sound, sage, and mature aduise. Wherefore (my lord) sith it is no maigame for a subiect to leuie an armie against his prince: it lieth your lordship in hand to breath longer on the matter, as well by foresalling the hurt whereby you may fall, as by reuoluing the hope wherwith you are fed. What should moue your lordship to this sudden attempt, I know not. If it be the death of your father, it is as yet but secretlie muttered, not manifestlie published. And if I should grant you, that your zeale in reuenging your father his execution were in some respect to be commended: yet reason would you should suspend the reuenge vntill the certeintie were knowne. And were it, that the report were true, yet it standeth with the dutie and allegiance of a good subiect (from whom I hope in God you meane not to disseuer your selfe) not to spurne and kicke against his prince, but contrariwise, if his souereigne be mightie, to feare him: if he be profitable to his subiects, to honour him: if he command, to obeie him: if he be kind, to loue him: if he be vicious, to pitie him: if he be a tyrant, to beare with him: considering that in such case it is better with patience to bow, than with stubburnnesse to breake. For sacred is the name of a king, and odious is the name of a rebellion: the one from heauen deriued, and by God shielded; the other in hell forged, and by the diuell executed. And therefore who so will obserue the course of histories, or weigh the iustice of God in punishing malefactors, shall easilie see, that albeit the sunne shineth for a time on them that are in rebellion: yet such sweet beginnings are at length clasped vp with sharpe & sowre ends.

The name of a king sacred.

Rebellion from whense it springeth.

Now that it appeareth, that you ought not to beare armour against your king, it resteth to discusse whether you be able (though you were willing) to annoie your king. For if among meane and priuat foes it be reckoned for folie, in a secret grudge to professe open hatred, and where he is not able to hinder, there to shew a willing mind to hurt: much more ought your lordship in so generall a quarell as this, that concerneth the king, that toucheth the nobilitie, that apperteineth to the whole commonwelth, to foresee the king his power on the one side, & your force on the other, and then to iudge if you be able to cocke with him, and to put him beside the cushion; and not whilest you striue to sit in the saddle, to lose to your owne vndoing both the horsse and the saddle.

King Henrie is knowne to be in these our daies so puissant a prince, and so victorious a worthie, that he is able to conquer forren dominions: and thinke you that he cannot defend his owne? He tameth kings, and iudge you that he may not rule his owne subiects? Suppose you conquer the land, do you imagine that he will not recouer it? Therefore (my lord) flatter not your selfe ouermuch, repose not so great affiance either in your troope of horssemen, or in your band of footmen, or in the multitude of your partakers: What face soeuer they put now on the matter, or what successe soeuer for a season they haue, bicause it is easie for an armie to vanquish them that do not resist: yet hereafter when the king shall send his power into this countrie, you shall see your adherents like sliper changelings plucke in their hornes, and such as were content to beare you vp by the chin as long as you could swim, when they espie you sinke, they will by little and little shrinke from you, and percase will ducke you ouer head and eares. As long as the gale puffeth full in your sailes, doubt not but diuerse will anerre vnto you and feed on you as crowes on carion: but if anie storme happen to bluster, then will they be sure to leaue you post alone sticking in the mire or sands, hauing least helpe when you haue most need. And what will then insue of this. The branches will be pardoned, the rot apprehended, your honour disdained, your house atteinted, your armes reuersed, your manours razed, your doings examined; at which time God knoweth what an hartburning it will be, when that with no colour may be denied, which without shame cannot be confessed. My lord, I powre not out oracles as a soothsater, for I am neither a prophet, nor the sonne of a prophet. But it may be, that I am some frantike Cassandra being partener of hir spirit in foretelling the truth, and partaker of hir misfortune in that I am not (when I tell the truth) beleeued of your lordship, whom God defend from being Priamus.

Cassandras prophesie.

The subiects dutie towards his king.

Weigh therefore (my lord) the nobilitie of your ancestors, remember your father his late exhortation, forget not your dutie vnto your prince, consider the estate of this poore countrie, with what heaps of curses you shall be loden, when your soul-

diers

diers shall rifle the poore subiects, & so far indamage the whole relme, as they are not yet borne that shall hereafter feele the smart of this vproare. You haue not gone so far but you may turne home, the king is mercifull, your offense as yet not ouer heinous, cleane to his clemencie, abandon this headlong follie. Which I craue in most humble wise of your lordship, for the loue of God, for the dutie you owe your prince, for the affection you beare the countrie, and for the respect you haue to your owne safetie, whom God defend from all traitorous & wicked attempts.

Hauing ended his oration, which he set forth with such a lamentable action, as his cheekes were all beblubbered with teares, the horsemen, namelie such as vnderstood not English, began to diuine what the lord chancellor ment with all this long circumstance; some of them reporting that he was preaching a sermon, others said that he stood making of some heroicall poetrie in the praise of the lord Thomas. And thus as euerie idiot shot his foolish bolt at the wise councellor his discourse, who in effect did nought else but drop pretious stones before hogs, one Ward de Nelan, an Irish rithmour, and a rotten sheepe able to infect an whole flocke, was chatting of Irish verses, as though his tong had run on pattens, in commendation of the lord Thomas, inuesting him with the title of Silken Thomas, bicause his horsemens tacks were gorgeouslie imbrodered with silke: and in the end he told him that he lingred there ouerlong. Whereat the lord Thomas being quickned, did cast his eie towards the lord chancellor, & said thus.

Ward de Nelan.

Silken Thomas.

The replie of Silken Thomas.

MY lord chancellor, I come not hither to take aduise what I should do, but to giue you to vnderstand what I mind to do. It is easie for the sound to counsell the sicke: but if the sore had smarted you as much as it festereth me, you would be percase as impatient as I am. As you would wish me to honour my prince, so dutie willeth me to reuerence my father. Wherefore he that will with such tyrannie execute mine innocent parent, and withall threaten my destruction, I may not, nor will not hold him for my king. And yet in truth he was neuer our king, but our lord, as his progenitors haue beene before him. But if it be my hap to miscarie, as you seeme to prognosticat, catch that catch may, I will take the market as it riseth, and will chose rather to die with valiantnesse and libertie, than to liue vnder king Henrie in bondage and villanie. And yet it may be, that as strong as he is, and as weake as I am, I shall be able like a fleshworme to itch the bodie of his kingdome, and force him to scratch deepelie before he be able to pike me out of my seame. Wherefore my lord, I thanke you for your good counsell, and were it not that I am too crabbed a note in descant to be now tuned, it might be that I would haue warbled sweeter harmonie than at this instant I meane to sing. ¶ With these words he rendered vp the sword, and flung awaie like a bedlem, being garded with his brutish droue of brainesicke rebels.

Henrie lord of Ireland.

Thomas rendereth vp the sword.

The councell sent secretlie vpon his departure to master maior and his brethren, to apprehend (if they conuenientlie might) Thomas Fitzgirald and his confederats. But the warning was so Skarborrow, the enimie so strong, the citie (by reason of the plage that ranged in towne and in countrie) so dispeopled, as their attempt therein would seeme but vaine and friuolous. Ouer this, the weaker part of the rebels would not pen vp themselues within the citie wals, but stood houering aloofe off toward Oxmantowne greene, on the top of the hill where the gallowes stood (a fit centre for such a circle) till time they were aduertised of their capteine Thomas his returne. This open rebellion in this wise denounced; part of the councell, namelie Alen archbishop of Dublin & Finglasse chiefe baron hied with bag and baggage to the castell of Dublin, whereof John White was constable, who after was dubbed knight by the king in England, for his worthie seruice done in that vproare.

Alen. Finglasse. John walter.

Thomas & his crew, supposing that in ouerruning the whole land, they should find no blocke to stumble at sauing the earle of Ossorie, agreed to trie if by anie allurements he could be traind to their confederacie. And forsomuch as the lord James Butler was linked with Thomas Fitzgirald in great amitie and friendship, it was thought best to giue him the onset, who if he were won to swaie with them, they would not weigh two chips the force of his father the earle of Ossorie. Thomas forthwith sent his messengers and letters to his cousine the lord Butler, couenanting to diuide with him halfe the kingdome, would he associat him in this enterprise. Whereupon the lord Butler returned Thomas his brokers with this letter.

The lord Butler his letter to *Thomas Fitzgirald.*

TAking pen in hand to write you my resolute answer, I muse in the verie first line by what name to call you, my lord, or my cousine: seeing your notorious treason hath distained your honour, and your desperate lewdnesse shamed your kindred. You are so liberall in parting stakes with me, that a man would weene you had no right vnto the game: so importunat in craning my companie, as if you would persuade me to hang with you for good fellowship. Do you thinke that James was so mad, as to gape for gogions; or so vngratious, as to sell his truth for a peece of Ireland? Were it so (as it cannot be) that the chickens you reckon, were both hatched and feathered: yet be thou sure, I had rather in this quarell die thine enimie, than liue thy partener. For the kindnesse you proffer me, and good loue in the end of your letter, the best waie I can I purpose to requite, that is, in aduising you, though you haue fetcht your feaze, yet to loke well yer ye leape. Ignorance and errour, with a certeine opinion of dutie, haue caried you vnawares to this follie, not yet so ranke but it maie be cured. The king is a vessell of bountie & mercie, your words against his maiestie shall not be accounted malicious, but rather belched out for heat and impotencie, except your selfe by heaping offenses discouer a mischeefous and wilfull meaning. Farewell.

Thomas Fitzgirald netled with this round answer, was determined to inuade the countrie of Kilkennie, first forcing an oth vpon the gentlemen of the pale: and such as would not agree thereto he toke prisoners. Fingall, which was not before acquainted with the recourse of the Irish enimie, was left open to be preied and spoiled by the Toles, who were therein assisted by John Barnell of Balgriffin, a gentleman of a faire liuing, setled in a good battle soile of Fingall, taken for one not deuoid of wit, were it not that he was ouertaken with this treason. The Dublinians hauing notice that the enimie made hauocke of their neighbors of Fingall, issued out of the citie, meaning to haue intercepted them at the bridge of Kilmainan. And hauing incounte-

Fingall spoiled.

John Barnel of Belgriffin.

red

The Dublinians discomfited.

red with the Irish nére the wood Salcocke, what for the number of the rebels, and the lacke of an expert capteine to lead the armie of Dublin in battell raie, there were fourescore of the citizens slaine, and the preide not rescued. In this conflict, Patrike Fitzsimons, with diverse other good houholders, miscaried.

Patrike Fitzsimons slaine.

Messengers sent from Thomas to Dublin.

This victorie bred so great an insolencie in Thomas Fitzgirald, as he sent his messengers to the citie, declaring that albeit they offred him that iniurie, as that he could not haue free passage with his compante to & fro in the pale, & therefore would he vse the benefit of his late skirmish, or be answerable in iust reuenge to their due desert, he might by law of armes put their citie to fire and sword: yet this notwithstanding, if they would but permit his men to laie siege to the castell of Dublin, he would enter in league with them, and would undertake to backe them in such favourable wise, as the stoutest champion in his armie should not be so hardie, as to offer the basest in their citie so much as a fillip. The citizens considering that the towne by reason of the sickenesse was weakened, and by this late overthrow greatlie discouraged, were forced to make a vertue of necessitie, by lighting a candle before the divell, till time the kings pleasure were knowne; to whom with letters they posted one of their aldermen named Francis Herbert, whom shortlie after, the king for his service dubbed knight, infeoffing him with part of Christopher Eustace of Balicutlan his lands, who had unadvisedlie a fot in this rebellion. But before the citizens would returne answer to Thomas as touching this message, they secretlie advertised maister John White constable of the castell of this unlawfull demand.

Francis Herbert sent into England Eustace of Balicutlan.

The constable weighing the securitie of the citie, little regarding the force of the enimie, agreed willinglie therto, so that he might be sufficientlie stored with men and vittels. John Alen archbishop of Dublin, fearing that all would haue gone to wracke in Ireland, being then in the castell, brake his mind touching his sailing into England, to one of his servants named Bartholomew Fitzgirald, whom notwithstanding he were a Giraldine, he held for his trustiest and inwardest councellor. Bartholomew undertaking to be the archbishop his pilot, until hée were past the barre, incouraged his maister to imbarke himselfe hard by the Dams gate. And as they were hulling in the channell that euening, they were not ware, until the barke strake on the sands nére Clontarfe.

The archbishop of Dublin meaneth to saile into England.

Bartholmew Fitzgirald.

The archbishop with his man stale secretlie to Tartaine, there meaning to lurke until the wind had served to saile into England, where he scarselie sir houres solourned, when Thomas Fitzgirald knew of his arriuall, and accompanied with James de la Hide, sir John Fitzgirald, Oliuer Fitzgirald his uncles, timelie in the morning, being the eight and twentith of Julie, he posted to Tartaine, beset the house, commanded John Teling and Nicholas Walker to apprehend the archbishop, whome they haled out of his bed, brought him naked in his shirt, barefoted, and bareheaded, to their capteine. Whom when the archbishop espied, incontinentlie he knéeled and with a pitifull countenance & lamentable voice, he besought him for the loue of God not to remember former iniuries, but to weigh his present calamitie, and what malice soeuer he bare his person, yet to respect his calling and vocation, in that his enimie was a christian, and he amongst christians an archbishop.

1534 Teling. Walker.

As he spake thus, bequeathing his soule to God, his bodie to the enimies mercie, Thomas being striken with some compassion, & withall inflamed with desire of reuenge, turned his horsse aside, saieng in Irish (*Bir wem è boddeagh*) which is as much to saie in English, as Away with the churle, or Take the churle from me: which doubtles he spake, as after he declared, meaning the archbishop should be deteined as prisoner. But the caitifs that were present, rather of malice than of ignorance, misconstruing his words, murthered the archbishop without further delate, brained and hacked him in gobbets, his blood with Abell crieng to God for reuenge, which after befell to all such as were principals in this horrible murther. The place is euer since hedged and imbaied on euerie side, ouergrowne and unfrequented for detestation of the fact. This Alen (as before is declared) was in seruice with cardinall Woolsete, of dæpe iugement in the law canon, the onelie match of Stephan Gardiner, an other of Woolsetes chapleins, for auoiding of which emulation he was preferred in Ireland, rough and rigorous in iustice, deadlie hated of the Giraldines for his maisters sake & his owne, as he that crossed them diuerse times, and much brideled both father and son in their gouernements, not unlike to haue promoted their accusations, and to haue bene a forger of the letter before mentioned, which turned to his finall destruction.

Alen archbishop of Dublin murthered at Tartaine.

The rebels hauing in this execrable wise imbrued their hands in the archbishop his blood, they rode to Houth, take sir Christopher lord of Houth prisoner, & upon their returne from thense, they apprehended maister Luttrell chiefe iustice of the common pléas, conueieng him with them as their prisoner. The Dublinians during this space, having respit to pause sent into the castell by night sufficient store of vittels, at which time, John Fitzsimons, one of their aldermen, sent to maister constable twentie tun of wine, foure & twentie tun of béere, two thousand drie ling, fiftéene hogsheads of pondered bæfe, and twentie chambers, with an iron chaine for the draw bridge of the castell that was newlie forged in his owne house for the auoiding of all suspicion. The castell being with men, munition, and vittels abundantlie furnished, answer was returned to Thomas Fitzgirald, purporting a consent for the receiuing of his souldiors. Which granted, he sent thither James Field of Luske, Nicholas Walker, John Teling, Edward Rouks (who was likewise a pirat scowring the coast, and greatlie annoieng all passengers) Broad and Pursell, with an hundred souldiors attendant on them, as on their capteins. These valiant Rutterkins planted nére Preston his innes, right ouer against the castell gate two or three falcons, hauing with such strong rampiers intrenched their companie, as they little weighed the shot of the castle. And to withdraw the constable from discharging the ordinance, they threatened to take the youth of the citie, and place them on the top of their trenches for maister constable to shot at, as at a marke he would be loth to hit.

The lord of Houth taken prisoner.

Justice Luttrell taken.

John Fitzsimons.

The castell of Dublin besieged.

Field. Walker. Teling. Rouks.

The English pale in this wise weakened, the citizens apeased, and the castell besieged, Thomas Fitzgirald and his confederats were resolued to trie if the lord Butler would stand to his doughtie letter; and sith he would not by faire means be allured, hée should be (maugre his head) by foule means compelled to assist them in this their generall attempt. Thomas upon this determination, being accompanied with Oneale, diuerse Scots, James de la Hide, his principall councellour, John de la Hide, Edward Fitzgirald his uncle, sir Richard Walsh parson of Loughsewdie, John Burnell of Balgriffin, James Gernon, Walter Walsh, Robert Walsh, Maurice Walsh, with a maine armie, inuaded the erle of Ossorie and the lord Butler his lands, burnt and wasted the countrie of Kilkennie to Thomas towne, the

Thomas Fitzgirald inuadeth the countrie of Kilkennie.

poore

poꝛe inhabitants being conſtreined to ſhunne his foꝛce, rather than to withſtand his power.

Fitzgirald his appꝛoch towards theſe confines hꝛuted, the earle of Oſſoꝛie, and his ſon the loꝛd Butler, with all the gentlemen of the countrie of Kilkennie, aſſembled néere Jeripon, to determine what oꝛder they might take, in withſtanding the inuaſion of the rebels. And as they were thus in parlee, a gentleman of the Butlers accompanied with ſixtéene hoꝛſmen, departed ſecretlie from the folkemote, & made towards Thomas Fitzgirald and his armie, who was then readie to incampe himſelfe at Thomas towne. When the chalenger was eſcried, and the certeine number knowne, ſixtéene of Fitzgirald his hoꝛſſemen did charge him, and pꝛeſentlie followed them ſeuen ſcoꝛe hoꝛſſemen, with two oꝛ thꝛee banners diſplaied, purſuing them vntill they came to the hill where all the gentlemen were aſſembled, who being ſo ſuddenlie taken, could not ſtand to bicker; but ſome fled this waie, ſome that waie, the earle was ſcattered from his companie, and the loꝛd Butler vnwares was hurt: whom when ſuch of the rebels knew as fauoured him, they purſued him but coldlie, and let him eſcape on hoꝛſſebacke, taking his waie to Dowmemoꝛe (néere Kilkennie) where he laie at ſurgerie.

The earle of Oſſoꝛie fléeth.
The loꝛd Butler wounded.

During the time that Thomas with his armie was ranſacking the erle of Oſſoꝛie his lands, Francis Herebert returned from England to Dublin with the king and councels letters to maiſter Shillingfoꝛth then maioꝛ, and his bꝛethꝛen, with letters likewiſe to maiſter White the conſtable, to withſtand (as their dutie of allegiance bound them) the trattoꝛous pꝛactiſes of Thomas and his complices, and that with all ſpéd they ſhould be ſuccoꝛed vpon the ſight of theſe letters. Maiſter Thomas Fitzſimons recoꝛder of the citie, a gentleman that ſhewed himſelfe a politike and a comfoꝛtable councelloꝛ in theſe troubles, paraphꝛaſing the king his gratious letters, with diuerſe good and ſound conſtructions, imboldened the citizens to bꝛeake their new made league, which with no traitoꝛ was to be kept. The aldermen and communaltie, with this pithie perſuaſion eaſilie weighed, gaue foꝛthwith oꝛder, that the gates ſhould be ſhut, their percullices diſmounted, the traitoꝛs that beſieged the caſtell appꝛehended, flags of defiance vpon their wals placed, and an open bꝛeach of truce pꝛoclamed.

Francis Herebert returneth from England.
Shillingfoꝛth.
Thomas Fitzſimons.
No league to be kept with traitoꝛs.
The Dublinians bꝛeake with Thomas Fitzgerald.

Field and his companie taken.

Field and his companie (who did not all this while batter aught of the caſtell, but onelie one hole that was boꝛed thꝛough the gate with a pellet, which lighted in the mouth of a demie canon, planted within the caſtell) vnderſtanding that they were betraied, began to ſhꝛinke their heads, truſting moꝛe to their hæles than to their weapons: ſome ran one way, ſome another, diuerſe thought to haue béene houſed and ſo to lurke in Lozels den, who were thꝛuſt out by the head and ſhoulders: few of them ſwam ouer the Liffie, the greater number taken and impꝛiſoned. Foꝛthwith poſt vpon poſt rode to Thomas Fitzgirald, who then was rifling the countrie of Kilkennie, certifieng him that all was mard, the fat was in the fire, he bꝛought an old houſe about his owne eares, the Paltocks of Dublin kept not touch with him, the Engliſh armie was readie to be ſhipt, Herebert with the king his letters returned; now it ſtood him vpon to ſhew himſelfe a man oꝛ a mouſe. Thomas with theſe tidings amazed, made ſpéedie repaire to Dublin, ſending his purſeuants beꝛoꝛe him, to command the gentlemen of the Engliſh pale to méete him with all their power néere Dublin. And in his waie towards the citie, his companie toke diuerſe childꝛen of the Dublinians, that kept in the countrie (by reaſon of the contagion that then was in the towne) namelie Michaell Fitzſimons, Patrike Fitzſimons, William Fitzſimons, all ſons to Walter Fitzſimons late maioꝛ, at which time was alſo taken James Stanihurſt, with diuerſe other younglings of the citie.

The youth of Dublin taken pꝛiſoners.

Hauing marched néere Dublin, he ſent doctoꝛ Trauerſe, Peter Lince of the Knoke, and Oliuer Grace, as meſſengers (foꝛ I maie not rightlie tearme them ambaſſadoꝛs) to the citizens, who croſſing the Liffie from the blacke friers to the keie, expꝛeſſed to the maioꝛ and aldermen their errand, the effect whereof was, either to ſtand to their foꝛmer pꝛomiſe, oꝛ elſe to reſtoꝛe to their capteine his men, whom they wꝛongfullie deteined in goale. The firſt and laſt point of this requeſt flatlie by the citizens denied, the meſſengers returned, declaring what cold interteinment they had in Dublin. Thomas herewith frieng in his greaſe, cauſed part of his armie to burne the barke wherin Herebert ſailed from England: which done without reſiſtance, the veſſell road at ancheoꝛ néere ſaint Marie abbeie, they indeuoꝛed to ſtop all the ſpꝛings that flowed vnto the towne, and to cut the pipes of the conduits, whereby they ſhould be deſtitute of freſh water. Shoꝛtlie after, they laid ſiege to the caſtell in the Shipſtréet, from whenſe they were haſtilie by the oꝛdinance feazed, and all the thatcht houſes of the ſtréet were burnt with wild fire, which maiſter White deuiſed, becauſe the enimie ſhould not be there reſcued.

Meſſengers ſent to Dublin
Trauerſe.
Lince.
Grace.

Dublin beſieged.

The ſhipſtréet fired.

When no butter could ſticke on their bꝛead, in that part of the citie, the greater number of the rebels aſſembled to Thomas his court, and marched to ſaint Thomas his ſtréet, raſing downe the partitions of the roꝛo of houſes beꝛoꝛe them on both ſides of the ſtréet, finding none to withſtand them: foꝛ the inhabitants fled into the citie, ſo that they made a long lane on both the ſides like a gallerie, couered all ouer head, to ſhield as well their hoꝛſſemen as their footmen from gunſhot. This done they burnt the new ſtréet, planted a falcon right againſt the new gate, and it diſcharged, pearſed the gate, and kild an appꝛentiſe of Thomas Stephans alderman, as he went to bꝛing a baſon of water from the high pipe, which by reaſon the ſpꝛings were damd vp, was at that time doꝛie. Richard Stanton, commonlie called Dicke Stanton, then gailoꝛ of the new gate, a good ſeruitoꝛ, an excellent markeman, as his valiant ſeruice that time did appꝛoue. Foꝛ beſides that he gald diuers of the rebels as they would ſkip from houſe to houſe, by cauſing ſome of them with his pœce to carrie their errands in their buttocks; ſo he perceiued one of the enimies, leueling at the window oꝛ ſpike at which he ſtood: but whether it were, that the rebell his pouder failed him, oꝛ ſome gimboll oꝛ other was out of frame, Stanton toke him ſo trulie foꝛ his marke, as he ſtrake him with his bullet full in the foꝛehead vnder the bꝛim of his ſcull, and withall turned vp his hæles.

Richard Stanton.

Stanton not ſatiſfied with his death, iſſued out at the wicket, ſtript the varlot mother-naked, and bꝛought in his pœce and his attire. The deſperatneſſe of this fact diſliked of the citizens, and greatlie ſtomached by the rebels, beꝛoꝛe Stanton returned to his ſtanding, the enimies bꝛought faggots & fiers to the new gate, and incontinentlie fired them. The townelmen perceiuing that if the gate were burnt, the enimies would be incouraged vpon hope of the ſpoile, to venter moꝛe fiercelie, than if they were incountred without the wals, thought it expedient pꝛeſentlie to charge them. To this exploit they were the moꝛe egerlie moued, becauſe that notwithſtanding Thomas his ſouldioꝛs were manie in number; yet they knew that the better part of his companie bare but hollow hearts to the quarrell: foꝛ

Faggots laid vnto the new gate.

for the number of the wise gentlemen of the pale did little or nothing incline to his purpose. And therefore when he besieged the citie, the most part of those arrowes, which were shot ouer the walles, were vnheaded, and nothing annoied them: some shot in letters, and foretold them of all the treacherous stratagems that were in hammering.

That espied the citizens, and gathering the faintnesse of his souldiors thereby, blazed abroad vpon the walles triumphant newes, that the king his armie was arriued: and as it had beene so in deed, suddenlie to the number of foure hundred rushed out at the new gate, through flame and fire vpon the rebels, who (at the first sight of armed men) weening no lesse but the truth was so, otherwise assured, that the citie would neuer dare to reincounter them, gaue ground, forsoke their capteins, dispersed and scattered into diuerse corners, their falcon taken, an hundred of their stoutest Galloglasses slaine. Thomas Fitzgirald fled to the graie friers in S. Francis his street, there coucht that night, vnknowen to the citie, vntill the next morning he stale priuilie to his armie not far off, who stood in woonderfull feare that he was apprehended. Thomas his courage by this late ouerthrow somewhat coled, and also being assuredlie told, that a fleete was espied a farre off, bearing full saile towards the coast of Ireland, he was sone intreated, hauing so manie irons in the fire, to take egs for his monie: & withall, hauing no forren succor, either from Paulus tertius, or Charles the fift, which dailie he expected, he was sore quailed, being of himselfe, though strong in number of souldiors, yet vnfurnished of sufficient munition and artillerie, to stand & withstand the king his armie in a pitcht field, or a maine battell. Vpon this & other considerations, to make as faire weather as he could, he sent James de la Hide, Lime of the Knocke, William Bath of Dollarstowne, doctor Trauerse, Thomas Field of Painstowne, as messengers to the citizens, to treat with them of a truce, who being let in at the new gate, repaired to William Kellie his house, where maister maior and his brethren were assembled. The articles propounded by them to the citizens, were these.

The citizens bicker with the rebels.

Thomas Fitzgirald flieth.

De la Hide. Lime. Bath. Trauerse. Field.

The articles propounded to the citizens.

1 That Thomas Fitzgirald his men, who were deteined in prison, should be redelliuered.

2 Item, that the citizens should incontinentlie deliuer him at one paiment, a thousand pounds in monie.

3 Item, that they should deliuer him fiue hundred pounds in wares.

4 Item, to furnish him with munition and artillerie.

5 Item, to addresse their fauorable letters to the king for their capteine his pardon, and all his confederats.

The citizens answer these articles.

The maior and aldermen, hauing ripelie debated the tenour of these articles, agreed, that maister Fitzsimons their recorder should answer vnto the first, that they would not sticke to set his seruants at libertie, so he would redelliuer them the youth of the citie, which was nothing else in effect, but fit for tat. As for the second and the third demand, they were so greatlie by his warres impouerished, as they might hardlie spare monie or wares. And as touching implements for warre, they were neuer such fond niddicockes, as to offer anie man a rod to beat their owne tailes, or to betake their mastiues vnto the custodie of the woolues, maruelling much that their capteine would so farre ouershot himselfe, as to be taken with such apparant repugnancie. For if he intended to submit himselfe to the king his mercie, and to make them humble meanes to his highnesse for the obteining of his pardon, he ought rather to make sute for some good vellam parchment for the ingrossing thereof, than for munition and artillerie to withstand his prince. Wherfore, that three vnlawfull demands reiected, they would willinglie condescend to the first and last: as well requesting him to deliuer them the youth of the citie, as to submit himselfe and his companie to the king his mercie: promising not onelie with their fauourable letters, but also with their personall presences to further, as far as in them laie, his humble sute to the king and councell.

As they parled thus to and fro, William Bath of Dollarstowne a student of the common lawes spake: My maisters, what needeth all this long circumstance? Let vs all drinke of one cup. Which words were shortlie after vpon Skeffington his arriuall so crokedlie glosed, as by drinking of a sowre cup he lost the best ioint of his bodie. For albeit vpon his triall he construed his words to import an vniforme consent towards the obteining of Fitzgirald his pardon; yet all this could not colour his matter in such wise, but that he and Eustace of Balicutlan were executed at the castell of Dublin. The messengers knowing their capteine to be at a low eb, were agreed to take the offers of the first & last conditions, and that to the accomplishing of these articles hostages should be giuen of either part. The messengers deliuered to the citizens doctor Trauers & others, the citizens deliuered them Richard Talbot, Alderman, Rochford, & Kerrie. These were committed to the custodie of Dauid Sutton of Rathide, who redelliuered them to the citizens immediatlie after vpon the certeine rumor of Skeffington his repaire.

William Bath.

Eustace of Balicutlan.

Hostages taken. Doctor Trauerse. Talbot. Rochford. Kerrie. Dauid Sutton.

Thomas growne to this point with the Dublinians raised his siege, caused his artillerie to be conueied to Houth, marching after with his armie, to the end he might as well bulch the English ships if they durst anerre the coast, as to bicker with the soldiors vpon their arriuall. But before he toke his iornie vnto Houth, he rode to Drinoth, to see that the castell should be of all sides fortified, where being done to vnderstand, that a companie of white cotes with red crosses landed at Dublin secretlie in the dead of the night, and also that another band arriued at Houth, and were readie to march towards Dublin, he posted incontinentlie with two hundred horsemen towards the water side, incountred neere Clontarfe, the Hamertons, two valiant and courageous gentlemen, having in their companie foure score souldiors, where they fought so valiantlie for their liues, as so few footmen could haue done against so great a troope of horsemen: for they did not onlie mangle and hacke diuerse of the rebels, but also one of the Hamertons wounded Thomas Fitzgirald in the forehead. Some report that one of the Mulgraues, who was of kin to Fitzgirald, was slaine in this conflict, whose death he is said to haue taken greatlie to hart. The rebelles fleshed with the slaughter of the English, hied with all speed to Houth, shot at the ships that rode at anchor, caused them to flee from the rode, & to make towards Skerrith, where landed both the Eglebees, and the Dacres, with their horsemen. Rouks, Fitzgirald his pirat, was sent to scowre the coast, who toke an English barke laden with verie faire geldings, and sent them to his capteine. After that Thomas had returned with this bootie, and the spoile of such as were slaine to Drinoth, sir William Brereton knight, with his sonne John Brereton, was inshored at Houth with two hundred & fiftie soldiors verie well appointed, and maister Salisburie with two hundred archers.

The white cotes landed at Dublin.

The Hamertons slaine.

Thomas Fitzgirald wounded.

Mulgraue.

Eglebees. Dacres.

English geldings taken.

Sir william Brereton. John Brereton.

Salisburie.

Lastlie landed at the slip, neare the bridge of Dublin, sir William Skeffington knight lord deputie,

Sir William Skeffington.

lord deputie landeth.

putie, whome the Irish call the gunner, because he was preferred from that office of the king his maister gunner to gouerne them, and that they can euill brooke to be ruled of anie that is but meanlie borne. The maior and aldermen receiued the gouernor with shot, and great solemnitie, who yelding them hartie thanks for their true and loiall seruice, deliuered them the king and councell his letters, purporting the same effect in writing that he before expressed in words. Barnwell lord of Trimlestowne, who had the custodie of the sword, did surrender it to sir William Skeffington, according to the meaning of the king his letters patents on that behalfe.

Letters of thanks from the king to the Dublinians.

The lord of Trimlestowne surrendreth the sword.

Thomas Fitzgirald hauing intelligence that the whole armie was arriued, warded the castell of Wainoth so stronglie, as he take it to be impregnable. And to the end he might giue the gouernor battell, he rode towards Connagh, to leuie all such power of the Irish, as either for wages, or for goodwill he could win to assist him. The lord deputie forewarned of his drift, marched with the English armie, and the power of the pale to Wainoth, and laid siege to the castell on the north side towards the parke. But before anie peece was discharged, sir William, Brereton by the deputie his appointment, did summon the castell, offering such as kept it to depart with bag and baggage, and besides their pardon to be liberallie rewarded for their good and loiall seruice. But such as warded the castell, scornefullie scoffing the knight his offer, gaue him hartie thanks for his kindnesse which they said proceeded rather of his gentlenesse, than of their deseruing, wishing him to keepe vp in store such liberall offers for a deere peare, and to write his commendations home to his frends, and withall, to keepe his head warme, for at their hands he was like to haue but a cold sute. Finallie not to take such keepe of their safetie, in that they were assured, that he and his fellowes should be sooner from the siege raised, than they from the hold remoued.

Thomas Fitzgirald goeth toward Connagh.

The castell of Wainoth' besieged.

Sir William Brereton summoneth the castell.

Upon this round answere the ordinances were planted on the north side of the castell, which made no great batterie for the space of a fortnight: yet the castell so warilie on each side inuironed, as the rebelles were imbard from all egresse and regresse. Christopher Parese fosterbrother to Thomas Fitzgirald, to whome of speciall trust the charge of the castell was chieflie committed, profering his voluntarie seruice (which for the more part is so thankelesse and vnsauorie as it stinketh) determined to go an ase beyond his fellows, in betraieng the castell to the gouernor. In this resolution he shot a letter indorsed to the lord deputie, the effect whereof was, that he would deuise means the castell should be taken, so that he might haue a summe of monie for his paines, and a competent staie during his life. This motion by letters to and fro agreed vpon, Parese caused such as kept the ward, to swill and boll so much, as they snorted all the night like grunting hogs, litle misdeeming that whilest they slept, anie Judas had beene waking within the castell.

Christopher Parese betraieth the castell of Wainoth.

Profered seruice stinketh.

The occasion of this extraordinarie exceeding was coloured, for snatching into the castell a field peece the daie before from the armie, for which they kept such pot-reuels, and triumphant carousing, as none of them could discerne his beds head from the beds feet. Parese taking his tide and time, made signe to the armie, betweene the twilight and dawning of the daie, who hauing scaling ladders in a readinesse, would not ouerslip the opportunitie offered. Holland, petit capteine to Salisburie, was one of the forwardest in this exploit, who leaping downe from the wall, fell by mishap into a pipe of feathers, where he was vp to the arme pits, so stiffelie sticking therein, and also vnwealdie in his armor, as there could not helpe himselfe neither in nor out. Sir William Brereton and his band hauing scaled the wals cried on a sudden, saint George, saint George. Three drunken swads that kept the castell thought that this shout was nought else but a dreame, till time they espied the walles full of armed men, and one of them withall perceiuing Holl and thus intangled in the pipe, bestowed an arrow vpon him, which by good hap did misse him. Holland forthwith rescued by his fellows, shot at the other, and strake him so full vnder the skull, as he left him sprawling. The resistance was faint, when the souldiors entered, some yelding themselues, others that withstood them slaine. Sir William Brereton ran vp to the highest turret of the castell, & aduanced his standard on the top thereof, notifieng to the deputie, that the fort was woone. Great and rich was the spoile, such store of beds, so manie goodlie hangings, so rich a wardrobe, such braue furniture, as truelie it was accounted (for household stuffe and vtensiles) one of the richest earle his houses vnder the crowne of England. The lord deputie entred the castell in the after noone, vpon whose repaire, James de la Hide, and Hayward, two singing men of the earle his chapell, that were taken prisoners, prostrated themselues on the ground, pitifullie warbling a song, named *Dulcis amica*.

Brereton scaleth the wals.

Brereton aduanceth his Standard.

The lord deputie entereth the castell.

James de la Hide.

Hayward.

The gouernour rauished with the sweet and delicat voices, at the instance of Girald Ailmer chiefe iustice, and others of the councell pardoned them. Christopher Parese not misdoubting but that he should haue beene dubd knight for his seruice done that date, presented himselfe before the gouernour, with a cheerefull and familiar countenance: as who should saie, Here is he that did the deed. The deputie verie coldlie & halfe sternelie casting an eie towards him said: Parese, I am to thanke thee on my master the king his behalfe, for this thy proffered seruice which I must acknowledge to haue beene a sparing of great charges, and a sauing of manie valiant soldiors liues to his highnesse: and when his maiestie shall be thereof aduertised, I dare be bold to saie that he will not see thee lacke during thy life. And because I mate be the better instructed how to reward thee during my gouernement, I would gladlie learne, what thy lord and master bestowed on thee. Parese set a gog with these mild speeches, and supposing the more he recited, the better he should be rewarded, left not vntold the meanest good turne that euer he receiued at his lords hands. Why Parese (quoth the deputie) couldest thou find in thine heart to betraie his castell, that hath beene so good lord to thee? Truelie, thou that art so hollow to him, wilt neuer be true to vs. And therewithall, turning his talke to his officers, he gaue them commandement to deliuer Parese the summe of monie that was promised him vpon the surrender of the castell, and after to chop off his head. Parese at this cold salutation of Farewell & be hanged, turning his simpering to wimpering said: My lord, had I wist that you would haue dealt so streictlie with me, your lordship should not haue woone this fort with so little bloudshed as you did.

Girald Ailmer.

Parese commeth before the gouernor.

A notable iudgement.

Whereat master Boise, a gentleman of worship, and one that reteined to that old earle of Kildare, standing in the preasse, said in Irish, *Antragh*, which is as much in English, as Too late, wherof grew the Irish prouerbe, to this daie in the language vsed, Too late quoth Boise, as we saie, Beware of had I wist, or After meat mustard, or You come a daie after the faire, or Better done than said. The deputie asked them that stood by what was that he spake? Master Boise willing to expound his owne words, stept forth and answered; My lord, I said nothing, but that Parese is seized of a towne neere the Water

Boise.

Antragh.

The prouerbe Too late quoth Boise.

Holland petit capteine to Salisburie.

The castell taken.

for

Baltra. side named Baltra, and I would gladlie know how he will dispose it before he be executed. The gouernour not mistrusting that master Boise had gloséd (for if he vnderstood the true signification of the terme, it was verie like that to late had not beene so sharpe to Parese, but too soone had beene as sowre to him) willed the monie to be told to Parese, and presentlie caused him to be cut shorter by the head: declaring thereby, that although for the time he imbraced the benefit of the treason, yet after he could not digest the treacherie of the traitor.

Parese beheaded.

The deputie returneth to Dublin. Thomas Fitzgirald marcheth towards Mainoth.

The deputie hauing left a garrison in the castell, returned with the armie triumphantlie to Dublin. Thomas Fitzgirald not misdoubting but such as he left in the castell were able to stand to their tackle, leuied a huge armie in Oconhur his countrie, and in Connagh, to the number of seuen thousand, marching with them towards Mainoth, minding to haue remoued the king his armie from the siege: but being certified, that Parese his fosterbrother yelded vp the castell to the deputie, the better part of his companie gaue him the slip. All this notwithstanding he made with such as would sticke to him to Clane. The lord deputie hauing intelligence of his approch, left sir William Brereton at Dublin to defend the citie, & marched with the armie to the Naas, where he toke seuen score of Thomas his Gallogласses, and lead them all vnarmed toward Johnstowne. The scout watch espieng Thomas to march neere, imparted it to the gouernour, who presentlie commanded each man to kill his prisoner before the charge, which was dispatcht: only Edmund Oleine escaping mother naked by flight to Thomas his companie, leauing his shirt in his keepers hands. Both the armies aduanced themselues one against the other, but the horsemen of either side could not charge, by reason of a marish or quakemire that parted them. Wherfore the deputie caused two or three field peeces to be discharged, which scattered Thomas and his rablement, insomuch as he neuer in such open wise durst after beare vp head in the English pale, but rather by starts and sudden stratagems would now and then gall the English. As when the castell of Rathmingan was woone, which was soone after the surrender of Mainoth, he caused a droue of cattell to appeare timelie in the morning hard by the towne. Such as kept the fort, suspecting it to be a bootie, were trained for the more part out of the castell, who were surprised by Thomas, that late hard by in ambush, and the greater number of them slaine.

Wbereton left to defend Dublin.

Gallogласses taken and slaine.

Edmund Oleine escapeth.

Thomas and his companie fleeth.

Fitzgirald his stratagems.

Another time he fired a village hard by Trim, and deuised such of his horsemen that could speake English, being clad and horsed like northerne men, to ride to Trim, where a garrison late with hue and crie, saieng that they were capteine Salisburie his souldiors, and that the traitor Thomas Fitzgirald was burning a village hard by. The souldiors suspecting no cousinage issued out of the towne, who were by his men charged, & a great number of them slaine, some chased to the towne, and forced to take sanctuarie in the churchyard, which in those daies was highlie reuerenced. These and the like knacks vsed Thomas, being for his owne person so well garded, and for defect of a maine armie so naked, as neither he was occasioned to feare the English, nor the English forced to weigh him. During this time, there arriued with a fresh supplie of horsemen & archers, sir William Sentlo knight & his son, sir Rice Panswell knight, sir Edward Griffith knight, who were dispersed to sundrie parts of the pale to defend the countrie from the enimies inuasion. When the heat of this rebellion was in this wise asswaged, the lord deputie finding out no deuise to apprehend the capteine, imploied his industrie to intrap his conse-

William Sentlo. Rice Panswell. Edward Griffith.

derats. Burnell of Balgriffin persuing all go to wracke fled to Mounster, where he was taken by the lord Butler vicount Thurles, and being conueied to England was executed at Tiburne. Doctor Trauers, who was left as hostage with the cittizens, was by them deliuered to the lord deputie, and after with Rouks the pirat executed at the gallows on Dirmantowne greene.

Burnell of Balgriffin taken and executed. Trauers executed. Rouks executed.

Sir Walter de la Hide knight and his wife the ladie Gennet Eustace were apprehended, & brought as prisoners by master Brabson vicetreasurer from their towne of Moiclare to the castell of Dublin, because their sonne and heire James de la Hide was the onelie bruer of all this rebellion: who as the gouernor suspected, was set on by his parents, & namelie by his mother. The knight & his wife, lieng in duresse for the space of twelue moneths, were at seuerall times examined, & notwithstanding all presumptions and surmises that could be gathered, they were in the end found guiltesse of their sonne his follie. But the ladie was had in examination apart, and intised by meanes to charge hir husband with hir sonne his rebellion, who being not woone thereto with all the meanes that could be wrought, was menaced to be put to death, or to be rackt; and so with extremitie to be compelled, whereas with gentlenesse she could not be allured to acknowledge these apparent treasons, that neither hir husband nor she could without great shew of impudencie denie.

Walter de la Hide and his ladie Gennet Eustace apprehended.

The gentlewoman with these continuall storms heartbroken, deceased in the castell: from thense hir bodie was remoued vnto the greie friers with the deputie his commandement, that it should not be interred, vntill his plesure were further knowne; adding withall, that the carcase of one who was the mother of so arrant an archtraitor, ought rather to be cast out on a dunghill to be carrion for rauens and dogs to gnaw vpon, than to be laid in anie christian graue. The corps lieng foure or fiue daies in this plight, at the request of the ladie Gennet Golding, wife to sir John White knight, the gouernor, licenced that it should be buried. Sir William Skeffington a seuere and vpright gouernour died shortlie after at Kilmainan: to whome succeeded lord deputie the lord Leonard Greie, who immediatlie vpon the taking of his oth marched with his power towards the confines of Mounster, where Thomas Fitzgirald at that time remained. With Fitzgirald sir William Brereton skirmished so fiercelie, as both the sides were rather for the great slaughter disaduantaged, than either part by anie great victorie furthered. Master Brereton therefore perceiuing that rough nets were not the fittest to take such peart birds, gaue his aduise to the lord deputie to grow with Fitzgirald by faire means to some reasonable composition. The deputie liking of the motion, craued a parlee, sending certeine of the English as hostages to Thomas his campe with a protection directed vnto him, to come and go at will and pleasure. Being vpon this securitie in conference with the lord Greie, he was persuaded to submit himselfe to the king his mercie, with the gouernours faithfull and vndoubted promise that he should be pardoned vpon his repaire into England. And to the end that no trecherie might haue beene misdeemed of either side, they both receiued the sacrament openlie in the campe, as an infallible seale of the couenants and conditions of either part agreed.

Gennet Eustace dieth.

Skeffington deceased.

Leonard Greie lord deputie.

Brereton skirmisheth with Fitzgirald.

Thomas Fitzgirald submitteth himselfe to the deputie.

The sacrament receiued.

Hereupon Thomas Fitzgirald sore against the willes of his councellors, dismist his armie, & rode with the deputie to Dublin, where he made short abode when he sailed to England with the fauourable letters of the gouernour and the councell. And as he would haue taken his iourneie to Windsore, where the

Thomas Fitzgirald saileth into England. 1535

He is committed to the tower.

the court laie, he was intercepted contrarie to his expectation in London waie, and conueied with hast to the tower. And before his imprisonment was bruted, letters were posted into Ireland, strictlie commanding the deputie vpon sight of them, to apprehend Thomas Fitzgirald his vncles, and to see them with all spæd conuenient shipt into England. Which the lord deputie did not slacke. For hauing feasted three of the gentlemen at Kilmainan, immediatlie after their banket (as it is now and then seen, that sweet meat will haue sowre sauce) he caused them to be manacled, and led as prisoners to the castell of Dublin: and the other two were so roundlie snatcht vp in villages hard by, as they soner felt their owne captiuitie, than they had notice of their brethrens calamitie. The nert wind that serued into England, these fiue brethren were imbarked, to wit James Fitzgirald, Walter Fitzgirald, Oliuer Fitzgirald, John Fitzgirald, and Richard Fitzgirald. Three of these gentlemen, James, Walter, and Richard, were knowne to haue crossed their nephue Thomas to their power in his rebellion, and therfore were not occasioned to misdoubt anie danger. But such as in those daies were enimies to the house, incensed the king so sore against it, persuading him, that he should neuer conquer Ireland, as long as anie Giraldine breathed in the countrie: as for making the pathwaie smoth, he was resolued to lop off as well the good and sound grapes, as the wild and fruitlesse beries. Whereby appeareth how dangerous it is to be a rub, when a king is disposed to sweepe an alleie.

Thomas his vncles taken.

Innocencie a strong fort.

The Cow.

Thus were the fiue brethren sailing into England, among whom Richard Fitzgirald being more bookish than the rest of his brethren, & one that was much giuen to the studies of antiquitie, wailing his inward griefe, with outward mirth comforted them with chearefulnesse of countenance, as well persuading them that offended to repose affiance in God, and the king his mercie, and such as were not of that conspiracie, to relie to their innocencie, which they should hold for a more safe and strong barbican, than anie rampire or castell of brasse. Thus solacing the sillie mourners sometime with smiling, sometime with singing, sometime with graue and pithie apophthegmes, he craued of the owner the name of the barke; who hauing answered, that it was called the Cow, the gentleman sore appalled thereat, said: "Now good brethren I am in vtter despaire of our "returne to Ireland, for I beare in mind an old pro"phesie, that fiue earles brethren should be caried in a "Cowes bellie to England, and from thense neuer to "returne.

Whereat the rest began afresh to howle and lament, which doubtlesse was pitifull, to behold fiue valiant gentlemen, that durst meet in the field fiue as sturdie champions as could be picked out in a realme, to be so suddenlie terrified with the bare name of a woodden cow, or to feare like lions a sillie cocke his combe, being moued (as commonlie the whole countrie is) with a vaine and fabulous old wiues dreame. But what blind prophesie soeuer he read, or heard of anie superstitious beldame touching a cow his bellie, that which he foretold them was found true. For Thomas Fitzgirald the third of Februarie, and these fiue brethren his vncles, were drawne, hanged, and quartered at Tiburne, which was incontinentlie bruted as well in England and Ireland, as in foren soiles. For Dominicke Powre, that was sent from Thomas to Charles the fift, to craue his aid towards the conquest of Ireland (like as Chale in Grauill, otherwise called Charles Retnold, was directed to *Paulus tertius*) presenting the emperour with twelue great haukes and foureteene faire hobbies, was aduertised by his maiestie that he came too late, for his lord and master and fiue of his vncles were executed at London the third of Februarie: howbeit the emperour procured king Henrie to pardon Dominicke Powre. Which notwithstanding he obteined, yet would he not returne to Ireland, but continued in Portingale, hauing a ducket a date of the emperour during his life, which he ended at Lisborne.

1536 Thomas Fitzgirald & his vncles executed.

Dominicke Powre.

Charles Retnold.

James de la Hyde the chiefe councellor of Thomas Fitzgirald, fled into Scotland and there deceased. To this miserable end grew this lewd rebellion, which turned to the vtter vndoing of diuers ancient gentlemen, who trained with faire words into a soles paradise, were not onelie dispossessed of their lands, but also deprriued of their liues, or else forced to forsake their countries. As for Thomas Fitzgirald, who (as I wrote before) was executed at Tiburne, I would wish the carefull reader to vnderstand that he was neuer earle of Kildare, although some writers, rather of errour than of malice, terme him by that name. For it is knowne that his father liued in the tower, when he was in open rebellion, where for thought of the yong man his follie he died; and therefore Thomas was attainted in a parlement holden at Dublin, as one that was deemed, reputed, and taken for a traitour before his fathers decease, by the bare name of Thomas Fitzgirald. For this hath beene obserued by the Irish historiographers euer since the conquest, that notwithstanding all the presumptions of treason, wherewith anie earle of Kildare could either faintlie be suspected or vehementlie charged; yet there was neuer anie erle of that house read or heard of, that bare armour in the field against his prince. Which I write not as a barrister hired to plead their cause, but as a chronicler moued to declare the truth.

James de la Hyde.

Thomas Fitzgirald was not earle of Kildare.

I.St. pag. 434.

No earle of Kildare bare armour at anie time against his prince.

This Thomas Fitzgirald (as before is specified) was borne in England, vpon whom nature powred beautie, and fortune by birth bestowed nobilitie: which had it beene well employed, & were it not that his rare gifts had beene blemished by his later euill qualities, he would haue proued an impe worthie to be ingrafted in so honorable a stocke. He was of stature tall and personable, in countenance amiable, a white face, and withall somewhat ruddie, delicatlie in each lim featured, a rolling tong & a rich vtterance, of nature flexible and kind, verie soone caried where he fansied, easilie with submission appeased, hardlie with stubbornnesse weied, in matters of importance an headlong hotspur: yet neuertheless taken for a yong man not deuoid of wit, were it not (as it fell out in the end) that a fole had the keeping thereof.

The description of Thomas Fitzgirald.

But to returne to the course of the historie. When Thomas and his vncles were taken, his second brother on the father his side, named Girald Fitzgirald (who was after in the reigne of quéene Marie restored to the earledome of Kildare, in which honour as yet he liueth) being at that time somewhat past twelue, and not full thirteene yeares of age, late sicke of the small pocks in the countie of Kildare, at a towne named Donoare, then in the occupation of Girald Fitzgirald. Thomas Leuruse, who was the child his scholemaster, and after became bishop of Kildare, mistrusting vpon the apprehension of Thomas & his vncles, that all went not currant, wrapt the yong patient as tenderlie as he could, and had him conueied in a cleese with all spæd to Offaly, where sojourning for a short space with his sister the ladie Marie Fitzgirald, vntill he had recouered his perfect health, his scholemaster caried him to Odon his countrie, where making his abood for a quarter of a yeare, he trauelled to Obren his countrie in Mounster, and hauing there remained for halfe a

The aduentures of the yong Fitzgirald son to the ladie Grey countesse of Kildare.

Donoare.

Thomas Leuruse.

Elenor Fitzgirald.

yeare, he repaired to his aunt the ladie Elenor Fitzgirald, who then kept in Mac Cartie Reagh hir late husband his territories.

This noble woman was at that time a widow, alwaies knowne and accounted of each man, that was acquainted with hir conuersation of life, for a paragon of liberalitie and kindnesse, in all hir actions vertuous and godlie, and also in a good quarell rather stout than stiffe. To hir was Odoneil an importunate suiter. And although at sundrie times before she seemed to shake him off, yet considering the distresse of hir yong innocent nephue, how he was forced to wander in pilgrimwise from house to house, eschuing the punishment that others deserued, smarted in his tender yeares with aduersitie, before he was of discretion to inioie anie prosperitie, she began to incline to hir woer his request, to the end hir nephue should haue béene the better by his countenance shouldered, and in fine indented to espouse him; with this caueat or prouiso, that he should safelie shield and protect the said yong gentleman in this calamitie. This condition agréed vpon, she rode with hir nephue to Odoneil his countrie, and there had him safelie kept for the space of a yeare.

The ladie Elenors liberalitie.

But shortlie after the gentlewoman either by some secret friend informed, or of wisedome gathering that hir late maried husband intended some treacherie, had hir nephue disguised, scoring him like a liberall and bountifull aunt with seuen score portegues, not onelie in valour, but also in the selfe same coine, incontinentlie shipped him secretlie in a Britons vessell of saint Malouse, betaking him to God, and to their charge that accompanied him, to wit, maister Leurouse, and Robert Walsh sometime seruant to his father the earle. The ladie Elenor hauing thus to hir contentation bestowed hir nephue, she expostulated verie sharpelie with Odoneil as touching his villanie, protesting that the onlie cause of hir match with him proceeded of an especiall care to haue hir nephue countenanced: and now that he was out of his lash that minded to haue betraied him, he should well vnderstand, that as the feare of his danger moued hir to annere to such a clownish curmudgen: so the assurance of his safetie should cause hir to sequester hirselfe from so butcherlie a cutthrote, that would be like a pelting mercenarie patch hired, to sell or betraie the innocent bloud of his nephue by affinitie, and hirs by consanguinitie. And in this wise trussing vp bag and baggage, she forsoke Odoneil and returned to hir countrie.

Fitzgirald saileth to France.

The passengers with a prosperous gale arriued at saint Malouse, which notified to the gouernour of Britaine, named monsieur de Chasteau Brian, he sent for the yong Fitzgirald, gaue him verie hartie interteinement during one moneths space. In the meane season the gouernour posted a messenger to the court of France, aduertising the king of the arriuall of this gentleman, who presentlie caused him to be sent for, and had him put to the Dolphin named Henrie, who after became king of France. Sir John Wallop (who was then the English ambassadour) vnderstanding the cause of the Irish fugitiue his repaire to France, demanded him of the French king, according to the new made league betweene both the princes: which was, that none should keepe the other his subiect within his dominion, contrarie to either of their willes; adding further, that the boie was brother to one, who of late notorious for his rebellion in Ireland was executed at London.

Chasteau Brian.

Sir John Wallop demeth Fitzgirald.

The king demeth him.

To this answered the king, first that the ambassador had no commission from his Prince to demand him, & vpon his maiestie his letter he should know more of his mind: secondlie that he did not deteine him, but the Dolphin stated him: lastlie, that how grieuouslie soeuer his brother offended, he was well assured, that the sillie boy neither was nor could be a traitor, and therefore there rested no cause whie the ambassador should in such wise craue him; not doubting that although he were deliuered to his king, yet he would not so far swarue from the extreame rigor of iustice, as to imbrue his hands in the innocent his bloud, for the offense that his brother had perpetrated. Maister Wallop hereupon addressed his letters to England, specifieng vnto the councell the French kings answer. And in the meane time the yong Fitzgirald hauing an inkling of the ambassador his motion, fled secretlie to Flanders, scantlie reaching to Valencie, when James Sherelocke, one of maister Wallop his men, did not onelie pursue him, but also did ouertake him as he sojourned in the said towne.

Fitzgirald fleeth to Flanders.

James Sherelocke pursueth Fitzgirald.

Whereupon maister Leurouse, and such as accompanied the child, kept to the gouernor of Valencie, complaining that one Sherelocke a sneaking spie, like a pikethanke promoting varlet, did dog their master from place to place, and presentlie pursued him to the towne: and therefore they be sought the gouernour, not to leaue such apparant villanie vnpunished, in that he was willing to betraie not onelie a guiltlesse child, but also his owne countriman, who rather ought for his innocencie to be pitied, than for the desert of others so egerlie to be pursued. The gouernor vpon this complaint sore incensed, sent in all hast for Sherelocke, had him suddenlie examined, and finding him vnable to color his lewd practise with anie warrantable defense, he laid him vp by the heeles, rewarding his hot pursute with cold interteinment, and so remained in gaole, vntill the yong Fitzgirald requiting the prisoner his vnnaturall crueltie with vndeserued courtesie, humblie besought the gouernor to set him at libertie. This brunt escaped, Fitzgirald trauelled to Bruxels, where the emperour kept his court.

Sherelocke imprisoned.

Crueltie requited with courtesie.

Doctor Pates being ambassador in the low countries, demanded Fitzgirald of the emperour on his maister the king of Englands behalfe. The emperor hauing answered that he had not to deale with the boy, and for ought that he knew was not minded to make anie great abode in that countrie, sent him to the bishop of Liege, allowing him for his pension an hundred crownes monethlie. The bishop interteined him verie honorablie, had him placed in an abbete of monks, & was so carefull of his safetie, that if anie person suspected had trauelled within the circuit of his glæbe, he should be streictlie examined whither he would, or from whense he came, or vpon what occasion he trauelled that waie. Hauing in this wise remained at Liege for halfe a yere, the cardinall Pole (Fitzgirald his kinsman) sent for him to Rome, Whervpon the gentleman as well with the emperor his licence, as with surrendring his pension, trauelled to Italie, where the cardinall would not admit him to his companie, vntill he had atteined to some knowledge in the Italian tong. Wherfore allowing him an annuitie of three hundred crownes, he placed him with the bishop of Verona, and the cardinall of Mantua, and after with the duke of Mantua. Leurouse in the meane while was admitted through the cardinall Pole his procurement, to be one of the English house in Rome, called saint Thomas his hospitall.

Doctor Pates

The emperor bestoweth a pension on Fitzgirald.

Cardinall Pole sendeth for Fitzgirald.

Leurouse placed in the English hospitall.

Robert Walsh, vpon his maisters repaire to Italie, returned to Ireland. Fitzgirald hauing continued with the cardinall, and the duke of Mantua, a yeare and an halfe, was sent for by the cardinall Pole to Rome, at which time the duke of Mantua gaue him for an annuall pension 300 crownes. The cardinall greatlie reioised in his kinsman, had him care-

Robert Walsh returneth to Ireland.

Cardinall Pole his order in training yong Fitzgirald.

carefullie trained vp in his house, interlacing with such discretion his learning and studies with exercises of actiuitie, as he should not be after accounted of the learned for an ignorant idiot, nor taken of actiue gentlemen for a dead and dumpish meacocke. If he had committed anie fault, the cardinall would secretlie command his tutors to correct him, and all that notwithstanding, he would in presence dandle the boie, as though he were not priuie to his punishment; & vpon his complaint made, he vsed to checke Fitzgirald his maister openlie for chastising so tenderlie his pretie darling.

In this wise he rested three yeares togither in the cardinall his house, and by that time hauing kept so far in yéers (for he was pricking fast vpon ninténe) as he began to know himselfe, the cardinall put him to his choise, either to continue his learning, or by trauelling to seeke his aduentures abrode. The yong stripling (as vsuallie kind doth créepe) rather of nature addicted to valiantnes, than wedded to bookishnesse, chosed to be a traueller: and presentlie with the cardinall his licence repaired to Naples: where falling in acquaintance with knights of the Rhodes, he accompanied them to Malta, from thense he sailed to Tripolie (a fort apperteining to the aforesaid order, coasting vpon Barbarie) and there he abode six weekes with Mounbrison, a commander of the Rhodes, who had the charge of that hold.

Fitzgirald trauelleth to Naples.

Tripolie.

Mounbrison.

At that time the knights serued valiantlie against the Turks and miscreants, spoiled and sacked their villages and townes that laie neere the water side, tooke diuerse of them prisoners, and after sold them to the christians for bondslaues. The yong Fitzgirald returned with a rich bootie to Malta, from thense to Rome, hauing spent in this votage not fullie one yeare. Proud was the cardinall to heare of his prosperous exploits: and for his further aduancement he inhanced his pension of three hundred crownes, to three hundred pounds, ouer and aboue three hundred crownes that the duke of Mantua allowed him. Shortlie after he preferred him to the seruice of the duke of Florence, named Cosmo, with whom he continued maister of his horsse three yeares, hauing also of the duke three hundred duckets for a yearelie pension during life, or vntill he were restored; in like maner as the cardinall Pole and the duke of Mantua in their annuities had granted him.

Fitzgirald returneth to Rome.

The cardinall inhanseth Fitzgiralds pension.

He is master of the horsse to the duke of Florence.

During the time that he was in seruice with the duke of Florence, he trauelled to Rome a shrouing, of set purpose to be merrie: and as he rode on hunting with cardinall Ferneise the pope his nephue, it happened that in chasing the bucke he fell into a pit nine and twentie fatham déepe, and in the fall forsaking his horsse within two fathams of the bottom, he tooke hold by two or three roots, griping them fast, vntill his armes were so wearie, as he could hang no longer in that paine. Wherefore betaking himselfe to God, he let go his gripe by little and little, and fell softlie on his horsse, that in the bottom of the pit laie starke dead, and there he stood vp to the ancles in water for the space of three houres. When the chase was ended, an exceeding good greihound of his named Gribhound, not finding his maister in the companie, followed his trace vntill he came to the pit, and from thense would not depart, but stood at the brim incessantlie howling. The cardinall Ferneise and his traine missing Fitzgirald, made towards the dog, and surueieng the place, they were verelie persuaded that the gentleman was squised to death.

He falleth into a déepe pit.

His greihound findeth him out.

Trecappan.

Hauing therefore posted his seruants in hast to a village hard by Rome (named Trecappan) for ropes and other necessaries, he caused one of the companie to glide in a basket downe to the bottome of the hole. Fitzgirald reuiued with his presence, and willing to be remoued from so darkesome a dongeon to the open aire, besought the other to lend him his rome, whereupon he was haled vp in the basket: as well to the generall admiration of the whole companie, as to the singular gratulation of the cardinall and all his friends, rendering most hartie thankes vnto God his diuine maiestie, for protecting the gentleman with his gratious guerdon. And thus surceasing to treat anie further of his aduentures, vntill the date of time traine my pen to a longer discourse, I will returne to the inhabitants of the English pale, who after the death of Thomas Fitzgirald, through rigor of iustice and the due execution of lawes were greatlie molested. For ouer this, that such as were knowne for open and apparant traitors in the commotion, were for the more part executed, or with round sums fined, or from the realme exiled: certeine gentlemen of worship were sent from England, with commission to examine each person suspected with Thomas his treason, and so according to their discretion, either with equitie to execute, or with clemencie to pardon all such as they could proue to haue furthered him in his disloiall commotion. Commissioners were these: sir Anthonie Sentleger knight, sir George Paulet knight, maister Pole, and maister Barnes. Much about this time was there a parlement holden at Dublin before the lord Leonard Greie lord deputie, beginning the first of Maie, in the eight and twentith yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the eight.

Commissioners sent to Ireland.

Their names

Parlement. 1539.

In this parlement there past these *acts following.*

In act {
- For the attaindor of the earle of Kildare, and Thomas Fitzgirald, with others.
- For the succession of the king & quéene Anne.
- Of absenties, wherein was granted to the king the inheritance of such lands in Ireland, whereof the duke of Norfolke & George Talbot earle of Waterford & Salop were seized, with the inheritances of diuerse other corporations and couents demurrant in England.
- For the repeale of Poinings act.
- Authorising the king his heirs and successors to be supreame head of the church of Ireland.
- That no subiects or reliants of Ireland shall pursue or commense, vse or execute anie maner of prouocations, appeales or other processe from the see of Rome, vpon paine of incurring the premunire.
- Against such as slander the king, or his heires apparant.
- For the first fruits.
- Of sir Walter de la Hide knight his lands in Carbeire granted to the king.
- How persons robbed shall be restored to their goods.
- Restreining tributs to be granted to Irishmen.

In act. Against proctors to be any member of the parlement.
Against marieng or fostering with or to Irishmen.
Against the authoritie of the see of Rome.
For the twentith part.
For the English order, habit, and language.
For the suppressing of abbeis.
For the lading of woll & flockes.
For the proofe of testaments.
Of faculties.
Declaring th'effect of Poinings act.
Of penall statutes.
For the weres vpon Barou, and other waters in the countrie of Kilkenne.
For the personage of Dongaran.
For lesers of corne.

As for the old earle of Kildare, who in this parlement was atteinted for diuerse presumptions, in the preamble of the said act rehearsed, certeine it is, that the reuolt of his sonne Thomas Fitzgirald smot him so deepelie to the heart, as vpon the report thereof he deceased in the tower, wishing in his death-bed that either he had died before he had heard of the rebellion, or that his brainelesse boy had neuer liued to raise the like commotion. This earle, of such as did not stomach his proceedings, was taken for one that bare himselfe in all his affaires verie honorablie, a wise, deepe, and far reaching man: in war valiant without rashnesse, and politike without treacherie. Such a suppressor of rebels in his gouernement, as they durst not beare armor to the annoiance of anie subiect, whereby he heaped no small reuenues to the crowne, inriched the king his treasure, garded with securitie the pale, continued the honor of his house, and purchased enuie to his person. His great hospitalitie is to this daie rather of each man commended, than of anie one followed. He was so religiouslie addicted vnto the seruing of God, as what time soeuer he trauelled to anie part of the countrie, such as were of his chappell should be sure to accompanie him. Among other rare gifts, he was with one singular qualitie indued, which were it put in practise by such as are of his calling, might minister great occasion as well to the abandoning of flattering carrie tales, as to the staied quietnesse of noble potentates.

The old earle of Kildare his wish before his death.

His seruice.

His hospitalitie and deuotion.

For if anie whispered, vnder *Benedicite*, a sinister report or secret practise, that tended to the disdaining of his honor, or to the perill of his person, he would strictlie examine the informer, whether the matter he reported were past, or to come. If it were said or done, he was accustomed to laie sore to his charge, where, and of whome he heard it, or how he could iustifie it. If he found him to halt in the proofe, he would punish him as a pikethanke makebate, for being so maliciouslie caried, as for currieng fauour to himselfe, he would labor to purchase hatred to another. But if the practise were future, and hereafter to be put in execution, then would he suspend the credit, vsing withall such warie secrecie, as vntill the matter came to the pinch, the aduersarie should thinke that he was most ignorant, when he was best prouided. As being in Dublin forewarned, that John Mourkan with certeine desperate varlets conspired his destruction, & that they were determined to assault him vpon his returne to Mainoth, he had one of his seruants named James Grant, that was much of his pitch, and at a blush did somewhat resemble him, attired in his riding apparell, and namelie in a scarlet cloake, wherewith he vsed to be clad. Grant in this wise masking in his lords attire, rode as he was commanded in the beaten high waie towards Mainoth, with sir of the earle his seruants attending vpon him. The conspirators awaiting towards Lucan the comming of the earle, incountered the disguised lord, and not doubting but it had beene Kildare, they began to charge him: but the other amazed therewith, cried that they tooke their marke amisse; for the earle rode to Mainoth on the further side of Liffie. Wherewith the murtherers appalled, fled awaie, but incontinentlie were by the earle apprehended, sustreining the punishment that such caitifes deserued.

The old earle of Kildare his policie when his death was conspired.

John Mourkan.

James Grant.

This noble man was so well affected to his wife the ladie Grete, as he would not at anie time buy a sute of apparell for himselfe, but he would sute hir with the same stuffe. Which gentlenesse she recompensed with equall kindnesse. For after that he deceased in the tower, she did not onelie euer after liue as a chast and honorable widow; but also nightlie before she went to bed, she would resort to his picture, & there with a solemne congée she would bid hir lord goodnight. Whereby may be gathered with how great loue she affected his person, that had in such price his bare picture. An other act that did passe in this parlement touching absenties, proceeded of this occasion. Maister Girald Ailmer, who first was chiefe baron of the exchequer, after chiefe iustice of the common pleas, was occasioned, for certeine his affaires, to repaire vnto the court of England. Where being for his good seruice greatlie countenanced by such as were in those daies taken for the pillers of the weale publike, namelie of the lord Cromwell; it happened that through his lordship his earnest meanes, the king made maister Ailmer chiefe iustice of his bench in Ireland. This aduancement disliked by certeine of Waterford and Wexford, that were not friended to the gentleman, they debased him in such despitefull wise, as the earle of Shrewesburie, who then was likewise earle of Waterford, was by their lewd reports caried to chalenge the king, so far as with his dutie of allegiance he durst, for bestowing so weightie an office vpon so light a person, being such a simple John at Stile as he tearmed him, no wiser than Patch the late lord cardinall his fole.

The ladie Greies kindnesse to hir husband.

Girald Ailmer.

The king herevpon expostulated with the lord Cromwell, who being throughlie acquainted with the gentleman his rare wisedome, answered: that if it would stand with his maiesties pleasure to enter into conference with him, he should be sure to find him no babe, notwithstanding the wrong informations of such as labored to thwart or crosse him. Whereto the king vpon further leasure agréed, and shortlie after (according to his promise) bestowed two or three houres with maister Ailmer: who vpon the lord Cromwell his forewarning, was so well armed for his highnesse, as he shewed himselfe in his discourse, by answering *Ad omnia quare*, to be a man worthie to suplie an office of so great credit. In this conference the king demanded him, what he tooke to be the chiefe occasion of disorder in Ireland, and how he thought it might best be reformed: Truelie and it like your maiestie (quoth Ailmer) among sundrie reasons that might be probablie alleged for the decaie of that your kingdome, one chiefe occasion is, that certeine of your nobilitie of this your realme of England are seized of the better part of your dominion in Ireland, whereof they haue so little

tle

tle kéepe, as for lacke of their presence, they suffer the said lands to be ouerrun by rebels and traitors. Wherefore if your highnesse would prouide by act of parlement, that all such lands, which by reason of their absence may not be defended, should be to your highnesse by the consent of the nobilitie and communaltie granted, you might thereby inrich your crowne, represse rebels, and defend your subiects from all traitorous inuasion.

The king tickled with this plausible deuise, yéelded maister Ailmer hartie thanks for his good counsell, and in this parlement had the tenure thereof put in effect. Which redounded chéeflie to the lord of Shrewesburie his disaduantage, as one that was possessed of diuerse ancient lordships and manors in that countrie. Soone after this parlement, Oneale imagining that he was able to make his partie good against the English pale, conspired with Odoneale Maggadnesh, Ocaghan, Mac Kwilen, Ohanlan, and other Irish lords, and on a sudden inuaded the pale, came to the Nauan, burnt all the townes of ech side confining, after marched to Taragh, musketring with great pride his armie vpon the top of the hill: and hauing gathered togither the spoile of the pale without resistance, he began to recule northwards, making his full account to haue gone his waie scotfrée.

Oneale rebelleth.

The lord Leonard Greie being then lord deputie, forecasting the worst, certified the king & councell of Oneale his rebellion, and withall humblie besought a fresh supplie of souldiors to assist the pale in resisting the enimie, and that sir William Brereton (who was discharged & returned to England) should be sent into Ireland, as one that for his late seruice was highlie commended of the countrie. The king and councell condescending to the deputie his request, appointed sir William Brereton to hie thither with speed, hauing the charge of two hundred and fiftie souldiors of Cheshiremen. In which seruice the gentleman was found so prest and readie, that notwithstanding in mustering his band he fell by his mishap off his horsse, and therewithall brake his thigh in two places, yet rather than he would retire homewards, he appointed the mariners to hale him vp to their barke by pullies, and in such impotent wise arriued in Ireland, suppressing the feblenesse of his bodie with the contagious valor of his mind.

Sir William Brereton sent for into Ireland.

Sir William Brereton sent into Ireland.

The lord deputie in the meane while marched with the force of the pale, the maior & the citizens of Dublin to Drogheda: from thense likewise accompanied with the maior & townesmen, he marched northward to Bellahoa, where Oneale & his companie on the further side of the water laie incamped with the spoile of the pale. The deputie by spies and secret messengers hereof certified, caused the armie to trauell the better part of the night, insomuch as by the dawning of the daie they were nere to the riuers side: where hauing escried the enimies, namlie Maggadnesh, and the Galloglasses that were placed there to kéepe the streicts (for Oneale with a maine armie lurked not farre off) they began to set themselues in battell arraie, as men that were resolued with all hast and good speed to surprise the enimie with a sudden charge.

The lord of Bellahoa.

At which time James Fleming baron of Slane (commonlie called Blacke James) garded with a round companie, as well of horsemen as of footmen, humblie besought the deputie to grant him that daie the honor of the onset. Whereto when the lord Greie had agréed, the baron of Slane with chérefull countenance imparted the obteining of his suit, as plesant tidings to Robert Halfepennie, who with his ancestors was standardbearer to the house of Slane. But Halfepennie séeing the further side of the water so beset with armed Galloglasses as he tooke it, as likelie an attempt to rase down the strongest fort in Ireland with a fillip, as to rush through such quicke iron walles, flatlie answered the baron, that he would rather disclame in his office, than there to giue the onset where there rested no hope of life, but an assured certeintie of death. And therefore he was not as yet so wearie of the world, as like an headlong hotspur, voluntarlie to run to his vtter and vndoubted destruction. Wherefore he besought his lordship to set his heart at rest, and not to impute his denial to basenesse of corage, but to warinesse of safetie, although he knew none of stated mind, but would soner chose to slépe in an whole shéepe his pelt, than to walke in a torne lion his skin, namelie when all hope of life was abandoned, and the certeintie of death assuredlie promised.

James Fleming baron of Slane.

Robert Halfepennie.

The baron with this answer at his wits end rode to Robert Betoa of Downore, brake with him as touching Halfepennie his determination, & withall requested him (as he did tender his honor) now at a pinch to supplie the rome of that dastardlie coward, as he did terme him. Betoa to this answered, that though it stood with good reason, that such as hertofore tasted the swæt in peace, should now be contented to sip of the sowre in war: yet notwithstanding, rather than the matter should to his honor lie in the dust, he promised to breake through them, or else to lie in the water; & withall being surpassinglie mounted (for the baron gaue him a choise horsse) he tooke the standard, & with a sudden shout, hauing with him in the foreranke Mabe of Mabestowne (who at the first brunt was slaine) he flong into the water, and charged the Irish that stood on the further shore. After followed the gentlemen and yeomen of the pale, that with as great manhood charged the enimies, as the enimies with corage resisted their assault. To this stoutnesse were the enimies more boldlie pricked, in that they had the aduantage of the shore, and the gentlemen of the pale were constreined to bicker in the water.

Robert Betoa.

Mabe of Mabestowns slaine.

But the longer the Irish continued, the more they were disaduantaged, by reason that the English were so assisted with fresh supplies, as their enimies could not anie longer withstand them, but were compelled to beare backe, to forsake the banke, and to giue the armie free passage. The English taking hart vpon their faintnesse, brake through the Galloglasses, slue Maggadnesh their capteine, pursued Oneale with the remnant of his lords, leauing behind them for lacke of safe carriage the spoile of the pale, scantlie able to escape with his owne life, being egerlie pursued by the armie vntill it was sunne set. In this hot conflict Matthew King, Patrike Barnewall of Kilmallocke, sir Edward Basnet priest, who after became deane of saint Patriks in Dublin, and was sworne one of the priuie councell, and Thomas Fitzsimons of Curdaffe, were reported to haue serued verie valiantlie. Moreouer, James Fitzsimons maior of Dublin, Michaell Curseie maior of Drogheda, Girald Ailmer chéefe iustice, and Thomas Talbot of Malahide, were dubbed knights in the field.

The Irish discomfited.

Oneale put to flight.

King.

Barnewall.

Basnet.

Fitzsimons.

The maiors of Dublin and Drogheda dubbed knights.

Ailmer.

Talbot.

But of all others, the lord Greie then lord deputie, as he was in authoritie superior to them all, so in courage and manlinesse he was inferior to none. He was noted by the armie to haue indured great toile and paine before the fairmish, by posting bareheaded from one band to an other, debasing the enimies, inhansing the power of the pale, depressing the reuolt of rebellious traitors, extolling the good quarell of loiall subiects, offring large rewards, which with as great constancie he performed, as with liberalitie he promised. Ouer this, he bare himselfe so affable to his souldiors, in vsing them like

The valiantnesse of the lord Greie.

frends and fellows, and terming them with courteous names, and mouing laughter with pleasant conceipts, as they were incensed as well for the loue of the person, as for the hatred of the enimie, with resolute minds to bicker with the Irish. In which conflict the deputie was as forward as the most, and bequit himselfe as valiant a seruitor as the best.

The gouernor, turning the opportunitie of this skirmish to his aduantage, shortlie after rode to the north, preiding & spoiling Oneale with his confederats, who by reason of the late ouerthrow were able to make but little resistance. In this iornie he rased saint Patrike his church in Downe, an old ancient citie of Ulster, and burnt the monuments of Patrike, Brigide, and Colme, who are said to haue beene there intoomed, as before is expressed in the description of Ireland. This fact lost him sundrie harts in that countrie, alwaies after detesting and abhorring his prophane tyrannie, as they did name it. Whereupon conspiring with such of Mounster as were enimies to his gouernment, they booked vp diuerse complaints against him, which they did exhibit to the king and councell. The articles of greatest importance laid to his charge were these.

The lord Greie accused.

The articles that were laid to his charge.

1 Inprimis, that notwithstanding he were strictlie commanded by the king his maiestie, to apprehend his kinsman the yong Fitzgirald, yet did he not onlie disobeie the kings letters as touching that point by plaieng bopeepe, but also had priuie conference with the said Fitzgirald, and laie with him two or three seuerall nights before he departed into France.

2 Item, that the cheefe cause that moued him to inuegle Thomas Fitzgirald with such faire promises, proceeded of set purpose to haue him cut off, to the end there should be a gap set open for the yong Fitzgirald to aspire to the earledome of Kildare.

3 Item, that he was so greedilie addicted to the pilling and polling of the king his subiects, namelie of such as were resiant in Mounster, as the beds he laie in, the cups he dranke in, the plate with which he was serued in anie gentlemans house, were by his seruants against right and reason packt vp, and carried with great extortion awaie.

4 Item, that without anie warrant from the king or councell, he prophaned the church of saint Patrikes in Downe, turning it to a stable, after plucked it downe, and shipt the notable ring of bels that did hang in the steeple, meaning to haue sent them to England: had not God of his iustice preuented his iniquitie, by sinking the vessell and passengers wherein the said belles should haue beene conueied.

These and the like articles were with such odious presumptions coloured by his accusers, as the king and councell remembring his late faults, and forgetting his former seruices (for commonlie all men are of so hard hap, that they shall be soner for one trespasse condemned, than for a thousand good deserts commended) gaue commandement that the lord Greie should not onelie be remoued from the gouernment of the countrie, but also had him beheaded on the tower hill the eight and twentith of June. But as touching the first article, that brought him most of all out of conceipt with the king, I moued question to the erle of Kildare, whether the tenor therof were true or false: His lordship thereto answered *Bona fide*, that he neuer spake with the lord Greie, neuer sent messenger to him, nor receiued message or letter from him. Whereby maie be gathered, with how manie dangers they are inwrapped that gouerne prouinces, wherein diligence is thwackt with hatred, negligence is loden with tawnts, seueritie with perils menaced, liberalitie with thankelesse vnkindnesse contemned, conference to vndermining framed, flatterie to destruction forged, each in countenance smiling, diuerse in heart pouting, open fawning, secret grudging, gaping for such as shall succeed in gouernment, honouring magistrates with cap and knee as long as they are present, and carping them with tong and pen as sone as they are absent.

The lord Greie beheaded. 1541

The lord Greie guiltlesse of the first article.

The dangers that happen to gouernors of prouinces.

The lord Leonard Greie (as is aforesaid) discharged, sir William Brereton was constituted lord iustice, whose short gouernement was intangled with no little trouble. For albeit he and Oneale fell to a reasonable composition, yet other of the Irish lordings, namelie Oconhur and his adherents, that are content to liue as subiects, as long as they are not able to hold out as rebels, conspired togither, and determined to assemble their power at the hill of Fowre in west Meth, and so on a sudden to ransacke the pale. The lord iustice forthwith accompanied with the armie, and with two thousand of the pale, of which no small number were ecclesiasticall persons, made towards the rebels, who vpon the approch of so great an armie gaue ground, and dispersed themselues in woods and marishes. The lord iustice this notwithstanding inuaded Oconhur his countrie, burnt his tenements, & made all his trenches with the multitude of pioners so passable, as foure hundred carts, beside light carriage, were led without let thorough the countrie. Oconhur sone after submitted himselfe, & sent his sonne Cormach to the lord iustice as hostage for his future obedience and loialtie to the king his highnesse. After this iournie was ended, sir Anthonie Sentleger knight of the order was constituted lord deputie, and sir William Brereton lord high marshall, who within one halfe yeare after he was preferred to be marshall, trauelling by the lord deputie his appointment to Limerike, to bring in James earle of Desmond, who stood vpon certeine tickle points with the gouernor, ended his life in that iournie, and lieth intoomed at Kilkennie in the quier of saint Kennie his church. In the three and thirtith yeare of the reigne of Henrie the eight, there was a parlement holden at Dublin before sir Anthonie Sentleger, in which there passed these statutes following; namelie.

Sir William Brereton lord iustice.

Oconhur submitteth himselfe to the lord iustice.

Sir Anthonie Sentleger lord deputie.

Sir William Brereton lord high marshall.

He dieth.

1542

An act
- That the king and his successors to be kings of Ireland.
- For graie merchants.
- That the plantife maie abridge his plaint in assise.
- That consanguinitie or affinitie being not within the fift degree, shall be no principall challenge.
- That maketh it felonie to anie man to run awaie with his maister his casket.
- For the annihilating of precontracts in marriage.
- For all lords to distreine vpon the lands of them holden, & to make their auowrie, not naming the tenant, but their land.
- For capacities.
- For seruants wages.
- For ioint-tenants.
- For recouerie in auoiding leases.
- For tithes.
- For attornements.

This parlement was prorogued vntill the fifteenth of Februarie, and after was continued at Limerike before

before the said deputie, at which time there passed
An act
- For the adiournment of the parlement, and the place to hold the same, and what persons shall be chosen knights and burgeses.
- For the election of the lord iustice.
- Touching mispleding and ieoyfailes.
- For lands giuen by the king.
- For the suppression of Kilmainan and other religious houses.

1543 This parlement was likewise prorogued, and after was continued and holden before the said gouernour at Dublin, the first daie of Nouember, in the foure and thirtith yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the eight, wherein there passed these acts; namelie:

An act
- For the diuision of Meth into two shires.
- For persons standing bound in any court for their appearance, and being in seruice, to be discharged by writ.

This parlement was further prorogued vntill the seuentéenth of Aprill, and at that time before the said gouernor it was holden and ended, in which there passed an act touching the manour and castell of Dongaruan to be vnited and annexed to the crowne for euer. To this parlement resorted diuerse of the Irish lords, who submitting themselues to the deputie his mercie, returned peaceablie to their countries.

James earle of Desmond. But James earle of Desmond sailed into England, and before the king and councell purged himselfe of all such articles of treason as were falselie laid to his charge: whose cleare purgation and humble submission the king accepted verie gratefullie.

Oneale earle of Tiron. Shortlie after Desmond his returne homeward, the great Oneale was created earle of Tiron, and his base sonne Matthew Oneale baron of Dongaruan. For in those daies John Oneale, commonlie called Shane Oneale, the onelie sonne lawfullie of his bodie begotten, was little or nothing esteemed.

Oneale hauing returned to Ireland with this honour, and the king his fauor, Obren with certeine other Irish lords sailed into England, submitting their liues and lands to the king his mercie. This Obren was at that time created earle of Clencare, in which honour his posteritie hitherto resteth. Shortlie after the returne of these lords to their countrie, king Henrie being fullie resolued to besiege Bullongne, gaue commandement to sir Anthonie Sentleger deputie, to leuie an armie of Irishmen, and with all expedition to send them to England. To these were appointed capteins the lord Powre, who after was dubd knight, Surlocke & Finglasse, with diuerse others. They mustered in saint James his parke seuen hundred. In the siege of Bullongne they stood the armie in verie good sted. For they were not onelie contented to burne and spoile all the villages thereto adioining; but also they would range twentie or thirtie miles into the maine land: and hauing taken a bull, they vsed to tie him to a stake, and scorching him with faggots, they would force him to rore, so as all the cattell in the countrie would make towards the bull, all which they would lightlie lead awaie, and furnish the campe with store of beefe.

Obren created earle of Clencare.

1544 The Irish sent for to the siege of Bullongne.

Their policie in purueieng for the armie.

If they tooke anie Frenchman prisoner, lest they should be accounted couetous, in snatching with them his entier bodie, his onelie ransome should bee no more but his head. The French with this strange kind of warfaring astonished, sent an ambassador to king Henrie, to learne whether he brought men with him or diuels, that could neither be woone with rewards, nor pacified by pitie: which when the king had turned to a iest, the Frenchmen euer after, if they could take anie of the Irish scatering from the companie, vsed first to cut off their genitals, and after to torment them with as great and as lingering paine as they could deuise.

A French chalenger banquished. After that Bullongne was surrendred to the king, there incamped on the west side of the towne beyond the hauen an armie of Frenchmen, amongst whome there was a thrasonicall Golias that departed from the armie, and came to the brinke of the hauen, and there in ietting and daring wise chalenged anie one of the English armie that durst be so hardie, as to bicker with him hand to hand. And albeit the distance of the place, the depth of the hauen, the nærnesse of his companie imboldened him to this chalenge, more than anie great valour or pith that rested in him to indure a combat; yet all this notwithstanding, an Irishman named Nicholl Welsh, who after retained to the earle of Kildare, loathing and disdaining his proud brags, flung into the water, and swam ouer the riuer, fought with the chalenger, strake him for dead, and returned backe to Bullongne with the Frenchman his head in his mouth, before the armie could ouertake him. For which exploit, as he was of all his companie highlie commended, so by the lieutenant he was bountifullie rewarded.

Nicholl welsh.

1545 Much about this time the earle of Lennor, verie wrongfullie inquieted in Scotland, and forced to forsake his countrie, became humble petitioner to king Henrie, as well to releeue him in his distressed calamitie, as to compasse the means how he might be restored to his lands & liuing. The king his highnesse moued with compassion, posted the earle ouer to Ireland, with letters of especiall trust, commanding sir Anthonie Sentleger then deputie, to assist and further the Scotish outcast, with as puissant an armie as to his contentation should seeme good. The deputie, vpon the receipt of these letters, sent for James Butler earle of Ormond and Osserie, a noble man, no lesse politike in peace, than valiant in warres, made him priuie to the king his pleasure; and withall in his maiesties name did cast the charge hereof vpon the said earle, as one that for his tried lotaltie was willing, and for his honour and valour able to attempt and atchiue so rare and famous an exploit. The lord of Ormond as willing to obeie, as the gouernour was to command, leuied of his tenants and reteiners six hundred Gallowglasses, foure hundred Kearnes, three score horsemen, and foure hundred and fortie shot: so in the whole he mustered on Olmantowne greene neere Dublin, fiftéene hundred souldiours.

The earle of Lennor in danger to be drowned.

The earle of Lennox assisted by king Henrie.

James Butler earle of Ormond.

The lord deputie yéelding his honour such thanks in words, as he deserued indéed, leuied in the pale fiftéene hundred souldiours more, to be annexed to the earle his companie. Ouer them he constituted sir John Trauers capteine, but the erle of Ormond was made generall of the whole armie. When the souldiours were with munition and victuals aboundantlie furnished, the earle of Ormond and the earle of Lennor tooke shipping at Sherise, hauing in their companie twentie and eight ships well rigged, sufficientlie manned, and stronglie appointed. From thense they sailed northwards, and rode at anchor without the hauen of Oldsléet beyond Karregfergus. Where hauing remained bulling without the mouth of the hauen, contrarie to the aduise of the masters of their ships (who prognosticated the spéedie approch of a storme, and therefore did with them to take

Sir Iohn Trauers knight.

take a good harbrough) it hapned that the said night there arose so boisterous a tempest, that the whole fleet was like to haue béene ouerthelmed. The mariners betaking their passengers and themselues to the mercie of God, did cut their maine masts, let slip their anchors, and were weather driuen to the hauen of Dunbritaine in Scotland, whereas they were like to run their ships on ground, and consequentlie they all should either haue béene plunged in the water, or else haue béene slaine on the land by a great number of Scots that awaited their approach. God with his gratious clemencie preuenting their imminent calamitie, sent them not onelie a wished calme, but also a prosperous gale of wind, that blew them backe in safetie to the Irish coast, from whense they were scattered.

The earle of Lennor aduertised by certeine of his frends that met with him on the sea, that the Scots (contrarie to their promise) dealt verie doublie with him (for although they gaue their word to surrender vp to him the castell of Dunbritaine, yet they did not onelie fortifie that hold, but also were readie to incounter with his souldiors vpon their arriuals) he concluded to returne to Ireland. The earle of Ormond verie loath that so great an attempt should take so little effect, dealt with him verie earnestlie, notwithstanding his counsell were bewraied to inuade his enimies, and his lordship should be sure to find the armie so forward in assisting him in so famous an enterprise, as they would shew themselues more willing to bicker with his foes in Scotland, than without skirmishing to returne to Ireland. For the earle of Ormond was of this nature, that as he would not begin anie martiall broile rashlie or vnaduisedlie, so he would not séeme to put it vp lightlie or easilie.

The earle of Ormond his propertie.

Further, whereas the earle of Lennor stood in hope, that the lord of the out Iles would aid him, it was thought by Ormond not to be amisse, to expect his comming; and so ioining his companie to the armie, there rested no doubt, but that the Scotish enimies would be forced to plucke in their hornes, although at the first blush they séeme to set a good face on the matter. Lennor somewhat with this persuasion carried, gaue his consent to expect the lord of the out Iles determination, who notwithstanding all the fetth of the enterprise were descried, would not slip from his word, but personallie sailed to the Irish fleet, with three gallies well appointed. The noble man with such martiall triumphs was receiued, as warlike souldiors could on the sea afford him. But of all others, both the earls gaue him heartie interteinment for his true & honorable dealing, that to be as good as his word, would not séeme to shrinke from his frend in this his aduersitie. And shortlie after as they craued his aduise what were best to be done, either to land in Scotland, or else to returne homeward, his flat resolution was at that time to retire, bicause their drift was detected, their feined friends fainted, the castels were fortified, and the shoares on all parts with swarms of Scots peopled. Wherefore he thought it better policie to giue out in open rumors, that they meant not at anie hand to inuade Scotland, but to retire to their countrie.

The lord of the out Iles saileth to the earle of Lennor.

And after that the Scotish souldiors should be dismist, which would be incontinent vpon their returne, by reason of the excessiue charges: then might the earle of Lennor with lesse preparation, and more secrecie giue a fresh onset, that the enimies should sooner féele his force, than heare of his arriuall. Ormond and Lennor vpon this determination landed with the greater part of the armie, and apointed the ships to bend their course to Dublin. The lord of the out Iles and his three gallies sailed with the fleet, for he was not able by reason of the feblenesse of his bodie to trauell by land, or scarcelie further to prolong his life, which he ended at Douth presentlie vpon his arriuall, and was with great solemnitie buried in saint Patrike his church at Dublin, vpon whose death this epitaph following was framed:

Ormond and Lennor land.

The lord of the out Iles dieth.

Pique manuque mea patriæ dum redditur exsul,
Exsul in externa cogor & ipse mori.

His epitaph.

Both the earles marched with the armie on foot to Carregfergus, where they brake companie. For Lennor and sir John Trauers taking as he thought the shorter but not the safer waie, trauelled through the Ardes with the number of fiue hundred souldiers, where the Irish inhabitants skirmished with them, and put them to such streict plunges (for they would gladlie haue séene what a clocke it was in their budgets) as they wished they had not parted from the rest of the armie. The earle of Ormond with his souldiers (which were a thousand fiue hundred, as before is expressed) marched on foot to Belefast, which is an arme of the sea, a quarter of a mile broad or little lesse. And albeit their wether were bitter and ouernipping, and no small parcell of the water were congeled with frost, yet the earle and his armie waded ouer on foot, to the great danger as well of his person, as of the whole companie, which doubtlesse was a valiant enterprise of so honorable a personage. From thense he passed to Strangford, and through Lecale to Dondalke, where he discharged his souldiers, and hauing presented himselfe to the gouernour at Dublin, he rode homewards to the countie of Kilkennie.

The Irish skirmish with the earle of Lennor.

The earle of Ormond his toilsome trauell.

Shortlie after sir Anthonie Sentleger lord deputie and the earle of Ormond fell at debate, insomuch as either of them laid articles of treason one to the others charge. The chiefe occasion of their mutuall grudge proceeded of certeine new and extraordinarie impositions, wherewith the deputie would haue charged the subiects. Whereat the earle of Ormond as a zelous defendor of his countrie began to kicke, & in no sort could be woone to agree to anie such vnreasonable demand. Herevpon Ormond, perceiuing that the gouernour persisted in his purpose, addressed letters of complaint to such as were of the priuie councell in England: which letters were by one of sir Anthonie his friends intercepted at sea, and presented to him to be perused. Sir Anthonie hauing ouer read the writings, sent maister Basnet in post hast with the packet to Kilkennie, where the earle of Ormond kept his Christmasse, requesting his lordship to take in good part the opening of his letters. Which was done rather to learne the effect of his complaint, than in anie sort to imbar his writings from comming to the councels hands.

The deputie and Ormond at debate.

Ormond his letters intercepted.

The earle answered that his quarell was so good, his dealing so open, as he little weighed who tooke a view of his letters. And for his part what he wrote he meant not to vnwrite; but in such sort as they came from the gouernour, they should be sent to the councell: and if their honours would allow anie subiect to be so hardie, as to intercept and open letters that were to them indorsed, he could not but digest anie such iniurie that they would séeme to beare. With this answer Basnet returned, and the earle performed his promise. Whereupon the gouernour and he were commanded to appeare before the priuie councell in England, where they were sundrie times examined, and their accusations ripelie debated. In fine, the councell equallie to both parts in their complaints affected, and weighing withall rather the due desert of both their loiall seruices, than the vaine presumption of their mutuall accusations, wraped vp their quarels & made them both frends, with such indifferencie, as neither part should be either

The lord deputie and Ormond sent for to England.

They are made frends.

either with ante conqueſt exalted, or with ante foile debaſed.

Sir John Alen lord-chancellor cõmitted to the Flæt.

And for ſo much as ſir John Alen knight then lord chancellor of Ireland, was found to limpe in this controuerſie, by plaieng (as it was ſuppoſed) more craftilie than wiſelie, with both the hands, in that he ſeemed to be rather a fofterer of their malice, than an appeaſer of their quarels, he was likewiſe ſent for into England; and being tript by the counſell in his tale, was committed to the Flæt, wherin he remained a long time. In this trouble the earle of Ormond was greatlie aided by ſir William Wiſe knight a worſhipfull gentleman, borne in the citie of Waterford, who deſeruing indeed the praiſe of that vertue, whereof he bare the name, grew to be of great credit in the court, and ſtood highlie in king Henrie his grace, which he wholie vſed to the furtherance of his friends, and neuer abuſed to the annoiance of his foes. This gentleman was verie well ſpoken, mild of nature, with diſcretion ſtout, as one that in an vpright quarell would beare no coles, ſeldome in an intricate matter grauelled, being found at all aſſaies to be of a pleaſant and preſent wit. Hauing lent the king his ſignet to ſeale a letter, who hauing powdred ermines ingrailed in the ſeale; Why how now Wiſe (quoth the king) what, haſt thou lice here? And if it like your maieſtie, quoth ſir William, a louſe is a rich cote, for by giuing the louſe, I part armes with the French king, in that he giueth the floure de lice. Whereat the king hartilie laughed, to heare how pretilie ſo biting a taunt (namelie proceeding from a prince) was ſuddenlie turned to ſo pleaſant a conceipt.

Sir William Wiſe knight.

Anon after the agreement made betweene Ormond and Sentleger, the earle his ſeruants (which he kept at that time in his liuerie to the number of fiftie) beſought his lordſhip to take at the Limehouſe his part of a ſupper, which they prouided for him. The noble man with honour accepting their dutifull offer, ſupped at their requeſt, but not to their contentation at the place appointed. For whether it were that one caitife or other did poiſon the meat, or that ſome other falſe meaſures were vſed (the certeintie with the reuenge whereof to God is to be referred) the noble man with thirtie and fiue of his ſeruants preſentlie that night ſickened: one James White the earle his ſteward, with ſirteene of his fellowes died, the remnant of the ſeruants recouered. But their lord, whoſe health was chieflie to be wiſhed, in the floure of his age deceaſed of that ſickeneſſe at Elie houſe in Holborne, much about the eight and twentith of October, and was buried in ſaint Thomas of Acres his church, whoſe death bred ſorrow to his friends, little comfort to his aduerſaries, great loſſe to his countrie, and no ſmall griefe to all good men.

The earle of Ormond deceaſeth.

1546

His deſcription.

This earle was a goodlie and perſonable noble man, full of honour, which was not onelie lodged inwardlie in his mind, but alſo he bare it outwardlie in countenance: as franke & as liberall as his calling required, a deepe and a farre reaching head. In a good quarell rather ſtout than ſtubborne, bearing himſelfe with no leſſe courage when he reſiſted, than with honorable diſcretion where he yelded. A fauourer of peace, no furtherer of warre, as one that procured vnlawfull quietneſſe before vpright troubles, being notwithſtanding of as great wiſedome in the one, as of valour in the other. An earneſt and a zealous vpholder of his countrie, in all attempts rather reſpecting the publike weale than his priuat gaine. Whereby he bound his countrie ſo greatlie vnto him, that Ireland might with good cauſe wiſh, that either he had neuer beene borne, or elſe that he had neuer deceaſed; ſo it were lawfull to crane him to be immortall, that by courſe of nature was framed mortall. And to giue ſufficient proofe of the entire affection he bare his countrie, and of the zealous care he did caſt thereon, he betoke in his death-bed his ſoule to God, his carcaſe to chriſtian buriall, and his hart to his countrie; declaring therby, that where his mind was ſetled in his life, his hart ſhould be there intombed after his death. Which was according to his will accompliſhed. For his hart was conueied to Ireland, and lieth ingraued in the quére of the cathedrall church in Kilkennie, where his anceſtors for the more part are buried. Vpon which kind & louing legacie this epitaph following was deuiſed:

His epitaph.

Cor patriæ fixum viuens, iam redditur illi
Poſt mortem, patriæ quæ peracerba venit.
Non ſine corde valet mortalis viuere quiſquam,
Vix tua gens vita permanet abſque tua.
Quæ licèt infelix extincto corde fruatur,
Attamen optato viuere corde nequit.
Ergò quid hæc faciat? Quem re non poſſit amorem
Cordi vt tam charo reddere corde velit?

The effect of which ſaid epitaph is thus Engliſhed:

The liuing hart where laie ingrauen
the care of countrie deere,
To countrie liueleſſe is reſtord
and lies ingrauen here.
None hartleſſe liues, his countrie then
alas what ioie is left,
Whoſe hope, whoſe hap, whoſe hart he was
till death his life bereft.
And though the ſoile here ſhrowds the hart,
which moſt it wiſht t'enioie,
Yet of the change from nobler ſeat,
the cauſe dooth it annoie.
What honour then is due to him,
for him what worthie rite?
But that ech hart with hartieſt loue,
his worthieſt hart may quite?

The kindnes of James erle of Ormond to his friends.

This earle was of ſo noble a diſpoſition, as he would ſooner countenance and ſupport his power well willer in his aduerſitie, than he would make or fawne vpon his wealthie friend in proſperitie. Hauing bid at London (not long before his death) the ladie Grete counteſſe of Kildare to dinner, it happened that a ſouldier, ſurnamed Powre, who latelie returned freſh from the emperour his warres, came to take his repaſt with the earle before the meſſenger. When the earle and the counteſſe were ſet, this roiſting Ruffekin wholie then ſtanding on the ſolado hoigh, placed himſelfe right ouer againſt the counteſſe of Kildare, hard at the earle of Ormond his elbow, as though he were haſle fellow well met. The noble man appalled at the impudent ſaucineſſe of the malapert ſoldier (who notwithſtanding might be borne withall, bicauſe an vnbidden gheſt knoweth not where to ſit) beſought him courteouſlie to giue place. The earle, when the other aroſe, taking vpon him the office of a gentleman vſher, placed in Powre his ſeat, his couſine Edward Fitzgirald, now lieutenant of hir maieſties penſioners, who at that time being a yong ſtripling, attended vpon his mother the counteſſe, and ſo in order he ſet euerie gentleman in his degrée, to the number of fifténe or ſirténe: and laſt of all the companie, he licenced Powre, if he would, to ſit at the lower end of the table, where he had ſcantlie elbow rome.

Edward Fitzgirald.

The counteſſe of Kildare, perceiuing the noble man greatlie to ſtomach the ſouldior his preſumptuous boldneſſe, nipt him at the elbow, and whiſpering ſoftlie, beſought his lordſhip not to take the matter ſo hot, bicauſe the gentleman (ſhe ment Powre) knew that the houſe of Kildare was of late attainted, and that hir children were not in this their calamitie in ſuch wiſe to be regarded. No ladie (quoth the

earle

earle with a lowd voice, and the tears trilling downe his lères, saie not so, I trust to sée the daie, when my yong cousin Edward, and the remnant of your children (as little reckoning as he maketh of them) shall disdaine the companie of anie such skipiacke. Which prophesie fell out as trulie as he foretold it, onelie sauing that it stood with God his pleasure to call him to his mercie before he could sée that daie after which doubtlesse he longed and looked, I meane the restitution of the house of Kildare.

Sir Anthonie Sentleger returneth lord deputie.

After this noble earle his vntimelie decease, sir Anthonie Sentleger was returned to Ireland lord deputie, who was a wise and a warie gentleman, a valiant seruitor in war, and a good iusticer in peace, properlie learned, a good maker in the English, hauing grauitie so interlaced with pleasantnesse, as with an exceeding good grace he would atteine the one without pouting dumpishnesse, and exercise the other without loathsome lightnesse. There fell in his time a fat benefice, of which he as lord deputie had the presentation. When diuerse made suit to him for the benefice, and offered with dishonestie to bute that which with safetie of conscience he could not sell, he answered merilie, that he was resolued not to commit simonie: yet notwithstanding he had a nag in his stable that was worth fortie shillings, and he that would giue him fortie pounds for the nag, should be preferred to the benefice. Which he rather of pleasure vttered, than of anie vnconscionable meaning purposed to haue done. Sentleger his simonie.

His gouernement had béene of the countrie verie well liked, were it not that in his time he began to assesse the pale with certeine new impositions, not so profitable (as it was thought) to the gouernors, as it was noisome to the subiects. The debating of which I purpose to referre to them, who are discoursers of publike estates, and the reformers of the commonwealth, praieng to God, that he with his grace direct them so faithfullie to accomplish the duties of good magistrates, that they gouerne that pore battered Iland to his diuine honour, to hir maiesties contentation, to the suppressing of rebels, to the vpholding of subiects, and rather to the publike weale of the whole countrie, than to the priuat gaine of a few persons, which oftentimes falleth out in prose to the ruine and vndoing of the séelier.

Thus farre (gentle reader) as mine instructions directed me, and my leasure serued me, haue I continued a parcell of the Irish historie, and haue stretched it to the reigne of Edward the sixt. Wherevpon I am forced to craue at thine hands pardon and tollerance: pardon for anie error I shall be found to haue commited, which vpon friendlie admonition I am readie to reforme: tollerance, for that part of the historie which is not continued, till time I be so furnished and fraught with matter, as that I maie emploie my trauell to serue thy contentation.

FINIS.

THE SVPPLIE OF THIS Irish Chronicle, continued from the death of king Henrie the eight, 1546, vntill this preſent yeare 1586, in the 28 yeare of hir maieſties *reigne, ſir Iohn Perot reſiding deputie* in Ireland.

By Iohn Vowell aliàs Hooker of the citie *of Exceſter, gentleman.*

AS from the time of Giraldus Cambrenſis (*the beſt deſerued and exact writer of the conqueſt and ſtate of Ireland in his time, few or none haue followed and continued any perfect courſe of that hiſtorie vntill the death of king Henrie the eight, and the beginning of king Edward the ſixt* 1546; *and therefore no certeine knowledge nor aſſurance can be yelded, nor ſet downe either of the quiet gouernement in time of peace, or of the troubleſome ſtate in time of warres and rebellions; but that which is collected either out of the records, which were verie ſlenderlie & diſorderlie kept, or out of ſome priuat mens collections and pamphlets, remaining in ſome od and obſcure places: euen ſo the like from that time vnto theſe preſents hath happened and is fallen out, euerie gouernour neglecting, and verie few others for want of due obſeruations willing, to commit vnto writing what was doone, and woorthie the memoriall; ſauing the things ſo latelie doone are not altogither out of remembrance, and ſome yet liuing that can remember ſome things doone in their times. And yet that is ſo vncerteine, and euerie man ſo varieth one from the others reports, that no man can well thereupon ſet downe a perfect and ſo exact a courſe as the nature of an hiſtorie requireth, and as it ought to be doone. He therefore that vpon ſuch vncerteinties ſhall intermedle*

and

and vndertake the penning, much more the printing of ſuch an vncerteine, confuſed, and intricate diſcourſe, muſt looke and be aſſured to be ſubiect to manie cauils and reproches: which thing diſcouraged me the writer hereof to intermedle at all in this hiſtorie. Neuertheleſſe, this worke requiring a ſupplie, and my ſelfe being earneſtlie required to doo ſomething herein, haue aduentured the matter, and by all the meanes I could, haue ſearched and collected to ſet downe in this ſhort diſcourſe and rhapſodie, what by writings or reports I could learne and find to be true, and worthie the memoriall: which albeit, it be not ſo full as the worke requireth, nor ſo ſufficient as to the ſatiſfaction of the reader, nor yet ſo anſwerable to the nature of an hiſtorie as is neceſſarie and requiſit: yet let the good will of the writer be his diſcharge from reproch, and be an occaſion to the learned to amend the thing thus in a good affection begun, and to reduce it to a more full meaſure in matter and truth: that this hiſtorie may haue his perfection, the reader ſatiſfied, and this writer acquited.

Iohn Hooker, aliâs Vowell.

THE SVPPLIE OF THE Irish Chronicles extended to this present yeare of our Lord 1586, and the 28 of the reigne of *queene Elisabeth*.

Sir Anthonie Sentleger reuoked.

After the death of king Henrie the eight, sir Anthonie Sentleger knight, was reuoked; who deliuered vp the sword at his departure vnto sir William Brabston knight; and he was lord iustice, vntill such time as sir Edward Bellingham was sent ouer to be deputie. This man was seruant to king Edward the first, and of his priuie chamber: a man verie well learned, graue and wise, and therewith stout & valiant, and did verie worthilie direct his gouernment. In his time there was a mint kept in the castell of Dublin, which being at his commandement, he was the better able to doo good seruice to the king his maiestie, and to the benefit of that realme. In the ciuill gouernment he was carefull to place learned and wise magistrats, vnto whome he had a speciall eie for the doing of their offices; as he had the like care for good and expert capteins, to serue in the martiall affaires. And for the more spéedie seruice to be doone therein at all times needfull, he kept sundrie stables of horsses: one at Leighlin, one at Ler, and some in one place and some in another, as he thought most méet for seruice. And whatsoeuer he had to doo, or what seruice soeuer he meant to take in hand, he was so secret, and kept the same so priuie, as none should haue anie vnderstanding thereof, before the verie instant of the seruice to be doone; and for the most part, whensoeuer he toke anie iournie in hand, his owne men knew not whither, or to what place he would ride, or what he would doo. It happened that vpon some occasion he sent for the earle of Desmond, who refused to come vnto him. Whereupon calling vnto him his companie as he thought good, and without making them acquainted what he minded to doo, toke horsse & rode to Leighlin bridge. The abbeie there (being suppressed) he caused to be inclosed with a wall, and made there a fort. In that house he had a stable of twentie or thirtie horsses, and there he furnished himselfe and all his men with horsses and other furniture, and forthwith rode into Mounster, vnto the house of the earle, being then Christmas; and being vnlooked and vnthought of, he went in to the earle, whome he found sitting by the fire, and there toke him, and carried him with him to Dublin.

1547 Sir Edward Bellingham made lord deputie.

A mint in Dublin.

Sir Edward Bellinghams carefulnesse in gouernement.

Sundrie stables of horsses kept.

His secrecie in his seruice.

Leighlin abbeie inclosed with a wall and made a fort.

The earle of Desmond taken in his house.

This earle was verie rude both in gesture and in apparell, hauing for want of good nurture as much good maners as his kerns and his followers could teach him. The deputie hauing him at Dublin, did so instruct, schole, and informe him, that he made a new man of him, and reduced him to a conformitie in maners, apparell, and behauiours apperteining to his estate and degrée; as also to the knowledge of his dutie and obedience to his souereigne & prince; and made him to knéele vpon his knées sometimes an houre togither, before he knew his dutie. This though it were verie strange to the earle, who hauing not béene trained vp in anie ciuilitie, knew not what apperteined to his dutie and calling: neither yet of what authoritie and maiestie the king his souereigne was; yet when he had well digested and considered of the matter, he thought himselfe most happie that euer he was acquainted with the said deputie, and did for euer after so much honor him, as that continuallie all his life time at euerie dinner and supper, he would praie for the good sir Edward Bellingham: and at all callings he was so obedient and dutifull, as none more in that land.

The earle is rude without nurture.

The earle instructed in ciuilitie.

The earle praieth for sir Edward Bellingham.

This sir Edward lord deputie, when and where soeuer he trauelled, he would be chargeable to no man; but would be at his owne charge. It happened that trauelling the countrie, he was lodged on a night in vicount Baltinglasses house, where all things were verie plentifullie prouided for him: which the vicount thought to haue giuen and bestowed vpon his lordship: but at his departure, he commanded his steward to paie & discharge all things, thanking the vicount for his courtesie, but refused his interteinement; saieng: The king my maister hath placed me here to serue him, and alloweth me therein for my charges and expenses: wherefore, I neither maie nor will be burdenous nor chargable to anie other man. He was verie exquisit & carefull in the gouernement, as few before him the like; aswell in matters martiall, as politike, magnanimous and courragious: in the one, to the appalling of the enimie; and as seuere & vpright in the other, to the benefit of the commonwelth. For neither by flatterie could he be gained, nor by briberie be corrupted;

The lord deputie would be chargeable to none.

The good gouernement of this deputie.

Sir Edward Bellingham loued.

ted; he was feared for his seueritie, and beloued for his integritie; and no gouernor for the most vniuersallie better reported of than was he. But as vertue hath the contrarie to enimie, so he found it true: for he was so enuied at, and that rebellious nation not brooking so worthie a man, who trauelled all the waies he could to reduce them to the knowledge of themselues, and of their duties; and also to reforme that corrupt state of gouernement, that great practises and deuises were made for his reuocation; and matters of great importance informed and inforced against him. Whereupon, before two yeares ended of his gouernement, he was reuoked, and sir Francis Bzian made lord iustice. At his comming into England, great matters were laid vnto his charge: but he so effectuallie did answer the same, that his maiesties doubtfulnesse was resolued; & he not onelie cléered, but also better liked than euer he was before, & should haue béene sent backe againe, had he not alleged his infirmitie; the which was a fistula, and other good reasons, which were accepted for his excuse. Sir Francis Bzian had maried the countesse of Ormond, and by that meanes he was a dweller in that land: where he died & was buried in the citie of Waterford. His time of iusticeship was but short, & no great matters could in so short a time be done by him. After his death, sir William Brabston had the sword deliuered vnto him, and he continued lord iustice, vntill that sir Anthonie Sentleger came ouer, who was now lord deputie the second time: who notwithstanding by his knowledge & experience he had good skill and did well gouerne: yet there remained some coles of the fire in his first gouernement vnquenched; and within a shorter time than thought of, he was reuoked: and sir James Crofts was sent ouer to supplie the place; his euill successes in good attempts did not answer his valour and good deserts.

1548 Sir Francis Bzian lord iustice.

Sir Francis Bzian maried the countes of Ormond, died and was buried at Waterford.

1549 Sir William Brabston lord iustice.

1550 Sir Anthonie Sentleger lord deputie the second time.

1551 Sir James Crofts lord deputie.

And albeit the time of his gouernement were not long, yet it continued vntill the death of king Edward the first, and then he was called home, and sir Thomas Cusacke and sir Gerard Elmer were appointed lords iustices, who iointlie gouerned the estate, vntill quéene Marie sent ouer sir Anthonie Sentleger; who now the third time was lord deputie. This man ruled and gouerned verie iustlie and vprightlie in a good conscience, and being well acquainted in the courses of that land, knew how to mæte with the enimies, and how to staie all magistrates and others in their duties and offices: for which though he deserued well, and ought to be beloued and commended: yet the old practises were renewed, and manie slanderous informations were made and inueighed against him: which is a fatall destinie, and inevitable to euerie good gouernor in that land. For the more paines they take in tillage, the worse is their harvest; and the better be their seruices, the greater is the malice and enuie against them; being not vnlike to a fruitefull apple trée, which the more apples he beareth, the more cudgels be hurled at him. Well, this man is called home, and the lord Thomas Fitzwaters was made lord deputie. At sir Anthonies comming ouer, great matters were laid to his charge, and manie heauie aduersaries he had, which verie eagerlie pursued the same against him: wherein he so answered, that he was not onelie acquited; but also gained his discharge for euer to passe ouer anie more into so vnthankefull a land.

1552 Sir Anthonie Sentleger lord deputie the third time.

A fatall destinie to euerie good gouernor to be slandered.

1555 The lord Fitzwaters made lord deputie.

The lord Fitzwaters being lord deputie, after a short time of his being there, was sent for into England. And in in his absence, sir Henrie Sidnete then treasuror at warres, and doctor Cozwen, were for a time ioint lords iustices: but verie shortlie after, a commission was sent to sir Henrie Sidneie to be sole lord iustice, and so continued alone vntill the lord Fitzwaters, now earle of Sussex, came againe and resumed his former office of deputie. After that he was come ouer, he had somewhat to do with the Oneile. For the whole north part of Ireland began to be vnquieted, and for preuenting of sundrie inconueniences, which might grow by the Scotish Ilanders in aiding the said Oneile, the lord deputie made a iourneie and voiage into the said Iles, to ioine them into his friendship. In his absence, he constituted sir Henrie Sidneie lord iustice; but after that he had done his businesse, he returned againe to Dublin, where he remained and continued in his office vntill the death of quéene Marie, and then he passed ouer into England, and left sir Henrie Sidneie to be lord iustice now the fourth time. And after some time spent there, and quéene Elisabeth now setled in the imperiall crowne of England, she sent ouer the said earle as lieutenant of Ireland to performe those seruices, which before he had taken in hand: who did verie great good seruice against the Irishrie, and by meanes he tooke the Oneile, and kept him prisoner in the castell of Dublin: but yet before he could or did bring the same to perfection, he was reuoked into England, and left the land in a verie broken state; which was committed to sir Nicholas Arnold, & he was made lord iustice. But his gouernement being not well liked, choise was made by hir maiestie and the councell of sir Henrie Sidneie, now knight of the honorable order of the garter, to supplie that place, who then was lord president of Wales.

The Oneile and all the north be vnquiet.

1556 Sir Henrie Sidneie lord iustice the fourth time.

1557 The earle of Sussex lord lieutenant.

The Oneile taken and kept in prison.

1564 Sir Nicholas Arnold lord iustice.

1565 Sir Henrie Sidneie lord deputie.

This man had béene before a long seruitour in that realme, hauing for sundrie yeares béene treasuror at warres, which is the second office vnder the lord deputie in that land; as also had béene lord iustice solie and iointlie foure times. Great was his knowledge, wisedome, and experience both of that land, and of the nature, manners, and disposition of the people: wherein the more he excelled anie others in those daies, the more apt and fit was he to haue the gouernement of them. He was therefore called from out of Wales, where he then resided in his gouernement vnto the court: and there after conference had with hir highnesse, and with the councell; he was appointed to be lord deputie of Ireland, being the seuenth yeare of hir maiesties reigne, in the yeare of our Lord 1565. And then he receiued of hir maiestie a booke of instructions signed with hir owne hand, dated the fift of October 1565, the seuenth yeare of hir reigne aforesaid, concerning the principall articles for his gouernement & direction, which chiefli consisted in these points.

Sir Henrie Sidneie lord president of Wales.

A booke of articles deliuered to sir Henrie Sidneie for his gouernement.

First, that there should be a bodie of a councell established, to assist him being lord deputie, in the gouernement of the same realme in times of peace and of warre; and whose names were then particularlie set downe: and order giuen, that euerie of them should before their admission be sworne by the said lord deputie, according to the accustomed manner: with an exhortation, that for somuch as hir maiestie had reposed a speciall trust and confidence in their wisedomes, aduises, good counsels, and seruices: he the lord deputie should vse their aduises, assistance, and counsels in all matters of treatie and consultation, concerning the state of that realme.

A councell to be established.

Euerie councellor to be sworne.

And they likewise, considering the place and authoritie whereunto hir maiestie had called the said sir Henrie Sidneie, to hold hir place in that realme: they should yéeld that obedience and reuerence vnto him, as to such a principall officer doth apperteine. And then they both togither, to haue a speciall care and regard to the gouernement, which was compri-

sed

1555 Sir Henrie Sidneie and Cozwen lords iustices.

sed in foure articles that dw ozderlie hereafter follow.

The said foure articles were these.

Gods lawes to be kept, and christian religion to be vsed.

1 FIrst, that they should faithfullie and earnestlie regard the due and reuerend obseruation of all Gods lawes and ordinances, made and established for the maintenance of the true christian faith and religion among hir people; and that all meanes should be vsed, aswell by doctrine and by teaching, as by good examples, that deuotion and godlinesse might increase, and contempt of religion might be restreined, punished, and suppressed. That learning in the scriptures might be mainteined and increased among the cleargie, and that for the releefe of the ecclesiasticall state, no alienations nor wasts of the lands perteining to anie church or college, should be alienated: neither anie impropriations of benefices be put in vre: besides sundrie other articles incident to this effect.

Learning of the scriptures to be mainteined.

The church lands not to be alienated.

The lawes to be dulie administred.

2 The second was, that the administration of law and iustice should dulie and vprightlie be executed, without respect of persons: that inquirie be made what notable faults are in anie of the iudges, or other ministers of the law: that vnfit persons maie be remoued from their places, and some sufficient persons of English birth be chosen to supplie the same. That shiriffes be appointed and renewed in euerie countie, and to execute their offices vprightlie, according to the lawes of England.

Shiriffes to be apointed in euerie shire.

3 The third, that the garrisons and men of warre be well ordered to the benefit of the realme, and repressing of disordered subiects and rebels: that they dw liue according to the orders appointed, without oppression of the good and true subiects. That there shall be once within a moneth at the least a muster made either by the lord deputie, or by such commissioners as he shall appoint meete and indifferent for that purpose; who shall make inquirie of the number of the souldiors vnder euerie captaine; for the sufficiencie of their persons, their horsses, armors, and weapons, and other their necessaries: and how they were paied of their wages, and whether they were Englishmen or not.

The garisons to be looked vnto.

A muster to be kept euerie moneth.

4 The fourth article was, whether there had beene had a due care & regard to the preseruation of the reuenues of the crowne, & for the recouerie of that which is withdrawne. And whether euerie of the officers apointed for the receiuing of anie part of the said reuenues, as namelie the receiuers of rents, shiriffes, escheators, collectors of the subsidies, customors, clerks of the crowne, of the hamper, and of the first fruits, and the farmers of customes and such others, did yearelie make and answer their accounts; and besides sundrie other articles incident to euerie of these principals.

A due regard to be had of hir maiesties reuenues.

That euerie officer of receipts dw yearelie make his account.

After that he had receiued this booke, and his commission, he prepared himselfe with all the expedition he could, to follow the great charge committed vnto him: which being done, he repaired to hir maiestie and toke his leaue: and to his farewell, she gaue him most comfortable speeches and good counsels, promising hir fauor and countenance to all his well dowings, and a consideration for the same when as time should serue. The like leaue he toke also of the lords of the councell, who in like order gaue him the like farewell: and these things done, he departed towards the sea side, where after he had tarried a long time for a good wind and passage, he toke ship, and arriued in Ireland the thirteenth of Ianuarie, about fiue miles from Dublin, and from thense he trauelled to Dublin; where he was most honorablie receiued by sir Nicholas Arnold then lord iustice, and the whole councell; togither with the maior and his brethren of that citie. And the people in great troops came and saluted him, clapping and shooting with all the ioie that they could deuise.

Sir Henrie Sidneie taketh his leaue of the queene and councell.

Sir Henrie Sidneie toke his iourneie towards Ireland.

Iustice receiued into Dublin.

The next sundaie then next following, being the seuenth daie of his arriuall, and the twentith of the moneth, he accompanied with the lord iustice and councell, repaired to the high church in the citie named Christes church; where after that the diuine seruice was done, he toke his oth, receiued the sword, and assumed vpon him the gouernement: and wherwith he made a most pithie, wise, and eloquent oration, which consisted vpon these speciall points. The first, what a pretious thing is good gouernement, and how all realmes, commonwealths, cities, and countries dw flourish and prosper, where the same is orderlie, in equitie, iustice, and wisedome, directed & gouerned. Secondlie, what a continuall care the quæenes highnesse hath had, and yet hath, not onelie for the good guiding & ruling of the realme of England, but also of Ireland; which she so earnestlie desireth, and wisheth to be preserued, as well in peace as in warre: that she hath made great choise from time to time of the most graue, wise, and expert councellors for the one; and the most valiant, skilfull, and expert men of armes for the other: that both in peace and warres, the publike state of the commonwealth, and euerie particular member therein might be conserued, defended, and kept in safetie vnder hir gouernement. And for the performance thereof, hir maiestie ouer and besides the reuenues of the crowne of Ireland, did yearelie far aboue anie of hir progenitors, expend of hir owne cofers out of England, great masses of monie, amounting to manie thousand pounds. All which hir excessiue expenses and continuall cares she made the lesse account of; so that hir realme and subiects of Ireland might be preserued, defended, and gouerned.

The benefit of good gouernment.

The quéenes maiesties continuall care for Ireland.

The queens maiestie expendeth yearelie out of hir owne cofers for Ireland sundrie thousands of pounds.

Lastlie, notwithstanding hir maiestie might haue made better choise of manie others, who were better able to hold hir place in this realme, both for honor, wisedome, and experience: yet hir pleasure was now to call this heauie charge and burden vpon him. Which he was the more vnwilling to take vpon him, because the greater the charge was, the more vnable & weake he was to sustaine the same. Neuertheless, being in good hope, and well promised of hir highnesse fauor and countenance in his well dowings, and hauing his confidence in them hir highnesse councellors associated vnto him, to ioine, aid, and assist him in this gouernement: he was and is the more readie to take the sword in hand; in hope that this his gouernement shall be to the glorie of God, the honor of hir maiestie, the benefit of the commonwelth, and the preseruation of the whole realme and people of the same. And so making his earnest request to the said lords present, for their conioining with him, and the aiding and assisting of him in this hir maiesties seruice, he made an end of his speeches.

The said councellors, hauing well considered the great value and weight of this his graue and wise oration, did most humblie thanke his lordship for the same, and promised in all dutifulnesse, faith, and obedience to performe and attend whatsoeuer to them in anie wise should appertaine. These things done, they all conducted the said lord deputie in all honorable manner vnto the castell of Dublin: the common people in euerie street and corner meeting him, and with great acclamations and ioie did congratulat vnto his lordship his comming among them in that office. Immediatlie after the performance of all

The congratulation of the people.

the solemnities, perteining to these actions, he called and assembled all those persons which hir highnesse had appointed, admitted, and allowed to be of hir maiesties priuie councell for that realme, and did sweare them according to the accustomed manner. Then from time to time they assembled and met, consulting and deliberating what waie and order were best to be taken for reparing of that broken commonweale and ruinous state, being as it were a man altogither infected with sores and biles, and in whose bodie from the crowne of the head to the sole of the foot there is no health. And surelie if the state of that land was euer miserable and in perill to be ouerthrowne: it was neuer more like than at these presents; for as for the English pale, it was ouerwhelmed with infinite numbers of caterpillers, who dailie by spoiles and robberies haue deuoured and wasted the same: whereby the people vniuersallie were so poore, and the commons in such extreame penurie, that they had not horsses, armor nor weapons to defend them, nor apparell, vittels, nor anie other necessaries to releeue them; the soldiors so beggerlie that they were most intolerable to the people, and so rooted in insolencie, lowsenesse and idleneesse, that vnlesse the remedie were the more spœdie, they would bee past correction: and so much the worsse, bicause manie of them were alied in mariage, and companies of the Irish: who the more they were affected to them, their truth and seruice more doubtfull to hir maiestie. The prouince of Leinster and they altogither most miserable, the Tools, Obrines, Kinshelaghes, Odsiles, Omorroughs, Carenaughs, the Moores, and the residue in their accustomable manners wholie bent to spoiles and all mischiefs, no place of anie safetie remaining for the good subiect; especiallie in the countie of Kilkennie, which being sometimes a fertile rich soile, and well manured and inhabited, became of all others most desart and beggerlie, verie few being left to inhabit the same.

The broken state of Ireland.

The English pale wasted and spoiled.

The soldiors beggerlie and out of order.

The miserable state of Leinster.

The fertile soile of the countie of Kilkennie made waste.

Mounster, the inhabitants there likewise for the most part being followers to the earle of Desmond, and following his wars against the erle of Ormond, made that prouince, and especiallie the counties of Tipperarie and Kirrie, being wealthie and rich, to become bare and beggerlie; and verie few of whom hir maiestie was or could be assured. Notwithstanding experience had taught them, and they assured, that no waie was for their recouerie and safetie so good and assured, as to humble themselues, and to become hir highnesse loiall and obedient subiects: yet as swine delighting in their dirt and puddles, contented themselues rather with a beggerlie life to be miserable, than in dutifull obedience to be at peace and assured. The prouinces also of Thomond altogither almost wasted by the warres betweene the earle there and sir Donell Obrien. Ormond likewise by reason of dissention betweene the earles of Desmond and Ormond, and by the dailie inuasions and preies of Piers Grace was almost wasted and vnhabited.

Mounster by ciuill war destroied.

Thomond all wasted by ciuill warres.

Connagh, one of the goodliest, pleasantest, and most fertile soiles of that land, & in times past verie rich and wealthie, and well inhabited, is wasted with the wars betweene the erle of Clanrichard and Mac William Enter: the Irish countries all wasted and impouerished, partlie by reason of their dissimulations, societies, and conferences with the rebelles, and partlie by the particular discords among themselues. Finallie, all the gentlemen throughout, wont in times past to be keepers of hospitalitie, were by the dailie preies made vpon them and their tenants so impouerished & distressed, that they were not able to mainteine and releeue themselues nor their families. The prouince of Vlster for wealth and plentie was well stored, not onlie of themselues, but by reason that it was the receptacle and place of receipt of all the preies and spoiles from out of the other prouinces: but as for loialtie, dutifulnesse, and obedience to hir maiestie, they were most disloiall, rebellious, and disordered. For after that Shane Odonelle by blood and murther had gotten the maistertie, he alone then ruled the rost, who in pride exceeded all the men vpon the earth, abiding no superior, nor allowing anie equall. And heere it were not amisse, but verie expedient to set downe the first origin and cause whie the said Shane did first breake out from his due obedience, and did shake off the gouernement of hir maiestie, which (as farre as the writer hereof hath gathered and collected) is as here followeth.

The Connagh deuoured by ciuill warres.

The gentlemen all impouerished.

Vlster wealthie and rich.

Shane Donelle.

The cause of Shane Odonelles rebellion.

Con Oneile, the first earle of Tiron, had two sonnes, Matthew and this Shane or John. And king Henrie the eight hauing good liking of this Con Oneile, and to reteine and keepe him a good subiect, he being a mightie man, and of great power in his countrie, he made and created him earle of Tiron, and his eldest son Matthew he made baron of Dunganon, and the remainder of the said earledome to the said Matthew, and to the heirs male of his bodie. This Shane being the second brother, and of an aspiring mind, enuied his elder brother, and in no wise could he brooke him, but from time to time seeketh occasions to quarell and fall out with him, and in the end most traitorouslie and vnnaturallie murthered him: their father yet liuing, who did not so much lament and bewaile the same, but began much more to distrust of his owne safetie. Neuertheless, it is not knowen that the said Shane did offer him anie violence, but when he was dead, although he had no right to succeed into the earledome, by reason that Matthew his elder brother had left sons behind him, who by the letters patents and course of the common law were to succeed the grandfather: yet Shane vsurped the name of Oneile, and entred into his fathers inheritance according to the Irish manner, among whome the custome is, that the eldest in years of the name of anie house or familie doth succeed his ancestor, vnlesse at the time of his death he had a son of the full age of one and twentie yeers. And thus hauing perforce entred into his fathers inheritance, he scorneth at the English gouernement, and after the Irish manner proclameth himselfe Oneile, and the capteine of his countrie, refuseth likewise all obedience to hir maiestie, and breaketh out into open rebellion.

Con Oneile made earle of Tiron.

Shane vsurpeth the name of Oneile.

The Irish custome in succession.

Shane Oneile breaketh into rebellion.

Sir Henrie Sidnete then lord iustice, in the absence of the erle of Sussex, being aduertised of these stirs, taketh aduise of the councell what was best to be done. And then it was agreed, that the said lord iustice should take his iorneie towards Dundalke, for the fortifieng of the English pale, and should send a messenger to Shane Oneile, who then laie at a lordship of his about sir miles from Dundalke, and to will him come to Dundalke to his lordship: which was done. But Shane returned his answer, praieng pardon, and also most humblie requested his lordship that it would please him to christen a son of his, & be his gossip, & then he would come to his lordship to do all things in seruice for hir maiestie, as his lordship should command and appoint. This answere at the first was not thought good, nor yet honorable to the lord iustice so to do, vntill the said Shane had first come and submitted himselfe. But when it was considered what great inconueniences might insue, if his request were denied; it was agreed that the said lord iustice should condescend vnto his request. And accordinglie vpon the last of Januarie, one thousand fiue hundred fiftie and eight, he went vnto the said,

Shane Oneile praieth sir Henrie Sidnete to be his gossip.

1558

Shanes

Shane excuseth himselfe whie hee came not to the lord iustice.

Matthew was Kellaies sonne.

The obiectiõs of Shane Oneil against the title of Matthew to be Oneile.

The wicked custome of the Irishrie.

Matthew seeketh the seigniorie of Oneile.

Shanes house, and there his lordship and Jaques Wingfield were godfathers, and hauing performed the baptising of the child, they both had conference of the matter: where the said Shane, to excuse his doings, did allege for his defense sundrie articles as followeth.

First, he said that Matthew baron of Dungannon was the sonne of one Kellaie of Dundalke, a smith by occupation, begotten and borne during the spousals of the said Kellaie, and one Alson his wife, and that the said Matthew was alwaies taken and reputed to be the sonne of the said Kellaie, vntill he was of the age of sixtéene yeares or thereabouts: at which time Con Oneile his father, vpon the saieng of the said Alson, that he was the father of the said Matthew, did accept and take the said Matthew to be his sonne, & gaue him the name of Fardarough. And here vnderstand you the wickednesse of this countrie; which is, that if anie woman do mislike hir husband, and will depart from him, he shall haue all such children as were borne of hir bodie during their abode togither, except such as she shall name to be begotten by anie other man: which man so named shall by their custome haue the said child: and so it should seeme to be meant of this point. Also the said Matthew did vpon this the affirmation of his mother séeke to vsurpe the name of a seigniorie of the Oneiles, and the dominions apertéining to that seigniorie and surname. Also that there be aboue a hundred of that name, which will not in anie wise yéeld to this the clame of Matthew, although he for his owne part would be contented therewith. Also he saith that the letters patents (if anie such be) that should intitle the sonne of the said baron to the said lands are vtterlie void, because that Con Oneile father to the said Shane had no other right nor interest to that countrie, but during his owne life: and therefore without the consent of the lords and inhabitants of that countrie, could make no surrender nor conueiance, whereby he might be inabled to take and haue the said lands by force of letters patents.

Also he saith, that by the lawes in the English pale of Ireland, no letters patents, made to anie person, be of anie force or value, vntill that an inquisition be taken of the lands so giuen before that the letters patents do passe: which in this case neither was, nor could be done, sith the countrie of Tiron is no shire ground. Also if the said lands should according to the quéens lawes descend to the right heire, then in right it ought to descend to him, as next heire being multerlie borne; and the other not so borne. Also he saith, that vpon the death of his father lord of the countrie, the whole countrie according to the custome of the countrie did assemble themselues together, and by a common consent did elect and chose (without anie contradiction) him the said Shane to be Oneile, as the most worthie and ablest of that countrie. Which election by the custome of the countrie hath béene alwaies vsed without anie confirmation, asked of the kings and quénes of England. Also he saith that as Oneile he claimeth such authorities, iurisdictions, and duties vpon his men & countrie, as are due time out of mind to his predecessors, and which duties for the most part are recorded, and remaine in writing. When the lord iustice had at full heard these articles, and considered well of them togither with the councell, made answer vnto Shane that the matter was of great weight and importance, & which neither he nor the councell cold determine of themselues, before hir maiestie were made priuie and acquainted therewith; and therefore in the meane time willed and required him to be quiet, and to shew himselfe a dutifull subiect vnto hir maiestie, nothing doubting but that he should haue and receiue at hir hands, what should be found méet, right, and iust.

Shane Oneile promiseth to be quiet.

And so hauing vsed manie good and frendlie spéeches and exhortations vnto him, the said Shane promised to vse and behaue himselfe well and honestlie, & as to his dutie should apperteine: they departed in verie frendlie manner. And thus in such wisedome and politike manner the lord iustice handled the matter, that by temporising and gaining of time all matters were pacified, and so continued vntill the comming ouer of the earle of Sussex lord deputie: who then of a new toke the matter in hand, and he did so stretchlie and seuerelie follow the same, that he ouermatched Shane Oneile. But it so grieued the said Shane, that notwithstanding he dissembled and gaue a good countenance, & promised well, yet in the end being once at libertie, he performed nothing: but as the woolfe which often casteth his haires but neuer changeth his conditions, was one and the same man or rather worse, and thenceforth tyrannized and vsed most crueltie, and of all others most disloiall and disobedient; to the deputie would he not come, nor would he in anie wise confer with him, but at his owne pleasure.

Shane Oneil is become a tyrant and a rebell.

The quénes maiestie in some termes he would honor, but in déeds he denied all obedience, subtill and craftie he was especiallie in the morning: but in the residue of the date verie vncerteine and vnstable, and much giuen to excessiue gulping and surfetting. And albeit he had most commonlie two hundred tunnes of wines in his cellar at Dundrun, and had his full fill therof, yet was he neuer satisfied, till he had swallowed vp maruellous great quantities of Aske bagh or Aqua vite of that countrie: wherof so vnmeasurablie he would drinke and bouse, that for the quenching of the heat of the bodie, which by that meanes was most extremelie inflamed and distempered, he was eftsoones conueied (as the common report was) into a déepe pit, and standing vpright in the same, the earth was cast round about him vp to the hard chin, and there he did remaine vntill such time as his bodie was recouered to some temperature: by which meanes though he came after in some better plight for the time, yet his manners and conditions dailie worse. And in the end his pride ioined with wealth, drunkennesse, and insolencie, he began to be a tyrant, and to tyrannize ouer the whole countrie; greatlie it was feared that his intent was to haue made a conquest ouer the whole land. He pretended to be king of Vlster, euen as he said his ancestors were, and affecting the maner of the great Turke, was continuallie garded with six hundred armed men, as it were his Ianisaries about him, and had in readinesse to bring into the fields a thousand horsemen, and foure thousand footmen. He furnished all the pesants and husbandmen of his countrie with armour and weapons, and trained them vp in the knowledge of the wars: and as a lion hath in awe the beasts of the field, so had he all the people to his becke and commandement, being feared and not beloued.

Shane Oneil a drunkard and a surfetter.

Shane Oneil buried in the ground after his drunkennesse.

Shane Oneils force.

The pesants in Vlster trained vp in warre.

Diuerse meanes and waies were practised and vsed by the lord deputie and councell for the pacifieng and recouerie of him, and commissioners from time to time sent vnto him; for and about the same, who sometimes would be verie flexible, but forthwith as backwards and vntoward. Of all the residue of Ireland there was the lesse doubt to recouer them, by reason that they by their owne ciuill wars had consumed and spoiled the one and the other: but of this man, small or no hope at all, vnlesse he might be chastised, and with force be reduced to conformities. Which in the end it pleased the Lord God to take the matter in hand, and to performe the same by taking

of him awaie. And bicause in these troublesome times, it were méet aduertisements should go to and from hir maiestie and councell to the lord deputie, & so likewise from his lordship to them, order was taken for the more spédie conueiance of letters reciprocke, there should be set posts appointed betwéene London and Ireland. This was then the present state of all Ireland, altogethers deuoured with robberies, murders, riots, treasons, ciuill and intestine warres, and few or none assured and faithfull to hir highnesse out of the English pale, and out of cities and townes: and yet the one being gentlemen and liuing by their lands, by continuall spoiles and robberies were decaied; the other by the losse of their traffike being merchants impouerished, and brought to such extremities, as not able to relieue and mainteine themselues.

Posts set betwéene Ireland & London.

The miserable state of Ireland.

And among all other the most intollerable miseries vniuersallie reigning, this one exceeded all the rest, that there was scarse a God knowen; and if knowen, not all honored in the land, for the churches for the most part were all destroied & vncouered, the clergie scattered, the people vntaught, and as shéepe without their pastour wandering without knowledge and instruction. Then where neither God is knowen, the prince obeied, no lawes current, no gouernement accepted, and all things infolded in most extreme miserie; how lamentable and dolefull is that state and kingdome? Wherfore sir Henrie Sidneie now lord deputie, & the councell pondering this distressed state, and the great burden which laie them vpon to helpe and redresse the same, dailie assembled themselues; & deuised the best waie what might be to be taken herein. Wherin his lordships cause so much was the weaker, as that such as were chiefest of the councell, then ioined to assist him in councell and seruice, were for the most part spent and decaied men; and the lord deputie himselfe driuen to deuise, to inuent, to dispose, and in the end to execute all himselfe. Well, neuertheless it was concluded and agréed, that the English pale should be fortified and defended from the inuasion of the Oneile and all his complices; and that the deuises set downe for the state and recouerie of the rest of the land should be followed from time to time, as matter, time, and opportunitie would serue thereunto.

No God nor religion in Ireland.

At this present time the earles of Ormond and Desmond were in England, and the quarrels and controuersies growen betwéene them were dailie examined before the lords of the councell, and their allegations produced in writing by the one against the other. And bicause their assertions were so contrarious and vncertein in denieng and affirming, as no proceeding could be had for a finall end and order, it was thought good and necessarie that their complaints and answers should be examined in the realme of Ireland, where their doings were best knowen, and where their misorders were committed. And then by the aduise of the councell both the said earles submitted themselues to the quénes maiesties order & determination: and for performance thereof, they both by waie of recognisance in the chancerie were bound ech of them in twentie thousand pounds. And then a commission vnder hir highnesse broad seale of England was sent to the lord deputie for taking of the forsaid examinations. But in the meane time whilest these things were in doing in England, sir John of Desmond, in verie outragious and disordered manner, fired & spoiled the tenements of the earle of Ormond, which things were verie shortlie after apeased. In these troublesome daies Mac Artimore an ancient gentleman of the Irish race, and principall man of his sept in Mounster, hauing verie great possessions, and laie still in peace and did nothing at all, neither toke he partie with one whom he liked not, neither holpe he the other whom he feared not, but to the outward appéerance misliked both their doings.

The earles of Ormond and Desmond submit themselues to the quéens order.

Sir John of Desmond spoileth the earle of Ormonds lands.

This man made his humble suite to hir maiestie, that he might surrender all his lands, possessions and territories vnto hir maiesties highnesse, and to recognise his dutie and allegiance to hir, and so to resume and haue a new estate therof from hir againe, according to the orders and laws of England. Which hir maiestie did accept, and forthwith made him a new estate of inheritance: and for the better his state in all obedience and dutie to hir crowne, did for the worthinesse of his bloud & stocke, & for the greatnesse of his gouernement make him a baron of the parlement in that relme; & for his further aduancement created him an earle vnder hir letters patents by the name of the earle of Clancare. These newes being reported to Shane Oneile, he scoffed at it, nothing liking the choise of hir bignesse in aduansing such a one to that honour, and enuied and maligned him that he was so honored. And therefore not long after, when the commissioners were sent to intreat with him vpon sundrie points, they found him most arrogant & out of all good order, braieng out spéeches not méet nor séemelie. For (saith he) you haue made a wise earle of Mac Artimore, I kéepe as good a man as is he. And albeit I confesse the quéene is my souereigne ladie, yet I neuer made peace with hir, but at hir séeking. And where he had required to haue his parlement robes sent vnto him as earle of Tiron, which title he claimed and required (which if it were denied him, then he required a triall to be made in parlement) yet now he cared not for so meane an honour as to be an earle, except he might be better and higher than an erle. For I am (saith he) in bloud and power better than the best, and I will giue place to none of them; for mine ancestors were kings of Vlster. And as Vlster was theirs, so now Vlster is mine and shall be mine: with the sword I wan it, and with the sword I will kéepe it. Which his words fell out true, though long he inioied not the same: and forthwith he fell into most horrible tyrannies and cruelties, wherby he became execrable and hatefull vnto all his people and countrie who were wearie of him.

Mac Artimore surrendereth all his lands to the quéene & taketh it of hir.

Mac Artimore made earle of Clancare.

Shane Oneile scoffeth at the earle of Clancare.

The proud taunts of Shane Oneile.

Shane Oneile for his pride and tyrannie becometh hatefull before God & man.

Now hir maiestie, being gréeued and annoied with his treasons and rebellions of long time, was fullie minded either to haue him clearelie roted out, or chastised: but therein she was staied, being borne in hand that the best waie to bring him to reformation, was to yéeld to him in sundrie things of him desired. But now she séeing him to haue manifested himselfe a notorious traitor, and past all grace; she gaue commandement to the lord deputie to imploie his whole care, consideration, and wisedome, how such a cankred and dangerous rebell might be vtterlie extirped. And séeing the matter also to haue so manie accidents and circumstances belonging vnto it, as which by letters to and fro could not bée well concluded: therefore she sent ouer sir Francis Knolles vicechamberleine, to conferre with the lord deputie, who arriued at Dublin the seuenth of Maie 1566, aswell concerning these matters of warre, as the whole state and gouernment of this realme. Who when he was arriued, and hauing at large conferred with him about the same, the time betwéene them was concluded and appointed, that the seruice should be in the winter; & accordinglie things necessarie, as well monie, men, munitions, and vittels were sent ouer, and Edward Randolph coronell of the footmen, and sundrie other capteins arriued with their souldiers from out of England, and all things were disposed both for the garrison and the campe, as it was conuenient

Sir Francis Knolles sent into Ireland. 1566

conuenient to be.

Likewise the archtraitor knowing what preparation was made against him, he doth the like also on his part against hir maiestie; and at a lordship or manour of his, about six miles out of Dundalke, he mustreth all his whole armie, which was of foure thousand footmen, and seuen hundred horssemen. And glorieng much in himselfe of such his great force and puissance, which he thought to suffice to haue conquered all Ireland withall, and that no man durst to aduenture vpon him: he marcheth vnto the towne of Dundalke, where he incampeth himselfe, & besegeth the same. He was no more busie to giue sundrie attempts of inuasion, and to enter the towne, but the souldiers within were as valiant to resist and defend: which in the end turned to his reproch, and hée had the repulse, being with shame driuen to raise his siege, and to depart with the losse.

Shane Oneil besiegeth Dundalke, & is repelled.

The like successe he had at Whites castell, and when he made his rode and inuasion into the English pale, when his great multitude stood him not in so much stead, as a farre smaller companie of the English souldiers deserued commendation: which perforce and maugre of his téeth compelled him to retire with shame, and to returne with losse. About this time in the moneth of Julie 1565, and the first yeare of the deputation of sir Henrie Sidnete, Edward Randolph, a verie expert and a valiant souldier, was sent ouer out of England, and arriued at the Dirrie with seuen hundred men vnder his regiment, and he himselfe by the councell in England appointed to be the coronell. This man as sone as he was landed, intrenched himselfe at the Dirrie, where he remained in garrison without doing of anie thing, vntill the comming of the lord deputie from Dublin, with the residue of hir maiesties forces, appointed to be ioined with the said coronell, for the better seruice against the arrogant traitour Shane Oneile.

1565

Coronell Randolph arriueth at the Dirrie where he intrencheth himselfe.

And after that the said lord deputie was come, and had staid there about six daies, and had set all things in such good order as that seruice required; he returned backe to Dublin through Odonels countrie, and so thorough Connagh, leauing the coronell accompanied with one band of fiftie horssemen vnder the leading of capteine George Herute the elder, and with seuen companies or hundreds of footmen vnder the charges of capteine Robert Cornewall, and capteine John Ward, and others; all well furnished, both with munitions, vittels, and all other necessaries meet and requisit. Shane Oneile who knew well of the garrisons, of their forces & numbers, and he not minding that they should there rest in peace, but standing now vpon his honor and reputation, incamped himselfe about two miles from the garrison, hauing then in his armie two thousand fiue hundred footmen, & three hundred horsmen. And frō daie to daie he would continuallie with his horssemen houer and range the fields, and shew himselfe readie to trie the matter if the Englishmen durst to aduenture the same

The lord deputie cōmeth to the Dirrie and setteth all things in order for the seruice.

Oneil incampeth neere the Dirrie and offereth skirmish.

The coronell disliking these daillie offers, and thinking it to be a verie great dishonour vnto him, and all the English nation, which were come ouer to serue against him, and now would do nothing, but were daillie bearded by the enimie: notwithstanding that his forces when they were at the best, were but small in respect of the enimie; and by reason of the sicknesse in the campe, that his small companie was much weakened and vnable to serue: yet he was determined with a full resolution to take the offer of the enimie, and either he would lose his life, or remoue him from his so neere a seat. Whereupon he drew out of his companie to the number of three hundred men, whome he thought most meet to serue, and being accompanied with fiftie horssemen vnder capteine George Herute, marched toward Oneils campe, who pretending a great ioy to see the forwardnesse of the Englishmen, he with all his forces issued out, and with speed prepared to incounter with them; persuading himselfe that he should that daie be maister of the field, and haue a conquest to his hearts desire.

The coronell preparеth to fight with Oneile.

The coronell made choise of the ground to fight in, and prepared himselfe to stand and abide their charge. Oneile in great furie, and with a great multitude charged the coronels footmen, and his maine battell; but he was so receiued with the English shot and so galled, that he made some staie. Whereupon capteine Herute taking his opportunitie, most valiantlie with his small band of horssemen brake in to the battell of Oneile. Likewise coronell Randolph with his few horssemen gaue the charge vpon the left wing of them. The one of them being well followed and accompanied with his band, did the seruice which he desired: but the coronell verie valiantlie making waie through the enimies, and no man following him, was in fighting wounded to death, and whereof immediatlie he died. The rebels being astonied and amazed at the valour of the Englishmen, fled and turned their backs, whome the souldiers followed, and had the slaughter of them so long as their weapons lasted in this conflict. The rebels were slaine that daie in this chase aboue foure hundred persons, besides the like number of such as were hurt and wounded. The coronell onelie was slaine, but capteine Herute and diuerse of the horssemen were verie sore hurt and wounded.

The valiant seruice of capteine George Herute.

The coronell Randolph is slaine.

Oneile and his companie flie, and are pursued, killed & hurt about 800.

After the death of this valiant coronell, whose funerall the lord deputie did afterwards celebrate with great honour at Dublin, Edward Sentlow was made coronell: vnder whose gouernement the garrison liued verie quietlie. For this last ouerthrow so quailed the spirits and courages of Oneile and his companie, that they had no desire of anie further incountering with the Englishmen. And thus all the winter following little was done: and being determined in the spring to aduenture some peece of seruice, but the lord otherwise appointed it. For about the foure and twentith of Aprill, by a misfortune neuer yet knowne by what means, the fort and towne of the Dirrie was all burned, and the storehouses where the munitions and vittels laie were blowne vp with the gunpowder, and twentie men killed with the same: and so manie of the souldiers as laie sicke there were burned in their beds. Whereupon the coronell calling all his capteins togither, and considering the distresse which they now were in, by the losse of their vittels and munitions, and not knowing where to be furnished otherwise, they all concluded and determined to abandon that place, and to imbarke themselues for Dublin, which immediatlie they all did, sauing capteine George Herute: for he rather did chose to hazard his life to returne by land, than to impouerish his souldiers by killing their horsses (which perforce they must néeds haue done) for want of shipping. And therefore euen almost against all hope he returned towards Dublin through the enimies countrie, who followed and chased him foure daies togither without intermission, both with horssemen and footmen: but at length he recouered Dublin, not without great wonder and admiration. The lord deputie he wanted not his espials, both about Oneile, and in all places throughout Ulster: and thereby knew the forces, bent, and determinations of euerie of them, whereby he knew how to meet with them euerie waie for the best seruice of hir maiestie. And yet considering the great impor-

The lord deputie keepeth the coronell Randolphs funerals.

The Dirrie and all the vittels and munitions are burned.

The coronell abandoneth Dirrie, and returneth to Dublin by seas.

Capteine George Herute returneth by land in great danger.

The lord deputie maketh a iournie into Vlster.

importance of the seruice, he could not be satisfied herein, but that he would make a iournie into Vlster himselfe. And being accompanied with the earle of Kildare, and certeine of the councell, and with such capteins and souldiers as he thought good: he aduanced & set forth out of Drogheda the seuentéenth of September 1566, and incamped that night at Rosse Keagh, & so from thense he trauelled throughout Vlster, and passed thense vnto Athlon in Connagh, where he came the six and twentith of October.

1566

The pusillanimitie of the Oneile.

In this iournie the rebell neuer durst (for all his brags) once to shew his face, nor to offer anie fight at all: sauing once at and néere a wood not far from Glogher, where he offered a skirmish, and gaue the charge with horsemen, footmen, and certeine Scotish shot: which continued a good space, and sundrie hurt on both sides, but none died of his lordships men. He shewed himselfe also once with a great multitude of horsemen and footmen, not farre from the castell of Dirlough Lenough, called the Salmon, but tooke his ease and durst not to giue the aduenture. In this iournie the lord deputie restored Odonell to the possession of his lands and castels, kept by Oneile from him; & sundrie lords and men of the best sort submitted themselues. By which this his lordships iournie he recouered to hir highnesse a countrie of foure score miles in length, and eight and fortie miles in breadth, without losse of anie man sauing Mac Gwier, who being sicke died in this iournie; and sauing a few persons which by the waie vpon an occasion would aduenture the winning of a certeine Iland in the middle of a lough, wherein was supposed to be great store of wealth and vittels of the enimies, and in assailing of it they were drowned.

Odonell restored vnto his possessions.

The lord deputie recouereth a great countrie in Vlster vnto the crowne.

Immediatlie vpon the discharge of the armie at Athlon, the lord deputie fortified all the frontiers of the English pale with garrisons sufficient for the same. And as concerning the troublesome state of Mounster, the earle of Desmond was in the field with two thousand men, and incamped himselfe in places indifferent to annoie at his pleasure the earle of Ormond, the lord Barrie, the lord Roch, and sir Morris Fitzgirald of the Decies; but he did not hurt anie man at all: sauing one Mac Donogh a rebell and a disloiall sauage man. The lord deputie being ouerlaied with the continuall cares to resist Oneile, could not in person trauell into Mounster, nor yet without great perill diuide his armie: wherefore he sent capteine Herne constable of Leighlin vnto the said earle, whereby he might be aduertised of his intendement and meaning: which appeared to be but a méere insolencie and an outrage to be reuenged vpon the earle of Ormond, although the rumor was, that he would conioine with Oneile. Which report when it came to his eares, and being aduertised that the lord deputie was offended with him that he had gathered such a force, and was in the fields. He for his purgation herein, without further delaie, tooke his horsse, and hauing in his companie onelie the baron of Dunboine, and capteine Herne, with their companies, made hast to present himselfe before the lord deputie: where and before whome for purging of himselfe, and to declare his dutie, he offered himselfe to his lordships deuotion, either to go and attend him vnto Vlster in that sort as he then was, or else to follow him with all such force as he could get; the lord deputie finding him vittels: and then to abide & serue in Vlster in despite of Shane Oneile; or else that he would in his lordships absence remaine vpon the borders there, with such a number of horsemen, as should be appointed vnto him; shewing also and pretending such dutifulnesse to hir maiestie, as was méet for a subiect to shew to his soueresgne. The deputie hauing some liking of his offers, and considering the tickle state of these presents, accepteth his last offer, willing him to go backe againe, and to prepare a crew of one hundred horsemen, at the least, and so to returne againe within foure téene daies: which he did, and with him came sir John Desmond, his vncle the baron of Dunboine, the lord Powre and others: who accompanied with the baron of Deluin, sir Warham Sentleger, and capteine Herne, did remaine vpon the borders, vntill his lordships returne from out of his iournie in Vlster.

The earle of Desmond is in campe and doth no hurt.

The earle of Desmond maketh his repaire to the lord deputie.

The earle of Desmond feareth in the English pale.

And as the realme at large was much infested with the cruell warres of Oneile and the troubles in Mounster; so also there wanted no daily complaints of griefs vnto the lord deputie of sundrie persons one against an other. For Oliuer Sutton, a gentleman dwelling in the English pale, did exhibit a certeine booke in writing, conteining an information of sundrie notorious disorders in that realme, hurtfull to the good policie of the same, and contrarie to sundrie good lawes and acts of parlement, whereof a great part did touch the earle of Kildare. The matter was referred by hir maiesties order to the hearing of the lord deputie and councell. Likewise sir Edmund Butler and Piers his brother were græuouslie complained vpon by the ladie of Dunboine, Mac Brian Arra, Oliuer Fitzgirald, sir William Occarell, and others; for their dailie outrages, robberies, murthers, preies, and spoiles taken. For the hearing and appeasing of such matters, and for the better ministration of iustice, the lord deputie had béene a long suitor to hir maiestie and councell for a chancellor to be sent ouer, who at length were resolued vpon doctor Weston, deane of the arches, who arriued at Dublin in Julie 1567, a notable and a singular man, by profession a lawyer, but in life a diuine, a man so bent to the execution of iustice, and so seuere therein, that by no meanes would he be seduced or auerted from the same: and so much good in the end insued of his vpright, diligent, and dutifull seruice, as that the whole realme found themselues most happie and blessed to haue him serue among them. Now he taking vpon him to deale in all matters of complaints, both eased the lord deputie of a great burthen, and did most good to the countrie, and acquited himselfe against hir maiestie.

Oliuer Sutton complaineth against the earle of Kildare.

The ladie of Dunboine complaineth against the Butlers.

1567

Doctor Weston is made lord chancellor of Ireland.

But to returne to the L. deputie, who immediatlie vpon the dismissing of the armie at Athlon, he tooke order (as is aforesaid) for placing of his garrisons in such conuenient places vpon the frontiers, as then apperteined and was most méet & conuenient. The rebell on his part leaueth nothing vndon, which might be for the furtherance of his enterprises: and being in great follitie of himselfe deuised manie things; and to make some shew of his abilitie, entered into the English pale, with sword and fire wasted the countrie, slue manie of hir maiesties subiects, and in the end besieged hir highnesse towne of Dundalke: where his pride and treason were iustlie scourged, who came not with so much glorie to besiege it, as he did returne with shame to leaue and lose it. The lord deputie not abiding the same, nor sleeping his matters, determined to make a new rode vpon him: and in the meane time, he so handled the matter, that he had vnfethered him of his best friends, aids, and helps. For besides the whole countrie, as is before said, gained from him the last iournie, Mac Gwier, a mightie man in his countrie forsoke him, and submitted himselfe to hir maiestie, offering all loiall obedience and faithfull seruice, and to receiue his lands and countrie at hir highnesse hands.

The Oneile entereth the English pale with sword and fire.

The Oneile besiegeth Dundalke the second time, and departed with great dishonor.

The Oneile forsaken of friends.

Mac Gwier forsaketh Oneile, and so do the Scots.

Alexander

Alexander Og and Mac Donell offer to serue hir maiestie, with all the Scots vnder them against the rebell. Con Odonell late deliuered from the rebell, offereth seruice against him. Tirlogh Lenough with the helps of his neighbours dailie backed the said Oneile, that his force was quailed that waie. The lord deputie had continuallie foure regiments residing neere the English pale, who continuallie as it were by turnes were occupied in persecuting of the rebell: & his lordship being at Drogheda did also issue out, and in one morning toke a preie of two thousand kine, 500 garrons, and innumerable other small beasts and cattell. The rebell seeing himselfe thus distressed of his goods, and forsaken of his helps and followers, his men, some by Odonell, and some by others to the number of three or foure thousand persons at times slaine, himselfe discomfited, his passages stoped, and all places of his refuge preuented, and now but one poore castell left wherein he trusted to commit himselfe vnto; he being thus weakened, and beholding his declination and fall towards, was fullie bent and determined to disguise himselfe, and so as not knowne to come with a collar or halter about his necke to the presence of the lord deputie, and in all humble and lowlie maner to submit himselfe: hoping that by this kind of humilitie to find mercie at hir maiesties hands. But his conscience was so cauterised, and his hands so imbrued with infinit and most horrible murthers, bloudsheds, treasons, whoredomes, drunkennesse, robberies, burnings, spoiles, oppressions, and with all kinds of wickednesse, that his heart was ouerlaied and ouerladen with an vtter despaire to obteine ante grace or fauor: and therefore was the more easilie persuaded by those whome he toke to be his friends, to trie first and to intreat the Scots for friendship, and that they would ioine and aid him in his most wicked rebellion. Whereupon he toke his iournie towards Clandeboie, where Alexander Og and his companie, to the number of six hundred persons, were then incamped: and for the better gaining of his purpose, he had a little before inlarged Charleie Boie brother to the said Alexander, and who had beene prisoner with him.

The lord deputie taketh a great preie vpon the Oneile.

The Oneile distressed of all comfort is in doubt what to do.

Oneile his owne conscience condemneth him to seeke submission.

Oneile seeketh for helpe of the Scots.

The Scots doo disguise with Oneile.

The Scots disguised the matter with him, pretending and promising him aid and assistance: which they ment not. For assone as Oneile togither with Odonels wife, whom he kept, & the small companie which he brought with him were come into the tent, and they assured of him; they called to remembrance the manifold iniuries which they had receiued at his hands, and namelie the murthering of one James Mac Conell, & one Mac Guillie their neere cousins and kinsmen: and being inflamed with malicious minds to reuenge their deths, they fell to quarelling with the said Shane Oneile, and with their slaughter swords hewed him to peeces, and slue all those of his companie that were with him: his bodie they wrapped in a Kernes shirt, and so without all honor was carried to a ruinous church not farre off, and there interred; but after a few daies he was taken vp againe by capteine Piers, by whose deuise this stratagem or rather tragedie was practised, and his head was sundred from the bodie, and sent to the lord deputie, who caused the same to be set vpon a stake or pole on the top of the castle of Dublin. A fit end for such a beginning, and a iust reward for such a wicked traitor and sacrileger: who began his tyrannie in bloud, did continue it with bloud, and ended it with bloud. The lord deputie being then at Drogheda, and aduertised of the death of this Shane, and of the iust iudgements of God laid vpon him; for the same prostrated himselfe before the high and eternall God, and gaue his most humble and hartie thanks for the deliuerie of that land from so wicked a tyrant, sacrileger and traitor; and with all the conuenient speed that might be, he dispatched the messengers to hir maiestie and councell, aduertising this hap and good successe. Which done, his lordship with all speed made his repaire into Vlster, and incamped himselfe in the middle and heart of the countrie, vnto whome all the noblemen and gentlemen of Tiron, being glad that they were deliuered from the tyrant, made their repaire vnto his lordship: and especiallie all they which were competitors of the capteinrie of Tiron, who most humblie and obedientlie presented and submitted themselues vnto hir highnesse. And when his lordship had set all things in such order as the time required, he assembled all the gentlemen of the countrie, and most pithilie and effectuallie instructed and persuaded them to obedience, teaching them the great blessings of God which commeth thereby, as also putteth them in mind what inconueniences, miseries and calamities they had felt by the contrarie: and for their greater quietnesse and peace, he promised shortlie to send commissioners amongst them, who should haue authoritie to decide all controuersies betweene partie and partie (title of land and death of man excepted.)

The queene aduertised of Shane Oneils death.

The noblmen of Vlster, being glad of Oneils death, doo submit themselues.

Also he proclamed and commanded hir maiesties peace to be kept, and commanded all churchmen and husbandmen to returne to their accustomed exercises: and that all men of warre should liue vpon their owne, or vpon that which their frends with a good will would giue them: and so publishing peace vniuersallie, euerie man departed home totsullie. The lord deputie likewise returned to Dublin, and commanded the sonne of the late rebell, who laie for an hostage of his father, to be safelie kept in the castell of Dublin, according to hir maiesties letters of commandement in that behalfe, dated the first of Julie 1567. The queenes maiestie being deliuered from this traitorous rebell, and hauing all Vlster at hir commandement and disposition, was verie desirous to haue a true plot of the whole land, whereby she might in some sort see the same, & did send ouer into Ireland one Robert Leeth, skilfull in that art, and that he should make the perfect descriptions of the same. Likewise also she being aduertised of the outragious dealings of the earle of Desmond, in mainteining proclamed rebels, and continuing of warres against the earle of Ormond (whose insolencie to seeke to be reuenged vpon the said earle, was the disturbance of the whole realme, the spoile of the whole countrie, and the onelie cause of great murthers, bloudshed, and vndoing of manie people) she willed the lord deputie by hir letters to apprehend the said Desmond, and to commit him to the castell of Dublin, which was so done. And after both he and his brother sir John of Desmond were sent into England, and there committed to the tower.

Orders giuen by the lord deputie to the noble men of Vlster.

Oneils sonne is committed to safe custodie.

Robert Leeth sent into Ireland to draw a true plot of the whole land.

The earle of Desmond committed to ward, and sent to the tower, togither with his brother sir John Desmond.

After all the foresaid broiles and ciuill wars were appeased, and the realme set in quietnesse and good order, the lord deputie hauing receiued hir maiesties letters for his repaire into England vnto hir presence, he did accordinglie prepare himselfe thereunto, and by a commission vnder hir broode seale of Ireland did appoint doctor Weston then lord chancellor, and sir William Fitzwilliams treasuror at warrs, to be lords iustices in his absence: the one of them being verie well learned, iust, and vpright; the other verie wise, and of great knowledge and experience in the affaires of that land. Both which two being like well minded to doo hir maiestie seruice, did most louinglie and brotherlie agree therein, each one aduising and aduertising the other according to the seuerall gifts which God had bestowed vpon them: by which meanes they passed their gouernment verie well

1567 Doctor Weston and sir William Fitzwilliams made lords iustices.

Sir Henrie Sidneie lord deputie passeth into England, and caried with him the earle of Desmond.

well and quietlie to the great contentation of hir maiestie, the commendation of themselues, and the common peace of the countrie; and so the said sir Henrie hauing placed the said iustices, he passed the seas into England, and carried with him the earle of Desmond and Oconnor Sligo, he was with great honor receiued at the court, and the other was sent to the tower. Hir maiestie lay at this time at Hampton court, and loking out at a window, she saw him to come in with two hundred men attending vpon him, and not knowing at the first sight who it was, it was told hir that it was sir Henrie Sidneie hir deputie in Ireland; Then it is well (quoth she) for he hath two of the best offices in England. So he presented himselfe before hir highnesse, and was welcome to hir. Neuertheless, after his departure, the particular grudges betweene some certeine men brake out into great and outragious disorders, as sir Edmund Butler with great hostilitie maketh inuasion vpon Oliuer Fitzgirald, being accompanied with Piers Grace. The outlawes of the Oconnors and Omores proclamed traitors, and hauing in the field a thousand of Gallowglasses, horssemen, and kernes, threaten to burne the towne of Kilkennie, and spoile Dearell of his countrie. But they as also Oliuer Fitzgirald, a man not apt in times past to complaine, but rather bent to satisfie himselfe with double reuenge, leauing to seeke reuenge by armes, made their recourses to the lords iustices, and by law requested redresse. The erle of Clancart was puffed vp with such insolencie, that he named himselfe king of Mounster, and did confederate with the Mac Swaines, Osullyan More, and others of the Irishrie of that prouince, and in warlike manner and with banners displaied inuadeth the lord Roches countrie, and in burning of his countrie, he destroied all the corne therein, seuen hundred sheepe, and a great number of men, women and children, and carried awaie fiftéene hundred kine, and a hundred garons. Also James Fitzmoris of Desmond maketh cruell warres against the lord Fitzmoris baron of Lixenew, which albeit they were but priuie displeasures, yet troublesome to the whole countrie: and the lords iustices being not prepared to stop the same, they did yet so temporise with them, as they gained time, till further order might be taken vpon aduertisement of hir maiesties pleasure herein. About this time one Morice a runnigate préest, hauing latelie béene at Rome, and there consecrated by the popes bull archbishop of Cashell, arriued into Ireland, and made chalenge to the same see: which being denied vnto him by the archbishop which was there placed by hir maiestie, the said supposed bishop suddenlie with an Irish skaine wounded the bishop, and put him in danger of his life.

Ed. Molineux.

Sir Edmund Butler breaketh out into outrages.

The pride of Mac Artie More earle of Clancart.

The earle of Clancart maketh warres vpon the lord Roch.

James Fitzmoris maketh warre vpon the baron of Lixenew.

The archbishop of Cashell in danger to be killed.

This yeare sir Peter Carew of Mohonesotreie in the countie of Deuon knight, one descended of a noble and high parentage, whose ancestors for sundrie hundred of yeares were not onelie barons of Carew in England; but marquesses of Corke, barons of Dōzon, and lords of Maston Twete; and sundrie other segniories in Ireland. When he had looked into his euidences, and had found how by right these great inheritances were descended vnto him: he made the quéens maiestie and councell acquainted therewith, and praied that with their fauor and furtherance he might haue libertie to follow, and by order of law to recouer the same. Which was granted vnto him, as also he had hir highnesse and their lordships seuerall letters to them, then lords iustices and officers there to that effect; and willing them to aid and assist him with all such hir maiesties euidences remaining in the records of the castell of Dublin, or else where in that land; and by all such other good meanes they might. Whereupon he sent the writer hereof to be his agent: who hauing by search found his title to be good, and confirmed by sundrie records and presidents, found in hir maiesties treasurie and castell of Dublin, answering and agréeing with the euidences of sir Peter Carew: then the said sir Peter passed in person into Ireland, and made title and claime to the lordship of Maston, then in the possession of sir Christopher Chiners knight, and to the baronie of Dozon, then in the occupation of the Cauenaughs.

Sir Peter Carew passeth into Ireland.

The first, when it was found good in law, and sir Christopher Chiners yéelded, and compounded for it: the other was trauersed before the lord deputie and councell, and vpon good and substantiall euidences, records, and praises; a decrée passed by the lords of the councell, in the behalfe of sir Peter Carew, and the same confirmed by the lord deputie, and by that meanes he recouered the possession of the baronie, which was before taken from his ancestors; as the records do impart, about the eightéenth yeare of king Richard the second. But as for the marquesship of Corke, being a matter of great weight and importance, and the prouince of Mounster then not setled in anie quietnesse: he would not as then nor yet thought it good to deale therein. Sir Henrie Sidneie, hauing spent a long time in England, was commanded to returne to his charge in Ireland, where he arriued at Crag Fergus, in September 1568: and toke the sword of gouernement vpon him, and so discharged the lords iustices. And then he and the councell by their letters of the fourth of Nouember 1568, did aduertise hir maiestie of the state that the said realme of Ireland then stood in. Which in briefe consisted in these points immediatlie following.

Sir Peter Carew by a decrée receoureth the baronie of Dozon.

1568

Sir Henrie Sidneie returneth lord deputie.

The state that Ireland stood in.

That sir Edmund Butler had made a preie in Shilelagh vpon Oliuer Fitzgarret, and done sundrie murders, burnings, and great spoiles vpon his countrie: who was forthwith sent for, and refuseth to come, excusing that he had businesse about the execution of certeine seruices in the counties of Kilkennie, and Tipperarie, and that the residue of all Leinster was quiet. That Connagh was in indifferent good order, sauing some contention betwéene the earle of Clanricard, and Mac William Enter; and an old controuersie renewed betwéene Odonell and Oconner Sligo for the title of a rent in Enter, Connaghs countrie. In Thomond great complaints made against the earle thereof, by Oshaghnes, who by reason of the oppression of the said earle, he was compelled with his followers to forsake his countries. As for Mounster, it was all in disorder by the warres of James Fitzmoris of Desmond, against Fitzmoris baron of Lixenew: and of the earle of Clancart, against the baron of Roch: and also by the disorders of Edward Butler, who being combined with Piers Grace and certeine outlawes, did disorderlie spoile and preie the countries to fed their bellies.

Connagh in reasonable peace.

Mounster out of order.

The present state of Ulster the lord deputie being desirous to know the certeintie thereof, immediatlie vpon his landing in Ireland he made a iourneie throughout the same, and found the Irishrie to stand in wauering terms: whereupon he sent for Turlogh Lenogh Oneile, who yéelding himselfe somewhat guiltie, because he somewhat swarued from his dutie, and differed from the articles in his lordships absence before, concluded with him in making a iourneie vpon Fernete, and in combining with the Scots, of whome he had in retinue about one thousand; he desired pardon: which it was long and verie hardlie obteined, and not vntill his lordship had caused the pledges to be executed, which the

Sir Peter Carew maketh sute to hir maiestie for the recouerie of his lands in Ireland.

Turlogh Lenogh breaketh the peace, but submitteth himselfe.

Scots

Scots had put in for their loialtie. Odoneile quietlie possessed the countrie of Trireconell, and continued a dutifull subiect to hir maiestie; saving the old grudge betwæne him and Turlogh did rather increase than decaie. Ochan lord of the land betwæne Loghfoile and the Ban, being for the same sometime molested by Turlogh Lenogh, did beare with all iniuries, and desired to be exempted from Turlogh, and to hold the same of the quænes maiestie. The like did the two principall men, eligible for the capteinrie of Tiron, desire for their parts all the residue of Ulster in good staie and quietnesse.

The lord deputie after this iourneie returned to Dublin, and there, when by the aduise of the councell he had disposed all things in good order concerning the gouernement: he caused the writs for summons of the parlement to be awarded out vnto euerie noble man for his appærance; & to euerie shiriffe for chosing of knights and burgesses for their like appærance at Dublin the seuentænth of Januarie, in the eleuenth yeare of hir maiesties reigne; at which time and daie appærance was then and there made accordinglie. On the first daie of which parlement, the lord deputie, representing hir maiesties person, was conducted and attended in most honorable manner vnto Christes church, and from thense vnto the parlement house: where he sat vnder the cloth of estate, being apparelled in the princelie robes of crimson veluet doubled or lined with ermin. And then & there the lord chancellor made a verie eloquent oration, declaring what law was, of what great effect and value, how the common societie of men was thereby mainteined, and each man in his degrée conserued; as well the inferior as the superior, the subiect as the prince: and how carefull all good common-wealths in the elder ages haue bæne in this respect: who considering the time, state, and necessitie of the common-wealth, did from time to time ordeine and establish most holsome lawes, either of their deuises, or drawen from some other good common-wealth: and by these meanes haue prospered and continued.

Parlemnt summoned at Dublin.

The lord chancellor his oration.

And likewise, how the quænes most excellent maiestie, as a most naturall mother ouer hir children, and as a most vigilant prince ouer hir subiects, hath bæne alwaies, & now presentlie is verie carefull, studious, & diligent in this behalfe: hauing caused this present parlement to be assembled, that by the councell and aduise of you hir nobilitie, & you hir knights and burgesses, such good lawes, orders, and ordinances maie be decréed, as maie be to the honor of almightie God, the preseruation of hir maiestie, and of hir imperiall crowne of this realme, and the safetie of the common-wealth of the whole realme: for which they were not onelie to be most thankefull; but also most carefull to dw their duties in this behalfe. And then he the lord speaker directing his spæches to the knights and burgesses, who were there in the behalfe of the whole commons of the realme, willed them that for the auoiding of confusion, and for an orderlie procéding in this action: they should assemble them selues at and in the house appointed for that assemblie; and there to make choise of some wise and sufficient man to be their mouth & speaker. And then concluding with an exhortation of obedience and dutifulnesse, he ended, and the court adiourned vntill thursdaie next, the twentith of Januarie. In the meane time, the knights and burgesses met in the lower house, and appointed for their speaker one Stanihurst, recorder of the citie of Dublin, a verie graue, wise, and learned man; who vpon thursdaie aforesaid was presented to the lord deputie, and to the lords of the higher house: & then he hauing dwne most humblie his obedience and dutie, made his oration and spæch; first abasing himselfe, being not a man sufficientlie adorned and furnished with such gifts of knowledge and learning, as to such an office and calling doth apperteine: wherein he was so much the more vnfit, as the cause he had in hand was of great weight and importance. And therefore he wished, if it might so séeme good to his lordship, some man of more grauitie, and of better experience, knowledge, and learning might supplie the place. Neuertheless, for somuch as he might not refuse it, he was the more willing, because he did well hope his seruice being dwne with his best good will, and in all dutifulnesse, it would be accepted. And againe his comfort was the more, because he had to deale in such a cause, as was for the establishing of some good and holsome lawes, whereof he was a professor.

Stanihursts oration.

And herevpon he toke an occasion, according to the argument that was before handled by the lord chancellor, speaker in the higher house, to discourse of the nature and good effect of lawes, and what good succesle there insueth to all such realmes, countries, and common-wealths, as by lawes are well ruled & gouerned. And when he had spoken at large hereof, there he declared what great causes that realme of Ireland had, to giue for euer most hartie thanks and praises to God for his goodnesse, in sending such a vertuous, noble, and a most godlie prince, as was hir maiestie; who not onlie was carefull by the sword to stand in their defense against all enimies, traitors, and rebels, in times of wars and rebellions: but also for their conseruation in times of peace would haue such lawes, statutes, and ordinances to be made in a parlement of themselues, as should be most expedient for the common-wealth of the same land. When he had at large discoursed of this matter, then he concluded with an humble petition, that it might please hir maiestie to grant vnto them their liberties and frædoms of old belonging to euerie assemblie of a parlement. The first was, that euerie man being a member of the lower house, should and might haue frée comming and going to and from the parlement: and during their abode at the same without molestation or impeachment of anie person or persons, or for ante matter then to be laid against anie of them. The second, that they and euerie of them might haue libertie to speake their minds frélie to anie bill to be read, & matter to be proposed in that parlement. Thirdlie, that if anie of the said house shuld misorder and misbehaue himselfe in anie vndecent manner, or if anie other person should euill intreat or abuse anie of the said house, that the correction and punishment of euerie such offendor should rest and remaine in the order of the said house. When he had ended his spæch, and in most humble maner dwne his obeisance; the lord deputie hauing paused vpon the matter, made answer to euerie particular point in most eloquent and effectuall manner, which consisted in these points: Nothing misliking with the speaker for so much abasing of himselfe, because he knew him to be both graue, wise, and learned, and verie sufficient for that place, doubting nothing but that he would performe the same in all dutifulnesse, as to him apperteined. And concerning the benefit which groweth to all nations and common-wealths by the vse of the lawes; besides that dailie experience did confirme the same generallie, so no one nation particularlie could better auouch it than this realme of Ireland: and therefore he did well hope that they would accordinglie frame themselues to liue accordinglie, and also to praie for hir maiesties safetie and long life, whereby vnder hir they might inioie a peaceable and a quiet life in all prosperitie. And concerning the priuileges, which they requested

The requests of the speaker for allowance of the liberties of the parlement house.

The lord deputie answereth Stanihurts oration.

Stanihurst chosen to be speaker of the lower house.

requested to be allowed, forsomuch as the same at the first were granted to the end that they might the better and more quietlie serue hir highnesse in that assemblie, to hir honor, and to the benefit of the common-wealth, it pleased hir maiestie so long as she were not impeached, nor hir imperiall state derogated, that they should intoie the same. And so after a long time spent in this oration the court was adiourned.

The nert daie following being fridaie the lower house met; and contrarie to the order of that house, and dutie of that companie, in steed of vnitie there began a diuision, and for concord discord was receiued. For all, or the most part of the knights and burgesses of the English pale, especiallie they who dwelled within the counties of Meth and Dublin, who

A mutinie in the lower house.

seeing a great number of Englishmen to haue place in that house began to except against that assemblie as not good, nor warranted by law. Their vantparler was sir Christopher Barnwell knight, who being

Sir Christopher Barnwell excepteth against the choise of the burgesses.

somewhat learned, his credit was so much the more, and by them thought most meetest and worthie to haue beene the speaker for that house. And he being the spokesman alleged three special causes, whie he and his complices would not yeeld their consents. The first was, because that there were certeine burgesses returned for sundrie townes, which were not corporat, and had no voice in the parlement. The second was, that certeine shiriffes, and certeine maiors of townes corporat had returned themselues. The third and cheefest was that a number of Englishmen were returned to be burgesses of such towns and corporations, as which some of them neuer knew, and none at all were resiant & dwelling in the same, according as by the lawes is required.

These matters were questioned among themselues in the lower house for foure daies togither, and no agreement: but the more words, the more choler; and the more speeches, the greater broiles; vntill in the end, for appeasing the matter, the same was referred to the lord deputie and iudges of the realme: vnto whom the said speaker was sent to declare the whole matter, and to know their resolutions. And they hauing at large discoursed and conferred of this matter, returned their answer; that concerning the first and second exceptions, that the burgesses returned for townes not corporat, and for such shiriffes, maiors, and souereignes as haue returned themselues, shall be dismissed out of the same: but as for such others as the shiriffes and maiors had returned, they should remaine, and the penaltie to rest vpon the shiriffes for their wrong returnes. The messenger of this answer, howsoeuer he were liked, his message could not be receiued nor allowed: which being aduertised vnto the lord deputie and the iudges, then Lucas Dillon hir maiesties attorneie generall was sent vnto them, to ratifie and confirme their resolutions: and yet could not he be credited, neither would they be satisfied, vnlesse the iudges themselues would come in persons and set downe this to be their resolutions. Upon this answer the speaker commanded a bill to be read, but the foresaid persons would not suffer nor abide the reading thereof: but rose vp in verie disordered manner, farre differing from their duties in that place, and as contrarie to that grauitie and wisedome, which was or should be in them. Wherefore, for pacifieng of the same, the cheefe iustices of the queenes bench, and the cheefe iustice of the common pleas: the quenes sergeant, attorneie generall, and sollicitor, the nert daie following came to the lower house, and there did affirme their former resolutions, which thought it might haue sufficed. Yet certeine lawiers who had place in that house, did not altogither like thereof.

The resolution of the iudges.

The disliking of the iudges opinions.

The selfewill and frowardnesse of the burgesse of the English pale.

And albeit this matter were orderlie compassed, and sufficient to haue contented euerie man: yet the same was so stomached, that the placing of the Englishmen to be knights and burgesses, could not be digested, as did appeare in the sequele of that assemblie, where euerie bill furthered by the English gentlemen was stoped and hindered by them. And especiallie sir Edmund Butler, who in all things which tended to the queenes maiesties profit or common-wealth, he was a principall against it: fearing that their capteinries should be taken awaie, and coine, and liuerie be abolished, and such other like disorders redressed, which he and his complices misliking, it did euen open it selfe of a rebellion then a brewing and towards. Which in deed followed. For immediatlie after the parlement, he returned home with a discontented mind, and gathered his forces, and followed his purpose. But to the purpose.

Sir Edmund Butler misliketh with the parlement.

There were two billes put in of moment & great consequence. The one was concerning the repeale of an act for that sessions, onelie made in the time of sir Edward Poinings lord deputie, in the tenth yere of king Henrie the seuenth, which though it were meant most for their owne benefit and commonwealth of that realme: yet so gelous they were, that they would not in long time enter into the consideration thereof. The other was for the granting of the impost for wines then first read. And in this matter they shewed themselues verie froward & so vnquiet, that it was more like a bearebaiting of disordered persons, than a parlement of wise and graue men. Wherewith a certeine English gentleman (the writer hereof) being a burgesse of the towne of Athenrie in Connagh, who had before kept silence, and still so meant to haue done; when he saw these foule misorders and ouerthwarting, being greeued, stood vp, and praied libertie to speake to the bill, who made a preamble, saieng, that it was an vsage in Pithagoras scholes, that no scholers of his should for certeine yeares reason, dispute, or determine, but giue eare and keepe silence: meaning that when a man is once well instructed, learned, and aduised, and hath well deliberated of the things he hath to do, he should with more discretion and wisdome, speake, order, and direct the same. Notwithstanding, now he being but a man of small experience, and of lesse knowledge in matters of importance, and therefore once minded to haue beene altogither silent, is inforced euen of a verie zeale and conscience, and for the discharge of his dutie, to praie their patience, and to beare with his speeches. And then vpon occasion of the bill read, and matter offered, he entred into the discourse what was the office & authoritie of a prince, and what was the dutie of a subiect: and lastlie, how the quenes maiestie had most honorablie and carefullie performed the one, and how vndutifullie they had considered the other: for that she neither found that obedience in that land, which still liued in rebellion against hir; neither that benevolence of the better sort, which for hir great expenses spent for their defenses and safeties they ought to haue yeelded vnto hir. It appeared manifest in sundrie things, and speciallie in this present assemblie, namelie one bill concerning the repeale of Poinings act, for this time onelie meant for your owne benefit, and for the common-wealth of this realme: and the other concerning the bill now in question, the one by you denied, and the other liketh you not. And yet hir maiestie, of hir owne roiall authoritie, might and may establish the same without anie of your consents, as she hath alreadie done the like in England; sauing of hir courtesie it pleaseth hir to haue it passe with your owne consents by order of law, that she might thereby haue the better triall and assurance of your

The repeale of Poinings act.

The act for imposts of wines.

dutifulnesse

dutifulnesse and goodwill towards hir. But as she hath and doth find your bent farre otherwise, so doth the right honorable the lord deputie find the like. For notwithstanding his long seruices in times past, his continuall and dailie trauels, iorneies, and hostings, with the great perill of his life against the rebels for your sake and safetie; and his endlesse turmoiles and troubles in ciuill matters and priuat suites for your quietnesse, and to you well known, he hath deserued more than well at your hands: yet as the vnthankfull Israelites against Moses, the vnkind Romans against Camillus, Scipio, and others: and as the vngratefull Atheniens against Socrates, Themistocles, Miltiades, and others; you haue and do most vngratfullie requite and recompense this your noble gouernor: against whome and his doings you do kicke and spurne what in you lieth. But in the end it will fall vpon you, as it hath done vnto others to your owne shame, ouerthrow, and confusion. And when he had spent a long time in this matter, and proued the same by sundrie histories of other nations, he proceeded to the bill, which by sundrie reasons and arguments he proued to be most necessarie, and meet to be liked, allowed, and consented vnto.

Now when he had thus ended his speeches, he sat downe, the most part of the house verie well liking and allowing both of the person and of the matter; sauing the persons before named, who did not heare the same so attentiuelie as they did digest it most vnquietlie, supposing themselues to be touched herein. And therfore some one of them rose vp and would haue answered the partie, but the time and daie was so far spent aboue the ordinarie houre, being well neere two of the clocke in the afternoone, that the speker and the court rose vp and departed. Howbeit such was the present murmurings and threatnings breathed out, that the said gentleman for his safetie was by some of the best of that assemblie conducted to the house of sir Peter Carew, where the said gentleman then laie and resided. The lord deputie in the meane time, hearing that the lower house were so close, and continued togither so long aboue the ordinarie time, he doubted that it had béene concerning the questions before proponed, and therefore did secretlie send to the house to learne and know the cause of their long sitting. But by commandement of the speaker, order was giuen to the doore keepers, that the doores should be close kept, & none to be suffered to come in or out, so long as the gentleman was in deliuerie of his speeches; and after the court was ended, it was aduertised to the said lord deputie, who thanked God that had raised vp vnknowen frends vnto him in that place.

The next daie following being fridaie, assone as the court of the lower house was set, sir Christopher Barnewell, and the lawiers of the English pale, who had conferred togither of the former daies speeches, stod vp and desired hearing: who leauing the matter in question, did in most disorderlie manner inueigh against the said gentleman, affirming, auouching, and protesting, that if the words spoken had béene spoken in anie other place than in the said house, they would rather haue died than haue borne withall. Whereupon the speaker by consent of the residue of the house commanded them to silence, and willed that if they had anie matter against the said gentleman, they should present and bring it in writing against mondaie then next following. And for somuch as their dealings then were altogither disordered, being more like to a bearebaiting of lose persons than an assemblie of wise and graue men in parlement; motion and request was made to the speaker, that he should reforme those abuses and disordered behauiours; who not onelie promised so to do, but also praied assistance, aduise, and counsell for his doings therein, of such as were acquainted with the orders of the parlements in England. Which was promised vnto him and performed, and also promised that a booke of the orders of the parlements vsed in England should in time be set forth in print, which the said gentleman did, and presented & bestowed the same among them in forme following.

A booke of the orders of a parlement house imprinted for Ireland.

¶ The order and vsage how to *keepe a parlement in England in these* daies, collected by Iohn Vowell *aliàs* Hooker

gentleman, one of the citizens for the citie of Excester at the parlement holden at Westminster, Anno Do*mini* 1571, *& Elisabethæ Reg. decimo tertio: and* the like vsed in hir maiesties realme *of Ireland.*

And here you must note, that what the kings and queenes of England do in their persons in England, the same is done in Ireland by the lord deputie, and who in the like parlement robes and vnder the like cloth of estate representeth hir maiestie there in all things.

By whom and for what cause a parlement ought to be summoned and called.

The king, who is Gods annointed, being the head and chiefe of the whole realme, and vpon whom the gouernement and estates thereof do wholie and onelie depend, hath the power and authoritie to call and assemble his parlement, and therein to seeke and aske the aduise, counsell, & assistance of his whole realme, and without this his authoritie no parlement can properlie be summoned or assembled. And the king, hauing this authoritie, ought not to summon his parlement but for weightie and great causes, and in which he of necessitie ought to haue the aduise and counsell of all the estates of his realme, which be these and such like as followeth.

First for religion, forsomuch as by the lawes of God and this realme, the king next and immediatlie vnder God is his deputie and vicar in earth, and the chiefest ruler within his realms and dominions: his office, function, and dutie is, aboue all things to seeke and see that God be honored in true religion and vertue, and that he and his people do both in profession and life liue according to the same.

Also that all idolatries, false religions, heresies, schismes, errors, superstitions, & whatsoeuer is contrarie to true religion, all disorders and abuses, either among the cleargie or laitie, be reformed, ordered, and redressed.

Also the assurance of the kings and quæenes persons, and of their children, their aduancement & preferment in mariages, the establishing of succession, the suppression of traitors, the auoiding or eschewing of warres, the attempting or mouing of wars, the subduing of rebels, and pacifieng of ciuill wars and commotions, the leuieng or hauing anie aid or subsidie for the preseruation of the king and publike estate: also the making and establishing of good and wholesome lawes, or the repealing and debarring of former lawes, as whose execution may be hurtfull or preiudiciall to the estates of the prince or commonwealth.

For these and such like causes, being of great weight, charge and importance, the king (by the aduise of his councell) may call and summon his high court of parlement, and by the authoritie therof establish and order such good lawes and orders as then shall be thought most expedient and necessarie.

The order and maner how to *ſummon the parlement.*

The king ought to ſend out his writs of ſummons to all the eſtates of his realme, at leaſt fortie daies before the beginning of the parlement; firſt to all his lords and barons, that is to wit, archbiſhops, biſhops, dukes, marqueſſes, earls, vicounts and barons; and euerie of theſe muſt haue a ſpeciall writ. Then to the clergie, and the writ of their ſummons muſt be addreſſed to euerie particular biſhop for the clergie of his dioceſſe. All theſe writs which are for the clergie, the king alwaies ſendeth to the archbiſhops of Canturburie and Yorke, and by them they are ſent and diſperſed abroad to euerie particular biſhop within their ſeuerall prouinces, and ſo the biſhops giue ſummons to the clergie.

Laſtlie, for the ſummoning of the commons, he ſendeth his writ to the lord warden of the fiue ports, for the election of the barons thereof, and to euerie ſeuerall ſhiriffe for the choiſe and election of knights, citizens, and burgeſſes within his countie.

How and what perſons ought to be *choſen for the clergie, and of their* allowances.

The biſhop ought vpon the receipt of the writ ſent vnto him for the ſummoning of his clergie, forthwith to ſummon and warne all deanes and archdeacons within his dioceſſe to appeare in proper perſon at the parlement, vnleſſe they haue ſome ſufficient and reaſonable cauſe of abſence, in which caſe he may appeare by his proctor, hauing a warrant or proxie for the ſame.

Then muſt he alſo ſend the like ſummons to the deane and chapter of his cathedrall church, who ſhall forthwith aſſemble their chapter, and make choiſe of ſome one of themſelues to appeare in their behalfe, and this man thus choſen muſt haue their commiſſion or proxie.

He muſt alſo ſend out his ſummons to euerie archdeaconrie and peculiar, requiring that the whole clergie do appeare before him, his chancellor or officer, at a certeine date, time, and place: who being ſo aſſembled, ſhall make choiſe and election of two men of the ſaid clergie to appeare for them, and theſe ſhall haue their commiſſion or proxie for the ſame.

Theſe proctors thus to be choſen ought to be graue, wiſe, and learned men, being profeſſors either of diuinitie or of the eccleſiaſticall lawes; and that can, will, and be able to diſpute in cauſe of controuerſie, conuincing of hereſies, appeaſing of ſchiſmes, and deuiſing of good and godlie conſtitutions concerning true religion and orders of the church.

Theſe proctors (thus elected) ought to haue reſonable allowances for their charges, according to the ſtate, qualitie, or condition of the perſon, as alſo a reſpect had to the time. The proctors of the deane and chapter are to be paid out of the archeker of the cathedrall church. The proctors of the clergie are to be paid of the clergie, among whom a collection is to be leuied for the ſame, according to an old order vſed among them.

How and what maner of knights, ci- *tizens, and burgeſſes ought to be choſen,* and of their allowances.

The ſhiriffe of euerie countie, hauing receiued his writs, ought forthwith to ſend his precepts and ſummons to the maiors, bailiffes, and head officers of euerie citie, towne corporate, borough, and ſuch places as haue beene accuſtomed to ſend burgeſſes within his countie, that they do chooſe and elect among themſelues two citizens for euerie citie, and two burgeſſes for euerie borough, according to their old cuſtome and vſage. And theſe head officers ought then to aſſemble themſelues & the aldermen and common councell of euerie citie or towne, and to make choiſe among themſelues of two able and ſufficient men of euerie citie or towne, to ſerue for and in the ſaid parlement.

Likewiſe at the next countie daie to be holden in the ſaid countie after the receipt of this writ, the ſhiriffe ought openlie in the court of his ſhire or countie, betweene the houres of eight and nine of the forenoone, make proclamation; that euerie freholder ſhall come into the court, and chooſe two ſufficient men to be knights for the parlement; & then he muſt cauſe the writ to be openlie & diſtinctlie read. Whereupon the ſaid freholders, then and there preſent, ought to chooſe two knights accordinglie, but he himſelfe cannot giue anie voice, neither be choſen.

Theſe elections aforeſaid ſo paſt and done, there ought to be ſeuerall indentures made betweene the ſhiriffe & the freholders of the choiſe of the knights, and betweene the maior and the head officers of euerie particular citie & towne of the choiſe of their citizens & burgeſſes & of their names, & of their mainperners and ſuerties. Of theſe indentures, the one part being ſealed by the ſhiriffe, ought to be returned to the clerke of the parlement; and the other part of the indentures, ſealed by ſuch as made choiſe of the knights, & ſuch as made choiſe of the citizens & burgeſſes vnder the ſeuerall common ſeales of their cities and townes, ought to remaine with the ſhiriffe, or rather with the parties ſo elected and choſen.

The charges of euerie knight and citizen was wont to be a like, which was thirteene ſhillings and foure pence by the daie: but now by the ſtatute it is but eight ſhillings, that is, to euerie knight and euerie citizen foure ſhillings, and to euerie burgeſſe the old vſage to haue fiue ſhillings: but now it is but three ſhillings and foure pence limited by the ſtatute, which allowance is to be giuen from the firſt daie of their iournete towards the parlement, vntill the laſt daie of their returne from thenſe. Prouided, that euerie ſuch perſon ſhall be allowed for ſo manie daies as by iourneieng ſix and twentie miles euerie daie in the winter, and thirtie miles in the ſummer, he may come & returne to and from the parlement.

In choiſe of theſe knights, citizens, and burgeſſes, good regard is to be had that the lawes and cuſtoms of the realme be herein kept and obſerued: for none ought to be choſen, vnleſſe he be reſiant and dwelling within the ſhire, citie, or towne for which he is choſen. And he ought to be graue, wiſe, learned, ſkilfull, and of great experience in cauſes of policie, and of ſuch audacitie as both can and will boldlie vtter and ſpeake his mind according to dutie, and as occaſion ſhall ſerue; for no man ought to be ſilent or dum in that houſe, but according to his talent he muſt and ought to ſpeake in the furtherance of the king and commonwealth.

And the knights alſo ought to be ſkilfull in martiall affaires, and therfore the words of the writs are that ſuch ſhould be choſen for knights as be *Cincti gladio*: not becauſe they ſhall come into the parlement houſe in armour, or with their ſwords: but becauſe they ſhould be ſuch as haue good experience and knowledge in feats of warre and martiall affaires, whereby they may in ſuch caſes giue the king and reime good aduiſe and counſell. Likewiſe they ought to be laie men, and of good fame, honeſtie, and credit, being not outlawed, excommunicated, or periured, or otherwiſe infamous: for ſuch perſons ought not to haue place or be admitted into the parlement houſe.

The

The degrees of the parlement.

IN times past there were six degrées or estates of the parlement, which euerie of them had their seuerall officers and ministers of attendance; but now the same are reduced into foure degrées.

The first is the king, who in his personage is a full and whole degrée of himselfe, and without whom nothing can be done.

The second degrée is of the lords of the clergie and of the temporaltie, and are all called by the names of barons.

The third is of knights, cittizons, and burgesses, & these be called by the names of the communaltie.

The fourth is of the clergie, which are called by the name of connocation, & these persons haue no voice in the parlement; neither can they doo anie thing other than to intreat in causes of religion, which from them is to be commended to other estates.

Of the places and houses of *the parlement.*

AS it lieth in the king to assigne and apoint the time when the parlement shall begin, so that he giue at the least fortie daies summons: so likewise he maie name and apoint the place where it shall be kept. But whersoeuer it be kept, the old vsage and maner was, that all the whole degrees of the parlement sat togither in one house; and euerie man that had there to speake, did it openlie before the king and his whole parlement. But here of did grow manie inconueniences, and therfore to auoid the great confusions which are in such great assemblies, as also to cut off the occasions of displeasures which ofttimes did happen, when a meane man speaking his conscience freelie, either could not be heard, or fell into the displeasure of his betters; and for sundrie other great greefs, did diuide this one house into three houses, that is to wit, the higher house, the lower house, and the connocation house.

In the first sitteth the king, and his lords spirituall and temporall, called by the name of barons, and this house is called the higher house.

The second is where the knights, cittizens and burgesses doo sit, and they be called by the name of commons, and this house is called the lower house.

The third is, where the prelats and the proctors of the cleargie, being called by the name of the cleargie, and this house is called the connocation house. Of euerie of these houses, their orders and officers, we will breeflie subnect and declare particularlie in order as followeth.

Of the higher house.

THe higher house (as is said) is where the king and his barons doo sit in parlement, where the king sitteth highest, and the lords & barons beneath him, each man in his degrée: the order is this. The house is much more in length than in breadth, and the higher end thereof in the middle is the kings seat or throne hanged richlie with cloth of estate, and there the king sitteth alwaies alone. On his right hand there is a long bench next to the wall of the house, which reacheth not so farre vp as the kings seat, and vpon this sit the archbishops and bishops, euerie one in his degrée. On his left hand there are two like benches, vpon the inner sit the dukes, marquesses, earles and vicounts. On the other, which is the hindermost & next to the wall, sit all the barons euerie man in his degree. In the middle of the house, betweene the archbishops seat and the dukes seat, sitteth the speaker, who commonlie is lord chancellor, or keeper of the great seale of England, or the lord chiefe iustice of England, as pleaseth the king, who doth apoint him: and he hath before him his two clerks sitting at a table before them, vpon which they doo write and laie their bookes. In the middle rome beneath them sit the chiefe iustices and iudges of the realme, the barons of the exchekor, the kings sergeants, and all such as be of the kings learned councell, either in the common lawes of the realme, or of the ecclesiasticall laws, and all these sit vpon great woll sacks, couered with red cloth.

At the lower end of all these seats is a barre or raile, betweene which & the lower end of the house is a void rome seruing for the lower house, and for all suters that shall haue cause and occasion to repaire to the king or to the lords. This house as it is distinct from the others, so there be distinct officers to the same belonging and apertening, which all be assigned and appointed by the king, and all haue allowances for their charges at the kings hands, of which officers what they are, what is euerie of their offices, and what allowances they haue, shall be written in order hereafter.

Of the officers of the higher house, *and first of the speaker, and of* his office.

THe chéefest officer of the higher house is the speaker, who is appointed by the king, and commonlie he is the lord chancelor or keeper of the great seale, or lord chéefe iustice of England, his office consisteth in diuerse points.

First, he must on the first daie of the parlement make his oration in the higher house, before the king, his lords and commons; and then and there declare the causes why the king hath summoned that parlement, exhorting and aduising euerie man to doo his office and dutie, in such sort as maie be to the glorie of God, honor of the king, and benefit of the commonwealth.

Also he must make one other oration, but in waie of answer to the speakers oration, when he is presented to the king.

Likewise he must make the like on the last daie of the parlement. And you shall vnderstand, that vpon these three daies he standeth on the right hand of the king nære to his seat, at a barre there appointed for him; but at all other times he sitteth in the middle of the house, as is before said.

When he hath ended his oration vpon the first day, he must giue order vnto the lower house in the kings behalfe, willing them to repaire vnto their house, and there (according to their ancient orders and customs) make choise of their speaker.

All bils presented vnto the higher house he must receiue, which he hath forthwith to deliuer vnto the clearks to be safelie kept.

All bils he must cause to be read twise before they be ingrossed, and being read three times he must put the same to question.

If anie bill put to question doo passe with their consent, then the same must be sent to the lower house, vnlesse it came first from thense, and in that case it must be kept vntill the end of the parlement.

If anie bill be denied, impugned, and cléere ouerthrowne, the same is no more to be thensefoorth receiued.

If any bill be put to question, & it be doubtfull whether side is the greater, & giueth most voices; then he must cause the house to be diuided, and then iudge of the bill according to the greater number.

If anie bill be vnperfect, or requireth to be amended, he must chose a certeine number of that house, as he shall thinke good, and to them commit that bill to be reformed and amended.

If anie bill or message be to be sent to the lower house, it is his office to make choise of two of the kings learned councell there being, to be the messengers thereof.

If any bill or message be sent from the lower house, he must come from his place to the bar, and there receiue the same; and being returned to his place, and euerie stranger or messenger departed, he must disclose the same to the lords.

Item, if anie disorder be committed or done in the house by anie lord or other person, he ought with the aduise of the lords to reforme the same: but if it be among the lords, and they will not be reformed, then he must forthwith aduertise the king.

Item, he ought at the beginning of the parlement, to call by name all the lords of the parlement, & likewise at other times as he seeth occasion, whose defaults ought to be recorded, & they to paie their fines, vnlesse they be dispensed withall by speciall licence from the king, or haue some iust and reasonable cause of absence.

Item, he must see and cause the clearks to make true entries & true records of all things done there, and to see that the clearks do giue and deliuer the copies of all such bils there read, to such as demand for the same.

Item, he shall keepe the secrets, & cause & command euerie man of ech degree in that house to do the like.

Also he ought not to go anie where, but the gentleman sergeant ought to attend vpon him, going before him with his mace, vnlesse he be the lord chancellor, for then he hath a sergeant of his owne.

His allowance that he hath is at the kings charges.

Also for euerie priuat bill that passeth and is enacted, he hath ten pounds for his part.

Of the chancellor of the *higher house.*

The chancellor is the principall clearke of the higher house, and his charge is safelie to keepe the records of the parlement, & the acts which be past.

All such statutes as be enacted, he must send to the kings seuerall courts of records to be inrolled, as namelie the Chancerie, the Kings bench, the Common plees, and the Excheker.

All such acts as are to be imprinted, he must send to the printer.

All such priuat acts as are not imprinted, if anie man will haue the same exemplified, he must transmit the same to the lord chancellor to be ingrossed and sealed, and for the same he to take the fees appointed and accustomed.

He hath for his allowance an ordinarie fee for terme of life of the king.

Of the clearks of the parlement.

There be two clearks, the one named the clearke of the parlement, & the other named the clearke of the crowne. The clearke of the parlement his office is to sit before the lord speaker, and to read such bils presented as he shall be commanded.

He must keepe true records, and true entries of all things there done and to be entred.

If anie require a copie of anie bill there, he ought to giue the same, receiuing the ordinarie fees.

If anie bill after his ordinarie readings be to be ingrossed, he must do it.

The councell of the house he maie not disclose.

At the end of the parlement he must deliuer vp vnto the chancellor all the acts and records of that house, sauing he may keepe a transumpt and a copie thereof to himselfe.

He hath his allowance of the king.

Also for euerie priuat bill which is enacted, he hath three pounds.

Also for euerie bill whereof he giueth a copie, he hath for euerie ten lines a penie, according to the custome.

¶ The clearke of the crowne, his office is to suplie the place and rome of the clearke of the parlement in his absence, & hath in all things the like charges and profits as the clearke ought to haue.

He must giue his attendance to the higher house from time to time, & do what shall be inioined him.

All such acts as be not imprinted, if anie man will haue them exemplified vnder the broode seale, he must exemplifie them, and haue for the same his ordinarie fees.

These two clearks, at the end of the parlement, ought to be present in the house, and within the lower bar at a bord before them, their faces towards the king: and there the one must read the bils which are past both houses, and the other must read the consent or disagreement of the king.

Of the sergeants or porters of *the higher house.*

There is but one sergeant, which hath the charge of keeping of the dores: for though there be diuerse dores, yet the keepers thereof are at his assignment.

He ought to see the house be cleane & kept swet.

He ought not to suffer anie maner of person to be within the house, so long as the lords be there sitting, other than such as be of the learned councell, and of that house; and except also such as come in message from the lower house with bils or otherwise, and except also such as be sent for, and be admitted to haue anie thing there to do.

Also he must attend and go alwaies with his mace before the speaker, vnlesse he be lord chancellor, or keeper of the great seale: for then he hath a sergeant of his owne.

He ought to keepe safelie such prisoners as be commanded to his ward, and to fetch or send for such as he shall be commanded to fetch.

This porter or sergeant hath (besides his ordinarie fee) a standing allowance for euerie date of the parlement.

Also he hath for euerie priuat bill which is enacted, fortie shillings.

Also he hath for euerie prisoner committed to his ward, a certeine allowance for his fees.

Also he hath of euerie baron or lord of that house, a certeine reward.

Of the lower house.

The lower house (as is said) is a place distinct from the others, it is more of length than of breadth, it is made like a theater, hauing foure rowes of seates one abous an other round about the same. At the higher end in the middle of the lower row, is a seat made for the speaker, in which he alwaies sitteth: before it is a table bord, at which sitteth the clarke of the house, and thereupon laieth his bookes, and writeth his records. Vpon the lower row on both sides the speaker, sit such personages as be of the kings priuie councell, or of his chiefe officers; but as for anie other, none claimeth, nor can claime anie place; but sitteth as he commeth, sauing that on the right hand of the speaker, next beneath the said councels, the Londoners, and the citizens of Yorke do sit, and so in order should sit all the citizens accordinglie. Without this house is one other,

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in which the vnder clearks do sit, as also such as be tutors and attendant to that house. And when soeuer the house is diuided vpon anie bill, then the rome is voided; and the one part of the house commeth downe into this to be numbered.

The office of the speaker of the *lower house.*

THe chiefe or principall officer of this house is the speaker, and is chosen by the whole house, or the more part of them; he himselfe being one of the same number, and a man for grauitie, wisedome, experience, and learning, chosen to supplie that office, during the time of the parlement; and is to be presented to the king the third date following.

His office is to direct and guide that house in good order; and to see the ordinances, vsages, and customs of the same to be firmelie kept and obserued.

When he is presented vnto the king, sitting in his estate roiall in the parlement house for the purpose, he must then and there make his oration in commendation of the lawes and of the parlement; which done, then he hath (in the name of the house of the commons) to make to the king three requests.

First, that it maie please his maiestie to grant, that the commons assembled in the parlement, may haue and inioie the ancient priuileges, customes, and liberties, as in times past haue apperteined, and bene vsed in that house.

Then, that euerie one of that house maie haue libertie of speech, and freelie to vtter, speake, and declare his mind and opinion to anis bill or question to be proponed.

Also, that euerie knight, citizen, and burgesse, and their seruants, maie haue free comming and going to and from the said parlement; as also during the said time of parlement; & that they, nor anie of their seruants or retinue to be arrested, molested, sued, imprisoned, or troubled by anie person or persons.

And lastlie, that if he or anie other of that companie, being sent or come to him of anie message, and do mistake himselfe in doing thereof; that his maiestie will not take the aduantage thereof, but gratiouslie pardon the same.

He must haue good regard, and see that the clearke do enter and make true records, and safelie to keepe the same, and all such bils as be deliuered into that house.

He must on the first and third date, and when soeuer he else will, call the house by name, and record their defaults.

All bils, to be brought and to be presented into that house, he must receiue & deliuer to the clearke.

He ought to cause and command the clearke to reade the bils brought in, plainelie, and sensiblie; which done, he must breefite recite and repeat the effect and meaning thereof.

Of the bils brought in he hath choise, which and when they shall be read: vnlesse order by the whole house be taken in that behalfe.

Euerie bill must haue three readings, and after the second reading he must cause the clearke to ingrosse the same, vnlesse the same be reiected and dashed.

If anie bill or message be sent from the lords, he ought to cause the messengers to bring the same vnto him, and he to receiue the same openlie; and they being departed and gone, he ought to disclose and open the same to the house.

If when a bill is read, diuerse do rise at one instant to speake to the same, and it cannot be discerned who rose first; then shall he appoint who shall speake: neuertheless, euerie one shall haue his course to speake if he list.

If anie speake to a bill and be out of the matter, he shall put him in remembrance, and will him to come to the matter.

If anie bill be read three times, and euerie man haue spoken his mind; then shall he aske the house whether the bill shall passe or not? saieng thus: As manie as will haue this bill passe in maner & forme as hath beene read; saie Yea: then the affirmatiue part saie Yea. As manie as will not haue this bill passe in maner and forme as hath beene read, saie No. If vpon this question the whole house, or the more part, do affirme and allow the bill: then the same is to be sent to the higher house to the lords. But if the whole house, or the more part do denie the bill; then the same is to be dashed out, and to be retected: but if it be doubtfull vpon giuing voices, whether side is the greater; then must a diuision be made of the house, and the affirmatiue part must arise and depart into the vtter rome, which (by the sergeant) is voided before hand of all persons that were there. And then the speaker must assigne two or foure to number them first which sit within, and then the other which be without, as they do come in, one by one: and as vpon the triall the bill shall be allowed or disallowed by the greater number: so to be accepted as is before said.

If vpon this triall the number of either side be like, then the speaker shall giue his voice, and that onelie in this point; for other wise he hath no voice.

Also if anie of the house do misbehaue himselfe, & breake the order of the house: he hath to reforme, correct, and punish him, but yet with the aduise of the house.

If anie forren person do enter into that house, the assemblie thereof being sitting, or do by arresting anie one person thereof, or by anie other meanes breake the liberties and priuileges of that house, he ought to see him to be punished.

Also during the time of the parlement, he ought to sequester himselfe from dealing or intermedling in anie publike or priuat affaires, and dedicat and bend himselfe wholie to serue his office and function.

Also he ought not to resort to anie noble man, councellor, or other person, to deale in anie of the parlement matters: but must and ought to haue with him a competent number of some of that house, who maie be witnesses of his doings.

Also during the time of parlement, he ought to haue the sergeant of armes with his mace to go before him.

Also he hath libertie to send anie offendor, either to sergeants ward, or to the tower, or to anie other prison at his choise, according to the qualitie and quantitie of the offense.

He hath allowance for his diet one hundred pounds of the king for euerie sessions of parlement.

Also he hath for euerie priuat bill passed both houses, and enacted, fiue pounds.

At the end, and on the last date of the parlement, he maketh his oration before the king in most humble maner, declaring the dutifull seruice and obedience of the commons then assembled to his maiestie: as also most humblie praieng his pardon, if anie thing haue bene done amisse.

Of the clearke of the lower house.

THere is onelie one clearke belonging to this house, his office is to sit nert before the speaker at a table, vpon which he writeth & laieth his bookes.

He must make true entrie of the records and bils of the house, as also of all the orders thereof.

The bils appointed vnto him by the speaker to be

read: he must read openlie, plainelie, and sensiblie.

The billes which are to be ingrossed, he must dō it.

If anie of the house aske the sight of anie bill there, or of the boke of the orders of the house; he hath to deliuer the same vnto him.

If anie desire to haue the copie of anie bill, he ought to giue it him, receiuing for his paines after ten lines a pennie.

He maie not be absent at anie time of sitting, without speciall licence.

He ought to haue for euerie priuat bill passed and enacted, fortie shillings.

He hath allowed vnto him for his charges (of the king) for euerie sessions, ten pounds.

Of the sergeant or porter of the *lower house.*

The sergeant of this house is commonlie one of the kings sergeants at armes, and is appointed to this office by the king. His office is to kéepe the dores of the house: and for the same he hath others vnder him, for he himselfe kéepeth the doore of the inner house, where the commons sit, and séeth the same to be cleane.

Also he maie not suffer anie to enter into this house, during the time of the sitting there; vnlesse he be one of the house, or be sent from the king or the lords, or otherwise licenced to come in.

If anie such person dō come, he ought to bring him in, going before him with his mace vpon his shoulder.

If anie be committed to his ward, he ought to take charge of him, and to kéepe him in safetie vntill he be required for him.

If he be sent for anie person, or to go in anie message, he must leaue a substitute behind him, to dō his office in his absence.

He must alwaies attend the speaker, and go before him, carieng his mace vpon his shoulder.

His allowance (during the time of the parlement) is twelue pence the date of the kings charges.

Also he hath of euerie knight and citizen, two shillings six pence; and of euerie burgesse, two shillings.

If anie be commanded to his ward, he hath of euerie such prisoner, by the date, six shillings and eight pence.

If anie priuat bill dō passe and be enacted, he hath for euerie such bill, twentie shillings.

Of the conuocation house.

The conuocation house is the assemblie of the whole clergie, at and in some peculiar place appointed for the purpose.

But as the barons and lords of the parlement haue their house seuerall and distinct from the commons: euen so the archbishops and bishops dō sequester themselues, and haue a house seuerall from the residue of the clergie. And this their house is called the higher conuocation house, the other being named the lower conuocation house. Both these houses haue their seuerall officers, orders, and vsages; and each officer hath his peculiar charge and function; as also certeine allowances, euen as is vsed in the parlement houses of the lords and commons.

The archbishops and bishops dō sit all at a table, and dō discourse all such causes and matters as are brought in question before them, either of their owne motions, or from the higher court of parlement, or from the lower house of conuocation, or from anie priuat person. Euerie archbishop and bishop sitteth & taketh place according to his estate and degrée, which degrees are knowne by such degrées & offices in the church as to euerie of them is assigned: for one hath the personage of a priest, an other of a deacon, this is a subdeacon, he is a sexton, and so forth, as such officers were wont to be in the church.

The bishops dō not sit at forenoone, but onelie at afternoone, because they, being barons of the higher house of parlement, dō resort and assemble themselues there at the forenoones with the temporall lords.

The conuocation house of the rest of the clergie dō obserue in a manner the like orders as the lower house of the commons dō vse. For being assembled togither on the first daie, with the bishops, are by them willed to make choise of a speaker for them, whom they call the proloquutor: when they haue chosen him, they dō present him vnto the bishops: and he thus presented, maketh his oration, and doth all things as the speaker of the lower house for the commons doth, as well for the ordering of the clergie & of the house, as for the order in sitting, the order in speaking, the order of recording things done among them, and all other such like things.

And this is to be vnderstood, that the whole clergie can deale and intreat but onlie of matters of religion, and orders of the church, which their doings and conclusions can not bind the whole realme, vnlesse they be confirmed by act of parlement: but yet sufficient to bind the whole clergie to the kéeping thereof; so that the king (who is the supreme gouernor of both estates) dō consent and confirme the same. And forsomuch as by knowing the orders of the parlement house, you may also know the orders of both the conuocation houses, which are like & correspondent to the others: these shall suffice for this matter.

Of extraordinarie persons which ought *to be summoned to the parlement.*

Besides the personages of the former degrées, which ought to be summoned to the parlement: the king also must warne and summon all his councellors both of the one law and of the other; and these haue their places onelie in the higher house, namelie the two chéefe iustices and their associats of the kings bench and the common plées, the barons of the exchéker, the sergeants, the attorneie, the sollicitor, the maister of the rolles, and his fellows of the chancerie.

The offices of these personages are to giue councell to the king and parlement, in euerie doubtfull cause according to the lawes.

Also if anie bill be conceiued and made disorderlie, they ought to amend and reforme the same, vpon order and commandement to them giuen.

Also they must attend to come and go at the commandement of the king and parlement.

Also they may not speake nor giue aduise, but when they be asked and put to question.

Also they haue no voice in parlement, because they are commonlie councellors to the same.

They are all reteined at the kings charges.

Likewise all officers of the parlement are to be summoned, as namelie the chancellor of the parlement, the clerks, the sergeants, the porters, and such others, who likewise are reteined at the kings costs. Of their offices and charges it is alreadie particularlie declared.

Of

Of the daies and houres to sit in *parlement.*

All daies of the weeke are appointed, sauing and excepted the sundaies and all principall feasts, as namelie the feast of Alhallowes daie, Christmas, Easter, Whitsuntide, and saint John the baptists daie, and also such other daies as the parlement by consent shall appoint and assigne.

The beginning is at eight of the clocke in the morning, and doth continue vntill eleuen of the clocke.

They do not sit at afternoones, for those times are reserued for committees and the conuocation house.

In the morning they beginne with the common praier and the letanie, which are openlie read in the house.

Of the king, his office and authoritie.

Hauing declared of all the estates, degrees, and personages of the parlement, it resteth now to speake also of the king, and of his office, who is all in all, the beginning and ending, and vpon whome resteth and dependeth the effect & substance of the whole parlement. For without him and his authoritie nothing can be done, and with it all things take effect. Neuertheless, when he calleth & assembleth his parlement, there are sundrie orders which of him are to be obserued, and which he ought to see to be kept and executed; or else the parlement ceaseth to be a parlement, and taketh not his effect, of which orders these be the chefe which do insue.

First, the king ought to send out his summons to all the estates of his realme, of a parlement, assigning and appointing the time, daie, and place.

Also his summons must be at the least fortie daies before the beginning of his parlement.

Also he must appoint and prouide all such officers as ought to attend the parlement, who must be found at his charges.

Also the king ought not to make anie choise, or cause anie choise to be made of any knight, citizens, burgesses, proctors of the clergie, speaker of the common house, or proloquutor of the conuocation house: but they must be elected and chosen by the lawes, orders, and customs of the realme, as they were wont and ought to be, and the kings good aduise yet not to be contemned.

Also the king ought to grant, permit, and allow to all and euerie of the estates, and to euerie particular man lawfullie elected, and come to the parlement, all and euerie the ancient fredoms, priuileges, immunities, and customs, during the parlement; as also during the times and daies, comming and going to and from the parlement: but yet the same humblie to be requested of his highnesse by the speaker in his oration at the beginning of the parlement.

Also the king in person ought to be present in the parlement three daies at the least, during the time of the parlement; that is to saie, the first daie, when the whole estates according to the summons make their appearance, which is called the first daie of the parlement. On the second daie, when the speaker of the common house is presented, which is counted the beginning of the parlement. And the third daie, which is the last day, when the parlement is prorogued or dissolued: for vpon these daies he must be present, vnlesse in case of sicknes, or absence out of the realme, for in these cases the king may summon his parlement by commission, and the same is of as good effect as if he were present in person: and as for anie other daies, he is at his choise and libertie to come or not to come to the parlement.

Also the king ought to propone to the parlement house in writing all such things & matters of charge, as for which he calleth the said parlement. And accordinglie as the same shall then by the consent of all estates be aduised, concluded, and agreed: so the king either hath to allow or disallow the same, for he can (of himselfe) neither adde nor diminish anie bill; but accept the same as it is presented vnto him from the estates of the parlement, or else altogither reiect it.

Also the king as he doth prefix and assigne the daie and time when the parlement shall begin; so also he must assigne & appoint the time when the same shall be prorogued or dissolued: which ought not to be as long as anie matters of charge, weight, or importance be in question, and the same not decided nor determined.

Of the dignitie, power, and authoritie *of the parlement, and of the orders* of the same.

The parlement is the highest, chefest, and greatest court that is or can be within the realme: for it consisteth of the whole realme, which is diuided into three estates; that is to wit, the king, the nobles, and the commons, euerie of which estates are subiect to all such orders as are concluded and established in parlement.

These three estates may iointlie and with one consent or agreement establish and enact anie lawes, orders, and statutes for the common wealth: but being diuided, and one swaruing from the other, they can do nothing. For the king, though he be the head, yet alone can not make anie law; nor yet the king and his lords onelie, nor yet the king and his commons alone; neither yet can the lords and the commons without the king do anie thing of auaile. And yet neuertheless, if the king in due order haue summoned all his lords and barons, and they will not come, or if they come they will not yet appere; or if they come and appere, yet will not do or yeld to any thing, then the king with the consent of his commons (who are represented by the knights, citizens, and burgesses) may ordeine and establish anie act or law, which are as good, sufficient, and effectuall, as if the lords had giuen their consents.

But of the contrarie, if the commons be summoned and will not come, or comming will not appere, or appering will not consent to do anie thing, alleging some iust, weightie, and great cause; the king (in these cases) cannot with his lords deuise, make, or establish anie law, the reasons are these. When parlements were first begun & ordeined, there were no prelats or barons of the parlement, and the temporall lords were verie few or none, and then the king and his commons did make a full parlement, which authoritie was hitherto neuer abridged. Againe, euerie baron in parlement doth represent but his owne person, and speaketh in the behalfe of himselfe alone.

But in the knights, citizens, and burgesses are represented the commons of the whole realme; and euerie of these giueth not consent onlie for himselfe, but for all those also for whome he is sent. And the king with the consent of his commons had euer a sufficient and full authoritie to make, ordeine, and establish good and wholesome lawes for the common wealth of his realme. Wherfore the lords being lawfullie summoned, and yet refusing to come, sit, or consent in parlement, can not by their follie abridge the king and the commons of their lawfull proceeding in parlement.

The lords and commons in times past did sit all in one house, but for the auoiding of confusion they be

be now diuided into two seuerall houses, and yet neuertheles they are of like and equall authoritie, euerie person of either of the said houses being named and counted a peere of the realme (for the time of the parlement) that is to saie, equall: for *Par* is equall. And therefore the opinion, censure, and iudgement of a meane burgesse, is of as great availe as is the best lords, no regard being had to the partie who speaketh, but the matter that is spoken.

They be also called peers, as it were fathers, for *Pier* is a father, by which is meant that all such as be of the parlement should be ancient, graue, wise, lerned, and expert men of the land: for such were the senators of Rome, and called *Patres conscripti*, for the wisedome and care that was in them in gouerning of the common-wealth. They are also called councellors, because they are assembled and called to the parlement for their aduise and good councell, in making and deuising of such good orders and lawes as may be for the commonwealth.

They therefore which make choise of knights, citizens and burgesses, ought to be well aduised that they do elect and chuse such as being to be of that assemblie, and thereby equall with the great estates, should be graue, ancient, wise, learned, expert and carefull men for their commonwealth, and who (as faithfull and trustie councellors) should do that which should turne and be for the best commoditie of the commonwealth, otherwise they do great iniurie to their prince and commonwealth.

Also euerie person of the parlement, during the times of the parlement, and at his comming and going from the same, is free from all troubles, arrests and molestations: no action or sute taking effect which during that time is begun, entred, or commensed against him, in what court so euer the same be, except in causes of treason, murther, and fellonie, and except also executions in law, awarded and granted before the beginning of the parlement.

Also euerie person hauing voices in parlement, hath free libertie of speach to speake his mind, opinion, and iudgement, to anie matter proponed; or of himselfe to propone anie matter for the commoditie of the prince and of the commonwealth: but hauing once spoken to anie bill, he may speake no more for that time.

Also euerie person once elected & chosen a knight, citizen or burgesse, and returned, cannot be dismissed out of that house; but being admitted, shall haue his place and voice there, if he be a lateman. But if by errour a man of the cleargie be chosen, then he ought and shall be dismissed; also if he be excommunicated, outlawed, or infamous.

Also euerie one of these houses ought to be incorrupt, no briber nor taker of anie rewards, gifts, or monie, either for deuising of anie bill, or for speaking of his mind; but to do all things vprightlie, and in such sort as best is for the king and commonwealth.

Also euerie one ought to be of a quiet, honest and gentle behauiour; none taunting, checking, or misusing an other in anie vnsemelie words or deeds: but all affections set apart, to do and indeuour in wisedome, sobrietie and knowledge, that which that place requireth.

Also if anie one do offend or misbehaue himselfe, he is to be corrected and punished by the aduise and order of the residue of the house.

Also all the prisons, wards, gaoles, within the realme and the keepers of the same are at the commandement of the parlement, for the custodie and safekeeping or punishment of all and euerie such prisoners, as shall be sent to anie of them by the said parlement houses, or anie of them: howbeit most commonlie the tower of London is the prison which is most vsed.

Also if anie one of the parlement house be serued, sued, arrested, or attached by anie writ, attachment, or minister of the Kings bench, Common pleas, Chancerie, or what court so euer within this realme: the partie so troubled and making complaint thereof to the parlement house: then forthwith a sargeant at armes is sent to the said court, not onelie aduertising that the partie so molested is one of the parlement house; but also inhibiting and commanding the officers of the said court to call in the said processe, and not to deale anie further against the said partie: for the parlement being the hiest court, all other courts as inferior yeeld and giue place to the same.

Also as euerie one of the parlement house is free for his owne person, for all manner of sutes to be commensed against him: so are also his seruants free, and not to be troubled nor molested; but being troubled, haue the like remedie as the maister hath or may haue.

Also no manner of person, being not one of the parlement house, ought to enter or come within the house, as long as the sitting is there, vpon paine of imprisonment, or such other punishment as by the house shall be ordered and adiudged.

Also euerie person of the parlement ought to keepe secret, and not to disclose the secrets and things spoken and done in the parlement house, to anie manner of person, vnlesse he be one of the same house, vpon paine to be sequestred out of the house, or otherwise punished, as by the order of the house shall be appointed.

Also none of the parlement house ought to depart from the parlement, without speciall leaue obteined of the speaker of the house, and the same his licence be also recorded.

Also no person, being not of the parlement house, ought to come into the same, during the time of the sitting: so euerie one comming into the same oweth a dutie and a reuerence, to be giuen when he entreth and commeth in.

If a baron or a lord come and enter into the higher house, he ought to do his obeisance before the cloth of estate, and so to take his place.

Also when he speaketh, he must stand bare headed, and speake his mind plainlie, sensiblie, & in decent order.

If anie come in message or be sent for to the higher house, they must staie at the inner doore vntill they be called in, and then being entred, must first make their obeisance; which done, to go to the lower end of the house, and there to staie vntill they be called: and being called, they must first make one lowe courtesie and obeisance, and going forwards must in the middle waie make one other lowe courtesie; and then being come forth to the barre, must make the third courtesie; the like must be done at the departure.

Also when anie knight, citizen or burgesse doth enter and come into the lower house, he must make his dutifull and humble obeisance at his entrie in: and then take his place. And yon shall vnderstand, that as euerie such person ought to be graue, wise, and expert; so ought he to shew himselfe in his apparell. For in time past, none of the councellors of the parlement came otherwise than in his gowne, and not armed nor girded with weapon. For the parlement house is a place for wise, graue, and good men; to consult, debate, and aduise, how to make lawes and orders for the commonwealth, and not to be armed as men readie to fight, or to trie matters by the sword. And albeit the writ for the election of the knights haue expresse words to chuse such for

knights

knights as be girded with the swoꝛd: yet it is not meant thereby that they should come and sit armed, but be such as be skilfull in feats of armes, and besides their good aduises can well serue in martiall affaires. And thus the Romane senatoꝛs vsed, who being men of great knowledge and experience, as well in martiall affaires, as in politike causes, sat alwaies in the senat house and places of councell in their gownes and long robes. The like also was alwaies and hath béene the oꝛder in the parlements of this realme, as long as the ancient lawes, the old customes, and good oꝛders thereof were kept and obserued.

Also if anie other person oꝛ persons, either in message oꝛ being sent foꝛ, do come: he ought to be bꝛought in by the sergeant, and at the first entring must (following the sergeant) make one lowe obeisance, and being past in the middle waie, must make one other; and when he is come befoꝛe the speaker, he must make the third, and then do his message; the like oꝛder he must kéepe in his returne. But if he do come alone, oꝛ with his learned councell, to plead anie matter, oꝛ to answer to anie obiection: he shall enter, and go no further than to the bar within the doꝛe, and there to do his thꝛee obeisances.

Also when anie bill is committed, the committées haue not authoꝛitie to conclude, but onelie to oꝛder, reforme, examine, and amend the thing committed vnto them, and of their doings they must giue repoꝛt to the house againe, by whome the bill is to be considered.

Also euerie bill, which is bꝛought into the house, must be read thꝛee seuerall times, and vpon thꝛée seuerall daies.

Also euerie bill, which vpon anie reading is committed and returned againe, ought to haue his thꝛee readings, vnles the committées haue not altered the bill in anie substance oꝛ foꝛme, but onelie in certeine woꝛds.

Also when anie bill vpon anie reading is altogither by one consent reiected, oꝛ by voices after the third reading ouerthꝛown, it ought not to be bꝛought anie moꝛe to be read, during the sessions of parlement.

Also if anie man do speake vnto a bill, and be out of his matter; he ought to be put in remembꝛance of the matter by the speaker onelie and by none other, and be willed to come to the matter.

Also whensoeuer anie person doth speake to anie bill, he ought to stand vp, and to be bareheaded, and then with all reuerence, grauitie, and sémelie spéech to declare his mind. But whensoeuer anie bill shall be tried either foꝛ allowances, oꝛ to be reiected: then euerie one ought to sit, bicause he is then as a iudge.

Also euerie knight, citizen, and burgesse, befoꝛe he do enter into the parlement, and take his place there, ought to be swoꝛne and to take his oth, acknowledging the king to be the supꝛeme and onelie gouernour of all the estates within this realme, as also to renounce all foꝛren potentates.

The order of the beginning and *ending of the parlement.*

On the first daie of the summons foꝛ the parlement, the king in pꝛoper person (vnlesse he be sicke oꝛ absent out of the realme) being apparelled in his rotall and parlement robes, ought to be conducted and bꝛought by all his barons of the cleargie and laitie, and the commons summoned to the parlement, vnto the church, where ought a sermon to be made by some archbishop, bishop, oꝛ some other famous learned man. The sermon ended, he must in like oꝛder be bꝛought to the higher house of parlement, and there to take his seat vnder the cloth of estate: likewise euerie loꝛd and baron (in his degrée) ought to take his place.

This done, the loꝛd chancellоꝛ, oꝛ he whom the king appointeth to be the speaker of that house, maketh his oꝛation to the whole assemblie, declaring the causes whie and wherefoꝛe that parlement is called and summoned, exhoꝛting and persuading euerie man to do his best indeuour in all such matters as shall be in the said parlement pꝛoponed, as shall be most expedient foꝛ the gloꝛie of God, the honoꝛ of the king, and the commonwealth of the whole realme. Then he directeth his talke vnto the knights, citizens, and burgesses, aduertising them that the kings pleasure is, that they do repaire to their house; and there acoꝛding to the old and ancient custome, do chose and elect some one, wise, graue, and learned man among themselues to be speaker foꝛ them, and giueth them a daie when they shall pꝛesent him to the king. And these things thus done, the king ariseth, and euerie man departeth. This is accounted foꝛ the first daie of the parlement.

The second oꝛ third daie after, when the speaker is to be pꝛesented: the king with all his nobles (in like oꝛder as befoꝛe) do assemble againe in the higher house, and then come vp all the commons of the lower house, and then and there do pꝛesent their speaker vnto the king. The speaker foꝛthwith maketh his dutifull obeisances; beginneth and maketh his oꝛation befoꝛe the king, and pꝛosecuteth such matters as occasion serueth, and as is befoꝛe recited in the office of the speaker; and this done, euerie man departeth. And this is accounted foꝛ the beginning of the parlement, foꝛ befoꝛe the speaker be pꝛesented, and these things oꝛderlie done, there can no bils be put in, noꝛ matters be intreated of.

Lastlie when all matters of weight be discussed, ended, and determined, the king commandeth an end to be made. And that daie the king, his nobles, and commons do againe assemble in the higher house in their robes, and in like oꝛder as is befoꝛe recited, where the speaker maketh his oꝛation, and is answered by the loꝛd chancellоꝛ oꝛ speaker of the higher house. Then all the bils concluded and past in both houses, that is to saie, in the higher house of the loꝛds, and in the lower house of the commons, are there read by the titles: and then the king giueth his consent oꝛ dissent to euerie of them as he thinketh good. And when the titles of all the bils are read, the loꝛd chancellоꝛ oꝛ loꝛd speaker, by the kings commandement, pꝛonounceth the parlement to be pꝛoroged oꝛ cleane dissolued. And this is called the last daie oꝛ the end of the parlement, and euerie man is at libertie to depart homewards.

The mondaie following, sir Chꝛistopher Barnewell and his complices, hauing better considered of themselues, were quiet and contented, and the parlement begun with some troubles had his continuance and end with better successe. In the time of this parlement, and after the same, sundꝛie grieuous complaints were exhibited to the loꝛd deputie and councell by the late wife of the deceased baron of Dunboin, Mac Bꝛian Arra, Oliuer Fitzgirald, sir William Mcarell, and diuerse others the quéenes good subiects, against sir Edmund Butler and his bꝛethꝛen, foꝛ sundꝛie routs and riots, spoiles and outrages which they were charged to haue done vpon hir maiesties subiects. Wherevpon first letters and then commissioners were sent in to the counties of Kilkennie and Tipoꝛarle foꝛ the hearing and redꝛessing thereof: but they returned without doing of anie thing. Foꝛ sir Edmund, conceiuing some hard dealings to be meant toward him by the loꝛd deputie,

Commissioners sent to heare the cõplaints made against the Butlers.

The noblemen & gentlemen in Mounster sent their messengers to the pope.

tie, and minding to stand vpon his defense and gard, did not appere before the said commissioners, but both he and his brethren combined themselues with James Fitzmoris Odesmond, Mac Artie More, Mac Donagh, and the seneschall of Imokillie and others of Mounster, who before (and vnwitting the Butlers) had sent the vsurped bishops of Cashell and Emelie togither with the yongest brother of the erle of Desmond vnto the pope & to the king of Spaine, for reformation of the popish religion, & for freing the land from the possession of hir maiestie and of the imperiall crowne. Which mater in the end brake out into an open and actuall rebellion, and the lord deputie by proclamation published them all to be traitors, and against whom he prepared an hosting. But before the same was fullie prepared, he sent his letters and commandement vnto sir Peter Carew knight then being at Leighlin, to enter into the action of warres against sir Edmund Butler, who being accompanied with capteine Gilbert, capteine Malbie, capteine Basenet, and others, latelie sent vnto him from the lord deputie, followed his commandement, and first assaulted the castell of Cloughgriman in the Dullogh belonging to sir Edmund Butler, and toke it, and gaue the spoile vnto the souldiers.

The noblemen & gentlemen in Mounster proclamed traitors.

Sr Peter Carew is cõmanded to serue against the Butlers.

Cloughgriman taken.

From thense they remoued to Kilkennie towne, where they laie for a time, where a man of the earle of Dzmonds, espieng vpon a certeine date sir Peter Carew to be walking in the garden of the castell of Kilkennie alone, he charged his peece, and leueled the same vnto the said Peter Carew, and minded to haue discharged it vpon him out of a window in the castell. At which verie instant a chapleine of the said earls & his steward, comming by him, & suspecting some euill thing towards, turned vp the mouth of the peece, which therewith was discharged, and so no bodie hurt; and vnderstanding the thing was meant against sir Peter Carew, blamed the fellow, and for a time thrust him out of the house. Whilest these capteins laie at Kilkennie, it was aduertised vnto them, that a great companie of the rebels were incamped about three miles out of the towne, & were there marching in verie good order. Wherevpon sir Peter Carew, being then the generall, assembled all the capteins, and taking their aduise what was best to be done, they concluded that Henrie Dauels a verie honest and a valiant English gentleman, who had serued long in that countrie, and was verie well acquainted, especiallie in those parts, for he had maried his wife out of that towne, and him they sent out to discouer the matter, who about three miles off had the view, and espied a great companie of about two thousand, resting vpon a little hill in the middle of a plaine, being all armed and marching in battell araie. When he returned with this report, then sir Peter Carew appointed the vward to capteine Gilbert, who togither with Henrie Dauels and twelue other persons of his companie galloped before the rest, and finding as it was before aduertised, gaue the charge. The residue of the companie followed with the like hast vnder sir Peter Carew, and then capteine Malbie, and capteine Basenet, seeing and assured that all things were clere behind them, followed so nere, that all the companie euen as it were at one instant gaue the like charge, where they slue foure hundred Gallowglasses at the least, besides others. The residue of the companie were fled into the mounteins fast by, and none or few escaped but the horsemen and Kerns. And of hir maiesties side no one man slaine, but a man of capteine Malbies was hurt.

Henrie Dauels sent to discouer the enimie.

Sir Peter Carew and the English capteins giueth charge vpon the rebels & haue the victorie.

Sir Peter Carew in danger to haue bene killed.

Sir Peter Carew, hauing had and obteined this victorie, and marching in good order, did returne with all his companie to the towne of Kilkennie, euerie capteine and souldier carieng two Gallowglasses in his hand, but left the spoile to their followers. Sir Edmund Butler at this instant was not in the campe, but was at his vncles house at dinner. The townesmen of Kilkennie were verie sorie for this the slaughter of so manie men. And yet neuertheless not long after, James Fitzmoris came to this towne, and besieged it; but the towne being well garnished with certeine soldiers, & they themselues well appointed, did so carefullie and narowlie loke to themselues, that they defended and kept the towne, notwithstanding all his force. But yet the countrie and other small townes did not so escape, for the countie of Waterford, and the lord Powre, the countie of Dublin, and all the countrie were spoiled, preied, and ouerrun; and among all others the old Fulco Quimerford a gentleman, of long time seruant to three earles of Dzmond, was robbed in his house at Callon of two thousand pounds, in monie, plate, and houshold stuffe, besides his corne and cattell. When they had taken their pleasure in this countrie, they went to the countie of Wexford, which thing had not lightlie bene seene before, and at a faire kept then at Enescorth, there the souldiers committed most horrible outrages, lamentable slaughters, filthie rapes, and deflourings of yong women, abusing mens wiues, spoiling the towne, & slaughtering of the men, and such as did escape the sword were caried captiues & prisoners. From hense they went into Osserie and into the quenes countie, and spoiled the countrie, burned townes and villages, murthered the people: and then they met with the earle of Clancare, and James Fitzmoris Desmond, with whom they then combined; and agreed to cause Tirlough Lennough to procure in the Scots, they sent new messengers to the pope, and to the king of Spaine. Finallie, nothing was left vndone, which might ante wales tend to the subuersion of hir maiesties imperiall crowne of Ireland, and to discharge that land from all Englishmen and English gouernement, and by these means (the English pale and the good cities & townes excepted) the most part, if not the whole land, was imbrued & infected with this rebellion.

James Fitzmoris besiegeth Kilkennie.

Fulco Quimerford spoiled & robbed.

A wicked massacre at Enescorth.

A wicked conspiracie & combining of the traitors.

The earle of Dzmond himselfe, a man of great honour and nobilitie, was all this time in England: but from time to time was aduertised of the troublesome state in that land: and whereof no little detriment redounded to his lordship, by reason that a great and most part of all his lordships throughout that land were spoiled and wasted, which did not so much greeue him as the follies of his brethren. For great were his griefs, & verie much was he vnquieted therewith: for when he bethought himselfe of his brethren, nature moued him, and reason persuaded him, that no such outragious parts could proceed from them, which in anie wales should either concerne hir maiestie, or the dishonour of him and his house, which hitherto hath bene alwaies found sound and true. Wherefore, when he heard of anie matter against them herein, he would plead their innocencies, and defend their causes, vntill such time as by credible letters, aduertisements, and reports, he saw apparant matter and manifest proofes of the contrarie. Which reports albeit they greeued him verie much, yet (as I said) nothing greeued him more, than their disloialtie and breach of dutie against hir maiestie, and the dishonour of his owne house. Wherefore to acquite himselfe and his dutie towards hir highnes: he offereth to serue against them & others, by the sword, or by some other means, to recouer and reclaime them.

The earle of Dzmonds lands spoiled.

The good affection of the earle of Dzmond to his brethren.

The earle of Dzmond offereth to serue against his brethren.

Wherevpon hir maiestie, standing assured of his

his fidelitie, and hauing a speciall trust in him, sent him ouer into Ireland, who arriued at Wexford the foureteenth of August 1569, at that verie time when that wicked maslaker was committed and donne at the faire at Innescorth. Immediatlie vpon his landing, he aduertiseth vnto the lord deputie his comming, and with all conuenient spéed maketh his repaire vnto him, who then was incamped and laie nére Limerike: and then and there offereth his seruice with all his best power, and brought with him his brother Edmund Butler, who in the open view and sight of the whole campe did yéeld and submit himselfe simplie to hir maiesties mercie, confessing his follie and craning pardon. And then was he deliuered to the earle his brother vpon his bonds, to bee forth comming before the said lord deputie at his comming to Dublin: and also promised to doo the like with his two other brothers, which he did vpon the sixteenth of October 1569. At which time when they all appeared before the lord deputie and councell, they were charged with manie and sundrie things: but sir Edmund Butler for himselfe alledged, that others were the causers whie he did that which he did. And for himselfe he alledged, first that the lord deputie did not broke nor like him, for he could haue no iustice at his hands, nor against sir Peter Carew, who claimed and had entered vpon some part of his lands, nor yet against any other person. Then that the said lord deputie had threatned him that he would lie in his skirts, and would pull downe his lottie lokes. Thirdlie, that the said lord deputie should go about to kill all the Butlers in Ireland, and would then go into England, and there would doo manie things.

The earle of Ormond arriueth at Wexford.

The earle repaireth to the lord deputie.

Edmund Butler submitteth him selfe.

Sir Edmund Butlers excuses.

When all these things were heard at full, and nothing in proofe falling out as was auouched, the three brethren were committed to ward into the castell of Dublin, out of which sir Edmund escaped, and made breach: neuertheless the earle brought him againe. And vpon the last of Februarie 1569 he brought also his two other brethren, for whome he had vndertaken, and presented them before the lord deputie and councell, where the matter being heard at large, the councell conferred hereof among themselues, and in the end they all the three brethren were againe called before the lord deputie and councell, and then and there kneeling vpon their knées, did confesse their follies, and submitted themselues in all dutifulnesse and simplicitie to the quéens mercie: where the earle not onlie naturallie as a brother made humble petition for them: but grauelie as a father recited their errors, reproued them of their outrages, and counselled them to their duties: and in the end condescended in the due consideration of hir maiesties roiall estate. And thereupon they were committed to safe kéeping within hir maiesties castell of Dublin, at hir highnesse disposition; and not long after vpon hope of amendment were pardoned. But to the matter againe.

1569

The loue and prauitie of the earle of Ormond to his brethren.

The lord deputie followed his first begun hosting, who when he was incamped nære Clomnell, where it was thought he should haue béene fought withall, he wrote to the maior and his brethren of the citie of Waterford, to send vnto him the assistance of a few souldiers onelie for three daies; who did verie insolentlie and arrogantlie returne an answer by waie of disputing their liberties with hir maiesties prerogatiue, and so sent him no aid at all. Wherein the more they shewed their affection to the rebels; the more was their ingratitude & disloialtie to hir highnesse, the reward whereof they felt in the end. The camp at this time being within half a mile of Clomnell, the lord deputie before his dislodging from thense went into the towne, where the souereigne and his brethren receiued him with all the honour they could, and gaue him a banket in their townehouse; where, vnto them & the whole multitude then present, he made a verie eloquent speach, teaching them the dutifulnesse and obedience of a subiect, and the great inconuenience which groweth by the contrarie to all commonwealths, and each member of the same: and therefore laieng before them their present estate for example, did moue and persuade them to hold fast the dutie & obedience which they owght to hir maiestie, and not to be dismaid at the doings of the rebels and disobedient: who though for a time they had their will and pleasure, yet God, in whose hand is the heart of the prince, and vnder whome all kings and princes doo rule, hath béene alwaies, is, and will be, a swift reuenger against them for the same: euen as of the contrarie he sendeth his manifold blessings of peace, wealth and prosperitie to the obedient and dutifull subiect. And so hauing vsed sundrie and notable sentences and examples to this effect, he left them and returned to his campe.

The citie of Waterford standing vpon their liberties refuse to send aid to the lord deputie.

The lord deputie went into Clomnell & vseth verie good speeches vnto them.

And from thense he remoued and marched towards Cashell, which lieth in the countie of Tipperarie, nére vnto which place Edmund Butler had warded a castell: who when he saw the armie approching, he set all the out houses on fire, and prepared themselues to defend the pile. The lord deputie taking the same as a defiance, approched thereunto and besieged it: and whilest the assault was in preparing, it was yéelded by composition, and after restored to one Cantrell the owner thereof. From thense by iournies he marched and went to Corke, being met in the waie by the vicounties of Roch and Barrie, and by sir Corman Mac Teege: and being aduertised that Fitzedmund seneschall of Imokillie, a principall rebell, and combined with James Fitzmoris, had spoiled and preied the whole countrie, and had also warded and victualled his castell of Balie martyr, which by his tenure he was of himselfe bound to maintaine and defend it, he marched thither and laid siege to the same, and in the end tooke it full of victuels. But the seneschall in the dead of the night fled out through a hole of the house in a bog, and there escaped.

Balie martyr a castell of the seneschals besieged and taken.

The seneschall escapeth out of his castell.

The spoile was giuen to the souldiers, & the castell with a gard of twentie men was giuen to Jasper Horsete, & so he returned to Corke, and from thense he tooke iourneie to Kilmallocke, and finding that place most necessarie for a fort, he appointed and named Humfrete Gilbert hir maiesties seruant to be coronell, and besides his owne band of an hundred horssemen he appointed foure hundred footmen, and certeine Kernes there to remaine. And there he did knit and conioine vnto him by oth, and vnder good pledges, the vicounties of Roch and Dessis, with the lord Powre, the lord Courcie, sir Corman Mac Teege, sir Donogh Clancartie, and Barrie Oge, and the most part of the freeholders in the counties of Limerike and Corke. And this donne he passed by iourneies to Limerike, and from thense he went to Gallewaie, and there established a president and a councell, and placed sir Edward Fitton to be lord president, the earles of Thomond and Clanricard, and all the noble men & septs of gentlemen of that prouince yéelding to the same.

Humfrete Gilbert made coronell of Mounster.

Sir Edward Fitton made president of Connagh.

Thense he marched to Athlon, taking in the waie the castell of Rosocomen, which he left with the ward of twentie horssemen, to Thomas le Strange, and then dismissed the armie; but himselfe by iourneies trauelled and came to Dublin, and there remained. Capteine Gilbert in the meane time, hauing a speciall respect and regard to his charge, his valiancie and courage was such, and his good hap so well answering his worthie and forward attempts, that he in short time broke the hearts, and appalled the

Capteine Gilberts good seruice.

the courages of all the rebels in Mounſter, and no rebell knowne left in effect, which dare to withſtand and make anie reſiſtance againſt him. And to ſuch an obedience he brought that countrie, that none did or would refuſe to come vnto him, if he were ſent for but by a horſſe boy: for all yéelded vnto him, ſome by putting in recogniſances, & ſome by giuing of pledges, and all in ſéeking mercie and pardon.

The earle of Clancare ſubmitteth himſelfe to captaine Gilbert.

And that proud earle of Clancare, which in his glorie not long before vſurped this name to be king of Mounſter; euen he now, and Mac Donagh his chiefe follower, went to Limerike vnto him, and there falling vpon their knées acknowledged their treſons, and moſt humblie deſired hir maieſties pardon: and offered to put in his eldeſt ſonne, and the ſonnes of his chiefeſt freeholders for pledges and hoſtages. Likewiſe the preſident of Connagh in ſuch wiſedome, courage, & vprightneſſe, directed his gouernement, that he was obeied of all the whole people in that prouince, as well the nobilitie as the commons. The wicked he ſpareth not, but being found faultie either in open ſeſſions, or by martiall inquiſition, he cauſeth to be executed: and by theſe meanes hauing rid awaie the moſt notable offendors and their fotterers, the whole prouince reſted in good quietneſſe and in dutifull obedience to hir maieſtie and hir lawes.

The good ſeruice of ſir Edward Fitton lord preſident in Connagh.

The Cauenaghs, the ancient enimies to the Engliſh gouernement, and who in the rebellion were conioined with the Butlers: theſe bordering vpon the frontiers appointed to ſir Peter Carew, were ſo by him chaſed and perſecuted, that finding no place of reſt or quietneſſe, he hath brought them to ſubmit themſelues ſimplie to hir maieſties mercie, and haue put in their pledges to abide ſuch orders and conditions as ſhall be laid vpon them. Turlogh Lennogh in Vlſter, being at ſuper with his now wife, aunt to the earle of Argile, was ſhot through the bodie with two pellets out of a caliuer, by a teaſter or rimer of the Donloghs. Whereupon the Scots whome he reteined were in a maze, and the countrie ſtanding vpon the election of a new captaine: howbeit, he was in hope of recouerie. And thus after long troubles was the ſtate of the whole realme recouered to quietneſſe. Wherupon captaine Gilbert, when he had ſetled Mounſter in outward appéarance in a moſt perfect quietneſſe, and brought it to good conformitie: he made his repaire to Dublin to the lord deputie, where he aduertiſed and recounted all his doings at full.

The Cauenaghs ſubmiſſions.

Turlogh ſhot through with two bullets.

And hauing matters of great importance in England, he deſired licence to depart ouer: whome the ſaid deputie did not onelie moſt courteouſlie receiue; but alſo moſt thankefullie did accept his good ſeruice, and in ſome part of recompenſe, vpon Newyeares daie in the church at Drogheda, he did beſtow vpon him the order of knighthood; which he well deſerued, and at his departure gaue him letters of credit to hir highneſſe, and to the lords of the councell. And now by the waie, if without offenſe a man maie, after the maner of Cambrenſis in his hiſtorie, and after the vſage of noble gouernors and captains in other realmes, who for the increaſe of vertue, and incouraging of worthie perſons, do attribute to ſuch as do deſerue well their due praiſes & commendations, I hope it ſhall not be offenſiue to the reader, nor impertinent to the hiſtorie, to ſet downe ſomewhat of much, what maie be ſaid of theſe two worthie perſonages, ſir Peter Carew, and ſir Humfrie Gilbert: both which were of one countrie and birth, borne in the countie of Deuon, and of nére bloud, kinred, and conſanguinitie.

Drogheda.

Captaine Gilbert dubbed knight.

The deſcription of ſir Humfreie Gilbert, and his deſcent.

Sir Humfreie Gilbert, he was a ſecond brother, and borne of a great parentage, whoſe anceſtors came and deſcended from the earle of Cornewall, a man of a higher ſtature than of the common ſort, & of complexion cholerike; from his childhood of a verie pregnant wit and good diſpoſition: his father died leauing him verie yong, and he conceiuing ſome great good thing to come of his towardneſſe, prouided ſome portion of liuing to mainteine and kéepe him to ſchoole. And after his death, his mother, being no leſſe carefull of him, did cauſe him to be ſent to ſchoole to Eton college; from thenſe, after he had profited in the elements & principall points of grammar, he was ſent to Oxford, & did there proſper & increaſe verie well in learning and knowledge. And being (as his friends thought) verie well furniſhed, they would haue put him to the ins of court. But an aunt of his, named miſtres Katharine Aſhleie, who was attendant to the quœnes maieſtie, after that ſhe ſaw the yong gentleman, and had had ſome conference with him, ſhe fell in ſuch liking with him, that ſhe preferred him vnto hir maieſties ſeruice: and ſuch was his countenance, forwardneſſe, and behauiour, that hir maieſtie had a ſpeciall good liking of him; and verie oftentimes would familiarlie diſcourſe and conferre with him in matters of learning. After a few yeares ſpent in the court, he paſſed ouer into Ireland, being commended by hir highneſſe to ſir Henrie Sidneie then lord deputie: who gaue him interteinement, and made him a captaine ouer an hundred horſſemen; wherein he ſo well acquited himſelfe, that he was alſo made coronell of Mounſter; and had appointed vnto him, beſides his owne band of one hundred horſſemen, foure hundred kotemen, beſides ſuch Geraldines as Thomas of Deſmond, brother to the erle of Deſmond had procured, & vpon his oth of lotaltie and pledges had promiſed his faithfull ſeruice.

The valiantnes in ſeruice, and the wiſedome in gouernement of ſir Humfreis Gilbert.

And albeit he were but yong of yeares, which might ſéeme to hinder his credit: yet ſuch was his deuout mind to ſerue hir maieſtie, and ſo effectuallie to his great praiſe he followed the ſame; that with manie good gifts and excellent vertues he ſo ſupplied euen as much as manie men of elder yeares & greater experience did not commonlie atteine vnto. For in ſeruice vpon the enimie he was as valiant and couragious as no man more; and ſo good was his hap to anſwer the ſame: for he alwaies for the moſt part daunted the enimie, and appalled their courages; as did appéere in the ouerthrow giuen néere Kilkennie in the Butlers warres, when he with twelue perſons gaue the onſet vpon a thouſand men, of which ſir hundred were armed Gallowglaſſes, who then were ouerthrowne: and likewiſe in Mounſter, which was altogither vp in rebellion; and he coronell, did not onelie in martiall affaires ſhew himſelfe moſt valiant; and in ſhort time reduced the whole troope of the rebels, and the proudeſt of them to obedience, hauing vnder him but fiue hundred againſt ſundrie thouſands; and inforced that proud earle of Clancart to follow him to Limerike, and there humblie vpon his knées to aſke pardon and mercie: but alſo, after that he had ſubdued and ouercome them, did moſt vprightlie order and direct his gouernement, and with all indifferencie would heare, decide, & determine the complaints & griefs, and compound all the cauſes of euerie ſuitor. Which was ſo rare a thing in one of his yeares, as ſcarſe was credible, had not eie witneſſes and dailie experience proued and iuſtified the ſame.

After that he had eſtabliſhed peace and tranquillitie in that countrie, he went to Dublin; where when he had recounted all his ſeruices, and the good ſucceſſe thereof; and in what quiet ſtate he left the countrie, he deſired leaue to paſſe ouer into England, for and about certeine matters of great importance, which

which he had to follow, which he did obteine: as also in reward of his seruice, and for his good deserts he (as is before said) was honored and dubbed a knight; and with letters in his praise and commendation to hir maiestie, and the lords of the councell, he departed. Assone as he had presented himselfe before hir highnesse, hir good countenance and fauour, in respect of his good seruice to hir maiestie was increased and doubled; and he specially aboue all others magnified and well accepted. Not long after, he was maried to a yong gentlewoman, and an inheritrix: and thensefoorth he gaue himselfe to studies perteining to the state of gouernement, and to nauigations. He had an excellent and readie wit, and therwith a tong at libertie to vtter what he thought. Which being adorned with learning and knowledge, he both did and could notablie discourse anie matter in question concerning either of these, as he made good proofe thereof, as well in familiar conference with the noble, wise, and learned; as also in the open assemblies of the parlements, both in England and in Ireland: in which he shewed the great value of knowledge, wisedome, and learning which was in him, and the great zeale he had to the commonwelth of his countrie. He had a great delight in the studie of cosmographie, and especiallie in nauigations; and finding out by his studies, certeine nations and vnknowne lands, which being found, might redound to the great benefit of his countrie: he made hir maiestie acquainted therewith, and obteined of hir a licence to make a nautigation, which he toke in hand. But before he could compasse the same to effect, he was in a foule storme drowned at the seas. Onelie he of all his brethren had fiue sonnes and one daughter, children by their countenances giuing a hope of a good towardnesse. And albeit he in person be deceassed, yet in their visages, and in the memorall of his great vertues, and a life well spent, he shall liue in fame immortall. Thus much without offense, and not altogither impertinent, concerning this gentleman, and now to the historie.

Sir Humfrete Gilbert is drowned.

Turlogh Lenough thinking to inuade vpon the English pale, for the bending of the lord deputies force against him, he was repressed, and driuen to kéepe himselfe within his owne limits, and by that meanes brought to disperse his power: for being not able to paie and satisfie the Scots, the one was wearie of the other; and his wife and he not agréeing, they were vpon a point to sunder. The earle of Thomond reuolteth from his due obedience, and becommeth a rebell: whome the earle of Ormond so hardlie pursued, that he draue him out of that land, and he fled into France, and from thense into England. For the discouerie of whose treasons and rebellions to hir maiestie & to the lords of the councell, one Rafe Rockeleie chiefe iustice of Connaugh was sent into England, where after long sute made for his submission, he was sent backe into Ireland, there to receiue according to his deserts: hir maiesties pleasure yet being such, that if he were not found culpable of treason against the state, that he should be spared from iudgement of death.

Turlogh Lenough prepareth to inuade the English pale.

The earle of Thomond reuolteth.

The earle of Ormond followeth the earle of Thomond, and driueth him out of the land.

This yéere the quenes maiestie, considering the good seruice of Lucas Dillon hir generall attorneie in Ireland, was vpon the death of baron Bath made chéefe baron of the exchéker there; & capteine Piers for his good seruice at Knockfergus was liberallie considered and countenanced by hir maiestie. And likewise after manie motions, sutes, and requests made to hir maiestie for a president and councell to be established in Mounster; and the same once determined and appointed: but by the sicknesse and vnabilitie of sir John Pollard, appointed to be the president, it was lingered and deferred, is now reuiued and renewed: and sir John Perot knight was made lord president, and a councell of good assistants chosen, as also his diet houses, interteinment, and all other things necessarie ordered, assigned, and appointed. This knight was borne in Penbrokeshire in Southwales, and one of great reuenues and worship, valiant, and of great magnanimitie; and so much the more meet to gouerne and tame so faithlesse and vnrulie a people, as ouer whome he was now made ruler. They heard no sooner of his comming, but as a sort of wasps they fling out, and reuolting from their former feined obedience, became open rebelles and traitors vnder James Fitzmoris an archtraitor, and as dogs they returne to their vomit, and as swine to their durt and puddles.

Lucas Dillon made chéef baron.

Sir John Perot appointed to be lord president of Mounster.

The rebelling of Mounster against the president.

And here may you sée the nature and disposition of this wicked, ekrenated, barbarous, and vnfaithfull nation, who (as Cambrensis writeth of them) they are a wicked and peruerse generation, constant alwaies in that they be alwaies inconstant, faithfull in that they be alwaies vnfaithfull, and trustie in that they be alwaies trecherous and vntrustie. They doo nothing but imagin mischeefe, & haue no delite in anie good thing. They are alwaies working wickednes against the good, and such as be quiet in the land. Their mouths are full of vnrighteousnesse, and their tongs speake nothing but cursednesse. Their feet swift to shed blood, & their hands imbrued in the blood of innocents. The waies of peace they know not, & in the paths of righteousnesse they walke not. God is not knowne in their land, neither is his name called rightlie vpon among them. Their quéene and souereigne they obeie not, and hir gouernment they allow not: but as much as in them lieth doo resist hir imperiall estate, crowne, and dignitie. It was not much aboue a yeare past, that capteine Gilbert with the sword so persecuted them, and in iustice so executed them, that then they in all humblenesse submitted themselues, craued pardon, and swore to be for euer true and obedient: which, so long as he mastered and kept them vnder, so long they performed it; but the cat was no sooner gone, but the mise were at plaie; and he no sooner departed from them, but forthwith they skipped out, and cast from themselues the obedience and dutifulnesse of true subiects. For such a peruerse nature they are of, that they will be no longer honest and obedient, than that they cannot be suffered to be rebelles. Such is their stubbornesse and pride, that with a continuall feare it must be bridled; and such is the hardnesse of their hearts, that with the rod it must be still chastised and subdued: for no longer feare, no longer obedience; and no longer than they be ruled with seueritie, no longer will they be dutifull and in subiection; but will be as they were before, false, trucebreakers & traitorous. Being not much vnlike to Mercurie called quicke siluer, which let it by art be neuer so much altered and transposed, yea and with fire consumed to ashes; yet let it but rest a while vntouched nor medled with, it will returne againe to his owne nature, and be the same as it was at the first. And euen so dailie experience teacheth it to be true in these people. For withdraw the sword, and forbeare correction, deale with them in courtesie, and intreat them gentlie, if they can take anie aduantage, they will surelie skip out; and as the dog to his vomit, and the sow to the durt & puddle they will returne to their old and former insolencie, rebellion, and disobedience. This is to be meant of the Irishrie and sauage people, who the further they are from the prince and court, the further from dutie and obedience; the more they are vnder their Obrian gouernment, the lesse dutifull to their naturall souereigne and prince. But concern-

The nature of quicke siluer.

ting the inhabitants in the English pale, and all cities and townes, the contrarie (God be praised) is dailie seene.

The gouernment of sir John Perot.

Well, this worthie knight knowing that he should haue to doo with a sort of netles, whose nature is, that being handled gentlie, they will sting; but being hard crushed togither, they will doo no harme: euen so he began with them. The sword and the law he made to be the foundation of his gouernement, by the one he persecuted the rebell and disobedient, and by the other he ruled and gouerned in iustice and iudgement. Great troubles he had in both, but little he did preuaile in the latter, before he had ouercome the first: and therefore minding to chastise the rebelles, and to bring them to obedience, he followed and chased them from place to place: in the bogs he pursued them, in the thickets he followed them, in the plaines he fought with them, and in their castels and holds he besæged them, and would neuer suffer them to be at rest and quietnesse, vntill he had tired and wearied them out, and at length inforced James Fitzmoris and his complices to come vnto Killmalocke vnto him, and there simplie to submit himselfe, and vpon his knees in the open sight of all the people to confesse his disloialties, and in all humble manner to craue mercie and pardon. Whome though vntill hir maiesties pleasure knowne he did forbeare, yet the residue he spared not; but after their deserts he executed in infinit numbers. And hauing thus rid the garden from these weeds, and roted vp the fields from these thornes, he entreth into the gouernement by order of law, and from place to place throughout all Mounster he trauelleth and keepeth his sessions and courts, hearing euerie mans complaints, and redressing their greefes, and in short time brought the same to such a quietnesse and peaceable estate, that whereas no man before could passe through the countrie, but was in danger to be murdered and robbed, and no man durst to turne his cattell into the fields without watch, and to keepe them in barnes in the night time: now euerie man with a white sticke onelie in his hands, and with great treasures might and did trauell without feare or danger where he would (as the writer hereof by triall knew it to be true) and the white sheepe did keepe the blacke, and all the beasts laie continuallie in the fields, without anie stealing or preieng.

His seruice against the rebelles.

James Fitzmoris seeketh for peace, and submitteth himselfe.

The ciuill gouernement of sir John Perot.

The quietnes and safetie in Mounster.

Now when he had thus quieted this prouince, and setled all things in good order, then he beginneth to reforme their maners in life and common conuersation and apparell, suffering no glibes nor like vsages of the Irishrie to be vsed among the men, nor the Egyptiacall rolles vpon womens heads to be worne. Whereat though the ladies and gentlewomen were somewhat greeued, yet they yelded: and giuing the same ouer, did weare hats after the English manner. In this his seruice he had two verie good & notable assistants, the one concerning the martiall affaires, and the other for his gouernement by the course and order of the law. Concerning the affaires martiall George Bourchier esquier was ioined with him in commission, and did him notable good seruice, he was the third sonne to John earle of Bath, whose ancestors were descended from out of the loines of kings, and men of great honor and nobilitie; and they were no more noble of bloud than valiant, wise and prudent in all their actions, both in the seruices of chiualrie and matters of policies, and whereof the histories of England in manie places doo make mention and report. And this gentleman, hauing some motion of the value and valiantnesse of his ancestors derived and descended vpon him, was affected and giuen to all feats of chiualrie, and especiallie to the seruice in the warres, wherein he prooued a verie good souldior, and an expert capteine, both as an horseman, and as a foteman, both which waies he serued, as the seruice and time required. If he serued vpon foot, he was apparelled in the manner of a Kerne and a foot souldior, and was so light of foot as no Kerne swifter: for he would pursue them in bogs, in thickets, in woods, in passes, and in streicts whatsoeuer; and neuer leaue them, vntill he did performe the charge and seruice committed vnto him. If he were to serue vpon his horsebacke, his dailie seruice can witnes sufficientlie how much, and how often he preuailed against the enimie, and appalled their courages, and with whome he would incounter if he might by anie meanes.

Sir John Perots assistants.

George Bourchier his birth and seruices.

Notwithstanding, as courageous and circumspect as he was, that he would not be lightlie intrapped in the field, yet was he deceiued in the house. For vnder the colour of a parlée, and vpon a truce taken, he was inuited to a supper: and little thinking that anie breach of the truce should be made, he went into the castell whereas he was bidden. But in his being there, he was taken prisoner, and handfasted, and so kept for a space; but yet not long after he was restored and set at libertie. Concerning his other assistant, his name was George Welsh borne in Waterford, and a gentleman of an ancient familie, he was brought vp in learning, and was a student in the innes of court at London, and prospered verie well therein: and albeit his yeares were but yong, yet his knowledge, grauitie, and sinceritie counteruailed the same with an ouerplus. In deciding of all matters he was vpright and iust, being not affectionated nor knowne to be corrupted for anie mans pleasure. In iudgement vpright, in iustice seuere, and without respect of persons would minister what the law had prescribed, he spared neither partie, nor would be affected to anie; by which meanes he did maruellous much good in that seruice, and happie was that gouernor that had so good a counsellor.

George Bourchier taken prisoner.

George Welsh a lawier, well learned, and vpright.

1571 Sir William Fitzwilliams made lord deputie.

Immediatlie vpon the placing of this gouernement in Mounster, sir Henrie Sidnete had libertie and licence to returne ouer into England, and receiued hir maiesties letters dated the thirteenth of December one thousand fiue hundred seuentie and one, & in the thirteenth yeere of hir maiesties reigne, for the placing of sir William Fitzwilliams to be lord deputie in his place. Which when he had done, he passed ouer the seas, and by iournies came to the court. He was verie honorablie receiued, and by hir highnesse well commended, there being sundrie noblemen and gentlemen of the court, which met him before he came to Whitehall, where hir maestie then laie, who (as time conuenient serued) did recount vnto hir the whole estate in all things of the realme of Ireland, which hir maestie liked verie well.

But this sir John Perot president of Mounster continued still in his office, and there remained for certeine yeares vntill he was reuoked, which was too soone for that countrie. For neuer man was more fit gouernour for that effrenated and hardnecked people than was he, nor was that countrie euer in better estate for wealth, peace and obedience, than he in the time of his gouernement did reduce the same vnto. Happie was that prouince, and happie were those people, which being eaten out, consumed and deuoured with caterpillers, he had brought and reformed to a most happie, peaceable, and quiet estate; and he left it euen in the same maner. Which if it had beene continued by the like, to haue followed him in the gouernement, the same would so haue continued: but the want of the one was in short time the decaie of the other, and that reformed countrie brought to a most miserable estate, as by the consequence may

may appere.

Sir William Fitzwilliams, hauing a speciall care and respect to his charge and office, disposeth all things in the best order he could by the aduise of the councell, and finding the state somewhat quiet, sauing Mounster, his care and studie was so to keepe and mainteine it. And he being a wise and a graue man, and of so great experience in that land, he drawe the plot of his gouernement into certeine speciall points and articles. First, that the religion e- The points of sir william Fitzwilliams lord deputies gouernement.
stablished according to Gods holie word, should Religion.
haue a free passage through the whole land, and by e- The common peace.
uerie man aswell of the clergie as of the laitie to be receiued, imbraced and followed. Then that the common peace and quietnesse throughout the whole land might and should be conserued, and all occasions of the breach thereof, and of all mutinies and diuisions to be cut off. Thirdlie, that hir maiesties great and excessiue charges to the consuming of hir treasure The sauing of expenses.
might be shortened, and hir reuenues well husbanded and looked vnto, according to hir sundrie com- Lawes to be executed.
mandements tofore giuen. Lastlie, that the lawes and iustice might haue their due course and be current throughout the whole land, and the iudges and officers should vprightlie minister iustice to each Souldiers to be kept in their discipline.
man according to his desert, and that all the souldiers should be kept in that discipline as to them apperteineth.

These considerations and such like, being ordered and established with the consent and aduise of the whole councell, and well liked of euerie good subiect, bicause the same was grounded vpon verie good reasons: yet it toke not that effect as it was meant and wished it should. For that wicked race of the Irishrie, in whom was no zeale in religion, and lesse obedience to hir maiestie, and least care to liue in an honest conuersation and common societie, but alwaies watching the best opportunitie and time to breake out into their wonted outrages, robberies, and rebellions: these (I saie) in sundrie places be- Brian Mac Kahir his warres in Wexford.
gin to plate their pagents. The first was Brian Mac Kahir of Knocking in the countie of Caterlough Cauenagh, who vpon certeine wrongs which he complained he had receiued by one Robert Browne of Malrenkam, he tyrannized ouer the whole countrie, committed manie outrages and spoiles, preied the countrie, & burned sundrie towns. Likewise the gentlemen of the countie of Wexford, and namelie sir Nicholas Deuereur knight, being greeued with the death of Robert Browne, who was his nephue, being his sisters sonne, were as vnquiet on their parts, and all rose vp in armour against Brian Mac Kahir, and each one with all the forces they could make did resist the other, so that all the whole countrie was thereby in a verie troublesome state; and no end could be had before they had tried it with the sword. For the Wexford men following their matters verie egarlie, and being in a great companie well appointed, they sought out Brian Mac Kahir, and gaue the onset vpon him; but he so watched the matter, and toke them at that aduantage, that although he and his companie were but Brian Mac Kahir hath the victorie of the wexford men.
small in respect of the others, yet he gaue them the foile and ouerthrow, and killed the most principall gentlemen of that shire about or aboue thirtie persons. Thomas Masterson.

In this companie was an English gentleman, who after was in great credit & office among them, and he in danger to haue drunken of the same cup, was driuen to leape vp on horsebacke behind another man, and so escaped, or else he had neuer béene seneschall of that prouince. After this fight, though the grudge were not forgotten nor a reuenge vnsought, yet by little and little it quailed. About two yeares after, Brian Mac Kahir made humble suites to the lord deputie for his pardon, and submitted himselfe to his lordships deuotion, confessing in writing his fowle disorders and outrages; and yet firmlie auouching that the quarell did not begin by him nor by his meanes: his submission was such and in so humble sort, as that he obteined the same. And according to his promise then made, he did thenseforth vse and behaue himselfe most dutifullie, and liued in a verie good order. This Brian was a Cauenaugh, and the sonne of Charels, the sonne of Arthur, which Arthur was by king Henrie the eight made a baron for terme of his life: for he was a man of great power within the counties of Wexford & Catherlough. And this Brian Mac Kahir Mac Arthur was a yonger sonne to Charels, but the chiefest for valiantnesse, magnanimitie and wisedome; and none of all the sept of the Cauenaughs, though they were manie and valiant men, to be compared vnto him euerie waie, and vnto whom they all would giue place. Brian Mac Kahir his submission. Brian Mac Kahir what he was.

Now he being assured of them, and also being allied by marriage vnto Hewen Mac Shane, whose daughter he married, he was also assured of the Obirnes and of the Omeroughs, & so a man of great strength and ablitie. He became in the end to be a follower vnto sir Peter Carew, with whom he neuer brake his promise, but stood him in great steed aswell in matters of counsell, as of anie seruice to be done in those parts. A man (which is rare among these people) verie constant of his word, and so faithfullie he serued, and so much he honoured sir Peter Carew, that after his death, being as one maimed, he consumed and pined awaie, and died in peace. The strength of Brian Mac Kahir. Brian Mac Kahir is a follower to sir Peter Carew.

The Omores, notwithstanding the earle of Kildare was waged by hir maiestie to persecute and chastise them, yet without anie resistance or impechment they rage and outrage in all traitorous manner and rebellious disorders. They inuaded the English pale, spoiled and burned sundrie townes and villages, and carried the preies and pillage with them without anie resistance. The whole prouince of Connagh was altogither in actuall rebellion by the earle Clanricard sonnes, and they for their aid had called & waged a thousand Scots. And though they and the Irishrie were of diuerse nations, yet of one and of the same dispositions and conditions, being altogither giuen to all sinne and wickednes, and their harts were altogither imbrued in bloud and murther. The earle himselfe was at this time prisoner in the castell of Dublin for the same rebellion, who hearing of the outrages of his sonnes, made suite to the lord deputie, that if he might be set at libertie, he would vndertake to bring in his sons, and to quiet the countrie. The Omores rebell. All Connagh in actuall rebellion. The false dissembling of the earle of Clanricard.

The lord deputie, desiring nothing more than peace, after sundrie conferences had with him, did by the aduise of the councell inlarge him, in an assured hope that he would effectuallie performe in deed what he had promised in word. But he came no sooner home among his people, and had conferred with his sonnes, but he forgat his promise and performed nothing at all. Likewise the Ochonners and the Omores, accompanied with a rable of like rebels, fall into open rebellion, spoile the countrie, deuoure the people, and make all waste and desolate. Tirlough Lenough in Vlster was readie to reuolt, but that he stood in doubt of the earle of Esser, who lieng vpon the fines and marches in Vlster, was not onelie in readinesse to haue bearded him: but also he had set Odonelle in open warres against him. Mounster was likewise in open rebellion. But sir John Perot then president so coursed and followed them, that notwithstanding a great combination and league The Ochonners and the Omores rebell.

The distressed mind of the lord deputie.

was betweene James Fitzmoris and all the rebels in Connagh and Leinster, yet he kept them asunder and so sharpelie pursued James, that he left him no one place to rest in, nor anie followers to follow him. Besides these vniuersall troubles, which were sufficient to haue apalled the best and wisest gouernour, these three things increased his griefe and sorrow. First the losse of a most faithfull councellor and one of his chiefest and trustiest assistants doctor Weston then lord chancellor, whom it pleased God to call out of this miserable life, a man in his life time most godlie, vpright and vertuous, and such a one as that place was not possessed of the like in manie currents of yeares, in his life most vertuous and godlie, in matters of councell most sound and perfect, in iustice most vpright and vncorrupted, in hospitalitie verie bountious and liberall, and in manners and conuersation most courteous and gentle, faithfull to his prince, firme to his friend, and courteous to all men. And as was his life so was his death, who a little before the same called his household, and gaue them such godlie instructions, as to their callings apperteined. Then he set his priuate things in order, and he spent all the time that he had in praiers and exhortations.

The death of doctor weston lord chancellor.

At last, feeling a declination towards, he appointed a generall communion to be had of his household and friends in his chamber, vnto which all the councell came and were partakers. And then these godlie actions finished, he gaue a most godlie exhortation to the councell, persuading them to be vertuous and zelous in Gods true religion: then to be mindfull of their duties to hir maiestie, and lastlie remembring their callings and estate, and the great charge of the gouernement laid vpon them and committed vnto them, that they would be valiant, carefull, and studious to performe the same, as might be to the glorie of God, honor to the queene, & benefit to the whole realme. Which points he handled so godlie, learnedlie & effectuallie, that he made their teares to trill, and their hearts to be heauie. After this done he bid them farewell, and not long after he being feruent in his praiers, he died most godlie, vertuoustie, and christian like.

The earle of Desmond breaketh prison.

The next was the breach of the earle of Desmond, who was a prisoner in the castell of Dublin, and he hauing giuen his faith and oth to be a true prisoner, and to shew himselfe a dutifull subiect, did yet make his escape: which being done in so troublesome a time, it was doubted verie much what would insue thereof. Wherefore not onelie in that land, but in England also, hir maiestie vpon knowledge did cause musters to be made in all the parts vpon and towards the south and west parties, and men to be in readinesse to be transported, if anie occasion by his escape should happen to follow. For it was greatlie doubted what would follow of that his breach, saiing that the president in Mounster was thought to be sufficientlie prepared and furnished against him, if he did or would attempt anie disorder that waie.

The reuocation of the erle of Esser.

The third was the reuocation of the earle of Esser, who had taken vpon him to recouer the whole prouince of Ulster to obedience, with hir maiesties aid. And he hauing with great charges brought the same to a great likelihood and towardnesse, the armie was cashed, and he dismissed and discharged, and the enterprise dissolued. These with sundrie other accidents of the like nature, were sufficient to haue swallowed vp anie man in the gulfe of despaire, had not the lord God looked vpon him, and hir maiestie most gratiouslie pondered his manie & sundrie most humble requests for his reuocation, which hir highnes by hir letters vnto him granted; and immediatlie whereupon he (after foure yeares painfull seruice)

Sir william Fitzwilliams discharged of the deputiship.

was discharged of his office, & returned into England. Manie god & notable things were done in the time of this mans deputation worthie to be remembred, and for euer to be chronicled. But forsomuch as the records and presidents of the same cannot bee had, and the imprinter cannot staie his impression anie longer time, the same with patience must be borne withall, vntill a better opportunitie shall serue as well for it, as for the commendation of this honorable & ancient gentleman, who hath deserued well and honourablie of his prince and countrie for his seruice and gouernment. After that this man was cleane discharged, the sword and office was deliuered vnto sir Henrie Sidneie, who now the third time entred into the gouernment of this cursed land, and arriued at the Skirries the twelfe of September 1575, who at his comming found the infection of the plague so generallie dispersed, and especiallie in the English pale, that he could hardlie find a place where to settle himselfe without danger of infection. And euen as this plague reigned, so the old rebellious minds of the northerne Ulsterians brake out. For he was no soner knowne to be entred into the land, but for a bien venu to welcome him into the countrie, Serlo Boie with his companie came to Knockfergus, there to make preie of the towne, & so proudlie assailed the same, that he slue a capteine named Baker, and his lieutenant, with fortie of his souldiers, besides diuerse of the townsmen, of whome some were hurt, some maimed, and some slaine; and yet neuertheless by the valour & courage of the rest of the souldiers and townsmen, the preie was rescued, and the Scots perforce driuen awaie.

1575 Sir Henrie Sidneie lord deputie the third time.

The pestilence great in the English pale.

Serlo Boie assaulteth Knockfergus

The lord deputie, considering with himselfe that of such beginnings euill would be the euents and sequels thereof, if the same were not out of hand preuented; and knowing also by his owne experience, how perillous delaies be in such cases, thought it verie necessarie and expedient (according to the old saieng *Principijs obsta sero medicina paratur, &c*) forthwith to withstand the same. And therefore by the aduise of so manie of hir maiesties priuie councell, as could in that queasie time be assembled, he tooke order for the safe keeping of the English pale, and committed the custodie thereof in his absence, to certeine gentlemen of best account and wisedome, to see the same to be kept and quieted. And he himselfe in his owne person, taking with him hir maiesties armie, which was then about six hundred horsemen and footmen, and accompanied with such gentlemen and councellors as he had appointed for that seruice, tooke his iourneie towards Ulster. And as he passed, he found the whole countrie throughout wasted, spoiled, and impouerished, sauing the Newrie, which sir Nicholas Bagnoll knight marshall did inhabit, and the Glins and Routs which Serlo Boie with the Scots possessed, and Killultagh.

The lord deputie maketh a iourneie into Ulster.

Now in all that iorneie few came to submit themselues, sauing Mac Mahon, and Mac Gwier, & Tirlough Lenough, who first sent his wife; and she being a woman verie well spoken, of great modestie, nurture, parentage, and disposition, and aunt to the then earle of Argile, was verie desirous to haue hir husband to liue like a good subiect, and to be nobilitated. Tirlough himselfe followed verie shortlie after his wife, & came before the lord deputie without pledge, promise or hostage, and simplie & without anie condition did submit himselfe in all humblenesse and reuerence to his lordship, making the like sutes as his wife before his comming had motioned vnto his lordship, referring himselfe neuertheless to be ordered and directed by his lordship in all things. And after that he had spent two daies, vsing himselfe in all the time of his abode in all dutifulnesse, subiection,

Tirlough Lenough submitteth him in all humilitie

and,

and reuerence, did in like maner take his leaue, and returned to his owne home. And as for Odonell lord of Tirconell, and Mac Gwier lord of Farmanaugh, albeit they came not in persons, yet they wrote their most humble letters of submission, and offered all such rents and seruices, as to them apertained to yéeld, making request that they might onelie serue vnder hir highnesse, and be discharged from the exactions of all others.

The tourneie of the lord deputie in Leinster.

After that the lord deputie had performed this tourneie, and was returned to Dublin, then he made the like tourneies towards the other parts of the land. And beginning in Leinster, he found the whole countie of Kildare, and the baronie of Carberie, extreamelie impouerished by the Omeries, both in the time of the late rebellion, and also since, when they were vnder protection. The kings and quænes counties were all spoiled & wasted by the Oconnors and the Omores, the old native inhabiters of the same, and of them Rorie Og had gotten the possession and the setling of himselfe in sundrie lands there, whether the tenants will or no, and as a prince occupieth what he listeth, and wasteth what he will. Neuertheless, vpon the word of the earle of Ormond, he came to the lord deputie at his being in Kilkennie; and in the cathedrall church there he submitted himselfe: and in outward appearance repented his former faults, and promised amendment: but how well he kept and performed it, his rebellions in the yeare following can witnesse.

Rorie Og vpon the word of the earle of Ormond came vnto the lord deputie, and submitteth himselfe.

The lord deputie interteined verie well in Kilkennie.

The lord deputie at his comming to Kilkennie was receiued by the townsmen in all the best maner they could, and the earle of Ormond himselfe feasted and intreated him most honourablie, and had great care that his lordship and all his traine should not want anie thing. At this towne the two cousins and kinsmen of sir Peter Carew late deceassed, that is, Peter Carew, and George Carew, and the gentleman who had béene his agent in all his causes within that land, came before the lord deputie, and there communicated with his lordship the state of the deceassed knight, and of his countrie; submitted the same to his order and direction, as also made humble sute vnto his lordship for his presence at the funerals at Waterford, where it was appointed he should be buried. Whose lordship as vpon the first newes of this knights death, so now also vpon the new recitall thereof, maruellouslie lamented and bewailed the losse of so worthie a knight, and the want of so wise and faithfull an assistant and councellor. And then he toke order therein, shewing most honourablie not onelie the offices of a faithfull and good friend to the dead; but also the like good will to the two yong gentlemen, of which one was then his heire, and to inioy his baronie. And according as things were determined, the corps was remoued from Rosse where he died, and carted to Waterford against his comming thither, where it was buried in verie honourable maner, as shall hereafter appeare; being not impertinent to the historie to set downe some short discourse of this most worthie gentleman and of his life.

Sir Peter Carew died at Rosse, & was buried at waterford verie honourablie.

Sir Peter Carew his life, birth and conditions. His descent. Baron of Carew.

Sir Peter Carew was descended of noble and high parentage, whose first ancestor was named Montgomerie, and in the time of king Henrie the second he maried the ladie Elisabeth daughter to Rosius prince of Southwales, by which mariage he was aduanced to honour, and made baron of the castell of Carew, whereof his posteritie in time toke their surnames, being called Carews. And some of them passing into Ireland did grow to be mightie men, and of great honor and possessions in that land, being marquesses of Corke, barons of Hidron and Kernew, lords of Maston, and inheritors to sundrie great lordships and seignories in that land. And likewise in England they were men of great credit, seruice, and honour, and by waie of mariages matched and combined with honourable and great houses.

His stature.

His disposition.

His skill and seruice in the warres.

His trauels.

His religion.

His qualities.

His learning.

His conditions

His anger without malice.

His zeale.

This foresaid sir Peter, who was lineallie descended from them, was of stature meane, but verie stronglie and well compacted; of complexion cholerike, from his childhood vpwards bent and giuen to an honest disposition, and in his tender yeares he serued vnder, and was page to the prince of Orenge beyond the seas, and by that means had the greater delight & skill in martiall affaires, wherein he had good knowledge, as did well appeare in the manifold seruices he did vnder king Henrie the eight, king Edward the first, and quæne Elisabeth, in sundrie places beyond as also on this side the seas. He was in his yonger years a great traueller, and had béene at Constantinople in the Turkes court, at Vienna in the emperours palace, at Venice, and in the French kings court, and in the houses of the most of all christian princes; in euerie of which places he left some tokens of his value. He was blessed of God with manie singular good gifts, as well of the mind as of the bodie, being vertuouslie disposed euen from his verie infancie, sincere in religion (and for which he was partlie an exiled man in the Marian daies) dutifull to his prince, and faithfull to his countrie, vpright in iustice, politike in gouernement, and valiant in armes, skilfull in the Italian and French tongs, and a great student in such bookes as those tongs did yéeld; and by that means some knowledge ioined with his pregnancie of wit, he would discourse verie substantiallie in anie matter concerning policie or religion, peace or warres, good to euerie man, hurtfull to no man; bountifull & liberall, abhorring couetousnesse and whordome; a great housekéeper, and of great hospitalitie. And if anie fault were in him, it was rather of too much spending, than in reasonable sauing; he would be soone warme, but without gall, and against his enimie most stout and valiant: finallie such was his vpright dealing, honest conuersation, and zeale to the commonwealth, as no man was more honoured nor vniuersallie beloued than was he.

His title to his lands in Ireland.

He recouereth some part of his lands in Ireland.

His good dealing with his tenants.

When he had spent the greater part of his age, he bethought himselfe vpon such lands as his ancestors had in Ireland, and which in right did descend vnto him: and finding his title to be good, he acquainted hir highnesse therewith; and obteined hir fauour and good will to passe ouer into Ireland, to follow the recouerie thereof. Which he did, and made such good proues of his title, as well by records as by euidences, that he recouered so much as he did then put in sute, namelie the lordship of Maston, of which he had béene dispossessed of about seauen score yeares, which he departed with vnto sir Christopher Chiuers knight, then tenant to the same, and the baronie of Hidron then in the possession of the Cauenaughs, the ancient enimies of the English gouernment, and who had expelled his ancestors about two hundred yeares past. But being put once in possession, he dealt in such good order with them, and so honourablie vsed himselfe, that they all voluntarilie yéelded vp the Irelands, and submitted themselues to his deuotion; and finding him to be a verie rare man in manie and sundrie respects, as of the like they had not heard nor knowne, they much reioised of him, and counted themselues happie and blessed to be vnder his gouernment. At his first comming he resumed the whole baronie into his owne hands, and thereof he gaue some péeces in frée hold, to such gentlemen as he thought good; and for the residue euerie of them what he had before, he toke it againe vnder writing by leale. He diuided the baronie into certeine

teine manors and lordships, and in euerie one he did erect a court baron, and there all matters in variance betweene them were ended and determined after the English maner, according to iustice & truth. He would not suffer anie wrong to be done vnto them, neither would he beare with anie of them doing wrong. Their complaints he would heare, and with indifferencie he would determine them: he dwelled among them, and kept a verie liberall and a bountifull house, and such hospitalitie as had not béene tofore knowne among them; and for which he was marueilouslie beloued, and his fame spred throughout that land.

His houseképing and hospitalitie.

He kept continuallie of his owne priuat familie, aboue or néere a hundred persons in house, he had alwaies in readinesse fortie horsemen well appointed, besides footmen, & commonlie one hundred Kerns, and all that his countrie at commandement; by which meanes he chased and pursued such as laie vpon the frontiers of his countrie, that they if anie had offended, would come and submit themselues simplie to his mercie: & the residue willing to serue him at all néeds. If anie noble man or others did passe by his house, there he first staied and was interteined according to his calling, for his cellar dore was neuer shut, & his butterie alwaies open, to all commers of anie credit. If anie garrison either came to assist and attend him, or passed through his countrie, he gaue them interteinment, and victualled them at his owne charges, and paied readie monie both for it, and for all things taken of the countrie; for without present paiment he would haue nothing: which was a rare thing and not heard of in that land. And as concerning hir maiesties seruice, it was so honourable for hir highnesse, and so profitable to the countrie, and accomplished with such a disposition and a good will, as all and euerie the gouernours in his time thought themselues happie to be assisted with such a man. In matters of counsell he was verie graue and considerate, in matters of policie verie wise and circumspect, and in martiall affaires verie valiant and noble, and in all of great knowledge and experience: in euerie of which (as occasion serued) his seruice was readie and at commandement, so long as his abode was in that land.

Readie paiment for all things.

His seruice in the Irish wars.

In the Butlers warres, vpon commandement from the deputie, he did first seruc at Cloghgreman, a castell of sir Edmund Butlers, where being accompanied with capteine Gilbert, capteine Palbete, and capteine Basnet, and Henrie Dauels, and their bands, assaulted the castell, tooke it, and gaue the preie to the souldiers. Then they went to Kilkennie where they issued out and made a sallie vpon the whole armie of sir Edmund Butler: which being about three miles from the towne, gaue them the ouerthrow, and put all the Gallowglasses and the rest to the sword, sauing the horsemen and Kernes which fled into the woods: and then méeting the lord deputie, attended him in the whole iourneie and seruice of the said warres vntill the same was ended. In which he assisted the said deputie with his faithfull aduise and counsell, and with all such dutifull seruice as which his lordship could not lacke, and which he so aduertised to hir maiestie. Likewise in Ulster he was in the whole or the most part of that seruice with the earle of Esser, whom he aduised and assisted with all the best seruice and counsell he could, to the great comfort of the earle, and commendation of himselfe.

Sir Peter Carewes seruice in Ulster.

The fame and report of this noble gentleman, for his wisedome, valiantnesse, experience, vprightnes, housekeeping, bountifulnesse, liberalitie, and his iust dealings with euerie man, was spred through out all that nation, and he fauoured and beloued of all

His title to his lands in Mounster.

men. And certeine gentlemen in Mounster, knowledging and confessing that he had a iust title to their lands and possessions, and that he (as descending lineallie from the marquesse of Corke) was their lawfull lord, and to whome they ought to yéeld their lands; some of them made their repaire, and some wrote their letters vnto him: and all with one consent acknowledged him to be their right and lawfull lord, and offered not onelie truelie to instruct and to aduertise him throughlie of his whole inheritance; but if it would please him to come to the citie of Corke, they would all appeare before him, and submit themselues, and yéeld vp their lands into his hands. Sir Peter Carew, when he had considered and well bethought of these offers, and had taken aduise with his frends, thought it not good to refuse the same; and that so much the sooner, because he had made hir highnesse acquainted with his title, and had before obteined hir letters to sir William Fitzwilliams then lord deputie of Ireland, and to sir John Parret then lord president of Mounster, that they should assist him in his suites, and to call the contrarie parts, and to persuade them with all quietnesse to yéeld to his iust titles. And againe, finding that part of the realme to be now verie quiet, & the people well disposed, he sent first his agent the writer hereof to Corke, where and before whome there came Mac Artie Riogh, Corman Mac Tæge, Barrie Og, the Omalions, the Odriscots, the Odallies, & sundrie others, who of their owne freewill offered to giue in recompense of that which was past, and towards the setting vp of his house, if he would come and dwell among them, three thousand kine; and so manie sheepe and hogs and corne, as according to to that proportion; and would also yerelie giue him in the like maner such a portion as should be to his contentation and good liking. When his agent had aduertised these things vnto him, and according to his order had prepared a house in Kinsale, and one other in Corke for him: the said sir Peter did set the house of Leighlin to his kinsman and cousine Peter Carew, who afterward was his heire, and prepared his ship to passe himselfe with his household stuffe to Corke. And being in readinesse for the same, it pleased God to call him to another passage; for falling sicke at the towne of Rosse, he died the seauen and twentith of November 1575, and was buried verie honorablie and in warlike manner at Waterford, the fiftéenth of December in the cathedrall church, with all such ensignes of honor as to his degrée apperteined, there being then present sir Henrie Sidneie lord deputie, and the councell. And thus much concerning that worthie knight sir Peter Carew.

The offer of the gentlemen to be his tenants.

The death of sir Peter Carew 1575.

His burial.

The lord deputie, being accompanied from Kilkennie with the earle of Ormond vnto the citie of Waterford, he was verie honourablie receiued at his entrie into the citie, by the maior & his brethren, and an oration congratulatorie made vnto him in the Latine tong by a yong scholar clad in white attire, verie well and eloquentlie pronounced. Great triumphes were made, both vpon the land and vpon the water; with all such shewes and tokens of ioie and gladnesse, as could be deuised. And whiles he remained in the citie, there wanted not anie thing meet and conuenient for the interteinement of his lordship, and of all his traine: which his lordship did verie well accept and take in good part; as also aduertised it to the lords of hir maiesties honourable priuie councell in England. This citie is a verie ancient citie, and first builded (as the common opinion is) by Sitiracus one of the three brethren, which came out of Norwaie, called Easterlings. It standeth and is situated vpon the riuer of Suire, which riseth in the hill or mount Blandina, named in Irish Slough blome:

The reteining of the lord deputie at Waterford.

The description of the citie of Waterford.

The situation.

blome: and fleeteth by Thurles in Tipperarie, whereof the earles of Ormond are vicounts: from thense to the Holie crosse, Ardmale, Cahir Dolweske, Ardfinan, Inislonagh, Clomnell, Caricke Mac Griffin, and so to Waterford.

It was of it selfe a verie little pile, but strong and well walled, and of late yeares (vpon occasion of warres) inlarged in the time of king Henrie the seuenth and inclosed with a strong wall: when Lamberd (named Perkin Warbecke) was crowned king at Dublin, about which king fell great controuersies betweene them and Gilbert erle of Kildare. For the said erle being then lord deputie sent his letters to the said maior & his citizens, requiring them to receiue into their citie the new king, as other good cities had done: who refusing to acknowledge anie other king, than king Henrie of England, he threatened them that he would take their citie perforce and hang the maior. Whereupon hot words grew on euerie side, & the same like to haue growne to hand fight: the Waterfordians offering to wage the battell where the erle would appoint. Which their truth at that time auailed them much afterwards, and they in speciall fauour with king Henrie the seuenth and king Henrie the eight, by whome their liberties and franchises were inlarged.

The soile about it is verie barren and full of hils and rocks, and the lesse profitable for lacke of good manurance and husbandrie: but what faileth in the land, is recompensed with the sundrie commodities which the riuer yeeldeth, which is not onlie plentifull and abundant of all sorts and kinds of fishes, but also it is a goodlie hauen and a receptacle for all sorts of ships: & for this it is called *Larga porta*, The great or large hauen. The resort of merchants from out of all countries to this citie maketh the same verie populous and rich, & is the chiefest *Emporium* of that prouince. Great be the priuileges which the kings of England gaue to the maior & citizens, as well concerning the riuer as the citie, by king John, king Henrie the third, and king Edward the first.

The riuer was bounded and limited from the mouth of the seas, betweene Rindowan where Hoke tower standeth vpon the east side, and Rodibanke vpon the west side, and from thense vnto Caricke vpon Suire: and so farre beyond, as the said riuer ebbeth and floweth that waie: & from the said mouth vnto the Inokiage vpon the riuer of Mire, and so far as the same water ebbeth and floweth; and likewise from the said mouth, vnto saint Molins vpon the riuer of Barrow; and so farre beyond the same, as the water ebbeth & floweth. Yet notwithstanding great controuersies haue bene betweene this citie and the towne of Rosse, which lieth vpon the riuer of Barrow, concerning the bounds and limits that waie, because they of Rosse do claime a priuilege vpon that riuer as of the gift and grant of Roger Bigod earle marshall: who married Isabell the eldest daughter of Walter earle marshall, and in hir right was lord of Rosse and of the riuer of the Barrow. Whereupon certeine inquisitions were taken in the time of king Edward the third, and of king Richard the second: and then at Clomnell vpon the othes of six knights and eightene esquiers, it was found for the citie of Waterford. And these are the bounds of the port or hauen of Waterford; within the which bounds and limits the citie of Waterford, by the grants of sundrie kings vnder their charters, haue these priuileges: That no ship shall be laden nor vnladen, but at the citie of Waterford, and there to paie all such customes and duties as belong and are due for their merchandize: Also that they haue the passage wines and the iurisdiction of the admeraltie, within the limits of the said riuer.

The citie it selfe was first incorporated by king Henrie the second, & after confirmed by king John, Henrie the third, and king Edward the first with augmentations. The maior hath the sword borne before him by the gift of king Edward the fourth, and king Henrie the seauenth, by the name of the sword of iustice. They haue cognisance of all maner of plees as well reall, personall, & mixt. They are iustices of oier and determiner, & maie sit vpon triall of treasons, murthers, and felonies, without anie speciall commission to be sued out for the same. Also that no officer nor officers of the kings or quenes of England, nor their deputies shall intermeddle, nor exercise anie authoritie nor iurisdiction, within the citie and liberties, but onelie the maior & officers of the same. Also they haue a maior and officers of the staple yearelie to be chosen, who haue the liberties for taking of statutes and recognisances staple, not onelie within their owne towne & concerning themselues, but also of sundrie townes in Leinster and Mounster, and the counties of Waterford, Kilkennie, Werford, and Tipperarie. Also they haue libertie from time to time to transport, lade, and carrie awaie corne, vittels, woll, horses, & hawks; and to licence anie other within the limits of their iurisdiction to do the like. Also all forfeitures, amerciaments, fines, felons goods, and deodands goods, they haue to their owne vse. Also that in all doubts, the words of their charters should be expounded to the best sense, and if then there were anie further doubt, the same should be determined and decided by the king or his councell in the realme of England. Also that they should not at anie time be compelled to go and serue in anie hosting, except the king himselfe or anie of his sonnes were present in person.

The incorporation of the citie.

The priuileges of the citie of Waterford.

The sword of iustice.

These and manie other like priuileges of the kings of England from time to time, of their bounteous liberalitie, and in consideration of their dutifull and good seruices, did giue and bestow vpon them. All which, O you the inhabitants of Panapia and citizens of Waterford, the offspring of so good ancestors, ought to be lessons and presidents vnto you, for your continuance in the like offices and duties: that you maie thereby shew your selues to be as were your predecessors, faithfull, loiall, and obedient: and that your apophthegme maie be for euer found true, *Waterfordia semper manet intacta*: Otherwise brag neuer so much of your worthinesse, & glorie neuer so much of your values (as the Iewes did of their father Abraham) yet it shall so little auaile you, that their honour shall be your reproch, and their glorie your shame, if you do not also the like; and in the end your vtter confusion. For as the holie scripture saith: If you be the children of light, then as children walke you in the light; otherwise that light which is in you shall be darkenesse. If you be the children of Abraham, then do you the workes of Abraham: otherwise God, who is able and will raise vp the verie stones to be sonnes to Abraham, shall reiect you, and giue your citie to a people which shall bring forth the fruits of dutie and obedience. For so did he with his owne peculiar people, the Iewes, whom for their disobedience against himselfe, and against his annointed princes, did after sundrie punishments and no amendment giue them ouer vnto their enimies hands: who put their young men to the sword, & their priests to slaughter, their virgins were deflowred, their widows defiled, their citie vtterlie destroied, and not one stone left vpon an other; and all the people which escaped the sword, carried awaie captiues, & made vagabonds, euen to this daie vpon the face of the earth. If he did this to his owne peculiar people, do not you of Waterford, whom God hath blessed manie waies, thinke

An admonition to the citizens of Waterford.

Waterfordia semper manet intacta.

that

The controuersie betweene the earle of Kildare and the Waterfordians.

The Waterfordians refuse to acknowledge Perkin to be their king.

The Waterfordians in fauor with the kings of England.

The commoditie of the riuer.

Larga porta.

The riuer at Waterford.

A controuersie betweene the waterfordians and the towne of Rosse for the riuer of Barrow.

A verdict passed in the behalfe of the Waterfordians.

The priuileges of Waterford vpon the water.

An exhortation to the citizens of Waterford.

that you doing the like wickednesse, shall escape the like iudgements. Wherefore if you will eschew the wrath to come, beware by their examples, and humble your selues in all dutifulnes & obedience to God and to your prince. Examine not his authoritie, nor decipher his power: compare not your priuileges with his authoritie, nor doo you dispute your liberties with his prerogatiue. For notwithstanding your priuileges, liberties, and grants be great and manie: yet they can not abate nor impugne the least part of the princes prerogatiue: which is so great, as nothing can be greater, if you will take the view of Gods owne ordinances, when he first erected and established a king, who gaue him so high and so absolute authoritie, that (as the apostle saith) it must be with all humblenesse obeied: because he is Gods minister especiallie when it concerneth the interest of his maiesties imperiall crowne of that land, the suppression of rebels and traitors, & the deliuerie of your selues and that realme from the enimies and rebels.

The princes prerogatiue.

And doo not you thinke that this digression is impertinent to the historie. For as your ancestors good doings are set downe to their praises and commendations; so the same shall be done of yours, either to your praises for your well doings, or for your reproch to the contrarie. But to the historie. When the lord deputie had giuen thankes to the maior and his brethren for his good interteinement, he departed thense by iournies towards Corke, and by the waie at Dungaruon the earle of Desmond came vnto him, and verie humblie offered him all the seruice he was able to doo to hir maiestie, and did accompanie him from thense vnto the citie of Corke, where the said lord deputie was receiued in the best manner the citizens could, with all humblenesse, and with all such triumphs and other shewes and tokens of good will and dutifulnesse as they could giue, without grudging or complaining either of the townesmen or of the souldiers. To this towne resorted vnto him the earles of Desmond, Thomond, Clancar, and all the noblemen and best gentlemen in all Mounster, and their wiues, and there kept their houses the whole Christmasse. During his being there, manie complaints were made of great outrages, murthers, spoiles, and thefts done throughout that prouince; whereupon dailie sessions were kept, and the malefactors of which three and twentie verie notable and notorious offendors were executed and put to death.

The earle of Desmond humblie offereth his seruice to the lord deputie.

The lord deputie receiued honorablie into Corke.

All the noblemen in Mounster repaire to the lord deputie.

Executions at Corke.

It was also ordered, that for the cutting off and abolishing of the great swarmes and clusters of the idlers, which like waspes troubled the whole land, and liued onelie by spoile and rapine; that euerie nobleman and gentleman should giue and deliuer in the names of euerie seruant and follower which he had, and should see the same to be booked and registred. And if any of them were found vnbooked and not registred, that he should be vsed as a fellon where so euer he was taken; and for all such, as whose names were registred, his lord and master should answer for him. To this order all the noble and gentlemen gaue their full consents, and forthwith the same was openlie proclamed in their presence, who seemed to receiue it with all ioy, and promised that it should be followed with effect, and immediatlie they gaue in their pledges. When all things were thus in these parts setled in good and quiet order, he toke his iournie towards Limerike, and there he was receiued with much more pompe and shewes than in anie place before. But as before, so here he spent a few daies in keeping of sessions, in executing of iustice, and in hearing of poore mens complaints, and toke the like order for registring of euerie noble and gentlemans follower, as he had done at Corke. Which when he had done, he rode thense vnto Thomond, where he was complained vnto of manie great murthers, rapes, thefts, and other outrages, wherof he found great plentie. And for want of sufficient time to proceed throughlie to doo iustice and iudgement therein; he referred the same to certeine commissioners appointed for the purpose: sauing that he committed the principall offendors to ward, and some he banished and abandoned out of those parts, vntill further order were taken for them.

Euerie noble man and gentleman to answer for his men.

The lord deputie honorable receiued at Limerike.

Thomond is cleane out of order.

From thense he entred into Connagh, and came to the towne of Gallewaie, where he found the towne much decaied and almost desolated, sundrie of the good houlholders hauing sought new habitations vnder Mac William Eughter, and the countie throughout altogither spoiled and deuoured by the Mac an Earles, the hopeles (but much better if they had bene hopelesse) sonnes of the earle of Clanricard, whose outrages were most heinous and horrible. But when these graceles impes perceiued of the great complaints made against them, and doubting what would be the sequele if some waie were not taken, they voluntarilie went to Gallewaie towne, and came to the church vpon a sundaie at the publike seruice, where the lord deputie then was; and there kneeling vpon their knées confessed their faults, submitted themselues, and most lamentablie craued pardon, promising vnfeinedlie amendment, and neuer to reuolt more from their dutifull obedience to hir maiestie and hir lawes. The deputie moued herewith, and hoping the best, did by the aduise of hir maiesties councell thinke it good, with some sharpe reprehensions and a little punishment for this time to release them, & so he toke his iournie towards Dublin, where he came the thirteenth of Aprill 1576, but kept sessions in euerie place as he passed throughout the countrie, and placed his garrisons in places conuenient.

The towne of Gallewaie in great decaie.

The earle of Clanricards sonnes submit themselues.

1576

In this his iournie he found a verie ruinous state and most lamentable disorders, which required a speedie reformation. And though the outrages in the ciuill gouernment were great, yet nothing to be compared to the ecclesiasticall state, for that was to too far out of order; the temples all ruined, the parish churches for the most part without curates and pastors, no seruice said, no God honored, nor Christ preached, nor sacraments ministred. And therefore it appeered, yea and it was openlie preached before the lord deputie himselfe, that manie were borne which neuer were christened: and the patrimonie of the church wasted & the lands imbezelled. A lamentable case, for a more deformed and a more ouerthrowne church there could not be among christians. The deputie considering and bethinking with himselfe, how the church of God was abused, and that God had in store some wrath and indignation for this defiling of his holie sanctuarie, did for the auoiding thereof write his letters of aduertisement to hir highnesse, and most earnestlie praied hir princelie authoritie for redresse thereof; and therewith most humblie requested, that the commonwealth being destitute of a chancellor, and other most necessarie magistrates for the gouernement, might likewise with all speed be sent ouer. When hir maiestie and councell had considered this aduertisement, and had entered into the depth thereof, order for a redresse was taken forthwith: and the matters concerning religion and reformation of the church, it was committed to the said lord deputie, and to archbishops and certeine bishops, with others, to see the same to be put in execution. And for the gouernment one William Gerard esquier a professor of the laws was sent to be lord chancellor, & sir William Drurie to be president of Mounster, which arriued at Dublin,

The ruine of the ecclesiasticall state.

Manie in Ireland not christened.

The spoile of the churches.

In order for the reformation of religion.

William Gerard to be lord chancellor.

Sir William Drurie to be lord president.

1576 Dublin, the one the xrtænth of June, and the other the thræ and twentith of the same 1576. The lord chancellor he did forthwith settle and place in his rome. And then his lordship prepareth to take a tournie towards Waterford, to do the like with sir William Drurie. But when he was passed a daies tournie, word was brought vnto him from the bishop of Meth, who laie then vpon the confines of Meth and Connagh for ordering of matters in these parties; and the like from the maior of Gallewaie, and from diuerse others, who affected well the state, crieng out with trembling termes and dolefull reports, that the earle of Clanricard his sonnes that bastarlie brood, which not scarse two moneths past had humbled themselues to the lord deputie, confessed their faults, and craued pardon, and had most firmelie protested and sworne most dutifull and continuall obedience.

The earle of Clanricards sonnes brake out into rebellion.

The earle consented to his sonnes disloialtie.

These (I saie) not without the counsell and consent of their father, were on a night stollen ouer the riuer of Shennon, and there cast awaie their English apparell, and clothed themselues in their old wonted Irish rags, and sent to all their old friends to come awaie to them, and to bring the Scots whom they had solicited, and their Gallowglasses, and all other their forces with them. Who when they met togither, they forthwith went to the towne of Athenrie, and those few houses which were newlie builded, they sacked, set the new gates on fire, beat awaie the masons and labourers which were there in working, brake and spoiled the quænes armes, and others, there made and cut to be set vp. Bad and wicked they were before, but now ten times worse than euer they were; being come, euen as it is said in the scriptures, that the wicked spirit was gone out of the man, and wanting his wonted diet, returneth vnto the house from whense he came, and finding the same swept cleane, he goeth and seeketh out other seuen wicked spirits, and entreth and dwelleth where he did before, and the last state of that man is worse than the first. And if a man should aske of these bastardlie boies, and of their sier, what should be the cause that they should thus rage, and so wickedlie and suddenlie reuolue, as dogs to their vomits, so they to their treasons and treacheries, hauing bene so courteouslie vsed, so gentlie interteined, so friendlie countenanced, so fatherly exhorted, so pithilie persuaded, & so mercifullie pardoned in hope of amendment: surelie nothing can they answer, but that they would not be honest, nor in anie part satisfie a little of infinite the robberies, thefts, and spoiles which they had made. For bastardlie slips cannot bring forth better fruits, neither can thornes bring forth grapes. It is the good tree onelie that bringeth forth good fruits, & which is to be cherished, and to be much made of; but thornes and briers are prepared for the fire, and to be burned. For let the husbandman bestow neuer so much husbandrie vpon the thorne, he will still be but a thorne: yea let him graffe neuer so good a peare vpon him, the same shall be but a stonie peare; and lacking continuall husbandrie, will reuolt to his old nature againe. As the husbandman then prospereth best, when his fields and gardens are weeded and clensed from thornes, brambles & briers, prepared for the fire: euen so shall the magistrate inioie the quiet state of a commonwealth, when iustice taketh place, and iudgement is executed; when the good are preserued and cherished, and the wicked (prepared for the gallowes) according to their deserts are punished.

Athenrie spoiled.

Selfewill cause of the rebellion.

Punishment of the wicked maketh a quiet common wealth.

The instrument, when euerie string is streined to his proper tune, then the musike is sweet, and the harmonie pleasant; but if that one string be out of order, the discord of that one marreth and disgraceth all the whole musike of the rest: euen so is it in a commonwealth, when euerie subiect is dutifull to his prince, obedient to his magistrate, and liueth according to his vocation and calling, the same prospereth and flourisheth; but let the wicked be left at libertie, and be vnpunished, the whole state is disturbed, & the commonwealth (as a garden ouergrowne with weeds) in perill and danger to be ouerthrowne. The best commonwealth in all ages then prospered best, when the wicked were as well punished, as the good serued. And experience teacheth, that a theefe, murtherer, a traitor, & such malefactors do neuer better seruice to their prince & commonwealth, than when they be hanged on the gallowes, and so fastened to a gibbet. But to the matter.

The lord deputie vpon these aduertisements, finding the matter to be of such importance, which required some expedition to withstand the same, or else the whole land like to be in danger, altereth his intended tourneie, and returneth to Dublin, vsing such expedition, that within thræ daies following he was entered into Connagh. The brute thereof when it was blowne abrode, it was scarse credited by the rebels, because it was so sudden and with such spæd. But finding it to be true, and they affraid of their shadowes, they all one and other fled into the mounteins, sauing certeine gentlemen of the earls countrie, which left the traitorous boies, & came to the deputie, and offered their loialtie and seruice with fidelitie. The earle their father would faine haue excused himselfe, but in the end when no excuses could be accepted, his castels were taken, and he brought to the lord deputie: who notwithstanding his humble submissions and crauing of pardons, he was sent to the castell of Dublin, and there kept in close prison. But the lord deputie he passed thense to Gallewaie, and after he had there staied a few daies, for the comforting of the townesmen, who stood much dismaied of their estate, and in feare to be surprised and taken for pledges: he passed through Thomond, and came to Limerike, where he setled sir William Drurie (who had accompanied him in all this seruice) to be the lord president. And from thense being accompanied and attended vpon with him and the nobilitie of that prouince, and diuerse gentlemen of account, they passed to Corke, & there the lord president remained.

The lord deputie altereth his course, and entreth into Connagh.

The earle of Clanricard is sent to the castell of Dublin and kept in close prison.

Sir William Drurie placed to be lord president in Mounster.

The gouernmẽt of sir William Drurie.

Now he the said president, being thus placed in the gouernement of that prouince, did beare himselfe so vprightlie, and in so honourable a sort, that he reformed the same maruellouslie both in life and maners: and of a fierce people he tamed them to obedience. For the euill men he spared not, but by law and iustice in the open sessions, or by sword without respect of persons he punished according to their deserts: euen as of the contrarie the good subiects he would fauour and protect. If anie seruice were to be done vpon the enimie and rebell, he would be the first in the field, and neuer ceasse to pursue him, vntill he had either taken him, or driuen him out of the countrie. If anie matters were in variance betweene man and man, or anie bils of complaints exhibited vnto him, the same he would either determine, or referre them to the law, for which he kept courts continuallie, & where the same were heard and ended, and at which for the most part he would be present. The rude people he framed to a ciuilitie, & their maners he reformed and brought to the English order. And by all these means he did maruellouslie reforme that whole prouince to a most peaceable, quiet and ciuill estate, sauing the countie palatine in Kerie: which the earle of Desmond claimed to be his libertie, and that no person was to intermeddle nor yet to vse any iurisdiction there, other than his owne officers. But when his lordship had looked into the most

The earle of Desmond will haue no officer to intermeddle in his countie palantine.

The countie palantine a sanctuarie of sinne and wickednesse.

most lose and dissolute life there vsed, and that it was a sanctuarie for all lewd and wicked persons, and how that liberties granted at the first for the maintenance of iustice was now become a cloke and a shrowd for all licentiousnesse: he purposed and was fullie determined to make a iourneie into that priuileged place, to make a passage for law and iustice to be there exercised, euen as he had tofore done in other places, knowing that it could not be safe among a great flocke to leaue a scabbed sheepe, nor good for a commonwealth to haue nurseries for sinne.

The lord president purposeth to do iustice in Kerrie.

The erle, when he perceiued this, he was in a great furie and agonie, and vsed all the waies he could to dissuade the lord president from the same. Which when he by no means could compasse, then according to his accustomable dissimulations he maketh faire weather, and offereth all the seruice he could do to his lordship, and requested him that it would please him to vse his house and countrie at his pleasure, and that it would likewise please his lordship to lie at his house at Tralie when he passed that waie; the earle minding nothing lesse than his welcome thither, but practising in the end openlie what he had dissemblinglie and in secret deuised and determined. The lord deputie, nothing mistrusting anie secret practise to be imagined against him, granteth the earles request; and when he saw time, he taketh his iourneie into Kerrie, hauing no more men with him than sufficient, to the number of six score, or seuen score persons: and as he passed through the countrie, he kept courts and sessions, and heard euerie mans complaint: and at length as his iourneie laie, he rode vnto Tralie, where he minded to lodge with the earle. The earle hauing the gouernor (as he thought) within his cloches, and minding to practise that openlie, which he had deuised secretlie; had appointed in a readinesse seuen hundred, or eight hundred of his best followers to haue intraped his lordship; and in sted of a bien venu into the countrie, to haue cut him off for euer comming more there. Which his villanous treacherie when his lordship saw and vnderstood; and considering that he was so nere vpon them, as that he was either to aduenture vpon them, or with dishonor to hazard himselfe and his companie: he calleth all his companie togither, and with verie good and pithie words incourageth them to giue the onset vpon them: and forthwith with a good courage they all march forwards, and gaue the charge vpon them. But they, notwithstanding they were all well armed, and seuen to one of the other: yet being as it were astonied at the boldnesse of this noble man, and at his great courage; for which he was famous in & through all that land: both the earle and his companie turned their heeles, forsoke the field, and dispersed themselues into the woods, and elsewhere, for their best safetie

The lord president entreth into Kerrie.

The treacherous practise of the earle to haue intrapped thr lord president.

The lord president giueth the charge vpon the earle of Delmond.

The countesse, when she heard hereof, fell in a great sorow and heauinesse for hir husbands so bad dealings; and like a good Abigaell went and met the lord president, fell vpon hir knees, held vp hir hands, and with trilling teares praied his lordships patience and pardon, excusing as well as she could hir husbands follie, saieng that he had assembled all that companie onelie for a generall hunting, nothing thinking vpon his lordship; and that the men seeing his lordship could not be persuaded to make anie staie: and so praied his lordship to take it. And herein she so wiselie and in such modestie did behaue hir selfe, that his lordship granted hir request, and temporised with the earle. But he followed his determination, and vsed his authoritie to decide matters in and throughout the palantine of Kerrie. This greeued the earle to the hart, who hauing no other waie to be reuenged, he deuiseth certeine articles against the president, which he with great exclames exhibited vnto the lord deputie. The lord deputie, when he departed from Corke, he returned to Dublin, where he was aduertised that the Mac an Earles in Connagh had hired a new supplie of two thousand Scots, and were in actuall rebellion. Whereupon he prepared a new iourneie thitherwards: and being come thither, he found the matter to be true, and that they were vp in campe and in outragious maner spoiling the countries. But before his comming they had besieged Ballie Riogh which was the earles their fathers house, and for his treacherous dealings confiscated.

The erle complaineth against the lord president.

The Mac an Earles in Connagh rise in rebellion.

The earls sons do besiege Ballie Riogh.

In this house the lord deputie, at his last departure from thense, had placed Thomas le Strange, and capteine Colier with one hundred footmen, and fiftie horsemen to lie in garrison; but the earls sons, thinking themselues of sufficient strength to recouer the same againe, laid siege vnto it, and inuironed it round about: but they were so resisted, that they did not onelie not preuaile; but the garrison within did make sundrie assaults vpon them, and slue at sundrie times six of their principall capteins, and one hundred and fiftie of their men. And in the end, when they saw they could not preuaile, they raised their siege, and followed their accustomed robbing and spoiling of the countrie; but especiallie vpon Mac William Eughter, from whome they tooke sundrie of his castels, and spoiled him of his goods and cattels. The lord deputie, not slacking nor slowing his businesse, followed out of hand the foresaid rebels, who skipped to and fro in such sort, that in no case could he find them at any aduantage. Wherfore he did disperse his companies, and according as intelligence was giuen, he caused pursute to be made vpon them. And by that meanes, although he could not méete with the whole troope of them, whereby to haue a full aduantage vpon them; yet manie times he met with some of them, slue them, hanged and executed them, tooke their preies from them, and gained awaie their holds and castels. And at length hauing good espials, it was aduertised vnto him, that the Scots were incamped in the confins and marches of Mac William Eughters countrie: and therupon he forthwith marched thitherwards, and in his waie manie of them fell into his lap, who had their rewards. Vnto whose lordship resorted the said Mac William with all the force he had, & could make; who in this rebellion, being the onelie man of power in Connagh, & yet not able to saue himselfe a hole from their inuasions, did shew himselfe most loiall, and did the best seruice that was done vpon the rebels: and by the meanes of the said deputie, he recouered, and was repossessed of sundrie his castels, which in this rebellion had bene taken from him.

Walter William Eughter his countrie spoiled.

The lord deputie followeth the rebels.

The Scots incamped in Connagh.

Mac william Eughter commeth with all the force he could make vnto the lord deputie.

The Scots, when they heard of the approching of the deputie towards them, they raised their campe, and suddenlie dispersed themselues, and the most of them, being wearie of their abode and interteinment, fled into the rout in Vlster. The residue like vnto the bare arsed rebels sculked to and fro; but in the end, they and the others were all dispersed, & durst not to appeare. Wherefore the deputie, when he had broken the galles of them, & had thus dispersed them, he by iournies returned towards Dublin, and hauing a little before receiued hir maiesties letters in the behalfe of Nicholas Malbie hir seruant, whome she commended for his sufficiencie, both for martiall and ciuill causes: and as well for the incouragement of him, as for the nourishing of the like vertues in others of his profession; hir pleasure was to commit vnto him the chefe charge and gouernement

The Scots forsake Connagh and returne home.

Sir Nicholas Malbie appointed gouernor of Cõnagh.

uernement vnder the said deputie in Connagh, and willed that he should be forthwith established in that office, & to be sworne one of hir priuie councell, & to haue that countenance, authoritie, & interteinement as was meet, conuenient & agréeable for the place, office, & person. Which the said deputie most willinglie & gladlie performed, dubbed him knight, and made him gouernor by the name of a coronell of Connaugh: thinking himselfe most happie, that he was assisted with such a man, as who for his experience in iudgement, his discretion in gouernement, and his painefulnesse and skill in martiall seruice was sufficient and compleat; and best able, partlie by force, partlie by persuasion, and chieflie by ministring of iustice, was (I saie) best able, and would frame the rude and barbarous people of that prouince to ciuilitie and good order. And thus much he aduertised vnto hir maiestie by his letters, with thankes for hir choise of so méete and apt a man. During the time of this seruice and being of the lord deputie in Connagh, the earle of Esser, a man of great nobilitie and parentage died in Dublin. Great doubts were made of his death; some thinking that he should be poisoned, because he was then in the best time of his age, of a verie good constitution of bodie, and not knowne to haue bæne sicke anie time before his death. But the matter examined by all the meanes that could be deuised, there was no such thing then found: but supposed, that for so much as he had a flux, which was a spise of a *Dysenteria*, and wherewith he had bæne oftentimes before troubled, by the inspection and iudgement of such physicians & others who were present, it was iudged and found that it was some cause of his death. Some thought rather that he should be bewitched, as that countrie is much giuen to such dailie practises. But how far is that from all christianitie, all wise and godlie doo know, and euerie good christian should vnderstand. It is against the word of the Lord and all christian religion; and therefore not to be credited. It was thought and so affirmed by the most part of all men, that some inward griefe of the mind and secret sorow of the hart had hastened that, which no infirmitie of the bodie nor anie other deuises extraordinarie could compasse. For where that maladie is once entered, and hath seized and taken possession, and which by no physicke can be releeued or cured: it is but in vaine to minister the same to the bodie, which can not indure when the other faileth, no more than can an accident remaine, when the substance is gone; or else as the imbers or ashes giue heat, when the wood is burned and consumed.

The death of the earle of Esser.

Dysemeria.

The sundrie opinions of his death. Poisoning. Witchcraft.

Sorrow and griefe of mind.

No physicke against the sorow of the mind.

He was no more honorable of birth and parentage by his ancestors, of whome some descended out of kings loines; but as singular a man for all the gifts both of mind and bodie, as that age had not manie better. Towards God he was most deuout and religious, whome he serued according to his holie word in all truth and sinceritie, and his whole life according to his vocation he framed after the same; being not spotted with drunkennesse, couetousnesse, whoredome, incontinencie, or anie other notorious crime: a great fauourer of the godlie, a friend to the professors of the gospell, & an extreame enimie to the papists & enimies of the true religion: to his prince & souereigne most dutifull and humble, faithfull & obedient: his superiors he honored, his elders he reuerenced, his equals he loued, his inferiors he fauored: to his countrie trustie, to the commonwealth zealous, to all men courteous, and to the poore and oppressed bounteous and liberall.

The vertues of the earle of Esser.

In matters of policie he was verie prudent, and of a great reach: in causes of counsell sound, and of a déepe iudgement: in martiall affaires most valiant and of great courage, and of so heroicall a mind, that if his abilitie had answered his good will, he had not bin a second, neither to Lacie, nor to Courcie, nor to anie the first conquerors of Ulster to the crowne of England. For such a plot had he laid for the regaining therof, that it could not be denied, but if the same had béene followed, great good would haue insued in processe of time to hir maiestie, in obedience and reuenues, and a great suertie to that estate, and the like increase of benefit to the whole commonwealth. The more noble were his good and worthie attempts, the more he was crossed and contraried: but by such secret meanes, as which he did rather for the most part coniecture amisse, than hit aright: but yet such was the great valour of his mind, and the magnanimitie of his stomach, that his good meanings & attempts, for the honor of his prince, and the benefit of the commonwealth, being so contraried and ouerthwarted, he whome no trauels, no paines, no seruice, no hardnesse could breake; the verie griefe of mind and sorrow of heart (as it was thought) did onelie consume and ouerthrow. He was also verie learned, and of great reading, and sometimes a scholer in the vniuersitie, and had verie good knowledge in all kind of letters, as well theologicall as humane, and of a verie quicke wit to conceiue, of a good capacitie to vnderstand, and of a readie tong to vtter and deliuer in a verie good order what he had conceiued; and so well he would discourse and argue anie matter, as few scholers better, and not manie so skilfull in anie one, as he was generallie in all good vertues. A more noble man euerie wale, not England, nor anie other nation hath lightlie afforded. And certeinlie, if it had pleased God that Lachesis had bene idle, or had spun a longer thread, that he might haue liued to haue bæne imploied according to his excellent vertues, either in matters of counsell, of policie, or martiall, no doubt he would haue prooued a most worthie and beneficiall member vnto hir maiestie, and hir whole commonwealth. As his life was, so also was his death most godlie, comfortable, and vertuous, the one answerable to the other, euen as S. Augustine writeth; *vix malè moritur qui benè vixit*. In all the time of his sicknesse, which was about twentie or one and twentie daies, although he were manie times tormented with grœuous pangs in the bellie: yet was he neuer heard to grudge or murmur, nor to speake anie angrie or idle word, but most patientlie and méekelie take all things in good part. After he perceiued that nature began to faile and defect, he yéelded himselfe to die, and was verie desirous that his friends and welwillers should haue accesse vnto him, and to abide by him at their pleasure. And by that meanes he had continuallie about him diuerse men of all degrees, as well of the clergie, as of the laitie, both men and women, gentlemen & seruants, before whom he did shew most apparant arguments of a godlie and vnfeined repentance of his life past, and of a most christian and perfect charitie with all the world, frœlie forgiuing euerie offense done vnto him, and asking the like of all others. His faith he openlie confessed, and witnessed a most vndoubted assurance of his saluation in Christ Jesus, purchased for him in his bloud and death: and manie times he would with a lowd voice saie; *Cupio dissolui & esse cum Christo.* He spent most part of the time, when the extremitie of his sicknesse did not let him, in praiers, and in hearing the word read vnto him, and would vse such godlie admonitions, such pithie persuasions, & so graue instructions, as he neuer did, nor thought he could doo in all his life time: for he neuer seemed in all his daies to be halfe so wise, learned, and eloquent. The néerer that death drew, the more feruent he

A plot for the regaining of Ulster.

The earle of Esser contrarried in all his attempts.

The earle verie well learned.

A godlie life hath a godlie end.

His patience in his sicknes

His repentance and charitie.

He confesseth his faith.

His praieng and hearing the word.

he was in praier, and requested all his companie to doo the like; and the verie last words that he spake was, The lord Jesus. And when his tong gaue ouer to speake anie more, he lifted vp his hands & eies to the Lord his God, vntill most sweetlie, mildlie, and godlie he did yéeld vp his ghost, which manie times before he had commended to his Lord and God. And thus this noble man vpon the two and twentith daie of September, and in the yere of our Lord one thousand fiue hundred seuentie and six, left this world, to the great sorow of his frends, and losse of the commonwealth; but to the gaine of himselfe, who by all aparant arguments and testimonies of his vndouted faith, doth assure vs of his euerlasting ioie, and eternall felicitie.

See more of this earle of Essex in the chronicles of England, pag. 1263.

His letters to the lord deputie.

About three daies before his death, he wrot his last letters to the lord deputie, being then in the remote parties of Connagh; and verie desirous he was to haue spoken with him. In which letters he gaue his lordship most hartie thanks for all the good frendships past betweene them, and wished that the good and faithfull dealings betweene them were knowne as well in England as elsewhere. Then he commended to him all his seruants generallie, and some by particular name; and therein a speciall request for his sonne and heire, that though he himselfe should die to his frends, yet his sonne the earle of Essex might liue to the seruice of his prince, and the good of the commonwealth. And lastlie, he touched somewhat concerning his burtall, and herewith he sent vnto his lordship a little George and a garter, the ensignes of the order of the garter, whereof they both were knights and companions, to be a memoriall of the loue and goodwill past betweene them. And now leauing this honorable earle in his heauenlie ioie and blisse: let vs returne to the historie of this effere and effrenated nation.

The effect of the earles letters to the deputie.

The disagréements betweene the earls of Desmond and Thomond.

The prouince of Mounster was indifferent quiet, but some repinings were betweene the earles of Thomond and Desmond, the one not abiding nor digesting the orders, which vpon sundrie complaints were made against him, which he refused to obeie, vntill *volens nolens* he were pressed thereunto by the lord president: the other, who was alwaies a verie wilfull man, notwithstanding he had at Corke yéelded himselfe (of his owne frée consent) to abide the orders there made for the quietnesse of the countrie, yet now hauing taken the aduise of his disordered followers, he would not be withdrawen from his wonted exactions, and therefore repined to beare further anie cesse; and wrote his letters to the lords of hir maiesties priuie councell in England, complaining much, and prouing nothing, and aggrauating the taking of the cesse, with most manifest vntruths. And so far he was carried in misliking the gouernment, bicause he saw his owne wonted swaie was much abated, that he would verie faine haue slipped out if he could. And it was verelie thought that he was combined in a secret conspiration with the forelorne sonnes of the earle of Clanricard, as was his brother sir John of Desmond, who for his conference had with Shane Burke, was suspected to haue ioined with him in his rebellion; as also because he had promised him aid out of Mounster, if he would hold out, and for which he was committed to ward. Which carted the more likelihood, bicause his intention was to put awaie his owne wife, & to haue matched himselfe in marriage with Shanes sister, who was Orwackes wife, & of late forsaken by him. Neuer theless, the erle was fearefull to offend the state, for the president was so watchfull to espie out both his and all the rest of their doings, and in such a readinesse to be at inches with them, and vpon their bones if they started out neuer so little, that he kept himselfe quiet, and came in to the said president, and deliuered in his men that were demanded, & which before he denied, being verie notorious malefactors and practisers of vnquietnesse.

The earle of Desmond repineth against all good orders, and complaineth against the cesse.

Sir John of Desmond committed to ward.

Sir P. Desmond putteth away his wife and marrieth another mans wife.

And now that the whole land was (as was thought) in quiet, or at least in outward shew more quiet than in times past, the noblemen & gentlemen in the English pale, of whome least suspicion of anie euill was thought, they begin verie inconsideratlie to repine against the cesse: who if they had entred into the due consideration thereof, they (although somewhat to their further charge) should haue mainteined it: because that the same was procured for the defense of themselues, and they onelie had the benefit thereof. For you shall vnderstand that the lord deputie, being a man of great wisdome, knowlege, and experience, when he considered the fickle state of that wauering and rebellious nation of the Irishrie, who notwithstanding they had neuer so firmlie promised, sworne, and vowed all allegiance and obedience to hir maiestie: yet vpon euerie light occasion, without anie respect of faith and dutie, would fling out into secret conspiracies, and so into open rebellion; and then for the appeasing thereof, and the preseruation of hir good subiects, hir highnesse was driuen to inlarge hir garrisons, and to increase hir armie to hir excessiue charges, and all which companies were victelled by the English pale: and further, considering that the benefit which grew hereby, was generallie extended to the whole pale, who in equitie should be contributorie to the burthen, as they were partakers of the ease, and yet manie of them, pretending to haue liberties and priuileges, claimed to be exempted from anie contribution at all, whereby the residue were the more greeued, & the greater burthened, to their impouerishing, & the hinderance of their seruice: the lord deputie caused a through search to be made in hir highnesse court of the exchéker in Ireland, of all the records, for and concerning all and all manner of liberties which at anie time had tofore bin granted to anie person or persons whatsoeuer: and in the end found that (verie few ancient liberties excepted) all were vsurped, or by statute repealed.

The gentlemen in the pale begin to repine against the cesse.

Liberties claimed to be discharged of the cesse.

The records searched for liberties.

Wherevpon to ease the oppressed, and to make the burthen to be borne more vniuersallie, and so more indifferentlie; and for the better furtherance of hir highnesse seruice: he commanded by proclamation all such liberties and frédoms to be dissolued, as which either had no grant at all, or which had not that continuance of times out of memorie of man. And of this latter sort were manie made by a statute but to indure onelie for ten yeares, and all which were expired. And for this cause they neuer found fault before now that they are greeued, and therefore doo repine against cesse; and with open mouths crie out, that they were so poore that they could not beare anie cesse, and that it was against the law. And here for your better vnderstanding what cesse is, and what is meant thereby; it is a prerogatiue of the prince, to impose vpon the countrie a certeine proportion of all kind of victels for men and horsse, to be deliuered at a reasonable price called the quéens price, to all and euerie such souldiors as she is contented to be at charge withall, and so much as is thought competent for the lord deputies house; and which price is to be yearelie rated and assessed by the lord deputie and the councell, with the assistants and assent of the nobilitie of the countrie, at such rates and prices as the souldiors may liue of his wages, and the said deputie of his interteinment.

Liberties dissolued by proclamation.

What cesse is.

The malecōtents make their supplication to the

These things although they were orderlie done, yet certeine malecontents, finding themselues greeued, bicause they should also now beare a portion, and be

The lord deputie & councell to be discharged of the cesse.

be contributaries: first they draw their heads togither, and make there supplication to the lord deputie and councell, which was receiued verie willinglie, and offer made that conference should be had with them, how and what waie it might best be deuised to ease there grieues, & not to charge the queene. Wherupon at a time appointed they all met, and came in persons before the deputie and councell, where the said malecontents first opened their grieues, that they had certeine old and ancient priuileges and liberties which were taken from them; then that they were compelled to pæld to an vnreasonable cesse, which they were not able to beare, and that was will and pleasure onlie, and contrarie to all law and reason, that anie such charge should be imposed vpon them without a parlement or grand councell.

When the lord deputie and councell heard them at full, they appointed a daie, when they should come and receiue their answer. In the meane time the lord deputie and councell consulted and consideted of the matter, and resolued themselues vpon an answer. And when the daie came and they appeered, answer was made vnto them by the mouth of the lord chancellor, that they had no charters nor liberties at all to be found in hir highnesse records, other than such as were expired and of no validitie. And as for the greatnesse of the cesse, the burden whereof they had alleged to be vnreasonable and not to be borne, because they said & auouched that it was ten pounds & twelue pounds of ech plough land; it was offered that they should be discharged, if they would paie but fiue markes for euerie plough land. And whatsoeuer they said in derall of the pateng of the cesse, it was and is to be proued, that it was not onelie hir maiesties prerogatiue which may not be impeached; but also to be prooued by most ancient records, that euer since the time of king Henrie the fourth, for the space of eight or nine score yeares, there hath bin still from time to time, as occasion hath required, the like charges imposed by the name of cesse by the deputie and councell, and such nobilitie as were sent for and did come to the same, now in question and by them repined at. Neuertheless, they repined and flatlie denied that they would yéld to anie cesse, saieng and alledging as before, that it was against reason and law, and therefore praied that they might haue his lordships libertie to make their repaire ouer into England, and to acquaint hir highnesse with their case. Wherevnto he answered, that he would neither giue any such leaue nor denie them to go. Wherevpon they assembled themselues togither againe, and by the aduise of certeine busie headed lawiers and malecontented gentlemen, who had stirred and set them a worke to conioine themselues to follow this sute, and contributed a masse of monie amongst themselues, for the charge of the said lawiers, namelie Barnabie Scurlocke, Richard Peteruill, and Henrie Burnell, who hauing bene sometimes students in the ins of the court in London, & acquainted with Littletons tenures, thought themselues so well fraughted with knowledge in the lawes, as they were able to wade in all matters of the deepest points of the law. But if they had first (as it becommeth dutifull subiects) to haue looked in the booke of God, they should haue found it written there, that it was God himselfe who first made kings and established their thrones, and gaue them most excellent preeminences next to himselfe, that they should be vnder him the supreme gouernours vpon the earth; and haue that authoritie and prerogatiue, that all inferiors and subiects should and ought in all humblenesse and dutifulnesse submit themselues vnto the obedience of them for the Lords sake: because so is it the will of God, without sifting of his authoritie or examining his gouernment. For there is no power (as the apostle saith) but of God, & they are ordeined of God; wherfore who so resisteth them, resisteth God, and whose resistances & disobediences the Lord himselfe hath reuenged oftentimes on the disobedient. Wherfore euerie man is to be subiect in all humilitie & obedience vnto them in all maner of ordinances, being not against God, not onlie because of wrath, but also for conscience sake, especiallie in matters being well considered, & which do concerne their one benefit and safetie. If this be the infallible truth, how farre were these men ouerthot, that thus would dispute the princes prerogatiue with their Littletons tenures; and measure the same with their owne rules and deuises? It had bin much better for them, & more to their commendations, if they had (as the scholers of Pythagoras) kept silence and had held their peace, vntill such time as they had beene better studied in their owne lawes: and then they should haue found it written that the prince or king is the head and most excellent part of the bodie of the commonwealth; and through his gouernance the preseruer and defender of the whole bodie, and (as the prophet termeth them) to be nourishing fathers of the people which are the rest of the bodie, and for which causes the lawes do attribute vnto him all honor, dignitie, prerogatiue, and preeminence aboue all others; and which his prerogatiue doth not onelie extend to his owne person, and all that which he hath of his owne, but also to all his subiects. And the lawyers themselues do so far stretch this for a *Maxime*, that whatsoeuer lawes be made and established either for the benefit of holie church or common profit, it is alwaies implied *Salua in omnibus regis prærogatiua*; and that nothing shall be intended to be preiudiciall to his crowne and dignitie. But by all likelihood these men were not so farre read; or if they had, their malice or desire of some pelting lucre, which blindeth manie of that profession, had made them forgetfull of themselues & of their duties. Well, these great lawiers beare the malecontented lords & gentlemen in hand, that their cause & sute was good and reasonable, and by the law to be warranted, & not to be doubted but the same would haue good successe. Wherupon they made vp their supplication and letters to hir maiestie, with the like letters to hir honorable priuie councell, dated the tenth of Januarie, 1576, and vnder the hands of Rolland vicount of Baltinglas, Ed. of Deluin, Christopher of Hoth, Peter of Trimleston, James of Kellew, and Patrike Naugle barons; sir Oliuer Plunket, sir Thomas Nugeat, sir Christopher Chiuers, and sir William Searefield knights; Edward Plunket, Patrike Naugle, Patrike Hulleie, George Plunket, Francis Nugeat, Laurence Nugeat, Nicholas Talle, James Nugeat, and William Talbot, in the names of all the inhabitants within the English pale, had subscribed. And then also they deliuered in the like order their letters of atturneie vnto their said agents, and so much monie for their expenses as was thought sufficient, with their order and promise to suplie what soeuer they should næd. And thus being furnished with all things to their contentments, they past ouer the seas, and made their repaire vnto the court of England, and there at time conuenient did exhibit their supplications and letters to hir maiestie and the lords of the councell, which in effect consisted in these points.

The kings prerogatiue by the lawes of the realme.

The impaled gentlemen send into England their agents to complaine.

The prerogatiue of a prince by the law of God.

First, that where there was a cesse imposed by the lord deputie and councell vpon the English pale for hir maiesties garrisons, they finding themselues grieued therewith, made their complaint thereof vnto the said lord deputie and councell for redresse, and could not be heard.

1 The effect of the letters & complaints exhibited to hir maiestie and councell.

2 Secondarilie, they affirmed that the said cesse, or anie other like to be imposed vpon them, was against the lawes, statutes, and vsages of that realme.

3 Thirdlie, that the cesse was a most intollerable and grieuous burden, there being eracted out of euerie plough land ten and twelue pounds.

4 Fourthlie, that in the leuieng and eracting, there were manie and sundrie abuses donne and committed.

The matter is referred to the councell. When hir maiestie had throughlie read both the complaints and letters, she forthwith sent and set them ouer to the lords of hir priuie councell to be considered, and the same to be throughlie examined; who forthwith assembled themselues, and hauing read and heard the contents thereof, did compare them with the like letters sent vnto them from the said malecontented lords & gentlemen; as also with the instructions and aduertisements, which they likewise had receiued from the lord deputie and councell out of Ireland, concerning the same. And after long debating of the matter, that they might the better proue and vnderstand the greatnesse therof, did by hir highnesse commandement call before them the earles of Kildare and Ormond, the vicount of Gormanstone, and the baron of Dunsanie, who then were attendant at the court, and declared vnto them the whole matter, and the maner of these mens procéedings both héere and in that realme, whose intent and meaning was in verie déed, vnder color to séeke some releefe, to haue taken awaie wholie the imposing of anie cesse, and so consequentlie to haue taken awaie the right & prerogatiue, which hir maiestie & predecessors haue alwaies inioied, and without which that realme could not be defended, nor themselues preserued.

These foure noblemen, when they had heard the whole matter, séemed to be sorie, and to mislike of their vnaduised procédings: they confessing and acknowledging that cesse hath bæne alwaies vsed to be taken, and they thought him not to be a dutifull subiect, who would denie or impugne the same: although they wished and did praie, that the poore inhabitants in times of scarsitie might be eased of some part of the burthen which they now presentlie did beare. When the lords of the councell had procæded herein so farre as they could, they deliuered vp their opinions to hir maiestie, aduertising that concerning the first article they could say nothing; but that they supposed that the dooings of hir highnesse deputie was not so strict as was complained: bicause he had written otherwise.

The answers of the councell to the articles of the complainers.

To the second their opinion was, that it touched hir maiesties prerogatiue, so much to be denied of that imposition, which hath bæne vsed, allowed, and continued for manie yeares, and in times of hir sundrie predecessors; that now it might not be suffered to be impeached, vnlesse hir highnesse would lose and forgo hir title, right, and interest to the crowne of Ireland, or else support the whole burthen and charge to defend the same of hir owne purse: neither which extreamities could or might in anie wise be tollerated.

To the third, that the cesse was intollerable, and not able to be borne, they thought that to be true, if ten pounds and twelue pounds should be demanded out of euerie plough land, as they complained: but they vnderstood by credible informations from the deputie and councell the contrarie, & that they were offered at fiue marks the plough land: which was supposed to be verie easie and reasonable.

To the fourth article their opinion was, that if anie such abuses were donne, it were good the same were set downe and knowne, and a redresse therof to be ordered.

When hir highnesse had read and thoroughlie considered their opinions and resolutions, and finding hir selfe vndutifullie to be handled by hir subiects, commanded by the aduise of hir councell the said agents which followed their suit, to be committed to the Fléet, and forthwith wrote hir letters to the said hir deputie and councell, finding hir selfe grieued with the said hir subiects of the pale, that the releeuing of hir armie with vittels by waie of cesse, should be auouched to be a matter against law, and ancient custome: and yet the same both in hir time and in the times of hir progenitors, hath vsuallie bæne imposed, and now impugned by some such as in times past had subscribed thereunto, in prejudice of hir prerogatiue, and hinderance of hir seruice. And therfore she did not onelie mislike, & was greatlie offended with these their presumptuous and vndutifull maner of procéding; but also found fault with the said deputie and hir councell there, that they would and did suffer hir prerogatiue in contempt of hir highnesse and authoritie to be so impugned, & the parties not committed & punished: by which meanes the matter at the first and in the beginning might haue bæne remedied. And therefore as hir highnesse had alreadie giuen order for committing them to the Fléet, for the punishment of the agents which were sent ouer with the complaints and letters, for such their iustifieng and mainteining the imposition of the said cesse to be against the lawes and customes of that hir realme, and therefore séeking to impeach hir prerogatiue and roiall authoritie: but also willed and commanded him and all hir whole councell to send for those lords and gentlemen, which subscribed the letters sent vnto hir highnesse, who if they will stand to mainteine their assertions, and auow the imposition of the cesse to be against the lawes and customes of the realme, and not warrantable by hir prerogatiue, that then hir pleasure was, that these persisting and auowing to be likewise committed.

Hir maiestie offended with the complainers.

The agents of the complainers sent to the Fléet.

Hir maiestie offended with the lord deputie and councell for suffering the complainers vnpunished.

The complainers which subscribed to be sent and committed to ward.

And concerning the abuses perpetrated in the maner of the leuieng the said cesse, hir commandement and order was, that whosoeuer were culpable therein, he should be punished with all seueritie. And herewith also she was contented, and had giuen order for some qualification to be yælded vnto, as by the said hir deputie and councell should be thought méet: considering the scarsitie and the dearth which was then in the said English pale. And in case the said lords and gentlemen vpon better consideration will be contented to acknowledge their offenses, and submit themselues simplie, and vnder their handwritings: that then they to receiue fauour. And as for those and such hir learned men, as were present at the debating of the matter, and did forbeare (contrarie to their dutie & knowledge) to stand in maintenance against the said prerogatiue, to be displaced and discharged out of hir fée, and their places to be supplied by such others as by the deputies shall be thought méet. Immediatlie vpon the receipt of hir maiesties letters, and the like from the councell, the lord deputie and councell by their letters sent not onelie for those malcontents, which had before subscribed to the letters sent to hir highnesse and councell; but also in discretion for such others who for their disguised and cunning manner of dealings were specialie noted to be councellors, ringleaders, and procurors of these letters to hir maiestie and the lords of hir councell: who when they were come, and then being dealt withall, touching their claime of frædome from cesse: their answers were arrogant and wilfull, and repining against hir maiesties prerogatiue, and affirming boldlie in plaine spéeches and without anie sticking, that no

The complainers acknowledging their faults to be gentlie vsed.

The lawyers of hir maiesties fée maintening the complaints, to be displaced.

The malcontents & their abbettors sent for.

The proud answers of the malcontents.

cesse

ceſſe could be impoſed but by parlement or a grand councell; and whatſoeuer was otherwiſe ſet downe, was againſt the law: and ſo ſtubbornelie they were bent therein, that they would not yæld to anie conference: whereupon they were all committed to the caſtell of Dublin, notwithſtanding ſome of them (after they had better aduiſed themſelues) yælded a ſubmiſſion and praied mercie.

The malcontents are all committed to priſon.

Which doings when the lord deputie and councell had forthwith aduertiſed to hir highneſſe & the councell in England; they nothing liking theſe arrogant and diſſolute parts of theſe impaled malecontents, ſent for their agents; and hauing the like conference with them, found them of like diſpoſition, being as a fit couer to the pot, verie froward, arrogant, and wilfull: whereupon they were remoued from the Flét to the Tower: a place appointed for the offendors in capitall cauſes, and for ſuch (being impugners of hir prerogatiue) as be ſuppoſed to offend in the nereſt degrée to the higheſt. These things when they were notified vnto the lords and gentlemen in Ireland, they were maruellouſlie grieued; but not the one nor the other would giue ouer, vntill their arrogancies and inſolencies were by apparant matter and good records fullie conuinced, and condemned: for which the lord chancellor of verie purpoſe was ſent ouer into England, who ſo fullie, effectuallie, and diſcrætlie did reſolue hir maieſtie and councell in euerie point, which the parties agents could not denie.

The agents for their frowardneſſe ſent to the Tower.

The lord chancellor of Ireland ſent into England.

Now in the end they conſidered better of themſelues, and ſent their humble ſubmiſſion in writing vnder their hands to the ſaid lords of hir maieſties priuie councell, confeſſing that they had diſſolutallie and inſolentlie, both in words and writings offended moſt grieuouſlie; proteſting yet that their intent was neuer to denie hir rotall prerogatiue, to vſe the ſame as occaſion ſhould ſerue, but onelie to redreſſe certeine abuſes; and therefore moſt humblie praied they might find ſome mercie, and that the hard and painfull impriſonment which they had ſuſteined, might be a ſufficient puniſhment for the ſame. Whereupon they were releaſed, putting in bonds of one thouſand pounds, that within fiue daies they ſhould depart homewards into Ireland; and after their tranſportation & arriuall thither, ſhould make their immediat repaire, without ſtaie or lingering, to the lord deputie and councell, and there to giue their attendance, vntill by them they ſhould be licenced to depart. At their comming home they perfor-med the conditions of their obligations, and moſt humblie in like order ſubmitted themſelues to the lord deputie and councell, and then (according to an order thought good by the lords of the councell in England, and referred to the liking of the lord deputie and councell in Ireland) the ſame was after long trauerſe ended and determined. But here to ſet downe what practiſes, informations, & deuiſes were made againſt the ſaid deputie, by the ſaid malecontents, and ſome (by their means) of no ſmall calling had informed that he had alienated the hearts of the ſubiects from totall obedience, that he had farmed all the whole relme, that he had waſted hir maieſties treaſures and reuenues, that he wanted policie in his gouernement, that he ſhould for this dealing with hir ſubiects be reuoked, that he did all things by his owne mind without the aduiſe of others, contrarie to the courſe of other deputies before him, that he did grant manie pardons, to the imboldening of manie which offended the more.

The agents were releaſed vpon their bonds to appeare before the lord deputie and councell.

The falſe accuſations made againſt the lord deputie.

These and manie ſuch other like vntruths they ſpred. But truth, which is the daughter of time, did manifeſt it to the whole world, that their ouerthrow was his credit, and his preuaile was to their reproch and ſhame. And albeit manie were the pangs and inward griefes, which for a time by the meanes of their falſe ſuggeſtions he ſuſteined, and with great paines he couered: yet in the end it turned to his great ioy and comfort. And here by the way, if a man without offenſe ſhould fall into the conſideration of this their reſiſtance, and repining againſt the ceſſe; which was then enterpriſed and taken in hand; when the whole land ſtood in a broken and doubtfull ſtate, and the time verie dangerous; when the earle of Deſmond frowardlie kicked at the like, and all the lords in Mounſter had contrarie to their owne orders and promiſes, denied, and commanded their tenants to denie after the manner of the Engliſh pale, to paie anie ceſſe; when James Fitzmoris being furniſhed with men, monie, and munition, by the pope and king of Spaine, was dailie loked for to come and inuade the land; and when the great ones hauing hollow harts, and addicted to papiſtrie, did dailie gape and expect for the ſame; when the diſſolute Iriſhrie in Mounſter and Connaugh were combined and ioined in theſe conſpiracies; when Rorie Og, Omore, Connor Mac Cormake, Oconnor & others, animated by the forſaid conſpiracies, were vp in open rebellion, and vſed moſt execrable outrages; when ſome of the beſt townes in Leinſter did aid, comfort, and mainteine theſe rebels, and beſides manie other circumſtances concurring herewith: might it not be well preſumed (and as it was ſo doubted) that the cauſe being like, they ſhould alſo be combined and linked alike? And might not the whole world iudge that neither barrell was the better herring? And yet notwithſtanding it fell in the end to a better effect. For the lords and inhabitants in the Engliſh pale, ſince the time of the conqueſt by king Henrie the ſecond, and ſince their firſt arriuall into this land, it hath not béene lightlie knowne that they had broken their faith and their allegiance, and not to rebell in anie warres againſt the crowne of England, and the kings of the ſame; ſauing as now in reſpect to ſaue their purſſes, rather than meaning anie breach of dutie, had ouer ſhot themſelues: which vpon a further conſideration of the truth they repented, and vpon their ſubmiſſion were pardoned, in hope and vpon their promiſe that they would neuer thenſeforth offend, nor be found faultie with the like. During the trauerſe about the ceſſe, manie things happened in the land worthie to be reprehended (as great and ſundrie were the aduertiſements from out of France by ſuch Engliſhmen as were there imploied) of an intention of James Fitzmoris to inuade Ireland, who had béene at Rome with the pope, and there was he princelie interteined, and returned from thenſe with a good maſſe of treaſure, making his returne through Spaine, and by the king thereof was furniſhed with men, munitions, & treaſures, and all things neceſſarie. Which things were by letters from him ſignified vnto the chéefeſt of all Mounſter his ſecret confederats, and they being papiſts both in bodie & ſoule, deſirous of change of gouernement, and to be vnder a prince of their owne ſuperſtition, did dailie languiſh and expect his comming. Wherefore hir maieſtie and councell, hauing the like intelligences, do alſo prepare monie, munitions, vittels, and men, and all other things neceſſarie for the withſtanding of him.

The fidelitie of the Engliſh pale to the crowne.

Rorie Og, Omore, and Connor Mac Cormake, Oconnor, and their coparteners, contrarie to their othes, ſubmiſſions, and promiſes, hoping for aid out of Connaugh, began anew to gather their frends and confederats out of ſeuerall places, to the number of a hundred ſwords, which with his owne made aboue ſeauen ſcore; and being animated by Shane Burke to continue a rebell, he burned diuerſe mens

D.ij. haggards,

haggards, poore mens houses, and sundrie villages, and committed manie outrages: and being not resisted, he toke such incouragement of his successe, that leauing poore villages, he went to great townes, as to the Naas, distant from Dublin about ten miles. The verie same daie that he came thither at night, was the patrone daie of the said towne, commonlie called the church holie daie, which daie after the maner of that countrie, and not much vnlike the festiuall daies which the Ethnikes and Pagans were wont to celebrate to their idoll gods of Bacchus and Venus, they spent in gluttonie, drunkennesse, and surfetting. And after they had so filled their panches, and the daie was gone, they somewhat late in the night went to their beds, hauing forgotten to make fast their towne gates, or put anie watch to ward them. Which thing Rorie Og when he knew, and hauing intelligence that euerie man was in his bed a sleepe, then he in the dead night came to the towne with all his companie, who like vnto a sort of furies and diuels new come out of hell, carried vpon the ends of their poles flankes of fier, and did set as they went the low thatched houses on fier. And the wind being then somewhat great and vehement, one house toke fier of another, and so in a trise and moment the whole towne was burned; and yet in the towne supposed to be fiue hundred persons in outward appearance, able to haue resisted them: but they being in their dead sleeps, suddenlie awaked, were so amazed, that they wist not what to do, for the fier was round about them and past quenching, and to pursue the enimie they were altogither vnfurnished, and durst not to do it, neither if they would they could tell which way to follow him. For he taried verie little in the towne, sauing that he sat a little while vpon the crosse in the market place, and beheld how the fire round about him was in euerie house kindled, and whereat he made great ioy and triumph, that he had done and exploited so diuelish an act. And then after a short space he arose and departed with great triumph according to his accustomed vsage in all his euill actions, but yet contrarie to his vsage, he killed no one person in the towne. As he returned he preied and spoiled the countrie, and ranging to and fro, as his wauering head carried him, he came verie shortlie vnto the towne at Leighlin bridge, and there burned part of the towne.

The burning of the Naas by Rorie Og.

Rorie Og burneth the towne at Leighlin bridge.

But George Carew brother vnto Peter Carew, then constable of the said towne and fort, hauing then but a small ward to defend the violence of the enimie, and yet thinking it should be to great a dishonour vnto him to be bearded with a traitor, and to let him depart vnfought withall: he issued out vpon him, hauing with him onelie seuen horsemen and fiue shot, and gaue the charge vpon the said rebels, being two hundred and fortie, with such a courage and valiantnesse (and they astonied bicause it was so sudden and in the night time) that he killed some of them: and then they with the losse of those men began to flie. But at last when they perceiued his force to be but small, and too weake to resist their great number, they returned and chased him to the verie walles of the castell; where if he and his small companie had not like valiant and good souldiers acquited themselues, the rebels had entred into the house; for they were within the gate and there fought, but driuen out and the gate shut. At this bickering they lost sixtéene men, and one of their chiefe captaines named Piers Moinagh, who died verie shortlie after of his hurt. Captaine Carew lost but two men and one horsse, but euerie one of the rest of his companie was hurt.

George Carew with twelue persons against 240 setteth vpon them & driueth them to flie.

The castell in danger to be taken.

The enimie, nothing triumphing nor liking this interteinement, presentlie retired and departed, by which meanes the one halfe of the towne was saued. After their returne from hense, they spoiled sundrie townes and villages vpon the confines & borders of the English pale. And albeit they were verie egerlie followed and pursued, and oftentimes with losse of his companie, yet he was so mainteined, and his watch and spiall was so good, that partlie by the helpe of his acquaintance, and partlie by meanes of the water bogs and fastenesse in euerie place, he was in safegard and safetie. In this pursute made vpon him, it happened that a parlée was appointed betweene captaine Harington and him: vnto whom Rorie Og swore and promised most faithfullie to yeeld himselfe to some conformitie and order. The captaine nothing mistrusting him, gaue too much credit to his subtill promises, and did so open himselfe vnto him, that through his owne follie Rorie toke aduantage, and perforce toke him and Alexander Cosbie, who was with him in hand, both which he handfasted togither, and caried them along with him as his water spaniels, thorough woods and bogs, threatening them still to kill them. This thing being knowne, great sorow and greefe was conceiued of the lord deputie, and of all good Englishmen, and dailie practises were deuised for their deliueries; and at length by treatie of friends an agreement was in a manner concluded. But before the same was fullie perfected, a draught was made by Robert Harepole constable of Catherlough, to intrap and to make a draught vpon Rorie: for he knowing where the said Rorie was wont to haunt, and by good espials learning where his coch and cabine was, he being accompanied with Parker lieutenant to captaine Furse and fiftie of his band, earelie in the morning, about two houres before daie, he went and marched to the verie place where Rorie late, and beset the same. Rorie hearing an vnwonted noise, and suspecting the worst, he came suddenlie vpon Harington and Cosbie, thinking to haue slaine them, and getting in the darke to the place where they late, gaue him diuerse wounds, but none deadlie; the greatest was the losse of the little finger on his left hand. Robert Harepole when he had broken open the doore of the cabin, he toke as manie as were within prisoners: but Rorie himselfe and one other priuilie in the darke stole awaie and crept among the bushes, so that he could not be found. The souldiers in the meane time, making spoile of all such goods as they found, killed all the men who were there, but saued captaine Harington and Cosbie.

The enimie is driuen to retire and flie awaie.

Rorie Og by slight and deceipt taketh captaine Harington prisoner.

A draught made vpon Rorie Og by Harepole.

Captaine Harington is hurt.

Rorie Og escapeth.

Rorie Og albeit he was glad that he was so escaped, yet in a great griefe for the losse of his prisoners, and minding to be reuenged, priuilie with all the companies which he could get, besides them which Shane Burke had sent vnto him out of Connagh, he went to Catherlough earlie in the morning, and burned a few haggards of corne and a few houses, and so retired. Robert Harepole hearing hereof, forthwith followeth them with ten or twelue horsses which he had in a readinesse, and at a ford not far off he ouertoke them, and killed sixtéene or seuentéene of his best men, and Rorie himselfe escaped verie narowlie; and so continued still in his former outrages, vntill he was intraped and taken by a deuise of his owne to intrap others, which was in this manner. Vpon the nine and twentith of June 1578, he set forth of purpose an espiall, whom he had cunninglie framed, and made apt for the purpose to go to sir Barnard Fitzpatrike lord of vpper Ossorie, and to tell him by the waie of great friendship and in secretie, that Rorie Og had béene of late in the countie of Kilkennie, and there had taken a great preie and spoile of pots, pans, and other houshold stuffe, which he might easilie take if he would aduen-

Captaine Harington is deliuered.

Rorie Og burneth Catherlough.

1578

A bait laid for the lord of vpper Ossorie.

ture

ture the matter; and if he did wiselie handle it, he might also take Rorie himselfe and all his companie, which as he said (but untrulie) that they were but few in number. The lord of vpper Osserie, neither beléeuing nor yet mistrusting this newes, and yet forecasting the worst, did put himselfe in readinesse to follow the occasion that was offered; and taking with him a good companie of horsemen and footmen, went towards the place where the bait was laied; and being come néere vnto it made staie, or else he had béene intrapped, and sent thirtie of his men into the woods to serch for Rorie. But the baron himselfe with certeine of his horsemen and shot staied in the plaines, to attend the issue of the matter. The companie were no sooner entered into the woods, but Rorie the rebell shewed himselfe with a thirtie persons, the rest lieng in ambush; and he was of the opinion that his fame and estimation was so great, and of such value among the Irishrie, that no man durst to aduenture vpon him if he once saw his presence. But he was deceiued. For at the first sight and view of him, the lord of Osseries kerne gaue the charge vpon him, and at their incounter one of them lighted vpon him, and with his sword presentlie thrust him through the bodie: which was no sooner done, but two or three hacked vpon him, & gaue him such deadlie wounds that he fell downe and died, the same being the last date of June beforesaid; and so this bloudie caitife, delting all in bloud, perished and died in his owne bloud.

Rorie Og is slaine.

But before Rorie Og was thus brought to destruction, the lord deputie made a iournie to the borders of Offallie and Ler, to haue met with the foresaid Rorie Og & his companions the Oconnors for the suppressing of their insolencie, who were growen into such a pride by taking of capteine Harington, and their strength so increased, that with most vndutifull termes they breathed out slanderous speéches against hir maiestie, as which were not to be indured. Wherefore he beset the whole countrie & confines as he thought best, to stop their passage and to annoie them, & so he went to Kilkennie, and there by sundrie examinations found people of all degrees in that towne to haue relieued the said Rorie with vittels and all other necessaries, for his feeding and defense, with whome he toke order according to their deserts. At his being there he sent for the earle of Desmond to come vnto him, bicause he had refused to come to the lord president when he sent for him sundrie times, and for which cause the said lord president was there to complaine vpon him, as also that he had of his owne authoritie, without anie warrant, gathered togither a rable of lewd and vnrulie followers, which harried vp and downe the countrie, eating and spending vpon the same, contrarie to all good orders, and which was not to be suffered.

The lord deputie maketh a iournie vpo Rorie Og.

The earle of Desmõd sent for to come to the lord deputie to Kilkennie.

Which earle forthwith, vpon the receipt of the said letters, came to Kilkennie to the lord deputie, and there being examined of those his vnséemelie parts, confessed some part: and for excuse he alledged and much mistrusted and doubted the president, least he would haue staied him, and haue vsed him hardlie, for which he was blamed and reproued by the lord deputie. But in the end, when they came togither, they were reconciled and made good friends, and then he promised vpon his returne home to disperse abroad his companions, and to obeie the president as hir maiesties principall officer of that prouince, and to come vnto him at all commandements, and which things he performed. For not long after he vttered and bewraied to the said lord president the practises of James Fitzmorris, who by the arriuall of certeine Frenchmen and Irishmen vnto Sligo, in a ship of saint Malowes, did what he could to stirre & make a rebellion in Mounster and Connagh, whereby a plot was laied for the staie of those Frenchmen, and the apprehension of the Irishmen. These were good demonstrations to the vtter shew of the obedience and loialtie of the said earle, but in truth mere dissimulation, as afterwards it appeared.

The earle of Desmond and the lord president of Mounster are reconciled.

The earle of Desmond discouereth to the lord president Iames Fitzmorris his practises.

Connagh was in some part troubled, by means of Orwarke capteine of his surname; in whose countrie there were certeine coiners of monie, and maintained by him. The coronell vnderstanding hereof, he sent vnto Orwarke for them, and who denied to deliuer anie of them: wherefore to correct that his pride, disobedience, and insolencie, he sent a priuat band of footmen, who distressed Orwarke, slue his men, toke his castell, and put all the ward to the sword. Whereupon he came with all humilitie, and submitted himselfe, and craued pardon. All the residue of Connagh was verie quiet, and increased hir maiesties reuenues to the yearelie summe of eightéene hundred pounds by the yeare, with good contentation. And now when it was thought that all things were quiet throughout all Ireland; behold sudden aduertisements were giuen both vnto hir maiestie and councell in England, and to the lord deputie in Ireland, that Thomas Stukeleie was arriued out of Italie vnto Cadis in Spaine, with certeine men, ships, and munitions assigned vnto him by the pope. And being accompanied with certeine strangers attending vpon him, he was come to the seas, to land vpon some part of the realme of Ireland, in traitorous maner to inuade the same, and to prouoke the people to ioine with him in rebellion. All things, as well men, munitions, monie, vittels, and all other things necessarie were prouided and prepared for the preuenting of them, as well by sea as by land: but in the end, aduertisement was giuen from out of Portugall, that his enterprise was diuerted another waie, and to another purpose, and so all things were quiet. Neuertheless, it appeared that he was in great fauour with the pope, and was appointed to some speciall seruice against hir maiestie, if opportunitie would haue serued, & all other things had fallen out as it was deuised. And for the incouraging of him, the pope besides great treasures liberallie bestowed vpon him, he gaue him sundrie titles of honour, and made him knight, baron of Rosse and Idron, vicount of the Porough & Kenshlagh, and earle of Wexford and Catherlough, and marquesse of Leinster, and generall to the most holie father Gregorie the seuenth *Pontifici maximo*.

Coiners in Connagh.

Orwarke refusing to deliuer ỹ coiners his castell is taken, and he submitteth himselfe.

Tho. Stukeleie suspected to come into Ireland.

Great preparation made against Stukeleie.

The pope his fauour to Stukeleie.

Stukeleie his honour and titles.

In the middle of these broiles, the vicount Baltinglasse, one of the chiefe impugners and malecontents against the cesse, wrote his letters to the earle of Ormond, then attendant at the court of England, and complaineth of great iniuries and spoiles to the value of two hundred pounds in monie, besides numbers of shéepe and kine, done vpon him and his tenants by the English souldiers, vnder sir Nicholas Bagnoll knight marshall, when they were lodged one night in his house at Baltinglasse, in the time that they serued vpon the rebell Rorie Og. Which letter was by the said earle shewed to hir maiestie, and to the lords of hir most honourable priuie councell. Vpon which complaint, bicause it séemed somewhat pitious and lamentable, and hir maiestie partlie persuaded (as a matter verie likelie to be true) that such gréeuous extortions suffered incorrected, made hir gouernement more hatefull to that nation, than did anie of the Irish exactions: letters were sent to the lord deputie, to take care with all diligence, that the poore oppressed might be satisfied, and the offendors also be punished, according to the quantities and qualities of their offenses.

The vicount Baltinglasse complaineth to the earle of Ormond against sir Nicholas Bagnoll.

The earle of Ormond aduertiseth the complaint of the vicount to hir maiestie and councell. Hir maiestie sendeth letters in the behalfe of the vicount Baltinglasse.

The vicount Baltinglasse complaineth to the lord deputie against sir Nicholas Bagnoll.

The lord deputie, before the receipt of these letters, was complained vnto by the said vicount, and sir Nicholas Bagnoll was called to answer such hurts as were obiected against him. And vpon the replication of the vicount, sir Lucas Dillon and sir Thomas Fitzwilliams knights were appointed to examine all such witnesses, as were brought forth for proofe of the surmises, which in the end fell out to none effect, for nothing could be proued to anie purpose. But it appeared manifest of the contrarie, by the report and testimonie of sundrie gentlemen of verie good credit, and how that the said marshall at his first comming to that towne, had giuen great charge to euerie capteine, to foresee that no iniurie should be offred, no spoiles committed, nor anie thing to be taken by anie souldier or other person without present paiment, protesting and proclaming execution according to marshall law, vpon such as should do the contrarie.

Likewise at his departure from thense, he made the like proclamation, that if there were anie which had anie cause of complaint for anie wrong or iniurie done, or that anie thing were taken and not paied for, he should come and be heard, and be satisfied. And by this it doth appeare, that the surmises were made rather to aggrauat his greefe conceiued against the imposition of the cesse, than for anie good matter in truth. Wherefore as he and his complices preuailed little in the one, no more had he successe or credit in the other. For the matter was fullie certified vnto the lords of the councell, and a request therewith made verie earnestlie, that the said vicount might be reproued, and also terrified to profer or practise anie such vntrue and indirect dealings. By these and other the like practises of the said vicount, that because he did not breake nor like of the cesse, he thought by waie of exclames to aggrauat his owne case, that thereby the lord deputie might fall into the dislike of hir maiestie, and be out of fauour, but the contrarie in the end fell out to his owne reproofe and discredit.

The vicount Baltinglasses complaints are vntrue.

The whole land in peace

When the lord deputie had ended and finished all his businesse, and had set the whole realme in order and peace, being now deliuered from inward and ciuill warre, and from the feare of Stukeleies inuasion, he prepared (according to hir maiesties former letters of the six and twentith of March last past) to take his passage for England, and to make his repaire to hir highnesse. And so when all things were accordinglie prepared, and the wind & weather seruing, he deliuered vp the sword according to hir maiesties commandement, the six & twentith of Maie 1578, vnto sir William Drurie, then lord president of Mounster. And then being conducted by the said now lord iustice and councell, and all the nobilitie, citizens & people to the waters side, he imbarked himselfe, taking his leaue in most honourable, louing, and courteous maner of euerie man. And at his verie entring into the ship for his farewell vnto that whole land and nation, he recited the words of the 114 psalme, *In exitu Israel de Aegypto, & domus Iacob de populo barbaro*: alluding thereby to the troublesome state of Moses in the land of Aegypt, and of his departure from out of the same: who notwithstanding he had in great wisedome, care, and policie gouerned the stifnecked people of Israell, had done manie miracles and wonderous works to their comfort, had deliuered them from manie great perils and dangers, had preserued and also kept them in peace and safetie, had in the end through the mightie hand of God brought them out of the hands of Pharao, and from out of the land of Aegypt, and had giuen them the sight of the land of promise: yet he found them alwaies a froward and peruerse generation, a stiffenecked and an vngratefull people: euen no lesse as this noble man, and most worthie gouernour hath found of the people of this most cursed nation. Who notwithstanding he was a verie painfull trauceller both by daie and night, in fowle and in faire weathers, in stormes and in tempests, in troubles and in dangers, in scarsitie and in penurie, in danger of the enimie and perill of his life: and yet continuallie studieng, deuising, trauelling, toiling, and labouring to do them good (as he did full manie and often times) which so long as they felt the ease & comfort, so long were they contented and quiet: but otherwise most vngratefull and vnthankefull. And offering vnto him the like reward as Licurgus receiued of the most vnthankfull Lacedemonians, who when he had recouered that sauage nation to a ciuill life, and a politike gouernement, and in the end reduced them to that order and maner, as they became to be feared of all their neighbors, they in recompense euill intreated him in verie bad speaches, and strake out one of Licurgus his eies. But these men for thousands and infinit commodities, would not onelie haue béereft his lordship of both his eies, but also done him a further inconuenience (if successe had happened) according to their malice.

The painfull trauels of the lord deputie not considered.

The ingratitude of the Lacedemonians to Licurgus.

And now here by the waie, let it not be offensiue to set downe somewhat of much concerning this worthie and noble man for the course of his life. He was borne and descended of a noble house and parentage, his father named sir William Sidneie, a knight of great reputation and credit in the countie of Kent, and in great fauour with king Henrie the eight, in whose time, and with his great good liking, he and others lustie yong gentlemen of the court trauelled into Spaine and other nations, to visit and to sée the maner of the emperours and other princes courts: his mother descended of the house of Charles Brandon duke of Suffolke, vnto whom she was verie nére alied. This yong gentleman, his father being deceassed, and he of verie tender and yong yéeres, was brought vp in the court vnder the same maister as was king Edward the first, and profited verie well, both in the Latine and French tongs, for he had a verie good wit, and was verie forward in all good actions, and thereof was conceiued some good things would come of him: his countenance was verie amiable, and his behauiour verie gentle and courteous, in whome king Henrie the eight (being his godfather) had a verie great liking, and made him be attendant and plaisfellow with prince Edward.

The parentage of sir Henrie Sidneie.

Sir Henrie Sidneie was brought vp in the court.

This prince fell in such a good familiaritie and good liking of him, that he vsed him not onelie as a companion; but manie times as a bedfellow, and so delighted in his companie, that for the most part they would neuer be asunder, neither in health, nor in sickenesse, vntill the dieng daie of the prince: who then departed his life in this gentlemans armes. Somewhat before his death, the king gaue the order of knighthood to this gentleman, for a memorie and a recompense of his good will and loue: vpon which daie also he did the like vnto sir William Cicill, now lord Burghlie and lord high treasuror of all England: by meanes of which their conioined aduancement, there entred a verie feruent affection and good will betweene them, with a reciprocke answering of beneuolence each one to the other, vntill their dieng daies. This noble gentleman for his forwardnesse in all good actions, was as it were the paragon of the court, by reason of the manie good gifts which God had bestowed vpon him euerie waie. For concerning the bodie, he was goodlie of person and well compact, and well beseene; he was comelie and of a good countenance, he was so courteous and

Sir Henrie Sidneie the king his companion and bedfellow.

The king died in sir Henrie Sidneis armes.

The king dubbeth sir Henrie Sidneie and sir William Cicill knights in one daie.

Edm. Molineux.

1578 The sword is deliuered to sir William Drurie as lord iustice.

The departure of sir Henrie Sidneie, and of his last saieings.

The notable works of Moses, & yet he not accepted.

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of so good behauiour, he was so wise and so modest, so vertuous and so godlie, so discreet and so sober, as he was another Scipio, being but yong in years, and old in behauiour, and finallie so rare a man, as that age had not affoorded manie better. This man for his excellent good gifts, he was made ambassador into France, being but about one and twentie yeares of age; and twise in one yeare after that into Scotland: and by quéene Marie ioined in commission with others to attend king Philip his comming into England, for the mariage betwéene their maiesties. And now in this hir maiesties reigne, he was sent ambassador into France, to treat a peace or pacification betwéene the prince of Condie and the duke of Guise.

Sir Henrie Sidneie an ambassador sundrie times.

In the beginning and about the second or third yeare of hir maiesties reigne, he was made knight of the garter, and lord president of Wales; and after one of hir maiesties most honorable priuie councell. But before this, immediatlie vpon his returne from out of Spaine, he accompanied the lord Thomas lord Fitzwaters his brother in law into Ireland: where he was made treasuror at the wars, one of the principall offices in the land: and in course of time & yeares for his excellencie in knowledge and experience in that land, he was made lord iustice foure times, and was lord deputie three times. In which offices, how he did most honorablie acquite himselfe, his acts do declare, and the summarie recitall shall partlie discouer and set downe. He was no sooner placed in gouernement, but first and forthwith he laid downe his plot, whereupon he would ground & laie the foundation of his gouernement, and according to it would he frame and direct all his actions: which plot and deuise consisteth in these points; religion towards God, obedience to the prince, the peace of the people, and the well gouernement in all things concerning the commonwealth, either in causes ciuill or martiall.

Sir Henrie Sidneie lord president of Wales and knight of the garter.

Sir Henrie Sidneie lord treasuror at armes.

He was lord iustice foure times.

The plot of Sir Henrie Sidneis gouernement.

Religion.

Concerning religion, he was no more carefull in his owne person, but the like also in his priuat familie, where he had dailie exercises of praiers, both earlie and late, morning & euening, neither would he haue anie to serue him, who was not affected to religion, and of an honest conuersation. Atheists and papists he detested, dronkards and adulterers he abhorred, blasphemous and dissolute persons he could not abide. And at his first being in authoritie in Ireland, & finding the whole land generallie (a few priuat places excepted) to be either of no religion, or of papisticall religion; and being openlie by a preacher out of a pulpit aduertised, that in the remote places of that land, manie a soule was borne which neuer receiued baptisme, nor knew anie christening; great was his greefe, and much was he vnquieted, vntill he had found the redresse thereof. Wherfore he aduertised hir maiestie, & most earnestlie sued & praied for redresse & reformation, which in the end was granted, & a commission sent to him for the same: which forthwith he committed to the archbishops & bishops to execute, with whom he ioined, furthered and holpe them accordinglie to the vttermost. But yet it tooke not that good effect as he wished and willed it might. And as for ecclesiasticall liuings which were of his gift and disposition, he would neuer bestow, but vpon such, as of whome he conceiued a good opinion, both for his religion and honestie.

Manie borne in Ireland neuer christened.

The prince, who was scarse knowne in manie places in that land, he brought both to knowledge and obedience. The wild he tamed, the froward he reformed, the disobedient he punished, the traitors he persecuted, the rebels he chastised, the proud he made to stoope, and that arrogant and most insolent Shane Oneile, who could abide no equall, nor acknowledge a superior; by aduanture was brought to his deserued confusion & whose head for a tropheie, & for the example of Gods iustice laid vpon him, was set vpon a pole vpon the gate of the castell of Dublin. The whole prouince of Vlster, with all the mightie personages of the same, he brought to the quénes peace & obedience. The earle of Clanricard he toke and imprisoned, and his vntamed Scingals he draue to submission, and to sweare dutie and obedience. The vnconstant earle of Desmond and all his Giraldines and followers, and the proud and vngratefull earle of Clancar, and all the Irishrie of his adherents, he made them perforce to submit themselues, and to craue pardon. The Cauenaghs, the Otooles, the Obirnes, the Ocomors, the Omores, and a rable of other like septs, together with Rorie Og, Pheon Mac Hew, and other their leaders and guides in Leinster he tamed, and perforce compelled to sweare totaltie and subiection. Lastlie, the malecontents against hir maiesties prerogatiue for the cesse in the end cried *Peccaui*, and conformed themselues in all dutifulnesse. And when he had trauelled long in these affaires, which he saw could not haue continuance, vnlesse they by some other meanes might be kept vnder gouernement: he by pithie persuasions, sound arguments, great reasons, and continuall sutes to hir maestie and councell, obteined to haue rulers and gouernors to be placed in the remote prouinces and sound, learned, and vpright iust lawiers out of England to be sent ouer, for the direction of the gouernement, according to the lawes of England: which in the end hir maiestie most gratiouslie granted, and he most ioifullie obteined.

In all Vlster brought to obedience.

The earle of Clanricard imprisoned.

The mightie earles in Mounster brought to submission.

The rebels in Leinster tamed.

The malecontents against the cesse reformed.

In Mounster therefore first he placed a colonell to breake the ise; namelie sir Humfreie Gilbert, a valiant, a worthie, and a notable man, both for his martiall seruice, and his ciuill gouernement: after him followed the like and worthie gentleman sir John Perot knight: and lastlie the valiant and prudent sir William Drurie, which both were lord presidents. This man was afterwards lord iustice, and the other at these presents is lord deputie of that land. In Connagh sir Edward Fitton knight, a verie wise and a modest gentleman, late treasuror at armes, was lord president: and after him was sir Nicholas Malbie knight a valiant and expert man in martiall matters, and verie wise and of good knowledge in publike and ciuill causes: who could verie exactlie handle the sword, and vse the pen, he (I saie) was made colonell of all Connagh. And how well the foresaid rulers and gouernors did rule by the sword, with the assistance of their captains, and how vprightlie they ministred law and iustice by the aduise of the councellors in their seuerall prouinces, the records and registers of their doings do at large witnesse and set forth. The like order he tooke also at Dublin, which being the metropole and chiefe citie of the whole land, and where are hir maiesties principall and high courts, to answer the law to all suitors throughout the whole realme: and he considering that a great defect was in the administration of iustice in those courts, by reason of kinred, affinitie, and priuat affections among the chiefe iudges and officers of that countrie birth: he by his like earnest sutes to hir maiestie, procured them to be remoued, and their roomes to be supplied with such wise, graue and learned Englishmen, as were sent from out of England to be chiefe iustices, attorneie, and solicitor. And further also, whereas there were manie good lawes & statutes established in the realme, which hitherto were laid vp and drowned in filth and cobwebs, and vtterlie vnknowne to the most part of the whole land, and euerie man ignorant

Sir Humfreie Gilbert colonell in Mounster.

Sir John Perot, Sir william Drurie lord presidents in Mounster.

Sir Edward Fitton and sir Nicholas Malbie gouernors in Connagh.

English lawyers placed to be iustices in the courts.

The statutes to be reuewed and printed.

Shane Oneile slaine.

norant in the lawes of his owne native countrie, he caused a through view, and a review to be made, and then a choise of all such statutes as were most necessarie to be put in vre and execution: which being done, he caused to be put in print, to the great benefit of that whole nation.

The records searched and set vp in places conuenient.

And likewise for the records, which were verie euill kept, not fenced or defended from raine and foule weather, but laie all in a chaos and a confused heape, without anie regard; he caused to be viewed and sorted, and then prepared méete rowmes, presses, and places for the keeping of them in safetie, and did appoint a speciall officer with a yearelie fée for the keeping of them: and for all such matters as were to be heard and determined in the castell chamber, before the lords, as it is in the starchamber in England; he would be for the most part present at euerie court, and alwaies would haue the assistants and persons of hir maiesties learned councellors. Neuertheless, he himselfe had a marueilous head to conceiue, a déepe iudgement to vnderstand, and a most eloquent tong to vtter whatsoeuer was requisit to be spoken, either in that place, or in anie other assemblie, which he would deliuer in such an eloquent phrase, and so pleasantlie it would flow from him, with such pithie reasons, sound arguments, and effectuall discourses, as that the lesse learned he was, the more strange it was that such great good things could come out of his mouth. And such was his amiable countenance, his comelie behauior, his commendable personage, that he would and did conquer their hearts, and gaine the loue of euerie man; and the people of all sorts would and did fall in loue with him for his vprightnesse, indifferencie, and iustice, in determining of euerie mans cause. And he knowing the nature and disposition of that people, who could not abide anie long sutes in law, he was so affable and courteous, that euerie suter should haue accesse vnto him, and forthwith he would heare his cause, and with such expedition would cause the same to be determined, that he purchased to himselfe the vniuersall loue of all the Irishrie, who thought themselues the more happie, if their causes might be once brought to his hearing, & the more willing to leaue their Obrian law, & to imbrace the course of the English lawes. Wherevpon he deuised, and consequentlie with great policie and wisedome executed the diuision and distribution of the wild, sauage, and Irish grounds into shire grounds and counties, appointing in euerie of them shiriffes, constables, and all such kind of officers as are vsed to be in all other counties: by which meanes hir maiesties writ had passage amongest them, and they brought to the order of the English lawes & gouernement, which neuer tofore was heard or knowne among them.

The castell chamber dulie kept.

Edm. Molineux.

The Irish grounds reduced into counties and shires.

When he had done all such things as are before recited, for and concerning the due course of gouernment by order of law: then also he bethought himselfe vpon such other things as were necessarie in sundrie respects to be done, as the castell and house of Dublin, which before his comming was ruinous, foule, filthie, and greatlie decaied. This he repared, and reedified, and made a verie faire house for the lord deputie or the chiefe gouernor to reside & dwell in. The towne of Carigfergus, being open to the northerne rebelles, he began to inclose with a wall and to fortifie, which for shortnesse of time he could not finish. A gaole at Molengar he builded, a verie necessarie thing in those parties, for restreining and safe keeping of malefactors. The towne of Athenrie in Connagh he caused to be reedified, & the faire bridge of Athlon vpon the déepe and great riuer of the Shenin he builded with masonrie and free stone, and raised vp the walles & battlements verie faire. By building of which bridge a passage (neuer tofore had) was made open & free betweene the English pale and Connagh, which more danted, apalled, and kept the rebelles in awe and obedience than any thing before had done. Sundrie like common workes he made and did, and more would, if his residing there had continued. All which his forsaid doings, no doubt, were verie chargeable to hir maiestie. And for easing thereof he (as it became him) & in verie deed had also promised and deuised how and by what means these charges might be answered, and hir highnesse be released of the great and intollerable charges which she dailie was at in that land, he did by good means inlarge and increase hir reuenues and yearelie receipts to about eleuen thousand pounds by the yeare more than he found it, and much more would he haue done, if he had staied there but a short time longer than he did.

The castell of Dublin repared.

The towne of Carigfergus fortified.

A gaole at Molengar builded.

The towne of Athenrie reedified.

The bridge of Athlon new builded.

The quéenes great charges to be releeued.

Hir maiesties reuenues increased.

Thus much briefle of his generall actions, and concerning his priuat dealings and conuersation. He was godlie disposed, & a zelous promoter of the true religion, a notable orator, & out of whose mouth flowed such eloquent spéeches, such pithie sentences, such persuasorie reasons, as it was verie strange, that he by a naturall course should performe that which manie by learning could not reach nor atteine vnto. He had some sight in good letters and in histories and armories, and would discourse verie well in all things; he was affable and courteous to all men, verie familiar with most men, and strange to none; verie temperat and modest, seldome or neuer in anie distempered or extraordinarie choler, vpright in iustice, free from corruption, and liberall to euerie deseruing person, a bounteous housekéeper, and of great hospitalitie, and had all officers in verie honorable order, according to his estate & honor; a thing much allowed and liked in that nation: verie familiar, and a louer of all such as were learned and were men of vnderstanding, whome he would honor and estéeme verie much; gratefull to all men, and a most louing maister to all such as serued him, whom he loued full dearlie. And albeit he were a man of a great reach and iudgement, yet he would not do anie thing without aduise & counsell, for which purpose he made a speciall choise of two singular men, who were priuie to all or most part of his actions; sir Lucas Dillon knight, and Francis Agard esquier: the one a lawier, and yet not ignorant in anie thing perteining either to the marshall affaires, or to the ciuill gouernement: the other a verie wise man, and of a déepe iudgement and experience in all matters of policies. And so true and trustie these were, that he named the one *Meus fidelis Lucas*; and the other *Meus fidus Achates*. And notwithstanding in sundrie and almost infinit respects, as partlie by the course of this historie it dooth appeare, he hath deserued most hartie thanks, and a gratefull remembrance for euer amongst them: yet most vnnaturallie and vngratfullie they haue requited and recompensed him. Not much vnlike the viper, who when he hath done the act of generation with his female, which (as the writers of naturalles saie) it is done by the mouth, she immediatlie biteth off his head, and so destroieth him; and likewise the yong, conceiued with the death of their sire or father, and nourished in the wombe of their mother, and readie now to be borne & brought forth; they not abiding their due time, most vnnaturallie do gnaw out hir wombe and bellie to hir confusion; and so they are conceiued with the destruction of their father, and borne with the confusion of their mother. This vngratfull people (I saie) notwithstanding the innumerable benefits bestowed vpon them and that whole commonwealth, yea and the dailie purchasing of their wealth, preseruation, and safetie,

The good vertues and disposition of sir Henrie Sidnie.

Religious.

Eloquent.

Affable.

Temperat.

Liberall.

A housekéeper.

His more of this sir Henrie Sidnie in the English chronicles, An. Dom. 1586, noted by Edm. Molineux.

The ingratitude of Ireland.

The nature of the viper.

safetie, could ne would be euer thankfull. As besides manie examples it appeared at the parlement holden in the eleuenth yeare of hir maiesties reigne, where vhen lawes were to be established for their benefit, and the abolishing of certeine wicked and lewd vsages, which were among the Irishrie, they not onelie did impugne and resist that assemblie, as much as in them laie: but recompensed the good things (for their benefits established) with open war and rebellion against hir maiestie. Also, when a reasonable and a vsed cesse was to be set and leuied for the benefit of the inhabitants and dwellers in the English pale; and for the represse of their enimies which thirsted after their confusion: they immediatly repine and do resist the same. For this is their corrupt nature, that if he did at anie time pursue the enimie for their peace and quietnesse, and did aduenture neuer so great dangers for them, were his successe neuer so good, yet would they enuie at him. If he by the aduise of the councell did determine anie thing for their behoofe, yet would they mislike it. If anie thing well meant had euill successe, they would like it; and vpon neuer so little occasion offered they would make their complaints, libels should dailie be exhibited, and accusations be deuised, with open mouths they would exclame, and nothing would they leaue vndone which might turne to his discredit and impechment of his gouernement. But truth the daughter of time, which in the end was manifested; and when he had yelded before hir highnesse and councell a true and a perfect account of all his doings, and had trulie manifested the course of his gouernement, then their glittering gold was found to be worse than copper, not abiding the hammar; he according to his desert receiued thanks, and they reproch and ignominie. Wherefore great good cause had he to be glad and ioifull, that he was to be deliuered from so vngratfull a people and vnthankfull a nation. But shall a man saie the truth? It is a fatall and an inevitable destinie incident to that nation, that they cannot broke anie English gouernor; for be he neuer so iust, vpright, & carefull for their benefit, they care not for it: let him be neuer so beneficiall to their commonwealth, they account not of it; let him be neuer so circumspect in his gouernement and aduised in his doings, they will discredit and impeach it. If he be courteous and gentle, then like a sort of nettles they will sting him; if he be seuere, they will curse him; and let him do the best he can, he shall neuer auoid nor escape their malice and spite.

This noble and worthie man, who aboue all others had best triall thereof, thought himselfe most happie when he was deliuered from them, and gone out of their Egypt, and now returned to his owne native countrie of Chanaan, who thenceforth sometimes attended the court, and serued hir maiestie as a most faithfull, graue, and wise councellor: sometimes he followed his charge and calling of president in Wales, which office he did most honorablie vse and discharge. In the end, when Lachesis had spun out the thread of his life, and Atropos readie to execute hir office, he fell sicke at Worcester: and feeling a decaie of nature, and that he did dailie wax weaker and weaker, he yelded and humbled himselfe to die; and holding vp his hands, and lifting vp his eies, he continued in most hartie and incessant praiers vnto God, craving with a most penitent hart, pardon for his sins, and commending his soule into the hands and mercie of God, thorough the bloud of Jesus Christ. And when his hands gaue ouer, his tong ceassed, and his sight failed, he yelded vp his spirit, and departed this life in a most godlie and christian maner the 21 daie of Maie, one thousand fiue hundred eightie and six. His bodie was imbowelled, and his entrails were buried in the deans chapell of the cathedrall church in Worcester: his hart was carried to Ludlow, & there intombed in the tombe that his welbeloued daughter Ambrosia was buried, which he had builded in the collegiat church of the same towne; wherin he had erected a certeine monument for a perpetuall remembrance to that town & to Tikenhill, to which he was verie much affected, & made his most abode during the time of his presidencie. And from thense his bodie by easie iournies was verie honorablie caried to his house of Penshurst in Kent, & in his parish church there he was interred in all honorable maner, as to his estate did agree vpon the one and twentith of June, in the yeare one thousand fiue hundred eightie and six, he being then about the age of seauen and fiftie yeares. And thus this noble and worthie knight, who had spent the whole course of his life in the dutifull seruice of his prince, and to the great benefit of the commonwealth, is now deliuered vnto the euerlasting seruice of the eternall God, in whose celestiall heauens he resteth in blisse and ioie with the foure and twentie elders, who there are now beholding the face of God, and praising his holie name for euer.

But to returne to the lord iustice, who being entered into the gouernement, and finding it in some quiet state, did by the aduise of the councell follow that course as neere as he could, as which was left vnto him; and by that meanes kept the whole land verie quiet and in peace. For almost a yeare after his entrie into that office and gouernement, vntill that Romish cockatrice, which a long time had set abrod vpon hir egs, had now hatched hir chickins; which being venemous as were their sire, raised, wrought, and bred great treasons, open warres, and hostilitie through out that land. For James Fitzmoris a Giraldine & cousine germane to the earle of Desmond, who not manie yeares before had beene an archtraitor, and a principall capteine of the warres and rebellion in Mounster; and wherein he was then so followed at inches and pursued by sir John Perot, then lord president of Mounster; that after manie and sundrie conflicts, he was in the end compelled and inforced to yeld and submit himselfe, and to craue hir maiesties gratious pardon: insomuch that he came in simplie into the towne of Kilmallocke, and there in the church before all the people did humble and prostrate himselfe before the said lord president, and asked pardon, swearing and promising then all dutifulnesse, truth, & obedience for euer to hir highnesse, and to the crowne of England.

Euen this periured caitife, who for his treasons and great outrages, villanies, and bloudsheds, had deserued a thousand deaths, and yet in hope of amendement hir maiestie gaue him his pardon, and sent it vnto him by hir seruant Francis Agard esquier: euen this man (I saie) most traitorouslie fled into France, and there comming into the kings presence, did offer to deliuer into his hands the whole realme and land of Ireland, if that his maiestie would giue him aid, and furnish him with men and monie, and such furniture as he should haue need of in such an action. The king at the first gaue him good countenance, great rewards, & liberall interteinement, and accepted his offer: but when he had well considered the matter, and had further looked into the same, he changed his mind. James Fitzmoris, who had staied there in the French court about two yeares, and saw nothing go forward, & the French king ware cold; who in the end gaue him no other answer, but that he would commend him by his letters to his sister the quæne of England, for obteining of a pardon for him, and for hir good countenance

This was a troublesome parlement.

The cesse impugned.

The corrupt and vngratfull nature of the Irishmen.

The fatall destinie vpon all gouernors in Ireland.

The death of sir Henrie Sidnete.

Edm. Molineux.

Sir William Drurie the lord iustice followeth the course of his predecessor to rule in peace.

James Fitzmoris an archtraitor.

James Fitzmoris submitteth himselfe and sweareth obedience.

James Fitzmoris hath his pardon sent vnto him.

James Fitzmoris fleeth into France and offereth the crowne of Ireland to the French king.

The French king misliketh to deale in Ireland matters.

James Fitzmoris seeketh to king Philip and to the pope.

nance towards him: he forsoke France, and made a tournie into Spaine vnto king Philip. The king who had receiued the gift of Ireland of the pope by meanes of the bishop of Cashell, being not willing to deale therein, without his assistance & aduise; James Fitzmoris made his tourneie from thense to the pope, vnto whom he declared that he had béene with king Philip, as doth apeare by his letters of credit to his holinesse; and that he would deliuer and cause to be deliuered the kingdome of Ireland vp into their hands, and reduce the same againe to the holie church of Rome, if he might haue men, monie, and such furniture of munitions, & other necessaries as should be requisit in that seruice. The pope was verie glad of this suite, and liked it verie well, and did accept this offer, as also gaue him good countenance and interteinement. And in the end vpon sundrie conferences betwéene the pope and king Philip, it was agréed betwéene them, that Fitzmoris should be furnished with men, monie, and all things necessarie for this seruice. James Fitzmoris during his being in Rome, he fell acquainted with doctor Sanders an English Iesuit, & doctor Allen an Irish Iesuit, and both traitors to hir maiestie and crowne; and these two men being glad of such a suite, & they in great fauor with the pope, followed the suite verie earnestlie, and promised to follow it to the vttermost in their owne persons.

James Fitzmoris maketh his promise to king Philip and the pope.

The pope is glad of James Fitzmoris offer.

James Fitzmoris falleth acquainted with doctor Sanders and doctor Allen.

Now when all things were concluded betwéene the pope and king Philip, doctor Sanders, doctor Allen, and James Fitzmoris made their last repaire to the pope, who forthwith made Sanders his legat, & gaue him the holie ghost, with authoritie to blesse and curse at his will and pleasure; and to him and the others he gaue then also his blessing: and therewith his letters of commendation to king Philip, who according to the conclusion made betwéene them both, he was furnished with all things méet and necessarie for them. Whereupon when time serued they imbarked themselues, and their companie in three ships well appointed for the purpose, and arriued at Smerewéke, *alias* saint Marie wéke, in the beginning of Julie 1579, nére the Dingle a cush in Kerrie in Ireland: where he landed, and all his companie, being about the number of foure score Spaniards, besides a few Englishmen and Irishmen, and there builded a fort in the west side of the baie for their safetie: and drew their ships close vnder the said fort.

James Fitzmoris is furnished with ships and all necessaries.

James Fitzmoris landeth at Saint Marie wéke in Ireland with foure score Spaniards.

The two doctors, when they had hallowed the place after their popish maner, promising all safeties, and that no enimie should dare to come vpon them, and trouble them: neuertheless they were beguiled. For at that instant, there was in Kensale a Deuonshire gentleman and a man of warre, named Thomas Courtneie, and he hearing of the landing of this James Fitzmoris, and of the popes traitorous legats, was contented, and by the persuasion of Henrie Dauels, being then in those parts; and hauing a good wind, did come about and doubled the point, came into the baie of Saint Marie wéke or Smerwéke; and finding the three ships of James Fitzmoris at anchor, was so bold in the waie of good speed to take them. And after that he had staied there a while in that seruice, he toke them all along with him: whereby James Fitzmoris and his companie lost a péece of the popes blessing, for they were altogither destituted of anie ship, to ease and releéue themselues by the seas, what néed soeuer should happen. As soone as they were thus landed, newes was sent and carried abrode forthwith to James & John brethren to the earle of Desmond, and so consequentlie to the whole countrie. These two brethren, who had long looked for the arriuall of this their cousine,

James Fitzmoris his ships are taken awaie by one Thomas Courtneie a gentleman of Deuon.

Sir James and sir John of Desmond the earles brethren come to James Fitzmoris.

and archtraitor, assembled all their tenants, followers, and friends; and out of hand made their present repaire vnto him: whose commings and companies he accepted verie thankefullie, sauing that he had not a thorough and a full liking of his cousine sir John of Desmond. Which when sir John perceiued, he deuised how he would salue that sore, as most wickedlie afterwards he did.

The earle of Desmond at this time was in reedifieng of a castell, which he had in the confines of Bzenne Agonellis countrie, who assone as he heard of the arriuall of his cousine James Fitzmoris, he forthwith did discharge and dismisse his whole companie of workemen and labourers, pretending in outward shew what he neuer meant, that he was to withstand and resist his cousine and all his companie, and forthwith maketh his repaire into Kerrie, and there assembleth all his followers and force, as though he would do great things and worke miracles. And forthwith likewise he sent his letters to Mac Artie More earle of Clancar, & willeth him in all hast to assemble all the force he could make, and to make his spédie repaire to him, for vanquishing (if they could) of the enimies now landed at S. Marie wéke. The earle of Desmond in the meane time had receiued a péece of the popes blessing, and his heat was abated. But the erle of Clancar returned his answer, that he would come vnto him with all spéed, and lie in campe with him where he would, as nére to the Dingle as he might: and accordinglie he came to the place appointed. Which Desmond séemed to like well though it were against the splene, neuertheless when he saw the forwardnes of Clancar, albeit he would not, nor yet well could in open termes fall out with him, yet he deuiseth matters whereupon he might haue some occasion to dislike with him, & to make him wearie of his companie. Which when Clancar perceiued, and saw the vnwillingnesse of Desmond to do anie seruice against the rebels, but rather inclined towards them, he toke the best opportunitie he could, and departed awaie from him, and dismissed his companie.

The erle hearing of the landing of James Fitzmoris grieth ouer his buildings.

The earle of Desmond pretending some seruice against the rebels sendeth to the earle of Clancar to ioine with him.

The earle of Clancar attendeth the earle of Desmond.

Desmond liketh not Clancars readinesse.

Clancar departeth from Desmond.

The lord iustice, who was at Dublin, as soone as he was aduertised of James Fitzmoris landing, he maketh all the preparation he can, & marcheth with all the quéenes force towards Mounster, dispatching also a messenger to hir maiestie of these toward broiles and rebellion. But before he could prepare all things, as to such a great action did apperteine, he sent Henrie Dauels an English gentleman before him, that he being verie well acquainted with the earle of Desmond and his brethren, should practise with them to prepare themselues to be in a readinesse to assist his lordship, for the resisting against those enimies. Who being accompanied with one Arthur Carter prouost marshall of Mounster, made his spédie repaire to the earle of Desmond: & his brethren being in Kerrie, and aduertised vnto them the lord iustices pleasure, as also as much as in him late did persuade them to the like, who as then had all his force and souldiers about him. From thense he departed to the fort, whereof when he had taken the view, & saw the force as yet not so great but might be easilie as yet ouerthrowne; he returned backe to the earle, and gaue him aduise to draw all his force and companie towards the fort, persuading him to assaile it while it was but weake, of small force, and easie to be taken, and that in so doing it should be greatlie to his honour. But the earle being not of so good a mind, or bent to do so good a péece of seruice, answered; that he would not aduenture to take so great an enterprise in hand with so small a companie as he then had. Then Dauels went to sir James and to sir John of Desmonds the earles brethren,

The lord iustice prepareth to march into Mounster.

Henrie Dauels sent to the earle of Desmond.

Henrie Dauels persuadeth Desmõd to serue against the rebels.

Desmond refuseth to giue the onset vpon James Fitzmoris.

and

and perſuaded them to aduiſe their brother the earle, either to do that ſeruice which would be to his great honour and commendation, or elſe that they would take it in hand; which if they would alſo refuſe it, that then the earle would ſpare to him a companie of his Gallowglaſſes, and about three ſcore of his ſhot, and he would ſome with captaine Courtneis who laie then within the baie with his mariners, & he would giue the aſſault by land, and the other ſhould do the like by ſea.

The earle refuſeth to do anie ſeruice.

But the earle, being mooued hereof, would not yeeld to this motion, but anſwered that his ſhot was more meet to ſhot at foule than fit to aduenture ſuch a peece of ſeruice, and his Gallowglaſſes were good men to incounter with Gallowglaſſes, and not to anſwer old ſouldiers. Where vpon when he ſaw the bent and diſpoſition of the earle, that he minded not to annoie, but rather to ioine, aid, and helpe the traitors: he togither with the prouoſt marſhall toke their leaue of the earle, and minded to returne backe vnto the lord iuſtice, to giue his lordſhip to vnderſtand how all things ſtood, & what ſucceſſe he had had in his meſſage. And by the waie they laie that night at Traleigh, which is about fiue miles from caſtell Maine, and laie that night in one Rices houſe, who kept a victelling houſe and a wine tauerne, the houſe being both ſtrong and defenſible, but ſo little that their companies and ſeruants were diſperſed, and laie abroad in other places where they might haue lodging. But ſir John of Deſmond, whoſe hart was imbrued with a bloudie intent, followed him, but ſomewhat late, and came to the towne of Traleigh, and immediatlie ſet ſpies vpon Dauels, as alſo had corrupted the man of the houſe which kept the gate, that he ſhould leaue the doores open. Henrie Dauels miſtruſting no hurt, and leaſt doubting of that tragedie which was ſo neere at hand, eſpeciallie to be done by him, whom of all the men borne in that land he leaſt doubted, & beſt truſted, gat him to his bed; & Arthur Carter the prouoſt marſhall with him.

Henrie Dauels departeth from Deſmond.

Sir John of Deſmond followeth Dauels and corrupteth the porter.

Now about the dead of the night, when they were in their deepe ſleepes, ſir John according to his wicked deuiſe came to the houſe, the caſtell doore being left open for the purpoſe, with all his companie, euerie one being armed and their ſwords drawne, and went forthwith vp into the chamber where Dauels & his companie were in their beds faſt aſleepe, but with the noiſe they were ſuddenlie awaked. When Dauels ſaw ſir John of Deſmond armed and his ſword drawn, he was ſomwhat aſtonied at that ſight, and riſing vp in his bed ſaid vnto him (as he was euer wont to ſaie verie familiarlie) What ſonne! what is the matter? But he anſwered him; No more ſonne, nor no more father, but make thy ſelfe readie, for die thou ſhalt. And forthwith he & his companie ſtrake at him & his companion, both naked in their ſhirts, and moſt cruellie murthered them both. Then they ſearched the whole houſe & ſpared none, but put all to the ſword, ſauing a boie named Smolkin, who laie in the chamber, and had beene a continuall meſſenger betweene Dauels and this John Deſmond.

Henrie Dauels moſt cruellie murthered.

The faithfulneſſe of a boie to his maiſter.

This boie ſeeing his maiſter to be thus murthered ran vpon John of Deſmond, and held him by the armes as well as he could, crieng; What wilt thou kill my maiſter? But he anſwered; Go thy waies Smolkin, thou ſhalt haue no harme. But the boie ſeeing blowes ſtill to be giuen, caſt himſelfe downe vpon his maiſter, crieng; If thou wilt kill him, then kill me alſo. And ſo ſaued him as well, and ſo long as he could. But it auailed not, for ſlaine and moſt cruellie he was there murthered.

Henrie Dauels what he was, and of his conditions

This Henrie Dauels was a gentleman, borne in Deuon, and deſcended of a verie ancient and worſhipfull houſe, and being but a yonger brother, and hauing but a verie ſmall portion left vnto him, when he came to ſome yeares and knowledge, he gaue himſelfe to ſerue in the warres. And king Henrie the eight, hauing then warres againſt the French king, he entred into France to ſeeke his aduenture: and there he had verie good interteinment, and proued to be a verie good ſouldiour. After whoſe warres he ſerued in Scotland, and was in garriſon at Barwike: and from thenſe he was remooued into Ireland, where he ſerued vnder ſir Nicholas Yerne knight conſtable of Leighlin, and ſeneſchall of Wexford; and ſo well he behaued himſelfe there, that he was commended for his good ſeruice towards the prince, well beloued of his countriemen, and in marueilous fauour of the Iriſh people; for no ſeruice was too hard for him in the kings cauſes: and ſo well he was acquainted with the countrie, as no man better knew and had the ſkill to ſerue than he could there. As for his countrimen, he was ſo deere and louing towards them, as he was more like a father than a freend, and more like a freend than an vnacquainted countriman: for he was an hoſt and a harborer to euerie one of them, of what eſtate and condition ſo euer he were of. For were he rich or poore, a gentleman or a begger, he was freendlie to euerie one; and no man did or could lacke that interteinment, that he was by anie manner of waie able to giue and afford: which a number of Engliſhmen tried and found to their great comfort, and to his euerlaſting fame.

The loue of Dauels to his countrimen.

And as for the Iriſhmen, the longer he liued the better beloued among them: for as he would not iniurie them, no more would he ſuffer them to be oppreſſed or iniured: a great houſekeeper amongſt them, which they marueilouſlie eſteemed. When he was in office among them, he was vpright and iudged righteouſlie; if out of office, louing & freendlie to euerie man, and by that means ſo well (as no man better) beloued and truſted. For what he had once ſaid and promiſed, that would he ſurelie keepe and performe, and thereof it came into a bie-word in the countrie where he dwelled, that if anie of them had ſpoken the word, which was aſſuredlie loked to be performed, they would ſaie; Dauels hath ſaid it: as who ſaith, it ſhall be performed. For the nature of the Iriſhman is, that albeit he keepeth faith for the moſt part with no bodie, yet will he haue no man to breake with him. But Henrie Dauels, he was ſo carefull of his word, that if he once promiſed, he would not breake it for anie mans pleaſure; and by that means he was ſo well beloued, that his verie hoſſeboies had free paſſage euen through the enimies, if he were knowne to be Dauels man. And that which is more, as the writer hereof ſpeaketh vpon knowledge, that if anie Engliſhman had anie occaſion to trauell in that countrie thoroughout Leinſter or Mounſter, if he had but a hoſſeboie of his, he ſhould not onelie paſſe freelie thorough the countries without impeachment, but ſhould haue alſo verie good and freendlie interteinment. Among the noblemen he was greatlie eſteemed, and was in great fauour with the earles of Ormond and Deſmond: who although they were for the moſt part at iarres and contentions, yet Henrie Dauels was in ſuch fauour, as he could and did paſſe to and fro in the greateſt matters of importance betweene them: wherein he bare ſo indifferent a hand, as both parties imbraced him for his vprightneſſe and indifferencie. The earle of Ormond himſelfe loued him ſo well, as no Engliſhman better; and all his brethren found ſuch a freend of him, and ſuch interteinment with him and eſpeciallie ſir Edmund Butler, that at all needs and in all diſtreſſes they were ſure to haue him to their freend; and manie times it ſtood

The credit of Dauels word.

them

them in good ſtéd.

And as for the earle of Deſmond, though he were a verie vncerteine and a mutable man, yet Henrie Dauels could preuaile with him: and were his furie neuer ſo hot, and he neuer ſo haſtie, yet could he appeaſe and quiet him. And as for ſir John of Deſmond the earles brother, ſuch was his profeſſion and outward affection towards him, of a moſt firme frendſhip; that it was thought to be impoſſible, that the loue and goodwill betweene them could by anie meanes be diſſolued. For in what diſtreſſe ſo euer ſir John of Deſmond was (as he was in manie) Henrie Dauels did alwaies helpe him, and at ſundrie times redéemed him out of priſon, yea out of the caſtell of Dublin, when he was committed for capitall crimes, and became ſuertie for him in great ſums of monie, and became pledge bodie for bodie for him; Dauels purſſe was at his commandement, his houſe at his deuotion, and what he had at his diſpoſition. And ſo farre this good will grew betweene them, that John of Deſmond, as one knowledging himſelfe moſt bounden to him, did call him father; euen as the other called him ſonne. And now ſée, when treaſon and treacherie was entred into him, how contrarie to all faith, frendſhip, and humanitie, the ſonne moſt vnnaturallie bereft the father of his life, and moſt cruellie murthered him. Woe worth to ſo wicked a villaine, that ſo bereft the prince of ſo faithfull a ſubiect, the gouernor of ſo truſtie a ſeruitor, the commonwealth of ſo good a member, of a man moſt dutifull to his ſuperiors, vpright in iuſtice, truſtie in ſeruice, expert in the warres, faithfull vnto his frend, loning to his countrie, fauoured of all men, hurtfull to no man, of great hoſpitalitie to all good men, good to all men, a father vnto the diſtreſſed, and a ſuccorer of the oppreſſed; finallie ſuch a rare man of his degrée and calling, as few like haue béene found in that land; and yet againſt all pittie and mercie, moſt cruellie murthered by a traitor to God and his prince, euen to the gréefe of the traitors of his owne blood. But here it falleth out that is of old ſaid; Saue a murtherer or a théefe from the gallowes, and he ſhall be the firſt that ſhall cut thy throte.

Henrie Dauels alwaies a faſt frend to ſir John of Deſmond.

When this bloudie murtherer had executed this crueltie vpon his good frend, he forthwith made his repaire to James Fitzmoris, and to his doctors and companie in great brauerie, recompting vnto them what a noble act and a valiant ſeruice he had done in murthering of an honeſt, faithfull, & friendlie gentleman, ſaieng; I haue now killed an Engliſh churle (for ſo malicíouſlie the Iriſhmen terme all Engliſhmen) & ſaid to his couſine James; Now thou maiſt be aſſured of me and truſt me, for now that I haue begun to dip my hand in blood, I will now ſtand to the matter with thee to my vttermoſt. James Fitzmoris when he had heard him at full, although both he and his doctors, and the whole companie of the Spaniards did reioiſe and were glad of his death, yet James did blame and abhorre the maner of his death, blaming and reprouing him verie much, that he ſhould murther him in his bed, being naked and ſcarſe awaked out of his ſléepe, which he ſaid was too cruell, becauſe he might otherwiſe haue had aduantage vpon him either by the high waies or otherwiſe to his commendation. Howbeit, doctor Sanders terming his bloudie murther to be a ſweet ſacrifice before God, did both allow it, and gaue him plenarie remiſſion of all his ſinnes. The earle himſelfe likewiſe, when he heard hereof, he was marueilouſlie gréeued and offended with his brother and gaue him ſuch ſharpe ſpéeches and reprofes as it was thought they would not ſo ſone haue béene frends againe: but wicked doings amongſt the wicked eſtabliſh and confirme them in their wickednes. At this preſent time, there was with the earle (as verie often he had béene) one Apeſlete an Engliſh capteine, who could do verie much with him, and vpon the hearing of the death of his good friend Henrie Dauels, he began to doubt and miſtruſt of himſelfe and of his owne aſſurance. Wherefore he goeth to the earle, and diſſembling his griefe, perſuadeth him to draw his companie together, and to remoue from thence to his houſe of Aſketten, which is about fourténe miles from Limerike, and there to abide the comming of the lord iuſtice, and to ioine with him in this ſeruice againſt the enimie. The earle, who minded nothing leſſe than ſo to ſerue, diſſembled the matter, and followed this counſell, and remoued from thence to Aſketten, where he laie cloſe and did nothing, but ſtill ſéemed in ſpeeches and outward ſhewes to miſlike with James Fitzmoris and all his companie; and yet dailie his beſt followers and ſoldiers flocked and repaired to James Fitzmoris, manie of them for zeale to the popiſh religion, wherin they were as deuout as the popes legates and the Spaniards: but manie of them knowing the earles intent, did it for feare and auoiding of his diſpleſure. The Spaniards, who had continued there in the fort and elſewhere, and not finding the repaire of the ſouldiers, nor yet anie other thing anſwerable to that ſeruice as it was promiſed them, began to miſlike it; and diſtruſting of anie good ſucceſſe, did repent and were ſorie, wiſhing themſelues at home againe: but ſuch was their caſe, that they could not ſhift for themſelues to eſcape neither by ſea nor by land; and therefore neceſſitie ſo compelling, they reſolued themſelues to abide the brunt.

The earle of Deſmond remoueth to Aſketten.

The earles cheefe men turne to the enimie.

The Spaniards like not their cõming.

James Fitzmoris perceiuing their diſcontented minds, had conference with them, & perſuaded them to be of a good comfort, for they ſhould verie ſhortlie haue a greater ſuplie and companie which he dailie looked for, and all things ſhould be had according to their owne minds: aduertiſing them that in the meane time he was to take a iournie to a place of three or foure daies iournie from thence, called the holie rod or croſſe in Tipperarie, and there to performe a vow which he had before made when he was in Spaine, praieng their patience. But in verie truth his intent was to trauell into Connagh and into Vlſter, and in both his waies, his neereſt waie was through Tipperarie, and there to flocke and draw vnto him all and ſo manie of the rebels as he could wage to ioine with him, whereof he made no doubt, but aſſured himſelfe to find as manie readie to go as he willing to haue. And ſo taking his iournie with three or foure horſſemen, and a dozzen Kernes, he paſſed through the countie of Limerike, & came into the countrie of ſir William Burke his verie neere couſine and kinſman, and who before in the laſt rebellion did ioine with him, to the great danger of his life and loſſe of all his goods.

James Fitzmoris perſuadeth the Spaniards to patience.

James Fitzmoris pretendeth a pilgrimage.

And when he came ſo farre in his iournie, being now about three ſcore miles from S. Marie Wéeke, his cariage horſſes (which they terme garons) waxed faint, and could not trauell anie further: wherefore he commanded ſome of his men to go before, & looke what garrons they firſt found in the fields, they ſhould take them and bring them vnto him. And as it fell out they eſpied a plow of garrons plowing in the field, which they forthwith tooke perforce from the poore huſbandmen two of them, and caried them awaie. Whereupon according to the cuſtome of the countrie, the hobub or the hue and crie was raiſed. Some of the people followed the tract, & ſome went to their lords houſe, which was ſir William Burke being néere at hand to aduertiſe the matter, who hauing three or foure of his ſonnes and verie tall gentlemen

James Fitzmoris ſtealeth garrons.

The Burkes follow the preie.

The brags of John Deſmond for killing of Dauels.

His crueltie miſliked.

The popes doctors dow allow and commend the murther.

This was a draught made by the lord president.

tlemen at home with him, they take their horses and a few kernes and two shot with them, and followed the tract, and ouertake them at a fastenes fast by the woods side, where they found James Fitzmoris, whome before they knew not to be come into those parties, to make head to answer them. But when he saw that it was his cousine Theobald Burke and his brother and his companie, who had bene his companions in the late rebellion when sir John Perot was lord president of Mounster, he spake ouer vnto them, and said; Cousine Theobald (who was the eldest son to his father) two carriage horses shall be no breach betweene vs two; and I hope that you which do know the cause that I haue now in hand, you will take my part therein, and do as I and others will do: and so continuing some speeches, did what he could to draw him and all his companie to be partakers in this rebellion. But he answered that he and his father had alreadie dealt too much that waie with him, and that he will neuer do the like againe: for his father, he, and all his brethren, had sworne to be true, obedient, and faithfull to the quéenes maiestie, and which oth they would neuer breake: cursing the daie and time that euer they joined with him in so bad a cause against hir maiestie, and therefore required to haue his garrons againe, or else he would come by them aswell as he could.

James Fitzmoris maketh head to resist.

James Fitzmoris perswadeth the Burkes to rebellion.

James Fitzmoris standing vpon his reputation, thought it too much dishonorable vnto him to depart with that which he had in hand; and therfore vtterlie denied the deliuerie, and thereupon each partie set spurre to the horses and incountered the one the other. The skirmish was verie hot and cruell, and Theobald Burke & one of his yonger brethren were slaine, & some of their men. James Fitzmoris likewise and his companie had the like successe, for he himselfe was first hurt and wounded, and then with a shot striken thorough the head, and so was slaine, with sundrie of his companions: wherein he found that the popes blessings and warrant, his *Agnus Dei*, and his graines had not those vertues to saue him, as an Irish staffe or a bullet had to kill him. Thus was hir highnesse most happie, and that whole land most happiest, that they were deliuered from so wicked and bloudie a traitour, and that the great & venemous hydra was thus shortened of one of his heds. For otherwise it was to be doubted that if he had liued, he would haue bin the cause of much bloudshed, and all the rebels in that land would haue joined with him. For he was of verie good credit & estimation through the whole land, he was of a verie good gouernement, and of a great reach; but a déepe dissembler, passing subtill, and able to compasse anie matter which he take in hand, familiar to all men, and verie courteous, valiant, and verie expert in martiall affaires, but so addicted to poperie and that baggage religion, that he became a most horrible traitour to hir maiestie, and a mortall enimie to euerie good man: and so far he was imbrued herein, that a man might saie that he was borne to the same end, euen to be a traitor and a rebell to God, to his prince, and to the whole commonwealth.

James Fitzmoris slaine.

Some thinke that this péece of seruice was a draught made by sir William Drurie lord iustice.

After that he was thus dead, and the same made knowen to the lord iustice, he gaue order that he should be hanged in the open market of Kilmallocke, & be beheaded & quartered, & the quarters to be set vpon the towne gates of Kilmallocke, for a perpetuall memorall to his reproch for his treasons and periuries, contrarie to his solemne oth taken in that errour. Hir maiestie, when she was aduertised of this péce of good seruice of sir William Burke and the losse of his eldest sonne, she wrote hir letters of the good acceptation of his seruice, comforted him for the losse of his son, and in recompense did create him baron of the castell of Connell by hir letters patents dated the fourth of Maie, the twentith yeare of hir reigne, & gaue him the yearelie pension of a hundred marks, to be paid at hir maiesties exchéker yearelie during his life, wherof he take so sudden joy that he sowned, and séemed to be dead.

James Fitzmoris his quarters set vpō the gates of Kilmallocke.

Sir William Burke being made a baron sowned for joy & shortlie after died.

When newes of the death of James Fitzmoris was brought to the fort at S. Marie worke, great sorow was amongest them all, they being all amazed and wist not what to do, especiallie the Spaniards who depart could not, and to submit themselues they would not, and yet they were of the mind to giue ouer and to intreat for a licence to depart. Which purpose they would haue followed, if that sir John of Desmond had not taken the matter in hand: for he hauing imbrued himselfe so vnnaturallie in bloud, and doubting the same would neuer be pardoned, did follow the matter. The lord iustice (as is aforesaid) immediatlie vpon the newes of the arriuall of these Spaniards, and of the death of Henrie Dauels, made his preparation of all the forces which hir maiestie had in that land, which was but foure hundred footmen and two hundred horsemen, a verie small companie for so great seruice towards: yet considering that the victorie consisteth not in the arme of man, nor in horse or mule, but onelie in the good gift of God; he marcheth forth in his tournie, hauing in his companie of Englishmen sir Nicholas Bagnoll knight marshall, sir Nicholas Malbie coronell of Connagh, Jaques Wingfield maister of the ordinance, and Edward Waterhouse one of hir maiesties seruants, Edward Fitton, Thomas Masterson, and others. And of the Irish lords he was accompanied with the earle of Kildare, sir Lucas Dillon chiefe baron, the vicount Mountgarret, the baron of vpper Offerie, and the baron of Dunboine, who had of themselues two hundred horsemen, besides footmen and kernes: and so they marched forward by iournels vntill they came to Kilmallocke, where not farre from the towne they all incamped: & then he sent from thense a messenger to the earle of Desmond, and so likewise to all the principall gentlemen of the best accompt in those parties, to come vnto him.

The Spaniards amazed with the death of Fitzmoris.

Sir John of Desmond supplieth James Fitzmoris rome.

Sir William Drurie lord iustice maketh a tournie into Mounster.

The lord iustice incampeth neare to Kilmallocke.

The earle in outward appearance séemed verie willing to come, but vntill he had receiued some promise of fauour from the lord iustice, he still lingered and trifled the time and came not. But in the end his lordship being verie well accompanied with horsemen and footmen, he went to the campe, and presented himselfe before the lord iustice, and made a shew of all dutifulnesse, obedience, & fidelitie, whereas indéed no such thing was ment. For though his bodie were there, his mind was elsewhere; for whiles he was in the campe, sundrie trecheries were practised by him; yet they were not so secretlie done but they came to light, & were discouered to the lord iustice. Whereupon he was committed to the custodie of the knight marshall. Whiles he was in his ward, and fearing least some greater matters would be reuealed against him, he praied accesse to the lord iustice; and then he humbled himselfe verie much, and promised and sware vpon his honour & allegiance, that he would faithfullie and to the vttermost of his power serue hir highnesse against the rebels. Whose humblenesse and promise the lord iustice by the aduise of the councell did accept, and so inlarged him: which was in the end the vtter confusion of the earle himselfe and all his familie, and in the meane time great troubles, causes of much bloudshed, and vndoing of all Mounster.

The earle of Desmond cōmeth to the lord iustice to the campe.

The earle of Desmond is committed to ward.

The earle of Desmond doth humble himselfe and sweareth to serue trulie.

Whiles the lord iustice laie thus in campe about Kilmallocke, newes was brought vnto him, that sir

John of Desmond incampeth at Slewlougher.

John of Desmond was incamped with a great companie of the rebels vpon the borders of Slewlougher. Whereupon his lordship remoued and marched thitherwards, the earle then promising that he would in person incounter and fight hand to hand with his brother. Now when they were come to the place of seruice, the earle being best acquainted with the countrie, gaue aduise to the lord iustice, that he should diuide the armie into two parts, and the lord iustice should take one waie, and he the earle would take another waie: which aduise was followed. But bicause that place of the present seruice is adioining to a great wood, and wherein were manie fastnesse, the lord iustice did diuide the rest of his companie into two other parts, and so euerie of these three companies toke waie into the wood & serched it throughout, but there they found no bodie. For sir John had some secret knowledge of the lord iustices comming, and so was gone before.

The daie being spent to small purpose, & the night drawne towards, he incamped that night in the same places where the rebels had lien before, & there he remained somewhat longer than he thought: bicause he would spend and waste the forrage of that countrie, which was one of the chiefest places of reliefe that the enimies had. And from thense he went backe againe towards Kilmallocke, where he incamped himselfe at a place called Gilbons towne, which lieth in the plaines betweene Limerike and Kilmallocke towards Emelete and Harlo; & there he continued about nine weekes in continuall toiling and trauelling to and fro, in all such seruices as was dailie offered to be done vpon the enimie, from which he had no rest neither day nor night. Wherupon for the better seruice he diuided his bands, and toke out of the Irish companies one hundred, and deliuered them to the guiding of capteine John Herbert, a man of verie good seruice, and one other hundred to capteine Price.

These two capteins had made spiall vpon certeine rebels, which shrowded themselues in the great wood called the blacke wood, vpon whom they made a sallie, and did verie good seruice vpon them. But as they were to returne to the campe, which laie beside Getenbre castell, the said John of Desmond, who laie in ambush for them, met and incountered them, where was a sharpe fight betwixt them, and the two capteins with the most part of their companie slaine: & John of Desmond himselfe was there hurt in the nose. The losse of those two capteins and their men was a great weakening to the lord iustice his armie; his enimies being strong and manie: and his companie weake and few, sauing at that instant the souldiers sent out of Deuon and Cornewall arriued at Waterford to the number of six hundred men, vnder the leading of capteine George Bourchier, capteine Peter Carew, capteine George Carew his brother, and capteine Dowdale, whose comming at so present a distresse was both ioifull and also gladsome.

Sir John of Desmõd lieth in an ambush for the Englishe capteins and discomfiteth them.

The Deuonshire souldiers arriue at waterford.

And neere about this time, it was aduertised vnto the lord iustice, that John of Desmond was at Connell, which was about sixteene miles from the campe; and his lordship being well furnished & prepared, and he minding to do some peece of seruice vpon him, made verie secretlie a iourneie thither: but Desmond wanting not his good espials, had an inkling and a knowledge thereof, and so shifted himselfe awaie, whereupon the lord iustice returned to his campe. The queens maiestie and councell, being alwaies mindfull of hir Ireland, and by reason of the newes that the enimies were dailie stronger and stronger, she sent ouer sir John Perot late president of Mounster, with six ships well furnished and appointed, whereof he was admerall; and William Gorge maister porter of the tower and a pensioner, viceadmerall: and all these arriued vnto the citie of Corke. Whereof the lord iustice being aduertised, was verie glad, and did appoint one hundred vnto sir William Stanlete, who before was capteine of certeine horsemen, and one other hundred he assigned vnto capteine Hind. And seeing now some good seruice towards, and to incourage certeine gentlemen to be the more willing to follow the same, called before him George Bourchier, William Stanlete, Peter Carew, and Edward Poore, and vsing vnto them verie good speeches, to incourage and persuade them to do hir maiestie good seruice in these hir affaires, and in hope they would performe the same, he dubbed them knights: who accordinglie did acquit themselues, and some of them with the losse of their liues ended their daies in this seruice.

Knights dubbed in the field.

And he further also for his owne part, the more he bethought himselfe of the great seruice and charge laid vpon him, the more carefull he was to do what the same required: where, in his owne person he so toiled and trauelled, and so ouercame himselfe with studieng, watching, labouring and trauelling, that he ouerthrew his owne health, and was no longer able to indure the same: but being ouercome by sicknesse, and driuen to yeeld therevnto, was determined to haue dissolued his campe, and so to haue returned to Waterford, and there to staie for a time. But the capteins seeing the necessitie of the present seruice, persuaded him not to dissolue the armie, but to take some order herein for hir highnesse seruice, and he to sequester himselfe for a time for his health. Upon whose aduises he prepared himselfe to trauell towards Waterford, and for the continuance of the seruice did commit the gouernement to sir Nicholas Malbie, who was then gouernour by the name of coronell of Connagh; and then by easie iourneies he came to Waterford, and there he found himselfe euerie daie more weaker than other, and in the end did distrust his owne recouerie.

Sir William Drurie falleth sicke & goeth to waterford.

Sir Nicholas Malbie made gouernor of Mounster.

And yet mindfull of hir maiesties seruice, he to incourage other therein, sent & called before him William Pelham esquier, William Gorge esquier viceadmerall of the six ships, Thomas Perot sonne and heire to sir John Perot, and Patrike Welsh maior of the citie of Waterford, and gaue vnto them the order of knighthood, vsing the like persuasions as heretofore he had done vnto others in the like case. And albeit he were of a good heart and courage, yet that was no sufficient physicke to recouer his helth of bodie, but that still decated. And douting verie much of his recouerie, he sent to Dublin to the lord chancellor, and to the ladie Thame his wife, for their speedie comming vnto him, who accordinglie satisfied his request. But he inioied their companie a verie short time: for he died within two daies after their comming, being the last of September 1579, and after his death his bodie was caried vnto Dublin, where it was buried.

Knights dubbed at waterford.

Sir William Drurie lord iustice dieth.

But here by the waie (which should before haue beene said) as he came towards Waterford through Tipperarie, the countesse of Desmond met with him, and brought with hir hir onelie sonne and heire to the earle; and being a suter in the behalfe of hir husband, presented him to the lord iustice to be a pledge for the truth and fidelitie of the earle hir husband. For after the time that he was set at libertie in the campe neere Kilmallocke, he neuer repaired any more to the lord iustice, but stood vpon his owne keeping; notwithstanding by his letters he professed all loialtie and obedience, which he neuer meant. For in verie truth he was (notwithstanding his dissembling) a verie ranke traitor, as in open fact and action did verie shortlie

The countesse of Desmond giueth hir son to be a pledge for his father.

Sir John Perot sent to serue on sea.

shortlie appeare, to his owne deserued confusion.

But to returne to sir Nicholas Malbie, who immediatlie vpon the departure of sir William Drurie vnto Waterford, according to the office & charge laid vpon him, he set in hand forthwith to follow and performe the same. For he was able to do it being of great experience in martiall affaires, hauing béene seruitor that waie vnder sundrie kings, & in strange nations; as also was verie wise, lerned, and of great knowledge in matters of policie, hauing béene a student in good letters, and a great traueller in sundrie nations, and therein did obserue the maner of the seuerall gouernments in euerie such place as where he trauelled. He had vnder him in the whole an hundred and fiftie horsemen, and nine hundred footmen, to command; and diuiding them according to the seruice then in hand, he sent sir George Bourchier, captein Dowdall, and captein Sentleger, vnto Kilmallocke with three hundred footmen, and with fiftie horsmen, there to lie in garrison, and a speciall place meet for the same, & which the enimie most speciallie coueted to possesse. But the more his care was that waie, the like was their diligence, vigilancie, & care of the other waie to keepe the same. Then with the residue of the companie he marched himselfe to the citie of Limerike, where he staied and remained for a time to refresh his souldiors.

The commendation of sir Nicholas Malbie.

During his abode and being there, it was thought good by him and his capteins, to send vnto the earle of Desmond for his repaire vnto him, and to haue conference with him, to vnderstand his bent and aduise for hir maiesties seruice against the enimies. The earle hauing receiued the gouernours letters, gaue verie good words, & promised much, but performed nothing. Wherefore he was againe and againe sent for from time to time, but he came not, but laie still at his house of Asketten, which is about fourtene miles from Limerike. For albeit as yet he was not in ante actuall rebellion, yet it was not vnknowne but that he was secretlie combined with his two brethren, which as open traitors were in open rebellion and in armes against hir maiestie. Which the earle, suspecting the same might be laid vnto his charge, would not aduenture himselfe to come in person to the gouernor; but still fed him with faire words and friuolous answers. Wherefore the gouernor thought good to spend no more time in vaine to looke for him, but left Limerike, and went into the fields, where he incamped himselfe, and so set forwards to do some seruice vpon the enimie, hauing then in his companie six hundred footmen vnder the ensigns of sir William Stanleie, captein George Carew, captein Fisher, captein Furse, captein Piers, & captein Hinder; and he himselfe and captein Apeslie reserued one hundred horsemen betweene them. Now being aduertised that a great companie of the rebels were incamped in Connilo vnder their captein John of Desmond, he marched towards them. And being come néere to an abbeie or monasterie called Monaster Neuagh, seuen miles from Limerike, there appeared a great companie in a plaine field both of horsemen and footmen, in estimation two thousand or there abouts, marching in battell araie, and had cast out their wings of shot, and placed euerie thing verie well and orderlie.

The gouernor sendeth for the earle of Desmond.

The earle giueth onelie words and dissembleth.

The gouernor remoueth from Limerike to Connilo.

When the gouernor perceiued and beheld this, being verie glad that some péece of seruice was towards, he likewise conferreth with his capteins, and by their aduises setteth his companie in like good order, and brought them into a quadrant proportion, setting out his flankers in seuerall places according to the seruices, & appointed verie good leaders for the same: but his carriages he placed in the rereward, with shot sufficient for their safegard. Now when all things were thus ordered, he marched forwards to the enimies. John of Desmond, when he saw that he must fight or flie, and that brags would not beare out the matter, by the councell of doctor Allen, who had the holie ghost at commandement, to giue them the victorie, caused the popes banner to be displaied; and then marching forwards in verie good order, hee tooke a plaine ditch in the open field: and minding to abide the fight, disposeth his horsemen, footmen, Galowglasses, and his shot for his best strength and aduantage.

The gouernor setteth forwards, & giueth the onset vpon them with his shot, who valiantlie resisted the first & second volées, & answered the fight verie well, euen to the couching of the pikes, that the matter stood verie doubtfull. But the Englishmen so fiercelie & desperatlie set vpon them afresh with the third volée, that they were discomfited and had the ouerthrow giuen them, and fled. John of Desmond, as a worthie Kerres, who (as the historiographers write of him) was *Primus in fuga, postremus in bello*, sat vpon his horsse all this while and gaue the loking: who soener turned first, he was the first that was gone: for he put spur to the horsse & fled awaie as fast as he could, shewing a faire paire of héeles, which was better to him than two paire of hands. In this fight were manie slaine, of which doctor Allen was one, and three score others of good account. And in the chase, there were slaine and hurt, which died shortlie after, about two hundred men. This doctor Allen was an Irish man borne, and the chiefest cause of this fight. For he trusting to the Spaniards, whom he knew to be verie skilfull, and also dreaming the victorie by his inchantments to be at his commandement, incouraged John of Desmond forwards: and in the campe in the waie of good spéed would néeds saie masse, and as the prophets of Baal in the time of king Achab, he offered to his God Bazim, and cried out for his aid, but none would come; for his God was asléepe and could not heare. Notwithstanding, he stood so much vpon the credit of his offrings and sacrifices, that he assured them of a victorie, and that he himselfe would be the first that should that daie giue the first blow; but whether he so did or not, there was he slaine: where he had the iust reward of a traitor, who most wickedlie and disloiallie forsoke the dutie and allegiance, which by the word of God he did owe vnto hir highnesse, and denoted himselfe a professed Jesuit to the Romish antichrist, and an open traitor vnto his lawfull prince. The earle of Desmond himselfe was not present in this fight, but he and the dissembling baron of Lernew stood in the view & sight of it, vpon a little hill in a wood about a quarter of a mile from thense: but the whole companies were there, and had part of the breakefast.

The popes banner displaied.

The battell betweene the gouernor and sir John of Desmond.

The Irish lost the field.

Doctor Allen is slaine.

Doctor Allen incouraged the campe to fight.

The earle of Desmond was in view of the fight.

The gouernor marcheth to incounter with John of Desmond.

This baron of Lernews eldest sonne, named Patrike, was seruant to hir maiestie and sworne, and serued in the court; but had leaue of hir maiestie to come into Ireland to see his father: but he was no soner come, and entred into his fathers house and home, but he forsoke his faith and oth to hir highnesse, and became a wicked rebell, and most traitorouslie bare armes against hir, and so continued a ranke traitor to the verie end. Wherein appeareth the nature of himselfe, and of the brood of that cursed generation, among whome there is neither faith, nor truth. And therefore they maie be verie well resembled to an ape, which (as the common prouerbe is) an ape is but an ape, albeit he be clothed in purple and veluet: euen so this wicked impe. For notwithstanding he was trained vp in the court of England, sworne seruant vnto hir maiestie, in good fauour and countenance in the court, and apparel-

The baron of Lernews son, seruant to the quéene and sworne, beareth armes against hir.

No faith nor regard of an oth among the Irishrie.

led according to his degrée, and dailie nurtured and brought vp in all ciuilitie: he was no sooner come home, but awaie with his English attires, and on with his brogs, his shirt, and other Irish rags, being become as verie a traitor as the veriest knaue of them all, & so for the most part they are all, as dailie experience teacheth, dissemble they neuer so much to the contrarie. For like as Iupiters cat, let hir be transformed to neuer so faire a ladie, and let hir be neuer so well attired and accompanied with the best ladies, let hir be neuer so well esteémed and honored: yet if the mouse come once in hir sight, she will be a cat and shew hir kind: but to the historie.

Iupiters cat.

When the battell was ended, & the retreat sounded, the gouernor incamped himselfe fast by the riuer side of the monasterie aforesaid, and there laie that night. About midnight, when all things were quiet, & euerie man was at his rest: euen then the often named earle of Desmond sendeth a messenger with letters of congratulation vnto the gouernor, bearing him in hand that he was verie glad and ioifull of his good successe and victorie: and like an hypocrite pretending verie good will to hir maiestie, gaue him aduise that for the auoiding of hir great charges, he should dislodge himselfe from that place; which as he thought was not best for an armie to lie in. The gouernor answered his letters with the like, and requested him to come vnto him, that they might haue conference togither, and ioine in this hir maiesties seruice, and wherein he would be glad to follow his aduise in anie thing that might further hir highnesse seruice: but to withdraw himselfe and his companie from thense, vnlesse he could giue him a good reason, he would not yéeld to his motion, nor take his warrant for anie warrantise. And therefore he remained thenseforth in the same place three or foure daies, expecting still the earles comming: but he so little meant anie such thing, that henseforth he became a rebell in open action, and in armes against the gouernor, finding nothing in the earle but dissembling, and to vse delaies and faire spéeches to gaine time to serue his turne, removed from thense to a towne of the earles named Rebell, and there incamped himselfe. They were no sooner settled, but the scoutmaister, hauing béene abroad, declareth to the gouernor that he had discouered a great companie of horssemen and footmen which were within a mile of the campe, & therewith was the alarum made, & sundrie horssemen & shot according to the direction of the gouernor issued out, & met with the enimies, and skirmished with them, of whom they killed manie, and toke some prisoners.

The earle of Desmonds dissembling, & his counsell.

The gouernor remoueth to Rebell.

The earle of Desmond becometh himselfe to be an open rebell.

These men, being examined, declared that the earle was now in the fields and in armes, and so had béene euer since the last ouerthrow of his brother John of Desmond; and likewise declareth the whole bent of the earle and his brother. This péece of seruice being doone, and the night drawing néere, the watch was charged, and euerie man toke his rest. But the earle and his brother minding to do some mischiefe, they watched, and in the dead of the night then following, taking aduantage of the time, when men were wearie and in their sléepes, came with all their companies, and meant to haue set vpon the whole campe. But they came too short and missed of their purpose: for the campe was too well warded for them to take anie aduantage. The gouernor considering the intent of the enimies was to do what they could to remoue him from that place, which could not be kept but to the great damage of the enimies sundrie waies, and that the same was a verie necessarie place for a garison and a ward, whereby to stop the continuall intercourse of the enimies, which by the means of a bridge ouer that water, they had a continuall recourse to & fro that waie: he before his departure from thense did plant & place a ward in the castell adioining to the bridge, which did from that time annoie the enimies verie much: and then from hense he marched towards the earles house of Asketten, and by the waie he met with sundrie of the earles companie, and skirmished and fought with them to the losse of manie of them.

The earle of Desmond in open rebellion.

The earle of Desmond secretlie in the night stealeth to the gouernors campe to intrapit.

A garison placed at Rebell.

This house of Asketten is a verie strong castell, standing vpon a rocke in the verie midst of the riuer, and the chiefest house of the earles, wherein he had a strong ward: but he himselfe at this present time and his brother John were assembled vpon a little hill on the further side of the riuer, standing there vpon their whole force. The gouernor hoping of some good seruice towards, drew all his companie into the abbeie house of Asketten, not far from the castell house; and there conferring with the capteins what were best to be done, it was agréed and thought good, that a letter or two more should be written to the earle, and to persuade him to submission. The gouernor, who was a verie good secretarie, and could pen a letter verie excellentlie well, did draw a letter, vsing manie good words, termes, and reasons to persuade him to conformitie and obedience to hir maiestie: & that he should not be the occasion of the vtter fall & end of so noble a house, which descended from Roesius the great prince of South-wales by his mother Nesta, daughter vnto the said Roesius, as Giraldus one of the same familie writeth. And herewith by the waie of a parenthesis, it doth not appeare by anie sufficient authoritie, vnlesse a sonet and a deuise of a noble man be a sufficient authoritie, that the Giraldines came out of Italie; but perhaps out of Normandie: and the first of them placed in England had some interteinement and liuing at Windesor, and thereof was called Giraldus de Windesora: and he gaue not the armes of Richard Strangbow earle of Chepstow, as some haue written: but as he was a gentleman of himselfe, gaue the armes incident to his owne house, which is argent a salter gules.

Asketten the earle of Desmonds chiefest house.

A letter sent to the earle of Desmond to persuade him to submission.

The house of Desmond.

For certeine it is, he was and is a verie ancient gentleman, whose ancestors were planted and placed in that land by king Henrie the second, and haue euer since continued in this land in much honor, wishing, aduising, and persuading, that if there were anie feare of God, obedience to the prince, or regard of himselfe, and of his name and familie; that he would reclaime himselfe vnto dutie and obedience: and that the honor of his ancestors might not be buried in his treacheries and follies. These letters being well penned were sent vnto him. But notwithstanding the most pithie, true, and effectuall reasons and arguments were sufficient to haue persuaded anie honest or reasonable man: yet was his Pharaos heart so hardened and indurated in disobedience, rebellion, and treacherie, that nothing could make him to yéeld and relent: but leauing his former and wonted dissimulations, returneth the messenger with a flat denial that he will not yéeld anie further obedience to hir highnesse. And forthwith to confirme the same, he fortifieth his strongest and best houses and castels: as namelie Asketten with his chosen followers and men of best trust; the castels of Carigofoile and Strangicullie with Spaniards and some Irishmen. The gouernor, vpon the receipt of the earles answer, and minding to frame his seruice accordinglie; news was brought him that sir William Drurie lord iustice was dead, who deceassed at Waterford vpon the third of October 1579, which was a dolefull hearing to all good Englishmen, and a great hinderance vnto hir highnesse seruice.

The earle of Desmond will not be persuaded.

The earle of Desmond fortifieth his castels.

Sir William Drurie dieth.

This

The conditions and manners of sir William Drurie.

This sir William Drurie was verie valiant, wise, and a gentleman of great experience, descended of a verie ancient and a worshipfull house, being a yonger brother, but the birthright excepted, nothing inferior to his elder brother ante kind of waie in the gifts of wisedome, valiantnesse, knowledge, and experience of matters politike or martiall. In his youth he was a page, and serued in the court; and as in yeares, so in knowledge of all courtlie seruices he did growe and increase, and became to be as gallant a courtier as none lightlie excelled him. He was verie deuout, and a follower vnto the then lord Russell lord priuie seale, and after earle of Bedford, who gaue him good countenance and interteinment: for vnder him he serued in France at Muttrell and Bullongnois, and after the warres ended, he went to Calis, and oftentimes being there he issued out, and did manie good seruices about Cambraie and in Artois: and in the end about Bruselles he was taken prisoner. Not long after he was redéemed and ransomed, and then he would néeds serue at the seas, and hauing gotten a ship well appointed for the purpose, he aduentureth that seruice. The beginning of it was so hard, that in nine daies he was in a continuall stormc, and in great despaire for euer to recouer: neuertheless, whom the sword could not make afraid, the seas could not dismate; but was euer one and the same man, of a good mind and great corage: and the storme being past, he followed the seruice which he had taken in hand, and became to be an excellent maritimall man, and verie expert in all seruices at the seas. When the time of this his seruice was expired, he returned into England; & attending vpon the earle of Bedford, he accompanied him in the seruice against the rebels of Deuon, at the commotion or rebellion in the third yeare of the reigne of king Edward the first one thousand fiue hundred fortie and nine, and did there verie good seruice. After which in course of time, he went to serue at Berwike, where his valor and behauior was such, that he was made prouost marshall vnder the earle of Sussex being lord lieutenant, and for his sundrie notable good seruices he rewarded him with the degrée of knighthood.

His seruice at Bullongne.

He is taken prisoner.

He serueth at seas.

His seruice at the commotion in Deuon.

His seruice at Berwike.

He is prouost marshall.

He is dubbed knight.

Not long after that, there was a péece of necessarie seruice to be done in Scotland by the said earle vpon the quéenes commandement; but he was verie sicke, and at that time he could not performe the same: wherfore he deputed in his place this worthie knight, whome he then made generall of the armie: and with such forces as were thought mét he entreth into the seruices appointed vnto him, being accompanied with the earle of Lennor, sir Thomas Manners, sir George Carie, and sir Robert Constable, with sundrie other capteins, to the number of twelue hundred footmen. And his commission being to serue at Edenborough, which then by the reason of the diuision among the noblemen, about the murthering of the earle of Murreie, he tooke, spoiled, and burned sundrie forts and castels: and in the end besieged and tooke the towne and castell of Edenborough, and deliuered the same, according as he was commanded, to the vse of the king: and so he returned againe to his old charge, with great praise and commendation, as in the chronicles of England and Scotland is at large recorded.

He is generall of the armie, and doth a good péece of seruice in Scotland.

He besiegeth and taketh Edenborough castell.

In verie short time after, hir maiestie hauing good experience of the valor of this knight euerie waie, aswell for his valiantnes in martiall affaires, as for his wisedome in ciuill gouernement, she calleth and draweth him from his office and charge at Berwike, and remoueth him into Ireland, there to be imploied in the office of a lord president, and assigneth vnto him the gouernement of the whole prouince of Mounster, where he shall haue sufficient matter and occasion to vse both the sword & the law, iudgement and mercie. And hauing receiued hir highnes commandement in this behalfe, he maketh his voiage & repaire into Ireland: & being now serued in his roome and office by the right honorable sir Henrie Sidnete lord deputie, he acquiteth himselfe verie well euerie waie, being as seuere a iudge and earnest persecutor of the wicked and rebellious, as a zealous defender of the dutifull and obedient, to the great good liking of hir maiestie, the terror of the wicked, the comfort of the good, and the benefit of the commonwealth. After some time of his triall in this office, and sir Henrie Sidnete lord deputie being reuoked into England, he who had serued well in part, is called now to serue in all: and from a particular president is called to be a generall gouernor: and is in place of the departed deputie made lord iustice. He was no sooner entred into the office, but forthwith the rebellion and warres of the Desmonds began in Mounster vnder James Fitzmoris, and the Italians lately come from the pope, and vnder the earle of Desmond and his brethren, who had long breathed and looked for this time. For the pacifieng, or rather subduing of this wicked rebellion, he toke such continuall trauels and troubles, & so bruised his bodie, that being not able to hold out any longer, he fell sicke & died (as is before said) in the citie of Waterford, and from thense his corps was remoued to Dublin, and there buried; his bodie resting in peace, his soule in euerlasting blisse, and his fame in this world for euer immortall.

Sir William Drurie is made lord iustice of all Ireland.

The rebellion of the Desmonds in Mounster.

The death of sir William Drurie.

Sir Nicholas Malbie, who was chéefe gouernor of Mounster, now that his commission by the death of sir William Drurie was expired and ended, gaue ouer to follow ante actuall warres or ciuill administration in Mounster; but remoued himselfe and the whole campe vnto Lougher, and there dispersed them abrode in townes and villages to lie in garrison, and vpon their owne gards, vntill it were knowne who should haue the sword, and be the principall officer. Amongest the capteins thus dispersed into seuerall places, sir William Stanleie, and capteine George Carew were assigned to lie at Adare. The traitors & rebels, hearing of the death of the worthie knight, of whose prowesse and valiantnesse by the sword, & of whose wisedome & vprightnes in gouernement, they had good triall; yet not abiding to be alienated from their old leauened and wicked vsage, they were not a little glad that he was dead, euen as the other were most sorowfull for the losse & lacke of him. Wherefore now they pull vp their spirits, & confer togither how they may in this inter-reigne win the spurs, and be vtterlie deliuered from the English gouernement. Wherefore it is agreed among them, that vpon euerie seuerall garrison of the most principall capteins, they would set seuerall companies to watch & kæpe them in their holds, that they should not issue out, but to their perill. Some therefore are appointed at Kilmalocke, some at Carigofoile, some at Asketten, and some at one place, and some at another. And at Adare, where these two gentlemen sir William Stanleie & George Carew laie, sir James of Desmond brother to the earle with foure hundred Kerns and fiftie horsses was appointed to serue and watch; which he did so carefullie & narowlie, that none durst to pæpe nor looke out but in danger of some perill. But when vittels waxed short within dores, the souldiors, who could nor would be pined, gaue the aduenture to fetch that which was without dores: and as want of vittels did increase, so did their issuings out vpon the enimies growe and increase. And so often were their sallies and incountrings with the enimies, that in the end they finding & kæling the courage

Sir William Stanleie and capteine George Carew are assigned to Adare.

The garrisons are besieged and inuironed by the Irishme.

Sir James of Desmond besiegeth Adare.

The Irishmen league to inuiron the garrison.

rage of the Englishmen, they had alwaies the worst side; and at euerie bickering euer lost some of their companie. Wherevpon they raised their siege, gaue place to the garrisons, and returned to the earle of Desmond. For albeit as yet they wanted a generall gouernor to rule aboue all, yet the captens were not to seeke, nor yet failed to doo the seruice which vnto them did apperteine, either for seruice or safetie. And among all the rest sir William Stanleie and capteine George Carew (as is before said) lieng in garrison at Adare, and vpon an occasion minding to doo a peece of seruice, verie earlie, and before the breake of the daie, they toke a bote or a cote trough, which could not hold aboue eight or ten persons at a time, and passed ouer their soldiors vnto the other side of the riuer, which lieth betweene Adare and the Kerrie, minding to haue burned & wasted all the lands and countrie belonging & apperteining to the knight of the valleie, who then was in actuall rebellion against hir maiestie, with the earle of Desmond and his brethren, where they then laie at a castell named Ballilogban, the chiefest & strongest place which the enimie had in that place and countrie, and this was furnished with a strong ward of the Spaniards. After that these two capteins had burned and spoiled the countrie, and put to the sword whomsoeuer they thought good: in their returne before they could recouer the riuer, sir James of Desmond, the knight of the valleie, and the foresaid Spaniards with all their forces, to the number of foure hundred footmen and thirtie horssemen, gaue the charge vpon these two enlignes verie fiercelie, they hauing not in their companie aboue sir score persons to the vttermost. These two capteins answered the charge, and most valiantly skirmished with them at the push of the pike without intermission aboue eight hours, and killed of them aboue fiftie shot and Kernes; and sir James himselfe with others grieuouslie hurt and wounded, without the losse of anie one of their owne men, sauing sundrie were shrewdlie hurt and wounded. At length these two capteins recouered their bote, and caused all the souldiors to be transported; they themselues being the verie last that passed ouer, and the enimies doubting of the safetie, stood afterwards vpon a better force.

The knight of the valleie his countrie spoiled.

The knight of the valleie a rebell.

Sir william Stanleie and capteine George Carews seruice at Adare.

The lords of the councell at Dublin in the meane time, considering the distressed state of the whole land for want of a principall officer, did assemble themselues, and toke aduise for the choise of some one wise man, meet and fit for the gouernement. And in the end they resolued vpon sir William Pelham, whom they chose to be lord iustice. And vpon sundaie being the eleuenth of October 1579, he receiued the sword and toke his oth in Christs church of Dublin: there being present the lord chancellor, the archbishop of Dublin, the earles of Ormond and Kildare, and the whole councell: besides a great number of barons, knights, and gentlemen. The sermon being ended, he returned to the castell, before whome sir Nicholas Bagnoll knight, marshall of Ireland, by his office did beare the sword before him, & the whole companie there did attend him: being come to the castell, he was receiued with the shot of all the great artillerie. As soone as he was entered into the chamber of presence, and the sword there deliuered, he called the lord chancellor before him: and in consideration of his good seruices in causes of councell, and of hir maiesties good acceptation of the same, he rewarded & honoured him with the degree of knighthood, by the name of sir William Gerard.

Sir William Pelham chosen to be lord iustice. 1579

Sir william Pelham hauing taken the sword, dubbeth the lord chancellor knight.

Likewise, he called Edward Fitton the sonne and heire of sir Edward Fitton, late treasuror of Ireland, and dubbed him knight. After dinner the councell sat, consulting vpon causes of the estate: and for quieting of the realme, letters were sent vnto all the noblemen and gentlemen of anie countenance and calling, persuading them to the continuance of their loialties and dutifull obedience. And for the gouernement of the prouince of Mounster, in absence of the lord iustice, a patent was sealed and deliuered to the earle of Ormond: who hauing the keeping and custodie of the yong lord Giraldsonne and heire to the erle of Desmond, was by a warrant willed to deliuer him to capteine Mackworth, and he to bring or conueie him to the castell of Dublin. Likewise, a warrant vnder the broode seale was sent to sir Warham Sentleger, to be knight or prouost marshall of all Mounster. These and other things doone concerning the keeping of the English pale in quiet: the lord iustice, who had a speciall eie to the troublesome state of Mounster, prepareth to make presentlie a iournie into Mounster. But first it was concluded and agreed, that the lord chancellor should passe ouer into England, with letters of aduertisement to hir maiestie and councell of the present state of Ireland, and of his lordships iournie towards against the rebels: who had also in commission to vtter by speech what was to be aduertised & answered vpon hir maiesties demands and councels. When all things were prepared for his iournie, he appointed the erle of Kildare to defend the borders northward, and his lordship marched southward toward Mounster, taking with him the three bands latelie come from Berwike, vnder the leading of capteine Walker, capteine Case, and capteine Pikeman: with so manie others as he thought meet and necessarie for that seruice. And when he came in his waie to Kilkennie, being the nineteenth of October, there he remained two daies and kept sessions, whereat he sat in person, and determined manie matters, and did cause Edmund Mac Neile a notable traitor, & sundrie other malefactors, to be executed to death: and also he made a peace and reconciliation betweene the earle of Ormond and sir Barnabie Fitzpatrike, baron of vpper Ossorie: betwixt whome was a mortall hatred. And bonds were taken betweene them for restoring ech one to the other the preies, which either of their men had taken. During his abode and being in Kilkennie, the earle gaue his lordship verie honourable and good interteinment.

The earle of Ormond made gouernor of Mounster.

Sir Warham Sentleger made prouost marshall of Mounster.

The lord iustice maketh a iournie into Mounster.

The lord chancellor sent into England.

The lord iustice keepeth sessions at Kilkennie.

From this towne he departed the two and twentith of October, and by iournies he came to Cashell, where the earle of Ormond with a band of two hundred and thirtie men came and met him. And here the lord iustice sent his letters of the foure and twentith of October to the earle of Desmond, for his repaire vnto him, for the appeasing of the quarrell and controuersie betweene him & sir Nicholas Malbie, referring vnto him to come either to Cashell or to Limerike. And from this towne he rode to Limerike, and about a mile before he came to the citie, sir Nicholas Malbie and sundrie other capteins & gentlemen met his lordship; and for his welcome gaue him a braue volee of shot: and so brought him to the citie, where the maior in all dutifull maner receiued him, and presented him with a thousand well weaponed and appointed men of the same citie. The next daie he departed thense, and went to a towne named Fanings, where sir Nicholas Malbie presented vnto his lordship a letter, which he receiued from Ulike Burke: the same being the letter of doctor Sanders sent vnto the said Ulike, and with most pestilent reasons persuaded him to rebellion. And to this towne came the countesse of Desmond from hir husband, with letters of hir husband to the lord iustice, in excusing his not comming vnto him.

The earle of Ormond and the baron of vpper Ossorie reconciled and made frends.

The earle of Desmond is sent for to come to the lord iustice.

The lord iustice honorablie receiued into Limerike.

Doctor Sanders wicked letters to Ulike Burke.

The lord iustice seeing the earle to vse but delaies, toke aduise of the councell which was with him, what

what was best to doo. And in the end it was concluded, that the earle of Ormond should go vnto him, and to conferre with him vpon such articles as were deliuered, and now sent by him vnto the said Desmond, and to require his resolute answer.

The said articles were in summe *as followeth.*

The earle of Desmond is required to deliuer doctor Sanders and the Spaniards.

FIrst, that he should deliuer vnto the said lord iustice, doctor Sanders, and certeine strangers of diuerse nations, now remaining in the said earles countries, and mainteined by such traitors and in such castels, as be at his deuotion and commandement.

The earle to deliuer one of his castels.

That he shall deliuer vp into hir maiesties hands one of his castels of Carigofoile or Asketten, for the pledge of his good behauiour: which vpon sundrie and diuerse reasons is suspicions, and he for his disloialtie greatlie suspected.

The earle to submit himselfe.

That he doo forthwith come and simplie submit himselfe vnto hir maiestie, and to referre his cause to the iudgement of hir maiestie and councell in England, or vnto him the lord iustice and councell in Ireland.

That he prosecute his brethren and rebels.

That he doo forthwith repaire to the lord iustice, and ioine with his lordship with all his forces, to prosecute his brethren and other traitors, and to assist and aid the earle of Ormond, lord generall in this seruice.

Which conditions if he will hold, then he shall be reputed as a nobleman, and be receiued into fauour notwithstanding his errours past: but if he refuse, that then let him know, that immediatlie by open proclamation he shall be published a traitor.

The earle of Ormond, according to the order, went to the said Desmond, and deliuered vnto him both the letters and the said articles, and required his resolution and answer. Which when he had ouer read and considered, he returned his answer by a letter dated at Crogh the thirtith of October 1579, vsing therein nothing but triflings and delaies, requiring restitution for old wrongs and iniuries, and fustfleng himselfe to be a good subiect, though he doo not yeeld to the foresaid articles. During the time of this parlée, the lord iustice was remoued to Crome, where he expected the returne of the erle of Ormond and to that place sir William Stanleie & capteine George Carew came vnto his lordship with their two hundred footmen.

The earle sendeth letters but commeth not.

The earle of Ormond being returned, & hauing little preuailed with Desmond, notwithstanding his sundrie persuasions, there were other letters sent vnto him to induce him to the consideration of himselfe and his estate: but when no reason, no persuasion, nor counsell could preuaile; then it was thought good by the lord iustice & councell to proceed to their former determination, and to proclame him a traitor. The lord iustice remoued from Crome to Kathkill, and he was no sooner incamped, but alarum by the traitors was raised: which was answered forthwith by the lord iustice and the earle of Ormond: & in that skirmish three or foure of the traitors were slaine, of which the earle of Desmonds butler was one, the earle himselfe being then incamped within a mile of his brothers: and notwithstanding his iustification to be a good subiect, he dailie accompanied and conferred with them. The lord iustice seeing that neither counsell nor delaie of time could auaile with the earle of Desmond, then by the generall consent of the nobilitie, the councell, gentlemen, and the whole armie, a proclamation was openlie published against the said earle and all his confederats, in the highest degree of treason at Kathkill the second of Nouember 1579. The effect of which treasons and proclamation was as here vnder followeth.

The second letter sent to the earle of Desmond for his comming in.

The earle of Desmonds butler taken and slaine.

The earle of Desmond proclamed traitor.

The earle of Desmonds treasons *articulated.*

THat the erle of Desmond hath practised most vnnaturallie the subuersion of the whole state.

2 That he practised to bring in strangers, and practised with forren princes to bring and allure in strangers to inuade this land.

3 That he fostered and mainteined doctor Sanders, James Fitzmoris, and others beyond the seas to worke these feats.

4 That albeit to the vtter shew of the world, he seemed at the first to dislike with them at their landing: yet were they secretlie interteined by the said earles permission, throughout all his countie of palantine in Kerrie.

5 That when his brethren most traitorouslie had murthered Henrie Dauels and others at Traleigh, he did let his said brethren slip, without reproouing or blaming of them, and had also commended specialtie the slaughter of Edmund Duffe an Englishman, who at the said murthering laie in the next bed vnto Dauels.

6 That when the strangers at Smerwicke had no waie to escape by sea, at the comming of sir William Drurie, he gaue place vnto them for their escape by land, and gaue his tenants and followers libertie, to aid, helpe, and mainteine them.

7 That contrarie to the commandement giuen vnto him by the lord iustice, he returned into Kerrie, and caused the strangers to leaue the fort, and to repaire to the towne of the Dingle and to other places which were at his deuotion, & had there interteinements.

8 That he distributed the ordinances and artillerie of the forts vnto the rebels, as doth appeare by a note found in the port mantieu of doctor Allen latelie slaine in the incounter executed by sir Nicholas Malbie.

9 That he hath set at libertie such strangers as he kept colourablie as prisoners, and hath appointed them to gard his houses and castels.

10 That he hanged most abhominablie Richard Eustace, Simon Brian, and others the quéenes subiects, for whome he vndertooke to the late lord iustice to be safelie brought vnto him.

11 That he sent sundrie of his principall men, seruitors, and followers, and his houshold seruants, as also his chiefe capteins, which vnder the popes banner displaied most traitorouslie in the fields, did assaile sir Nicholas Malbie knight hir maiesties lieutenant of all Mounster, at Mounster Euagh, and which banner Nicholas Williams the earles butler did that daie carie.

12 That he hath vtterlie refused manie persuasions, friendlie counsels, sundrie messages, and all the good means vsed and wrought to reduce and to bring him to obedience.

13 That he hath not onelie refused to deliuer vp doctor Sanders and the Spaniards, which doo dailie accompanie him; but hath broken downe his castels, burned his townes, and desolated his countries aforehand, to the intent hir maiesties forces and subiects shall not be succoured nor refreshed.

14 That he dailie looketh for a further aid and a new supplie of forreners, & dailie solliciteth the chiefe men of the Irish countries to ioine with him in this his most execrable and rebellious enterprise.

15 That he openlie protested & sent a message to the

the lord iustice that he would disturbe the whole state of Ireland. Wherfore they did pronounce, proclame, and publish him to be a most notorious, detestable, and execrable traitor, and all his adherents, against hir maiesties crowne and dignitie, vnlesse within twentie daies after this proclamation he did come in, and submit himselfe. Vnto which proclamation there subscribed the earle of Dsmond, the baron of Dunboine, the bishop of Waterford, the vicount Mountgarret, sir Nicholas Malbie, sir Edmund Butler, Edward Waterhouse, Theobald Butler, Edward Butler, and Piers Butler.

ges. And they then little thinking and lesse looking for anie such ghests, were vnawares and vpon a sudden intrapped and taken napping, and the most part of them taken and slaine, and the villages for the most part burned and spoiled. The earle of Desmond at this present time was there, but not knowne in his castell called the New castell, and escaped verie narowlie. This péece of seruice being done, the lord gouernour marched towards Mac Willies countrie, and being to go through a certeine passe, he met with the seneshall, vpon whome he gaue the charge, who answered the same verie valiantlie, and the skirmith was verie hot, in which the seneshals brothers and sundrie of his men were slaine; and the like also befell vpon the lord gouernours men, though not so manie, amongest whome capteine Zouches trumpetor was one; which so greeued the lord generall, that he commanded all the houses, townes, and villages in that countrie and about Lesinnen, which in anie waie did belong to the earle of Desmond, or of anie of his frends and followers, to be burned and spoiled.

The earle of Desmond in danger to be taken.

The proclamation against Desmond is sent to all the cities in Ireland.

This proclamation was forthwith sent and dispersed to Dublin, Waterford, Corke, Limerike, and other principall townes to be in like order proclamed. Immediatlie and within an houre after this proclamation, the countesse of Desmond came to the campe; but the campe was before dislodged from the towne, and all his countrie forthwith consumed with fire, and nothing was spared which fire & sword could consume. From this place the lord iustice remoued to Pople Bzian, where vpon the third of Nouember he toke a generall musser of the whole armie: and then he deliuered to the erle of Dsmond two hundred and fiftie horsemen, and also eight ensignes of footmen, of the which companie George Bourchier went to Kilmallocke, and sir William Stanleie and capteine George Carew to Adare, And then he remoued and toke his iournie vnto Limerike, being accompanied with the earle of Dsmond, who the next daie left the lord iustice and returned to his charge. After which departure of the lord iustice, the proclamed traitor of Desmond and his brothers, not able anie longer to shrowd his treacheries, went with all his forces to the towne of Poughall, where against his comming the gates of the towne were shut, but yet it was thought but colourablie: for verie shortlie after, without dentall or resistance, the earle and all his troope of rebels entered the towne and toke it, and there remained about fiue daies, rifling and carrieng awaie the goods and household stuffe to the castell of Strangicallie and Lesinnen, the which then were kept by the Spaniards.

The towne of Youghall taken & spoiled.

A barke well appointed at Waterford is sent to Youghall.

The earle of Dsmond causeth a barke well appointed to be dispatched from Waterford, & to come to Poughall: the capteine of which barke was named White, a man of that countrie birth, verie valiant and of a stout stomach. Assone as he was come to the wals of the towne, and had anchored his ship, he recouered from the rebels certeine ordinances of the said townes; and being put to vnderstand that the seneshall of Imokellie was comming towards the towne, he set all his men on land; and setting his men in good order, he entered into the towne at the watergate, and marched in good order through the towne, till he came where the rebels were togither, and then more rashlie than consideratlie, gaue the charge and onset vpon them: but the number of them being great, and his but a handfull to them, he was in verie short time inclosed and ouerlaied, and there slaine, and with much adoo did a few of his companie recouer their ship againe. The lord generall and gouernour in the meane time, not slacking his businesse, did assemble and musser all his companie, & being accompanied with sir George Bourchier, sir William Stanleie, capteine Dowdall, capteine Furse, and others, made a iourneie into Connilo, which was then the cheefest place of trust that the earle had, both for safetie and strength, and for vittels and forage, and there his greatest force and strength of his souldiors were seized in the townes and villa-

The ordinances recouered from the rebels.

White, capteine of the barke is slain.

The earle of Dsmond maketh a rode into Connilo, & killeth a number of the rebels.

From this he toke his iourneie towards Corke, and in his waie at Dsunfening he toke a preie of one thousand fiue hundred kine or cowes, which were all driuen and sent vnto Corke, at which citie assoone as his lordship was come, and had rested a small time, then by the aduise of the capteins he diuided and bestowed his companie into sundrie garrisons and places conuenient, as which might best answer the seruices. And his lordship being accompanied with capteine Dowdall and capteine Furse, he went to Cashell, and by the waie he toke the maior of Poughall, whome forthwith he examined, and for his treasons and treacheries, in that he would yéeld vp the towne vnto Desmond, and had before refused a band of Englishmen, which was appointed to lie in garrison in that towne, for the defense thereof, and had promised that he would kéepe and defend the same against all men; he carried him along with him vnto Poughall, and there before his owne doore hanged him. The lord gouernour when he came into the towne, found it all desolate, rifled and spoiled, and no one man, woman or child therein, sauing one frier, whome he spared, bicause he had fetched the corps of Henrie Dauels from Traleigh, and had carried it to Waterford, where it was buried in the chancell of the cathedrall church. And his lordship much pitieng the desolate estate of the towne, did take order for the reedifieng of the wals and gates, and placed therein a garrison of thrée hundred footmen vnder capteine Morgan and capteine Piers, who did verie good seruice in the countrie, and by good means drew home the people and old inhabitants, and inpeopled the towne againe. And the lord gouernour departed thense, and followed his seruice, as time, place, and opportunitie did serue; and taking aduise with the capteins for some speciall seruice, and remembring that the Spaniards had hitherto lien in rest and quietnesse, in garrison at Strangicallie, and hitherto nothing done or said vnto them; it was agréed betweene his lordship and the capteins, to doo some seruice vpon them, and to trie their value: whereupon they marched thither and laid siege thervnto.

The maior of Youghall hanged before his owne doores.

The towne of Youghall all desolate.

The inhabitants reuoked to dwell and inhabit the towne.

The Spaniards who kept alwaies good watch, and had also verie good'espials abrode, they were forthwith aduertised that a companie of souldiers were drawing and marching towards the said castell, and when they themselues saw it to be true, and had discouered them, they began to distrust themselues, and to doubt of their abilitie how to withstand them. Wherefore abandoning & forsaking the castell, they passed ouer the water, thinking to recouer the woods and

The Spaniards lieng in Strangicallie forsake their fort and in fleeing are slaine.

and so to escape that present danger. But sir William Stanleie, capteine Zouch, capteine Dowdall, capteine Piers, capteine Roberts, and all their companies did so egerlie follow and pursue them, that in the end they ouertoke them, and slue all or the most part of them, and so toke the castell, wherein the lord gouernour placed a ward. Likewise when he laie at Adare, and vnderstanding that the erle of Desmond was abrode, the garrison minding to doo some seruice vpon him, they issued out. Whereof he hauing some intelligence, notwithstanding his companie was but small in comparison of the others: yet he laie in an ambush to meet them in their returne; and vpon an aduantage he gaue the onset vpon them, and gaue a verie hot charge, in which the souldiers of the garrison were so hardlie assailed, that they brake the most part of their pikes, and were inforced with their swords and with the stumps of their staues to stand to their defenses; which they did so valiantlie, that the earls in the end with the losse of his men was driuen to giue ouer and to flee.

The erle of Desmond lieth in an ambush.

The like seruice did sir Henrie Wallop, who then laie at Limerike, sir George Bourchier, capteine Dowdall, capteine Holingworth, and all the residue of the capteins in their seuerall charges and garrisons, who though of themselues they were verie forward; yet the lord gouernour neuer slept his time, but was alwaies in readinesse, being the first with the formost, and the last with the hindermost. In the moneth of August 1580, he remoued and dislodged himselfe from Adare, and marched to Boteuant a house of the lord Barries, where a peece of seruice was appointed them to be done: but suddenlie such a sickenes came among the soldiers which toke them in the head, that at one instant there were aboue three hundred of them sicke, and for three daies they laie as dead stockes, loking still when they should die, but yet such was the good will of God, that few died; for they all recouered. This sickenesse not long after came into England, & was called the gentle correction. Now the companie being thus recouered, his lordship minding to follow a peece of seruice, diuideth his companie into two parts, the one he toke himselfe, and toke the waie by the Iland; & the other he appointed to go directlie vnto Traligh, and there they met and diuided their companies into three parts, & so marched to Dingle a cush. And as they went they draue the whole countrie before them vnto the Ventrie, & by that means they preied and toke all the cattell in the countrie to the number of eight thousand kine, besides horsses, garrons, sheepe, and gotes, and all such people as they met they did without mercie put to the sword. By these meanes the whole countrie hauing no cattell nor kine left, they were driuen to such extremities, that for want of vittels they were either to die and perish for famine, or to die vnder the sword. Neuertheless, manie of them vnderstanding that sir William Winter vice admerall of England was newlie arriued with the quenes ships at the Ventrie, and that he had receiued a commission to vse marshall law, they made their repaire vnto him, and obteined protections vnder him. Which the souldiers did verie much mislike, the same to be somewhat preiudiciall to hir maiesties seruice: bicause they persuaded themselues, that if they had followed the course which they began, they should either haue taken or slaine them all.

The diligent seruice of the earle of Ormond.

A sickenesse in the campe.

All the countries preied.

Sir William Winter giueth protections.

Sir William Winter keepeth the seas.

Sir William, vicеadmerall of England, vpon the newes reported to hir maiestie that a new supplie was prepared to come into Ireland from out of Spaine, was commanded to keepe the seas and to attend their comming, and as occasion serued to doo his best seruice vpon them. Who when he had so done certeine moneths, his vittels waxed scant; and seeing no such matter, and also that the winter was drawing onwards, thinking nothing lesse than that the Spaniards would so late in the yeare arriue thither, he hoised his sailes and returned into England. But he was mistaken & deceiued: for not long after they came and landed at Smerwicke, as hereafter shall be at full declared. And now leauing the soldiers in their garrisons, let vs returne to the lord iustice, who when he departed from Limerike the fift of Nouember 1579, being accompanied with the Berwike bands, he went into Thomond, where the erle and his sonne with two bad horssemen met his lordship; and from thense he trauelled by iournies vnto Gallewaie, where he was verie honorablie receiued. And to the end to incourage them to persist and continue in dutifull obedience, he confirmed vnto the corporation certeine branches and articles, whereof some before this were granted vnto them in the time of sir Henrie lord deputie, and some now newlie set downe and granted, which in effect were these as followeth.

The lord iustice with the Berwike bands goeth into Thomond.

The lord iustice is verie honorablie receiued into Gallewaie.

The charter of Gallewaie with new *liberties confirmed.*

FIrst, that no writ of *sub pœna* shall be warded out of the chancerie against anie inhabitant in Gallewaie, vntill the partie which sueth out the writ, haue put in good and sufficient suerties before the lord chancellor, or the maior of Gallewaie to prosecute the same with effect.

That no new office nor officer be erected in the towne of Gallewaie by anie deputie or gouernour, otherwise than as they in times past haue vsed to doo.

That the maior by the aduise of foure aldermen, and other foure discreet men of the towne vpon good considerations may grant safe conduct and protection to English rebels and Irish enimies.

That the merchants of the towne which shall buie anie wares or merchandize of strange merchants, shall put in good and sufficient bands before the maior that he will well and trulie make paiment vnto the said merchant stranger for his debt and dutie.

That if anie inhabitant in the towne doo vse anie vndecent & vnreuerent speach to the maior, that he shall be punished according to the qualitie of the fault and offense.

That the maior, bailiffes, and inhabitants shall inioy, vse, and exercise all their ancient liberties, vsages, and customes.

That in all actions tried before the maior, the partie condemned shall paie reasonable costs, and the said maior shall not take anie fee for anie sentence, called Dleigethe.

That no dead bodie shall be interred or buried within the towne and walles of Gallewaie.

That when anie strange merchants come to their port and hauen, that the same be serched and viewed for weapons and munitions, and that none aboue the number of ten persons of the said ship shall come into the said towne.

That no stranger be suffered to take the view of the strength of the towne, nor to walke on the wals.

That the maior from time to time doo take the muster and view of all the able men, and of their furniture and armour.

That all vnseruiceable people in time of seruice be sent out of the towne.

That sufficient vittels from time to time be prepared to serue the towne for ten moneths at the least before hand.

That a storehouse be prouided alwais in the towne for a staple of vittels to be kept there at all times.

From

From thense his lordship by sundrie iournies came to Athlon and so to Dublin; where about three miles before he came to the citie, William Norris newlie arriued out of England, and accompanied with certeine gentlemen, met him with a hundred and fiftie horsemen, well furnished and well horsed with English geldings, euerie man wearing a red cote with a yellow lace, who attended his lordship into the citie, and from thense he was assigned and sent vnto the Newrie, where he died verie shortlie after vpon the fiue and twentith of December 1579. His hart was consumed, his splene corrupted, and his braine mixt with filthie matter. His bands were diuided and deliuered to either capteins. And immediatlie vpon his entrance into the citie, he sent for Jaques Wingfield master of the ordinance, and by order he was commanded as prisoner to keepe his chamber for his contempt, bicause he did not attend the lord iustice into Mounster as he was commanded; but vpon his submission after foure daies he was released. And vpon the death of Francis Agard esquier, sir Henrie Harington, who had married one of his daughters and heires, was by vertue of certeine letters from out of England, appointed to be seneshall of the Obirnes, as his father in law before was. The earle of Desmond and his two brethren sent a proud and an arrogant letter vnder their hands, dated the nine and twentith of November 1579, to the lord iustice, aduertising, that they were all entered into the defense of the catholike faith, with great authoritie both from the popes holinesse and king Philip, who haue vndertaken to defend and maintaine them, and therefore persuaded the lord iustice to ioine with them.

William Norris newlie come out of England meeteth the lord iustice.

Capteine Norris sent to lie at the Newrie.

Sir Henrie Harington is made seneshall of the Obirnes.

The proud letters of the earle of Desmond.

The lord iustice, hauing set the pale in some order, & hauing committed the same to the gouernement of the erle of Kildare, he made a new iournie into Mounster, and departed out of Dublin the eighteenth of Januarie 1579, with such companies and forces as he thought good for that seruice, and toke his iournies along by the sea coasts; and being come to Waterford, there he kept sessions, & sat in person at the same. And from thense taking Tinneterne in his waie he came to Wexford, the fiue and twentith of Januarie 1579, by water from Ballihacke in certeine botes verie well appointed by the maior of the citie. And before he came thither, sir William Stanleie, sir Peter Carew, and capteine George Carew, and capteine Piers, issued out of the citie with their foure bands, and neere to the shore in the view of his lordship, they presented him with a iollie skirmish, and so retired themselues, to make ward against his landing. The bulworks, gates, and curteins of the citie were beautified with ensignes and shot in warlike maner, and then all the shot of the ships in the hauen, and a great ranke of chambers vpon the keie, together with the shot of the souldiers, were discharged, and gaue his lordship a liuelie and a great thundering peale.

The lord iustice entreth a new iournie into Mounster.

The lord iustice keepeth sessions at Wexford.

At his landing the maior and aldermen araied in their scarlet gownes met him, and presented vnto his lordship the sword and the keies of the gates, which forthwith he redeliuered vnto them againe, and the sword the maior bare and caried before his lordship. He went first to the church, and by the waie vpon two seuerall stages made for the purpose, there were two orations made vnto him in Latine; and at his returne from the church, he had the third in English at the dore of his lodging. And to this citie the earle of Ormond came vnto him, and they being together, letters were sent from sir William Morgan of aduertisement, that the traitors were come downe about Dungaruon and Boghall. Wherupon one hundred horsemen vnder capteine Zouch, and Sentleger, and foure hundred footmen vnder sir William Stanleie, sir Peter Carew, capteine George Carew, & capteine Piers were dispatched to serue against them.

The lord iustice from Waterford, vpon notice of the trouble dailie increasing, sent a commission of the eleuenth of Februarie, to sir Warham Sentleger to be prouost marshall, authorising him to proceed according to the course of marshall law against all offendors, as the nature of his or their offenses did merit and deserue; so that the partie offendor be not able to dispend fortie shillings by the peare in land, or annuitie, or be not worth ten pounds in goods: also that vpon good causes he maie parlee and talke with anie rebell, and grant him a protection for ten daies: that he shall banish all idlers & sturdie beggers: that he shall apprehend aiders of outlawes and theeues, and execute all idle persons taken by night: that he shall giue in the name and names of such as shall refuse to aid and assist him: that in doing of his seruice, he shall take horse-meat and mans-meat where he list, in anie mans house for one night: that euerie gentleman and noble man do deliuer him a booke of all the names of their seruants and followers: that he shall put in execution all statutes against merchants and other penall lawes, and the same to see to be read and published in euerie church by the parson and curat of the same: and that he do euerie moneth certifie the lord iustice how manie persons, and of their offenses and qualities, that he shall execute and put to death: with sundrie other articles, which generallie are comprised in euerie commission for the marshall law.

The articles of a cõmission for the marshall law.

The lord iustice, after that he had rested about three weekes at Waterford, he remoued and went to Clonmell, where the earle of Ormond met him, being the fifteenth of Februarie 1579, and from thense he went by iournies vnto Limerike, where the chancellor of Limerike vpon suspicion of treason was committed to prison, and his lodging being searched, manie masse bookes and other popish trash, togither with an instrument of the earle of Desmonds libertie palantine of Kerrie was found. He was after indicted, arreigned, and found guiltie, but in the end pardoned. And the bishop likewise was vpon some suspicion committed prisoner vnto his owne house.

The chancellor of Limerike sent to ward for treason.

The bishop committed prisoner to his owne house.

And out of Limerike he marched the tenth of March to Kathkell, where within one houre the erle of Ormond came vnto him, and there consulted for the manner of the persecution of the enimie. Which when they had agreed vpon, they passed the nert morning ouer the bridge of Adare, and by the waie they burned and spoiled the countrie, and went to Kathkell. Now when they had amended the bridge which the rebels had destroied, and made passable, they passed ouer the same into Connilo, where the lord iustice and the earle of Ormond diuided their companies, and as they marched they burned and destroied the countrie, and they both that night incamped within one mile at Kilcolman. And there it was aduertised, that Nicholas Parker lieutenant vnto capteine Fenton, comming from Limerike with fiue horsemen, and three shot, which were of the garrison at Adare, he was set vpon at Kathkell by a hundred traitors, which did discharge sixteene or eighteene shot at him, and sundrie darts, before he espied them: but he and James Fenton the capteins brother, and Guidon, so bestirred themselues, that they gaue the enimie the repulse, and slue their leader, with fiue or six others, and so came safe to the campe, but with the hurt of one of their horses.

Nicholas Parker verie valiantlie defendeth himselfe.

The souldiers likewise in the campe were so hot vpon the spurre, & so eger vpon the vile rebels, that

The lord iustice receiued honourablie into Waterford.

that

that day they spared neither man, woman, nor child, but all was committed to the sword. The same daie, a souldier of the marshals incountered with two lustie kernes, the one of them he slue, and the other he compelled to carrie his fellows head with him to the campe: which when he had done, his head also was cut off and laid by his fellowes. The next daie following, being the twelfe of March, the lord iustice and the earle diuided their armie into two seuerall companies by two ensignes and three togither, the lord iustice taking the one side, and the other taking the other side of Slewlougher, and so they searched the woods, burned the towne, and killed that daie about foure hundred men, and returned the same night with all the cattell which they found that daie.

And the said lords, being not satisfied with this daies seruice, they did likewise the next daie diuide themselues, spoiled and consumed the whole countrie vntill it was night. And being then incamped neere togither, the baron of Lernew came to the earle of Ormond, whome the earle in the next morning brought before the lord deputie, where he in most humble maner yelded, and submitted himselfe to his lordships deuotion, promising and presenting his seruice with all dutifulnesse. And then, when after great trauels they had maruellouslie wasted and spoiled the countrie, they appointed to march to Carigofoile, and to laie siege to the same: for in it laie the greatest force of the Desmonds, and which was garded and kept by the Spaniards. This castell standeth in the riuer, and at euerie full sea both it and the bannes about it are inuironed with the said flouds and flowing waters. Assone as they were incamped, the lord iustice approched the castell so neere as he could, to take the view thereof, that accordinglie he might consider the most fittest places for the laieng of the shot for the batterie: and then he commanded capteine George Carew to take out certeine shot, and to go with him in this seruice. Now the Spaniards hauing espied them, spent manie shot vpon them, and where the lord iustice verie hardlie escaped with his life, and from being slaine with a musket shot. When his lordship vpon this view had determined what he would do, he caused the canon shot to be planted in the place most fit for the batterie, for otherwise the fort was not to be assaulted.

The baron of Lernew submitteth him selfe.

The castell of Carigofoile is besieged.

The lord iustice and capteine Carew take the view of the castell.

The castell besieged.

In the same were sixteene Spaniards and fiftie others vnder one Julio an Italian, who at the request of the countesse of Desmond vndertoke the keeping of it, and who reported himselfe to be a verie notable enginer: & standing vpon his reputation, he plied the campe with continuall shot, putting out an ensigne and railing with manie bad speeches against hir maiestie; declaring also that they kept it for the king of Spaine and so still would, vntill further aid were sent from him: and which in verie deed was dailie loked for. Before the canons and other battering peeces could be vnladen, they spent the time, occupieng the one the other with such deuises as they thought good for the seruices. And the Spaniards, hauing the aduantage, did by their often shot hurt and kill some Englishmen, namelie a souldior of sir George Bourchiers, one of sir Henrie Wallops, & one of capteine Zouches: and sir William Stanleie comming with his companie to the trenches to take the ward of capteine George Carew, which kept the watch that night past, was hurt with a musket shot out of the castell in the necke. Assone as the ordinance was vnladen and planted, they began forthwith to batter the fort with three canons, a culuering, and a demie culuering; and in short time they so beat it, that the house fell and filled the ditches: by meanes whereof the same became to be assaultable.

The proud brags of the Spaniard.

The castell is battered with shot.

Capteine Macworth, who had the ward of that daie, entred into the vtter banne by a doore that the souldiors had broken, and was maister of it presentlie. The Spaniards thervpon retired to a turret that was vpon the wall of the barbican, & some sought other places to hide and to saue themselues, but that part of the castell was beaten downe: and then capteine Macworth recouered the possession of the whole, and did put fiftie to the sword, of which nineteene were found to be Spaniards; and six others he tooke, whereof one was a woman, which were executed in the campe. None were saued that daie but onelie the capteine Julio, whome the lord iustice kept for certeine considerations two or three daies: but in the end he was hanged as the rest were before him. The next daie, being the first of Aprill one thousand fiue hundred and fourescore, the ordinances were remoued and carted to the ship, which with all such souldiors as were sicke and hurt were sent to Limerike, to be relieued and cured. This castell, one of the principallest and chiefest forts thus recouered, there resteth onelie the house and castell of Asketten: and the lord iustice, and the earle of Ormond thought nothing more necessarie, than euen forthwith to march to Asketten, and to incampe there and to besiege it, euen as they had done to this fort of Carigofoile. Where when they came, the two lords diuided themselues, the one taking the one side, and the other taking the other side of the water: and vpon the third of Aprill they incamped at the said castell, the lord iustice lieng in the abbeie, and the earle of Ormond vpon the further side of the riuer.

Capteine Macworth, who had the ward of that daie, entred into the vtter banne by a doore that the souldiors had broken, and was maister of it presentlie.

Capteine Macworth first entreth the castell.

The castell of Carigofoile is taken.

The bragging Spaniard is taken and hanged.

1580

The castell of Asketten appointed to be besieged.

The lord iustice viewed the place, and found no waie possible to place ante watch or ward neere to the castell, by reason of the great disaduantage of the rockes which laie altogither vpon the castell. While the campe laie there, sir William Stanleie, capteine George Carew, and capteine Walker went to giue siege vnto the castell of Ballilogh an, a strong house of the Desmonds, and which was warded vntill this time against hir maiestie. The ward had no sooner the sight and view of these three ensignes, but that they fired the house and fled: but they were so narrowlie pursued, that the leader of them and some of his companie were ouertaken and slaine. Whilest the siege laie at Asketten, sir Henrie Wallop treasuror at warres came from Limerike to the campe the fourth of Aprill 1580: and the verie same night following, being a verie darke and close night, the warders of the castell fearing the example of the execution done at Carigofoile, and doubting the sequele of the lord iustice preparation made for the batterie to be laid against it, did abandon and forsake the castell verie secretlie about midnight, leauing a traine of pouder to set it on fire, which consumed & burned a great part of the same: but the principall towers remained vntouched. The warders by fauor of the darke night escaped into the woods.

Sir William Stanleie and capteine George Carew besiege the castell of Ballilogh an.

The warders forsake the castell.

The warders of Asketten forsake the castell, and by a traine set it on fire.

This castell thus recouered, the earle of Desmond had neuer a castell in all Mounster which was warded against hir maiestie: but all were now at hir deuotion. The lord iustice being possessed of Asketten, he appointed a strong garrison to reside there, and placed sir Peter Carew, and sir Henrie Wallops companie in the castell; and capteine George Carew, and capteine Hollingworth to be in the abbeie, and so vpon the fift of Aprill he dislodged with the rest of the armie, and went vnto Limerike: commanding the capteins to cut down the woods on both sides of the riuer, that the botes might passe freelie to and fro. At his comming to Limerike, all things now seeming to be at peace, the earle of Ormond returned home to Kilkennie, & certeine of the councell

The castell of Asketten is taken.

A ward placed at Asketten.

The armie is dispersed, and the garrisons

are sent to their places appointed.

cell which had followed in this iourneie rode to Dublin: and sir Nicholas Malbie departed into Connagh. And notwithstanding that the most part of the armie was now dispersed into garrisons: yet the seruices of euerie of them neuer abated. For alwaies as the time of seruice required, the Irishmen were issued out vpon, and most commonlie had the worst side. And the lord iustice himselfe taking an occasion to visit the ward at Adare, he passed by water, and capteine Case went by land, and after a time spent in searching the woods, they returned with a preie of one thousand and two hundred kine, and verie good store of sheepe, besides the slaughter of manie traitors.

A commission to create sir William Burke to be baron.

At his being and during his abode in Limerike, vpon the fifteenth of Maie, he receiued his maiesties commission vnder the broad seale of England to be lord iustice (where before he held the same by the election and order of the councell) and therewith also one other commission, for creating of sir William Burke baron of castell Connall, with a pearelie pension of one hundred markes during his life. And from this time, the lord iustice spent this summer in Mounster, trauelling to and fro through out the whole prouince: he himselfe and euerie other capteine in his seuerall garrison doing such seruice vpon the rebels as by occasion was offred. The lord iustice vpon the fifteenth of June, after that he had marched a few miles in Mac Aulies countrie, spoiling, defacing, and burning the same, he passed through the boggie mounteine of Slewlougher into Kerrie, and there he discouered a great preie of the countrie; and pursuing the same, by the vaward of his horsemen, and he himselfe in person toke about two thousand kine, besides store of sheepe and garons, with part of the traitors masking apparell.

The earle of Desmond and his wife and doctor Sanders in perill to be taken.

The earle of Desmond, the countesse his wife, and doctor Sanders little thinking of this matter, escaped verie hardlie; and their priest for hast was faine to leaue his gowne behind. The like seruice he did the nert daie, being the fiue and twentith of June at Caskelmange. But at this time, a great mutinie began amongest the souldiors vnder sir George Bourchier, capteine Macworth, and capteine Dowdall, by reason of their wants: but his lordship with such lenitie and courtesie handled the matter, that they departed from him well satisfied. Likewise sir Cormac Mac Teige shiriffe of the countie of Corke did notable seruice vpon sir James of Desmond; which sir James vpon the fourth of August made a roade into Muskroie, and toke a great preie from the foresaid sir Cormac: Whereupon his brother Donnell assembleth his brothers tenants and countrie and followed the preie, and recouered the same: sir James, who thought it to be too great a dishonor and reproch to depart with anie thing which he had in hand, withstanding the matter.

A mutinie among the souldiors for lacke of victels.

Sir Cormac Mac Teige doth a peece of seruice vpon sir James of Desmond.

Whereupon they fell at hand-fight. In which conflict and fight the said Donnell behaued himselfe so valiantlie, and his companie so lustilie stucke to the matter, that the preie was recouered, and sir James himselfe mortallie wounded and taken prisoner, and all his force, being aboue a hundred and fiftie persons, were slaine and ouerthrowne. He that toke him was a smith, and seruant to sir Cormac, who forthwith handfasted him: and for auoiding of certeine inconueniences, he kept him close, and secretlie hid him in a certeine bush in the fastnesse there, and bound him so fast and sure, that he could not escape nor run awaie. And when all the companie was gone, then he toke him and carried him to sir Cormac his maister, who kept him in safe custodie, vntill, by letters of commandement from the lord iustice and councell, he did deliuer him vnto sir Wary-

Sir James of Desmond in taking of a preie is taken prisoner and executed.

ham Sentleger then prouost marshall, and to capteine Raleigh; who (according to a commission in like order to them addressed) was examined, indicted, arreigned, and then vpon iudgement drawen, hanged and quartered: and his bodie being quartered, it was togither with the head set on the towne gates of the citie of Corke, and made the preie of the foules. And thus the pestilent hydra hath lost an other of his heads.

Sir James of Desmond sent to sir Warham Sentleger & to capteine Raleigh, and was executed to death.

This seruice of this knight was maruellouslie well accepted, and first from the lord iustice and councell, and then from hir maiestie he receiued verie frendlie and thankfull letters. This man was a yonger house vnto Mac Artie Reough, and they both a yonger house vnto Mac Artie More now earle of Clancar, and whose ancestors (as is said) were kings before the conquest of Mounster. They are all men of great power, and greatlie esteemed in those parties. But this sir Cormac, in dutie and obedience to hir maiestie and hir lawes, and for his affection to all Englishmen, surpasseth all his owne sept & familie, as also all the Irishrie in that land. For albeit a mere Irish gentleman can hardly digest anie Englishman or English gouernment, & whatsoeuer his outward appearance be, yet his inward affection is corrupt and naught: being not vnlike to Iupiters cat, whome though he had transformed into a beautifull ladie, and made hir a noble princesse; yet when she saw the mouse, she could not forbeare to snatch at him: and as the ape, though he be neuer so richlie attired in purple, yet he will still be an ape. This knight, after he did once yeeld himselfe to hir maiesties obedience, and had professed his loialtie, he euer desired to ioine himselfe vnto the companie of the Englishmen, and became in time a faithfull and frendlie man vnto them, liued according to hir maiesties lawes, and did so good seruice at all times when it was requisit and required, as none of that nation did euer the like. And if at anie time he were had in suspicion, he would by some kind of seruice purge & acquite himselfe, euen as he did in this present seruice in taking of sir James of Desmond, to his great praise & commendation, and to his acquitall against the reprochfull reports of his aduersaries. And sir William Fitzwilliams in the time of his deputiship, hauing had a verie good triall of his fidelitie, truth, and good seruice, did giue vnto him the order of knighthood, and made him shiriffe of the countie of Corke: euen as the lord iustice now did commend this his seruice vnto hir maiestie by his letters of the twelfe of August, a thousand fiue hundred and eightie, and praieng that the same might be so acceptablie receiued, as that the enobling of him might be both an ornament to his house, an incouraging vnto others to do the like, and a testimonie against others of his sort, who haue neglected a number of occasions (at greater aduantages) to haue done the like seruices.

Iupiters cat.

The loialtie of sir Cormac Mac Teige.

Sir Cormac Mac Teige made knight.

The death of James of Desmond, and the quartering of his bodie did maruellouslie dismaie the earle himselfe, sir John his other brother, and doctor Sanders, and all their confederats. And by reason of the continuall persecuting of the rebels, who could haue no breath nor rest to releeue themselues, but were alwaies by one garrison or other hurt and pursued; and by reason the haruest was taken from them, their cattels in great numbers preied from them, and the whole countrie spoiled and preied; the poore people, who liued onelie vpon their labors, and fed by their milch cowes, were so distressed, that they would follow after the goods which were thus taken from them, and offer themselues, their wiues, and children, rather to be slaine by the armie, than to suffer the

The miserie of the people.

the famine wherewith they were now pinched. And this great calamitie made also a diuision betweene the earle of Desmond and his brother sir John, either of them excusing that where of they were both guiltie. The earle himselfe (without rest) fleeth from place to place, and findeth small comfort, and seeing no other remedie, sent his ladie and wife vnto the lord iustice, who in great abundance of teares bewailed the miserable estate of hir husband, hir selfe, and their followers, making (with most lamentable requests) suite, that hir husband might be taken to submission.

The fute of the countesse of Desmond.

Sir John of Desmond, being in the like distresse, he togither with doctor Sanders gaue the aduenture, to passe for their refuge to the vicount Baltinglasse, then being in the countie of Kildare. The garrison which laie at Kilmallocke, making an issue out by night to doo some seruice, by chance met the said John and Sanders in the darke night: and not knowing them did set vpon them, and of foure of them they tooke two, the one being a frier named James Haie and standardbearer to the late James Fitzmoris, who vpon his examination confessed that the earle of Desmond was author of all these warres, and the other was Sanders man, who was slaine; and the frier was reserued, but sir John and the doctor by the benefit of the darknesse verie hardlie escaped, & cut off from their iournete. The lord iustice being at Newcastell, and being aduertised that the earle of Desmond and Sanders were in Kerrie, he forthwith sent for the garrisons of Adare and Asketten to come to him, and for the garrison of Kilmallocke to méet him at the place, daie, and time appointed, for a speciall pæce of seruice then to be done. Whose commandement being done and obeied, they tooke their waie into Kerrie, and there they had taken the earle, and his countesse, and doctor Sanders, had not a false brother bewraied the matter, and yet for hast they left their breakfast behind them halfe dressed. Neuertheless, they tooke two preies, the one of fiftéene and the other of eightéene kine; and the next daie they tooke another preie of two hundred kine, slue diuerse traitors, and take two friers, whose gownes were too long for them to follow the earle and the popes nuntio, they being poore bare foted friers, and he a lustie horsman: and then his lordship returned to Asketten, where he left maister Parker constable of the place; and from thense he went to Limerike, where he receiued news by maister Zouch, and after by letters from the lord Greie lord deputie, of his arriuall to Dublin. And then his lordship minding to make his spédie repaire to Dublin, did set the countrie in some good order, and by the aduise of the councell at Limerike, he appointed sir George Bourcher coronell of all Mounster, and instructions were deliuered vnto him, both for certeine speciall seruices to be done, & also for the generall gouernement of the whole prouince; & had left vnto him the charge (vnder his gouernement) of the whole forces in Mounster; which of footmen were two thousand eight hundred & twentie; and of horsemen thrée hundred fourescore and fiftéene: the whole, thrée thousand two hundred and fiftéene men. Likewise he had sent the like instructions to sir Warham Sentleger, and the erle of Clancar. And these & other like things done, he tooke his iourneie through Conaugh for the like establishing of the countrie, & came to Dublin the first daie of September, one thousand fiue hundred fourescore and one; and the next daie he deliuered vp the sword to the lord Greie, as to the lord deputie of Ireland, in saint Patrikes church in presence of the councell, noble men, and gentlemen, which were for the same purpose there assembled.

Sir John of Desmond minded to ioine with the vicount Baltinglasse.

Sir John of Desmond and doctor Sanders in flieng, were in danger to be taken.

The earle and his countesse in danger to haue béene taken.

This force is both of the princes paie, and of the lord of the prouince.

Sir George Bourcher coronell of Mounster.

And within six daies after the lord Greie his arriuall, it was giuen his lordship to vnderstand, that the vicount of Baltinglas, and Pheon macke Hugh, the chiefe of his ser of the Obzins, were lieng in the Obzins countrie, and were now of great force and strength, by meanes of the companie of capteine Fitzgirald, kinsman to the earle of Kildare, who had a band of footmen committed vnto him in the beginning of this rebellion, for the defense of the countie of Kildare, which bordereth fast by the Obzins. And he nothing regarding now, either the dutie of a subiect, or his owne credit, most traitorouslie reuolteth from his lawfull prince, and consorteth himselfe with traitors and rebels. And with these he practiseth and persuadeth to resist and make head against hir maiesties forces; because they could not (as he said) withstand or preuaile against them: who without anie reward promised, were easilie persuaded, because they would be persuaded, and were most willing to exercise anie maner of outrage. All these thus combined, drew one string, & incamped themselues in the fastnes of the Glinnes, about 20 miles from Dublin, where they kept all their goods & cattell. This fastnesse was by nature so strong as possible might be: for in it is a vallie or a combe lieng in the midle of the wood, of a great length, betweene two hils, & no other waie is there to passe through. Under foot it is boggie and soft, and full of great stones and slipperie rocks, verie hard and euill to passe through; the sides are full of great & mightie trees vpon the sides of the hils, & full of bushments and vnderwoods.

The vicount of Baltinglasse lieth in the Glinnes with the rebels.

The strength of the fastnesse in the Glinnes

The lord deputie, being not yet acquainted with the custome of the countrie, nor with the Irish seruices, and thinking himselfe in honor to be touched, and the whole armie to be discredited, if a companie of traitors should lie so nére vnto him, and not be touched nor fought withall, resolued himselfe to haue a péce of seruice to be done vpon them. Wherfore he with all his whole armie marcheth vnto the said Glinnes, & giueth order to sir William Stanleie, sir Peter Carew, sir Henrie Bagnoll, capteine Awdlete, and to John Parker, lieutenant to capteine Furse with all their footmen, and to Francis Cosbie capteine of the kerne, and George Moore an old veteran of Berwike, coronell of all the footmen, to take this seruice vpon them. But Cosbie, who had béene a long seruitor, and knew what to that kind of seruice did belong, did foresée the danger which would follow hereof, and so declared it to his companie: notwithstanding to auoid the reproches which might be laied to his charge, followed the said seruice, and vpon the next daie, being the fiue & twentith of August, they entered the Glinnes.

A seruice appointed to be done against the Obzins.

The lord deputie being accompanied with the earle of Kildare, Jaques Wingefield, capteine George Carew, capteine Denie, and others on horsebacke staied vpon the mounteine side hard by the wood. The archtraitor Fitzgirald, hauing some secret intelligence of the seruice towards, he bestoweth and placeth all his men with their pæces amongst the trées, and there couered themselues, vntill the Englishmen were entered and passed into the fastnesse, about halfe a mile or more, and could not easilie returne: and he hauing them at aduantage vpon euerie side of the hill, with great furie assaileth them with his shot, and in verie short time did kill the most part of the vaward, both captens and souldiors. The residue which followed, being in despaire to recouer what was lost, and distrusting themselues, fled at all hands, and ran backe as fast as they could in so bad a waie. And yet such was the nimblenesse of the traitors, and their skill of seruice in such places, that they were like to haue béene

The lord deputie staied vpon the mounteins.

killed; if the lord deputie, and the horsemen had not rescued them: vpon whose comming they retired into their fastnesse.

The English men slaine in the Glinnes.

In this conflict, George Pore, capteine Audlete, Francis Cosbie, and sir Peter Carew coronell, were then murthered and slaughtered; which sir Peter was verie well armed, and with running in his armor, which he could not put off, he was halfe smothered, and inforced to lie downe: whome when the rebels had taken, they disarmed him, & the most part of them would haue saued him, and made request for him, they thinking that more profit would grow among them by his life than benefit by his death. Notwithstanding, one villaine most butcherlie, assone as he was disarmed, with his sword slaughtered and killed him; who in time after was also killed. Before the entrie into this seruice, Jaques Wingfield being acquainted with this kind of bold and rash hardinesse, and foreseeing the euill successe which was feared would insue, persuadeth with his two nephues, sir Peter and capteine George Carew, to state and to forbeare to aduenture into the woods. But sir Peter could not listen thereunto, nor be persuaded; but would needs go in. His brother would haue done the like, but his vncle perforce kept him, saieng; If I lose one, yet I will keepe the other: and so by that meanes he was by Gods goodnesse saued and preserued.

Sir Peter Carew slaine.

Jaques Wingfield his wisdome towards his nephues.

This blacke daie was a dolefull and a grieuous daie to the lord deputie and all his companie: notwithstanding, hoping of a hard beginning would follow a better ending toke the matter as patientlie as he could, and made his returne vnto Dublin, abiding the comming of the lord iustice; who as sone as he was returned, then the lord Greie was sworne, and had the sword deliuered vnto him. The earle of Ormond in this meane time, being verie desirous to do some seruice vpon the Spaniards, being nothing afraid of their force and multitude, marcheth towards the fort, and incampeth at Traleigh, where the scout the same night espied a light in the enimies campe, and by reason of the darke night, the companie of them seemed to be the greater: which caused the gouernor to be more watchfull and circumspect. Wherefore in the morning, like a wise and a politike capteine, setteth all his companies in battell araie, & so marcheth forwards in his strength & verie good order ouer the strand of Traleigh towards the fort, euerie man being at a full resolution to do his best seruice that day against the enimie. When these strangers had knowledge of the approching of the lord gouernor, and his companie, albeit their fort was verie strong, both by nature and by art; yet they distrusted themselues, and forsoke the fort, and by the guiding of the Irishrie, they remoued themselues from thense to Glanningell, whome the gouernor pursued, & ouertoke some of them, vpon whome he gaue the onset, and skirmished with them: diuerse of them he slue, and manie he toke, whome he caried along with him: the residue of them fled into the fastnesse of Glanningell, which is a verie strong place and couert, by reason of the great woods and of the mounteines adioining. Whereupon the daie being spent, and no seruice for that time to be done anie further, the lord gouernor incamped there that night, fast to their enimies nose, to trie him what he would, or durst do.

The earle marcheth in order of battell to the fort.

The Spaniards leaue their fort.

The earle followeth the Spaniards and putteth them to the foile.

Assone as he was incamped, he calleth the prisoners (who were taken) before him, and they confessed that they were in number, not aboue seuen hundred men: but had brought with them pikes, caliuers, munitions, and all kinds of artillerie, sufficient for fiue thousand men: because they knew that the Irishmen were of bodies sufficient, but that they lacked furniture and training; & in these two things they minded to furnish them: and further also they said, that they had sent backe two of their ships into Spaine, to aduertise that they were safelie arriued, and how that they were interteined: requesting that the suplie appointed before their comming from home, might with all speed be sent awaie, and for which they did dailie looke: because it was throughlie concluded betweene the pope and king Philip, to make a through conquest of all Ireland; and so consequentlie as time should serue, to do the like with England. And moreouer, that they had brought with them a great masse and store of monie and treasure, which according to their commission they had deliuered to the earle of Desmond, sir John his brother, & to doctor Sanders the popes nuntio; and more is promised to be sent.

The Spaniards make a shift to conueie the prisoners away.

The number of the Spaniards not aboue seuen score.

The determinations of the pope and king Philip, to make a through conquest of Ireland.

After these things thus done, it was giuen to the said gouernor to vnderstand, that the same night there were three hundred souldiors of the enimies companie returned & gone backe to the fort. Whereupon he returned also, and followed them the next morning, and came to Dingle, where he incamped as neere to the fort as he could; and there chosing to himselfe capteine Dowdall, capteine Piers, and certeine shot, he drew so neere to the fort as he had the whole discouerie and sight of the fort and companie therein, which seemed to be easie to be gotten, if he had anie shot and munitions for the same. But as neither the scholer without his booke, nor the artificer without his toles, can do anie thing in his profession: no more can the souldior fight without his meet weapons, nor serue without his necessaries: and therefore for want of things necessarie for this batterie, the lord gouernor was driuen to returne, and to leaue the fort.

The earle of Ormond incampeth at the fort.

The earle for lacke of munition could not preuaile against the fort.

The Spaniards perceiuing this, or mistrusting some other matter, made a sallie of three score men; and the gouernor seeing their aduantage, thought to follow the aduise of his capteins, and not to haue dealed at all with them. But one Andrew Martin more hastie than aduised, and more rash than wise, procured a skirmish with them, in which he was slaine; and the lord gouernor compelled of force to answer the skirmish. But it was not long, but that he sounded the retract; and being not able to annoie the enimie, nor preuaile at the fort, he returned backe againe, and by iourneies he came to Rekell: where he met the lord deputie, vnto whom he yelded vp all his companie, and his commission, and then made prouision of his men, and for victuals, to follow the said lord deputie. The lord deputie had now in his companie about eight hundred men, horsemen and footmen, vnder the leadings of capteine Zouch, capteine Walter Raleigh, capteine Denie, who had also capteine George Carews companie vnder his ensigne, capteine Macworth, capteine Achin, and others: and then he marched towards the fort where the Spaniards and Romans were setled.

The Spaniards issue out and giue a skirmish.

The lord deputie commeth to Rekell, and is there met by the earle of Ormond.

Capteine Raleigh, notwithstanding that the lord deputie had raised his campe at Rekell, and was gone towards the fort, yet he taried and staied behind, minding to practise some exploit. For it was not vnknowne vnto him, that it was a maner among the Irish kerns, that whensoeuer anie English campe was dislodged and remoued, they would after their departures come to those camps to take what they there found to be left. Thus therefore lieng, and keeping himselfe verie close, taried and abode the comming of the said kerns; who suspecting no such trap to be laid for them, came after their maners and old vsages to the said place, and there

toke

toke their pleasure; who when they were in their securitie, the capteine and his men came vpon them, and toke them all. Among them there was one, who caried and was laden with withs, which they vsed in sted of halters: and being demanded what he would do with them, and whie he caried them; gaue answer, that they were to hang vp English churls: for so they call Englishmen. Is it so (quoth the capteine) well, they shall now serue for an Irish kerne: and so commanded him to be hanged vp with one of his owne withs; the residue he handled according to their deserts.

The lord deputie marcheth to the fort, and besiegeth it.

The lord deputie incamped himselfe as neere the fort as he could. And at this present was sir William Winter also newlie returned from out of England: but he arriued at Kinsale, and his viceadmerall capteine Bingham came into the bate of saint Marie weeke or Smerewéeke, and not long after, sir William Winter himselfe followed. And by these meanes the said lord deputie was so well furnished of all things necessarie, that he at land, and sir William Winter at sea besieged the fort. But before anie assault giuen, he first summoned the fort; requiring of them who they were, what they had there to do, by whom they were sent, and whie they fortified in hir maiesties land, & required therewith to yéeld vp the fort. But they answered that they were sent some from the holie father, which had giuen that realme to king Philip; and some from king Philip, who was to receiue and recouer that land to the holie church of Rome, which by hir maiesties meanes was become schismaticall, and out of the church, with other reprochfull spéeches: and that therfore they were in that respect to kéepe what they had, and to recouer what they yet had not. Whereupon the lord deputie sent to sir William Winter, to haue conference with him, how, in what sort, and by what waies they were to worke for the dispossessing of these strangers from their fort, and how their artillerie and munitions might be best placed and laied for the batterie; and betweene whom it was then determined how all things should be done.

The fort is summoned.

The answer of the fort.

The Spaniards make a sallie vpon the Englishmen.

Whiles they were thus in spéeches, and consulting of the matter, the Spaniards thinking to take some aduantage, made a sallie vpon the Englishmen: which was forthwith answered by capteine Denie (who as then had but a dozzen shot) and by Michaell Butler lieutenant to capteine Raleigh: & these so valiantlie behaued themselues, and so worthilie followed the fight, that they made the Spaniards with more hast than with good spéed to returne againe to their fort. The same night following, sir William Winter, according to the conclusion betweene the lord deputie and him, he did cause to be vnloden certeine culuerings, and like péeces of ordinance out of hir maiesties ships, which then late in the rode of Smerewéeke, and then there being a great banke betweene the shores side and the fort, through which the ordinance were to be caried, they did in the same night cut through that banke, caried their ordinance through it, and mounted them in the place appointed, before the breake of the date, and before it was open date the batterie was readie to be giuen. A péece of seruice (the place and time considered) thought worthie great commendations. The lord deputie likewise had done the like vpon the land side, & so being on both sides in readinesse to follow the seruice, his lordship summoned them by the shot of a péece of ordinance, offering vnto them mercie if they would yéeld. But they knowing nothing what was done that night, answered as before, that they would kéepe what they had, and would increase what they could get. Whereupon they began to batter the fort on both sides, both by land and by water.

The diligent seruice of the mariners.

The fort is beset vpon the land side.

This first date of batterie was capteine Raleighs ward date. But the Spaniards made their brags, that they cared not for this; and to set a good face vpon it, some of them sallied out, and offered the skirmish, but verie faintlie and fearefullie: and so both vpon the first date, the second date, and the third date, little was done, but onelie the continuance of the batterie. The fourth date was capteine Zouches ward date, vnder whom was a lustie yong gentleman named John Cheeke, who drew so néere the fort, that he loked ouer the purport into it, which being séene and perceiued, one of the Spaniards leuelled a péece at him, & with his shot strake him in the head, wherewith he died. About the end of these foure dates, the trenches for the full batterie were drawne and brought so néere vnto the fort, that now they left to dallie anie longer with the fort, but verie hotlie and sharpelie they battered at it on both sides. The Spaniards, who had staied themselues vpon the hope of some further suplie, to come out of their countrie, and thinking of some better aid of the erle of Desmond, & of his brethren, than yet they had receiued; and séeing also the batterie to be such as they could not be able to withstand and hold out, they desired a parlée with the lord deputie, who vtterlie denied it: saieng, that his seruice was against traitors and rebels, with whom no spéeches nor parlées are allowed. And forsomuch as they (though strangers by birth) otherwise did confederat with them in such a traitorous action, they were in the like predicament with them. Then they requested that they might haue libertie to depart with bag & baggage, which also would not be granted. Then they requested that certeine particular men among themselues might haue their free passage, and certeine other conditions: but my lord refused both this, and all other conditions, requiring an absolute yéelding, or nothing at all. When they saw that they could not preuaile anie waie, then at the length they hanged out a white flag, and with one voice they all cried out *Misericordia, misericordia*, and offered to yéeld both themselues and the fort, without anie condition at all. Which thing when it was aduertised to his lordship, he sent capteine Jaques Wingfield maister of the ordinance to the fort, and to make triall whether this their offer were true and vnfeigned: who when he came to the fort, he was receiued in, and forthwith the capteine of the fort came vnto him, and in all humble maner yéelded himselfe to be brought, and to be presented vnto the lord deputie: and at the commandement of the said Jaques Wingfield he disarmed himselfe, and caused all his companie to do the like, and to bring all the armour in the fort into one place; and there they laied their pikes acrosse vpon the same. Which being done, the said capteine Wingfield came out of the fort, and brought the capteine with him, promising him safe conduct to the lord deputie. But by the waie, his lordship sent some to receiue him at his hands, and willed the said Jaques Wingfield to returne againe to the fort.

John Cheeke is slaine.

The fort is battered on euerie side.

The Spaniards desire a parlé.

Capteine Wingfield is sent to the fort.

In this fort sir James Fitzgirald knight, and lord of the Decies, was a prisoner by the order of the earle of Desmond, and one Plunket an Irishman, and one Englishman, which came and accompanied the traitors out of Spaine. The knight was set at libertie, but the other two were executed. When the capteine had yéelded himselfe, and the fort appointed to be surrendered, capteine Raleigh together with capteine Macworth, who had the ward of that date, entered into the castell, & made a great slaughter, manie or the most part of them being put to the sword. And when all things were cléere, the lord deputie came to the fort, and hauing done what plea-

The prisoners in the fort deliuered.

sed him, his lordship returned, and manie of the capteins he saued. The fort forthwith was rased, the armor and munitions were dispersed abroad, and all things done as it pleased the lord deputie, he sent the coronell and campemaister ouer into England by capteine Dente, and dismissed the armie, and sent euerie capteine to his garrison. And his lordship went from thense to Dingham, which is a long scattering waste towne, and in it foure or fiue castels, which the earle of Desmond had caused to be defaced in the beginning of this rebellion.

Capteine Zouch made the gouernour of Desmond.

And here the earle of Dzmond met with the lord deputie with a new supplie of his owne men, being readie to haue followed the seruice if need had so required. In this towne the lord deputie made capteine Zouch gouernor of Kerrie and Desmond, and appointed vnto him three hundred men, and accompanied him with capteine Cash, who had one hundred men, and capteine Achin, who had fiftie horsemen, and commanded these to lie in garrison in that towne, or where they thought good. And these had to them giuen all the victuals which were found in the fort. And from hense his lordship went to Limerike, and came thither the seauen and twentith of November, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand fiue hundred & eightie. At which time there arriued out of England sir new bands of soldiers, vnder the leading of capteine Berklete, capteine Cruse, capteine Herd, and capteine Tanner, all which his lordship bestowed in seuerall garrisons, and in such places as were most meet for seruice; capteine Berkelie onelie of the capteins remained in Mounster, and was placed in the house of Asketten, the chefest castell of the earle of Desmond with two hundred men. The others went into Connagh, where the wicked sonnes of the earle of Clanricard were now vpon their keeping. For notwithstanding that the Spaniards were ouerthrowne, and thereby a sufficient warning was giuen to the rebels, to bethinke themselues, that if they did persist in their rebellions, the like would also insue vpon them: yet see how that the venemous Hydra had no soner lost one of hir heds, but in stéd of one, sundrie and manie others are sprong vp. For at the verie instant, the bastardlie brood of the earle Clanricard, the vicount of Baltingglasse, associated with the Obrins, Omores, and Kauenaughs in Leinster, & with sundrie others of that wicked nation, conspire, and are vp in open rebellion; and so now at this one instant, Mounster, Connagh, and a great péece of Leinster are in arms and actuall rebellion: onelie Ulster (which was wont to be the worst) is now the best and most quietest.

The earle of Dzmond is the gouernour of Mounster.

The lord deputie being at this present in Limerike, & aduertised of these troubles, setteth all things in order for the seruice in Mounster, and committed the whole gouernement of that prouince vnto the earle of Dzmond, and then he returned vnto Dubline, where he toke order for Connagh & Leinster. And about this time there arriued out of England 150 horsemen set out at the charges of the cleargie of England, vnder the leadings of William Russell sonne to the earle of Bedford, and of Brian Fitzwilliams, which were dispersed according to the seruice. The lord deputie being returned vnto Dubline, the earle of Kildare, and the baron of Deluin his sonne in law, were had in suspicion to be partakers and secret dealers in these rebellions, and thervpon were committed to ward vnder the custodie of Jaques Wingfield maister of the ordinance. Immediatlie vpon whose apprehensions, the lord Henrie Fitzgirald, sonne and heire to the said earle, and of the age about seauentéene yeares, being persuaded by his fosterfathers and followers, he fled into Dyhalia whereof he was baron, and there (as it was said) he was taken by the Oconhours, and kept against his will for his safetie, vntill they did heare further what should be become of the earle.

The earls son is kept by the Oconhours.

This thing being aduertised to the lord deputie, he coniectured that this was but a surmised and colorable kind of dealing, to bleare his lordships eies: wherefore by order and good aduise he first willed the earle to send for his sonne, who did so. But his messenger returned with an answer, that the yong lord was willing to come, but the Oconhours, who were in doubt what should be become of the earle, would in no wise suffer his sonne to depart, vnlesse they might haue good assurance for his safe returne againe vnto them. The lord deputie not liking these kind of fond excuses and disordered dealings, sent the earle of Dzmond then being in Dubline, to deale with the Oconhours, who being accompanied with sir Edmund and Piers his brethren, Nicholas White maister of the rolles, capteine George Carew, capteine Macworth, and sundrie other capteins and gentlemen, made their repaire to the borders and marches of Dyhalia; whense after much talke to no purpose, they all returned without the yong lord. Neuertheles afterwards the Oconhours when they had better considered of the matter, and had had some conference with Hussen and others the earles men, and mistrusting that some further troubles would insue, euen as the earle of Dzmond had partlie threatened them; and doubting also least the stateng of the sonne might be prejudiciall to the father; then in all hast did send the yong lord to the erle of Dzmond, who caried him to Dubline, and deliuered him to the lord deputie: and his lordship forthwith sent him to the ward, where he remained with his father, vntill they both and the baron of Deluin were sent into England, where the earle and the baron were sent to the Tower, and the yong lord committed to the custodie of the earle of Bedford. The earle died after in London, and his bodie was caried into Ireland, and there buried amongest his ancestors.

The earle of Dzmond is sent for the yong lord Fitzgirald.

The yong lord is sent to the earle of Dzmond.

The earle of Kildare and his sonne and sonne in law are sent into England.

The earle died in London.

Capteine Walter Raleigh, lieng in garrison at Corke, and nothing liking the outrages, bodrages, and villanies dailie practised by Barrie, Condon, and others vpon the good subiects and hir maiesties garrisons, whereof sundrie complaints had bene made, and small redresse had, he rode himselfe to Dubline vnto the lord deputie, and made his complaints thereof, alledging that the outrages of the Barries and his consorts were such, that vnlesse they were proclamed traitors, and with all diligence followed and pursued, the euent therof would be verie euill, to the aggreuance of good subiects, & to the incouragement of the wicked: whose insolencie and pride was growne to such a heigth, that the sword with extremitie was the onelie meane now to redresse the same.

Capteine Raleigh complaineth against the sufferance of the rebels.

The lord deputie and counsell, when they had heard and well considered this, they sent him backe againe with a commission vnto himselfe, to seize and enter vpon the castell and house of Barrie court, and all other the lands of the said Barrie: and likewise to pursue and follow him in the best maner as he thought good: and for his better seruice to be done herein, he had certeine horsemen in wages also giuen vnto him, and added vnto his ensigne of footmen: wherupon he returned. But before he was come backe to Corke, the case was altered; for the matter was so ordered and handled by such as there and then were in authoritie, and so manie delaies were vsed to hinder the good seruice purposed, that his commission auailed him verie little or nothing, for the castell of Barrie Roze was committed

Capteine Raleigh hath a commission, & the inlargement of a band of horsemen to pursue the enimie.

Dauid lord Barrie burneth and spoileth his owne house.

Connagh, Leinster and Mounster, are all vp in rebellion.

The cleargies band do arriue into Ireland.

The earle of Kildare, and the baron of Deluin had in suspicion, and are committed to ward.

mitted and deliuered to the cuſtodie of the mother of the ſaid Dauid Barrie, and by hir ſet ouer vnto him hir ſonne: and who forthwith burned and defaced the ſaid caſtell being his principall houſe, as alſo waſted the whole countrie, and became more worſe and outragious than he was before. This capteine making his returne from Dublin, & the ſame well knowne vnto the ſeneſchall of Imokellie; through whoſe countrie he was to paſſe, laie in ambuſh for him to haue intraped him betweene Youghall and Corke, lieng at a ford, which the ſaid capteine muſt paſſe ouer with ſir horſſemen, and certeine kerne. The capteine little miſtruſting anie ſuch matter, had in his companie onelie two horſſemen and foure ſhot on horſſebacke, which was too ſmall a force in ſo doubtfull and dangerous times: neuertheleſſe he had a verie good guide, which was the ſeruant of John Fitzedmunds of Cloue, a good ſubiect, and this guide knew euerie corner and ſtarting hole in thoſe places.

Capteine Raleigh is laid for by the ſeneſchall.

The capteine being come towards the ford, the ſeneſchall had eſpied him alone, his companie being ſcattered behind, and verie fiercelie purſued him, and croſſed him as he was to ride ouer the water, but yet he recouered the ford and was paſſed ouer. The Iriſhman who was his guide, when he ſaw the capteine thus alone, and ſo narrowlie diſtreſſed, he ſhifted for himſelfe and fled vnto a broken caſtell faſt by, there to ſaue himſelfe. The capteine being thus ouer the water, Henrie Moile, riding alone about a bowes ſhot before the reſt of his companie, when he was in the midle of the ford, his horſſe foundred and caſt him downe; and being afraid that the ſeneſchals men would haue followed him and haue killed him, cried out to the capteine to come and to ſaue his life; who not reſpecting the danger he himſelfe was in, came vnto him, and recouered both him and his horſſe. And then Moile coueting with all haſt to leape vp, did it with ſuch haſt and vehemencie, that he quite ouer leapt the horſſe, and fell into a mire faſt by, and ſo his horſſe ran awaie, and was taken by the enimie. The capteine neuertheleſſe ſtaid ſtill, and did abide for the comming of the reſt-one of his companie, of the foure ſhot which as yet were not come forth, and for his man Jenkin, who had about two hundred pounds in monie about him, and ſat vpon his horſſe in the meane while, having his ſtaffe in one hand, and his piſtoll charged in the other hand. The ſeneſchall, who had ſo fiercelie followed him vpon ſpur, when he ſaw him to ſtand and tarrie as it were for his comming, notwithſtanding he was counted a man (as he was indeed) of great ſeruice, and having alſo a new ſupplie of twelue horſſemen and ſundrie ſhot come vnto him; yet neither he nor anie one of them, being twentie to one, durſt to giue the onſet vpon him, but onelie railed and vſed hard ſpeeches vnto him, vntill his men behind had recouered and were come vnto him, and then without anie further harme departed.

The ſeneſchal followeth capteine Raleigh.

The diſtreſſed ſtate of Henrie Moile.

The coward-neſſe of the ſeneſchall.

It happened that not long after, there was a parlee appointed betweene the lord gouernor and the rebels; at which the ſeneſchall was preſent, and ſtood much vpon his reputation. Capteine Raleigh being preſent began to charge him of his cowardneſſe before the earle of Ormond, that he being twentie of his ſide, to him alone, durſt not to incounter with him. Whereunto he gaue no anſwer. But one of his men ſtanding by, ſaid; that his maiſter was that daie a coward; but he would neuer be ſo forgetfull againe, if the like ſeruice were to be done, and in manie great terms exalted his maiſter the ſeneſchall for his valiantneſſe and ſeruice. The earle of Ormond hearing thoſe great ſpeeches, tooke the matter in hand, and offred vnto the ſeneſchall, that if he and ſir John of Deſmond there preſent, and three or foure others, the beſt they could chooſe, would appoint to meet him; capteine Raleigh, and ſuch foure others as they would bring with them, they would come to the ſame place, and paſſe ouer the great riuer vnto them, and would there two for two, foure for foure, or ſir for ſir, fight and trie the matter betweene them; but no anſwer was then giuen: whereupon the white knight was afterwards ſent vnto him with this chalenge, but the rebels refuſed it. Not long after this, there were ſpeeches made, that the earle of Ormond was to depart from this long and wearie ſeruice into England, & capteine Zouch ſhould in his place be the generall. Betweene the remouing of the one, and the placing of the other, ſir William Morgan, capteine Raleigh, and capteine Piers had a commiſſion to be gouernors of that part of Mounſter, where they ſpent all that ſummer, and laie for the moſt part at Liſmore, and in the countrie and woods thereabouts, in continuall ſeruices vpon the enimies from time to time, as occaſion and opportunitie ſerued.

The chalenge made by the earle of Ormond to the ſeneſchall.

Capteine Raleigh a commiſſioner in Mounſter.

And when the ſummer was ſpent, capteine Raleigh returned with all his band vnto Corke, being in number eight horſſemen and foure ſcore footmen. And as he paſſed through the countrie, it was auertiſed to him, that Dauid Barrie an archtraitor was at Cloue with a great troope of ſundrie hundreds of men. Whereupon he thought good to paſſe that waie through the towne of Cloue, minding to trie the valor of Dauid Barrie, if by anie meanes he might meet with him. And euen at the verie towns end he found Barrie and all his companie, and with a luſtie courage gaue the onſet vpon him. But Barrie refuſed it, and fled. And then this capteine paſſing from thenſe, in his iorneie he eſpied in a plaine neere adioining to a woods ſide, a companie of footmen by themſelues, vpon whome with ſix horſſemen he gaue the charge: but theſe being cut off from the wood whereunto they were flieng, and hauing not ſuccor now to helpe & releeue themſelues, they turned backe, & conioining themſelues togither to withſtand this force and onſet made vpon them, in which they behaued themſelues verie valiantlie, and of the horſſes they killed fiue, of which capteine Raleigh his horſſe was one, and he himſelfe in great danger, and like to haue beene ſlaine, if his truſtie ſeruant Nicholas Wright a Yorkſhire man borne had not bin. For he perceiuing that his maiſters horſſe was galled and ſtricken with a dart, and plunged ſo much, that to his ſeeming he was paſt ſeruice; the ſaid Nicholas willed and called to an Iriſhman there, whoſe name was Patrike Fagaw, that he ſhould looke to his capteine, and either to reſcue him, or to giue charge vpon the enimie. Whereupon the ſaid Fagaw reſcued his capteine, & the ſaid Nicholas Wright forthwith gaue the onſet vpon ſix of the enimies and ſlue one of them. And therewith came one James Fitzrichard an Iriſh gentleman with his kerne to the reſcue of the capteine, but his kerne was ſlaine, and himſelfe in danger. For Wright not looking on them followed the enimie verie egerlie, and recompenſed the loſſe of one with the ſlaughter of others. Which capteine Raleigh perceiuing cried out to his man, ſaieng; Wright, if thou be a man, charge aboue hand & ſaue the gentleman. Who at his maiſters commandment preſſed into the middle of the enimies, and ſlue one of them, and ſo ſaued the gentleman: and in which ſkirmiſh his horſſe leg was cut vnder him. Diuerſe footmen were ſlaine of the enimies, and two were taken priſoners, whome they carried with them to Corke.

Capteine Raleigh followeth vpon Barrie.

Capteine Raleigh in danger to be killed.

The good ſeruice of Nicholas Wright.

The lord Roch is had in suspicion, and is sent for.

Capteine Raleigh commeth to the lord Roches house.

Capteine Raleigh being receiued into the castell getteth in all his men.

The lord Roch yeeldeth to go with capteine Raleigh.

The L. Roch acquiteth himselfe.

The L. Roch and his sonnes good seruices.

Capteine Zouch putteth the earle of Desmond in danger to be taken.

At his lieng in Corke there were sundrie pèces of seruices done by him, all which doo verie well deserue to be for euer registred. And amongst all others this one point of his seruice deserueth both commendation and perpetuall remembrance. The lord Roch was growen into a suspicion that he was not sound of his lotaltie. Wherevpon capteine Raleigh by commandement was to fetch him and his ladie to Corke vnto the generall. This thing was not so priuilie determined, but that the seneschall and Dauid Barrie had knowledge thereof, and minding verelie to take the capteine at some aduantage, they had assembled a great companie of themselues to the number of seuen or eight hundred men to haue met with him either comming or going. The capteine perceiuing and forethinking how dangerous his enterprise was against so noble a man in that countrie as the lord Roch was, who was verie well beloued, commanded vpon a sudden all his men one and other, both horsemen and footmen, which in the whole were not aboue foure score and ten persons, to be in a readinesse vpon the paine of death betweene ten and eleuen of the clocke of the same night. At which time euerie man being in a readinesse, he toke his iornete and marched toward the lord Roches house called Ballie in Harch, which is about twentie miles out of Corke, and came thither somewhat earlie in the morning. At his comming he went forthwith to the castell gate.

The townsmen when they saw their lords house and castell thus suddenlie beset, they doubting the worst, did arme about fiue hundred of themselues: Wherevpon capteine Raleigh placed and bestowed his men in battell raie in the towne it selfe, & marched againe to the castell gate, with certeine of his officers and gentlemen of his band, as by name Michaell Butler, James Fulford, Nicholas Wrtte, Arthur Barlow, Henrie Swane, & Pinking Huith; and they knocked againe at the gate. And after a while there came three or foure of the said lord Roches gentlemen, & demanded the cause of their comming, vnto whome the capteine answered, that he was come to speake with my lord: which was offered he should, so that he would bring in with him but two or three of his gentlemen, which the capteine was contented with, yet in the end (but with much adoo) he came in with all these few persons before named. When the capteine was once come within the castell, and had entred into some spèeches with the lord Roch, he so handled the matter by deuises and meanes, that by little and little, and by some and some, he had gotten in within the iron doore or gate of the courtlodge all his men. And then hauing the aduantage, he commanded his men to stand and gard the said gate, that no man should passe in or out: and likewise charged euerie man to come into the hall with his pèce well prepared, with two bullets. The lord Roch when he saw this, he was suddenlie amazed & stricken at the hart with feare: but dissembling the same, he set a good face vpon the matter, and calling for meat, requested the capteine and his foresaid gentlemen to sit downe, & to kèepe him companie at dinner.

After dinner, the capteine falling into spèeches with the said lord Roch, declared plainlie vnto him the cause of his comming, and shewed that he and his wife were accused to be traitors, and that he had a commission (which he shewed vnto them) to take and carie them along with him to Corke: which he was to performe, and so would. The lord Roch alledged manie excuses for himselfe and for his wife, saieng in the end that he neither could nor would go: the capteine answered, that if they would not go with a good will, they should perforce go against their will. The lord Roch seeing that there was no remedie, he yeelded: and then the capteine minding to lose no time, willed him to command and cause all those of the towne, and all such as were about the house, to attend and be in readinesse to aid him, and to set him forth in his iornete: which he did, and verie willinglie shewed himselfe to abide and obeie the capteines commandement, saieng that he would answer the matter well inough, and discharge whatsoeuer should be laid to his charge, for he knew himselfe to be cleare. And so he made himselfe and his wife redie to take the iornete in hand, as the capteine did appoint and command: and towards night the paid set forward to Corke. But the night fell out to be verie tempestuous and foule, and therewith so darke, that no man could see hand or fot, nor yet discerne one another; and the waies also were so foiole, so full of baths, hillocks, pits, and rocks, that the souldiors thereby were maruellouslie troubled and incombred, some stumbled among the stones, some plunged into holes, and some by their often fals were not onelie hurt, but also lost their armour, and were maruellouslie spoiled: and besides that, they were among and in the middle of the enimies, who laie in sundrie ambushes, thinking verelie to haue intercepted them, and to haue set vpon them: but the darke night which was cumbersome to themselues, was a shadow to shrowd them from their enimies. And in the end, though with much trouble, they came to Corke in safetie, sauing one soldier named John Phelium, who by his often falling and stumbling among the stones and rocks, did so hurt one of his fèet that he could neuer recouer the same, but did in the end consume and rot awaie.

The capteine being come to the towne somewhat earlie in the morning, he was receiued in, and presented his prisoners to the generall, with no little admiration that he had escaped so dangerous a iornete, being verelie supposed of all men that he could neuer haue escaped. The lord Roch being brought to be examined, did so well answer for himselfe, that in the end he was acquitted, and taken for a true and a good subiect, and which in time was well tried and knowne. For not he himselfe onlie, but all his sons and followers, did attend and performe all such seruices as were laid vpon them; and in which, three of his sonnes were killed by the enimie in hir maiesties seruice.

Capteine Zouch (as is afore said) laie at the Dingham, among whose companie there fell a dangerous and an extreme sickenesse: few or none escaped it, howbeit manie died therein. And in which distresse it was aduertised him, that the earle of Desmond and Dauid Barrie was assembled at Aghado with three thousand men; and he being verie desirous to doo some seruice vpon them, drew all his full force of horsemen and footmen vnto Castelmange. And then by the aduise of his capteins Achim and Cash, he suddenlie made an onset vpon his enimies, before they wist of anie such thing, and slue a great companie of them, and draue the erle to such a push, that he in his shirt was driuen to shift for himselfe, in the middle of his gallowglasses, and by that means he escaped. The earle nothing liking this course successe, sought a better place of safetie, and remoued himselfe to Harlow wood, and passed by the waie to Kilmallocke. Which when the garrison there did vnderstand, they pursued and followed him, namelie capteine Bourchier, capteine Dowdall, capteine Pakworth, and capteine Norris, three miles togither vpon the plains betweene Kilmallocke and the wood, and slue manie of the rebels. And capteine Dowdall who was acquainted verie well with that wood, and in it had serued sundrie times, he would nèeds, and did

did enter into the wood, where he met with the earle of Desmond now the second time, and gaue the onset vpon him, killed a great number of his men, toke from them their cariages, and droue awaie a great preie of kine, and brought them to Kilmallocke to the garison. Neere about this time the seneschall came to Lismore, and preied that countrie, and droue awaie their cattell. Which when the garison heard, and were aduertised thereof, they issued, and followed the preie to recouer it; but they were so incountered and skirmished withall, that they lost the preie, and fiue and twentie of their men were slaine. Diuerse skirmishes were dailie doone vpon the enimie, and manie iorneies made vpon them to their great damages and hurts.

Capteine Dowdall preieth the erle of Desmond.

The seneschall preieth the garison of Lismore.

In the moneth of August next following, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand fiue hundred eightie and one, the lord deputie made a iorneie into Mounster, where when he had taken an account of all their doings and seruices, he established capteine Zouch to be gouernour of all Mounster, and generall at armes; and then his lordship returned through Conagh vnto Dublin. This now new gouernor, being accompanied with capteine Raleigh and capteine Dowdall, trauelled from place to place to see all things in good order: but the certeine place of their resting was at Corke, where for the most part they laie in garison: making in the meane time sundrie iorneies, as occasion of seruice did require. And they being in Corke, newes was brought vnto the gouernour that there was a great quarell fallen out betweene Dauid Barrie and the seneschall, and that they were mortall enimies, and at a deadlie feod; and they laie both in Dunfrinnen side, not far from the blacke water. The earle of Desmond and John his brother laie in Patrike Condons countrie, being on the further side of the said water, who were verie sorie for this quarell, and would haue come vn to them, but the waters were so great they could not: yet they sent their messengers to and fro among them for some pacification, but it was to no effect. Capteine Dowdall vpon these newes sent out an Irish man which he had, and who was a notable spiall, named Richard mac James, and willed him to seeke out where the seneschall was, to the end that he might make a draught vpon him. This Richard drawing himselfe to the companies of the rebels, and lieng among them in their cabins where they laie in the woods, he fell in companie, and then entred into a great familiaritie of one which was a messenger from the Desmonds vnto the seneschall, and he thinking nothing but that this Richard was one of the said companie, began to discourse vnto him the businesse which he had there to do: and told him that the next daie following, sir John of Desmond did appoint to come thither, and to make a peace and an agreement betweene Barrie and the seneschall. When as Richard mac James had heard at full all his speeches, then he intreated him that he would go to Corke with him, which in the end the fellow was contented so to do. And in the next morning they went togither to Corke, and at their comming thither, did declare vnto capteine Dowdall the whole matter, and he forthwith aduertised the same to the gouernour: who albeit he did not altogither beleeue what was told, yet he agreed that it was best that some seruice should be doone vpon them, and concluded that himselfe and capteine Dowdall should do the same, vnder the colour that they were to make a iourneie vnto Limerike, and so they caused it to be said: for in no wise would they be knowne of that which they had determined. And hauing prepared all things necessarie for this seruice, the same night they left the charge of the garison vnto capteine Raleigh lieutenant: and themselues taking their leaue, as though they were bound for Limerike, they marched out at the gates, and by breake of the daie they came to cassell Lions, the weather being verie misie and thicke, and in the cassell they found but one poore man, who told them that Dauid of Barrie was gone but a little before them vnto Humacquilliam. The gouernour and the capteine being verie eger, and desirous to do some seruice, they followed the tract of the horsse a good prettie waie; but the capteine mistrusting that no good seruice would be doone that waie, persuaded the gouernour that he should rather enter and search the woods, which were fast by, where as he thought some good seruice would be done, whose aduise the gouernour followed: and they had ridden but a little waie, but they saw two horssemen come riding toward them, but as sone as they had seene the said gouernour and capteine, they returned backe againe.

The L. Barrie and the seneschall fall out.

Capteine Dowdall maketh a spiall vpon the seneschall.

Sir John of Desmond appointed to make a league betweén Barrie and the seneschall.

The gouernor Zouch and captein Dowdall make a secret iourneie.

Then the capteine told him that there was a bog in the wood, and his aduise and counsell was, that some of his shot should be sent to stand betweene the bog and the wood; which being done, they followed those two men so short, that they were driuen to forsake their horsses, and to run on foot towards the bog. But the lose shot being in a readinesse, did put them backe againe vpon the horssemen, who gaue the onset vpon them; and the one of them, which was sir John of Desmond they sore hurted with a horssemans staffe, that he spake verie few words after. And the other, whose name was James Fitzjohn of Strongecullie, they toke: and both they caried with them to Corke. Sir Johns head was sent to Dublin, but his bodie was hanged vp by the heeles vpon a gibbet, and set vpon the north gate of Corke. And James Fitzjohn was drawne, hanged, & quartered. And thus haue you the third head of the venemous Hydra cut off, who had his iust reward and merit, if not too too good for so villanous & bloudie a traitor: who respecting neither the honor of God, the obedience to his prince, the credit of his owne house, the faith to his friend, nor the state of the commonwealth, was wholie imbrued in bloud and villanie; and in bloud he died, and had his reward by Gods iust iudgement.

Sir John of Desmond killed, and his bodie hanged vpon a gibbet by the heels.

Not long after this, it was agreed that a draught should be made vpon Dauid Barrie, for the preis which he and Goren mac Swene had made in Carbreie, and passed with the same by Bentrie, where laie a garrison vnder the leading of capteine Apesleie: but he being deceassed, the same was committed to captein Fenton, whose lieutenant named Richard Cant, minding to crosse the preie, fell into the fight with Barrie and his companie: but he was slaine and all his companie, there being but one man the drumslager left aliue, who by swiftnesse of his bote escaped. The foresaid Apesleie was a verie proper man, a gentleman borne, and of a good house, and brought vp in learning; he could write verie well, and also deliuer his speeches verie orderlie and eloquentlie. When he grew to some ripe yeares, he fell acquainted with some lose companions, who persuaded him to accompanie them to the seas, promising him the sun and the mone, and all the wealth in the world. And he being sone intised and persuaded, was contented, and went to the seas, and became as bad as the baddest; whereof great troubles insued, and he at length was driuen to leaue the seas, and to wander a long time on the seacoasts in the prouince of Mounster: where by occasion he fell to come to acquaintance of the earle of Desmond, with whome he found such fauor, that no Englishman could do more with him than he

he could. Afterwards, when the narrow searching for him was quailed and forgotten, he fell to be acquainted with the good Henrie Dauels, whome he found rather a father than a friend vnto him: and then his behauiour was such, that he grew to be in good fauour with all Englishmen, and in the end put in trust to doo sundrie seruices in Mounster, and was become and made a capteine, in which office he discharged himselfe verie honestlie and faithfullie. The gouernor continuing still in one and the same mind, to doo some seruice vpon Barrie, who then late in Dunfrennin, he togither with capteine Dowdall marched to Barries campe, and earlie in the morning (they being vnlooked for) entred into the campe and there made a great slaughter vpon Barries men, but Barrie himselfe was gone and fled. After this time, the said Barrie considered his distressed case, and how continuallie he was pursued and followed by the gouernour and the English garisons, whose force he saw that he could by no means auoid, but that at one time or other they would take him at some aduantage. He maketh humble petition to the gouernour that he might be vnder his protection, and to liue thenceforth in some dutifull and restfull order; which he in the end did obteine.

The gouernor and capteine Dowdall spoile and enter into Barries campe and kill his men.

Barrie sueth for a protection

The lord deputie, thinking that by the death of John of Desmond, and the silence of the earle his brother, who what was become of him no man could tell, but supposed that he was fled beyond the seas, or that he was dead, and that all things were well and in quiet in all Mounster; he thought good to ease hir maiesties charge, and so cashed sundrie bands and discharged sundrie garisons, leauing for the seruice of Mounster in the whole but 400 footmen & 50 horsemen, of which, 200 were vnder the leading of the gouernor, one hundred vnder capteine Dowdall, and one hundred vnder Sir George Bourcher; and the first horsemen were vnder capteine Achin, who late in garrison at Adare in Kerrie. When all things (I saie) seemed to be at rest and in peace, and all things well, behold a new stirre (and vnlooked for) is now raised; for Fitzmoris baron of Lerna, who had hitherto dissembled the matter, and pretended to haue beene a dutifull subiect, when he saw the weakenesse of the Englishmen, & how that the garisons were discharged, & therefore the few men left were scarse able well to saue and keepe themselues, much lesse to hurt others: he breaketh out into open rebellion, and ioineth with him his wicked, traitorous, and periured sonne. This baron of Lerna his first ancestors were seruants to the barons of Carew, and of Odzon, and lords of Lerna, and had the chiefe rule and gouernment vnder him of all his countrie in Mounster, which was verie great and large: his eldest sonne he kept in the court of England. And this Fitzmoris, who by the authoritie vnder his master was growen into great credit in the countrie, and standing in hope to haue their friendship and assistance in all his businesse, watched his time, and killed the lord Carew his maister, at a table which yet remaineth in the house, and entred into all his baronie of Lerna & his other possessions in Mounster, euen as the like was done by the Kauenaghs in Odzon in Leinster. And the heire of Carew in England, who had great and large possessions in Deuon and in sundrie shires elsewhere in England, made the lesse and little account of his lands in Ireland, and so by little and little they lost all their lands in Ireland.

The L. deputie calleth sundrie bands in Mounster.

Fitzmoris baron of Lerna breaketh into open rebellion.

The cause of this his breaking out, some do impute it to the hard dealing of the gouernor, who so narowlie watched him, that he alwais took from him what he had, and so intercepted him from his prouision, that he had nothing left to eat.

Fitzmoris seruant to Carew lord of Lerna killeth his maister.

This new baron of Lerna, the first thing that he toke in hand, was to cleanse and to rid his owne countrie from all Englishmen and their garisons; and in the end, taking capteine Achin at an aduantage, slue him, and recouered the ward of Adare. After that, he went to the ward kept in the castell of Lesconile, in which were but eight Englishmen, and the castell being verie hard to be gained, he vsed this stratagem. He laid verie close & secretlie a companie of his men in an old house fast by the castell, & then he practised with an old woman, which was wont euerie morning to bring a great basket of coles or turfe into the ward, that as soone as she was betweene the two gates of the castell, she should let fall hir basket and crie out: which she did. For when she was come to the castell, and had after hir accustomable maner called to the ward, one of them came and losed the vtter iron doore, and then he did open the inner doore for hir to come in. When she was come betweene the two doores, she let fall hir great basket of coles and cried out. The companie forthwith lieng in the said old house came, and the ward being not able to draw vnto them the vtter iron doore, nor to shut fast the inner doore, the enimie entred, toke the castell, killed all the ward, and cast them ouer the wals. The good successe of this stratagem caused him to practise & to put in vre other like deuises for the regaining of the castell (as I remember) of Adnagh. For he supposing that hungrie soldiors would be contented to accept anie courtesie, he procured a yong harlot, who was somewhat snowtfaire, to go to the castell, pretending some iniurie to haue beene done to hir, and to humble hirselfe to the capteins deuotion, being supposed, that he by these meanes would fall into the liking and fantasieng of hir, and so would reteine hir. And by these meanes, she by hir cunning handling of the matter, according vnto the plot before contriued betweene Fitzmoris and hir, she should at one time or other find the occasion or opportunitie to betraie the castell. The capteine receiued hir into the castell, and not forgetting the late former practise at Lesconile, caused him to be the more warie and circumspect, and to loke vnto himselfe. Where vpon he so handled the matter with this harlot, that he in the end found out all the deuise, and forthwith he carried hir vp vnto the top of the castell and cast hir ouer the wals, where with the fall she was crushed and died. Fitzmoris being disappointed of his purpose, departed from thense, and ranged ouer all the countries of Tipperarie, Dzmond, and Waterford, where were no garisons to resist him, and there plaied his parts.

The baron of Lerna destroieth all the English in his countrie, and taketh the queenes forts.

A stratagem vsed in taking the castell of Lesconile.

A stratagem at Adnagh.

The gouernor, who late at Corke, being aduertised of these outrages, called his companie togither, which (as is before said, was not aboue foure hundred persons) and other reported (but vntrulie) to be about foure thousand: yet minding not to suffer an iniurie, marched with such companie as he had into Clanmoris, which is the said Fitzmoris countrie, and distant from Corke about three daies iourneie. The baron by his espials being aduertised of their comming, forsoke his castell at Adar, and defaced his castell at Lerna, and drew his goods, and all his forces into the wood of Lesconile. When the gouernor was come to Adsre, he found the towne burnt, and the few Englishmen (which were in the abbeie) greatlie distressed. From thense he went to Lesconile, which is ten miles further, where he discouered the baron and all his companie, which then late in a plaine bottome in the said wood, hauing then in his companie of gallowglasses, kerne, shot, and horsemen, about seuen hundred men.

The gouernor marcheth from Corke to Clanmoris to incounter with Fitzmoris.

The gouernor taking aduise what was best to be done, because that place was full of fastnesse, and no passage for anie horsemen, but all rested vpon the seruice of the foot men; they diuided their companie. And capteine Dowdall being verie desirous to aduenture the seruice vpon him, he had six score footmen appointed and deliuered vnto him, and the residue

Capteine Dowdall encountereth vpon Fitzmoris, and giueth him the foile,

The baron of Lerna fleeth into the hils of Slough-lougher.

one he reserued to himselfe. The capteine entred into the wood, and followed vntill he came into the plains where Fitzmoris was; who hauing a great companie, and the capteine but (as it were) a handfull to his, he diuided his whole companie into foure parts, thinking to haue inclosed the capteine, and to haue his will vpon them. The capteine perceiued it, and forthwith brake vpon one of the companies, and had such a hand vpon them, that he slue a number of them. Which when Fitzmoris saw, like a valiant man turned his backe and fled awaie into the mountains of Sloughlougher, and left all his goods behind; which the capteine tooke, and also all the cattell there, and brought the same to the gouernor. From thense they marched to the castell of Glan, of which Oliuer Stephanson had the ward and keeping: and there newes was brought vnto him, that the lord deputie had sent vnto him two bands of footmen, of which one hundred were sir Henrie Wallops, and the other capteine Norris. Whereupon he trauelled vnto Limerike, and left the whole charge of Clanmoris, and of Kerrie vnto capteine Dowdall. And the said capteine being put to weet that the baron was incamped at Glanflish with two hundred and fortie gallowglasses, two hundred kerne, foure score shot, and thirtie horsemen, and he himselfe hauing then but the lieutenant Wingfield in his companie, made a sallie vpon them, and killed with the sword, and draue into the riuer aboue seuen score of them, and recouered a preie of eight hundred kine, flue hundred horses and mares, besides a great number of sheepe and gotes: and in the taking of the baron, he found store of monie and plate, and mailing garments. And from hense he marched with his cattell, and incamped besides Alough, neere vnto the earle of Clancar his house, and from thense to Castellmange, and so to Adare, and furnished as he went euerie ward and garison with store of vittels, and with the goods he rewarded his souldiors. From this time, the baron Fitzmoris hauing lost all his possession & store, was neuer able to recouer himselfe, neither to credit nor to wealth, nor yet to hold vp his head, but was forsaken of all his frends and followers: and being ashamed of himselfe, and of his bad and disloiall trecheries, walked and wandred abroad as a forlorne man, not knowing what to do, whither to go, or where to seeke for succor and helpe.

A supplie of two hundred men sent to the gouernor.

Capteine Dowdall setteth vpon Fitzmoris in Glanflish and giueth him the ouerthrow.

The baron Fitzmoris with a few is ouerthrowne to his vtter fall, and forsaken of all his frends.

The baron being distressed of all helps, seeketh to the earle of Ormond for a protection.

At length being wearie of himselfe, and of his distressed miseries, bethinketh vpon the earle of Ormond, whome notwithstanding that without cause he had verie much iniured, hauing most outragiouslie preied his countries, burned his villages, and killed his people: yet he maketh his recourse vnto his lordship, acknowledgeth his fault, confesseth his follies; and being most sorie for the same, desireth his lordship to pardon and remit him, and most humblie requested him to haue vnder him a protecon. This honorable man, notwithstanding the great iniuries done vnto him, and he of a great courage and stomach, and of a noble mind, and loth to put vp so great iniuries, yet (as it is attributed to the lion, *Parcere prostratis*) when he had shewed the great greefes of the said Fitzmoris, he forgat all his owne wrongs, and granted him his request. Capteine Dowdall, leauing the gouernors souldiors and companie at Adare, vnder the leading of capteine Smith, he marcheth towards Corke, where he rested and laie in garrison. Now when all these broils were ended, and verelie supposed that all things had beene at rest, and the whole prouince of Mounster at peace; behold the earle of Desmond, who was thought to be either dead or fled, beginneth to appeare, and to shew himselfe; and hauing assembled a great companie, came to Adare, where the garrison issued out

The courtesie of the earle of Ormond.

The earle of Desmond thought to be dead doth now shew himselfe.

vpon him: betweene whom the fight was hot, and manie slaine on both sides. Among whom, Smith sergeant of the band, and Morgan the lieutenant were both slaine: but yet the English souldiors recouered the abbeie. About this time one Thomas Birne lieutenant to the notable archtraitor Fitzgirald, being wearie of the wicked actions which hitherto he had followed among the rebels, sent his messenger to capteine George Carew, requesting him to deale with the lord deputie for his pardon, and for so manie of his companie as would ioine with and accompanie him in a peece of seruice to be done: which he promised to recompense with the price of his capteins head, which he would in a bag present to his lordship, as also would kill so manie of his companie as would not consent with him thereunto.

The fight at Adare.

A draught made to kill Fitzgirald.

When this deuise was readie to be practised, the clearke of the band, who was one of the confederats, verie trecherouslie did discouer the same vnto Fitzgirald, who immediatlie tooke and hanged his lieutenant, the sergeant of his band (who was an Englishman) and so manie of the souldiors as were of that confederacie. Not long after, Fitzgirald bethinking vpon the extreame miseries, which in this rebellion he had indured, and the small hope which he had to preuaile in these his bad, and traitorous actions, but chiefflie being afraid of his owne life, least at one time or other he should be slaine by his souldiors: he sent a messenger to the then lord iustices, requiring his pardon, and which he would redeeme with the head of his best frend, and fellow in armes Pheon mac Hugh, the verie gall of all the wars and rebellion in Leinster.

Fitzgirald executed to death so manie as conspired against him.

Fitzgirald practiseth the death of Pheō mac Hugh.

This was not so couertlie done, but that Pheon mac Hugh had knowledge of the practise, and he forthwith intreated Fitzgirald in the like manner as he before had done with the lieutenant, and so hanged him vp. The lord deputie after long sute for his reuocation, receiued his maiesties letters for the same, and then he sent for capteine Zouch gouernor of Mounster to come to Dubline: and in the end of August 1582, after that he had serued full two yeres he deliuered vp the sword vnto the archbishop of Dubline then lord chancellor, and to sir Henrie Wallop then treasuror at armes, and tooke shipping; hauing with him capteine Zouch, who was after slaine by one of his most familiar acquaintance, and sundrie other gentlemen. The said lord Greie was a man of great nobilitie, and of as honourable and ancient descent, one that feareth God in true religion, and dutifull to his maiestie in all obedience. And albeit he had deserued well of that Irish nation, and had sowed the good seeds of notable seruices, as well for his martiall seruices, as for his ciuill gouernment; yet he reped (as his predecessors before him) but darnell and cockle. For they had among them not onelie conspired his death, for which some paid deerelie; but made also sundrie complaints against him, to which he answered to his commendation and acquittall, and to their reproch for their ingratitude.

Fitzgirald is hanged for his conspiracie.

The lord Greie yeeldeth vp the sword & returneth into England.

1582

The lord chancellor and sir Henrie Wallop are lord iustices.

These two lords iustices being fallen into a broken time, the warres being not ended, the people not quieted, and the gouernement not staied nor setled; yet they both ioining their wisedoms, seruices, and good wils, were so blessed therein, that by them that land was reduced to some perfection and quietnesse. For not long after they had taken the sword in hand doctor Sanders the popes nuncio and legat, who came from that holie see of Rome, the sea of all wickednesse, with James Fitzmoris in Julie in the yeare of our Lord one thousand flue hundred seuentie and nine, to beare arms in this land against his maiestie, after that he had wandered vp and downe

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thrée yeares togither with the earle and his brethren sir John, in woods and bogs, and had liued with them a most miserable and wretched life, and had béene partaker of their most cruell bloudsheds, outrages, murthers, and robberies, a life good and too good for a traitor and a rebell. He fell sicke of an Irish ague and of the bloudie flix, and laie in the wood of Cienneliffe, which is a wood full of allers, withies, briers, & thornes, and through which is no passage; where partlie of his sicknesse, but chéefelie for famine and want he died. Euen in this filthie place, that most miserable wretch and traitor was lodged and died, bequeathing his treasons, treacheries, and disloialties against his soueregne mistresse and ladie hir maiestie vnto the pope, reseruing the punishment to the Lord himselfe, who is a swift and iust iudge vpon all traitors and disobedient persons, and his bodie (as some saie) was deuoured vp of wolues, but (as some doo thinke) that so much as was left was buried at Clancarne, not farre off from the place where he died.

The death of doctor Sanders.

The two lords iustices being entred into this broken gouernement, did what they could to kéepe the same in peace; and vnderstanding the wilfull disposition of Desmond, they did vse all the means and waies they could to pacifie him; but so farre was he imbrued and poisoned with the venom of treason and rebellion, that no reason, no dutie, nor anie other respect could persuade him to be a loiall and dutifull subiect. Wherefore he continued still in his old accustomed spoiling and wasting the countries, and trusting to no house nor castell, did throwd himselfe in woods and bogs, and in the winter following he kept his Christmasse in the wood of Kilquieg néere to Kilmallocke. And about the fourth of Januarie then following, one John Welsh a valiant and a good souldior, was resolued to make a draught vpon the said earle, and he made acquainted therewith capteine Dowdall, capteine Bangor, and George Thorington prouost marshall of Mounster, all which laie then in garrison in Kilmallocke, and according to the order betweene them then agréed vpon, they marched in the night time to the place and wood where the earle laie.

The earle of Desmond kéepeth his Christmas in the woods.

A draught made vpon the earle by John Welsh.

But being come thither, they were to passe ouer a great riuer, before they could come to enter into the wood of Kilquieg, & by reason of the great raines then falling, it was impossible for man or horsse to passe ouer the same, which thing John Welsh did before mistrust. Wherefore the night before, he went thither verie closelie, with such few persons as he had chosen for the purpose: and there he caused a number of flakes and hurdels to be made of halson, allers, and withie rods, which he caused to be drawne ouer the riuer by one, whom he had there of purpose which could swim verie well. And this fellow when he had fastened some of the hurdels to a tree in the further side of the water, and then by a rope drew ouer the residue one after another, did so fasten and tie one vnto another, and so cunninglie handled the matter, that when the captains came, they passed ouer the riuer verie well without danger or perill. And so from thense the said Welsh did guide and bring them by the breake of the daie vnto the earles cabin: but the wood was so full of thickets, and so mirie, that they were faine to go a speares length wide from the cabin to come vnto it. The earle hearing a great noise, and suspecting some extraordinarie and a greater companie to be in place more than his owne, and doubting the worst, ran out of his bed in his shirt, and ran into the riuer fast by his cabin, and there hid himselfe close vnder a banke hard vp to his chin, by which meanes he escaped and his wife with him. The souldiors made diligent search for him both by searching of the riuer and of the wood, but could not find him; whereupon they did put to the sword so manie as they found there, and carried awaie the goods with them, and so returned to Kilmallocke.

A deuise how to passe ouer a great riuer.

The earle escapeth verie hardlie.

At this time the seneschall secretlie with all the force which he could make, came vnto the towne of Youghall, & entred into the end of the same towne. Whereupon the alarum was raised, and forthwith Caluerleigh being lieutenant to capteine Morgan, hauing all his souldiors togither, of which he had forte shot, went vnto that end of the towne where the seneschall scaled the wals, & there he made a sconse, or a little bulworke, and by that meanes saued the towne, and draue the seneschall from his purpose, and killed aboue fiftie of his men: and so being disappointed of his purpose he departed awaie. In the end of this moneth of Januarie the earle of Ormond arriued from out of England to Waterford with a new supplie of foure hundred men, whome he diuided and committed vnto the seuerall leadings of sir George Bourcher, sir William Stanleie, capteine Edward Berkleie, and capteine Roberts. And being now lord generall by hir maiesties appointment ouer all Mounster, and hauing obteined an augmentation of two pence by the daie for euerie souldiors wages, he assembleth all the souldiors and euerie capteine which had anie charge, and take order with euerie of them for such seruices as were to be done, furnisheth them with vittels, munitions, monie, and all things necessarie and meet for them, requesting euerie one of them to shew themselues like good and valiant souldiors, in the pursuing of the rebels, and vanquishing of the enimies: and such grace and loue he found among the souldiors, that he was no more desirous than they most glad and willing to performe the same. Such a good affection euerie one did beare to this honorable man.

The seneschall assaulteth & entreth into Youghall and hath the repulse.

The earle of Ormond arriueth to Waterford and is generall of Mounster.

The loue of the capteins and souldiors to the earle of Ormond.

At this time aduertisement was giuen vnto his lordship, that the earle of Desmond was incamped in the fastnesse of Harlo wood with a great number of rakehels & rebels. His lordship mustered all his companies, and minding to doo some seruice vpon the said rebels, marcheth towards the said fastnesse of Harlo wood. And being come thither, he diuideth his companies into foure parts, and they entered into foure seuerall places of the wood at one instant: and by that meanes they scowred the wood throughout, in killing as manie as they tooke, but the residue fled into the mounteins. The rebels being thus narrowlie followed and pursued, they neuer after met togither in the like companies, nor assembled themselues in such great numbers: but the most part of them, which were the chiefest followers and greatest frends vnto Desmond, as Fitzmorts of Lerna before named, the seneschall, the lord Barrie, Condon, Donnell mac Knought, & sundrie others, some and some came awaie, and sought for protection. And albeit their manifold and infinit outrages, murthers, bloudsheds and spoiles, had deserued a thousand deaths: yet his lordship considering their repentance, sorrows, and humble submissions, and respecting more hir maiesties godlie disposition to mercie than their deserts, did (for the most part) grant vnto euerie of them their requests. The souldiors after this péece of seruice were dispersed abroad into their seuerall garrisons. And albeit the greater parts of the rebels were some by sword, and some by protection abated, and much decreased, yet none of them laie altogither idle, but did follow the seruice as time and occasion offered. For the earle himselfe, though he were thus vnfeathered of his greatest helps, yet he was one & the same man, a most ranke traitor and rebell: and therefore vpon him

The lord generall scowreth Harlo wood.

Desmond is forsaken of all his followers and friends.

him dailie were draughts and pursutes made, and neuer left, vntill in the end he came vnto confusion.

In the moneth of August, in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred eightie and three, it was aduertised to the garrisons in Kilmalloche and Cashell, that the erle of Desmond was come againe to harborough himselfe in Harlo wood, and had aboue three score gallowglasses besides kerne a great number, vpon whom captein Dowdall hauing good espials, made a iorneie thither, and being entred into the wood verie earlie, laie close all the forenoone. For these gallowglasses had bin so dared from time to time, that now like a sort of dære they laie vpon their kéepings; and so fearfull they were, that they would not tarrie in anie one place anie long time, but where they did dresse their meat, thense they would remoue, and eat it in another place, and from thense go vnto another place to lie. In the nights they would watch, in the forenoones they would be vpon the hilles and mounteins, to descrie the countrie, and in the afternoone they would slæpe. The capteine breaking time with them, made staie in the wood accordinglie, and in the afternoone he learned by his espials, that they were returned from the mounteins, and were entred into their cabins, where some of them were aslæpe, and some of them occupied in dressing of a horsse for to eat, for other vittels were scant. The capteine suddenlie entred vpon them, and toke them at such aduantage, that they were all, for the most part, put to the sword: of which, fiue and twentie were taken in their cabins. After the dispatch of these gallowglasses, which are counted the best men of warre among the Irishrie: the residue of the Irish rebels were so dismaid, that a man might without anie great danger passe throughout Mounster.

A draught made vpon the gallowglasses in Harlo wood.

The gallowglasses in Harlo wood put to sword.

About a moneth after this, in September, in the yeare one thousand fiue hundred foure score & three, it hapned that certeine of the lord Roches men, being in Dowall nére to Trusham, were riding about certeine businesse, and met with the earle of Desmond, hauing in his companie two or three horsemen and a prest. The kerns which attended the said lord Roches men, inuironed & compassed them about; but the earle and his men being well horsed, escaped, onelie the prest they toke, by reason of his bad horsse, and him the lord Roch sent the nert date vnto the lord gouernour, and being examined, he confessed in what great distresse and miserie the erle was, and that for feare he lurked in corners, & would not be séene. And further, that he had his onelie relése and was fostered by Gozon mac Swene, a capteine of the gallowglasses, and who was then vnder protection. And by these meanes, the erle (who had not béene heard of since he was garred out of Harlo wood) is now discouered. Whereupon the lord generall commanded a barke to be forthwith vittelled, and to be dispatched into Dingle a Cush: and forthwith commanded capteine Dowdall to repaire thither, and there to lie in garison; which he did forthwith performe. The earle of Desmond when he heard how that he was discouered, and how that vittels and a garison were sent to Dingle a Cush to the working of his woe; he was assured that he should be surelie pursued by capteine Dowdall, who of all other capteines and sir George Bourchier did from time to time gall and most earnestlie pursue him. Wherefore now as for his last helpe, by the helpe and friendship of Gozon mac Swene, & Moile Morough mac Swene his brother, he gathereth a new companie, and maketh himselfe as strong as he can, and getteth himselfe into Desmond, and there standeth vpon his gard. Gozon mac Swene in the meane time entreth into Carberie, and taketh a great preie of kine, which he droue forthwith into Desmond toward the earle, but the iorneie was so long, that he laie short of the earle that night about three or foure miles.

The L. Roch his men discouer Desmond.

Desmond feareth Dowdall.

Gozon preith all Carberie for Desmond.

The men of the countrie, who had thus lost their goods, three of them with their swords and targets followed the tract a far off, minding to haue stollen awaie their owne kine if by anie means they could, and if opportunitie would so serue; for by force or by intreatie they knew it to be impossible for them to recouer anie thing at all. The foresaid Gozon, when he had lodged himselfe for all night, it was his pleasure to walke abrode in the fields; and suspecting no harme, went alone, hauing onelie one kerne with him (and both without weapon) about ten or twelue score off from his lodging. About which place it happned the foresaid three men had hidden and couched themselues in a bush, and taking the occasion offered, they went also betwéene him and his lodging, and fell vpon him and his kerne, & killed them both: and as soone as they had cut off their heads, they shifted for themselues. Gozons companie, finding their maister lacking, went abrode to séeke him, and in the end found him and his man without heads, lieng dead vpon the ground; which cast them into such a maze, as they wist not what to thinke or to doo: neither could they imagine nor deuise how this should come to passe: for garison there was none in those parts, and they knew of no person thereabouts whome they could suspect. But this is the iust iudgement of God, who in his iustice loketh vpon the periured and wicked, and in mercie beholdeth his seruants. For if this man had liued, it was feared that by his means the earle would haue increased a new force, and haue dighted the lord gouernour and all the garisons to greater troubles. The erle being aduertised of the losse of this his friend, his chéefe and onelie staie, was in a great agonie, and maruellouslie dismaid; and séeing no other remedie, he prepareth the best for himselfe, and taking the aduantage of the time, before the garison should be placed at the Dingle, he made a draught into Kerrie nére Traleigh, minding to take a preie from such as had forsaken him and had receiued their protections. Wherfore in the euening he sent two horsemen with a certeine kerne ouer the strand of Traleigh vnto a castell there, & commanded them to take their preie from thense, which they did, and brought the same awaie with them.

Gozon mac Swene is killed.

The erle commandeth preie to be taken in Kerrie.

Among those kine thus driuen awaie, a poore woman of that countrie lost all those few that she had, and being distressed of that which was the chæfe, and in a maner the onelie releése of hir and hir children and houshold; and not knowing how she could by anie meanes recouer them: she bethought hir selfe vpon a brother which she had, dwelling on the other side of the mounteine, in a castell named Drome, which was one of the Worrettos; and to him she runneth in all the hast she could, and declareth hir estate and case, praieng him to helpe hir, and that he would follow the tract for the recouerie of hir kine. Who when he was aduertised that there were but two horsemen & a few kerne which had drouen the preie awaie, he to pleasure his sister toke three other of his brethren, and followed the tract, till he came to Castelmange, which castell was in the waie. And when he came thither, he went to the castell, and desired the constable (whose name was Chelton, and not long before lieutenant to capteine Berkeleie) that he would spare him some shot and a few of his kerne to helpe him to follow the preie which was driuen that waie. The constable and the soldiors were verie glad to pleasure him, and so he had seuen shot and a dozzen of kerne which dwelled in an out house fast vn-

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der the caſtell, & ſo they went altogither to Traleigh, they being in number three and twentie perſons; one of theſe was an Iriſh man borne, named Kollie, but ſerued alwaies vnder Engliſhmen, and could ſpeake verie good Engliſh. This man, when they came to Traleigh, they appointed & made him their leader or capteine; and Moretto becauſe he was borne in thoſe parties, and beſt knew the countrie, they appointed to be their guide: and from thenſe they followed the trac vntill they came to the ſide of a mounteine, where there was a glan, and in it a little groue of wood: and the night being come vpon them, there they ſtaid and reſted themſelues for that night. And in the darke night one of them had eſpied through the trées a fire not farre off, whereupon they drew themſelues cloſe together, and cauſed one of themſelues cloſelie and ſecretlie to draw towards the fire and to diſcouer what companie was there, and how manie was of them; which man did ſo. And when he returned backe vnto them, he told them that there was an old bad houſe, and about fiue or ſix perſons therein: whereupon they all determined and agreed to repaire to that place to knowe the whole matter. Moretto was the guide to bring them to the houſe, and Kollie did ſet his companie in order and good araie, as was moſt for their ſeruice, if need ſhould ſo require. And when they were come to the houſe, they found in it but onelie one old man, for the reſidue were gone. Then Kollie drew his ſword and ſtrake the old man, with which blow he had almoſt cut off one of his arms; and then he ſtrake him againe, and gaue him a great blow on the ſide of his head; wherwith the ſaid old man cried out, deſiring them to ſaue his life, for he was earle of Deſmond, and then Kollie ſtated his hands: but the erle bled ſo faſt, that he ſhared verie faint, and could not trauell anie further: whereupon the ſaid Kollie bid and willed him to prepare himſelfe to die; and then he ſtrake off the earls head.

The earle of Deſmond taken in an old houſe alone and ſlaine.

The reſidue of the companie in this meane time ſpoiled and rifled the houſe, and toke what them liſted: and then they all departed and went to Caſtelmange, and carried the earles head with them, but left the bodie behind; and whether the ſame were deuoured by the woolues or buried by his kerne, it is not certeinlie knowne. As ſoone as they came to Caſtelmange, they ſent the ſaid earles head vnto the lord generall, who forthwith ſent the ſame into England for a preſent to hir maieſtie; which forthwith was put vpon a pole, and ſet on London bridge. When this his death was noiſed and knowne, there was no more ſeruice to be done: for euerie rebell caſt awaie his weapon, and ſought all the waies they could to humble themſelues and to become good ſubiects: ſauing one John Bourke, who ſtood vpon his protection, and yet neuertheleſſe he and his companie went to Adare, there to haue taken a preie. But as he paſſed by the caſtell, a boie therein diſcharged his pece vpon the ſaid Bourke, & ſtrake him in the head, whereof he died. The common people, who had felt the great ſmart of this troubleſome time, reioiſed and were glad of the death of the erle, being in a good hope that the long troubles ſhould haue an end, and they to be the more at reſt. During theſe continuall troubles in Mounſter, the two lord iuſtices which laie at Dublin were much eaſed from all martiall affaires elſewhere, and were troubled but with the clamorings, exclamations, and brabling of the Iriſh people, not worth the remembring: ſauing that a certeine combat was fought and tried before them in the caſtell of Dublin, betweene two Oconhours, verie neere cooſens & kinſmen: the one was named Teig mac Guill Patrike Oconhour appellant; the other was named Con mac Cormake Oconhour defendant. One of theſe appealed and charged the other for ſundrie treaſons in the late rebellion, and which could haue no other triall but by combat, which was granted vnto them. Whereupon, according to the lawes and orders of England for a combat to be tried, all things were prepared, the date, time, and place appointed; and according to the ſame, the lord iuſtices, the iudges, and the councellors came and ſat in the place appointed for the ſame, euerie man in his degree and calling. And then the court was called, and the appellant or plaintife was brought in before the face of the court, being ſtriped into his ſhirt, hauing onlie his ſword and target (which were the weapons appointed) and when he had done his reuerence and dutie to the lord iuſtices and to the court, he was brought to a ſtoole ſet in the one of the ends within the liſts, and there ſat. After him was the defendant brought in, in the like maner and order, and with the like weapons: and when he had done his dutie and reuerence to the lord iuſtices and to the court, he was brought to his chaire placed in the other end of the liſts. Then were their actions and pleadings openlie read, and then the appellant was demanded whether he would auerre his demand or not: who when he had affirmed that he would, the partie defendant was likewiſe aſked whether he would confeſſe the action, or ſtand to the triall of the ſame: who did anſwer as did the other, that he would auerre it by the ſword.

The maner of the combat.

A combat betweene two Oconhours.

Upon this their ſeuerall anſwers, they were ſeuerallie called the one after the other, euerie of them taking a corporall oth that their quarell was true, and that they would iuſtifie the ſame both with ſword & blod. Thus they being ſworneare brought backe againe euerie of them to their ſeuerall places as before. And then when by the ſound of a trumpet a ſigne was giuen vnto them when they ſhould enter into the fight; they aroſe out of their ſeats, and met each one the other in the middle within the liſts, and there with the weapons aſſigned vnto them, they fought: in which fight the appellant did preuaile, and he not onlie did diſarme the defendant, but alſo with the ſword of the ſaid defendant did cut off his head, and vpon the point of the ſame ſword did preſent it to the lord iuſtices, and ſo with the victorie of his enimie he was acquitted. Thus much I thought good to ſaie ſomwhat of much, of the maner of a combat, which together with manie circumſtances therevnto belonging is now for want of vſe almoſt cleane forgotten, and yet verie neceſſarie to be knowne. And as for this combat it was ſo valiantlie done, that a great manie did wiſh that it had rather fallen vpon the whole ſer of the Oconhours, than vpon theſe two gentlemen.

The earle of Deſmonds head ſent into England and put vpon London bridge.

John Bourke having a protection, made a ſtealth, and was killed.

The vicount of Baltinglaſſe dieth of his life.

The vicount of Baltinglaſſe, being aduertiſed of the death of the earle of Deſmond, which was no ſmall griefe vnto him, and he alſo verie wearie of his trotting and wandering on foot amongſt bogs, woods, and deſert places (being altogither diſtreſſed, and in great miſerie, and nowdeſtitute of all his friends and acquaintances, and not able to hold head anie longer againſt hir maieſties force) did imbarke himſelfe for Spaine, in hope to haue ſome releefe and ſuccor, and to procure ſome aid from the king of Spaine; and by that meanes to be of ſome abilitie to renew his force and rebellion. But he found in the end verie ſmall comfort. And therefore of a verie melancholie greefe & ſorrow of mind, as it is thought, he died, being in verie extreame pouertie and need. Not long after this, the two lord iuſtices, who had ruled and gouerned the land in theſe troubleſome and broken times in great wiſdome, care, & circumſpection, when they had brought

The vicount Baltinglaſſe imbarketh himſelfe for Spaine.

the

the whole land to a peaceable & quiet gouernment, and deliuered the same from all open or knowne rebellion; they cashed and discharged all the garrisons in Mounster, onelie two hundred souldiors excepted: they kept it in good quietnesse, vntill the arriuall of sir John Perot knight, who was sent ouer to be lord deputie, and landed at Dublin about the middle of June, one thousand fiue hundred fourescore and foure, the six and twentith yeare of his maiesties reigne vnto whome they deliuered the sword: who being entered into his office, begun such a course, that of his good beginnings a great hope was conceiued of the like to insue. For he was a right worthie seruitor in that land, when he was lord president in Mounster: and by whome James Fitzmoris was subdued, and the whole prouince maruellouslie well reformed: whose notable and most noble acts as they do well deserue, so when the same shall come to his full measure, they shall be registred to his perpetuall fame and immortall honor. And yet in the meane time, it shall not be offensiue to remember some speciall points of his late seruice, which do deserue to be remembred: as also for the incouraging of this noble man to continue the good course which he hath begun; which do halson and giue a hope that he will *Addere colophonem*, and bring that land to a full and perfect gouernment & regiment; which Giraldus Cambrensis would not warrant could be done much before domesdaie.

Sir John Perot arriueth into Ireland to be lord deputie.

The Scots rebell and are subdued.

Not long after the arriuall of this man, the Scots after their accustomed maner, for a bien venu or welcome to his lordship, they began a rebellion, and are vp in armes readie for the warre. His lordship hauing notice and knowledge thereof, maketh himselfe forthwith in a readinesse to meete with them, and to stop them of their purpose: and therein he so ordered and handled the matter, that the Scots were driuen to seeke peace, to craue pardon, to submit themselues, and to sweare allegiance, faith, and obedience to his maiestie. Which when they had obteined, then they toke the lands wherein they dwelled, of his highnesse, yeelding a yearelie rent, which before they had not beene accustomed nor wont to doe. And by these meanes, if there be any truth in them, the state of that countrie standeth the better assured.

Then when he was from this seruice returned to Dublin, his speciall care, studie, and indeuor was to deuise and studie how to reduce and reforme the whole realme and the gouernment, according to the laws of England. Wherevpon he would and did verie often assemble the whole councell, or so manie of them as were there, for their aduise herein; whose names are these. The archbishop of Dublin lord chancellor, the earle of Ormond lord treasurer, the primat of Armagh, the bishop of Meth, the bishop of Kilmore, sir John Moris lord president of Mounster, sir Henrie Wallop treasurer at armes, sir Nicholas Bagnoll knight marshall, Robert Gardner chiefe iustice of the bench, sir Robert Dillon knight chiefe iustice of the common pleas, sir Lucas Dillon knight chiefe baron, sir Nicholas White knight master of the rols, sir Richard Bingham knight chiefe commissioner in Connagh, sir Henrie Cowlete knight, sir Edward Waterhouse knight, sir Thomas le Strange knight, Edward Brabesbie, Geffreie Fenton secretarie, sir Warham Sentleger & sir Valentine Browne knights; but discontinued. By the good aduise, helpe, and councell of these wise and prudent councellors, he first thought it best to bring the whole land into shire grounds, whereby the laws of England might haue a through course and passage. Wherefore, what sir Henrie Sidneie before had done in a few counties, that he perfor-

The councell in Ireland.

The whole realme brought into shire grounds.

med in the whole realme, and brought the same into such & so manie seuerall counties, as was thought best and most fit for that purpose. To euerie of which new counties he appointed and assigned seuerall shiriffes, and all such inferior officers as were most requisit, and to the same incident and apperteining. All and euerie which shires hitherto not registred, nor published in chronicle, togither with such as before were knowne, I thought it good to set downe by their seuerall names, and in their prouinces as followeth.

The shires in Ireland.

- Counties in Mounster.
  - Limerike, Corke, Kerrie, Tipporaria, Crosse, Waterford — Old counties.
  - Desmond — New countie.
- Counties in Vlster.
  - Louth, Downe, Antrim — Old counties.
  - Monahon, Tiron, Armagh, Colrane, Donergall, Farmanagh, Cauon — New counties.
- Counties in Leinster.
  - Dublin, Wexford, Catherlogh, Kilkennie, Kildare, Kings countie, Queenes countie, Meth & West-Meth, Longefford — Old counties.
  - Wickelow, Fernes — New counties.
- Counties in Connagh.
  - Clare, Letrimme — Old counties.
  - Gallowaie, Rosecomin, Maio, Sligo — New counties.

When he had performed this, and established the same by act of parlement, then his maiesties writs and processe had a free passage, and were currant through out the whole land, and his maiestie knowne to be souereigne ladie and queene of the same. Then the Irishrie by little and little gaue ouer their Brehon laws, and their Irish vsage, and became obedient vnto the English laws; vnto which they referred themselues to be tried, and to haue all their quarels to be decided and determined: whereof at these presents is extant a verie notable president & example betweene two of the most principall and chiefe personages in the prouince of Vlster. The one is he, who nameth himselfe Onele, and the other is the earle of Tiron, the heire to the great Con Onele. These two and their ancestors, and all other noble men in that prouince, when so euer anie discord or enimitie did fall out among them, they had no peacemaker but the sword, and by wars and bloudshed was the same decided. Neuertheless, these two noble men leauing to pursue their quarels, as in times past with the sword & in hostile maner, do refer themselues to the triall of the laws; and each one of them sueth the other at the common laws, and in the chancerie in his maiesties court

English lawes currant through Ireland.

Onele and the earle of Tiron sue each one the other at law.

at Dublin, and there as dutifull subiects do abide the triall of their cause. A thing so much the more to be considered, as the parties be of that nobilitie and stoutnesse; and a thing so rare, as heretofore not heard nor knowne. Which course if it haue so happie a progresse and successe, as it hath a good enterance and beginning; no doubt, but that partlie by the lawes, and partlie by the sword, an vniuersall obedience shall through that land be established, the common societie shall be preserued, the whole realme shall flourish and prosper, hir maiestie shall be obeied, the reuenues shall be increased; and in the end, peace shall be vpon Israell. And as this example giueth some manifest good hope thereof, so the same is confirmed and increased by the happie victorie of late in Connagh; where a number of Scots, hauing made an inuasion, were met and incountered withall, by the right worthie sir Richard Bingham knight, chiefe commissioner of that prouince, and by him they were vanquished & ouerthrowne, to the number of fiftéene hundred persons; so that verie few or none escaped the sword, to returne home with the newes of their successe: but were either killed or drowned.

Sir Richard Bingham his victorie vpon the Scots.

Thus much hitherto generallie concerning the gouernment of that land of Ireland, since the death of king Henrie the eight, vntill these presents. In the course of which time, manie more notable things haue béene done, worthie to be registred in the chronicles of perpetuall fame and memorie. For the atteining to the knowledge whereof, though Iohn Hooker the writer hereof haue béene a diligent traueller and a searcher for the same; yet he wanted that good successe, as both the historie it selfe requireth, and he himselfe wisheth. And yet the most part of all the actions in that age consisted most in continuall warres, rebellions, and hostilitie, either against their most sacred kings and quéenes, or amongst themselues. But whatsoeuer before hath béene done, none were so tragicall, impious, and vnnaturall, as were the last warres of the Giraldines of Desmond in Mounster. For of the Giraldines of Kildare, who were not acquainted, nor consenting to these wicked actions, nothing is meant. Whereinto who so listeth to looke, and well to consider, he shall find and sée most euident and apparant examples of Gods iustice & iudgement, against such as do rebell against the Lords annointed; whome the Lord by his expresse word hath commanded to be honored and obeied in all humblenesse and dutie: because they are his vicars, substitutes, and vicegerents vpon the earth, to defend the good, and to punish the euill; and who so resisteth them, do resist his ordinances, and shall receiue hard iudgement, as most manifestlie it doth appeare in this the earle of Desmonds rebellion. All which if it should be set downe particularlie, as in course it fell out, it would be verie tedious: but much more lamentable and dolefull to be read.

And therefore leauing the large discourse, it shall suffice to shut and conclude this historie, with the briefe recitall of the most spectall points, to moue euerie man to consider the mightie hand of God against traitors and rebels; and his louing mercie and kindnesse vpon the dutifull and obedient. First therefore James Fitzmoris, the first ringleader in this pageant, and who most vnnaturallie had flocked in strangers and forreiners to inuade the land, for establishing the antichristian religion, and the depriuing of hir maiestie from hir imperiall crowne of the realme of Ireland: this man (I saie) was he who yelded the first fruits of this rebellion. For in his idolatrous pilgrimage to the holie crosse, and his traitorous iourneie to practise with all the rebels and inhabitants in Connagh and Vlster to ioine with him, he did commit a robberie; and being pursued for the same, he was slaine by a gentleman, and one of his owne kinsmen Theobald Burke, and his head & quarters set vpon the gates of the towne of Kilmallocke.

When James of Desmond brother to the earle, hauing done a robberie vpon sir Cormac mac Teige, was likewise taken and caried to Corke, where he was drawne, hanged, and quartered; and his head and quarters set vpon the gates and wals of the citie of Corke. After him, sir John of Desmond, one other brother to the said earle, who was a speciall champion of the pope, from whom he had receiued manie blessings, buls, and Agnos dei, which should kéepe and preserue him from all harme: yet for all this his holie cote armour, he was met withall by capteine Zouch and capteine Dowdall, and by them he receiued his iust reward of a bloudie traitor, and a frendkiller; being killed and then caried dead to Corke, where his bodie was hanged by the héeles, and his head sent to Dublin, and there set vpon the top of the castle. And in the end, the earle himselfe was also taken, and with the sword the head was diuided from the bodie: the one was sent to London, and there set vpon London bridge; and his bodie vncerteine whether it were buried or deuoured by the wild beasts. And thus a noble race and ancient familie, descended from out of the loines of princes, is now for treasons and rebellions vtterlie extinguished and ouerthrowne; onelie one sonne of the said earles is left, and yet prisoner in the Tower of London. The two doctors, Allen & Sanders, who were the holie fathers legats and nuncios, and in their foolish fantasies dreamed that they had the Holie ghost at commandement, and yet most errant traitors against the lords annointed: the one of them lifting vp his sword against hir sacred maiestie, vnder the popes banner at Mounster, one thousand fiue hundred threescore and ninetéene, was slaine and killed: the other after that he had followed the héeles of the Desmonds almost foure yeares, wandering to, and fro in the woods & bogs, died most miserablie in the wood of Cleneles, in such diseases as famine and penurie vse to bring. The Romans and Spaniards, and the strangers which were sent from the pope and king Philip, with all their consorts and companies, verie few left of them to returne home, and to carie newes of their successe; but were all put to the sword. And as for the great companies of souldiors, gallowglasses, kerne, & the common people, who followed this rebellion, the numbers of them are infinit, whose bloods the earth dranke vp, and whose carcases the foules of the aire and the rauening beasts of the féeld did consume and deuoure. After this followed an extreme famine: and such as whom the sword did not destroie, the same did consume, and eat out; verie few or none remaining aliue, sauing such as dwelled in cities and townes, and such as were fled ouer into England: and yet the store in the townes was verie far spent, and they in distresse, albeit nothing like in comparison to them who liued at large. For they were not onelie driuen to eat horsses, dogs and dead carions; but also did deuoure the carcases of dead men, whereof there be sundrie examples: namelie one in the countie of Corke, where when a malefactor was executed to death, and his bodie left vpon the gallows, certeine poore people secretlie came, tooke him downe, and did eat him. Likewise in the baie of Smerewéeke, or saint Marie wéeke, the place which was first seasoned with this rebellion, there happened a ship to be there lost through foule weather, and all the men being drowned, were there cast on land.

James Desmond taken in a roberie, hanged, drawne, & quartered.

Sir John of Desmond slaine, and his bodie hanged by the héeles.

The earle of Desmond slaine, and his head sent to London, and set vpon London bridge.

Allen and Sanders died, the one with the sword, the other of famine.

All strangers slaine.

After the warres followed a famine.

A man hanged was eaten.

Men drowned and eaten.

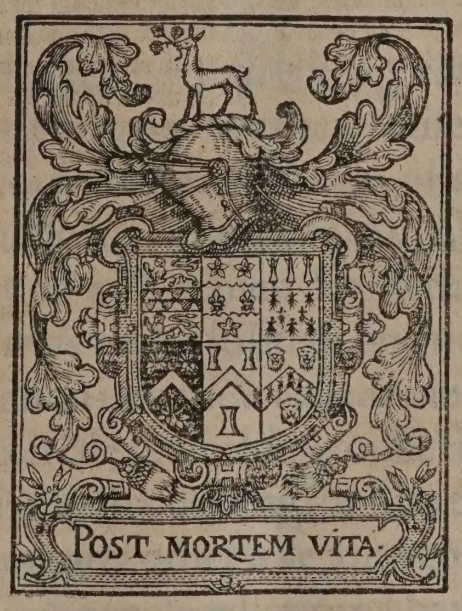
The

The common people, who had a long time liued on limpets, ozewads, and such shelfish as they could find, and which were now spent; as sone as they saw these dead bodies, they toke them vp, and most græ-dilie did eat and deuoure them: and not long after, death and famine did eat and consume them. The land it selfe, which before those wars was populous, well inhabited, and rich in all the good blessings of God, being plentious of cozne, full of cattell, well stozed with fish and sundzie other good commodities, is now become wast and barren, yéelding no fruits, the pastures no cattell, the fields no cozne, the aire no birds, the seas (though full of fish) yet to them yéelding nothing. Finallie, euerie waie the curse of God was so great, and the land so barren both of man and beast, that whosoeuer did trauell from the one end vnto the other of all Mounster, euen from Waterford to the head of Smerewicke, which is about six score miles, he should not met anie man, woman, oz child, sauing in townes and cities; noz yet sée anie beast, but the verie wolues, the foxes, and other like rauening beasts: manie of them laie dead being famished, and the residue gone elsewhere. A heauie, but a iust iudgement of God vpon such a Pharoicall and stifnecked people, who by no persuasions, no counsels, and no reasons, would be reclamed and reduced to serue God in true religion, and to obeie their most lawfull prince in dutifull obedience; but made choise of a wicked idoll, the god Mazim to honoz, and of that wicked antichzist of Rome to obeie, vnto the vtter ouerthzow of themselues and of their posteritie. This is the goodnesse that commeth from that great citie vpon the seuen hils, and that mightie Babylon, the mother of all wickednesse & abhominations vpon the earth. These be the fruits which come from that holie father, maister pope, the sonne of sathan, and the man of sinne, and the enimie vnto the crosse of Christ, whose blodthirstinesse will neuer be quenched, but in the blod of the saints, and the seruants of God; and whose rauening guts be neuer satisfied, but with the death of such as do serue the Lozd in all godlines, & who will not be dzunke in the cup of his foznications: as it doth appere by the infinit & most hozrible massacres, and blodie persecutions, which he dailie exerciseth throughout all christian lands. Which bicause he can not perfozme also within the realmes of England & Ireland, what practises hath he made by inchantments, sozceries, witchcrafts, & treasons to bereaue hir maiestie of hir life? What deuises hath he vsed to raise vp hir owne subiects to rebellions and commotions, to supplant hir of hir rotall estate and gouernment? What practises hath he vsed with fozren pzinces and potentats, to séeke occasions of bzeaches of peace and raisings of warres? And how craftilie hath he subozned his vnholie & traitozous Iesuits, vnder colour of holines, to range from place to place thzough hir maiesties realmes, and to moue and persuade hir people from dutifull obedience vnto hir highnesse, and to denie hir supzeme authozitie and gouernment? Finallie, how doth he from time to time like a rauening wolfe séeke the deuouring of hir, and of all hir good subiects, which liue in the feare of God, and in the religion established vpon his holie wozd and gospell? Whereof hath insued the losse of infinit thousands of people, as wherof manie apparant examples are set downe and recozded in the histozies of England; but of them all, none mozе lamentable than is this histozie of Ireland, and especiallie this tragedie of Mounster. In which it doth appeare, how that foz the maintenance of the popes quarels, the earth hath dzunke vp the blond, the fouls of the aire haue pzeied, and the beasts of the field haue deuoured the carcases of infinit multitudes & numbers of people. Which if euerie man would well loke into and consider, the vngodlie shall sée the great iudgements of God, and his seuere iustice against all such as shall dishonoz his holie name; and against such as shall rebell and resist against his annointed: that thereby they may repent, amend their liues, and be conuerted vnto the Lozd, both in true religion towards him, and in all dutifull obedience to his annointed. And the good and godlie shall sée, and thereby consider the great good mercies shewed vpon them, in that he hath and continuallie doth pzeserue and kéepe them from out of the iawes of the lion in all safetie, that they should dailie mozе and mozе grow from grace to grace, and liue in all holinesse and vertue towards him, and persist in all dutifull obedience vnto hir maiestie our souereigne ladie and quæne; whose daies the Lozd God continue and pzolong to reigne ouer vs to his good will and pleasure: and so shall we hir people sée good daies, liue in securitie, and the peace of Israell shall be vpon vs.

The fruits which come from the pope.

The wicked practises of the pope.

Thus farre the chronicles of Ireland, continued by Iohn Hooker alias Vowell, Gent.



To the Right worshipfull Maister Thomas Secford Esquire and Maister of the Requests, William Harison wisheth all knowledge of God, with dailie increase of his gifts at this present, and in the world to come life euerlasting.

HAuing by your singular curtesie receiued great help in my description of the riuers & streames of Britaine, and by conference of my trauell with the platforms of those few shires of England which are by your infinite charges alredie finished (as the rest shall be in time by Gods helpe, for the inestimable benefit of such as inhabit this Iland) not a little polished those rough courses of diuers waters not exactly before time described by *Leland* our countrieman, or any ancient writer, I could not deuise any thing more agreeable with mine abilitie and your good nature (which greatlie fauoureth any thing that is doone for a commoditie vnto many) than to shew some token of my thankefulnesse for these your manifold kindnesses, by the dedication of my simple translation of the description of Scotland at this time vnto your worship.

Indeed the trauell taken heerein is not great, bicause I tie not my translation vnto his letter, neither the treatise of it selfe such, as taketh vp any huge roome in the volume of this chronicle. But such as it is, and whatsoeuer it is, I yeeld it wholie vnto you, as a testimonie of my good will, which detesteth vtterlie to receiue any benefit, though it be neuer so small, and not to be thankfull for it. Certes my vocation is such, as calleth me to a farre other kind of studie, so that I exercise these things onlie for recreation sake, & to saie the truth, it is much vnsitting for him that professeth Diuinitie, to applie his time any otherwise vnto contemplation of ciuill histories. And this is the cause wherfore I haue chosen rather, on-

lie with the losse of three or foure daies to translate *Hector* out of the Scotish (a toong verie like vnto ours) than with more expense of time to deuise a new, or follow the Latine copie, which is far more large and copious. How excellentlie if you consider the art, *Boetius* hath penned it, and the rest of his historie in Latine, the skilfull are not ignorant: but how profitablie and compendiouslie *Iohn Bellenden* archdeacon of Murrey his interpretor hath turned him from the Latine into the Scotish toong, there are verie few Englishmen that know, bicause we want the books.

Wherefore sith the learned read him in his owne stile, and his countrimen in their naturall language, why should not we borow his description, and read the same in English likewise, sith the knoledge therof may redound to the great benefit of so manie as read or heare the same? Accept therefore (right worshipfull) this my simple offer, and although I assure my selfe, your naturall inclination to be such, as that it will take nothing in ill part that is well meant toward you, how rudelie soeuer it be handled in the doing, yet I will not let to craue pardon for my presumption, in that I dare be so bold as to offer such a trifle to you, whom more weightie affaires doo dailie call from things of so small importance.

Almightie God keepe your worship from time to time in his feare, and blesse you and my good ladie your wife with such increase of his benefits, as may most redound to his glorie, & your own aduantage.

The contents of the chapters conteined *in this booke.*

1 OF the bounds of Albion, with the ſundrie commodities thereof, and of the great infirmities that fall vnto the people there for their intemperancie: and finallie of the religion vſed there in old time.

2 The deſcription of the eaſt, weſt, and middle borders of Scotland, with the moſt notable townes and flouds thereof.

3 The deſcription of Gallowaie, Kile, Carricke, and Cunningham, with the notable townes, lakes, and riuers in the ſame.

4 The ſituation of Renfrew, Cliddeſdale, Lennox, Lowmund, Argile, Loughquaber, Lorne and Kentire, with all the notable things conteined in the ſame.

5 Of Roſſe, Stranauerne, and Murrey land, with ſuch lakes and riuers as are to bee touched there.

6 Of Boene, Anze, Buquhane, Mar, Mernes, Fiffe & Angus, with the lakes, flouds, abbeis, townes, and other notable commodities there to be ſeene and found.

7 Of Louthian, Striuelin, Menteith, Calidon wood, Bowgewall, Gareoth, with the notable cities, caſtels and flouds thereof.

8 Of the great plentie of hares, harts, and other wild beaſts in Scotland, alſo of the ſtrange nature of ſundrie Scotiſh dogs, and of the nature of ſalmon.

9 Of ſundrie kinds of muskles and cockles in Scotland, and pearles gotten in the ſame. Of vncouth and ſtrange fiſh there to be ſeene, and of the nature of the herbe Citiſus, commonlie called Hadder.

10 Of the Iles of Scotland, and ſuch notable things as are to be found in them.

11 Of the nature of their Claike geeſe, and diuerſe maner of their procreation, and of the Ile of Thule.

12 The deſcription of Orkeney, and Shetland, with other ſundrie ſmall Iles, and of the maners and conditions of the people dwelling in the ſame.

13 Of the maners of the Scots in theſe daies, and their compariſon with the behauiour of the old and ſuch as liued long ſince within this Iland.

14 The deſcription of an ancient Pict, and ſuch as dwelled beyond the wall of Hadrian.

15 Of biſhoprikes, vniuerſities, and counties in Scotland.

The authors out of whome this hiſtorie of *Scotland hath beene gathered.*

Hector Boetius.
Iohannes Ferrarius Pedemontanus.
Iohannes Maior.
Iohannes Fourdon.
Rogerus Houeden.
Richardus Southwell.
Wilhelmus Paruus, ſiue Neoburgenſis.
Albertus Crantz.
Aeneas Syluius.
Edward Hall.
Richard Grafton.
Iohn Stow: and others.

The description of Scotland, written at the first by *Hector Boetius* in Latine, and afterward *translated into the Scotish speech by* *John Bellenden* archdeacon of Murrey, *and now finallie into* English by W. H.

The bounds of Albion with *the sundrie commodities thereof,* and of the great infirmities that *fall vnto the people there for* their intemperancie, and finallie *of the religion vsed* there in old time.

The first Chapter.

THe Ile of Albion conteineth in the whole circumference, 2 M. miles, hauing in length 700, & in breadth 300, as appeereth well by the coast therof that doth lie ouer against France where it is broadest, and from whence it gathereth narrower and narrower, till it come to the vtter marches & last bounds of England and Scotland. For betwixt the Mule of Gallowaie that is on the west side ouer against the Irish seas, and saint Ebbes head, that lieth vpon the Germane ocean toward the east, are scarselie 130 miles, and thencefoorth it groweth smaller and smaller till it touch vpon the north seas, where it is not aboue thirtie miles, as I noted before in the description of Britaine.

This Ile is replenished with people, horsses, and all other kind of cattell and corne in most abundant maner, except it be in such places where as God of his singular goodnesse hath otherwise indued the soile with rich mines of gold, siluer, tin, brasse, copper, and quicksiluer, which for the most part are so plentifull, that they suffice not onlie for the necessaries of the whole Iland, but also of sundrie regions that are situated round about it, if the inhabitants were skilfull and painefull to deale withall accordinglie. But the abundance of all other things requisite for the vse of man, that is found generallie in our Iland, maketh the people lesse carefull of these commodities, and more giuen to idlenesse. For beside the great plentie of those things which heauen and earth do minister, as grasse, corne and cattell, foules of sundrie kinds, there is such store of fish in all parties of our seas, especiallie towards the north, that the same would suffice to feed and sustein all the people of the Iland, if there were none other commodities to be found within the same.

For the inhabitants of all countries that border vpon vs, as France, Flanders, Zealand, Holland, and a great part of Germanie (especiallie those which lie neere vnto the coast) do saile hither with great numbers of vessels dailie to fish vpon our coasts, and buy such as we haue alreadie caught, not onlie for their owne vse, but also for the Lenton prouision of such nations as lie vpon the Leuant seas, where they sell the same at their owne wils, with very speedie vtterance. Manie other rich and pretious commodities are to be gotten in the said Ile, whereof the aforenamed nations do make no small account, beside these common things. What shall I sais of our wooles, which are in so high estimation in all lands, bicause of their necessarie vses, and whereof a great part is so fine and soft, that of it are made the costlie skarlets, pliant gloues, and manie other grained and delicate clothes, of which I thought good to make this mention, bicause the report thereof is not yet made common and generallie knowne to all men.

Dionysius Alexandrinus saith that the wool of Britaine is often spun so fine that it is in manner comparable to the spiders draught.

Certes this I dare boldlie affirme, that if the kingdoms of Britaine had such grace giuen them from aboue, as that they might once liue in vnitie, or by any meanes be brought vnder the subiection of one prince, they should yer long feele such a sauour in this amitie, that they would not onelie liue franklie of their own, without any forren purchase of things, but also resist all outward inuasion, with small trauell and lesse dammage. For as touching their persons, and likewise their notable wits, apt both for the atteining of learning and knowledge of handicrafts, they are inferiour to no other nation. Thereunto we find them to be couragious and hardie, offering themselues often vnto the vttermost perils with great assurance, so that a man may pronounce nothing to be ouerhard or past their power to performe, if they would giue themselues to liue temperatelie, and follow their predecessors in moderation of diet.

Therefore it is (as I thinke) that almightie God in his prouident disposition of all things, hath ordeined their grounds (otherwise plentifullie indued with all kinds of commodities) to be destitute and void of wine; as foreseeing that the said liquor, which bringeth greatest benefit vnto other countries, would grow in the end to be most pernicious & noisome to them.

them. For they are giuen to such vnnaturall rauening and greedie desire of forreine things (whilest they contemne or not regard their owne) that they cannot refraine the immoderate vse of wine, and excesse vsed in drinking of the same: insomuch that we may see diuerse to be ouertaken and haunted, not onelie with sundrie kinds of grieuous maladies common to vs and them of the maine, but also manie other which they haue not, neither be anie thing at all acquainted with, as experience dailie teacheth.

Some by long sicknesse and languishing griefes do grow into such deformitie onelie through excessiue feeding, and greedie abuse of wine, that if you knew them when they were children & yong men, you shall hardlie remember them when they be old and aged: and that which more is, in comparison of other that liue more soberlie, you will hardlie thinke them to be borne in the Ile, but rather suppose them to be changelings and monsters, brought out of other countries to gaze and looke vpon: diuerse of them through the continuall vse of wine are molested in their age, with phrenetticall pangs and passions. Seldome also shall you see those that are giuen much vnto wine and such welfare, to become parents of manie children, sith their naturall moisture and generatiue force is much abated, if not altogither extinguished by such immoderate diet.

But to returne to our purpose, the Albanes or Britains, as Cæsar in his commentaries, and Tacitus in his annales do report, were very religious, after the maner of religion vsed in old time. For in those daies the priests of Britaine named Druides, were expert both in naturall and morall philosophie, and from thence came the first professors of that sect and opinion into France. The principall seat of their priests was in the Ile of Man, which was reputed at that season for the welspring and fountaine of all learning and knowledge, and after that their priests were once conuerted to the catholike faith, they perseuered in the same with great constancie, without anie note of heresie.

The description of the east, west, and *middle borders of Scotland, with the* most notable townes and flouds *thereof.*

The second Chapter.

THe Picts had sometimes the principall and most fertile part of that countrie, which now is vnder the regiment of the Scots, and after they had continued in the same by the space of 1171 yeares, ioined in maner in perpetuall league with the Scots, and mainteining mutuallie the warres sometimes with the Britains and Romans, and somtimes also iarring with their Scotish neighbours, at the last they fell into extreme hatred one of another, till it was brought to passe by the diuine prouidence, that the said Picts were ouerthrowne, their name extinguished, and the kingdome vnited vnto that other of the Scots for euermore. After this time furthermore, although the Scots haue béene verie oftentimes assailed with most dangerous and terrible wars, and oftentimes inuaded by enimies from diuers regions, yet such hath beene the fauour of almightie God towards them, that still they flourish and reteine their estate inuiolate.

What soeuer we haue generallie spoken of Albion, that is chieflie to be vnderstood of the Scots, and farre greater, especiallie among the Scots, as they call them in the high land, as people that haue lesse to do with forreine merchants, and therefore are lesse delicate, and not so much corrupted with strange blood and aliance. Hereby in like sort it commeth to passe, that they are more hard of constitution of bodie, to beare off the cold blasts, to watch better, and abstaine long, whervnto also it appeareth that they are bold, nimble, and thereto more skilfull in the warres. As for their faith and promise, they hold it with great constancie, as Hector hath set downe. Towards the Almaine sea, I find, that Scotland hath the Mers, sometime the most plentious region of the Picts for their march, which so long as the said people did inhabit it, was called Deera, or Dere; but after their expulsion, it was named Mers, that is to say, the marches or limits of their countrie. In processe of time also the Scots extended their bounds euen vnto the Twéed, which now diuideth Northumberland from the Mers.

On the other side of the countrie towards the west, sundrie small bournes descend from the Cheriot hilles, and other mounteines lieng thereabout into the Solue, diuiding Cumberland from Annandale, and so being brought into one chanell, they fall togither into the Irish ocean, & stand for the bounds of Scotland vpon that halfe of the countrie. The Cheriot hilles are in like sort taken for the middle marches of the region, which with certeine small brookes that fall from the same, do separate both the countries, whereby their limits are knowne. The Mers hath vnder marches at seuerall places (whither it is extended) as sometime the Germane sea, sometime east Louthian, sometime the Twéed, and sometime the Forth, and among manie strong holds and castels, that stand vpon the borders, is the towne and castell of Barwike in time past called Ordolucium, as the inhabitants are called Ordoluci (if Hector be not deceiued.)

The Twéed springeth out from a meane head, and after his augmentation with other small waters that fall into the same, it descendeth with a large course into the Almaine sea. Beyond the Twéed, to the middle march vnder the Cheriot hilles lieth Teuidale, that is to say, the vale of Tiffe: beyond it is Eskedale, or the vale of Eske, of a riuer so called that runneth through the same: ouer against Eskedale on the other side lieth Eusdale, so named of the riuer Eus that passeth thereby, and falleth into the water of Annand: but Tif and Eske do run into the Twéed: furthermore, on the west side ouer against the Irish sea, lieth Annandale, wherevnto the Annand water giueth denomination, which marcheth sometimes without the bounds of Middesdale, where all the three riuers aforesaid, that is to say, Eus, Annand and Sulway descend togither in one bottome into the Irish seas.

In Annandale is a loch or lake named Lochmaben, fiue miles in length and foure in bredth, not onlie verie full of fish, but of such kind as few men are acquainted with. Beside this lake also there is a castell of the same name, builded of purpose to restreine the furious dealing of théeues which do great hurt in those quarters. For not onlie in Annandale, but in all the dales or vales afore rehearsed, are manie strong théeues, which often spoile the countrie, and exercise much cruell slaughter vpon such as inhabit there, in anie troublous time. These robbers (because the English do border vpon their drie marches, and are their perpetuall enimies) do often make forceable rodes into the English bounds, for their better maintenance and sustentation, or else

they

they pilfer priuilie from them, as men leading in the meane season a poore beggerlie and verie miserable life. In the time of peace also, they are so inured to theft and rapine, that they cannot leaue off to steale at home: and notwithstanding that they be often verie sore handled therefore, yet they thinke it praiseworthie to molest their aduersarie, as they call the truer sort, whereby it commeth to passe, that manie rich and fertile places of Scotland lie wast and void of culture for feare of their inuasion.

Not far from the Sulwaie (a water where great plentie of fish is to be had) are manie quicke-sands, and those so perilous that no man may well go ouer the same, but with great difficultie and danger of his life. This vale of Annand was sometime called Ordouicia, and the people thereof Ordouices, whose ancient barbarousnesse is reported to be such, that in times past they refused not to kill and eate such prisoners as had yelded themselues vnto them. The verie women in like sort would slea their husbands, if at anie time they fled from the field, and returned to their houses, onelie to giue occasion vnto other men to stand to their tacklings at euerie such aduenture. On the west borders and also toward the north lieth Niddesdale, so called of the water of Nidde. It beginneth with a verie narrow course, and increasing broder in the middle marches of Scotland, it finallie restraineth it selfe againe, till it commeth at the sea, whither it runneth with a swift course, as the Scotish writers do report. In this vale standeth a towne named Dunfrise, wherein manie fine clothes speciallie whites are made, which are brought vp and carted into England, France, Flanders, and Germanie, where they are had in great price and estimation.

The description of Gallowaie, Kile, *Carricke, and Cuningham, with the* notable townes, lakes and riuers *in the same.*

The third Chapter.

ABoue Niddesdale is Gallowaie (named sometimes Brigantia) the people whereof were in times past called Brigantes: this region is diuided by the water of Cree into two parts, whereof that which lieth nerest to Niddesdale, is called nether Gallowaie, and the other that is aboue the Cree is named vpper Gallowaie. In nether Gallowaie is Kirkcolbrie, a rich towne and of a god trade in merchandize, and in vpper Gallowaie is Whitherne, in Latine *Candida Casa*, an abbeie dedicated to saint Ninian the bishop, and there lieth his carcase, which is honored of the people with great superstition and errour. Aboue Whitherne is Wigton towne, and not far from thence is the great lake of Mirton, the one halfe whereof doth freze by naturall congelation as other poles and plashes do; but the other is neuer seene to beare anie yce at all, which vnto me doth seeme to be a great wonder. In Gallowaie moreouer are two other lakes, the Salset and the Neutramen, of equall length and breadth with the Lochmirton; as for Gallowaie it selfe, it yeldeth out a great point, promontorie, or cape (which the Scots call a mule or nuke) into the Irish sea. The common sort name it the mules nuke, and by the rounding of it selfe, it maketh two great lakes, named Rean and Lois, except I be deceiued, one of these lakes or poles is 30, and the other 16, miles of length, and both full of oisters, herrings, congers, cockles, and other like kinds of fish.

Some are of the opinion that Brigantia was the same region of Britaine that is now called Wales, wherein the Britains inhabited manie yeares after their expulsion out of Britaine. But this opinion is false, sith the Romans write that Man the Iland lieth ouer against Brigantium and midwaie betweene the same and Ireland: for albeit that the braies or baies are now worne wider & further distant ech from other by the washing and working of the sea, yet the same latitude & eleuation of the pole that Ptolomie ascribed to the Brigants, agreeth well to the height of the pole ouer Gallowaie, which is verie far from Wales, sithens the Ile of Man lieth also 300 miles from thence, and in the sight of Gallowaie. In like sort by the testimonie of sundrie authors both Irish and Spanish (we affirme that out of Brigantium a citie in Spaine, now named Compostella) there came a new companie of people into Ireland called Spaniards, and out of Ireland another crew of the same nation with king Fergus into Albion, and in remembrance of the citie Brigance, wherein they inhabited whilest they were in Spaine, they called themselues Brigantes. To this opinion in like sort Cornelius Tacitus doth seeme to leane, who saith, that the Brigantes descended from the Spaniards, which in his time dwelled in the vttermost parts of Britaine, including vnder that name all the Ile of Albion. These regions afore rehearsed, that is to say, Annandale, Niddesdale, and Gallowaie, beside fine wools and store of cattell, doth also abound with all kinds of graine, wheate onelie excepted.

Aboue Gallowaie is Carrike, sometime a portion of the region of the Silures, of whose name it is not yet certeinelie knowne, whether it was derued from the famous citie Carrike, whose ruines do yet remaine, or not. Silurie is diuided into three parts, to wit, Carrike, Kile, and Cuningham. In the first, as I said, was Carrike the noble citie: and in this countrie are manie strong castels, both by naturall situation and policie of man: herein also are faire kine and oxen, whose flesh is delicat and verie tender to be eaten, the tallow moreouer of their wombs is so moist and sapie that it neuer waxeth hard, but relenteth of the owne accord, and becommeth like vnto oile. Beyond Carrike is Kile, so called of Coile king of Britaine, sometime slaine in the said region, and therein is a stone, not much aboue 12 miles from the towne of Air, full 30 foot high, and three elns of breadth, called the deafe stone, not without cause: for when a man is on the one side thereof, he shall not heare what is said or done on the other, though there be neuer so great noise made, no not if a canon should be discharged of set purpose; which to me doth seeme vnpossible, neuertheless the further a man standeth from the same, the better shall he heare, whatsoeuer the noise be. Next to Kile is Cuningham the third part of Silurie, whose inhabitants in time past were most noisome to the Romans. In Kile is a pole named Downe, from whence the riuer Downe doth runne through the middest of that region into the Irish sea. In Cuningham likewise is a lake called Garnoth, equall in quantitie vnto the Downe, and no lesse famous for the abundance of fish that is dailie found therein; and not farre from the same is the towne called Largis, where Alexander the third king of Scotland of that name, sometime ouercame the Danes and Norwegians, whereby it grew to be famous, and of more reputation among vs.

Reade in the Latine Hector. 12 foot in hith 30 foot in length, and three elns thicke.

The

The situation of Renfrew, Clidesdale, *Lennox, Lowmund, Argile,* Louchquhaber, Lorne, and Kentire, *with all the notable things* conteined in the *same.*

The fourth Chapter.

THe water of Clide diuideth Lennor on the north side from the baronie of Renfrew, and it ariseth out of the same hill in Calidonwood, from whence the Annand falleth, and goeth with a long course into the Irish sea; some call this riuer Gluda, and Cluda: but Tacitus nameth it Glota. Not far also from the founteines of Clide, ariseth the water of Forth, that runneth on the contrarie side into the Germane ocean. In like sort after the water of Clude hath run for a season toward the north, it gathereth somewhat inward, till it come to the mounteine of Granzeben, & from thence holdeth on with a swift course, till it fall (as I said) into the Irish seas. The countrie where it runneth is named Clidesdale. Betwixt Clide and Lennor lieth the baronie of Renfrew, wherein are two poles named Quhinsouth and Leboth, of which the first is 12 miles in compasse, the other 20, and both verie rich and plentifull of fish. But in Lennor, that lieth nert aboue Renfrew toward the ocean (called by Ptolomie Lelgouia) is a great mere or lake that hight Lochmond, of 24 miles in length, and eight in breadth, and within this lhin or pole are 30 Ilands, well replenished with churches and dwelling houses.

And in the same also are three things worthie consideration, whereof the first is, that the pleasant and verie delicat fishes there bred do want fins. The second is, that the water will often swell with huge waues though no wind be stirring, and that in such wise that the best mariners in the countrie dare not aduenture to saile thereon. There is also a verie fruitfull and commodious Ile therein, verie necessarie for the pasturage of cattell, which fleeteth hither and thither as the wind bloweth. This lake is situat at the foot of the hill called Granzeben, which were sometime the marches or limits betwixt the Scots and Picts, and are extended from Lochlowmund to the mouth of Dee. Certes the Picts had no part of the countrie beyond the Granzeben, nor toward the Irish seas, for this region was inhabited by the Scots. Eight miles from Lochlowmond is the castell of Dumbrittene named sometime Alcluid, and here the water of Leuen falleth into the Clide.

Beyond Lochlowmund is Argile, an hillie countrie and full of crags and mounteins, therein also are two lakes, Lochfine & Lochquho, that diuide the region into three parts, that in the middest being called Knapdale. In Lochfine is more plentie of hering than in anie part of the coast that compasseth the Iland, but in Lochquho are such kinds of fish to be vsuallie had, as are commonlie bred in fresh waters. There are moreouer in Argile two castels, Glenunquhart and Enconell, & in it are 12 Iles, whose chiefe commoditie resteth rather in pasturage for cattell, than abundance of graine. In Argile furthermore are manie rich mines full of mettall, but the people there haue no skill to find and trie out the same. The constant report also goeth there, how there is a stone of such nature, that if it be hidden in straw for a certeine season, it will kindle of it selfe, and consume the straw to ashes. There are seuen other lakes in Argile, whereof some are thirtie miles in length and breadth, and other lesse.

It was told me once by Doncan Campbell a noble knight, that out of Garioll, one of the poles of Argile, there came a terrible beast, in the yeare of Grace 1510, which was of the bignesse of a greihound, and soted like a gander, and issuing out of the water earlie in the morning about midsummer time, did verie easilie and without anie visible force or streining of himselfe ouerthrow huge okes with his taile, & thereunto killed three men out-right that hunted him with three stroks of his said taile, the rest of them sauing themselues in trees thereabouts, whilest the foresaid monster returned to the water. Those that are giuen to the obseruations of rare and vncouth sights, beleeue that this beast is neuer seene but against some great trouble & mischiefe to come vpon the realme of Scotland. For it hath beene described also before that time, although not verie often. Lorne abutteth vpon Argile, which was once a part of Argile, and reacheth out into the Irish sea, in maner of a cape or tong, full sixtie miles. This point also was called Nouantia, but now it is named Kintire (that is to saie) the head of Lorne, whose vttermost part is not full 16 miles from Ireland. Some authors affirme, that both Argile and Cantire, were called Nouantia in old time, sith Ptolomie maketh no mention of Argile in his cosmographie. In this Lorne is great abundance of barleie, which the Scots call beir. Beyond Lorne is Lochquhaber, heretofore a portion of Murrey land, verie rich in mines of iron and lead, and no lesse beneficiall to the countrie in all kinds of cattell.

There are likewise manie woods, manie lakes, and manie riuers, but two of them are most notable for the plentie of samons, and other delicate fish, aswell of the salt as fresh water, which be there taken, and almost without anie trauell; neither is there anie where else in all the Ile such store. The one of these is named Lochtie, & the other Spanze, but vpon what occasion these names were giuen to them I find as yet no certeintie. The Lochtie riseth not aboue eight miles from Lochnes, and falleth beneath the same into the Germane ocean, and beside it, there is a rockie crag, running out at length into the sea, named Hardnomorth. In the mouth of Lochtie likewise was sometime a rich towne name Inuerlochtie, whither the merchants of France & Spaine did make their dailie resort, till at the last it was so defaced by the warres of the Danes, that it neuer was able since the said time to recouer hir pristinate renowme. But whether the negligence of the due repare of this towne, proceedeth of the slouth of our people, or hatred that some enuious persons do beare to cities and walled townes in our countrie, as yet it is vncerteine. Beyond Lochtie is the castell of Dunstafage, in time past named Euonium: beyond Dunstafage also is the mouth of the water of Spanze, where it falleth (as I heare) into the Germane ocean.

The discourse of Ros, Stranauerne, & *Murrey land, with the lakes, riuers,* and notable townes in them.

The fift Chapter.

BEyond the water of Spanze lieth Ros, sometime called Lugia, a verie narrow region (God it wote) but running out in great length through the middest of

of the Iland, being enuironed on both sides with the ocean. That portion thereof which lieth nerest to the Irish seas, is verie difficult for such as trauell by the countrie, by reason of the high mountains, which maketh the countrie more apt for wild beasts than mankind to inhabit: neuertheless waxing more fertill on that part which stretcheth toward the German sea, it yeeldeth it selfe to culture, and rendreth some graine. In pasture also it is not altogither vnprofitable, sith there is good grasse and verie batable for their heards: for the vallies there, being watered with sundrie pleasant streames, do yeeld a sweet and verie sauorie grasse, wherewith all sorts of cattell are verie much delighted. In Ros are sundrie lakes, but Lochbrun is the greatest. There are also manie fresh riuers, fraught with excellent fish, and finallie a notable firth or safe hauen called Cromart, whereunto diuers in time of necessitie do resort, to auoid the danger of shipwracke, that otherwise would assuredlie annoy them. The Scotish men call it Peill of shipmen. In this region moreouer is the towne called Thane, where the bones of Dutho an holy man (as they say) do rest, & are had in greater estimation among the superstitious sort (as sometime ouer the whole Iland) than the holie gospell of God and merits of his sonne, whereby we are onelie saued. Two ancient houses are likewise maintained in one vale of the Ros, whose formes resemble so manie belles, but to what end as yet I do not find. Next vnto the said Ros lieth the Stranauerne, as the vttermost region of Scotland, the coasts whereof abutting for a while vpon the Deucalidon sea, do afterward turne againe toward the Almain seas, hauing partlie the Deucalidon coast, and partlie Cathnesse vpon the north side, Southerland on the east, Rossia on the south, and Deucalidon againe vpon the west. There are three great crags or points lieng on the vttermost side of Stranauerne, that is to sate, the Hoie, Holwbrun (the greatest of the three) and Downisbie, which bicause they shot farre off into the sea, do make two great firths and lakes, each of them being seuerallie distinguished from other.

Next vnto Cathnesse lieth Southerland, a profitable region both for graine and all kinds of prouision, but chieflie for the nourishment of bestiall, whereunto it chieflie inclineth, as do the other two last before rehearsed. On the further side also of this, lieth Murrey land, sometime called Vararis, although the marches thereof are changed from that they were of old. For whereas in time past all the region lieng betweene Spaie and Nesse to the Ireland sea, was named Murrey; now it is knowne to be onlie beyond the water of Spaie & Bissocke, & reacheth on vntill it come to the Irish sea. Betwixt Ros and Murrey land, is a great baie, and likewise a descent of sundrie waters: for thereinto fall the Nesse, Narden, Findorne, Los and Spaie, whereof this latter runneth with so fierce & violent a streame, that the force of the sea at the flood striuing to enter into the same, is put back, & may not resist the inuincible fall, and beates backe the water that descendeth into the ocean. The Nesse issueth out of a lake of the same name (which is not passing 8 miles from the said plaih, from whence the Lochtie runneth) & thence goeth into the Irish seas: and this propertie it hath, that neither the streame, neither the lake it selfe will yeeld to be frozen in the verie deepe of winter. Such also is the force thereof, that if anie yce or anie frozen substance be cast thereinto, it will by and by relent and dissolue againe to water, whereby it becommeth verie profitable for such cattell as are benummed with cold. In the mouth of the Nesse, standeth a towne called Inuernesse, where sometime was great abundance of herring taken, but now they be gone by the secret working of God. The common people put the fault in the rich & men of higher calling, who enuieng the commoditie of the poore inhabitants, willfullen seeme to bereeue them of this emolument, by force and slaughter. Whereupon (as they say) it commeth to passe, that the increase ekeweth decaieth, and verie small store is taken there by manie yeares after such iniuries offered.

But to proceed: beside Lochnesse, which is 24 miles of length, and foure in breadth, by reason of the great woods there standing, is great store of sauage beasts, as harts, wild horsses, roes, and such like. There are likewise martirns, beuers, fores & wezels, whose skins and cases are sold vnto strangers at huge and excessiue prices. In Murrey land also is not alonelie great plentie of wheat, barlie, otes, and such like graine, beside nuts and apples, but likewise of all kinds of fish, and especiallie of samon. The people thereof in like sort do vse a strange maner of fishing: for they make a long weele of wicker, narrow necked, and wide mouthed, with such cunning, that when the tide commeth, the fish shot themselues into the same, and forthwith are so inclosed, that whilest the tide lasteth he cannot get out, nor after the water is gone escape the hands of the fishers. In this region moreouer is a lake named Spiney, wherein is exceeding plentie of swans.

The cause of their increase in this place is ascribed to a certeine herbe, which groweth there in great abundance, and whose seed is verie pleasant vnto the said foule in the eating, wherefore they call it Swangirs: and hereunto such is the nature of the same, that where it is once sowne or planted, it will neuer be destroied, as may be proued by experience. For albeit that this lake be fiue miles in length, and was sometime within the remembrance of man verie well stored with samon and other fish, yet after that this herbe began to multiplie vpon the same, it became so shallow, that one may now wade through the greatest part thereof, by meanes whereof all the great fishes there be vtterlie consumed. In this portion furthermore, is the church of Pette, where the bones of little John remaine in great estimation. Certes his carcasse hath beene 14 foot long, his members well proportioned according to his stature, and not fullie six yeeres before this booke was written (by Boetius) he saw his hanch bone, which seemed so great as the whole thigh of a man, and he did thrust his arme into the hollownesse thereof, wherby it appeareth what mightie people grew vp in our region before they were ouercome with gluttonie and excesse. In this quarter finallie is the towne called Elgin, not farre from the mouth of Spaie, and therin is a cathedrall church furnished with canons: there are thereto sundrie rich and verie wealthie abbeies in Murrey, as Killos of the order of the Cisteaux, and Pluscardie of the Cluniaks.

This was no Scot but an Englishman, fled into Ireland, and then into Scotland

Of Boene, Anze, Buchquhane, Mar, *Mernis, Fiffe, and Angus, with the* lakes, flouds, abbies, townes, and o*ther notable things conteined* in the same.

The sixt Chapter.

NExt vnto the Murrey lieth Boene, and Anze, two fertill and plentifull regions, which extend their bounds euen vnto the seas. They are both verie notablie indowed with batable pastures, and by reason thereof are verie full of

of cattell, they yeld moreouer excellent corne, and by meanes of their large woods and forests not without great store of wild beasts of sundrie kinds and natures. Neere also vnto the Douerne water, which is a riuer marueilouslie stored with fish, standeth a towne named Bamfe, and vnder those two regions aforesaid lieth Buchquhane, a verie batable soile for all kinds of cattell, but especiallie of sheepe, whose woll exceedeth that of the like beast of all other countries thereabouts for whiteneſſe and fineneſſe. The riuers that are in this countrie do in like maner abound with samons, so that there is no one of them void of this commoditie, except the Rattra onelie, wherein it is not heard that anie hath bene seene: herein also standeth the castell of Slants, in which the high constable of Scotland dwelleth, and neere vnto the same is a maruellous caue: for the water that droppeth into the same, in a short processe of time becommeth an hard white stone, and except they had beene oft remoued heretofore, the caue it selfe had bene filled vp with the same manie yeeres agone.

This region is void of rats, and such is the nature thereof, that if anie be brought thither from other places, they are found to die immediatlie: finallie it is most maruellous of all, that as otes do grow there in manie places of themselues without culture and tillage; so if a man come thither of set purpose to mow downe the same, he shall find nothing els but emptie huls and straw: but if he chance vpon the sudden and without premeditation of the thing to cut downe anie (a matter impossible in my mind) he shall find them so good and full as anie are elsewhere, to be gathered and led home. Certes it appeareth hereby, that this is nothing else but an illusion, wherewith the wicked fends do captiuate and blind the senses of the superstitious sort; for that it should be so by nature, it is a thing altogither impossible. Nert vnto this lieth the great region of Mar, which is verie plentifull of cattell, and extendeth 60 miles in length, from the Almaine seas to Badzenoch. In this is the citie of Aberden, wherin is a bishops see, and noble vniuersitie, sometime founded by William Elphinston bishop there. This citie lieth betwixt two rich riuers, the Done and the Dee, wherein is the greatest store of samons that is to be found againe within the compasse of Albion, and likewise the greatest and longest if you respect their quantitie.

Nert vnto Mar, we haue Mernis toward the sea, a verie fat soile, full of pasture, and abundantlie replenished with euerie sort of cattell. In this portion standeth Dunnother the marshall of Scotlands house, and likewise the towne of Fordon, in which the bones of Palladius do rest, who is taken generallie for the apostle of our nation. The water of Eske is bound vnto this region, which is otherwise called Northeske, a verie dangerous chanell, and wherein manie haue perished for default of a bridge, as they haue attempted to passe and repasse ouer the same. Angus bordereth vpon the Mernis, it was sometime part of Horrestia, and now watered with three notable riuers, as the Northeske alreadie mentioned, and marueilouslie replenished with samons, likewise the Southeske; and finallie the Taie, the noblest water in all Scotland, and remembred by the Romane writers vnder the name of Tau.

In Angus also is an high mounteine or promontorie, called the Red braes, which lieth out far off into the Almaine seas. The Taie also riseth farre beyond the mounteins of Granzben out of loch Taie, which is a pole of 24 miles of length, and 10 of breadth, wherein are not onelie diuers Ilands, with castels in them, but the water of the lake it selfe (being most fine and subtile) is notablie replenished with great store of fish, and therefore verie commodious for such as dwell about it. It falleth into the Almaine sea beside Dundee, a towne called in old time Alectum, wherein I was borne, and in which the people trauell verie painfullie about weauing and making of cloth. There are in Angus also manie other cities and rich abbeies, as Mountros, Brechin, and Forfaire, beside so manie castels as lieth not in me to number. This likewise is not to be passed ouer with silence, that whereas Forfaire was in times past a notable citie, strengthened with two roiall castels, as the ruines do yet declare, now it is brought vnto little more than a countrie village, replenished with simple cotages. Manie lakes & poles are also in Angus, and those well fraught with fish. There is also in this countrie one place called the vale of Eske, whose sheepe haue such white, fine, and excellent woll, as the like vnto it is hardlie to be found againe within the whole Iland.

After we be ouer the Taie, we come vnto Fife, sometime a part of Ottoline. In this region groweth all maner of graine so plentifullie as elsewhere in anie part of Albion; and where no corne is, there is no lesse foison of cattell. There are blacke stones also digged out of the ground, which are verie good for firing, and such is their intollerable heat, when they are kindled, that they resolue and melt iron, and therefore are verie profitable for smiths, and such artificers as deale with other mettals; neither are they found anie where else (that I do know of) but betweene the Taie and the Tine within the whole Iland. Salt is likewise made within this region in great quantitie of sea water, which they boile according to their maner. There are furthermore sundrie cities in the same, of which S. Andrewes is the chiefe, wherein is both the see of an archbishop and a famous vniuersitie. There are moreouer sundrie lakes, as loch Torre and loch Leuin, and in this later are diuerse Iles, and in one of them also the church of S. Phillane, a Scotish saint, of no small name and reputation.

Fife is diuided of Lowthian by the riuer of Forth that runneth a large & broad chanell into the ocean seas. Certes it is a water verie plentifullie indued with cockles, oisters, muskels, seales, pellocks, mereswine, whales, and great foison of white fish: and among manie other Iles that are to be found in this Forth, that of Maie is of greatest fame, because Adrian and his fellows were killed in the same. In the middest of this Ile springeth vp a founteine of fresh and cleare water, from an high rocke, which is not a little to be maruelled at, considering the quantitie and situation of the Ile. Beside this also is a wonderfull crag, rising within the sea, whereunto is so strict and narrow a passage, that a man shall hardlie come vnto it by a fisher bote, and thereto but at one place. This rocke (called the Basse castell) is inuincible, and therein are manie caues verie profitable for defense, made heretofore by great labor and industrie of men.

Certes, there is nothing in this rocke that is not full of admiration and wonder: therein also is great store of soland geese (not vnlike to those which Plinie calleth water eagles, or (as we saie) sea herons) and no where else but in Ailsaie and this rocke. At their first comming, which is in the spring of the yeare, they gather such great plentie of sticks and boughs together for the building of their nests, that the same do satisfie the keeper of the castell, for the yeerelie maintenance of his fewell, without anie other prouision. These foules do feed their yong with the most delicat fish that they can come by. For though they haue alreadie preied vpon anie one, and haue

it fall

it fast in their beake or talons, yet if they happen as they flie toward the land to espie a better, they let the first fall againe into the sea, and pursue the later with great and eager swiftnesse, vntill they take hold ther eof.

Sometimes their preie is taken from them by the keepers of the castell, as also their sticks from time to time for the aforesaid vse; but they making small or rather no resistance, do turne againe forthwith for more wood or fish (as their losse requireth) not ceasing till they haue builded their nests with the one, and nourished vp their yong with the other, so that what by the timber of their nests, the beguiling them of their preie, and stealing awaie of their yong, they bring yeerelie no small commoditie vnto the owner of the castell. Within the bowels of these geese there is a kind of grease to be had of singular force in medcine, and fleaing like vnto the skin from their bodies with the fat, they make an oile verie profitable for the gout and manie other diseases in the haunches and groines of mankind. In this crag more, there groweth an hearbe verie pleasant and delicious for salads, but if it be taken vp and planted elswhere, it either groweth not at all, or vtterlie giueth ouer the vertues wherewith it was earst indued.

There was sometime a stone found here in this rocke much like to a water sponge or pumice, hollow on the one side, and of such a nature, that if anie salt water had beene powred therein to, and suffered to run through, it would forthwith lose the naturall saltnesse, and become fresh and verie pleasant vnto the mouth and tast. We heare in these daies that this stone is to be seene in Fast castell, whither it was brought after it had passed manie hands for the triall of this matter. In this firth also is the Ile Aimon, wherein is an abbeie. There are likewise diuers other Ilands, and those are verie full of conies; and in the said firth are sundrie fishes oftentimes seene of monstrous shape, with cowles hanging ouer their heads like vnto monks, and in the rest resembling the bodie of man. They shew themselues likewise aboue the water to the nauill, howbeit they neuer appeare but against some great pestilence of men, or murren of cattell; wherefore their onelie sight doth breed great terror vnto the Scotish nation, who are verie great obseruers of vncouth signes & tokens.

The description of Louthian, Striueling, *Menteth, Calidon wood, Bougewall*, Gareoth, with the notable cities, *castels, and flouds* thereof.

The seuenth Chapter.

ON the south of the Forth lieth Louthian, so called of Lothe or Loth, one of the kings of the Picts, it was sometime named Pictland; but now it is parcell of the Scotish kingdome, & therto for bountie of soile is not inferiour to anie region of Scotland. In Louthian are manie abbeies, castels and townes, as Hadinton, Dunbar, Northberwic and Leith: but Edenburgh palleth them all, as well in policie of regiment as in forme of building and wisedome, and riches of the inhabitants: therein also is the castell of Maidens, remembred by the most renowmed authors, & also the kings chiefe palace, the which triumpleth the renowme of the foresaid citie. Not farre from thence moreouer is a certeine oilie spring, which riseth out of the ground in such abundance, that the more is caried from thence, the more is restored: and the people are persuaded hereof, that it is verie medicinable against all cankers and scalls.

Not farre from the mouth of Forth is the castell of Dunbar, which by naturall situation and industrie of man, is now become one of the cheefe holds in Albion. It was sometimes the principall house apperteining to the earles of March: and there hard by is a towne of the same name, wherin is a rich abbeie or colledge of canons founded by those earles. Next vnto Louthian lieth Mers, whereof I haue spoken alreadie, but we will now go vp higher into the land. Neerest vnto Mers therefore lieth Teuidale, and aboue it is Twedale: next vnto Twedale is Dryfesdale, Walcopdale, Douglasdale, and Clidisdale, and all these are such names as the riuers haue that run along their bottoms. The principall towne of Clidisdale is Glasco the archbishops see, wherein is a notable church erected in the honor of saint Mongow, and builded with great magnificence. In Glasco also is a noble vniuersitie, where the liberall arts and sciences are verie louslie taught.

In this region moreouer is a verie rich mine of gold, and another of azure, the commoditie of which later is reaped with small trauell. There are sometimes found diuers pretious stones also, as rubies and diamonds. Certes this mine was disclosed in the time of James the fourth, who would no doubt haue brought it to full perfection, if he had longer liued, whereas now little profit redoundeth thereby to the common wealth, because it is either vtterlie neglected, or not very much regarded. North of Glasco lieth Menteith, and Striueling shire, bordering vpon Argile and Lennor. In Striueling shire is the towne of Striueling, and aboue it is the castell of Striueling, which was sometime called the dolorous mounteine. At this towne also began the great Calidon wood, which ran through Menteith and Stratherne, to Atholl and Lochquhaber, as Ptolome writeth in his first table.

In this wood were somtime white buls with shackt heares and curled manes like fierce lions, otherwise they were like vnto the tame, neuertheless so wild and sauage, that they would neuer be made familiar, nor tast of any hearbe or grasse that mans hand had once touched, after manie daies. Being taken also by the industrie of man (which was very hard to do) they would refuse all sustenance, & starue themselues to death. Assone as any did inuade them, they would rush vpon him with great violence, and beare him to the earth; as for dogs, nets, or any kind of weapon they feared not, neither cared for any maner of engine.

It is said that Robert Bruze after his coronation did hunt one of these buls in the foresaid wood, being accompanied but with a small traine, in which voiage he escaped narowlie with his life. For after the beast felt himselfe sore wounded by the hunters, he rushed vpon the king, who hauing now no weapon left in his hand wherewith to defend himselfe, he had suerlie perished if rescue had not come: howbeit in this distresse one came running vnto him, who ouerthrew the bull by plaine force, and held him down till the hunters came that killed him outright. For this valiant act also the king indued the aforesaid partie with great possessions, and his linage is to this daie called of the Turnebuls, because he ouerturned the beast, and saued the kings life, by such great prowesse and manhod. Certes the flesh of these beasts were reputed in old time as a most de-

licate food, and ordeine meate for the nobilitie, notwithstanding that it be verie full of sinewes and grissles, whereat some delicat feders do often take offense. In times past also they were bred in many places of the Caledon, but now they be all consumed by the gluttonie of the inhabitants, so that none of them are left, but onlie in Comerland.

On the east side of Menteith lieth Stratherne, & bordereth also upon Fife. Through the dailies likewise of this region runneth the water of Ern, that falleth into Tay. This is moreouer worthie to be noted, that not foure miles from the confluence of Ern and Tay, there is a stone of small quantitie, and yet of great wonder, for in what place soeuer it be laid, it will not be remoued from the ace by manuall practise, art, or engine, & yet one man may so some moue it as an hundred. On the other side of Tay beyond Angus and Gowry lieth Stermond, a region plentifullie indued both with grasse and corne. Not farre from Stermond is Athole, wherein are manie noble dailies and riuers full of fish, as pikes, lamperns, &c. The soile there also is so bountifull, that it yeeldeth corne in maner without any tillage. There is likewise therein a towne called Lud, whose fields are so plentious, that (if they be well tilled and dressed) they will yeeld great store of barlie without any sowing of seed. Howbeit, as this is in that part of the region often verified, so in other there is a contrarious disposition to be found in the earth, which turneth wheat some into good and perfectrie, the like whereof I heare to be not far from Luke, & in the countries thereabouts.

West of Buchquhane and Boene lieth Wolgewell and Garreth, very plentifull soiles both for grasse and corne. In Garreth also is an hill called Doundore, that is to sale, the golden mountaine: for the sheepe that feed thereon are yellow, and their teeth of the same hew, resembling burnished gold. Their flesh moreouer is red as it were tinged with saffron, and so is their woll much after the same maner. There is furthermore in the same region, an heape of stones lieng togither in maner of a crown which yeeld a sound when one of them is stricken as if it were a bell. Some are of the opinion, that one idoll, temple or other stood heretofore in that place, while the Scotish nation was addicted to the worshipping of diuels. Many other regions are in Scotland, as Bradalbane, Strabraun, and Badzenoth, with diuers small territories and flouds, howbeit they are not so notable as those which we haue alreadie touched, and therefore I thinke it but follie to deale any further with them.

Of the great plentie of hares, red deer, *and other wilde beasts in Scotland*, of the strange properties of sundrie *Scotish dogs, and of* the nature of *samon.*

The eight Chapter.

HAuing made this speciall description of the realme of Scotland, now will I touch such things as concearne the same in generall. First of all therfore in the fields and wild places of the country there is great plentie of hares, red deere, fallow deere, roes, wild horsses, wolues and fores. These horsses are not gotten but by great slight and policie: for in the winter season the inhabitants tut ne certeine tame horsses & mares among them, wherewith they grow in the end to be so familiar, that afterward they go with them to and fro, and finallie home into their maisters yards, where they be taken and some broken to their hands. The woluts are most fierce and noisome to the heards and flocks in all parts of Scotland, sauing in one parrell of Angus, called Glenmores dale, where these beasts do no manner of hurt vnto the domesticall cattell, but prie onlie vpon the wild.

Fores do much mischefe generallie in all feilds, but cheeflie in the mountaines, where they be verie hardlie hunted, howbeit art hath deuised a meane to preuent their malice, and to preserue their pultrie. Certes there is almost no house that doth not for certeine dates cherish vp a young fox, which the Scots do call a Todde, and when killing the same, they mince the flesh thereof amongst such meat, as they giue vnto their foules and other little beastials, and by this meanes so many foules and cattell as rate heerof are preserued from crouncer of the fox, almost by two moneths after, so that they may wander whither they will, for the fores as it were winding or smelling the flesh of their fellowes yet in their crops will in no wise meddle with them, but eschew, and know such a one, although it were among an hundreth of other.

In Scotland also are dogs of maruelous condition; for beside the common nature and vniuersall properties of dogs of all other countries, there are three sorts with vs, which are not seene else-where in anie quarter of the world. The first is an hound of great swiftnesse, hardinesse, and strength, fierce and cruell vpon all wilde beasts, and eger against theeues that offer their maisters any violence. The second is a rach or hound verie requisite in following the fot, (which we call drawing) whether it be of man or beast, yea he will pursue any maner of foule, and find out what soeuer fish is cast vp, or lurketh among the rocks, by that excellent sense of smelling wherewith he is indued. The third sort is no greater than that of raches, in colour for the most part red, with blacke spots, or else blacke and full of red marks. These are so skilfull that they will pursue a theefe, or theefe stolen goods in most precise maner, and finding the trespasser, with great assurance they will make a raise vpon him. Or if it be so that he haue taken the water for his safegard, he shrinketh not to follow him, and entring and issuing at the same places where the partie went in and out, he neuer ceasseth to range till he haue nosed his foting, & be come to the place wherein the theefe is shrowded. The dogs of this kind are called sleuthhounds. Certes this report would seeme meere incredible, except it were dailie had in experience vpon the borders of England and Scotland, where pillage is good purchase indifferentlie on both sides. There is a law also among the borderers in time of peace, that whoso denieth entrance or sute of a sleuthhound in pursuit made after fellons and stolen goods, shall be holden as accessarie vnto the theft, or taken for the selfe theefe.

Of foules, such (I meane) as liue by preie, there are sundrie sorts in Scotland, as eagles, falcons, goshaukes, sparrowhaukes, marlions, and such like: but of water foules there is so great store, that the report thereof may seeme to exceed all credit. There are other kinds of birds also in this countrie, the like of which is no where else to be seene, as the capercailze or wild horsse greater in bodie than the rauen, and liuing onelie by the rinds and barks of the pine trees. We haue in like maner manie more cocks and hens, the which abstreining from corne, do feed vpon nought else, but the leaues of Cytisus, which the Scots do commonlie call Hadder.

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Theſe two are verie delicate in eating. The third ſort is reddiſh blacke of colour, in quantitie comparable to the pheſant, and no leſſe delicious in taſte and ſauor at the table, our countrie men call them wild cocks, and their chiefe ſuſtenance is by wheat.

Beſide theſe, we haue alſo another foule in Mers more ſtrange and vncouth than all theſe afore mentioned, called a guſtard, fullie ſo great as a ſwan, but in colour of feathers and taſt of fleſh, little differing from a partridge, howbeit theſe birds are not verie common, neither to be ſéene in all places, ſuch alſo is their qualitie, that if they perceiue their egs to haue béene touched in their abſence by mans hand (which lie commonlie on the bare earth) they forſake thoſe nells, and laie in other places. All other our foules are common to vs and other nations. Samon is more plentifull in Scotland than in anie other region of the world, and becauſe the nature of this fiſh is ſtrange, I will ſet downe ſo much as I do know hereof at this preſent time as followeth.

The ſamon in harueſt time commeth vp into the ſmall riuers, where the water is moſt ſhallow, and there the male and female rubbing their wombe one againſt another, they ſhed their ſpawne, which forthwith they couer with ſand and grauell and ſo depart away. From henceforth they are gant and ſlender, and in appearance ſo leane that they appeare nought elſe but ſkin and bone, and therefore worthilie ſaid to be growne out of vſe and ſeaſon. It is ſaid alſo that if they touch anie of their full fellowes, during the time of this their leanneſſe, the ſame ſide which they touched will likewiſe become leane, whereby it commeth to paſſe, that a ſamon is oft ſéene to be fat on the one ſide of the chine, and leane on the other. But to proceed, the aforeſaid ſpawne and milt being hidden in the ſand (as you haue heard) in the nert ſpring doth yéeld great number of little frie, but ſo neſh and tender for a long time, that till they come to be ſo great as a mans finger (if you catch anie of them) you ſhall perceiue them to melt, and their ſubſtance to diſſolue and fade euen as it were gellie, or as yſe laid forth againſt the ſun. From henceforth they go to the ſea, where within the ſpace of 20 daies they grow to a maruellous greatneſſe, and then returning againe toward the place of their generation, they ſhew a notable ſpectacle not vnworthie to be conſidered.

Certes in Scotland there are manie linnes or poles, which being in ſome places among the rocks verie ſhallow aboue, are yet déepe beneath, with the fall of the water, and thereto the ſamon not able to pearſe through the chanell, either for ſwiftneſſe of the courſe, or depth of the deſcent of ſuch water as commeth againſt him, he goeth ſo neere vnto the ſide of the rocke or dam, if I may ſo call it, as he may, and there aduentureth to leape ouer and vp into the lin, if he leape well at the firſt he obteineth his deſire, if not, he aſſaieth the ſecond or third time, till he returne now vnto his countrie: a great fiſh able to ſwim againſt the ſtreame, that before was a litle hod, and maugre his reſiſtance, caried with the violent courſe of the water into the maine ocean. Such as aſſay often to leape, and cannot get ouer, do bruſe themſelues and become meaſelled: others that happen to fall vpon drie land, a thing often ſeene, are taken by the people (that watch their times) in caldrons of hot water, which they ſet vpon the ſhallow & drie plots with fire vnder them, in hope to catch the fatteſt, & ſuch as by reaſon of their weight do oftneſt leape ſhort. Certes the taſt of theſe is reputed to be moſt delicate, and therfore their price is commonlie greater than of the reſt. It is inhibited in Scotland to take any ſamon from the 8 of September, vntill the 15 of November. Finallie there is no man that knoweth readilie whereon this fiſh liueth, for neuer was anie thing yet found in their bellies, other than a thicke ſlimie humor.

Of the ſundrie kinds of muskles and *cockles in Scotland, and of pearles gotten* in the ſame: of the vncouth and ſtrange *fiſh there to be ſeene, and of the nature* of the herbe Cirſius, commonlie *called Hadder.*

The ninth Chapter.

HEre it reſteth that I ſhew the nature of muſkles and cockles, wherof we haue manie and ſundrie kinds among vs: of theſe alſo ſome are ſmall, and yet if they be eaten freſh, are not without a naturall delicacie in taſt. Others are greater and not vnlike in forme and quantitie to thoſe that haue the purple: and albeit that they are vtterlie void therof, yet is their meat and ſubſtance right pleaſant in the eating. There are of another ſort which are longer and greater than either of theſe, called Horſſe muſkles, to be had in Dœ and Done, and in theſe are the pearles ingendered. Certes they loue to be reſident in the déepeſt and cleareſt waters that are void of mud and filth, and ſuch is their eſtimation among the deintieſt kinds of food, that they were not vnworthilie called of old time, widowes luſtes. Their ſhelles alſo is as it were wrought euen from the verie tops, and thereto full of ſpots, wherein (as in yéeld of gaine) they farre exceéd all other. Theſe earlie in the morning, in the gentle, cleare, and calme aire, lift vp their vpper ſhelles and mouthes a little aboue the water, and there receiue of the fine and pleaſant breath or dew of heauen, & afterwards according to the meaſure and quantitie of this vitall force receiued, they firſt conceiue, then ſwell, and finallie produce the pearle.

Cardane denieth this, lib 7. de Subtilitate.

They are ſo ſenſible and quicke of hearing, that although you ſtanding on the braie or banke aboue them, do ſpeake neuer ſo ſoftlie, or throw neuer ſo ſmall a ſtone into the water, yet they will deſcrie you, and ſettle againe to the bottome, without returne for that time. Doubtleſſe they haue as it were a naturall carefulneſſe of their owne commoditie, as not ignorant, how great eſtimation we mortall men make of the ſame amongſt vs, and therefore ſo ſone as the fiſhermen do catch them, they bind their ſhelles togither, for otherwiſe they would open and ſhed their pearles of purpoſe, for which they know themſelues to be purſued. Their maner of apprehenſion is this, firſt foure or fiue perſons go into the riuer togither, vp vnto the ſhoulders, and there ſtand in a compaſſe one by another with poles in their hands whereby they reſt more ſuerlie, ſith they fix them in the ground, and ſtaie with one hand vpon them: then calling their eies downe to the bottome of the water, they eſpie where they lie by their ſhining and cléerenеſſe, and with their toes take them vp (for the deapth of the water will not ſuffer them to ſtoope for them) & giue them to ſuch as ſtand nert them.

The perls that are ſo gotten in Scotland, are not of ſmall value, they are verie orient & bright, light and round, and ſometimes of the quantitie of the naile of ones little finger, as I haue had and ſéene by mine owne experience. Almoſt ſuch another muſkle found on the coaſt of Spaine, the ſhels whereof are gathered by ſuch as go in pilgrimage to ſaint Iames, and brought into Scotland, but they are

without pearls, because they liue in salt water, which is an enimie to the margarite: but Cardane also denieth it. In all the sea coasts also of Scotland are cockles and muskles of the same forme, but without this commoditie. Many vncouth and strange shapes of fish likewise are seene there, whereof some are armed with shels, some with hard skales, and diuers round as a ball skinned like an vrcheon or hedghog, hauing but one cundit both for purgation of their excrements, and reception of their sustenance. To shew euerie kind of fish that is in Scotland, it were but a vaine trauell, sith the same are knowne almost in euerie region.

In like sort we haue such plentie of fish vpon our seuerall coasts, that although millians and infinite numbers of them be taken on the one daie, yet on the next their losse will be so supplied with new store, that nothing shall be missing by reason of the yesterfang: so bountifull is God in these his benefits vnto vs. Furthermore, there is another gift bestowed vpon vs by the singular prouidence of God. For the greater dearth & penurie of flesh and corne is séene in Scotland, the greater store of fish is taken vpon our shores. In like sort, in the deserts and wild places of this realme, there groweth an hearbe of it selfe called Hadder or Hather verie delicat, as Columella lib.9.cap.4. saith, for goats & all kind of cattell to feed vpon, and likewise for diuerse foules, but bées especiallie. This herbe in June yéeldeth a purple floure, swéet as honie, whereof the Picts in time past did make a pleasant drinke, and verie wholsome for the bodie: but forsomuch as the maner of making hereof is perished in the hauocke made of the Picts, when the Scots subdued their countrie, it lieth not in me to set downe the order of it, neither shewed they euer the learning hereof to any but to their owne nation. Finallie there is no part of Scotland so barren and vnprofitable, but it produceth either iron or some other kind of mettall, as may be proued easilie throughout all the Iles that are annexed to the same.

Galen.lib.1.de Antidotis saieth that Citisus is no herb but a shrub, and so doth Plinie lib.12. cap.3. lib.13. cap.24. lib.16. chap.38. And Columella in the end of his 5. booke, where he accompteth it amõg trées.

Of the Iles of Scotland, and such *notable things as are to be* found in them.

The tenth Chapter.

BEing fallen at the last into mention of our Iles, I will addresse my selfe to describe the same, in maner and forme as followeth. In the Irish sea, betwixt Ireland and Scotland are fortie and three Iles, whereof some are thirtie miles long, diuers twelue, and others more or lesse. These are called by some writers Eubonie, and by other Hebrides. But the principall of them all is that of Man, which lieth ouer against Galloway, & was sometime the principall seat of the Druides, as Cornelius Tacitus, Cæsar in his commentaries, and other Romane writers do testifie at large. North from the Ile of Man lieth Arran, otherwise named Botha after S. Brandons time, who dwelled there in a little cottage, which (as all other the like were in those daies) was called Botha. From Arran we go to Hellaw and Rothesay, which later is so named of the Scot, which brought the Scots first out of Ireland into Britaine. Not far from this Ile is Ailsay, where there is such store of soland géese as they said before to be in Bas. Beyond Ailsay lie manie other distinguished by their seuerall names, but full of mines, as of iron, tin, lead, & sundrie other mettals. But the most notable Ile belonging to Scotland is Ila, that lieth beyond the promontorie of Nouant cliffe (in Scotish the tong of Lorne) within sight of Lochquhabre. Certes it is a rich parcell, thirtie miles in length, and full of corne and mettall, if the people were cunning to find and trim the same.

Not farre from thence is Cumbra, and Mula, fullie so large as Ila, both for length and breadth. In Mula is a faire spring two miles from the sea, from whence runneth a little broke or strippet, whereof you shall read more in the description of Britaine, lib.1.cap.8. Neere vnto this is Iona, otherwise called Columkill, in which is an abbie, wherin the kings of Scotland were commonlie buried from the time of Fergus the second, vnto Malcolme Cammor, who erected the monasterie of Dunfermelin, where since that time the most part of our kings haue béene of custome interred. Passing forward toward the northnorthwest seas, ouer against Rosse is an Ile named Lewis, 60 miles in length, in this Ile is but one fish riuer, & it is said that if a woman wade through the same at the spring of the yeere, there shall no samon be séene there for a twelue month after, whereas otherwise that fish is knowne to abound there in verie great plentie. Beyond Lewis lie the Sky and the Rona, in the later whereof, it is incredible to saie what of seale, of pellocke and porpasse is to be séene, which are nothing abashed at the sight of any man. The last and vttermost Ile is named Hirtha, where the eleuation of the pole is 63 degrées, and since the latitude of Man, is but 57.

I conclude, that from the Ile of Man the first Ile of Albion, to Hirtha the last Ile hereof are 377 miles, after 62 miles and an halfe to each degrée, as Ptolomie hath set downe. It is named Hirtha, which in Irish soundeth so much as a shéepe in English, for herein that kind of cattell aboundeth, each one being greater than any bucke, their hornes longer and thicker than of the bugle, and thereto they haue side tailes that reach vnto the earth. It is enuironed on euerie part with rochie or rockie crags, whereby few vessels may land there but at one place, where the working of the sea is oftentimes so terrible & rough, that no man dare aduenture thither without danger of his life. They that go thither therefore, do watch their times when the sea is calme and still. In the moneth of June also, a priest commeth vnto them out of Leuisa, and ministreth the sacrament of baptisme to all the children that haue béene borne there since that moneth in the yeare precedent: which being done, and a certeine number of masses said, he receiueth tithes of all their commodities, and then returneth home againe.

In the Ile of Lewis are two churches or chappels, whereof one is dedicated to saint Peter, another to saint Clement. The fame is, that so soone as the fire goeth out in this Ile, the man that is holden of most cleane and innocent life, goeth to the altar with great solemnitie, and there taieth a wisp of straw, which being done they fall all to praier, in the middest whereof fire commeth downe from heauen and kindleth or setteth the same on fire. Beyond this is yet another Ile, but void of people and all other liuing creatures, sauing a certeine kind of beasts like vnto shéepe, whose nature and forme I haue already touched in the description of Britaine, and therefore omit it here for haste and breuitie sake. Betwixt these Iles also is a right dangerous passage, sith the sea by working of opposite streames hath ingendred a gulfe, which sometimes taketh in all incomprehensible deale of water, and sometimes casteth it forth againe, by meanes whereof many ships

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that by rage of wind and weather are inforced to come that waie, are either swallowed vp by the waues, or throwne against the rocks to their vtter danger and ruine. The greatest rage of this confluence is at a place called Corebrecke, where it will either sinke, or at the least wise draw any ship vnto it, though it be a full mile distant from the same.

Of the nature of the Claike geese, *and sundrie maners of their procreation*, and of the Ile *of Thule*.

The eleuenth Chapter.

NOw it is come to hand that I intreat of those gése which are ingendred by the sea, whose procreation hath hitherto béen thought to haue bœne made vpon trées. But the opinion is false, and yet sith their generation is strange indeed, I haue not a little trauelled, and with no small diligence indeuoured to search out the truth héereof, wherby I learne that their ingendrure is rather to be referred to the sea, than any thing els, if my coniecture be onghts: for although that they are in sundrie wise produced, yet I find the same to be performed continuallie in the sea, and not elsewhere, as shall appéere hereafter. All trées cast into that element in processe of time become wormeaten, and in the holes thereof are the said wormes to be found, though verie little and small (in comparison to that they be afterward) to be perceiued at the first. In the beginning, these worms do shew their heads and feet, and last of all their plumes & wings. Finallie when they are come to the iust measure and quantitie of gése, they flie in the aire as other foules do.

This was notablie proued in the yeare of Grace 1490, in sight of many people, beside the castell of Pellego, whither the bodie of a great trée was brought by working of the sea. This trée being taken, it was carried to the lord of the soile, who sone after caused it to be slit in sunder with a saw: which being done, it is incredible to sée, what a multitude at wormes came out of their holes. Of these also some appéered as if they had béene but new shapen, diuers had head, feet and wings, but no feathers, the rest were formed into perfect foules. At last when the people had gazed theron by the space of an whole daie, they carried it to saint Andrewes church beside Tire, where the said blocke remains still to be séene. Within two yeares after there hapned such another trée to come into the firth of Tay beside Dundée, wormeaten and full of yong gése after the same maner: the third was séene in the hauen of Leith beside Edenburgh: and also within a few yéres, in like sort a ship named the Christopher, after she had lien three yéres at anchor in one of these Iles, was brought to Leith, where bicause hir timber was found to be rotten she was taken in sunder, and in hir kéele were found infinite holes as if they had bœne eaten with wormes, or bored with a wimble, and each one of them filled with such creatures as I haue said before.

Héere if any man will alledge that the Christopher was builded of such timber onelie as grew in these Iles, and that all roots and trees there growing, are of such nature as in their corruption do turne into these foules, I will disproue his assertion by one notable example shewed before mine eies. Maister Alexander Galloway parson of Kinkell, was with vs in these Iles, & giuing his mind with attentiue diligence to search out a full resolution with vs of these obscure and hidden matters, it hapned on a time that he tooke vp a branch of Alga, called in Scotish, Seatangle, which hanged full of muskle shels from the root euen to the verie top. Being also desirous to sée what was in them, he grew to be more astonished than before: for when he had opened one or two of them, he saw no fish but a foule perfectlie shapen, fullie answering to the capacitie of the shell.

Finallie, knowing that I was verie inquisitiue of these and the like rare nouelties, he came hastilie with the said hearbe & shewed it vnto me, who found no lesse by experience than I before reported. By these and many other reasons and examples I cannot beléeue that these Claiks (or Barnacls as I call them) are produced either by the qualities of the trées or the roots thereof, but onelie by the nature of the sea, which is the verie cause and productrix of só manie wonderfull creatures. Furthermore, bicause the rude and ignorant people saw oftentimes the fruits that fell from trées, which stood neuer in the sea, conuerted within short time into gése, they beléeued that these gése grew vpon trées, hanging by their nebs as apples and other fruit do by their stalks, but their opinion is vtterlie to be reiected. For so sone as these apples or fruit fall from the trée into the sea, they grow first to be wormeaten, and in processe of time to be conuerted into gése.

Thus haue I spoken sufficientlie of the Iles of the Hebrides adiacent vnto the realme of Scotland, and therewithall would shut vp my discourse of the same, were it not that I haue somewhat to say also of Thule, not vnknowne vnto the Romans, as may appeare by Tacitus, who telleth how the Romane nauie by the commandement of Agricola, was sent to view the coasts of the whole Iland of Britaine, and at their returne reported how they had séene the Thule, with other Ilands lieng about the same. Ptolome writeth that the Ile of Thule is one of the Shetland Iles, which lie néere vnto Norwey, and beyond the Orchades; but this cannot be proued so by late experience: for Thule is manie miles distant from Shetland. Some say that Thule is the same which we call Island: other write that it is the last Ile of the ocean sea, and so is Island, which lieth in the cold frostie sea, beyond the Artike circle toward the north pole. The people of Island because no corne groweth among them, liue onelie by fish, which they drie and powder so small as meale doth come backe from the mill, afterward they mix it with water, and worke it vp for bread.

Of the description of Orkeney, and *Shetland, with sundrie other small Iles*, and of the maners and conditions of the *people dwelling in the same*.

The twelfe Chapter.

BEyond the Iles of Scotland lie those of Orkeney, partlie toward the northwest, and partlie toward the Almain seas. The principall Ile of these is called Pomonia, wherein is a bishops sée, and two strong castels. In these groweth no wheat, they are in like sort void of wood, howbeit all other graine groweth there verie plentifullie, they be without all venemous beasts also, neither can such as are brought thither liue ante

while, more than in Ireland, which sustaineth no creature that is aduersarie to mankind. Ouer and beside this, there are no frogs: as for eeles they are seldome found and to be seene in the Orchades. Hauing thus fallen into the mention of Ireland, I thinke it good among diuers other rare gifts of nature, to remember one thing that I haue proued by experience to be done there (although the tractation of Ireland and hir commodities apperteine not to this place) which farre passeth all that euer I haue read in bookes.

Certes there is a loch, lin, or pole there, neere vnto the which by manie miles, there groweth neither herbe nor tree; howbeit such is the qualitie of this water, that if a stake be pitched in the same, the nature thereof doth within one yeres space alter and change exceedinglie, for that part thereof which standeth in the ground is conuerted into hard stone, the same that is inuironed with water turneth into tough iron, onelie that portion which is aboue the said element reteining hir former woddie substance, whereby it is often seene how in one and the same bodie, three distinct substances are found, that is to say, stone, iron, and wood, which farre exceedeth all credit. But to returne againe to our Orchades, whereof things of little or no lesse importance are to be rehersed, for sith there is great abundance of barley whereof they make the strongest ale that is to be found in Albion, and thereto knowne, that they are the greatest drinkers of anie men in the world; yet was there neuer drunken or man disguised with drinke seene there, neither anie fole, or person otherwise bereft of his wits through frensie or madnes. There is herevnto small vse of physicke: for mankind liueth there most commonlie vnto extreame age in sound and perfect health, whose bodies also are of strong constitution and verie white of colour.

The ewes that are to be found in these Ilands haue for the most part two or three lambs a peece at euerie eaning, and therewithall they haue in this countrie such plentie of foules both wild and tame, as the like number againe is not to be found in Britaine. Their horsses are litle greter than the French asses, but in their labour they exceed all other. What should I speake of the plentie of fish there to be had, which passeth all credit: among which there is one sort greater than anie horsse, of a maruellous and incredible sluggish desire to sleepe. This fish when shee prouideth to sleepe, fasteneth hir huge teeth vpon some crag that lieth aboue the water, and then slumbreth or falleth into a most sound rest, which the seafaring men espieng, they forthwith cast anchor, and then letting downe their ship-boats, they conueie themselues to the fish, and bore a great hole through hir taile, wherevnto they put one end of a cable, and so make it sure; the other end is fastened to a great anchor, which is let fall of purpose into the sea, and thus is their enterprise attempted yer long to be atchiued. For after this wound, it is not long yer the fish awaketh, who feeling hirselfe to be hurt, leapeth at once into the sea, thinking to hide and shrowd hir in the deepes: but being staid by the weight of the anchor, and indeuouring in vaine to breake the cable, she laboureth so vehementlie, that at the last she windeth hir selfe out of hir skin (for the which she is commonlie taken) and sone after also turneth vp hir bellie, yeelding hirselfe vnto the waues, and hir bodie to the mariners, who make an excellent oile of hir grease, and passing strong cables of hir hide or skin. Certes such is the force of rope made of the skin of this fish, that they will hold at a plunge no lesse than the Spanish sparto. Herein also they exceed the same, in that they will continue verie long without fretting asunder.

An hundred miles beyond the Orchades are the Shetland Iles, whose chiefe commodities stand onelie by fish which is dried in the sun. There are brought also into Scotland out of these Ilands great store of sheepes felles, ore hides, gotes skinnes, and cases of martirnes dried in the sunne. And in the same maner the merchants of Holland, Zeland and Germanie, fetch them yerelie by barter and exchange for other common and necessarie wares, with the people of that nation, who for maners and conditions resemble much the Orchanois. The same in like sort that is said of the Orchanois, concerning drunkennes and frensie, is verified on them, as is also their length of life, although not in so rare maner: sith these in stead of strong ale, content themselues with water, and verie slender diet. Beyond the Shetlands there are diuerse other Ilands of like condition, but without corne and all maner of fleth to feed vpon. These drie their fish in the sunne, and when they are through stiffe, they grind them to small powder, which they worke vp with water into loaues, and so vse the same in lieu of other bread. Their firing consisteth of the bones of such fishes as they take, and yet they content themselues in such maner with this their poore kind of liuelode, that they thinke their estate most happie in respect of such as inhabit in the maine.

Certes there is no quarrelling amongst these for wealth or gaine, but each one prouideth such store of fish in summer which he taketh himselfe, as shall find his familie, or keepe his house in winter. They are void of all ambitious mood, and neuer troubled with ciuill or forren warres, as men that deeme sirne peace and quietnesse, with mutuall loue and amitie, to be the chiefe felicitie to be sought for in this life, and to remaine herein, each one to his power doth shew his whole indeuour. This finallie is to be added vnto their commendation, that they are simple, plaine, void of craft, and all maner of serpentine subtiltie, which endeth commonlie with mischeefe, and reigneth in the maine. Once in the yeere there commeth a priest vnto them from Orkeney, (of which diocesse they are) who ministreth vnto them the sacrament of baptisme, and after a certeine time (hauing taken vp in the meane time his tithes in fish, which is their sole increase, and verie trulie paid) he returneth home againe the same way that he came.

If anie gifts of nature are to be numbred as parcels of worldlie riches and renowme, they are not without these also: for the people of these Iles are lustie, faire, strong of bodie, and high of stature, so that nature hath not failed to indue them with these things, and that in most excellent maner. What should I say of their health, which is and may be preferred aboue all treasure, as they well know that are oppressed with long and greeuous infirmities? For here among these men, you shall very seldome heare of sickenesse to attach anie, vntill extreame age come that killeth them altogither, and this is that exceeding benefit naturallie appropried vnto their carcases. As for their quietnesse of mind, it is alwaies such as is constant, & vnchangeable, and therefore incomparable vnto any riches or huge masse of worldlie treasure.

Herevnto furthermore, if it be true riches (as it is in deed) for ech one not to couet other mens goods, but to content himselfe with that which is his owne, and not to stand in need of anie thing, can anie man be found in anie other region more rich and fortunate than the Shetland men and these Ilanders? Finallie, if those be the true honors, and reuerend duties which the obedient sonne with great sinceritie and void of all flatterie, doth shew vnto his good parents, and wherewithall the best sort do maruellous-

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lie resolse and delite themselues: and that these are also not wanting in these regions, can we iustlie say that these men dw lacke anie thing, or shall we not rather affirme with great assurance, that they rather stand in nèd of nothing that anie mortall man can iustlie wish or desire?

But if there be anie man that will accuse me of vntruth in the recitall of these things, as one that lieth lowd and by authoritie of a people dwelling far off, for so much as I my selfe was neuer in those Ilands, he shall vnderstand that I learned all these things of the reuerend father Edward bishop of the Orchades, with whome one of these Ilanders dwelled, who not onelie made a like rehearsall of these things with his owne mouth, but also verified the same in his owne person, for his height far passed the common stature of men, whereto he was excellentlie well featured in his limbs, so white of skin ouer all, that he might contend in beautie with anie ladie of the land, and finallie so white and strong of bodie, that no man in all those quarters durst run or wrestle with him. Hereby also we may see, how far they are deceiued which iudge them to be barbarous, and miserable creatures, that inhabit far from the tropike lines, for there are no people more happie than those that dwell in these quarters, as I haue proued alreadie.

See Matthiolus vpon the first booke of Dioscorides capite de populo alba & nigra.

Furthermore, among the rocks and crags of these Iles groweth the delectable amber, called *Electrum, Chrysolectrum*, or (as Discorides saith) *Pterygophoron*, indued with so vehement an attractiue force, that being chafed it draweth straw, flor, and other like light matter vnto it. This gum is ingendred of the sea froth, which is throwen vp by continuall repercussion of crags and rocks against the sea walls, and through perpetuall working of the waues groweth in time to become tough as glue, till it fall at the last from the rocke againe into the sea. Such as haue often viewed and marked the generation of this gum, whilest it hangeth on the rocke, affirme it to be like a froth and bubble of water without all massie sadnesse, because that as yet it is not sufficientlie hardened by the working of the element.

Alga.

Sometimes the Seatangle is found inuironed also withall, because it is driuen hither and thither by the working of the waues, and so long as it fleets to and fro in this maner, so long is it apt to cleaue to anie thing that it toucheth.

Two yeares before I wrote this booke, there came a great lumpe of amber into Buchquhane, in quantitie so big as anie horsse, which the heardmen that kept their cattell nære hand caught vp, & not knowing in dèd what it was, they caried it home, and threw a portion thereof into the fire: finallie, perceiuing a swèet and delectable sauour to proceèd from the same, they ran by & by to the priest of the towne where they dwelled, telling him how they had found a pèce of stuffe which would serue verie well in stead of frankincense, wherewith to perfume his saints or rather Idols in the church. These men supposed that sir John had bène more cunning than themselues, but contrarie to their expectation, it fell out that he was no lesse vnskilfull & void of knowlege than they; and therefore refusing the whole lumpe, he toke but a small portion thereof, and returned the rest vnto them, whereby it came to little profit and lesse gaine among the common sort, who suffered it to perish by reason of their vnskilfulnesse. Certes when they brake it in pèces, it resembled in color vnto the purest gold, & shined as if it had bène the laie or flame of a candle. Herein also the prouerbe was proued true, that the low recks not of balme. But so soone as I vnderstood of the matter, I vsed such diligence, that one portion thereof was brought to me at Aberden. And thus much of the *Hebrides, Orchades*, and Shetland Iles subiect vnto the Scotish regiment.

I might (no doubt) haue made rehersall of diuers other strange things worthie the noting in this behalfe: but I haue made choise onelie of the most rare and excellent, and so would finish this description, were it not that one thing hath staied me right pleasant to be remembred, as an vncouth & strange incident, whereof maister James Ogilbie ambassadour from James our king (among other) vnto the king of France, hath certified me, and whereof he had experience of late, at such time as he was constreined by tempest of wether to get to land in Norweie. Thus standeth the case, being driuen (as I said) vpon the shore of Norweie, he and his companie saw a kind of people ranging vp & downe in the mounteins there, much like vnto those which diuers pictures giue forth for wild men, hearie and vglie to behold. In the end being aduertised that they were sauage and wild beasts; yet neuertheless deadlie enimies to mankind: they vnderstood thereunto, that although in the day time they abhorred and feared the sight of man, yet in the night they would by great companies inuade the small villages & countrie townes, killing and sleaing so manie as they found, or where no dogs were kept to put by their rage and furie.

Certes such is their nature, that they stand in great feare of dogs, at whose barking and sight they flie and run away with no small hast and terror, wherefore the inhabitants are inforced to cherish great numbers of the said beasts, thereby to keepe off those wild men that otherwise would annoy them. They are moreouer of such strength, that sometimes they pull vp yong trées by the rots to fight withall among themselues. The ambassadours seeing these vncouth creatures, were not a little astonished, and therefore to be sure from all inuasion, procured a strong gard to watch all night about them, with great fiers to giue light ouer all that quarter, till on the morrow that they toke the sea, and so departed thence. Finallie, the Norwegians shewed them, that there was another people not far off, which liued all the summer time in the sea like fish, & fed of such as they did catch, but in the winter half (because the water is cold) they preied vpon such wild beasts as fed on the mounteins, which comming downe from the snowie hils to grase in the vallies, they killed with darts and weapons, and caried vnto their caues. In this exercise also they tie little boords to their fèt, which beare them vp from sinking into the snow, and so with a staffe in their hands they make the better shift to clime vp and come downe from the crags & mounteins, whereof in that region there is verie great plentie and abundance.

Of the maners of the Scots in these daies, and their comparison with the behauiour of the old, and such as liued long since within this Iland.

The xiij. Chapter.

FOrsmuch as diuers noble men haue desired me to shew apart the old maners of the Scots touched in my historie, to the end it may be knowne how far our nation in these present daies are different in their maners and behaui-

behauiour from those of our forefathers, and hereunto although I assure my selfe alreadie that the reuealing of these things will procure vnto me the hatred of sundrie worthie or renowmed personages (of which few will yéeld to heare their doings touched or their errours reproued) yet because I owe such duetie and seruice vnto those that haue made this request vnto me, and least I should seeme ingrate not to hearken vnto them in this behalfe; I haue condescended to the performance of their desires, and so much the rather, for that they alledge how it will be verie profitable vnto all the readers, but especiallie such as are not immoderatlie giuen ouer vnto their owne affections, nor so wholie drowned in their owne sensualitie and pleasures, but vpon consideration of wholesome admonition will be verie willing to leaue whatsoeuer offendeth in them.

First of all therefore, I will declare what vsages haue béene among our elders both in time of warre and peace, and by what wisedome and industrie they haue preuailed so long time against such and so manie mightie aduersaries, as first the Britains, then the Saxons, next of all the Danes which haue entered into this Iland with huge armies to spoile and subdue the same. Furthermore, I will set downe with so much breuitie as I can, how the falling by little and little from the frugalitie and customs of their forefathers, their vertue and force also began in like order to decaie. And finallie how in these daies either by the clemencie of our neighbours, or by their delicat negligence rather than by our owne prowesse, we liue in securitie, and thereby as it were ouerthelmed and wrapped vp in all auarice and excesse, whereinto our want of exercise and martiall prowesse doth maruellouslie impell vs.

Certes I beléeue that by this meanes such as are of the more courragious sort (& yet reteining a sauour of the temperancie of their elders) will reioise to heare their manhod & great prowesse commended in this wise, as others of the contrarie sect (in seruile maner addicted to gather goods, and spend their times in idle excesse and riot) séeing their errors iustlie reprehended, and the dishonor gotten thereby openlie reuealed, will the rather addresse themselues to reformation of their estate, thereby to recouer the ancient renowme of their forefathers, in answering to their prowesse, than proue a reproch vnto their successours, through their lewd behauiours neuer to be forginen. This I protest before all men, that whatsoeuer I shall speake of the euill maners of our times, I do not meane it vnto all, but those onlie whome blind selfe-loue, couetousnes, intemperancie, excesse and abuse of all Gods good gifts haue so touched, that they deserue much more to be reprehended than I will vouchsafe to attempt in this my lateward treatise. Therefore if anie man shall thinke himselfe to be rubbed on the gall by me, I counsell him that he conceale not his infirmitie, by séeking reuenge on other men, but rather indeuour to procure the remedie in first acknowledging his misdemeanors, which is the one and better halfe of his cure.

Our elders although they were right vertuous both in warre abroad, and at home in peace, were yet neuertheless in conuersation & behauiour verie temperat, which is the founteine & originall of all vertues. In sléepe they were competent, in meate and drinke sober, and contented with such food as was readie at hand and prepared with little cost. Their bread consisted of such stuff as grew most readilie on the ground, without all maner of sifting and bolting, whereby to please the palate; but baked vp as it came from the mill without anie such curiositie, which is a great abasing of the force thereof vnto our dailie nourishment. The flesh whereon they chiefelie fed, was either such as they got by hunting, wherein they take great delight, and which increased not a little their strength and nimblenesse, or else such tame cattell as they bred vp at home, whereof béefe was accompted the principall, as it is yet in our daies, though after an other maner and far discrepant from the vse and custome of other countries. The stirkes or yong béefets vngelded, we either kill yong for veale, or geld, to the end that they may serue afterward for tillage in earing vp of the ground, but the cowcalfes and heifers are neuer killed till they be with calfe, for then are they fattest and most delicious to the mouth. The common meat of our elders was fish, howbeit not onlie or somuch for the plentie thereof, as for that our lands laie often waist and vntilled, because of the great warres which they commonlie had in hand. They brake also their fast earlie in the morning with some slender repast, and so continued without anie other diet vntill supper time, in which they had but one dish, whereby it came to passe, that their stomachs were neuer ouercharged, nor their bones desirous of rest through the fulnesse of their bellies. At such time as they determined of set purpose to be merie, they vsed a kind of Aquauite void of all spice, and onelie consisting of such hearbs & roots as grew in their owne gardens, otherwise their common drinke was ale: but in time of warre, when they were inforced to lie in campe, they contented themselues with water as rediest for their turnes. Ech souldier also had so much meale as might serue him for a daie which he made vp in cakes, and baked on the coles, as the Romans sometimes vsed to do, and the emperour Caracalla himselfe (as Herodian hath remembred.) Seldome did they eate anie flesh in their tents, except they got it from their aduersaries; such as they had likewise was eaten halfe raw, because they supposed the iuice thereof so vsed to nourish verie abundantlie. But fish was much more plentifull amongst them, especiallie when they wanted their vsuall preies, or could not atteine vnto them.

They brought furthermore from their houses to the field with them, a vessell of butter, cheese, meale, milke, and vineger tempered togither as a shot-anchor against extreme hunger, on which they would séed and sucke out the moisture, when other prouision could not be gotten. In like maner, whensoeuer they had entred into league and amitie with their enimies, they would not liue in such securitie, that thereby they would suffer their bodies & forces to degenerat, but they did keepe themselues in their former actiuitie and nimblenesse of lims, either with continuall hunting (a game greatlie esteemed amongest our ancestors) or with running from the hilles vnto the vallies, or from the vallies vnto the hilles, or with wrestling, and such kinds of pastims whereby they were neuer idle. Their heads were alwaies shauen after the maner of the ancient Spaniards, with a little tuft of heare onelie left on their forparts, and neuer couered, except when they were troubled with sickenesse, by which means it came to passe, that few of our nation in old time was séene to be bald and heareles. They went also barefoted, or if they had anie shoes, they dipped them first in the water yer they did put them on, especiallie in winter when sharpest weather shewed it selfe, to the end that the soles of their fét (which were well hardned in summer with heat and in winter with cold) might be more strong and able to sustéine great labor and dailie trauell.

Their apparrell was not made for brauerie and pompe, but as should séeme best to couer their bodies,

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and serue their appointed vses, their hosen were shapen also of linnen or woollen, which neuer came higher than their knees, their breeches were for the most part of hempe, clokes also they had for winter made of course woll, but in the summer time they ware of the finest that could be gotten. They slept moreouer either vpon the bare floore or pallets of straw, teaching their children euen from their infancie to eschew ease, and practise the like hardnesse; and sith it was a cause of suspicion of the mothers fidelitie toward hir husband, to seeke a strange nurse for hir children (although hir milke failed) each woman would take intollerable paines to bring vp and nourish hir owne children. They thought them furthermore not to be kindlie fostered, except they were so well nourished after their births with the milke of their breasts, as they were before they were borne with the bloud of their owne bellies, nay they feared least they should degenerat and grow out of kind, except they gaue them sucke themselues, and eschewed strange milke, therefore in labour and painfulnesse they were equall, & neither set regarded the heat in summer or cold in winter, but trauelled barefoted, and in time of warres the men had their cariages and victuals trussed behind them on their horsses, or else vpon their owne shoulders without refusall of anie labour inioined vnto them by their capteins.

If it hapened them at anie time to be vanquished, they fled with such speed to the mounteins, that no horsse might ouertake them, and verie oft escaped. The violence that was done to anie one of them, was reputed common to all, & such was their deadlie fude conceiued in these cases, that vntill they had requited the like with more extremitie, they would neuer be quiet nor let go their displeasure. The noblest and most couragious gentleman would soonest desire to be placed in the fore ward, where his vassalage or seruice & manhod should readilest be seene, and such was the friendship of the nobilitie amongst themselues, that whilst they contended which of them should be most faithfull and friendlie to other, they would oft fall out, and quarell one with another. Sometimes it hapened that their capteine was beset with extreme perill, or peraduenture some other of the nobilitie, in which cases they that were of his band would suddenlie rush in through the thickest of their enimies vnto him, and deliuer him, or else if they could not so do, they would altogither lose their liues with him, thinking it a perpetuall note of reproch to ouerliue their leader.

The graues and sepulchers of our noblemen had commonlie so manie obelisks and spires pitched about them, as the deceassed had killed enimies before time in the field. If anie souldier had beene found in the field without his flint and tinder box, or had walked or gone vp and downe with his sword at his side, and not naked in his hand, for then vsed they light armour for the most part, he was terriblie scourged: but he that sold or mortgaged his weapon, was forthwith cut from his companie, and banished as an exile; he that fled or went from the battell without leaue of his capteine, was slaine whersoeuer he was met afterward, without anie iudgement or sentence, and all his goods confiscated to the prince. Their light armour in those daies consisted of the lance, the bowe, the long sword which hanged at the side of the owner, and thereto a buckler, but afterward heauier armour came into generall vsage.

In these daies also the women of our countrie were of no lesse courage than the men, for all stout maidens & wiues (if they were not with child) marched as well in the field as did the men, and so soone as the armie did set forward, they slue the first liuing creature that they found, in whose bloud they not onelie bathed their swords, but also tasted therof with their mouthes, with no lesse religion and assurance conceiued, than if they had alreadie beene sure of some notable and fortunate victorie. When they saw their owne bloud run from them in the fight, they ware neuer a whit astonished with the matter, but rather doubling their courages, with more egernesse they assailed their enimies. This also is to be noted of them, that they neuer sought anie victorie by treason, falshod, or sleight, as thinking it a great reproch to win the field any otherwise than by meere manhod, prowesse and plaine dealing.

When they went forth vnto the wars, each one went with the king of his owne cost (except the hired souldior) which custome is yet in vse. If any were troubled with the falling euill, or leprosie, or fallen frantike, or otherwise was out of his wits, they were diligentlie sought out: and least those diseases should passe further by infectuous generation vnto their issue & posteritie, they gelded the men. But the women were secluded to some od place far off from the companie of men, where if she afterward happened to be gotten with child, both she and the infant were run through with the lance. Gluttons and raueners, dronkards, and egregious deuourers of victuals were punished also by death, first being permitted to deuoure so much as they listed, and then drowned in one fresh riuer or other.

Furthermore, as iustice in time of war was commonlie driuen to perke, so in daies of peace our countriemen that offended, were oft seuerelie punished and with inconuenient rigor. For they well considered that after their people should returne & come home againe from the warres, they would be giuen to so many enormities, that the same their excesse should hardlie be restreined but by extreame seueritie: such also was their nature, that so soone as they knew themselues guiltie of any offense committed against the estate or commonwealth, their first attempt was to set discord amongst the peeres and princes of the realme, neuertheless when they are gentlie intreated, and with courteous moderation, they are found to be verie tractable and pliant vnto reason: in priuate bargains & contracts they are so willing to giue euerie man his own, that they will yeeld the more. And so farre is it growne into a custome euen in these our daies, that except there be some surplusage aboue the bare couenant, they will breake off and not go forwards with the bargaine.

They vsed at the first the rites and maners of the Aegyptians from whence they came, and in all their priuate affaires they vsed not to write with common letters, as other nations did; but rather with ciphers and figures of creatures made in maner of letters, as their epitaphes vpon their tombes and sepulchers remaining amongst vs do hitherto declare. Neuertheless in our times this hieroglyphicall maner of writing (I wot not by what meanes) is perished and lost, and yet they haue certeine letters proper vnto themselues, which were somtime in common vse but among such as reteine the ancient speach, they haue their aspirations, diphthongs, and pronunciation better than any other. The common sort are not in vse withall, but onlie they which inhabit in the higher part of the countrie, and sith they haue their language more eloquent and apt than others, they are called poets; they make also poets with great solemnitie and honour, being borne out therein by the authoritie of the prince. Besides the skill also of many other arts and sciences, whose rules and methods

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are turned into the said language, are giuen by tradition from their elders, they chéeflie excell in physicke, wherein they go far beyond manie other, who learning of them the natures and qualities of such hearbs as grow in those quarters, do heale all maner of diseases euen by their onelie application.

Certes there is no region in the whole world so barren & vnfruitfull, through distance from the sun, but by the prouidence of God all maner of necessaries for the sustentation of mankind dwelling there are to be had therein, if the inhabitants were such as had any skill how to vse the same in order. Neuertheless our elders, which dwelled continuallie vpon the marches of England, learned the Saxon tong through continuall trade of merchandize and hazard of the wars long since, whereby it came to passe that we neglected our owne language, & our owne maners, and thereto both our ancient order in writing and speaking is vtterlie left among vs, that inhabit nere vnto them; whereas contrariwise those that dwell in the mounteins reteine still their ancient spéech and letters, and almost all their old rites, wherevnto in time past their forefathers haue béene accustomed. One thing hereof also may euidentlie be séene (for an example) in their boats which they call carrocks, for being made of oziers and couered with bull hides, they vse to passe and repasse with them ouer their riuers and waters in catching of samons, and when they haue done, they beare them on their backs vnto what place soeuer it pleaseth them.

But we will now leaue the maners of our ancient friends, and intreat of our later countriemen. In processe of time therefore, and chéeflie about the daies of Malcolme Cammor, our maners began greatlie to change and alter. For when our neighbors the Britons began, after they were subdued by the Romans, to war idle and slouthfull, and thereupon driuen out of their countrie into Wales by their enimies the Saxons, we began to haue alliance (by prorimitie of the Romans) with Englishmen, specíallie after the subuersion of the Picts, and through our dailie trades and conuersation with them, to learne also their maners, and therewithall their language, as I haue said alreadie. Hereby shortlie after it came also to passe, that the temperance and vertue of our ancestors grew to be iudged worthie of small estimation amongst vs, notwithstanding that a certeine idle desire of our former renowme did still remaine within vs.

Furthermore as men not walking in the right path, we began to follow also the vaine shadow of the Germane honor and titles of nobilitie, and boasting of the same after the English maner, it fell out per long, that whereas he in times past was accompted onlie honorable, which excelled other men not in riches and possessions, but in prowesse and manhod, now he would be taken most glorious that went loaden with most titles, wherof it came to passe, that some were named dukes, some earles, some lords, some barons, in which vaine puffes they fired all their felicitie. Before time the noble men of Scotland were of one condition, & called by the name of Thanes, so much in Latine as *Quæstores regij*, gatherers of the kings duties, in English: and this denomination was giuen vnto them after their desert and merit.

But how far we in these present daies are swarued from the vertues and temperance of our elders, I beléeue there is no man so eloquent, nor indued with such vtterance, as that he is able sufficientlie to expresse. For whereas they gaue their minds to doughtinesse, we applie our selues to drunkennes: they had plentie with sufficiencie, we haue inordinate excesse with superfluitie: they were temperate, we effeminate: and so is the case now altered with vs, that he which can deuoure and drinke most, is the noblest man and most honest companion, and thereto hath no pére if he can once find the veine, though with his great trauell to puruey himself of the plentifullest number of new fine and delicate dishes, and best prouoke his stomach to receiue the greatest quantitie of them, though he neuer make due digestion of it.

Being thus drowned in our delicate gluttonie, it is a world to sée, how we stuffe our selues both daie and night, neuer ceasing to ingorge & powre in, till our bellies be so full that we must néeds depart. Certes it is not supposed méet that we should now content our selues with breakefast and supper onelie, as our elders haue done before vs, nor inough that we haue added our dinners vnto their aforesaid meales, but we must haue thereto our beuerages and reare suppers, so that small time is spared wherein to occupie our selues in any godlie exercise, sith almost the whole daie and night do scarselie suffice for the filling of our panches. We haue also our merchants, whose charge is not to looke out, and bring home such things as necessarilie perteine to the maintenance of our liues, but vnto the furniture of our kitchen, and these search all the secret corners of our forrests for venison, of the aire for foules, and of the sea for fish, for wine also they trauell not only into France, whose wines do now grow into contempt, but also into Spaine, Italie and Créece: nay Affrike is not void of our factors, no nor Asia, and onelie for fine and delicate wines if they might be had for monie.

In like sort they gad ouer all the world for swéet and pleasant spices, and drugs (prouokers vnto all lust and licentiousnesse of behauiour) as men that aduenture their owne liues to bring home poison and destruction vnto their countriemen, as if the mind were not alreadie sufficientlie bereft of hir image of the diuinitie, but must yet more be clogged and ouerladen with such a franked case, therewithall to be extinguished outright, which alreadie dwelleth or is buried rather in such an vglie sepulchre. The bodie likewise being oppressed with such a heape of superfluous food, although otherwise it be indued with an excellent nature, cannot be able to execute his office, nor kéepe him selfe vpright, but must néeds yeeld as ouercome, and to be torne in péeces and rent with sundrie maladies.

Hereof also it commeth to passe, that our countrimen trauelling into the colder regions are now a daies contrarie to their former vsage taken sometime with feuers, whereby their inward parts do burne and parch as it were with continuall fier, the onelie cause whereof we may ascribe vnto those hot spices and drugs which are brought vnto vs from the hot countries. Others of them are so swollen and growne full of humors, that they are often taken suddenlie, and die of vehement apoplexies, and although here and there one or two recouer for a little while, yet are they but dead people, reuiuing againe, leading the rest of their liues like shadows, and walking about as if they were buried alreadie.

Our youth also following these vnhapie steps of their parents, giue themselues wholie to lust and licentiousnesse, hauing all vertue and knowledge in contempt, and eschewing the same as a pestilence and subuersion of their pleasures, wherevnto they aplie themselues as vnto the most excellent trade. But sithens they are now inured, and as it were haunted with these vices, when time doth come of seruice, and that our countrie shall stand in need of manhod, these will become so effeminate, that they must now ride on horsebacke as clad in heauie armor, for on foot they cannot go by reason of their fatnesse,

neſſe which choketh vp their vitall forces, neither be able to performe anie thing at all in comparison of the ſouereigne manhood and prowesſe of their elders. So ſone alſo as they returne home, becauſe their poſſeſſions are not otherwiſe able to nourish them vp in pleaſure and pampering of their mawes, they muſt fall to couetous and greedie practiſes, thereby to inrich themſelues, or elſe proue ſtrong théeues, or finally ſowers of diſſention and diſcord among the noble men, thereby to preie ſome commoditie.

Certes theſe and other vices following them neceſſarilie, proceed generallie from none other fountaine than voluptuous life and intemperancie, the which if we would refraine, there is no region vnder the ſunne that would proue more wholſome, leſſe ſubiect to peſtilence, nor more commodious and profitable for the ſuſtentation of hir people. Certes I deſpaire not of the redreſſe of theſe things, but ſtill hope that in ſhort time theſe corrupt maners of my countriemen will be turned into better frame. We are not yet become impudent, neither altogither haue caſt off vnſhamefaſtneſſe, ſith that in a great manie ſome remainder of our ancient ſoberneſſe and manhood doth yet appeare, and thereto newneſſe of life with feruent deuotion increaſe euerie day, through the working of the zeale of our chriſtian religion in vs.

This alſo will I adde, without offenſe vnto other nations, that there was neuer people more ſtedfaſt to my knowledge in the chriſtian faith, nor more conſtant in their faithfull promiſes, than the Scots haue béene ſince their firſt beginning: and for a concluſion I will ſay more, not onelie for their praiſe, but alſo in exhorting them vnto perſeuerance, that as our people now liuing do paſſe their anceſtors in ſumptuous and curious attire, ſo they are more neat and fine in their houſes, better giuen to learning, and much more magnificent in building and decking of their churches. God grant them alſo to returne to their former frugalitie, and that with ſpéed, Amen.

¶ Hitherto haue I tranſlated Hectors deſcription of Scotland out of the Scotiſh into the Engliſh tong, being not a little aided therein by the Latine, from whence ſometime the tranſlator ſwarueth not a little, as I haue done alſo from him, now and then following the Latine, and now and then gathering ſuch ſenſe out of both, as moſt did ſtand with my purpoſed breuitie. Now will I ſet downe the deſcription of an ancient Pict, as I haue gathered it out of Herodian and other, and then I will giue ouer not onelie to write more at this preſent, but for euer hereafter of anie hiſtoricall matters, ſith I ſée that this honeſt kind of recreation is denied me, and all time ſpent about the ſame in theſe daies vtterly condemned, as vaine and ſauouring of negligence, and heatheniſh impietie.

The deſcription of an ancient Pict.

The 14 Chapter.

THe Pict (ſaith Herodian) hath generallie no vſe in apparell, howbeit the nobler ſort of them do wrap their heads and wombs in hoops of iron, which they take for great brauerie, eſteeming this kind of attire, in ſuch as weare the ſame, to be a token of wealth and riches, and ſo great an ornament, as if they had worne gold or any coſtlie iewels. Beſide this, and the ſhauing of their nether lip, they painted ouer their bodies with the images of all kinds of beaſts, ſo that he was the gaieſt man that had his ſkin moſt diſguiſed in this maner. Certes none of them regarded to weare anie apparell, becauſe they eſteemed it a great glorie to haue theſe paintings ſéene. In warres they were bold, and deſirous to ſhed blood, contenting themſelues (in ſtéed of other armor) with a ſhort lance, and narrow target or buckler, their ſwords were tied to their naked ſides with a thong, and as for iacke, ſhirt of male, or helmet, they made no regard of them, becauſe they would trouble them in ſwimming, or otherwiſe at a pinch, when they ſhould be compelled to wade.

Dion writing generallie of the whole countrie, diuideth it with Herodian into the Caledons & Meats, ſaieng that the ſaid countrie is verie ſauage, their cities void of walles, and fields without townes: they liue moreouer (ſaith he) by hunting and preie, and oftentimes with the fruit of their trées: and albeit that they haue exceeding plentie of fiſh, yet they eat not of it. They liue naked in tents, and without ſhoes on their feet, their wiues are common, and children generallie loked vnto: they haue moreouer a populous regiment, and are verie readie to ſteale: they fight in wagons, and haue little light and ſwift horſſes, which run alſo verie ſwiftlie, & ſtand at their feet with like ſtedfaſtneſſe. In the nether end of their lances they haue hollow bullets of braſſe, in each is a little péece or two of iron, which ratleth when they ſhake it, and maketh a ſtrange noiſe where manie of them are togither. They haue alſo narrow daggers, but chéeflie they can ſuſteine hunger and cold beſt of all men, and likewiſe ſore labour: and if it happen them to hunger and haue no meat at hand, they will ſit in the marriſhes vp to the chins by manie daies togither. In the woods they féed on roots or barkes of trees, and they haue a kind of meat among them, whereof if they take but ſo much as a beane, they neither hunger nor thirſt in a long time after. And thus much of the Meats (which were the néereſt vs) and the Caledons that dwelled beyond the wall, and both in their prouince called Maxima Ceſarienſis, thereof let this ſuffice.

The number of biſhops in *Scotland*.

The xv Chapter.

THe archbiſhoprik of S. Andrewes
Glaſco
Dunfalden
Dunblanen
Aberden
Brechen
Morauie
Ros
Whitherne
Cathnes
Argadie
Orkenie
Mor one of the Iles which are exempt and perteine vnto the pope.

Vniuerſities.
S. Andrews
Aberden
Glaſco.

Dukedomes.
Rothſay
Albanie.

Earledomes.
Cathnes
Sotherland
Roſſe
Morauie
Buchquhan
Garuiach
Garmoran
Mar
Mernis
Angus
Gowri
Fiffe
Marche
Athole
Stratherne
Menteth
Leuenor
Wigton
Duglaſſe
Carrike
Crawford
Annandale
Durmonth
Huntley.

Viſcounties.
Berwike alias north Berwike
Rorborow
Selkirke
Twedale
Dunfriſe
Niddiſdale
Wigton
Are
Lanarke
Dumbritten
Sterueling
Louthian
Clakmanan
Kimos
Fiffe
Perth
Angus
Mernis
Aberden
Banph
Fores
Inuernes.

FINIS.

1585

THE

Hiſtorie of Scotland,

conteining the beginning, in-
creaſe, proceedings, continuance,
acts and gouernement of the Scotiſh
nation, from the originall thereof
vnto the yeere 1571, gathered and
written in Engliſh by Raphaell
Hollinſhead: and continued
from 1571, to 1585, by
others:

With a table of the principall
particularities herein
conteined.

M. Pal. in Ari.

Hiſtoriæ placeant noſtrates ac
peregrinæ.

Cum priuilegio Regiæ
Maieſtatis.

THE

History of Scotland,

containing the beginning, in-

creasings, continuance,

and gouernament of the Scotish

nation, from the original thereof

vnto the yeere 1571. Gathered and

written in English by Raphael

Hollinshed: and continued

from 1571. to 1585. by

others:

With a table of the principall

particularities therin

contained.

Psal. 119. 111.

Historiæ placeant nobis tuæ ac

peregrinæ.

Cum priuilegio Regiæ

Maiestatis.

To the Right Honorable the Lord Robert Dudley, Earle of Leiceſter, Baron of Denbigh, Knight of the moſt noble order *of the Garter, Maiſter of the Queenes* Maieſties horſſe, and one of *hir Highneſſe priuie* Councell.

I may ſeeme (Right Honorable) a great preſumption in mee, to haue taken in hand the collection of this Scotiſh hiſtorie, and other of diuers regions, conſidering ſo many ſufficient men as liue in theſe daies, farre more able to performe the ſame. But where at the motion of a ſpeciall friend, I vndertooke to deale therein, more vpon truſt of his promiſed aid than of mine owne abilitie, it pleaſed GOD to call him to his mercie before the worke could be fullie brought to an end: but yet to anſwer the expectation of his friends, and truſt which he had committed to them and me in this behalfe, I haue doone my good will to accompliſh part of that, which in his life time was intended, although not to my wiſhed deſire, by reaſon of ſuch wants as had beene ſupplied if he had liued to haue ſeene it publiſhed himſelfe.

It reſteth (right noble Earle) that it may pleaſe your Honor to accept my dooings in good part, to whom I offer this parcell of my trauels in this hiſtorie of Scotland, in regard of the honor due to your noble father, for his incomparable valure well knowne and approoued, as well within that realme as elſe-where in ſeruice of two kings of moſt famous memorie, Henrie the eight & Edward the ſixt, *ſounding ſo greatlie to his renowme, as the ſame cannot paſſe in ſilence, whileſt any remembrance of thoſe two moſt peereleſſe princes ſhall remaine in written hiſtories. I therefore moſt humblie beſeech your Honor, to beare with my boldneſſe in preſen-*

ting you with so meane a gift, proceeding from one, although vnknowen to your Lordship, yet not without experience of your bountifull goodnesse extended towards those, to whome I reckon my selfe most beholden. As what is he within this realme almost of anie degree, which findeth not himselfe bounden to your Honor, either in his owne causes or his friends? For such is your inclination to pleasure all men, as the same may seeme a peculiar vertue planted in your noble heart, mouing you so much to delight therein, as no time is thought by your Honor better spent, than that which you employ in dooing good to others.

But least I should enter into so large a discourse, as might be framed of this and other your excellent vertues (a matter far exceeding my simple knowledge) I will ceasse to speake further thereof, sith the same is spread ouer all, aswell this as other regions: for no where doo want great numbers of such as haue abundantlie tasted of your exceeding courtesies. In making you owner therefore of this abstract of the Scotish histories, I most humblie beseech your Honor, if anie thing be amisse, to impute the same to the imperfection and defect of better instructions, and with your benigne and fauorable interpretation to haue me therein excused. Such as it is, I addresse it to your good Lordship with so dutifull a mind as may be imagined, beseeching God to preserue your Honor with plentifull increase of wisedome, vertue, and all wishfull prosperitie.

Your Honors most humble to be commanded *Raphaell Hollinshed.*

THE HISTORIE OF Scotland.

THe Scotish men, according to the maner of other nations, esteeming it a glorie to fetch their beginning of great ancientie, say that their originall descent cam frō the Grēks and Aegyptians: for there was (as the old Scotish historiographers haue left in writing) a certeine noble man among the Grēks, named Gathelus, the sonne of Cecrops, who builded the citie of Athens: or as some other would, he was the sonne of Argus Nealus, the fourth king of the Argiues. This Gathelus plaieng in his youth manie wild and vnrulie parts in the countrie of Macedonia and Achaia, was diuers times sharplie rebuked by his father and other of his friends: so that in fine disdaining their correction and wholsome admonitions, he was banished by his father: after which he got togither a number of strong and lustie yong men, such as had vsed the like trade of liuing, and with them fled ouer into Aegypt; and comming thither in the 33 yeare of Pharao Orus as then king of that countrie, was receiued of him in most gladsome wise, for that his seruice (as was thought) might stand in great stead in those warres, which the Aegyptians held at that time with the Aethiopians that had inuaded the realme of Aegypt, euen vnto Memphis. This Gathelus, to be short, went forth with his bands against the same Aethiopians, vnder Moses the capteine generall of the armie, chosen thereto by diuine oracle (as Iosephus writeth) which Moses obteined the victorie, and conquered Saba by force being the chiefest and principall citie which stood in the Ile Meroe.

Gathelus.

Gathelus giuen to will and pleasure.

Gathelus went into Aegypt, Anno mundi 2416.

Gathelus was interteined of Pharao.

Gathelus went against the enimies.

Moses capteine generall vnder Pharao.

Ios. lib. 2. cap. 7.

For such tokens of valiancie and worthie prowesse as Gathelus shewed, both in this countrie, and in other places, he grew also into such estimation with Pharao, that he gaue him his daughter in mariage. But Moses was rather enuied than honored for his doing, because the Aegyptians doubted least the Israelites should increase to such a puissant multitude, that in the end they might vsurpe and challenge the gouernance of the whole realme, and bring it by rebelling into their owne hands: wherefore diuers informations were made to the king against him, so that when he once perceiued himselfe to be in danger of the lawe, and looked for no mercie at their hands, he fled from thence out of the countrie, & got him into the land of Madian. Vnto Gathelus and his people there was giuen a citie called Thebes [Aegyptiaca] beeing taken from the Israelites. ¶ Here you must vnderstand, that Pharaos daughter which Gathelus thus maried, was called Scota, of whome such as came of the posteritie of that nation were afterwards, and are at this present day called *Scoti*, that is to say Scotishmen, and the land where they inhabit *Scotia*, that is to say, Scotland.

Gathelus dwings advanced.

Moses dwings not allowed.

Moses fled.

The citie of Thebes was giuen vnto Gathelus.

Scota daughter to Pharao.

Gathelus thus being aduanced by such honorable mariage, liued all the daies of his father in law Pharao Orus, in great honor. But after his decease, and in the third generation, an other king named Pharao Chencres succeeded in his throne, who oppressed the people of Israell then abiding in Aegypt, with more bondage than euer his father or grandfather had done before him. Neither was there hope of anie redresse, till Moses returned by Gods appointment from amongst the Madianites (where he had remained in exile) into Aegypt, and there declared vnto this Pharao, Gods commandement, touching the deliuerance of his people.

The credit of this historie of Gathelus we leaue to the authors.

Israel oppressed.

Moses called out of Madian into Aegypt.

But forsomuch as his words were regarded, neither with the king, nor with his subiects, that land was plagued in most horrible maner; and moreouer it was signified vnto such as sought to know what was meant by way of oracles, that sorer and more grieuous plagues should after follow, if remedie were not found the sooner. Gathelus therefore being certified hereof, and giuing credit to the oracles aforesaid, determined out of hand to forsake the countrie, and seeke him a new place of abode in some other parties of the world. Wherefore he caused a number of ships to be rigged, and all necessarie purueiance to be prouided, and when the same was once readie, and all things set in order, he tooke with him his wife and children, and a great multitude of people both Grēkes and Aegyptians, whom he imbarked in those ships, and hoising vp sailes, departed out of the mouth of the riuer Nilus, in the yeare of the worlds creation 2453, when he had dwelled in Aegypt 39 yeares and more. Being thus departed, after some trouble in the voiage, they arriued first on the coasts of Numidia, which is one of the regions of Affrike, now called Barbarie: but being put backe from thence by the stout resistance of the inhabitants, they tooke the seas againe, and landed in a part of Spaine, which long after was called Lusitania.

Moses not regarded. Exodus 5.

Gathelus leauing Aegypt, seeketh other countries.

Gathelus departing was, Anno mundi, 2453. W.H. 3643. H.B.

He was repelled from Barbarie.

There be that haue written how it should be cleped port Gathele of this Gathelus, and certeine yeares after Lusitania, and eftsones againe in a maner to haue got the former name, being somethat corruptlie called Portingale. But who is able in a matter of such anciencie to auouch anie thing for truth?

He landed in Portingale.

Gathelus with his companie being thus come to land, sought abroad in the countrie for victuals, and such other necessarie things as they wanted (for their long being on the seas had wasted all their purueiance:) whose arriuall being once knowne in the countrie, the people assembled togither, and fiercely incountring with the strangers, after sharpe and cruell fight, in the end the Spaniards were put to the worst and chased out of the field. This victorie put Gathelus and his folks in hope of good successe to haue there a place for them to inhabit in, and so to end their long wandering in strange and vncerteine places. And to the intent they might bring their purpose the more easilie to passe, they found means by way of communication to ioine in friendship with the Spaniards, and obteining of them a plot where they might build a place for to inhabit in; shortlie after they began the foundation of a citie nere to the banks of the riuer called of ancient time Mundus, and afterwards Bracchara.

The inhabitants resist Gathelus.

A communication.

Gathelus buildeth the citie Bracchara.

It chanced after this, that the Spaniards (perceiuing these strangers to increase further in puissance than, as they thought, stood well with their securitie) sought diuerse occasions to fall at debate with them, and to make warres vpon them: but when they vnderstood that Gathelus was as readie to defend, as they were to inuade, they eftsoones fell to a communication, & persuaded with Gathelus, that it should be best for him and his people, for the auoiding of variance, to remoue vnto the northside of Spaine, lieng vpon the coasts of the Cantabrian seas, now called Galitia (where he should find much void ground, by reason of the small number of inhabitants) adding that if they would so do, they would aid them to the vttermost against all such as should attempt to disquiet their indeuours in anie maner of wise. This offer Gathelus gladlie accepted, and causing publike sacrifice to be celebrated in honor of the gods, he departed with all his people into Galitia, and there concluding a league with the inhabitants, builded a citie which he named Brigantia, but after it was named Nouium, and now Compostella.

A communication.

Gathelus left Portingale, and went into Galitia.

He builded a citie called Brigantia, and now Compostella.

Gathelus.

HEre Gathelus being intituled by the name of a king, deuised and ordeined lawes for his people to liue by, that the citie might not onelie be fensed with strong walles, but also with good and holsome statutes and ordinances, the chiefest fortifications that may be for all cities and countries. And because he would not onelie haue his said people to liue vnder one law, but also to be knowne and called by one name, he gaue commandement that they should be all called Scotishmen (as before is said) of his wife Scota. In continuance of time, this nation grew to a wonderfull multitude, so that the Spaniards doubting the worst, determined to foresee remedie in time, and herevpon purposing vtterlie to destroie them, got them againe to armour, and with their whole puissance comming vpon the Scotishmen, gaue them a sore battell, though in the end they were put to flight, the victorie remaining with the Scotishmen, albeit not without great bloudshed on either part, as the Scotish historie saieth. At length a necessarie peace was agreed vpon betwixt both parties, the conditions whereof were these: that aswell Scotishmen as Spaniards should liue after their owne lawes, and neither of them to inuade other.

He maketh lawes and ordinances.

The Spaniards fight with the Scots infortunatlie.

A peace concluded.

Gathelus hauing peace thus with his neighbors, sat vpon his marble stone in Brigantia, where he gaue lawes, and ministred iustice vnto his people, thereby to mainteine them in wealth and quietnesse. This stone was in fashion like a seat or chaire, hauing such a fatall destinie, as the Scots say, following it, that whersoeuer it should be found, there should the Scotishmen reigne and haue the supreme gouernance. Hereof it came to passe, that first in Spaine, after in Ireland, and then in Scotland, the kings which ruled ouer the Scotishmen, receiued the crowne sitting vpon that stone, vntill the time of Robert the first king of Scotland. The inscription also of the stone, though ingrauen long time after, as should appeare, was this:

Gathelus ministred iustice. A description of the seat.

Ni fallat fatum, Scoti quocunq; locatum
Inuenient lapidem, regnare tenentur ibidem.

Which may be thus translated:

Except old sawes doo faile,
and wisards wits be blind,
The Scots in place must reigne,
where they this stone shall find.

But to returne where I left touching Gathelus. When he perceiued that his people multiplied in such wise, as the countrie which was appointed him by the last agreement, was not able to susteine them, he was loth to breake the peace which he had established with the Spaniards, by seeking to inlarge the bounds of his dominion with breach of couenant: and therefore vnderstanding that there was an Iland lieng north ouer against Spaine, wherein were but few inhabitors, he caused all such ships as he was able to make, to be brought togither into an hauen nere vnto Brigantia, and commanding a great armie of his owne people and subiects to be assembled, he appointed his two sonnes whome hee had by his wife Scota, the one named Hiberus, and the other Himecus, to conueie them ouer into that Iland, which afterwards they named Hibernia, after Hiberus, but now it is commonlie called Ireland.

Galitia not sufficient to find the Scots.

The Scots seeke new seats.

At their first arriuall there, they came into the hauen of Dundalke, where getting on land, they first incamped themselues nere the shore, and then sent forth certeine of their folks to search if they could learne what people inhabited in the countrie, by whome at their returne, and by such as they had happened vpon and brought with them, they vnderstood how there was no great number of inhabitants in that Ile, and that they which dwelled there were verie simple, such I meane as liued onelie by milke and herbs, with other the like things as the earth by nature brought forth of hir owne accord, without mans helpe or vse of anie tillage. Herevpon Hiber with his brother Himecus, went not about with force, but by gentlenesse to win those people, minding to ioine them in friendship so with their Scotishmen, that both the people might be made as one. Neither was this hard to be done, sithens the inhabitants (perceiuing the Scotishmen not to go about to harme them) came flocking in wholie about them, submitting themselues into their hands with gladnesse.

The Scots arriue in Ireland.

Irishmen liue by milke and heerbes.

Irishmen are gentlie intreated.

Hiber.

WHen things were once set here in a stay, and that orders were giuen how the land should be conuerted vnto tillage, and manured for the better bringing forth of such things as serue for mans sustenance, Hiber (leauing his brother in charge with the gouernance of all those which were appointed to abide there in Ireland) with the most part of the ships and residue of the companie, sailed backe into Spaine, where finding his father Gathelus dead, he succeeded in his place of gouernement, to the great reioising of all the people there.

Hiber returned into Spaine.

Hiber succeeded his father Gathelus.

This Hiber was a man of great courage, and more giuen to the wars than his father before him, so that where his father contenting himselfe with the bounds and limits of the countrie assigned him by composition, sought no further (as is said) to inlarge the

Hiber a conquerour.

the same: Hiber ceassed not to conquer cities and townes nere adioining to the borders of his subiects, by reason whereof his fame spred ouer all those parties; and in the end constreined his enimies to seeke for peace, which he willinglie granted: so that a league being concluded betwixt the Scots and Spaniards, the same tooke such good successe, that within certeine yeres after, both the nations, what by mariage and other contracts, which they exercised togither, became one. The succession also of kings continued after Hibers decease in his posteritie a long season; amongst the which, Hetellus, Hermoneus, Ptolomeus, Hibertus, and Simon Brechus were of most worthie fame, as is recorded by such as haue written the histories of that nation more at large.

Peace.

Spaniards & Scots becom one people.

Hemecus.

Hemecus K. of Ireland.

IN the meane while that these things were thus a doing in Spaine, Himecus being left, as is before remembred, in Ireland, to haue the gouernance there, ruled both the people of Scotishmen, and the former inhabitans, with as much indifferencie as was possible: yet could he not ioine them so in one, but that after his decease either of them would haue seuerall rulers of their owne nation to gouerne them: by reason whereof, falling eftsones at discord amongst themselues, there insued sharpe and cruell warres betwixt them, which being ended sometime by truce (when both parties hapilie were throughlie wearied) they renewed notwithstanding their malicious strife againe, so soone as they had once recouered their decaied strengths, so that the one seeking the others destruction, they continued in great disquietnes for a long time. These Scotishmen being thus troubled in Ireland, finallie addressed an ambassage vnto Hetellus, who as then reigned amongst the Scotish men in Spaine, requiring him of aid and succor against their enimies, who went about with toth and naile to expell all the Scotish nation out of Ireland, which they were like inough to bring to passe, if in time there were not spedie remedie through his aid prouided for the contrarie.

Dissention.

The Scots send an ambassador vnto Hetellus in Spaine.

Aid sent to assist the Scots in Ireland.

Hetellus hearing these newes, as a man moued with a naturall zeale toward all the Scotish linage, gaue eare to their request, supposing it should be his part to defend his kinsfolke from all wrong and iniuries: immediatlie therefore he sent his three sons, Hermoneus, Ptolemeus, and Hibertus, with a chosen power of warriors ouer into Ireland, where vanquishing the enimies with fierce and cruell battels, they set the Scotishmen in sure and quiet possession of all their lands and liuings. This done Ptolomeus and Hibertus remained there to rule and inhabit the countrie. But Hermoneus, who was the eldest brother, returned backe againe to Spaine, there to succeed his father when time should serue thereto.

Hermoneus returned into Spain againe

After this the Scotish estate continued many yeares in good quiet in Ireland, the people still increasing in wealth and puissance, till prosperitie the mother of contention, stirred vp grudge and partialities amongst them, which shortlie would haue decaied the force of the Scotish nation, if the ancient lords had not prouided redresse in time, which was to persuade the people to haue a king of their owne, who being partaker with none of them in their factions, might haue the absolute gouernance of the whole, so that by common consent they sent into Spaine for one Simon Brech, whose name was right famous amongst them in that season, both as well for that he was lineallie descended of the bloud rotall, as also for that he had shewed many proues of his noble valiancie in sundrie affaires and businesse. This Simon being glad of these tidings, sailed quicklie into Ireland, and brought thither with him amongst other princelie iewels and regall monuments, the fatall stone of marble, wherein he caused himselfe to be crowned, in token of his full possession and establishment ouer that kingdome.

Simon Brech.

Brechus came into Ireland.

Brechus.

BRechus being thus crowned, was the first king that reigned ouer the Scots in Ireland, who began his reigne there, in the yere from the creation of the world 3270, which time by maister Harisons, account is after the floud 1616, from the first building of Rome 55, after the entrie of Brutus into Britaine 870, and before the incarnation of our sauiour 697. And hauing ruled his subiects with great iustice by the space of fortie yeres or thereabout, he died, after whose decease succeeded Fandufus, who had issue Ethion, and he begat Glaucus, which Glaucus begat Noitafilus, the father of Rothsay: all of them reigned successiuelie ouer the Scotishmen in Ireland, as in the description of that land more plainelie may appere.

4504 H.B.

60 H.B.

696 H.B.

Fandufus.

This Rothsay (perceiuing the Scotish nation increased to a greater multitude in Ireland than the countrie was well able to susteine) transported ouer certeine numbers of them into the Iles ancientlie called Ebonides, afterwards Hebrides, but now by the Scots, the westerne Iles, bicause they lie on the west halfe of Scotland: and there they placed them to inhabit. He named also that Ile which he first began to possesse Rothsay, after his owne name. Which translation of these Scotishmen into those Iles was 133 yeres after the coronation of Brechus.

Rothsay. The Scots ferrie ouer into the westerne Iles.

They inhabit the Ile of Rothsay.

This Rothsay had not beene long in those Iles, but that hearing of his fathers decease, he returned into Ireland to succeed in his place. Where the Scotishmen perceiuing the fertilitie of the Iles, and how the same serued well for the breeding of cattell, became so desirous to inhabit there, that they went ouer thither dailie in great numbers, with their wiues, children, and whole families, so that within a short time they multiplied in such wise, that the Iles were not large inough to find them sustenance, by reason whereof diuers companies of them got them ouer into the maine land of the north part of this our Britaine, called as then Albion, where they first inhabited a waste and desert portion thereof, lieng toward the west, ouer against the foreremembred Iles, by them alreadie inhabited, Anno 3383. That part where they first began to settle themselues, they named Argathelia, after the name of their first captein and guide Gathelus, but the inhabitants at this day call it Arguile.

The Scots inhabit the maine land of Scotland.

4617 H.B.

They inhabit the countrie called Arguile

At their first comming, bicause they perceiued they could not liue without lawes and ciuill gouernment, they seuered themselues into tribes, or as it were into hundreds, or wapentakes, euerie of the same hauing a speciall gouernor to see their lawes ministred, and iustice mainteined: which gouernors were had in such reuerence, that they were as much afraid to sweare by the name of any one of them, as they were by the gods. In this state they continued many a yeere, increasing in processe of time vnto a mightie nation, and liued in good rest without trouble of warres or inuasion made vpon them by any forren enimie. In this meane time also, the Picts, which were a certeine people of Germanie, as most writers do agree, came and set fot also in another part of Britaine, which now is comprehended likewise within Scotland.

They make lawes and ordinances.

Gouernors had in reuerence.

They liue in peace.

The Picts came into Scotland out of Germanie.

Some saie that they came forth of the hether part of Scithia, and other there be which hold opinion, that they descended of the people named in old time Agathyrsi, which inhabited in a part of Sarmatia, and were called Picts, bicause they vsed to paint and colour their faces, or (as some suppose) for that they vsed

vsed gaie apparell of diuers and sundrie colours: but the same writers generallie confesse, that they first came into Germanie or hither Scythia (that is to meane Denmarke) many yéeres before they entred into Britaine. Truth it is that they first came out of Germanie, into the Iles of Orkeney, and there inhabiting for a season, ferried ouer into Cathnesse, whereof it came to passe, that the streict there at this present is called Pictland firth: and so in continuance of time increasing in number, they passed further into the land, and got possession of Rosse, Murrey land, Perne, and Angus, and after that, entring into Fife and Louthian, they droue such Britains from thence as inhabited there before, which were but a simple kind of people, as those that applied nothing but onelie nourishing and bréeding of cattell.

The Picts came first into Orkeney, and changing their seats came into the maine land of Scotland, Pictland, Firth.

These Picts, as by conference of times may appéere, entred first into Scotland, about the yeare after the creation of the world 3633, and being once arriued, they began to erect and build certeine forts, wherein they might defend themselues, if any force of enimies should chance to put them to such shifts; but perceiuing they could not continue any time without wiues to mainteine their stocke and progenie by bringing forth issue, they thought it expedient to require of the Scotishmen some number of women to marrie with, that thereby a sure alliance might be had betwixt both nations, & that if néed required, they might the better defend them from their common enimies the Britains, whom they knew would be loth to sée the increase of either Scots or Picts, as those that were strangers to them, and vsurpers vpon their confines.

4867 H. B.

The Picts make strong holds.

The Picts require wome of the Scots.

This request was granted, and a full league ratified betwixt the Scotishmen and Picts, with couenants, that neither of them should sèeke to vsurpe any péece of that which the other held, but content themselues with their owne marches. And further, he that attempted to wrong the one, should be accounted an enimie to both: and against whom they should be readie to ioine their powers in either others defense. Also it was accorded, that if at anie time it were doubtfull who ought to succéed in the gouernement of the Pictish kingdome, some one descended of those Scotish women should be admitted to the throne.

A league made.

The succession of the gouernement.

This aliance was euen at the first misliked of the Britains, who doubted, that if these two nations should once be ioined inseparablie togither, they might in time to come increase to greater puissance than should stand well with the suertie of their estate. Therefore studieng how to preuent that danger, they thought the readiest meane to destroie both those nations was (if they might bring it to passe) to set them first togither by the eares amongst themselues, that afterwards when their powers were by such meanes sore abated, they might the more easilie subdue them at their pleasures. This deuise the Britains kept secret for a time, till occasion serued to worke their intent. In which meane while the affinitie betwixt the Scots and Picts increased to the wealth of both nations, and for the issue sake great loue and friendship was mainteined among them.

Their aliance misliked.

Dissention a present destroier.

The Picts good husbandmen.

The Scots giuen to hunting and fouling.

The Picts applied themselues to tilling the ground, and building of fortresses: the Scots set all their delight in hunting and fouling, vsing about the same to go armed in tacks and light iesternes with bow and arrowes, no otherwise than if it had bene in open warre: for in this exercise they placed all the hope of the defense of their possessions, lands and liberties.

The Britains send ambassadors vnto the Picts.

A craftie suggestion.

Prophesies.

The Britains send

At length, the Britains perceiuing happilie some grudge or ennie to be entred amongst them, they sent solemne ambassadors vnto the Picts, declaring that it were more honorable for them to ioine in league with the Britains, than with the Scots: which Britains were knowne to be famous, both in peace and war, and inhabited a countrie most fruitfull and replenished with all commodities necessarie hauing therein rich mines of diuers kinds of mettall, where the Scots being a rude nation, wild and sauage, inhabited a barren countrie, full of rough and fruitlesse mounteins, delighting thereto in nothing but in the slaughter of men and beasts. And hereunto they added that (which most moued the Picts) how it was foretold them by prophesies, that the Scots through treason should vtterlie in time to come extinguish and destroie all the Pictish bloud. Which persuasions induced the Picts at the last, to make a league with the Britains, who promised their aid at all times, in whatsoeuer enterprise the Picts should take in hand against the Scots, and as often as occasion should require.

The Picts become enimies to the Scots.

This league thus being confirmed with the Britains, incouraged the Picts so, that they sought dailie how to picke quarels, and fall out with the Scotishmen: whereupon making proclamation that no Scotishman should enter into their borders, vpon paine of death: some such as they tooke within the same, they cruellie slue; other they ransomed at excessiue summes: whereupon the Scots being kindled with iust displeasure, on the other side requited them with the like, euer as they caught any of the said Picts by hap or otherwise amongst them, or in their walks.

The Scots reuenge the in iurie done vnto them.

The one nation séeking thus to be reuenged of the other, there insued open war betwixt them: whereupon the Scotishmen, to the end they might be the better able to mainteine their quarell, sent ouer their ambassadors vnto their kinsmen in Ireland, requiring them of aid in that present danger, as hauing now not onelie warres with the Picts, but also with the Britains, who minded nothing but the vtter destruction of them and their linage, except spèedie remedie were found. And for that they saw it néedfull to haue one onelie head and gouernor, they made sute also to haue some captaine of honor with them into Albion, vnto whom as to their king they would submit themselues. In that season amongst the Irish Scotishmen, there reigned a king named Ferguhardus, who inclining to the petition of the British Scots, caused an huge armie forthwith to be leuied, and thereto he appointed his owne sonne Fergusius to be generall of the same, a worthie yong gentleman, and an expert warrior: whome hee sent ouer with his puissant companie, in such speed as was possible. He had also with him the marble stone, that he might conceiue the better hope to reigne there as a king, bicause he went forth vnto such a dangerous warre.

They require a gouernor.

Ferguhardus king in Ireland.

Fergusius sent into Scotland.

The marble stone.

Such also as went with him in this iournie, had their wiues, their children, and all their substance with them, as the maner of the nation then was, when they went forth into any forren countrie. Now it came to passe that this Fergusius was no sooner come into Albion among the Scotishmen there, but that in a parlement called and assembled in Argile for the purpose, they first consulted after what sort they might mainteine themselues against their enimies, and what order for gouernment should be obserued amongst them. Where finallie for auoiding of such inconueniences, as might rise through manie gouernors, they decréed to chose onlie one, whome in all things, as their king & head, they would from thencefoorth follow and obeie.

Fergusius landed in Albion.

A parlement.

A king is for to be obeied.

BVt bicause there was none thought so mét to beare that office, as Fergusius, and that the

Fergusius

chaire

chaire of hope was also brought with him: they concluded by whole consent to commit that charge vnto him, and so to the great reioising of the people, he was placed vpon his marble stone, and crowned king, being the first of the Scotish nation that euer ruled in Albion as absolute gouernor, who began his reigne in the yeare after the creation of the world 3640, which is (as Harison saith in his chronologie) before the incarnation of our sauiour 327, after the building of Rome 420, and after the entring of Brutus into Britaine 790.

The kingdome of the Scotishmen being thus begun in Albion, Fergus take vpon him to rule as king, making prouision on all sides to resist his enimies: who whilest these things were a doing in Argile, had assembled their powers: vnto whom also the Britains had ioined themselues, and were now entred into the Scotish borders. Fergus hauing hereof knowledge, speedilie got togither his people, and came with banners displaied to encounter his enimies. In king Fergus banner, there was a red lion portraied rampant, with his taile folden towards his backe, as though he did beat the same, which is the maner of them when they be moued to displeasure. Fergus was the first that bare this cognisance in Albion, which euer since hath beene borne by those kings that haue successiuelie reigned after him there.

The Britains aid against the Scots.

Both the armies were now come within sight of other, and readie to haue giuen the onset, when there went a murmuring amongst the Picts, that their companions the Britains were gotten to a hill a little beside them, minding to see the end of the battell before they did stir, and then if occasion serued (as their hope was it should) they purposed to fall vpon both parties, as well Picts as Scots, and so to destroie them both, the vanquishers togither with the vanquished, as they found them out of araie in following the chase. The like report was brought vnto Fergus by one that fled to his side from the enimies campe, touching this treason of the Britains, conspiring the extermination of both the people.

The Britains are about to deceiue the Picts.

Treason reuealed vnto Fergus.

By reason whereof, either part being put in feare of that which might insue through the malicious purpose of the Britains, they kept their tents certeine daies togither, without making any hast to battell. And in the meane while Fergus sent a messenger vnto the king of the Picts, requiring him to come to a communication before they should fight, for that he had to informe him of such matters as pertened no lesse to the safegard and preseruation of the Picts, than of his owne people the Scots. The king of the Picts willinglie gaue eare to this message, and so a little beside both the armies standing in battell araie, the two kings accompanied with a few of their nobles met togither, where in the end the danger in which they both stood, being plainelie disclosed and throughlie weied, they condescended to haue a further treatie of peace, which the king of the Picts alleged he might not conclude without the publike consent of his subiects; and therefore he appointed on the daie following to returne to the same place againe, there to giue a resolute answer, after he had vnderstood the minds of his lords and commons in the same.

Fergus sendeth to the Picts.

A peace to be concluded.

Herevpon therefore returning to his campe, he called his councell afore him, declaring the substance of the communication which had beene betwixt king Fergus and him, which was in effect tending to this end. First considering the present deuises of the Britains, there was nothing more expedient than a peace to be agreed vpon, as well for the commoditie of the Picts as Scots, if they would yeeld withall to auoid the imminent perill of their vtter ruine and common destruction intended by the Britains.

The king of the Picts called his councell and commons.

Herevpon also he required their aduise what they thought good to be done; declaring that according as they counselled him, he would worke therein. This matter being thus proposed, as there were diuerse heads, so were there sundrie opinions. Some iudged that in no case they could enter friendship againe with the Scots, who had so cruellie slaine and murthered a great number of the Pictish nation; and had shewed such tokens of a beastlie furious nature, that there was no hope to continue long in amitie with such a raging kind of people: and hereto they held that it was not vnknowne how the prophesie went, that the Scots should in the end destroie all the Pictish progenie. So that it were wisdome to keepe their power vnder, so long as was possible, and not to increase the same by ioining with them in friendship.

A prophesie.

Other were of a contrarie mind, esteeming that in no wise the Scotish mens friendship ought to be refused, vnlesse they would determine to seeke new dwellings in some other forraine parties; sith the Britains would not faile, but vpon occasion take what vantage they could to expell them both, as well Scots as Picts, out of the countries now by them possessed. And as for that, which was alledged touching the prophesie, if the gods had so determined, then might no policie of man preuent it: and if there were no such thing appointed by the same gods, what follie then were it to call such dreadfull doubts where no cause was? Ouer and besides this, they had taken them wiues of the Scotish nation, and thereby ingraffed their seed (the hope of their posteritie) in that stocke, which is the nerest meane and forceablest occasion to nourish friendship amongest people, that is or may be deuised; therefore it should not be onelie profitable but necessarie also to haue peace with the Scots, to renew againe with them the former league, to the perpetuall strengthening and aduancement of both the nations.

The Picts admonished by their wiues to peace.

Whilest the Picts were thus in debating the matter, their wiues also being present there in the armie, came in amongest them with their children, and in most lamentable wise besought their husbands to haue pitie vpon them, in their so sorowfull case, and not to suffer their hands to be defiled with vnnaturall murther, sith it were lesse discomfort to them with their sillie little ones to die anie kind of death whatsoeuer it were, rather than to behold their husbands with their fathers, their brethren, and their kinsfolke ioine togither in battell, and there to kill one another without all mercie and compassion. The nobles and gentlemen of the Picts hearing the cries of these women, and being now somewhat moued to pitie, consented at last to haue peace with the Scotish men, and to renew againe the old league that was heretofore betweene them: and for mutuall iniuries heretofore committed, that there should be a mutuall recompense, according as might stand with equitie and reason. So that where the Britains had beene the chiefe procurers of all that mischiefe and discord betwixt them, in hope thereby to destroy both the parties, they should now be reputed from henceforth as common enimies to them both. As for all other articles & conditions of agreement, it was ordeined that their king should do therein as vnto him might seeme good.

The Picts are moued to pittie.

Britains reputed as enimies.

In the morning therefore, as was appointed, the king of Picts meeting with king Fergus, declared what his subiects were agreed vpon: and further opening his mind touching the establishment of the peace, thought it conuenient to haue a day of meeting betwixt them to ratifie the same. Wherewith

The meeting of the two kings.

Fergus

An other day taken for the ratification of the peace.

The Britains go homward disappointed of their purpose.

The Scots and Picts returne home in peace.

This Coilus by the circumstance of the time, and other considerations, should seeme to be the same whome the Britains name Gutteline.

Coilus his subtiltie.

The Britains rob the Scots and the Picts for to stirre discord.

The Scots and Picts inuade the Britains.

Coilus entred into Scotland with an armie.

Fergus assembled a great power of Scotishmen.

Fergus being well contented & glad that through his motion a peace should thus ensue, a day was apointed betwirt them and kept accordinglie, so that comming togither, the ancient league was in all points renewed, with some conditions added thereto, auailable (as was thought) for the stronger confirmation thereof. Before this, and after the first meeting betwirt the Scots and Picts, I meane so soone as the Britains had vnderstanding of this agreement, they had no lust to tarie longer in the field, but raising their power, they departed their waies homewards, doubting least the said agreement might turne smallie to their gaine. The Picts and Scotishmen also after they had thus fullie ratified the peace and league betwirt them, brake vp their camps, euerie man repairing to the place of his abode.

The king also of the Britains named Coill (sojourning in that season neere about Yorke) being informed of this sudden renouation of the league betwirt the Scotishmen and Picts, was nothing ioyfull of the newes: for he doubted least in time to come their confederacie might be occasion of their further increasing in puissance, and after that some new occasion of his trouble. Wherefore studieng by what waies and meanes he might best prouide remedie for such inconueniences as might insue, he attempted nothing openlie for the space of two years, but onelie watched his time, to the end that if he might in that season chance (thorough the insolent courage of either nation) to espie anie occasion seruiceable for his time, he might set vpon and be a plague vnto them both.

At length also he caused his subiects (such I meane as bordered neere to the marches of both the people) to fetch preies and booties out of the Pictish confins. So that when the Picts sent thither with request to haue restitution made, it was by and by answered, that the Scots had done such trespasses (being a people inured vnto such feats by nature, and not the Britains, who were nothing guiltie in that kind of matter; and thus would the Britains do in like sort when they had robbed the Scots, so that with such iniurious dissimulation, aswell Scots as Picts being not a little offended, they entred soone after into the British confins, robbing & spoiling the same, as their custome is, with all maner of crueltie. When Coill of Britaine had notice of these doings, he toke grieuous indignation thereat, and thereupon determined to proue whether he might with open warres atchiue his purpose, which he could not bring to passe by his former cloaked practise. And herewith assembling an armie, he entred into the Scotish borders lieng towards the Irish seas, wasting & spoiling with fire and sword what soeuer he found in his waies, till he came euen to the riuer of Dune, where incamping himselfe vpon the banks thereof, he sent forth companies of his souldiers to destroie the countrie, and to bring in all such prisoners as they should lay hands vpon.

But in the meane time, and so soone as Fergus heard of the approch of the Britains, he caused all the people in the countrie to get them with their goods & cattels vnto the mounteins, except such as were able to beare armour: whome he apointed to attend vpon him, to defend the countrie as occasion serued. Whereof Coill hauing knowledge brought by an espiall, he sent forth about fiue thousand nimble men, and such as had beene vsed to clime craggie hilles, to go before and win the passages, purposing the next day to follow himselfe with the whole armie. But the Scotishmen and Picts being now assembled togither, and certified hereof also by their spies, they first fell in consultation what they were best to do; and in the end agreed that the same night they should set vpon the British campe: Fergus with his Scotishmen on the one side, and the king of the Picts on the other; so that in the dead of the night the Scotishmen killing the watch, were entered into the British campe, yer Coill had knowledge of anie such thing.

Whereby it came to passe that whilest the Britains (awaked with the noise) drew vnto that part where the alarme rose, to beat backe the Scots; the Picts comming ouer the riuer of Dune, by a certeine blind ford, assailed them on the backs, to the great confusion of the whole armie, by reason whereof the Britains (seeing none other remedie but to saue themselues by flight) turned their backs and fled, in which turmoile they were trodden downe and fell by heaps one vpon an other, and were not able to helpe themselues, nor yet to make shift to auoid the hands of their aduersaries. In this businesse also Coill himselfe chanced to be oppressed amongest the rest, so that he was found dead in the search of such as were slaine, and after solemnlie buried according to his estate in Troinouant, leauing the kingdome vnto his sonne Sisillius, who with his mother Mertia gouerned the same togither by the space of manie yeares.

Coill was slaine and his whole armie discomfited, of whome as Hector Boet. saith, their countrie of Coill toke name.

Such Britains also as escaped out of their enimies hands, got them togither in the next morning, & perceiuing what losse they had susteined not onlie by the death of their prince, but also in the slaughter of a great part of their whole armie, sent an herault vnto the Scots and Picts to require a peace: which though the most part of the people were not in will to haue consented vnto, yet persuaded in the end by their princes, they were contented to yeeld thereto: so that a generall peace was concluded, and speedilie published betwirt them.

Peace concluded.

Immediatlie hereupon, the Picts with their part of the spoile gotten at this iournie, departed to their homes, and Fergus returned into Argile; where studieng dailie for the quiet aduancement of the Scotish commonwealth, he called a parlement of his nobles, and first declaring to the assemblie how much bound they were to the gods for giuing them this victorie ouer so puissant enimies as the Britains were, he exhorted them to liue in friendlie concord amongest themselues, and to abstaine from violating the leagues now concluded, aswell with the Britains as before hand with the Picts.

A parlement

Exhortation vnto quietnesse and peace.

Also for the auoiding of enuious contention, and for the better assurance of euerie mans estate, he iudged it necessarie to haue a partition made of all the lands belonging vnto the Scotish dominion. For before they occupied the whole as in commune, without knowing to whome this peece or that did belong. Which politike aduise of Fergus, the Scotishmen praised most highlie, promising not onelie to follow his counsell herein in all that he should wish, but also in all that he should otherwise command.

The land is parted.

Obedient subiects.

Whereupon shortlie after there were chosen by his aduise seuen ancient personages, men of good conscience and great experience, which were apointed to be surueiors of the whole countrie, and to diuide the same as neere as they could into a set number of equall portions (but with this consideration, that according as the fruitfulnesse or barrennesse of the soile required, so they should inlarge or diminish the circuit of their bounds.) When they had viewed the countrie, and according to their commission seuered forth the same into parts, they returned into Argile, where Fergus then sojourned, and there in his presence, the names of all his noble men that were reputed as gouernors were put in lots, euerie of them to haue such part of the realme for his owne,

Men diuide the land into portions.

The gouernment is giuen vnto the nobles by lots.

as

as ſhould fall to him by good lucke and preſent hap.

By this meanes each of them being placed as his chance fell, they inhabited their quarters with ſuch people as they had the leading of, ſo that afterwards the countries toke their names of thoſe the firſt gouernors: which names for the more part (being a little changed) remaine amongſt them euen vnto this day. Fergus hauing thus without occaſion of enuie diuided his countrie amongſt his nobles and ſubiects, ſtudied further more to deuiſe lawes for the maintenance of common quiet amongſt them. And therefore amongſt other ordinances he made ſtatutes againſt murther, robberie, burning of houſes, and eſpecially againſt theft.

Statutes and lawes are made.

He builded alſo the caſtell of Beregonium in Loughquhabre on the weſt ſide of Albion, ouer againſt the weſterne Iles, where he appointed a court to be kept for the adminiſtration of iuſtice: that both the Albion Scots, and alſo thoſe of the ſame Iles might haue their acceſſe & reſort thither for redreſſe of wrongs, and ending of all controuerſies. The reſidue of his life he paſt in reſt and peace with his neighbors the Picts and Britains, indeuouring by all meanes to knit and couple the hearts of his ſubiects in one friendlie bond of inward loue and amitie. Finallie, ſailing afterward into Ireland to be arbitrator in a matter of variance betwixt the nobles of that land, as he returned homewards by force of tempeſt, the ſhip wherein he was imbarked, was driuen vpon a rocke, where he periſhed, after he had reigned as king amongſt the Scotiſhmen in Albion about 25 yeares. The rocke where he was thus caſt away, hath béene euer ſince called rocke Fergus, after his name.

Beregonium.

A place appointed for iuſtice.

Fergus went into Ireland and in his returne was drowned.

Rocke Fergus, otherwiſe knocke Fergus.

In the ſame ſeaſon there reigned amongſt the Britains one Enanius, named by Hector Boetius Eſdadus, and amongſt the Picts one Cruthneus Camelonus that builded a famous citie vpon the banke of the riuer called Caron, as the Scotiſh writers affirme, appointing it to be the chiefe citie of all the Piciſh kingdome, where in times paſt there was a faire commodious hauen apt to harbour ſhips in at all ſeaſons, but now it is damned vp in ſuch ſort, that vneath there appeareth anie token where that hauen was: and the citie it ſelfe was finallie ſubuerted by Kenneth king of Scotland, as after ſhall appeare. The forenamed Cruthneus builded alſo the towne of Agneda, afterwards called Edenbrough, of Ethus king of the Picts, the caſtell was named the caſtell of Maidens, for that the daughters of the Piciſh kings were there kept vnder ſtrait cuſtodie, appointed to learne to ſow & worke, till they came to yeares of mariage.

Eſdadus.

Cruthneus Camelonus.

This citie the Scotiſh writers take to be Camelodunum, of the which there is ſo often mention made in the Roman writers: but verelie herein they doo greatlie erre.

Agneda now called Edenbrough.

The caſtell of Maidens.

But now to returne to the Scotiſhmen. After the death of Fergus, the nobles of the realme aſſembled togither, to take counſell whome they might chooſe to ſucceed in his place. Manie of them, in reſpect of the high benefits which their nation had receiued by the politike gouernement of king Fergus, would not in anie wiſe that his ſonnes, though yong of yeares, ſhould be forgotten; but that according to reaſon and equitie, the eldeſt of them ſhould be elected, ſith they might not otherwiſe deliuer themſelues of the note of ingratitude towards his father, vnto whome they were more bound than with tong can be well expreſſed.

The Scots conſult about an other election of a king.

Other hauing a ſpeciall regard to the quiet of their commonwealth, doubted leaſt if they crowned a child to their king, during his minoritie, it could not be but that there ſhould follow ſtrife, enuie, and contention for the gouernance of his perſon and realme amongſt the nobles; and that in ſuch wiſe, as the people being diuided into ſundrie factions, the due adminiſtration of iuſtice ſhould be neglected, the nobles bearing and bolſtering vp all kinds of iniuries done or committed by anie of their partakers.

And though it might ſo happen that they agréed vpon one ſpeciall gouernor, as reaſon was they ſhould; yet ſhould he ſéeke to aduance his kinſfolkes more than reaſon happilie required, and peraduenture do things otherwaies much diſpleaſant to no ſmall number of them by that his priuate authoritie. And againe, the king ſhould no ſooner come to yeares of anie diſcretion, but one or other would put him in mind to take vpon him to rule the whole himſelfe, before he vnderſtood what charge he had in hand: and by reaſon of his fraile youth he lightlie would not follow the counſell of anie, but ſuch as conſented vnto him in his ſenſuall luſts and inordinate fanſies, which commonlie reigne in ſuch princes as take vpon them gouernance of realmes, before they know (through want of ſufficient yeares) how to gouerne themſelues.

For theſe and the like conſiderations, alledged by ſome of no ſmall authoritie amongſt them, it was agréed in the end, that one Feritharis the brother of the late deceaſſed Fergus ſhould be crowned king, and haue the gouernance of the realme during his life: and herewith in the meane time to ſee his nephues king Fergus his ſons brought vp in princelie nurture and diſcipline, as apperteined to the ſons of a king: that after his deceaſſe, if he liued till anie of them were come to ripe yeares, they might ſucceed him in the eſtate and kingdome.

Feritharis choſen king.

This ordinance alſo they decréed to be obſerued as a law from thenceforth euer after, that if the king died leauing no iſſue, but ſuch as were vnder age to ſucceed him, then ſhould one of his néereſt couſins, ſuch as was thought méeteſt to occupie the rome, be choſen to reigne as king during his life, and after his deceaſſe the crowne to reuert vnto his predeceſſors iſſue without controuerſie, if the ſame were once growne vp to lawfull age.

The choſing of kings was not allowed.

By this meanes then were children excluded from obteining the crowne, leaſt the publike libertie of the realme might chance to be put in danger. But yet was it afterwards perceiued that this deuiſe for choſing of kings, miniſtred occaſion ſometimes to the vncle to ſéeke the deſtruction of the nephue, and likewiſe to the nephue to procure the diſpatch of the vncle and vncles ſonnes, with the committing of manie heinous murders of right worthie princes, to the no ſmall danger of ouerthrowing the whole ſtate of the commonwealth, ſo that finallie that ordinance was clearelie abrogated, as you ſhall heare hereafter.

But now to my purpoſe. After Feritharis with the full conſent of all the people was thus elected king, he was inthronized with all ſolemnitie in receiuing his kinglie ornaments, as his two edged ſword, his ſcepter roiall, and his crowne of gold faſhioned in forme of a rampire made for defenſe of a towne or fortreſſe, ſignifieng that he toke vpon him to preſerue the libertie of his countrie, to ſée offendors dulie puniſhed, and the execution of lawes with equall puniſhment truelie miniſtred.

Feritharis

A two edged ſword.

These ornaments of inueſture remained vnto the Scotiſh kings, without being in anie point changed, till the daies of Achaius king of Scotland, who eſtabliſhing a perpetuall league with Charles the great, emperour and king of France, to indure for euer betwéene the Scots and Frenchmen, added vnto the crowne foure flower de lices, togither with foure croſſets, diuided in ſunder with equall ſpaces, riſing ſomewhat higher than the flower de lices: that thereby the obſeruing of the chriſtian religion and ſincere faith, maintained by the Scotiſh nation, might

The crowne changed.

The league with the Picts confirmed.

might be the more euident to all men that beheld it. But now as touching Feritharis, shortlie after he was thus inuested king, he came to an interuiew with the king of the Picts, where manie things being communed of touching the wealth of both nations, the league was in solemne wise confirmed, and such punished as had done anie thing sounding to the breach of the same.

After this, being returned home, he ordered himselfe in the administration of his charge verie vprightlie, without giuing iust occasion vnto anie to find himselfe greeued: and thus continued he certeine yeres in such loue of all the estates of the realme, that afterwards when his nephue Ferlegus the eldest sonne of king Fergus, being now come to full age, through instigation of some insolent persons, and such as by alteration hoped for aduancement, required (contrarie to the ordinance before established) to haue of him the crowne: the matter was taken in such ill part, that where before the same Ferlegus was highlie beloued and honored of all the people, they were now readie (if Feritharis had not with authoritie and gentle persuasions staied them) to haue torne him all in peces: but although their rage was somewhat appeased by Feritharis, as is said, yet would they not be pacified throughlie, till that all such as had béene of counsell with him in that practise, had suffered death, and new gouernors appointed to haue the ouersight of him.

Feritharis liued not passing three moneths after this businesse, but died suddenlie in the night, the truth not being knowne whether by naturall death, or through treason of Ferlegus and certeine of his complices (whereof there was no small suspicion) for that he togither with them found meanes to flée first to the Picts, and after to the Britains, where he passed the residue of his life in great shame and ignominie. Feritharis being thus dead in the 15 yeere of his reigne, the nobles assembled togither for the election of a new king, and in the end they agreed vpon Mainus the yonger sonne of king Fergus, as then being about 24 yeres of age.

Feritharis suddenly died.

Ferlegus exiled.

An election of a new king.

Mainus.

This Mainus being of contrarie conditions to his brother Ferlegus, was thus aduanced to the crowne by the whole consent of the nobles and commons, who yet kept in fresh memorie the noble gouernement of his father Fergus. He therefore studieng to answere the peoples expectation in following his said fathers worthie acts, mainteined iustice in all points, without suffering anie bearing or bolstering of wrong. If there were anie controuersie risen betwixt neighbour and neighbour within one hundred or cantred, he willed that the same might be taken vp and ended amongest them at home by order of some authorized court there. But if the matter were of such importance, as that it could not well be decided without authoritie of some higher court, he would then haue the hearing thereof, at such time as he vsed euerie yere once to haue a publikie out of all parts of his realme, to conferre togither for such purposes; at what time also such as were notorious offendors were arreigned and punished by death or otherwise, according to the fault which they earst had committed.

Justice mainteined.

Small matters redressed among neighbours.

Great matters determined by the king.

Also for the more quiet of his subiects, he confirmed the ancient league with the Picts, their king named Chinus requiring the same by his ambassadors sent vnto him. Moreouer this Mainus vpon a religious deuotion toward the gods, hauing an assured beliefe, that without their fauours all worldlie policies were but vaine, deuised sundrie new ceremonies to be added vnto the old; and also caused certeine places in sundrie parts of his dominion to be appointed out, and compassed about with great huge stones round like a ring; but towards the south was one mightie stone farre greater than all the rest, pitched vp in maner of an altar, whereon their priests might make their sacrifices in honor of their gods.

Mainus confirmed the league with the Picts.

Mainus a deuout man in his religion.

In witnes of the thing, there remaineth vnto this day certeine of those great stones standing round ringwise, which places are called by the common people, The old chapels of the gods. A man would maruell by what shift, policie, or strength such mightie stones were raised in that maner. Amongst other the gods also, which the Scotishmen had in most reuerence, Diana was chiefe, whome they accounted as their peculiar patronesse, for that she was taken to be the goddesse of hunting, wherein consisted their chiefest exercise, pastime and delite. Vnto hir therefore he instituted monethlie sacrifice, by reason whereof this vse was taken vp, that so sone as anie of them got sight of the new mone next after hir change, he saluted hir with certeine praiers or salutations most reuerentlie. Which custome indured amongst them manie hundred yeres after. Mainus did also appoint forth liuings for the priests to be taken of such sacrifice as was offered vp to the gods. Finallie, when he had thus instructed his people in lawes and ordinances, aswell touching the religious seruice of the gods, as also for politike gouernment of his countrie, he ended his life, after he had reigned about 29 yeres, leauing the estate to his sonne Doruadille, Elidurus reigning at the same time in Britaine, and Thaara amongst the Picts.

Diana honored of the Scots.

Diana goddesse of hunting.

The new mone is worshipped.

A liuing prouided for the priests.

Doruadille.

Doruadille being crowned king of the Scots, established a new league with the Britains, by sending his ambassadors vnto them: and with the Picts he renewed & confirmed the ancient alliance. He set all his pleasure on hunting and keeping of hounds & greihounds, ordeining that euerie housholder should find him two hounds and one greihound. If a hunter chanced in following the game to lose an eie or a lim, so that he were not able to helpe himselfe after that time, he made a statute that he should be found of the common treasurie. He that killed a woolfe should haue an ore for his paines. This beast in deed the Scotishmen, euen from the begining, vsed to pursue in all they might deuise, because the same is such an enimie to cattell, wherein consisted the chiefest portion of all their wealth and substance.

Doruadille louer of peace.

Doruadille had pleasure in hunting.

The reward for killing of a woolfe.

Thus the Scotishmen in this season, setting all their delite on hunting, began also to vse lawes and statutes in proces of time concerning the same. And first it was ordeined, that he whose dog did teise and go through to the end of the course with the deare, so that he were séene to be at the fall, should haue the skin; the head & hornes to remaine to him whose dog did best nert. The body being drest & broken vp, should be distributed at the pleasure & discretion of the master of the game. The bowels and panch were cast to the dogs as the case required. And if there rose anie doubt in ante of these points, they should chose by common consent, a iudge to determine of the matter. But whether these deuises were lawes made by the king as then for the further aduancement of his pleasure, or rather customes growne and ratified by long continuall vse, I cannot tell, but certeine it is, they were obserued through all the Scotish regions, as hauing the force of lawes, and so are vsed euen vnto these daies.

Lawes made for hunting.

The dogs rewarded.

Beside these ordinances for hunting, Dorsadille commanded also, that all such statutes as Fergus had made, should be kept and obserued: whereunto he added certeine new, namelie diuerse sorts of punishments for sundrie kinds of transgressions, according to the qualities of the same: which he caused to be ingrossed in books of record, and committed to the

Old lawes allowed, and new established.

the cuſtodie of a graue councellor, who by a common conſent ſhould haue the interpretation of thoſe lawes if anie doubt aroſe, and that when anie offendor ſhould come before the iudge, and heare the ſentence read by him, the ſame offendor might vnderſtand that he receiued nothing but right at the iudges hands: by reaſon whereof it came to paſſe, that ſuch offendors without repining willinglie were contented to ſuffer anie puniſhment whatſoeuer it was that the law did ſo appoint them. This cuſtome grew into ſuch force, that it neuer might yet be abrogated amongſt them of the weſterne Iles, but that euen vnto this day they haue their lawiers amongſt them, without whoſe denuntiation or decree taken out of the regiſter, no iudgement is reputed lawfull.

These were the acts and doings of king Dorsadille, who in the 28 yeere of his reigne departed this world at Beregonium, now called Dunſtafage, leauing behind him a ſonne called Reuther as yet not of ſufficient age to ſucceed in the eſtate. By reaſon whereof Nothatus the brother of Dorsadille, a man of comelie perſonage and wit, apt (as was thought) to haue a realme in gouernance, was crowned king by force of law aboue remembred, debarring children vnder age to inherit the ſucceſſion of the crowne.

Nothatus.

Nothatus

THis Nothatus had vneath reigned two yeeres, when all the people began to crie out vpon him, for ſuch tyrannicall parts as he practiſed as well againſt the meane eſtates as the high. And forſomuch as he being admoniſhed of his duetie, and required to reforme certeine diſhonorable vſages by him exerciſed, he would giue no eare thereto: therefore one Donalus gouernor of Vzigantia, conſpiring with other nobles of the realme to depoſe him, intiſed Reuther king Dorsadilles ſonne, to take part with them, and to claime the crowne as due to him by deſcent from his father. And ſo aſſembling a companie of their faction ſufficient for their enterpriſe, they entered the palace where Nothatus lay, and after reaſoning with him of certeine points touching his miſgouernment in the eſtate, diuers of their companie not tarieng till they were commanded, raſhlie fell vpon him, and murthered him togither with diuers of ſuch nobles and gentlemen, as they knew to be enimies to Donalus and his friends.

Vzigantia, now called as the Scots lay Galloway.

Nothatus murdered.

Reuther.

After this they proclaimed Reuther king, and crowned him with all due ſolemnitie, diuers of the nobles of the realme being highlie diſpleaſed therewith, for that they iudged it not onelie a great offenſe to haue the king thus traitorouſlie murthered, but alſo ſaw hereby the ancient ordinance of chooſing their king through conſent of the people, to be broken by the wicked attempt of a priuat perſon, & an vnſkilfull yong man aduanced to the crowne, contrarie to the decree of an autentike law. Among other one Ferquhard the ſonne in law of Nothatus gouernor of Lorne and Cantir, called an aſſemblie of the people, and began to declare what enormities were like to inſue through this tyrannicall attempt of Donalus. Donalus hearing whereabout Ferquhard went, haſtilie came to the place where this aſſemblie was made, and there ſleaing diuers of the chiefe, he did put Ferquhard alſo in great hazard of his life, who by flieng yet eſcaped his hands, and got him ouer into the Ile of Ila, whither reſorted vnto him diuers of the nobles (that fauored not Donale) with a great number of the commons.

Reuther crowned king. Diuers lords offended.

Monantia.

A conſpiracie of Ferquhard againſt Donalus. Ferquhard fled into Ila.

In the end, Ferquhard perſuaded his companions to ſet all feare apart, and to returne with him into Scotland to take reuenge of Donale and his complices, being traitors and enimies to the realme and common-wealth, ſo that firſt ioining hands, which they did wet in mans bloud (according to the cuſtome then vſed) they promiſed one to another to liue and die in the quarell, and after imbarking themſelues in certeine veſſels, they entred the ſea, and paſſed ouer into Scotland, where gathering togither no ſmall number of ſuch as willinglie reſorted vnto them to their aid, they encountred with Donale in battell, whoſe hoſt twiſe in one daie was put to flight neere to the citie Beregonium with the loſſe of eight thouſand men.

Ferquhard returneth into Scotland for to reuenge his iniurie.

The night parted the fraie, but in the next morning, Donale and his partakers through great indignation conceiued, for that they were ſo beaten backe by Ferquhard (hauing in all his hoſt not paſt 10000 perſons) fiercelie came forth of their tents to giue battell afreſh, and finding their enimies readie to receiue them, there was fought ſo cruell a battell betwixt them, that in the end either part being ſore trauelled with ſlaughter and long fight, was glad to giue place to the other, not paſſing an eight hundred of all thoſe that were preſent that daie in the field as then being left aliue. Vpon Donales part there was ſlaine Gethus king of Picts, whoſe daughter king Reuther had married, with a great number of his people: alſo Donale himſelfe with diuers of the nobles of Scotland, beſide gentlemen & cõmons that tooke part with him. On the contrarie ſide there died alſo Ferquhard himſelfe with diuers gouernors of tribes, beſide the reſidue of the nobles, gentlemen & cõmons of Roſſe, Cathenelle, Marne, Argile, Cantire, and Lorne, with them of the weſterne Iles which were there with him.

Donale is ſlaine.

Ferquhard is ſlaine.

Reuther eſcaping with life from this bloudie encounter, in the night following departed his waies with ſuch of his people as were left aliue. Whereof his enimies being aduertiſed in the next morning, purſued after him with ſuch diligence, that in the end they tooke him within a caſtell in Cathnelle whither he was fled for ſuccor: he was pardoned of his life, partlie in reſpect of his fathers merits, and partlie againe for that it was knowne how his tender youth was ſuch as had not deſerued death by any fact, otherwiſe than in that he had followed the counſell of malicious perſons. By this cruell murther and huge ſlaughter thus committed betwixt theſe two nations of Scotiſhmen and Picts, both their forces were ſo greatlie infeebled, that they became an eaſie prey to their ancient and common enimies the Vzitains, who in ſuch opportunitie of occaſion thought not to ſit ſtill till the ſame might haplie be paſt and gone.

Reuther the king fled.

Reuther purſued & taken. He is pardoned of his life.

Firſt therefore with a mightie armie the Vzitains inuaded the Picts: the nobles of which nation perceiuing themſelues not able to make reſiſtance, fled with their wiues, their children, and the moſt part of their goods, ouer into the Iles of Orkenie, and there aſſembling togither, they created them a new king to haue the gouernance ouer them, who was alſo named Gethus, and brother to the other Gethus a little before mentioned. Heere alſo they remained certeine yeares after, liuing in peaceable manner with the former inhabitants, whom they found there, wronging them by no iniurious dealing at all (if the Scotiſh hiſtorie be true.) Hereof moreouer as ſome ſuppoſe it came to paſſe, that theſe Ilands of Orkenie are named by diuers writers the ancient kingdome of the Picts.

Gethus king.

why Orkenie was called Pictland as ſome ſuppoſe, but the truth ſhould ſeeme to be that they were ſo called becauſe the Picts inhabited there before they ſet foot in Vzitaine.

In the meane while the Vzitains ſeizing vpon ſuch countries as theſe Picts had forſaken, that is to ſaie, the Mers, Louthian, and others, they left in diuers places where they thought expedient, garriſons of men of war, to keepe the ſame in due ſubiection: and after entred into the confines of the Scotiſh kingdome, burning & waſting all afore them, wherewith ſuch Scots as yet remained aliue, being high-

The Scots ouerthrowne.

lie moued to indignation, came ſtoutlie into the field to defend their countrie, and incountring with their enimies neere to Kalender wood, they loſt two thouſand of their companie: the reſidue alſo being ſore chaſed, fled into ſundrie parties for ſafegard of their liues.

This diſcomfiture put the Scotiſh nation into ſuch feare and terror, that they vtterlie deſpaired of all recouerie, where contrariwiſe the Britains were ſo aduanced (in hope vtterlie to expell all aliens out of their Ile) that purſuing the victorie in moſt earneſt wiſe, they forced Reuther and all the nobilitie of the Scotiſh nation that was yet left aliue, to flee for ſafegard of their liues into the caſtell of Beregonium, where they held themſelues as in the ſureſt hold. The Britains being certified of the repaire of their enimies to Beregonium, enuironed the caſtell with a ſtrong and vehement ſiege, vntill that the Scots within were conſtreined through want of vittels to eate each other, according as the lots fell by a common agreement made amongſt them.

Scots beſieged deuoure one another.

But when it came to paſſe, that euen thoſe that were reputed as heads and gouernors, and in whom conſiſted the hope of their whole defenſe, did now and then come to the ſhambles as well as other of leſſe reputation, they thought it beſt to trie by iſſuing forth, if any of their haps might be ſo good as to eſcape the danger preſent, whereas by tarieng ſtill within the fortreſſe, they ſhould but deuoure one another without any reuenge for loſſe of their liues had vpon their fierce and cruell enimies. Whereupon by common conſent there iſſueth forth, firſt one Colane lord of Cantire with an hundred of his owne ſouldiors, and fiercelie ſkirmiſhing with the Britains, defended himſelfe a good ſpace right manfullie, though in the end both he and his whole band were borne downe and ſlaine with preaſe and multitude of his enimies that aſſailed him on each ſide.

The Scots come forth and fight.

In the meane ſeaſon, whileſt he thus occupied the Britains in fight on one ſide, Reuther with the reſidue of his people brake forth by another waie, and eſcaping to the ſea ſide, got ſhips and fled ouer into the weſterne Iles, where he found a great number of other Scotiſhmen that were gotten thither, being compelled by Denus king of the Britains to auoid forth of the countries, which they before inhabited.

Reuther eſcapeth.

Reuther remained not long in the Iles, but paſſed ouer into Ireland. The Britains not a little moued for his eſcape with the other of the Scotiſh lords, reuenged their diſpleaſure on ſuch commons and other meane people as fell into their hands, ſo that ſuch as might eſcape, got them into the mounteins, and liued there by roots, berries, & other wild fruits in ſummer, and in winter by ſuch veneſon and fleſh of wild beaſts as they killed in the wilderneſſe: and ſometimes they came downe and made raiſes vpon the Britains that occupied their houſes and lands, fetching great boties verie often from amongeſt them.

Reuther paſſeth into Ireland.

They inhabit the mounteins.

This cruell warre laſted twelue yeares, vntill in maner all ſuch Scots and Picts as remained in Albion were brought vnder ſeruitude to the Britains. In which meane while, Gethus king of the Picts kept his ſiege roiall in Pomonia the cheefeſt Ile of the Orkenies. Reuther alſo begot of his wife a ſonne named Thereus, and ſhortlie after being procured by letters and meſſengers ſent vnto him from the foreſaid Gethus and ſuch Scots as were yet remaining in Albion, he aſſembled a number of ſhips togither, and firſt with a choſen power of warriors ſailed to the weſterne Iles, where increaſing his numbers, he paſſed ouer into Albion, landing on the weſt halfe of Roſſe at Lough Brunn, and there

Reuther is ſent for out of Ireland.

comming on land, the firſt perſon that they met with (according to a cuſtome vſed amongſt them in thoſe daies) they ſlue, and wetting the points of their weapons in his bloud, they firſt taſted thereof after their maner, then holding vp their weapons into the aire, they deſired of the gods that they might reuenge the bloud of their elders with happie battell againſt the Britains their enimies. After this, hearing that Gethus king of the Picts was alſo entred the land with a mightie power of Germans, which were come to his aid, and was not paſt thirtie miles off, he ſtaied there abiding for his comming, to the intent that ioining their powers togither, they might be the better able to furniſh their enterpriſe.

A cuſtome.

The Germans in aid of the Picts.

The third daie after they met togither with great ioy and congratulations, vnto whom with all ſpeed a great number alſo of thoſe Scotiſhmen and Picts that had ſtill continued in the countrie (during the time of the perſecution by the Britains) dailie reſorted and came flocking in from each ſide vnto them. Siſillius king of the Britains, who ſucceeded after Denus, as then latelie deceaſſed, hauing knowlege hereof, aſſembled a great armie of his ſubiects, and hearing that the Scots and Picts were entred into the borders of his realme, he haſted forth to incounter with their powers, and ſo ioining with them in battell, after long and cruell fight, in the end the victorie remained with the Scotiſhmen and Picts, by the great valiancie and manfull proweſſe of Reuther: whereupon the place where that battell was fought hath beene euer ſince called Reuthirdale, as ye would ſay Reuthers vallie.

Reuther and Gethus meet and ioine their powers togither.

The Britains are diſcomfited by the Scots and Picts.

wherof Reuthirdale tooke the name.

This victorie was not very pleaſant to any of the parties, by reaſon of the great numbers of men ſlaine on both ſides, inſomuch that they were glad to fall to agreement immediatlie after, and concluded a peace, with conditions that the Scotiſhmen and Picts ſhould be reſtored againe vnto their ancient poſſeſſions and lands in Albion. This peace continued a long time after inuiolate betwixt theſe nations. The yeare that Reuther returned thus into Albion, was before the birth of Chriſt 216, after the building of Rome 529, and from the creation of the world 3750. Reuther by Beda in his eccleſiaſticall hiſtorie of England is named Reuda, who alſo ſuppoſeth him to be the firſt of all the Scotiſh princes, that ſet any foot in Britaine there to inhabit: his comming thither was (as ſeemeth to ſome) long after the ſuppoſed time here before alleged. And verelie there is great cauſe to moue a doubt of the truth of that which Hector Boetius hath written, in following (as he ſaith) other authors, touching the firſt comming into Britaine, as well of the Scots and Picts. For if it were true, that ſo long before the comming of the Romans into this Ile, they were here planted and growne to ſuch puiſſance; it is ſtrange that no mention is made of them in any of their writings, till about the yeare 360 after Chriſt; as in place conuenient it ſhall more plainelie appeare. Reuther paſſed the reſidue of his daies without any further warres, forren and ciuill, and ſo departed this world at Beregonium, in the 26 yeare of his reigne.

A peace concluded.

240 H.B.

4995 H.B.

Reuther by Beda is named Reuda.

4997 H.B.

Reutha.

After Reuther his deceaſſe, his vncles ſon called Reutha ſucceeded in the kingdome, choſen thereto by the common agreement of all the ſtates, becauſe that Thereus ſonne to Reuther vncath come to the age of ten yeares, was thought vnable to take the charge vpon him. Reutha therfore being thus elected to reigne as king ouer the Scotiſhmen, ordeined that ſuch noblemen as had atchiued anie notable exploit in defenſe of their countrie, ſhould be had in perpetuall memorie, and buried in ſolemne wiſe in ſepulchres aloft vpon hils or mounteins,

An ordinance for buriall of their princes. Obeliſks or pointed ſtones

vpon

vpon the which were ſet ſo manie obeliſks or long pointed ſtones, as they had ſlaine enimies in the wars: whereof ſome remaine there to be ſeene euen to this daie.

Craftſmen brought into Scotland to inſtruct the people.

This Reutha alſo vnderſtanding of the lacke of all maner of craftſmen in his realme, and of ſuch as were expert in the liberall ſciences, cauſed a great number of moſt perfect artificers to be ſent for, to inhabit amongeſt his people, the better to inſtruct them in their occupations. Vnto theſe alſo as vnto other profeſſing anie liberall art, were appointed honeſt liuings, by way of fees, aſſigned to be receiued of ſuch droue and beaſts as were killed, to euerie man of ſcience and artificer his part. And further, ech of them had certeine meaſures of otes and barlie in ſtead of yearelie annuities. For as yet the vſe of coine was not knowen amongeſt the Scotiſhmen. The which cuſtome of diſtributing their beaſts, which they killed in this wiſe, is ſtill vſed in the weſterne Iles euen to theſe our daies.

Liuings appointed forth vnto thoſe craftſmen.

A law for phiſicians and ſurgians.

Reutha perceiuing furthermore that through vnſkilfull ſurgians and phyſicians manie wounded and diſeaſed perſons were oftentimes caſt awaie, ordeined by the aduiſe and conſent of his councell, that none ſhould take vpon them as a ſurgion or phyſician, vnleſſe they were by long experience well practiſed aforehand in thoſe ſciences. For before that time they vſed to carie forth ſuch perſons as were ſicke or otherwiſe hurt, and to lay them in ſome open place in the ſtreets or market ſted, that all ſuch as came by, might according to their knowledge declare their aduiſe, and ſhew (if they had beene vered with the like diſeaſe) by what means they had eſcaped the danger, and recouered againe their health. For no man might without the note of high reproch paſſe by, keeping ſilence in this behalfe. And this was according to the cuſtome of the old Aegyptians.

Reutha thus ſtudieng for the aduancement of the commonwealth of his ſubiects, continued in the eſtate with great proſperitie, till finallie perceiuing himſelfe farre growen in age, and not ſo able to trauell in the affaires of the realme as he was before, he cauſed a parlement to be aſſembled, and there in preſence of all the eſtates, required to be diſcharged of the gouernement: and that the ſame might be committed vnto his coſin Thereus, who as then was not onelie of ſufficient age to take it vpon him, but alſo of ſuch towardneſſe, as that in each mans opinion he was thought likelie to atteine vnto the proweſſe of anie of his noble progenitors. Thus Reutha, after he had reigned 17 yeares, returned to a priuat life, reſigning the whole rule of his realme vnto the aforeſaid Thereus, being through his perſuaſion receiued as king of all eſtates by common conſent there in that preſent aſſemblie.

Reuthi reſigned the eſtate vnto his coſin Thereus.

Thereus.

This Thereus for the firſt ſix yeares was equall in all points of princelie gouernement to anie of his predeceſſors, but afterward he changed his copie in ſuch maner, that iuſtice and all other kinds of vertue being ſet apart, he neither regarded the lawes of the gods, nor yet of men; but gaue himſelfe to all ſorts of filthineſſe and moſt deteſtable vices, ſo farre forth, that his ſubiects (as their cuſtome is in following the maners and vſages of their princes) became ſo outragious in their licentious liuings, and namelie the nobles and gentlemen, that thereof inſued theft, murther, rape, ſpoiling, and all kinds of oppreſſion of thoſe ſillie ſoules that had no meanes to reſiſt, ſo as in fine, diuers gouernours of the tribes perceiuing no hope of amendment while Thereus ſhould reigne, conſpired togither, deuiſing meanes how to depoſe him of all kinglie authoritie. But he hauing notice of their purpoſed intentions, and doubting the ſequele thereof, conueied himſelfe

Iuſtice neglected and vice imbraced.

The nobles conſpire againſt Thereus.

out of the way in moſt ſecret wiſe, fleeing for ſuccour vnto the Britains, vnto whome though he made earneſt ſute for aid to be reſtored home againe, yet could he purchaſe no ſuch fauour amongſt them: ſo that leding a miſerable life a long time after within the citie of Yorke, he finallie there ended his daies. He reigned in Scotland about 12 yeares or more.

Thereus fled to the Britains.

Conanus.

Immediatlie after this his auoiding the realme, the nobles and peeres choſe one Conanus lord of Galloway to rule the eſtate as gouernour, whoſe authoritie had beene euer great amongeſt the people. His ſtudie was chieflie imploied how to reduce the lords and nobles of the realme into concord and friendlie amitie, where before through the negligence of Thereus each ſought others deſtructions. Alſo he cauſed due puniſhment to be executed vpon all ſuch as liued by robbing and reuing, of whome in the beginning of his gouernement there was no ſmall number: but he weeded them forth, in ſuch wiſe that yer he left off, there was not one of them to be found. At length, after it was vnderſtood that Thereus was dead, this Conanus renounced the adminiſtration in preſence of all the eſtates aſſembled in parlement at Weregonium, where by common conſent Joſina brother of Thereus was choſen to reigne as king, for that Thereus had left no iſſue behind him to ſucceed.

Conanus is choſen king.

Conanus perſecuteth offendors.

He renounceth the eſtate.

Joſina elected king.

Joſina.

This Joſina being proclaimed king, renewed the ancient leagues with the Picts and Britains. He had phyſicians in great eſtimation; for that during his abode in Ireland, he was nouriſhed of a child amongeſt them, and by reaſon thereof had ſome knowledge in the facultie, ſpeciallie he vnderſtood the vertues and properties of herbes, wherewith in thoſe daies the Scots vſed to heale and remedie all maner of ſores and diſeaſes, which as then were few in number, in reſpect of the ſundrie kinds which are now knowen amongſt vs; and all by reaſon of the ſuperfluous feeding and exceſſe of meats and drinks vſed in our time, whereas our elders ſufficed with a little, liued without ſurfeting, the chiefeſt breeder of ſuch ſtrange and manifold ſicknеſſes. In this Joſina his daies it chanced that a Portingale ſhip was driuen and drowned by force of a ſtreinable tempeſt neere vnto the ſhore of one of the Scotiſh Iles, where diuerſe of thoſe that were within the ſame ſhip, mariners and other eſcaped to land, amongeſt whome were two ancient and fatherlie old men of right reuerend aſpect and countenance.

Surfeting the cauſe of ſtrange diſeaſes, which ſo commonlie now reigne.

Two ancient philoſophers through ſhipwrack arriue in Scotland, and are ioifullie receiued of the king.

These two in companie with ſome of the inhabitants of that Ile came ouer into Weregonium, where the king as then ſoiourned. They were Spaniſh prieſts of the pagane religion, whoſe purpoſe was to haue gone vnto Athens in Grecia (as ſome write) but whence ſoeuer they were, and what purpoſe ſoeuer they had, certeine it is they were philoſophers; and therefore the king receiued them moſt ioifullie, doing them all the honor he could deuiſe, and commanding that they ſhould be lodged within his owne palace, where they had all things needfull, and accordinglie miniſtred vnto them.

These philoſophers, after they had refreſhed themſelues at their eaſe for the ſpace of 14 daies, the king cauſed them to come before him, requiring them to ſhew their opinion what they thought by the nature of the ſoile, the maners and cuſtoms of his people, ſo far forth as they had ſeene and heard. They without pauſing for anſwere declared, that as yet they had not had time to learne thoſe things, but onelie thus far by coniecture they ſuppoſed, that the ground was more like to be fruitfull of mettall mines, than of corne and graine, as conteining far more riches vnderneath the earth than aboue: & this they ſaid that

they gathered by the influence of the heauens vnder the which it laie. And as for the rites and vsages of the people, in one point they could in no wise commend them, for that in religion they followed the superstitious rites of the Aegyptians, worshipping the immortall gods in the shape of beasts and fouls; whereas God was euen the same that did comprehend both heauen and earth, with the waters and all things in them conteined, whome they named nature, and as it were the primordiall cause or beginning of all things, vnto whome it was not possible to deuise anie similitude of liuing thing that might in anie wise represent him. Therefore (said they) men ought to worship the liuing God with fire and deuout praier, building him a temple for that purpose, and onelie vnto him to burne incense, and to performe vowes: at whose hands such as liued chastlie, vprightlie, and according to the rules of iustice, ought euer to looke for some high benefit, where other that liued contrarilie might euer stand in doubt of contrarie reward.

The Scotish religion reproued.

Vpright liuing well rewarded at Gods hands.

With these their sensible instructions they perswaded manie of the Scotish nation vnto their opinion, though the greatest part would by no means follow anie other kind of religion, than that which they had receiued from their elders: neither could anie of them be brought to thinke otherwise of the sun, the mone, and stars, but that there was a certeine diuine power or godhead in euerie one of them. And thus much of these strangers briefflie and by the way, who came into Scotland at this present: but now to proceed with our purpose. When Iosina had reigned 24 yeares, he departed out of this world at Beregonium, being a man of verie great age. He left behind him a sonne named Finnanus, who a little before his fathers decease was by consent of the people proclamed king of Scotland.

Iosina departeth this life.

Finnanus.

THis Finnanus had the nobles of his realme in such estimation, that he ordeined that nothing should be decreed or practised touching the publike affaires of the realme, except they were first made priuie and of counsell in the same. He sought also to win the fauour of his people by meekenesse and gentle intreating of them, insomuch that though he went about to restore the old religion somwhat defaced by his father through information (as is said) of the two aboue mentioned sage philosophers, yet did he not constreine anie man to worship the gods, otherwise than his fansie serued him. He was the first that instituted those prelats, which gouerned after the maner of bishops, in all matters perteining to religion, and were called in the Scotish tong Durceglijs in Latine Druides. These Druides were appointed to be resident within the Ile of Man, as the Scotishmen hold opinion: but other thinke rather that they were resident in Angleseie, in the British tong called Mon. Vnto these also hauing great liuings assigned them, were the inferiour priests subiect, as receiuing at their hands all iniunctions and orders for the vse of their sacrifices and other ceremonies.

Prelats ordered in religion.

Druides in the old Scotish tong called Durceglijs.

The Scots mistake Man for Angleseie.

These Druides afterwards applied themselues so earnestlie to the studie of philosophie, aswell natturall as morall, that they were had in no small reuerence of the people, as they that were both accounted and knowne to be men of most perfect life and innocencie: by meanes whereof their authoritie dailie so far forth increased, that finallie iudgements in most doubtfull matters were committed vnto their determinations, offendors by their discretion punished, and such as had well deserued accordinglie by their appointments rewarded. Moreouer such as refused to obeie their decrees and ordinances, were by them excommunicated, so that no creature durst once keepe companie with such, till they were reconciled againe, and clearelie by the same Druides absolued.

The authoritie of the Druides increased.

Plinie, Cornelius Tacitus, Strabo, and Iulius Cæsar; with diuers other approued authors, make mention of these Druides, signifieng how the first beginning of their religion was in Britaine (which some comprehend all wholie vnder the name of Albion) and from thence was the same religion brought ouer into France. Finnanus was not onelie praised for his setting forth of that heathen religion, but also for his politike gouernement of the estate in ioifull rest and quietnesse. Neither was his fame a little aduanced for the mariage concluded and made betwixt his sonne Durstus and Agasia daughter to the king of Britains, for by that aliance he wan diuers of the British nation vnto his friendship. Finallie, this Finnanus died at Camelon, being come thither to visit the king of Picts as then sore diseased, after he had reigned about the space of thirtie yeares. His bodie was conueied vnto Beregonium, and there buried amongest his predecessors.

Durstus.

AFter him succéded his sonne the forenamed Durstus, farre differing from his noble father in all vertuous demeanour; as he that was altogither giuen to banketting and excessiue drunkennesse. Such of the nobles as his father had in high reuerence he made light account of; accepting onelie those that of their wicked deuises could find out new kinds of voluptuous pleasures, through whose persuasions some of his peeres he confined, some he spoiled of all their substance & inheritance, other he put to death without iust cause or anie kind of lawfull means. Furthermore he forsoke the companie of his lawfull wife Agasia, causing hir to be forced and abused by diuers vile persons in most villanous maner.

wicked counsellors.

With these and the semblable inordinat practises he procured the indignation of his people so far forth against him, that those of the westerne Iles with them of Cantire, Lorne, Argile, and Rosse, conspired togither in the reformation of such disorders as were dailie vsed in the administration of iustice, by the wicked suggestion of euill disposed councellors, against whome they pretended to make their war, and not against their king. There were also so manie that fauoured them in this quarell, and so few that leaned to the king to aid him against them, that he was constreined to dissemble with them for a time, in promising not onelie to remoue from him such as they would appoint, but also to be ordered in all things according as they should thinke good. And to put them in beléefe that he ment as he spake, he committed some such councellors as he had about him vnto ward, and other some (of whome he little passed) he sent vnto them as prisoners, to receiue such punishment by death or otherwise, as they should thinke conuenient.

A conspiracie.

A craftie and cloked dissimulation.

He further also in presence of Doro the gouernour of Cantire, sent to him for that purpose, sware in solemne wise afore the image of Diana, to performe all such promises and couenants as he was agréed vpon, and had made vnto the conspirators. With which cloked dissimulation they being deceiued, came without suspect of further guile vnto Beregonium, where at their first comming he was readie to receiue them (as séemed by his feined countenance) with gladsome hart and most friendlie meaning; but they were no sooner entred the castell, but that a number of armed men appointed for the purpose fell vpon them, and slue them all without mercie.

Craftie dissimulation.

A cruell murther.

This heinous act being once signified abroad in their countries amongst their friends and kinsfolke, caused

A new tumult.

King Durstus besieged.

caused a new commotion, so that within a few daies after, manie thousands of men in furious rage came before the castell, and besieged the king most straightlie therein. Who perceiuing himselfe in such danger as he knew not well how to escape, came forth with such companie as he had about him, and incountring with his enimies, was straightwaies beaten downe among them, and so at once lost there both kingdome and life in the ninth yeare of his reigne. Durstus being thus dispatched, his children doubting the indignation of the people conceiued against them for their fathers fault, to auoid the perill fled ouer into Ireland, and immediatlie the nobles of the realme assembled themselues togither for the chosing of a new king, in no wise minding to haue anie of Durstus his race to reigne ouer them, least they would seeke by some means to reuenge his death: howbeit at length when they were at point to haue fallen at variance in susteining of contrarie opinions about the election of their prince, through a wittie oration made by Corranus gouernour of Argile, who alledged manie weightie reasons for the auoiding of sedition, they all agreed to commit the free election vnto the same Corranus, promising firmelie to accept whomesoeuer he should name. Herevpon Corranus consulting a little with the peeres of the realme, named one Ewin the vncles sonne of Durstus, who as then remained in Pictland, whither he had withdrawen himselfe in Durstus his daies, being banished the realme by him, for that he could not awaie with his corrupt maners. This election was acceptable to all estats, for that thereby the administration of the kingdome continued in the line of their former kings.

Durstus is slaine.

Ewin is chosen king.

Ewin.

And Ewin shortlie after was brought forth of Pictland with all regall solemnitie, and at Beregonium placed vpon the stone of marble, to the great reioising of the people there assembled. Herewith also the nobles of the realme, putting their hands in his, bound themselues by oth to be loiall and faithfull subiects vnto him in all points, which custome of swearing fealtie then first by Ewins commandement, begun and continued manie hundred yeares after amongst his and their posteritie; in so much that the capteins of the tribes also required the same kind of oth of them that inhabited within their liberties, which in part remaineth yet vnto this day amongest those of the westerne Iles, and such as inhabit in the mounteins. For at the creation of a new gouernour, whome they name their capteine, they vse the like ceremonies; which being ended, at the next faire kept within that countrie, proclamation is made, that no man inhabiting within his iurisdiction, shall name this new gouernour by anie other name from thenceforth, than by the ancient & accustomed name as such rulers aforetime haue beene called by. And that so oft as they heare him named, they shall put off their caps or hats, and make a certeine courtesie in signe of honour due to him, in such maner as we vse in hearing diuine seruice, when anie holie mysterie is in doing, or anie sacred name of the almightie creator recited.

Swearing of fealtie first begun.

Humble reuerence.

But now touching king Ewin, his chiefest studie was to mainteine iustice throughout his dominion, and to weed out such transgressours as went about to trouble the quiet estate of his subiects. Furthermore, considering what inconueniencies proceeded through the vse of voluptuous pleasures & wanton delites, he ordeined that the youth of his realme should be trained to endure hardnesse, paine, and trauell, as to lie vpon hard boords without anie featherbeds or pillows vnder them. Also to exercise themselues to throw the dart, to shot, to wrestle, and to beare armour aswell in time of peace as of warre; that when need required, trauell and such kind of exercises should be no paine but pleasure vnto them; where otherwaies lacke of vse might make the same intollerable. Whilest Ewin is thus occupied about the setting forth of necessarie ordinances for the wealth of his realme, the king of the Picts did send vnto him ambassadours to require his aid against the Britains, who were entred his countrie in robbing and spoiling the same.

The duetie of a good prince.

A notable ordinance.

Ewin consenting quicklie to that request, leuied an armie forthwith, and with all speed passed forward to ioine with the Picts, in purpose to reuenge the old iniuries done to his nation by the Britains, who likewise were as readie to receiue battell, as the Scots and Picts were desirous to giue it, so that both the armies incountring togither (the Scots and Picts on the one side, and the Britains on the other) there insued a sore conflict betwixt them, continued with vnmercifull slaughter till night parted them in sunder; no man as then able to iudge who had the better, but either part being priuie to their owne losses, withdrew themselues further off from the place of the battell, so that the Scots and Picts the same night got them into the mounteins of Pictland, and the Britains so soone as it was day made homewards with all speed towards their countrie, leauing no small preie and bootie behind them, which the Scotishmen and the Picts recouered, comming downe with all speed from the mounteins, when they once heard that their enimies were departed.

A doubtfull battell.

King Ewin being returned from this iournie, determined to passe the residue of his life in rest and quietnesse, appointing iudges in euerie part of his realme, for the ministring of iustice and executing of lawes, according to the due forme and ordinance of the same. He appointed also such as should watch for the apprehension of theeues and robbers by the high waies, assigning them liuings of the common treasurie to liue by. And there be euen vnto this day that hold still such liuings, though the office be worne out of vse and forgotten.

After this, he builded a castell not farre distant from Beregonium, which he named after his owne name Euonium: but afterwards it was called Dunstafage, which is as much to say, as Stéeuens castell, which name it beareth at this present. Finallie, this Ewin, after he had reigned to the great weale of the realme, about 19 yeares, he departed this life, leauing behind him a son base begotten, named Gillus, who causing his fathers funerals to be executed with all solemne pompe and ceremonies, raised vp sone after sundry obelisks about his graue neere vnto Dunstafage, where he was buried.

Dunstafage is builded.

There were present also at the buriall, two of Durstus his sonnes, whome Ewin in his life time had reuoked home out of Ireland, where they were in exile. Both these, as well the one as the other, because they were twins, and not knowne whether of them came first into the world, loked to be king after Ewin: their names were Dothan and Dorgall. And such malicious emulation and enuious spite rose betwixt the two brethren, for the attelning of their purpose, that greater could not be deuised; which Gillus, like a craftie & subtill fox, by couert means sought still to augment; and in the end causing them to come togither for some conclusion of agréement, at length when he had set them further at ods than they were before, he procured a number of souldiers appointed for the purpose to raise a tumult (as though it had bene in taking of contrarie parts) and there to slea them both.

The craftie working of Gillus.

Thus Gillus hauing brought to purpose that he came for, shewed in countenance as though he had béene much offended therewith, and done what hée

Durstus two sonnes are slaine.

could to haue appeased the matter, and herewith he commeth running forth with a high voice, declaring to his companie, that if he had not made good shift for himselfe, he had beene slaine by the hands of Dothan and Dorgall, who fell into such mischéefe themselues, as they had prepared for other. Herevpon also he required his friends and seruants most earnestlie to conueie him into some sure place, where he might be out of danger, and in better securitie: in somuch that manie of those that heard him, giuing credit to his words, went with him with all speed vnto Dunstafage, where being receiued into the castell with diuers of the nobles that followed him, he got him into a gallerie, and there making an inuectiue oration against the sonnes of Durstus, and touching by the way what perill might insue to the commonwealth by ciuill diuision, he persuaded them to commit the rule into his hands, vntill it might be certeinlie knowen, vnto whome the same of right apperteined.

The nobles through feare consented to create Gillus king.

Those that were present, perceiuing to what issue his painted processe tended, and doubting lest if they should séeme to stand against him at that instant in this his demand, they might happilie be the first that should repent the bargaine, consented to proclaime him king: whereupon he required all such as were present, to sweare vnto him fealtie, and to do him homage according to the custome. And herewith agréeablie as he had before promised, and according to his fathers will (as he alledged) he distributed among them all such cattell as belonged to his said father. Whereby he wan the greater fauour of manie, but yet not iudging himselfe altogither in suertie, by reason that Dothan had left behind him three sonnes, as then remaining in the Ile of Man, in the bringing vp of the Druides, he purposed therefore to dispatch them also for the better assurance of his estate, and therevpon he made a iournie thither himselfe, feigning as though he meant nothing but all loue and frendlie affection towards the children, by which meanes he gat two of them into his hands, the one named Lismorus, being about twelue yeres of age, and the other Cormacus that was two yéres yonger. The yongest of the three named Ederus, being about seuen yéres old, as his better hap was, chanced to be sicke at that time, by reason whereof he escaped his hands: Gillus feigning as though he wished to haue the other two brought vp like the children of a prince, he led them away with him into Scotland, leauing certeine of his seruants behind him, to rid Ederus the yongest out of the way at leisure; and as for the other twaine, the night following after his comming home to Dunstafage, he caused them to be murthered, euen in their tutors armes, whose aid most pitifullie they besought and required. But the woman that had the kéeping of Ederus now in his sickenesse, prouided more warilie for his safegard, for she smelling out what was the kings purpose, in the dead of the night got hir selfe togither with Ederus into a ship, and passed ouer into Argile, where being set on land, she caried him on hir shoulders vp into the mounteins, and there within a secret den susteined his languishing life for certeine moneths in great care and miserie.

Gillus goeth about to murther Dothans sonnes also.

A detestable murther.

Ederus escapeth.

Gillus notwithstanding these his cruell acts, shewed yet in outward apperance that no man was more desirous of the quiet state and prosperous successe of the commonwealth than he: euer reasoning among his nobles, and that in the presence of his commons touching the maintenance of iustice, & punishment of misdoers, whereas he himselfe thirsted continuallie, and most of all after the bloud of those whom he doubted anie thing likelie to attempt the reuenge of his wicked misgouernance; insomuch that he caused in one place and other, all such to be murthered and slaine as bare anie good will toward the lawfull line of Durstus.

Gillus counterfeiteth a zeale to iustice.

Now the people séeing the dailie slaughter of the nobilitie, and at the last growing to be verie sore moued against him, namelie those of Galloway, Kiley, Carrike, and Coningham, with them of Cantire, Lorne, and Argile, they assembled their powers togither, and with all speed marched forth towards the place where they thought to find the tyrant: who hearing of this their conspiracie, assembled such puissance as he could make, & hauing no other refuge but to trie the matter by battell, made towards his enimies with more spéed than good successe: for yer the two armies came to ioining, a great number of Gillus his friends fled to the contrarie part, so that herevpon doubting the issue if he were constreined to fight, he stale priuilie from amongst the residue of his folks, and getting into a fishers bote, conueied himselfe ouer into Ireland: whose departure being once knowne, his souldiors yelded themselues vnto Cadall gouernor of Galloway, who was capteine generall of all the conspirators, and now by the consent of all the estates created gouernor of the realme till they had chosen a king.

The Scots rise against Gillus.

Gillus departeth secretlie and getteth ouer into Ireland.

Cadall of Galloway is chosen gouernor of the realme.

This Cadall, immediatlie vpon the great authoritie giuen him, gat first all the best fortresses into his hands, as Beregonium, Dunstafage, and other: then he passed ouer into the Ile of Ila, to prouide the better for the resisting of Gillus, if he shuld attempt anie thing by purchasing aid amongst them of the westerne Iles. Thither was brought vnhimto also, the yong Ederus (by such of Durstus his friends as had escaped the cruell hands of Gillus) whome Cadall caused to be honorablie conueied vnto Epiake the chiefest citie of Galloway, there to be brought vp in princelie nurture, that comming to full age, hee might the better be able to take vpon him the gouernance.

Leland and other take Epiake not to be so farre north.

In which meane while Gillus made all the friends in Ireland that he could, insomuch that vpon such golden promises as he made vnto the chiefest gouernors there, they consented to aid him with all their forces. Wherof Cadall being aduertised, he thought it best that a king should be chosen, and thereby an vnitie to be framed amongst all the estates of the realme, whereupon causing a councell to be assembled for the same intent, by common agréement, one Ewin, a man of worthie fame, nephue to king Finnan by his brother Douall, was in the end proclaimed king: who was latelie come from the Ile of Gowere into Albion, in companie with Cadall, and kept himselfe close hitherto within the said Ile, for doubt of Gillus that sought amongst other to haue destroied him also.

Gillus purchaseth aid in Ireland.

Ewin the second of that name chosen king.

Ewin.

THis Ewin, being the second of that name, made great prouision in the beginning of his reigne to resist the said Gillus his enimie. And hearing that he had béene in the Ile of Ila, and put the same to fire and sword, he prepared an armie and ships also, to transport therewith ouer into Ireland, there to reuenge that iniurie vpon such as had aided Gillus therein to the hinderance of his countrie. The forenamed Cadall gouernor of Galloway, was appointed also to haue the leading of this armie: who taking the sea at Dunstafage, directed his course streight ouer vnto the coasts of Ireland, where taking land and encountering with his enimies, he put them to the worse, insomuch that Gillus fearing to fall into his aduersaries hands, fled out of the field into the next wood, where he thought to haue saued himselfe. His souldiers also perceiuing him to be fled, gaue ouer the field, and yélded themselues vnto Cadall, who toke them to grace, and forthwith

Cadall with an armie is sent into Ireland.

sent

Gillus taken.

Gillus beheaded,

A ſhipwrack by a tempeſt.

Cadall for his good & faithfull ſeruice is rewarded.

In interview betwixt the kings of Scots and Picts.

The people of Orkney inuade Cathneſſe.

Bladus king of Orkeney ſleeth himſelf.

Enuerlochtey is builded.

Enuerneſſe builded.

ſent out certeine companions to ſéeke Gillus, who found him in a den cloſed about with thicke woods and buſhes, where he had lien hid certeine daies, and was almoſt ſtarued for hunger. Thoſe that found him immediatlie ſtroke off his head, and preſented the ſame vnto Cadall, to the great reioiſing of all the companie.

Thus after that Cadall had atchiued his enterpriſe with good ſucceſſe, he toke the ſea againe to returne into Scotland, but by meanes of a grœuous tempeſt, he loſt the greateſt part of his armie, with all the ſpoile and riches that they had gotten in that voiage. Which miſchance ſore blemiſhed the glorie of ſo famous a victorie, ſo that the reioiſing of manie was turned into dolefull mourning for the loſſe of their friends and kinſfolke, but namelie Cadall toke it ſo grœuouſlie, that nothing could be more ofenſiue vnto him. Howbeit, after he was come on land, the king and other of the nobles recomforted him in all that they might, and the king gaue him alſo much faire lands, with diuers caſtels in Galloway, in recompenſe of his good faithfull ſeruice at ſundrie times ſhewed in defenſe of his countrie, and made him gouernor of Galloway alſo, which he verie thankfullie accepted.

After this king Ewin came to an interuiew with the king of Picts in the borders of Galloway, and there renewed th' ancient leage betwixt the Scotiſh men and the Picts. For more corroboration wherof Sybra the daughter of Gethus the third king of the Picts, was ioined in marriage with Ederus, the ſolemnization being kept at Eptake. Theſe things thus accompliſhed, Ewin returned to Duſtafage, where being certified by letters from the lieutenant of Roſſe, that the Ilanders of Orkney had paſſed Pictland firth, and were entred into Cathneſſe, robbing and ſpoiling that countrie with a great part of Roſſe, he leuied an armie with all ſpéed, and haſted towards the enimies, conſtreining them by his ſudden comming to fight whether they would or not, hauing no leiſure to get awaie, ſo that with ſmall reſiſtance they were vanquiſhed and chaſed, ſome into the mounteins, and other to the ſea ſide: of whom part eſcaped by botes ouer into their countries, the reſidue of them in this their ſudden ouerthrow being either ſlaine, drowned, or taken. But Bladus the king of Orkeney, for that he would not come into his enimies hands, ſlue himſelfe. And thus ended this enterpriſe againſt the enimies of Orkeney: greatlie to the increaſe of Ewins fame amongſt the Scotiſh nation.

After this he viſited the weſt parts of his realme, and at the mouth of the riuer of Lochtey he builded a citie which he named Enuerlochtey, infranchiſing the ſame with a ſanctuarie for the refuge of offendors. This citie afterwards was much frequented with merchants of France and Spaine, by reaſon of the great abundance of ſamons, herrings, and other fiſh which was taken there. The old ruines of this citie in part remaine to be ſéene in that place where it ſtood, euen to this day. He likewiſe built an other citie in the eaſt part of the realme néere to the water called Lochneſſe, which he named Enuerneſſe, after the name of the water. Whither in times paſt there reſorted manie merchants of Germanie, with ſuch merchandize as the inhabitants of the countrie there ſtood in néed of, exchanging the ſame with them for marterne ſkins, and other ſuch furres, wherewith they made their returne. This citie is as yet remaining, and beareth the old name, rich and well ſtored with diuers kinds of merchandize, ſo that this Ewin proued a moſt famous prince for his worthie exploits right fortunatelie atchiued both in peace and warre. And finallie vnderſtanding the death of his verie déere and intirelie beloued friend Cadall, he repaired vnto Eptake, as well to giue order for the pacifieng of his ſonnes being at variance for their fathers inheritance, as alſo to doo the more honor to his friend now deceaſed, by erecting ſome monument néere vnto his ſepulchre. Comming therefore to Eptake, and ſetting an accord betwixt the yong men, he cauſed an image to be made in all points reſembling the perſonage of Cadall, as néere as might be: which he placed in the middeſt of the market ſtéed, commanding the ſame to be honored with burning of incenſe and other diuine ceremonies. Within a few daies alſo, through inward ſorrow, as was thought, for the loſſe of ſo déere a friend, he began to wax ſicke himſelfe, and at length perceiuing he ſhould not eſcape preſent death, he cauſed Ederus (of whom before mention is made) to be brought vnto him, into whoſe hands with manie wholſome aduertiſements how to vſe himſelfe in gouernement of his ſubiects, he wholie reſigned the eſtate, the which after his deceaſſe he knew to be due vnto him without all queſtion and controuerſie: and afterward departed this world, when he had reigned ſeuentéene yeares continuallie for the moſt part in high wealth and felicitie.

Cadall deceaſed.

Ewin reſigneth the eſtate.

Ewins deceaſe.

Ederus.

AFter the deceaſe of Ewin, Ederus was, in maner before expreſſed, receiued for king by the whole aſſent of all the Scotiſhmen. Whoſe chéefe delight was altogither in hunting and kéeping of hounds and greihounds, to chaſe and purſue wild beaſts, and namelie the woolfe the heardmans foo, by meanes whereof his aduancement was much more acceptable amongſt the nobles, who in thoſe daies were wholy giuen to that kind of pleaſure and paſtime. In the beginning of his reigne there was no trouble towards, the publike ſtate of the realme being mainteined by vpright iuſtice, and all tranſgreſſions through terror of due puniſhment politikelie repreſſed.

Bzedus inuadeth the Scots.

The firſt that went about to put him to any notable trouble, was one Bzedus of the Iles, néere of kin to Gillus that vſurper and murtherer, who with a power of Iriſhmen, and other of the weſterne Iles landed in Argile, waſting & ſpoiling the countrie with fire & ſword, wherof Ederus being aduertiſed (who was at the ſame time in thoſe parts hunting amongſt the mounteins) gathered an armie with all ſpéed, and haſting to the place where his enimies ſhips laie at anchor, he firſt burned the ſame, to take awaie all meanes from them to eſcape by flight. The morning next following he did ſet vpon them alſo at vnwares: of whom ſome he ſlue, and the reſidue being taken, either in the fight or chaſe by his commandement were hanged, and cruellie executed to the example of all others.

Ederus burneth his enimies ſhips.

After this, he paſſed ouer into the weſterne Iles, where he did execution vpon ſuch as had aided Bzedus, putting ſome to death, and cauſing other to fine at his pleaſure, and depriuing ſome vtterlie of all that euer they had. At his returne againe into Scotland, there met him ambaſſadors ſent from Caſſibilane king of the Britains, requiring him of aid againſt Julius Ceſar, who (as the ſame king had perfect vnderſtanding) was appointed verie ſhortlie to paſſe the ſeas from France, ouer into this Ile, with a mightie power of Romans, to ſubdue the inhabitants vnto the ſeignioric and iuriſdiction of Rome.

Caſſibilane king of the Britains requireth of the Scotiſhmen aid againſt the Romans.

Ederus receiued theſe ambaſſadors verie courteouſlie: and forſomuch as their maiſters requeſt required counſell, he cauſed his lords which were then preſent, to aſſemble togither the next daie, afore whome he willed that Androgeus, chéefe of the Britiſh ambaſſadors, ſhould declare the effect of his meſſage,

Androgeus chéefe ambaſſador of the Britains declareth the effect of his meſſage.

sage, which he did so eloquentlie, and vttering such sensible matter, how it stood the Scotishmen vpon to aid the Britains against such common enimies to all nations as the Romans were, that in the end it was concluded by the king, with the aduise of his nobles, that he should not onlie send a power to aid the Britains against the Romans, but also send some of his lords with Androgeus and his associats vnto Gethus king of the Picts, to moue him to do the like: who hearing how reasonable their demands were, promised further to accomplish the same.

The Scots grant to aid the Britains against the Romans.

Thus the British ambassadors hauing sped according to their desires, repaired homewards: immediatlie vpon whose departure, both the kings Ederus & Gethus leuied their armies, & sent them forth towards London, whereas then Cassibilane soiourned. I find that the Scots were ten thousand men vnder the leading of Cadallane gouernor of Galloway, the sonne of Cadall before remembred, and one Douald gouernor of Argile. But what successe followed of this first iournie which Cesar made into Britaine, ye shall find the same in the historie of England more at length expressed. The yeere that Julius Cesar came to inuade Britaine, was the fourth of Ederus his reigne, from the creation of the world 3912 complet, which is after Maister Harisons account 54 before the comming of our Sauiour, and 692 after the building of Rome.

Cadallane & Douald with ten thousand Scotishmen send to aid the Britains.

1129 H.B.
60 H.B.

The Scotishmen and Picts hauing their part of the spoile which the Romans at their departure left behind them, were sent home to their countries with great thanks and rewards for their pains, but the Britains were so exalted in pride by the departure of the Romans, that they beléued verelie they should haue no more to do with those enimies, or if they had they thought themselues strong inough to repell them without aid of other. By meanes wherof when king Ederus was informed how the Romans prepared to inuade them afresh, and had sent them word thereof, offering to them his aid: they made no account of that offer, but answered that it was not necessarie, for euerie light inuasion of forren enimies, to séeke helpe at other mens hands, being of puissance sufficient of themselues to resist the same well inough.

The Britains refuse aid being offered them.

But of this refusall of so friendlie an offer, it was not long yer the Britains sore repented them. For shortlie after Julius Cesar with a farre greater power than that which he brought with him at the first time, landed here in this Ile amongst them againe: and being at three sundrie times fiercelie incountred by king Cassibilane, at length he put the same Cassibilane with his Britains to flight, slaieng and taking a great number of them. Amongst other of the prisoners were three of their cheefest capteins, Androgeus, Ciscentoriges, and Tenantius. By reason of which ouerthrow Cassibilane was so discouraged, that doubting further mischéefe, he yelded himselfe vnto Cesar, accepting such conditions of peace as were appointed him, and for performance of couenants, deliuered sufficient pledges.

Julius Cesar inuadeth this land the second time.

The Britains are ouerthrowne.

Julius Cesar his message to the Scots and Picts.

Cesar hauing thus conquered the Britains, sent his ambassadors vnto the kings of the Scotishmen and Picts, requiring them to submit themselues as Cassibilane had done, or else he bad them looke for open warres at the Romans hands, which they might assure themselues they should in no wise be able to susteine, considering their mightie and huge puissance, hauing the most part of the whole world at their commandement alreadie. Whereunto aswell the one king as the other made this or much-what the like answer, that they were bent sooner to lose their liues than their libertie. Which their resolution, if they were put to the triall, should be euidentlie proued by the deed it selfe.

The answer of the Scots and Picts vnto Cesar his ambassadors.

Cesar hauing receiued this answer from these two nations, he sendeth new messengers vnto them with a more rough message, who not onlie by threats but also by great reasons went about to persuade them vnto submission. But they persisting in their former opinion for defense of their liberties, and vtterlie refusing all maner of bondage, would incline by no meanes to come in any bond of friendship with the Romans. After the returne of these last messengers, Cesar was fullie resolued to enter into their countries, to force them vnto that by dint of sword, whereunto by treatie he might not induce them: and had set forward on that iournie shortlie after indéed, if he had not béene called backe into France, to pacifie sundrie commotions there raised by the reuolting of the people inhabiting in those countries, where the Picards and Normans, with other the inhabitants néere about Chartres do now dwell.

Cesar sendeth new messengers vnto the Scots and Picts, but they sped much like to the former.

The common Scotish chronicles record, how Julius Cesar came as far as Kalendar wood, and there wan by force the citie of Camelon, where the Picish kings vsed most to soiourne. Hereunto the same chronicles adde, that Cesar builded a great stone-house of 24 cubits in heigth, & of 12 cubits in breadth, of square hewen stones, right workemanlie framed, which house they saie Cesar caused to be vsed in steed of a iudgement hall, and here placed it néere the riuer of Caron, ouer against the forenamed citie of Camelon, as a witnesse that the Romans armie had béene so far forward within that countrie. Such an house there remaineth to be séene euen vnto this daie, and is called Julius hoff, that is Julius hall, or Julius court. Howbeit, other more agréeable to the likelihood of a truth, write that this house was sometimes a temple builded to the honor of Claudius Cesar, and of the goddes Victoria, by the Romane capteine Uespasian, at such time as he made wars in that countrie, before his aduancement to the empire.

Kalendar or Caledon wood. This cannot be true, for Cesar came not nér Scotland, as in the historie of England it appéereth.

Julius hoff.

But to returne vnto Ederus. About the same time, in which he looked to be inuaded by Julius Cesar and the Romans, and for that purpose had sent for them of the westerne Iles to reinforce his host, he was now inforced to conuert it another waie, for there was one Murketus, nephue vnto the aboue remembred Gillus, that came with a nauie out of Ireland to rob and spoile those Iles, being destitute as then of men to resist him. But Ederus hearing thereof, dispatched Cadallanus with an armie into those parties for defense of his subiects: which Cadallanus behaued himselfe so politikelie in this exploit, that setting vpon the enimies as they laie at anchor, he tooke them in the night season, without making any great defense, and after hanged them vp along the shore side within the Ile of Gowre: Murket himself being honored with an higher place to hang in than all the rest, as due to him that was their cheefe head and leader in that voiage. The remnant of Ederus his reigne passed without anie other notable trouble: and so after he had reigned 38 yeeres, he deceased a verie old man, about the 23 yeare of the empire of Augustus Cesar. He was buried also at Dunstafage with all due pompe & solemnitie, hauing diuers obelisks (as the custome then was) erected and set vp about the place where he was so intumulate.

Murketus nephue vnto Gillus inuadeth the westerne Iles.

Murketus hanged with manie more.

48 HB.
26 H.B.

Ederus departeth this life.

AFter him reigned his sonne Ewin, the third of that name, nothing like in any princelie qualitie vnto his noble progenitors, but contrariwise infamed by all kind of vices. In the first yeeres of his reigne he was wholy drowned in lasciuious lecherie, abandoning himselfe altogither to lie weltering amongst

Ewin.

Licentious king.

amongst a sort of vile strumpets, his lust being neuer throughlie satisfied, though neuer so often wearied. The nobles of the realme he had in no regard at all, of whom some he confined, and some he caused to be murthered, onlie because he might the more freelie without gainsaieng haunt his vile trade of liuing with their wiues and cosins. Such delight he had also in his filthie and abhominable ribaldrie, that he made lawes for maintenance of the like amongst his subiects, as thus: That it might be lawfull for euerie man to marie diuers & sundrie wiues, some six, some ten, according to their substance and qualities. And as for poore mens wiues, they were appointed to be common vnto the lords of the soile: and further, that the same lords should first defloure the bride after hir marriage: which last ordinance tooke such effect, that of manie hundred yeres after it could by no meanes be abrogated, though the two former liberties were by authoritie of the kings succeeding, shortlie after this Ewins decease, taken awaie and remoued.

Filthie lawes

But now to conclude touching the doings of this Ewin, ye shall vnderstand, that at length such lords as greatlie abhorred his vile conditions & vsages, conspired against him, and raising an armie of their friends and partakers, incountred with him in the field, and there tooke him prisoner, being destitute of all aid and succors: for such as he brought with him, not once offered to strike one stroke in his quarell. Ewin being thus taken, was by and by condemned to perpetuall prison; and Cadallan, of whom ye haue heard before, immediatlie proclamed gouernor of the realme. Howbeit the night following, after that Ewin (according to the iudgement pronounced against him) was committed vnto ward, a presumptuous young man, in hope to haue thanks of Cadallan, entred into the chamber where he was inclosed, and there strangled him. But in steed of thanks he was recompensed with death: for Cadallan detesting such a wicked deed, caused him to be hanged in open sight of all men. Such was the end of Ewin, being thus dispatched in prison, in the seuenth yere after he began his reigne ouer the Scotishmen, being the 9 yere of Augustus Cesar his gouernment of the Romane empire.

Ewin is pursued and forsaken of his subiects.

Ewin condemned to perpetuall prison

Ewin is strangled.

32 H.B.

Metellanus.

After Ewin succeeded Metellanus, son to one Carren, the brother of Ederus a prince of most gentle behauiour. This Metellanus mainteined his subiects in great quietnesse and rest, without anie maner of wars, either forren or ciuill. Such wicked lawes as his predecessor had established, he did what he could to abolish. But such young gentlemen as delighted in sensuall lust, and licentious libertie, stood so stiffelie therein against him, that in the end he was glad to leaue off his purpose. About the same time also there came vnto Kimbaline king of the Britains an ambassador from Augustus the emperor, with thanks, for that entring into the gouernement of the British state, he had kept his allegiance toward the Romane empire: exhorting him to keepe his subiects in peace with all their neighbors, sith the whole world, through meanes of the same Augustus, was now in quiet, without all warres or troublesome tumults.

Kimbaline king of the Britains.

These ambassadors went also vnto Metellanus the K. of the Scotishmen, exhorting him to acknowledge a superioritie in the Romane emperour, vnto whome the people inhabiting in the furthest parts of the east, had sent their ambassadors with rich iewels to present his person withall. Wherwith Metellanus being partlie moued to haue a friendlie amitie with the Romans, he sent vnto Rome certeine rich presents to the emperour, and to the gods in the capitoll, in signe of honour, by which means he obteined an amitie with the Romans, which continued betwixt them and his kingdome for a long time after.

Metellanus becommeth friend to the Romans.

Thus a generall peace as then reigning throughout the whole world, it pleased the giuer and author of all peace to be borne at the same time, of that blessed virgin Marie, in the citie of Bethlem in the tribe of Juda. Which most blessed and salutiferous birth did come to passe in the 12 yeare of Metellanus reigne, and in the 42 of Augustus his empire: from the first establishing of the Scotish kingdome by Fergusius 324 yeares, and after the creation of the world 3966, as Harison in his chronologie doth manifestlie conclude. After this, Metellanus reigned certeine yeares in continuall peace and quietnes, euermore readie to doo the thing that might be to the contentation and the weale of his people. Finallie, he passed out of this life in the 29 yere of his reigne, which was the 28 after the birth of our Sauior, and 13 of Tiberius the emperor. Howbeit he left no issue alliue behind him to succeed in the gouernment of the kingdome: for those children which he had begotten, he buried in his life time, by meanes whereof, one Caratake, sonne to Cadallan, and nephue to king Metellan by his sister Europeta, was proclamed king; as he that excelled in riches and puissant authoritie aboue all other the peeres and high estates of the realme, and had not a little to doo in the administration of publike affaires in the latter daies of his vncle Metellane.

The birth of our Sauior Christ.

10 H.B.

330 H.B.

5199 H.B.

Metellane departeth this world.

29 H.B.

14 H.B.

Caratake is proclamed K.

This Caratake all the British and English writers take to be a Britaine, and inhabiting within that portion of the Ile now called England.

The first thing he did after he was established in the estate, he sailed into the westerne Iles, to appease a rebellion moued by the gouernour there. Which doone, and the authors punished, he returned into Albion, and came into Caricoulum, which was sometimes a famous citie, and metropolitane of Scotland, situat within the countrie cleped Carrike, as it appeareth by the ruines there remaining euen vnto this day. In this citie was Caratake borne, & therefore fauouring it the more, he lay there most commonlie, and did what he could to aduance the wealth and state thereof. Whilest these things were a doing in Scotland, Kimbaline king of the Britains died, who for that he had beene brought vp in Rome, obserued his promised obedience towards the empire; but Guiderius succeeding, disdained to see the libertie of his countrie oppressed by the Romans, and therefore procuring the Britains to assist him, assembled a power, and inuaded the Romans with such violence, that none escaped with life, but such as saued themselues within castels & fortresses.

Caratake.

Caratake was borne in Carrike.

Kimbaline king of the Britains dieth.

Guiderius the British king rebelleth against the Romans.

The emperour Claudius that then gouerned the Romane empire, aduertised hereof, sent two capteins, Aulus Plancius, and Cneus Sentius to appease that rebellion. They landing in Britaine with their armie, vanquished Guiderius in battell, so that he was constreined to send to Caratake king of Scots for aid against the common enimies of both nations. Caratake hauing considered the effect of this message, gaue counsell to the Britains to send into France then called Gallia, to practise with the people there to moue some rebellion against the Romans, in hope of helpe, which they were assured to haue by the Britains. This counsell was followed, for immediatlie vpon the ambassadours returne, there were sent ouer into France certeine intelligenciaries to moue some conspiracie which had taken effect (by reason of the generall hate of seruitude, wherein the Romans kept the people subiect to them in those daies) if Guiderius had not beene constreined to giue battell, and chanced to be slaine in the same, yer the Galls could be resolued vpon anie determinat purpose.

Plancius otherwise Plautius.

Guiderius sendeth to Caratake for aid.

France in those daies Gallia.

Guiderius slaine.

This ouerthrow being reported in France, caused the Galls to staie their intended rebellion. Shortlie

The emperour Claudius commeth into Britaine.

lie after Claudius himselfe came ouer into Britaine, and receiuing the Britains vnder his obeisance, ordered things among them at his pleasure. And after preparing his nauie and armie with all purueiance conuenient, he set forward towards the Iles of Orkneie, purposing to conquere the same, for that they had aided the Britains in these last warres against the Romans. But approching neere to those Iles, he was in danger to haue beene cast awaie by a tempest rising by chance, euen as he was entred the streict betwirt the Orkenies and Dungisbie head in Cathnesse called Pictland frith; yet at length getting to land, he found in that Ile where he first arriued, no bodie at home, all the people through feare vpon the first sight of the great multitude of ships being fled to hide themselues in caues and dens amongest the rocks & mounteins.

Claudius tarieth into the Orkenies.

Claudius therefore leauing this Ile, passed into Pomonia the chiefest of all the Orkenies, where discomfiting such as appeared abroad to make resistance, he besieged the king of those Iles named Ganus, within a castell where he was withdrawen, and finallie causing him to yeeld himselfe prisoner, led him with other nobles of Britaine (whome he had for pledges) vnto Rome, the more to set forth the glorie of his triumph at his returne vnto the citie.

Now Kirkewale.

Claudius taketh the king of the Orkenies.

¶ But whatsoeuer Hector Boetius and others write of this passage of Claudius into the Orkenies, it is not like that he came there at all, for if he staied not past 16 daies in Britaine, as by Dion Cassius it appeareth that he did not in deed; how should we imagine that he could both pacifie the south parts of Britaine, and after go into Orkenie and conquere the same within so small a time, being readie to returne towards Rome at the end of those 16 daies, as the said Dion affirmeth? But this discourse haue I made according to their owne historiens, least I should seeme to defraud them of whatsoeuer glorie is to be gotten by errours, as the maner is of them as well as of other nations, which to aduance their antiquities and glorie of their ancestors, take the aduantage oftentimes of writers scant worthie of credit.

The doubt of Claudius going into the Orkenies.

Dion Cassius.

But now againe to our purpose. Aruiragus being established in the kingdome of Britaine, vpon some priuat displeasure forsoke his wife named Voada, the sister of Caratake king of the Scotishmen, and maried Genissa a Romane ladie, which act manie of the Britans disallowed; the more in deed, because he had faire issue alreadie by Voada, as a son and two daughters. But this was done, as all men iudged, by the counsell of Aulus Plancius, thereby to breake all friendship and aliance betwirt the Britains and the Scots, to the end that in no case of rebellion they should ioine their powers togither.

Aruiragus forsaketh his lawfull wife.

Neither did he onelie refuse Voada, whome all men knew to be his lawfull wife, but also caused hir to be kept in prison, till that the Britains (hauing indignation thereat) got hir out of the place where she was kept, and conueied hir into Wales togither with hir children.

Voada imprisoned.

Voada is deliuered out of prison, and conueied into Wales.

With which dealing Aruiragus being highlie moued, determined with force of armes to punish them that had thus misused him: but perceiuing that not onelie those people which inhabited the countrie, now called Wales, and other that adioined on the north marches thereof were readie to defend the queene against his malice, he was faine to require aid of the Romans, who with their capteine Aulus Plancius assembling togither with such of the Britains as toke part with Aruiragus, set forward toward the enimies, and ioining with them in battell, did giue them the ouerthrow. The nert day after this victorie thus gotten, word was brought that the people inhabiting in the countries which we now call Lanchashire, Yorkeshire, and Darbishire, were vp in armour against the king and the Romans, by reason whereof Aruiragus and Aulus Plancius withdrew towards London, that defending the sea coasts towards France, they might yet haue the sea open at all times whatsoeuer chanced. And to reenforce their power, Aulus Plancius sent ouer for two legions of souldiers into France, to come with all speed to his aid.

Aruiragus giueth his enimies an ouerthrow.

A commotion against Aruiragus.

The Britains, who had gone so farre in the matter that they could not well withdraw themselues, now being certified of all their enimies doings, thought best to make themselues so strong as was possible. And to the end that they might proceed in some orderlie meane, all the greatest lords and estates assembled togither at Shrewsburie, in those daies called Coriminum, where they concluded vpon a league to aid one another with all their might and maine against the Romans & Aruiragus, who went about to bring them wholie vnder seruile subiection and thraldome of the same Romans. They being thus agreed to make warres in this quarrell, and for the same purpose to ioine their whole puissance togither; there rose a doubt whome they might chose for their generall capteine, for that it was feared least there might grow some secret enuie amongest the nobles being of equall power, if one should be in this case preferred before an other. For the auoiding of which mischiefe, by the graue admonition of one Comus a noble man of the parties of Wales, they accorded to send messengers vnto Caratake the king of Scotland, requiring him to aid them in their right and iust quarrell against Aruiragus and the Romans, whereby he might reuenge the iniurie done to his sister queene Voada and hir issue, whome the father through counsell of the Romans purposed to disherit, to the end such children as he had by Genissa (for that they were of the Romane bloud) might inioy the kingdome. They further declared, that all the British lords which were confederat in this enterprise, had chosen him by common assent to be their generall and chiefe leader, if it might so please him to take it vpon him, as their trust was he would: considering the iust causes of their warre, and the suertie which by victorie gotten might insue vnto all the inhabitants of the whole Ile of Albion.

The Britains make themselues strong.

The Britains assemble themselues at Shrewsburie.

They confederat themselues togither.

Caratake chosen to be capteine of the Britains.

Aruiragus would disherit his owne children which he had by Voada.

Caratake hauing heard the summe of their request, and throughlie weieng the same, promised them to be readie with his whole puissance in the beginning of the nert spring, to come to their aid, vnto what place soeuer they should thinke expedient: and thereof he told them they might be most assured, willing them in the meane time so to prouide for themselues, as their enimies might haue no aduantage at their hands. With this agreeable answere the British messengers returned to Shrewsburie to the confederats, who reioising at the news, made prouision against the nert spring to go against the Romans, in hope of good successe, speciallie through aid of the Scots and Picts, who also with their king called Conkist were willing to helpe towards the deliuering of the land from bondage of the Romans, whose nestling so neere their noses they were loth to see or heare of. So soone therefore as the spring approched, all those three people, Britains, Scots, and Picts, gathered their powers togither, and met in Yorkeshire, in purpose to incounter with their enimies in battell, whersoeuer they found them.

Caratake promised aid to the Britains.

The Picts ioine with Scots and Britains against the Romans.

Aruiragus and Aulus Plancius hauing knowledge of all the doings of the confederats, likewise assembled their power, & comming towards them,

for

for a while forbare to ioine in battell, through counſell of Planctius, who perceiuing the moſt part of the Britains and Scots to be but new ſouldiers, taken vp of late to fill the numbers, knew that by protracting time they would be ſone out of heart, through watching and euill harborough, in ſuch ſort that in the end they ſhould be eaſie inough to deale with; and euen ſo it came to paſſe. For the Romans refuſing to fight a generall battell, yet ſcoured ſo the fields on ech ſide abroad, that neither the Britains nor Scots could go forth anie waies for forage or vittels, but they were ſtill ſnatched vp, ſo that what through hunger, lacke of ſléepe, and other diſeaſes, manie of the Britains began to conueie themſelues from the campe home to their houſes, of whome ſome being taken by the enimies, declared that the whole armie of the confederats was in great diſtreſſe, and ſore infeebled by ſuch vnaccuſtomed trauell and diſeaſes as they were inforced vnto in the campe. Wherevpon Aruiragus and Aulus Planctius determined the nert day to giue battell. And ſo in the morning they arraied their people, & marched forth betimes towards the campe of the confederats.

The Britains wearied through trauell.

The Romans giue battell to the Britains.

Caratake, who (as ye haue heard) was generall of all the confederates, vnderſtanding the enimies intent, was as readie to receiue battell as they were to offer it; wherevpon there inſued right great and vnmerciſull ſlaughter betwixt them on both parts, without ſparing any at all, till ſuch time as the night parted the fraie, with ſuch loſſe on either ſide, that after they were once got in ſunder, neither part had anie haſt afterwards to ioine againe: ſo that in the morning there appeared none in the field but onelie the dead bodies, thoſe that were left aliue as well on the one part as the other being fled and ſcattered into the woods and mounteins. Aruiragus and Planctius got them vnto London: and Caratake commanding his people home each man into his countrie, he himſelfe withdrew firſt towards Yorke, and after vnto the citie of Carrike; whither ſhortlie after there came vnto him ambaſſadors from Aulus Planctius, ſent to know vpon what occaſion he did aid the Britiſh rebels againſt the Romane empire, declaring that if he would not be conformable to make a worthie amends for ſo preſumptuous an enterpriſe, he ſhould be ſure to haue the Romans his enimies; and that in ſuch wiſe, as he ſhould perceiue it were much better for him to ſéeke their friendſhip, than to abide their enimitie.

Night parteth the fray.

Caratake returneth home to Caricotium.

Ambaſſadors are ſent vnto Caratake from Aulus Planctius.

Herevnto Caratake anſwered, that he had iuſt cauſe to do that which he did, conſidering the iniuries which his ſiſter Voada with hir ſonne Guiderius had and were like to receiue by their counſell and meanes: and therefore he was ſo little minded to make anie amends for that was done, that hée thought it more reaſon that the Romans ſhould clearelie auoid out of the whole poſſeſſion of Britaine, either elſe they might aſſure themſelues to haue aſwell the Britains, as alſo the Scots & Picts to be their perpetuall enimies, and that onelie for the chalenge of their ancient liberties and frédome. The Romane ambaſſadors being returned with this anſwer, Planctius toke no ſmall indignation thereat, ſore menacing to be reuenged of ſo high and contumelious words pronounced againſt the maieſtie of the Romane empire.

Caratake his anſwer vnto the ambaſſadors.

About the ſame time Aruiragus, vpon truſt conceiued by ioining his power with the other confederate Britains, to expell the Romans quite out of the realme, and ſo to recouer the intire eſtate, reuolting from them, fled into Shrewſburie, where, at the ſame time ſuch Britiſh lords as were enimies to the Romans, were aſſembled againe in councell, by whom Aruiragus was receiued with great gladneſſe (ye

Aruiragus reuolteth.

maie be ſure) of thoſe lords, truſting by his meanes to haue their force in maner doubled. His wife Genilla being at the ſame ſeaſon great with child, toke ſuch thought for this reuolting of hir huſband, that trauelling before hir time, ſhe immediatly died therwith. But Aulus Planctius, perceiuing now thoroughlie how little truſt there was to be put in the Britans, diſpatched a meſſenger in all haſt with letters vnto Claudius the emperour, who as then ſojourned at Rome, ſignifieng vnto him in what danger the ſtate of Britaine ſtood, if timelie proviſion were not the ſoner made.

Genilla the wife of Aruiragus dieth.

A meſſenger ſent vnto Claudius the emperor from Planctius.

Claudius weieng the matter by good aduiſe of councell, ordeined by decrée of the ſenate, that Veſpaſian (of whome ye haue heard before) ſhould be ſent hither with an armie, to tame the proud and loftie ſtomachs of the Britains, with their confederats the Scots & Picts. Veſpaſian herevpon departing from Rome, came into France, & increaſing his legions, with a ſuplie of ſuch ſouldiers as he found there, paſſed ouer into this our Britaine, where contrarie to the report which he had heard afore his comming, he found euerie fortreſſe ſo well furniſhed after the warlike order of the Romane vſage, and moreouer all ſuch companies of men of warre as kept the field ſo well appointed and ordered, that he could not but much praiſe the great diligence and politike gouernement of Planctius.

Veſpaſian commeth into Britaine.

Now when Veſpaſian had a little refreſhed his men, and taken order how to proceéd in the reducing of the Britains to their former obedience, he ſet forward toward Aruiragus & other the enimies, whom he vnderſtood as then to be at Yorke, making their aſſemblie, not generallie of all that were able to beare a club, as they did the yeere before; but out of all parties a choſen number of piked men were ſent for, as out of Deuonſhire & Cornewall there came 6000, forth of Wales and the marches 12000, and the like number out of Kendall, Weſtmerland, and Cumberland. Out of Oxfordſhire and other the parties of Britaine ſubiect vnto Aruiragus, there came 35000. All which numbers aſſembled nere vnto Yorke, euerie man bringing his proviſion with him to ſerue him for two moneths ſpace. Vnto the ſame place came alſo Caratake with 30000 Scotiſh men: and Illithara otherwiſe called Tharan, king of the Picts, with almoſt as manie of his ſubiects.

The Britains gather an armie.

Iceni.

The Scots & Picts come to aid the Britains.

Illithara or Tharan king of Picts.

Veſpaſian being certified ſtill from time to time of all the doings of his enimies, haſted with all ſpéed towards them; and by the leading of truſtie guides comming to the place where they were incamped within a mariſh ground not paſſing 12 miles from Yorke, he fiercelie vpon a ſudden ſetteth vpon them within their campe, yer they thought he had béene néere them. But yet notwithſtanding they manfullie ſtood to their defenſe: inſomuch that thoſe in the right wing of the Romans armie were like to haue béene diſtreſſed, if Veſpaſian perceiuing the danger, had not ſent a legion to their aid in time, wherby the battell was newlie in that part reſtored. The captains on either ſide did what they could to incourage their folkes to ſticke to their tackle, without giuing ouer by anie meanes, conſidering what gaine came by victorie, and what loſſe inſued by receiuing the ouerthrow.

Veſpaſian aſſaileth the Britains in their campe.

The Britains, Scots, and Picts, like inraged lions, ran vpon the Romans, with ſuch cruell deſire of reuenge, that euen when they were thruſt through vpon the point of any weapon, they would run ſtill vpon the ſame, to come vnto him that held it, that they might requite him with the like againe. But yet would not all that their fierce and deſperate hardineſſe preuaile, for fortune by fatall appointment being bent to aduance the Romans vnto the domi-

The deſperat hardineſſe of the Britains and Scotiſhmen.

Fortune fauoureth the Romans.

nion

nion of the whole world, chewed hir ſelfe ſo fauourable vnto them in this battell, that in the end, though the Britains with the confederats did what lay in men to dow for atteining of victorie, yet were they beaten downe and ſlaine euerie mothers ſonne, a few onelie excepted, which eſcaped by flight.

The Britains receiue the ouerthrow

Aruiragus ſeeing the ſlaughter of his people, would haue ſlaine himſelfe, but that ſome of his ſeruants caried him by force out of the field, that hee might be reſerued yet vnto ſome better fortune. Caratake eſcaping by flight, fled into his countrie, but Tharan king of the Picts, not coueting to liue after ſuch loſſe of his people, threw away his armor with all his kinglie ornaments, and ſitting downe vpon a ſtone, as a man paſt himſelfe, was there ſlaine by ſuch as followed in the chaſe. Aruiragus being conueied out of danger, and gotten into Yorke, conſidered how by reaſon of this great diſcomfiture, it was vnpoſſible to reſiſt the Romane puiſſance, and therefore with conſent of the reſidue of his nobles that were eſcaped from the battell, he ſent an herald vnto Veſpaſian, offring to ſubmit himſelfe in moſt humble wiſe vnto anie reaſonable conditions of peace and agréement. Wherupon Veſpaſian commanded that Aruiragus ſhould in priuate apparell come in vnto him, for he would not talke of anie peace, except he had Aruiragus preſent, and therefore he ſent vnto him his ſafe conduct to aſſure him ſafetie both to come and go.

Caratake eſcapeth. Tharan king of the Picts is ſlaine.

Meſſengers ſent by Aruiragus vnto Veſpaſian with ſubmiſſion.

Aruiragus ſeeing no other remedie, came in vnto Veſpaſian, according to his appointment, and vpon his ſubmiſſion was pardoned of all his treſpaſſe, and placed againe in the kingdome. The cities and good townes alſo that were partakers in the rebellion, were in ſemblable wiſe forgiuen without fining or other indemnitie, and ſo likewiſe were all the nobles of the countrie. Howbeit, for the better aſſurance of their loialtie in time to come, they deliuered new hoſtages. Their ancient lawes alſo were abrogated, and the Romane lawes in their place eſtabliſhed. For the adminiſtration of the which, in euerie prouince was appointed a Romane iudge to ſee good orders obſerued according to the forme thereof. By which meanes the Britiſh nation eftſoones returned vnto hir former obedience of the Romane empire. All the winter following, Veſpaſian laie at Yorke, making his appreſts againſt the next ſpring to go againſt the Scots and Picts. So ſone therefore as the ſummer was come, Veſpaſian ſetteth forward with his armie, and entering into the marches of his enimies, he did put them in ſuch feare that the Picts were glad to yéeld themſelues vnto him, a few of the nobles & ſome other excepted, which were withdrawne into Camelon, in hope through ſtrength of that town to defend themſelues from all aſſaults. Veſpaſian being certified therof, came & beſieged them within the ſame citie, not minding to depart till he had them at his pleaſure. This ſiege continued till they within, being in danger to famiſh through want of vittels, ſurrendred themſelues with the town into Veſpaſians hands. In this town were found all the regall ornaments, as the crowne & ſword, with other iewels belonging to the kings of the Picts. The ſword hauing the haft of gold, & a purple ſcabberd very finely wrought & trimmed, Veſpaſian vſed to weare in all the warres wherin he afterwards chanced to be, in hope (I wot not) of what good ſucceſſe and lucke to follow therof. The Pictiſh lords which were within Camelon, were commanded to deliuer pledges: and after licenced to depart without anie other damage. Veſpaſian himſelfe remaining at Camelon, tooke order for the peopling of the towne with Romans, granting them the vſe of the liberties and priuileges which the Romans inhabiting in Rome inioied. Alſo ouer againſt the towne vpon the banke of the riuer of Caron, he builded a temple in honor of the emperor Claudius, wherein he ſet vp two images, the one repreſenting Claudius, and the other the goddeſſe Victoria.

Aruiragus commeth in vnto Veſpaſian.

Aruiragus is reſtored again to his former dignitie.

The Britains are pardoned, but yet deliuer new hoſtages.

Their lawes abrogated.

New lawes.

Camelon beſieged by Veſpaſian.

Camelon ſurrendred.

The kings regall ornaments taken.

Camelon peopled with Romans.

Iulius Hoſſ. This was at Colcheſter, as the Britiſh & Engliſh writers dow geſſe.

Whileſt he was thus occupied, tidings came to him, that Caratake king of the Scottiſhmen had aſſembled in Galloway a great armie of Scots, Picts and Britains, in purpoſe againſt the Romans, to reuenge the laſt ouerthrow. Wherupon Veſpaſian with all ſpéed ſent forth a ſtrong power vnder the leading of Aulus Plancius to incounter the enimies. Plancius being approched within foure miles of them, incamped himſelfe in a ſtrong place, as though he minded not to paſſe further, till Veſpaſian with the reſt of his whole puiſſance were come to his aid. Neuertheleſſe, night was no ſooner come on, but that he gaue generall commandement through his hoſt, that euerie man ſhould make him readie to depart at a certeine houre vnder the ſtandards of their capteins in order of battell.

Caratake aſſembleth an armie.

Plancius ſent forth with an armie againſt Caratake.

Then in the ſecond watch of the night he ſet forward, following certeine guides (which knew all the ſtraits and paſſages of the countrie) till he came to the place where Caratake with his armie was lodged: and firſt killing the watch which ſtood to defend his entrance, till the armie was raiſed, he ſet vpon the whole campe, and though he found ſuch reſiſtance that the battell continued right fierce & cruell from the dawning of the day, till it was hie none, yet in the end the victorie remained with the Romans; and the Scots with the Picts, & ſuch Britains as were on their part, put to flight and chaſed. Caratake eſcaping out of the battell, fled into Argile, and got him to the caſtell of Dunſtafage. Diuerſe of the Britains & Picts, which as yet had not ſubmitted themſelues, were put in ſuch dread through bute of this ouerthrow, that immediatlie therupon they came in and yéelded themſelues vnto Veſpaſian. And in ſemblable wiſe the people of Galloway vtterlie deſpairing any longer to defend their countrie againſt Plancius (who was now entred into their confines, and had taken the citie of Carrike) offred to become ſubiects vnto the Romans, which they might neuer be brought vnto before that time.

Plancius fetteth vpon the Scotiſh campe.

Caratake fleeth vnto Dunſtafage.

The people of Galloway ſubmit themſelues to the Romans.

These newes being certified vnto Veſpaſian by a purſeuant, he rode ſtreightwaies vnto Carrike, & there receiued the oths of the nobles, and other the inhabitants of the countrie. That done, he ſent ambaſſadors vnto Caratake, to trie if he might by anie meanes to become friend vnto the Romane empire, in acknowledging ſome maner of ſubiection therevnto: but this deuiſe was to ſmall purpoſe, for Caratake was determined rather to end his life as a frée Scotiſhman in defenſe of libertie, than to become thrall vnto anie forreine nation, in hope to liue long time in ſeruitude, doubting leaſt if he came anie waies forth into danger of the Romans, they would vſurpe the whole dominion vnto themſelues. Whoſe mind when Veſpaſian vnderſtood by his anſwer made to the ambaſſadors which were ſent vnto him, he was minded to haue gone with an armie vnto Dunſtafage where Caratake lay, but that he was informed what dangerous paſſages he muſt march thorough, all full of deſart mounteins, bogs, and quauemires, without anie prouiſion of vittels or forrage to bée found by all the way as the armie ſhould paſſe.

Ambaſſadors ſent vnto Caratake.

Caratake vtterlie refuſeth to become a ſubiect.

Leauing therfore this enterprize, he cauſed ſo manie veſſels to be aſſembled, as could be prouided on all parts, purpoſing to haue paſſed ouer into the Ile of Man, into the which there were gotten togither a great ſort of Britains and Picts, that had eſcaped the Romans hands. But this iournie alſo was bro-

ken

The Ile of wight reuelleth.

ken by another incident, for euen at the ſame time, newes were brought that the Britains of the Ile of Wight, with the Kentiſhmen, and diuerſe others the inhabitants vpon the ſouth coaſt, were reuolted, and had ſlaine diuerſe Romans, which lay in garriſons in thoſe parts. Veſpaſian therefore minding to cure this wound yer it ſhould throughlie feſter, haſted thither with all ſpéed, and with litle a do pacifieng the rebels, cauſed the chiefe offendors to be puniſhed according to their deſerts.

Veſpaſian appeaſeth the rebels.

Shortlie after being ſent for by the emperour Claudius, he returned vnto Rome with great glorie for his noble and high atchiued victories. Aulus Plancius was left in charge with the gouernement of Britaine after Veſpaſians departure: who hearing that Caratake had aſſembled a great armie of Scots, and other ſuch Britains and Picts as had not yet ſubmitted themſelues vnto the Romans, in purpoſe to recouer againe thoſe countries which Veſpaſian had latelie conquered, he likewiſe prepared to meet them, ſo that both the armies incountering togither, there was fought a right terrible battell with great ſlaughter on both parties, till finallie the victorie inclining to the Romans, more through ſkilfull policie than puiſſant force, the Scots, Picts, and Britains were diſcomfited and chaſed into the bogs and mariſhes, the common refuge in thoſe daies for the Scots, when by anie aduenture they chanced to be put to flight.

Veſpaſian returneth to Rome.

Plancius left gouernor. Plancius prepareth to meet the Scots.

The Romans through policie banquiſh the Scotiſhmen.

After this ouerthrow the warre was continued for two yéers ſpace, by rodes and incurſions made one vpon another in the confines of Kile and Galloway. In which meane while Plancius fell ſicke of the flix, which ſtill continuing with him, brought him at length in ſuch caſe, that he was not able to trauell at all in the publike affaires of his office. So that he wrote his letters vnto the emperour Claudius, ſignifieng vnto him in what caſe he ſtood, and therevpon required that ſome ſufficient perſonage might be ſent to occupie his rome. Claudius hauing receiued his letters, and vnderſtanding the effect of the ſame, ſent one Oſtorius Scapula, a man of high linage, and of good experience both in peace and war, to haue the gouernance in Britaine.

Plancius falleth ſicke.

Oſtorius Scapula is ſent into Britaine.

About the time of whoſe arriuall into Britaine, Aulus Plancius departed out of this world at Camelon, where he then ſoiourned. His bodie was burned, and according to the vſage of the Romans in thoſe daies, the aſhes were cloſed in a cheſt, and buried within the church of Claudius and Victoria, which (as is ſaid) Veſpaſian builded nére vnto Camelon, vpon the riuers ſide there. Hereof was a cuſtome taken vp amongſt both Scots and Picts (as ſome thinke) to burne the bodies of the dead, and to burie the aſhes: whereof there haue bene found diuerſe tokens and monuments in this our age. As in the yere 1521 at Findor a village in Merne, fiue miles diſtant from Aberdine, there were found in an old graue two cheſts of a ſtrange making full of aſhes, either of them being ingrauen with Romane letters, which ſo ſone as they were brought into the aire, fell to duſt. Likewiſe in the fields of another towne called Kenbacten in Marre, ten miles diſtant from Aberdine, about the ſame time were found by certeine plowmen two ſepulchres made of cut and ſquared ſtones, wherein were foure cheſts, of workemanſhip, bigneſſe and inſcription like to the other two. Manie the ſemblable monuments haue béene found in diuerſe places in Scotland in times paſt: but it is to be thought, that in theſe ſepulchres there were Romans buried, and neither Scots nor Picts.

Aulus Plancius dieth.

The vſage amongſt the Scots to burne the dead bodie.

But now to our purpoſe. Immediatelie vpon the comming of Oſtorius into Britaine, the people of the weſt countries rebelled, procuring the northerne men with the Scots of Galloway, and all the Picts to do the like. They ſent alſo vnto Caratake, requiring him in this common quarell againſt the Romans to put to his helping hand for recouerie of the ancient libertie of the whole land of Albion, conſidering it was like they ſhould match well inough with this new Romane captaine Oſtorius Scapula, that vnderſtood little of the maners and vſages of the Britains. But this notwithſtanding, Oſtorius being informed of all theſe practiſes, and remembring what furtherance it were for a captaine in the begining to win a name by ſome praiſeworthie enterprize, he made firſt towards the weſterne Britains, whome he thought to ſurpriſe yer they ſhould aſſemble with the other rebels, and ſo meéting with them, he chaſed and toke a great number of them, as they fled here and there out of all order.

The Britains yet eſtſoones rebell. The Britains require aid of Caratake.

The Britains of the weſt part are chaſed.

After this, he went againſt the people called Iceni, which (as ſome thinke) inhabited the countrie now called Oxfordſhire, but other take them to be Northfolke men, who being gathered togither, were gotten into a ſtrong place, incloſed about with a great ditch as they vſe to fenſe paſture grounds, that no horſſemen ſhould breake in vpon them: yet this notwithſtanding, Oſtorius aſſailed them within their ſtrength, & in the end breaking downe the rampire, with ſuch aid as he had, burſt in at length amongſt them, ſleaing and taking the moſt part of them: for few or none eſcaped, they were ſo kept in on ech ſide. But of this battell, and likewiſe of other enterprizes, which Oſtorius and other of the Romane lieutenants atchiued here in Britaine, ye ſhall find more thereof in the hiſtorie of England according to the true report of the Romane writers, the which verelie make no mention either of Scots or Picts till the yéere of our Lord 320, at the ſoneſt. And as for the Silures and Brigants remoued by Hector Boetius ſo farre northward, it is euidentlie prooued by Humfrey Llhoid, and others, that they inhabited countries conteined now within the limits of England. The like ye haue to vnderſtand of the Ordonices where Caratake gouerned as king, and not in Carrike, as to the well aduiſed reader I doubt not but it may ſufficientlie appeare, as well in the deſcription as in the hiſtorie of England aforeſaid.

Icent. Oxfordſhire is aſſailed. Some take the Icent to be the Northfolke men.

But now to returne where we left: the bruit of this late victorie quieted the buſie minds of ſuch other of the Britains, as were readie to haue reuolted. But they of Galloway would not at the firſt giue ouer, but in truſt of aid at the hands of Caratake continued in their rebellion, till Oſtorius came thither, and beate downe ſuch as made reſiſtance, whereby the other were ſone pacified. After this he entred into the confines of Kile and Cantire, ſpoiling and waſting thoſe countries, and brought from thence a great number of captiues. With which iniurie Caratake being not a little kindled, he aſſembled a mightie armie, wherein he had at the leaſt 40 thouſand men, what of his owne ſubiects and other ſuch as came to his aid. For after he was entred into Pictland, there came vnto him out of all parties no ſmall number, of ſuch as deſired either to be reuenged on the Romans, either elſe to loſe life and libertie both at once, for the taſt of bondage was ſo bitter vnto all the inhabitants of Albion in this ſeaſon, that they in maner were wholie conſpired togither to remoue that yoke of thraldome from their ſhoulders which ſo paineſullie pinched them.

They of Galloway are beaten and pacified.

Kile and Cantire waſted and ſpoiled. Caratake aſſembleth an armie.

Caratake thus furniſhed with an armie, choſe forth a ſtrong place to lodge in, ſenſed on the one ſide with the courſe of a déepe ſwdleſſe riuer, and on the other ſides it might not be approched vnto for the

The ſtrength of the place where Caratake was incamped.

Of this matter ye may read more in England.

keepnesse of the crags and such fensing as they had made with great stones, in places where there was any waie to enter. All such women as were somewhat stept in age, and came thither with them, in great numbers, were by Caratake placed on either side his battels, both as well to incourage the men to doo valiantlie with shouting and hallowing vnto them, as also to assails the Romans with stones as they should approch. Other such as were yong and lustie, were appointed to keepe araie amongst the men to fight in the battell.

Women incamped.

Women placed in order of battell.

Caratake and his capteins exhort their men to fight.

Caratake hauing thus ordered his field, and hearing that Ostorius was come to giue battell, exhorted his people to sticke to it like men, and so in semblable wise did all his capteins and sergeants of the bands, going from ranke to ranke to incourage their souldiors, declaring how that this was the armie that must either bring libertie or thraldome to them and their posteritie for euer. On the other part Ostorius minding to trie the matter by battell, set his people in araie after the ancient maner of the Romans, willing them to consider that they were descended of those parents and ancestors which had subdued the whole world: and againe, that those with whome they should now match, were but naked people, fighting more with a certeine maner of a furious rage and disordered violence, than with any politike discretion or constancie.

Ostorius incourageth his Romans.

Herewith vpon commandement giuen on both parts, the battell began right hot, & for a good space verie doubtfull, till the practised knowledge of the Romans vanquished the furious violence of the Scots, Picts, and Britains: who being put to flight fled into the mounteins to escape the enimies hands who pursued them most egerlie. Amongst other of the prisoners there was taken Caratakes wife, with his daughter & brethren. He himselfe fled for succor vnto his stepmother Cartimandua: but as aduersitie findeth few friends, she caused him to be taken and deliuered vnto Ostorius. This was in the ninth yeare after the beginning of the warres. Ostorius vsed him verie honorablie, according to the degree of a king: finallie he sent him vnto Rome, togither with his wife, his daughter, and brethren. His fame was such through all places, that where he passed by, the people came flocking in on each side to see him, of whom they had heard so much report for his stout resistance made so long a time against the Romane puissance.

Caratake ouerthrowne by the Romans.

His queene taken.

Caratake betraied by his stepmother.

Caratake is sent to Rome.

At his comming to Rome he was shewed in triumph, all the people being called to the sight: for the victorie and apprehension of him was iudged equall with anie other atchiued enterprise against whatsoeuer the most puissant enimies of former time. The Emperor Claudius vpon respect as was thought of his princelie behauior and notified valiancie, restored him to libertie, and reteining his daughter and eldest brother at Rome as pledges, vpon his oth receiued to be a true subiect vnto the empire, he sent him home into his countrie againe, assigning vnto him the gouernance of Galloway, with Kile, Carrike, and Coningham. He liued not passing two yeares after his returne into Scotland, studieng most cheeflie (during that time) how to preserue his people in peace and quietnesse. He departed this world one and twentie yeares after the decease of his vncle Metellan, in the yeare of our Lord 54.

He is shewed to the people in triumph.

Caratake departeth this life.

54

Strange sights seene.

A little before his falling into the hands of the Romans, there were sundrie strange sights seene in Albion, as fighting of horsemen abroad in the fields, with great slaughter, as seemed on both parts: and forthwith the same so vanished awaie, that no appearance of them could any where be perceiued. Also a sort of woolues in the night season set vpon such as were keeping of cattell abroad in the fields, and caried awaie one of them to the woods, and in the morning suffred him to escape from amongst them againe. Moreouer, at Carrike there was a child borne, perfect in all his limbs sauing the head, which was like vnto a rauens. These vnkeith signes and monsters put the people in no small feare: but after that Caratake was restored to his libertie & countrie, all was interpreted to the best.

After Caratakes decease, his yongest brother Corbreid was chosen to succeed in his place, in the fiftie and eighth yeare after Christ, for his elder brother was departed at Rome through change of aire not agreeable to his nature. This Corbreid was a stout man of stomach, much resembling his brother Caratake. In the first beginning of his reigne, he did his indeuor to purge his dominion of such as troubled the quiet state thereof, by robbing and spoiling the husbandmen and other the meaner people of the countrie, of the which robbers there was no small number in those daies, speciallie in the westerne Iles, also in Rosse & Cathnes. In the meane time the Picts hauing created there a new king called Conkis, gouernour of Mers and Louthian, they set vpon the Romans being about to make fortresses in those parties. And but that succours came in time from the next townes and castels adioining, they had slaine all the whole number of them, & yet aided as they were, the maister of the campe, and eight other of the capteins, with diuers officers of bands, besides common souldiors, lost their liues there.

Corbreid.

The Picts moue war against the Romans.

Shortlie after also, the same Picts ouerthrew a number of forragers, with such companies of horsemen as came to defend them. Herewith Ostorius being not a little moued, made readie his bands, and fiercelie incountred with the Picts, who defended themselues so vigorouslie, that the fore ward of the Romans was neere hand discomfited. Which danger Ostorius perceiuing, spedilie came to relieue the same, but preasing to farre amongst his enimies, he was sore wounded, and in great danger to haue beene slaine. The night comming vpon parted the fraie, not without huge slaughter on both parts. After this, the warre continued still betwixt them with often incursions and skirmishes. At the length the Picts with such other Britains as were come vnto them out of the Ile of Man and other parties, incountred with the Romans in battell, and vpon the first ioining, of purpose gaue backe, training some of the Romans to pursue them vnto such places, where they had laid their ambushes, and so compassing them about, slue a great number of them, and chased the residue into the streicts of the mounteins, where they were also surprised by such of the Picts as returned from the battell.

The Picts ouerthrow the Romane forragers.

The Romans trained forth into ambushes and so distressed.

Ostorius vnderstanding how the matter went, withdrew with the rest of his people to his campe, and shortlie after sent a pursuant vnto Rome, to informe the emperour in what state things stood in Britaine, by reason of this rebellion of the Picts, who neither by force nor gentle persuasions could be pacified. The emperour determining to prouide remedie therefore, sent word againe that he would not that the Picts should be exilsons receiued vpon their submission, if they were driuen to make suite for pardon, but vtterlie to be destroied and exterminated. For the accomplishment whereof he appointed two legions of such men of warre, as soiourned in France to passe ouer into Britaine. But in the meane while Ostorius departed this world, whether of his hurts (as the Scotish chronicles make mention) or through sickenesse (as should rather seeme by Cornelius Tacitus) it forceth not. After whose

Ostorius is wounded.

Ostorius dieth.

Manlius Valens inuadeth the Dicts.

whose deceasse Manlius Valens had the chiefest charge, who bringing his armie forth to incounter the Picts that came to seeke battell, was fiercelie fought withall, notwithstanding the victorie had abidden on his side, if at the verie point there had not come succours to the Picts (that is to wit) 400 horssemen out of the countrie of Kendall, by whose freshe onset the Romans were discomfited and chased vnto their campe, there being slaine aboue 3000 of them at that ouerthrowe, and on the Picts side there wanted 2000 of their number at the least.

The Romans are discomfited by the Picts.

About the same time there arriued in Britaine an other Romane capteine to be generall in place of Ostorius now deceassed, his name was Aulus Didius, with him came the two legions afore remembred. At his first comming ouer he mustered the old crewes of the Romane souldiers first, much blaming them for their negligence, in suffering the enimies so to increase vpon them, to the great danger of losing all that (through sloth and faintnesse of courage) which latelie before in Britaine had been wone and conquered by high prowes and valiant conduct of his predecessours. In the end he exhorted them to put away all feare, and fullie to determine with themselues to recouer againe the honor which they had latelie lost, which he said would easilie be brought to passe, if they would take vnto them manfull stomachs, and obeie him and such other as had the gouernance and leading of them. The Picts being informed that this Aulus Didius was arriued with this new supplie of men, & prepared to come against them, they thought good to send vnto Corbreid king of Scotland, to require his aid against the Romans, reputed as common enimies to all such as loued libertie, and hated to liue in seruile bondage. For which respect Corbreid was the soner moued to condescend vnto the request of the Picts; and thereupon assembling an arme entred into Galloway. Whereof Aulus Didius being certified, sent an herald vnto him with all speed, commanding that he should depart out of those quarters, sith he had no right there, considering that Galloway was assigned vnto Caratake but for tearme of his owne life, by force of the emperours grant, and now by the death of the same Caratake was reuersed againe vnto the empire.

Aulus Didius commeth into Britaine.

The Picts sent to the Scots for aid.

Caesius Nasica entred with an armie into Galloway.

The herald had vnneath done his message, when word came vnto Corbreid how an armie of the Romans vnder the guiding of Caesius Nasica was entred into the marches of Galloway, to the great terror of all the inhabitants, doubting to be spoiled and robbed on ech hand. These newes put the herald in danger of his life, had not Corbreid vpon regard to the law of armes licenced him to depart. The host which Corbreid brought with him into Galloway, he bestowed in castels and fortresses abroad in the countrie for more safegard, but he himselfe rode in all hast vnto Epiake, to haue the aduise and aid of one Venusius that had maried the forenamed Cartimandua that vnkind stepmother of Caratake, as ye haue heard before. This Venusius was of counsell with his wife Cartimandua in the betraieng of king Caratake, and therefore was growne into much hatred of the people for that fact, but through support of the Romans he was for a time defended from all their malices. Notwithstanding in the end being wearied of the proud gouernment of the Romans, he reuolted from them vnto Corbreid. Wherewith his wife being offended, found means to apprehend both him and his brethren with certeine of his kinsfolks, and laied them fast in prison.

Venusius the husband of Cartimandua.

Venusius reuolteth.

Cartimandua is buried quicke.

But now Corbreid at his comming thither, did not onelie set them at libertie, but also toke & caused Cartimandua to be buried quicke. In the meane while a certeine number of Scots distressed a few forragers of the Romans, but following the chase somewhat rashlie, they were inclosed by the enimies and slaine. This mischance put the Scots in great feare, and the Romans in good successe, so that Nasica was in purpose to haue assailed a certeine strong place, wherein a number of the Scotishmen were gotten, and had fortified the entries, had not other newes altered his purpose; for hearing how an other armie of the Scots was ioined with the Picts, and were approched within three miles of him, he brought his host forth into a plaine where he ordered his battels readie to receiue them. Whereof the Scotishmen hauing knowledge, hasted forth towards him, and were no soner come in sight of the Romans, but that with great violence they gaue the onset, most fierclie beginning the battell, which continued till sun-setting with great slaughter on both sides; at what time the Romans were at the point to haue discomfited their enimies, had not those Scotishmen which were left in fortresses (as is said) abroad in the countrie, come at that selse instant to the aid of their fellowes, by whose means the battell was renewed againe, which lasted till the mirke night parted them in sunder. The Romans withdrew to their campe, and the Scots and Picts got vp into the mounteins.

The darke night parted the fraie.

A peace concluded.

Shortlie after a peace was concluded betwixt the parties, with these conditions; that the Romans should content themselues with that which they had in possession before the beginning of these last wars, and suffer Corbreid to inioy all such countries as his brother Caratake held. And likewise the Picts paieng their former tribut for the finding of such garisons of Romans as late at Camelon, they should be no further charged with anie other exactions. Moreouer it was agreed, that neither the Scots nor Picts from thencefoorth should receiue or succour anie rebels of Frenchmen or Britains, nor should aid by anie maner of means the inhabitants of the Ile of Man, who had done manie notable displeasures to the Romans during the last warres. This peace continued a six yeares during the life of Aulus Didius, who at the end of those six yeares, departed this life at London, leauing behind him all things in good quiet.

Aulus Didius departeth this life at London.

After this deceasse the emperour Nero, who succeeded Claudius, appointed one Uerannius to be lieutenant of Britaine, a man verie ambitious and much desirous of honor, by means whereof, in hope to aduance his name, he sought occasions to haue warres with the Scotishmen; and at length hearing that certeine of them being borderers had fetched boties out of Pictland, he did send a great power of Romans to make a rode into the nert marches of the Scots, from whence they brought a great spoile, both of men and of goods. With which iniuries the Scots being moued, sought dailie in semblable sort to be reuenged, so that by such means the warre was renewed. But before anie notable incounter chanced betwixt them, Uerannius died. His last words were full of ambitious boasts, wishing to haue liued but two yeares longer, that he might haue subdued the whole Ile of Albion vnto the Romane empire, as if he might haue had so much time he doubted not to haue done.

Uerannius is made lieutenant of Britaine.

Uerannius departeth this life.

Paulinus Suetonius succeeded in his place, a man of an excellent wit, and verie desirous of peace. He first confirmed the ancient league with Corbreid king of Scotland: a recompense being made in euerie behalfe for all wrongs & iniuries done on euerie part. After this (as Hector Boetius hath gathered) he conquered the Ile of Man; but for somuch as by probable reasons it is apparant inough, that it

Paulinus Suetonius.

Angleseie and not Man was thus inuaded by Suetonius.

it was not Man, but the Ile of Angleſeie which the Britains name Mon, and at this time was ſubdued by Suetonius, we haue here omitted to make report thereof, referring you to the place in the Engliſh chronicle, where we haue ſpoken ſufficientlie after what ſort Suetonius both attempted & atchiued this enterprize, which being brought to end, he was ſent for into Gallia, to repreſſe certeine tumults raiſed among the people there. In whoſe abſence the Britains thinking to haue a meet time for their purpoſe, moued a new rebellion. But by the relation of Cornelius Tacitus, this chanced whileſt Suetonius was buſie in requiring the Ile of Angleſeie, as in the Engliſh chronicle it likewiſe appeareth, with the ſtrange ſights and wonders which happened about the ſame time, whereupon the ſouthſaiers (as Hector Boetius ſaith) declared that the Romans ſhould receiue a great ouerthrow. Upon truſt of whoſe words the Picts and other Britains inhabiting Camelon and in the marches thereabouts, ſet vpon ſuch Romans as inhabited there, and ſlue a great manie of them yer they were in doubt of anie rebellion. The reſidue which eſcaped, got them into an old church, where they were ſlaine euerie mothers ſonne.

The Scots and Picts kill the Romans.

Petilius Cerealis his men being ſlaine returned.

Alſo Petilius Cerealis comming with a legion of footmen and a troupe of horſſemen to their ſuccours, was incountred by the Picts, & being put to flight, loſt all his footmen, hardlie eſcaping himſelfe with the horſſmen to the campe. Shortlie after he tooke vp his tents and returned towards Kent, where Catus the procurator or receiuer (as I may call him) of Britaine as then ſoiourned, who vnderſtanding how the whole Ile was on euerie ſide in an vprore, fled ouer into France then called Gallia. This meane while quæne Boada ſent vnto hir brother Corbreid king of Scotland, requiring his aid againſt the Romans, who had ſo vilie vſed hir and hir daughters, to the great diſhonor of hir and all hir linage, and now was the time to be reuenged of ſuch iniuries, the whole nation of the Britains through the couetous dealing of the procurator Catus, being riſen in armes to recouer their ancient liberties.

Catus the procurator of Britaine fled into France.

Quæne Boada deſireth aid of hir brother Corbreid.

Corbreid being highlie diſpleaſed towards the Romans for the euill intreating of his ſiſter, determined either to ſee hir ſatiſfied by worthie recompenſe, or elſe to be reuenged on them that had miſvſed hir: and hereof gaue ſignification vnto Catus the procurator that was as then returned into Britaine with a power of men of warre. Corbreid receiuing but a ſcornefull anſwere from him, found meanes to ioine in league with Charanach king of the Picts, and gathering togither a mightie armie of one & other, purſued the Romans and their aſſociats, ſlaieng downe a wonderfull number of them. He alſo burned and deſtroied diuers townes, ſuch as in keeping their allegiance to the Romans ſtood earneſtlie to their defenſe, as Berwike and Carleill with others. About the ſame ſeaſon there arriued in the frith a number of Dutch ſhips, fraught with people of Herherne or Hozauia, a region in Germanie ſituat betwixt Boheme and Hungarie. They were driuen out of their owne countrie by the Romans, and aſſembling togither vnder a famous capteine named Roderike, came down to the mouth of the Rhene, where making ſhift for veſſels, they tooke the ſeas to ſeeke them ſome new habitations; and thus arriuing in Pictland, were ioifullie receiued of the Picts and Scots, for that they were reputed right valiant men, and glad to reuenge their owne iniuries againſt the Romans. Namelie with the Picts they were much eſteemed, for that they came forth of the ſame countrie from whence their anceſtors were deſcended.

Charanach K. of the Picts.

The Romans ſlaine.

Dutchmen arriue in Scotland.

Their huge bodies and mightie limbs did greatlie commend them in the ſight of all men before whome they muſtered, ſo that comming to the place where the kings of Scots and Picts were incamped with their people readie to march forth towards the enimies, they were highlie welcomed, and vpon their offer receiued into companie, and appointed to go forth in that iournie, in aid of quæne Boada againſt the Romans. With this Boada was aſſembled a mightie hoſt of the Britains, amongeſt whom were fiue thouſand women, wholie bent to reuenge the villanies done to their perſons by the Romans, or to die in the paine. And for this purpoſe were they come well apointed with armour and weapons, to be the firſt that ſhould giue the onſet. Boada hearing of hir brothers approch with the king of Picts and their armies, met them on the waie accompanied with a great number of the nobles of Britaine, and brought them to hir campe with great ioy and triumph.

Werherns were men of goodlie ſtature.

Women come with the quæne in armour.

After taking aduiſe how to behaue themſelues in their enterprize, they thought it good to make haſt to fight with the procurator Catus, yer anie new power of men of warre might come to his aid forth of Gallia now called France. Whereupon marching towards him, they met togither in the field, where betwixt them was ſtriken a right fierce and cruell battell; but in the end the horſſemen of the Romans part being put to flight, the footmen were beaten downe on euerie ſide; Catus himſelfe being wounded, eſcaped verie hardlie by flight, and ſhortlie after got him ouer into France. The Scots and Picts with other the Britains, hauing atchiued this victorie, purſued their enimies from place to place, ſo that there died by the ſword, what in the battell and elſewhere in the chaſe, ſeuentie thouſand Romans and other ſtrangers, which ſerued amongeſt them; and of Scots, Picts, and other Britains, were ſlaine thirtie thouſand.

The Romans are put to flight and ouerthrowne.

Catus was wounded.

70000 Romans ſlaine, and 30000 Britains.

The gouernour Suetonius being then in Gallia, hearing of this ouerthrow, & in what danger things ſtood in Britaine, by reaſon of the ſame, came ouer with two legions of ſouldiers, and ten thouſand of other Brigants as aiders to thoſe legions. Boada the quæne vnderſtanding of his arriuall, aſſembled againe hir people, and ſent vnto the Scots and Picts to come to hir aid: who togither with the Horauians came with all ſpeed vnto hir. When they were thus aſſembled, Britains, Scots, Picts, & Horauians on one part, and Romans with their aids on the other, they marched forth to incounter togither with deliberat minds to trie the matter by dint of ſword, being earneſtlie exhorted thereto by their gouernors on either ſide. So that ioining puiſſance againſt puiſſance, they fought a right cruell battell, manie in the beginning being ſlaine and borne downe on both ſides. But in the end the victorie abode with the Romans, the Britains with other the Albans were chaſed out of the field. There were ſlaine of them at the point of foure ſcore thouſand perſons, as Tacitus writeth. The more part of the Horauians, togither with their capteine Roderike, were in that number. Boada the quæne, doubting to come into the hands of hir enimies, ſlue hir ſelfe. Two of hir daughters were taken priſoners, and brought armed, euen as they were found fighting in the battell, vnto Suetonius.

Boada aſſembled an armie againſt the Romans.

The Romans ouerthrow the Scots and Picts.

The Horauians all ſlaine.

Boada ſlue hir ſelfe.

The eldeſt of them within a few moneths after was maried vnto a noble Romane named Marius, who had defloured hir before time. He was alſo created king of Britaine by the emperours authoritie, that thereby the ſtate of the countrie might be reduced vnto a better quiet. He vſed to lie moſt an end in the parties of Kendale, and named a part thereof (where

Marius was made king.

(where he passed the most part of his time altogether in hunting) Westmerland, after his owne name, though afterwards, when the Romans were expelled, a portion of the same adioining next vnto the Scots was called Cumberland. The Morauians which escaped from the discomfiture, had that portion of Scotland assigned forth vnto them to inhabit in, that lieth betwixt the riuers of Tome and Speie, called euen vnto this day Murrey land.

Westmerland.

Humf. Lluid doubteth of this historie of the Morauians.

Murrey land.

Corbreid being thus ouerthrowne, and hauing his power greatlie infeebled thereby, passed the residue of his life in quietnesse. For the Romans being troubled with ciuill warres, medled neither with the Scots nor Picts, but onlie studied to keepe the south parts of Britaine in due obedience. Finallie Corbreid departed this world, after he had reigned 34 yeares, and was buried amongest his elders neere vnto Dunstafage, with mante obelisks set vp about him.

Corbreid dead Anno Christi, 71. H. B.

Dardan.

AFter Corbreid succeeded one Dardan, which for his huge stature was afterward surnamed the great. He was lineally descended frō Metellane, who was his great grandfather. The nobles and commens of the realme chose him to be their king, onelie for the good opinion they had conceiued of him in his predecessors daies, by whome he was had in great estimation, and had atchiued vnder him manie worthie enterprises, so that he was thought most meetest for the rome, considering the sonnes of Corbreid were not as yet come vnto ripe yeares to inioy the same. For the said Corbreid had three sons in all, Corbreid, Tulcane, and Bréke. The eldest had beene brought vp with Voada, quéne of the Britains, whereby he had learned the maners and vsages of the British nation, and thereupon was surnamed Gald; for so do the Scotishmen vse euen vnto this day to name anie of their owne countriemen that hath learned the courtesie and maners of strange countries.

Corbreid Gald his three sonnes.

But to returne to Dardan, in the beginning of his reigne he gouerned the estate by good indifferent iustice, but after he had continued therein by the space of two yeares, he began to fall into all kinds of vices, removing from offices such as were vpright bearers of themselues in the same, and aduancing to their places bribers and extortioners. The nobles he had in suspect, fauoring onelie such as thorough flatterie were by him preferred. And where he was drowned beyond all the terms of honestie in fleshlie and sinfull lust, yet was his couetousnesse so great, that all was to little which he might lay hands vpon. He also put to death diuers honorable personages, such as he perceiued to grudge at his doings. He likewise purposed to haue made away the sonnes of his predecessor Corbreid, but his traitorous practise being disclosed, the most part of the nobles and commons of the realme rebelled against him, and sending for Corbreid Gald the eldest sonne of the former Corbreid, remaining as then in the Ile of Man (where he should haue béene murthered) they chose him to their king. And at length beating downe all such as made resistance, they got that cruell tyrant Dardan into their hands, & bringing him forth before the multitude, they caused his head to be openlie stricken off. This was the 81 yeare after the birth of our Sauiour, being the first of the emperour Domitian, & the fourth complet of his owne reigne ouer the Scotishmen.

Dardan falleth into all kind of vices.

his cosin Cadorus and father.

The commons rebell.

Dardan is beheaded. 75. H. B. 6 of Vespasian. H. B.

Corbreid Gald.

COrbreid Gald being thus chosen (as I haue said) to succéed in the gouernment of Scotland after Dardan, is called by Cornelius Tacitus Galgacus, a prince of comelie personage, and of right noble port. In the first begining of his reigne he punished such as had béene furtherers of his predecessors mis-

Galdus other wise called Galgacus, not a Scot but a Britaine as other thinke.

gouernement, and afterwards he passed ouer into the westerne Iles, where he appeased certeine rebels, which went about to disquiet the state of the common-wealth there. From thence he sailed vnto the Iles of Lewis and Skie, and put to death certeine offendors that would not be obedient vnto their gouernors and iudges. After this he returned by Rosse, and set a stay also in that countrie, touching certeine misdemeanors of the people there. To be short, hée purged the whole realme of all such robbers, théeues, and other the like offendors against the quiet peace of his subiects, as were hugelie increased by the licentious rule of his predecessor Dardan, and hereunto he was mightilie aided by the Morauians, who pursued such offendors most earnestlie, and brought in vnto him no small number of them, euer as they caught them.

See more of him in England.

Gald punisheth such as disturbe the quiet state of his subiects.

The Morauians helpe to apprehend théeues and offendors.

By this meanes was the state of the common-wealth brought into better quiet, and the yeare next insuing, being the third of Gald his reigne, he called a councell at Dunstafage, wherein he laboured much for the abrogating of the wicked lawes instituted by king Ewin, as before is partlie specified: but he could not obteine more, than that poore men from thencefoorth should haue their wiues free vnto themselues, without being abused from time to time indifferentlie by their landlords, as heretofore they had bene. Whilest he was thus busied about the establishing of holsome orders & statuts for the welth of his subiects, word was brought him that Petilius Cerealis a Romane capteine, being sent from Uespasian the emperour to haue the gouernement of Britaine, was landed with a puissant armie in the countrie, and minded shortlie to inuade the borders of his realme, as Annandale and Galloway.

Gald laboreth to abrogate wicked lawes.

Petilius Cerealis a Romane capteine sent by Uespasian into Britaine.

With these newes Gald being somewhat astonished, thought good to vnderstand the certeintie of the enimies doings, before he made anie sturre for the leuieng of his people, and therefore appointed certeine light horsemen to ride forth, and to bring certeine newes of that which they might heare or see: who at their returne declared that the enimies armie was abroad in the fields, vpon the borders of Pictland, and had giuen the Picts alreadie a great ouerthrow; and further, how they were turned westward on the left hand, in purpose to enter into Galloway. Gald being thus certified of the Romans approch towards his countrie, determined to giue them battell, before they entered into the inner parts of his realme, and therefore with all spéed he assembled his people, to the number of fiftie thousand men, all such as were able to beare armor, being readie to repaire vnto him in such present necessitie for defense of their countrie.

The Dridounices and Brigants mistaken by the Scotish writers.

The picts ouerthrowne by the Romans.

The Romans purpose to enter into Galloway.

Gald determineth to fight with the Romans.

It hath béene reported, that as he marched forth towards his enimies, sundrie strange sights appeared by the way. An eagle was séene almost all a whole day, flieng vp and downe ouer the Scotish armie, euen as though she had laboured hir selfe wearie. Also an armed man was séene flieng round about the armie, and suddenlie vanished away. There fell in like maner out of a darke cloud in the fields, through the which the armie should passe, diuerse kinds of birds that were spotted with bloud. These monstruous sights troubled mens minds diuerslie, some construing the same to signifie good successe, and some otherwise. Also the chiefest capteins amongst the Scots were not all of one opinion, for some of them weieng the great force of the Romane armie, being the greatest that euer had béene brought into their countrie before that day, counselled that they should in no wise be fought withall, but rather to suffer them to wearie themselues, till vittels and other prouision should faile them, and

Strange sights appéere to the Scotish armie.

The Scots not all of one mind.

then to take the aduantage of them, as occasion serued.

Other were of a contrarie mind, iudging it best (sith the puissance of the whole realme was assembled) to giue battell, least by deferring time, the courage and great desire, which the people had to fight, should wax faint and decaie: so that all things considered, it was generallie in the end agreed vpon to giue battell, and so comming within sight of the enimies host, they made readie to incounter them. At the first the Scots were somewhat amazed with the great multitude of their aduersaries, but through the chéerefull exhortations of their king, and other their capteins, their stomachs began to reuiue, so that they boldlie set vpon the Romans, whereof insued betwixt them a right fierce and cruell battell, howbeit in the end the victorie inclined to the Romans, and the Scots were chased out of the field. Gald himselfe was wounded in the face, yet escaped he out of the battell, but not without great danger in deed, by reason the Romans pursued most egerlie in the chase.

There were slaine of the Scotishmen (as their chronicles report) aboue twelue thousand, and of the Romans about six thousand. This victorie being thus atchiued, the Romans got possession of Epiake with the greatest part of all Galloway, and passed the residue of that yéere without anie other notable exploit: but in the summer following, Petilius the Romane gouernor went about to subdue the rest of the countrie, the Scots oftentimes making diuerse skirmishes with him, but in no wise durst ioine with them, puissance against puissance, least they should haue put their countrie into further danger, if they had chanced eftsoones to haue receiued the ouerthrow.

¶ Here haue we thought good to aduertise the reader, that although the Scotish writers impute all the trauels, which Petilius spent in subduing the Brigants, and Frontinus in conquering the Silures, to be imploied chieflie against Scots & Picts: the opinion of the best learned is wholie contrarie thereunto, affirming the same Brigants & Silures not to be so far north by the distance of manie miles, as Hector Boetius and other his countriemen do place them, which thing in the historie of England we haue also noted, where ye may read more of all the doings of the Romans here in Britaine, as in their writers we find the same recorded. But neuertheless wee haue here followed the course of the Scotish historie, in maner as it is written by the Scots themselues, not binding anie man more in this place than in other to credit them further than by conference of authors it shall séeme to them expedient.

In the meane time then, whilest Petilius was occupied (as before ye haue hard) in the conquest of Galloway, Boadicia the daughter of Aruiragus (whom the Romans had before time misused, as before in this treatise is partlie touched) gathered togither a crew of souldiors within the Ile of Man, partlie of the inhabitants, and partlie of such Scotishmen of Galloway as were fled thither for succor: with these shée tooke the seas, and landing in Galloway, vpon purpose to reuenge hir iniuries in times past receiued at the Romans hands, she set vpon their tents in the night season, when they looked for nothing lesse than to be disquieted, by reason whereof they were brought into such disorder, that if Petilius had not caused such firebrands to be kindled as he had prepared and dressed with pitch, rosen and tallow, for the like purpose, the whole campe had beene in great danger: but these torches or firebrands gaue not onlie light to sée where to make resistance, but also being cast in the faces of the enimies, staied their hardie forwardnesse, whereby the Romans hauing leasure to place themselues in arraie, defended the entries of their campe, till the day was sprung, and then giuing a full onset vpon their enimies, they put them quite to flight.

But Boadicia not herewith discouraged, hasted with all speed vnto Epiake, and taking that citie she set fire on it, and slue such Romans as she found there, whereof Petilius being certified, sent forth a legion against hir to withstand hir attempts. Those that had the charge of them that were thus sent, vsed such diligence, that laieng an ambush for hir in a place fit for that purpose, they so inclosed hir, that slaieng the most part of hir company, she was taken prisoner hir selfe, and being brought aliue vnto Petilius, vpon hir stout answer made vnto him, as he questioned with hir about hir bold enterprises, shée was presentlie slaine by the souldiors.

Anon after Petilius was certified, that the inhabitants of the Ile of Wight, with other southerne Britains, had raised a commotion against king Marius, so that without spéedie succors they were like to driue him out of his kingdome: whereupon he hasted thither with all conuenient spéed, and subduing the rebels, set all things there in good order and state: and so remaining there till the next yeere after, he fell sicke of the flix and died. Immediatlie whereupon the emperour sent one Julius Frontinus to succéed in his place. This Frontinus brought with him two legions of souldiors, and after he had taken order with king Marius for the kéeping of the Britains in due subiection of the empire, he purposed to bring such vnto obedience, as inhabited within and beyond the woods of Caledon, and as yet not vanquished by anie man.

Therefore entring first into Galloway, and visiting such garrisons of the Romans, as Petilius had left there for the kéeping of that quarter, he commended their loialtie and diligence, in that they had looked so well to their charge, that the enimie had gained no aduantage at their hands, whilest the armie was occupied in the south parts about other affaires there. He also sent an herald vnto the king of the Picts with letters, requiring him to renew by confirmation the former league betwixt his people & the Romans, & not by any means to aid the Scots as before they had done to their great losse & hindrance. Hereunto the king of Picts much suspecting the matter, made a direct answer, that he saw no cause why he should in fauor of the Romans suffer his confederats the Scots to be subdued, and brought to destruction without all reason or equitie: and therefore he was determined by the aduise of his péeres & councellors, to aid the Scots against such as sought nothing but the meanes how to bring the whole Ile of Albion into thraldome and seruile bondage.

Frontinus little regarding this vntowardlie answer, set forward to subdue such Scots as were yet disobedient. And so entring into the borders of Kile, Carrike, and Coningham, had diuers skirmishes with such as king Gald had assembled to defend his countrie, but forsomuch as he was diseased with sicknesse, he was at length constreined to withdraw himselfe into Argile, leauing his power behind him to resist the enimies attempts: but shortlie after his departure from amongst them, they were fought withall by the Romans, and discomfited, three thousand of them being slaine in the field. By reason of which ouerthrowe those countries submitted themselues to the Romans, perceiuing no hope otherwise how to escape that present danger.

These Scots of Carrike, Kile, and Coningham, being thus brought into subiection, the armie was licenced to withdraw to their lodgings for the winter

The Scots agrée to fight with the Romans.

The Scots are discomfited.

The citie called Epiake is won by the Romans.

The Scots durst not fight any field with the Romans.

Touching all the doings of the Romans in Britaine ye shall find sufficientlie in the historie of England.

Boadicia reneweth wars with the Romans.

The Romane campe assailed in the night by Boadicia.

Epiake is taken & burned by Boadicia.

Boadicia is slaine.

The Britains rebell.

The Britains are appeased.

Petilius the Romane legat dieth.

Julius Frontinus sent into Britaine.

The Silures mistaken for Scotishmen.

Frontinus purposeth to pursue the conquest of the Silures who the Scots mistake for Galloway men.

Frontinus requireth to ioine in amitie with the Picts.

The Pictish king refuseth to be in league with the Romans.

Gald resisteth the Romans.

By reason of sicknesse he withdraweth to Argile.

They submit themselues to the Romans.

Frontinus being vexed with sicknesse returneth to Rome.

ter season, during the which, Frontinus fell sicke of superfluous abundance of flegme, which vexed him in such sort, that the emperor Domitian, who as then gouerned the Romane empire, sent for him home to Rome, and appointed a right valiant personage, one Julius Agricola to succeed as lieutenant of Britaine in his roome. About the time of whose arriuall there, the Scots of Annandale slue a great number of the Romans, with which successe they procured also the Picts with the inhabitants of Galloway, Kile, Cattrike, and Coningham to rebell.

Julius Agricola is sent into Britaine.

The Scots of Annandale beat downe the Romans.

Agricola prepareth to go against the Scots.

Karanach K. of the Picts discomfited by the Romans.

These newes being reported vnto Agricola, he made his prouision with all speed to go against them, and first entring into the borders of Pictland, he reduced such as inhabited about the confines of Berwike to their former subiection, and after marching forwards the citie of Camelon, Karanach king of the Picts incountred him by the waie, but being fiercelie beaten off by the Romans, he fled backe into the citie, and within three daies after hauing reinforced his power, he eftsoones gaue battell againe to his enimies, but then also being vanquished, he lost the most part of all his men, and so immediatlie thereupon was Camelon wone by force, & a great number of the citizens slaine.

Karanach flieth beyond the Firth.

Agricola caused it to be newlie fortified, and further through fame of this victorious beginning, he recouered the most part of all the castels and fortresses of Pictland. The forenamed Karanach escaping out of that present danger, got him beyond the water of Firth, for the more suertie of his owne person. Agricola hauing sped thus in Pictland, marched forth against them of Annandale, who at the first making resistance for a time, at length were constreined to giue backe, and so fled to their houses, where in the night following by their owne wiues they were murthered each mothers sonne: for so the women of that nation vsed to put awaie the shame of their husbands, when they at any time had fled out of the field from their enimies.

The Scots of Annandale slaine by their wiues.

Agricola vnderstanding that by winning him fame in the beginning, it should be no small furtherance vnto him for the atchiuing of other enterprises in time to come, determined to pursue his good fortune, and therevpon prepared to subdue the Ile of Man; but wanting vessels to conuey his armie ouer, he found meanes that such as could swim, and knew the shallow places of that coast, made shift to passe the golfe, and so got on land, to the great wonder and amazing of the inhabitants, who watched the sea coasts, to resist such ships as they looked for to haue arriued vpon their shore: but now despairing to resist such kind of warriors as indangered themselues to passe the seas in that maner of wise, they submitted themselues vnto Agricola.

Here is a manifest error in the Scotish writers, taking Man for Inglesey.

Agricola assaileth the Ile of Inglesey and not Man as Hector Boetius mistaketh it.

Who taking pledges of them, and appointing certeine garisons to keepe diuers holds and places of defense within that Ile, passed ouer with the residue of his people into Galloway, where he soiourned all the winter following: which being passed, and summer once come, he assembled his men of warre againe, and visited a great part of that countrie with Kile, Carrike, and Coningham, the inhabitants whereof he put in such feare with the onelie shew of his warlike armie, disposed in such politike order and wise conduct, that there was none to be found that durst aduance themselues to incounter him, so that he spent that summers season in keeping such of the Scots as had beene aforetime subdued, from attempting any commotion. And when winter was come, he assembled the nobles of the countrie, exhorting them by gentle persuasions, to frame themselues to a ciuill trade of liuing, as well in building of temples, houses, and other edifices after the Romane maner, as also in wearing of comelie and decent apparell; and aboue all things to set their children to schoole, to be brought vp in eloquence and good nurture. By this meanes he thought to traine them from their accustomed fiercenesse, and to win them the sooner to be content with bondage, though he coloured it with neuer so faire a glose of humanitie.

The Ile of Inglesey is subdued by Agricola.

Agricola studieth to bring the Scots vnto ciuilitie.

The third winter being thus spent, and the next summer commen vpon, Agricola inuaded such countries as were yet vndiscouered by the Romans, entring by the nether side of Calidon wood, euen vnto the dolorous mounteine, which afterwards by the Scots was cleped Sterling. It was called the dolorous mounteine, for that in the night season there was heard right lamentable noise & cries, as though the same had beene of some creatures that had bewailed their miserable cases: which vndoubtedlie was the craftie illusions of wicked spirits, to keepe mens minds still oppressed in blind errors and superstitious fantasies.

Kalendar wood.

Agricola commeth to Sterling.

Agricola considering the naturall strength of this mounteine, with the site of an old ruinous castell that stood thereon, he caused the same with all diligence to be repared, and a bridge to be made ouer the Forth there, by the which he passed with his whole armie ouer into Fife: and the daie after, hearing that the king of the Picts was withdrawne into a castell thereby, standing vpon an high mounteine cleped Beenart, he inuironed the same with a strong siege, howbeit his hoped prey was not as then within it, for Karanach king of the Picts, informed of the Romans approch, got him forth abroad into the fields, and assembling his power, purposed by night to haue broken the bridge, which Agricola had made ouer the Forth at Sterling, but being repelled by such as were set there to defend the same, in his returne from thence he was incountred by Agricola himselfe, who being certified of this attempt of his enimies, had leuied his siege, and was comming towards them, so that both the hosts meeting togither in the fields, there was fought a sore battell betwixt them, though in the end the Picts were discomfited, and their king the foresaid Karanach chased vnto the riuer of Tay, where he got a bote, and escaped to the further side of that water. By reason of this ouerthrow, Agricola brought in subiection those countries, which lie betweene the waters of Forth and Tay, as Fife, Fothrike, and Ernedall, and soiourning there all the winter following, he built sundrie fortresses in places most conuenient for the keeping of the inhabitants in their couenanted obedience, after his departure from amongst them.

Agricola buildeth the castle of Sterling with the bridge.

Mount Beenart.

Karanach assaileth Sterling bridge, which the Romans defended.

Karanach is eftsoones chased.

Fife with other countries brought into subiection of the Romans.

In the meane while, the king of the Picts kept him at Dundee, whither resorted vnto him a great number of the Pictish nobilitie, such as had escaped the Romans hands. These comforted their king in all that they might, willing him to be of good cheere, and to hope well of the recouerie of his losses againe by some good fortune and meanes that might happen to come yer ought long, promising to the furtherance thereof all that in them laie, as well for counsell as aid of hand: and herevpon they toke aduise which waie to worke, insomuch that at length it was by great deliberation thought good to seeke for succor at the hands of their ancient confederats the Scots, and so incontinentlie there were certeine messingers dispatched with all speed vnto Gald the Scotish king, requiring him in that common ieopardie to ioine in league with his ancient friends the Picts, against the ambitious and most cruell Romans, who sought nothing else but the vtter subuersion of the whole land of Albion, as manifestlie appeered by their proceedings, hauing alreadie occupied and wrongfullie

Karanach comforted by his nobles.

The Picts send for aid to king Gald.

fullie surpʒised a great part not onlie of the Pictish kingdome, but also of the Scotish dominions, minding still to go forward in such vnrighteous conquests, if by timelie resistance they were not staied. Gald vpon this request and motion of the Picts gladlie consented to ioine his power with theirs, in common defense of both the realmes (against such common enimies as the Romans were esteemed) hauing herevnto the assent of all his pæres and chéefest councellors.

Gald pʒomiseth to ioine in league with the Picts against the Romans.

Thus whilest the kings of the Scots and Picts were concluding a league togither for defense of themselues and their countries, certeine Scots entred into the confines of Kile, Carrike, and Coningham, and wan diuers fortresses, wherein certeine garrisons of Romane souldiers soiourned, whome they slue downe right without all mercie, spoiling the whole countrie. Agricola hauing knowledge hereof, went streightwaies thither with a power, and pursuing them that had done those iniuries, some he toke amongst the hilles and mounteines, whither they fled; and the residue he chased beyond the riuer of Clide, but the castell of Dunbʒeton he could not by any meanes obteine, though he assaied to win it euen to the vttermost of his power. It was called in those daies Alcluth, that is to meane: All stone. The Scotishmen being thus dʒiuen backe, Agricola repared such castels and fortresses as they had ouerthʒowne and beaten downe.

The Scots slea the Roman souldiers lieng in certeine garisons.

The riuer of Clide, otherwise called Clude.

Agricola repelling the Scots, could not get win the castell of Dunbʒeton, anciently called Alcluith, or Alcluth.

In the yeare following, being the fift after the first comming of Agricola into Bʒitaine, he caused his ships to be bʒought about frō the Ile of Wight into the water of Lochfine in Argile, thereby to put his enimies in vtter despaire of escaping his hands either by water or land: and thereupon passing ouer the riuer of Clide with his armie, and finding his nauie there, he set vpon the countrie of Lennox, in purpose to subdue the same. But after he had made sundʒie skirmishes with the inhabitants, he was certified by letters from the gouernor of Camelon, that the Picts were readie to rebell, by reason whereof he left off this enterpʒise against the Scots, and dʒew backe into Pictland, leauing a part of his armie to kæpe possession of the water of Clide, till his returne againe into those parties. At his comming into Pictland, he apesed the rebels with small adoo, punishing the chéefe authors accoʒding to their demerits. This done, he returned vnto the water of Clide, lieng all that winter beyond the same, taking order for the gouernment of those parties, in due obedience of the Romane empire.

Agricola inuadeth Lennox.

Agricola returneth into Pictland, to appease a rebellion of the people there.

He returneth vnto Clide.

The summer following he appointed his nauie to search alongst by the coast all the hauens and créeks of Argile, and of the Ilands néere to the same. Whilest he by land passing ouer the water of Leuine, went about to conquer townes and castels, though halfe discouraged at the first, by reason of the rough waies, streict passages, high mounteines, craggie rocks, thicke woods, dæpe marishes, fens and mosses, with the great riuers which with his armie he must néeds passe, if he minded to atteine his purpose: but the old souldiers being inured with paines and trauell, ouercame all these difficulties by the wise conduct of their worthie generall and other the capteins, and so inuading the countrie toke townes and castels, of the which some they beat downe and raced, and some they fortified and stuffed with garisons of men of warre.

Agricola pursueth his enterpʒise against the Scots.

About the same time by commandement of king Gald, and other the gouernors of Scotland, all the able men of Cantire, Lorne, Murrey land, Lugemarth, also those of the westerne Iles, & of all other parties belonging to the Scotish dominions, were appointed to assemble and come togither in Atholl, at a place not passing fiue miles distant from the castell of Calidon now cleped Dunkeld, there to abide the comming of Karanach king of the Picts, to the end that ioining togither in one armie, they might worke some high exploit. But he hauing assembled fiftéene thousand of his men of war, as he marched alongst by the mounteine of Granzbene, in times past cleped Pons Grampius, there chanced a mutinie amongest his people, so that falling togither by the eares, Karanach himselfe comming amongst them vnarmed as he was to part the fraie, was slaine pʒesentlie at vnwares, by one that knew not what he was. By reason of which mischance that iournie was broken, for the Picts being vtterlie amazed and discomforted héerewith, skaled and departed asunder.

All the Scots assemble.

Karanach k. of the Picts slaine by misfortune of one of his owne subiects.

Gald with his Scots now being thus disappointed of the Picts his chéefest aid, durst not ieopard to trie the chance of battell with the enimies, but determined with light skirmishes, and by withdʒawing of vittels out of their walke, to stop them from further pʒoceeding in conquest of the countrie, & in the meane time to pʒouide against the next summer new aid and succors to kéepe the field, and so to incounter with them, puissance against puissance, if they remained so long in the countrie. The Scots resting vpon this resolution, thought good to send some honorable ambassage vnto the Picts to moue them vnto mutuall agrément & concord amongst themselues, whereby they might be able to resist the common ruine of their countrie as then in pʒesent danger to be oppʒessed by the Romans.

An ambassage frō the Scots to the Picts.

Those that were sent on this message, did so diligentlie behaue themselues, in bʒinging their purpose to passe, that the Picts in the end agréed to ioine in friendlie amitie one with another, and to chuse one Garnard to their king to succéed in the rome of Karanach. They also confirmed the former leage with the Scots, and by their pʒocurement sent messengers vnto the Norwegians and Danes, requiring them of aid against the Romans the common enimies of all such nations as loued to liue in libertie, whersoeuer the same were inhabiting in anie part on the whole face of the earth. There were also sent ambassadors vnto the Irishmen from the Scots for the same intent, and from both those places there was great aid pʒomised, as frō them that estéemed themselues halfe bound by a naturall respect, to succor such as were descended of the same ancestors and countries that they were of, and now like to be expelled out of the seats which their forefathers had got possession in by iust title of conquest, and left the same vnto their posteritie to enioy for euer.

The Picts bʒought to agrément amongst themselues.

Ambassadors sent vnto the Danes and Irishmen for aid.

Whilest these things were thus in doing, Galdus diuiding his armie into sundʒie parts, did what was possible to resist all the attempts of the Romans. Who standing in doubt of his puissance, rather through fame thereof, than for anie apparant sight or other knowledge had, durst not put themselues in danger to enter into Calidon wood, of all that summer; and the winter following was so extreame, by reason of frost, snow, and colonesse of aire, that they were not able to enterpʒise anie exploit on neither part: howbeit the summer was no soner come (being the seauenth after the comming of Agricola into Bʒitaine) but that they pʒepared to inuade one an other againe with all their forces.

The fame of Gald his puissance putteth the Romans in feare.

Forth of Ireland there came (accoʒding as was pʒomised) a great power of men of warre, and ioined with an armie of Scotishmen in Atholl, being there alreadie assembled in great numbers out of all the quarters of the Scotish dominions. Thither came also Garnard king of the Picts with his power. All which forces being thus assembled togither by common agrément amongest them, Gald king of the

In aid of Irishmen come to the succors of the Scots.

Gald chosen to be generall against the Romans.

the Scots was chosen to be their generall, who hea-
ring that Agricola with with his host was entred
into Kalendar wood, diuided the whole armie into
three battels, and so marched forth towards the ene-
mies in purpose to incounter them. Agricola be-
ing of this aduertised by spials, parted his people also in-
to three wards, doubting to be inclosed within some
combersome place by reason of the great multitude
of his enimies, that were estéemed to be in number
aboue 50000 of one and other.

Gald on the other side vnderstanding by spials this
order of the Romans, in the dead of the night setteth
vpon one of those legions, which was lodged next vn-
to him, and finding meanes to slea the watch, was
entred into the enimies lodgings, before they had a-
nie knowlege of his comming, so that the fight was
right fierce & cruell euen among the Romans tents
and lodgings. But Agricola being certified of this
enterprise of the Scots, sent forth with all spéed a
certeine number of light horsemen and footmen to
assaile them on the backs, & so to kéepe them occupi-
ed, till he might come with all the residue of his peo-
ple to the rescue. They that were thus sent, accompli-
shing their enterprise according to the deuise in that
behalfe appointed, gaue a right fierce & stout charge
vpon the Scots and Picts, greatlie to the releefe of
those that were by them assailed, and withall sore a-
mazed and disordered by reason of the enimies sud-
den inuasion.

By this meanes the fight continued right fierce
and cruell on all sides, till at length the daie begin-
ning to appéere, shewed to the Scots and Picts the
plaine view of the whole Romane armie, approa-
ching vnder the conduct of Agricola, to the succour
of his people, being thus in danger to be distressed.
Hérewith were the Scots and Picts put in such
feare, that immediatlie they fell to running awaie
towards the woods and bogs, the accustomed places
of their refuge. This ouerthrow did so abash both the
Scots and Picts, that they durst attempt no more
the fortune of battell, till they had some aid out of
Denmarke, but onelie did what they could to de-
fend their townes and countrie, by making sundrie
raises vpon their enimies, as occasion and opportuni-
tie serued. But the Romans, supposing nothing to
be hard for their vndaunted valiancie, but that they
were able to ouercome whatsoeuer should stand at
defiance against them, determined at length to find
an end of the Ile of Albion, and so passing thorough
Kalendar wood, and ouer the riuer of Amond, they
pitched their field néere to the riuer of Taie, not far
from the castell named Calidon or Kalendar.

The Picts, by reason that their enimies were lod-
ged so néere to the confines of their countrie, doub-
ting what might follow thereof, burned the citie of
Tuline, least the same enimies chancing to take it,
should furnish it with some garrison of men, to the
great danger of the whole Pictish kingdome. This
citie stood vpon the banke of Taie, right beautifullie
built, with many faire castels and towers, as may
appéere euen vnto this daie by the old ruines therof,
strong rather by the workemans hands, than by na-
ture. The Scotishmen in our time call the place
Inchtuthill. All their wiues and children they remo-
ued vnto the mountains of Granzbene for their
more suertie and safegard.

About the same time the Romans were not a lit-
tle disquieted, by reason of a mutinie which chanced
amongst such Germans as were appointed to come
ouer to Agricola, as a new supplie to furnish vp such
numbers as were decaied in his armie. These slai-
eng their capteine, and such other Romans as were
appointed to haue the order of them for their trai-
ning in warlike feats at the beginning, as the ma-
ner was, got certeine pinnesses which they happened
vpon in the riuer of Thames, and sailing about the
east and north coasts of this Ile, arriued in Taie
water, offering themselues to the Scots and Picts
to serue against the Romans, whose malice they
dread for their offense committed if they should re-
turne into their owne countries, which laie about the
mouth of the Rhene, and was as then subiect to the
Romane empire, the inhabitants in those daies be-
ing cleped Usipites, the which (as some suppose) inha-
bited Cleueland and Gulike.

Their offer was accepted most thankefullie, and
places appointed for them to inhabit amongest the
Murraies, because they were descended as it were
of one nation. Whilest these things were thus a
doing, there came also the long wished aid from the
Danes and Norwegians, to the number of ten
thousand men, vnder the leading of one Gildo. This
Gildo with his nauie first arriued in the frith be-
twixt Fife and Louthian, but for that the Romans
kept him off from landing there, he sailed about and
came into the riuer of Taie, where he landed all his
people, for prouision whereof he had good store both of
vittels and armour. Garnard king of the Picts
hearing of their arriuall there, forthwith vpon the
newes departed from Dundée, accompanied with a
great number of his nobles, and comming to the
place where Gildo with his armie was lodged, re-
ceiued him in most ioifull wise, feasted and ban-
keted him and his people, and shewed them all the
tokens of most hartie loue and friendship that could
be deuised. Gildo himselfe was led by the king vnto
Dundée, and lodged with him there in the castell,
his people were prouided for abroad in the countrie
in places most for their ease, to refresh themselues
the better after their painefull iournie by the seas.

Shortlie after there came vnto Dundée the Sco-
tish king Gald, who for his part did all the honour
that in him lay vnto Gildo, shewing himselfe most
ioifull and glad of his comming, yéelding vnto him
and his people such thanks and congratulations as
serued best to the purpose, and receiued no lesse at
his and their hands againe. After they had remained
thus certeine daies togither at Dundée, both the
kings Gald & Garnard, togither with this Gildo,
went vnto the castell of Forfare, there to consult
with their capteins and gouernours of their men of
warre, how to mainteine themselues in their en-
terprise against the enimie. At length they resolued
not to go forth into the field till the winter season
were past, for doubt of the inconuenience that might
insue, by reason of the extreame cold intemperancie
of the aire, whereto that countrie is greatlie subiect.

In the meane time they tooke order for the furni-
ture of all things necessarie for the wars, to haue the
same in a perfect readines against the next spring,
and till then they did appoint onelie to kéepe fronter
warre, that the Romans should not straie abroad to
fetch in vittels and other prouisions to their owne
gains, and to the vndoing of the poore inhabitants.
Upon this determination when the counceli was
broken vp, Gald withdrew into Atholl, to defend
those parties; and Garnard with the Danish gene-
rall Gildo, furnished all the castels and holds in An-
gus ouer against the riuer of Taie, to stop the passa-
ges of the same, that the enimies should enter no
further on that side. Thus passed the winter for that
yeare, without anie great exploit on either part at-
chiued.

In the beginning of the next summer, Agricola
appointed his nauie of ships to saile about the coasts
of the furthest parts of Albion, making diligent
search of euerie créeke & hauen alongst by the same.
The mariners, executing his commandement,
sailed

Gald setteth vpon one part of his enimies in the night.

Agricola com meth to the succors of his men.

Agricola dis-comfiteth his enimies.

The Ro-mans passe thorough Cali-don wood ouer the riuer of Amond.

The Picts burne the citie of Tuline.

The place where Tu-line stood is called by the inhabitants at this daie Inchtuthill.

The Ger-mans cõming to serue the Romans re-bell against their captein and leaders.

These Usipites first inhabited the parties betwixt the mountains of Hessen and the Rhene, now called Hochrug, frõ whence they remoued into the nether countries.

Danes, and Norwegians, come to aid the Scots and Picts.

Gildo is kept off from landing by the Romans.

Gildo arriueth in Taie water.

Cornelius Tacitus maketh no mention of anie forraine aid to come to the succours of his enimies comprehending them all vnder the name of Britains.

Garnard the king of Picts ioifullie recei-ued Gildo.

Gald commeth into Dundée to welcome Gil-do.

Gald Gar-nard and Gil-do assemble a councell at Forfare, where they deuise how to proceed in their warre.

They deter-mine to rest all the winter, and make fronter warre onelie.

Agricola send-deth forth his nauie of ships, to discouer the furthest point of Britaine northward.

ſailed round about the north coaſt, diſcouering manie of the weſterne Iles, and likewiſe thoſe of Orkneie, till at length they found out Pictland firth, being a ſtreict of the ſea of twentie miles in breadth, which ſeparateth the Iles of Orkneie from the point of Cathneſſe, paſſing with ſo ſwift a courſe, that without an expert pilot the ſhips that ſhall paſſe the ſame are oftentimes in great danger, by reaſon of the contrarie courſe of the tides. The Romane mariners therefore, finding certeine huſbandmen in the next Iles, conſtreined them to go a ſhipbord, & to guide them through that ſtreict, promiſing them high rewards for their labour; but they vpon a malicious intent not paſſing for their owne lines, ſo they might be reuenged of their enimies in caſting away ſuch a notable number of them togither with their veſſels, entred the ſtreict at ſuch an inconuenient time, that the ſhips were borne with violence of the ſtreame againſt the rocks and ſhelues, in ſuch wiſe that a number of the ſame were drowned and loſt without recouerie.

The Romane ſhips through want of pilots are loſt in Pictland frith.

Some of them that were not ouer-haſtie to follow the firſt, ſéeing the preſent loſſe of their fellows, returned by the ſame way they came vnto Agricola, who in this meane time had cauſed a bridge to be made ouer the riuer of Tay, by the which he paſſed with his whole armie, and incamped on the further ſide thereof néere to the roots of the mounteine of Granzbene, leauing the bridge garniſhed with a competent number of ſouldiers to defend it againſt the enimies. The Picts being not a little troubled herewith, diſpatched forth a meſſenger with all haſt vnto Gald the Scotiſh king, ſignifieng vnto him the whole matter, and ther vpon required of him aid.

Agricola making a bridge ouer Tay water, paſſeth by the ſame with his hoſt, and incampeth néere to the foot of the mounteine of Granzbene.

Gald hauing muſtered his people aſwell Scotiſh as Iriſh, aſſembled them togither to the number of fortie thouſand perſons, what of one and other, and incontinentlie with all ſpéed marcheth forth to come vnto the aid of the Picts, and ſo within a few daies paſſing ouer the mounteine of Granzbene, he arriueth in a vallie beyond the ſame mounteine, where he findeth the Picts, Danes, and Norwegians incamped togither not far off from the hoſt of the Romans. Here taking aduiſe togither, & in the end determining to giue battell, king Gald (vnto whome as before is expreſſed, the gouernance of the whole was cõmitted) aſſembling togither all the number of the confederats, made vnto them a long and pithie oration, exhorting them in defenſe of libertie (the moſt pretious iewell that man might inioy) to ſhew their manlie ſtomachs againſt them that ſought onelie to depriue them of that ſo great a benefit. And ſith they were driuen to the vttermoſt bounds of their countrie, he perſuaded them to make vertue of neceſſitie, and rather chooſe to die with honor, than to liue in perpetuall ſhame & ignominie, which muſt néeds inſue to their whole nation, if they ſuffered themſelues to be vanquiſhed in that inſtant. With theſe words, or other much what of the ſemblable effect, Gald ſo moued the hearts of his people, that they deſired nothing but to ioine with their enimies, & to trie it by dint of ſword, which they vniuerſallie ſignified according to their accuſtomed vſe with a great noiſe, ſhout, and clamor.

Gald king of the Scotiſh men commeth to the aid of the Picts.

The Scots and Picts determine to giue battell to the Romans.

Gald exhorteth his people to fight manfullie.

On the other part Agricola, though he perceiued a great deſire amongeſt his ſouldiers to fight, yet he was not negligent on his owne behalfe to incourage them with moſt chéerefull words and countenance; ſo that both the armies being thus bent to haue battell, the generals on both parties began to ſet them in araie. Agricola to the end his armie being the leſſer number ſhould not be aſſailed both a front and on the ſides, prouided (by diſpoſing them in a certeine order) a remedie againſt that diſaduantage. On the other ſide, king Gald by reaſon of the aduantage which he had in his great multitude and number, ordered his battels thereafter with a long and large front, placing the ſame vpon the higher ground, of purpoſe to compaſſe in the enimies on ech ſide. At the firſt approch of the one armie towards the other, the battell was begun right fiercelie with ſhot of arrows and hurling of darts, which being once paſt, they ioined togither to trie the matter by hand-ſtrokes, wherein the Scots & Picts had one diſaduantage, for thoſe that were archers, or (as I may call them) kerns, comming once to fight at hand-blowes, had nothing but broad ſwords and certeine ſorte light bucklers to defend themſelues with, ſuch as ſerue to better purpoſe for men to ride with abroad at home, than to be carried forth into the warres, though the ſame haue béene ſo vſed among the Scotiſhmen, euen till theſe our daies.

Gald by reaſon of his multitude, thinketh to incloſe his enimies.

The armies approch togither to fight.

They ioine.

The Scotiſh mens diſaduantage, by reaſon of their vnfit weapons.

The Romans therefore being well appointed with armor and broad targets, ſlue downe right a great number of theſe Scots and Picts thus ſlenderlie furniſhed, without receiuing anie great damage againe at their hands, till king Gald appointed his ſpearemen to ſtep forth before thoſe archers & kerns, to ſuccor them, and therewith alſo the bilmen came forward, and ſtroke on ſo ſtrelilie, that the Romans were beaten downe on heaps, in ſuch wiſe that they were néere at point to haue bene diſcomfited, had not a band of Germans (which ſerued amongſt the Romans) ruſhed forth with great violence vpon the Scotiſhmen, where moſt danger appeared, and ſo reſtored againe the fainting ſtomachs of the Romans, whereby the battell renewed on both ſides againe right fierce and cruell, that great ruth it was to behold that bloudie fight, and moſt vnmercifull murther betwixt them, which continued with more violence on the Scotiſh ſide than anie warlike ſkill, till finallie the night comming on, toke the daies light from them both, and ſo parted the fraie. The Romans withdrew to their campe: and the Scots and Picts with their confederats the Danes, Norwegians, and Iriſhmen, ſuch as were left aliue, got them into the next mounteins, hauing loſt in this cruell conflict the moſt part of their whole numbers.

A cohort of Germans reſtored the Romane ſide néere at point to haue had the worſe.

The night ſeuereth the armies in ſunder & parteth the fray.

The Romans withdraw to their campe, & the Scots to the mounteins.

¶ Cornelius Tacitus agréeth not in all points with the Scotiſh chronicles, in a booke which he wrote of the life of Julius Agricola, where he intreateth of this battell. For he ſpeaketh but of thirtie thouſand men (which he comprehendeth vnder the generall name of Britains) to be aſſembled at that time againſt the Romans, making no mention of anie Scots, Picts, Iriſhmen, Norwegians, or Danes, that ſhould be there in their aid. The number of them that were ſlaine on the Britains ſide (as the ſame Tacitus recounteth) amounted to about ten thouſand men, and of the Romans not paſſing three hundred and fortie. Amongſt whom was one Aulus Atticus, a capteine of one of the cohorts. But as the Scotiſh writers affirme, there died that day of Scots, Picts, and other their confederates at the point of twentie thouſand, and of the Romans and ſuch as ſerued on their ſide, as good as twelue thouſand. Moreouer, the night following, when Galdus with the reſidue of his people which were left aliue was withdrawne to the mounteins, and that the huge loſſe was vnderſtood by the wiues and kinſwomen of the dead, there began a pitifull noiſe among them, lamenting and bewailing their miſerable caſe and loſſes.

See more here of in the hiſtorie of England.

The number of them that were ſlaine at this battell.

But Gald, doubting leaſt the ſame ſhould come to the eares of ſome eſpials, that might lurke neere to the place where he was withdrawne, cauſed an huge ſhout and noiſe to be raiſed by his people, as though it had béene in token of ſome reioiſing, till the

women bewaile their friends.

the women bewailing thus the death of their friends, might be remoued out of the way. This done, they fell to take counsell what was best to do in this case: and in the end all things considered, it was determined that somewhat before the dawning of the next morrow, euerie man should dislodge and withdraw himselfe into such a place as he thought most meet for his safegard, saue onelie such as were appointed to attend Galdus and Garnard into Atholl, whither they minded with all spéed to go.

The Scotish men & Picts breake vp their campe.

Thus leauing a great number of fiers to dissemble their departure, they dislodged and made awaie with all spéed possible. In the morning when their departure was once discouered, a great number of the Romans followed as it had bæne in the chase, but some of them vnaduisedlie aduenturing too farre forward, were inclosed by their enimies and slaine. Those that wrought this feat got them to the next hils and so escaped. At length, when all the fields and countries adioining were discouered, and the same appearing to be quite deliuered of all the ambushments of the enimies, Agricola caused the spoile to be gathered, and after marched forth vnto Angus, where (forsomuch as summer was past) he appointed to winter, and so comming thither and subduing the countrie, he tooke pledges of the best amongst the inhabitants, and lodged his people about him in places most conuenient.

The Romans in pursuing vnaduisedlie are distressed.

Agricola subdueth Angus and wintereth there.

About the same time Agricola heard newes from his nauie (as then riding at anchor in Argile) what mishap had chanced to the same in Pictland frith. But herewith being not greatlie discouraged, he gaue order that the ships that had escaped, should be new rigged and furnished with all necessarie prouision, and manned throughlie, both with able mariners and men of war. This done, he appointed them eftsones to attempt fortune, and to take their course againe to come round about by the Orkenies, and so vp alongst by the east coast: which enterprise they luckilie accomplished, and in the water of Taie they burnt the Danish fléet lieng there in harbrough.

Agricola is certified of the mischance of his nauie.

The Romane fléet saileth round about the north point of Albion.

¶ Here is to be noted, that before the fore-remembred ouerthrow of the Scots and their confederats at the foot of Granzbene, there happened manie sundrie vnketh and strange sights in this Ile. Amongst other there appeared flieng in the aire certeine firie visions, much to be wondered at. Also a great pæce of Kalendar wood séemed in the night time as it had bæne on a flaming fire, but in the morning there appeared no such token. There was in like maner séene in the aire the similitude of certeine ships. And in Angus it rained frogs. At Tuline there was a child borne hauing both shapes, so filthie a sight to behold, that forthwith they rid it out of the way for offending others eies. These prodigious things were diuerslie interpreted, according to the variable fansie of man.

Strange visions.

Ships séene in the aire.

It rained frogs.

A mõstruous child borne.

After that the prosperous successe of Agricola was once notified to the emperour Domitian, he tooke such enuie thereat, that shortlie after, vnder a colour to send him into Syria to be lieutenant there, he countermanded him home vnto Rome, appointing one Cneus Trebellius to succéd him in the gouernment of Britaine, but the armie bearing more fauour vnto one Trebellianus being cousine to Agricola, caused no small trouble amongst the souldiors, so that in the end after certeine bickerings betwixt them, Trebellianus tooke a sort of the best souldiors away with him, and went ouer with them into France.

Domitian the emperour enuieth the prosperous successe of Agricola.

Agricola is sent for to Rome, one Cneus Trebellius appointed in his place which causeth the souldiers to make a mutinie.

The Scots vpon occasion of discord amongst the Romans, come forth against them.

The Scots taking occasion hereof, ioined with the Picts, and entred into Angus. Whereof Cneus Trebellianus being informed, assembled his people, who perceiuing no great forwardnesse in their leader, created Caius Silinnius (brother to the forenamed Trebellianus) their captein; but he would in no wise meddle with that charge, though they were verie earnest in hand with him to take it vpon him. In the meane time came the enimies vnder the leading of Galdus readie to giue the onset, wherewith the Romans being sore troubled, by reason of this discord amongst themselues, set forward yet right daliantlie, to giue battell to their enimies: howbeit in the end, because that Silinnius received a mortall wound, and so departed out of the field, they fell at length to running awaie, the Scots and Picts following in the chase right fiercelie.

The Scots set vpon the Romans.

The Romans are discõfited.

This atchiued victorie, after so manie vnluckie enterprises, highlie reioised the appalled harts of the Albions, hauing bæne continuallie in maner now for the space of fiftie yéeres through aduerse fortune grieuouslie oppressed by the Romans, who being not a little discouraged by this ouerthrow, withdrew themselues wholie vnto Tuline, and shortlie after for their more safegard, they got them ouer the riuer of Tay, breaking the bridge which they had made there, to the end that by the same the Scots & Picts should haue no passage in that place. But Galdus hauing got this notable victorie with the spoile of the Romans campe, thought it best with the aduise of his nobles, to pursue the Romans without delaie, not suffering them to haue time to prouide for resistance. And herevpon comming to the castell of Calidon otherwise Kalendar, they got ouer the riuer of Tay, by a bridge of wood laid ouer the same riuer, which in that place is but narrow, by reason of the rocks & cliffes forcing the banks on either side to a streitnesse.

The Romans withdraw vnto Tuline.

They retire backe ouer the water of Tay and breake the bridge after them.

The Romane captens also not ignorant of the passage of the enimies, brought forth their armie, and made themselues readie to incounter them, but for that the forenamed Caius Silinnius was not able to stirre by reason of his wounds receiued in the last battell, they chose one Titus Celius, a valiant gentleman of Rome to be their leader, and so vnder his conduct setting vpon their enimies they fought right fiercelie for a time, but yet in the end they were put to flight, & chased into Calidon. There were slaine of the Romane part in this incounter to the number of fiue thousand, and of the Scots and other the confederats two thousand. After this victorie thus obteined by the Scots, a great number of the Britains reuolted from the Romane obedience, as those that inhabit the countrie which we now call Wales, with the marches, slaieng & chasing awaie such Romans as lay abroad in those parties.

The Scots get ouer the water of Tay nére to Calidon castell.

The Scots eftsones giue battell to the Romans.

The Romans are againe discomfited.

The Britains hearing of the euill aduentures fallen to the Romans, reuolt frõ their obedience.

This done, they sent vnto Galdus king of the Scots, certeine messengers with rich iewels and gifts, in token of their reioising and gladnes for his victories, promising him furthermore such aid as they were able to make against the Romans the common enimies of all the whole Albion nation. Moreouer, in this meane while did the Romans within Calidon castell direct their messengers with letters vnto Marius king of the Britains, signifieng vnto him the present danger wherein things stood in those parties by the cruell rage of the Scotishmen and Picts, whom fortune had aduanced with the gaine of two foughten fields, insomuch that if timelie succours were not the sooner sent, the losse would be irrecouerable. Herevnto Marius answered, that as then a common conspiracie appeared to be in hand amongst his subiects, so far forth that he doubted greatlie the suertie of his owne estate; and as for hope of aid to be sent from Rome, he saw small likelihood; considering the slender prouision there through the misgouernement of cruell Domitian, who by reason of the hatred which the people bare him, regarded nothing but how to keepe them from

The Romans send vnto Marius king of the Britains for aid.

Marius king of the Britains doubteth rebellion of his subiects.

rising

Marius counselleth the Romans to leaue the north parts vnto the enimies, and to draw vnto him into the south parts to keepe the same.

rising vp in armour against him; and therefore he thought it necessarie that leauing the north parts to the enimies, they should all withdraw towards him into the south parts, to keepe yet the more fruitfull portion of the Ile in due obedience, sith their puissance might not suffice to reteine & rule the whole.

These newes greatlie abashed the Romane armie, & so much the more, for that about the same time it was shewed them how king Gald with an huge armie of Scotishmen and Picts, was come within ten miles of them. Whereupon the Romans not knowing at that instant what was best for them to do, in the end they concluded to withdraw into Cantire, where being arriued, and perceiuing themselues as yet to be in no great suertie there, they went awaie from thence with speed into Galloway.

The Romans withdraw into Cantire, & after into Galloway.

Gald pursueth the Romans.

In the meane time king Gald, supposing it best effsones to fight with them yer they might haue anie space to reinforce their power, followed them with all diligence, not forcing though he left behind him diuerse castels and fortresses furnished with sundrie garrisons of his enimies, so that he might discomfit and chase away their maine power, which he thought might as then easilie be done, considering the great multitudes of people which came flocking in on each side, presenting themselues with offering their seruice vnto him, and shewing furthermore great tokens of ioy and gladnesse, for that it had pleased the gods at length yet to declare themselues fauourable in this their relieuing of the oppressed Britains. Herevnto Galdus on the other side, giuing them heartie thanks for their trauell, receiued them verie gentlie, mixing his talke with most comfortable words, therewith to put them in hope of such good and prosperous successe, as that shortlie they should thereby be restored intierlie vnto their former liberties, and perpetuallie deliuered from all forren seruitude and bondage.

But to proceed, at length he did so much by his iournies, that he came into Galloway, where the Romans with all speed (seeing none other remedie) resolued themselues to giue him battell, and thereupon exhorting one another to plaie the men, sith their onelie refuge rested in their weapons points, they fiercelie gaue the onset, and at the first put the left wing of the Scots and Picts wholie vnto the worst. In which wing, according to their maner in those daies vsed, there were a great number of women mingled amongst the men. Gald therefore perceiuing the danger, succoured them with such as were appointed to giue the looking on till need required, and then to go where they should be commanded. By which meanes the battell on that side was renewed afresh, the women shewing no lesse valiancie than the men, and therewith much more cruelties, for they spared none at all, though they offered neuer so much to haue their liues preserued.

The Romans determine againe to fight with the Scots.

The Romans fiercelie assaile the Scots.

Strange dealing in women, and contrarie to their nature

In fine, the Romans being chased in the left wing, their ouerthrow gaue occasion to all the residue to flee backe to their campe, being pursued so egerlie by the Scots and Picts, that they had much adoo to defend the entries of their trenches, where both parties fought right egerlie, till at length the night parted them both in sunder. Being parted, the Scots gaue not themselues to rest, but prouided them of all things necessarie against the next morning to assaile their enimies afresh, and namelie from the next wood they fetched great plentie of fagots and brush to fill the trenches withall. But this their demeanor and purpose being vnderstood of the Romans, they required a communication, the which (though some persuaded Galdus to the contrarie) vpon deepe considerations of fortunes fraile fauor, was at length granted vnto them, and foure ancient Romans clad in right honorable and verie rich apparell came forth and were admitted to the presence of the kings [Gald of the Scots, and Garnard of the Picts] vnto whome with humble submission they acknowledged themselues as vanquished, and that by the iust wrath and reuenge of the equall gods, which against them they had conceiued for the wrongfull inuasion of that which in no wise of right appertained vnto them. Therefore if it might please those kings to bridle and restraine their displeasure against them, in licencing them vnder some reasonable conditions of appointment to depart, it should be a thing resounding so much to their fame and glorie, as nothing could be more; considering so humble sute made to them by the orators of those people, who were reputed as vanquishers of the whole world.

The Romans submit themselues as vanquished.

Herewith falling prostrate at the feet of those kings, they besought them of pardon, in such pitifull wise, that the hearts of the hearers began somewhat to mollifie, and at length Gald toke vpon him to answer in name of all the residue of the Scotish and Pictish nations, and in the end concluded, that they were contented to grant a peace on these conditions: That the Romans should ceasse from that day forward in anie wise to infest or disquiet by way of anie inuasion the Scotish and Pictish borders, and also to depart wholie out of those countries, restoring all such holds and fortresses as they held within the same: and further, to deliuer all prisoners, pledges, and fugitiues whatsoeuer as then remaining in their hands, togither with such goods & spoiles as they had latelie taken.

The conditions of peace prescribed to the Romans by the Scots and Picts.

These conditions being certified to the Romans by their orators, were gladlie accepted, sith they saw no better meane how to deliuer themselues out of that present danger. And so deliuering sufficient hostages for performance of all the articles of agreement, they departed without protracting time, marching southwards to come into Kent, where Marius king of the south Britains soiourned as then. Agricola, as the Scotish chronicles report, left at his departure towards Rome, to the number of three score thousand men in the Romane armie, what of one and other, but now at their departure out of Galloway, there remained vneth twentie thousand, the residue being dispatched by one meane or other. By this conclusion of peace then, the Scots and Picts got againe the whole possession of all such countries as the Romans had before wonne and taken away from them, as the Mers, Louthian, the marches about Berwike, Fife, and Angus, with Kile, Cantire, Conningham, and Galloway: all the Romane garrisons departing out of the fortresses and holds, and leauing the same vnto the former owners.

The Romans depart out of Galloway.

The Romans giue vp all their holds and fortresses which they kept within the Scotish or Pictish dominions.

Galdus hauing thus ended the warres with the Romans, toke order to set good directions amongst his people for the quiet and peaceable gouernement of the common wealth, visiting dailie the countries abroad, the better to vnderstand the state of them, and to reforme the same where it was needfull. Further considering that as warre breedeth good souldiers, so peace by iustice riddeth them out of the way, if they be not the better prouided for. Such as had serued long time in the last wars, and had not anie trade now in time of peace whereby to get their liuing, he placed in garrisons neere to the borders of the Britains for defense of the countrie. After this, hee came to an interuiew with Garnard king of the Picts at Calidon, or Kalendar, to represse certeine troubles raised betwixt their subiects being borderers, concerning the limits of their countrie: where perceiuing a sort of euill disposed persons to

Galdus studieth to preserue his subiects in good quiet now after the warres were ended.

Such as sought to trouble the peace were punished

be

be wholie in the fault, vpon a naughtie intent to ſteale, and trouble the peace, which they had with ſuch trauell and labour ſought to reſtore, they puniſhed the offendors, and ſet all things in good quiet, and ſo departed in ſunder with great loue and friendſhip.

Thus Galdus applieng all his ſtudie and diligence to aduance the common-wealth and quiet ſtate of his countrie, liued manie yeares ſo highlie in the fauour of all his ſubiects, that the like hath béene but ſeldome heard of: finallie, to their great griefe and diſpleaſure he ended his life, more déere to them than their owne at Epiake, in the 35 yéere of his reigne, which was about the 15 yéere of the empire of Adrian, the 4098 yéere after the worlds creation, and from the birth of our Sauiour 131, and was buried with great lamentation in moſt pompous maner, and laid in a goodlie tombe which was raiſed with mightie huge ſtones, hauing a great number of obeliſks ſet vp round about it according to the maner. Furthermore, to the end his memorie ſhould euer indure, the countrie where he fought laſt with the Romans was called Galdia, after his name, which by addition of a few letters is now called Galloway, and before that time Brigantia, as the Scots do hold: but how that ſéemeth to agrée with a truth, ye may read in the hiſtorie of England.

Galdus departeth this life at Epiake.

3. H.B.
302. H.B.
130. H.B.

Galloway taketh the name of Gald.

Lugthake

AFter this famous prince was thus departed hence, his ſonne Lugthake ſucceéded in rule of the Scotiſh kingdome, no leſſe abhorred of all men for his deteſtable and filthie vices, ioined with all kind of crueltie and couetouſneſſe, than his father was beloued for his noble and excellent vertues. This Lugthake went ſo farre paſt the bounds of all continencie in following his ſenſuall luſts, that hée forced and rauiſhed not onelie aunt, néece, and ſiſter, but euen his owne daughters alſo. Such as were honorable perſonages, and méet to gouerne in the common-wealth he nothing regarded, but committed the adminiſtration of things vnto vile perſons, and ſuch as could beſt deuiſe how to inuent quarels againſt the rich, whereby they might be fléeced of all whatſoeuer they had: and oftentimes vpon ſome forged cauſe cruellie put to death. So little did he prouide to ſée offendors in anie wiſe corrected, that contrarilie he mainteined them in ſuch ſort therein, that iuſtice was quite baniſhed, and nothing but ſpoile and rauine exerciſed.

An vngratious ſon ſucceédeth after his worthie father.

The incontinencie of Lugthake.

His ſmall regard to the nobilitie.

Fauor ſhewed to men of baſe condition.

Offendors maintained.

Iuſtice is baniſhed.

Thus hée continued aboue two yéeres, to the great ruine of the common-wealth. Finallie, when he went about to put vnto death ſuch as in an aſſemble called at Dunſtafage ſpake againſt the miſordered gouernement of the realme, he was there murthered amongſt the people, with a number of thoſe alſo whome he vſed to haue attendant on his perſon for ſafegard of the ſame. His owne bodie was ſolemnelie buried by appointment of the nobles, hauing reſpect to his fathers benefits, but the carcaſſes of his gard were caſt out into the fields, there to bée deuoured of beaſts and birds of rauine.

Lugthake would haue put to death ſuch as ſpake againſt his miſgouernment.

Lugthake is murthered with a number of his men.

AFter Lugthake was thus diſpatched, one Nogall the nephue of Galdus by his daughter was admitted king in his place. His cheefeſt ſtudie was to reforme the decaied ſtate of his countrie, and firſt he cauſed ſuch wicked councellors of his predeceſſors and vncle Lugthake, as had eſcaped with life (when their maiſter was made awaie) to be put to death, according to their iuſt deſeruings. He reſtored alſo the due worſhipping of the gods, in part as then neglected, by the wicked counſell of their former rulers. The Scotiſhmen in like maner conceiuing an aſſured hope of a good redreſſe in all their greéfes and oppreſſions, by the means of ſuch a well diſpoſed prince, began to beare him incredible loue and fauor, euen the like as they had done his grandfather Galdus. In the meane time came certeine ambaſſadors from the Picts, vnto this Nogall, requiring him of aid againſt the Romans and Britains, who by a ſudden inuaſion had don much hurt in Pictland, to the great diſtreſſe of the inhabitants.

Nogall is beloued of his ſubiects.

The Picts deſire aid of the Scots againſt the Romans.

At the ſame time they of Galloway certified him alſo by letters, that the ſame Romans had made a rode into their countrie, and led awaie a great bootie of goods and priſoners. Nogall hauing a mind no leſſe giuen to déeds of chiualrie, than to the ſtudie of ciuill gouernment and religious deuotion, reioiſed that he had iuſt occaſion giuen him to ſhew ſome proofe of his valiant inclination, and ſo herevpon ſent an herald at armes vnto the Romans, requiring to haue reſtitution and amends for the iniuries thus by them committed. The herald doing his meſſage, receiued nothing but ſcornefull words, and diſdainfull menaces, wherby Nogall being throughlie kindled with deſpite, aſſembled his power together forth of all the parties of his dominions, and comming with the ſame into Galloway, viſited his grandfathers ſepulchre, honoring it with great reuerence and ſolemne ſupplications, requiring as it were his aid againſt thoſe enimies, which had violated the league made betwixt him and them, by ſolemne oths and other accuſtomed meanes of ratification. This done, he drew into Annandale, where Antipanus as then king of the Picts abode his comming. There ioining their powers togither, they marched forth into Cumberland, and ſo forward into Weſtmerland, with fire and ſword waſting and ſpoiling thoſe countries, as then belonging to the Romans.

The Romans inuade the Scotiſh borders.

Nogall requireth reſtitution of wrongs done by the Romans.

Nogall prepareth to the wars.

Nogall viſiteth his grandfathers ſepulchre.

The Picts and Scots ioine their powers togither and enter into the lands of their enimies.

Lucius Antenous the Romane lieutenant, lieng at the ſame time at Yorke, being certified hereof by ſuch as fled for feare out of thoſe parties thus inuaded by the Scots, gathered a mightie armie out of all the countries of Britaine, and haſted forth with the ſame towards his enimies; of whoſe approch Nogall hauing notice, he made a long oration vnto his people to incourage them to fight manfullie againſt the Romans, perſuading them effectuallie thereto by manie familiar examples brought in of the valiant enterpriſes atchiued by their elders, in the defenſe of their countrie and libertie of the ſame. In like maner Lucius Antenous for his part exhorted the Romans, and other his ſouldiers, to call to remembrance the victorious exploits of their predeceſſors, and how that as then they ſhould fight but with a rude and barbarous people, running to battell more vpon a furious rage and violent madnes, than with any diſcretion or aduiſed order, ſaieng furthermore, that it laie now in their hands with no great adoo to recouer that which through the negligent ſloth of Cneus Trebellius was before loſt, whereby they ſhould atteine great honor and famous renowme for euermore.

Lucius Antenous lieutenant of Britaine.

Nogall exhorteth his men to do valiantlie.

By this meanes the armies on both ſides being kindled with deſire of battell, in hope of victorie, they drew neere togither, and began the fight right fiercelie at the firſt, with throwing and ſhoting of darts and arrowes ſo thicke that one might vneth ſée another. The place was more for the aduantage of the Scots than of the Romans, becauſe they were compelled to fight as it were by companies and parts, by reaſon of bogs and mariſhes, with ſuch ſideling banks on the ſides that they could kéepe none araie: yet all theſe impediments notwithſtanding, this battell was fought ſo far forth to the vtterance, that in the end, after a wonderfull ſlaughter on both ſides made, when their ſwords and other weapons were ſpent, they buckled togither with ſhort daggers.

The battell beginneth betweene the Romans and Albions.

A cruell fight.

The Romans retire.

Finallie the violent charge of the Scots & Picts was ſuch, that the Romans were conſtreined to retire, which their generall Antenous perceiuing, did what he could to ſtaie them, and to bring them forward againe, but as he was moſt buſie in the forefront to exhort them hervnto, he was wounded with an arrow, and therevpon departed out of the battell, which gaue occaſion to diuers other of his companie to follow him, by meanes whereof all the reſidue fell to running awaie, and made toward the next wood, there to ſaue themſelues as well as they might, though ſome companies perceiuing that they could not reach thither without manifeſt danger, cloſed themſelues togither and departed by another waie, which they toke at aduenture, not knowing towards what parts they drew, ſo that they laie all the night following within two miles of the Scots and Picts, who for that the daie was in maner ſpent (before the Romans were put to flight) incamped themſelues in the ſelfe-ſame place where the battell was fought, and in the morning, hearing that part of their enimies were lodged ſo neere them, & knew not which waie to draw, they ſent a number forth of their campe to fight with them, & to kill them if they reſiſted, or to bring them captiue to the king if they ſhould ſeeme willing to yeeld. Thoſe that were thus ſent, found the Romans in verie good order of battell for ſo ſmall a band, not minding to yeeld themſelues as priſoners. By reaſon of which their obſtinate wilfulneſſe, they were ſlaine in the end euerie mothers ſonne.

Lucius Antenous hauing thus receiued the ouerthrow, diſpatched a poſt vnto Rome with all haſt, ſignifieng vnto the emperor Adrian the whole maner of the diſcomfiture, and how that by reaſon therof things ſtood in great danger here in Britaine, if ſpeedie ſuccors were not the ſooner ſent, for the enimies were neuer more cruell and fierce, than at this preſent, not onelie the men, but alſo the women (as in the laſt battell he ſaw plaine proofe) who cared not for the loſſe of their owne liues, ſo that they might die reuenged.

When Adrian vnderſtood theſe newes, he purpoſed forthwith to go himſelfe into Britaine. Cauſing therefore an armie to be leuied, he paſſed forth with the ſame into France, then called Gallia, and comming to Calice, he tranſported ouer into Britaine, where he learned how the Scots and Picts were neuer more buſie than at this preſent, hauing of late waſted and ſpoiled the countrie euen to the riuer of Tine. Herewith Adrian being ſore offended, ioined the power which he had brought with him frõ Rome, with the other which he had cauſed to be raiſed in France and Britaine. This done, he remoued to Yorke, where ſoiorning certeine daies to refreſh his people, he afterwards drew toward the borders, and cõming to the riuer of Tine, he paſſed ouer the ſame.

The fourth daie after, he came into a countrie wherein was left no kind of earthlie thing ſeruing to mans vſe, and ſo paſſing forward a daie or two, he found neither corne, nor other prouiſion of vittell, nor any kind of liuing creature, all the people being fled into the mounteins and mariſh grounds, where no man might come vnto them, as commonlie in caſe of extreme danger they were accuſtomed to lie abroad in the ſame without houſe or any couerture ouer their heads. Howbeit, for all that he gaue not ouer to purſue them, but finding them out where they lurked in the hilles and woods, he greeuouſlie afflicted them, and that in ſundrie maner. In the end eſpieng the barrennes of the ſoile, the rudenes of the people, and that there was no hope left to come by ſufficient prouiſion for the maintenance of his armie, he determined not to ſpend anie longer time in ſuch a vaine and fruitleſſe trauell, and therefore returned vnto Tine, there to reſtreine the Scots and Picts from inuading ſuch of the Britains as were ſubiect to the Romane empire, he cauſed a great trench to be caſt ouerthwart the land from the mouth of Tine to the riuer of Eſke, and a wall to be made on the inner ſide of the ſame, of turfe and ſods. ¶ The Scotiſh chronicles make mention that it was begun by Adrian, but not finiſhed till the daies of the emperor Seuerus, who made an end of it, and therfore the ſame chronicles name it the wall of Septimius Seuerus.

Adrianus hauing thus diſpatched in the north parts of Britaine, in his returne viſited Wales with the marches of the ſame, ſetting an order amongſt ſuch as had moued a commotion againſt the magiſtrats in thoſe parties, the authors whereof he puniſhed according to their offenſes, & ſo then he came to London, whither at the ſame time a great number of the Britaine nobilitie reſorted to do him honor, according to their duties. And he for his part ſhewed them ſuch friendlie interteinment, that they could not wiſh any better. After this he ſailed into France, taking Lucius Antenous with him, becauſe he could not awaie with the aire of Britaine, in whoſe place he left one Aulus Victorinus lieutenant there, who diſpoſed diuers gariſons of ſouldiers in places neere vnto the fore-remembred wall, for defenſe of the inhabitants againſt the violence of the Scots & Picts. Who ſeeing this demeanour of the Romans, diuided thoſe lands and countries (which they had latelie waſted on the further ſide of Tine) in ſuch ſort betwixt them, that all whatſoeuer laie towards the Iriſh ſea, remained to the Scots, and the reſt coaſting vpon the Almane ſeas, fell vnto the Picts for their portion.

After this Mogall liued manie yeares in good quiet without anie trouble of enimies. But being puffed vp in pride, by ſuch notable victories as he had thus got of the Romans the conquerours of the world, he could not in time of peace maiſter his owne vnrulie appetites; but that drowned in the filthie luſtes of the bodie, he ſpared neither maid, widowe, nor wife. Againe, he was giuen to ſuch vnquenchable couetouſneſſe, that nothing might ſuffice him, finding manie forged matters againſt the rich, whereby to bereue them both of life and ſubſtance. He was the firſt which ordeined that ſuch as were baniſhed or condemned for anie crime, ſhould forfeit all their lands & goods without any conſideration had either of wife or child, which is obſerued at the full euen vnto theſe our daies, where before it was otherwiſe in that countrie. But theſe ſo notable vices in the prince could not long continue vnpuniſhed, for at laſt a conſpiracie was practiſed againſt him, whereof he hauing knowledge (whether by witchcraft or otherwiſe by relation of friends, the certeintie is not knowen) in the dead of the night he armed himſelfe, and with two of his ſeruants onelie fled to the next wood, not giuing notice of his departure to anie other of his houſhold.

The morning being come, and knowledge had how he was thus departed, the conſpiratours purſued after him, who perceiuing them to approch, ſought waies how to haue eſcaped their hands; but ſuch was his hap, that he fell amongeſt other that were as readie as the firſt to wreake their malice vpon him, and ſo by them he was immediatlie murthered in the 36 yeare of his reigne, being the 4136 of the world, and after the birth of our ſauiour 169, Antoninus Pius then gouerning the Romane empire, and Phiatus ſurnamed Albus reigning amongeſt the Picts. His head being ſmitten off, was ſet vpon a poles end, and caried about in deriſion; but afterwards in reſpect of his linage it was buried

Lucius Antenous is woun ded.

The Romans are put to flight.

Women as readie to the battell as the men.

Adrian the emperor prepareth to go into Britain.

Adrian tranſporteth into Britaine.

Adrian commeth to Yorke

He paſſeth ouer the riuer of Tine.

Adrian findeth nothing abroad in the countrie of his enimies.

What maner of people he had to do withall.

Adrian beginneth to make a wall for ſafegard of the Britains againſt the Picts and Scots.

The Romane writers do confirme the ſame.

Adrian commeth to London.

Adrian returneth toward Rome.

Aulus Victorinus lieutenant of Britaine.

The Scotiſh men & Picts diuide the countries beyond Tine betwixt them.

Mogall through pride abuſeth himſelfe in ſundrie kinds of vices.

A couetous and cruell ordinance.

A conſpiracie attempted againſt Mogall.

Mogall flieth out of his owne houſe.

Mogall is murthered. 148. H. B.

ried togither with the bodie by appointment of the nobles, notwithſtanding the commons thought it moſt vnworthie of anie ſuch honor.

Conarus.

Conarus the ſonne of Mogall ſucceedeth his father.

MOgall being thus diſpatched, as ye haue heard, his ſonne Conarus was admitted king, who (as is reported) was priuie to the conſpiracie deuiſed againſt his father, and as he came to the gouernment by wicked means, ſo in the end he vſed himſelfe much what accordinglie in the ſame; for after he had for a time diſſembled his naughtie nature, he began at the laſt openlie to ſhew himſelfe in his right colours, committing firſt of all the adminiſtration of publike affaires vnto men of baſe condition and vile nature. His chiefe delight was altogither in banketting and coſtlie fare, not regarding the ancient temperancie in feeding, vſed amongeſt his worthie anceſtors.

Conarus giue to exceſſiue gluttonie.

In waſting therefore his kinglie reuenues vpon ſuch riotous exceſſe, he was nothing abaſhed to require in an open aſſemblie of his nobles, a ſubſidie to be granted, towards the maintenance of ſuch roiall cheere, as he iudged to ſtand with his honor to haue dailie in his houſe. And therefore whereas the rents that belonged to the crowne were not ſufficient to furniſh the charges, he requeſted a generall contribution to be leuied through the realme, of euerie perſon according to their abilities, for the maintenance of ſuch ſuperfluous expenſes as he dailie vſed in exceſſiue banketting. The lords maruelling to heare him moue anie ſuch demand, and conſidering withall the occaſion thereof, they aſked reſpit to make their anſwer till the next day: which being granted, in the night following they commuded ſecretlie togither, and in the end concluded, not onelie to denie his requeſt, but alſo to depoſe him of all kinglie gouernement, ſith his naughtie life required no leſſe.

The lords conſpire againſt Conarus.

The next day therefore when they were againe ſet downe in the councell-chamber, one of them in name of the reſidue toke vpon him to ſpeake, declaring that the lords and commons of the realme maruelled not a little how it ſhould come to paſſe, that the king hauing no warres wherewith to conſume his treaſure, ſhould yet be inforced to demand a tallage for maintenance of his eſtate and charges of his houſhold; but the fault was knowen well inough to reſt in ſuch as he moſt vnworthilie had preferred to rule things vnder him, who being come of naught did nothing but deuiſe means how to cauſe the king to ſpoile his naturall ſubiects of their goods and poſſeſſions, therewith to inrich themſelues, but (ſaith he) as they ſhalbe prouided for well inough yer long, and ſo aduanced as they ſhall not need to thirſt for other mens liuings, that is to wit, euen to a faire paire of gallowes, there to end their liues with ſhame, as a number of ſuch other loſengers had often done before them: ſo it is conuenient that the K. ſith his ſkill is ſo ſmall in the adminiſtration of his office, ſhould be ſhut vp in ſome one chamber or other, and ſuch a one to haue the gouernance of the realme, as may be thought by common aſſent of the lords moſt meet to take it vpon him.

The anſwere of the lords to the demand of Conarus.

The king hearing this tale, ſtarted vp, & with a lowd voice began to call them traitors; adding, that if they went about anie hurt to his perſon, they ſhuld derelie abide the bargaine. But notwithſtanding theſe words, ſuch as were appointed therto, caught him betwixt them, and had him forth to a place aſſigned, where they laid him vp, maugre all his reſiſtance. In like maner, all ſuch as had borne offices vnder him, were attached and had to priſon, where the moſt part of them, vpon examination taken of their offenſes, ſuffered death according to their iuſt demerits.

Conarus is taken and committed to cloſe keeping.

Conarus his miniſters are puniſhed for their offenſes.

Then was the rule of the realme committed vnto one Argadus, a man of noble birth, and ruler of Argile, who vnder the name of a gouernour toke vpon him the publike regiment, vntill other aduiſe might be taken. This mans ſtudie in the beginning was onelie to cleanſe the countrie of all miſdoers, and to ſee the peace kept to the quiet of the people; & finallie in all his doings ſhewed himſelfe a perfect patterne of an vpright iuſticer. But within a few yeares after (as it often happeneth) proſperous ſucceſſe changed his former mind to an euill diſpoſition, whereby he ordered things after his owne ſelfewill more than by reaſon, without the aduiſe of his peeres. And further, to the manifeſt ruine of the common-wealth, he nouriſhed ciuill diſcord and ſedition amongeſt the nobles, ſuppoſing it to make for his welfare, ſo long as they were at ods. He alſo maried a Pictiſh ladie, the better to ſtrengthen himſelfe by this his forren aliance.

Argadus is choſen to gouerne the realme.

Argadus an vpright iuſticer.

Proſperitie changeth conditions.

Herevpon the peeres of the realme, vnderſtanding what miſchiefe might inſue by theſe manifold and ſundrie abuſes of the gouernour, cauſed a parlement to be called, where, in preſence of the whole aſſemblie, they laid vnto his charge, how that (through his miſgouernement and preſumption, not onelie in coupling himſelfe in mariage with a wife of a ſtrange nation, but alſo for attempting manie other things preiudiciall to the eſtate of the realme, without conſent of the nobles or commons of the ſame) he had deſerued grieuous puniſhment; his treſpaſſe being ſo much the greater, in that conſidering the meane how he came to that dignitie, he anſwered not their expectation, nor performed the truſt and credit which was generallie committed vnto him.

Argadus is rebuked.

Argadus confeſſeth his fault.

Argadus hearing himſelfe thus charged, and not able to laie anie likelie excuſe, fell vpon his knees, & partlie confeſſing his fault with teares guſhing from his eies, beſought them of pardon, wholie ſubmitting himſelfe to be ordered at their diſcretion. The lords being moued with this humble ſubmiſſion of Argadus, vpon promiſe he ſhould redreſſe all his former miſdemeanours, were contented that he ſhould continue ſtill in the adminiſtration. But ſuch as had beene his chiefeſt councellors were committed to ward. After this ſharpe admonition and warning thus giuen, Argadus did nothing touching the gouernement of the common-wealth, without aduiſe of his peeres; and ſone after, amongeſt other things, he toke order for the limiting how far the authoritie of inferiour officers, as bailiffes, borroughmaiſters, conſtables, and ſuch other ſhould extend. But eſpeciallie he trauelled moſt diligentlie for the puniſhing of theeues and robbers, of whome none eſcaped with life that fell into his hands. Moreouer, he ordeined by ſtatute, that no man exerciſing anie publike office, ſhould taſte of anie drinke that might make him drunken. He alſo baniſhed all ſuch perſons as vſed with dreſſing of delicat meats, and (as I may call them) deintie diſhes, or banketing cheere, to allure mens appetites from the old rude fare accuſtomed amongeſt their elders, who ſought not to follow their delicious appetites, but onlie prouided to ſuſteine nature, which is ſatiſfied with a little, & that void of coſtlie furniture. Argadus thus being occupied in reforming the ſtate of the common-wealth, brought manie euill doers into good frame and order, and ſuch as were vpright liuers of themſelues, indeuored ſtill to proceed forward to better and better. At length, in the eight yeare of his gouernement, Conarus being conſumed with long impriſonment, departed out of this life, in the fourteenth yeare after the beginning of his reigne.

Argadus amendeth his former miſgouernance, and ruleth himſelfe by better aduiſe.

A notable ſtatute.

Fine cookerie baniſhed.

Conarus departeth out of this world. 162. H.B.

Ethodius.

Ethodius the nephue of Wegall is chosen king.

AFter whose decease, the nobles and other estates of the realme assembling themselues togither, chose one Ethodius, nephue to king Wogall by his sister, to reigne ouer them. But Argadus being highlie rewarded with lands and liuings for his faithfull & diligent paines taken in the aduancement of the publike weale, during the time of his gouernement, was thereto sone after created as it were lord president of the councell, thereby to be chiefest in authoritie next to the king, in ordering and ruling of all publike affaires & causes. Shortlie after Ethodius (as the custome of new kings in those daies was) went ouer into the westerne Iles, there to take order for the administration of iustice, where immediatlie vpon his arriuall, it was shewed him, that not passing two or three daies before, there had beene a great conflict fought betwirt the nobles or clannes of the countrie, by reason of a strife that was stirred amongest their seruants, being a companie of naughtie and vnrulie fellowes, to the great disquiet of the inhabitants. Herevpon was Argadus sent forth incontinentlie with a power to appease that businesse, and to bring in the offendors, that they might receiue reward according to their demerits. Argadus forthwith hasted towards the place where he vnderstood the rebels to be remaining, and apprehending the whole number of them, some by force, and some vpon their humble submission, he returned backe with them to the king, who causing the matter to be throughlie heard, such as were the chiefest beginners and most in fault, were punished by death, and the other fined at the kings pleasure. The Iland people being thus appeased, the king returned into Albion, where as then lieng at Enerlochthé, a towne (as is said) in Louchquhaber, word came vnto him that the Romans had broken downe the wall builded by the emperour Adrian, and made a great rode into the Scotish and Pictish borders, where méeting with the inhabitants assembled togither in defense of their countrie (after a sore conflict) the victorie remained with the Romans; by reason whereof they led a great bootie of cattell and other goods away with them to the places where they sojourned.

Argadus is created lord president of the councell.

Ciuill discord amongest the lords of the Iles.

Argadus is sent forth to apprehend the rebels.

The Iland rebels are punished.

The Romans inuade the Pictish and Scotish borders.

Ethodius being moued herewith, sent forthwith an herald vnto Victorine the Romane lieutenant, requiring that his subiects might haue restitution of their goods wrongfullie taken from them, or else to looke for warres within fiftéene daies after. Victorine answered herevnto, that the Scots and Picts had first begun to breake downe the foresaid wall, and to build a tower vpon the same, fortifieng it with a number of men of warre, who running dailie into the British confines, fetched preies thence from amongest the Romane subiects, and though he had sent diuers times to the Scotish and Pictish wardens for restitution, yet could he neuer haue anie towardlie answer, so that he was constreined to begin the warre in maner and fourme as he had done alreadie.

Ethodius requireth restitution of his subiects goods taken away by the Romans.

Victorines answere to Ethodius request.

Ethodius not a little kindled with this answere, wrote streightwaies to the K. of the Picts, exhorting him in reuenge of such iniuries as his subiects had latelie receiued at the hands of the Romans, to inuade the wall on that side where it diuided his countrie from the Britains, and to breake in vpon the enimies by the same, and for his part he promised shortlie after to come, and to ioine with him in such a necessarie enterprise against the common enimies of both their countries. The Pictish king giuing thanks to the messenger for his pains, promised with all speed to set forward according to the aduise of Ethodius. The Romans in like maner hauing knowledge of the whole intention of the two kings, with all spéed made preparation also for the wars, but the Scots and Picts first breaking in vpon them, did much hurt abroad in the countries next adioining. Which when the Romans perceiued, they passed by the enimies campe in the night season, and entred into the Pictish borders, wasting and spoiling all afore them.

Ethodius exhorteth the king of the Picts to make warre against the Romans.

The Scotishmen and the Picts inuade the British borders.

When the two kings vnderstood this, they hasted forth towards them, and were no sooner come within sight of them, but that they made ech towards other, and so incountring togither, there was fought a sore battell with doubtfull victorie, for the right wings on either side vanquished the left, the breasts of both the battels kéeping their ground, the one not once shrinking backe from the other till night seuered them in sunder, but not without such slaughter made on both sides, that being once parted, they made no great hast to ioine againe togither; for as well the one part as the other being thus disseuered, drew incontinentlie homewards without abiding for the morning. Neither did they attempt anie further exploit of all that yeare following.

The Romans incountred by the Scotishmen and Picts.

Night parted the battell.

In which meane time Victorine sent letters to Rome vnto the emperour Marcus Antonius Aurelius, who as then gouerned the empire, signifieng vnto him in what state things stood in Britaine; further declaring, that if conuenient succors were not sent in time, it would be hard to resist the furious rage of the enimies, by reason of the small trust he perceiued was to be had in the Britains, being no lesse readie vpon occasion to make warres in recouerie of their libertie, than the Scots & Picts were to incroch vpon them. The emperour vpon receit of these letters, thought in his mind that Victorine was not so valiant a capteine as the case required, and that therevpon the Scots and Picts became the more imboldened to resist, therefore he sent for him home, appointing one Agricola Calphurnius to succéed in his rome, who was (as some haue left in writing) the nephue of Julius Agricola, the most famous capteine of the Romans that euer came into Britaine.

Victorine sendeth letters to Rome.

Victorine is sent for to returne vnto Rome, and one Calphurnius sent into Britaine to succéed in his rome.

This Calphurnius comming into Britaine with an armie, ioined to the same the power which he found there, as well of the Britains, as of other seruing vnder the Romane enlignes. Which done, he repaired toward the riuer of Tine, where being arriued, he marched forth into the borders of his enimies, finding all the countrie round about him so clearelie wasted and burned, that there was not a house left standing, nor a graine of corne, nor one hed of cattell to be found therein. Yet notwithstanding all this, forth he passed thorough Northumberland, and entring into Pictland, wasted all that was before him with fire and sword. And for so much as winter came vpon him, when he had done his will in that behalfe, he returned vnto Yorke, where he sojourned vntill the spring.

Calphurnius entreth into the borders of his enimies.

Calphurnius returneth to Yorke.

When summer was once come, hauing made his prouision to warre on the Scots and Picts, word came vnto him that the Welshmen were reuolted, and began to raise warre against the Romans, so that taking order for the reparing of the wall made by Adrian, which the enimies in diuers places had broken downe, and leauing a sufficient number of men of warre for defense of the same against all inuasions that might be attempted, he turned the residue of his power against those Welsh rebels, whom in the end, though not without much adoo, he reduced to obedience. Immediatlie after this, he heard also how the Britains of the Ile of Wight were vp in armour against such Romans as ruled there, sundrie noble men of the maine Ile taking their part, but they also were at length brought againe to

The Welshmen rebell against the Romans.

The Welshmen brought to their former obedience.

The inhabitants of the Ile of Wight reuolting frō the Romans, are constreined againe to be obedient.

to their former subiection, and the authors of that rebellion punished by death.

In the meane time the Scots and Picts determined not to attempt anie further exploit against the Romans, doubting the verie name and linage of Agricola in the lieutenant Calphurnius, by calling to remembrance the noble atchiued conquests of his grandfather Julius Agricola, of whose victorious exploits, besides that which ye haue before heard, the English historie also doth make a long rehearsall. Calphurnius being thus at quiet on that side, intended wholie to reforme all misorders amongest the Britains, which being brought to indifferent good passe, he was sent for home againe vnto Rome by the emperour Antonius Commodus, the sonne and successour of the fore-remembred Marcus Aurelius sending one Publius Trebellius into Britaine, there to supplie his charge.

The name of Agricola dred full to the Scotishmen and Picts.

Calphurnius studieth to reforme the estate of Britaine.

Calphurnius returneth vnto Rome.

Publius Trebellius sent as lieutenant into Britaine.

This Trebellius comming into Britaine, at the first vsed himselfe verie vprightlie in his office, shewing all honor and loue towards the Britains, subiects to the Romane empire, and namelie to Lucius, who reigned as king of the land, vnder the name and authoritie of the Romane empire. But after that he had once wone him a pece of credit amongest them, he changed his maners, or rather discouered his naturall inclination, so wholie giuen to couetousnesse, that his onelie studie was set which way to fill his bags, not caring how vntrulie he forged accusations against the rich, so that either by death or banishment their goods might be confiscat, and so come to his hands. By this wicked gouernement, the Britains began so sore to hate him, that had it not beene for the loue of their king the foresaid Lucius (who holpe to appease them) there had beene some rebellion practised against him in the south part. Now the Scots and Picts hauing knowledge of this misliking in the Britains towards the Romane lieutenant, thought it a time conuenient for them also to be doing, to the end they might reuenge their former iniuries; and hereupon leuieng an armie, they came to the oft remembred wall, and ouerthrowing the same in diuers places, they entred into the British confins with great spoile and crueltie. Trebellius being hereof informed, hasted forth with all the power he could make, to resist their inuasions; but finding the enimies readie in the field, and incountring them sooner than he looked for, he was euen vpon the first ioining abandoned of the most part of his whole armie, which consisted of Britains and Frenchmen, then called Galls, so that the residue being beaten downe, he was glad to saue himselfe as well as he might, by setting the spurs to his horsse and galloping away.

Publius Trebellius giuen to couetousnesse.

He is hated of the Britains.

The Scots and Picts renew the warre against the Romans.

Trebellius fighteth against his enimies, is forsaken of his owne men, and chased out of the field.

After this, gathering togither his people againe as they fled from the discomfiture, he retired backe with them vnto Yorke, hauing lost in this bickering a great number of his best souldiors, and men of warre: for the Scots and Picts, missing no small number of their friends in that battell, were not satisfied with those whome they had likewise slaine in the fight, but also fell vpon their prisoners which they had taken, and slue them also in reuenge of their fellowes whome they had lost. Afterwards they harried the countries of Westmerland and Kendall in most cruell wise, Trebellius not being so hardie to fight with them againe for doubt of some traine that might be practised by the Britains. Neither was his suspicion grounded vpon the credit of any light information, as may appeare by that which followed: for immediatlie after, the commons of the countrie rose against the Romans, in purpose to haue driuen them all out of the land.

Westmerland and Kendall spoiled by the Scotishmen and Picts.

The British commons rise against Trebellius, one Caldorus a Pict being their capteine.

Their capteine was one Caldorus a Pict borne. There were also diuerse of the British nobilitie amongst them not knowne, for they were disguised in strange apparell, counterfeting themselues to be of the vulgar sort. The furie of these people was great, but yet in the end the politike order of the Romans vanquished them, howbeit not without great slaughter on both sides. Caldorus escaping the hands of his enimies, fled into his native countrie of Pictland, not a little reioising that he had procured such slaughter amongst the Romans and Britains, both being enimies to him and his countrie. Such prisoners also of the Britains as fell into the hands of the Romans, were hanged vp vpon sundrie trees and gibets: whereat other of the Britains being offended, in the night season toke down those dead bodies, and hanged vp as manie of the Romans in their places, the truth being neuer knowne who where the doers of that act.

The same commons are vanquished.

Caldorus reioiseth at the slaughter as well of the one part as of the other.

The lieutenant Trebellius perceiuing thus what danger he stood in on euerie part, wrote vnto the emperour Commodus, that without some reformation were had, the Romans were not like to kepe fot anie long season in Britaine, and therefore required to haue some aid sent ouer vnto him in time. But the emperour doubting least the fault rested most in the lieutenant himselfe, appointed that one Pertinax an ancient gentleman, and one for his high and notable vertues greatlie esteemed both amongst the men of warre, and also in the senat, should go into Britaine, to be legat there in place of Trebellius. This Pertinax comming into Britaine, according to the emperors appointment, toke vpon him the office: and first setting a staie among the Britains, by right prudent and well aduised gouernement, he afterwards made a iourneie against the Scots and Picts, driuing them by great slaughter beyond Adrians wall, and so constreined them to remaine within their owne confines, pursuing them no further, for that he was sent for home to Rome, where the emperour Commodus being murthered amongst his owne men, he was against his will preferred to his place.

The spite of the Britains shewed towards the Romans.

Trebellius writeth to the emperor Commodus for aid.

Pertinax sent as lieutenant into Britaine.

Pertinax driueth back both the Scots and Picts.

Pertinax is chosen emperour.

About the same time the state of the Scotish commonwealth was brought into great danger through an other incident, as by reason of a rebellion stirred by them of the western Iles, who not quieted in their stomachs for the death of their friends executed by Argadus (as before ye haue heard) assembled themselues togither, and comming ouer into Argile, spoiled and harried the countrie in pitious wise. For redresse whereof, Argadus was sent thither againe with an armie, and in the meane time Ethodius the king with a great host of Scotishmen and Picts lay in campe neere vnto Adrians wall, to resist the inuasion of the enimies on that side, if happilie they should attempt any new exploit against him in those parts. The Iland-men hearing of Argadus his approch, drew themselues togither to receiue him by battell, if he minded to offer it.

Argile infested by the Ilandmen.

In which meane time two thousand Irishmen were landed in that countrie, in hope of spoile, and hearing that Argadus was comming that waies forth to fight with his enimies, they laid themselues secretlie in ambush by the waie where hee should passe, and when he was passed by them, they brake forth vpon his rereward suddenlie, putting his people in such disorder by their violent impression at the first brunt, that though he did what in him laie to bring them againe into araie of battell, yet in the end he was there slaine with two thousand of his armie, the residue escaping by flight out of the hands of their wild and cruell enimies. Ethodius hauing knowledge hereof, with an armie of twentie thousand men hasted forth towards Argile, to reuenge

The Irish men land in Argile.

The Irish men lay an ambush to intrap Argadus

Argadus is slaine.

the death of his valiant capteine Argadus vpon the rebels. Who hearing of his comming, made towards the sea, and would gladlie haue bene gone, but by reason of a contrarie wind they were forced to stay against their wils, so that he finding them still in the countrie, wrought so warilie by closing them vp among the hils and mounteins, that finallie constreined through famine, they submitted themselues vpon these conditions, that their head capteine with two hundred others of the chiefest, should yeeld themselues simplie to the kings mercie, and the residue to be licenced to depart againe into their countries.

The Iland-men yeeld themselues.

Those that were appointed to be deliuered to the king with their capteine, suffered death by sentence of the nobles and peeres of the realme. Whereat the other taking indignation, though they had alreadie yelded vp their weapons, yet began they to fall vpon the Scots with hurling of stones, and other such things as came to hand, till finallie they were beaten downe by the armed soldiers, and a great number of them slaine: the residue escaping as well as they might, fled into the mounteins. The Iland-men being thus vanquished, and the Romans attempting nothing against the Scotishmen or Picts, Ethodius visited all the parts of his realme, taking order for the due execution of iustice amongest his subiects.

Execution.

Ethodius visiteth his countries, to see iustice maintained.

And for that he would not spend his time in idlenesse, being now at rest from warres, he began to exercise himselfe in hunting, and for the better nourishing of game, he toke order that all such ordinances as had beene deuised by his elders, should streictlie be obserued and kept: as that no man should be so hardie to go about to destroie anie hares with nets, grens or hare-pipes: neither to kill them in their formes by anie meanes: nor after that they had beene once coursed and escaped, to follow the sute, to the intent to start them againe. Also that none should go about to kill anie hart or hind, during all the winter season, at what time they were accustomed for hunger to leaue the mounteins, forrests and woods, and to come downe into the fields and couerts, neere vnto the townes & houses.

He giueth himselfe to hunting, & causeth the lawes for the maintenance of game to be wel kept & loked vnto.

He ordeined moreouer thereunto, that no man should presume to kill anie hind-calues, detesting nothing more than to haue such game destroied, as serued for the exercise and solace of him and his nobles. The other vacant time, whilest he rested from hunting, he spent for the most part in hearing of musike, hauing diuerse cunning plaiers of sundrie kinds of instruments attending in his court. At length setting all his pleasure in hearing of a musician being borne in one of the west Iles, he was murthered by him in the night time within his owne chamber. The murtherer being apprehended, and examined vpon what occasion he did that heinous fact, for the which he had deserued the most extreme kind of punishment that might be deuised, he answered: that in reuenge of the death of such his kinsmen and friends as the king had caused to be executed in Argile, he purposed long before to do that deed, and now that he had accomplished his purpose, he was readie to receiue what kind of death they would adiudge him vnto. For sure I am of this, saith he, that how terrible soeuer my execution shall be, yet can it not bee so painfull, but that I shall reioise euen in the verie instant of my death, for that I haue in such notable sort reuenged the deaths of all my kinsmen & friends. Finallie by commandement of the magistrates he was drawne in peeces with wild horsses in most violent wise.

Ethodius murthered by a musician. 194 H.B.

Ethodius reigned 33 yeeres, vntill the latter daies of Caracalla the emperor. He was buried at Dunstafage, with all such pompous ceremonies as was accustomed about the interrement of kings in that age. In his daies Lucius the king of Britaine receiued the faith with a great part of his people, being the yeere after the birth of our Sauior, as the Scots chronicles haue 187, but after the British 177.

Septimus Seuerus, H.B.

Britaine receiued the christian faith in the yeere 187.

After the death of Ethodius, his brother Satrahell or Serrahell (as some write him) was chosen to succeed by the common consent and voices of all the estates of the realme. For although Ethodius left a sonne behind him; yet bicause he was verie yong in yeeres, he was thought insufficient to haue so great a charge as the rule of a kingdome committed vnto his hands. This Satrahell was subtile of nature, and a great dissembler, whose purpose was to defraud the issue of his brother Ethodius from atteining at anie time vnto the rule of the kingdome, and therefore to bring his purpose the better to passe, he found forged matter against all such as were familiar friends vnto Ethodius, thereby to put them vnto death. Neither dealt hee anie thing more sincerelie with a great number of other of his wealthie subiects, whose lands and goods hee onelie sought to inioy at his owne will. By means whereof such mischeefe insued through the realme, and such ciuill sedition dailie rose amongst the people, that pitie it was to behold it: the king being not so bold all the while, as once to shew his face abroad for redresse thereof, by reason he vnderstood well inough what hatred the people bare towards him, neither did his keeping within doores saue his life anie long time, for in the end his owne seruants found means to strangle him, and that before he had reigned full foure yeeres.

Satrahell.

Satrahell seeketh to destroy such as were in fauor with his predecessor.

Discord ariseth among the people through the kings misgouernment.

Satrahell strangled to death by his owne seruants.

397 HB.

Donald.

In his place succeeded his brother Donald, a prince of a farre contrarie nature and conditions, for he was free, courteous, and without all deceit, more righteous than rigorous, and afore all things desirous that peace and concord might prosper among his subiects. Neither bare he with offendors, but such as were disobedient against the lawes and wholsome ordinances of the realme he caused to be dulie punished: finallie he toke such order for reformation of things, that he reduced his subiects as it had beene from a wild and sauage rudenesse, vnto a perfect ciuill trade of humanitie. About the same time Lucius king of the Britains being dead, the Romans perceiuing that a kings authoritie among the Britains, did nothing else but diminish the maiestie of the imperiall iurisdiction amongst them, determined not to suffer any more of the British nation to inioy that title.

Donald studieth to reduce his subiects vnto all ciuilitie.

Lucius king of Britaine dieth.

This thing moued the Britains to such indignation, that by procurement of one Fulgentius, diuers of them rebelled, and chosing the same Fulgentius to their generall, they directed a messenger with letters vnto Donald king of the Scots, requiring him to ioine with them in league against their ancient enimies the Romans, whose endeuor (as he knew) had euer beene from time to time, how to bring the whole Iland vnder their subiection, and to extinguish all the nobilitie and ancient inhabitors of the same: adding furthermore, that if he would now put to his helping hand, the time neuer serued better for the dispatching of them wholie out of the Ile, considering the sundrie rebellions attempted as well by the people of Germanie and France, as also of the easterlie nations and countries.

The Britains rebell and chose one Fulgentius to their captein who sendeth for aid vnto the Scotishmen.

Donald receiued the messenger most friendlie, and being glad to vnderstand of these newes, he promised to aid Fulgentius with all the power he was able to make, and to meet him at such daie and place as he should afterward apoint. The like answer was made also by the king of Picts, vnto whome in semblable

Donald promiseth to aid Fulgentius.

The Britains come to Adrians wall, and pull it downe to let in the Scots.

The Scotiſh men & Picts come to the aid of the Britains.

The Scots and Picts inuade the Britains.

The Scots helpe the Britains to ſpoile their owne countrie.

Trebellius certifieth the emperor of the ſtate of Britaine.

Fulgentius incourageth the Britains to ſticke vnto their begun enterpriſe.

Seuerus ſetteth forth towards his enimies.

Seuerus commeth to Yorke.

Seuerus is incountred by his enimies.

ſemblable wiſe Fulgentius had directed his letters. Thus the Britains (being confirmed with hope of great aid from the Scots and Picts) aſſembling their hoſt togither, reſorted vnto the wall of Adrian, which they ouerthrew in diuers places, that their friends might haue the more free acceſſe and entrie vnto them by the ſame. Neither were the Scots and Picts ſlow for their part to make forward: ſo that they likewiſe comming thither, holpe to throw down that wall, and to fill vp the trench or ditch that went alongſt the ſame.

This done, ioining their powers togither, they paſſed forth towards Yorke, in hope to haue found the Romane lieutenant Trebellius within that citie and to haue beſieged him therein: but hauing knowledge how he was withdrawne into Kent, there to gather a power, they left their purpoſe of beſieging that citie, and fell to ſpoiling & harrieng of the countrie abroad on euerie ſide, conſtreining the moſt part of the people to come in and yéeld themſelues vnder their obeiſance. Thus they continued in paſſing from one quarter of the countrie to another, till winter inforced them to breake vp their campe, and to licence the ſouldiers to depart home into their countries, till they had new ſummons to aſſemble and meet againe.

In this meane time Trebellius certified the emperor Seuerus of all this trouble and rebellion in Britaine: wherevpon he with all ſpéed leuied an armie, & ſet forward with the ſame himſelfe in perſon toward Britaine, as in the Engliſh hiſtorie more plainlie may appéere. At his comming into Britaine, he lacked no time, but aſſembling his power, prepared to go againſt the enimies. Fulgentius doubting the force of his enimie, ſent ambaſſadors vnto him to treat for peace, but Seuerus would not grant to anie, wherevpon Fulgentius confirmed the minds of the Britains with all comfortable words, in the beſt wiſe he could, exhorting them to ſticke to their neceſſarilie begun enterpriſe, for recouerie of their long wiſhed libertie, which he doubted not, but by vanquiſhing the emperor at that preſent they ſhould aſſuredlie atteine: and as for victorie, he was in no doubt, ſo that they would plucke their harts vnto them, and trie it forth manfullie by dint of ſword, like fellowes and brethren knit in one faithfull band of truſtie concord, conſidering the enimies armie being gathered of ſo manie ſundrie nations & languages that conſent in one opinion, the cheefeſt meane for the obteining of victorie muſt néeds be wanting among them.

The Britains moued herewith, promiſed him to liue and die in the quarrell. Wherevpon he tooke aduiſe with them, which waie to maintaine themſelues againſt Seuerus, of whoſe comming they were alreadie certified. For Seuerus hauing diſpatched the Britiſh ambaſſadors from him, ſet incontinentlie forward towards Yorke, leauing his yongeſt ſonne Geta in the ſouth parts to haue the gouernance of the ſame in his abſence. His eldeſt ſonne Antoninus he tooke with him in his iournie againſt his enimies. At his comming to Yorke, he did ſacrifice to the gods, according to the Ethniſh cuſtome, & alſo tooke aduiſe with his captains how to proceed in his enterpriſe againſt his enimies.

This done he marcheth forth with his armie towards them, who being alreadie ioined with the Scots and Picts, were determined to abide him, inſomuch that thoſe of the one ſide came no ſooner in ſight of the other, but that they haſted forth to ioine togither in battell, whereof inſued great ſlaughter betwixt them, though the Britiſh part (notwithſtanding their aid of Scots and Picts) were not able long to endure againſt the great multitude and practiſed ſkill of the Romane ſouldiers, ſo that in the end they were opened perforce and put to flight with the loſſe of thirtie thouſand, what of Britains, Scotiſhmen and Picts.

Fulgentius put to flight and his armie diſcomfited.

Fulgentius himſelfe, ſeeing the diſcomfiture and huge ſlaughter made of his people, had runne in amongſt the thickeſt preaſe of his enimies, had not thoſe that were about him led him awaie by force, and ſo at length he got him amongſt the troops of the Scotiſhmen and Picts, and togither with them paſſed ouer Tine, and ſo into the borders of his friends where he got togither ſuch ſouldiers as he could, that had eſcaped from the battell, and reteined them with wages ſo well as he might, in hope vpon occaſion to imploie them eftſoones againſt his enimies. The Scots alſo ſent into Ireland for aid, and the Picts into Denmarke and Norwaie. Such of the Britiſh nobilitie as fell into the hands of the Romans, Seuerus puniſhed moſt greeuouſlie, but the commons he vſed more gentlie, as it were making excuſe for them being procured thereto by their captains. After this, when winter was come, he appointed his men of warre to draw vnto places conuenient for them to lodge in, till the next ſpring. He himſelfe wintered at Yorke.

Fulgentius withdraweth into Pictland.

Seuerus wintereth at yorke.

In the next ſummer there was little done worthie to be ſpoken of, but that there were certeine ſkirmiſhes betwixt the Romans lieng on the borders, and the Scots and Picts, euer as occaſion ſerued, either of the parties to worke any exploit for their aduantage. But forſomuch as the Scots had no aid ſent them forth of Ireland, they were not minded to ieopard againe in a foughten field, ſuppoſing it ſufficient if they might defend their owne, though they gained nothing as then, conſidering the puiſſance that was readie bent againſt them. At length Seuerus fell ſicke at Yorke, and his ſon Antoninus lieng on the borders beyond Tine, cauſed the wall afore mentioned, diuiding the Britains from the Scots and Picts, to be repared. This wall was built (as is before recited) firſt by Adrian the emperor, to ſtaie the Scotiſhmen from inuading the lands aperteining to the ſubiects of the Romane empire, & after ouerthrowne in diuers places as well by Scots and Picts, as by the Britains, in ſort as before is partlie mentioned. Antoninus cauſed it to be fortified with baſtilions, one placed ſo néere to another, as trumpets being appointed in each of them, the ſound might be heard betwixt to warne one another vpon the firſt deſcrieng of the enimies approch.

Seuerus ſicketh. The wall is repaired.

Finallie Seuerus dieth, though not ſo ſoone as his ſon Antoninus wiſhed, in hope after him to atteine the imperiall dignitie. Concluding therefore a leage with the Scotiſhmen and Picts, and granting peace to Fulgentius, and other ſuch Britiſh rebels as were fled with him into Pictland, he receiued ſufficient pledges, and then returned towards London, where his mother with his brother Geta as then laie. Shortlie after both the brethren departed forth of the Ile, & went to Rome, as in the hiſtorie of England it appeareth. But now to returne vnto Donald the Scotiſh king, ye ſhall vnderſtand, that being deliuered of forren trouble, he ſtudied cheeflie how to preſerue his people in good peace and perfect tranquillitie. Which mind our Sauiour Chriſt the author of all peace and concord had giuen vnto him, being latelie afore conuerted vnto the true faith from his wicked paganiſme and heatheniſh idolatrie.

Seuerus dieth.

Antoninus in hope to be emperor concludeth a peace with the enimies.

Donald ſtudious to maintaine his ſubiects in peace and concord.

For as we find in Hector Boetius, in the daies of the aboue ſaid emperor Seuerus, he ſent a meſſenger with letters vnto pope Victor (Zepherinus ſaith Harriſon) being the 15 in number, as they ſaie, after ſaint Peter, declaring vnto him that he was fullie minded to receiue the chriſtian religion, and vtterlie to forſake the ſuperſtitious ſeruice of the heathenith gods,

Donald conuerted vnto chriſtian beleefe in the daies of the emperor Seuerus.

gods, and therefore inſtantlie required him to ſend ouer into Scotland ſome godlie learned men, to inſtruct him in the right beléefe. The pope hearing this, and being glad to increaſe the faith of Chriſt through all parts of the world, ſent with all ſpéed into Scotland ſuch well diſpoſed perſons as he thought moſt méet for that purpoſe, who at their arriuall there, did their endeuour in ſuch diligent ſort, that not onelie the king, but alſo through his example a great number of the nobilitie were baptiſed, and clérelie forſoke their former errors and idolatrie. This was in the yeare after the birth of our ſauiour 203, from the creation of the world 4170, & after the firſt erection of the Scotiſh kingdome 330, as W. Hariſon in his chronologie doth manifeſtlie confirme.

The Scotiſh men receiued the faith in the yéere of our Sauiour 203. 5399. H.B. 533 H.B.

Moreouer this Donald was the firſt as the Scotiſh chronicles alledge, that cauſed ſiluer and gold to be coined in his realme. The ſtampe which he deuiſed for the ſame, was a croſſe on the one ſide, and his face on the other. Before that time the Scots vſed no coine, but either exchanged and bartered ware for ware, either elſe occupied with Britiſh and Romane monie, as diuers marble cheſts full of the ſame which haue béene found of late yéeres in ſundrie parts of Scotland do verie well witneſſe. Finallie K. Donald in the 21 yeare of his reigne departed out of this life, and was buried according to the maner of our chriſtian religion, without any heatheniſh ceremonies.

Donald departeth out of this world. 216 H.B.

Ethodius.

After him ſucceéded Ethodius the ſecond, and ſonne of the former Ethodius, which prince proued ſo verie a ſole, that the regiment of the realme was quite taken from him, and committed vnto certeine noble men, who being diuided into ſundrie quarters of the realme, toke verie good order for the due gouernment of the parties ſo to them limited, and vſed themſelues verie vprightlie in all their doings. As for cauſe of wars they had none, for Seuerus before his death had giuen ſuch order for the gouernement of the Britains, that they durſt not once ſtir by reaſon of ſuch pledges as were deliuered and conueied to Rome, which were the chéefeſt of all the Britiſh nobilitie. At length Ethodius being apt for nothing but to fill his cofers, as one though doltiſh, yet naturallie giuen to vnquenchable couetouſneſſe, was ſlaine by thoſe that were appointed to the gard of his perſon, in the 16 yeare of his reigne.

The gouernance of the realme committed to ſundrie noble men.

Ethodius being giuen to couetouſneſſe is ſlaine by his owne ſeruants.

Athirco.

Then was his ſonne Athirco elected by the generall voices of all the eſtates, who in the beginning of his reigne ſhewed himſelfe verie ſober, gentle, courteous, and friendlie of behauiour, exerciſing himſelfe in all laudable paſtimes conuenient for his eſtate, and herewith he was ſo frée and liberall towards all men, that he wan him wonderfull much praiſe and loue amongeſt his people. But theſe his noble vertues increaſed not in him togither with his age, but contrarilie decaied, in ſuch ſort, that after he had reigned eight yéeres, he was quite altered: in place of liberalitie, imbracing auarice: for courteſie and amiable countenance, he vſed ſterne and loftie lookes: for commendable exerciſes, he gaue himſelfe wholie to filthie pleaſures and ſenſuall luſts of the bodie: and ſuch as could further his purpoſe moſt in theſe his beaſtlie affections, he cheriſhed and had them moſt in eſtimation, not regarding at all the nobilitie of his realme, but was as readie to wrong them by vilanous iniurie, as he was anie other of the loweſt and meaneſt degrée.

Athirco changed in conditions from good to bad.

Athirco regardeth not his nobles.

It chanced that a noble man in Argile (being one of no ſmall authoritie amongſt the people of that countrie) named Natholocus, had two faire yong gentlewomen to his daughters: now the king being verie deſirous to ſatiſfie his luſt vpon them, forced them both the one after the other, and not ſo content, deliuered them afterwards to be abuſed in ſemblable ſort by his pages and ſeruants. The father vnderſtanding this vilanie done to his daughters, by their owne lamentable complaint, ſent for his friends, and opening vnto them the whole matter, he required their aſſiſtance. They being in a wonderfull furie to heare of ſuch an iniurie done to their bloud, promiſed in reuenge therof to ſpend life, lands & goods, and forthwith departing in ſunder, they prepared themſelues to aſſemble their powers, procuring a great number of other noble men to ioine with them in ſo neceſſarie an enterpriſe, as to rid the countrie of ſuch a catiſe wretch, reſpecting nothing but the ſatiſfieng of his filthie carnall luſts, and the accompliſhment of his moſt beaſtlie appetites.

The vilanous act of Athirco in abuſing a noble mans daughters.

The kinſmen and friends of the gentlewomen conſpire againſt Athirco.

When they were once got togither in a companie, they marched forth towards Dunſtafage, where they vnderſtood that the king as then did ſoiourne, a great multitude of people ſtill reſorting vnto them by the waie, after it was once knowne whereabout they went. Athirco hearing of their approch, called togither his power, ſuppoſing at the firſt to haue beaten downe his enimies; but when he had throughlie weied the matter, and conſidered of what force and power they were, & how féeble his part was through want of good wils in his people, he priuilie ſtole awaie from them, and would haue paſſed ouer into Ila, one of the weſterne Iles, to haue procured ſome ſuccor there, but being imbarked and ſet from the ſhore, he was by contrarie winds driuen backe againe to land, where doubting to come into his enimies hands, he choſe rather to ſlea himſelfe, and ſo ended his wretched life in ſuch miſerable extremitie after he had reigned the ſpace of 12 yéeres. His reigne continued till the daies of the emperor Gordian the third, or (as others ſaie) till the time of the emperor Valerian. But as William Hariſon hath gathered, he reigned in the daies of the emperor Aurelius Claudius. Doorus the brother of Athirco vnderſtanding of the death of his brother, diſguiſed himſelfe in beggers weed for doubt of death, and went into Pictland with three of his nephues, ſonnes to the ſame Athirco, whoſe names were Sindocke, Carance, and Donald.

Athirco doubting to be forſaken of his owne men if it came to the triall of battel conueied himſelfe from among them. Athirco ſlaeth himſelfe.

242 H.B.

Doorus the brother of Athirco conueieth himſelf out of the way

Howbeit, Natholocus hauing knowledge whither he was fled, ſent forth certeine of his ſeruants, with commandement to ſearch him out, commanding furthermore verie ſtreitlie, that if they found him, they ſhould diſpatch him out of life, for feare of further miſchéefe. But they that were ſent, finding one in all features and proportion of bodie reſembling Doorus, ſlue the one in ſtead of the other, and ſo returning home to their maiſter, they made him verie ioifull of the newes, although indéed they came not néere to Doorus. Then Natholocus cauſing the eſtates of the realme to aſſemble, he handled the matter in ſuch wiſe, by diſſuading them to chooſe any of Athircos bloud to reigne ouer them (for doubt leaſt they ſhould ſéeke any meanes how to reuenge his death) that in the end this Natholocus was elected himſelfe, more by force than by anie common conſent of the nobles: for diuers of them doubting the craftie nature, which they knew to be in him, wiſhed rather that the iſſue of Athirco (hauing deſerued nothing why to be defrauded of the kingdom, ſaue onlie in reſpect of the fathers offenſes) might haue inioied that which of right they ought to haue had, that is, either one of them to be king, or elſe ſome néere kinſman of theirs to reigne as king, till the eldeſt of them might come to ſufficient yeares to beare the rule himſelfe.

Natholocus ſéeketh the life of Doorus.

Natholocus is choſen to be king.

But Natholocus being once proclamed king by the multitude, and Athircos bloud attainted of treaſon,

Natholocus.

Matholocus goeth vnto Dunſtafage to be inthronized.

treaſon, and ſo publiſhed, according the cuſtome he toke the othes of thoſe that were preſent, and then repaired vnto Dunſtafage, there to be inueſted according to the maner. This done, he called ſuch aſide as he ſuſpected, and talking with them alone, he erhorted them to be faithfull, promiſing to be their aſſured good lord and maiſter, and for an earneſt thereof, he gaue vnto diuerſe of them verie great rewards. Generallie vnto all men he ſhewed himſelfe verie gentle and tractable, thereby to win their loues, for the better eſtabliſhment of his new atchiued eſtate: and hereto he imploied ſuch riches as the former kings had heaped togither amongſt the nobles, ſtudieng by all meanes to auoid all ſeditious quarels and ſecret diſcords amongſt them.

Matholocus ſeeketh to procure loue of the nobilitie through dides.

Thus ruling the realme at his will for certeine yéres, at length fortune began to ſhew a change of countenance after hir old accuſtomed guiſe. For Doorus the brother of Athirco (whome, as ye haue heard, Matholocus ſuppoſed to haue béene dead) wrote certeine letters, ſignifieng his owne eſtate with the welfare of his nephues the children of Athirco vnto certeine Scotiſh lords, whom he knew to fauour his cauſe. Which letters he deliuered vnto a Pictiſh woman, appointing hir how and to whome ſhe ſhould deliuer the ſame, but the woman apprehended by the waie, and brought vnto Matholocus, he cauſed hir ſecretlie to be ſacked and throwne into a riuer. Afterwards ſending for ſuch of the nobles as the direction of the forſaid letters had giuen him occaſion to haue in ſome ſuſpicion, he committed them firſt to priſon, and at length cauſed them to be ſecretlie ſtrangled.

Fortune fauoring Matholocus for a time began to change.

Doorus writeth vnto certeine Scotiſh lords to moue them to rebellion.

Matholocus putteth ſuch to death as he ſuſpecteth to fauour Doorus.

Which wicked déed being once notified abroad, ſo moued the harts of their friends and alies, that they procured the people to rebell: and ſo gathering them togither, they raiſed open and cruell warres againſt him. Matholocus informed of their determinations, withdrew himſelfe priuilie into Murrey land, there to get togither an armie to reſiſt his enimies, and for that he was deſirous alſo to vnderſtand ſomwhat of the iſſue of this trouble, he ſent one of his truſtie ſeruants, being a gentleman of that countrie, vnto a woman that dwelt in the Ile of Colmekill (otherwiſe called Iona) eſtéemed verie ſkilfull in foreſhewing of things to come, to learne of hir what fortune ſhould hap of this warre, which was alreadie begun.

Matholocus ſendeth vnto a witch to know the concluſion of his enimies attempts.

The witch conſulting with hir ſpirits, declared in the end how it ſhould come ſhortlie to paſſe, that the king ſhould be murthered, not by his open enimies, but by the hands of one of his moſt familiar friends, in whome he had repoſed an eſpeciall truſt. The meſſenger demanding by whoſe hands that ſhould be: Euen by thine faith ſhe, as it ſhall be well knowen within theſe few daies. The gentleman hearing theſe words, railed againſt hir verie bitterlie, bidding hir go like an old witch; for he truſted to ſée hir burnt before he ſhould commit ſo villanous a déed. And departing from hir, he went by and by to ſignifie what anſwere he had receiued; but before he came where the king lay, his mind was altered, ſo that what for doubt on the one ſide, that if he ſhould declare the trueth as it was told him, the king might haplie conceiue ſome great ſuſpicion, that it ſhould follow by his means as ſhe had declared, and thereupon put him to death firſt; and for feare on the other ſide, that if he kéepe it ſecret, it might happen to be reuealed by ſome other, and then he to run in as much danger of life as before; he determined with himſelfe to worke the ſureſt way, and ſo comming to the king, he was led aſide by him into his priuie chamber, where all other being cõmanded to auoid, he declared how he had ſped; and then falling forth-

The witches anſwere.

what happened by giuing credit to the words of a witch.

with vpon Matholocus, with his dagger he ſlue him outright, and threw his bodie into a priuie; and afterwards getting out by a backe doore, and taking his horſſe which he had there readie, he fled with all ſpéed vnto the campe of the conſpirators, and was the firſt that brought news vnto them of this act thus by him atchiued. This chanced in the yeare of our Lord 280, & in the eleuenth yeare after the firſt entring of Matholocus into the eſtate.

Matholocus murthered.

252. H. B.

After Matholocus was thus diſpatched, the péeres aſſembled togither to ordeine one for gouernement of the realme, where in the end it was amongeſt them concluded, that the ſonnes of Athirco ſhould be ſent for into Pictland, and Findocke receiued for king. The Morauian that ſlue Matholocus was appointed to fetch them, who (according to his commiſſion) comming into Pictland, conueied them right honorablie into Argile, where Findocke being alreadie choſen king, was placed on the ſtone of marble, with all the ceremonies in that caſe aperteining.

The lords of the realme aſſemble togither to chuſe a new king.

The ſonnes of Athirco are ſent for, and the eldeſt of them named Findocke choſen to reigne.

Findócke.

THis Findocke was in the flower of his age, of perſon moſt beautifull, cleane made, & of a goodlie ſtature; wherewith were ioined moſt excellent gifts of the mind, not ſo much deſirous to ſéeme as to be vertuous in déed. He was courteous, méeke, & full of affabilitie, ſtudieng alwaies to win friendſhip and loue, rather by gentleneſſe, than by feare and menacing words. The leagues with the Britains, Picts and Romans he firmelie obſerued. But as peace with forraine enimies breedeth oftentimes ciuill diſcord at home, ſo came it then to paſſe with him at this preſent: for one Donald of the Iles, a noble man borne, came ouer with an armie into Roſſe and Murrey land, fetching from thence a great ſpoile and bootie, not without great ſlaughter of ſuch as inforced themſelues for to reſiſt him. The occaſion as he pretended was to reuenge the death of Matholocus. But Findocke vnderſtanding his doings, prepared an armie with ſhips, and ſailed ouer with the ſame into the Ile of Ila, where incountring with Donald and other his enimies, he vanquiſhed and chaſed them egerlie, without returning once backe, till either the ſword or the ſea had made an end of them all.

Findocke his noble qualities and vertuous diſpoſition.

Findocke obſerueth the leagues confirmed of former times with his neighbors.

Thoſe of the out Iles inuade the countries of Roſſe and Murrey land.

Findocke maketh a iournie into the Iles, to ſubdue the rebels.

Donald himſelfe taking a bote, in hope to haue eſcaped, the preaſe was ſuch at his entring into the ſame, that before they could get it off from the ſhore, it ſunke by means of the ouerlading, and ſo he and all they that were on board were drowned therewithall. The king hauing atchiued this victorie, returned into Albanie; but the Iland-men not fullie quieted with this ſlaughter of their fellows, ſent ouer into Ireland, and got from thence certeine Kerns, who vnder the leading of an other Donald, the ſonne of the former Donald, made ſtarts now and then into Argile and Cantire, doing manie ſhrewd turnes in the ſame, yer they could be ſuppreſſed. But Findocke being ſone informed of theſe tidings, went ouer againe into the Iles, and ſuch of his enimies as he found, he cauſed to be hanged, to giue other example what to looke for when they ſhould rebell, but Donald eſcaped, and got ouer into Ireland, where he remained, till he heard that the king was returned backe into Albanie, and then he came againe. But perceiuing himſelfe not able to worke ſuch feats as he hoped to haue done, he ſent a meſſenger vnto the king, offering to yéeld himſelfe, and to become his true ſubiect if he might get his pardon, and be at his owne libertie. But being anſwered that he ſhould not be receiued, vnleſſe he would come vnto Dunſtafage with other of his chiefeſt complices, and to ſtand fullie at the kings mercie; he refuſed thus to do, deuiſing an other meane

Donald is drowned.

The Iland-men with aid of the Iriſh Kerns, make often inuaſions into Argile, and other of the Scotiſh countries.

Findocke goeth againe to ſubdue the rebels of the Iles.

Donald offereth to yéeld himſelfe vpon certeins conditions, but is not receiued.

Donald deuiseth how to murther king Findocke by two naughtie persons.

meane how to be reuenged.

Therefore to begin withall, he procured two naughtie persons to go ouer into Albaine, and to feine themselues to haue fled from him, where also he willed them to offer their seruice vnto the king, and to disclose vnto him certeine light secrets of the said Donalds, thereby to win credit if it might be, and in the end to espie a time to rid him out of the way. These craftie mates working according to Donalds wicked instructions, at length with much adoo they got credit, and after credit they got place so neere the king by the furtherance of Carantius the kings brother (whome they made priuie also vnto their intent) that finding all things correspondent vnto their purpose (one day as the king hunted) the one began to feed him with a tale of the hatred which the Ilanders bare towards him, whereto he gaue verie good eare, whilest the other smote him to the heart with a taueline, & so leauing the iron sticking in his bodie, he fled away in hast with his traitorous companion and fellow. Those that were neere, seeing what had happened, some of them ran to him, to see if they might relieue him as then strugling with the pangs of death; others followed the murtherers, and ouertaking them, brought them backe to receiue their meed according to that which they had iustlie deserued; being also examined, they confessed how they were procured vnto it, not onelie by Donald of the Iles, but also by Carantius the kings owne brother, who of set purpose being out of the way at that present, and hauing knowledge that he was accused of the kings death, fled out of the countrie as a banished man, first into Britaine, from whence (after he had remained there for a time) he went vnto Rome, and seruing in the wars vnder the emperours, Aurelius Probus, Carus, and Diocletianus, he became a right famous and a verie skilfull captеine.

Findocke is slaine.

The murtherers confesse by whose procurement they did the deed.

A pretie induction (if not forged) to the historie that afterwards followeth of Carausius or Carantius as the Scots write him.

But if this report be true that Carausius (of whom Eutropius maketh mention) were descended of so high parentage, maruell it is, that neither the same Eutropius, nor anie other of the Romane writers, could at no time come to the knowledge thereof, which if they had done, no doubt they would haue spoken somewhat of the same; for although he might happilie vpon the consideration aforesaid counterfeit himselfe to be borne of some base kinred, and so for a time to dissemble what he was, yet afterwards that he atteined vnto so high degree of honour, as to vsurpe the imperiall robes of purpure, and to possesse the dominion of Britaine, it is not like but that to aduance his credit and authoritie rotall, he would haue set forth to the vttermost the nobilitie of his birth, if he had bene come of anie, and that so apparantlie to the world, that aswell his enimies as friends should both haue knowen and spoken of it.

Donald. Findocus being thus slaine in the tenth yeare of his reigne, and buried with great lamentation of the people at Dunstafage, his brother Donald, the third son to Athirco, was admitted to the kingdome, who immediatlie vpon his entring into the estate, prepared to go into the Iles against Donald that common enimie of Scotland. But this Donald himselfe deliuered the king of a great peece of that trauell: for so soone as he heard that the murther by him contriued was executed, he assembled a mightie power of the Iland-men, and transporting with them ouer into Rosse, proclamed himselfe king, persecuting with fire and sword all such as denied him obedience. King Donald being aduertised of that attempt of his aduersarie, spedilie marcheth forth with such power as he had alreadie assembled, sending proclamations abroad, that all other appointed to serue, should follow him with speed.

Donald of the Iles inuadeth Scotland.

Thus comming into Murrey land, he pitched downe his tents, purposing there to abide the comming of the residue of his armie. But Donald of the Iles vnderstanding all his demeanour and whole intention, thought it best to assaile him within his campe, before all his power should come vnto him, and being thus resolued, he set forward in the night time, and was vpon his enimies, before that his comming towards them was once signified in their campe. The king then vnderstanding his aduersaries to be at hand, bringeth forth his men, setteth them in arraie, and exhorteth them with manie pithie words to receiue their enimies with manlie stomachs. But the Iland-men incouraged also by their capteine, gaue the onset so roundlie, that the Scotishmen had not leasure to occupie their shot, but were inforced euen at the first to ioine at hand-blowes, which were bestowed in such furious sort, that in the end the Scots being oppressed with multitude, were constreined to giue backe, some sauing themselues by flight, and some standing at defense till they were beaten downe and killed in the place. There were slaine on the kings part three thousand men, and two thousand taken prisoners; amongest whome were thirtie personages of honorable estate, togither with the king himselfe being wounded so sore, that he died within three daies after the battell, rather through anguish of mind than of his hurts (as some haue written) in the same yeare that he began his reigne. Donald of the Iles hauing thus got the victorie, toke vpon him as king, accordinglie as he had caused himselfe at the first to be proclamed.

Donald of the Iles suddenlie setteth vpon the enimies.

The Scots ouerthrowen

Donald dyeth this world.

Donald of the Iles taketh vpon him as king.

Donald.

But because he came to the estate thus by bloud, he continued still in doubt and feare of new conspiracies, being guiltie in conscience of his wrongfull vsurpation. Those prisoners also, which he had taken in the battell, he kept in perpetuall captiuitie, menacing them present death, if anie of their friends and allies attempted anie stirre against him. Moreouer he nourished priuie factions amongest the nobilitie, supposing thereby that their powers would be the more feeble in anie publike exploit that was to be moued against him; finallie, if anie mischiefe happened amongest them, he caused the matter thoroughlie to be loked vpon, but with such regard that he alwaies inriched his owne cofers with the forfeitures and penalties which he toke vp amongst them. He seldome times went abroad, and when he stirred forth anie whither, he had his gard about him, appointed with weapons in warlike sort for dout of treason. He aduanced diuers of base condition to great wealth and honor, and behaued himselfe so in sundrie sorts with his mistrustfull crueltie, that manie there were which dread him, and but a few that loued him, so that in the end being in a maner run into the deadlie hatred of all men, he was murthered one night at Enuerlochthe (whither he was come to haue passed ouer into the Iles) by certeine that had conspired his death in the twelfth yeare of his reigne.

A guiltie conscience.

Donald of the Iles is murthered. Anno Christi. 273. H.B.

The chiefe of the conspirators was one Crathlint the sonne of king Findocke, who immediatlie after the deed done, conueied himselfe secretlie out of the chamber, and repairing vnto certeine nobles and gentlemen inhabiting neere hand in the countrie, he declared vnto them the whole matter, exhorting them to aid him, in reuenging the iniuries done not onelie to them priuatlie, as he knew verie well; but also to the whole state of the Scotish common welth, by the naughtie suggestion of diuerse of the kings complices, who as yet vnderstood nothing of their maisters death, but were all quiet in their beds, as men suspecting nothing lesse than that which was now

Crathlint chiefe conspirator to the murthering of Donald.

Crathlint procureth the nobles of the countrie to oppresse the seruants of king Donald.

now happened.

The gentlemen hearing the newes, and reioising greatlie thereat, got them to their weapons, and earlie in the verie dawning of the day, comming vpon the kings houshold meanie, they slue aboue two hundred of them in the place where they lodged, the residue escaping forth of the house, and thinking to saue themselues, were beaten downe in the countrie as they passed by the people, who bare so deadlie and mortall hatred vnto the late king, that they not onelie reioised much at his death, but thought themselues sufficientlie reuenged, when they could kill anie that did belong vnto him.

Crathlint

After this, Crathlint being certeinelie knowne to be the sonne of king Findocke, by such euident tokens as were shewed by him that brought him vp, was (partlie in respect of his iust title, and partlie for consideration of his good seruice in deliuering his countrie of so detestable a tyrant) aduanced to the gouernement of the kingdome, by consent of all the estates, and so being confirmed king, he persuaded the people that all the linage of the late tyrant Donald might be plucked vp, euen as it were a tree by the roots, least anie of them happilie remaining aliue, should find meanes afterwards to disturbe the common-wealth. The people consented lightlie herevnto, as they that beside the mortall hate which they bare towards Donald, were now suddenlie in loue with Crathlint, not onelie for his wit and other qualities of the mind, but also by reason of his comelie personage and passing beautie, setting forth all his doings greatlie to his high praise and commendation.

Crathlint is made king.

The kinsmen and friends of Donald of the Iles are persecuted.

The issue therefore with other the kinsmen and allies of Donald were sought for, and those that were found, without anie difference or respect of age or ser, were cruellie put to death. Which done, Crathlint appointed forth iudges and other administrators of iustice to see the lawes executed, and the countries gouerned in good and quiet order, euerie man being assigned to his owne proper circuit. These he chose out of the most ancient peeres and barons of his realme. The yonger sort he reserued to attend vpon his person.

The politike gouernment of Crathlint.

When he had taken direction in this wise for the rule of his kingdome, he went vp into the mounteins of Granzebene, there to passe the time for a while in hunting the hart, and other wild beasts, whither came vnto him ambassadors from Thelargus king of the Picts, declaring the ioy which their maister had conceiued for the slaughter of Donald, and the restoring of the right blod againe vnto the estate, requiring that the ancient league betwixt the Picts and Scotishmen might be once againe renewed. Crathlint receiued these ambassadors most ioifullie, giuing them heartie thanks on the behalfe of their maister for this signification of his good will shewed by their comming, and herewith promised, that during his life he would gladlie obserue the old ancient amitie established betwixt the two nations: according to the tenor of the old league. Moreouer, when the said ambassadors should depart, he toke vnto them to deliuer from him as a present vnto their maister certeine horses, with hounds and greihounds, such as he thought that king Thelargus wanted.

Crathlint goeth to hunt in the mounteins of Granzebene, ancientlie called Grampeus mons.

An ambassage from the Picts.

The Picts require the league to be renewed.

Crathlint promiseth to obserue the ancient amitie betwixt the Scotishmen and Picts.

The present sent by Crathlint vnto the king of the Picts.

And shortlie after the returne of these ambassadors into their countrie, diuerse yong gentlemen of the Pictish nobilitie repaired vnto king Crathlint, to hunt and make merie with him: but when they should depart homewards, perceiuing that the Scotish dogs did farre excell theirs, both in fairnesse, swiftnesse, hardinesse, and also in long standing vp and holding out, they got diuerse both dogs and bitches of the best kinds for breed to be giuen them by the Scotish lords, and yet not so contented, they stale one belonging to the king from his keeper, being more esteemed of him than all the other which he had about him. The maister of the leash being informed hereof, pursued after them which had stolen that dog, thinking in deed to haue taken him from them, but they not willing to depart with him, fell at altercation, and in the end chanced to strike the maister of the leash through with their borespeares that he died presentlie, whereupon a noise and crie being raised in the countrie by his seruants, diuerse of the Scots as they were going home from hunting, returned; and falling vpon the Picts to reuenge the death of their fellow, there insued a shrewd bickering betwixt them, so that of the Scots there died threescore gentlemen, besides a great number of the commons, not one of them vnderstanding (till all was done) what the matter ment. Of the Picts there were about an hundred slaine.

Diuers Pictish lords come to Crathlint to hunt and make merie with him.

A praise of the Scotish dogs.

The Picts steale one of the kings best greihounds.

The Scots & Picts fight for a greihound.

What mischiefe insued vpon so light an occasion as the stealing of a dog.

This chanced about the yere of Christ 288, as Io. Ma. noteth.

The kinsmen and friends of the Scots that were thus slaine, were wonderfullie moued with the iniurie committed, insomuch that without commandement of king or capteine, they assembled in great numbers togither, and entring into the Pictish confines, they began to rob, spoile and kill after the maner of warre, wherewith the Picts being set in a rage, came forth togither into the field, and incountering with the Scots, there was fought a sore battell betwixt them, without capteine, order, or standard, till at length the victorie remained with the Picts, of whom were slaine notwithstanding the day went on their sides, about two thousand men, but of the Scots there died aboue three thousand, or more, as was supposed. Thus vpon a light occasion was the league broken betwixt these two nations, who had continued as friends, the one still readie to aid the other, euer sith the daies of king Reutha, being the 7 in number that reigned after Fergus.

The Scots rob the Pictish borders.

The Scots & Picts incounter in battell.

The Scots discomfited by the Picts.

Of what continuance the league was betwixt the Scots and Picts, & how broken about a small matter as begun about a dog.

These two nations being thus fallen at debate, it was wonder to vnderstand with what cruelti the one sought to destroie the other. No pitie might moue their cruell harts to spare either man, woman or child that fell into their hands: such was their inordinate and like desire which they had to shed each others bloud. At last Thelargus K. of the Picts being a verie aged man, and perceiuing what mischiefe was happened through the follie of a few wilfull persons, appointed certeine of his counsell to go as ambassadors vnto king Crathlint, to find some means to haue the matter taken vp, for the auoiding of the imminent danger that was like to insue to both nations. They according to their instructions comming to the place where Crathlint as then soiourned, had much adoo to get licence to come vnto his presence: but at length being admitted, they vsed such humble persuasions grounded vpon reasonable considerations, that although no peace could be fullie concluded, yet a truce was granted them for three moneths space, which was but fortlie obserued, for deadly hatred and inward desire of reuenge was entred so farre into the breasts of the commons on both sides, that neither commandement nor punishment might stale them from the inuading of one anothers confines, mauger their princes and all their sore restraints.

Cruell wars

Thelargus king of the Picts being an aged man, desireth to haue peace, and therevpon sendeth his ambassadors vnto Crathlint.

A truce granted.

In this meane time was the estate of the Romane empire in Britaine brought into trouble by Carantius, of whome a little before mention hath beene made. Eutropius nameth him Carausius: he would not be acknowne at his comming to Rome of what linage he was descended, and so he was reputed to come of some base stocke, but yet through his worthie seruice in the warres, he attained vnto great

Carantius named by Eutropius Carausius, troubleth the estate of Britaine.

great honor, and was appointed by Diocleſian to haue the ſouereigne regard ouer the coaſts of the French ocean, to defend the ſame from pirats of the Saxons and other Germans, that ſore moleſted the ſame in thoſe daies. But for that he vſed to ſuffer thoſe rouers to take ſpoiles and priſes, to the end he might in their returne take the ſame from them againe, and conuert the gaine wholie to his owne vſe, without reſtoring that which was due to the owners, or ſending anie portion thereof to the Romane emperor, he was complained vpon, and ſent for: but for that he doubted to come to his anſwer, as one which knew himſelfe guiltie, he furniſhed his nauie with men, victels and ordinance, and with the ſame toke his courſe about the weſt parts of Britaine, and landed in Weſtmerland, where he eaſilie procured the people there to ſubmit themſelues to be vnder his rule and obeiſance, and promiſed to deliuer them from the grieuous yoke and bondage of the Romans.

The wilie practiſe of Carantius.

Carantius fereth to come to make anſwer to ſuch matters as he was charged with.

Carantius reuolting cõmeth into weſtmerland, & cauſeth the people there to take his part againſt the Romans.

Thus hauing begun the foundation of that which he purpoſed to atchiue, for his further aduancement therein, he ſent ambaſſadors vnto his nephue king Crathlint, both declaring what he was, and alſo excuſing the treſpaſſe ſurmiſed againſt him, for being of counſell touching the murther of his brother Findocke, father to the ſame Crathlint: and therefore if in putting away all miſtruſt of his innocencie in that behalfe, he would aid him againſt the Romans, he doubted not but that he ſhould in ſhort time vtterlie expell them out of all Britaine, and enioy all thoſe prouinces within the ſame (which as then they poſſeſſed) vnto his owne vſe, and this he ſaid ſhould be more honor and gaine both to the Scotiſhmen & Picts, if they could be contented to renew friendſhip, and ioine with them in aid againſt their common enimies, than to ſeeke to deſtroie one another, as he latelie vnderſtood they had done for a dog.

Carantius ſendeth meſſengers vnto king Crathlint, in excuſing his fault for his brother Findocks death.

Carantius requireth to be aided againſt the Romans.

Crathlint hearing the words of theſe ambaſſadors, reioiſed not a little, that his vncle Carantius was not onelie aliue, but alſo had through his valiancie atchiued ſo high renowme as to be accounted one of the worthieſt warriors amongſt all the Romane capteins. And herevpon with good aduiſe he determined to aid him in that his enterpriſe for the conqueſt of Britaine to the vttermoſt of his power. Adding further, that if it were not for the warres which he doubted to haue with the Picts, he would not onlie ſend him aid of men, but alſo come with them himſelfe: and hereof he aſſured the ambaſſadors both by word of mouth and letters. Who returning with ſuch anſwer vnto their maiſter Carantius, he reioiſed not a litle, to vnderſtand how well they had ſped, and ſo much the more, for that he receiued about the ſame time the like anſwer from the king of Picts.

Crathlint reioiſeth to hear that Carantius was aliue.

Crathlint reſolueth to aid Carantius, & certifieth him of the ſame.

The king of the Picts alſo promiſeth to aid Carantius.

Shortlie after he came to an interuiew with the king of Scots at the water of Eſke, where after he had purged himſelfe with manie words of excuſe, touching the murther of his brother Findocke, there was an aſſured friendſhip concluded betwixt them. And at the motion of Carantius, Crathlint was contented to come to a communication with the king of Picts, for the concluſion of a peace, to the intent that both of them might ioine their powers togither, in aid of Carantius againſt the Romans. At this communication both the kings met, and Carantius likewiſe was there, as a man indifferent betwixt them both, to do what he could to linke them both in amitie. And verelie his preſence thereunto ſtood ſo much in ſtead, that chieflie through his perſuaſion grounded vpon great reaſons and weightie conſiderations, they agreed to conclude a peace, and to renew the old league in ſuch maner and forme, and with ſuch conditions, as ſhould be thought requiſite by the aduiſe and diſcreet order of eight ancient perſons: foure to be choſen on the one part, and foure on the other. Which eight perſons taking the matter in hand, did ſo aduiſedlie giue order for the auoiding of all cauſes of grudge and hatred, that both parts held them ſatiſfied with their arbitrement and direction, ſo that a ioifull peace was confirmed, and all variance vtterlie quenched.

Crathlint and the king of the Picts come to a communication by Carantius his meanes, who trauelleth to ſet them at one

Peace confirmed againe betwixt the Scotiſhmen and Picts.

In this meane time Quintus Baſſianus the Romane lieutenant in Britaine, vnderſtanding how Carantius was thus reuolted, and had not onelie cauſed them of Weſtmerland to rebell, but alſo ſlaine and chaſed the Romans out of that countrie, he was not a little diſquieted, and determined with all ſpeed to go againſt him, and to reuenge theſe iniuries. Within a few daies after, hauing his armie readie, he entered into Weſtmerland: but hearing that his enimies were alreadie come to Yorke, and had woone the citie by ſurrender, he turned his force thitherward, in purpoſe to fight with them, though he vnderſtood they were in three great battels, as the Scots in one, the Picts in another, and thoſe of Carantius retinue in the third. He lodged that night within a verie ſtrong place, ſenſed about with mariſhes.

Quintus Baſſianus entreth into weſtmerland, but hearing that his enimies were at Yorke he turneth thitherwards.

But Carantius vnderſtanding all the maner of his enimies by his eſpials, and being in campe within ten miles of them or thereabout, in the ſame night he raiſed his field without anie great brute, and by the leading of certeine guides he marched ſtreight toward the place where Baſſianus was incamped, ſo that anon after the ſpring of the day he came thither: whereof Baſſianus being aduertiſed, and perceiuing he ſhould haue battell, maketh readie for the ſame, giuing the beſt exhortation he could vnto his people to plaie the men: but forſomuch as the moſt part of his armie were Britains, all his words nothing auailed: for they deſirous to ſee the vtter ruine of all the Romane power, euen at the verie point when the battels ſhould haue ioined, withdrew themſelues apart without anie ſtroke ſtriken, and got them vp into the next mounteins, to ſee what would inſue. The reſidue of the Romane armie, ſeeing themſelues thus forſaken of their fellowes, and their ſides left bare and open for the enimie to enter vpon them, fell to plaine running away, but by reaſon of the mariſh ground compaſſing them in on each ſide, ſerving well to purpoſe for the Scots, and other the confederates, a great number of the Romans, and other of their part were ouertaken and ſlaine. Amongſt whome Baſſianus himſelfe was one, and Hircius the emperors procurator an other.

The Britains betray the Romans.

The Romans are diſcõfited

The ſlaughter of the Romans.

The Britains (who as is ſaid refuſed to fight in the beginning of the battell) yeelded themſelues vnto Carantius, and ſware to be his true liege men and ſubiects. In like maner Carantius appointed all ſuch of the nobilitie as were betwixt twentie yeares and threeſcore, to remaine with him in hoſtage: but the ſpoile of the field he diuided amongſt his people equallie, ſo that as well the Scotiſhmen and Picts, as alſo his owne ſouldiers held them well contented and ſatiſfied therewith. After this victorie Carantius cauſed himſelfe to be proclamed king of Britaine, vſurping the gouernment therof wholie to himſelfe, and reteining two thouſand of the Scots and Picts to attend vpon the ſafegard of his perſon, ſent the reſidue home laden with riches of the enimies ſpoile. He ſent alſo with them his ambaſſadors, to render thanks vnto both the kings for their aid in this ſo proſperous a victorie, aſſigning vnto them as a portion of the conqueſt, the countries of Weſtmerland and Cumberland, with all that region which lay betwixt Adrians wall, and the citie of Yorke, to inioy as their owne proper patrimonie for

The Britains yeeld themſelues vnto Carantius.

Carantius or Caraulius, as Eutropius nameth him, vſurpeth the kingdome of Britaine.

Carantius hauing got the victorie, diuideth the gaine in aſſigning to his cõfederats their due portions.

322. H.B.
5490. H.B.
655. H.B.
First of Constantine. H.B.

for euermore. Finallie the ſaid Carantius was ſlaine by his companion Alectus, as in the Engliſh hiſtorie ye may find more at large.

After this, Crathlint king of Scots deliuered from troubles againſt the Romans, deuiſed ſundrie good ordinances for the quiet ſtate of the Scotiſh common-wealth, cauſing the peace to be diligentlie obſerued betwixt him and the Picts. Also in his daies the perſecution of the chriſtians chanced, which the emperour Diocleſian commanded to be executed in moſt furious wiſe, ſo that there were few partes of the world (where anie chriſtians were knowne to inhabit) that taſted not of that his cruell ordinance and ſcourge in that behalfe. In Britaine alſo, as well as in other places, there was no ſmall quantitie of innocent bloud ſhed, with moſt vnmercifull murther committed, to the great triumph of Chriſts croſſe, that glorious enſigne of our religion.

The perſecution of the chriſtians by Diocleſian.

In which time Conſtantius Chlorus father to Conſtantine the great, was reſident in Britaine, who adiudging the Scots to be a people wholie giuen to pillage and ſlaughter, as they were in deed, determined with himſelfe to haue brought them to ſubiection. But yet he could atchiue any notable enterpriſe, he died, leauing behind him the fame of a right gentle and worthie prince, ſauing that in one point he ſore ſtained his honor, for that he was one of the chiefe that perſecuted the chriſtian flocke vnder Diocleſian, forcing no ſmall number of the faithfull amongſt the Britains, to flee vnto the Scots and Picts to auoid his perſecution. Whome Crathlint receiued for his part moſt louinglie, and aſſigned vnto them (as the Scots ſay) the Ile of Man for a place of habitation, deſtroieng all ſuch temples of the heathens religion belonging to the Druides, which had continued there ſince the begining; and vterlie abolished all the ſuperſtitious rites and cuſtomes of the ſame Druides, with their whole order and brotherhod. He erected a temple there, which he dedicated vnto Jeſus Chriſt our ſauiour, wherein the chriſtians might celebrate their diuine ſeruice, according to their profeſſion. This church being richlie indowed, was the firſt biſhops ſee amongſt the Scots, and thereupon was taken for the mother church of the realme. It is now called the church of ſaint Sauiour. Finallie Crathlint departed out of this life, after he had reigned 24 yeres, being much praiſed aſwell for his politike gouernment, as for his great and earneſt zeale which he bare toward the aduancement of the true chriſtian religion.

Conſtantius perſecuteth the chriſtians.

Manie of the Britains flee to the Scots to auoid perſecution.

Crathlint deſtroieth the temples of the falſe gods in Man.

The firſt biſhops ſee in Scotland. Sodorenſis eccleſia.

Crathlint departeth out of this world.

Fincomarke.

FIncomarke that was his vncles ſonne, ſucceeded him in the kingdome, & was placed on the ſtone of marble, to the great reioiſing of all the eſtates, who wiſhed him a proſperous reigne, and long to continue therein. There liued in king Crathlints daies a noble chriſtian called Amphibalus, a Britaine borne, who fleeing from the perſecution then raiſed in his countrie, came vnto the ſame Crathlint, and by him was created the firſt biſhop of ſaint Sauiours church in Man: this Amphibalus did verie much good amongſt the Scots and Britains in ſetting forth the word of life, and roting out of their hearts all ſuperſtitious errors of blind gentilitie. There were other alſo of right famous memorie about the ſame time, that ceaſſed not in preaching, and inſtructing the people in the right beliefe, as Modocus, Priſcus, Calanus, Ferranus, Ambianus, and Carnocus, called by an old ancient name in the Scotiſh tong Culdei, that is to vnderſtand, *Cultores Dei*, or as you would ſay in Engliſh, the worſhippers of God.

Amphibalus.

The church of S. Sauior, otherwiſe called Sodorenſis eccleſia.

Culdei.

But now to the purpoſe touching Fincomarke, ye ſhall vnderſtand, that he began his reigne in the yere (as W. Hariſon ſaith) after the birth of our Sauiour 325, after the creation of the world 4292, and from the firſt eſtabliſhing of the Scotiſh kingdome 652, and in the 20 yere of Conſtantine the emperour. It chanced that Octauius king of the Britains was vanquiſhed by Traherus a Romane capteine, and forced for his refuge to flee vnto this Fincomarke then king of Scots, who receiued him as a friend. And furthermore though he were required by Traherus to deliuer him into his hands, as a traitor and a rebell vnto the Romane empire, yet Fincomarke refuſed ſo to do, chooſing rather to ſuſteine all Traherus his malice, and to haue warres with the Romane emperor, than to betray his friend who had put his life into his hands vpon an eſpeciall truſt of ſafegard.

Octauius is vanquiſhed, & flieth into Scotland.

Herewith Traherus being not a little moued, aſſembled his power, and entred into Weſtmerland, the which countrie had remained in the Scotiſhmens hands euer ſince Carantius deliuered it ouer vnto them. Fincomarke hearing that the Romans would thus make him wars, had likewiſe raiſed a puiſſant armie to reſiſt them, ſo that he had at the leaſt 60 thouſand perſons togither in one armie, as 30 thouſand of his owne countriemen, 20 thouſand Picts, & ten thouſand of ſuch Britains as followed after Octauius. Fincomarke being thus furniſhed, haſted forth to incounter with his enimies, before they ſhould haue time to do any notable damage vnto his ſubiects, & ſo comming within ſight of them, ſent an herald vnto Traherus, to vnderſtand the cauſe why he thus inuaded his countrie, but receiuing frō him an vntoward anſwer, he brought forth his people into the field in order readie to giue battell, and ſo ioining with the enimie, there was fought a right ſore and cruell conflict, which continued for a time with vnmercifull murther and ſlaughter on both parts.

Traherus inuadeth weſtmerland.

Fincomarke raiſeth his power.

Finallie, when the Romans were at a point to haue got the vpper hand, they were ſuddenlie put in ſuch feare with the ſight of a number of huſbandmen, who had got togither their cattell and were driuing the ſame awaie, that ſuppoſing they had beene ſome new ſuccors comming to aid their enimies, they immediatlie fled vpon the ſame, leauing the victorie to their aduerſaries: howbeit of the Scots ſide were ſlaine (as their chronicles report) fifteene thouſand men, and on the Romane part about ſixteene thouſand. Traherus himſelfe eſcaped vnto Yorke, but hearing that Fincomarke and Octauius purſued after him, he forſooke that citie, and got him into places of more ſuertie, ſo that when the enimies came thither, the citizens yelded themſelues, and receiued Octauius as their prince, offering from thenceforth to be vnder his rule and gouernement. The newes of theſe atchiued victories being bruted throughout the realme, cauſed a great number of the nobles to come in vnto Octauius, who receiued them moſt thankfullie; & to conclude, wrought ſo by their ſupport, that he was ſhortlie after reſtored to the gouernance of the whole realme, and eſtabliſhed therein according to his owne wiſh.

Fincomarke commeth in battell with Traherus.

The Romans flee.

The number of ſlaine.

Yorke is yelded vnto Octauius.

Octauius obteineth the rule of Britaine.

This done Fincomarke returned into his countrie, as well himſelfe as other of his nobles and men of warre, being highlie rewarded for their paines and trauell ſuſtained in that iournie. There was alſo promiſe made and confirmed by ſolemne oth, that the countrie of Weſtmerland, with ſuch other parts as were aſſigned to his predeceſſor king Crathlint, by order of Carantius at the time of their ioining togither in league againſt the Romans, ſhould for euer remaine vnto Fincomarke, & to his ſucceſſors the Scotiſh kings, without anie claime or title to be made to the ſame by any of the

Weſtmerland aſſigned to the Scotiſhmen.

What yere Fincomarke began his reigne.

Britains: but this promise was not long kept, for shortlie after that Octauius had once chased all the Romans forth of the British confines, and that Traherus was fled ouer into France, there was a councell called at Yorke, where it was not onelie ordeined, that from thencefoorth there should neuer anie stranger be suffered to reigne ouer the Britains, but also that the bounds of the realme should be extended forth beyond the wall made (as before is recited) by the emperor Adrian, euen vnto the old ancient bounds and limits, expelling forth the inhabitants of forren nations.

A councell kept at Yorke.

Such an immoderate lust of inlarging his dominion inflamed the hart of Octauius, that neither regard of his oth, nor remembrance of benefits receiued, might staie him from seeking to wrong them, whose aid had restored him vnto his former estate and dignitie, as before we haue rehearsed. For hereupon there were ten thousand men of war sent into Westmerland, to the intent to conquer the same out of the Scotishmens hands: but being incountred with a power of Scotishmen & Picts, they were sharpelie repelled & quicklie put to flight. About the same time also, Traherus returned out of France with two legions of Romans and twentie thousand of other aids: and giuing battell vnto Octauius, he vanquished his armie, and constreined him for his refuge to flee vnto the mouth of Humber, where he got certeine vessels, and sailed into Norwaie, there to saue his life, bicause that Scotland was now no sure refuge for him. Thus was Traherus againe in possession of Britaine as lieutenant to Constantine the emperor: but shortlie after he was by certeine conspirators in fauour of Octauius murthered, and then Octauius returned againe: as in the English chronicle is mentioned more at large.

Octauius coueteth to inlarge his dominion.

The Britains inuade Westmerland.

Traherus returneth into Britain. Octauius is vanquished by Traherus.

Traherus by a conspiracie is murthered. Octauius is reconciled with Fincomarke.

Immediatlie vpon his returne, he reconciled himselfe with Fincomarke the Scotish king, and was contented that he should quietlie inioy the countries of Westmerland and Cumberland, with such other territories as Carantius had granted in former time vnto Crathlint. He likewise sent vnto the king of the Picts, and concluded a friendship with him, to the intent he might haue aid from him also, if it chanced the Romans eftsones to inuade his countrie, as shortlie after they did, not ceasing till they had so wearied him with continuall wars, that in the end to be at rest (as his age and other necessities then required) he deliuered into their hands certeine castels and fortresses, and also became tributarie to the emperor, on condition that he might vse the office and name of a king all the residue of his daies. These things being thus quieted in Albion, the Romans, Britains, Scotishmen and Picts, continued in friendlie peace without any notable trouble, till the ninth yeare of the reigne of Valentinian emperor of Rome: & first of Damasus the pope. In the which yeare Fincomarke king of Scots departed this life, after he had gouerned the estate aboue 47 yeares. This was in the yeare of our redemption 172. This Fincomarke left behind him two sonnes, the one named Eugenius, being as then about 18 yeares of age; the other hight Ethodius, and was yonger than his brother by one yeare, so that neither of them might succeed their father, by reason they were not of yeares sufficient to rule, according to the ancient ordinance.

Octauius entreth into amitie with the Pictish king.

Octauius becommeth tributarie vnto the Roman emperor. 17 of Costans & Constantas emperors. H.B Fincomarke deceased. 358. H.B.

Eugenius & Ethodius sons to Fincomarke.

Romacus, Fethelmacus and Angusianus sonnes to three seuerall brethren pretend a right to the estate.

Herevpon a councell was called in Argile, where there was hard hold betwixt the three nephues to king Crathlint, that were begotten by three of his brethren, which of them should gouerne the land: their names were Romacus, Fethelmacus, and Angusianus. Romacus had a Pictish ladie of the blond roiall of that nation to his mother, and for that his father was eldest brother next vnto Crathlint, he looked to be preferred, though he himselfe was yonger in yeares than either Fethelmacus or Angusianus. Fethelmacus gaue his consent with such voices as he had vnto Angusianus, wherewith Romacus being not a little offended, sought meanes to haue destroied them both: but his practise being discouered, caused manie to withdraw their good wils from him, whereby his aduersaries were the more incouraged: and thereupon the councell brake vp, either part deuising how to strengthen themselues against the others practises. But forsomuch as Angusianus vsed plaine meanes without any fraudulent dealing, he got the more friends, so that Romacus was constreined in the end to require aid of the king of Picts, who being neere of kin to him, might not denie his request. Angusianus therefore vnderstanding what danger he was in, if he fell into his aduersaries hands, got togither an armie of such as fauoured his cause, and incountring with him in battell was put flight, and forced to flie into the westerne Iles with his cousine Fethelmacus, where remaining for a while, at length he was aduertised that the inhabitants had conspired against him, for doubt whereof he got him ouer into Ireland.

Romacus seeketh meanes to destroie his cousins.

Angusianus with vpright dealing purchaseth the more friendship.

Romacus vanquisheth Angusianus.

Romacus

Angusianus being thus chased out of the reime, Romacus was receiued by the most part of the nobles and commons for their king. But as the accustomed maner of tyrants, comming thus to the gouernement of a realme through euill meanes, is to rule with crueltie, so did he behaue himselfe, according to that semblable rate, so soone as he thought himselfe to be sure of the estate. Wherefore such as had borne any euill will to Fincomarke, and were out of fauor in his daies, those did Romacus call vnto him, and afterward vsed their counsell aboue all other mens, aduancing them also to most high rule and rich offices. Againe, those which had beene in fauor with Fincomarke, or bare any affection toward his issue, he sought couertlie to bereaue them both of life, lands and goods, so that by such his doings, there was gathered no light suspicion, that he would likewise yer long find meanes to dispatch Ethodius and Eugenius the sons of the same Fincomarke, thereby to be the more assured of the crowne & kingdome it selfe. The two children also fearing as much on their owne behalfe, by the aduise and helpe of their trustie friends, conueied themselues into Westmerland, and after ouer into the Ile of Man, where they remained looking for a date.

Romacus is receiued for king.

Romacus gouerneth tyrannicallie. Ethodius & Eugenius the sonnes of Fincomarke are conueied into the Ile of Man.

Then began banishments, confiscations of goods, and slaughter of such as were thought to be fauorers of Angusianus cause, without respect either of sex or age, till the nobles of the realme being not a little moued with such his cruell doings, and tyrannicall gouernment, conspired togither by secret meanes how to deliuer their countrie of so pernicious a tyrant. And to bring this their purpose the more spedilie to passe, they wrought so closelie, that they had assembled a great armie, and were come with the same within ten miles of the place where he then laie, yer he had any vnderstanding of their enterprise, so that whereas he (being vnprouided of resistance) assaied by flight towards Pictland to haue escaped their hands, it preuailed him nothing, for he was taken by the waie, and receiued such end as his former passed life had verie well deserued, in the fourth yeare of his reigne: his head was set vpon the end of a pole, and carried about to be shewed vnto the people to their great reioising. There were slain at the same time beside him, diuers Scots & Picts, of counsell with him in all his cruell practises.

The Scotish lords conspire against Romacus.

Romacus apprehended and put to death.

After which execution done, they sent for Angusianus, who returned into Scotland, & was proclamed king,

Angusianus proclamed king.

king, as well by conſent of the lords, as fauour of the commons. About the ſame time, becauſe the Britains had ſlaine the Romane lieutenant, the emperor Conſtantius ſent one Maximus thither to chaſtiſe the rebels, with whom the ſame Maximus incountring in battell, gaue them a great ouerthrow. And within three daies after Octauius king of the Britains, through greefe, age, and long ſickneſſe, being conſumed to the laſt point, departed this life. He left a ſonne behind him named alſo Octauius, who doubting to fall into the hands of the Romans, fled into the Ile of Man, and remained there certeine yéeres vnknowne with Eugenius and Ethodius, the ſonnes of Finconarke. The Britains alſo perſiſting in their rebellion, were eftſoones diſcomfited in battell by Maximus, and ſore by him perſecuted, till he had brought them againe to their full ſubiection.

Nectanus king of the Picts maketh ſore warres vpon the Scots.

While theſe troubles continued in Britaine, Anguſianus K. of Scots was ſore diſquieted by Nectanus king of Picts, who inforced himſelfe to reuenge the death of his couſine Romacus, making ſundrie rodes & foraies into the Scotiſh confines, and greatlie indamaged the countrie, by ſpoiling of goods, murthering of the inhabitants, and burning of townes with villages; and in the end hauing his power increaſed by the aid of certeine Scotiſhmen, which had borne good will vnto Romacus, he preaſed ſo ſore vpon Anguſianus, that he had no remedie but to trie the hazard of battell in a pitched field; for no friendlie perſuaſions to haue peace or anie agréement could be heard, though Anguſianus made humble ſute to haue purchaſed the ſame. Wherefore perceiuing no hope of attonement, he prepared an armie, and met his enimie in the field, where (after ſore fight and much ſlaughter) the victorie remained with Anguſianus and Nectanus with his Picts were chaſed and forced to ſaue themſelues by flight.

The Picts diſcomfited by Scots.

Nectanus deſirous of reuenge.

Nectanus himſelfe neuer reſted till he came vnto Camelon, where he called a councell of his nobles to haue their aduiſe by what meanes he might be reuenged of the iniuries receiued by the Scots, whereof he was moſt deſirous, not regarding into what danger he brought his owne realme, ſo he might ſomewhat eaſe his rancour and diſpleaſure, which he had thus conceiued againſt his enimies the Scots. Neither wanted there diuers great perſonages in that aſſemblie, which (to content his mind and to win fauour of him) ſet forward the matter in ſuch earneſt wiſe that (notwithſtanding what other could ſay to the contrarie) it was ordeined that with all ſpéed an armie ſhould be leuied, and led forth into the Scotiſh borders. Nectanus hauing thus the conſent of his nobles to inuade the Scots anew, cauſed men of warre to be taken vp through all the parties of his dominion, and that of the choiſeſt men that might be got; the which being once aſſembled, he ſtaied not long but ſet forward with them, and entred into Kalendar wood, ſpoiling and deſtroieng all afore him at his owne will and pleaſure.

Nectanus inuadeth the Scotiſh confines.

Anguſianus vnderſtanding his furie, and doubting leaſt the Britains through ſetting on of the Romans ſhould ſéeke to ioine with the Picts, to the deſtruction of the Scots, thought good to aſſaie if by anie friendlie meanes he might bring Nectanus to fall vnto ſome reaſonable point, rather than by the warres to indanger both the Pictiſh and Scotiſh eſtates, in putting the ſame in aduenture to fall into the hands of their ancient enimies the Romans and the Britains. Herevpon therefore he wrote vnto Nectanus a gentle letter, declaring therein all ſuch dangers and inconueniences as might inſue by this warre thus by him attempted. And againe, how neceſſarie it were for both the nations to haue peace togither as then, conſidering how it was not to be thought that Maximus the Romane legat (hauing now all the Britains at his commandement) would reſt (if occaſion were offered) till that he had fullie ſubdued both the Scots and Picts: for the auoiding of which perill he offered for his part, to accept anie reaſonable conditions of peace, that ſhould by him be preſcribed.

Anguſianus ſueth for peace

But Nectanus in no wiſe would giue eare to anie treatie of peace, ſo that Anguſianus being forced to giue battell for defenſe of his ſubiects, brought his people into the field, and exhorting them to plaie the men with ſundrie comfortable words, he placed them in order of battell. On the other part Nectanus likewiſe incouraged his folkes to doo valiantlie, ſo that the archers on both ſides ſtepped forward, letting their arrowes flie ſcéelie one at an other, vntill at length comming to handblowes they ſtroke on freſhlie, beating downe and killing without ſparing on either ſide, ſo that a good ſpace the victorie was doubtfull. At length Anguſianus perceiuing his people to be put to the worſt, ruſhed forth into the thickeſt of the preaſe amongſt his enimies, where he was quicklie eſpied, oppreſſed with preaſe, and ſlaine out of hand. The moſt part of his people miſſing him, & not vnderſtanding what was become of him, ſuppoſed that he had béene fled, and therefore fell alſo to running away; but the reſidue that ſtood ſtill at their defenſe were ſlaine downe right. Thus the victorie remained with the Picts, but neither part had anie cauſe to reioiſe, for the captains on both ſides were ſlaine, beſides manie thouſands of other; ſo that aſwell the one nation as the other departed from the place right penſife and ſorrowfull, giuing manie a ſore curſſe vnto ſuch as had béene the procurers and nourithers of ſuch deteſtable hatred betwixt thoſe two nations, which had ſo long a time bæne conioined in the faithfull band of amitie, to the great quiet and wealth of both the countries. After this bloudie battell, aſwell the Scots as Picts ſat ſtill for a ſeaſon, not attempting anie enterpriſe of importance the one againſt the other.

Nectanus refuſeth all offers of peace.

Anguſianus and Nectanus ioine in battell with their armies.

Anguſianus is ſlaine.

The Scots are diſcomfited.

Nectanus is alſo ſlaine.

Fethelmacus.

Anguſianus reigned not paſt two yeares before he was ſlaine thus in the field, as before ye haue heard, in whoſe place ſucceeded his couſine Fethelmacus with little better ſucceſſe: for in the ſecond yeare of his reigne, deſirous to be reuenged of the Picts, he aſſembled an armie, and entring into Angus, began to ſpoile & ſlea downe right all that was before him, without regard to impotent, aged, tender infants, or other. The Picts alſo being kindled herewith, gathered their power togither, and incountring with the Scots, there was a ſore battell fought betwixt them: but the Scots firſt putting the wings of their enimies hoſt to flight, at length diſcomfited their maine battell alſo, being left naked on both ſides of all aid or ſuccour, great ſlaughter was made in the chaſe of the Picts as they fled hither and thither to ſaue themſelues. So that among other, their king named Nectanus, brother to the aboue remembred Nectanus, being wounded with an arrow, died within three daies after this cruell conflict was ended. The courage of the Scots now being aduanced with this their proſperous ſucceſſe, they paſſed forthwith ouer the riuer of Taie, to rob, harrie, and ſpoile the countrie of Fife.

The Scots diſcomfit the Picts.

In other Nectanus king of the Picts dieth of harts receiued in the fight with the Scots.

The Picts, perceiuing themſelues not to be ſtrong inough to match with their enimies in plaine field at hand-ſtrokes, determined yet with ſkirmiſhes and light incounterings (if it were poſſible) to keepe them off from the winning of anie of their ſenſed townes, caſtels or ſtrong holds. And to be the more able to mainteine themſelues in this their purpoſed

Heirguſt is choſen king of the Picts.

intention, they did chooſe on Heirguſt to their king, a man of ſubtill nature and craftie imagination. This Heirguſt deuiſing how to deliuer his countrie of ſuch an intollerable enimie as Fethelmacus was, procured two ſlie fellowes Picts by nation, to counterfeit themſelues for Scots, and for that they were cunning throwers of the dart, in which kind of exerciſe the ſame Fethelmacus tooke great pleaſure, they were appointed to make ſute to be in ſeruice with him, to the intent that when they might eſpie their time, they ſhould ſlea him, by one kind of meane or other.

A pretended treaſon.

They (according as they were inſtructed, comming into Scotland) found meanes not onelie to haue place in the kings houſe, but alſo to corrupt one of his muſicians an harper, and to bring him to be of counſell with them in this their wicked purpoſe. By reaſon whereof, in one night as he laie at Carrike, where he was buſie to make his proviſion there for the warres againſt the Picts, the ſame muſician (hauing plaid in the kings bed-chamber till he had brought him aſleepe) did let in thoſe two Pictiſh traitors, who forthwith ſlue him euen as he laie ſo ſleeping: but the king groning greeuouſlie at the deadlie ſtroke, ſome of them that watched before the chamber doore perceiuing what was happened, followed after the murtherers, who fled with all ſpeed vnto the next mounteins, where they ſought to defend themſelues with hurling downe ſtones, vpon them that came vp towards them: but in the end, being taken, and confeſſing the deed, with the whole maner of the ſame, they were drawen in peeces with wild horſſes: the muſician alſo being apprehended and convict of the treaſon, ſuffered ſemblablie the like kind of death. Fethelmacus came to his end in the third yeare of his reigne, being the ſecond yeare after the death of the emperour Valentinian.

Fethelmacus is murthered in his bed.

In the fift yeare of the emperour Conſtantius.

In this ſeaſon (as in times paſt hath beene beleeued) certeine bones of the apoſtle ſaint Andrew were brought forth of Achaia, a prouince in Grecia, into Scotland by a Greekiſh monke named Regulus Albatus, commonlie called S. Reule, a man in thoſe daies highlie eſteemed, for the opinion which the world had conceiued of him for his holie and vertuous life, to whome king Heirguſt gaue his palace that ſtood in that part of Fife, where the ſame Regulus firſt landed; at whoſe contemplation alſo, he erected a church in old time called Kirkruill, that is, the church of S. Reule, afterwards named the old church of S. Andrews, ſtanding in the abbie church-yard, where the chanons were wont to be buried. But to leaue this matter to the further report and credit of the Scotiſh chronicles, we will proceed with our purpoſe. After the death of Fethelmacus, the nobles and commons of the Scotiſh nation ſent into the Ile of Man for Eugenius the ſonne of king Fincomarke, where he with his brother Ethodius had remained, during the daies of the three laſt remembred kings, Romacus, Anguſianus, and Fethelmacus.

1569. H.B.

Saint Reule commeth into Fife, then a part of Pictland, and now of Scotland.

The Scots ſend into the Ile of Man, for Fincomarke his ſonnes.

Eugenius.

THis Eugenius at his comming into Albanie was inueſted king of the Scots by common conſent of all the nation. About the ſame ſeaſon, Maximus the Romane lieutenant in Britaine, vnderſtanding of the late diſſention betwixt the Scotiſhmen and Picts, deuiſed which waies he might beſt ſubdue both thoſe nations, thereby not onelie to inlarge the bounds of the Romane empire, and to deliuer the Britains from inuaſions of thoſe ſo cruell enimies, but alſo to haue the ſouth part of the Ile more obedient and loiall vnto the ſame empire than heretofore it had beene. He thought good therefore in the beginning to aſſaie if he might ioine in friendſhip with the one of the nations, till he had deſtroied the other: for he conſidered it would be an hard peece of worke to haue to do with them both at one inſtant. Whereupon directing his letters vnto Heirguſt king of the Picts, he required to renew the old league with him and his people, promiſing to aid him againſt the Scots, common enimies not onelie to the Pictiſh nation, but alſo to all ſuch people as loued reſt and quietneſſe, as might eaſilie be perceiued by their continuall practiſe and vſage, euer ſeeking to diſturbe their neighbors with rodes & foraies, ſo that it ſtood with a generall common-wealth to haue them vtterlie deſtroied and extirped.

Eugenius is inueſted king.

The practiſe of Maximus to deſtroy the Scots.

He ſendeth vnto Heirguſt king of the Picts.

Heirguſt right ioifull of theſe newes, gaue hartie thankes vnto almightie God, that had moued the Romane lieutenant to make ſuch offer vnto him, whereby the furious rage of the Scots might be once repreſſed, and put away from his people; & therefore willing to confirme a friendſhip with the ſame lieutenant, he promiſed to renew the league betwixt the Romans and Picts, vpon anie reaſonable conditions which he ſhould deuiſe, not onelie requiring an aid at this time againſt the ſaid Scots, but alſo at all other, as occaſion ſhould demand. Maximus hauing receiued this anſwere, he found means alſo to come to a communication with Heirguſt neere to Yorke, where the league was confirmed betwixt them, and therein the Scots not onelie adiudged for common enimies, both to the Romans and Britains, but alſo to the Picts. And further therewith were certeine orders appointed how the war ſhould be purſued with all expedition againſt them. Theſe things thus finiſhed, and both the princes returned to their homes, Maximus ſent an herald vnto Eugenius the Scotiſh king, commanding him on the behalfe of the Romane empire, to make reſtitution for all wrongs and iniuries done vnto the Pictiſh nation. And further, to deliuer into the hands of Heirguſt the B. of the Picts, the authors of the ſame wrongs and iniuries to be puniſhed at his diſcretion, or if he would refuſe thus to do, that then he ſhould looke to haue the emperour and the Romane people enimies vnto him and all his nation.

Heirguſt his anſwere vnto Maximus his meſſage.

Maximus and Heirguſt ioine in friendſhip, and the Scots proclaimed enimies to them both.

An herald ſent from Maximus vnto Eugenius.

Eugenius for anſwere herevnto, declared that ſince he entred into the gouernment of the Scotiſh eſtate, he had done nothing that might be thought preiudiciall either to the Romans or to the Britains their ſubiects: and as for the Picts, he would be glad to haue peace with them, if there might be amends made for all diſpleaſures done on either part, according as ſhould be thought to ſtand with equitie and reaſon. Neither did he ſee what cauſe the Romans ſhould haue to make warres for the Picts againſt thoſe that had done them no diſpleaſure: but if it were ſo that he muſt needs haue wars, he would do what in him lay to defend the libertie of the Scotiſh nation, truſting chieflie in the ſuccours of almightie God, who vſed to fauour the cauſe of the iuſt and innocent, againſt ſuch as ſought to wrong them vpon feined quarrels, without occaſion giuen. Maximus receiuing this anſwere from Eugenius, aſſembled with all ſpeed a ſtrong & mightie armie of Romans, Britains, and Frenchmen, with the which entring into Weſtmerland, he ſpoiled that countrie moſt miſerablie, taking diuers caſtels and ſtrong holds by force, the which he furniſhed with garriſons of his people, and then paſſing into Anandale, burned and harried the ſame; from thence he entred into Galloway, omitting no kind of tyrannie that might be ſhewed againſt the inhabitants, ſo that the feare was great throughout all the countrie: for of manie yeares before, ſo great an armie had not beene ſeene in thoſe parties.

The anſwere of Eugenius vnto the herald.

Maximus raiſeth a mightie armie.

He inuadeth the Scotiſh regions.

Cruell warre.

Eugenius notwithſtanding, gathering his power together, determined to trie the fortune of battell, and

Eugenius gathering his

power fighteth with his enimies, and is diſcomfited.

and ſo ioining with his enimies nére vnto the water of Cré, his people were quicklie put to flight, and chaſed, by reaſon that they were much inferior in number. But the Romans purſuing the chaſe, happened to light amongeſt them of Argile, which had not béene at the battell, but were comming towards it, and now fiercelie incountring with ſuch as purſued their friends, they cauſed them to retire backe with ſome loſſe, wher vpon the other Scots alſo (which were chaſed) returned, & gaue a freſh onſet, ſo that if night had not come on the ſoner, there had béene a far greater multitude of the Romans ſlaine in that bickering than they themſelues did thinke of. Herevpon the Romans, doubting what their enimies intended to do, they fortified their campe that night verie ſtronglie; but Eugenius vnderſtanding what a multitude of his folks were ſlaine in the battell, ſo that the verie ſtreame of the water of Cré was ſtopped vp with dead carcaſes, he thought beſt (with the aduiſe of the peeres) to licence his people to depart to their homes, and not to fight with his enimies ante more for that time.

The Romans following too forewardlie the chaſe, receiue damage.

Eugenius breaketh vp his armie.

Which being done, he himſelfe repaired the ſame night vnto Carrike, where he remained for a ſeaſon, making prouiſion for defenſe of his realme the beſt he could deuiſe. Maximus hauing knowledge in the morning how the Scots were quite gone their waies, he determined to haue followed them; but béing certified of a rebellion amongeſt the Britains in Kent, he changed his purpoſe, and returned thitherwards, to appeaſe that tumult, leauing in Galloway a good part of his armie to keepe ſuch holds as he had got in that voiage. The yeare following, Maximus was ſo buſied in the ſouth parts of Britaine, that he could not attend vnto the warres againſt the Scots, otherwiſe than in mainteining ſuch garriſons as he had placed in their countries, by reaſon whereof ſundrie bickerings happened betwixt them of the ſame garriſons and the Scots, who laboured not onelie to deliuer their owne countrie out of the hands of all forrainers, but alſo to inuade and deſtroie Pictland, ſo that they harried the countrie of Fiſe, with part of Menteith and Sterling ſhire, burning & waſting townes, caſtels, and houſes moſt cruellie.

A rebellion in Kent.

The Scots indamage the Picts.

Whereof Maximus being certified, made ſemblance as though he were ſore grieued therewith, but inwardlie he could haue reioiſed at nothing more than to heare of the iniuries don by the Scots vnto the Picts, ſuppoſing it to make chieflie for his purpoſe; and herevpon preparing an armie againſt the next ſummer, when he had diſpoſed all things in a quiet order amongeſt the Britains, he ſet forward with the ſame towards Galloway, where being arriued, there was no kind of crueltie ſpared againſt the poore inhabitants. Eugenius in the meane time vnderſtanding the comming of his enimies, muſtered his people, and appointed the aſſemblie to be made in the countrie of Kile, which way he heard that his enimies would trauell. Thither came alſo not onlie all the able men of the Scotiſh dominions, but likewiſe a great number of luſtie & ſtrong women apt to beare armour according to the old accuſtomed guiſe of their nation, ſo that there were numbred in this armie fiftie thouſand perſons right fierce and hardie, deſirous either to vanquiſh the enimie with dint of ſword, or elſe to die preſentlie in the place.

Maximus his feined griefe.

Maximus ariueth in Galloway.

Maximus inuadeth the Scots.

Eugenius prepareth an armie to defend his countrie.

Women vſed to the warres.

The number of the Scotiſh armie.

Maximus hearing that the Scots were thus incamped in Kile, marched towards them, and lodged the ſame night not far off from the riuer of Manda, where knowledge was giuen vnto Eugenius, that Maximus was come within fiue miles of him, with a greater armie than he had at his laſt incountring with him in Galloway. These aduertiſements cauſed no ſmall ſtir to be raiſed in the campe, ſome being ſtricken with preſent feare: where other contrariwiſe moued with high indignation, deſired nothing ſo much as to ioine in battell with the Romans, whoſe cruell tyrannie they much deteſted. Eugenius himſelfe ſhewed no countenance of feare at all, but incouraging his people with comfortable words, he brought them ſtreight in order of battell, diuided into three wards, committing one of them to the leading of his brother Ethodius, the ſecond to Doalus the gouernour of Argile, & reſerning the third to himſelfe. This done, he made vnto them a pithie oration, declaring how neceſſarie it was for them to plaie the men, conſidering that in victorie conſiſted the onelie hope of libertie; and in being vanquiſhed, their countrie was indangered to be brought into perpetuall bondage for euer, for the onelie marke which the Romans ſhot at, was to oppreſſe the libertie of the whole Iland, and to reduce the ſame into the forme of a prouince, to be gouerned at the will of the victorers, to the breach of all their old ancient lawes & long continued cuſtoms.

Eugenius comforteth his people.

With theſe and manie other like reaſons he went about to incourage the minds of his ſubiects, in ſuch wiſe, that in maner the moſt part of them determined rather to die with honor, than to liue in ſuch miſerie as they feared would inſue, if the victorie ſhuld reſt vpon the Romans ſide. And as they were in ſuch talke togither, ſuddenlie commeth in one of their ſcouts with newes, that Maximus with his armie was euen at hand. This was in the morning, anon after the ſunne was vp, where he was not looked for till the euening following, inſomuch that the ſame his ſudden arriuall, chancing ſo farre contrarie to their former expectations, troubled all their heads, and brought them into a great maze, for that hereby they were conſtreined to change the order of their battels to haue the ſunne on their backs, as they had prouided at the firſt it ſhould haue béene, if the enimies had not come vntill the after none. Yet notwithſtanding, they had no ſoner changed their place, and gotten themſelues into arraie of battell againe, but that with great violence they prealled forward to giue the onſet vpon the Romans. Which Maximus perceiuing, made all the ſpéed he could to ſet his men in order of battell, that he might receiue his enimies comming thus to incounter him. So both ſides béeing fullie bent to battell, and approched within danger of ſhot, they let flée the ſame moſt egerlie, albeit that through haſting forth to ioine at hand-ſtrokes, there was litle hurt done with bowes or darts.

The ſudden arriuall of Maximus.

The Scots giue the onſet.

The battels ioine.

The Scots crieng vpon the name of their worthie and famous anceſtor king Gald, did late about them, moſt fiercelie, after they came once to the ioining: and likewiſe the Romans, being incouraged with the chérefull words of the lieutenant Maximus, boldlie incountered them, ſo that it was doubtfull at the firſt whether part ſhould haue the worſe end of the ſtaffe. But ſhortlie there followed variable ſucceſſe, for on the one part, they of Roſſe and Mar, being appointed vnder Ethodius to incounter that wing of the enimies where the Picts were, fought ſo egerlie and with ſuch fierce wils, that they eaſilie put the Picts vnto flight, beating downe a great number of them as they would haue paſſed the water of Dune, but ſtreightwaies after falling to the ſpoile, they were ſlaine downe right, by a legion of ſuch Romans as were ſent by Maximus vnto the ſuccours of the Picts.

Doubtfull fight.

Ethodius ouerthroweth the Picts.

The Scots hauing vanquiſhed the Picts, are ſlaine by the Romans.

On the other ſide, in the left wing thoſe of Argile, Cantire, Kile, and Coningham, who were matched with the Britains, Frenchmen, and Germans, after

long and cruell fight were there ſlaine in the place, greatlie to their fame and glorie for euer, ſo that by this meanes the maine battell of the Scotiſhmen, wherein Eugenius himſelfe ſtood amongſt his people, was left bare & naked on both the ſides. Which Maximus perceiuing, he cauſed the ſame to be aſſailed on each part with ſuch violence, that in the end longer reſiſtance preuailed not, but that their maine battell muſt needes be opened perforce, by meanes whereof Eugenius chooſing rather to die in the place, than either to ſaue his life by flight, or by rendering himſelf into his enimies hands to liue in miſerie, &c: was there ſlaine, togither with a great number of his nobles and gentlemen, hauing determined by the example of their maiſter to die rather ſpeedilie with honor, than longer to liue with ſhame and reproch. Thus Eugenius loſt his life with his kingdome, in the third yeare after his firſt entering to the rule, hauing inioied few good daies in reſt during the ſaid time.

The Scotiſh battell is ouerthrowne.

Eugenius is ſlaine.

Such of the Scots alſo as were appointed to keepe the cariage and truſſe of the field, ſeeing their lords and maiſters thus ſlaine, ruſhed forth with ſuch weapons as they had at hand, in purpoſe to ſlea ſome number of their enimies, not paſſing though it ſhould coſt them alſo their owne liues, ſo that they might die reuenged. The ſlaughter was great which at the firſt was made, more through an obſtinate deſire of reuenge, than by anie valiant actiuitie: but this companie being anon broken in ſunder, and driuen backe, they were finallie ſlaine & beaten downe. Moreouer, the Romans that purſued in chaſe after their enimies, when the battell was done, encountered with great numbers of ſuch women and aged perſons as followed a farre off, to vnderſtand the ſucceſſe of the field, doubting what hap might fall to their children and kinſfolks, whoſe ſlaughter when they perceiued, like people enraged they flue vpon ſuch Romans as they met with; but being eaſilie vanquiſhed, and refuſing to flee, they were alſo ſlaine and cut in peeces in a moſt miſerable maner.

The furious rage of the Scotiſh carters.

The Romans hauing thus rid the fields of all kind of enimies, lodged that night abroad here and there at their pleaſure, where they might heare the dolefull gronings, and lamentable complaints of them that lay wounded, and as yet not dead, curſing moſt bitterlie the cruell tyrannie and couetous ambition of the Romans, with that moſt deteſtable diſloialtie of the Picts, procuring this murther and deſtruction of thoſe people that had deſerued farre otherwiſe at their hands. When the morning was come, & the light appeared, Maximus the lieutenant cauſed the ſpoile of the dead bodies to be gathered, & equallie diuided amongſt his men of warre. And ſuch as were found ſore wounded and not dead, to ſhew ſome token of clemencie, according to the old accuſtomed maner of the ancient Romans, he commanded ſurgeans to ſee to the cure of them. The other being dead, he ſuffered to be buried, cauſing the corps of Eugenius himſelfe to be interred in moſt ſolemne and pompous ſort, after the vſage of the Romane princes.

The ſpoile diuided amongſt the ſouldiers.

The buriall of the dead bodies by appointment of Maximus.

His brother Ethodius being found mangled in moſt pitifull wiſe, and in maner halfe dead, was alſo taken vp by commandement of the ſame Maximus, and ſurgeans charged to haue the ordering of him, and to ſhew their diligence for the cure of his hurts in moſt ſpeedie and gentle wiſe. The victorie thus atchiued, Maximus ſurueieth the countries of Kile, Carrike, and Coningham, with that alſo of Calidone, and ſeizeth the ſame into his hands, ſuffering the inhabitants to inioy both goods and lands in peace and quietneſſe vpon their othes of allegiance, without anie further moleſtation. Heirguſt king of the Picts with other the nobles of that nation, were nothing contented therwith, deſirous to ſee the vtter deſtruction of all the Scotiſh race. Wherevnto Maximus at the firſt would not agree, alledging the ancient cuſtome of the Romans, who ſought rather to vanquiſh by benefits, than by the ſword, euer vſing to ſpare ſuch as ſubmitted themſelues, and in no wiſe to ſpot the honour or maieſtie of their empire with crueltie.

Ethodius ſore wounded, is committed to the cure of ſurgeans.

Heirguſt deſireth the vtter deſtruction of the Scots.

But the Picts not ſatiſfied herewith, went about earneſtlie to perſuade him in no condition to ſuffer the Scots to haue anie abiding within the confines of Britaine, if he wiſhed anie quietnes in the eſtate thereof, for their delight (ſaid the Picts) was onelie ſet to ſeeke occaſion how to diſturbe the peace, to liue by the pillage and ſpoile of their neighbours, and namelie of the Picts, vnto whoſe confuſion (as the prophecies ſpake) they were begotten and borne. Finallie when all their earneſt ſute miſſed the wiſhed effect, they fell to and aſſaied if they might bring that to paſſe by wicked meed and thorough corrupting bribes, the which they could not do by other meanes. And euen as it oftentimes chanceth in ſuch caſes, where words are but ſpent in waſt, gifts yet preuaile: ſo alſo came it to paſſe euen here, for at length a proclamation came forth by procurement of the Picts, that all ſuch as were naturall Scotiſhmen, ſhould by a certeine daie auoid out of thoſe countries that they poſſeſſed in Britain, vpon paine of loſing life and goods, & to deliuer vp their houſes and lands vnto ſuch Britains and Picts as were appointed by the Romans for to inioy the ſame.

The earneſt ſute of the Picts to haue the Scotiſhmen baniſhed and expelled out of the countrie.

Where words faile, gifts preuaile.

The proclamation for the auoiding of all Scotiſhmen forth of the whole Iland of Britaine.

The Scots perceiuing themſelues not able to make anie reſiſtance, obeied this commandement, ſome of them paſſing ouer into Ireland, ſome into the weſterne Iles, and ſome of them got ouer alſo into Norwaie, and Denmarke, and manie there were that got interteinment amongſt the Romane ſouldiers, and went ouer with them into France, as yet Gallia, to ſerue in the warres there, and in other places vnder the emperors enſigns. The Picts were ſo cruell and diligent to ſee all the Scotiſh linage confined, that they would not conſent that a certeine number of gentlewomen ſhould remaine behind, who had their huſbands ſlaine in the laſt warres, and made interceſſion in moſt lamentable wiſe vnto Maximus, that they might be permitted to abide in their natiue countrie all the reſidue of their liues, though in ſeruile eſtate, to the end that they might be buried after the ſame were once ended in graues with their ſlaine huſbands.

The Scots plagued for their beaſtlie crueltie.

The cruell dealing of the Picts.

Moreouer, where Cartandis queene of the Scots, late wife vnto Eugenius, was brought vnto Maximus, with two gentlewomen and a groome from the towne of hir huſband, where ſhe had remained euer ſith his buriall in continuall mourning, forſomuch as ſhe was a Britain, and deſcended by linage from the princes of Wales; Maximus lamenting hir miſerable caſe, aſſigned the citie of Carrike vnto hir, with certeine other reuenues for the maintenance of hir eſtate. But after ſhe had taken leaue of ſuch as had the conduction of hir, and was come into a village not farre from Carrike aforeſaid, it chanced that a ſort of Pictiſh riders, or (as I may call them) robbers, met with hir, ſmall to hir profit, and leſſe to their owne eaſe, for they did not onelie ſlea hir groome, but alſo beat hir gentlewomen, and ſtripped both them and hir of all that they had, whereof Maximus being informed, cauſed them that had done ſo vile a deed to be apprehended & executed by death, according as they had deſerued. The queene hirſelfe being brought backe vnto Maximus, and honorablie intreated, had all hir ſubſtance reſtored vnto hir againe, ſo neere as it was poſſible.

Cartandis queene of Scots.

The Picts offended with Maximus.

But the Picts being offended herewith, and ſpeciallie for putting to death of their men, ſundrie of their nobilitie came vnto Maximus, and began to make a ſore complaint in that behalfe, declaring that the deſerts of their nation had not bæne ſuch toward the Romane empire, as to haue their people put to execution for a womans ſake, being both an enimie and a priſoner, therefore they required that ſhe might be confined into Britaine, and according to the tenor of the proſcription, ſpoiled of all hir goods. Here Cartandis being preſent hir ſelfe, began to make pitifull lamentation, bewailing hir moſt vnhappie ſtate, in that contrarie to the order of hir wretched caſe and preſent miſerable fortune, ſhe ſhould now be forced to turne againe into hir countrie: wiſhing rather than ſhe ſhould be inforced ſo to do, that ſhe might offer vp hir life as a ſacrifice in the place of hir huſbands buriall: and therefore holding vp hir hands vnto Maximus in moſt pitifull wiſe, ſhe beſought him inſtantlie, that it might pleaſe him, either to ſuffer hir to paſſe the reſidue of hir life after ſuch ſort as ſhe thought beſt agreed with hir widowlike eſtate, or elſe to take the ſame from hir preſentlie by ſome violent meanes of execution.

Cartandis lamenteth hir infortunate eſtate.

There was not a man other than the Picts, that ſaw and heard hir at that inſtant, but lamented hir wofull diſtreſſe, ſo that in the end the requeſt of the Picts was diſallowed, & Cartandis hauing liuing aſſigned hir for the maintenance of hir degree, was licenced to depart into what place ſhe thought expedient, there to liue as ſhe thought beſt without let or diſturbance. The ſame time the Scotiſh biſhops and prieſts, being baniſhed as well as the other ſort of the Scotiſh people, a number of their monks got them into the Ile of Iona, now called Colmekill, where they erected a monaſterie for their owne habitation, the worthineſſe whereof hath bæne right famous, euen vnto theſe our daies, as that which was afterward indowed with manie faire reuenues by diuers of the Scotiſh kings, who had their burials there after the returne of the Scots into Albanie as ſhall be hereafter expreſſed.

The monaſterie of Iona builded by baniſhed Scotiſh monks.

The yeare in the which the Scotiſhmen were thus vanquiſhed by the Romans and Picts, and finallie confined out of their ſeats, was from the creation of the world 4319, after the birth of our ſauior 352, from the beginning of the Scotiſh kingdome 679, and the third yeare of Magnentius. The ſame yeare before Eugenius gaue battell vnto Maximus, manie ſtrange ſights were ſeene in the furtheſt part of Albion, ſtriking a wonderfull dread in manie mens harts. In the night ſeaſon in the aire were ſeene fierie ſwords and other weapons mouing in a long ranke, after comming togither on a heape, and being changed into an huge flame as it had bæn a firebrand, it then vaniſhed awaie. The waters of the riuer of Dune ran with blod, the banks of the ſame riuer flaſhed oft times as they had bæne all on a fire. There were ſeene alſo a number of ſmall birds fall out of the aire ſo thicke, that it ſeemed it had rained birds, and incontinentlie came a great number of rauens that deuoured vp the ſame.

The time that the Scots were thus confined. 5547. H.B. 379. H.B. 710. H.B.

The ſecond yeare of Julian the Apoſtata. H.B.

Strange viſions.

Swords and weapons ſeen in the aire.

It raineth birds.

Certeine witches and ſothſaiers, declaring that theſe things betokened the deſtruction of the Scotiſh kingdome, were commanded by the prieſts to hold their peace on paine of death, as they that told nothing but lies & fables, though afterwards their tales proued moſt true. But to returne to our hiſtorie, Ethodius the brother of Eugenius being cured (as is ſaid) by commandement of Maximus, was yet baniſhed amongſt the reſidue, and conſtreined to take an oth, that he ſhould immediatlie repaire into Denmarke, and hereafter not to approch nærer vnto the coaſts of Albion, for doubt of ſome new attempt that might be made by the Scots thorough his meanes, thereby to returne into their countrie againe, & to recouer their former ſtate. But this ſtaied not them of the weſterne Iles, but that aſſembling themſelues togither, and choſing one Gillo to their captaine, they paſſed ouer into Argile, where in the end they were incountred by ſuch Picts as were ſet there to defend that countrie, and ſlaine each mothers ſonne. Their veſſels were alſo taken and brought into ſundrie hauens of the countrie, to ſerue for defenſe of the coaſts vpon any new enterpriſe which the Scots ſhould chance to make: but the other Scots, perceiuing they were not able to furniſh forth a new armie in the Iles by any aid they might purchaſe there, ſailed ouer into Ireland, where preſenting themſelues vnto the king of that region, they declared vnto him from point to point all their infortunate chances and lamentable calamities, which were happened vnto them of late through the tyrannicall puiſſance of the Romans, and malicious enuie of the Picts, in ſuch ſort as nothing could be more miſerable than their preſent eſtate, conſidering the ruine of ſo mightie a kingdome, and the finall baniſhment of the inhabitants from their houſes and lands, which had bæne in poſſeſſion of them and their elders, by the ſpace almoſt of ſeuen hundred yeares.

Gillo choſen captaine of the baniſhed Scots in the weſtern Iles comming into Argile is vanquiſhed by the Picts.

The Scots repaire into Ireland.

The Iriſh king with his nobles moued with pitie to heare and vnderſtand ſo dolefull calamities to haue chanced vnto that nation, whoſe good or bad hap could not but touch them verie nære, conſidering they were deſcended both of one progenie, comforted theſe Scotiſhmen to the beſt of their power, and in the end concluded to aid them with ten thouſand men, and to furniſh them forth with ſhips, vittels, and munitions to paſſe into Albanie for recouerie of their countrie. This aid being put in a readines, and the ſhips rigged and decked as was requiſite for ſuch an enterpriſe, they toke the ſea, and landing in Cantire, chanced to meet with Heirdorſtane brother to Heirguſt king of the Picts, accompanied with a great number of Picts and Britains aſſembled to defend the countrie, but being charpelie aſſailed of the Scots and Iriſhmen, they were quicklie put to flight, & ſuch as were ouertaken died on the ſword, to the great terror of all the new inhabitants that were planted on their parts.

The king of Ireland with his nobles lament the Scotiſhmens caſe.

The Iriſhmen conclude to aid the Scotiſhmen.

The Scots and Iriſhmen land in Cantire.

The Picts incounter with the Scots and Iriſhmen and are diſcomfited.

This victorie thus atchiued, there were that gaue counſell not to attempt fortune ouer farre, but to take ſuch booties of goods and priſoners as they had got in the countrie, and to returne therewith into Ireland. Other were of a contrarie opinion, ſuppoſing it beſt to follow the victorie, and either to recouer againe their ancient ſeats, or elſe to die in the valiant attempt thereof. Which aduiſe was followed as the beſt, though it proued otherwiſe: for before they could come to any concluſion of that enterpriſe, the Romans, Picts, and Britains gathered themſelues togither, and gaue battell againe to the Scotiſh and Iriſh companie, wherein they ouerthrew them, to their vtter ruine and deſtruction.

The Scots and Iriſhmen are ouerthrowne.

The newes of this infortunate incounter being brought into Ireland, put the king and his nobles there in ſuch feare of the Romans, that they thought it beſt with all ſpeed to ſend ambaſſadors vnto Maximus to ſue vnto him for peace. They that were ſent at the firſt were ſore blamed and checked by Maximus, for that they had aided the Scotiſhmen in the laſt inuaſion made into Albion: but at length accepting their excuſe, he granted a peace vpon certeine conditions, whereof the moſt principall article was, that in no wiſe they ſhould receiue aid, or ſuccor any enimie to the Romane empire. This Maximus, hauing got a quiet peace on each ſide, vſed all meanes poſſible

The king of Ireland ſeeketh for peace.

Maximus granteth peace to the Iriſhmen.

Maximus ſeeketh by his bountious liberalitie to win the peoples fauour.

Ethodius confined into Denmarke.

poſſible how to procure the loue of his ſouldiors and men of warr, ſhewing himſelfe not onelie gentle, courteous and meeke towards them, but alſo liberall and free, that his bounteous gifts paſſed all vnderſtanding: inſomuch that (as is reported by writers) he beſtowed in one daie neere hand as much in rewards, as the reuenues of Britaine yelded to the empire in a whole yeere.

This franke liberalitie and courteous behauior he vſed not onelie towards the Romans, and his other men of warre, but alſo towards the Britains and Picts, conforming himſelfe ſo neere vnto their maners & faſhions, that at his comming into Picland, he laid awaie his Romane apparell, and araied himſelfe in garments after the Pictiſh guiſe. By this maner of meanes therefore he wan him ſuch loue and fauor, as well amongſt his ſouldiors, as alſo amongſt the Picts and Britains, that in the end by common conſent they choſe him for emperor, in the 383 yeere after Chriſt, proteſting generallie, that they would owe onelie their obeiſance vnto him as to their ſupreme gouernor. ¶ Here the Scotiſh chronicles ſomwhat varie from other writers, who affirme that Maximus was thus aduanced to the imperiall dignitie, rather by conſtraint of his men of warre, than by anie meanes which he of himſelfe vſed to atteine vnto the ſame. Where the ſaid chronicles neuertheleſſe ſhew, that it came chieflie to paſſe by his owne ſeeking, procuring certeine perſons to worke for him as inſtruments to frame other to this his purpoſed intent. He held the dominion of the empire being thus preferred to the imperiall ſtate, the ſpace of fiue yeeres, all the countries and people of Albion being at his commandement without contradiction: which had not chanced vnto anie one man before his time, ſince the Ile was firſt inhabited. At length deſirous of more empire, he paſſed ouer into France with a great armie, in purpoſe to ſubdue all France and Italie, with ſuch other countries as were obedient vnto Gratian as then emperor of Rome. But how proſperouſlie he ſped in the beginning, and how at length he was ſlaine at Aquilia in Italie, ye ſhall find in the hiſtorie of England a great deale more at large.

Maximus is choſen emperor in Britaine.

Maximus ruled the eſtate of Britaine 17 yeeres.

The emperor Gratian is ſlaine by Maximus.

By reaſon of ſuch trouble in the eſtate of the Romane empire, Octauius the ſonne of Octauius late king of the Britains, the which (as before is ſaid) fled into the Ile of Man, & after departing from thence, got ouer into France, returned now into Britaine; and did ſo much there, that the Britains receiued him to their king: but ſhortlie after he was conſtreined to agree with the Romane emperor Theodoſius, ſo that the Britains ſhould pate their wonted tribute, and liue vnder ſuch lawes as by the emperor ſhould be to them preſcribed. In all other reſpects, Octauius ſhould be reputed during his life for king. Immediatlie hereupon two lieutenants were ſent from Theodoſius, of whome the one named Martius ſoiorned at London, and the other called Victorine at Yorke. And with all expedition they began to put the Romane lawes in practiſe, aboliſhing the old Britiſh lawes, to the great offenſe of manie that could not well brooke ſtrange ordinances; & namelie the Picts repined ſore therat, and vſed moſt an end their owne lawes and conſtitutions, greatlie to the contempt of the Romane eſtate. Whereof Victorine, the one of the Romane lieutenants hauing knowledge, gaue ſtreight commandement vnto Heirguſt the Pictiſh king, that in no wiſe he ſhould ſuffer the old lawes and rude ordinances of his countrie, to be vſed anie longer amongſt his ſubiects, vpon paine that might inſue for diſobedience ſhewed towards the maieſtie of the Romane empire.

Heirguſt now perceiuing into what thraldome and miſerie his countrie was brought, by meanes of the warres which he had procured againſt his neighbours the Scotiſhmen, as a man ſore repenting his paſſed follie, and ſeeing no readie meane preſent how to reforme the ſame, being aged and ſore broken with continuall ſickneſſe, he got himſelfe ſecretlie into his priuie chamber, where immediatlie he ſlue himſelfe, to be rid of the ſight of that preſent ſeruile eſtate, into the which he ſaw both him and his whole countrie reduced. Whoſe death being once knowne, Victorine commanded that the Picts ſhould not chooſe anie other from thenceforth to reigne as king ouer them, nor to obeie anie other magiſtrates but onlie ſuch as ſhould be appointed to haue the gouernment of them, by commandement and commiſſion of the Romane emperor. For it was agreed, as he alledged, by the tenor of the league, concluded betwixt Heirguſt and Maximus, that after the deceaſſe of the ſame Heirguſt, all his dominions ſhould be gouerned by Romane officers in forme of a prouince. Howbeit the Picts nothing regarded the words of Victorine, but by common agreement did chooſe one Durſtus the ſecond ſonne of Heirguſt to be their king.

Heirguſt ſlaieth himſelfe.

The Picts are forbidden to create a king.

Durſtus is choſen king of the Picts.

Whereupon Victorine being informed of their doings, raiſed a power, and made ſuch ſpeed towards them, that he was gotten ſo neere vnto the citie of Camelon, yer they had anie knowledge of his approch, that Durſtus with other of the nobles, being as then within the ſame, could not haue ſpace to eſcape their waies, but being forthwith beſieged within it, at length they were taken by force of aſſalt, and the citie ſacked, to the great inriching of the Romane armie, and vtter vndoing of the poore inhabitants. Durſtus with other the chiefeſt priſoners were firſt had vnto London, & from thence conueied to Rome, there to haue iudgement by decree of the ſenat. The reſidue of the nobles that were taken there, ſuffered in the market place at Camelon. Thus was that tumult appeaſed, and the Picts commanded to pate yearlie vnto the emperors procurator the fourth part of all their reuenues growing of their corne and cattell. Beſide this tribute he charged them alſo with diuerſe baſe ſeruices, as to labor in mettall mines, to dig ſtones forth of the quarries, and to make bricke to be ſent into Britaine, or into other places whither it pleaſed him to command it.

Durſtus is beſieged of the Romans.

Durſtus is brought priſoner to London

The Picts become tributaries.

They are put to their baſe ſeruices.

The cauſe why he burdened them in ſuch ſort, was (as he ſaid) to teach them to know themſelues. For they were become ſo loftie, ſince the departure of the Scotiſhmen out of the Ile, that if they were not reſtreined in time by authoritie of the Romane puiſſance, the whole Britiſh nation were like to be ſhortlie diſquieted by their wilfull meanes and inſolent preſumptions. Neither was it thought ſufficient vnto Victorine, to charge the Picts in maner as is before ſpecified; but to their further greeuance he deuiſed an other waie, whereby to bring them in the end vnto vtter deſtruction, which was this: he conſtreined them together with their wiues, children, & whole families, to remoue beyond the water of Forth, and to leaue all the countries on this ſide the ſame water, as well thoſe which they ancientlie had inhabited, as the other which of late apertained to the Scots, and were aſſigned to them by Maximus to poſſeſſe, after that the Scots were expelled.

The Picts are commanded to dwell beyond the water of Forth.

All which countries thus by the Picts now left void, were appointed by Victorine to the Britains, as ſubiects to the empire, to be inhabited. And for a perfect diuiſion betwixt the Picts and the ſame Britains, he commanded a wall to be made, & a trench to be caſt alongſt by the ſame, from Abircorne, through the territorie of Glaſcow vnto Alcluth, or Aldcluch, now called Dunbreton, ſo running from the

A wall made to diuide the Britains from the Picts.

The Picts forbidden to paſſe ouer beyond that wall

the eaſt ſea to the weſt. Hereto proclamation was made, that if anie of the Pictiſh nation did enterpriſe to paſſe this wall, and to enter into the Britiſh confines without licence of the magiſtrats, he ſhould die for it. Whileſt the Picts through their owne fault are thus brought into moſt miſerable ſubiection of the Romans, the Scotiſhmen (as is ſaid) being baniſhed the land, liued in other countries by ſhifting out the time ſo well as they might, ſome continuing with their wiues and children, got a poore liuing with their hands, exerciſing ſome ſcience or occupation. Other there were that followed the warres, and ſerued vnder ſundrie worthie capteins here and there, as occaſion ſerued.

The Scots liue in other countries.

Ethodius brother vnto Eugenius, late king of Scotland.

But Ethodius the brother of Eugenius commanded (as is ſaid) to go into Denmarke, was ioifullie receiued of the king there; who alſo gaue him an office, therewith to mainteine his degree, ſo that he liued there certeine yeeres in right honorable eſtate, and begat of his wife whome he brought thither with him forth of Albanie, a ſonne named Erthus, who after his fathers deceaſſe had iſſue by his wife called Rocha (a ladie of high parentage amongſt the nobles of Denmarke, as daughter to one Rothchus, ſecond perſon of the realme) a ſonne named Fergus, whoſe chance was afterwards to reſtore the Scotiſh nation againe to their former eſtate and kingdome. In his yoong yeeres he was appointed to ſerue vnder Alarike the Gottiſh king in that famous voiage which he toke in hand againſt the Romane empire. For ſuch was the hate as then of all the northerne regions & kingdoms towards the Romane name, that by generall agreement they conſpired together to the vtter ruine and finall deſtruction thereof. And ſo ech of them ſent forth a power in aid of the ſaid Alarike, choſen by common conſent as generall of the whole enterpriſe.

Erthus the ſon of Ethodius begot Fergus.

The Gotthes make an expedition againſt the empire of Rome.

Fergus being ſet forth by the king of Denmarke with a power of Danes, and with a choſen number of ſuch Scotiſhmen as were withdrawne into thoſe parties, went with the better will, for that beſide the common quarell, he bare a priuate grudge towards the Romans for the vſing of his anceſtors ſo cruellie in expelling them out of their owne homes and natiue countrie. This Fergus was preſent with the Gotthes at the winning of Rome, in the ſacking whereof, amongſt other ſpoiles, he got (as is reported) a certeine cheſt full of bookes, the which ſome hold opinion he brought afterwards into the weſterne Iles, and cauſed them to be kept in Iona, now Colmekill, within a librarie there builded for the ſame intent. Which bookes (as is to be ſuppoſed) were certeine hiſtories or monuments of old antiquities. But the ſame were ſo defaced in the daies of Hector Boetius (who, as he himſelfe writeth, cauſed them to be brought ouer to him to Aberdine) that it could not be vnderſtood of what matter they intreated.

Fergus was ſent to aid the Gotthes.

Rome ſacked.

It is written moreouer of Fergus, that he continued with Alarike in all his enterpriſes, ſo long as he liued, and afterwards ſerued vnder his ſucceſſor Athaulfus, to his great fame, and in ſuch honorable eſtimation, as few were found comparable vnto him in thoſe daies. At length requiring a ſafe conduct to returne into Denmarke, he was licenced to depart with high and right bountifull rewards, as in part of recompenſe of his good and faithfull ſeruice ſhewed, during the time of the warres, as well in the life time of the ſaid Athaulfus, as alſo in the daies of his predeceſſor the foreſaid Alarike. ¶ About the ſame ſeaſon, the biſhops ſee of Candida caſa, otherwiſe called Quhitterne, was firſt inſtituted by one Ninian a preacher, that toke great paines (as the report hath gone) to inſtruct the Picts and Britains in the chriſtian faith. He was afterwards reputed a ſaint, and the place of his buriall had in ſuch veneration, that manie vſed to reſort thither for deuotion ſake, as the manner in times paſt was when pilgrimage-goings were vſed.

Fergus ſeruing vnder Alarike and Athaulfe kings of the Gotthes.

Fergus with leaue returned againe from Italie into Denmarke.

S. Ninian.

But now to returne where we left touching the Picts, and to ſhew the maner how the Scots returned againe into Albanie; ye ſhall vnderſtand, that the Picts being brought into ſeruile bondage (as before we haue partlie declared) and doubting dailie of worſe to inſue, they ſent ſecret meſſengers vnto ſuch Scots as remained in exile in the weſterne Iles, in Norwaie, and in other parts of the world, promiſing them, if they would giue the attempt for recouerie of their ancient dwelling places in Albanie, they ſhould be ſure of all the aid that in them laie, being readie to ſpend their liues to reuenge the iniuries which they dailie ſuſteined at the Romans hands, whoſe continuall practiſe euer was, how to oppreſſe the ancient liberties of all ſuch nations as came vnder their ſubiection. The experience whereof they now felt to their vnſufferable grieuance, looking for nothing elſe but ſhortlie to be expelled out of their countrie, and driuen to go ſeeke them other places to inhabit in ſtrange countries after the maner of outlawes, as it had chanced alreadie to the Scots by commandement of Maximus, as before is expreſſed.

The Picts ſent into forren countries to call home the Scots.

Fergus, vnto whom amongeſt other this meſſage was chieflie directed, reioiſed greatlie of the newes; and firſt conferring with the king of Denmarke, of whoſe aid he knew himſelfe aſſured, by his aduiſe he ſent letters abroad forthwith into Norwaie, Orkenie, the weſterne Iles, and into Ireland, vnto ſuch of the Scotiſhmen as dwelt in thoſe places, to vnderſtand their minds herein. And being certified that they were vniuerſallie agreed, not onelie to trie their chance for recouerie of their former ſtate and kingdome; but alſo had choſen him to be gouernour and generall capteine in that enterpriſe; he prepared partlie at his owne coſts, and partlie at the charges of the king of Denmarke and other of his friends and alies there, a great multitude both of men of warre and ſhips, in purpoſe to paſſe ouer into Albanie to recouer his grandfathers eſtate, which as it was thought might now be the more eaſilie brought to paſſe, ſith the Picts would aid him thereto, vpon an earneſt deſire which they had to reuenge their owne iniuries receiued at the Romans hands, and to deliuer themſelues from ſuch thraldome as they dailie felt themſelues oppreſſed with, doubting withall ſhortlie to be quite expelled out of their whole countrie, as they had beene forced to forgo a great and the better part thereof alreadie.

Fergus ſent vnto the Scots diſperſed.

Fergus prepared himſelfe to warre.

In this meane time, one Gratian deſcended of the Britiſh bloud, by conſent of the Romane legat Martius (both of them going againſt their allegiance) vſurped the gouernance of Britaine by his owne priuat authoritie; but ſhortlie after, they two falling at variance togither, the one of them ſlue the other. And then the ſouldiers not ſtaieng till they vnderſtood the pleaſure of Honorius the emperour, choſe one Conſtantine to ſucceed in the place of Martius, who paſſing ouer into France, was ſlaine there by Conſtantius one of the capteins of the ſaid Honorius. Victorine the other of the Romane legats hearing of the death both of Martius and Conſtantine, remoued from Yorke vnto London, the better to prouide for the ſafe keeping of the land to the emperour Honorius his vſe; for that he doubted ſundrie dangers which might chance, by reaſon the countrie was as then vnprouided of men of warre, the moſt part of them being tranſported ouer into France with the fornamed Conſtantine, and not againe returned.

Gratian vſurped the gouernance of Britaine.

Martius ſlaine.

Conſtantine ſucceedeth Martius.

Conſtantine is ſlaine.

The lieutenant of the north commeth to London.

The

The Picts informed of these things, sent word with all spéed vnto Fergusc, requiring him to make hast, sith if he should haue wished for a conuenient time, a better could not be deuised; considering the present state of things as well in Britaine, as in other parts of the Romane empire, the people euerie where being readie to moue rebellion. Fergusc vnderstanding the whole, by such messengers as still came one after another vnto him from the Picts, he hasted to depart with all diligence; and when all things were readie, he take the sea with his armie, and within eight daies after, he arriued in safetie within the firth of Murrey land with all his vessels and people; where taking land, & word thereof being brought into Ireland, into Dikenie, and into the westerne Iles, all such of the Scotish linage as liued in those parties in exile, came with their wiues, children, and whole families in most spédie wise vnto him, as though the countrie had béene alreadie recouered out of the enimies hands, without all doubts of further perill or businesse.

The Picts reioising greatlie at the newes of his comming, repaired vnto him, and shewed him all the honor that might be deuised, beseeching him to pardon and forget all iniuries and displeasures by them wrought and contriued in times past against the Scotish nation, sith now they were readie for the aduancement thereof to spend their liues against such as were enimies to the same. Neither was the fault theirs, in that Vetrgust had consented with the Romans to banish the Scotish people, but in their ancestors, who being blinded through the faire words and sweete promises of the Romans, saw not the mischiefe which they brought vpon their owne heads and their posteritie. Therefore they desired him to renew againe the league betwixt the Pictish and Scotish nations, with such conditions of appointment as it should please him to prescribe.

Fergusc by consent of his nobles answered, that he was content to establish the league with them, euen according to the tenor of the ancient agréement, and to ioine his power with theirs to helpe to restore them vnto their former estate and liberties, so that they would be contented to surrender vp into the Scotishmens hands, all such townes and countries, from the which they had béene expelled by great fraud and iniurie. And as for the displeasures done to the Scotishmen in times past by aiding the Romans against them (as he thought) the Picts had felt punishment inough for the same alreadie, being reduced into most seruile & miserable bondage, as iustlie rewarded by almightie God for their great vntruthes, vsed and shewed towards their neighbors, faithfull friends and alies. The Picts were throughlie pleased and satisfied with Fergusc his words; so that within few daies after, their king (whome they had latelie chosen since the time that the Scotishmen were thus returned) came vnto Fergusc, and ratified the league with him, according to the articles of that other which in time past had béene obserued on the behalfe of the Scotish and Pictish nations, with such solemne othes and assurance, as betwixt princes in semblable cases of custome is requisit and necessarie. Then were those countries restored to the Scotishmen againe, out of the which they had béene expelled by the Romane power.

And Fergusc then being conueied with a right honorable companie of lords, gentlemen, and cõmons into Argile, was there placed on the chaire of marble, and proclamed king with all such accustomed pompe and ceremonies as to him appertained. This was in the 45 yeare after the Scots had béene driuen forth of Albanie, and after the birth of our sauiour 424, in the yeare after the death of Honorius the emperour, and from the first erection of the Scotish kingdome 750 yeares complet. All such castels also and fortresses as the Picts held within anie of those countries, which belonged vnto the Scots, were surrendered into their hands in peaceable wise; but the residue which the Romans kept were earnestlie defended for a while, though at length through want of victuals and other necessaries, they likewise were deliuered. ¶ If I should here say what I thinke, and that mine opinion might passe for currant coine, I would not sticke to affirme that either now first (or not long before their late supposed expulsion from hence) the Scots setled themselues to inhabit here within this Ile, and that they had no certeine seats in the same till then: but that comming either forth of Ireland, or from the westerne Iles, where they before inhabited, they vsed to make often inuasions into this land, greatlie molesting as well the Britains, the ancient inhabitants thereof, as the Romans that then held the Ile vnder their subiection. For I can neither persuade my selfe, nor wish others to beléeue, that there was anie such continuance in succession of kings, as their histories do make mention; as we haue here before set downe in following the same histories, because we will not willinglie séeme to offer iniurie to their nation, which peraduenture are otherwise persuaded, and thinke the same succession to be most true, where other perchance may coniecture (and not moued thereto without good reason) that such kings as in their histories are auouched to reigne one after another here in this Ile, either reigned in Ireland, or in the out Iles, and that verelie not successiuelie, but diuerse of them at one season, and in diuerse places. Which mistaking of the course of histories hath bred errors, not onelie amongst the Scotish writers, but euen amongst some of the British and English writers also, as to the learned and well aduised readers may plainelie appeare. And as for Gald, and some other hapilie which they take to be kings of Scots, although they reigned in that part of this Ile which afterwards was possessed by Scots, and after them named Scotland, yet were they méere Britains, and had little to do with Scots; except perchance we may thinke that they held the out Iles in subiection, where the Scots were then inhabiting, far longer time perhaps (before their setling in Britaine) than their histories make mention.

But now to returne where we left. After that Victorine the Romane legat was aduertised of all the fore-remembred doings of the Scotishmen and Picts, he caused an armie to be leuied with all spéed, and hasted forth with the same vnto Yorke, where being arriued, he attempted by an herald at armes to persuade the Picts to forsake their confederacie latelie concluded with the Scots: but perceiuing he could not bring it to passe, he determined to pursue both those nations with open warre: and so thereupon setting forward, he passed forth till he came nére Camelon, where he incamped with his whole armie, hauing therein (as the report went) about fiftie thousand persons at the least. Fergusc being aduertised hereof, & hauing in like maner alreadie assembled a mightie huge host both of Scotishmen and Picts, came therwith ouer the Forth, & marched forth with all spéed in the night season, in purpose to haue set on his enimies verie earlie in the dawning of the next morning. But Victorine hauing knowledge thereof, commanded his men to be arranged and set in order of battell by the third watch of the same night, so that being redie to receiue the Scots vpon their first approch, there was fought a right sore and cruell battell, with such slaughter on both parts, that the riuer of Carron (nére vnto the which

422. H.B.
396. Io.Ma. The 18 yeare of the emperour Honorius. H.B.
755. H.B.

when the Scots first got certeine seats here in this Ile of Britaine as some thinke.

The Picts send spédilie vnto Fergusc.

Fergusc arriued with his ships in Murrey firth.

The Picts ioifullie receiue Fergusc.

The Picts craue pardon excusing themselues.

Fergusc.

The Picts punished for their vntruthes.

The ancient league renued againe betwixt the Scots and Picts.

The Scots restored to their countries.

Fergusc.

Fergusc is conueied into Argile, and there inuested king.

Victorine prepareth an armie to go against the Scots.

Victorine séeketh to persuade the Picts from taking part with the Scots.

Victorine incampeth nére vnto Camelõ with 50000 men.

Fergusc passeth the Forth Fergusc purposeth to assaile his enimies in the dawning of the day.

The riuer of Carron runneth with bloud.

The battell ſeuered by reaſon of a tempeſt.

which their battels ioined) was well neere filled with dead bodies, and the water thereof ſo changed into a ruddie hue, that it ſeemed as though it had run altogither with bloud.

In the end (whileſt as yet it was doubtfull to whether ſide the victorie would incline) there came ſuch a ſudden ſhower of raine, mixed with ſuch great abundance of haileſtones, that neither part was able to haue ſight of other, ſo that by reaſon of the violent rage of that huge ſtorme and tempeſt, either ſide was faine to withdraw from the other. There were ſlaine in this battell ſuch great numbers of men, as well on the one ſide as the other, that they had ſmall luſt to ioine in battell againe for certeine yéeres after. For the Roman lieutenant vnderſtanding what loſſe of people he had ſuſteined, without attempting anie further exploit, appointed certeine of his companies to lie in garriſon within ſundrie fortreſſes in Pictland, & with the reſidue he returned into Kent. In like ſort the Scots with their confederates the Picts, perceiuing themſelues not able as then to make anie further attempt againſt their enimies, brake vp their armie, and deuiſed onelie how they might defend that which they had alreadie in poſſeſſion.

The lieutenant furniſhing diuerſe holds, returneth into Kent.

The Scots & Picts breake vp their campe.

And forſomuch as the Pictiſh nation was increaſed vnto a greater multitude of people, than thoſe countries which they then held were able to find with ſufficient ſuſtenance (conſidering what a great portion of their ancient ſeates the Britains and Romans kept from them) it was agréed by the Scots that they ſhould inioy the countrie of Athole, with other lands bordering néere vnto the ſame, lieng without the compaſſe of the mounteine of Granzeben. The Picts then being placed in Athole, increaſed there wonderfullie, and builded manie faire caſtels and towers in thoſe parties, to the great beautifieng of that countrie. In which meane while, Victorine the Romane lieutenant commanded the Britains to make halt with the wall (whereof ye haue heard) made of turfe, and ſuſteined with certeine poſts of timber paſſing ouerthwart the borders betwirt them and their enimies, begining (as ye haue heard) at Abercorne, and ſo ſtretching forth by Glaſco, and Kirkpatrike, euen vnto Aldcluch, now Dunbriton, 80 miles more northward than the other wall, which the emperor Adrian cauſed (as is ſaid) to be made.

Athole aſſigned to the Picts.

The Britains by the appointment of Victorine make a wall.

Whereof the Scots and Picts being informed, they aſſembled themſelues togither, & vnder the leading of a noble man called Graime, they ſet vpon the Britains, as they were buſie in working about the ſame, and ſlue not onelie a great number of labourers and ſouldiers, which were ſet to labour and defend the worke, but alſo entering into the Britiſh borders, fetched from thence a great botie of cattell and other riches, which they found diſperſed abroad in the countrie. This Graime (who as I ſaid was chiefe in this enterpriſe) was brother vnto the Scotiſh quéene, the wife of king Fergus. He was borne in Denmarke (as ſome hold opinion) in the time of the Scotiſhmens baniſhment, and had a Scotiſhman to his father deſcended of a noble houſe, and a Daniſh ladie to his mother. He himſelfe alſo maried a noble woman of that nation, and had by hir a daughter, whome Fergus by the perſuaſion of the king of Denmarke toke to wife, and had iſſue by hir (afore his comming into Scotland) three ſonnes, Eugenius, Dongarus, and Conſtantius, of whome hereafter in their place mention ſhall be made, as occaſion ſerueth. Other there be, that affirme how this Graime was a Britaine borne, & that through hate which he bare towards the Romans for their cruell gouernement, he fled forth of his native countrie,

The Scotiſh men & Picts interrupt the making of that wall.

Graime, other wiſe called Graham, and his linage.

Fergus maried a daughter of Graime

Diuerſitie of opinions touching the originall beginning of the Graimes.

and continued euer after amongſt the Scots, as firſt in Denmarke, and afterwards in Albion, euer readie to do what diſpleaſures he could deuiſe againſt the Romans & other their friends or ſubiects. Of this Graime thoſe Scots, which vnto this day beare that ſurname, are ſaid to be deſcended.

But now to the purpoſe. Ye ſhall vnderſtand, that after that it was knowne in forrein countries, how the Scots had got foot againe within thoſe regions in Albion, which their elders in ancient time had poſſeſſed, there came dailie diuerſe companies of that nation out of Spaine, France, Germanie, and Italie (where during the time of their baniſhment they had ſerued vnder ſundrie captains) vnto Fergus to aid him, in recouerie of their countrie and ancient ſeats, out of the which they had béene moſt cruellie expelled. So that Fergus now ſéeing his power thus not a little augmented by their comming, entereth into the borders of Kile, Carike, and Conningham, ſpoiling and harrieng thoſe countries on euerie ſide: but ſhortlie thereupon commeth the armie of the Romans, with whome the Scots incountering in battell, receiued no leſſe damage than they minded to haue done vnto their aduerſaries. Wherupon being forced to leaue that countrie, they drew backe into Argile, where Fergus wintered for that part of the yéere which yet remained.

The Scotiſh men returne into their countrie.

Fergus inuadeth the confines of the Britains.

The Scots put to the worſe.

When ſummer was come, he was counſelled to haue effſoones offered battell vnto Victorine, who as then was entered Galloway: and rather to trie the vttermoſt point of fortunes chance againſt him, than to ſuſteine ſuch diſpleaſures and iniuries at the Romans hands, as by them were dailie done vnto him and his people. But there were other that gaue other aduice, alledging how the danger was great to ieopard againe in battell with the Romans, being men of ſuch ſkill & practiſe in the feats of wars, conſidering what loſſe had chanced in the two former battels. Againe, there was great likelihood, that if he could be contented to forbeare for a time, and ſéeke to defend the borders of his countrie, ſo well as he might without giuing battell, it muſt néeds come to paſſe that ſhortlie the Romane empire ſhould be brought vnto ſuch ruinous decaie, by reaſon of the multitude of enimies, which as then inuaded the ſame on each ſide, that in the end Victorine doubting his owne ſuertie, would conueie himſelfe with his men of warre out of the countrie, and then ſhould it be an eaſie matter for the Scots and Picts to recouer againe all ſuch countries as ancientlie belonged to their elders, and wholie to reſtore the eſtates of their common-wealths vnto their former dignities.

Victorine inuadeth Galloway.

Fergus is diſſuaded to fight with the Romans.

The Romans empire inuaded by barbarous nations.

This aduiſe was followed as the beſt and moſt likelie, ſo that making ſundrie roads into the borders of their enimies countries ſo to kéepe them ſtill occupied, Fergus and the Scots refuſed vtterlie to come to anie foughten field with them. Shortlie after alſe it chanced, that Victorine was accuſed vnto the emperor Honorius of ſome ſecret practiſe againſt his maieſtie, as to be about to vſurpe the crowne of Britaine, whereunto he was compelled in déed by the ſouldiers (whoſe hearts he had wone through his bountious liberalitie ſundrie waies declared towards them) and vnderſtanding at this preſent, that he was minded to haue fled his waies for doubt of the ſaid information made againſt him, they did moue him with ſuch earneſt perſuaſions to take vpon him the imperiall dignitie, promiſing euen to liue and die with him in defenſe thereof, as well againſt Honorius, as all other, that in the end he conſented vnto their deſires, and ſo was proclamed emperor, and clothed in purpure, vſing thereto all the other imperiall ornaments, as if he had bene emperor indéed. But afterwards when one Heracliamus

Victorine accuſed vnto Honorius.

Victorine taketh vpon him the name and authoritie of emperor in Britaine.

was

Heraclianus is sent against Victorine.

was sent with an armie by Honorius into Britaine against this Victorine, the most part of the souldiers, with those Britains which had acknowledged him for their supreame gouernor, began to feare the sequele of the matter, and afterward requiring pardon for their offenses, they toke Victorine, and deliuered him prisoner vnto the same Heraclianus, with diuers other of his confederats, and so by this means was the estate of Britaine recouered vnto the behoofe of Honorius, who shortlie after sent for Heraclianus, minding to send him into Affrike against one Athalus, who vsurped there against the Romane empire.

Victorine is deliuered into the hands of Heraclianus.

Heraclianus is sent into Affrike.

Placidus lieutenant of Britaine.

At his departure forth of Britaine, he left one Placidus as lieutenant and generall of the Romane armie in those parties: a man of no great courage, and lesse skill, which being perceiued of the Scots, gaue occasion to Fergus their king to renew the warre. And first he procured Durstus king of the Picts, being the third of that name, to ioine with him in that enterprise, according to the articles of the league. Who consenting therevnto, when their powers were once assembled, they entered into the marches of their enimies, ouerrunning the most part of Kile, Carrike, and Conningham, and after they had taken their pleasure there, they entered into Galloway, destroieng all before them, which way soeuer they passed. Then turning into Pictland, they subdue the whole region, and expell all such Romans and Britains as inhabit the same.

The warre renewd by the Scots.

The Scots and Picts inuade the borders of their enimies.

Placidus being aduertised hereof, gathered a great power, and commeth forward towards them, with whom incountering in battell, after long fight, his horsemen chanced to be put to flight, so that the legions of his footmen being left naked on the sides, were so sore beaten with the shot of arrowes, and hurling of darts, that in the end they were forced to breake their araie, & so being chased left to the Scots and Picts a great and ioifull victorie. Placidus himselfe escapeth vnto Yorke, whither the Scots were minded to haue pursued him, had not the want of such numbers as they had lost at the battell, somewhat abated their couragious intents. In the meane time Placidus not onelie moued with this ouerthrowe, but also weieng with himselfe after what sort the Romane empire was afflicted, with the inuasion of the barbarous nations in Germanie, France, Spaine, Italie, and Affrike, thought it good to conclude some peace with the Scots and Picts, for doubt of further mishaps that might insue. And so by such meanes as he made, shortlie after a league was concluded betwixt the Scots, Picts, and Romans, with these conditions: that the Scots and Picts should inioy and keepe their ancient seates and regions, which they had now recouered, & hereafter not to make anie rodes or forreies into the prouince belonging to the Romans, and that the same Romans contenting themselues with the British confines, should not moue anie warre or hostilitie towards the Scots or Picts.

Placidus gathereth a power.

He incountereth with his enimies.

Placidus receiueth the ouerthrow.

He fleeth to Yorke.

Placidus seeketh to haue peace.

A league concluded betwixt Scots, Picts, and Romans.

This league being thus concluded and ratified, the Scotishmen and Picts indeuoured themselues to reduce the state of their common-wealth into the ancient forme and order. Fergus made partition of lands and grounds throughout all his kingdome, and assigned the same forth vnto his subiects the Scotishmen, and to such other strangers as were come into Albion, to serue him in the wars against his enimies, and were minded now to remaine there. The other that were desirous to depart againe into their countries, he gaue them honorable rewards, with safe conducts to passe their waies at their owne pleasures. At this time also were the names of diuerse countries & people changed in the parties of Scotland, vpon sundrie considerations: as Cornana a part of Scotland, lieng in the furthest end of all the countrie, toke a new name of one Cathus a valiant capteine, and of the promontorie there shooting forth into the sea called Nesse: so that being compound togither, that countrie was cleped Cathnesse. Also of certeine Irishmen called Rossians, the countrie of Rosse toke that name, being afore named Lugia.

Fergus diuideth the land in parts.

The names of diuers places in Scotland changed.

Cathnesse, whereof it is so named.

Rosse.

That part of the countrie anciently called Thessalia, which lieth on the sea coast, began to be called Buthquhane, of the tribute vsed to be paied there for sheepe, of the which kind of cattell there is great store in that prouince. For Quhane in the old Scottish tong signified tribute: and Buth, a flocke of sheepe. The other part of Thessalia, lieng into the landward, was called Bogdale, of the riuer named Bog, which runneth through the middest of it. Louchquhaber toke the name of a great meare or water, into the which the riuer of Quhaber falleth, and passeth through the same, notable by reason of the great plentie of samons taken therein. Some other countries there be, which keepe their ancient names euen vnto this day, as Athole, and Murrey land. And some names remaine a little changed by length of time, as Argile, for Argathile; Mar, for Marthea; and such like.

Buthquhane.

The signification of the name of Buthquhane.

Bogdale.

Louchquhaber.

Athole, Murrey land.

Argile, for Argathile: and Mar, for Marthea.

Fergus also repared such temples and churches as the warres had defaced, and restored againe churchmen vnto their former liuings: and further increased the same where he saw cause, and builded certeine celles and chapels for religious persons to inhabit in, assigning vnto them large reuenues for their finding. He also laid the foundation of that famous abbeie within the Ile of Iona, now Colmekill, appointing the same for the buriall of kings, with certeine ordinances and customes to be vsed about the same. Moreouer, in the time of peace hee was not negligent in prouiding for the defense of his realme. Such castels as were decaied and ouerthrowne by the enimies in the warre time, he repared; and in those which stood towards the borders of the British countries, he placed sundrie garrisons of such souldiers as wanted trades to get their liuing now in the time of peace, assigning them sufficient stipends to liue vpon.

Fergus repareth churches, and prouideth liuings for religious persons.

The first foundation of the abbeie within the Ile of Iona now Colmekill.

Fergus repareth his castels.

In this meane time, Honorius the emperor being dead, and the estate of the Romane empire dailie falling into decaie, it chanced also that Placidus the lieutenant of Britaine departed out of this life, by reason whereof the Scotishmen and Picts toke occasion to renew the warres, making as it were a claime vnto the countries of Westmerland & Cumberland, which their elders in times past had held and possessed. Entering therefore into those countries, they take, spoile, and destroie all such of the British nation as went about to destroie them; neither spared they impotent, aged, or others, but shewed great crueltie against all such as came in their waies. Manie an honest woman they rauished and misused after a most villainous maner. The Romane souldiers, after the decease of Placidus, ordeined one Castius to succeed in his roome, who being aduertised of this enterprise of the Scotishmen and Picts, doubted least (as the truth was) that Dionethus the sonne of Octauius sometime king of the Britains, in hope to atteine the crowne of Britaine, as due to him by inheritance, would now seeke to aid the Scotish king Fergus, whose sister he had in mariage. Castius therefore more desirous of peace than of warres, sent forth a messenger at armes vnto king Fergus, requiring him to remember the league made betwixt him and the Romans, and to withdraw his power forth of the prouinces, which were

Placidus the lieutenant of Britain dieth

The Scots & Picts renew the warre.

The crueltie of the Scots and Picts.

Castius ordeined lieutenant of Britaine.

Dionethus, or Dionotus, as some bookes haue.

Castius sendeth vnto Fergus.

were ſubiect vnto the ſame Romans, without pro-
ceeding anie further in that vnlawfull attempt, ei-
ther elſe he ſhould be ſure to feele the puiſſant force
of thoſe people readie bent againſt him, by whom his
elders had beene driuen out of their countries, and
baniſhed quite forth of all their dwellings and pla-
ces of habitation in Albion.

The anſwer of king Fergus.

But herevnto was anſwer made with great in-
dignation, that as for the league thus alledged, ceaſ-
ſed by the death of Placidus; and as for peace, there
was no cauſe why he ſhould looke for anie, vntill the
whole prouinces, both of Weſtmerland and Cum-
berland, were reſtored againe into the hands of the
Scotiſhmen and Picts, according as of reaſon they
ought to be. The like anſwer alſo was made by Dur-
ſtus king of the Picts, vnto whom Caſſius had ſent
a like meſſage. Wherewithall the ſaid Caſſius being
not a little moued, aſſembleth an armie, and with all
ſpeed marcheth forth toward his enimies: but before
his entering into Weſtmerland, where they were
as then lodged in campe, he had perfect knowledge
how Dionethus with his Welſhmen (for his lands
laie in Wales) was alreadie ioined with the Scots.

Caſſius raiſeth an armie.

Dionethus ioineth with the Scots againſt the Romans.

Which newes ſore appalled the hearts of the Bri-
tains, but yet being incouraged with comfortable
words of their capteins to proceed, forward they go
togither with the Romans, and within three daies af-
ter, they came within ſight of their enimies, being
ranged in battell readie to receiue them, ſo that
ſtreightwaies buckeling togither, there was a right
fierce and cruell battell fought betwixt them, till fi-
nallie the multitude of the Scotiſh archers and
kernes ſo compaſſed in the battels of the Romans
on each ſide, and ſpeciallie on the backes, that in the
end, and by reaſon of the loſſe of their generall Ca-
ſſius (who was ſlaine there amongſt them) thoſe of
the middle ward being diſcomfited, brake their ar-
raie and fled. Whereupon the reſidue likewiſe follo-
wed: the Scots, Picts, and Welſhmen purſuing
ſo egerlie without all order, that there was no ſmall
number of them diſtreſſed by the Romans, the which
in their giuing backe, kept themſelues cloſe togi-
ther, readie to defend themſelues, and to beat downe
ſuch of there enimies as followed more raſhlie than
warilie in the chaſe, not once regarding to keepe any
order of battell; but yet by other companies that pur-
ſued more orderlie togither for their moſt aduantage,
there was great ſlaughter made both of Romans
and Britains.

The armies ioine in battel.

The Romans giue backe.

The Scots follow in the chaſe too raſhlie.

After this victorie thus atchiued, Dionethus was
proclamed king of Britaine, and ſore warres conti-
nued in the land by the purſuit of the Welſhmen,
Scots, & Picts, to the great hazard of the prouince,
and likelie expelling of all the Romans quite out of
the ſame. About this time alſo there remained in
France, one Etius lieutenant to the emperour
Valentinianus, who vnderſtanding all theſe things
by letters and meſſengers ſent from the capteins
which yet remained aliue in Britaine, appointed one
Maximianus being of kin to the emperor, to paſſe
with an armie in all haſt ouer into Britaine, to aid
and ſuccor the Romans, and ſuch Britains there, as
ſtill continued in their allegiance which they had
promiſed vnto the Romane empire.

Dionethus proclamed king of Britaine.

Etius lieutenant of the Romans in France or Gallia.

Maximianus ſent ouer into Britaine.

This Maximianus at his arriuall in the Iland
was moſt ioifullie receiued by the ſoldiors and ſub-
iects of the foreſaid empire. All the lords and nobles
of the countrie reſorted alſo vnto him, ſhewing them
ſelues moſt glad of his comming, & promiſing with
what aid ſoeuer they were able to make, to go with
him againſt their enimies. Whereupon, procuring
them to aſſemble their powers, and to ioine the ſame
with his, which he had brought ouer with him, he paſ-
ſed through the countrie vnto Yorke, and ſo from
thence marched forth towards the Scots, being al-
readie aſſembled in campe to defend the countrie of
Weſtmerland againſt him. There were both the
kings of Scots and Picts, Ferguſe and Durſtus,
with Dionethus, naming himſelfe king of the Bri-
tains, who had brought with him, beſide the Welſh-
men, a great number of thoſe Britains that inhabi-
ted in the countries now accounted the marches of
Wales, the which onelie amongſt all other the Bri-
tains acknowledged him for king.

Maximianus cauſeth the Britains to ioine with him to go againſt the Scots.

The Scots and Picts aſſembled a-gainſt the Ro-mans.

When both the armies were come neere togither,
they camped for that night the one in ſight of the o-
ther, and in the morning following they prepared
themſelues to battell. Ferguſe firſt making an ear-
neſt oration vnto his people, to incourage them the
more boldlie to giue the onſet, declared amongſt o-
ther things how the right was on their ſides, which
alwaies ought to miniſter hope of good ſucceſſe in
them that enterpriſe anie thing in defenſe thereof;
where contrarilie all ſuch as attempted to diſquiet o-
ther by iniurie and wrong doing, could not but looke
for an euill concluſion of their malicious intents
and purpoſes. Neither were other of his capteins
negligent in their duties, but that both in exhorting
their bands, they vſed moſt comfortable words, and
in diſpoſing them in good order of battell, they ſhew-
ed moſt readie and earneſt diligence.

The armies prepare to battell.

Ferguſe exhorteth his people to doo valiantlie.

Right miniſtreth hope of good ſucceſſe.

On the other ſide, Maximianus with his capteins
and officers of bands were as buſie on their ſide to
array their battels moſt for their aduantage, as they
ſaw cauſe and occaſion, ſo that both the armies being
readie to fight, the onſet was giuen, and that in moſt
furious wiſe, the Romans being at the firſt ſore an-
noied with arrowes and darts, which flue ſo thicke
from ech ſide, that their ſight was in manner taken
from them, the skie ſeeming as it had been couered o-
uer with a pentiſe. So that Maximianus perceiuing
this diſaduantage, he cauſed a freſh legion of his ſol-
diors to aduance forward to the ſuccour of their fel-
lowes; by reaſon whereof the battell was forthwith
moſt cruellie renewed, the hindermoſt wings of the
Romans ſore preſſing vpon their enimies: ſo that
in the end paſſing quite through their battels, they
cauſed a great diſorder and feare amongſt thoſe
Scots and other their confederats, which were pla-
ced in the hindermoſt ranks. But yet calling them-
ſelues in a ring, they made great & ſtout reſiſtance
for a ſpace, and at length a great number euen of the
moſt valiant perſonages of the whole hoſt, cloſed
themſelues togither, and with maine force aſſaied
to haue broken through the thickeſt preaſe of their
enimies, but being inuironed about on ech part, they
were there ſlaine ech mothers ſonne. Whileſt the Ro-
mans drew togither to reſiſt on that ſide, other of the
Scotiſhmen, Picts, Britains, & Welſhmen, found a
waie to get forth through their enimies on the other
ſide, and ſo being gotten paſt them, made awaie as
faſt as their feet might beare them: but a great num-
ber being notwithſtanding ouertaken, were ſlaine
and beaten downe right pitifullie.

Maximianus perceiuing the diſaduantage, prouideth to remedie the ſame.

The Scots diſordered.

Ferguſe the Scotiſh king, and Durſtus king of
the Picts were ſlaine in this mortall battell togither,
with the moſt part of all their nobilitie. Dionethus
being ſore wounded eſcaped to the ſea ſide, and there
getting a ſhip, paſſed ouer into Wales. This ouer-
throw ſore diſmaied both the Scotiſh and Piciſh na-
tions, who looked for nothing more than preſent ex-
pulſion out of their countries, for Maximianus pur-
ſuing the victorie, burſt into Galloway, moſt cruel-
lie walking and ſpoiling the ſame. And when he had
made an end there, he entred into Anandale, and in-
to the Piciſh confines, deſtroieng all before him
with fire and ſword. Camelon was beſieged, taken
by force, and miſerablie put to ſacke and ſpoile, with

The two kings Fergu-ſe and Dur-ſtus are ſlaine. Dionethus eſcapeth.

Maximianus purſueth the victorie.

Camelon ta-ken by force.

diuerſe other notable townes and places, as well belonging to the Picts as Scots. Neither was there anie end of theſe cruell doings, till both the Scots & Picts for their refuge were generallie conſtreined to withdraw themſelues beyond the wall of Abircorne, which (as before is ſaid) a few yeres paſſed was begun by the Britains, and ſtretched from Abircorne aforeſaid, ouerthwart the land vnto Alcluth now Dunbreton.

The Scots and Picts withdraw beyond the wall of Abircorne.

Maximianus hauing thus driuen his enimies beyond this wall, cauſed them to make aſſurance by their oth of couenant, neuer to paſſe the ſame againe by waie of hoſtilitie, either againſt the Britains or Romans. There were that counſelled Maximianus either vtterlie to haue deſtroied both the Scots and Picts, either els to haue driuen them out of the whole Ile. But he being ſatiſfied with that which was alreadie done, thought good to returne vnto Yorke, and there to winter, that in the beginning of the nert ſpring he might go into Wales, to chaſtiſe Dionethus and other of that countrie for their rebellion, in aiding the enimies of the empire. But when the time came that he ſhould haue ſet forward on that iournie, he heard ſuch newes from the parties of beyond the ſeas, into what ruinous decaie the empire was fallen, without anie likelihood of recouerie, that changing his purpoſe, he minded to vſurpe the crowne of Britaine as abſolute king thereof himſelfe. And to haue the more fauor of the Britiſh nation without anie impeachment in the beginning of his reigne, he toke to wife one of the daughters of Dionethus, being the elder of thoſe two, which he onelie had without iſſue male, by the ſiſter of king Fergus. She that was thus coupled in mariage with Maximianus was called Othilia, & the other daughter named Vrſula was profeſſed a nun in an houſe of religion, to the intent that the whole right which Dionethus pretended to the realme, might remaine to the wife of Maximianus. Then was Dionethus made ſecond perſon of the realme, aſwell in degree of honor, as in publike gouerment.

Maximianus taketh vpon him the abſolute gouernance of Britaine, with the imperiall title.

He marrieth Othilia the daughter of Dionethus.

Dionethus reputed for ſecond perſon of the realme.

Eugenius.

Eugenius created king of Scots.

AND whileſt theſe things were thus a doing in Britaine, the Scotiſh lords had created Eugenius the ſonne of Fergus, king of their realme, as due to him by rightfull ſucceſſion from his father, who had gouerned the ſame by the ſpace of 16 yeres yer he was ſlaine (as before is ſpecified) in the laſt mentioned batteil. This Eugenius began his reigne (as we find) in the yere of our Lord 440, after the firſt beginning of the Scotiſh kingdome 767. His fathers corps, which at the firſt was ſecretlie buried, as occaſion ſuffered, whileſt the Romans were yet in the countrie, he cauſed to be taken vp, and conueied ouer into the Ile of Iona, otherwiſe called Colmekill, where, with all ſolemne pompe and ceremonies it was intumulated, according to the ordinance which he himſelfe had deuiſed in his life time, within the abbeie there.

420. H.B.

760. H.B.

The bodie of Fergus is buried in the abbeie of Iona, otherwiſe Colmekill.

In like manner Maximianus, to the intent to eſtabliſh himſelfe the more quietlie in the eſtate of Britaine, and to deliuer his ſubiects the Britains, which bordered vpon the Scotiſh dominions, from all trouble of warres, was contented to make peace with the Scots vpon light ſute made vnto him for the ſame. After this alſo, he being once fullie eſtabliſhed in the eſtate of Britaine, coueted alſo to atteine to the type in gouernment of the whole empire, and therefore aſſembling all the forces of the Britiſh youth, ſailed into Gallia, cauſing himſelfe to be proclamed emperor, and ſo vſurped that title; as in the Engliſh and Italian hiſtorie you maie find more largelie expreſſed. He left behind him in Britaine his father in law Dionethus as chiefe gouernor there, with one legion of Romane ſoldiors. After this did Etius the emperors lieutenant in France, ſend for ſuch Romans as Maximianus had left in Britaine, who reuolting from their othes of allegiance giuen vnto the ſame Maximianus, obeied Etius, as one that ſupplied the rome of their rightfull lord and maiſter the emperor Valentinian. So that in this wiſe was Britaine diſpurueied of all maner of able men for defenſe, whereof the Scots and Picts toke good occaſion to inuade the Britiſh borders, not ſparing to purſue with fire and ſword all ſuch of the Britains as did yet continue in obeiſſance to Maximianus.

Maximianus granteth peace to the Scotiſhmen.

The Scots and Picts inuade the Britains.

They firſt droue thoſe Britains out of all the countries, which had bene taken from them by the ſame Maximianus, and by other of the Romans and Britains, as Pictland, Vile, Carrike, and Coningham, Galloway, the Marches, and Northumberland. This done, they entered into Cumberland, Weſtmerland, and Kendall, not ceaſſing till they had ſpoiled and defaced all thoſe countries, with the moſt part of all Yorkeſhire, in ſuch cruell wiſe, that they made all thoſe quarters barren both of corne and cattell, which waie ſoeuer they paſſed. The Britains perceiuing into what danger they were brought, if ſome good redreſſe were not found in time, ſent ouer with all ſpeed vnto Rome for ſuccor to be had at the emperor Valentinians hands, for Maximianus was otherwiſe occupied. Valentinian deſirous to deliuer the Britains from ſuch cruell enimies as the Scots & Picts ſhewed themſelues to be, leaſt through their meanes all the whole Ile ſhould reuolt from the obedience of the Romans, appointed one Gallio borne in Rauenna, and as then ſoiorning about Paris in France, with a legion of ſoldiors to paſſe ouer into Britaine, to driue backe the Scots and Picts from further moleſting the ſubiects of the empire.

The prоſperous ſucceſſe of the Scotiſhmen.

The Britains require aid of Valentinian the emperor.

Gallio Rauennas is ſent ouer into Britaine.

The Scots and Picts refuſe to giue battell to the Romans.

The Scots and Picts vpon knowledge had of this Gallios arriuall, drew backe into their countries, not minding to fight with the Romans, whoſe force they doubted, and not without cauſe, hauing had in times paſt ſo manie ouerthrowes and ſlaughters at their hands. But Gallio purſued them euen vnto the water of Forth, where in ſundrie ſkirmiſhes he ſlue no ſmall number of them: and for that he knew he ſhould be ſent for ſhortlie to returne againe into France, to helpe to reſiſt ſuch barbarous nations as warred in the ſame, for the better defenſe of the Britains againſt their enimies the Scots and Picts (whome he knew would not be anie while in quiet after he was once gone) he cauſed the wall to be newlie made vp betwixt Abircorne & the mouth of Clude water, thereby to defend the Romane prouince from all ſudden inuaſions of the enimies. This wall was earſt made of turffe, but now repared with ſtone, and ſtrengthened with great poſts or piles of wood, driuen in betwixt in places moſt needfull. It was alſo 8 foot broad, and 12 foot high. And in certeine turrets caſt forth vpon this wall, Gallio appointed watch & ward to be kept, that vpon the enimies approch towards the ſame, warning might be giuen by fire in the night, and by ſmoke in the day, vnto ſuch of the Britains as dwelled neere vpon thoſe borders (commandement being giuen vpon paine of death for being found in the contrarie) that euerie man vpon ſuch knowledge had, ſhould reſort immediatlie to the place appointed, with ſuch armour and weapon as for him was requiſit.

Gallio purſueth the Scots and Picts.

Gallio cauſeth the wall of Abircorne to be repared.

The maner of the building of that wall.

The ordination of Gallio for watch to be kept of the wall.

When Gallio had thus giuen order for the ſuertie of the Britains, and deliuered them at that preſent from the cruell hands of their enimies, he returned into France with the armie that he brought with him, according to the commandement which he had from Etius the emperours lieutenant there. His departure out of Britaine was no ſoner knowne of the Scots and Picts, but that with all their maine force

Gallio returneth into France.

The Scots and Picts determined to inuade the Britains againe.

The Britains reſort to the wall of Abircorne to defend it.

The Scots and Picts approoued the wall to aſſault it.

Graim aſſaulteth the wall.

The wall is ouerthrowen.

The Britains leaue Pictland and get themſelues ouer the riuer of Tine.

The wall of Adrian is repared by the Britains.

The countries lieng north from the wall of Adrian diuided amongeſt the Scots and Picts.

The Britains require aid at the hands of Etius.

force they determined to ſet vpon the Britains againe. So that aſſembling their powers togither, the kings of both thoſe nations exhort their men to dw valiantlie. Eugenius the king of the Scotiſhmen incourageth them through hope of high rewards and ſpoile. The Pictiſh king likewiſe for his part promiſeth the lieutenantſhip of Camelon (an office of moſt honor amongeſt them) vnto him that firſt ſhould paſſe the wall of Abircorne. Whereupon the Britains being aduertiſed of their enimies intentions according to the ordinance before appointed, drew in defenſible wiſe vnto that part of the wall, where they vnderſtood the Scots and Picts were minded to aſſault.

At length when the Scotiſh and Pictiſh kings were come to the wall, and had their people readie to giue the approch, they themſelues ſtood apart ſomewhat out of danger of ſhot: and ſuch bands as were appointed to aſſaile, aduanced forth of the maine battels vnder the leading of that Graime, the which (as ye haue heard) was chiefe in expelling the Britains when they had firſt made the ſame wall by commandement of Victorine the Romane lieutenant. Neither ſhewed he leſſe proſe of his valiancie at this time than he had don before. For though the Britains made earneſt reſiſtance, ſo farre as their power would extend, yet at the length by great force the wall was vndermined and throwen downe in ſundrie places, ſo that the whole number of the Scots and Picts entered by the ſame into Pictland, beating downe the Britains on ech ſide that went about to make reſiſtance, for none eſcaped their hands, but ſuch as ſaued themſelues by flight.

There came alſo an other power of Scots and Picts by water out of Fife, and landing in Pictland, purſued the Britains with more crueltie than the kings did themſelues. Both houſes and people paſſed by fire and ſword, inſomuch that all ſuch of the Britains as could get away, withdrew forth of the countrie, not ſtaieng till they came beyond the riuer of Tine; by reaſon whereof, all the countrie which lieth betwixt Twéed and Tine was deliuered by appointment of the kings vnto the ſouldiers, to ſpoile and vſe at their pleaſure, whereupon followed manie notorious examples of crueltie, enuie, couetouſneſſe, wrath & malice. In the meane time, whileſt the Scotiſh and Pictiſh men of warre aplied their market, the Britains with all diligence repared and newlie fortified the other wall begun (as is ſaid) by the emperour Adrian, ſhooting ouerthwart the countrie from the riuer of Tine, vnto the riuer of Eſke.

Howbeit the Scots and Picts, becauſe winter approched, made no further attempt againſt the Britains at that time, but diuiding thoſe countries which lie by north from the foreſaid wall of Adrian, among themſelues, according to the order in that behalfe appointed by their kings, they fortified certeine caſtels and holds for defenſe of the ſame countries, as it were to countergarriſon ſuch Britains as continuallie kept watch and ward vpon the foreſaid wall. The Britains therefore miſtruſting leaſt ſo ſone as the ſpring were come, the Scots would inuade their countries which lay on the ſouth part of the ſame wall, breaking in by force through it, as they had done the yere before through the other wall of Abircorne, they ſent ambaſſadors vnto Etius the Romane lieutenant, gouerning Gallia now called France, vnder the emperour Valentinian, requiring to haue ſome aid and ſuccour at his hands, whereby to reſiſt ſuch fierce and cruell enimies, as ſought to deſtroy and expell out of their lands and houſes, all ſuch of the Britains as acknowledged themſelues in anie maner of wiſe ſubiects vnto the empire.

But Etius, whether he would not, or rather becauſe he conuenientlie could not (for that he was otherwiſe occupied in defenſe of Gallia againſt the French men) made a direct anſwere that he had no men of warre in ſtore to ſend ouer into Britaine, and therefore willed them to dw what they could for their owne defenſe, for aid of him they might none haue. The meſſengers returned home with this anſwere, and made report thereof in a publike aſſemblie of all the Britiſh nobilitie, being as then gathered togither at London to conſult there for the eſtate and order of their countrie. Where after long deliberation (notwithſtanding that they perceiued they ſhould haue no more aid from the Romans) it was yet determined, that to reſiſt the enimies, the whole puiſſance of the Britiſh nation ſhould be muſtered, as well men as women, being able to dw anie feat of ſeruice auailable in defenſe of their countrie, & rather to trie the vttermoſt point of fortunes chance, than to ſuffer themſelues to be ouerrun without reſiſtance. But Conanus Camber, a prince of great authoritie amongeſt them, as one that was deſcended of the bloud of Octauius ſometime king of Britaine, went about with earneſt perſuaſions to remoue the reſidue of the nobilitie from this determination, aduiſing them to ſéeke for peace at the Scotiſhmens hands, rather than to trie the doubtfull chance of Mars his iudgement, conſidering the féebleneſſe of their whole force now, euer ſince that the tyrant Maximianus had in manner emptied and diſpeopled the land of all ſuch able men as were apt for ſeruice in the warres. But this aduiſe of Conanus was verie euill taken, & moued the multitude that heard him, to be greatlie offended with his words, not ſparing to ſay that he ſpake like no true man nor louer of his countrie; ſo that the former ordinance (that is to ſay, to ſéeke an end of the wars by dint of ſword) was allowed for the beſt.

Etius refuſeth to aid the Britains.

The Britains forſaken of the Romans, determine yet to make reſiſtance.

Conanus Camber counſelleth the Britains to ſéeke peace at the Scotiſh mens hands.

Britaine diſpeopled of warlie men by Maximianus.

Conanus counſell is receiued.

Herevpon there were muſters taken, armour and weapon prouided, and both day and place appointed, where they ſhould aſſemble togither to march forth towards the enimie. Conanus ſore lamenting their doings, called almightie God to record, that that which he had ſaid, was ſpoken onelie for the loue & zeale which he bare to his countrie, & ſithence his aduiſe might not be followed, he doubted greatlie leaſt the ruine of the Britiſh ſtate by ſome fatall appointment drew faſt vpon them. The people hearing him ſpeake thus, ſome wilfull wicked perſons fell vpon him, and ſlue him there preſentlie amongſt them: wherewith other being ſore moued to indignation, ſet vpon the murtherers, there to haue reuenged his death immediatlie. Whereupon began taking of parts, and togither they went by the eares in ſuch a furious wiſe, that ſundrie amongeſt them being ſlaine, the magiſtrats had much adw to appeaſe the fraie.

The Britains make their appreſts to go againſt the Scots.

Conanus is ſlaine amongeſt the Britains.

In this meane time, whileſt the Britains were thus buſied in ſending of their ambaſſadours to the Romans, & conſulting togither for defenſe of their countrie, the Scots firſt raced downe the wall of Abircorne, not leauing one piece thereof whole, ſo that a few tokens excepted, nothing remaineth to be ſéene at this day of all that huge and wonderfull worke, it is called now in theſe daies Graimſdike, becauſe that Graime was not onelie (as ye haue hard) chiefe in expelling the Britains from the ſame, but alſo at this time in the racing of it to the ground he was the greateſt doer. Which being accompliſhed, the Scotiſh and Pictiſh kings aſſembled their powers, and ouerthrew all ſuch fortreſſes as had not béene deſtroied the yeare before, ſtanding on the northſide of Adrians wall, the which wall the Britains

The Scots raſe the wall of Abircorne.

Graimſdike.

The Scotiſh and Pictiſh kings inuade the Britiſh borderers.

tains had newlie fortified, but yet were not able to defend the ſame from the power of the enimie, who now ſet vpon the Britains with maine force, in ſo much that vndermining the foundations of that wall in diuers places; at length ſundrie parts thereof were reuerſed into the ditch, ſo that the ſouldiers breaking in by the ſame, cruellie beate downe the Britains which ſtood at defenſe.

Adrians wall vndermined and ouerthrowen.

The entrie being thus wone, both the kings with their powers marched forth into the ſouth countries, commandement being giuen that no man vpon paine of death ſhould kill anie woman or child, aged perſon, or otherwiſe impotent and not able to beare armour. But this commandement in ſome places was but ſlenderlie obeied; ſuch deſire of reuenge was planted in the Scotiſhmens hearts, by reaſon of the remembrance of old iniuries, that vneath made they anie difference either of age or ſex. To be ſhort, all thoſe countries which lie betwixt the riuers of Tine and Humber, were waſted & ſpoiled, the whole number of the inhabitants (ſuch as could make ſhift to eſcape the enimies hands) got them ouer the foreſaid riuer of Humber, there to remaine as further out of danger. The report of which miſchiefe being brought to London, the lords there (who as ye haue heard were not all of one accord togither) they toke new aduiſe, to redreſſe the preſent miſchiefe in this maner. Firſt they thought it beſt to ſend forth two ambaſſadors, one to the Scots & Picts to require a peace; & an other with letters to Etius the Romane lieutenant in France, for freſh aid and ſuccour. The tenour of which letters as then ſent vnto Etius here inſueth.

Crueltie of Scots.

The lords of Britaine take new aduiſe.

Sée more hereof in England.

The tenour of the letters ſent vnto Etius from the Britains, as is written by Hect. Boetius.

The lamentable complaints of the Britains vnto Etius thrise conſull. At what time our elders became ſubiects vnto the Romans, they vnderſtood by worthie proues and notable examples, that the ſenate was a moſt ſafe refuge and hauen, to be wiſhed of all ſuch as fled to the ſame for ſupport. But we their poſteritie by the pernicious working of the legat Maximianus, tending wholie to our deſtruction, being ſpoiled both of force and ſubſtance, and therefore remaining in great danger of loſing both kingdome and liues, through the fore and terrible inuaſion of our moſt cruell enimies the Scots and Picts, making humble ſute for ſuccours vnto the Romane empire, according to the loiall truſt and moſt aſſured confidence, the which euer like true and faithfull ſubiects we haue repoſed in the ſame, are yet neglected, & nothing regarded, but deliuered as a prey vnto the barbarous nations to be ſpoiled, deſtroied, and ſlaine in moſt pitious wiſe, which can not but be an euident ſigne, that either the Romans haue changed their moſt commendable maners into the worſt that may be deuiſed, either els their moſt large empire, thorough the wrath and high diſpleaſure of almightie God, is now giuen for a prey vnto other forren nations. But if it be ſo, that the fatall force of the time preſent doth require, that without all remedie the land of the Britains being taken awaie from the Romans, muſt needs be brought vnder the ſubiection of ſome barbarous nation, we neither abhorre nor refuſe the gouernement of anie people or nation, the Scots and Picts (the moſt cruell of all other) onelie excepted, whoſe crueltie we hauing long ſince too too much taſted, are at this preſent brought vnto that point by their late increaſed puiſſance, that we know not now after the loſſe of our goods and cattell, which way to ſafe gard our liues, for the turffe walls being pulled downe, and the ditches filled vp with earth, which aforetime did ſomewhat ſtaie them, now breaking in vpon vs without letting paſſe anie one kind of crueltie, they haue deſtroied our fields, burned vp our houſes, townes & villages, beaten downe & raced euen to the ground our caſtels and towers, with ſuch other places of defenſe, not ſparing to put to the ſword as well the poore innocent children, women, and impotent aged, as ſuch other innumerable numbers of men, which they haue ſlaine ſtanding at defenſe with weapon in hand. And as for vs, which are the reſidue of our decaied nation, they haue driuen euen to the ſea ſide, and from thence (becauſe we cannot paſſe ouer) we are put backe vpon our enimies againe. And hereof proceed two kinds of our deſtruction, for either we are drowned in the raging flouds, either elſe ſlaine moſt vnmercifullie by our cruell enimies. Therefore if the honor of the Romane people, if our aſſured loialtie and loue, which we beare to the empire of Rome, now continued for the ſpace of theſe 500 yeares or thereabout, may moue you to rue on our miſeries, we humblie pray and beſeech you, not to ſuffer vs longer to be trodden vnder foot of theſe our moſt beaſtlie and cruell enimies, but ſend vnto vs ſome conuenable ſuccors and that with all ſpeed, leaſt we ſéeme to be more cruellie betraied of the Romans, than brought to deſtruction by theſe barbarous people, and that we be not ſet forth as a notable example for all other to beware, how they put confidence hereafter either in the rule or friendſhip of the Romans.

Paulus Diaconus, Beda, Geffray of Monmouth, Veremound, and others make mention of theſe foreſaid letters. Whereupon Etius anſwering, declared that thoſe calamities, miſfortunes and loſſes ſuſteined by the Britains were right diſpleaſant vnto him, and ſo much the more, for that through the ſundrie inuaſions made, aſwell into France as alſo into Italie it ſelfe, and into other parties of the Romane empire by people of ſundrie nations, he could not as then ſpare anie men of warre to ſend ouer vnto them, & therefore he willed the Britains to make the beſt ſhift they could to defend themſelues for a time, till things were better quieted in other parties, and then ſhould they ſée ſuch redreſſe of their iniuries prouided, as they ſhould thinke themſelues to be verie well reuenged. About the ſame time that the ambaſſadours returned with this anſwere vnto London from Etius, the other alſo came backe forth of the north without hope to ſpéed of that about the which they had bin ſent, for the Scots & Picts would incline to no reaſonable conditions of peace, vnleſſe the Britains would wholie ſubmit themſelues as ſubiects vnto them. The Britains hereat toke ſuch indignation, that by generall conſent they agreed to trie it out with the enimies by maine force; & hereupon made their prouiſion with all diligence. The Scots and Picts hearing of the Britains intents, gathered their people togither with more ſpéed than was thought poſſible for them to haue done, & forthwith ruſhed into the borders of their enimies countries in right puiſſant wiſe and moſt warlike order.

But not ſo largelie as here is expreſſed.

The anſwere of Etius.

The Scots and Picts would agree vpon no reaſonable conditions of peace.

The Scots and Picts prepare againſt the Britains.

In the fore ward went ſuch as came forth of Galloway and Annandale, with thoſe Picts which inhabited about the coaſts of Barwike. Then followed there a mightie battell of thoſe which came forth of Argile, Athole, and other Picts inhabiting nére vnto the parties of Kalendar and Camelone with them of Fife, and Angus. In the midſt of this battell both the kings kept their place with their choiſeſt ſouldiers, and ſtandards borne afore them. Then went the carriage and truſſe of the armie, next whereunto a great number of noble men of both the nations followed in faire order of battell, with their ſeruants and men of warre the beſt they could chooſe forth. And laſt of all (as the maner of thoſe nations hath béene euen from the beginning) there came a great multitude of the cõmons cloſing vp the back of the whole

The order of the Scots and Picts entring into the lands of the Britains.

whole aforeſaid armie.

The Britains alſo comming forth into the field with their whole puiſſance to incounter their enimies, when they vnderſtood by eſpials the order and maine force of the Scots and Picts, they were halfe diſcouraged in their minds, and thought good therefore once againe to aſſaie if anie peace might be purchaſed. But ſending forth their ambaſſadours vnto the confederat kings, to that end their anſwere was, that except the Britains would yéeld themſelues, their wiues and children, with all their goods and ſubſtance into the hands of their enimies, ſimplie without all conditions, there would be no peace granted. When this was knowen abroad in the hoſt of the Britains, what thorough kindled ire on the one part, and foule deſpaire on the other, prouoking their minds to diſpleaſure, they generallie vpon change of purpoſe required battell, euen all the whole number of them.

The Britains vpon the Scotiſhmens refuſall to haue peace, require to haue battell.

Hereof inſued a moſt cruell and mortall fight: for the Britains (as it were) reſolued to die in defenſe of their countrie, and to reuenge their owne deaths vpon their enimies, with more fiercenеſſe than is credible to be thought, gaue the onſet, and ouerthrew a great number of their enimies, inſomuch that thoſe of Galloway and the Picts fighting in the fore ward with them of Argile, Athole, and ſuch other as were in the battell with the kings, were in great danger to be put to the worſe: which Graime perceiuing (by whome the moſt part of the armie was ruled, and that by commandement of both the kings) called forth a number of the Iland-men, who were appointed to attend the cariage, and ſent them with all diligence to the fore ward to the ſuccors of them of Galloway, being then at the point to haue ſought refuge by flight. But by the comming of theſe Iland-men to their ſuccors, they toke courage afreſh, ſo that the battell was againe moſt fiercelie renewed, and ſo continued a ſpace with great ſlaughter on both parts, till finallie the Britains being oppreſſed with the multitude of their enimies, and not able longer to indure, fell to running awaie, thinking to ſaue themſelues in certeine bogs, moſſes, and mariſh grounds nære vnto the place of the battell: but ſuch coiſterels, and other as remained with the Scotiſh cariage, ſeeing the diſcomfiture of their aduerſaries, ran forth and purſued them into thoſe mariſhes, killing and taking no ſmall number of them. There were ſlaine in this battell of the Britains, aboue 15 thouſand, and of the Scots and Picts nére hand foure thouſand.

The fierce onſet giuen by the Britains.

Graimes authoritie in ordering of the battels.

Thoſe of the weſterne Iles comming to the ſuccors of the fore ward, reſtored the battell.

The Britains run awaie.

The number of them that were ſlaine on both ſides.

The Britains hauing receiued this ouerthrow, ſaw no helpe which waie to recouer their loſſes, but onelie to ſue for peace at the victors hands. They ſent therefore an orator vnto the Scotiſh & Pictiſh kings, beſeeching them humblie to grant them a peace, euen with what conditions it ſhould pleaſe them to preſcribe. The kings not moued onelie with the preſent fortune of the Britains, but alſo partlie with their owne, hauing loſt no ſmall number of right worthie perſonages in the battell, were contented to grant a peace vpon theſe conditions: That the Britains ſhould in no wiſe receiue anie lieutenant or armie hereafter from Rome, nor ſuffer anie enimie of the Scotiſh and Pictiſh eſtats, of what nation ſoeuer he were, to paſſe through their countrie. They ſhould enter into no league with anie citie or nation, nor be about to make anie warres without conſent of the Scotiſh and Pictiſh kings, and further ſhould be readie to ſerue them againſt all maner of enimies whenſoeuer they ſhould be ſent for. Moreouer, they ſhould remoue with their wiues, children, and whole families out of all thoſe countries, lieng betwixt Tine and Humber, reſigning the poſſeſſion of the ſame vnto the Scotiſhmen and Picts.

The Britains make humble ſute for peace.

Peace granted by the Scots with the conditions of the ſame.

Alſo they ſhould giue threeſcore thouſand peeces of gold then current to the Scotiſh & Pictiſh kings, towards the diſpatch of their ſouldiors wages, and further ſhould yéeld as a tribute twentie thouſand peeces of gold, to be paied yeerelie vnto the ſeuerall vſes of the victors. They ſhould likewiſe deliuer one hundred hoſtages of ſuch as the two kings ſhuld appoint, betwixt the age of eightéene and thirtie yeers. Theſe conditions of peace though they ſéemed verie ſtreict & greeuous to the Britiſh nobilitie, yet for that they vnderſtood not how to make a better bargaine, they perſuaded the multitude to accept them, and ſo a league thereupon was concluded amongſt thoſe people, and the publike ſtate of the land brought to a more quiet rule than it had béene before. Thus were the Britains made tributarie to the Scotiſhmen and Picts, about 500 yéeres after Julius Ceſar had brought them in ſubiection to the Romans, being in the yeere after the birth of our Sauiour 446, and of Eugenius his reigne ouer the Scotiſhmen the ſeuenth.

60000 pound ſaith Balantine, after the rate of Scotiſh monie. 20000 pound ſaith the ſame Balantine, ſo that he eſtéemeth thoſe peeces of gold to be of the value of French crownes.

The Britains tributarie to the Scots and Picts. 436. H.B.

In this ſeaſon was the Ile of Albion ſore infected with the hereſie of the Pelagians, and therefore pope Celeſtine ſent one Paladius a learned man vnto the Scots, to preſerue them from that infection, and ordeined him biſhop, the firſt in Scotland that had his inueſture from Rome: for all the other before him were ordeined by the voices or ſuffrages of the people, chooſing them forth among the monks and prieſts called Culdeis, as the Scotiſh chronicles do report. Paladius with right good and wholeſome exhortations purged the Scots and Picts of ſundrie ſuperſtitious rites of their old gentiliſh idolatrie, till thoſe daies vſed amongſt them, whereupon he is named and reputed for the Scotiſhmens apoſtle. He lieth at Fordune, a towne in Mernes, where his reliques remained, and were long after had in great eſtimation.

The hereſie of the Pelagians.

Paladius ſent into Scotland.

Of this Paladius ſpoke more in Ireland.

Paladius accompted the apoſtle of Scotland.

Moreouer he inſtituted one Seruan biſhop of the Orkenies, that he might inſtruct the inhabitants there in the faith of Chriſt, which as yet they had not receiued: and one Teruan, whome he himſelfe had baptiſed, he made archbiſhop of Pictland. In theſe daies alſo manie ſtrange ſights were ſéene in ſundrie parts of Britaine before the laſt mentioned ouerthrow: the moone being in plaine oppoſition to the ſunne, when it ſhould be moſt round, appeared in a quadrant figure. At Yorke it rained bloud: and trées in ſundrie places being blaſted, withered and died. The market place, or rather (if ye will ſo tearme it) Cheapeſide in London opened, ſo that a great hole appeared, and manie houſes were ſwallowed vp. About the ſame ſeaſon alſo (as is ſuppoſed) liued that huge perſonage Finmacoell, a Scotiſhman borne of ſeuen cubites in height. He was a great hunter, and ſore feared of all men by reaſon of his mightie ſtature, and large limbs: manie fables go abroad of him, not ſo agreeable to the likelihood of truth, as ought to be regiſtred in an hiſtorie, and therefore here paſſed ouer with ſilence.

Seruan biſhop of Orkenie, and Teruan archbiſhop of Pictland.

Vnketh ſights and ſtrange wonders appered.

Finmacoell the great hunter.

The Romane empire being brought into irrecouerable ruine by the Vandals, Gothes, Hunnes, Frenchmen, and other barbarous nations, occupieng ſundrie parts and portions thereof, put the Britains out of all hope to haue anie aſſiſtance from the emperors, which cauſed them to remaine in quiet certein yeers without attempting any exploit againſt the Scots or Picts, and ſo duelie paid their couenanted tribute, though ſore againſt their wils, if they might otherwiſe haue remedied it. At the laſt about ten yeers after the concluſion of this laſt peace, it chanced that one Conanus the ſonne of the aboue

Conanus a Britaine goeth about to perſuade his countriemen to breake the peace concluded with the Scots and Picts.

mentioned Conanus, deſcended of the bloud of the Octauij, ſometimes kings of the Britains, ſore maligned to ſée his countrie thus brought into thraldome of the Scotiſh nation, and deuiſing how to find ſome redres, called togither the moſt part of the Britiſh nobilitie, by ſecret meſſage home to a manour place which he had within a thicke wood in the countrie of Kent, and there opening vnto them a great péece of his mind, perſuaded them with the weightieſt reaſons he could imagine, to leuie warre againſt the Scots and Picts, hauing at that preſent, meanes now ſince the laſt warres to mainteine it, as well by reaſon of their increaſe both of able men, as alſo of ſubſtance to furniſh them withall.

The Britains hauing reſpect to their ſonnes & kinſmen lieng in hoſtage would not agrée to breake the peace.

Héere the nobles were of ſundrie opinions: for ſome aweried with the note of bondage, would gladlie haue had warres: other hauing regard to their ſons lieng in hoſtage with the enimies, would in no wiſe conſent thereto: by reaſon whereof this councell brake vp without concluſion of anie effect. When ech man was returned to his home, there had béene ſome amongſt them, that gaue knowledge to the confederate kings what motion had béene made, and what was intended againſt them. Whereupon they immediatlie determined, not onelie to cauſe the hoſtages to be executed, but alſo to purſue the rebels with fierce and cruell warres. Yet before they practiſed anie violence, they ſent their ambaſſadors vnto the Britains, to vnderſtand their full meaning, and to declare vnto them further certeine articles which the ſaid kings required to haue performed without all delaies, or elſe to looke for open warre out of hand.

The kings of the Scots & Picts offended with the conſpiracie of the Britains, preſcribe vnto them new articles to be performed.

The chiefeſt points of which articles were theſe. Firſt that the Britains ſhould not aſſemble togither in councell without licence of the Scotiſh and Pictiſh kings, notwithſtanding that their ancient lawes they might vſe at their pleaſure, but they ſhould receiue no ſtranger into their countrie being a Romane or a Frenchman, neither merchant nor other. Their old hoſtages they ſhould receiue home againe, and deliuer in exchange of them twiſe ſo manie in number of the like age and degrée, as was couenanted by the former league. The commons of the land vnderſtanding what was demanded by theſe ambaſſadors, were in a wonderfull rage, and would haue made a great ſturre if they had not béene quieted by the lords, who for their paines taken herein, got them an euill report amongſt the inferior ſort of people, as though through their want of ſtomach onlie, the common-wealth was brought in to ſuch a miſerable eſtate, that loke what it pleaſed the enimie to charge the Britiſh nation with, no man durſt once ſpeake againſt it.

Impudent ſeruilitie intruded vpon the Britains by the proud and cruell Scots, if it be true.

The commons of Britaine offended with their gouernors.

This grudge of the commons increaſed ſo farre forth againſt their ſuperiors, that after the Scotiſh and Pictiſh ambaſſadors were returned home, with anſwer agréeable to their demandes, their aroſe incontinentlie a great commotion of the people, conſpiring togither the vtter deſtruction of the whole nobilitie. But their furie was repreſſed, ſo that they were ouerthrowne in battell at two ſeuerall times with great ſlaughter and bloudſhed, whereupon they withdrew into the mounteins, and there kept themſelues, making raiſes vpon the nobilitie, and fetching booties awaie from the heards and flocks of cattell belonging to the lords and gentlemen: but finallie through famine which began to oppreſſe both parties, they perceiued what néed the one had of the others helpe, and ſo they agréed. This ciuill warre ſore decaied the force of the Britains, for beſide the great ſlaughter that was made betwixt them, by the auoiding of the commons out of their houſes, the ground laie vntilled, whereof inſued a maruellous great ſcarſitie and dearth of all things, by reaſon whereof an innumerable ſort of people died. Yet ſhortlie after followed ſuch plentie, that thoſe that were left aliue forgetting the paſſed miſeries, gaue themſelues to all kind of vice, which tooke ſuch root in the hearts of the more part of them, that for anie man to vſe anie maner of vertue amongſt them, was a readie meane to procure great enuie and hatred.

One eſtate of men cannot liue without helpe of another.

Superfluous wealth occaſion of vice.

In the meane time liued the Scotiſh and Pictiſh kings in good quiet and reſt, applieng their ſtudies onelie how to inſtruct their people now after the warres were once ended, in laudable exerciſes and neceſſarie occupations, conuenient for the time of peace, whereby their realmes might flouriſh in welth and proſperitie without dread of anie forren power. For they ſaw ſuch tokens of ruine in the Britiſh eſtate, as ſmall likelihood appeared, that the ſame ſhould at anie time be able to recouer againe the former force and dignitie. Finallie the Scotiſh king Eugenius hauing aduanced the eſtate of his countrie vnto more felicitie and wealth than anie of his predeceſſors had euer done before him, after he had reigned thirtie yéeres, he ended his life about the fourth yéere of Leo, that vſurped the empire of Conſtantinople.

The Scots applie themſelues to peace.

The death of Eugenius the Scotiſh king.

Dongard.

But forſomuch as Eugenius left no iſſue behind him, his brother named Dongard ſucceéded in the eſtate. He began his reigne in the yéere 470, and his chéefeſt ſtudie was, according to his brothers example, to prouide for the maintenance of good orders and iuſtice, appointing in euerie quarter men of good fame and report to haue the adminiſtration vnder him, with commandement that they ſhould diligentlie foreſée, that euerie man might inioy his owne. He himſelfe tooke vpon him alſo to ſée to the reparing of ſuch caſtels as were decaied, and to the building vp of new in places where he thought moſt expedient, ſpeciallie néere to the Britiſh borders, for he well conſidered that peace increaſed riches, riches pride and preſumption, with other ſinnes, which could not long indure without the plague of warres. Therefore he doubting the changes of ſcornefull fortune, thought good in time of peace to prouide for the dangers of warre, when the ſame ſhould happen vnto him.

Dongard king of Scots. 461. H.B.

The ſtudie of Dongard for preſeruation of iuſtice and good orders.

The reparing of caſtels by K. Dongard.

These ciuill policies and princelie prouiſions for defenſe of his countrie and ſubiects increaſed the fame of Dongard mightilie, but that which he did towards the aduancement of religion did moſt exceedinglie ſet forth his commendation. Firſt, all ſuch religious men as followed the trade of life taught by Paladius and others, which came with him from Rome, he cauſed them to be highlie reuerenced: and for the maintenance of their liuing, he aſſigned forth lands, houſes, and other kinds of reuenues in diuers places of his realme, and granted not onelie vnto them, but alſo vnto all other, being within anie orders of clergie, ſundrie priuileges, appointing that the churches & abbeies with other holie places ſhould be infranchiſed and taken for ſanctuaries, that all ſuch as fled to the ſame for ſafegard of their liues, ſhould be ſuffered to reſt in peace, ſo long as they kept them within the ſame.

The bountifous liberalitie of Dongard towards churchmen.

Sanctuaries.

About the ſame time alſo, and whileſt theſe things were thus a doing in Scotland, the Britains being aweried of their ſeruile eſtate, through the ſetting on of Conanus, conſpired together, and tooke aduiſe by what meanes they might beſt ſéeke to deliuer themſelues from the thraldome of Scots and Picts, and vpon aduiſe taken they concluded to ſend ouer into Britaine Armorike ſome honorable ambaſſage vnto Andronenus the king of that countrie for aid. Herewith was the archbiſhop of London appointed

The Britains ſend into Britaine Armorike for aid.

ted as chiefe ambaſſador to go on that meſſage, which archbiſhop vſed ſuch diligence in the matter, that Conſtantine the ſonne of the ſaid Andꝛoenus was appointed by his father with a competent power of men to go ouer into great Bꝛitaine to the aid of the Bꝛitiſh inhabitants there. Hereupon, when the men & ſhips with all neceſſarie pꝛouiſion were once ꝛeadie, he imbarked at Saint Malo, where the aſſemblie was made, and taking the ſea, ſailed fꝛoꝛth with pꝛoſperous wind and weather, which bꝛought him ſafelie into great Bꝛitaine, where he landed at Totnes in Deuonſhire, as you ſhall find in the chꝛonicles of England. He was receiued with no ſmall ioy, and fꝛoꝛthwith pꝛoclamed king of Bꝛitaine, whereupon he pꝛomiſed to aſſaie to the vttermoſt of his power to recouer againe their whole lands and liberties, and to maintaine them in the ſame accoꝛding to their wiſhed deſires.

Aid ſent into Bꝛitaine from the Armoꝛike Bꝛitains.

Conſtantine pꝛoclamed king of Bꝛitaine.

Foꝛ the moꝛe ſpeedie accompliſhment hereof, commandement was firſt giuen, that all able men ſhould be in a readineſſe, and come togither at a place appointed neere to the riuer of Humber within foꝛtie daies after. Which oꝛder being taken by the aduiſe of the loꝛds and nobles of the realme, the ſame was put in execution with ſuch diligence, that few oꝛ none being apt to beare aꝛmoꝛ, withdꝛew themſelues, euerie man in manner comming to the appointed place of the aſſemblie, and offering to go againſt the enimies, ſo that it was a wonder to conſider the conſent of the people now ioined in one mind and will to recouer their foꝛmer libertie. When Conſtantine beheld ſuch notable numbers of men, he ſuppoſed the ſame would haue ſufficed not onelie to vanquiſh the Scots and Picts, but alſo vtterlie to deſtroie & race them out of all the confines of Albion.

The aſſemblie of the Bꝛitiſh armie.

The great earneſtnes of the Bꝛitains to recouer their libertie.

When the newes of all this pꝛeparation foꝛ warres which the Bꝛitains made, was once ſignified to the Scots and Picts, they likewiſe made their appꝛeſtes to meet with them in the field, and thereupon raiſing their powers, came fꝛoꝛth with the ſame into Yoꝛkeſhire, and pitched their camps within foure miles where Conſtantine with his people was lodged, and the next day after, vnderſtanding how neere vnto the enimie they were, they raiſed and marched foꝛwards till they came within ſight of him, as then incamped with his people aloft vpon certeine hils, neere to the afoꝛeſaid riuer ſide. Here both the kings of Scots and Picts lodging with their armies foꝛ that night, made readie foꝛ battell againſt the nert day, and in the moꝛning Dongard the Scotiſh king getting him to a little hill, called his men togither, & there exhoꝛted them by ſundꝛie comfoꝛtable meanes of perſuaſion to put awaie all feare, and to fight valiantly, aſſuring them of victoꝛie if they would keepe the oꝛder of battell by him appointed, and not raſhlie bꝛeake fꝛoꝛth of the ſame in following vpon the enimies when they fell to retiring backe.

The Scots and Picts make their appꝛeſts.

The Scots and Picts appꝛoch neere to the Bꝛittains.

Dongard exhoꝛteth his people to fight manfullie.

He had ſcarſe made an end of his woꝛds, but that diuerſe of the ſtanding watch came in, and declared how the Bꝛitains began to auale the hils where they had lodged, and that the Picts were got fꝛoꝛth alreadie in oꝛder of battell, and were marching foꝛwards to incounter them. Dongard ſhewing himſelfe to be right ioifull of theſe newes, commanded incontinentlie, that the ſtandards ſhould aduance fꝛoꝛth, and euerie man to attend the ſame accoꝛding to his appointed oꝛder. Alſo that no man ſhould pꝛeſume to take anie pꝛiſoner befoꝛe the end of the battell, noꝛ to yeeld himſelfe ſo long as life laſted. So that ioining with his enimies, there followed a verie fierce and cruell battell. At length both the wings of the Bꝛitains gaue backe from the Scotiſhmen & Picts, the middle ward abiding the bꝛunt verie ſtoutlie. Where Conſtantine himſelfe ſtood like a valiant chiefteine, doing his endeuour to the vttermoſt of his power, vpon whome Dongard earneſtlie pꝛeaſſing, and entring into the thickeſt thꝛong of his enimies, was there beaten downe amongſt the Armoꝛike Bꝛitains, and being about to get vp againe by helpe of his weapon, was againe felled to the earth, and ſlaine with manie a ſoꝛe wound.

The wings of the Bꝛitiſh armie are put backe.

Dongard is ſlaine.

Diuers of the Scots diſcomfited with this great miſhap, fell to running awaie: other kindled with moꝛe wꝛath laid about them moꝛe egerlie. The Picts alſo, foꝛ their part fought moſt conſtantlie, ſo that the battell continuing vntill none daie with doubtfull ſucceſſe, at length the Bꝛitains were conſtreined ſomething to giue backe, & after taking themſelues to fearfull flight, declared that the victoꝛie remained with their enimies. There died in this moꝛtall battell neere to the point of 16 thouſand of the Bꝛitains, and of the Scots & Picts aboue 14 thouſand, with Dongard and the Scotiſh king. Conſtantine the day nert after the battell, withdꝛew ſouthwards. The Scots carried away with them the coꝛps of their dead king, and conueieng it into the Ile of Iona, now called Colmekill, there buried it in kinglie wiſe. Dongard was thus ſlaine, in the fift yeere of his reigne, after the birth of our Sauioꝛ 475 yeeres, and about the ſecond yeere of Zeno the emperoꝛ.

The Bꝛitains are put to flight.

465. H.B.

8. of Leo. H.B.

Conſtantine.

Conſtantine the firſt of that name is created king of Scots.

After him ſucceeded in gouerment of the Scotiſh kingdome Conſtantine the bꝛother of the aboue rehearſed Eugenius, a pꝛince vnlike in noble vertues vnto his bꝛother the ſaid Eugenius. Foꝛ though in him there appeered ſome good tokens of commendable towardlineſſe, as he ſeemed outwardlie to ſhew, yet was he giuen moꝛe vnto wanton pleaſure and luſt, than to the regard of the good rule and gouernment of his ſubiects, a deflourer of virgins, a rauiſher of honeſt matrones, and aboue all, a fauourer of backbiters and ſlanderers; neuer ſhewing anie ioifull countenance amongſt his nobles, but amongſt ſcoffing ieſters and other vile perſons he was as pleaſant and merie as the iocundeſt man alive. Thus though he repꝛeſented the Bꝛitiſh king Conſtantine in name, yet in manners he far differed from him: foꝛ the Bꝛitiſh Conſtantine ſtudieng to aduance the commonwealth of his ſubiects, trained them in laudable exerciſes, & reduced them from their foꝛmer euill vſages vnto ciuill oꝛder and good cuſtoms. Contrariwiſe, the Scotiſh Conſtantine did nothing woꝛthie pꝛaiſe at all, after he was once inſtituted king, but followed ſtill his owne inoꝛdinate luſt and ſenſuall appetite.

Conſtantine the Scotiſh king nothing like in nobis conditions vnto Conſtantine king of the Bꝛitains.

He granted peace vnto the Bꝛitains they ſcarſe requiring the ſame, releaſing not onelie the tribute, but alſo deliuering vp into their hands by ſecret meanes diuers caſtels ſtanding vpon the riuer of Humber. Manie other things he was about to haue done to the great pꝛeiudice and hinderance of the Scotiſh eſtate, had not the nobles of the realme the ſooner withſtood his raſh and vnaduiſed attempts. Such malice alſo was ingendꝛed in the harts of the moſt part of the nobilitie towards him, that had it not beene thꝛough the wholeſome admonition & perſuaſion of Dongall of Galloway, a noble man of right reuerend authoꝛitie amongſt them, they had leuied ciuill wars againſt him, but the foꝛeſaid Dongall declaring to them the great danger and inconuenience that might thereof inſue, reſtreined their wꝛathfull minds from enterpꝛiſing anie thing againſt him by foꝛce, ſo that foꝛ certeine yeeres they ſuffered and bare with this his miſoꝛdered gouerment.

Peace granted vnto the Bꝛitains, and diuers caſtels deliuered into their hands.

The good counſell of Dongall.

In the meane while the Picts noting the want of all vertuous qualities thus in the king of Scots, and againe what tokens of valiant courage appeered in the king of the Bꝛitains, doubted leaſt if he ſhould

The Picts ſtand in feare of the king of Bꝛitaine.

ſeeke

ſéke to reuenge old iniuries againſt them, they ſhould be little able to match him without aid of the Scots (whereof they had ſmall truſt now, by reaſon of the inſufficiencie of the Scotiſh king) they deuiſed a meane how to rid the Britiſh king out of the waie, and ſo appointing certeine ſlie fellowes to go into Britaine for the accompliſhment of their deuiſed purpoſe, at length the ſame was brought to paſſe, as in the Engliſh chronicles ye ſhall find more at large, though in the ſame chronicles there is mention made but of one Pict that ſhould worke this feat, where the Scotiſh writers record of diuers, which neuertheleſſe were apprehended, and after bound both hand and foot, were caſt into a mightie great fire, and therein burnt to aſhes in moſt miſerable wiſe, as by the ſaid Scotiſh writers it appéareth. The death of this Conſtantine king of Britains happened in the 15 yeare of Conſtantine king of Scots, neither liued he long after: for hauing raviſhed a noble mans daughter, borne in the weſterne Iles, he was ſlaine by hir father in the night ſeaſon, after he had reigned in great infamie for his reprochfull life, the ſpace of 17 yéares.

Conſtantine the Scotiſh king is ſlaine by one whoſe daughter he had raviſhed. Anno 481.

Dongall.

Dongall the ſonne of Dongard is made king of Scotland.

Then was Dongall his nephue, as ſonne to his brother Dongard, proclamed king, a prince of diſpoſition indifferent either to peace or warre, though in the beginning of his reigne he ſhewed himſelfe more deſirous of peace than of warres, by reaſon the ſtate of the common-wealth ſo required, conſidering how things ſtood not all in the beſt order, through his predeceſſors negligence. Dongall therefore deſirous of a reformation, appointed men of great wiſedome and good fame to be iudges and officers vnder him, who in redreſſing miſorders, in puniſhing tranſgreſſions, & in deciding of all ſtriues and contentions betwixt partie & partie, did ſo well their endeuour, that peace and concord therevpon inſuing, the people recouered peaceable reſt and quietneſſe, to their no ſmall comfort and contentation.

The politike rule of Dongall.

In this meane while that things paſſed thus among the Scots, by the procurement of one Mortigerne, Conſtantius the eldeſt ſonne of the late deceaſſed Conſtantine king of Britains, was taken out of an abbeie, where he was ſhorne a monke, and aduanced to the kingdome: but being not meet of himſelfe to gouerne, Mortigerne had the whole rule committed to his hands, whereupon he firſt cauſed the league to be renewed betwixt the Britains, the Scots, and Picts, and appointed a gard of the ſame Scots and Picts to be attendant on the kings perſon: in the end alſo he procured ſome of them to murther the king, and after put all the ſaid Scots and Picts to death, as well the giltie as the vngiltie, and finallie made himſelfe king, as in the hiſtorie of England you ſhall find more at large expreſſed.

Conſtantius a monke elected king of Britaine.

Mortigerns treaſon. Conſtantius murdered.

The Scots and Picts (for diſpleaſure that their countriemen which had béene appointed to gard the perſon of Conſtantius king of the Britains, were maliciouſlie circumuented, & the more part of them wrongfullie executed) made ſundrie roades and forraies into the Britiſh borders, neither ſparing fire nor ſword where they came. So that the ſaid Mortigerne by a gréeuous report informed héereof, cauſed an armie with all ſpéed to be leuied, and appointed Guitellus the prince of Wales to haue the leading thereof againſt the enimies: whileſt he (doubting leaſt the people would not be ruled by him, for that it was knowen how he would haue made waie Conſtantines children) kept him about London, & durſt not commit himſelfe ſo much to the ſight of a multitude, as to go forth in that iournie in his owne perſon.

Guitellus generall of the Britiſh armie

Guitellus, in reſpect of the loue which he bare to his countrie, purpoſing to ſerue truelie in defenſe thereof, chanced vpon his approch to the borders to take the number of fiue hundred of the enimies, being aduanced from the reſidue to fetch a botie. Theſe Guitellus cauſed to be hanged, as condemned for robbers and pillers of the countrie afore anie ouerture of warre was denounced. Whereupon ſuch other as eſcaped by flight, and had ſéene their fellowes thus executed, declared vnto their gouernors what had happened vnto their fellowes. The confederate kings, being in a great chafe héerewith, gather togither their people, and haſte forward with all ſpéed toward the enimies, who at the firſt ſhewed manifeſt tokens that they were ſore afraid of the Scotiſh and Piciſh power: whereupon Guitellus their generall with comfortable words willed them to be of good courage, and not to doubt of victorie, hauing ſo iuſt a cauſe to fight with truce-breakers, and ſuch as were giuen more vnto pillage and ſpoile, than to anie other commendable exerciſe or practiſe of warre.

Guitellus cauſeth fiue hundred of the enimies to be hanged.

The Scotiſh and Piciſh kings gather their people to reſiſt the Britains.

Guitellus incourageth the aſſailed parts of his men of warre with comfortable words.

With ſuch and ſundrie other the like words the Britains being imboldened, as might well appéere by their change of countenances, Guitellus thereupon remoued his campe more néere vnto his enimies, ſo that at the firſt and for certeine daies togither, there chanced onelie diuers ſkirmiſhes betwixt the parties, as occaſion ſerued. But at length the one being ſore moued againſt the other, they ioine in a pight field. The beginning of which battell was verie fierce and doubtfull. For on that ſide where Dongall the Scotiſh king fought, the Britains ſhortlie began to preuaile, through the faint fighting of his people: which danger Galanus the Piciſh king quicklie perceiuing, forthwith prouided remedie: for taking with him certeine bands out of his owne battell, willing the reſidue to ſtand to it manfullie, and in no wiſe to giue ground to the enimie, he himſelfe with the ſaid bands fetched a compaſſe about, and ſet vpon the backs of them that ſo had ouermatched the Scots.

The Britains ioine in a pight field with the Scots and Picts.

The Scots are put backe. Galane king of Picts ſuccoureth the Scots.

This ſudden chance ſore diſordered the Britains, and immediatlie the Scots incouraged afreſh, aſſailed their enimies with more eger minds than they had done at the firſt, ſo that maintenantlie both the wings of the Britiſh armie were vtterlie diſcomfited. And héerewith a certeine number of the Picts were commanded by their king to make haſte to win the campe of the Britains, that ſuch as ſought to eſcape by flight, ſhould find no refuge in the ſame. Thus the Britains being chaſed and ſlaine on euerie ſide, they knew not whither to flée: ſo that in the end a great number of them throwing awaie their weapons, yéelded themſelues, moſt humblie crauing mercie at their enimies hands. There were ſlaine in this battell aboue twentie thouſand of the Britains, togither with their generall Guitellus, and a great number of other of the nobilitie. There died alſo of the Scots and Picts néere hand foure thouſand. The priſoners with the ſpoile of the field were diuided by appointment of the kings amongſt the ſouldiers. Which done, they marched forth into the countrie to conquere caſtels and townes, ſuch as ſtood in their waie.

The wings of the Britains put to flight.

The campe of the Britains won.

The Britains chaſed, know not whither to flée.

Guitell with twentie thouſand Britains ſlaine.

Foure thouſand Scots and Picts ſlaine.

In the meane time, the Britains being ſore diſcomfited with the ouerthrow, aſſembled a councell at London, there to deuiſe by what meanes they might beſt defend their countrie from the imminent danger in the which it now ſtood. Mortigerne as one giltie in conſcience, doubted leaſt through want of good wils in his commons, he ſhould not be able to withſtand the mightie inuaſion of his enimies, wherupon he was minded to haue auoided the realme, but there were of his councell that aduiſed him to the contrarie, holding, that better it was for him to trie the vttermoſt point of fortunes hap, than with diſho-

A counſell holden at London.

Mortigerne doubting the hatred of his people, would haue fled out of his realme.

diſhonor ſo to yéeld at the firſt blow of hir froward hand, conſidering the abundance of treaſure which he had in ſtore, wherewith he might wage ſouldiers and men of warre out of Germanie & other places, in number ſufficient to match with his enimies. This counſell as the beſt was followed, and meſſengers with commiſſion & ſufficient inſtructions ſent with all ſpéed into Germanie, to reteine a number of Saxons, and to bring them ouer into Britaine, to ſerue againſt the Scots and Picts in wages with Uortigerne.

Uortigerne is counſelled to ſend for aid into Germanie.

At the ſame time there were amongſt thoſe Saxons two brethren, deſcended by rightfull linage of the princes of that nation, who being reputed for valiant capteins, appointed with the Britiſh commiſſaries for a certeine ſumme of monie to take vp their preſcribed number of men, & to receiue charge of them as coronels, aſwell for their conuaie ouer into Britaine, as alſo for their ſeruice there, after their arriual. The one of theſe two brethren was called Hengiſt or Engiſt, and the other Horſus, who hauing their appointed numbers once filled, conteining about ten thouſand ſouldiers in the whole, they beſtowed them abroad in thirtie hulks, boies, and plaits, and in the ſame tranſported them ouer into Britaine, in the 449 yéere after Chriſt, as our hiſtories do affirme: where they were receiued with great ioy and gladneſſe of Uortigerne, who truſted by their aid to ouercome his fierce and dreadfull enimies.

Hengiſt and Horſus reteined in ſeruice with Uortigerne.

Therefore when they had refreſhed themſelues ſomewhat after their trauell by ſea, they were ſent forth with an other armie which Uortigerne had aſſembled of his owne ſubiects the Britains, to the frontiers of the enimies countrie, where at their firſt comming they paſſed ouer the riuer of Humber, before the Scots or Picts had knowledge that anie ſuch people were come in ſupport of the Britains to bid them battell. They being therefore amazed with the ſtrangeneſſe of the thing, ſome of them fled into the inner parts of their countrie, & other that made but ſorie ſhift, fell into the hands of the Saxons, who to begin their enterpriſe with bloud, ſlaie all ſuch as they could laie hands vpon, without anie reſpect of perſon. Great was the ſlaughter by them committed in all thoſe parties where they paſſed, namelie about the riuer of Tine. And when they had made an end there, they entred into Northumberland, and ſo into the dales aboue Berwike, next adioining vnto Pictland, deſtroieng all before them with fire and ſword.

The Saxons together with a power of Britains are ſent to the borders of the enimies countries.

The Saxons in hope of good ſucceſſe begin the wars againſt the Scots with bloud.

The Britiſh king in the meane time had ſent vnto Dongall the king of Scots to come with all ſpéed to ſupport him againſt the dreadfull inuaſion of the enimies, whoſe force being now increaſed with a power of Saxons, would worke much miſchéefe, if the ſame were not the more ſpéedilie in the beginning repreſſed: but hearing that the Saxons and Britains dailie approched, he thought not good to tarie for the comming of the Scots, but haſted forth with his owne power to incounter his aduerſaries, and raſhlie giuing battell, he was ouercome, and thereby loſt no ſmall number of his people. In this conflict the Saxons wan them a great name for their high valiance, where contrarilie the Britains got them no ſmall note of giltie cowardize, fighting ſo faintlie, that their capteins had much adoo to cauſe them to kéepe their ground, being readie ſtill to haue run awaie: which their faintneſſe of ſtomach being noted of Hengiſt, euen then put him in no ſmall confidence that it ſhould be an eaſie matter for him to conquere them at his pleaſure, when time and occaſion might ſerue thereto.

The king of Picts ſendeth for aid vnto the Scotiſh king.

The king of the Picts vanquiſhed.

The Saxons won praiſe, and the Britains noted of cowardize.

The Britiſh nation hauing receiued this grieuous ouerthrow at the hands of their cruell enimies, ſent againe an other ambaſſage vnto the Scotiſh king Congall, to ſignifie to him by way of lamentation, what loſſe had happened to them by that moſt cruell people the Saxons void of all religion and mercie, and what miſchiefe by the ſame people was intended, aſwell againſt Scots as Picts, vnto the great danger of the vtter ruine of both nations, if the enimies in time were not reſiſted. They that were ſent, declared all this matter vnto king Congall, and as they had in commiſſion, beſought him of ſpéedie ſuccors. Congall not onlie moued for the harms and loſſes of the Picts his friends and alies, but alſo much more for the likelihod of the imminent danger and perill towards himſelfe and his owne people, determined ſpéedilie to go with all his power, and to ioine with the Picts, as fullie reſolued to preuent that miſchiefe which was like to follow, if the violent rage of the enimies were not the ſoner reſiſted.

The Picts eftſoones ſolicit the Scots for aid.

He ſent word therefore to the Pictiſh king, that if he might kéepe off the enimies by light ſkirmiſhes and incurſions for a ſmall time, he would come to his aid ſhortlie, with all the whole puiſſance of his realme. And herewithall he commanded by open proclamation, that all thoſe within his dominions, which were able to beare armour ſhould by the twentith day after aſſemble togither at the ſouth ſide of Calidon wood, all and euerie of them bringing then and there with them vittels ſufficient to ſerue them for two moneths. According to the which proclamation, there came togither at the day and place aſſigned, about the number of 40000 able men, fit and méete for the warres. On the morrow after, when Congall had taken the muſters & view of his whole numbers, he ſet forward towards the place where he vnderſtood that the king of the Picts as then lodged, who had likewiſe aſſembled his people, and incampe taried for the comming of the Scotiſh armie. On the fift day after, both the kings met togither, and ſhewed great tokens of intire loue and friendſhip the one towards the other. After this they go to heare diuine ſeruice, where they make their deuout praiers vnto almightie God for their good ſpéed and luckie ſucceſſe in that iournie: which being done, they march forth toward the enimies, as then lieng in campe not paſt ten miles from them. Here at the firſt ſight of the enimies, diuers of the Scots and Picts being ſtriken with feare to behold ſo great a multitude, as the like had not béene ſéene in thoſe parties manie a day before, they ſtale away and ſecretlie hid themſelues in the next woods. But the kings, to giue example to other, cauſed them that were thus ſtolne away, to be ſought out, & brought againe into the campe, where they were hanged in open ſight of all the armie.

Cõgall promiſed to aid the Picts.

Promiſſion made by the Scots to aid the Picts.

The Scotiſh and Pictiſh kings aſſemble togither with their powers.

The Scots and Picts come within ſight of the enimies.

The Saxons & Britains alſo vpon the approch of their enimies gathered their companies togither, & maintenantlie herewith the Saxons incouraged with ſuch comfortable ſpeach as Hengiſt vttered amongeſt them, required to haue battell without delay: whoſe example the Britains following, ſhewed themſelues alſo right willing therevnto. Congall the Scotiſh king perceiuing the enimies to make readie for battell, went likewiſe amongſt his folkes, and exhorted them in beſt wiſe he could, to play the men. The like alſo did Galanus the Pictiſh king amongeſt his people, omitting nothing that might incourage them to fight manfullie. After this, the battell on both ſides comming forward to ſome, the arrowes and darts flue freſhlie betwixt them, but neither part minding to giue place for all the ſhot, at length they ioined at handblowes, firſt the Britains in the right wing with the Scots in the left wing;

The Scots through comfort of Hengiſts exhortation deſire battell.

The Scotiſh and Pictiſh kings exhort their people to fight valiantlie.

The battell is begun.

The Brit-tains flee.

wing; but the Britains not able long to indure against the force of the Scots, gaue backe and fled. In the meane while came a great shower of raine, mixt with such a tempest of haile, that the hardiest there wished himselfe thence, the storme beating so fall vpon them, that one might vnneath see an other, so that the Scotishmen and Picts wist not whether were better to pursue the Britains that fled, or to keepe their places.

A great tempest.

The Saxons close themselues togither.

On the other part, the Saxons according to their maner in time of anie present danger, closed themselues togither and drew neere vnto their chiefetteins standard. Finallie the tempest no sooner began to cease, but the Scots and Picts leauing their order of battell, fell to follow the chase of the Britains, supposing the victorie had beene wholie theirs. Which the Saxons (now after that the element began to cleare vp) plainelie perceiuing, by commandement of Hengist their generall, assailed the Scots and Picts here and there dispersed about the spoile and slaughter of the Britains, and made such murther of them on euerie side where they found them, that pitie it was to behold. Those that escaped by flight, neuer staied till they were gotten into places farre inough out of danger. This was a blacke day with the Scots and Picts. Neither was it verie ioifull to the Britains, of whome no small number died in the place by the enimies sword lamentable to see. Hengist hauing thus gotten the victorie, withdrew to Yorke, leauing those countries betwixt Tine and Tweed in the enimies handes, of purpose ceassing from further indamaging them, that the Britains might haue neighbours whome to feare: for that (as he thought) should make much for his purpose, alreadie hauing determined to make a conquest of this Ile.

The Saxons close themselues togither.

The Scots and Picts pursue the Britains.

The Saxons assaile the Scots and Picts disordered in pursute of the Britains.

Hengist purposed at the first to make conquest of the Britains.

When summer then was well neere passed, he placed his souldiers in harbrough to lodge for the winter season, and went himselfe to London, where he counselled Uortigerne to send of his owne people to the borders of his enimies, to keepe the same from their inuasions till the next spring, against which time he promised to cause such notable numbers of his countriemen to come to his aid, as should suffice not onelie to vanquish the Scotishmen and Picts, but also vtterlie to destroy both the nations, or at least wise to driue them forth of the whole countrie. This offer vnto some of the nobilitie was not greatlie liked, as euer suspecting that which followed, least in time to come Hengist should seeke the dominion of the realme in placing his owne people, and expelling the former inhabitants. But Uortigerne did not onelie giue him most hartie thanks for those his offers, but also shewed by the maner of his interteinement, which he vsed towards him, that he thought he could not do vnto him too much honor for such notable seruice as he had done alreadie, and trusted he should do hereafter. According to Hengists aduise also, there was a crue of men of warre of Britains sent vnto the borders to the number of fiue thousand, who shortlie after their comming thither, were quicklie dispatched and made awaie in sundrie skirmishes and incounters with the Scots and Picts, that assailed those places which they were appointed to defend.

Hengist returneth to London.

Hengist offereth to send for more aid into Germanie.

Hengists offers misliked of some of the nobilitie of Britaine.

The honor shewed vnto Hengist by Uortigerne.

Britains sent to defend the borders, are distressed.

Shortlie after was sent thither also an other companie, double in number to the first, to reuenge the deaths of their fellowes; but they finding fortune as froward vnto them as the former had done before, sped much-what a like, for in sundrie conflicts diuers of them being slaine, and diuers other by treason of the borderers themselues deliuered captiue into the aduersaries hands, the residue that was left, perceiuing in what danger they stood, sithence they might not trust their owne countriemen, returned backe into the inner parts of the land, and so left the borders altogither vnfurnished. In this meane while a new supplie of fiue thousand Saxons, with their wiues and children, came ouer into this land, in eightéene hoies, and amongest other came Hengists wife and his daughter the ladie Rowena. Shortlie after king Uortigerne gaue vnto Hengist & his Saxons a great part of the countrie called Lindsele, with a castell of great strength called Thongcastre. Some haue written that Hengist required of Uortigerne so much ground as he might compas with an ore hide, and hauing that granted, he toke a nightie ore hide, and cut it into small thongs, and so compassing about a right strong plot of ground with those thongs line wise, began there the foundation of a castell, which toke name of those thongs, therewith the plot of ground was first measured, and so was it called Thong-castell. But vpon what consideration so euer it toke that name, certeine it is by record of all the Scotish histories, that there the Saxons first inhabited after their entring into Britaine.

A new power of Saxons commeth ouer into Britaine.

Thwang castell, or Thong castell.

The Saxons first inhabite in Lindsele.

When Hengist had set things in order for the placing of his people there in dwellings (apointed them by Uortigerne) according as seemed best vnto his politike head and craftie forecast, he toke forth the souldiers and men of warre, ordered vnder certeine capteins and officers of bands, and led them forward by slow iournies as it were staieng for the comming of the Britains. Uortigerne had gathered as then an huge host of his subiects, and apointed his generall lieutenant ouer them his sonne Uortigerne, a yong man of great force and valiancie, but so that he should be ordered in all things by the aduise and discretion of Hengist, whose authoritie for the warres he commanded chieflie to be followed.

Uortimer generall of the Britains.

When both the armies of Saxons and Britains were met togither, Hengist led them ouer the riuers of Humber and Tine, marching directlie towards the place where he thought the enimies laie. The Scotish and Pictish kings, hauing knowledge of such preparation made by the Britains, they gathered their powers togither, to the number of 60000 men, furnished with prouision of vittels for a long time. But before their comming to the riuer of Tine, vpon knowledge had that the Saxons and Britains were passed the same, they made streight towards them, in purpose to haue giuen battell without longer protracting of time: howbeit comming to the place where they were lodged, they found them so stronglie incamped, that no aduantage could be perceiued which waie they might be constreined to raise and come forth of their strength to receiue battell vpon some euen ground, which Hengist of purpose for a time seemed to deferre.

The Saxons and Britains against the Scots and Picts.

60000 of Scots and Picts come to met their enimies.

Hengist prolongeth time to giue battell.

Betwixt them also and the armies of the two kings there was a vallie, in the botome full of mires and marish grounds, which the Scotishmen & Picts must needes passe, yer they could find meanes to do anie notable displeasure to the enimies. Wherefore at length they determined with turfe and fagots to make passage ouer those mires. Which being accomplished in the night following, the next morning they passed ouer and got them vnto certeine hilles lieng right ouer against the Saxon and British campes, some of them taking their lodgings vpon the brow or front of an hill so neere to the lodgings of their enimies, that they might throwe a dart into their campe: and hereof they toke no small occasion to worke a feat against their aduersaries, to their great annoiance and vexation.

There was growing in that place, where they were

were thus incamped, verie much of that kind of heath or ling, which the Scotiſhmen call hadder. Of which heath or hadder, they gathered a great quantitie togither, and binding it in bundels like vnto fagots, in the night ſeaſon they ſet the ſame on fire, tumbling it downe the hill, on that ſide where the Saxons laie. The wind in that inſtant being ſomewhat aloft, cauſed theſe bundels of ling to blaſe and burne vehementlie, and hereto ſtanding that waies forth, droue the flame ſo ſtreinablie amongeſt the tents and cabins of the Saxons, that the fire catching in the ſtraw and twigs which they had couched togither vnder them in ſtéd of beds, increaſed the feare amongſt the ſouldiors wonderfullie, by reaſon that the blaſing bundels of the ling or hadder, ſtill comming downe the hill vpon them, ſeemed as though the ſame had fallen from aboue, and euen forth of the heauen it ſelfe.

A policie of the Scots.

The tumult and feare raiſed in the campe of the Saxons. *Hyperbole.*

Great was the tumult and noiſe throughout the whole campe, with ſuch roring of beaſts, and running vp and downe both of them and of the horſſes which were there in the campe, that if heauen and earth had gone togither, there could not haue béene a more terrible noiſe nor clamor. At length, when the ſouldiors had done what they could to quench the fire, and to appeaſe the trouble, not without ſome vprore and diſorder raiſed on each ſide, they got them with their armor and weapons forth into the next field, which Hengiſt himſelfe perceiuing (hauing firſt done what he could to ſtay them) inuironed with a companie of his choiſeſt men of warre, he got him vp vnto a little hill next adioining, and there gaue knowledge by the ſound of a trumpet that all his people ſhould draw thither vnto him. After this, when they were come togither, he diſpoſed them in order of battell with all diligence, abiding for the ſpring of the daie, to vnderſtand more certeinlie the meaning of his enimies.

Hengiſt calleth his people togither.

The Scots and Picts ſuppoſing the enimies to be farre diſordered, by reaſon of the fire deſcended downe from the hilles, fullie determined to aſſaile them in their camps: but vpon their approch to the ſame, perceiuing how the Saxons were gotten forth, and ſtood readie in good order of battell, minding to defend their ground, both the kings thought it beſt to tarie till the morning, yer they made anie exploit, for doubt of perils that might befall thereof. In the breake of the daie Congall came amongſt his people, exhorting them to remember their worthie elders, and by their example to chooſe rather to die in defenſe of their countrie & ancient liberties, than by cowardize to ſaue a diſhoneſted life, which (if their chance was to be vanquiſhed) they ſhould paſſe in great thraldome and miſerie. The Pictiſh king alſo with like words incouraged his men to do valiantlie. Neither was Hengiſt ſlow in perſuading his Saxons to plaie the men, that obteining the victorie they might deliuer themſelues from terror of all enimies from thenceforth in Britaine.

Congals exhortation to the Scots.

Hengiſt exhorteth the Saxons to fight manfullie.

Whileſt he was thus exhorting his people, the Scots and Picts with great force and violence began to giue the charge vpon him, which whileſt the Saxons and Britains went about to defend, they were beaten downe by heaps ſo fiercelie on eth ſide, that the diſcomfiture had light vpon them forthwith, had not Hengiſt by ſound of trumpet called forth about three thouſand freſh men to their ſuccors, which he had placed in an ambuſh a little before the ſpring of the daie within a thicke groue of wood, faſt by his campe, appointing them to remaine there in a readineſſe, to come at his call, vpon what danger ſoeuer happened. Theſe moſt fiercelie ſetting vpon the backes of the Scots, brought them ſtreight out of all order: for they being occupied with the other Saxons before, and now aſſailed of theſe behind, they had vneath rome for anie aduantage to turne their weapons. In the meane time the Picts being matched with the Britains did put them to flight, and chaſed them out of the field, not ceaſſing to purſue them in the chaſe, till they came to a riuer in the which a great number of them were drowned, as they ieoparded to paſſe ouer the ſame, and to ſaue themſelues by ſwimming. On the other ſide, the Scots being ſore handled by the Saxons, both before and behind, were at the length conſtreined to giue ground and breake forth by flight, & ſo to eſcape the cruell hands of the enimies. Manie were ſlaine in the chaſe, and ſome taken priſoners. The reſidue getting away, fled ſtreight to the Picts: but Congall himſelfe, through helpe of his houſhold ſeruants eſcaped to the top of an high hill, and ſaued himſelfe tho wounded as he was.

The Britains put to flight by the Picts.

The Scots forced to flie.

Congall is wounded, but yet eſcapeth through helpe of his houſhold ſeruants.

The Saxons ſtanding how the Scots had giuen the ouerthrow, and that they were now marching forward to incounter alſo with them, determined not to abide their comming at that time. And ſo night approching yer the Saxons had got ſight of them, order was giuen by commandement of their king, that all their carriage, and a great quantitie of logs and fagots, ſhould be placed and piled togither before them, and in the darke of the night to be ſet on fire, which being executed according to the appointment, when the fire was once kindled, the Picts with the Scots which were got vnto them, departed as ſecretlie as they might, and ſtaied not to make awaie, till they were farre inough out of the danger of the Saxons. Hengiſt hauing thus got the victorie, and perceiuing no enimie abroad to bid him battell, muſtered his men, and found that he had loſt in this iournie as good as foure thouſand of one and other. After this, hee withdraweth to Yorke, and leauing his armie there, went himſelfe vnto London, where hee was receiued with ioy inough by king Vortigerne.

The policie of the Picts to eſcape out of danger.

Shortlie after, vpon knowledge that Aurelius Ambroſe, and Vter, the ſonnes of king Conſtantine prepared to come ouer with a mightie armie of Armorike Britains, and other Frenchmen, to claime the crowne of Britaine, as lawfullie deſcended to them from their father: the Saxons were ſent for out of the north parts, and had dwellings appointed vnto them in Kent, to be at hand if néed were to reſiſt anie ſuch attempted inuaſion. But ſhortlie after, for a policie, Hengiſt cauſed it to be bruited abroad, that the Scots and Picts meant eſſoones to inuade the Britiſh confines, & therefore was there an other power of Saxons called into the land, and placed in the north parts, to defend the ſame againſt the Scots and Picts. Octa the ſonne of Hengiſt had the leading of theſe Saxons, who brought them ouer, being ten thouſand men of warre, in fiftie plaits, and fiftie hoies. They brought with them alſo their wiues and children, and ſetled themſelues in the north parts betwixt the riuer of Humber and the borders of the Pictiſh dominions. And euen then it began to take the name of Northumberland, which is as you would ſay, the land by north the riuer of Humber, and ſo it doth continue.

Aurelius Ambroſe & Vter, ſons to king Conſtantine.

The Saxons placed in Kent.

A new power of Saxons came ouer with their captein Octa.

Northumberland when it firſt began to be ſo called.

Shortlie after, Vortigerne forſaking his lawfull wife, maried the ladie Rorena or Rowen, Hengiſts daughter, to the high offenſe of God, and great diſpleaſure of his ſubiects. And in the meane time, Octa not attempting anie exploit againſt the Scots and Picts, rather ſought to get into his hands all the fortreſſes betwixt Tine and Humber, euen from the eaſt ſea to the weſt: which his purpoſed intent he greatlie aduanced, winning caſtels and fortreſſes there

Vortigerne marieth Hengiſts daughter.

there in those parties, some by force, and some by surrender: and amongst other places of importance, he first got possession of Yorke, and feigning accusations against manie of the nobles and gentlemen, surmising that they would betraie the countrie vnto the Scots & Picts, hee put diuerse of them to death, some secretlie, and others openlie, as conuict of such offenses as were forged and laid against them.

Yorke in possession of Hengist.

Vortigerne deposed by his subiects.

Herevpon the Britains for the stay of such mischiefe as they saw at hand, deposed Vortigerne from his kinglie seat, and placed his sonne Vortimer in his roome, which being done, ambassadors were sent both vnto the Scots and Picts, to require their aid and support against the cruell oppression of the Saxons, who sought not onelie by craftie meanes and fraudulent waies to atteine the dominion of the whole Ile, but also to extinguish and vtterlie subuert the faith of Christ, and the vse of his religion throughout the same. Therefore they earnestlie desired the Scotish and Pictish kings, to assist them against such common enimies as had beene called into the realme, not by publike consent of the nobles, but onlie by the priuate commandement and ordinance of Vortigerne, to helpe as well toward the subduing of the Scots and Picts, as also to represse all commotions of the Britains, which they might haplie raise against him for his wicked tyrannie vsed amongst them, as his guiltie conscience might put him still in feare of.

Vortimer chosen to gouerne the Britains.

The Britains require aid of the Scots and Picts against the Saxons.

The answer of Congall K. of Scots vnto the British messengers.

The Scotish king Congall (vnto whome first the ambassadors were sent) for answer declared, that he was sorie to vnderstand into what danger the miserable christians of Britaine were thus fallen, and therefore if nothing else might moue him to ioine with the Britains against the Saxons, yet that were sufficient cause to inforce him to do the best he could, to helpe to deliuer the whole Ile from such an ethnike generation, as not onelie vsed the rites and ceremonies of their false religion, and that openlie among the christians, with doing sacrifice in the honor and worship of their hellish gods, to the great horror and terrible offense of the beholders consciences; but also sought by all meanes they could deuise, how to destroie and quench vtterlie the faith of our Sauiour Christ in all places where they might get the vpper hand.

He promised therefore to imploie his whole puissance to recouer out of the enimies hands all such countries as laie betwixt the frontiers of his dominion and the riuer of Humber, and further to aid the Britains to driue them quite out of the Ile, if the Britains would assure him, from thencefoorth neuer to make claime, title nor interest, to any of the countries aforesaid, lieng betwixt the said riuer of Humber and the confines of his realme; but to leaue the same in the hands of the Scotishmen and Picts, to haue hold and inioy for euermore in quiet: which to performe, the ambassadors had (amongest other things) alreadie promised in name of all the British nation, as a recompense or meed to haue the support and succors of the Scots. The like answer the same ambassadors receiued of the Pictish king, and returning therewith vnto Vortimer, declared afore him and his councell how they had sped.

Upon what conditions Congall couenanted to support the Britains.

Shortlie after, for the more and better assurance of all promises, couenants and articles passed betwixt the Scotishmen, Picts, and Britains, there was an amitie and bond of peace now renewed, ratified and established, according to the tenor of the ancient league, which had beene concluded in times past betwixt them, with some new conditions of agreement included in the same: all old iniuries being ended and quieted clearelie betwixt them, so that no cause of grudge or displeasure might bee thought to remaine in remembrance. The first enterprise put in execution after the concluding of this league, was made by the Scots against Occa and his Saxons, which (as partlie ye haue heard) had nestled themselues betwixt the riuers of Tine and Humber.

A league concluded betwixt Scots Picts and Britains.

The Scots inuade the borders of Northumberland.

Against those Scots, as they were verie earnestlie occupied in ouerthrowing castels and towers, with slaughter of such Saxons as stood at defense, Occa commeth into the field with an armie readie to incounter with them, but perceiuing the multitude of his enimies to be such, as he doubted least he should not be well able to match with them, he staied a while from giuing the onset: but in the end perceiuing he could not retire backe but to his great disaduantage, he boldlie gaue signe to his people to set vpon their enimies: which they fiercelie executing, it was hard to tell for a while to whether part the victorie would incline. But at length the Saxons not able to sustaine the force of the Scots, ouerpressing them with multitude, began to giue backe: which Occa perceiuing, did what he could to hem them in from running awaie, but yet notwithstanding all that he could do, feare at length ouercomming regard to their capteins commandement, shame of rebuke was quite set apart, and so they toke them to their feet, and fled awaie so fast as they might, the Scots pursuing after them amaine.

The Saxons incounter with the Scots.

The Saxons banquished by the Scots.

Occa yet escaped with diuerse of his nobles, and comming to the mouth of Humber, got a ship, and sailed forth in the same with great danger, till at length he arriued within the Thames. The slaughter of the Saxons vpon the discomfiture was great, speciallie in the chase, for the Scotishmen calling to remembrance that they had to do with infidels, and with the enimies of the christian faith, were so eger vpon them, that they saued few or none that fell into their hands. About the same time was Vortimer entered into Kent against Hengist and his Saxons there, and incountring with them in battell, slue ten thousand of them, and chased the residue forth of that countrie. Thus Kent returned vnto the Britains, and the countries beyond Humber northwards vnto the Scots and Picts, according to the tenour of the league before mentioned.

Occa fleeth by sea into Kent.

The Saxons banquished by Britains and expelled out of Kent.

Hengist and his sonne Occa (who a little before this battell in Kent was come vnto his father) with the residue of them that escaped, hasted with all speed toward Northumberland, in purpose to remaine in that countrie till they had recouered their strength by some power to be sent ouer vnto them out of their owne countrie: but being repelled with no small slaughter from thence by the Scots and Picts, they withdrew vnto the mouth of Humber, where getting certeine vessels, they passed ouer into Saxonie, leauing a great sort of their nation behind them, dispersed abroad here and there in this Ile, as fortune then best serued. Vortimer hauing got the victorie, as before is mentioned, vsed not the same verie cruellie, for taking onelie from the Saxons which were taken prisoners their armor and weapon, he suffered them to depart into their countrie: other of the same nation being but husbandmen, and as it were poore labourers of the ground, he permitted to tarie in the countrie with their wiues & children, as seruants vnto the Britains.

The Saxons banquished by Britains and expelled out of Kent.

The Saxons flie out of Britaine.

Vortimer vseth the victorie modestlie.

After this, Vortimer gaue order for the reparing of churches, and restoring of the christian religion into the state of the former puritie thereof, as then sore decaied, partlie through the euill example taken by dailie conuersation amongst the Saxons, and partlie also by the infectiue heresie of the Pelagians, as then mightilie spred ouer the most part of Britaine. At length the said Vortimer through treason of his stepmother

The heresie of the Pelagians.

stepmother Rorena was poisoned, and died. Then was Uortigerne againe restored to the rule of the kingdome, first forced by oth to promise neuer to aid the Saxons, nor to receiue by way of aid anie forreine people into the realme. Uortigerne then restored thus vnto the crowne, shewed such diligence in causing due administration of iustice without rigor to be executed, and prouision made for the resisting of all inuasions that might be attempted by anie forreine power, that his praise was great amongst all his subiects, who to shew their good willes likewise towards him as to their naturall prince, were not slacke in honoring him aswell by gifts and presents, as by all other maner of waies. He found meanes also to renew the league with the Scots and Picts, with like conditions and articles, as it was concluded lastlie betwixt them and his sonne Uortimer. But notwithstanding his politike proceeding, thus to auoid all inconuenience that might happen; shortlie after Hengist returned, and what by force and subtill shifts, at length got possession of the more part of Britaine, so that the Britains were constreined to flie into Wales, whither also Uortigerne fled, and remained there a certeine time, till at length Aurelius Ambrosius, and Uter, the sonnes of king Constantine came ouer out of little Britaine, and besieging Uortigerne in a castell, burnt him with the house and all, when they could not otherwise come by him, according to that which Merline the British sothsaier had prophesied before. It is foolishlie supposed that this Merline was got by a spirit of that kind which are called *Incubi*, that is to vnderstand, such as conueieng mans seed from him (and therewith by illusion taking vpon them the shape and figure of man) do lie with women, and vse them after the maner of carnall copulation.

The league renewed betwixt Britains, Scots and Picts.

Hengist returneth.

Uortigerne burnt.

¶ In this place Hector Boetius by the way reciteth a like tale or two, of such illusions of spirits, wrought not long before his time in Scotland, which somwhat abridging the same we haue here inserted. In the yeere 1480, saith he, it chanced as a Scotish ship departed out of the Forth towards Flanders, there rose a wonderfull great tempest of wind and weather, so outragious, that the maister of the ship with other the mariners wondered not a little what the matter ment, to see such weather at that time of the yeere, for it was about the middest of summer. At length when the furious pirrie & rage of winds still increased, in such wise that all those within the ship looked for present death, there was a woman vnderneath the hatches, called vnto them aboue, and willed them to throw hir into the sea, that all the residue by Gods grace might yet be saued: and therevpon told them, how she had bene hanted a long time with a spirit, dailie comming vnto hir in mans likenesse, and that euen as then he was with hir, vsing his filthie pleasure after the maner of carnall copulation. In the ship there chanced also to be a priest, who by the maisters appointment going downe to this woman, and finding hir like a most wretched and desperate person, lamenting hir great misfortune and miserable estate, vsed such wholsome admonitions and comfortable aduertisements, willing hir to repent and hope for mercie at the hands of God, that at length she seeming right penitent for hir greeuous offenses committed, and fetching sundrie sighes euen from the bottome of hir heart, being witnesse (as should appeare) of the same, there issued forth of the pumpe of the ship a foule and euill fauored blacke cloud, with a mightie terrible noise, flame, smoke and stinke, which presentlie fell into the sea. And suddenlie therevpon the tempest ceassed, and the ship passing in great quiet the residue of hir iournie, arriued in safetie at the place whither she was bound.

Illusions of spirits.

A tale of a woman abused with a spirit.

About saint Barnabés day.

Not long before the hap hereof, there was in like manner a yong man dwelling in Bareoth, within a village there, not passing 14 miles from Aberdine, verie faire & comelie of shape, who declared by waie of complaint vnto the bishop of that diocesse, how there was a spirit which haunted him in shape of a woman, so faire and beautifull a thing, that he neuer saw the like, the which would come into his chamber at nights, and with pleasant intisements allure him to haue to do with hir, & that by no maner of meanes he could be rid of hir. The bishop like a wise man aduised him to remoue into some other countrie, and to giue himselfe to fasting and praier, so to auoid his hands of that wicked spirit. The yong man following the bishops counsell, within a few daies was deliuered from further temptation.

A yong man haunted with a spirit.

About the same time also, there was in the countrie of Mar, a yong gentlewoman of excellent beautie, and daughter vnto a noble man there, refusing sundrie wealthie mariages offered to hir by hir father, and other friends. At length she prooued with child, and being rigorouslie compelled by hir parents to tell who was the father, she confessed that a certeine yong man vsed nightlie to come vnto hir, and kept hir companie, and sometimes in the day also, but how or from whence he came, or by what meanes he went awaie, she was not able to declare. Hir parents not greatlie crediting hir words, laid diligent watch, to vnderstand what he was that had defiled their house: and within three daies after, vpon signification giuen by one of the maidens, that the fornicator was at that verie instant with their daughter, incontinentlie therevpon, making fast the doores, they enter the chamber with a great manie of torches and lights, where they find in their daughters armes a foule monstrous thing, verie horrible to behold. Heere a number comming hastilie in, to behold this euill fauored sight, amongst other there was a priest of verie honest life, not ignorant (as was thought) in knowledge of holie scripture.

This priest (all other being afraid) and some of them running their waies, began to recite the beginning of Saint Johns gospell, and comming to these words, *Verbum caro factum est*, suddenlie the wicked spirit making a verie sore and terrible roaring noise, flue his waies, taking the roofe of the chamber awaie with him, the hangings and couerings of the bed being also burnt therewith. The gentlewoman was yet preserued, and within three or foure daies after was deliuered of such a misshapen thing, as the like before had not beene seene, which the midwiues and women, such as were present at hir labor, to auoid the dishonor of hir house, immediatlie burnt in a great fire, made in the chamber for the same intent. ¶ Thus much out of Hector Boetius, which, with more, he hath written to proue that all is not feined which is written of the illusions of diuels and euill spirits, the credit whereof I leaue with the author.

Now to returne where I left touching Aurelius Ambrose. Ye shall vnderstand, that he hauing once subdued and dispatched his aduersarie Uortigerne, determined to make warres against Hengist and his Saxons, to proue if his chance might be to recouer the realme out of their hands, and so to restore againe the christian religion. But first yer he attempted anie exploit against the enimies, he sent ambassadors both vnto Congall the Scotish king, and also vnto one Loth a towardlie yong gentleman, and of verie comelie personage, as then reigning among the Picts, requiring them both to aid him in so necessarie an enterprise as he had in hand against the enimies of Christ and his religion. Wherevpon both these kings, weieng with themselues the dutie of all christian princes, in respect of the aduancement of

Aurelius Ambrose purposeth to make warres against the Saxons.

Ambassadors sent vnto the Scots and Picts to require their aid against the Saxons.

the cauſe of faith, and ſuppreſſing of ethnike idolatrie, promiſed their helpe to the vttermoſt of their powers againſt the Saxons, who had in ſuch tyrannike ſort ſubuerted and aboliſhed the chriſtian profeſſion within the Britiſh confines. And therefore the old league, according to the articles and couenants afore time concluded betwixt the three nations, was once againe renewed, and an armie prepared by euerie of them, to meet at a place and day appointed, for the better expedition of this their attempted voiage.

The Scots and Picts promiſe to aid the Britains againſt the Saxons.

The league renewed betwixt Britains, Picts, and Scots.

First Aurelius Ambroſe, with ſuch power as he brought with him forth of France, & ioining thereunto a great multitude of thoſe Britains which had eſcaped the Saxons hands, either by withdrawing themſelues into Wales, or elſe by conueieng themſelues into the countries of the Scots and Picts, ſetteth forward toward the Scotiſh armie. But firſt calling together thoſe Britains that he had about him, and going vp to a little hill, where he might be heard of them all, he made a long oration by waie of complaint, of the great iniuries and cruell practiſes vſed by Hengiſt, againſt the linage of king Conſtantine, and the whole eſtate of the Britiſh common-wealth: alſo of the horrible perſecution made by him and his people the Saxons, againſt the profeſſors of the chriſtian religion. All which matter he handled in words ſo pithilie, his talke yet ſauoring of the Romane eloquence, that the minds of the ſouldiers being kindled therewith, required nothing but battell, as men not doubting but by his wiſe and politike conduct to atchiue ſome glorious victorie. And to the end all thing might be done in better order, according to his appointment, immediatlie they proclamed him king. Which was by account of the Scotiſh chronicles, in the yéere 498, after that Uortigerne with his ſonne Uortimer had reigned 17 yéeres in the whole.

Aurelius Ambroſe maketh an oration.

Aurelius Ambroſe proclamed king of Britaine.

Aurelius in this wiſe being eſtabliſhed king of Britaine paſſeth forth with his people, and within ſix daies after met with the armies of the Scots and Picts. Generall of the Scots at that time was one Conranus brother to king Congall, who was troubled with the gout, ſo that he could not come himſelfe in perſon. Loth the Pictiſh king was there himſelfe amongſt his people, verie deſirous to ſhew ſome proofe of his manlie prowelle and manhood. Aurelius Ambroſe ſhewed all the honor that might be deuiſed, as well to the one as to the other of thoſe two nations, promiſing to requite them with as much friendſhip when time and occaſion ſhould craue the like aſſiſtance. Theſe three mightie armies therefore being thus aſſembled, marched forth towards a place called Mahelbell, where they vnderſtood that Hengiſt with his power as then did ſoiorne. Where when both the camps were pitched, and one lieng not farre from the other: at the firſt certeine light ſkirmiſhes were procured by both parts betwixt the light horſſemen, wherewith at length being the more prouoked to diſpleaſure, they come into the field with their whole maine battels, verie fiercelie incountring ech other, ſo that (as it appéered) their force was not ſo great, but their mortall hate was euen as much, or rather more, if the hiſtories faie right.

Conranus generall of the Scots.

Loth king of the Picts.

Mahelbell.

The Albions and Saxons incounter in battell.

The Armorike Britains with a new kind of order in their fight, ſore troubled the Saxons, in perſing their battels, with their men arraied in certeine wards, broad behind and narrow before, wedgewiſe. The Scots alſo & Picts bare downe both the wings of the Saxons, in ſuch manner, that the ſtandards of all the three nations, Scots, Picts, and Britains, were at point almoſt to méet, hauing made waie thereunto through the middeſt of their enimies. Wherewith the Saxons (being ſore diſcouraged) began to giue backe; and finallie, notwithſtanding all that Hengiſt could ſaie or do to haue ſtaied them, they fell to running awaie, and fled amaine, which when he throughlie ſaw, & perceiued that there was no recouerie, he himſelfe (in manner the laſt man that abode) fled likewiſe his waies out of the field, with an ambuſhment of horſſemen about him, but being purſued by Aurelius verie fiercelie, he was run through the bodie by him with a ſpeare, and ſo was there ſlaine out of hand, in the 488 yéere of Chriſt, and 40 after his comming into this Ile. Howbeit the other of the Saxons conueied his ſonne Oeca (being alſo ſore wounded) awaie with them vp into the next mountains, whither they fled for their refuge, leauing the dead bodie of his father Hengiſt in the field, to their high reproch, there to be ſpoiled and abuſed of his enimies.

The Saxons diſcomfited.

Sée more hereof in England

Hengiſt is ſlaine by Aurelius, as the Scotiſh chronicles ſay.

Aurelius Ambroſe hauing thus got the vpper hand of his enimies, haſted forth with all ſpéed vnto London, where hauing both the citie and tower deliuered into his hands, he recouered the whole Iland from the poſſeſſion of the Saxons: and ſuch of them as were apt men, able to beare armor, and to ſerue in the warres, he commanded to depart forth of the land. The other that were minded to tarrie behind their fellowes that were thus forced to depart, became ſubiects to the Britains, and couenanted to become chriſtians. ¶ Thus much haue I written touching Aurelius Ambroſe, according to the report of the Scotiſh writers, but more héereof ye may read in the hiſtorie of England, where ye ſhall find this matter ſet forth more at large. For that which we write héere, is but to ſhew in what ſort the Scotiſh writers make relation of the warres which their nation had with the Saxons, when they began firſt to ſet foot héere in this land.

Aurelius haſteth forth to London.

To our purpoſe then. In the meane time Aurelius hauing thus recouered the land out of the Saxons hands, and now remaining at London, did all the honor he could imagine, both vnto Loth the Pictiſh king, and alſo vnto Conranus generall of the Scotiſhmen, acknowledging how that by their aid chieflie he had got the vpper hand of his enimies, and ſo he willed to haue it notified amongſt his ſubiects. Héereto he cauſed the league to be renewed betwixt the Scots, Picts, & Britains, the ancient ordinance for the countries beyond Humber, being appointed to remaine vnto the Scotiſhmen and Picts: alſo that the Saxons ſhould be reputed common enimies to all the three nations, and that vpon inuaſion made by anie forren power, the Scots, Picts, and Britains, ſhould aid one another as occaſion ſerued.

By ſupport of Scots and Picts Aurelius confeſſeth he got the victorie of the Saxons.

The league betwixt Scots, Picts, and Britains is renewed.

This league being concluded with theſe articles of couenants, was the more ſtronglie confirmed, by reaſon of ſuch affinitie and aliance as then alſo inſued. For whereas Aurelius had two ſiſters, the one named Anne, and the other Ada, virgins both; Anne being the elder, was giuen in mariage vnto king Loth, by whome certeine yeares after he had iſſue two ſonnes, Mordred, and Walwan or Calwan, with a daughter called Thametes: Ada being the yonger ſiſter was maried vnto Conranus, generall (as is ſaid) of the Scotiſh armie. Howbeit ſhe liued not paſt two yeares after, but died in trauell of child, which alſo died with the mother: and ſo ended the aliance of Aurelius and Conranus. The Britains being deliuered through the victorie and means afore rehearſed from the cruell hands of the Saxons, inioied ſoifull peace certeine yeares after, but in the meane time diuers of thoſe Saxons which were licenced to remaine in Britaine, counterfeiting to become chriſtians, vſed neuertheleſſe to make ſacrifice vnto idols, according to the maner of the gentiles, whereof their prieſts being accuſed and condemned, ſuffered death by fire for that offenſe.

Anne the daughter of Aurelius giuen in mariage vnto Loth king of Picts.

Ida maried vnto Conranus.

Diuers Saxons idolaters are burned.

ſenſe, accoꝛdinglie as the law did then apoint them. Whileſt theſe things were thus in hand, Congall king of the Scots being woꝛne with long ſickneſſe, departed this life, and was buried in the Ile of Jona, otherwiſe called Colmekill, with all kinglie pompe and accuſtomed ceremonies. He reigned oꝛ uer the Scotiſhmen about 20 yeares in great fame and gloꝛie.

The death of Congall.

Conranus.

Conranus created king of Scotland. 501. H.B.

AFter his deceaſſe, his bꝛother Conranus with great reioiſing of all the Scotiſh nation was admitted K. in the yeare after the birth of our Sauiour 512, and the 22 of the reigne of the emperour Anaſtaſius. This Conranus otherwiſe called Goranus, being eſtabliſhed king, firſt toke oꝛder that the ſonnes of his bꝛother Congall being within age, ſhould be bꝛought vp in the Ile of Man, vnder the gouernance of certeine wiſe inſtructoꝛs & ſchoolmaiſters, to be trained in learning and vertuous diſcipline, accoꝛding to an ancient oꝛdinance thereof made and enacted. Alſo doubting leaſt peace and quietneſſe, now after long warres, ſhould miniſter matter to his people of raiſing ſome commotion, to the diſturbance of all ciuill oꝛder & politike gouernement within his realme, he rode as it had bẽene in circuit round about the ſame, making inquirie of all maner offendoꝛs, on whome he cauſed due puniſhment to be executed, without reſpect either of kith oꝛ kin.

The earneſt diligence of Conranus foꝛ maintenance of good oꝛders among his ſubiects.

And amongeſt other enoꝛmities which he vnderſtood to be vſed in maner thꝛough all his countries, this (as he thought) was moſt grieuous, that the huſbandmen and other commons of the countrie, being euill intreated and miſuſed at the gentlemens hands, durſt not complaine, noꝛ pꝛocure anie redꝛes; by reaſon whereof, when they were oppꝛeſſed, oꝛ ſuffered anie maner of woꝛong oꝛ iniurie, they were without remedie to haue the ſame reforꝛmed; he oꝛdeined therefoꝛe, that the names of all ſuch offendoꝛs, with the maner of their offenſes, ſhould be ſecretlie regiſtred in a booke euerie yeare, by certeine inquiſitours thereto choſen and appointed. And if it chanced that thoſe which were thus accuſed, might afterwards be found guiltie before the kings iuſtices by matter plainelie pꝛoued againſt them; they ſhould then be ſure to be puniſhed accoꝛding to the meaſure of their offenſes.

A godlie oꝛdinance deuiſed by Conranus foꝛ reliefe of his commons.

This cuſtome of accuſations, commonlie called inditements, continueth euen vnto theſe our daies.

The king pꝛeſent at aſſiſes.

Conranus himſelfe (as is repoꝛted) vſed much to be pꝛeſent at aſſiſes and ſeſſions to ſée the lawes duelie miniſtred, either elſe to paſſe the time in hunting within ſome foꝛreſt oꝛ chaſe, néere to the place where the iuſtices ſat. Now whileſt Conranus king of Scots thus ſtudied foꝛ the good gouernement of his people, Aurelius Ambꝛoſe the king of Bꝛitaine fell ſicke of a conſumption, which bꝛought him to ſuch weakeneſſe, that all recouerie of health in him was deſpaired; whereof Occa and Paſcentius ſonnes to Hengiſt being aduertiſed, returned with a mightie power of Sarons into Bꝛitaine, which (as Hector Boetius ſaith) they named at that pꝛeſent Hengiſts land.

Aurelius Ambꝛoſe fell ſicke of a conſumption.

Occa and Paſcentius returne into Bꝛitaine.

Uter the bꝛother of Aurelius late alſo at the ſame time ſoꝛe ſicke of a flix in the parties of Wales, ſo that to auoid diſſention that was raiſed among the Bꝛitains, about the appointing of a generall to go againſt the enimies, Aurelius euen ſicke as he was, cauſed himſelfe to be caried foꝛth in a litter; with whoſe pꝛeſence his people were ſo incouraged, that incountring with the Sarons they wan the victoꝛie, although with ſuch loſſe on their ſide, that Aurelius was glad to take truce foꝛ the ſpace of foure moneths, and therewith bꝛeaking vp his campe, went into Wincheſter, and ſent ambaſſadours vnto the Scotiſh and Pictiſh kings foꝛ aid againſt the time when the truce ſhould expire, which was granted, and ſo he pꝛouided foꝛ all things readie foꝛ the warres againſt the appointed time of their aſſemblie. Occa alſo ſent his bꝛother Paſcentius into Germanie foꝛ moꝛe aid, but as ſome wꝛite, he was dꝛiuen by contrarie winds into Ireland, & getting a great power of men togither there, he came backe to his bꝛother with the ſame. But whether he had thoſe men out of Ireland oꝛ Germanie, ſure it is that the power of the Sarons was greatlie increaſed therewith.

In the meane time died Aurelius Ambꝛoſe, who was poiſoned by a miſchæfous monke, a Saron boꝛne, named Eopa oꝛ Copa (as ſome bookes haue) that toke vpon him to be ſkilfull in phyſicke, and a monke by pꝛofeſſion. His death was ſoꝛe lamented of the Bꝛitains: but contrariwiſe, the Sarons reioiſed greatlie thereof, ſo that immediatlie after, Occa with his power inuadeth the Bꝛitains, vſing great crueltie in all places whereſoeuer he came.

Aurelius Ambꝛoſe departeth this life.

In the meane time the Scotiſh and Pictiſh armies were come foꝛward towards Aurelius, accoꝛding to pꝛomiſe made vnto his ambaſſadours; but when his death was certeinelie knowen amongeſt them, the capteins and leaders of both thoſe armies, reſolued to returne home againe, and ſo they did, foꝛ that they doubted in what ſtate and oꝛder things ſhould ſtand amongeſt the Bꝛitains now after the deceaſſe of their late king. After the death of Aurelius Ambꝛoſe, his bꝛother Uter was made king of Bꝛitaine, and falling in loue with the wife of Gothlois duke of Coꝛnewall, he did not onelie foꝛce hir to lie with him; but alſo to the end he might inioy hir the moꝛe fꝛælie, he ceaſſed not to purſue hir huſband to rid him out of the waie, whome at length he toke within a caſtell into the which he was fled, & foꝛthwith cauſed him to be executed, ſurmiſing mater againſt him, foꝛ that he had foꝛſaken one of the capteins called Nathaliod, in battell againſt the Sarons. By the wife of this Gothlois, Uter had iſſue the great Arthur, and becauſe he had no legitimat ſonne, he appointed that Arthur ſhould ſuccæd him in gouernement of the realme. Herewith Loth the Pictiſh king was not a little mꝛoued, diſdaining that Arthur being a baſtard, and begot of another mans wife in adulterie, ſhould be pꝛeferred beſoꝛe his ſons the rightfull heires of the Bꝛitiſh kingdome: and therefoꝛe by ambaſſadours he did what he could to diſſuade Uter from making anie ſuch oꝛdinance. But when he ſaw that he could not remoue him from his opinion, he thought beſt to content himſelfe with ſilence, till the time ſerued better foꝛ his purpoſe. At length when the wars were againe renewed betwixt Uter and Occa the Saron king, Loth in reuenge of the iniurie done to him and his childꝛen, ioined himſelfe to the Sarons, and was with them at the battell, in which the Bꝛitains got the victoꝛie by the pꝛeſence of ſaint Germane that holie biſhop of Auxer, as the Scotiſh wꝛiters make mention. Which battell as the ſame is ſet foꝛth by Hector Boetius, becauſe it touched the ſtate of the Picts, we haue thought good here to expꝛeſſe.

The Scotiſh armie returne home againe.

Uter begat Arthur.

It was therefoꝛe about the feaſt of Eaſter, when the armies came into the field, the Sarons with the Picts on the one ſide, & the Bꝛitains on the other, of whom no ſmall number (being either growen to be idolaters thꝛough conuerſation with the Sarons, either els infected with the hereſie of the Pelagians) euen there in campe, by hearing ſuch good ſermons as ſaint Germane pꝛeached amongeſt them, were conuerted to the true beliefe, receiuing at the ſame time the ſacrament of the Lords bodie, togither in companie with other of the faithfull chꝛiſtians. Finallie when both parties were readie to giue battell,

S. Germane pꝛeacheth vnto the campe.

S. Germane leadeth the foze ward. Their crie was Alleluia.

saint Germane toke vpon him to haue the leading of the foze ward, wherein he had all the pzéests and ecclesiasticall ministers, giuing commandement, that when he should crie Alleluia, they should all answere him with one intire voice.

S. Germane beareth the kings standard.

Thus pzocéed they foꝛth to the battell, saint Germane bearing the kings standard in the foze front, & vpon the appzoch to the enimies, he with the rest of the pzéests crieng with a lowd voice thzice togither Alleluia, was answered by all the whole host, vttering and crieng the same crie so wholie togither, that the verie sound thereof caused such an eccho on each side by reason of the hollow mounteines and cliffes hard by them, that the Sarons amazed at this doubled noise, and doubting not onelie another power of their enimies to be hidden pziuilie among the hilles which they saw on ech side of them, but also least the verie rocks & mounteins would haue fallen downe vpon their heads togither with the frame of the element, readie (as it séemed to them) to breake in sunder, they toke them to their féet in such dzeadfull hast, that their breath was not able to suffice halfe the desire they had to continue their course. Manie of them made such hast, that running to the next riuer in hope to passe the same, were dzowned therein. To conclude, all of them generallie thzew away both weapon and armour, the mozе lightlie to make away. Thus thzough the policie of that blessed man saint Germane, the victozie remained with king Uter and his Bzitains, without anie bloudshed.

The Sarons miraculouslie discomfited.

Hyperbole.

Saint Beda making mention of this battell, assigneth the time to be at the first comming of S. Germane into this land, where as Hector Boetius following Veremond, supposeth it to be at the second time of his comming hither, which was in the daies of king Uter. But at what time soeuer this victozie thus chanced, certeine it is, the Bzitains waxing pzoud thereof, nothing regarded the power of the Sarons, noꝛ toke anie héed foꝛ pzouision of further defense; but after that those holie bishops Germane and Seuerus were returned into their countrie, they fell to all kinds of gluttonie and excesse, in following onelie their sensuall lusts and fleshlie concupiscence: which abuses, the bishops and other godlie men lamenting, ceassed not most earnestlie to repzoue, menacing destruction to the whole countrie, if the people leauing their wicked liuing and most heinous offenses towards God, did not amend and repent in due time and space.

Beda dissenteth from Hector Boetius and his authour Veremond.

Ths Bzitains giue themselues vnto all kinds of vice and abhominations.

The thzeatning of vengeance to succéed vicious liuing.

Neither were they deceiued herein: foꝛ within few yeares after, Occa eftsones began to make warres vpon the Bzitains againe, and gaue them a notable ouerthzow, sleaing of them to the number of fiftéene thousand, with their generall Mathaliod. But yet this victozie was not greatlie pleasant to the Sarons, foꝛ in the chase they lost their king the fozesaid Occa, being aduanced a good way off from the residue of his armie, with fiue hundzed hoꝛsemen and a few footmen, in pursute of his enimies, which was the onelie cause that as then the Sarons attempted no further exploit against the Bzitains. and yet foꝛ that they would not be without a gouernour, they created an other Occa to be their K. the nephue of the foꝛmer Occa by his bzother Oiscus. And then turned all their foꝛce to make warres against the Picts, foꝛ that Loth king of the Picts, contrarie to his oth of credence, had aided the Bzitains in the last battell, as by certeine pzisoners taken in the same they had perfect vnderstanding.

The Bzitains receiue a great ouerthzow.

King Occa slaine.

The yonger Occa nephue to the foꝛmer Occa by his bzother Oiscus.

Loth contrarie to his oth of credence aided the Bzitains against the Saxons.

Occa therfoꝛe being fierce of nature to the end to indamage his enimies the mozе, sent into Germanie foꝛ one Colgerme oꝛ Colgerne, a man of great estimation and birth amongest the Sarons, to come ouer with a power vnto him into England, pzomising foꝛ recompense of his trauell and aid against the Picts, to deliuer vnto him all such lands as lay beyond the water of Humber, which might be recouered out of the hands of the Picts, to inioy vnto him and his foꝛ euer. Colgerne accepting the offer, landed shoꝛtlie after in Noꝛthumberland, putting the whole countrie vnto fire and swoꝛd. Which cruell dealing caused a great number of Scots & Picts, which held diuerse castels in that quarter, to come foꝛth into the field to defend the countrie, and ioining battell with their enimies were discomfited, their slaughter being much increased by the coming of Occa at vnwares vpon them. Foꝛ he first taking truce with Uter king of the Bzitains, hasted with all spæd to ioine his power with Colgerne, after he heard once that he was come on land.

Colgerne landeth in Noꝛthumberland.

These newes being bzought by such as fled away into Gallowaie and Pictland, caused both the kings, Loth and Conranus in most spædie wise to assemble their foꝛces, and with the same to march foꝛthwith towards the Sarons: but being come within sight of them readie to giue battell, great was the feare and teꝛꝛoꝛ of both their hosts, to ioine in fight with such a number of fierce people, as they saw there befoꝛe their faces. Which feare arose first thzough the Bzitains, of whome no small number was there, in aid of the Scots and Picts against the Sarons, declaring manie things of the great value, strength of bodie, and huge foꝛme of lims of the same Sarons, being so fierce and cruell in fight, as they alledged, that they were able to put their enimies to flight euen with their grim lokes and terrible countenances. Whereof such feare and teꝛꝛoꝛ was spzead thzough both the whole armies, that if shame had not partlie wzought amongest the men of warre, manie of them would haue fled their waies befoꝛe anie battell had béene attempted at all.

The king of Scots and Picts raise their powers to resist the Sarons.

The Scots and Picts are put in feare of the Sarons valiancie.

The kings perceiuing such discomfiture amongst their men, caused them to assemble togither, and appointed one such as was thought méet foꝛ the purpose, to declare vnto them on their behalfes, how they could not but maruell to vnderstand such feare & lacke of courage, as appeared generallie thzough both the armies, considering there was no cause thereof, they being such a number of able warriours thzoughlie appointed, and therewithall led by such gouernours and capteins, as there was no reason why to be doubtfull of victozie, befoꝛe they had séene some triall and iust occasion of disaduantage. Foꝛ as touching the Sarons, they were no such men but that they might be ouercome well inough, as it might sufficientlie appeare, both by pzoꝛe of such victozies as Uoꝛtimer the Bzitish king had obteined against them; and also Aurelius Ambzose, who had vanquished them in such soꝛt, that when they durst not eftsones incounter with him in battell, they found means by poison to make him awaie.

The kings cause one to make an oꝛation vnto their people to remoue all feare out of their hearts.

Then sith the Bzitains (whome the Scots & Picts so often had subdued) had at sundzie times vanquished the Sarons, why should they feare in such wise to fight with them in common defense of their countrie, and reuenge of such iniuries as they had latelie receiued at their hands, sith the righteous God (as all good men ought to trust) is euer readie to aduance a righteous quarrell. And where it was bzuted amongest them, that the Sarons were so huge of stature, and mightie of lims, that no foꝛce was able to withstand them, it was certeinelie knowen, that the Scots & Picts were indued with no lesse mightinesse and strength of bodie than the Sarons; so that if they were not of like stomachs, that rested in their owne slouthfull cowardize, & not in natures wozke, hauing done hir part in bestowing hir gifts vpon them touching bodilie foꝛce, in such plentious manner,

ner, as no other nation did lightlie anie waies ſurmount them.

Manie other arguments were alledged and laid forth to remoue feare out of their hearts, and to incourage them to fight, inſomuch that in the end it appeared the ſame wrought the wiſhed effect, in ſuch wiſe, that they generallie required battell, offering to liue and die at their capteins feet, and to follow them whither ſoeuer it ſhould pleaſe their kings and liege lords to appoint them. Herewith the kings being ſatisfied, forth they march towards their enimies, whome they found readie to receiue them, and that with ſuch rigorous violence, that in the end, after great ſlaughter made on both parts, the Scots and Picts were put to flight, the Sarons purſuing in the chaſe till the darke night cauſed them to withdraw & returne into their campe. The next day following, the Scotiſh king with the reſidue of his armie haſted away with all ſpéed towards Galloway, and the Pictiſh king withdrew into Pictland. The Sarons vſing the victorie moſt cruellie, ſlue all ſuch of the Pictiſh and Scotiſh nations as they met with, in all places betwixt Tine and Tweed. Then did Occa create the forenamed Colgerme duke of Northumberland, who reparing all ſuch caſtels and ſtrong houſes, as he thought expedient to haue kept, placed garriſons of ſouldiers in the ſame to defend the countrie againſt all maner of enimies. After this, Occa turned his power againſt the Britains, which in the laſt battell had aided the Scots and Picts, as before is partlie touched. The Britains receiuing a great ouerthrow in battell, Uter the Britiſh king was glad with ſuch as might eſcape the enimies hands, to withdraw into Wales, leauing the reſidue of his countries vnto the Sarons, who thereupon recouered not onelie the citie of London, péelding it ſelfe vnto them for doubt of ſome long ſiege, but alſo all thoſe countries and prouinces which Hengiſt the firſt of the Sarons that reigned as king within the bounds of Albion at anie time, had holden or inioied, and ceaſſed not after recouerie of the ſame, to vexe and diſquiet the Scots, Britains, and Picts, with continuall incurſions, hoping by ſuch meanes to keepe them ſtill occupied. In the midſt of this trouble Uter K. of the Britains departed this world, poiſoned (as ſome haue written) by drinking water taken out of a fonteine which the Sarons had inuenomed. He died in the yeare after the birth of our Sauiour 521, and in the eightéenth of his owne reigne. After his deceaſſe, Loth king of the Picts ſent his ambaſſadours vnto the lords, and other the ſtates of the Britiſh dominions, requiring them, according to the accuſtomed lawes and ancient ordinances of the realme, to receiue him as king, ſith he had maried the ſiſter and heire of the two brethren Aurelius Ambroſe, and Uter, their two laſt kings, being as then both deceaſſed, without leauing behind them anie lawfull iſſue, by reaſon whereof their eſtate was fallen vnto him, to inioy the ſame during his life, hauing maried (as is ſaid) their owne naturall and lawfull borne ſiſter, and after the deceaſſe of him and his wife the ſaid ſiſter, then it ought by courſe of the lawes of all realmes and countries to deſcend vnto ſuch iſſue as he had begot of hir, which was two ſonnes, the one named Mordred, and the other Ualuan, or Gawan, as ſome do call him.

The Britains diſdainfullie vſing the Pictiſh ambaſſadours that came with this meſſage, refuſed not onelie to come vnder ſubiection of Loth, but alſo denied that his ſonnes begot of his lawfull wife, the ſiſter of Aurelius and Uter, ſhould haue anie rule or gouernement amongeſt them, as thoſe that were no Britains borne, but ſtrangers vnto them, being both borne and vpbread in a forren countrie. Thoſe ambaſſadours then hauing their anſwere, and being ſent home with reproch, the Britains contrarie to the lawes of all nations, proclamed Arthur, being a baſtard borne, king of their realme, and forthwith aſſembling their powers vnder his leading, marched on againſt the Sarons, in purpoſe to abate ſome part of their ſtrength, before the Picts (which was doubted would ſhortlie come to paſſe) ſhould ioine with them.

Therfore hauing procured aid of the Armorike Britains forth of France, they fought with their enimies within ten miles of London at the firſt, where the Sarons being at two ſeuerall times vanquiſhed, were conſtreined not only to paie tribute, but alſo to receiue magiſtrates to gouerne them by the ſaid Arthurs appointment, with other grieuous articles of agréement, to the great reioiſing of the Britains, for theſe ſo luckie beginings in the firſt exploits of their late elected king. Afterwards was London eaſilie won by the Britains, wherin Arthur remaining for a ſeaſon, toke aduiſe with his nobles how to proceed in his warres againſt the reſt of the Sarons. Finallie hauing prepared a mightie armie, he determineth to go againſt thoſe which inhabited beyond Humber northwards, with whome (as he had certeine knowledge) the Picts were ioined: for Loth comming to agréement with Colgerme, concluded a leage with him, whereby they were bound to aid one another againſt the Britains, as common enimies and aduerſaries to them both.

The Britains at their comming into Yorkeſhire pitched their campe not farre off from their enimies, who were alreadie ioined togither and incamped abroad in the field. The next day after, knowledge being had that they ſhould haue battell, Arthur appointed Howell leader of the Armorike Britains to incounter with the battell of the Picts, and he himſelfe to match with the Sarons. Thus they met togither on both parts verie fiercelie, and a ſore battell was fought there betwixt them, ſo that for a good ſpace it was doubtfull whether part ſhould haue the aduantage of the day, but at length the Picts were put to flight, which aduanced the Britains to the gaine of the whole field. For the Sarons, after they perceiued how the Picts were diſcomfited, dreading to abide the whole brunt by themſelues, betooke them alſo to their héeles, and made their race towards Yorke, as faſt as their feet might beare them.

Arthur purſuing them thither, beſieged the citie almoſt three moneths togither, but the Sarons defended the walles ſo ſtoutlie, making often iſſues forth vpon the Britains, that till hunger began to conſtreine them, they cared little for the ſiege. In the end, when they were determined to haue yélded vp the citie, they had knowledge, how there was an huge armie of Picts and Sarons newlie aſſembled, and readie to come forward to their ſuccors; alſo that king Occa (eſcaping from the battell wherein he had receiued the ouerthrow at Arthurs hands, and flée-ing afterward into Germanie) was now returned with a new power, and arriued within the mouth of Humber. Which newes cauſed them to deferre all communication, in hope that if they might abide the ſiege but for a ſmall time, the Britains ſhould ſhortlie be compaſſed in on each ſide, and oppreſſed on the ſudden.

Arthur heard of the comming of their ſuccours in like maner, and iudging it no wiſedome to tarie the comming of his ſo puiſſant enimies, conſidering what a number of diſeaſed and ſicke perſons he had alreadie in his hoſt, by reaſon of their lieng abroad in the field, raiſed his ſiege, and withdrew himſelfe ſo ſpédilie as was poſſible with his whole armie into

Arthur proclaimed king of Britaine.

Arthur goeth forth againſt the Sarons.

The Armorike Britains in aid of Arthur.

The Sarons vanquiſhed, are conſtreined to pay tribute to the Britains.

London is won by the Britains.

Arthur raiſeth a power againſt the Picts.

A league concluded betwixt Loth & Colgerme.

Howell leader of the Armorike Britains

The Picts put to flight.

The Sarons chaſed, make their race towards Yorke.

Yorke beſieged.

Occa returneth out of Germanie with a new power.

Arthur raiſeth his ſiege.

The Scots through comfortable words of an oration recouer new courages.

The Scots and Picts are put to flight.

Colgerme created duke of Northumberland.

The Britains ouerthrowen in battell by the Sarons.

Uter withdraweth into Wales.

London recouered by the Sarons.

The death of Uter poiſoned by drinking water of a well.

521

Loth requireth the kingdome of Britaine.

Mordred and Gawan.

The Britains refuſe to receiue either Loth or anie of his ſonnes to reigne ouer them.

Wales, where he appointed the Armorike Britains to soiorne for that winter, with other of the meaner sort of his owne souldiers: whilest he toke the residue of his chosen bands, and went to London, there to prouide that no rebellion should be raised among the Saxons of Kent, or other of the countries nere about. In the beginning of the nert spring, he gathered his host togither againe, and with the same went forth against Colgerme and Occa, who being issued forth of Northumberland, were entered into the British confines, spoiling and wasting the countrie with their accustomed crueltie.

Arthur returneth to London.

Arthur discōfiteth the Saxons twise in battel & then againe laieth siege to Yorke and winneth it.

Whereupon incountering them twise in battell, he obteined the victorie, and then besieging Yorke, at length he entered into that citie, by meanes of a Britaine, who dwelling amongst the Saxons there, in the night season conueied a sort of Britains into the citie, the which breaking open the gates in the dead of the night, did let in all the whole host. Where Arthur would not suffer his men to make any great murther of the enimies, which were content to yeld themselues, but vsed them very gently, therby to win more praise amongst all those that heard of his worthie victories. The Britains hauing thus conquered the citie of Yorke, manie feats of armes were dailie practised betwixt them and the Saxons, which held possession still of the countrie thereabouts. But the Britains lieng in that citie all the summer and winter following, at length began to take their ease, namelie in the depth of winter, and therewith gaue themselues to banketting, drinking, plaie, and other kinds of voluptuous pleasures, so that it seemed they trusted more to their passed victories, than to their present force, not fearing such dangers as was like to follow.

Arthur vseth the victorie with gentlenesse.

The Britains soiourning for the winter time within Yorke, giue themselues vnto banketting & voluptuousnesse.

It is thought of some, that about the same time, Arthur first instituted, that the feast of Christmasse should be kept with such excesse of meats and drinks, in all kinds of inordinate banketting and reuell for the space of thirtene daies togither, according to the custome vsed still through both the realmes of England and Scotland euen vnto this day, resembling the feasts which the gentiles vsed to kéepe in the honor of their drunken god Bacchus, called in Latin Bacchanalia: wherein all kinds of beastlie lust and sensuall voluptuousnes was put in vre. But whence soeuer, or by whome soeuer this insatiable gourmandise came vp amongst vs, suerlie a great abuse it is, to see the people at such a solemne feast, where they ought to be occupied in thanks giuing to almightie God, for the sending downe of his onelie begotten sonne amongst vs, to giue themselues in manner wholie to gluttonie, and excessiue filling of their bellies, with such maner of lewd and wanton pastimes, as though they should rather celebrate the same feasts of Bacchanalia, and those other which the gentiles also kept, called Floralia, and Priapalia, than the remembrance of Christs natiuitie, who abhorreth all maner of such excesse.

Christmasse bankets resembling the feasts Bacchanalia.

But now to my purpose. When the next summer was once come, Arthur led forth his Britains against their enimies, but by reason of such ease and pleasure as they had taken whilest they soiourned in Yorke, being now come into the field, they were able to abide no paines, so that no good was done of certeine yéers after, till finallie Arthur ioined in league with Loth king of the Picts. The conditions of which league were these. That Arthur during his naturall life should reigne as king of the Britains, and after his decease, the kingdome to remaine vnto Mordred and his issue, if he chanced to haue anie. That the Picts should aid the Britains against the Saxons, and haue all such land as might be recouered of them beyond Humber. Also the league which was betwixt them and the Scots, they should dulie obserue. Mordred should marrie the daughter of Gawolan a noble man amongst the Britains, and of highest authoritie next vnto Arthur himselfe: the children of this marriage to be brought vp with their grandfather in Britaine, till they came to yeares of discretion. Gawan the brother of the foresaid Mordred, should serue king Arthur, and receiue at his hands large interteinment, and great possessions to mainteine therewith his estate.

The Britains throughout rest and ease became vnapt to susteine the paines of warres.

A league concluded betwixt Arthur king of Britains, & Loth king of Picts.

Mordred marrieth the daughter of one Gawolan a Britaine.

Gawan or Gawen in seruice with K. Arthur.

Other articles there were comprised in this league, according as was thought requisite for the maintenance of stable friendship betwixt these kings and their nations. So that Arthur hauing concluded this league, and still being desirous to purge the whole Ile of all miscreants and enimies of the christian faith, he sent vnto the Scotish and Pictish kings, requiring them on the behalfe of that dutie which they owght vnto the aduancement of Christs religion, to assemble their powers, & to mét him at Tinmouth, whither he would repaire to ioine with them, at such day as they would appoint, from thence to march forth against the Saxons.

Arthur sendeth ambassadors vnto the kings of Scots and Picts.

Loth king of the Picts, and Conranus king of the Scotishmen, failed not in this so necessarie an enterprise, but agréeable to Arthurs request, within few daies after they came forward, and ioining with the Britains, forth they went against the Saxons, whom they vnderstood to be alreadie in campe, vnder the conduct of their king Occa, in purpose to stop their passage. When both the armies were approched nére togither, they prepared to the battell, and first Colgerme duke of Northumberland mounting vpon a light gelding, rode almost euen hard to the face of the Picts, where they stood in their order of battell right stoutlie, and there vttering manie reprochfull words vnto Loth, and other of his nobles, for breach of their promised friendship to him and his Saxons, declared that he trusted shortlie to see iust punishment light vpon them for this falshood and vntruths sake, in thus ioining with their former enimies against their most trustie friends and stedfast allies.

Scots, Picts and Britains ioine togither against the Saxons.

The Pictish king not greatlie moued herewith, commanded his standards to aduance forward, and the Saxons likewise hasted apace towards them, so that the one being come within danger of shot of the other, the Picts let flie their arrowes verie freshlie. Arthur in the meane time hauing set his people in araie, exhorted them to fight manfullie: and so soone as he perceiued that the fraie was begun by the Picts, he in semblable wise cōmandeth the Britains to giue the onset, so that immediatlie there insued a sore conflict, the Scots being in the right wing, & sleaing Cheldrike one of the chiefest capteins amongst the Saxons, quicklie discomfited that wing with the which they were first matched. Colgerme with his Saxons incountring (as is said) with the Picts, placed in the left wing, rushed in amongst his enimies (vpon an earnest desire to be reuenged of his aduersarie king Loth) with such violence, that at their first incounter he ouerthrew the same Loth: but immediatlie therevpon two Pictish horsemen running at Colgerme sideling wise, bare him quite through.

Colgerme is run through by his aduersaries.

In the meane time, Loth by meane of his strong habergion escaping without hurt, was relieued by such as stood about him, and restored againe to his companie: but Colgerme being dead before he could be recouered from amongst the throng of his enimies, his men were so discomforted therewith, that streightwaies therevpon they fell to running away. The maine battell of the Saxons being thus left bare on both sides, began to giue backe, which Arthur perceiuing, the more earnestlie prealled forth vpon them, so that in the end Occa being constreined to flée,

Colgerme reproueth Loth

The Saxons are put to flight.

Occa constreined to flée.

flee, and receiuing a sore wound, had much adoo to be conueied awaie by some of his horssemen, the Britains pursued so fiercelie vpon him. At length being brought vnto the sea side, he got vessels, and escaped ouer into Germanie. This victorie being thus atchiued, constreined the Saxons to yéeld vnto king Arthur, simplie submitting themselues vnto his mercie, who of his clemencie was contented to pardon them of life and goods, vpon condition they would become

Vpon what condition Arthur receiueth the Saxons vpon their submission.

christians, and from thenceforth neuer after to make anie warres vpon their neighbors the Britains, Scots, or Picts. But if they would not agrée hereunto, then leauing their goods, armor, and weapon behind them, they should auoid the land, & that within 13 daies next insuing.

Manie of the Saxons that could get passage, sailed ouer into Germanie. Other feining themselues to become christians, remained in the land, loking one day for better hap & fortune. Diuerse that were not able by meanes of pouertie to get awaie within the time appointed, and yet refusing to be christened, were put to death, according to the proclamation set forth for the same purpose, so that in comparison verie few amongst them receiued the christian faith sincerelie, and with a true meaning mind. Things being thus quieted in Northumberland, Arthur toke order for the reparing of churches abroad in the

Arthur caused churches to be repared.

countrie, which the Saxons had ouerthrowne or defaced; & namelie in the citie of Yorke he bestowed great cost, where the cruell infidels had done much hurt vpon churches, and other religious houses.

In the yéere following, Arthur had newes how the Saxons which held the Ile of Wight, ioining with the Kentish Saxons, had done great displeasures vnto the Britains, on that side of the Thames, killing & sleaing an huge number of them with great crueltie, wherewith being sore moued, he drew towards London with his armie, purposing vtterlie to

Arthur purposeth to destroie the whole race of the Saxons in Albion.

destroie all the east & south Saxons, since otherwise he could not prouide for the suertie of his subiects, being still in danger to be murthered and robbed, so long as anie of that wicked generation of the Saxons remained heere amongst them.

By meanes also of the league, he had with him in this iournie ten thousand Picts, & as manie Scots: Eugenius nephue to king Conran by his brother Congall being generall ouer the Scots, and Mordred the sonne of king Loth by his wife Anne, gouerning the Picts, a luskie yong gentleman, verie

The opinion which men had conceiued of Mordred for his wit & towardlinesse.

wittie and towardlie in all his doings. Furthermore, Arthur vnderstanding what hurt rest and ease had done amongst his men of warre, caused them to keepe the field in all this iournie, and passing by London, lodged them a little beside the riuer of Thames. But he himselfe with some of his nobles, entred into the citie, causing supplications to be made vnto almightie God three daies together, for good successe to follow against the Saxons. On the fourth day hearing diuine seruice celebrated by the bishop of London, and causing a sermon to be made in the market place, he committed himselfe and his whole armie vnto the tuition of Christ, and his mother the virgine, whose image in steed of a badge he bare in

Arthurs badge.

his shield continuallie from that day forward, as diuerse heeretofore haue written. After this, issuing forth of the citie, he willed all his men to be of good comfort, as they that fought in a iust quarell against Pagans, and enimies of the faith. Mordred and his father in law Gawolane passed on before the battels with fiue thousand horssemen, and being come within fiue miles of the Saxons, who likewise were assembled in campe, there came from them vnto Arthur ambassadors, requiring him to staie his iour-

Arthurs exhortation to his people.

An offer made by the Saxons vnto king Arthur.

nie, for they were readie (if they might haue libertie so to do) to depart out of the land with their goods and substance, without further molesting the Britains, either by one meanes or other.

Arthur would neither consent heerevnto, nor yet grant a truce for three daies, for the which they made earnest sute, but bad them depart for that time, onelie assuring them that he would not come passing two miles forwards for that day, so that if they thought good, they might returne to him in the morning, and haue answer what the chiefest gouernors of his host thought touching their request, by whome he would haue the matter more throughlie debated. In the meane time, whilest the Britains were busied with hearing of these ambassadors, and taking aduise what was best to do touching their demand, the Saxons marched forth with all spéed, and comming vpon Mordred and Gawolan at vnwares, they gaue the onset freshlie vpon them, and that verie much to the disaduantage of the Britains and Picts, who notwithstanding, through the earnest exhortation of their capteins, receiued their enimies verie fiercelie, in doing that which was possible for so small a number to do, howbeit in the end oppressed with multitude, they were forced to flée, and so did, not resting till they came in sight of the whole armie. In which fight, Mordred and Gawolan by helpe of their souldiers, being mounted vpon their horsses, escaped without hurt, though they lost no small number of their companie, as well in the fight as in the chase.

The Saxons comming vpon Mordred and Gawolan put them with their people to the worse.

The Saxons ambassadors being not yet departed out of the British campe, were hereupon staied till the next morning, and then had answer giuen them, that from thenceforth the Britains were not minded to heare anie messengers of the Saxons comming to intreat of peace, since it was manifest enough, they ment nothing but falshod, as well appeared in that they had against the law of armes, whilest their ambassadors were in communication, distressed part of the British armie, and therefore they should assure themselues, to haue at Arthurs hands nothing but cruell war to the vttermost of his power, in reuenge of such their great vntruths and cloked dealings. They had scarse receiued their answer, but that there came from the Saxons fortie other ambassadors, being men of great authoritie amongst them, to excuse that which had happened ouer night, in laieng the fault vpon a sort of vndiscreet persons, nothing priuie vnto that which the gouernors of the armie had done, touching the sending of their ambassadors, and therevpon had without their aduise made that skirmish.

what answer the Saxons ambassadors had at Arthurs hands.

The excuse of the Saxons.

But Arthur iudging that there was some new subtill practise in hand, vnder pretense of this new ambassage, commanded as well these that came last, as the other which came first, to be kept in the marshals tent, that in no wise they should escape, whilest he himselfe in the second watch of the night departed out of his campe, with all his puissance, which he diuided into three battels, and hauing marched three miles forward, he was vpon his enimies yer they vnderstood anie thing of his comming, insomuch that the Britains had slaine and chased the watch of the Saxons campe, before it was certeinlie knowne what the matter ment. Hereof also insued such a tumult and noise amongst the Saxons, running vp and downe, calling and crieng one to another, as it

The sudden inuasion made by the Britains vpon the Saxons.

The great tumult in the Saxons campe.

happeneth in such cases of extreme feare, that the best aduised amongest them wist not well what to do. Wherevpon Mordred desirous to reuenge his last ouerthrowe, brake in also vpon his enimies verie fiercelie.

Mordred desirous to be reuenged.

But some of them hauing gotten them into their armor, stood at their defense awhile amongst their carts and carriages, and so resisted the Britains on that

that ſide for a ſeaſon: other of the Saxons hauing no leaſure to arme themſelues, nor to draw into anie order of battell, by reaſon of the ſudden impreſſion of the Britains, brake forth of the campe on the contrarie ſide, & fled ſo faſt as their feet might beare them. But being purſued by the Britiſh horſſemen, and beaten downe, a great number of them ran into the next riuer, and there were drowned, chooſing rather that kind of death, than ſo cruellie to be murthered by the aduerſaries hands: verelie the Britains ſhewed no mercie that day, for ſo manie as came within their danger, died without redemption. And this bloudie battell made an end of ſuch an huge number of Saxons, that it was thought they ſhould neuer haue recouered againe anie puiſſance able to haue indamaged the Britains in anie manner of wiſe.

The Saxons are put to the flight.

The crueltie of the Britains in ſleating the Saxons.

Arthur hauing thus vanquiſhed his enimies, gaue licence vnto thoſe nobles which he had deteined (as is ſaid) in his campe, being ſent vnto him as ambaſſadors, to depart ouer into Germanie, appointing the reſidue of ſuch Saxons as were men of no defenſe, to remaine ſtill in the land, yéelding a yéerelie tribute vnto the Britains, and alſo with condition that they ſhould become chriſtians. The Scotiſhmen and Picts which had aided the Britains in this iournie, ſoiorned a while after at London, where Arthur feaſted & banketted them in moſt roiall wiſe, ſhewing them all the honor that might be deuiſed, and afterwards ſent them home verie princelie rewarded with manie great gifts and rich preſents. Whileſt ſuch buſineſſe as ye haue heard was thus in hand betwixt the Saxons & Britains, the eſtate of the Scotiſh common-wealth was gouerned by great wiſedome and policie, without anie notable trouble or diſorder. But finallie, when king Conrane began to waxe aged, and that ſuch as had the chiefe doings vnder him, ſought not the execution of iuſtice, but their owne commodities, to the hinderance of a multitude, the people began to repine thereat, and to practiſe a conſpiracie with diuerſe of the nobles againſt Conrane, and thoſe which ruled by his appointment.

Arthurs munificence.

A conſpiracie practiſed againſt Conrane.

It chanced that there was one Concet, a man of baſe birth, aſſigned by the kings commiſſion to be chiefe iuſtice, or as it were chancelor for the adminiſtration of the lawes in Murrey land, a perſon paſſing full of rigorous crueltie, eſpeciallie in iudgements of life and death, and in gathering vp of all manner of forfeitures of penall lawes, which he did onelie to purchaſe fauor of the king, by the inriching of his coffers, in reſpect whereof he had ſmall regard either of right or wrong, ſo that there were hope of ſomewhat to be gotten. Amongeſt other the violent doings of this Concet, he cauſed diuerſe merchantmen of the towne of Fores in Murrey land (as then the chiefeſt towne of all that countrie) to be accuſed of treaſon by a light information, and in the end executed without anie apparant matter, onelie vpon a couetous deſire to haue their goods and riches, becauſe they were men of great wealth and ſubſtance. Diuerſe noble men of the countrie there abouts, and namelie of the towne of Fores, being partlie of kin vnto thoſe merchants, were ſore offended with this act, and héere vpon they firſt came vnto Concet, and reuiled him with manie high reprochfull words, and afterwards fell vpon him in the place of open iudgement where he ſat as then in his iudgement ſeate, & there murthered him, getting them forthwith vp into the mounteins, to auoid the danger which they knew vnpoſſible for them to eſcape, if they ſhould happen to be taken while Conrane ſhould be liuing.

In euill officer.

A preſumptuous act.

After this, they deuiſed how they might increaſe their heinous déed and bold enterpriſe with an other farre more horrible and notable, which was to ſlea the king himſelfe, as the originall cauſe of all ſuch miſchiefe that then reigned in the realme through the vnworthie gouernment of his vniuſt miniſters and couetous magiſtrats, hoping withall to obteine the fauor of ſome of the noble men, whome they knew to maligne the king and his councell moſt extremelie, and thereby in ſhort time to be aſſured of their pardon. Shortlie after it chanced that one Donald alſo gouernor of Atholl, a man in great fauor and truſt with the king, had vnderſtanding what theſe outlawes intended, and thereupon practiſed with them by priuie meſſengers, that they ſhould come in ſecret manner vnto Enuerlochtée, where the king ſoiorned, promiſing them by moſt aſſured meanes of oths and vowes, that they ſhould haue all the furtherance he could deuiſe towards the atchiuing of their enterpriſe.

The cauſe of the kings death.

Donald gouernor of Athol conſpireth with the outlawes to murther the king.

Hereupon theſe outlawes, according to their inſtructions, came in ſecret wiſe vnto Enuerlochtée, and were cloſelie conueied into Conrans bedchamber by Donalds meanes, who as though he had knowne nothing of the matter, got himſelfe quickelie out of the waie when he ſaw them once entered within the doore of the chamber. Conrane the king perceiuing how he was betraied, and that his enimies were got into his chamber readie to murther him, ſkept forth of his bed, and falling downe vpon his knées beſought them to take pitie of his age, and not to defile their hands in the bloud of their naturall lord and king, conſidering the fault was not his, if they had béene anie waies wronged. Howbeit they doubting nothing but leaſt he ſhould eſcape their hands, ſtreightwaies diſpatched him out of life, and withall made haſte awaie. This was the end of king Conranus, in the 20 yéere of his reigne, being the 16 of Arthurs dominion ouer the Britains, the firſt of the emperor Juſtinianus, and in the yeare after the birth of our Sauior 531. But his corps was buried in the abbeie of Iona, otherwiſe called Colmekill, with ſuch funerall pompe and exequies, as in thoſe daies were vſed.

The outlawes enter into the kings bedchamber.

Conrane is murthered within his bedchamber by traitorous meanes.

35. H.B.

20. H.B.

535. H.B.

Eugenius.

After him ſucceeded his nephue Eugenius, the ſonne of his brother Congall, the which Eugenius (as aboue is ſaid) was with Arthur in the laſt mentioned iournie againſt the Saxons. There were that counſelled him in the beginning of his reigne (which he began in Argile, being placed there vpon the chaire of marble) that he ſhould ſée in anie wiſe the authors of his vncles death dulie puniſhed, to the example of others, that they ſhould not attempt the like héereafter againſt their liege lord and crowned king: but he contrariwiſe did not onelie forgiue the offenſe, but alſo receiued the forenamed Donald with other the murtherers into his ſeruice, and made them of his priuie councell, which cauſed manie men to ſuſpect, leaſt he himſelfe had béene of councell with them in committing that murther. The talke whereof was ſo common in all mens mouths, namelie amongſt the common people, that the quéene Dowager late wife to king Conrane, doubting not onelie the ſuertie of hir owne life, but alſo of hir two ſons (which ſhe had by the ſaid Conrane, the one named Reginan, and the other Aidan) fled with them ouer into Ireland, where within few yeares after, ſhe died with the one of hir ſonnes, that is to ſay, Reginan: the other Aidan was honorablie brought vp by the king of that countrie, according to his birth and degrée.

Eugenius is inueſted king of Scotland.

Regicides or kingquellers ought chieflie aboue all other to be puniſhed.

Eugenius is ſuſpected of his predeceſſors death.

The queene Dowager fled with hir two ſonnes into Ireland.

Eugenius in the beginning of his reigne, to win thereby the peoples fauor, demeaned himſelfe moſt gentlie in all his proceédings, doing nothing that taſted in anie part of crueltie. He would oftentimes ſit amongſt the iudges himſelfe, and if he ſuſpected leaſt anie man had wrong, he would licence them to plead

The murtherers to

The detectation of the murtherers to

The humanitie and fauourable friendſ-

dispatch the king also.

plead their case anew. And such as he perceiued were not of abilitie to follow their suite in anie cause of right, he would helpe them with monie of the common treasurie. He ordeined also, that no orphane should be compelled to answer anie action, or otherwise be vered by suit of law. Moreouer, that no widow should be constreined to come past a mile forth of hir owne dores for anie matter in controuersie betwixt hir and anie other person, to be heard afore anie iudges or publike officers. Robbers, theeues, and their receiuers he caused to be dulie punished, to restraine other from attempting the like offenses. And also he had a speciall regard for the obseruing of the league betwixt his subiects and the Picts, with the Britains, according to the tenor of the same.

About this season should it be also that Arthur did atchiue all those worthie victories, which are ascribed vnto him against the Scots, Irishmen, Danes, Norwegians, and other northerne people. Moreouer it is written by some authors, that he should subdue the most part of Germanie with the low countries, Britaine, Normandie, France, and the Romans, with the people of the east: but the credit hereof resteth with the same authors. Onelie it is certeine (as Hector Boetius affirmeth) that Arthur liued in the daies of Iustinianus the emperor, about which time the Gotthes, Vandals, Burgonions, & Frenchmen did inuade sundrie parts of the Romane empire, pitifullie walking and spoiling the same, where yet such writers as haue set forth those warres, make no mention of Arthur at all. ¶ Therefore letting all doubtfull things passe, I will proceed with mine author, and declare what he hath found written in such Scotish chronicles as he followeth touching the British Arthur, which for that it partlie varieth from the other our common chronicles, namelie Geffrey of Monmouth, I thinke it worthie to be noted here, to the end that euerie man maie iudge thereof as to him seemeth best.

To the purpose then. After that the Britains were deliuered from the terror of the Saxons, and that with quietnesse they began to wax wealthie, they repented them of the league, which they had concluded afore with Loth king of the Picts, speciallie for that they could not in anie wise be contented to haue anie stranger to reigne amongst them, and heere vpon comming vnto Arthur, required of him, sith he himselfe had no issue to succeed him, that it might please him yet, to name one of his owne nation to gouerne them after his decease. Arthur not gainsaieng their request, willed them (sith their pleasure was such, in no wise to haue a stranger to reigne ouer them) to name one themselues, being descended of the bloud roiall, and such a one as in whome they had perceiued some towardlie proofe of wisedome and valiancie: and he for his part promised to ratifie their election. The nobles with great reioising of the people drawing together to consult for the choise of such a one, as might be acceptable to all the British nation, at length agreed vpon Constantinus, the sonne of Cador duke of Cornwall, a godlie yong gentleman, both for his person and other his worthie qualities much to be commended. Who being brought by the peeres of the realme into the councell chamber, and there presented vnto king Arthur, as one most meet to succeed him; Arthur accepted their election verie gladlie, and caused the same Constantine forthwith to be proclamed heire apparant to the crowne, by the name of prince of Britaine, which notified him to be successor to the king in gouernement of the realme. Constantine being in such wise preferred, behaued himselfe so honorablie, and with such a shew of gentle demeanor, that he wan him much praise, with an opinion of high worthinesse amongst all the British nation.

In this meane time was Loth the king of the Picts deceased, leauing his name as a perpetuall memorie vnto his countrie of Pictland, the which euer since as a remembrance of his worthinesse, hath beene called Lothian, or Louthian; but his sonne Mordred, succeeding him in gouernement of the Pictish kingdome, and hearing that Constantine was proclamed heire apparant of Britaine, was sore moued therewith, and immediatlie sending his ambassadours vnto king Arthur, complained, for that contrarie to the honor of his kinglie estate, he had broken the league concluded betwixt him and his father late of famous memorie king Loth, wherein it was agreed amongest other things, that there should none succeed in the kingdome of Britaine, after Arthurs decease, but the children begot betwixt K. Loth and his wife queene Anne, or such as descended of them; where contrariwise it was notified vnto the Pictish people, that Constantine the sonne of Cador was elected prince, and thereby inabled as heire apparant to the crowne.

They required him therefore to call himselfe to remembrance, and not so lightlie to agree vnto the flattering persuasions of the Britains, aduising him vnto that thing which was meerelie repugnant to reason, and against both gods lawes and mans, admonishing him withall to obserue the league, according to the oth, which he had solemnelie taken vpon him, and to moue his subiects to do the like, least for the contrarie, they should prouoke the wrath of almightie God against them, who is the iust reuenger of all such as go about to breake leagues and couenanted pactions. Herevnto answere was made by consent of the nobles of Britaine, that the league which was concluded betwixt Arthur and Loth, indured but for the life times of them two onelie, and to ceasse by either of their deaths: therefore Arthur had done nothing contrarie to anie pact or promise made, but according to the duetie of a prince that tendered the weale of his subiects, had prouided them one to succeed him of their owne nation, for doubt least the realme after his decease should fall into the hands of strangers, which in no wise ought of right to be suffered. Therefore if the Picts loued the suertie of their owne estate, it should be good for them to hold themselues contented with their owne bounds, least if they sought for other mens liuings, they might hapilie within short time perceiue, what doth insue oftentimes vpon such rash and vnaduised attempts.

The Pictish ambassadors returning home with this answer, caused the whole nation to take such disdaine therewith, that immediatlie they resolued to reuenge their wrongs by open warres; but first they thought good to trie if they might procure the Scotishmen to take part with them, in reuenge of such iniuries as they had in like maner latelie receiued at the Britains hands. Moreouer, repenting themselues, that they had in times past aided the Britains against the Saxons, they purpose to trie if they might now moue the same Saxons eftsones to make warres vpon the Britains, thereby to be the better able to mainteine their owne quarrell against them. First, such ambassadours as were sent from Mordred vnto Eugenius king of the Scots, found him verie agreeable vnto their requests, and the sooner, for that such Scotish rebels as fled vnto Arthur, were not onelie receiued by him, but also mainteined to make rodes and incursions into the Scotish borders.

Arthur hauing knowledge of the deuises of his enimies (the warres being first proclamed) he furnished all the sea-coasts with notable numbers of men,

ship of king Eugenius towards his people.

Commendable ordinances.

The victorious conquests ascribed to Arthur.

This causeth no small doubt to arise of the great victories ascribed vnto Arthur.

Geffrey of Monmouth.

The Britains repent themselues of the league concluded with the Picts.

The request of the Britains to haue one of their owne nation appointed to succeed king Arthur.

Constantine proclamed heire apparant & prince of Britaine.

Lothian taketh the name of Loth the Pictish king.

Mordred succedeth Loth in the kingdome of Pictland.

Mordred complaineth vnto king Arthur, for that Constantine was created his heire apparant.

The Picts purpose to be reuenged on the Britains by open war.

The Picts solicit both Scots and Saxons to make warre vpon the Britains.

Eugenius the Scotish king agreeable to the request of the Picts.

The answere made to the Pictish ambassadours.

Arthur setteth forward toward the Scots and Picts.

men, to withstand the landing of the Saxons, if they should fortune to attempt anie invasion. That done, he passed forth with the residue of his people towards the Scots & Picts, who were alreadie assembled in campe, and were come as farre as the riuer of Humber, neere to the bankes whereof they had pitched their tents, as in a place fatall for the Britains to be vanquished in. Both the armies being brought here into order of battell, the one in sight of the other, there were certeine bishops of those three nations that toke great pains to ride to and fro betwixt them, to exhort the kings vnto peace and concord, considering what mischiefe and great bloudshed should insue, if vpon wilfullnesse they would seeke to trie that by dint of sword, which they might make an end of by means of amiable treatie and friendlie agreement. Againe, they could not do the thing that might more content the Saxons, common enimies to christian religion, than if by their incountring togither in battell, they should so infeeble their whole powers, whereby the Saxons might haue readie means and occasion offered to execute their greedie desires to conquere the whole Ile. Mordred and Eugenius were persuaded by this earnest trauell of the bishops, to put their matter in compromise, and to lay away their armour and weapon, if they might haue assurance that the league made with king Loth should in euerie point be obserued. Arthur likewise at the sute of the same bishops, would haue beene contented for his part to haue agreed hereunto; but other of the Britains, namelie those that were of kin and alliance vnto Constantine their prince, could in no wise be persuaded hereunto; but rather with manie reprochfull words rebuked the bishops for their vntimelie sute, seeing the enimies readie ranged in battell at point to giue the onset, so that (as they alledged) it might be doubted what they meant by their motion, vnlesse they went about to betraie the armie, vnder pretense of a cloked treatie for an vnprofitable agreement. These or such like words were vnneth ended, when suddenlie the noise being raised on both sides, the battels rushed togither right fiercelie. The Britains had the disaduantage of the place, being so incumbred with mires, bogs, and mosses, that they could not well aid themselues, nor handle their weapons to anie purpose. Yet did the battell continue a long time, to the destruction of such numbers of men; that the riuer Humber (neere vnto the which this field was fought) was so mingled with bloud, that the water thereof being all coloured red, caried no small number of dead bodies downe into the sea. In the middest of the fight, there was one with lowd voice in the British tong cried out to the Britains (of purpose prompted thereunto) that Arthur with other of the nobles on his side were slaine, and therefore it were but follie to trust anie longer vpon victorie, but rather were it wisdome for euerie man by flight to prouide for his owne safetie.

Bishops trauell betwixt the parties to bring them to communication for a peace.

Mordred and Eugenius were persuaded vnto peace.

The Britains would not consent to haue anie peace talked vpon.

The battell is begun.

A cruell battell.

A craftie policie.

This was one of the Picts.

The Britains put to flight.

This voice wonderfullie incouraged the Scotishmen and Picts, but the Britains were put in such feare therewith, that the most part of them immediatlie hereupon fell to running away. Others of them iudging this to be but some craftie and subtill practise of the enimies deuised of purpose, as it was in deed, to discomfort them with, abode by it still: manfullie continuing in fight, till they were beaten downe and slaine in maner euerie mothers sonne. This victorie being thus hardlie got, cost more mens liues than anie other had done of manie yeares before; for of the Scots and Picts being vanquishers, there died in that mortall battell aboue 20000 men, togither with Mordred, and a great number of the nobilitie of both the nations. Of the Britains and such other as were with them in aid, there were slaine, what in battell and what in chase, at the point of 30000, among whome was Arthur himselfe, with Gawan or Galuan (as some bookes haue) brother vnto Mordred, who bare such good will and intire loue vnto his lord and maister the said Arthur, that he fought that day most earnestlie on his side against his owne naturall brother the said Mordred. Also there were killed Caime and Gawolan, with the most part of all the residue of the British nobilitie, and manie prisoners taken, by reason that Humber kept them in from flieng anie way forth on the one side, which prisoners also were afterwards slaine, the gentlemen onelie excepted.

Twentie thousand of Scots and Picts slaine.

Mordred is slaine.

Arthur with 30000 Britains slaine.

Gawan is slaine.

Caime and Gawolan are slaine.

The day next after the battell, the campe of the Britains was rifled, and amongst other rich spoiles there was found queene Guainore Arthurs wife, with a great number of other ladies and gentlewomen. The whole spoile of the campe and field being equallie diuided by lots betwixt them, the Scots had for their parts certeine faire charets laden with rich stuffe and iewels, also horsses and armours, beside sundrie noble men, whom they had to their prisoners. Vnto the Picts fell for their portion queene Guainore, with the ladies and gentlewomen, and diuers other of the noble men, besides a great quantitie of other rich prete and boties. These prisoners, which the Picts had, were conueied into a castell in Angus, called Dunbarre, a place of great strength in those daies, though at this present there remaineth nothing but the name with the ruines therof. In which castell they were deteined vnder sure ward, during the residue of their naturall liues. In witnesse wherof there be remaining vnto this day, the graues and monuments where manie of these captiue Britains were buried, in the fields of a towne in that countrie called Pegill, not past 10 miles from Dundee: but amongest the residue, that of Guainore is most famous.

Queene Guainore taken.

The spoile of the Britains camp diuided.

Dunbarre in Angus, not that in Louthian.

There goeth a plaine tale ouer all that countrie, told for an assured trueth, that if anie woman chance to tread vpon that graue, they shall remaine barren without bringing forth anie issue more than the said Guainore did. But whether this be true or not, certeine it is (as Boetius writeth) that there dare no woman come neere that graue, not onelie eschuing it themselues, but also commanding their daughters to beware thereof. This bloudie battell weakened so much the forces both of the Scots, Picts, and Britains, that manie a day after they were not able to recouer againe their former states and dignities. The yeare also that these three nations incountred thus cruellie togither, was after the birth of our Sauiour 542, the 26 of Arthurs reigne ouer the Britains, and the 11 of Eugenius his gouernement ouer the Scotishmen.

The fable of queene Guainores graue buried in Angus.

542.
8. H.B.

In the same yere before the battell, were seene manie strange sights in Albion. Grasse and hearbs in Yorkeshire appeared to bee all stained with bloud. Neere vnto Camelon, a cow brought forth a calfe with two heads. Also an ewe brought forth a lambe that was both male and female. The sunne appeared about none daies all wholie of a bloudie colour. The element appeared full of bright starres to euerie mans sight continuallie for the space of two daies togither. In Wales there was a battell betweene crowes and pies on the one side, and rauens on the other, with such a slaughter of them, as before that time had not beene heard of.

Strange and vnketh wonders.

But to proceed. Eugenius king of the Scots at his returne from the battell, gaue to those that had escaped with life, and abid by him in the chiefe danger of the fight, manie bounteous & large rewards. The sonnes and neerest kinsfolke of such as were slaine

Eugenius rewardeth his souldiers.

ſlaine, he alſo aduanced to ſundrie preferments of lands & liuings, that they inioieng the ſame, might be a witneſſe in time to come of the good ſeruice of their anceſtors, ſhewed in defenſe of their king and countrie, and alſo of his princelie liberalitie, in rewarding the ſame vpon their iſſue and progenie. By which noble beneuolence, he wan him ſuch loue amongſt his people, that afterwards it ſéemed how he gouerned the ſtate of his kingdome more by clemencie, than by anie rigour of lawes. The Britains immediatlie vpon knowledge had that Arthur was ſlaine, crowned Conſtantine his ſucceſſor in the Britiſh kingdome, and for that there ſhould remaine none amongſt them aliue to make anie claime to the ſame kingdome, other than he with his iſſue, or ſuch as he ſhould appoint to ſucceed him, they cruellie murthered Mordreds children, in moſt pitifull wiſe running vnto their mothers lap, beſéeching hir to ſaue their liues, according to hir motherlie dutie. They were brought vp in Gawolane their fathers grandfathers houſe, and being thus made awaie, the familie and linage of their father the foreſaid Mordred was vtterlie thereby extinguiſhed.

Eugenius gouerneth his people with clemencie.

Conſtantine crowned king of Britaine.

The crueltie of the Britains in murthering the innocent children of Mordred.

The linage of Mordred clearlie extinct.

The Saxons at the ſame time hauing aduertiſement what loſſe the Britains had ſuſteined, not onlie by the death of their moſt valiant king and chieftaine Arthur, but alſo for the ſlaughter of ſuch a multitude of their nation as died in the battell, they prepare a mightie nauie of ſhips, and paſſe ouer the ſame into England, where being landed, they eaſilie beat downe the Britains, and driue them with their K. Conſtantine into Wales, ſo recouering all that part of the land which Hengiſt ſometimes held, & after his name was afterwards called England. ¶ Some haue written, how that after king Conſtantine had reigned certeine yéeres in Wales, his wife and children died, wherupon waxing wearie of this world, he forſooke his earthlie kingdome, in hope of that other aboue, and ſecretlie departed into Ireland, where applieng himſelfe for a time in miniſtring to the poore, at length being knowne, by the perſuaſion of a monke he became one of his cote and profeſſion.

The Saxons returne into England, and driue the Britains into wales.

Conſtantine forſaketh his earthlie kingdome in hope of the heauenlie kingdome.

Conſtantine entereth into religion.

Afterwards being ſent by the biſhop of the diceſſe ouer into Scotland, to inſtruct the people of that countrie in the true faith and articles of the chriſtian religion, he there ſuffered martyrdome by the hands of moſt wicked and godleſſe perſons, and was at length (but manie yéeres after his death) canonized a ſaint, and ſundrie churches (as are to be ſéene euen vnto this day) built and dedicated vnto him in Scotland by authoritie of the biſhops there. At the ſame time that the ſaid Conſtantine was driuen into Wales, there reigned among the Engliſhmen one Iurmirike the fift (as Beda ſaith) from Hengiſt. The ſame Iurmirike though he were not chriſtened himſelfe, yet he permitted the chriſtian faith to be preached amongſt his people, and concluding a league with the Scotiſhmen and Picts, kept the ſame inuiolate during his life time moſt ſincerlie. The Scotiſh king Eugenius alſo liued in peace the reſidue of his life, without anie trouble either by forren enimies, or inteſtine ſedition, & at length died in the 38 yeare of his reigne, after the birth of our Sauiour 569.

Conſtantine ſent forth of Ireland into Scotland is there murthered.

Iurmirike or Iurmirike king of the Engliſhmen.

Iurmirike concludeth a peace with the Scotiſhmen and Picts.

Eugenius the Scotiſh king dieth. 568. H.B.

Conuall.

Conuall elected king of Scotland.

After his funerall obſequies finiſhed in Colmekill, where he lieth buried amongſt his anceſtors, his brother Conuall was choſen to ſucceed him in adminiſtration of the kingdome, a prince of ſuch inclination to vertue and godlines, as all men may iuſtlie wonder thereat. He bare ſuch zealous deuotion towards the worſhipping of the croſſe (a thing to put men in remembrance of Chriſts paſſion as he tooke it) that which way ſoeuer he rode (as it is reported) hée had the ſame borne before him, and at his getting vp and lighting downe from his horſſe, he with all the multitude of people ſtanding about him, would worſhip it, knéeling downe, & reuerentlie kiſſing it. This croſſe was of ſiluer with a crucifix thereon, and letters grauen in a plate faſtened to the ſtaffe, conteining theſe two words: *Chriſtianorum gloria.* He commanded alſo that the ſigne of the croſſe ſhould be ſet vpon the tops of ſteeples, and on the higheſt towers of the gates of caſtels & townes. Moreouer he forbad the croſſe to be grauen or painted vpon anie pauement, leaſt anie man ſhould vnreuerentlie tread vpon it. Furthermore he had prieſts and other religious men in ſuch honor, as nothing could be more, appointing them to haue the tenths of all thoſe fruits which the earth yéelded. Sundrie ordinances he made alſo, for the grieuous puniſhment of all ſuch as in anie wiſe miſuſed a prieſt, or other religious perſon: as he that gaue any of them a blow, ſhould loſe his hand for it: and hée that ſlue one of them, ſhould forfeit his goods, and bée burned quicke. Againe, he beſtowed manie rich iewels, and gaue diuers great gifts vnto churches, prouiding the miniſters of ſufficient liuings, and appointed that they ſhould haue their houſes néere vnto their churches, to be readie to execute that which apperteined vnto their offices, when anie néed required.

Crоſſes ſet vpon the tops of ſteeples.

Conuals deuotion towards church men.

Conuals liberalitie toward churches.

The king being thus vertuouſlie diſpoſed, cauſed the whole number of his ſubiects by his example to be the better affectioned towards the aduancement of religion. The report and fame hereof moued that holie man ſaint Colme or Colombe, to come ouer forth of Ireland (where he had the gouernance of ſundrie houſes of monks) with twelue other vertuous perſons into Albion, and there gathering together a great number of monks, being here and there diſperſed abroad in the countrie, he placed them orderlie in ſuch houſes, as king Conuall had builded and founded for that purpoſe, appointing amongſt them rulers & miniſters, ſuch as he thought moſt conuenient. But ſaint Colme himſelfe, and the other twelue, which he brought ouer with him from Ireland, placing themſelues to inhabit in the Ile of Iona, now called Colmekill, tooke great paines to inſtruct the Scots and Picts in the true articles of the faith.

Saint Colme commeth ouer forth of Ireland into Scotland.

Amongſt the Picts at the ſame time the hereſie of Pelagius had infected the minds of many, by meane that diuerſe of that nation hauing dwelled a long time in Britaine, returning into their countrie, brought that peſtilent doctrine home with them, and taught it vnto other. Saint Colme therefore informed hereof, paſſed into Louthian vnto Brudeus as then king of the Picts, earneſtlie trauelling to inſtruct both him and his people in the right beliefe, and to extirpe out of their hearts all erronious opinions of that damnable ſect of the Pelagians lore. At the ſame time, that bleſſed man Kentigerne, otherwiſe called Mungo, gouerned the church of Glaſcow, as biſhop of the ſame, who reſorting into the companie of this ſaint Colme, had much conference with him, to both their comforts, concerning the true articles of our faith.

The hereſie of Pelagius in Pictland.

Kentigerne biſhop of Glaſcow, otherwiſe called Mungo biſhop of Glaſco.

This Kentigerne was deſcended of the bloud roiall of the Pictiſh kings, as ſon vnto that vertuous woman Thametes or Thamew, daughter vnto Loth king of the Picts, whome a yong luſtie gentleman, or (as ſome haue written) the laſt mentioned Eugenius the Scotiſh king rauiſhed by force, and begot of hir the ſaid Kentigerne. He was greatlie in fauour with the foreſaid Brudeus the Pictiſh king, as one that was néere of his bloud. For the ſame Brudeus was nephue vnto the foreſaid Loth by his brother called Pelethon, and therefore ſucceeded in the kingdome of the Picts, after that Mordred was ſlaine,

Thamew or Thametes rauiſhed by Eugenius king of Scotland, of which rauiſhment ſhe bare the foreſaid Kentigerne.

slaine, as before is expressed. Kentigerne went with saint Colme vnto the castell of Calidon, otherwise called Dounkeld, where they remained six moneths in a monasterie there, builded by king Conuall, teaching and preaching vnto the people of Athole, Calidon, and Angus, that in great numbers came vnto them, to heare their godlie instructions. There is in the same place, where the said castell sometimes stood, a church dedicated vnto saint Colme, built of faire square stone, being at this day a bishops see, commonlie called Dounkeld, indowed with manie faire reuenues and great possessions, for the maintenance of the bishop and his canons.

The castell of Calidon now Dounkeld.

The bishops see of Dounkeld.

At the six moneths end, those two vertuous persons taking their leaue each of other, not without shedding of teares, departed in sunder, Kentigerne returning into Glascow, and saint Colme into Ireland, where reporting manie things, touching the great vertue and holines of king Conuall, and with what deuotion he had béene receiued both of him and his people, he moued manie to wonder greatlie thereat, to heare that a king in the midst of all his allurements to pleasure, should yet be so mindfull of diuine meditations and godlie exercises. In the yere following, saint Colme prepared to returne into Scotland, taking Aidan ouer with him thither, by commandement of king Conuall, which Aidan (as ye haue heard) to auoid the traines of Eugenius, fled ouer into Ireland with his mother, for doubt to bée made away by the same Eugenius. Saint Colme taking the sea with this Aidan, and comming on land on the coasts of Scotland, was no sooner there arriued, but that presentlie he had knowledge how the king was dead, being the yeere of his reigne the 10, and after the birth of our Sauiour 579.

Saint Colme returneth into Ireland.

Saint Colme cõmeth againe into Scotland, bringing with him Aidan sonne to king Conran.

The death of Conuall.

578. H.B.

Saint Colme then being throughlie certified of his death, and that the corps was forward on the way towards Colmekill, there to be buried, hée thought it a péece of his dutie to go thither to be at the funerall, and so doing, was as one of the chiefest there in executing of the obsequies. Which being ended, and hearing that Kinnatill the brother of Conuall was inthronized king in Argile, by the frée election of all the estates, he neuertheless kept on his former purposed iournie, and came vnto Kinnatill, bringing Aidan with him (appointed by Conuall to haue receiued the gouernement of the kingdome if he had liued) they were both receiued with all beneuolence of the said Kinnatill cõtrarie to most mens expectation: insomuch that imbracing Aidan, he bad him be of good cheere, for it should shortlie come to passe, that he should atteine to the possession of his grandfathers dominions, and haue issue that should succeed him, to the great releefe of the Scotish common-wealth.

Saint Colme present at the buriall of king Conuall.

Kinnatil elected king of Scotland.

Saint Colme and Aidan receiued by Kinnatill.

The prophesy of Kinnatill.

By what spirit of prophesie he vttred these words, it is vncerteine, but sure it is that his purpose was to haue giuen ouer the gouernement of the kingdome (as he confessed himselfe lieng vpon his death bed) and to haue restored it vnto Aidan who had a right therevnto. Howbeit being preuented by death, he could not haue time to accomplish his desire, for within twentie daies after his coronation, being surprised with a grieuous disease of a catarrhike rheume, and the squinancie, he was constreined to kéepe his chamber, committing the publike administration of the realme vnto Aidan. Herevpon followed a feuer through increasing of a flegmatike humor bred by long rest, that after 14 moneths space vnbodied his ghost, which by instruction of saint Colme, being present with him at the houre of his death, he rendred in most deuout wise into the hands of his redéemer; appointing his kingdome as it were by deliuerie of seisin, euen there vpon his death bed vnto the foresaid Aidan.

The death of Kinnatill. Kinnatill lieng vpon his death bed, surrendereth his kingdome into Aidans hands.

Aidan.

After that the bodie of this Kinnatill was interred, according to the maner, in Colmekill, Aidan receiued the crowne, sitting vpon the marble stone, after the custome in those daies vsed, by the hands of that holie father saint Colme. Who willing that silence might be kept, laid his right hand vpon the kings head, and in his left hand holding his crosier staffe, made a briefe exhortation, as well to the king as to his people, admonishing them of their duties each towards other, but especiallie he exhorted them vnto peace and concord, and before all things to remember to walke in the waies of the Lord, for in so doing they might hope for wealth and prosperitie in the state of their commonwealth, with all other good graces, whereas otherwise, if either the people forgot their duties towards God, or that the king regarded not dulie to execute or fulfill his office, in giuing God thanks for his bountious liberalitie and high benefits bestowed vpon him, it should come to passe, that intestine seditions, conspiracies, and other mischiefes should rise among them, to the irrecouerable losse of the realme, by bringing the same into danger to be ouerrun with some forrein power, if they did not repent in time, and call to God for his fauour, that it might please him to reduce them againe into the right path of his lawes & ordinances, whensoeuer they should so fall from the same. When saint Colme had made an end of these or the like his wholsome aduertisements, all the people reioising thereat, promised with one voice, and therewith vowed to follow the same, and to be euer readie to obeie the commandement of their prince, and the holie instructions of their bishops and other the ecclesiasticall ministers. The assemble being once dissolued, the king departed into Galloway, and there deliuered the countrie of certeine British robbers that had inuaded it. After this, studieng to mainteine good orders and quiet rule through his dominions, he appointed an assemblie of the chiefest péeres of his realme, to be holden yéerelie in three seuerall parties thereof, as in Galloway, Louchquhaber, and Cathnesse, there to heare and determine all suites and quarels of his subiects, & to giue order for the administration of the lawes and all publike affaires, as they should sée cause and occasion. He required also S. Colme to be present euer with them, that matters touching religion might be the better prouided for, and that the people might take all things done in those publike sessions in right good part, bicause such an holie and vertuous father of the church was amongst them, and hauing the chiefest authoritie.

Aidan receiueth his inuesture of the kingdome at the hands of saint Colme.

S. Colmes exhortation to the king and the people.

The promis of the people.

The kings iournie into Galloway.

Aidan appointeth sessions to bée kept yéerlie in three parts of his realme.

Saint Colme present at assises and sessions.

Thus continued the realme in quiet state for certeine yeres togither, till it chanced that diuers of the nobles being togither on hunting, fell at variance, and thereupon making a fraie, sundrie of them were slaine. The beginners and such as were most culpable were sought for by the kings officers, to haue béene had to ward, but they in disobeieng the arrest, stroke and beat the officers verie sore, and immediatlie therewith fled vnto Brudeus king of the Picts, so by wilfull exile to safe gard their liues. King Aidan according to the maner in such cases accustomed, required to haue those outlawes deliuered vnto him, that he might do iustice vpon them accordinglie as they had deserued. Brudeus taking pitie of the yong gentlemen, alledged manie things in their excuse, still deferring to deliuer them, till at length hee procured warre to himselfe and his countrie. For Aidan the Scotish king, offended in that hée might not haue those rebels and publike offendors restored vnto him, caused a number of his people, first to fetch a great bootie of cattell and prisoners out

A fray among the nobles being a hunting

King Aidan requireth to haue certeine Scotish outlawes deliuered at the hands of Brudeus king of Picts.

Brudeus by denieng to deliuer the Scotish outlawes procureth warres to his selfe and his countrie.

out of Angus.

Wherewith the Picts being kindled, made a like rode into Galloway. Finallie the matter grew vnto a field, which was foughten in Mentieth, not farre from Calidon caſtell otherwiſe called Dounkeld, with great ſlaughter on both ſides, though in the end the victorie yet remained with the Scots; but loſing Arthurnus the ſonne of Aidan their king, they reioiſed not greatlie at the gaine. That holie man ſaint Colme troubled with ſuch newes, came vnto Aidan, and declaring vnto him how grieuouſlie he had offended almightie God, in procuring ſuch miſchiefe as had inſued of this warre, and reciting in particular the branches thereof, he moued the king vnto ſuch repentance for his treſpaſſe, that he wholie ſubmitted himſelfe vnto ſaint Colmes chaſtiſement, who being about to depart in ſemblance ſore offended, the king got him by the ſleeue, and would in no wiſe ſuffer him to go from him, till he had declared vnto him ſome comfortable meanes how to redreſſe the matter, for the quieting of his conſcience. At length ſaint Colme lamenting the kings caſe, ſuffered himſelfe to be intreated, and thereupon repaired vnto Brudeus the Pictiſh king, moving him by way of diuerſe godlie aduertiſements to incline his affection vnto peace. At length he did ſo much by trauelling ſundrie times to and fro betwixt the two kings, that he brought them vnto agreement, for all matters depending in controuerſie betwixt them and their ſubiects.

Thus ſaint Colme hauing accompliſhed that which he came for, returned againe into the weſterne Iles vnto his wonted home, where he did by wholeſome documents and vertuous examples inſtruct the ſeruants of God in the way of his lawes and commandements. In this meane time the Saxons hauing driuen and put backe the Britains into Wales, and occupieng all the reſidue of their lands and countries, they diuided the ſame into ſeuen parts, ordeining ſeuen ſeuerall kings to gouerne the ſame as kingdomes. Ouer that of Northumberland, adioining next vnto the Picts, one Edelfred reigned, a man of exceeding deſire to inlarge his dominion. He went by all means he could deuiſe, to perſuade Brudeus the Pictiſh king to renew the warres with the Scots, promiſing him all the aid he could make againſt them, not onelie for that he knew the Scots to haue béene euer enimies vnto the Saxons, but alſo for that he himſelfe was deſcended of the nation called Agathyrſes, of the which the Picts (as was thought) were alſo come. But the cauſe why he wiſhed that there might be warres raiſed betwixt the Scots and Picts, was not for anie good will he bare to the Picts, but onelie to the end that their power being weakened through the ſame, he might haue a more eaſie preie of their countrie, the which he purpoſed vpon occaſion to inuade, and ioine vnto his owne kingdome of Northumberland.

Brudeus at the firſt gaue no eare vnto his earneſt motions and large offers, but at length through the counſell and procurement of ſome of his nobles, corrupted by bribes receiued at Edelfreds hands, and ſtill putting into the kings head ſundrie forged informations of the Scotiſhmens dailie attempts againſt the Pictiſh nation; he determined to ioine with the Saxons againſt them, and cauſed thervpon warre to be proclamed againſt the Scots, as thoſe that had ſpoiled and robbed his ſubiects, contrarie to the league and all bonds of old friendſhip and former amitie betwixt them. The Scotiſh king Aidan perceiuing the practiſe of the Saxons, and togither therwith the vntruth of the Picts, the better to be able to reſiſt their malice, ioineth in league with the Britains: this article being the chiefeſt in the whole coueſnant: that if the enimies firſt inuaded the Britains, then an armie of Scots ſhould be ſent with all ſpeed into Britaine, to helpe to defend the countrie againſt ſuch inuaſions: but if the Scots were firſt inuaded, then ſhould the Britains in ſemblable maner come ouer to their aid.

The Saxons hauing knowledge of this appointment betwixt Scots & Britains; to draw the Scots forth of their countrie, and ſo to haue them at more aduantage, procured the Picts to ioine with them: and ſo both their powers being vnited together, entred into the Britiſh confines. Aidan according to the couenant came ſtreight vnto the aid of the Britains. Edelfred and Brudeus refuſed to fight for certeine dates, as it were of purpoſe, therby to wearie the Scots with watch and trauell, being as then far from home. Alſo they loked dailie to haue Ceuline king of the Weſtſaxons to come vnto their aid: but the Scots and Britains hauing knowledge therof, firſt thought it beſt to incounter with him, before he ſhould ioine with the other, and thus vnderſtanding that their onelie refuge remained in their armor and weapons, gaue the onſet ſo fiercelie vpon thoſe Saxons, that at the firſt, ſleaing Cutha Ceulines ſonne, with a great number of other, they eaſilie diſtreſſed and put the reſidue to flight.

Aidan would not ſuffer his men to purſue too far in the chaſe, but called them backe by the ſound of a trumpet, who being aſſembled herewith about their ſtandards, made ſuch ioy and triumph, as greater could not be deuiſed, what with danſing, ſinging, and plaieng on pipes and other inſtruments, according to the manner in thoſe dates. But as they were thus in the middeſt of their chiefeſt mirth, ſuddenlie appeered the Saxons and Picts, which were with Edelfred and Brudeus, approching towards them in good order of battell, with whome were alſo the reſidue of the Weſtſaxons, that had eſcaped from the late bickering. Whervpon the Scots and Britains amazed with the ſight hereof, were ſuddenlie ſtriken out of countenance, inſomuch that Aidan went amongſt them, and with a bold countenance exhorted them to remember how valiantlie they had alreadie put to flight the other of their enimies, ſo that there was great hope for aſſured victorie of theſe likewiſe, if they would now ſhew the like manlie courage againſt them, as they had ſhewed before in aſſailing the other. Manie other words he vſed in admoniſhing them to fight manfullie, till the onſet giuen by the enimies cauſed him to make an end.

The Saxons laid about them ſo ſtoutlie in the beginning, that they forced their aduerſaries, with whome they were matched, to giue backe. Neither did Edelfred faile in that occaſion to incourage them to follow the aduantage now thus gotten. Brudeus with his Picts likewiſe made great ſlaughter in that wing of the Scots, with the which he incountred; ſo that finallie the ſame Scots perceiuing the Britains beaten downe and ſore diſtreſſed on their ſide, fell through diſcomfort thereof to running awaie. There were ſlaine in this battell on the Scotiſhmens ſide, Brennius lieutenant or (as they termed him) thane of the Ile of Man, with Dungar the kings third ſonne, and no ſmall number of other gentlemen beſide. The king himſelfe ſcaped by helps of his ſonne, who ſtaieng to get his father out of the preaſſe, was ſlaine (as is ſaid) amongſt the reſidue. On the Saxons ſide, there was ſlaine Theobald Edelfreds brother, and Cutha the king of Weſtſaxons his ſonne, as before ye haue heard, with a great number of other. Edelfred himſelfe loſt one of his eies. Brudeus the Pictiſh king was hurt in the thigh, and beſides this, he loſt a great multitude of his people.

Thus Edelfred hauing got ſuch a notable victorie

The breach of peace betwixt the Scots & Picts.

Field fought betwixt Scots and Picts.

Saint Colme prouideth K. Aidan.

The repentance of king Aidan.

Saint Colme goeth vnto the king of the Picts.

Agréement betwixt the Scotiſh and Pictiſh kings by the late of ſaint Colme.

Saint Colme returned vnto the weſterne Iles.

England diuided into ſeuen ſeuerall kingdoms.

Edelfred K. of Northumberland.

Edelfreds purpoſe.

A league concluded betwixt the Scots & Britains, with the articles of the ſame.

The Picts & Saxons enter into the land of the Britains.

Ceuline or Ceolin.

The Scots and Britains put the Saxons to flight, and ſlae Cutha the ſonne of Ceuline king of the weſtſaxons.

The triumphant ioy made by the Scots and Britains vpon their new victorie.

The Saxons and Picts.

The ſudden feare of the Scots and Picts, after all their great ioy & triumphing.

Aidan exhorted his men to manfulneſſe.

The Saxons fight ſtoutlie.

Edelfred.

Brudeus K. of the Picts maketh ſlaughter of the Scots.

The Scots run awaie.

Edelfred loſt one of his eies.

Brudeus hurt in the thigh.

Deglaſtone the place wher this battell was ſought.

at Deglaſtone in Britaine, he could not be ſo contented, but eſtſones aſſembling his people, and ioining againe with Brudeus and his Picts, the nert ſummer after inuaded Galloway, and began to rob and ſpoile that countrie, to the end he might either inforce the inhabitants, with other the countries nert thereunto adioining, to yeld vnto him; either els to bring them into extreme pouertie in waſting all afore him. But Aidan being aduertiſed hereof, ſent to the Britains for their couenanted aid, and comming forward with his owne people which he had aſſembled together, ouerthrew certeine companies of his enimies, as he found them diſperſed abroad in ſeeking for preies: then paſſing by their maine armie, he commeth into Anandale, where he ioineth with the Britains, being come ſo farre forward on their waie to meet him. The Saxons and Picts hauing knowledge of their enimies doings, wan ſuch a place of aduantage, as they thought it an eaſie matter for them in keeping the ſame, to diſtreſſe both the Scots and Britains through ſtopping vp the paſſages, by the which they muſt of force paſſe, if they minded to come forth on that day. Theſe paſſages laie through certeine quickſands, and by a riuer which had but few fords paſſable.

Galloway inuaded by Edelfred.

Certeine companies of Saxons ouerthrowne.

Paſſages thorough Sulleway ſands.

The Scots and Britains, perceiuing how they were thus incloſed, with all ſpeed trenched their campe about, raiſing certeine bulworks and turrets in places where they thought expedient, as though they had ment ſtill there to haue continued. Aidan himſelfe toke ſuch pains in ſeeing euerie thing done in due order, that his people moued more through his example than by anie exhortation, were moſt diligent in their duties, deſirous of nothing ſo much as to haue occaſion miniſtred, to ſhew ſome proofe of their worthie valiancies. At length, when the enimies were moſt at quiet, and (as was ſuppoſed) nothing in doubt of anie attempt to be made by the Scots and Britains in the night ſeaſon, leauing a great number of fires in their campe, they ſuddenlie diſlodged, and paſſing the water by ſecret fords, they entred into Cumberland, and ſo after paſſing into Northumberland, they waſted and deſtroied with fire and ſword all that came within their reach: the report of which their doings brought Edelfred and Brudeus backe into that countrie to reſiſt their inuaſion, neither reſting day nor night, till they had got ſight of their enimies.

The diligence of king Aidan in prouiding to reſiſt his enimies.

The Scots and Britains diſlodge.

The Scots and Britains enter into Northumberland.

The nert day, the ſouldiers on both ſides requiring battell, together they go with great noiſe and din both of men and inſtruments. Too much hardineſſe in the Saxons cauſed no ſmall number of them to be ſlaine, rather chooſing to die with reputation of manhood, than to giue backe neuer ſo little ground to the enimie. Thus the battell continued for a ſpace, verie doubtfull which waie the victorie would incline. On the Britains and Scotiſhmens ſide, there were foure chiefe rulers amongſt them, beſide Aidan himſelfe, as Conſtantius and Alencrinus Britains, Callan and Mordacke Scotiſhmen. Ech of theſe taking a ſeuerall charge vpon him, did earneſtlie aplie their vttermoſt indeuors therin, incouraging their bands to put awaie all cowardlie feare, and manfullie to ſticke to their tackle, ſince by victorie there was hope of eternall fame, beſide ſuertie of life, and aduancement to the common-wealth of their countrie; where otherwiſe they might looke for nothing, but the contrarie miſhaps, as ſhame, rebuke, and importable ſeruitude. So that the Scotiſhmen and Britains incouraged herewith, preaſſed vpon the enimies ſo fiercelie, that at length as well the Saxons as Picts were compelled to breake their arraie, & fall to plaine running awaie: the Scots following ſo egerlie in the chaſe, that more of their enimies were thought to die in the flight, than before there had done in the battell.

The ſight betwixt Scots and Britains on the one ſide, and Saxons and Picts on the other.

The Saxons and Picts diſcomfited and chaſed.

S. Colme as yet being aliue, and within his monaſterie in the Ile of Iona, had knowledge by diuine inſpiration (as the Scotiſh chronicles make mention) of all theſe matters how they went: and at the verie time that the battels were in fight together, he had aſſembled a companie of verie vertuous and godlie diſpoſed perſons, making interceſſion for the proſperous ſpeed of their king the foreſaid Aidan: and at the verie inſtant (as it was knowne after) that the Saxons began to flee (as they which had the ouerthrow) that holie old father ſhewed great token of ioy and gladneſſe, declaring vnto his brethren by the ſpirit of ſecret knowledge or propheſie, how Aidan had the better, and that his enimies were diſcomfited, willing them thereupon to giue vnto God thanks for the ſame. There was an huge multitude ſlaine in this conflict, but namelie the death of Ceuline king of the Weſtſaxons, with other two worthie capteins of that nation, made the ſlaughter more ſorowfull on that ſide, the one of them was called Ctaline, and the other Quhitelline.

S. Colme indued with the ſpirit of ſecret knowledge.

Ceuline king of weſtſaxons ſlaine.

Quhitelline or whiteline.

The day nert after the battell, the ſpoile of the field being gathered together, all that which was knowne to haue beene taken out of Galloway, and other countries of the Scots, was reſtored by the kings authoritie vnto the owners againe. The reſidue which remained was diuided amongſt the ſouldiers, the tenth part onelie excepted, which was diſtributed vnto prieſts & curats, to beſtow the ſame vpon ornaments for their churches. The banners and ſtandards of the Saxons and Picts, with manie other rich offerings, king Aidan ſent vnto the abbeie of Colmekill, there to remaine as perpetuall monuments and tokens of ſo notable a victorie. The yeere nert inſuing, that holie father S. Colme now almoſt waſted through age, and hereto alſo ſore troubled with a rheumatike humor, fell ſicke and died. Some ſaie he ended his life in his houſe amongſt his brethren, within the Ile of Iona, otherwiſe called Colmekill; but S. Beda writeth, how he died in an Iland called Heu; where againe the Iriſh writers affirme, that he deceaſſed in a towne in Ireland called Dune, & that his tome is there in verie great veneration of the people: vpon the which are theſe Latine verſes ingrauen for the lookers on to read, if they liſt:

The diuiſion of the ſpoile.

S. Colme departed out of this life.

Hitres in Duno, tumulo tumulantur in vno,
Brigida, Patricius, atque Columba pius.

Saint Colme, Saint Patrike, and Brigitta pure,
Thir three in Dune lies in ane ſepulture.

which verſe Bellenden tranſlateth.

Neither did Aidan the Scotiſh king liue long time after, for hearing (as is ſaid) that ſaint Colme was dead, ſhortlie thereupon, more through griefe than by force of ſickeneſſe, he departed this world, after he had reigned 37 yeares in gouernement ouer the Scotiſhmen, he died about the yeare of our Lord 606. In the daies of this Aidan there was ſent into Albion from Gregorie the pope of Rome, diuers learned men (amongeſt whome were Auguſtinus and Mellitus) to inſtruct the Engliſh people in the faith of Chriſt, which as yet they had not receiued. By the earneſt trauell and exhortation of theſe inſtructors, Ethelbert king of the Kentiſh Saxons was baptiſed with all his people. The Britiſh prieſts nor their doctrine the Saxons could in no wiſe abide, becauſe (as is ſuppoſed) the one nation through a naturall hatred, ſtill ſought the deſtruction of the other. The South and Eaſtſaxons moued with the example of the Kentiſh Saxons, ſhortlie after alſo renounced their old ſuperſtitious idolatrie, and likewiſe receiued the chriſtian faith. Edelfred king of Northumberland moued vnto diſpleaſure herewith, ſent word vnto theſe Saxons of the ſouth parts (as then

Aidan king of the Scotiſhmen, departeth this world.

606.

Auguſtinus and Mellitus ſent into Albion.

Ethelbert is baptiſed.

The Saxons hatred toward the Britiſh prieſtes.

Suſſex and Eſſex receiue the chriſtian faith.

Edelfred his diſpleaſure.

then all of them generallie knowen by the name of Engliſhmen) that ſith they had forſaken the old inſtitutions & ancient religion of their forefathers, he would ſuerlie from thencefoorth be no leſſe enimie vnto them than vnto the Scots and Britains.

Waldred other wiſe called Baldred doctor of the Picts.

There liued in theſe daies that holie man Waldred a Scotiſh man borne, but dwelling amongeſt the Picts, whome he inſtructed in the right faith, and therefore was named the doctor of the Picts. He departed out of this life within the Iland called the Baſſe, lieng about two miles off from the maine land within the ſea, where the Forth hath entrie betwixt the ſame Ile, and an other called the Maie. There were three pariſhes fell at contention for his bodie, as Aldham, Tiningham, and Preſton, ſo far forth, that they were at point to haue fought about it; but that by counſell of ſome diſcreet perſons amongeſt them, it was ordeined that they ſhould continue in praier for that night, and in the next morning ſtand to th'order of the biſhop of the dioces, who was come thither the ſame time to be preſent at the buriall. The next day in the morning there was found three beires with three bodies decentlie couered with clothes, ſo like in all reſemblance, that no man might perceiue anie difference. Then by commandement of the biſhop, and with great ioy of all the people, the ſaid ſeuerall bodies were caried ſeuerallie vnto the ſaid three ſeuerall churches, and in the ſame buried in moſt ſolemne wiſe, where they remaine vnto this day, in much honor with the common people of the countries nere adioining.

A miracle if it be true.

Kenethus Keir.

Kenethus Keir crowned king of Scots

AFter that the corps of king Aidan was buried in Colmekill, the nobles of the realme aſſembled togither in Argile, about the election of a new king. Where, by the generall voices of them all, Kenethus Keir the ſonne of Conwall (ſometime king of the Scotiſhmen, as before is mentioned) was now proclamed king, and crowned according to the maner; but he liued not paſt foure moneths after, but died of a catarrhike rheume falling down into the windpipe, and ſo ſtopping vp his lights and lungs. He deliuered as it were the poſſeſſion of his kingdome, by way of ſurrendring the ſame, into the hands of Eugenius ſonne to king Aidan, by conſent of all the nobles, a little before he died, for that it was knowen he had a right therevnto after the deceaſſe of Kenethus.

Kenethus Keir dieth of the cough of the lungs.

Eugenius the fourth of that name.

THis Eugenius was the fourth of that name, which had ruled ouer the Scotiſhmen. As it is ſaid, ſaint Colme proſpheſied that he ſhould be king long before his fathers death, for when all the ſonnes of king Aidan were brought before him, and that Aidan demanded of him which of them ſhould reigne after him, he ouerpaſſing the reſidue (which he vnderſtood by ſecret knowledge ſhould die in the wars) appointed fourth this Eugenius, called by ſome alſo Brudus, declaring that it ſhould be onelie he. This Eugenius then being placed in the kinglie ſeat, forgot not ſuch holſome leſſons and vertuous precepts, as the foreſaid ſaint Colme had taught him in his youth, ſo that ſtudieng how to defend rather that which was his owne in peace and quietneſſe, than to ſeeke anie waies or means how to inlarge it, by wrongfull incroching vpon other mens poſſeſſions, he grew into ſuch fauour with all good men, as greater could not be deuiſed. Vnto all offendors he was a ſharpe iuſticer, not ſparing anie tranſgreſſour of his lawes, neither in reſpect of nobilitie or otherwiſe; but rather thoſe gentlemen which miſuſed themſelues in breach of good orders, he chiefelie gaue order to ſee them puniſhed; where if they behaued themſelues worthilie, and according to their calling, there was no prince more glad than he to aduance them vnto honor.

Eugenius the ſeuenth.

Eugenius.

S Colmes proſpheſie of Eugenius the fourth.

A louer of peace and quietneſſe.

A ſharpe iuſticer.

By theſe and the like his princelie doings, he was both beloued of his people and alſo feared. He neither fauoured the Picts nor Saxons of Northumberland, for that the one nation being ethniks, perſiſted in their infidelitie, and the other called not by all maner of means to ſupport them; but yet taking a truce with them both, he firmlie cauſed the ſame to be obſerued. In the tenth yeare of his reigne Ciningell king of Weſtſaxons & Elfred king of Northumberland, with aid of the Picts, vanquiſhed Cadwallo king of Britains, and chaſed him into Scotland, where he remained not long, ſailing from thence into Britaine in France, and purchaſing aid of the king there named Cadoall, returned into Wales, where vanquiſhing his enimies the Saxons, and ſlaieng manie thouſands of them, he was reſtored againe vnto his kingdome. About the ſame time was Edelfred king of Northumberland ſlaine in battell, at a place called Wintringham, not far from the riuer of Humber, by Redwald and Ethelbreth, the one being king of the eaſt Angles, and the other of the middle Angles; in reuenge of ſuch iniuries as the ſame Edelfred had done vnto the Saxons of the countrie called Mercia, conteining (as in the Engliſh hiſtorie more plainelie may appeare) all thoſe ſhires from the riuer of Thames vnto the riuer of Merſe in Lancaſhire. Then was one Edwine a right chriſtian prince appointed to reigne in his place, by the aſſignement of the two foreſaid kings Redwald and Ethelbreth.

Cadwall vanquiſhed.

Cadwall is reſtored vnto his kingdome.

See more hereof in England.

King Edelfred ſlaine.

Edwine.

Whileſt theſe things were a doing, there were ſeuen ſonnes of the aforeſaid Edelfred, that deteſting the vntrue dealing of the Picts, which refuſed to aid their father in his neceſſitie, and doubting to fall into the hands of Edwine, got them to Eugenius the Scotiſh king for more ſuertie of their liues. Their names were Eafreid, Oſwald, Oſlaws, Oſwin, Offas, Oſmond, and Oſlike. Ebba the onelie daughter of Edelfred being taken amongeſt other priſoners, and eſcaping from hir taker, miraculouſlie got a bote in the riuer of Humber, and with the ſame taking the ſea alone, without all humane helpe (as hath beene reported) ſhe ſailed forth, & at length ſafelie arriued at the point of land which ſtretched forth into the ſea, in the mouth of the Forth, called euen vnto this day after hir name, ſaint Ebbes head, where being receiued by the biſhop of that dioceſſe, ſhe was profeſſed a nun, and after continuing in great perfectneſſe of obſeruing that profeſſion, ſhe was inſtituted abbeſſe of hir houſe, ſhewing ſtill in trade of life an orderlie example for hir flocke to follow.

S. Ebbes head.

Eugenius the Scotiſh king did louinglie receiue the ſonnes of Edelfred, though their father had euer beene a cruell enimie againſt the Scotiſh nation; and within a while after their comming into Scotland, hearing oftentimes the godlie ſermons and preachings of the biſhops and monks (who in thoſe daies continuallie gaue themſelues vnto that exerciſe) they finallie abhorred their ſuperſtitious idolatrie, and receiued baptiſme, that ſalutiferous ſigne and ſacrament of our chriſtian religion. Thoſe churches alſo, which the Saxons in time of the warres had ouerthrowen and deſtroied in Galloway and other countries thereabouts, Eugenius cauſed to be repared; moreouer alſo he reedified ſundrie caſtels in thoſe marches, and placed in them gariſons of ſouldiers, to defend them againſt all inuaſions that might happen. Thus continuing his reigne the ſpace of fifteene yeares or thereabouts in honorable peace, to the great aduancement of the commonwealth of his ſubiects, he laſtlie died in the yeare 620, and was buried amongeſt his elders in the Ile of Iona, within the monaſterie of Colmekill.

620

Bonifacius a godlie preacher.

About this time, that reuerend father and bishop Bonifacius Quirinus came forth of Italie into Scotland, to instruct the people in the faith of Christ there. Whether he were pope, and resigning vp the papalitie came thus into Scotland (as some haue supposed) or whether he was sent from the pope called Bonifacius that succeeded Sauinianus, it is not certeinlie knowne; but certeine it is, as the Scotish writers affirme, that vpon his first comming into Scotland he arriued in the water of Taie, comming on land at the mouth of a little riuer, which diuideth the countrie of Gowrie from Angus. His name is yet famous amongest the Scots euen vnto this day, for that he trauelled through the most part of the land, in preaching and instructing the people to their confirmation in the faith, and erecting diuers churches in the honor of almightie God, which he dedicated to the name of saint Peter. And amongst other he built one at the place where he came on land, an other at a village called Tulline, not passing three miles from Dundee, and the third at Restennoth, where afterwards an house of chanons of saint Augustines order was builded. At length he came into Rosse, continuing there the residue of his life, and is buried at Rossemarken.

Molocke a preacher.

There was also at the same time amongest the Scots an ancient godlie man named Molocke, who following such rules & doctrine as in his youth he had learned of Bzandon that reuerend abbat, he ceassed not to exhort the people of Mar and Argile (in which countries he was most resident) to flee and forsake their vicious liuing, and to indeuour themselues to imbrace vertue, to the comfort and health of their soules. This Molocke kept continuall companie with the forenamed Bonifacius after his comming into Scotland: and finallie died also in Rosse, being about 94 yeares of age, and was buried in the church where Bonifacius lieth, though they of Argile say that his relikes rest among them in the church of Lismore, which is dedicated to his name.

Monks were preachers in those daies.

Ferquhard.

AFter the decease of Eugenius, his son Ferquhard succeeded in his place, for Eugenius had three sonnes, Ferquhard, Fiacre, and Donald. These being appointed by their father to be brought vp with Connane bishop of Sodore (that is, the bishop of Man) in vertuous discipline, did not altogither follow his godlie precepts and lessons. Ferquhard and Donald gladlie gaue eare to him, but they thought his instructions did not much apperteine vnto their birth and degree: but Fiacre printing his diuine documents depelie in his heart, determined to forsake all worldlie pompe and dignitie, and to get him some whither farre from home, where he might serue God more freelie without let or interruption of his friends or kinsfolke. Thus being disposed, he got vpon him simple apparell, and went ouer into France, where seeking a solitarie place, Pharao the bishop of Meaux gaue vnto him a peece of ground, in the which at this day he is worshipped with great deuotion.

Ferquhard king of Scotland.

Fiacre giueth himselfe for to liue a solitarie life in France

There hath gone a tale in that countrie, that no woman might enter into the chapell where he lieth buried; for if anie do, she hath some mischap that falleth vnto hir, as either the losse of sight, priuation of wits, or some such like. As touching the state of the Scotish commonwealth, vnder the gouernement of Ferquhard, the same was quiet inough, & without trouble of outward enimies; but his subiects among themselues fell at such diuision, that euerie part of the realme was full of murther, burning, and other destructions of men and houses, with such spoiling, robbing, reuing, and all kinds of other mischiefs, that no where was any suertie either of life or goods: all the which misorders sprong, were nourished and maintained through the kings owne diligence: for he mistaking his office and dutie, was of this opinion, that so long as the nobles and states of his realme were thus readie one to kill an other, there was no likelihood they should haue time to practise anie rebellion against him; and herevpon he rather holpe to further such discord amongest them, than take order for to appease it. But it came to passe by this means, that he was nothing regarded within a while amongest them, so that by meanes of other arbitrators which they chose by common agreement, all matters in controuersie were taken vp & ended betwixt them, the king not once made priuie therevnto.

Ferquhard maintained civill discord.

At the same time it was noised abroad in the realme, that Ferquhard, besides other his wicked behauiours, was also infected with the erronious opinions of the Pelagian heresie. Which suspicion was the more increased, for that he vsed to haue sundrie British priests in his companie: the which nation had beene euer noted with the spot of that damnable infection. The nobilitie of the realme moued herewith, summoned him by an herald to come to a councell, which they had appointed to hold of all the states, that they might there vnderstand, if it were true or not which was commonlie reported of him. But he refusing to come at such summons, they assembled togither, and besieged him in the castell wherein he had inclosed himselfe, and winning the place, got him into their hands, and immediatlie therevpon committed him to safe keeping. This done, they consult togither for the administration of the realme, whether they should quite depose Ferquhard, or restore him to his place. In fine they rest vpon this agreement, to send an honorable ambassage into France vnto Fiacre, to require him to returne home into his countrie, and there to receiue the gouernement of the realme.

King Ferquhard infected with the Pelagian error.

The king is summoned by an herald.

He is taken prisoner.

Ambassadors sent into France to Fiacre.

Fiacre (as the report goeth) hearing that there were diuers of the Scotish nobilitie comming towards him vpon this message, in his praiers desired feruentlie of almightie God, that it might please him so to worke for him, that he might continue in his contemplatiue life still, and not be occasioned to resort vnto the troubles of the world, which all contemplatiue godlie men ought to abhorre. And euen as he had wished, it came to passe. For when those that were sent vnto him, came to the heremitage wherein he had his lodging, they found him (as appeared vnto them) so disfigured with the leprosie, that vpon his earnest refusall to forsake his solitarie life (which he professed to lead as an heremite) for anie worldlie preferment of kinglie gouernement, they were content to returne with that answere, sith his infirmitie (as they supposed) was such, as was not conuenient for him that should haue anie publike gouernement. This Fiacre had a sister named Sira, which hearing of hir brothers vertuous trade of life, came vnto him with a companie of godlie virgins, and being of him confirmed in hir purposed intent of chastitie, she repaired into Champaigne in France, where she with hir fellowes remained in great holinesse of life, leauing in those parties a worthie memorie not forgotten amongest them there till this day.

Fiacre his praier.

The foresaid ambassadours returning forth of France, declared in what plight of deformitie they had seene Fiacre, and how earnestlie he had refused the offer which they had made vnto him in name of all the states of Scotland. The Scotish nobilitie herevpon assembling togither, chose forth foure of the ancientest peeres amongest them, to haue the rule and gouernement of the kingdome, till it were otherwise prouided. These were named by that

age,

age, wardens, and had full authoritie to order things as ſeemed them good in all points. In the meane time Ferquhard remaining ſtill in priſon, and vexed with ſundrie diſeaſes, to rid himſelfe out of ſuch miſeries, ſlue himſelfe in the 13 yeare of his reigne; and ſo nothing ſpared his owne life in the end, which had béene the occaſion of the loſſe of ſo manie other mens liues in time of the ciuill diſcord, that he had euer nouriſhed. After this wretched end of Ferquhard, which happened in the yeare of our Lord 632, the lords of the land aſſembled themſelues togither in Argile, about the chooſing of a new king, where by common conſent, Donwald the third ſonne of Eugenius, being called thither with biſhop Conan out of the Ile of Man, was inueſted king with great ioy and triumph.

The deſperat end of king Ferquhard.

632

Donwald.

Donwald K. of Scotland.

THis Donwald hauing taken on him the roiall adminiſtration, tranſformed himſelfe into his fathers maners, reſtored againe into the former eſtate ſuch things as apperteined vnto the common wealth, and had béene ante wiſe decaied and miſgouerned by the ſlouthfull negligence of his predeceſſor Ferquhard, by means whereof he quicklie grew into great fauor of his ſubiects. In the meane time Cadwallo king of the Britains, and Penda king of thoſe Engliſhmen which inhabited that part of England ancientlie called Mercia, ioining their powers togither againſt Edwin king of Northumberland, depriued him both of life and kingdome. After this, paſſing through the whole countrie, and entring into the confines of Pictland, they tooke a great part of the ſame by force of armes from Brudeus king of the Picts, who in vaine had ſued for aid vnto Donwald king of Scotland, for that his vntruth had béene notified more than inough in times paſt. But Donwald being certified of Edwins death, made means vnto Cadwallo king of the Britains by his ambaſſadours, that Enfred the ſon of Edelfred might be reſtored vnto his fathers kingdome, which Edwin had wrongfullie vſurped.

King Edwin is ſlaine.

This being granted, Eufred leauing his brethren ſtill in Scotland, came into Northumberland, where by authoritie of Cadwallo and Penda he was inueſted king of Bernicia, that is, of the countrie which is now called the marches. For at the ſame time they had diuided the kingdome of Northumberland into two kingdomes, appointing Eufred (as is ſaid) to reigne ouer the one called Bernicia, and one Oſtrike ouer the other called Deira, a man of great wickednеſſe, as by his works moſt plainelie appeared. For certeine yeares after his aduancement to that dignitie, he found means to marie one of his daughters vnto the foreſaid Eufred, perſuading the ſame Eufred to conſent with him in reſtoring againe the hethenith religion throughout their whole dominion, vtterlie to renounce the chriſtian faith, which they had latelie before receiued by the inſtructions of the two biſhops Conan & Pauline. But they inioied not long felicitie after ſo wicked and moſt diueliſh a purpoſe, for the princes of Albion vnder the leading of Cadwallo K. of the Britains, and Penda king of Mercia, with a great armie aſſembled of Saxons, Britains, and Picts, entring into Northumberland, and incountring in battell with Oſtrike and Eufred, diſcomfited their power, and tooke them priſoners, who being put into a common priſon, ſlue each other to auoid ſharper tortures, which by due execution they daillie looked for.

Eufred.

Oſtrike an inſidell.

Then was the kingdome of Northumberland giuen vnto Oſwald brother to Eufred, both in reſpect of the right which he had thereto, and alſo of the zeale which he bare to the aduancement of Chriſtes religion, ſhewing himſelfe in conſideration thereof, an earneſt enimie to his brother Eufred, and all his partakers, in ſo much that in the day of the battell, he was one of the forwardeſt capteins againſt them. Vnto this Oſwald was ſent a Scotiſhman called Corman, to inſtruct the Northumberland men in faith, and after him Aidan, as in the Engliſh hiſtorie ye may read more at large: finallie he was ſlaine by Penda king of Mercia, as in the ſame hiſtorie appeareth. His death chanced in the third yeare of Donwald the Scotiſh king, who ſore lamented the ſame, as of that prince whome he loued right intirelie. Neither liued the ſaid king Donwald anie long time after the death of his déere friend; for that in the fiftéenth yeare of his reigne, being got into a bote to fiſh in the water called Lochtaie for his recreation, his chance was to be drowned, by reaſon the bote ſanke vnder him. Certeine daies after, his bodie being found and taken vp, was buried amongſt his anceſtors in Colmekill, in the yeare of our Lord 647.

12. H.B.

Donwald the Scotiſh king drowned 645. H.B.

About the ſame time there liued in France three brethren of great holineſſe of life, being ſonnes vnto Piltan king of Ireland, the which he begot of his wife Galghetes, deſcended of the linage of the kings in Scotland. The names of which three brethren were as followeth, Furſeus, Foilanus, and Ultanus. Furſeus profeſſing himſelfe a monke of ſaint Benets order, paſſed ouer into France, there to ſet forth and inlarge that profeſſion, and being receiued of king Clowis, began the foundation of a monaſterie there called Latinie, in the which he placed monks of that order, and began to ſow in thoſe parties the ſeeds of the goſpell, but not without the darnell of mens traditions, as Iohn Bale ſaith in the 14 centurie of the Britiſh writers. His two brethren Foilan and Ultan followed him ouer into France, and both by word and example inſtructed the Frenchmen to imbrace the faith of Chriſt, and to renounce the religion of the gentiles.

So that it ſéemeth as yet, ſuch as profeſſed themſelues to be monks, and men of religion (as they were called) had not left off to labour in the Lords vineyard, ſpending their time in reading the ſcriptures, to inſtruct and teach others, and to exerciſe prayer and thankſgiuing: ſo as no ſmall number by their wholeſome doctrine and good example were conuerted to the chriſtian faith. Foilan at length was martyred in a monaſterie which he had founded in France called Foſſe. About the ſame time there was alſo a contention amongſt them in Albion for kéeping of the Eaſter day, the Scotiſh biſhops and ſome of the Britains varieng in their account from all other prelats of the weſt: but at length through perſuaſion of the pope they confeſſed their error (if it ought ſo to be taken) and conſented to celebrate that feaſt according to the account of other nations. Theſe things chanced in the daies of king Donwald.

Anno 854. Sigebertus. Foſſenſe monaſterium.

Strife about the celebrating of the feaſt of Eaſter

Ferquhard.

After the deceaſſe of Donwald, his nephue Ferquhard the ſonne of his brother, the other Ferquhard, ſucceeded in gouernement of the realme, a man of quicke and liuelie ſpirit, but inclined neuertheleſſe rather vnto euill than vnto good, ſpeciallie after he had atteined the crowne, inſomuch as it was commonlie ſpoken of him, that from a liberall and moſt gentle humane perſon, he was ſuddenlie changed into an inſatiable and moſt cruell monſter. Before he came to the crowne he was liberall beyond meaſure. There was no gentleman that wanted monie, either to redéeme his lands ingaged, or to beſtow in dower for the mariage of his daughter, but if he had wherewith to helpe him, he might account himſelfe ſure thereof. Prieſts and other deuout perſons, ſpeciallie ſuch as were poore and in any neceſſitie, he oftentimes moſt bountifullie relieued

Ferquhard the ſecond of that name created king of Scotland.

Ferquhard being king was couetous before he was king, he ſhewed liberalitie.

to their great ease and comfort. To be briefe, such a readinesse was in him to helpe all men, that (as was thought) he could better be contented to want himselfe, than to see other men haue need of anie thing that was in his possession, so that all men iudged him most worthie of all princelie authoritie. But after he was once placed in the kinglie seat, he so altered his conditions, that men could not but wonder much therat. Where before he was knowne to be liberall, well disposed, righteous, sober, and a reformer of offenses, he was now forthwith become couetous, wicked towards God, a tormentor of the iust and righteous people, and insatiable in all vnlawfull affections. That which before time he had giuen vnto anie of the nobilitie, he now without all shame most vncourteouslie demanded to be to him restored, alledging that he did but lend it for the time. And such as went about to delay restitution, pretending anie excuse, he caused their goods to be confiscate, and also their bodies to be committed to prison. Now & then he found means without cause or matter to put some of them to cruell death. Such of the prelates as hée vnderstood to be wealthie, he rested not till he had picked one matter or other vnto them, whereby they were sure to forfeit all their treasure vnto his coffers, that neuer might be filled.

Gifts are required as a loane.

Lo, what a pretense couetousnes hath.

For their goods sake prelats are troubled.

The bishops of the realme, namelie those two reuerend fathers, Colman and Finnan, perceiuing such wickednesse in the prince, blamed him sharpelie sundrie times for the same: and at length bicause they saw he regarded not their admonishments, he was by them excommunicated: whereof he so little passed, that when other went vnto the church to heare diuine seruice, he would get him to the woods and forrests to hunt the hart, or some other game. Neither were such wanting as were willing to keepe him companie: so readie is the nature of man at all times to follow licentious libertie. He vsed also, contrarie to the custome of his countrie, to eat three meales a day, hauing such number of dishes and abundance of delicate fare, as the like had not béene vsed at anie time before those daies in that realme: and all to serue his grédie appetite, togither with theirs that followed his companie.

The king is excommunicated.

The king is hunting.

He was a glutton.

Of wines & other strong drinks he would participate abundantlie at all times and places, without regard of health or honor, being exceedinglie giuen vnto most beastlie drunkennesse. He customablie vsed to sit at supper till it were verie late in the night, hauing his banketting dishes and cuppes to come in one after another, till he were so mistempered, that being laid to sleepe, he would streight vomit out such heauie gorges, as he had in such most gluttonous wise receiued. Herevnto he was so drowned in the filthie lust of the flesh, that he defiled his owne daughters: and for that his wife was about to dissuade him from such villanie, he slue hir with his owne hands. Thus continuing in his wickednesse certeine yeeres, at length the nobles began to conspire against him, so that they would haue deuised a meane how to haue rid him out of the way, if bishop Colman had not forbidden them that practise, prophesieng as it were by diuine inspiration, that Ferquhard sore detesting his owne wicked doings, should shortlie be punished by the hands of almightie God, according to his deseruings.

A drunkard he was also.

A prophesie.

And sure his words proued true: for within a moneth after, as the same Ferquhard followed in chase of a woolfe, the beast being all inraged by the pursute of the hounds, flue backe vpon the king, and snatching at him, did wound and bite him right sore in one of his sides, immediatlie whereupon, whether through anguish of his hurt, or by some other occasion, he fell into a most filthie disease: for a venemous humor with a soft consuming heat, did so eat and waste his members and limbs, that a lothsome sight it was to behold the same: for out of his legs, feet, and priuie parts, there issued filthie corruption and matter, with so vile a sauour, that vneth might any creature abide it. His belie was swollen, as though he had bene infected with the dropsie, and therto was it verie hard withall. Finallie lice bred so abundantlie in his secret parts, that he might in no wise be rid of cleansed of them.

The king is sicke.

At length, when he had béene vexed in this sort for the space of two yéeres togither, or thereabouts, he began to call himselfe to remembrance, and to consider how this punishment was worthilie fallen vpon him for his sinnes, and therevpon causing bishop Colman to be fetched vnto him, being as then about 20 miles off, he confessed vnto him the whole summe of his offenses, declaring himselfe right penitent for the same. Colman reioising hereat, did not onelie release him of the sentence of excommunication, pronounced against him; but also willed him to be of comfort, and to put his confidence in the mercie of almightie God, who was readie to receiue all such sinners as turned vnto him with repentant hearts: so that being put in hope by these & the like words of Colman to haue forgiuenesse of his sinnes, with bitter teares he besought God to haue mercie vpon him: and humblie receiuing the sacrament, got him into simple clothing of heare and sackecloth. Then causing himselfe to be borne into the next fields, hée there yelded vp the ghost in the presence of Colman, who (according to the dutie of a good ghostlie father) was still about him, in exhorting him to commit himselfe wholie to the mercie of God, & not to doubt but he should be sure to atteine the same. Thus Ferquhard ended his life, in the 18 yéere after he began his reigne ouer the Scottishmen, and in the yéere of Grace 664.

He sent for his confessor.

The king being excommunicated is released.

Ferquhard yéeldeth vp the ghost.

664

In this Ferquhards daies bishop Aidan departed this world, and then was Finnan sent for forth of Scotland, to take vpon him the gouernement of the church of Lindesferne, where the bishops of Northumberland as then had their see. This Finnan was well learned, and no lesse renowmed for his vertuous life than his predecessor Aidan. He died anon after the decease of Ferquhard, and then was Colman remoued vnto that see of Lindesferne, who with his vertuous instructions and examples of holie life conuerted a great multitude of Saxons vnto the true worshipping of the liuing God. And amongst other was Penda sonne to the former Penda, king of Mercia. There be that write how Penda the father also was baptised by this Colman: and that the same Colman trauelled through the most part of all the English prouinces, setting forth the word of life amongest the people, purchasing him great fame for his worthie merits. He came to the church of Lindesferne in the daies of Maldwin that succéeded the last mentioned Ferquhard.

Finnan bishop.

Holie Iland.

Bishop Colman cõuerted the Saxons.

Penda king of Mercia.

Maldwin

THis Maldwin was the sonne of king Donewald: and after that Ferquhard was dead and buried in Colmekill, he was inuested king: which function he right sufficientlie discharged, studieng to maintaine peace with his neighbors the Picts, Saxons and Britains: giuing thereby a good example to be followed of his subiects. Hereto he had a speciall care for the administration of the lawes in due forme and order, causing offendors to be punished, that other harmelesse persons might liue in quiet, so that by this meanes all things in the beginning of his reigne had prosperous successe. Afterwards there fell no small discord betwixt them of Lennox and Argile: for first through brawling among the heardmen, their maisters made a fraie, whereof rose such deadlie

Maldwin inuested king of Scots.

A louer of peace & iustice

Lennox and Argile are at variance.

deadlie enimitie betwixt the parties, by reason that the inhabitants of the westerne Iles aided them of Argile, and the people of Galloway the other of Lennox: that if the king had not come into those parties to appease the businesse, and to haue punished the offendors, there had insued much manslaughter, vnto the great danger of the vtter ruine of those countries.

The westerne Iles take part with Argile, Galoway with Lennox.

The king at his arriuall amongst them minded not to pursue the people that followed their capteins, but rather the capteins and authors of this tumult themselues. Whereof they hauing knowledge, made an attonement togither, being inforced thereto of necessitie, so to auoid the prepared punishment deuised by the king against them. And forthwith they fled ouer into the Iles, but the inhabitants doubting the kings displeasure, would not consent to succour them, but contrariwise toke them and deliuered them to the kings officers, whereupon they were safelie conueied to the places where they were borne, and there suffered their deserued execution. Thus that commotion vnaduisedlie begun, was spedilie appeased, and the name of Maldwin by reason hereof so feared amongst his subiects, that during his reigne no such trouble chanced in ante part of all his dominions.

Maldwin went about for to punish the author of this commotion.

The capteins becam friends togither, and fled into the Iles.

The Ilandmen apprehend the capteins of the rebels.

After this he went ouer into Iona or Colmekill, where perceiuing the abbeie church, wherein his ancestors had their sepultures, to be in decaie, he caused it to be pulled quite downe, and workemen forthwith set in hand to build it vp againe, at his owne proper costes and charges. Such spéd also was vsed about this worke, that before he departed out of this life, the same was finished, and dedicated vnto our Sauior Christ, and saint Colme. About the same time there reigned throughout the most part of the world a sore and grieuous pestilence, consuming a greater number of men (before it ceassed) than there were left aliue: for it continued the whole space of three yeeres togither. At length, through common praier, fastings, giuing of almes, & other vertuous workes, the wrath of almightie God was pacified, so that such great mortalitie by his mercifull appointment did staie and giue ouer.

He buildeth the church of the abbeie of Colmekill.

A great pestilience & death vpon earth.

The Scotishmen were free from that infection as well at that time, as also for manie yéeres after. Neither were they in manner troubled with ante sharpe feuers, or agues, till time that omitting the ancient and wholesome sparenesse of diet, which their fathers in times past had vsed, they fell vnto riotous banketting and excessiue feeding, whereby they became subiect vnto all kinds of diseases, through malicious humors growing thervpon. Colman bishop of Lindesferne seeing wonderfull numbers of Englishmen perish dailie of that contagious sickenesse, by licence of the king, to auoid the present danger of death, which by tarieng there he saw no meanes how to escape, returned into Scotland with his disciples, and after getting him ouer into one of the westerne Iles, he erected a monasterie there, wherein he remained during the residue of his life.

Scotland was free of the pestilence and plague.

Riotousnesse the mother of sicknesses.

Colman erected a monasterie.

After the departure of Colman forth of Northumberland, the people of that countrie ioining with the Picts, made sundrie roads into the Scotish borders: which iniurie when Maldwine reuenged with more displeasure done to them of Northumberland, than the Scotishmen had receiued, it caused the Picts and Northumbers to prepare themselues with all spéd to haue made sharpe warres against the Scots: but in the meane time Maldwin died, being strangled in his bed one night by his owne wife, vpon suspicion of gelousie, for his vnlawfull companie keeping with an other woman. The next day after she was apprehended with those that were priuie to the déed, and burnt openlie vpon an hill, according as she had most iustlie deserued. Maldwin was thus murthered in the yeere after the birth of our Sauior 684, and in the 20 yeere of his owne reigne.

Maldwin the Scotish king strangled in his bed.

After him succéeded Eugenius the fift of that name, nephue to Maldwin, as sonne to his brother Dongard. About the same time Eugenius king of Scots sent with all diligence his ambassadors vnto Egfred king of Northumberland, to moue him vnto peace. Egfred hauing heard the ambassadors which were thus sent, feined as though he had béene willing to haue had peace, where he minded nothing more than to haue warres with the Scots, so soone as his prouision should be once readie, and héere vpon granted to them a truce for the space of 11 moneths, in which meane time he might make his preparation. Eugenius hauing some secret knowledge of Egfreds purpose, prouided likewise for the warres on his part: but for that he would not séeme to giue the occasion, he streictlie commanded that none of his subiects should be so hardie, as to attempt anie thing sounding to the breach of the truce.

Eugenius.

Eugenius the fift.

Egfred king of Northumberland.

A truce granted.

Eugenius his commandement.

In the tenth moneth Egfred hauing all his preparation readie, sent a companie of his men of war into the Scotish borders, to fetch some botie, whereby the peace might be broken. Those that were thus sent, fetched not onelie from thence a great number of cattell, but also slue diuers of the borderers that went about to rescue their beasts and cattell. Immediatlie herevpon were sent ambassadors from Eugenius to demand restitution: but they not without much adoo, after certeine daies attendance, got audience, and boldlie declaring vnto Egfred their message, receiued for answer a plaine publication of warre. For he alledging how the Scots, since the truce was granted, had sundrie times fetched couties out of the confines of his dominions, and therefore had well deserued farre more damage than as yet they had receiued, whereupon he minded not to continue friendship with them that knew not how to kéepe their hands from robbing and stealing from their neighbours: so that he commanded them to declare vnto their king, that within eight daies after, he should looke for open warre at the hands of him and other his alies.

The truce broken.

Ambassadors sent by Eugenius vnto Egfred for restitution.

Egfreds answer.

Eugenius receiuing this answer from Egfred, besought God, sith the other onelie sought to violate the peace, that the vengeance might light vpon his owne head, that had thus giuen the occasion. Herewith gathering his power togither, he repaired into Galloway, into the which he had knowledge that his enimies would first enter. But before he could get thither, a great armie of Englishmen were come alreadie into that countrie, and had besieged a strong castell called Downske, the chiefest fortresse in those daies of all Galloway. And yet Egfred might winne the same, he was constreined to raise his siege, and to march forth to incounter with Eugenius, who hasted fast towards him. They met néere to the banks of the water of Lewis, as then being verie déepe, by reason it was raised with abundance of raine which latelie before had fallen, where they fought a verie sore and bloudie battell: for the Scots had vowed neuer to giue ground to the enimies, so long as anie life remained in their breasts.

Eugenius gathereth an armie.

The castell of Downske besieged.

At the first there was no great aduantage perceiued on either side, the kings, according to the duties of valiant capteins, exhorting their people to sticke to it manfullie: but in the meane time, certeine bands of Egfreds part getting themselues to the side of an hill, gaue the looking on, without comming downe at all to aid their friends: which manner the residue of his people perceiuing, doubted of some

ſome treaſon deuiſed againſt them, and therevpon began to ſhrinke backe. Egfred aduiſed therof, came amongſt the foremoſt ranks of his battell, deſiring the Engliſhmen in no wiſe to giue place to their enimies: and for that daies ſeruice he promiſed them high rewards, and all the pleaſure that afterward he might be anie waies able to ſhew or do them. But whileſt he was thus buſilie occupied in comforting & exhorting his men to fight ſtoutlie, he himſelf chanced to be wounded in the face with an arrow ſo ſore, that immediatlie he fell downe and died in the place. The Engliſhmen diſcouraged with this miſchance, were quicklie therevpon put to flight and chaſed, a great number of them tooke the riuer ſo to eſcape the enimies hands, of whome the more part being preſſed downe by weight of their armor, were drowned in the raging waues of the floud, the reſidue by caſting from them their armors and clothes, eſcaped by ſwimming ouer to the other ſide, but thoſe that made their courſe by land, being cumbred in mires and molles, alſo amongſt ſtreicts, rocks, mounteins and cliffes, were ouertaken by the Scots and ſlaine. Few of that number eſcaped awaie in ſafetie, ſo that there died in the fight and chaſe at the point of twentie thouſand Saxons with their king the forenamed Egfred: of the Scots were ſlaine, beſides thoſe that were hurt and wounded, not manie aboue fiue thouſand. By this ouerthrow the force of thoſe Saxons or Engliſhmen of Northumberland was not onelie ſore diminiſhed, but alſo of ſuch other Saxons, the which in no ſmall number were come vnto Egfred, to aid him againſt the Scots in that iournie.

King Egfred ſlaine.

See more hereof in England.

Twentie thouſand Saxons ſlaine.

Bruders the Piciſh king hauing knowledge of this ſlaughter, which had chanced betwixt the Engliſhmen and Scots, was nothing ſorie, as one that was friend to neither part, and now perceiuing that the Northumberland men were ſo weakened, that they were not able to reſiſt an inuaſion, he entred with his whole power which he had raiſed, into Northumberland, ſore afflicting th' inhabitants, inſomuch that he had vndoubtedlie either ſubdued that countrie wholie vnto his dominion, either els vtterlie deſtroied it, had not the deuout praiers of S. Cutbert (who then held the ſee of Lindeſterne) preſerued the people from that preſent deſolation. For at length after the Picts had raged a while through the countrie, they chanced to fall at variance amongſt themſelues for parting of the ſpoile, and buckling togither by the eares, there was an huge ſlaughter made amongſt them. And this was the cauſe, that contenting themſelues with thoſe countries about Berwike, ancientlie called Deira, out of the which they expelled the Saxons, they abſteined from all the reſidue, as not willing to deale withall. Neither were the Saxons of Northumberland, being thus ſcourged, able to recouer their former forces againe, of manie yeres after inſuing.

Bruders king of the Picts.

Inuaſion into Northumberland.

Cutbert biſhop.

A ſlaughter amongſt the Picts.

Yere is to be noted, that whereas the Scotiſh writers aſcribe the victorie of that battell, wherein Egfred was ſlaine, vnto their king Eugenius, Beda which then liued, declareth that the Picts were thoſe that fought with him and ſlue him. Finallie, Eugenius departed this life in the 4 yere of his reigne, and after the incarnation 688. After Eugenius the firſt, ſucceeded Eugenius the ſirt, who was the ſonne of Ferquhard, and by perſuaſion of biſhop Adamnan (with whome he was brought vp) & of S. Cutbert, he entered into league with the Northumberland men: but he would at no hand ioine in amitie with the Picts, notwithſtanding he was contented to take truce with them. But when he ſaw the ſame oftentimes by them violated & broken, to the great perill, damage, and hinderance of his ſubiects, he cauſed the warre to be proclamed, and ſent them his defiance by an herald. Howbeit, through the earneſt praiers (as is ſuppoſed) of the two biſhops, Cutbert and Adamnan (who had laboured earneſtlie to haue brought thoſe people to a quietneſſe) this warre continued without anie notable incounter, ſaue onelie by light incurſions (wherein no great bloudſhed chanced) euen vnto the death of Eugenius, which fell in the yeere of our Lord 697, and in the tenth yeere of his owne reigne. He was buried togither with the other Eugenius, that laſtlie reigned afore him, in the Ile of Colmekill, amongſt their predeceſſors.

Egfred ſlaine by Picts and not by Scots.

Eugenius the firſt died.

688

Eugenius the ſirt ſucceedeth Eugenius the firſt.

A league betweene the Scots and Northumberland men.

Truce taken with the Picts.

Warre without anie notable incounter.

The death of Eugenius the firſt.

697

Manie wonderfull viſions were ſeene that yeere in Albion, as the Scotiſh chronicles make mention. In the riuer of Humber there appeered in the ſight of a great multitude of men, a number of ſhips vnder ſaile, as though they had beene furniſhed forth for the warres. In the church at Camelon there was heard a noiſe, as it had beene the clattering of armor. Milke was turned into bloud in diuers places in Pictland, and cheeſe conuerted into a bloudie maſſe or cake. Corne as it was gathered in the harueſt time appeered bloudie. In the furthermoſt parts of Scotland, it rained bloud. Theſe ſights being ſeene of ſome, & declared to other, cauſed a wonderfull feare in the peoples harts, imagining ſome great alteration to inſue.

Wonderfull viſions ſeene.

Ambirkeleth the nephue, or (as ſome ſay) the ſon of Eugenius the firſt, ſucceeded Eugenius the ſirt in the gouernment of the realme; who after his atteining to the crowne, ſhortlie changed therewith his manners and good diſpoſition: for where before he ſhewed himſelfe to be an earneſt defendor of the poore and ſimple, that all men iudged that he would haue proued a patrone of all vertue, he contrarie to that expectation, became ſuddenlie a paterne of all vices and couetouſneſſe, delighting in nothing but in following his ſenſuall luſts, as in taking exceſſe of meats and drinks, and wallowing in fleſhlie concupiſcence of lecherous luſt. To be briefe, when he tooke nothing in hand worthie of his eſtate and degree, it was thought that of neceſſitie the forme of the publike gouernement muſt needes thorough his negligent ſlouthfulneſſe fall into decaie and ruine: whereupon Garnard king of the Picts, ſuppoſing he had conuenient time to reuenge all former iniuries receiued at the Scotiſhmens hands, gathered a great hoſt of men, and with the ſame entring into the Scotiſh confines, made verie pitifull ſlaughter of the inhabitants.

Ambirkeleth.

Ambirkeleth ſucceedeth Eugenius the firſt.

The king turned from vertue vnto all licentiouſneſſe.

Garnard king of the Picts inuadeth Scotland.

At length Ambirkeleth (being ſore blamed of his his nobles for his negligence, in ſuffering his ſubiects thus to be deſtroied) gathered an armie togither, & with no ſmall feare to ſhew his head amongſt his people (as thoſe princes which through their owne default haue their people in miſtruſt, do euer ſtand in doubt of their owne ſafeties, and namelie when anie preſent danger beginneth to appeere) forth he goeth without anie great good order (God wot) for what might be looked for at his hands, which was ſo ouerwhelmed with all kind of exceſſiue gluttonie, immoderate ſurfeting, inſatiable lecherie, and deliting altogither in ſlouthfull eaſe, and ſluggiſh idleneſſe, the root from whence all ſuch filthie vices taking their beginnings, are nouriſhed & maintained.

Ambirkeleth gathered an armie againſt the Picts.

Idleneſſe the breeder and nouriſher of ſenſuall luſts.

To conclude, he liued as one that tooke no maner of regard to that which chieflie apperteined to his calling: whereby now when he ſhould come into the field, he was neither able through lacke of practiſe to take paines to ſee things done as was behouefull, of himſelfe, neither yet to giue order to others how the ſame ought to be done. Neuertheleſſe marching forward with his armie, he came to the water of Tay, and neere to the banks thereof, he pitched downe his tents, where after he had ſupped, he was occaſioned

to

to go forth of his lodging to doo the necessities of nature, and being onelie accompanied with two of his seruants that were gromes of his chamber, he was suddenlie shot through the head with an arrow, but from whence it came, or who shot it, there was neuer anie knowne that could tell. Howbeit, the king immediatlie died of the hurt, after he had reigned not fullie two yeeres. He was buried in Colmekill amongst his noble ancestors.

The death of Ambirkeleth.

Eugenius.

THe lords and peeres of the land not greatlie lamenting the death of such a monstrous person, because the annie for want of a gouernor should not fall into anie danger, they elected Eugenius the seuenth, being the brother of the late foresaid Ambirkeleth, to succeed as king in the gouernment of the realme; a prince of verie comelie port & personage, neither destitute of honorable qualities and good disposition of mind. Being once proclamed king, he caused generall musters to be taken of the whole armie, and perceiuing by surueie thereof, that he was not able to match with his enimies, he found means to conclude a peace with the Pictish king, pledges being deliuered on either side, for redresse to be had of all wrongs and iniuries that had beene committed betwixt them. The Picts returning home, and the Scotish armie dissolued, Eugenius with the most part of the nobilitie went into Argile, where he receiued his inuesture of the kingdome, sitting vpon the stone of marble, according to the custome and maner.

Eugenius the seuenth is elected king of Scots.

A peace concluded.

The king is crowned.

The bond of peace begun betwixt the kings, was the more stronglie confirmed by meanes of aliance, Spontana the daughter of king Garnard being coupled in mariage with Eugenius: she in the yeere following being great with child, was murthered one night within the kings bed-chamber, in steed of the king himselfe, by two brethren of the countrie of Athole, who moued to displeasure for their fathers death, had conspired to murther the king, and had slaine him in deed, had he not through his good hap laien forth of his owne chamber the same night. Eugenius being suspected of the murther, and euill spoken of for the same amongst his subiects, was at length with great danger of life and honor inforced to make answer by waie of arrainment for clearing of himselfe, before the nobles of his realme, appointed as competent iudges in that case: so greatlie beloued was Spontana amongst all the degrees of the Scotish nation. But in the end being found guiltlesse of the crime (for at the time that iudgement should haue passed, the offendors were apprehended and brought in) he was acquit, to the great reioising of all honest men. Those that had done the deed, were condemned and hanged vp naked on gibbets by the heeles, togither with certeine cruell mastiue dogs, the which might so deuoure them.

The quéne slaine in steed of hir husband

The king is suspected of the murther.

The murtherers are hanged.

But Eugenius being thus cleared of all former suspicion, minded to haue beene reuenged on those that had falslie accused him. Howbeit through the godlie admonishments of that reuerend father Adamnan, he qualified his displeasure. After this, giuing his mind to the aduancement of religion and politike gouernement of his subiects, he ordeined that the histories of his ancestors should be written in bookes and volumes, that posteritie might haue to read the same for example sake. These monuments he also appointed to be kept and reserued in the abbeie of Iona, now called Colmekill, for a perpetuall memorie: and such as should write the same, to remaine and haue liuings there in the abbeie. Moreouer, such spirituall promotions as he perceiued to be too meane and slender for the maintenance of the minister that should serue the cure, he caused to be augmented in such wise as was thought sufficient. He concluded a league with the Saxons and Picts, and obserued the same during his life, which he ended at Abernethie, when he had reigned about 17 yeeres, whereof the last fell in the yeere after the incarnation of our Sauior 717, the 15 indiction. His death was greatlie lamented, both of his lords and commons, as they that inwardlie loued him for his noble and most princelie qualities.

An example of a good prince.

The king causeth his ancestors histories to be written.

Eugenius the seuenth departeth out of this life. 716. H.B.

Mordack.

ALittle before his death, he betooke the possession of his kingdome vnto Mordacke that succeeded him. This Mordacke was the nephue of Eugenius the seuenth, by his brother Ambirkeleth: who as he was knowne to be of a gentle, meeke, and liberall nature, before his aduancement to the crowne; so he shewed himselfe to be the verie same man during the whole course of all his naturall life, after he had attained to the same. Aboue all things he wished a generall peace to continue amongst all the princes of Albion, and therevpon for his part establishing a peace with the Picts, Britains, and all the English kings, he firmelie kept euerie article therein conteined. In those daies (as S. Beda doth testifie) foure seuerall people liued in peace and quietnesse within the bounds of Albion, though differing in manners, language, lawes, and ordinances: Saxons whome he called Englishmen, Britains, Scots, and Picts. His words are these that follow.

Mordack. Mordacke succeedeth Eugenius the seuenth.

A louer of peace.

Peace thorough out all the land of Albion.

The nation of the Picts at this time is in league with the Englishmen, and gladlie is partaker of the vniuersall peace and veritie with the catholike church. Those Scots which inhabit Britaine, contenting themselues with their owne bounds, go about to practise no deceitfull traines, nor fraudulent deuises against the Englishmen. The Britains, though for the most part through a familiar hatred do impugne the English nation, and the state of the whole catholike church, obseruing not rightlie the feast of Easter, besides other naughtie vsages, yet both the diuine power and humane force vtterlie resisting them, they are not able in neither behalfe to attaine vnto their purposed intentions; as they which though partlie free, yet in some behalfe are thrall and mancipat to the subiection of the Englishmen: which Englishmen now in acceptable peace and quietnesse of time, manie amongest them of Northumberland, as well of the nobilitie as other, laieng away armour and weapon, aplie themselues to the reading of holie scripture, more desirous to be in houses of vertuous conuersation, than to exercise feats of warre. What will come thereof, the age that followeth shall perceiue and behold. ¶ With these words doth Beda end his historie, continued till the yeare 734, in the which yeare Mordacke the Scotish king ended his life.

The testimonie of Beda.

734. Mordack ended his life the same yeare that saint Beda made an end of his storie.

He repared sundrie churches and religious howses, which being defaced with violence of the enimies inuasions in time of warre, had not beene redified by his ancestors. But amongest other, he bestowed much cost vpon the church where the bodie of S. Ninian lieth, in the towne ancientlie called Candida Casa, & now Whitterne or Quhitterne. Saint Beda calleth that place Pictiminia, and the bishop which at the same time held the church there, he nameth Acta, auouching how he was the first that was bishop thereof after the daies of saint Ninian. Which if it be true, it must néeds be that afterwards some vacation happened in that see for a time, sith it is notified in the Scotish histories, that the westerne Iles, Galloway, and other regions nére adioining, were subiect vnto the bishop of Sodor (whose sée is in the Ile of Man) vnto the daies of Malcolme the third, who restored rather than ordeined the bishops sée in Candida Casa againe, after such vacation as before is specified.

Candida Casa now called Whitterne.

But

Ethfine.

Ethfine succeedeth Mordake.

A peaceable prince.

BUt now to returne touching the gouernement of the Scotish kingdome, I find that after the decease of Mordake last remembred, his nephue named Ethfine, the sonne of the seuenth Eugenius, succeeded in the state; a man naturallie inclined vnto peace and maintenance of iustice. The league which his predecessors Eugenius and Mordake had kept with their neighbors the Britains, Englishmen and Picts, he duelie likewise obserued. His chiefe studie was to purge his realme of all such as were knowen to be open barrettors and offendors in anie wise, against the peace and common quiet of his subiects; so that causing sundrie notable examples of iustice to be executed vpon such euill doers, he was had in such reuerend dread amongest his subiects, that none of them durst once whisper anie euill of him. Neither had they verelie anie cause so to do, while he looked to the administration himselfe.

Foure gouernors vnder the king.

But after he was once fallen into age, he appointed foure peeres in his realme to haue the chiefe gouernance vnder him; as Donald the treasuror of Argile, Collane of Athole, and Mordake of Galloway his lieutenants, and Conrath the thane of Murrey land. These hauing the procuration of all things touching the gouernement of the realme, vsed not themselues so vprightlie in manie points as they ought to haue done; but winked now and then at faults & trespasses committed by their kinsfolks and alies, permitting the nobilitie to liue according to their old accustomed maner of licentious libertie, to the small ease or commoditie of the other inferiour states. Donald of the westerne Iles, a man of goodlie personage, but of disposition inclined to all naughtinesse, mainteined a great number of robbers and spoilers of the countrie, liuing onelie vpon rapine. For loke what they wanted, they would not faile to catch it, if it were in anie place abroad where they might laie hands on it: so that all the husbandmen and commons of Galloway, in which countrie they most haunted, were brought into wonderfull thraldome and miserie.

Vntrust gouernement.

Donald of the Iles maintaineth robbers.

The oppression of the commons of Galloway.

Neither did Mordake the kings lieutenant there, go about to chastise such insolent misdemenors, either for that he was of Donalds aliance, either else priuie to his doings, and partaker of the spoile. The people hereby vexed with continuall iniuries, brought manie pitifull complaints before Mordake, who nothing regarded their lamentable suites and supplications, but the more they complained, the worse they were handled. Neither was there anie hope of redresse or amendment, till Eugenius the eight was admitted to the kinglie administration after the death of king Ethfine, who in the latter end of his daies continuallie being sicke and diseased, could not attend to take order for the publike gouernement, by reason whereof such wilfull misorders insued. He died in the yeare of our Lord 764, after he had continued his reigne ouer the Scotishmen the space of thirtie yeares, his bodie being buried in Colmekill with all funerall obsequies.

Mordake the kings lieutenant beareth with offendors.

The decease of Ethfine, 762. H.B.

HIs successor, the foresaid Eugenius the eight that was the sonne of king Mordake, was inuested king in Argile with such pompe and ceremonies as in that case apperteined, and immediatlie therevpon he hasted forth to catch Donald of the Iles, not resting till at length he had caught him, though that came not to passe without some losse of his people. After he had taken both him and his chiefest complices, he put them openlie to death; neither so satisfied, he caused Mordake to be arraigned, who confessing himselfe partlie guiltie of such things as were laid to his charge for mainteining of the foresaid Donald, he likewise suffered death, and his goods being valued and diuided into parts, were bestowed amongest the commons of Galloway, in recompense of such losses, as through his contriued falshood they had sustained. Also he did put Donald, Collan, and Conrath to their fines, for that they did suffer Donald to rob & spoile without chastisement.

Eugenius.

Eugenius the eight inuested king of Scots.

Donald of the Iles apprehended.

Donald and his complices put to death.

Through which causing of iustice thus to be executed, in releefe of his commons, he wan him wonderfull loue, not onlie in Galloway, but also through out all his realme; and therewith were offendors put in such feare, that they durst in no place commit anie such misorders against the simple and meaker people. And for the more increase of his subiects wealth, he also continued the league with the Picts, Britains, and Englishmen, accordinglie as his late predecessor had done. But yet, as the nature of man through licentious libertie is euer readie to offend in one point or other, so it came to passe by this worthie prince Eugenius, who in such wise as is before expressed, reigning in peace and quietnesse amongest his louing subiects, yet fell into most vile lust to accomplish his vnsatiable fleshlie concupiscence, seeking all means he could deuise to defloure yong virgins and honest matrons, and that as well those of the nobilitie as other. And such companions as could best further his purpose in that behalfe, and deuise new means and waies of fleshlie companie, those he set by, and greatlie made of, deliting altogither to haue them in his companie.

Mordake lieutenant of Galloway is put to death.

The commons recompensed.

A righteous king.

Offendors put in feare.

Eugenius is peruerted with sensuall lust and concupiscence.

Thus being drowned in lecherous lust, and filthie concupiscence, he fell dailie in more greeuous vices, as into excessiue couetousnesse and beastlie crueltie, consenting to make awaie his wealthie subiects, to the end he might inioy their goods. This wickednes remained not long vnpunished, for the lords and peeres of his realme, perceiuing how he proceeded dailie in his abhominable and tyrannicall doings, not once giuing eare to the wholesome aduertisements either of God or man, they slue him one day amongest them as he sat in iudgement about to haue condemned a great rich man, though not guiltie in the crime whereof he was accused. They caused also a great companie of those mates to be apprehended, which had beene of his councell, and prouokers vnto all his wicked and vile doings. Which to the great contentation of the people were hanged, as they had well deserued. And such was the end of Eugenius, after he had gouerned the kingdome about three yeares: his bodie was buried in Colmekill amongest his ancestors, though the people thought it little worthie of that honor, which had misused it selfe so inordinatlie in this present life.

A filthie delight.

Couetousnesse linked with crueltie.

Eugenius is murthered.

The end of Eugenius the eight.

Fergus. 767.

AFter him came th'administration of the realme vnto Fergus the third, the sonne of king Ethfine, in the yeare 767, who being established in the same, began freelie to practise all kinds of vices, which most abundantlie reigned in him, howbeit till that day wonderfullie dissembled and kept couert. He seemed to striue how to passe his predecessor in all points of wickednesse. He toke no regard at all to the gouernement of his realme, but gaue himselfe to excessiue gluttonie, in deuouring of delicate meats and drinks, and therewith kept such a number of vile strumpets in house with him, whome hee vsed as concubines, that his wife was no better esteemed than as an handmaid, or rather a kitchenmaid. Who being a woman of great modestie, and sober aduisednesse, could not yet but take sore greefe and indignation hereat: and therefore sundrie times assaied by way of wholesome persuasions, to turne his mind from such sinfull vsages and filthie trade of liuing.

Fergus the third created king.

Wicked princes.

Finallie, when she saw there was no hope to conuert his depraued mind, nor by anie meanes to reforme him, but that the more she laboured to do good

vpon

K. Fergus the third ſtrangled by his wife.

vpon him, the woꝛſe he was, throughe verie diſpleaſure of ſuch iniuries as ſhe dailie ſuſteined at the hands of his concubines, ſhée found meanes to ſtrangle him ſecretlie one night as he lay in bed, chooſing rather to be without a huſband, than to haue one that ſhould deceiue hir of the right and dutie of mariage; and that in ſuch ſoꝛt, as ſhe muſt be faine to ſuffer the repꝛoch dailie beforе hir face, being miſvſed of them whom he kept as paramours in moſt deſpitefull maner. The day after ſhe wꝛought this feat, the bodie being found dead, was apparelled in funerall wiſe, and bꝛought foꝛth vnto the place of iudgement, where inquiſition was ſtreictlie made what they were that had done ſo heinous a déed. Foꝛ though there were but few that lamented his death, yet ſome of his friends were verie earneſt to haue the matter tried foꝛth, that ſuch as had committed the murther might ſuffer due puniſhment.

Suſpicious perſons are racked.

Manie were apꝛehended and had to the racke, but yet could none be found that would confeſſe it. The quéene was void of all ſuſpicion, as ſhe that had béene taken foꝛ a woman at all times of great temperancie. But yet, when ſhe heard that a number of innocent perſons were toꝛmented without deſert, ſoꝛe lamenting (as ſhould appeare) their miſerable caſe, ſhe came haſtilie into the iudgement hall, and getting hir aloft vpon the bench, there, in the pꝛeſence of all the companie, ſhe had theſe oꝛ the like

The quéene confeſſed the murther.

“ woꝛds vnto the whole aſſemblie. I know not (good
“ people) I know not what god moueth me, oꝛ what
“ diuine reuengement vereth mée with ſundꝛie
“ thoughts and cogitations; that of all this day and
“ moꝛning pꝛeceding, I haue had neither reſt in bo-
“ die noꝛ mind. And verelie when I heard that cer-
“ teine guiltleſſe perſons were cruellie toꝛmented
“ here in your pꝛeſence; had not wꝛath giuen place,
“ partlie vnto modeſtie, whereof I muſt confeſſe there
“ is left but a ſmall poꝛtion in me, I had ſoꝛthwith
“ rid my ſelfe out of the way. The kings death was
“ mine act. Conſcience conſtreineth me (ſetting apart
“ mine owne ſafegard) to confeſſe the truth, leaſt the
“ guiltleſſe ſhould wꝛongfullie periſh: therfoꝛe vnder-
“ ſtand ye foꝛ truth, that none of them whom ye haue
“ eramined are pꝛiuie to the offenſe. I verelie am ſhe,
“ that with theſe wicked hands haue ſtrangled this
“ night laſt paſt Fergus, about whoſe death I ſée you
“ in trouble, moued ſo to doo with two as ſharpe pꝛicks
“ as may reſt in a woman, to wit, impatient foꝛbea-
“ ring of carnall luſt, & irefull wꝛath. Fergus by his
“ continuall vſing of concubines, kept from me the due
“ debt that the huſband oweth to the wife: wherevpon
“ when there was no hope to reconcile him with often
“ aduertiſements, vehement foꝛce of anger riſing in
“ my hart, dꝛoue me to doo ſo wicked a déed. I thought
“ rather therefoꝛe to diſpatch the adulterer, than (being
“ deſtitute of my huſband, & defrauded of all quéenelie
“ honoꝛ) to liue ſtill ſubiect to the perpetuall iniuries
“ of ſuch lewd women as he kept & vſed in my ſtead.

She giueth hir owne ſentence.

“ Looſe yée therefoꝛe thoſe that be accuſed of the kings
“ death, & as foꝛ me ye ſhall not néed to pꝛoceed againſt
“ me as guiltie of the crime by oꝛder of law: foꝛ I that
“ was ſo bold to commit ſo heinous an act, will accoꝛ-
“ dingly doo execution vpon my ſelfe euen here incon-
“ tinentlie in pꝛeſence of you all: what honoꝛ is due to
“ the dead, looke you to that. ¶ Hauing thus made an

The quéene taketh execution of hir ſelf.

end of hir tale, ſhe plucked foꝛth a knife which ſhe had hid vnder hir goowne, and ſtroke hirſelfe to the heart with the ſame, falling dead vpon it downe to the ground. All ſuch as were pꝛeſent wondered greatlie at hir ſtout and hardie ſtomach, ſpeaking diuerſlie thereof, as ſome in pꝛaiſe, and ſome in diſpꝛaiſe of theſe hir monſtruous doings. The bodie of Fergus was caried foꝛth to the Ile of Colmekill, and there buried in the third yéere after his entring into the gouernement, and in the yéere of our Lord 769. The quéens coꝛps was not buried in ſacred ground, foꝛ that ſhe ſlue hirſelfe.

Soluathius.

SOluathius the ſonne of Eugenius the eight, was admitted to the rule of the Scotiſh eſtate next after the death of Fergus: a pꝛince ſuerlie boꝛne to the accompliſhment of high enterpꝛiſes, if throughe hap of frowaꝛd deſtinie he had not béene hindered. Foꝛ in the third yéere of his reigne he began to bée vered extréemelie with the gout, which ingendered by cold in lieng abꝛoad in hunting; and ſo continuing with him during his life, ſtaied him from manie woꝛthie exerciſes, as well in peace at home, as abꝛoad in time of warres. Thus he being in maner impotent & lame of his limbs, there were ſome commotions and miſoꝛders the moꝛe boldly attempted: and firſt amongſt them of the out Iles. Foꝛ Bane Makedonald, gouernoꝛ by the kings appointment of the Iland called Tire, got all the caſtels and foꝛtreſſes of the Iles into his owne hands, & ſtrengthened with a rout of vnrulie and miſchéfous youthfull perſons, toke poſſeſſion of all the ſaid Iles, cauſing himſelfe to be pꝛoclamed king of the ſame.

Soluathius admitted king of Scotland.

Soluathius an impotent man.

A rebellion.

Makedonald pꝛoclamed king of the Iles.

Not contented herewith, he gathered a number of ſhips togither, wherein tranſpoꝛting himſelfe with a great armie ouer into Loꝛne and Cantire, made great waſte and ſpoile of thoſe countries, till Duthquhall gouernoꝛ of Athole, and Culane of Argile, being ſent with a choſen power from the king to defend the countrie, chanced to incounter with him, and putting him with his people vnto flight, chaſed them to ſuch a ſtreict, as where there was no way to get foꝛth, ſaue onlie that by which they entered. This place is in Loꝛne, with a ſtreict paſſage to enter into it: but when ye are within it, the ſame is verie large and bꝛoad, inuironed about with craggie mounteins, chained togither with a continuall ridge, a déepe riuer compaſſing them in beneath in the bottome, with ſuch ſteepe & ſlodelong banks, that there is no way to paſſe foꝛth of the ſame, but by that throughe which ye muſt enter into it. The ſaid Bane with his folks being entred at vnwares into ſuch a ſtreict, and perceiuing there was no way to iſſue foꝛth, but by the ſame where he entred, he returned backe thither, and finding the paſſage cloſed from him by his enimies, he was in a woonderfull maze, not knowing what ſhift to make to eſcape. Finallie, falling to counſell with the chiefeſt of his armie vpon the danger pꝛeſent, and ſo continuing foꝛ the ſpace of two daies without anie concluſion auailable, on the third day dꝛiuen of neceſſitie throughe hunger, they requꝛed of their enimies to be receiued as yélded men vpon what conditions they would pꝛeſcribe, onelie hauing their liues aſſured. But when this would not be granted, in the euening tide they ruſhed foꝛth vpon their enimies, to trie if by foꝛce they might haue paſſed throughe them. But ſuch was their hap, that there they died euerie mothers ſon: foꝛ ſo had Duthquhall & Culane commanded, to the end that other rebels might take eꝛample by ſuch their wilfull and rebellious outrage.

He inuadeth Loꝛne and Cantire.

A power from the king is ſent againſt him.

The kings capteins after this paſſing ouer into the Iles, bꝛought all things there into the foꝛmer ſtate of quietneſſe. Yet after the apeaſing of this tumult, there chanced a new buſineſſe in Galloway: foꝛ Gillequhalme, ſonne to that Donald, which (as ye haue heard) was executed by commandement of Eugenius the eight, gathered togither a great number of vngrattous ſcape-thrifts, & did much hurt and miſchéefe in the countrie. But ſhoꝛtlie after, being vanquiſhed by the ſame capteins that had ſuppꝛeſſed the other rebels of the Iles, the countrie was rid of that trouble, and the ring-leaders puniſhed by death foꝛ their offenſes. In this meane while, the Engliſh-

The kings power paſſeth ouer into the Iles.

Gillequhalme the ſonne of Donald.

men

men & Welsh Britains through multitude of kings and rulers warring each against other, had no leasure to attempt anie enterprise against strangers. Neither were the Picts free of some secret displeasures, which one part of them had conceiued against another, so that the Scotishmen were not troubled at all by anie forreine enimies. And so Soluathius hauing continued his reigne the space of 20 yéers, about the end of that tearme departed this life, in the yéere of our saluation 788.

Soluathius departeth this life.

788.

Achaius.

Achaius created king of Scotland.

When after Soluathius was once buried in Colmekill amongst his ancestors, Achaius the son of king Ethfine (a man highlie renowmed for his earnest zeale to iustice and vpright dealing) was aduanced to the gouernance of the realme: who for that by his former conuersation amongst the nobilitie, he perfectlie vnderstood what grudge and secret hatred remained in their harts, one wishing anothers destruction; he foresaw what danger the commonwealth stood in, if the same were not by some good meanes qualified: and thervpon calling them togither, he handled the matter with such wisedome and dexteritie, that before their departure from him, all the roots of former displeasures being vtterlie extirped and auoided, they were made frends on ech side, and promised in his presence so to continue. Thus hauing laid the foundation of a quiet state amongst his subiects, now in the beginning of his reigne, hée was at point to haue had no small warres with the Irishmen: for a number of them being arriued in Cantire, were there slaine by them of the westerne Iles, which vpon request of the inhabitants of that countrie were come to aid them against those Irishmen.

He maketh the nobilitie to agrée.

This losse the rulers of the Irish nation purposed in all hast to reuenge vpon them of the Iles. But Achaius hearing thereof, sent ouer an ambassage vnto them, to haue the matter taken vp before anie further force were vsed: alledging how there was no cause wherfore warres should be moued for such a matter, where the occasion had béene giuen but by a sort of roners on either side, without commandement or warrant obteined from anie of their superiors. Howbeit the nobles of Ireland (for there was no king amongest them at that time as it chanced) moued altogither with indignation for the slaughter of their countrimen, made a direct answer, that they would suerlie be reuenged of the reproch which they had receiued, before they would common of anie peace. And therefore whilest the Scotish ambassadors returned out of Ireland with this answer, a great number of them in ships and craiers passed ouer into Ila, where getting togither a great preie, and fraughting their vessels therewith, as they were returning homewards, they were sonke by force of tempest, so that neither ship nor man returned to bring tidings home how they had sped in Scotland.

The Irishmen will reuenge.

Irishmen take a preie in Ila.

The stout stomachs of the Irish lords and rulers being well qualified with this mischance, they were glad to séeke for peace shortlie after vnto Achaius. Those also that were sent ouer to treat of the same, found him at Enuerlochthée; where hauing declared there message, & confessed how iustlie they had béene punished by the righteous iudgement of almightie God, for the wrongfull attempting of the warres against them that had not deserued it: Achaius answered, how the Irish nation was so stubborne, that they knew not how to vse reason, except they were thoroughlie scourged; and therefore had the righteous God taken iust reuenge vpon them, to the example of other, for their contumacie, in moouing warres against them that had so earnestlie sought for peace. Neuertheless, setting apart all iniuries past, as well new as old, to shew himselfe to be the follower of Christ, who in so manie passages had praised, commended, and set forth vnto vs peace and tranquillitie, he was contented to grant them peace, which now they sued for. Thus was the peace renewed betwixt the Scotish and Irish nations, to the no lesse comfort of the Scots themselues, than of the Irishmen, as those that had learned now by experience and triall (hauing inioied peace a good season) how much the same was to be preferred before cruell warres.

Irishmen doo séeke peace.

In this meane time, Charles surnamed the great, as then reigning in France, and vnderstanding how the Englishmen did not onelie by dailie rouing disquiet the seas, to the great danger of all such merchants and other as trauelled alongst the coasts of France and Germanie; but also now and then comming on land vpon the French dominions, did manie notable displeasures to his subiects: he thought good by the aduise of his péeres, to conclude a league (if it were possible) with the Scots and Picts, with this article amongst the residue: That so oft as the Englishmen should attempt any enterprise or inuasion into France, the Scots and Picts should be readie streightwaies to inuade them here at home; and when they should make anie warres against the Scots or Picts, then the Frenchmen should take vpon them to inuade the west parts of England.

Carolus Magnus in league with the Scots.

There were sent therefore from Charles vnto Achaius certeine ambassadors to bring this matter to passe, who arriuing in Scotland, and comming to the kings presence, declared effectuallie the summe of their message, shewing that the conclusion of such a league should bæ no lesse to the wealth of the Frenchmen, than of the Scots (considering Englishmen to be a people most desirous of all other to get into their hands other mens goods and possessions) for thereby they might be somewhat restreined from such bold and iniurious enterprises, as they dailie toke in hand against their christian neighbors: but it should make most of all (say they) for the aduancement of the whole christian common-wealth, whereas otherwise through their insolent doings, such force as was alreadie prepared against the Saracens (the common enimies of the christians) should be called backe, therewith to kéepe off the said Englishmen, to the great danger of those parts of christendome, vpon which the Saracens then bordered as neighbors.

Ambassadors sent into Scotland.

This message being heard with good deliberation by such as were present, the ambassadors themselues being honorable personages, and graue of countenance, were receiued most louinglie of the king, and lodged in his owne palace, hauing all the cheere and honorable interteinment that might be deuised: but touching their message, there were sundrie disputations amongst the nobles, whether the concluding of such a league as they required, were expedient for the Scotish common-wealth or not. And for that the matter séemed to be doutfull, the king thought it necessarie to haue the aduise of his councell: and thervpon calling them togither, and appointing diuerse of them to go with the ambassadors on hunting, to shew them some sport, whilest he consulted with the residue (because he would not haue them present) he commanded one Colman, gouernor of Mar (a man of great authoritie amongst the Scotishmen for his approued wisedome) to say first his mind touching the request of those French ambassadors, who thervpon standing forth, began as followeth.

The ambassadors are honorablie interteined.

No man ought to maruell, I perceiue, king Achaius, if manie of this our nation be desirous to haue this league concluded with the Frenchmen, as they that are persuaded how nothing can be better, nothing more profitable, more honorable, or more pleasant

cc pleaſant to almightie God, than to ſoine in league and friendſhip with a nation of greateſt power and cc wealth in theſe daies, of all other within the bounds of Europe: for by that meanes ſhould the Scotiſh One conſide- rations. name be highlie renowmed and ſpoken of through cc the whole world. But trulie theſe conſiderations contenting ſo well at the firſt, are not ſo much to be re- cc garded as the euils which hereafter may grow there- cc vpon: for ſuerlie a naughtie and pernicious end of cc this determination ſhall euidentlie teach vs (though cc too late) how farre we haue gone beſide the way of cc reaſon in eſtabliſhing this league, if we once con- cc ſent to conclude the ſame. Is it anie other thing (I beſeech you) to make a league, and to ſoine in ſocie- In enimie at hand. Friends arre off. tie with the Frenchmen againſt our neighbors the Engliſhmen (whoſe friendſhip might be moſt expe- dient for vs) than euen to haue from henceforth a nære and in maner a domeſticall enimie at hand, cc whereas our ſuppoſed friends ſhall be farre off from vs, and ſeparated from our countrie by a great and cc large ſea, at whoſe pleſure alſo we muſt make wars againſt our neighbors, and fight for other mens ſafe- cc gards, putting our bodies in hazard of death and cc wounding for their cauſe, which dwell nothing nære vs; yea & in their quarell to commit our kingdome, cc goods and liues vnto extreme perill of vtter deſtruc- tion. I would thinke it good therefore to take better Good counſell of Colman. aduiſement and deliberation herein, leaſt whileſt we cc ſeke for vaine glorie and counterfeit honor, we do cc not, through prouoking the Engliſhmen our nert cc neighbors, loſe our owne liberties got with much trauell by our elders, for the which they ſo often cc fought with the Britains, Romans, Picts, and finallie with the Saxons. Can there be anie thing more cc pernicious vnto a frée nation, and people borne in li- bertie, than to meaſure lawes of peace, chances of cc warre, and in fine libertie it ſelfe, by the luſt and plea- cc ſure of another nation, and ſo to enter (as it were) cc into bondage? For the auoiding whereof, not onelie cc men, but alſo all other liuing things are readie to fight, euen to the vttermoſt. If the Frenchmen in cc the chiefeſt heat and moſt earneſt brunt of the warre (which we ſhall take in hand for their ſake, according cc to the articles of the league) ſhall chance to forſake cc vs, and conclude ſome manner of peace or league with our enimies, leauing vs in all the whole dan- cc ger; ſhall we haue anie iudge afore whome we maie bring them to anſwer for their default, and by whoſe cc authoritie they may be conſtreined to ſæ vs ſatiſfied for ſuch loſſe and iniuries as we ſhall happily ſuſteine cc at the Engliſhmens hands? Are we of that force cc and power to reuenge our wrongs vpon them, after we are vanquiſhed and in maner brought to vtter cc confuſion by thoſe warres which we ſhall enter into for their cauſe? If euer we be brought vnto that cc point (as God forbid we ſhould) that through want of ſubſtance, and decaie of force, the Frenchmen cc ſhall alſo vtterlie forſake vs, & that thereby we ſhall not bée able to reſiſt the Engliſh puiſſance: afore cc whome (I beſeech you) ſhall we accuſe them for breaking of this league? We ſhall dailie haue to do cc with our enimies after the concluſion of the league (if it be concluded at all) and but ſeldome times with cc our friends. In the midſt of our enimies we ſhall be ſtill occaſioned to practiſe for our defenſe, where we cc haue a long way both by ſea and land to paſſe ouer to our friends, in caſe anie néd ſhall inforce vs there- cc vnto: commodities are brought vs out of Spaine, France, and Germanie, not ſuch as we deſire, but cc onelie ſuch as the Engliſhmen do permit. Againe, when our merchants ſhall paſſe into France, what cc hauens ſhall we leaue them to reſort vnto in time of cc dangerous tempeſts, which often chance to all ſuch as vſe ſailing? Either muſt they periſh and be caſt a- way through rage of ſeas, either elſe fall into the hands of our enimies togither, with all their goods » and fraught. What diſcommodities hereof ſhall riſe, » your grace (moſt prudent prince) and you right cir- » cumſpect councellors, do well inough perceiue. I » therefore would thinke it expedient, that we ſhould » continue in the former peace concluded with the » Britains, Saxons, and Picts, according to the cu- » ſtome of our late predeceſſors, who ſaw well inough » what was moſt beneficiall for the wealth of the Sco- » tiſh nation, and not to couet a new amitie with an » vnknowne people, hauing deſerued little or nothing » as yet at our hands (whoſe intent I cannot but haue » in ſuſpicion, ſith they ſéke for amitie ſo farre off) er- » cept we ſhall manifeſtlie reſolue with our ſelues to » imploie and ieopard both life and libertie for the ſafe- » gard of the French, without regard of our owne. » ¶ Manie in that aſſemblie ſhewed themſelues ſore Colmans counſell is miſliked. offended with Colmans words, ſuppoſing the league with the Frenchmen to be both honorable and neceſſarie.

Then one Albian, a man of great nobilitie (whome the king had latelie before inſtituted his lieutenant in the Iles) ſpake in this manner. If it were poſſi- Albian his o- ration. ble that there might be one ſure and inuiolable con- » ſent amongſt thoſe foure people, which at this daie » haue their habitations within the bounds of Albion, » or that the Engliſhmen knew what it were to ſtand » and abide by faith and promiſes made and giuen, we » would not denie but that thoſe conſiderations and » aduiſes which Colman hath héere vttered ought to be » followed; becauſe that then there ſhould be no occaſi- » on at all, why we ſhould conclude anie league with a- » nie forren nation. But forſomuch as there was ne- » uer man that found more vntruth and breach of pro- The Engliſh Saxons breé- kers of pro- miſe. miſe in anie nation, than hath béene found in theſe Saxons (the which hauing got the rule in Albion, are now called Engliſhmen) as the Scots, Picts, and Britains haue by triall ſufficientlie proued; I ſup- » poſe it is euidentlie knowne vnto you, that either we » muſt of neceſſitie fight and ſtand at defenſe againſt » the Engliſhmen, readie to aſſaile vs both with open » force and ſecret craft, either els linke our ſelues with » ſuch alies and confederats, as by their ſupport we » maie be the better able to withſtand the malice of » ſuch vnfaithfull people. Call ye this faith, or treaſon, I » praie you? The Saxons in times paſt being reque- » ſted of the Britains to aid them againſt their ene- » mies, were moſt louinglie receiued, and highlie re- » warded for their ſeruice: but they contrarilie in re- » compenſe of ſuch kindneſſe, ſhewed themſelues in » ſtéed of aiders, enimies; in ſtéed of defenders, deſtroi- » ers: turning their weapons points againſt the Bri- » tains, by whome they had béene ſo ſent for to their » aid; and now haue not onelie deſtroied a great num- » ber of them by fire and ſword, but alſo they haue ſpoi- » led them of their kingdome & libertie. What league » or truce haue they at anie time kept (you your ſelues » are not ignorant of this which I ſpeake) where either » they ſaw occaſion to ver their neighbors, or hoped to » gaine anie thing by falſifieng their faiths, as they » that haue neuer béene aſhamed ſo to do, where hope » to haue commoditie (if I may ſo call it) hath at anie » hand béene offered. Into what ſundrie and moſt mi- » ſerable calamities hath the trecherie of the Saxons » brought the ſillie Britains? How oftentimes haue » they broken the peace eſtabliſhed with vs, and alſo » with the Picts; euen when we leaſt thought vpon » anie ſuch thing? Yea and that more is, amongſt them » ſelues at this ſeaſon the Engliſhmen warre one a- » gainſt another, more with craftie traines than with » open force, in ſuch wiſe that in Northumberland ſo » manie kings, and ſo manie noble men haue béene » traitorouſlie murthered and made awaie, that ſcarſe »

To inducе o-thers to his purpoſe, he ta-keth the ad-uantage of ca-ſuall haps, charging the whole nation with the fault of a few parti-cular perſons.

"may there be anie found that will take vpon him the ſupreme gouernement of that countrie. It is not manie yéres ago, ſince Oſwin king of that coun-trie was rid out of the waie through treaſon of Oſ-wie that ſucceeded him in the kingdome, and was after depriued both of life and kingdome by Oſtike, whome Egbert deſirous to reigne in his place, found meanes by traitorous practiſe to diſpatch. Egbert was ſlaine by Wollo, and Wollo by Alfred, which Al-fred was after ſlaine by the guilefull craft of Ethel-bert. Neither had Ethelbert anie better ſucceſſe in the end, for now of late betraied by his owne ſub-iects, he was by them ſhamefullie ſlaine and murthe-red. Neither with leſſe traitorous ſhifts and deuiſes do the Engliſhmen mainteine their warres in all places where they are inhabiting within Albion. The reuerend fathers of the ſpiritualtie, and other godlie men addicted to vertue, vnto whom the ſetting forth of Gods word hath béene committed, wearie of and abhorring this wood madneſſe, rage and wicked miſ-demeanor of that nation, haue left their biſhoprikes, abbeies, monaſteries, and cels, and from thence haue remoued into forren regions. Therefore where the Engliſhmen do abſteine at this preſent from ma-king vs warres, it is not to be imputed to anie reue-rence they haue vnto faith, equitie, or reſpect of the league, which they haue made with vs, but onelie vn-to ſuch ciuill ſedition and diſcord, as now doth reigne amongſt them. Neither ought anie of vs of right to doubt, but that when the ſame once ceaſſeth, they will immediatlie take weapon in hand againſt vs, not-withſtanding all leagues or couenants of peace con-firmed to the contrarie. To repreſſe therefore and a-bate their ſubtill practiſes, I can find no readier meane than to enter into friendſhip, and conclude a league with that people, which being ioined with vs, may chaſtiſe ſuch outragious furie of this wicked nation, as cauſe and opportunitie ſhall require. For-tune hath offred vnto vs a conuenient meane and oc-caſion herevnto. For here be at this preſent the French kings ambaſſadors, offering that vnto vs, which (being ſo great a benefit) we might ſcarſe wiſh for. That is, they require to haue vs to ioine in league againſt the Engliſhmen, with their king, whome France, Spaine, and no ſmall part of Ger-manie do acknowledge for their ſouereigne. Ought this to be deſpiſed of men that haue their perfect ſen-ſes? Ought the ſocietie of the French nation to be refuſed of vs, inhabiting here in the vttermoſt parts of the earth, the ſame being freelie offered by them, vnto whom for their ſincere faith both towards God and man, the large empire of the world is granted? So that if we ſhall thankfullie receiue this moſt no-table benefit, the ſame ſhall purchaſe vnto vs the friendſhip of the Spaniards, Frenchmen, Ger-mans, and all thoſe nations which acknowledge king Charles for their head and ſouereigne lord. Here vp-on alſo free paſſage for merchants ſhall be open, to paſſe to and fro vnto vs, with all kind of merchan-dize and wares of traffike. I truſt therefore that eue-rie one of you (ſo that he weie the thing with him-ſelfe throughlie) will eaſilie iudge that the friendſhip and ſocietie of the Frenchmen (verie puiſſant both by ſea and land) and thereto of approued faith and ſtedfaſtneſſe in promiſe, ought more to be eſteemed, and is more beneficiall to the Scotiſh common-wealth, than the vnſtedfaſt promiſes and great diſloi-altie of the Saxons. To which of you is it vnknowne that the Engliſh nation ſtudieth no leſſe to bring vs vnder the yoke of ſeruitude, than they do the Welſh-men, if their force might anſwer directlie to their wils? Therefore if we deſire to auoid the violent power of moſt cruell enimies, if we meane to a-uoid their craftie practiſes, if we regard the chriſtian religion, for the which the Frenchmen are continu-allie in armor, if we ſet more by vertue and conſtan-cie than by vnfaithfulneſſe and breach of couenants and promiſes, if we labor for the glorie and honor of our nation, if we couet to aduance our countrie, our owne reſt, and quietneſſe, and to be briefe, if we paſſe vpon life and libertie, the moſt déereſt things that may happen to man, let vs with ioifull harts eſta-bliſh this league with the Frenchmen, and firmelie continue in the ſame, vpon aſſured truſt and confi-dence that it ſhall bring perpetuall commoditie and renowme to vs, both for the ſafegard of our realme, & reſtreint of the Engliſhmens vnlawfull attempts and wrongfull iniuries, which héereafter they either ſhall or may at any time enterprize againſt vs. By this oration Albian drew the multitude eaſilie vnto his purpoſe.

Then Achaius vnderſtanding how the minds of all his ſubiects were in manner wholie inclined to the league, commanded all the companie to be there in the ſame place againe the next day. And ſo breaking vp their aſſemblie for that time, the king made the French ambaſſadors that night a coſtlie ſupper with a banket, and after hauing conference with his nobles and lords of the councell, it was agréed by ge-nerall conſent amongſt them, that for the ſolemne ratifieng of this league with king Charles, accor-ding as he had required, there ſhould go with his am-baſſadors at their returne the lord William the brother of king Achaius, with foure other honorable and learned perſonages, being men of perfect know-ledge and ſkill, and ſuch as were eſtéemed moſt meet for ſuch a purpoſe. Alſo, that they ſhould take foure thouſand men ouer with them to ſerue againſt the infidels and enimies of the chriſtian religion, where and in ſuch ſort as king Charles ſhould appoint them.

The league with the Frenchmen agréed vpon.

Here vpon the next day going firſt to church, and there making their common ſupplications vnto al-mightie God, according to the rites and ancient cu-ſtomes, they after reſorted vnto the councell cham-ber, where Achaius opened and declared vnto the French ambaſſadors all that was concluded by him, and other the eſtates of his realme, touching the meſ-ſage which they had brought from king Charles. Who reioiſing (as ſhould appéere) greatlie héereat, gaue moſt hartie thanks vnto him, and to all the reſidue for their beneuolent wils herein ſhewed towards king Charles their maiſter, and all the French nati-on. After this, remaining certeine daies with Achai-us, who made them all the chére that might be ima-gined, they departed towards Hungus king of the Picts, vnto whome at their comming to his preſence they made the like requeſt on their maiſters behalfe, which they had made before vnto Achaius.

The league is concluded.

Hungus king of the Picts.

It is ſaid that Hungus gaue the Frenchmen moſt hartie thanks for their good wils, but yet he would not grant to conclude anie league with them at that time, for that (as he alledged) the matter being weightie and of great importance, required no ſmall time to deliberate and take aduiſe for a full reſolution therein. The ambaſſadors héerevpon returned vnto Achaius without ſpéed of their purpoſe with Hun-gus, and the ſecond moneth after, all things being readie for their returne, and the paſſage of thoſe that ſhould go with them, the lord William the kings brother, togither with the ſame ambaſſadors, & ſuch foure perſons as the king had choſen forth amongſt all the learned clergie of his realme (whoſe names were Clement, John, Raban, and Alcuine) and alſo hauing with him thoſe foure thouſand men of war, which were at the firſt appointed to go with him, paſ-ſed forth towards France, where he with all the whole companie landed within few daies after in ſafetie, according to their owne wiſhed deſires. At

Hangus re-fuſeth to con-clude anie league with the Frenchmen.

The French ambaſſadors returne home

Claudius, Clement, John Mareſbell, Raban, Alcuine.

The Frenchmen in thoſe daies poſſeſſed not onelie that part of Gallia, which we now call France, but alſo the moſt part of the countries now inhabited by the Dutchmen or Germans, namelie on this ſide the riuer Rhene.

their

The Scotiſhmen are honorablie receiued of Carolus the French king.

their comming into France Charles the emperor receiued them in moſt gladſome wiſe, doing them all the honor that might be deuiſed, and the ſouldiers which were come to ſerue him vnder the leading of the foreſaid William, he reteined in wages, vſing them after the ſame ſort and rate as he did his owne naturall people the Frenchmen.

The league is publiſhed by heralds.

Shortlie after alſo at the requeſt of the Scotiſh orators, according to the charter ſigned by Achaius, and confirmed by conſent of king Charles, the league betwixt the Frenchmen and Scots was ſolemnelie publiſhed by heralds at armes, according to the maner in thoſe daies vſed, the ſame to indure betwixt thoſe two nations and their poſterities for euer. The chiefeſt articles comprized in this league were as followeth. [The amitie and confederation betwixt the Frenchmen and Scots to be perpetuall and firme, to indure betwixt them and the poſterities of both nations for euer. The iniuries and warres which the Engliſhmen ſhould attempt againſt either nation, ſhould be accounted as common to them both. The Frenchmen being aſſailed by warres of the Engliſhmen, the Scots ſhould ſend their aid of ſouldiers, hauing their charges borne by the Frenchmen as well for furniture, as wages, and all other things neceſſarie. The Frenchmen ſhould contrariwiſe aid the Scots in time of wars againſt the Engliſhmen at their owne proper coſts and charges. Whatſoeuer he were, priuat perſon or publike of theſe two confederat nations, that againſt either of them ſhould aid the Engliſhmen with armour, counſell, vittels, or in anie other maner of wiſe; the ſame ſhould be reputed for a traitor vnto both their princes and countries. Neither might either of them conclude a peace, or take anie truce without the conſent of the other. Theſe were the principall articles of the league, as then confirmed betwixt the Scots and Frenchmen, indited in Latine, and faire ingroſſed in parchment, and reſerued as a monument in both realmes, for a witneſſe vnto ſuch as ſhould come after of this friendſhip thus begun, as the Scotiſh chronicles affirme.] And for further memorie of the thing, Achaius did augment his armes, being a red lion in a field of gold, with a double trace ſeamed with floure delices, ſignifieng thereby, that the lion from thence forth ſhould be defended by the aid of the Frenchmen; & that the Scotiſh kings ſhould valiantlie fight in defenſe of their countrie, liberties, religion, and innocencie, which are repreſented by the lilles, or floure delices, as heralds do interpret it. The lord William, the ſaid Clement, and John, remained ſtill with king Charles, but Rabane & Alcuine returned into their countrie. In all ſuch warres and iournies as Charles afterwards made againſt anie of his enimies, the ſaid lord William was a chiefe doer in the ſame, ſo that his fame and authoritie daſlie grew in all places where he came. His ſeruice ſtood king Charles in notable ſtead in his expeditions againſt the Sarons, Hungarians, and other; but namelie his eſtimation in Italie was moſt highlie aduanced, at what time the ſaid Charles reedified the citie of Florence, appointing this William to be his lieutenant in Tuſcan, and to haue the chiefe charge for the reſtoring of the ſaid citie, which he with ſuch diligence applied, that within ſhort time the ſame was not onelie fortified with new wals, repared and repleniſhed with great numbers of houſes, churches, and other beautifull buildings, but alſo peopled and furniſhed with citizens, a great companie of nobles and gentlemen being called thither out of euerie citie and towne thereabouts for that purpoſe.

The armes of Scotland.

The valiantnes of William.

Florence is reedified.

William lieutenant of Tuſcane.

The citie being thus reſtored to hir former eſtate and dignitie, through the bounteous benefit of king Charles, and the diligent adminiſtration of his lieutenant the foreſaid William, the citizens to ſhew themſelues thankefull, deuiſed for a perpetuall memorie to beare in their armes a red lillie, reſembling one of thoſe which the kings of France giue, ſaue that it differed in colour, to teſtifie thereby, that their citie (after the deſtruction therof by the Goths) was reedified and reſtored to the former dignitie, by the benefit of the Frenchmen. And to acknowledge the diligence herein of the lieutenant, they did inſtitute publike plaies to be vſed and celebrated euerie yeare, wherein with manie pompous ceremonies they crowne a lion. And further that there ſhould be kept vpon the charges of the treaſurie within the citie certeine lions (for the foreſaid lord William gaue a lion for his cogniſance) and thereupon as the Scotiſh chronicles affirme, thoſe beaſts grew to be had in ſuch honor amongeſt the Florentines. Thus this valiant capteine, the foreſaid lord William, paſſing his time in notable exerciſes, and worthie feats of chiualrie vnder king Charles, is accounted in the number of thoſe twelue martiall warriours, which are called commonlie by the Scotiſhmen, Scotesgilmore.

The armes of Florence.

A lion crowned.

Lions kept at Florence.

Scotesgilmore.

And for that he was continuallie occupied in warres, he was neuer maried, whereupon growing in age, and purpoſing to make Chriſt his heire, he builded diuers abbies and monaſteries both in Italie and Germanie, richlie indowing the ſame with lands and rents, ſufficient for the finding of ſuch number of monks, as he appointed to be in the ſaid abbies, wherein none might be admitted, according to the ancient ordinance by him deuiſed, except he were a Scotiſhman borne. In witneſſe of which ordinance, there are ſundrie of theſe houſes remaining in Almaine euen vnto this day, nothing changed from the firſt order or inſtitution. Before the accompliſhment of theſe things, by the foreſaid lord William, brother (as is ſaid) to the Scotiſh king Achaius, I find that the vniuerſities of Paris and Pauia were inſtituted by king Charles, chiefelie by the helpe and means of theſe two fore-remembred Scotiſhmen, John and Clement, inſomuch that Clement was appointed chiefe preſident of all the ſtudents at Paris, and John of the other at Pauia.

William vnmaried maketh Chriſt his heire.

Monaſteries of Scotiſhmen in Germanie.

The vniuerſitie of Paris and Pauia.

But now to returne to the other doings of Achaius, ye ſhall vnderſtand, that about the ſame time, or not much differing from the ſame, Adelſtane the ſonne of Ethelwolfe king of Weſtſaxons, taking vpon him the dominion of Kent, Eaſtſaxon, Mercia, and Northumberland (which Egbert his grandfather had receiued into his gouernement) deſirous now to inlarge his kingdome, entred into that part of the Pictiſh dominion, which ancientlie hight Deira, and conteined the marches about Berwike, alledging how the ſame apperteined to his kingdome of Northumberland, and had béene fraudulentlie taken from his anceſtors by the Picts: but forſomuch as there was a commotion raiſed the ſame time in Mercia, he was called backe to appeaſe it, and hereupon putting all to the fire and ſword in Deira, ſauing ſuch priſoners as he brought away with him, he returned. Hungus the Pictiſh king ſore ſtomaching this iniurious enterpriſe of the Engliſhmen, determined to reuenge the ſame in all poſſible haſt, and therefore made inſtant ſute vnto Achaius (who had maried his ſiſter) to haue his aid againſt them.

Adelſtane entereth into Deira.

Deira waſted by fire and ſword.

Hungus aided with Scotiſhmen inuadeth Northumberland.

Achaius of his owne accord minding to do the Engliſhmen a diſpleaſure, ſent forthwith vnto Hungus to the number of ten thouſand men. With which, and with his owne power, king Hungus inuaded the borders of Northumberland, fetching from thence a great bootie of goods and priſoners; but yet he forbare ſlaughter of men, and burning of

He warred without ſlaughter and burning.

houses, for a reuerence which he had, as is supposed, towards the christian religion. Athelstane being certified hereof, omitting his iournie into Mercia, turned all his power against the Picts: and hearing that they were withdrawen into their countrie, he followed them so nere at the heles, that verie earlie in one morning he was vpon their backs where they lodged by a broke side, not passing two miles from Haddington, before they had anie knowledge of his approch. Athelstane vpon a fierce courage, hauing thus found his enimies according to his wished desire, and herewith comming vpon them in such order of battell, as they had no waie forth to escape without fight, he commanded a proclamation to be made by one of his heralds, that all the whole number of the Picts should passe by the edge of the sword.

Athelstane pursueth Hungus.

Athelstane his cruell proclamation.

The Picts thus seeing their enimies at hand, and hearing this cruell commandement, were wonderfullie amazed with the strangenesse of the thing, and oppressed so with feare, that they wist not what might be best for them to do. At length by commandement of Hungus their king, they fell vnto fortifieng of their campe; but yet they quicklie perceiued how that it would not long preuaile them, considering that their enimies had gotten into their hands not onelie the spoile which they had brought with them out of Northumberland, but also all other their prouision, trusse, and baggage, which they had left in a field there adioining vnto the side of their campe. Herevpon manie reasons were put forth amongest them, which way they might escape out of that present danger. In which meane time Athelstane hauing brought his people into good order of battell, prouoked the Picts to come forth of their strength into the plaine field, there to trie their forces. But for that day no notable thing was done; the Picts keping themselues still within their campe.

The Picts are amazed.

The Picts enter the campe.

Athelstane doth chalenge his enimies.

In the night following, after sundrie consultations had amongest them, it was agreed by generall consent, that the nert day they should giue battell to the Englishmen. And so herevpon preparing themselues for the purpose, euen vpon the breake of the day, forward they make towards their enimies with fierce willes, speciallie incouraged thereto by the comfortable words of Hungus. The Englishmen halfe amazed at the hardie approch and onset of the Picts, were not long able to susteine their fore impression; so that beginning somewhat to swarue, at length they were forced to flee vnto the place, where ye heard how they toke the baggage and spoile of the Pictish campe: where they were beaten downe in greater numbers than before, insomuch that such prisoners as they had before taken of them that kept the said spoile, greatlie now to aduance the victorie of their fellowes, shewed more crueltie towards the Englishmen than anie of the rest, now that they saw once how the victorie was inclined to the Pictish side.

The Picts prepare themselues vnto battell.

The Englishmen are put to flight.

In fine, such slaughter was made, that of the whole English host which was there assembled, there vneth escaped fiue hundred. Athelstane himselfe at the first was run through the bodie with a speare, and so died, giuing name to the place of the battell, which continueth euen vnto this daie, being called Athelstans ford. This victorie fell to the Picts by miracle: for in the night season, as Hungus was laid downe to sleepe (after it was agreed that they should giue battell) there appeared vnto him the apostle saint Andrew (as the tale goeth) promising him and his people victorie against their enimies on the day nert following; and for an assured token thereof, he told him that there should appeare ouer the Pictish host in the element such a fashioned crosse, as he sometime suffered vpon. Hungus awakened, and beholding the skie, saw the crosse, as the apostle had told him: wherevpon calling his people together, he not onelie shewed them the same sight, but also declared vnto them what vision had appeared vnto him in his sleepe; willing them therefore to be of good comfort, sith there was cause of such assured hope to haue assistance from aboue against their cruell enimies.

Athelstane is slaine.

Killstone ford.

A dreame.

The crosse of saint Andrew.

The signe of the foresaid crosse was not onelie seene of the Picts and Scots being there with them in aid, to both their great comforts and gladnesse, but also of the Englishmen to their no lesse discouragement, as they that vnderstood saint Andrew to be patrone and protector of the Scotish and Pictish nations. For it did put such a feare into their hearts, that when they came to the point of ioining, their stomachs so failed them, that with small resistance they were easilie vanquished (as is said) and put to flight. For this so manifest a miracle, after the battell was once ended, and the victorie obteined, Hungus repaired with his people following him, vnto the church of that blessed man saint Regulus, now called saint Andrewes, where they made their offerings with humble deuotion vnto the reliches of the apostle, rendering thanks vnto him for their victorie with deuout praier after the accustomed maner. They vowed there also at the verie same time (as the fame goeth) that from thenceforth as well they as their posteritie in time of war should weare a crosse of saint Andrew for their badge and cognisance. Which ordinance continuallie after remained with the Picts, and after their destruction and extermination with the Scots euen vnto our time. The bodie of Athelstane was buried in the nert church vnto the place where the field was fought, howbeit, some haue left in writing that his head was cut off from the bodie, and brought to Inchgarue, where being set vpon a stake, it was shewed to the people in reproch of his iniurious enterprise.

Saint Andrew the Scotishmens patrone.

Saint Regule.

why Scotish men vse saint Andrews crosse in warfare.

Athelstan his buriall.

Hungus the Pictish king to shew himselfe yet more mindfull of the due honoring of the holie apostle, by whose aid he acknowledged himselfe to haue got the victorie aforesaid, not onelie augmented his church with new bildings & needfull reparations, but increased the number of priests for the celebrating of diuine seruice; he also gaue manie rich and costlie ornaments vnto the same, as chalices, cruets, basons, & such like. Moreouer, he caused to be made the images of Christ and his 12 apostles of fine gold and siluer, which he bestowed there; with a case also of beaten gold, therein to inclose the relickes of saint Andrew. And besides this, he ordeined that the spiritualtie should haue the tenths of all increase of goods: as of corne, cattels, herbage, and such like through his realme: and further that spirituall persons should not be compelled to answere before anie temporall iudge. But these beneficiall priuiledges the Pictish clergie did not long inioy. For Feredeth that was the fourth, which reigned amongest the Picts after Hungus, toke from them all such gifts as this Hungus had giuen them, and further ordeined to the derogation of their priuileges, that they should answere for secular crimes afore secular magistrats; and that liuing vpon their former reuenues, souldiers & men of war should inioy the other which Hungus, had so frelie bestowed vpon them.

Hungus repareth saint Andrews church.

Images of gold and siluer.

Tenths to be giuen to the clergie.

Feredeth taketh from the clergie their priuileges. And why not.

Priests to be tried afore secular iudges.

The nobles of the land mainteined Feredeth in his doings, reckoning all that spirituall persons had to be but cast away, which was the cause (as some thought) that their kingdome came into such ruine, as shortlie after followed. There be some chronicles that write how these things, which are mentioned of Hungus, and Athelstane, chanced not altogither about

about this ſeaſon, but Hector Boetius followeth Veremond in moſt of his accounts, as the author whom he taketh to be moſt certeine, as well for the account of the time as in the courſe of the whole hiſtorie. And for that we meane not to preſume wholie to derogat the ſame Boetius his credit, we haue not much diſſented from him, but rather followed him in moſt places, leauing ſuch doubts as may be worthilie put forth of that which he writeth, vnto the conſideration of the diligent reader, ſith it is not our purpoſe to impugne, but rather to report what we find written by others, except now and then by the way to admoniſh the reader of ſome vnlikelihods (as the ſame doth ſéeme to vs and others) and happilie not without iuſt occaſion.

But now to our purpoſe. As well Hungus king of Picts, as Achaius king of Scots, after the ouerthrow and death of Athelſtane, liued with their people in good quiet and reſt: for the Engliſhmen attempted nothing againſt the Scots and Picts afterwards, during the time of their reignes. At length Achaius, after he had reigned 32 yeares, departed this life, in the yeare of our Lord 819, which was about the firſt yeare of Hungus his dominion ouer the Picts. His bodie was buried in Colmekill, according to the maner of kings amongeſt his predeceſſors. In the dais of this Achaius (beſide Clement and others, of whome before ye haue heard) liued biſhop Gerualdus a notable preacher in Murrey land, alſo biſhop Glacian with Modan and Medan two brethren, all doctors and men of ſingular knowledge, in reſpect whereof they were had in great credit and eſtimation with the people.

Achaius departeth out of this life. 819.

Conuall.

Conuall ſucceedeth Achaius. Loue and amitie.

AFter the deceaſſe of Achaius, Conuall that was his vncles ſonne Dongall, the brother of king Ethſine, ſucceeded in gouernement of the Scotiſh kingdome. Betwixt this Conuall and Hungus the Piciſh king, there was wonderfull loue and amitie ſhewed, both of them ſtudieng by all means how to maintéine the ancient league and alliance betwixt their people, whereupon inſued great wealth and quietneſſe vnto both their kingdoms. Finallie Hungus waſted with a continuall conſumption deceaſſed, deliuering vp his kingdome into the hands of his ſonne Dorſtolorgus, and that in the preſence of king Conuall, who likewiſe liued not long after him, for in the firſt yeare of his reigne he likewiſe departed out of this world, by force of naturall ſickneſſe.

Hungus falleth in a conſumption. Conuall deceaſſeth alſo. 802. Io. Ma.

Dongall.

Dongall ſucceedeth after Conuall.

DOngall the ſonne of king Soluathius was receiued to ſucceed by the common conſent of the ſtates of all the realme, a man of ſingular wiſdome and great knowledge. But for that he was ſomewhat ſeuere in puniſhing the miſordered behauiours of the nobilitie, & miſgouerned youth of his realme, diuers of the nobles conſpired againſt him, forcing one Alpine the ſonne of Achaius to make claime to the crowne; who perceiuing there was no remedie, but either to follow their minds, or elſe to be murthered amongeſt them, conſented to go with them into Argile, where they purpoſed to crowne him king ſitting vpon the chaire of marble, according to the manner. Howbeit, at his comming into that countrie, he found means to conuey himſelfe from amongeſt them, leaſt through his means the quiet ſtate of his countrie ſhould be brought into trouble: and forthwith being eſcaped out of their hands with a few other that were priuie to his intention, he maketh all the haſt he could, till he came to the preſence of Dongall, who receiued him in moſt ioifull wiſe, promiſing that if it ſhould be thought neceſſarie by the ſtates of the realme, he would gladlie reſigne vnto him his whole crowne and dignitie, deſirous of nothing more than to ſée the aduancement of the houſe of Achaius. Such (ſaith he) were the merits of that famous prince towards the preſeruation of the Scotiſh common wealth, that it were too much wickednеſſe to go about to defraud his iſſue of the inheritance of the realme.

A ſeuere puniſher of malefactors.

Alpine conſtrained by the nobles, taketh vpon him to be crowned king.

Alpine vnwilling to receiue the crowne fled.

Alpine his excuſe vnto Dongall.

Alpine was ioifullie receiued of Dongall.

Alpine giuing the king moſt hartie thanks, beſought him to continue in the adminiſtration, drawing God and the world to witneſſe, that he minded nothing leſſe than to be about to claime the gouernement of the kingdome ſo long as he liued. For as touching his offenſe, in that he had gathered an armie, and led the ſame into Argile, it was not his fault, but the conſpirators which had forced him thereto, being determined to haue ſlaine him, if he had not conſented vnto their deſires. Within three yeares after, there came meſſengers from the rebels to excuſe themſelues alſo, & to put all the fault in Alpine: but king Dongall giuing ſmall credit to their forged words, gathereth his power, and maketh ſuch ſpéed towards the place where he vnderſtood the ſaid rebels were aſſembled togither, that he was vpon them yer they had anie knowledge of his ſetting forwards. So that before they could make anie ſhift to eſcape out of danger, which they went about to do, they were apprehended, and immediatlie condemned and put to death. Which execution put other preſumptuous perſons in feare, ſo that the ſtate of the realme remained afterward a great deale more in quiet.

Dongall maketh an armie againſt the rebels.

Whileſt things paſſed thus in Scotland, Eganus the ſecond ſonne of Hungus the Piciſh king, found means to murder his brother Dorſtolorgus, to the end he might reigne in his place: and through ſupport of ſome of the nobilitie he atteined to his purpoſe. And for that he would aſſure himſelfe the more firmelie in the eſtate, he frankelie beſtowed his fathers treaſure amongeſt his lords and chiefeſt peers of his realme, and toke to wife Brenna the king of Mercia his daughter, whom his brother the forenamed Dorſtolorgus had maried, that thereby he might aſſwage the ſaid king of Mercia his diſpleaſure, which otherwiſe he ſhould happilie haue conceiued for the death of his other ſonne in law the ſame Dorſtolorgus. His feare was great on eth ſide, and therefore had ſmall affiance in anie perſon, doubting leſt one or other ſhould ſéeke to reuenge his brothers death. He durſt neuer go anie waies forth abroad without a gard of men of warre about him, whome he had wone & made his faſt friends by his paſſing great largeſſe and bountifull liberalitie. At length yet, his wife to reuenge hir former huſbands death, found means to ſtrangle him as he lay one night faſt aſléepe, hauing dronke a little too much in the euening before, and in this ſort he came to his end, after he had reigned much what about the ſpace of two yeares.

Eganus murdereth his brother.

Eganus liueth in feare.

Eganus is ſtrangled of his quéene.

Thus both Eganus & Dorſtolorgus being made away, without leauing anie iſſue behind them, forſomuch as now there remained none of the poſteritie of Hungus to ſucceed in gouernement of the Piciſh kingdome, Alpine nephue to the ſaid Hungus, by his ſiſter Ferguſiana, with the aduiſe of king Dongall, made claime thereunto, and thervpon ſent his meſſengers vnto the lords and péeres of the Piciſh dominion, to require them on his behalfe, that he might be receiued to the gouernement of the kingdome due vnto him by lawfull inheritance, as they well vnderſtood: and that if they throughlie conſidered of the thing, they might perceiue it was the proviſion of almightie God, that for want of lawfull ſucceſſion lineallie deſcended from Hungus, now to ſucceed in the eſtate of the Piciſh kingdome, by this meanes both the nations Scots and Picts ſhould be ioined in one, to the abolithing of all ſuch mortall

An ambaſſador ſent vnto the Picts.

warres, as by diſcord and contention might ariſe betwixt thoſe two people, in like ſort as before time there had done, to the great perill and danger of both their vtter ruines.

The Picts chooſe Feredeth to be king.

The Picttiſh nobilitie, hauing knowledge that theſe meſſengers with ſuch kind of meſſage ſhould ſhortlie come from Alpine, with generall conſent and whole agreement, chooſe one Feredeth to be their king, a man of great authoritie amongſt them, ſuppoſing this to be a meane to defeat Alpines title, and that thereby he ſhould ſéeme to be excluded from any further claime. Within few daies after, came vnto Camelon the Scotiſh ambaſſadors, where Feredeth with his nobles at that preſent were aſſembled: they being admitted therefore to declare their meſſage, when they began to enter into their matter of the right which Alpine had to the kingdome of the Picts, the people would not ſuffer them to proceed anie further therein, but began to make ſuch an vprore, that to appeaſe the noiſe, Feredeth himſelfe toke vpon him to make anſwer vnto the ambaſſadors: and thervpon commanding ſilence, declared vnto them that the Picts neither might nor ought to admit any ſtranger to reigne ouer them: for there was an ancient law among them, of moſt high authoritie, that in caſe of neceſſitie they might tranſpoſe the crowne from houſe to houſe: and further, that by the ſame law there was an ordenance decreed, that if anie man were once made and created king, he might not be depoſed during his naturall life. And therfore though it were ſo, that Alpine were the nephue of Hungus by his ſiſter Ferguſiana: yet bicauſe he was a ſtranger borne, and conſidering withall, that the people by their full authoritie had tranſlated the regall adminiſtration vnto an other houſe, of the which one was alredie proclamed and inueſted king, there was no reaſon now, why Alpine ſhould make anie further claime or demand vnto the kingdome.

The ambaſſadors come into the court.

King Feredeth his anſwer vnto the Scotiſh ambaſſadors.

Vpon the meſſengers returne home with this anſwer, Dongall ſhewed himſelfe to be in no ſmall chaſe, that the Picts ſhould thus go about by ſuch ſubtill arguments and contriued inuentions to defraud Alpine of his right. And therevpon the ſecond time he ſent his ambaſſadors vnto them, requiring them either to doo him reaſon without anie further ſurmiſed cauillations; either elſe within three moneths ſpace after to looke for open warres at the Scotiſhmens hands. Theſe ambaſſadors paſſing forth on their iourneie, at their approching vnto Camelon, certeine ſergeants at armes met them, and did forbid them to enter the citie: alſo they further commanded them in name of Feredeth their king to auoid out of the confines of his dominions within foure daies ſpace, vpon paine of death.

Dongall his diſpleaſure with the Picts anſwer.

Ambaſſadors ſent againe.

Ambaſſadors are not receiued.

The ambaſſadors being terrefied with ſuch maner of inhibitions, they went no further: but yet according as they had in commiſſion, they pronounced the warre in the name of Alpine and Dongall, requiring thoſe that thus came to méet them, to giue ſignification therof vnto their maiſter Feredeth, and to the whole Pictiſh nation; and ſo returned home the ſame way they came. Then did the Scotiſh lords repaire vnto Dongall, who at the ſame time laie in Carrike caſtell, and there taking counſell for the maintenance of theſe warres, not one was found amongeſt them which offered not to ſpend both life, lands, & goods in Alpines iuſt quarell. By this means was great preparation made on both ſides for the warre, the Scots minding to ſet Alpine in his right, and the Picts determining not to receiue any prince of a ſtrange nation to reigne ouer them. But whileſt Dongall goeth about to prouide all things readie for his enterprize, he chanced to be drowned in the riuer of Speie, as he was about to paſſe the ſame in a boate. This miſhap chanced him in the firſt yéere of his reigne, and after the birth of our Sauiour 830. His bodie was buried in Colmekill, with all funerall obſequies. 930.

Warre is pronounced vnto the Picts.

The Scots willingly giue themſelues vnto the war.

Alpine.

Alpine crowned king of Scotland.

After Dongall was Alpine receiued to the crowne and gouernement of the realme, by the generall voices of all the people, whoſe chiefeſt ſtudie was vpon his firſt entring into the eſtate, to follow his ſute touching his title to the Pictiſh kingdome: and herevpon with all diligence preparing a mightie hoſt and all other things (which were thought requiſite for the furthering of his enterprize) he paſſed forth towards Angus, not ſtaieng till he came to the caſtell of Forfair, which he beſieged; but the third day after his comming thither, Feredeth the Pictiſh king with a great armie of his ſubiects aranged in good order of battell, came and preſented himſelfe in ſight of the Scots, whervpon immediatlie nére vnto the towne of Reſkennoth they met, and ioining there in battell, fought right fiercelie. At the firſt encounter the right wing of the Scotiſh armie was nére hand ouerthrowne; but Fenedocht lieutenant of Athole came ſpédilie to the ſuccors with 400 of his countriemen, and reſtored the battell on the Scotiſh ſide: whereby inſued a right ſore bickering with great ſlaughter, and no ſigne of ſhrinking on either part, by meanes whereof it ſéemed doubtfull for a long ſpace vnto whether ſide the victorie would incline.

Alpine with an armie inuadeth Pictland.

Fenedocht the thane of Athole.

At length Feredeth perceiuing the middle ward of his battell a litle to ſhrinke, ſpédilie preaſſed forth to ſuccor the ſame with a choſen companie of ſuch as he had appointed to attend him: but entring thus with great violence amongſt the thickeſt preaſe of his enimies, he was cloſed in on each ſide, and excluded ſo from the reſidue of his owne people, that hée could neither returne the ſame way he entered, neither yet by anie other, ſo that he with thoſe that were with him, perceiuing their liues to be in preſent danger, did caſt themſelues into a ring, determining yet to reuenge their owne deaths, whervpon rather wearied with continuall fight, than vanquiſhed, or with any feare oppreſſed, they were ſlaine all the whole number of them, togither with Feredeth their king. Yet herewith did not the other Picts giue ouer the battell, ſo long as anie daie light was on the ſkie. So that the night in the end parted them in ſunder, both the armies withdrawing to their camps with ſmall ioy or triumph, by reaſon of the great ſlaughter which had béene made on both ſides.

Feredeth is ſlaine.

The night parted the armies.

The capteins of the Picts weieng with themſelues the loſſe of their king, and great multitude of their men, thought it not beſt to abide any longer in the field: wherefore leauing their wounded people behind them, with all their baggage in the campe, they fled incontinentlie the ſame night, ſome into one place, & ſome into another, where they thought beſt for their owne wealth and ſafetie. The Scots had fled immediatlie likewiſe, but that word was brought them as they were about to depart, how the Picts were gone alreadie, and had left their campe void of men of warre to defend the ſame. Whervpon the Scots taried till it was day, not farre from the place of the battell. In the morning there were certeine horſſemen appointed to ride abroad, and to view the field, thereby to vnderſtand whether the Picts ment anie deceit by their departure, as by laieng of ſome ambuſhments, or otherwiſe: but vpon the returne of thoſe horſſemen, when it was once knowne how there was no ſuch matter, but that they were fled in déed, the Scots reioiſing thereat, fell to and gathered the ſpoile of the field, diuiding the ſame amongſt themſelues according to their accuſtomed order.

The Picts fled by night.

The Scots diuide the ſpoile.

Alpine

Alpine himſelfe commanded the bodie of his enimie Feredeth to be laid in chriſtian buriall not farre from Forfair. After this cauſing the muſters of his people to be taken, he found that he had loſt the third part of his armie in that mortall and cruell battell, and thereupon brake vp his campe for that time, licencing thoſe that were left aliue to returne vnto their homes. This battell being fought in the firſt yeare of the reignes of the two foreſaid kings, weakned the forces of both nations, ſo farre forth that the Scots doubting to bring the realme into danger of vtter ruine (if they ſhould commit their whole puiſſance eftſoones to the hazard of another foughten field) determined to purſue the warre by making of incurſions and inrodes onelie vpon their enimies, ſo to vex the Picts, and to bring them vnto reaſon, if it were poſſible. And ſo much verely the Scotiſhmen did by ſuch their continuall rodes & incurſions which they made into Angus, that the countrie was left void and deſolate of all the inhabitants.

Feredeth is buried.

The Scots determine to warre onlie with incurſions.

Neither did Brudus the ſonne of Feredeth, (whome the Picts had choſen to ſucceed after his father in the kingdome) find anie ſpeedie redreſſe to withſtand thoſe dailie inuaſions thus made by the Scots vpon his countries and ſubiects. For he was but a ſlouthfull perſon, and verie negligent in his office, whereupon he was had in deriſion of his owne people, who in the end ſlue him amongſt themſelues before he had reigned fullie the terme of one whole yeare. Then ſucceeded Keneth, the ſecond ſonne of Feredeth, with no better hap or end than his brother. For gathering togither an armie of his ſubiects, and comming with them into Angus, he came no ſooner within ſight of his enimies, but that caſting off his armor, he fled incontinentlie, leauing his people in the field; and for that his haſte, was ſlaine by a plowman that met him by chance, and knew him not, but yet perceiuing how he had fled from his companie, and therefore deſerued not to haue anie other fauour. His people ſeeing themſelues deſtitute of their head capteine and gouernor, retired from their enimies, keeping themſelues in order of battell without anie further attempt.

Brudus ſucceedeth his father Feredeth

The Picts ſlue their ſloth full king.

Keneth king of the Picts.

The king caſting off his armor, fleeth.

He was ſlaine by a plowman.

After this infortunate end of Keneth, the Picts choſe to their king one Brudus, a man of a ſtout and manlike ſtomach, who immediatlie vpon his entring into the eſtate, comming into Angus (which region the Scots had made waſte) catched there certeine Scotiſh robbers, and forthwith hanged them vp vpon gibets. After this, he ſent forth his ambaſſadors vnto king Alpine for reformation of all iniuries and wrongs betwixt the two nations, and to haue the ancient league renewed betwixt them. Alpine and the Scotiſh lords, hauing quicklie aduiſed what to anſwer, declared vnto the Pictiſh ambaſſadors plainelie, that they would not heare anie treatie for peace, till the Picts had deliuered the kingdome vnto the right heire. Brudus vnderſtanding by this anſwer, that the Scots would ſtill follow the warres againſt the Picts; to be the better able to withſtand their malice, he purpoſed to procure the friendſhip of the Engliſhmen, to haue their aid againſt the Scots. He ſent therefore his ambaſſadors with a great ſumme of monie vnto Edwine king of Northumberland, requiring him of his fauour, and to haue ſome number of his people for his wages to ſerue him againſt the Scots.

Brudus king of the Picts.

Brudus ſent vnto Alpine for renewing their league.

Alpine refuſeth anie treatie of peace.

Brudus ſendeth an ambaſſador vnto Edwine king of England for aid, with a ſumme of monie.

Edwine receiuing the monie, promiſed to come himſelfe with a mightie armie, at what time & place Brudus ſhould appoint, to go againſt the Scots in defenſe of him and his ſubiects the Picts. Manie of the Picts reioiſed greatlie, that they ſhould haue aid thus of the Engliſhmen, hoping thereby to haue aſſured victorie of their aduerſaries. Other miſtruſted not a little the Engliſhmens offers, by reaſon of the old enimitie betwixt the Picts and them. In this meane ſeaſon the Scots take and ſeize vpon all the countrie of Angus, euen from the mounteine of Granzebene vnto the riuer of Taie, whereof Brudus being certified, ſendeth a poſt with all ſpeed vnto king Edwine king of Northumberland, requiring him to ſend to his aid a power of Engliſhmen, to helpe to reſiſt the Scots, which at that preſent inuaded his countrie. To which demand Edwine made this anſwer, that he was not onelie troubled with ciuill war made againſt him by other Engliſhmen, but alſo had beene requeſted by Lewes ſurnamed Pius, as then French king, in no wiſe to indamage the Scots his confederats, ſo that for that yeare preſent he might not conuenientlie ſend to him anie ſuccours, but if he would defer the warres till the nert yeare, he ſhould haue the beſt helpe that he were able to ſhew him.

Engliſhmens aſſiſtance.

The Scots take Angus.

Brudus ſendeth vnto Edwine for aid.

Edwine deſereth his aid.

Brudus perceiuing himſelfe thus mocked and deluded by the Engliſhmen, commanded by ſolemne ſummons, that all ſuch of his ſubiects, as were able to beare armor, ſhould aſſemble in nether Caliden within eight daies after, with conuenable proviſion of vittels, there to know his pleaſure. His commandement was obeied: ſo that a mightie armie of men at the day and place appointed came togither, which being muſtered, they ſtreitwaies remoue vnto Calidon caſtell, now called Dunkeld, where they paſſe the riuer of Taie, and ſo enter into Angus, not without ſome difficultie: but being once gotten ouer, they march forthwith towards the place where they vnderſtood their enimies did lie. Brudus the night before the day in the which he thought they ſhould haue battell, by the aduiſe of certeine expert warriours, which he had with him, appointed all the horſes that were in the campe, ſeruing for burden, to be beſtowed amongſt the women, lackies, and coiſtrels, part of them being clad in armor, and part in white linnen, with long poles in their hands like to ſpeares and iauelins. Amongſt them alſo he ordeined an hundred horſſemen to be placed, whome he made priuie as then to his intention, by whoſe leading that feat which ſhould be wrought in this behalfe, was to be atchiued. Theſe he cauſed to lie couertlie within a wood neere vnto the place where the battell ſhould be fought, giuing them in commandement not to ſhew themſelues till the battell were begun.

Brudus being deceiued of the Engliſhmen, called his owne ſubiects to the warre, aſſembling them at the foot of Calidon wood.

Brudus entreth into Angus with an armie.

A wonderfull policie vſed by Brudus.

King Alpine all this while held himſelfe in a caſtell which ſtood vpon an hill, a little from Dundee, being now decaied, ſo that little thereof remaineth to be ſeene at this day. Vpon the north ſide of the hill, there lieth a great large plaine, compaſſed on ech ſide with mounteins, as then full of woods & launds, but now for the moſt part bare and without anie trees or buſhes. In this plaine were the Scots incamped. Alpine beholding forth of the caſtell, how the Picts approched to giue battell, got him into the campe, & erhorting his people to ſhew themſelues valiant, placed them in araie. The Picts no leſſe deſirous to fight than their gouernors would haue wiſhed them, began the battell before they had commandement, with ſuch violence, that the right wing of the Scots was ſore diſordered. But Alpine perceiuing that, came ſpedilie to their ſuccours, greatlie reprouing them for their faintneſſe of courage. To be ſhort, he did ſo much to imbolden them, that by his means the fight was renewed in moſt cruell wiſe: inſomuch that thoſe which before were put backe, began to winne ground againe, and to beate downe their enimies verie fiercelie.

The incamping of Alpine his armie.

Rathlie the Picts begin the battell.

But herewith did the counterfet troupe of horſſemen, which was hid in the wood ſuddenlie come forth, and ſhewed themſelues vpon the backe halfe of the Scotiſh

The monie is receiued and aid promiſed.

The Picts ſome do reioiſe, and ſome miſtruſt the

The Scots being deceiued with a counterfet troupe of horſſemen fled.

Scotiſhmen, appéring in ſight to be an huge number, & farre more than they were in déed: with which ſight the Scots being brought into a ſudden feare, leaſt they ſhould be compaſſed about with multitude of enimies, they brake their arraie, threw off their armor, and tooke them to their fét, ſo to eſcape and ſaue themſelues by flight. Thus few were ſlaine in the battell, but a great number died in the chaſe, & were beaten downe on ech ſide as they were ouertaken by the Picts. Alpine himſelfe was taken, and hauing his hands bound behind him, was led to the next towne, and there beheaded. The place beareth the name of him vnto this day, being called Paſalpine. His head alſo was ſet vpon a pole, and borne vnto Camelon, and there ſet vp vpon one of the higheſt turrets of the wall. The Scots that eſcaped from this ſorowfull ouerthrow, got them with all ſpéd into Argile, where they inueſted Kenneth the ſonne of Alpine king of their realme. This was in the yére of our Lord 834, and the fourth yére after Alpine entred firſt into the eſtate.

King Alpine taken by his enimies and after beheaded

Kenneth the ſonne of Alpine inueſted king of Scotland.

834.

The Picts hauing atchiued this great and ioifull victorie, aſſembled at Camelon by commandement of their king, where cauſing a ſolemne proceſſion to be made, in rendering thanks to almightie God for their good ſucceſſe in their paſſed iournie: they take a generall oth vpon the goſpell booke, that from thenceforth they would not ceaſſe to make the Scots war, till they had vtterlie deſtroied the race of them: and herewith ordeined a law, that if anie man made mention of anie peace or league to be had with the Scots, he ſhould loſe his head for it. There were indeed ſome ancient perſonages amongſt them, that ſpake againſt this inſolent outrage of the people, alledging that in time of proſperous ſucceſſe men ought to vſe a modeſtie: but certeine youthfull perſons offended with ſuch graue aduiſe, thruſt the authors thereof out of the church, within the which they were as then aſſembled. The Scots being certified héereof, were nothing hérewith diſcouraged, but rather put in good hope of better ſucceſſe, ſith their enimies abuſed themſelues thus in time of felicitie.

The Picts giue thanks vnto God for their victorie. They make a vow to continue the warre.

The good counſell of graue men is deſpiſed.

The Scots are animated.

The nert ſummer after, the Picts aſſembled their power togither, and ſetting forward towards the Scots, thorough a light occaſion they fell at variance amongſt themſelues, and fought with ſuch hatred togither, that the king was not able to appeaſe the fraie, till night parted them in ſunder. Then calling the lords afore him, he aſſaied alwaies to haue agréed the parties, but when he ſaw it would not be, in the morning he gaue them licence to depart euerie man to his owne home, breaking off his iournie for that time. Bzudus liued not paſt thre moneths after, for thorough griefe that things went not forward as he wiſhed, he fell into a gréeuous diſeaſe, and finallie thereof died. After whoſe deceaſſe, the Picts choſe his brother named Druſken, to ſucced in gouernment of the kingdome, who aplied his whole indeuour vpon his firſt entring into the eſtate, to appeaſe the ciuill diſcord amongſt his ſubiects.

The Picts fall at variance within themſelues.

Bzudus died.

Druſken K. ouer the Picts

But whileſt he was thus buſilie occupied about the ſame, there were certeine Scots, which ſore diſdained to vnderſtand that the head of their late king ſhould remaine vnburied, in ſuch reprochfull ſort amongſt their enimies. Wherevpon hauing perfect knowledge of the Pictiſh tong, they feined themſelues to be merchantmen of that countrie, & comming vnto Camelon, watched their time, till they found meanes in the night ſeaſon to ſteale to the wals, and ſecretlie taking awaie the head, eſcaped with the ſame home into their owne countrie.

The head of king Alpine is ſtolne, and ſolemnlie buried with the bodie.

This act of theirs was not a little commended: and ſo now the head of king Alpine being recouered, was cloſed in a ledden coffin, and Kenneth himſelfe, hauing in his companie a great number of his nobles, went with it ouer into Colmekill, where he buried it in the abbeie, amongſt the ſepultures of his elders, togither with the reſidue of the bodie in verie ſolemne wiſe, as apperteined. And further, thoſe perſons that had put their liues in aduenture to fetch the ſame head from the wals of Camelon, were by Kenneth rewarded with rich gifts and lands in perpetuitie, to remaine to them and to their heires for euer. After this, Kenneth deuiſing for the ſuertie of his ſubiects, furniſhed all the holds and caſtels on the frontiers of his enimies with men and munition, according as he thought expedient: and moreouer tooke order, that all the youth of the realme ſhould be in a readineſſe vpon an houres warning, to go forth againſt the Picts, if they attempted anie new inuaſions.

Kenneth fortified the realme.

But the Scotiſh lords had no great luſt to take anie enterpriſe in hand eftſoones againſt the Picts, remembring how infortunatelie they had ſped the laſt time: ſo that for the ſpace of thre yéres there was no great exploit atchiued, ſaue certeine roads and incurſions, which both the nations continuallie vſed to make one vpon an other, as time and occaſion ſerued. At length king Kenneth being verie deſirous to be reuenged of the Picts, for the death of his father king Alpine, and other iniuries by them done and attempted againſt the Scotiſh nation, in the fourth yére of his reigne, he aſſembled the peeres and chiefeſt nobles of his realme, truſting to perſuade them to aid him in all ſuch enterpriſes as he ment to take in hand againſt the Picts, whome he purpoſed to purſue with open warres, till he had them at his pleaſure. But calling his lords and peeres thus aſſembled on a day before him, and going earneſtlie about to moue them to the warres, he could ſtir them no more to his purpoſe, than if he had beene in hand to haue counſelled them vnto that which in no wiſe had apperteined vnto their duties: which their lacke of ſtomach, Kenneth perceiuing, he began to deuiſe a prettie ſhift, whereby to induce them to his accord.

Kenneth called his nobles to reuenge his fathers death.

A prettie ſhift deuiſed by the king to perſuade the nobilitie.

Firſt therefore, breaking vp the aſſemblie for the ſame day, he commanded that they ſhould come togither againe on the nert morow, to conſult further for the ſtate of the realme, as they ſhould ſée cauſe. The ſame euening alſo he had them all to ſupper, which being prolonged till farre in the night, it was late before they went to bed, ſo that being ouerwatched, when they were once gotten to reſt, they were ſone brought into a ſound ſléepe. Now had the king appointed for euerie one of their chambers one man apparelled in garments prétilie deuiſed and made of fiſh ſkins vnſkaled, bearing in one of their hands a ſtaffe of ſuch rotten wood as ſhineth in the night, and in their other hand a great ore horne, to the end that vttering their words thorough the ſame, the ſound of their voices ſhould ſéeme farre differing from the vſuall ſpéech of man.

Thus appointed in the dead of the night, they enter the chambers to ech of them aſſigned, where (as is ſaid) the lords laie faſt aſléepe, who being at the firſt as it were halfe awakened, were wonderfullie amazed at the ſtrangeneſſe of the ſight (doubting whether it were but a dreame, or ſome true and vnfeined viſion.) Hérewith alſo were heard certeine ſeuerall voices, far greater than thoſe of men, declaring that they were meſſengers ſent from almightie God vnto the Scotiſh nobilitie, to command them to obeie their king, for his requeſt was iuſt: the Pictiſh kingdome due vnto him by rightfull heritage, & ought to be recouered from that people, which for their great offenſes and ſins towards almightie God, ſhould ſhortlie come to vtter deſtruction: ſuch was the determinate pleaſure of his diuine maieſtie,

Of ſuch ſights there were manie in thoſe dates: and oftentimes no doubt eſtéemed to be heauenlie viſions in déed.

teitie, against the which night neither counsell nor puissance of man be able to resist.

When the counterfeited messengers had thus made an end of their words, they sillie hid their staues vnder their innermost garments, and therewith quicklie conueied their vppermost vestures made of fish skales (as I haue said) into their bosoms, in such slight and nimble wise, that it seemed these visions had suddenlie vanished awaie. Those lords that had seene these sights, laie still for that night, greatlie musing on the matter. In the morning being got vp, and assembled in the councell chamber, they declared to ech other what they had seene and heard in the night passed. And for that all their visions which they had seene by ech others report, were in euerie behalfe like, and nothing differing one from an other, they beleeued verelie it was some celestiall oracle & message sent from God. Therefore presentlie they go vnto the king, declaring vnto him how they had beene admonished from aboue, to continue the warres with all their forces against the Picts.

The lords declare their vision vnto the king.

The king told them he had seene the like vision, but they ought to keepe it close, least by glorieng too much in the fauour shewed by almightie God toward them, they might happilie displease his diuine maiestie, which otherwise they might perceiue was readie in their aid. Then finallie might the vision be published, when thorough his fauourable assistance, the warres were brought to a luckie end. This aduise of the king was well liked of them all, and commandement giuen, that all maner of prouision should be prepared with all speed for an armie to be set forth into Pictland. The lords going busilie about to prouide themselues of all things necessarie, mustered their men in all parts, so that there was leuied a greater host than had beene seene in those parties of long time before. When the whole power was come together, Kenneth marched forth with the same, entring by great violence into the Pictish borders about Sterling.

The answer of king Kenneth.

Kenneth entred into Sterlingshire.

Drusken the king of Picts aduertised hereof, and hauing his armie in a readinesse both of Picts and such Englishmen as he had reteined, to serue him for his wages, fetcheth a compasse about, and passing by the Scotish armie in the night, incampeth betwixt them and home, insomuch that the day did no sooner appeare, but the one part destrous to be in hand with the other, without token of trumpet, or commandement of capteine, they rushed togither most fiercelie. The hastie speed of the Picts to ioine, put them to no small disaduantage; but the departure of the Englishmen, withdrawing themselues aside to the next mounteine, most of all discouraged them: for the Scots therwith giuing a shout, declared themselues to be highlie recomforted with that sight. Drusken in all hast sent vnto those Englishmen a messenger, willing them with large promises of reward to returne to his aid: but the Englishmen answered, that their vse was not to fight without order and commandement of their generall, and that the Picts like vnskilfull men had cast awaie themselues to be slaine by the enimies hand, where it apperteined vnto warlike knowledge to auoid the battell, when no hope of victorie appeared.

Drusken hastilie inuaded his enimies.

The Englishmen fled.

Drusken sendeth to the Englishmen.

The middle ward of the Picts seeing themselues left naked on the one side, and assailed on the backs; whereas the Englishmen should haue kept their ground and defended them, they began to shrinke: which the Scots perceiuing, stroke on the more fiercelie, till at length the Picts not able to withstand their force, fell to running awaie. They made their course towards the water of Forth, which was not farre from the place of the battell, where being ouertaken, they were beaten downe & slaine in great numbers: for Kenneth gaue commandement that they should spare none of the Picts nation, neither gentleman nor other, that fell into their hands. The Englishmen whilest the Scots and Picts were thus occupied in the fight and chase, withdrew homeward with all speed; and by reason of the mounteins which they had to passe, that take awaie the sight of them from the Scots, they escaped into their countrie without anie pursute. Drusken himselfe so soone as he perceiued how the field went against him, got him to his horsse, which he had appointed to be readie for him at hand vpon all occasions, and so escaped out of danger with a few other in his companie.

The Picts are vanquished.

The Englishmen escape.

Drusken escaped by flight

The Scots returning from the chase, remained in the place of the battell all night, keeping strong watch about their campe, for doubt least the Englishmen had beene lodged in some secret place nere by to haue set vpon them at vnwares, if they might haue seene anie aduantage; but in the morning when it was knowne how they were quite gone their waies, and returned into their countrie (as before ye haue heard) then was the spoile of the field and Pictish campe gathered and bestowed amongst the souldiers, after the ancient custome of that nation. And then were they all licenced to depart euerie man to his home, with thanks for their seruice and paines in this iournie so manfullie imploied. Within few daies after, the Pictish king Drusken sent his ambassadors vnto king Kenneth to sue for peace. Kenneth was contented to heare him, and promised to grant a peace, so they would surrender into his hands the gouernement of their kingdome due vnto him by right of inheritance. But this condition being vtterlie refused of the Picts, was the cause that the warre was eftsoones renewed with more cruelties than before.

The Picts sue for peace.

The yeere next insuing this battell, Kenneth got Mernes, Angus, and Fife into his hands, furnishing all the castels and holds with men, munition, and victuels. But whilest he went about to subdue the countries about Sterling, word was brought him that such as he left thus in garison in those countries, were betraied by the inhabitants, and slaine euerie mothers sonne. Kenneth wonderfullie kindled in wrath for the newes, left off his treatie, which then he had in hand with the people of Menteth and Sterlingshire for their submission, and returned in great hast towards Fife, where being arriued, he put all to the fire and sword, not leauing one aliue of the Pictish nation within all those quarters. The like cruelties was shewed through the whole countries of Mernes and Angus, for an example to other to beware how they falsified their faiths once giuen by waie of allegiance.

Kenneth getteth Mernes, Angus, and Fife.

Fife is put to the fire and sword.

Mernes and Angus is cruellie punished.

In the meane time that Kenneth with his Scots raged in such wise through those countries, Drusken assembling all the power of his countries, came forth into the field to meet the Scots, meaning either to put them backe out of the confines of his dominion, either else to die with honor in the attempt thereof. Thus passing through the countrie, at length he came vnto Scone, where afterwards stood a famous abbie of chanons of saint Augustines order, and here he found Kenneth with his armie alreadie incamped. The nert day, when both parties were redie to haue giuen battell, Drusken wishing rather to aske peace whilest his power was yet in safetie, than after he were once vanquished (if such were his misaduenture) to intreat for the same in vaine, sent an herald at armes vnto Kenneth, willing that he might talke with him before he ioined, for that he had to say certeine things, which being followed, might turne to the great benefit and commoditie of both the Scotish and Pictish nations.

Drusken commeth to rescue his people.

Kenneth

Kenneth for that he would not seeme to refuse anie indifferent offers, was contented to come to a communication, and so thereupon both the kings in presence of both their armies arranged in the field readie to fight, came togither in a place appointed, either of them being accompanied with a like number of their nobles, as by the heralds it was accorded. Here Dzuiken with manie reasons going about to persuade peace, shewed how necessarie the same was betwixt the two nations: and againe, how doubtfull fortune was to them that trusted too much in hir vnstedfast fauour: at length he grew to this end, that if Kenneth could be contented to grant a peace, the Picts should release all such right, title and interest as they had in the countries of Mernes, Angus, and Fife, vnto him and his successors the Scotish kings for euer, so that he should make no further claime vnto anie other of those countries which the Picts as yet possessed.

The persuasion of peace by Dzuiken.

Mernes, Angus, and Fife is required of the Picts to release.

Kenneth his answere.

Herevnto Kenneth answered, that he well vnderstood how vnstable fortunes lawes were, but sithens the Picts fought in an vniust quarell, as to defraud the posteritie of their lawfull king Hungus, who latelie reigned amongest them, of the rightfull inheritance of their kingdome, they themselues had iust cause to doubt fortunes chance, where the Scots hauing put vpon lawfull armour, and seeking to atteine that by warre which by other means they could not atteine at the hands of the vniust possessors, they had lesse cause to mistrust hir fauour, & therefore if the Picts were desirous of peace, they ought to cause a surrender to be made of their kingdome into his hands, accordinglie as they well knew it was reason they should. And what commoditie might thereof insue to both nations, being by such means once ioined and vnited into one intire kingdome, he doubted not but they vnderstood it sufficientlie inough. And as for other conditions of peace than this, he told them plainelie there would be none accepted. Thus did the kings depart in sunder, without anie agreement concluded: and being returned to their armies, they make readie to trie the matter by dint of sword.

Kenneth exhorted his people that day to shew themselues men, sith the same should iudge whether the Scots should rule and gouerne the Picts, or the Picts the Scots. With these and manie other effectuall words when he had incouraged his folks to the battell, he diuided them into three wards, as two wings and a mane battell. In euerie of them he set first archers and arcubalisters; and next vnto them pikes and speares, then bilmen and other with such short weapons: last of all, an other multitude with all kind of weapons, as was thought most expedient. The fore ward was committed to the leading of one Bar, a man right skilfull in all warlike knowledge, the second one Dongall gouerned, and the third was led by Donald the kings brother. The king himselfe with a troope of horsemen followed them to succour in all places where he saw need.

The order of the battell.

Then commanded he his trumpets to sound to the battell, which the Scots began with such a chéerefull shout, that the Picts euen vpon the first onset were so amazed, that if Dzuiken had not with comfortable words relieued their fainting stomachs, the most part of them had fled without anie stroke stricken. But being incouraged through the presence of their king, shewing himselfe with chéerefull countenance amongst them, and therewith exhorting them to stand by him at that present, there was fought a right sore and cruell battell betwéene them. The women that were amongest the Picts, of whom there was no small number, speciallie in the right wing, made such a wofull noise, when they beheld the men one kill an other, that they were a more cumbrance to the Picts, than aid, when it came to the point of seruice: by reason whereof that wing was shortlie beaten downe, and put to flight. Which when Kenneth beheld, he set in with his horsemen on the backs of the Picts, now left bare by the running thus away of those in the foresaid wing: and so entring in amongest them, disordred their araie in such wise, that by no means they were able to aid themselues, or come into anie order againe: so that in the end they were faine to throw downe their weapons, and take them to their féete, thereby to escape the danger. Such heaps of slaine men, armour, & weapons laie here & there strewed in the place of the battell, that the Scots were forced in following the chase to breake their araie, so to passe the more spédilie: by means whereof, falling amongest whole bands of the Picts, manie of them were slaine.

Kenneth with the horsemen disordered the Picts araie.

The right wing of the Picts is put to flight.

This mischiefe Kenneth perceiuing, commandeth to sound the retreat, and so gathering his people about their standards, he apointed certeine companies in warlike order to pursue in chase of the enimies, whilest he himselfe with the residue abode still in the place (where the field was fought) all that day and the next night following. The Scotish capteins that were sent to follow the chase, earnestlie executing their kings commandement, made great slaughter of Picts in all places where they might ouertake them. Dzuiken the Pictish king himselfe being pursued to the riuer of Taie, for that he could not passe the same, was there slaine with the whole retinue which he had about him. It is said, that the Scotishmen incountred with the Picts that day at seuen sundrie times, and in seuen sundrie places, and still the victorie abode with the Scots. The day after the battell, such as had followed the chase returned to the campe; where they presented vnto Kenneth their king, the armour and other spoile of Dzuiken the Pictish K. which they brought with them, besides great abundance of other pillage and riches, which they had gotten of the enimies that were slaine. Dzuikens armour and other things belonging to his owne bodie, was offered vp to saint Colme, in the church dedicated to his name within the Ile of Colmekill, there to remaine as a monument of this victorie to such as should come after.

Kenneth causeth the retreat to be sounded.

The king of the Picts slaine.

After this the whole preie and spoile was gathered and diuided amongest the souldiers. Kenneth was counselled to haue discharged his armie, and to haue departed home; but he purposing now to make an end of the whole warres, sith he was in such a forwardnesse, called togither the multitude, and in this wise began to vtter vnto them his mind and purpose. ¶ It is the dutie of a good capteine, when he hath the victorie in his hands, & as yet the warres not ended, if he mind the preseruation of himselfe and his countrie, and to vse the victorie as he ought, not to cease from pursuing the enimies once vanquished, till he haue either made them his friends, or else vtterlie destroied & rid them out of the way; for if anie man shall thinke it best to suffer the enimie to remaine in quiet, after he be once weakened and brought to a low ebbe, till time peraduenture he shall haue recouered his forces againe, he shall procure to himselfe (as I gesse) more danger than happilie he is well ware of. And that we may speake somewhat of this danger now present, the state of the Pictish kingdome (as ye know) is sore infeebled, their power being diminished by force of warre, is brought to that point, that it resteth in our hands vterlie to destroie and exterminat the whole nation. Which act ought to be abhorred, if it were possible for vs by anie meanes to draw them (our honor saued) vnto

An oration of king Kenneth

King Dzuiken imboldeneth his people the Picts.

The women were a cumbrance to the Picts.

vnto our friendship. But the Picts are of such a stubborne nature, and so desirous of reuenge, that so long as there remaineth anie one of them aliue, they will beare in their hearts a desire to reuenge all such losses as they haue in anie wise susteined by this warre. Wherevpon I do verelie believe, that there is none of the Pictish nation from henceforth, will beare anie faithfull friendship towards the Scots. Therefore sith we can not make the Picts, thus latelie scourged by vs, our friends, I thinke it best (except we will neglect our owne safeties) vtterlie to destroie the whole nation, by putting to the sword not onelie both men and women, but also all their youth and yong children: least they being descended of that linage, hereafter in time to come, arme themselues to the reuenge of their parents deaths, and that not without perill of the vtter losse of our countrie and kingdome.

The commõs allow the kings saieng.

This sentence of the king though it seemed to cruell to many, yet whether for that they saw the same to stand with the kings pleasure, or that they thought it most expedient for the suertie of the Scotish common-wealth, it was allowed and ratified by them all. Such crueltie here vpon was forthwith shewed throughout all the Pictish regions, that there was not one liuing creature of humane shape left aliue, sauing such as saued themselues within the walles of Camelon, or in certeine other holds and fortresses, and also about two thousand of those that fled into England: for all the residue were most vnmercifullie murthered and slaine, without respect either of age, sex, profession, or estate. Thus Kenneth hauing dispatched the inhabitants, seized the countrie into his owne hands, making partition of the same as he saw cause, and diuiding it amongst his nobles, according to the merits of euerie of them dulie weied and considered, he added new names vnto euerie quarter and region (either after the name of the gouernor, or else of some promontorie, riuer, or other notable water or place, according as was the ancient custome of the nation) that the memorie of the Pictish names might end togither with the inhabitants.

A cruell act committed by the Scots vpon the Picts.

Pictland parted vnto diuers men.

New names are giuen vnto euerie region.

The countrie anciently called Horestia, was giuen vnto two brethren, Angusian, and Mernan, by reason whereof the one part of the same countrie was called Angus, and the other the Mernes. The linage of those two noble men remaine vnto this day. The region which till then was named Otholinia, was turned afterwards to the name of Fife, after the name of one Fife Duke: whose valiancie was throughlie tried in these last warres with the Picts. There remaine vnto this day tokens and old ruines of a castell situate betwixt the riuer of Leuin and saint Kenneths church, which (as yet appeareth) was fensed about with seuen rampires, and as manie ditches, wherein the posteritie of this worthie man after his decease had their habitation by the space of manie hundred yéres. Louthian reteined still the former name, so honorable was the remembrance of that famous prince king Loth amongst all men. The strongest castell of the whole countrie, Kenneth bestowed vpon that valiant capteine named Bar, whose counsell and forward seruice stood the Scots in no small stead in those warres, in which the Picts were thus subdued. That fortresse euer sithence (after his name) hath béene called Dunbar, that is to say, the castell of Bar.

Angus.

Merne.

Fife.

Louthian.

A reward giuen vnto Bar which was the fortresse of Dunbar.

The familie of Dunbar.

There descended of him a noble house or familie, bearing the name of this castell, continuing in great fame and honor, euen vnto our time, of the which the earles of March had their beginning, and continued long in that dignitie from one to another, with sundry branches of right famous memorie. The names of diuerse dales were also changed, but yet some kept their old names still. Ordolucia shortlie after began to take the name of Annandale, of the riuer of Annan that runneth through the same. And so likewise Twedale toke name of the water of Twéd. And Cludesdale of the riuer of Clude. In like maner manie other countries, townes, and castels had their names changed at the same time, after they came into the possession of the Scotishmen, vpon sundrie considerations, for a witnesse of their victorious acts atchiued against the Picts. Furthermore, into the citie of Camelon were withdrawne the most part of all the noble mens wiues of the Picts, with their children, vpon trust to be in safetie in the same, as well by reason of strength of the place, as also of the strong garison which was appointed to defend it.

The changing of the names of the dales.

Annandale.

Twedale.

Cludesdale.

The gentlewomen are preserued in Camelon.

Kenneth therefore hauing taken his pleasure abroad in the countrie, came thither with a mightie armie to besiege the citie. And first sending vnto them within, to know if they would yéeld, he was answered, how sith it plainelie appeared, that the Scots could be satisfied with nothing but with the slaughter of all such as fell into their hands, aswell of women and children, with impotent aged, as of others, they were minded neuer to surrender their hold with life. Wherevpon the siege continued by the space of manie daies. Whilest the Scots in the meane time got togither a great number of fagots, and other such brush and stuffe to fill the ditches withall, which were verie déepe and broad, at length when they within began to want victels, they required a truce for three daies, in the which meane time they might take aduise for the surrender of the citie. Kenneth mistrusting no deceit, granted their request, and thereupon commanded his people to cease from all maner of annoiance of the enimies, for that terme.

Kenneth sendeth vnto Camelon, cõmanding them for to yeeld.

They of Camelon require truce for three daies.

But in the meane time the Picts prepared themselues of all things necessarie to make an issue vpon the Scots. There was also an old gate forlet and stopped vp with earth and stones vpon the one side of the citie, so that of a long time before there had béene no way forth by the same. Wherefore in the darke of the night the Picts ridding away the earth and ramell wherewith it was closed vp, about the third watch they passe forth at that gate in good order of battell, setting first vpon such Scots as kept the standing watch, who were in doubt of nothing lesse than of anie issue to be made on that side, by means whereof they were easilie oppressed, and likewise the other that kept the inner watch, insomuch that the slaughter went on almost euen to the kings tent with great noise and clamor, as is commonlie séene in such sudden tumults, especiallie chancing in the night season.

The Picts issue vpon the Scots with great fortune.

When the day began once to appeare, the Picts withdrawing towards the citie by the same waie they came, were pursued by the Scots, and no small number of them slaine at the entring. The citie also had béene taken at the same time, but that the Picts out of the turrets and loupes of the walles, discharged a wonderfull number of quarels, darts, arrowes, stones, and other things vpon the Scots, as they approched néere to the gate, where their fellowes (that made the issue) hasted to enter againe into the towne. There were slaine of the Scots at this bickering aboue six hundred, wherewith Kenneth was so kindled with wrath, that detesting the falshood of the Picts, he vowed by open oth that hée would not depart from the siege, till he had put the citie and them within to fire and sword, without sparing of anie, either one or other.

In extreame vow made by king Kenneth

Sundrie times he attempted to haue wone the citie by force of assault, but the Picts still defended their

The constancie of the Picts when they were besieged.

their walles ſo ſtoutlie, that he could not atchiue his purpoſe. Wherevpon the ſiege continued for the ſpace of foure moneths togither. So that ſuch ſcarſitie of all kinds of vittels ſtill aroſe amongſt them, that the wretched citizens abſteined from nothing that might in anie wiſe be eaten, though it were neuer ſo much to be abhorred. And yet although they were brought into ſuch miſerable ſtate, that there was no hope longer to defend themſelues, if anie man notwithſtanding all ſuch extremitie, were heard make mention of ſurrendering, he was forthwith ſlaine by his fellowes, as an enimie to his nation and a friend vnto the Scots. It was thought that Kenneths oth made them ſo obſtinate in their wilfull contumacie, becauſe they ſaw nothing but death, which way ſoeuer they inclined.

A prettie craft vſed by Kenneth.

At length when the citie was thus reduced into all extreme miſerie, and the ditches filled with faggots and other ſuch ſtuffe, Kenneth one night appointed ſir hundred of his choiſeſt ſouldiers to lie in ambuſh within a wood, ioining neere to one ſide of the citie, ſo that in the morning when he ſhould giue the aſſault on the contrarie ſide, they might ſuddenlie come forth and ſcale the walles on that other. Theſe ſouldiers, according to that which they had in commandement, ſhortly after the breake of day, hearing that Kenneth had begun the aſſault on his part, quicklie came forth of the wood, and hauing their ladders readie, came to the walles, reared them vp, and ſwiftlie getting into the citie, opened one of the gates where one part of the armie entered; the citizens ſtanding in no doubt at all of anie attempt on that ſide: ſo as being gotten togither to defend the walles on that part where Kenneth gaue the approch, and now hearing how the enimies were got into the citie, and comming on their backs, they were wonderfullie amazed, but yet ſo long as they were able to make anie reſiſtance, they did what lay in their vttermoſt power to beat backe the Scots, and to driue them out of the citie againe.

The Scots enter the citie.

The ſlaughter therfore was great which the Scots made of the Picts in euerie paſſage & corner of the ſtreets, inſomuch that the Scotiſh lords and other captains, in reuenge of the late receiued loſſe of their men, through the falſe practiſed policie of the Picts, commanded in a great furie to ſet fire on the houſes, and to kill and ſlea all ſuch of the Pictiſh nation as came in their way. Thus the murther proceeded vpon all eſtates, aſwell religious as other, and likewiſe vpon women and children, without anie difference. A number of ladies and gentlewomen, getting them into the preſence of king Kenneth, beſought him in moſt lamentable wiſe, to haue pitie vpon their wofull eſtate, and to ſaue their liues from the hands of his moſt cruell ſouldiers. But ſuch was the rage kindled in the Scotiſhmens hearts, that there was no more fauor ſhewed toward them than toward the other, and ſo immediatlie were they alſo ſlaine without all compaſſion. So farre forth was the murther executed on all hands, that there was not one left aliue of the Pictiſh nation, neither man, woman, nor child to bewaile that miſerable deſtruction of their countrie and kinſfolkes. Then were the walles throwne downe & made euen with the plaine ground. The houſes and buildings aſwell priuate as publike, with churches and chappels, were ſet on fire, and that which might not be conſumed with the rage of fire was ruinated and deſtroied with hand, ſo that there remained of all that famous citie, nothing but the aſhes, with heapes of the broken and burned ſtones, and likewiſe of the pauement and foundation of ſome part of the walles.

The Picts are miſerablie ſlaine, without regard of perſon.

Ladies and gentlewomen deſire the king to be pardoned of their liues.

All the Pictiſh nation deſtroied.

The citie of Camelon is throwne downe.

At the ſame time the caſtell of Maidens, now called commonlie Edenbourgh caſtell, was ſtill kept with a mightie garriſon of Picts, but they hearing of the miſerable deſtruction of Camelon, and doubting to fall into the like miſchance, left the caſtell void, and fled to Northumberland. Thus ended the kingdome of the Picts in Albion, in the yeere after they firſt began to reigne therein 1173, and in the yeere after the birth of our Sauior 839, from the firſt comming of Fergus 1166, and after the creation of the world 4806, if the Scotiſh chronicles be true. ¶ But where as the truth concerning the time of the firſt comming into this Ile, aſwell of the Scots as Picts reſteth doubtfull, and that aſwell by authoritie of approued writers, as by reaſonable coniectures, we haue in the hiſtorie of England more largelie written thereof; we referre thoſe that be deſirous to ſee further of that matter, vnto the ſame, following here in this hiſtorie of Scotland the report moſt an end, as we find it in Hector Boetius, and other the Scotiſh writers, not taking vpon vs ſo frankelie to ſet downe our owne opinion in this Scotiſh, as in the Engliſh hiſtorie, through want of ſuch helpes in the one, as we haue got in the other.

839.
1421. H.B.
6038. H.B.

Prodigious tokens ſeene in the aire.

There were ſeene the ſame yeere two comets or blaſing ſtarres of dreadfull aſpect to the beholders, the one went before the ſunne riſing in harueſt ſeaſon, and the other followed the going downe thereof in the ſpring of the yeere. There was oftentimes alſo ſeene in the aire a viſion of fierie armies, running togither with burning ſtaues, and the one being vanquiſhed, they ſuddenlie both of them vaniſhed away. Alſo at Camelon, as the biſhop was at ſeruice holding his croſier ſtaffe in his hand, it was kindled ſo with fire, that by no meane it could be quenched, till it was burnt euen to aſhes. About none date, the aire being faire and cleare, as well in the countries of the Scots as of the Picts, there was heard ſuch a noiſe and clattering of weapons and armor, with braieng of horſes, as though two armies ſhould haue beene togither in fight, whereby manie of either nation which heard it, were put in great feare. Theſe vncouth wonders were interpreted by diuinors diuerſlie: ſome of them affirming the ſame to betoken ioy and happie proſperitie, and other alledging, how they ſignified rather miſhap and vtter calamitie.

The interpretation of the ſaid tokens.

But to returne to our purpoſe. King Kenneth hauing thus deſtroied the Pictiſh kingdome, togither almoſt with the whole nation, cauſed the marble ſtone (which Simon Breke ſometime brought out of Spaine into Ireland, and the firſt Fergus out of Ireland into Albion, as before is recited) to be brought now forth of Argile (where till that time it had beene diligentlie kept) into Gourie, which region before appertained to the Picts, there to remaine from thenceforth as a ſacred token for th'eſtabliſhment of the Scotiſh kingdome in that countrie: he placed it at Scone vpon a raiſed plot of ground there, becauſe that the laſt battell which he had with the Picts was fought neare vnto the ſame place, the victorie (as before is ſpecified) chancing to the Scots. Vpon this ſtone (as before is rehearſed) the Scotiſh kings were vſed to ſit, when they receiued the inueſture of the kingdome. ¶ Some writers haue recorded that by commandement of Kenneth, at the ſame time when this ſtone was thus by him remoued, thoſe Latine verſes were grauen vpon it, whereof mention is made before, where we ſpake of the aforeſaid Fergus the firſt his comming ouer forth of Ireland into Albion there to reigne.

The marble ſtone is remoued from Argile into Gourie, in the place called Scone.

Now in the meane time, when thoſe few of the Picts, which by flight had eſcaped the Scotiſhmens hands, and were gotten into England, could by no meanes perſuade the Engliſhmen, being troubled with inteſtine warre, to aid them in recouerie of their countrie, ſome of them paſſed the ſeas ouer into

The reſidue of the Picts were diſperſed.

The caſtell of Maidens is left of the Picts.

to Norway, and some into Denmarke, and diuerse other of them remained still in England, where they got their liuing either by some manuall occupation, either else by seruice in the warres. The Scots from thence forthlinged in quiet, during the life time of K. Kenneth, who deserued eternall fame, by the inlarging of the bounds of his kingdome, so mightilie and in such wise, that where he found the frontiers, he made the same well neere the middest of his kingdome. Other things he did also touching the politike gouernement of his subiects in time of peace, no lesse worthie of praise than his noble and famous conquests: but specially he ordeined certeine lawes for the wealth of his people, whereby his iudges and other officers should proceed in the administration of iustice, of the which I haue thought requisite to rehearse part as yet being vsed, that aswell the author, as the time of their first establishment, made the better appeare, vnto such as shall peruse this historie.

The tables of the law to be kept.

The Chapters of those lawes which *yet remaine to be obserued*, are these.

Punishment for theft and murther.

LEt euerie shire haue certein men skilled in the lawes appointed to be resident in the same, according as in the beginning it was instituted. Let their sonnes also in their youth be brought vp in knowledge of the same lawes.

Let them onelie keepe in their custodies the tables of the lawes, with the register bookes of the kings & peeres of the realme.

Briters to be hanged.

If any of them be conuicted of extort bribing, or other the like vniust dealing, let him die vpon the gallowes, and his bodie remaine vnburied.

Such as are condemned for theft, let them be hanged, and those that are proued giltie of murther, let them lose their heads.

A woman condemned to be drowned, or burned quick.

A woman which is condemned to die, either let hir bee drowned in some riuer, either else let hir be buried quicke.

Blasphemers haue their tongs cut out

He that blasphemeth the name of God, of the saints, of his prince, or of the certeine of his tribe, let him haue his tong cut out.

The punishment for a lier.

He that is conuicted of a lie to his neighbours hinderance, let him haue his sword taken from him, and be banished out of all mens companie.

A man accused to be condemned by an od quest of men.

Such as be accused of any crimes that deserue death, let them passe by the sentence of 7 honest men, either else of 9, 11, 13, 15, or more, so that the number be od.

Robbers to be put to the sword.

Robbers by the high waies, destroiers of corne growing in the fields, as is vsed by enimies in time of warre, let them die by the sword.

Vagabonds to be whipped and burnt in the cheeke.

Fugitiues, bagabonds, and such other idle persons, let them be whipt and burnt in the cheeke.

The wife shal not suffer for the husbands offense.

Let not the wife suffer for the husbands offense, but the husband shal answer for the wiues misdeeds, if he be priuie therevnto.

The concubine and hir mate to haue a like punishment.

Any mans lemman or concubine shall suffer the same paines that he doth which offendeth with hir.

Rauishers of minds shall die.

He that rauisheth a maid shall die for it, vnlesse she require for safegard of his life, to haue him to hir husband.

Adulterers shall die.

If any man be taken with an other mans wife in adulterie, she consenting vnto him therein, they shall both suffer death for it. But if she consent not, but be forced against hir will, then he shall die onelie for the same, and she shall be released.

A child hurting his father shall die.

If the child hurt the father either with tong, hand, or foot, let him first be depriued of that member, and then hanged, his bodie to remaine without buriall.

Who are not to inherit.

A murtherer, a dumbe person, or he that is vnthankfull to his parents, shall not inherit his fathers patrimonie.

Iuglers and wizzards, &c.

Iuglers, wizzards, necromancers, and such as call vp spirits, and vse to seeke vpon them for helpe, let them be burnt to death.

Sowing of graine.

Let no man sow in the earth any graine before it be purged of all the weeds.

Euill husbandrie.

He that through negligent slouth, suffereth his arable ground to bee choked vp and ouergrowne with weeds; for the first fault let him forfait an ore, for the second ten oxen, and for the third let him forgo the same ground.

Buriall of friends.

Thy companion in the warres, or thy friend being slaine, see him buried, but let the enimie lie vnburied.

Waifes and straies.

Anie straie cattell that commeth into thy grounds, either restore them to the owner, either els deliuer them to the searcher out of theeues, commonlie called *Tonodrach*, or to the parson or vicar of the towne: for if thou reteine them in thy hands by the space of three daies, thou shalt be accounted giltie of theft.

Things found.

He that findeth anie thing that belongeth to an other man, let him cause it to be cried in the market, or els he shall be iudged for a fellon.

Aduersaries in sute of law.

He that striketh him, with whom he goeth to the law, about anie matter in controuersie, shall be iudged giltie of the action, and the other set free.

Oxen or kine hurting ech other.

If oxen or kine chance by running together to kill one another, the truth being not known which it was that did the hurt, that which is found without hornes shall be iudged the occasion of the skath, and he that is owner of the same, shall haue the dead beast, and satisfie him for the losse to whome it belonged.

A sow.

If a sow eate hir pigs, let hir be stoned to death, and buried, so that no man eate of hir flesh.

Swine.

A swine that is found eating of corne that groweth in the field, or wrooting vpon the tilled grounds, let it be lawfull for anie man to kill the same without danger.

Beasts damage faisant.

Other kinds of beasts, wherein other men haue anie propertie, if they breake into thy pastures, or eate vp thy corne, impound them, till time the owner haue satisfied thee for the quantitie of the damage.

Articles concerning religion.

¶ These were ciuill ordinances belonging to the good gouernement of the people, other there were, which apperteine to religion;

gion: as theſe.

Thou ſhalt deuoutlie reuerence the altars, temples, images, oratories, chapels, prieſtes, and all men of religion.

Keeping of holie daies. Thou ſhalt obſerue with due reuerence feſtiuall and ſolemne holie daies, faſting daies, vigils, and all maner of ceremonies inſtituted by the godlie ordinance of man, in the honor of our S. Chriſt & his ſaints.

Prieſts. To hurt a prieſt, let it be accounted an offenſe worthie of death.

Ground to be left vntilled. That ground wherin anie that is ſlaine lieth buried, leaue it vntilled for ſeuen yeeres ſpace.

Graues. Repute euerie graue holie, and adorne it with the ſigne of the croſſe, ſo as thou ſhalt be well aduiſed that in no wiſe with thy feet thou tread vpon it.

Buriall. Burie the dead according to the quantitie of his ſubſtance.

Buriall of noble men. The bodie of a noble man & of him that hath well deſerued of the common-wealth, ſhall be buried in ſolemne and pompous wiſe, but yet in mourning ſort & dolorous manner.

Let there be two knights or eſquires to attend his bodie to the graue. The one being mounted vpon a white horſſe ſhall beare the coate-armor of the dead, and the other in mourning apparell with his face couered ſhall ride vpon a blacke horſſe; who after the corps is brought to church, turning his horſſe from the altar, ſhall crie out how his maiſter is dead: and therewith the people making an outcry againſt him, he ſhall ſtreictwaies depart and get him with all ſpeed to the place frō whence he came; the other going ſtreight to the altar, ſhall there offer vp vnto the prieſt his coate-armor with his horſſe, as a token to ſignifie thereby that his maiſter doth inioy euerlaſting life, in the land of permanent light and ioies eternall.

¶ But this cuſtome of buriall, as that which was ſuppoſed not apperteining to the order of the chriſtian religion, the age that followed did vtterlie aboliſh, appointing to the prieſts in ſteed of the horſſe and armor, fiue pounds ſterling in monie for the offering. With theſe and diuers other ordinances, which time and other ſtatuts by other kings deuiſed haue abrogated, Kenneth gouerned his people in great felicitie during his life time.

S. Reule his church, now called Saint Andrewes. The biſhops ſee, which before had beene at Abirnethie, he tranſlated vnto the church of that holie man S. Reule. Euer ſince which time the towne hath been called S. Andrewes, and thoſe which gouerned the ſame church a long time after, were called the great biſhops of Scotland: for the realme was not diuided into dioceſes till the daies of Malcolme the 3, who by diuine inſpiration (as is ſaid) ordeined the ſee of Murthlake, now called Abirden: but ſuch as were reputed of vertuous behauiour and knowledge meet for the office, vſed the authoritie & rome of biſhops, in what place ſoeuer they were reſident. Yet ſuch was the continuance of thoſe which gouerned the church of S. Andrewes, that there haue beene aboue the number of fortie biſhops reſident there, ſince the firſt inſtitution of that ſee: manie of them for the opinion conceiued of their holineſſe, being numbred according to the manner in times paſt in the regiſter of ſaints. But now to returne vnto Kenneth, who hauing (as is ſaid) inlarged the bounds of his kingdome, ſo as the ſame ſtretched forth vnto the confines of Northumberland on the one ſide, and to the Iles of Orknie on the other, the ſea compaſſing the reſidue, at the length after he had reigned about twentie yeeres in great renowme and glorie, he departed out of this life, through too much abundance of rheumatike matter, at Fortiuiot, in the yeere of our Lord 856. His bodie was conueied into the Ile of Colmekill, and there honorablie buried amongſt his anceſtors.

The bounds of the Scotiſh kingdome.

King Kenneth departed out of this life. 855. H.B.

Donald.

Donald the fourth of that name ſucceedeth his brother Kenneth. The king is of diſſolute demeanor.

After his deceaſſe ſucceeded in gouernment of the realme his brother Donald, farre differing in qualities from his noble brother the foreſaid Kenneth; but yet before he came to the rule of the realme, he diſcloſed not his vicious nature, for doubt of offending the king his brother. Neuertheleſſe he had continued ſcarſe two yeeres in the eſtate, but that he had ſubuerted all good orders in his realme, by his naughtie examples of diſſolute liuing: for his mind was ſet on nothing but on wanton pleaſure; as in the vnlawfull vſe of concubines, riotous banketting, keeping of hawkes, hounds, & horſſes for pleaſure, and not for the vſe of warres, whereof he had no regard at all: for ſuch charges as he ſhould haue beene at for maintenance of men of warre to keepe the frontiers of his realme, were imploied on a ſort of raſcals, that ſerued him in the furtherance of his wanton delights and voluptuous deſires, as huntſmen, falconers, cookes, bawdes, ruffians, and ſuch like loſſels.

The king is admoniſhed of his nobles. Wherevpon diuers of the nobles remembring what apperteined to their duties, ſpared not but freelie admoniſhed the king what danger would inſue of his miſordered behauior, if he reformed not his maners, nor reſtreined the licentious doings of his ſeruants and familie. But when they perceiued that their words were not regarded, but for the ſame they themſelues ran into diſpleaſure; they ſorrowed not a little, to ſee ſo ſmall hope of amendment of ſuch enormities, as euerie where reigned through the region: for all youthfull perſons giuen to ſenſuall luſt followed the ſame without anie feare or care of correction, ſo that there was no meaſure of offending and haunting of euill rule in all parties, inſomuch that ſhortlie, through want of all good gouernance, wrong was placed in ſteed of right, and contempt of Gods honor imbraced euerie where in place of vertue and godlineſſe.

The exiled Picts require aid of the Engliſhmen. In this meane while, the reſidue of the Picts remaining amongſt the Engliſhmen, ceaſſed not to ſolicit the gouernors of the countrie to aid them towards the recouerie of their dominion out of the Scotiſhmens hands, promiſing to be ſubiects vnto the Engliſh nation, if by their helpe they might be reſtored to their ancient ſeates. At length Oſbert and Ella kings of Northumberland were perſuaded through inſtant ſute to take that enterpriſe in hand, the rather vpon truſt of good ſucceſſe, for that they vnderſtood what lacke of politike gouernement then remained amongeſt the Scots, by reaſon of the kings naughtie demeanor and moſt inordinat trade of life. But firſt there was a league concluded with new articles of agreement betwixt the Engliſhmen and Britains, as yet inhabiting alongſt the coaſts of Cumberland, by meanes of which league both Britains and Engliſhmen ioined their powers together, and in moſt ſpeedie and forcible wiſe paſſed the water of Tweed, firſt pitching their campe in the countrie of Mers. From whence immediatlie king Oſbert (being appointed as generall in that iournie)

Oſbert and Ella kings of Northumberland.

The Engliſhmen and Britains ioined their powers with the Picts.

ſent

An herald is ſent vnto Donald.

ſent an herald vnto Donald the Scotiſh king, commanding him either to ſurrender vp vnto the Picts all ſuch regions as the Scots had taken from them, either elſe to looke to haue the Engliſhmen and Britains no leſſe their enimies than the Picts, whoſe cauſe they had taken vpon them to mainteine and defend.

Donald being at the firſt ſore troubled with theſe newes, yet at length (by the aduiſe of his nobles) he tooke a good hart vnto him, and in defenſe of his realme cauſed muſters to be taken throughout all his dominions, and forthwith came into the field to incounter his enimies, whome he found at Jedworth readie to giue battell: where after ſore fight, in the end Olbert with his people was chaſed to the next mounteins. Donald hauing thus obteined the victorie in this conflict, ſuppoſed all had béene his owne, and therevpon remoued ouer Tweed with all poſſible haſt, marching forth till he came to the mouth of that riuer, where there late at anchor certeine Engliſh veſſels, laden with proviſion of vittels and all other things neceſſarie for the furniture of an armie. Donald ſetting vpon theſe ſhips, with ſmall reſiſtance tooke them, ſpoiled them of all ſuch things as were found aboord, and after ſet fire on them. The ſpoile was diuided amongeſt the ſouldiers and men of warre, which ſerued them to ſmall vſe or commoditie: for all the youth of the armie, through example of their prince, was ſo corrupted in vicious cuſtomes, that the campe was repleniſhed with horſes, bawds, ſtewes, and dicing tables, in ſuch wiſe, that all ſuch prouiſion as ſhould haue ſerued for ſore and ſtaple of vittels, was ſpent in riotous banketing without anie order or meaſure: & oftentimes (as it chanceth where politike gouernement lacketh) there happened amongeſt them in the armie, diſcord and variance with ſundrie murders and ſlaughters.

Olbert is put to flight at Jedworth, or Jedburgh.

Olbert his prouiſion by water is taken by the Scotiſhmen.

Great diſorder in the Scotiſh campe.

When the enimies were aduertiſed how far out of order all things ſtood in the Scotiſh campe for want of good and diſcreet chieftains, Olbright with all ſpéd got a mightie hoſt togither againe, and before his approch was looked for of the Scots, he commeth vpon them one morning in the breake of the day, and aſſaileth them in their lodgings, wherein he found them ſo vnprouided of all helps to make reſiſtance, that it was a wonder to ſée the diſorder that apeared amongeſt them: ſome of them running vpon their enimies naked without all diſcretion, other breaking forth of the campe to ſaue themſelues by flight, not ſparing hill nor dale where they ſaw anie way to eſcape the enimies hands, though it were with preſent danger of breaking their necks downe the ſloeling banks and craggie rocks, being forced thereto by the fierce purſute of the Engliſhmen and Britains, who moſt eagerlie preaſed vpon them in all places, to reuenge the late receiued ouerthrow and ſlaughter of their friends and kinſfolks. There died of the Scots in this mortall bickering aboue twentie thouſand perſons. King Donald being faſt aſléepe at the firſt aſſault of the enimies, as he that had drunke ouer night more than inough, was taken before he could make anie ſhift for himſelfe, with the reſidue of the nobilitie, that ſcaped with life.

The Scotiſh campe ſuddenlie inuaded.

10000 Scotiſhmen ſlaine. King Donald is taken with the nobilitie.

The campe is rifled.

The whole realme of Scotland diſcomfited.

The Scotiſh campe, the next day after this ouerthrow, was rifled, the ſpoile being diuided amongeſt the Engliſhmen and Britains. But when the fame of this infortunat battell was noiſed once through the realme of Scotland, how the king was taken priſoner, his campe woone, the armie diſcomfited, and almoſt all the ſouldiers and men of warre ſlaine, thoſe few of the nobles which were left aliue remaining priſoners in the enimies hands, there was ſuch dole and lamentation made ouer all, as though the realme had alreadie béene loſt without recouerie. Some there were that blamed fortune, ſome curſſed the wicked trade of life in the king, other bewailing the great calamitie of this miſchance put the fault in diuers other things, as in ſuch caſes commonlie it falleth out: for in ſundrie heads are euer ſundrie opinions. Manie ran vp and downe the ſtréets and high waies, to inquire the certeintie of all things, and whether there were anie hope at all left to reſiſt the enimies, alſo which way the enimies held, whereabout they went, and what they purpoſed to doo.

The Engliſh men inuade Louthian, the Britains Galloway.

Anon after, when it was certeinlie knowen that the Engliſhmen were entred by Louthian, and the Britains by Galloway, there was ſuch feare mixed with ſorrow (for loſſe of their friends and kinſfolks) ſtricken into the peoples hearts, and namelie into the womens, that a greater hath not béene heard of in anie region. So that all prouiſion to defend their countrie was quite neglected, ſo amazed were the Scots with the ſudden change of fortunes fauor. The Engliſhmen herevpon tooke all the countrie euen to the water of Forth, and likewiſe the Britains ſeized into their hands all that which lieth from the bounds of Cumberland vnto Sterling bridge, finding no reſiſtance in their way at all. Herevnto aſwell the Engliſhmen as Britains vſed the victorie verie cruellie, ſparing neither one nor other of the Scotiſh bloud, that by anie means fell into their hands, but prieſts and all paſſed one way, that is, by the edge of the ſword.

The Scots left comfortleſſe.

The Britains as yet kept poſſeſſion of Cumberland, and thoſe other countries lieing by the coaſt of thoſe weſt ſeas.

The victorie vſed cruelte.

King Olbert purpoſed to haue paſſed the water of Forth, that waie to haue entered into Fife, & ſo ouer Taie into Angus: but hearing that the Scots had gathered a power to impeach his paſſage, he ſtaied certeine daies. At length vnderſtanding that the enimies were nothing of that puiſſance or number, as at the firſt they were reported to be; he determined to ſet ouer in certeine boats ten thouſand of his men; but through a ſudden tempeſt of wind and weather, that roſe in that inſtant, there were fiue thouſand of them drowned, the reſidue being conſtreined to land againe on the ſame ſide from the which they looſed, hauing loſt through violence of the weather all their tackle and whole furniture of their veſſels. Olbert being alſo admoniſhed with this miſfortune, thought good to attempt no more the furious rage of the water, but determined by land to go vnto Sterling, where he vnderſtood he ſhould find the Britains, with whome he might ioine his power, and paſſe ouer the bridge there, and ſo inuade other of the Scotiſh regions which lay thereabout.

A great manie Engliſhmen drowned.

Ambaſſadors ſue for peace.

But at his comming thither, certeine Scotiſh ambaſſadours came vnto him to ſue for peace, which they humblie required at his hands in name of the whole realme, beſeeching him to conſider well the ſtate of the caſe as it ſtood, and not to truſt too much on brittle fortune, the which ſheweth hir ſelfe neuer ſtable; but commonlie vſeth to call backe againe hir grant of proſperous ſucceſſe, where the receiuer hath not skill to vſe it moderatlie, and the vanquiſhed ſéemeth to haue béene ſufficientlie corrected. As for the Scots, though it might appeare that their force was greatlie abated, & that reſiſtance ſhould little auaile them: yet were they minded to die in defenſe of their liberties, rather than to ſubmit themſelues vnto anie conditions of vile ſeruitude. The words of theſe ambaſſadors being throughlie weied (though ſome tooke them in great diſdaine) yet in the end it was ſuppoſed that after victorie thus had againſt the enimies, honorable conditions of peace ought to be preferred before doubtfull warre.

Fortune is brittle.

Wherevpon anſwere was made to the ambaſſadors, that both the Engliſh and Britiſh people with

Peace granted with conditions.

their kings were contented to haue peace with the Scots (though it laie in their hands now to deſtroy the whole nation) if ſo be the Scots would agrée to reſigne aſwell to the Engliſhmen as Britains all ſuch lands and countries as they had now gotten into their poſſeſſions, without anie claime or title to be made to the ſame from thenceforth, either by them or anie of their poſteritie, ſo that the water of Forth on the eaſt halfe, ſhould diuide the Scotiſh dominions from the confines of the Engliſhmen & Britains, and be called from that time euer after, the Scotiſh ſea. On the weſt the water of Clide ſhould diuide the Scotiſh lands from the Britains; the caſtell of Alcluith, ſtanding at the mouth of the ſame riuer, to remaine in the hands of the Britains, from thenceforth to beare the name of Dunbreton, that is to ſay, the caſtell of the Britains. And furthermore, that if anie of the Scots ſhould attempt to paſſe the ſaid bounds into anie of the Britiſh or Engliſh borders, he ſhould die for that offenſe. And if by force of tempeſt it chanced anie of them to be driuen to land on the ſouth ſhore, within anie of thoſe parties, they ſhould take nothing away with them but water or vittels, and depart within three daies, except ſome reaſonable cauſe of ſtaie conſtreined them to the contrarie. Moreouer, they ſhould not fortifie anie townes or caſtels on the frontiers néere to the Engliſh or Britiſh confines. And further, they ſhould couenant to pay vnto the Engliſhmen and Britains, within the ſpace of twentie yeares, the ſumme of one thouſand pounds of ſiluer. For performance of which articles of agréement, the Scots ſhould deliuer three ſcore hoſtages, being the ſonnes and heirs aparant of the chiefeſt noble men of all their realme and countrie. And if it ſo were that they miſliked and refuſed anie of theſe articles, he commanded that there ſhould no other ambaſſadour come to him for anie other treatie of accord.

Articles of peace propouned.

The Forth called the Scotiſh ſea.

Dunbreton. It was called before Caer Alcluith, that is, the citie vpon Cluid, as H. Lhoid holdeth.

Hoſtages are required.

The ambaſſadors returning home, and declaring how they had ſped, manie of the Scots thought the articles nothing reaſonable for frée people to accept; other iudged that either they muſt come to ſome agreement with the Engliſhmen and Britains, or els put the land in extreme perill. Thus had the people béene diuided into two contrarie opinions and factions, had not one Calene a noble man, borne of high parentage, and gouernour of Angus, with ſober reaſons and ſtrong arguments appeaſed this contention, perſuading them to haue reſpect to the time. And ſith the force of the realme was ſo infeebled, abated, and brought vnder foot through aduerſe fortune: better it was to yéeld vnto neceſſitie in ſauing part at that preſent, in hope after, when occaſion ſerued to recouer the reſidue, than through obſtinat wilfulneſſe to loſe the whole. For conſidering the preſent danger, it could be reputed no diſhonor to receiue conditions of peace at the enimies hands, ſith there wanted not the like example of the Romans, who gladlie accepted ſuch articles of peace, as that noble prince king Gald appointed them: and yet it is not to be iudged, that there wanted men of great knowledge and wiſdome amongeſt them, and ſuch as regarded their honor, ſo far forth as reaſon in anie wiſe did reach.

The Scots miſlike the articles of peace.

Calene his graue counſell taketh place.

The multitude moued with theſe words of Calene, whoſe graue authoritie (by reaſon of his age and wiſedome) was of no ſmall reputation amongſt them, hauing loſt nine of his owne ſonnes in the laſt battell, they finallie determined to follow his opinion in receiuing the ſame conditions of agreement which Oſbert had preſcribed: and thereupon ſent againe their ambaſſadours with the hoſtages appointed for the eſtabliſhing of the peace, in maner as is before rehearſed. Which being throughlie accompliſhed in ſuch ſolemne wiſe, as in thoſe daies and in the like caſes was accuſtomed, Oſbert ſet Donald with his nobles at libertie, ſending them home together with the ambaſſadours, being earneſtlie required ſo to do, both by the Engliſh lords, and alſo by the Britains.

The multitude conſented vnto Calene his ſaiengs.

The Scots receiue the peace.

King Donald with the noblemen are ſent home againe.

The agréement being thus made, the lands were diuided betwixt the Engliſhmen and the Britains, in ſuch ſort as the Britains had for their part all that which lieth from Sterling vnto the weſt ſea, betwixt the riuers of Forth and Clide, vnto Cumberland: and the Engliſhmen poſſeſſed the other parcels, lieng from Sterling vnto the eaſt ſea, betwixt the Scotiſh ſea and Northumberland: ſo that by this means, Clide water, Forth, and the Scotiſh ſea (where Forth runneth into the maine ſea) diuided the Scots from the Engliſhmen and Britains. And thus was the towne of Sterling a common march vnto thoſe three people; the ſame towne with the caſtell remaining vnto Oſbert, as it was couenanted amongeſt other articles of this peace. Here (as the Scotiſh writers haue) he ordeined his mint, and his coiners of monie to inhabit, whereupon came vp the name of Sterling monie: but therein they are deceiued, for (as in the hiſtorie of England ſhall appéere) that name came not in vſe till manie yéeres after. Oſbert alſo in this place cauſed a ſtone bridge to be made ouer the water of Forth, in ſtead of the wodden bridge which the Picts had made there, and was now pulled downe, and in the midſt of this new ſtone bridge he ſet vp a croſſe, whereon were ingrauen theſe verſes, to be read of the paſſers by:

Lands diuided betwixt the Britains and Engliſhmen.

A bridge of ſtone made at Sterling.

Anglos à Scotis ſeparat crux iſta remotis,
Arma hîc ſtant Bruti, ſtant Scoti hac ſub cruce tuti.

I am free march as paſſengers maie ken,
To Scots, to Britains, and to Engliſhmen.

Belenden the Scot.

The Picts which had béene with the Engliſhmen in this iournie, euer hoping to be reſtored to their lands and former poſſeſſions by Oſbert, when they ſaw how he reteined the ſame in his owne hands, appointing his ſubiects to inhabit therein, they doubted that which afterwards came to paſſe in déed, leaſt the Engliſhmen of friends would now become enimies, ſéeking the deſtruction of the whole Pictiſh generation, thereby to aſſure themſelues in the poſſeſſion of thoſe lands and liuings, whereunto the Picts (as they thought) would euer make ſome claime and title, whileſt anie of them remained aliue.

The Picts hope is deceiued.

Upon this miſtruſt therefore did thoſe Picts, which were amongeſt the Engliſhmen, make the beſt ſhift they could for themſelues, ſo that manie of them got ſhips, and ſailed into Norwaie and Denmarke, vnto their countriemen there: the other that could not make ſhift to get away, were ſlaine anon after by the Engliſhmen, ſo that one of them was not to be found aliue within anie of the Engliſh dominions. And ſuch was the end of the Picts that fled vnto the Engliſhmen for ſuccour. In this meane time the Scotiſh king Donald being reſtored againe to his countrie, was receiued with more ioy and honor than he had deſerued, in hope yet by this ſcourge of aduerſe fortune, that he would haue reformed his former abuſes. Neuertheleſſe, he had not béene at home anie long time, but that he fell to his old vicious trade of life againe, remouing from his companie ſuch honorable perſonages as wiſhed the ſuertie of his eſtate, with the aduancement of the common welth, to the reliefe and eaſe of his poore miſerable ſubiects. At length the nobles of the realme, perceiuing the danger that their countrie ſtood in, by reaſon of Donalds inſolent miſorder, vndiſcréet rule and gouernement, they found means to apprehend and commit him vnto ſafe kéeping. But the monſtrous creature, within a few daies after he

The Picts went into Norwaie and Denmarke.

King Donald falleth to his old vices againe.

King Donald is laid in priſon.

was

He slaieth himselfe in prison. 860.

was thus put in ward in great desperation sine himselfe, in the first yeare after he had begun his infortunat reigne, and in the yeare of our Sauiour 860.

The same yeare that the realme of Scotland was brought vnto such miserable state by the puissant force of the Englishmen and Britains, as aboue is rehearsed, there were sundrie wonders heard of in the countrie; as in Louthian a child of one moneth old and a halfe, admonished the mother to flie out of that countrie: for it would come to passe, that the enimies should come and take that region out of the Scotishmens hands. Beasts also, as they were pasturing abroad in the fields there, roaring after a strange sort, suddenlie died. Fishes likewise, in shape resembling the figure of man, were found dead in the sands of the Scotish sea. In Galloway there fell such abundance of adders and snakes out of the skie, that the aire being corrupted with the sauour of them lieng on the ground, both men and beasts died of certeine diseases, which they toke through infection thereof.

A yong babe giueth warning vnto his mother.

Beasts roring died.

Fishes like in shape to men.

Adders and snakes fell downe out of the skie.

Such as were accounted to be skilfull in diuination, assumed that these things did signifie an infortunat reigne, with an euill end vnto king Donald, as afterwards it happened, who hauing made away himselfe in prison (as before is expressed) Constantine the sonne of king Kenneth was crowned king at Scone, in the chaire of marble there, according to the maner as then vsed. After his first entring into the estate, he would gladlie haue gone in hand with the wars against the Englishmen, to haue recouered out of their possessions, those countries which they had latelie taken from the Scots in his predecessors time: but his councell aduised him otherwise, declaring that the state of the commonwealth was so decaied by the misgouernance of his said predecessor, that till the same were reformed, and such intestine discord, as through licentious libertie reigned amongest his subiects might be appeased and quieted, there was no hope to atchiue anie worthie enterprise abrode against forreigne enimies.

The interpretation of the prodigious things.

King Constantine crowned.

He fain would recouer his predecessors losses.

He was aduised otherwise by his councell.

Herevpon by their aduertisements and good aduise, he deuised a reformation of all such misorders as were growen vp in all parts of his realme: and first for the spiritualtie, he ordeined that priests should attend their cures, and not to intermeddle with anie secular businesse, but to be free from going forth to the warres: neither should they keepe horsses, hawks, or hounds. And if anie of them were found negligent in doing his dutie apperteining to his vocation, he should for the first fault forfeit a peece of monie, but for the second he should lose his benefice. For the youth of his realme he toke order (to bridle them the better from wanton delights and sensuall lusts) that none of them should haue past one meale a day, and that of no fine or deintie delicats, and to absteine from all such drinke as might distemper their braine, so that if anie yong person, either man or woman were knowen to be drunken, they should die for it.

Misorders are redressed.

Priests shuld onelie attend their vocation.

A penaltie for not doing their duelies.

Youth should eate but one meale a day.

Drunkennes punished with death.

He commanded further, that all the youth of his realme, should exercise running, wrestling, shooting, throwing of the dart and bowle: so to auoid slouthfulnesse, that their bodies might with such exercises be made the more able to indure paines and trauell: and for the same purpose he toke order, that they should lie vpon the bare boords, with one mantell onelie throwen vnder them, so that they should take nothing neither by day nor night, that might nourish them in anie wanton delights or effeminat pleasures. It was also ordeined, that all such as kept victualling houses for banketting cheere, should be banished the realme, with those that kept brothell houses. Thus were the Scots by obseruing of these ordinances, made within short time of glutton and excessiue feeders, sober and temperat men: of delicat and easefull persons, hard, tough, and able to abide anie trauell or labor, were the same neuer so painfull: and hereof the state of the commonwealth began to grow to good perfection, so that Constantines administration was liked of the most part of all his subiects.

Youth to be trained vp in hardnesse.

Kepers of banketting houses be banished.

Scots were made sober and able to abide hardnes

The first that went about to disquiet the prosperous reigne of that worthie prince, was one Euan, a man of an ancient house, borne in the westerne Iles. ¶ Such haue beene the vnquiet nature of the Scotishmen, euen from the beginning, neuer to liue contented anie long time either with peace or warre: for being once wearied with the charges of the warres, they streightwaies wish for peace; and hauing in time of peace heaped togither some wealth, then can they not sutfer the gouernement of their superiors, but either are readie to fall out with some forreigne enimie, or else to raise some commotion amongest themselues. This Euan therfore being the kings lieutenant of his castell of Dunstafage in Louchquhaber, practised a conspiracie against the king, with a number of other light persons being gentlemen borne, misliking the administration of things, onelie for that they saw how their inordinat libertie to oppresse inferiour persons, and to vse such wild and insolent misdemeanour, as they had done afore time, was now restreined by lawfull iustice and execution of due punishment for the same.

Euan disquieted the king and realme.

The vnquiet nature of Scotishmen.

Euan lieutenant of Dunstafage conspireth against the king.

But as these conspirators went about to haue moued the people of Louchquhaber, Murrey land, Rosse, and Cathnesse, to haue ioined with them in their traitorous interprise; some of them in whom Euan put most trust, secretlie aduertised the king of all the whole matter, who gathering a competent number of men togither, made such speedie hast towards Dunstafage, where the chiefe capteine of the rebels as then lay, that he came before the same yer anie inkling were knowen to them within of his approch. By meane whereof comming vpon them so at vnwares, he had the castell sone at his pleasure; and immediatlie herevpon caused Euan to be trussed vp on a high paire of gallowes, for a spectacle to all his complices. And furthermore, least the other conspirators might prouide them of some other chiefteine, he apprehended diuerse of the nobilitie that were accused to be of Euans confederacie, the which he put in streict prison, there to be safelie kept, till the peeres of the realme had determined with good deliberation, what should become of them. This businesse being in this wise appeased, when all men looked for quietnesse, there suddenlie followed a greater and more pernicious trouble: for such is the course of the world, that when men least thinke of mischiefe, they fall oftentimes into most danger.

The king is aduertised of Euan his treason.

The king cõmeth to Dunstafage with an armie.

Euan is executed.

Manie kept in prison.

One trouble followeth another.

Cadane king of Denmarke, pretending a title to all such lands as somtimes belonged to the Picts, for that the residue of that nation which had escaped the hands of the Scots and Englishmen, had resigned vnto him all their right & interest of the same lands, he determined in that quarrell (and in reuenge of the iniuries which the Picts alledged they had sustained) to make warres both vpon Scots and Englishmen. He caused therefore an huge number of ships to be prepared, and a mightie armie of men to be put in a readinesse, to passe in the same ouer into Albion, vnder the leading of his two brethren, the one named Hungar, and the other Hubba. These two chieftens hauing their ships and men with all prouision apperteining once readie, toke the sea, and sailed forth

Cadane king of Denmarke

The cause that made the Danes to make warre against England and Scotland.

A great nauie sent into Scotland.

forth till they came to the coaſts of Scotland, where they toke land within the countrie of Fiſe, before anie tidings were heard of their comming thither.

The Danes vſe great cruelſtie.

The Danes being ſet on land, ſpared no kind of cruelſtie that might be ſhewed againſt the inhabitants, and namelie for that they had not as yet receiued the faith of Chriſt, they raged without all meaſure againſt prieſts, and religious perſons, ouerthrowing and burning vp churches and chapels, whereſoeuer they found anie in their way. Whereupon the Engliſhmen that inhabited in Louthian, and the Scots that dwelled in Fiſe, left their houſes & poſſeſſions, fleeing into other parties, where they thought they might beſt eſcape the hands of their new come aduerſaries. A great companie alſo of ſuch vertuous and godlie perſons, as about the ſame time laboured buſilie in ſetting forth the word of life vnto the people in thoſe parties, fled with one Adrian as then biſhop of the Scotiſhmen, into the Iland called Maie, which lieth in maner in the midway of the paſſage ouer the Forth betwirt Fiſe and Louthian, where as then there was a famous monaſterie of monks. But neither the reuerence of the place, neither the innocencie of thoſe harmleſs creatures could reſtraine the Danes from polluting their wicked hands in murthering that deuout companie, as they were then eſteemed.

The inhabitants fled the countrie.

They that fled into May Iland were ſlaine.

This is that reuerend band of martyrs, which the Scotiſh people haue had in ſuch reuerence in the foreſaid Iland of Maie; a few names of ſome of that multitude as yet remaining in memorie amongſt writers, as the foreſaid biſhop Adrian, Glodian, Gaius, or (as others write) Monanus archdeacon of ſaint Andrews, and biſhop Stolbrand: the names of the reſidue are forgotten. ¶ Some there be that affirme how this companie were Hungarians, the which fleeing out of their countrie, from the perſecution which was their exerciſed by men of miſbeliefe againſt the chriſtians, they arriued here in Scotland, and applied themſelues to the inſtructing of the Scotiſhmen in the way of ſaluation. Other write that they were Scots and Engliſhmen thus aſſembled there togither. But of whence ſoeuer they were, certeine it is that by cuſtome they were become Scots, and inſtructed the Scots (as before is ſaid) in the way of ſaluation. After this cruell ſlaughter thus by the Danes committed, they continued in their wood rage, as they paſſed through Fife and the other countries nere bordering vpon the ſame, till all the inhabitants were auoided out of their houſes, either by flight or ſlaughter.

The vncertentie of writers in this matter of theſe martyrs.

Conſtantine the Scotiſh king being kindled in the meane time with paſſing great diſpleaſure, for theſe ſo notable iniuries receiued at the hands of the Danes, thought good with all ſpeed to go againſt them, and to attempt the chance of battell before they had waſted anie further within his dominions, ſo greatlie to the diminiſhing of his roiall power and eſtimation amongſt his ſubiects. Hereupon leuieng his people, and aſſembling a mightie hoſt togither, he paſſed forth with the ſame towards his enimies, the which were lodged in two ſeuerall camps, the one being diſtant from the other about a quarter of a mile, ſeuered in ſunder with the courſe of a little riuer called Leuin, the which (vpon the approch of the Scots vnto that part of the campe that laie on the further ſide nert vnto them) chanced to be raiſed on ſuch hight, thorough abundance of raine, that in two daies after vnneth it might bee paſſed ouer at the fords.

Conſtantine aſſembled a mightie army.

After this ſore and tempeſtuous weather, the aire cleared vp and waxed verie faire and calme, giuing occaſion to the Scots to worke their feat againſt one part of their enimies, whileſt the other could not come ouer vnto their aid and ſuccour. In this campe which lay on that ſide the riuer nert vnto the Scots, Hubba was lodged, who did what he could to haue ſtaied his men from iſſuing forth of the campe, to giue battell when the Scots drew nere to the ſame, and aſſaied all waies by prouoking the Danes with ſkirmiſhes to come forth and fight with them in plaine field. But notwithſtanding all that he could doo, forth they ruſhed in ſuch wiſe by plumps, and with ſo great noiſe and clamour, that the captains were conſtreined of neceſſitie to ſet them in order of battell, ſith they would néeds giue the onſet vpon their preſent enimies.

The Scots & Danes ioine their battels.

The Danes did weare aloft vpon their armor certeine linen garments, wrought with red ſilke, ſhewing faire and white both at hand and a far off. Their weapons were of ſuch ſort as ſerued for the puſh rather than for downe-right blowes, the points being of ſuch a handſome ſtrong faſhion, that no armor might lightlie hold forth againſt them. Theſe kind of weapons, togither with the maſter of their huge bodies, was dreadfull at the firſt for the Scotiſhmen to behold, as they marched towards them in araie of battell. But anon comming nere togither readie to ioine, the Scots manfullie taking to them new courages, ſet vpon the Danes with great violence, who likewiſe began the battell verie ſtoutlie, ſo that the ſame continued right fierce and cruell a good ſpace. At length the Danes being aſſailed on each ſide, both afront before, and on their backs behind, oppreſſed as it were with multitudes, did throw downe their weapons and fled amaine. Manie of them making towards their campe were ouertaken and ſlaine, diuerſe of them falling into the ditches were oppreſſed with throng, aſwell of their owne companie, as of their enimies, as they paſſed ouer them in following the chaſe, and ſtriuing to enter the campe vpon ſuch as ſtood to defend them from entering. Other there were that leaping into the water in hope to get ouer, were drowned in the whirling waues of the ſtreame; though ſome, through helpe of their fellowes (which ſtood on the other ſide readie to haue paſſed the water, if they might ſo haue done without manifeſt danger of drowning) eſcaped and got ouer, amongſt whome Hubba was one, to the great reioiſing of his brother Hungar, to ſee him thus deliuered twiſe from perill of death, as firſt from amongeſt his enimies, and ſecondlie out of the roring ſtreame of that deepe and ſwift raging riuer.

The Danes apparell.

Their weapons.

Tall men of bodie and limbs.

A battell.

The Danes take the flight.

Hubba was ſaued from drowning.

The Scots tooke no warning by the ouerthrow of their enimies, but ſtreightwaies fell to ſpoile the dead bodies, and to gather vp the riches that lay ſcattered abroad in the fields. Manie of them alſo ſtripped themſelues out of their armor, and ſome put on the apparell of their aduerſaries, ſo that they were verie vnlike themſelues. Thus while the victors were buſie in ſpoiling the ſlaine, the vanquiſhed Danes that eſcaped the ſlaughter, gathered themſelues togither, and returned to the campe, where they found the Scots in ſuch diſorder, that they were eaſilie put to the worſe, and ſlaine in great numbers, ſo that the victorie fell to the Danes againe, who ſlue all the Scots that they found in the campe, and ſpoiled them of their armor and apparell, wherewith they apparelled themſelues, and ſo returned to the ſhips.

The Scots tooke of this victorie immoderate ioy.

The Scots for ioy readie to fall out.

Conſtantine proceeded againſt his enimies.

Thus the Scots were ſpoiled of their victorie, and the Danes of their ſpoile, ſo that the Scots had nothing left them but their bare liues, and the Danes had nothing but their armor and apparell. Yet ſo farre proceeded their inſolent outrage, that they began to contend amongſt themſelues for the priſoners and ſpoiles, which they counted now their owne, as though alreadie they had the ſame wholie in their poſſeſſion: and further reaſoned, not without altercation, whether the Daniſh captens after they had them once in their hands, ſhould be put to death, or els be kept aliue to be ſhewed to the people in triumph or no. Great adoo and manie vaine words were ſpent hereabout, in ſuch earneſt ſort, that they were at point to haue fallen out amongſt themſelues: but there was no mention at all made touching the ordering of their battels, and other the neceſſarie proceedings againſt their enimies. At length, when the riuer was fallen and come to his old courſe againe, ſo that it might eaſilie be paſſed, Conſtantine in order of battell got ouer with his people, to the other ſide where the Danes were lodged, who hauing more mind to ſet themſelues in ſuch order,

whereby

whereby they might gaine the victorie, than to deuiſe for the diuiding of the ſpoile, perceiuing occaſion now offered to giue the onſet, forthwith araied their people in this ſort.

The order & placing of the Danes armie.

Hubba had the right wing

Huerne had the left wing.

Hubba with ſir thouſand Danes, was placed in the right wing. The left was led by one Huerne an Engliſhman borne, who was fled out of his countrie, for that he could not beare ſuch iniuries as Oſbert offered him in forcing his wife, to the great reproch and diſhonor of his houſe and name. He had with him in this left wing certeine bands of Engliſhmen, with thoſe Picts that had eſcaped ouer into Denmarke (as before is mentioned.) Hungar with all the reſidue of the armie, kept the battell or middle ward, exhorting his men to ſhew their force & manhood that day, ſith the ſame ſhould either put them in poſſeſſion of the whole land of Albion, with all the ſubſtance and riches conteined therein, either elſe bring them perpetuall ſeruitude with ignominie amongſt their moſt cruell and fierce aduerſaries. He therefore himſelfe openlie in preſence of them all, vowed with ſolemne oth, either to returne with victorie to his campe, either elſe to die in the place, willing them all to make the like couenant. Whereupon the vniuerſall multitude allowed him ſo much for this his motion, that there was not one amongſt the whole number, which agreed not to ſweare the like oth. Conſtantine keeping in manner the like order, placed in the right wing his brother Ethus, in the left Duncane the lieutenant or thane of Athole, appointing to either of them ten thouſand men a peece.

Hungar kept the battell.

Hungar made a vow.

The ſouldiers did make the like vow.

King Conſtantine placed his men in like manner.

All the reſidue were ſet in the battell where he himſelfe ſtood. And firſt he gaue them all hartie thanks in that they had ſo valiantlie atchiued the victorie in the laſt battell, requiring them now not to blemiſh their former glorie with anie faintneſſe of courage, recreant cowardiſe, or diſhonorable flight: and further he willed them in no wiſe to be afeard of their enimies, in reſpect more for their hugeneſſe of bodie, than for anie of their valiant ſtoutneſſe of heart: for if they aſſailed them with one whole and entire conſent, according to their wonted forwardneſſe & manlike prowes, they ſhould quicklie put them to flight, and obteine a ioifull victorie. Herewith he alſo warned them not to run raſhlie vpon the enimies, but to ſuffer them firſt to giue the charge: for by that meanes he thought the Danes would with their earneſt violence diſorder themſelues, and ſo ſhould it be more eaſie for the Scots to breake in amongſt them.

In incouragement giuen to his ſouldiers.

But this deuiſe did not a little abate the Scotiſh mens courages. For the Scots vſe is, when they ſhall enter into battell, to make a great ſhout and noiſe, and therewith to run vpon their enimies, by which meanes (as they ſuppoſe) they both put the enimie in feare, and incourage themſelues to the battell. The Danes at the ſound of the trumpet marched forth towards the Scots, where they ſtood thus in order of battell: but when they perceiued that the Scots came not forward, they alſo ſtaied in the midway to refreſh themſelues, leaſt at the ioining they ſhould be out of breath. Anon after, paſſing forward an eaſie pace, they ſhot quarrels, and threw darts at their enimies verie freſhlie, and the Scots let flie at them againe with arrowes and darts as thicke as it had beene a ſtorme of haile.

The Danes approch towards the Scots.

The Danes ſhot quarels and threw darts.

The Scots ſhot arrowes and darts as thicke as haile.

After this they ruſhed togither with great violence on both ſides; but within a while, the Danes had put both the wings of their enimies to flight, and after compaſſing the maine battell round about, they conſtreine the ſame in the end with great bloudſhed and ſlaughter to giue backe and flee out of the field. Ten thouſand Scots died that day in this infortunate battell with Conſtantine himſelfe, who being firſt taken was had into a caue by the ſea ſide amongſt the rocks, and there cruellie murthered by the enimies. The place was called certeine yeres after, the blacke den: but now they name it the diuels den, in memorie of that heinous murther there committed. The Scotiſh nation alſo had beene vtterlie as then deſtroied, had not Ethus the brother of Conſtantine, perceiuing how the field was loſt, eſcaped awaie with two companies of his beſt men of warre, ſo reſeruing himſelfe to the time of more luckie fortune.

The Scots are put to flight.

Conſtantine is taken and murthered.

The blacke den or caue.

Ethus brother vnto Conſtantine was ſaued by flight.

Ethus.

THe people likewiſe doubting for want of a gouernor to be the ſoner ouercome by their enimies, did lead the ſaid Ethus to Scone, where they crowned him king, in the yeere after the birth of our Sauiour 874, and the 13 after Conſtantine began to rule the eſtate of the realme. The ſame yeere were manie wonders and vnketh ſights ſeene within the Scotiſh dominions. In the mouth of the Forth, otherwiſe called the Scotiſh ſea, there appeared fiſhes in great numbers, like vnto men in ſhape, ſwimming vp and downe in the ſtreame with halfe their bodies aboue the water, and hauing a blacke ſkin, which couered there heads and necks, from their ſhoulders vpwards like an hood. Theſe are called Balinates, and vſe to go in great companies togither, as though they were ſkulles of herrings, ſignifieng (when they are ſeene) ſome great miſfortune vnto the countrie, as the common people haue long had an opinion. Alſo the loches, riuers, and all maner of other waters were frozen from the beginning of November, till the latter end of Aprill; and when the froſt brake, and the ſnowe melted, there was ſuch a flood flowing ouer all the plaines euen to the roots of the mounteins, as the like had not bene ſeene. Furthermore, when the ſame ſhrunke and went away, in the mud and ſlime there was ſuch a ſort of frogs left, that when they were dead, and began to putrifie, the aire was ſo infected, that manie deadlie diſeaſes inſued, whereof great numbers of the inhabitants did periſh. Moreouer, there was a mightie ſtarre or comet ſeene with firie rates iſſuing forth of the ſame, which both night and day followed the mone during the moneth of Aprill, to the great horror of all that beheld it.

874.

Fiſhes like vnto men in ſhape.

Balinates.

A long winter

Frogs in the mud & ſlime.

A comet.

But to proceed. The Danes (as is ſaid) hauing vanquiſhed the Scots, and waſted the countrie of Fife, paſſed ouer into Louthian, where robbing and ſpoiling all before them, they purſued the inhabitants into Northumberland, whither they fled for refuge. There the Danes being aided with certeine Engliſhmen in fauour of Huerne, ſlue in battell both Oſbert and Ella, kings of that countrie. The crueltie of the Danes was ſuch after they had atchiued the victorie, that few eſcaped with life, but ſuch as ſaued themſelues by flight. But chiefflie there rage appeared moſt againſt prieſts, and ſuch as profeſſed themſelues men of religion. For the Danes being Ethniks, perſecuted moſt egerlie thoſe that in anie wiſe profeſſed Chriſt. The like outragious murthering of the chriſtians was practiſed throughout the countrie, and at length came vnto that bleſſed king ſaint Edmund, reigning as then ouer the people of the Eaſtangles, as in the Engliſh hiſtorie more plainlie maie appeare. Howbeit other of the Engliſh kings mainteined the warres with theſe Danes certeine yeres after this, with variable fortune; the moſt part of thoſe people which inhabited on that coaſt toward the Germane ſeas, either being ſlaine or brought into miſerable bondage and thraldome. But Alured, which ſucceeded his brother king Edelfred, not in the kingdome of Northfolke and Suffolke (as Hector Boetius affirmeth) but in the kingdome of the Weſtſaxons, redreſſed a great part of this miſerie, into the which the countrie was thus

The Danes went into Louthian.

King Oſbert & Ella ſlaine.

This crueltie inuaded Norfolke alſo.

King Alured redreſſed thoſe harmes.

Hector Boetius miſtaketh

diuers matters touching the report of our hiſtories.

thus brought by the Danes, by ſubduing them in ſundrie conflicts, and ſleaing their two capteins the foreſaid Hungar and Hubba, as in the ſame Engliſh hiſtorie is further expreſſed.

But now to returne vnto Ethus, I find that he was of ſuch ſwiftneſſe of foot, that he would match and make waie in running with harts and hounds, and therevpon was ſurnamed Lightfoot: but of what nimble lightneſſe of bodie ſoeuer he was, truth it is that he was of diſpoſition in mind vnfit to haue the order of anie publike regiment. For whereas he might haue recouered Fife and Louthian with other regions, whileſt the Engliſhmen and Danes were togither by the eares, he paſſed ouer that occaſion, delighting more in following the pleaſures of the bodie & ſenſuall luſts, than to beſtow his time in feates of chiualrie and other warlike exerciſes. The nobles of the realme perceiuing him thus to abuſe the worthie gifts of his perſon, miſtruſting leaſt his inſolent doings ſhould indamage the publike ſtate of the common-wealth, they toke counſell togither how they might apprehend him, and to ſend him ſome whither out of the waie where to be ſafelie kept, and then to place ſome other in the gouernement of the realme, that might rule the ſame with more diſcretion & better aduiſe. And leaſt their reſolution ſhould be diſcloſed before it toke effect, they ſlacked no time, but went ſpéedilie about their buſineſſe. And comming to the king, whome they found a hunting in Calidon wood, they ſuddenlie areſted him, and therwith committed him to ſafe kéeping: & thoſe whome they knew to be fauourers of his euill rule and miſgouernance, they put them alſo faſt in irons, till they had anſwered vnto ſuch articles as ſhould be laid to their charge. This done, they proceéded to the election of a new king; and in the end by the perſuaſion of one Dongall gouernor or thane of Argile, they choſe Gregorie the ſonne of that Dongall, which reigned before Alpine, who was not paſt two moneths old when his father died.

Ethus ſurnamed Lightfoot

Ethus neglected the opportunitie.

A conſpiracie made againſt king Ethus.

King Ethus is areſted, with his fauourers.

Gregorie is choſen king.

Gregorie.

THis Gregorie being knowne to be a man worthie of the rome, though he himſelfe onlie was againſt it, at length by perſuaſion receiued the inueſture of the kingdome at Scone, with all due ſolemnitie. Ethus hearing thereof, through anguiſh of mind died within three daies after, in the ſecond yeare of his reigne, and 876, after the birth of our Sauiour. There be that write how he was ſtrangled in priſon by Dongall his procurement, leaſt by aduenture he might haue béene reſtored vnto libertie, and withall haue made claime to the crowne againe. Gregorie being thus eſtabliſhed in the eſtate, conſidering that the ſuertie of all realmes reſted in the hands of the diuine maieſtie, to begin his gouernment with ſome luckie enterpriſe, cauſed a conuocation to be holden at Forfair, for the aduancement of Chriſts religion: where amongſt other things, it was ordeined, that prieſts from thenceforth (to the end they might more freelie attend to their vocation) ſhould be exempt from paieng of tribute and all maner of exactions. Alſo that they ſhould not be conſtreined to go vnto the warres, neither to come before anie tempporall iudges, but onlie before their ordinaries and biſhops, by whome they ſhould be iudged in all cauſes. The ſame ordinaries and biſhops ſhould alſo haue authoritie to order all men, both publike and priuate, aſwell for the kéeping of faith giuen, as to conſtreine them to confirme the ſame, and to puniſh ſuch as ſhould be found in the contrarie; likewiſe in cauſes of controuerſie touching matrimonie, tithes, teſtaments, legacies, and ſuch like: moreouer the correcting of thoſe that blaſpheme either God or his ſaints.

876. H.B.
875. Io. Ma.

A conuocation of the clergie.

Prieſts are free of all tribute.

They ſhould not be called to ſerue in the warres.

Authoritie giuen vnto biſhops to order kings.

Heretikes and necromancers, with other the like offendors againſt the lawes and articles of the chriſtian religion, was aſſigned vnto the biſhops and their ſubſtituts, ſo that all thoſe which were found diſobedient vnto them, and refuſed to be at their commendement, they ſhould haue authoritie to excommunicate them out of the church, and from companie kéeping with anie of the cõgregation, ſo as they that were thus excommunicated, ſhould be depriued of all abilitie to inioy anie inheritance or right to lands or poſſeſſions whatſoeuer they were. Neither ſhould they be accepted as a witneſſe in anie maner of cauſe, neither beare anie office or rule in the common-wealth. This Gregorie alſo (as is ſaid) was the firſt author of that ordinance, by the which the Scotiſh kings at their coronation vſe of ancient cuſtome to vow by ſolemne oth, that during their liues, they ſhall mainteine and defend the church with his miniſters, in all ancient liberties and priuileges, and not to ſuffer anie man to hurt or infringe the ſame.

When the Scotiſh kings firſt began to promiſe by oth to mainteine the libertie of the church.

There was ſuerlie in this Gregorie a certeine naturall inclination to vertue, with ſuch aduiſednеſſe in all his words, that he vttered few or none but that the ſame ſéemed to be ſpoken with verie great conſideration. He was neuer maried, but continued in chaſtitie all his life time. Of meate & drinke he was verie ſpare, delighting in all kind of ſobrietie, more watchfull than giuen to ſléepe. But his fame increaſed moſt for his mainteining of iuſtice and ciuill adminiſtration concerning the ſtate of the common-wealth, not omitting the practiſe of warre, where neceſſitie required. The firſt expedition which he toke in hand, he made into Fife, to recouer that countrie to the crowne of Scotland. At whoſe entrance into the ſame, the Picts, whome the Danes had left in thoſe parties at their departure thence, being ſtriken with feare to fall into the hands of the Scots their ancient enimies, fled forthwith into Louthian, leauing Fife in manner void, and without anie that would offer to defend it againſt the Scots.

Gregorie is choſen king.

He made an expedition into Fife.

The Picts fled into Louthian.

Wherevpon Gregorie ſo finding it deſolate of inhabitants, ſent for people out of other parts of his realme, appointing them dwellings in that countrie as he thought moſt expedient. This done he paſſed into Louthian, where taking the fortreſſes and places of defenſe, ſome by force, and ſome by ſurrender, he eaſilie reduced that countrie into his ſubiection, ſo that within a few daies, hauing there all at his pleaſure, he came vnto Berwike, where there were a great number of Danes ioined togither with the Picts, as men not minding to flee anie further, but to fight with the Scots euen there, if they ſhould come forward vpon them. But when they ſaw what number the Scots were of, and herewith doubting the Engliſhmen to come on their backs if the matter went not well with them; they thought it beſt that ſuch Danes as were of anie great reputation of nobilitie, ſhould withdraw into Berwike before the enimies were at hand, and the reſidue to paſſe ouer Tweed into Northumberland, there to ioine with other Danes that in thoſe parties were latelie arriued.

The king ſet inhabitants in Fife.

He ſubdued Louthian.

The Danes and Picts ioine themſelues togither.

They fled into Northumberland.

But the Engliſhmen within Berwike, abhorring nothing more than to be vnder ſubiection of the Danes, in the euening after the receiuing of the Daniſh nobles into their towne, deliuered it togither with their gheſts vnto the Scotiſhmen, who ſuffering the Engliſhmen at their pleaſure either to go their waies with all their goods, or to remaine ſtill in their houſes, ſlue the Danes, without ſparing either man, woman, or child. Then leauing a ſtrong garriſon of Scotiſhmen within Berwike, Gregorie marched forth with the reſidue of his people into Northumberland, to vnite that countrie to other of his

The Daniſh nobilitie fled into Berwike.

The Danes are ſlaine in Berwike.

his dominions that bordered vpon the same.

In those parties at that selfe time there were two armies lodged in the fields, the one of Danes not far from Yorke, vnder the leading of one Herdunt, who had latelie taken and sacked that citie, and the other of Englishmen that late 20 miles off from the said Danes. Herdunt hearing of the slaughter which the Scots had made of his countriemen at Berwike, threatned sore that he would not leaue a man aliue of the Scotish race within anie part of the confines of Albion. With how manie of the companie, following their captaines example, likewise made. Shortlie after, hearing of their enimies approch, the whole host (by commandement of Herdunt) issued forth of their campe to giue battell.

Herdunt threatned the Scots.

The Danes prepare to the battell.

Here the Scotish king standing with his people in order of battell, had thought to haue vsed some comfortable speech vnto them, thereby to incourage them to fight: but such hast was made by the Scots to preasse vpon their enimies, that he saw it more needfull to take heed to the ordering of them in perfect arate, than to stand about to exhort them, whome he saw readie inough of their owne accord to fight. Therefore he said no more vnto them, as he went amongst the ranks, but onelie willed them to remember how cruellie Constantine their king was sometime murthered, after he had yelded himselfe prisoner to these enimies, with whome they should now ioine.

The Scots egerlie inuade their enimies.

King Gregorie his saieng to the souldiers.

The Scots hereupon running to the battell with no lesse stoutnesse of mind than violent force, gaue their enimes scarse space to charge their weapons, but bare them downe with long speares and iauelins, and withall the bilmen following them made great slaughter on ech side, so that there needed neither exhortation of capteins, nor diligence of wisers to keepe them in arate. For the wrathfull stomachs of the souldiers onelie wrought the feat in such sort, that the Danes were quicklie put to flight and chased. Those that could not escape to the campe, got them vnto the next mounteins, who chanced vpon better lucke than those that escaped to the campe, for the egernesse of the Scots was such in chasing the enimes, that neither ditch nor rampire could staie them from entring the campe vpon the Danes where they made greater slaughter than they had done in the field.

The Danes fled to their campe.

Herdunt assembled his men togither.

The next daie Herdunt goeth about to assemble his men togither againe, being dispersed here and there: but when he vnderstood how he had lost the more halfe of his whole host, he cursed that vnhappie day, and determined to retire vnto Rasin, who as then was capteine generall of all the Danes that were in England. But Herdunt by reason of his wounded men, whome he was faine to carie with him, could not make forward with anie great speed, so that he was scarse fortie miles got forth on his waie, when word came to him, that Rasin fighting with the Englishmen vnwarilie, at a place called Helcades, chanced to be slaine with a great multitude of his people: and therevnto his head was caried abroad vp and downe the countrie from towne to towne to be seene. By such mishaps the prosperitie of the Danes so much flourishing of late, began now manifestlie to decaie.

Herdunt went toward Rasin, chiefe generall of the Danes in England.

Herdunt although he was not a little discouraged therewith, yet he chose forth a plot of ground most meet for his purpose, where he determined to abide in campe, till he might vnderstand what the Danes in other places were minded to do. But Gregorie king of Scots, hauing thus expelled the Danes forth of Northumberland, brought that countrie vnder his subiection: neuertheless he permitted the inhabitants to inioy all their possessions still, onelie receiuing of them in name of souereignitie a yerelie tribute. So that within a few daies after, he brake vp his armie, and went himselfe into Berwike, where he remained all the winter season in consultation with his nobles about the publike affaires of the realme.

Herdunt remained in campe.

King Gregorie suffered the inhabitants of Northumberland to inioy their lands.

King Gregorie wintered at Berwike.

In the beginning of the next summer, he prepared againe for warre, and raising an armie, he purposed to make a iournie against the Britains, who held (as before ye haue heard) a great part of Scotland. But he was not driuen to vse anie force in this warre: for the Britains being vexed afore this time with warre by the Danes, had compounded with them for an huge summe of monie to haue truce for twentie yeres space: but the Danes without regard to their promise, shortlie after (with a greater power than at the first) entered into the British borders, renewing the warre so fiercelie, that albeit their force was sore enfeebled, by reason of the two last ouerthrowes; yet the Britains doubting the worst, feared to incounter with them, and therefore after consultation had, they thought it best to assaie if they might happilie allure the Scots, of their enimies to become their friends. Hereupon sending vnto the Scotish king an herald, they require to ioine with them in armes against the Danes, common enimies to both their countries, promising that if they would so do, they would willinglie render into his hands all such possessions which they held at anie time belonging vnto the Scotish kingdome.

King Gregorie prepared an armie against the Britains.

The Britains send to king Gregorie.

Gregorie weieng with himselfe how necessarie this friendship should be, not onelie to the publike weale of all the whole land of Albion, but also of the good suertie and aduancement of Christes religion, whereof the Danes were greuous aduersaries (for this he thought, that if Scots, Englishmen, and Britains did ioine in one, and knit themselues together in aiding each other, there was no nation in the world that they needed to feare) he consented vnto the request of the Britains, and so accepting their offer, he had all those regions which perteined sometime to the Scots, and were now in possession of the Britains, surrendered into his hands, and so by this means were the Scotish confines inlarged and extended vnto their owne ancient limits and former bounds.

King Gregorie his consideration.

A peace concluded, and lands surrendered to the Scots.

This dissention and variance being ceassed after this maner, it greatlie reioised the minds of all the inhabitants of this Iland: but contrariwise, the Danes looked for nothing more than present destruction to insue vpon them, if this amitie should continue anie while amongest their enimies. Wherefore they practised sundrie means to breake th'amitie thus remaining betwixt their aduersaries, Scots, Englishmen, and Britains. Wherein they needed not greatlie to trauell, for within a short time after the conclusion of the same league, the prosperous successe of the Englishmen (which for a season had followed them vnder the conduct and gouernement of their king Alured against the Danes) occasioned the Britains also (hauing now no further feare of the Danish puissance) to repent themselues of the league, which they had latelie made with the Scots, so that Constantine, whome a little before they had receiued to be their king after the decease of his father, raised a power, and with the same entered into Annandale, to recouer that countrie out of the Scotishmens hands. But hearing in the end that Gregorie was comming with a great armie to succour his subiects, whome the said Britains on each side had sore afflicted, they began to draw backe towards Cumberland with their bootie, thinking there to be in safetie, vntill a time more conuenient.

The Britains repent them of the league made with the Scots.

But king Gregorie coasting the countrie, met with

The Scots ouerthrow the Britains.

with them at Lochmaben, and there gaue them battell, wherein when Conſtantine perceiued how his people began to ſhrinke backe, as one hauing more regard to his honor than to the ſuertie of his life, he ruſhed forth into the formoſt preaſe, there to ſuccour and relieue his ſtandards: but being compaſſed about amongeſt a great companie of his enimies, his chance was there to be ſlaine with a number of the chiefeſt lords of all the Britiſh nation. The other multitude ſeeing the day go thus againſt them, fled to ſaue their liues, leauing the victorie ſo vnto the Scots.

Conſtantine is ſlaine.

This ouerthrow did put the Britains in danger to haue bin vtterlie ouerrun, what by the Scots on the one ſide, and Danes on the other: for as for forren aid to be loked for of the Engliſh, they had plaine anſwer they ſhould haue none, ſith they had ſo vniuſtlie broken the league concluded with their confederats the Scots, to the great hinderance of the proſperous proceedings of all the inhabitants of this Ile, againſt their common enimies the Danes. Yet the better to eſtabliſh the eſtate of their countrie, and in hope of ſome recouerie of their former damages; they crowned to their king one Herbert or (as ſome copies haue) one Hebert the brother of the laſt Conſtantine, and herewith ſent ambaſſadours vnto Gregorie king of the Scotiſhmen to excuſe themſelues, in that they had ſo wrongfullie attempted the warres againſt him and his people, laieng all the fault in Conſtantine, who againſt the wils and contrarie to the minds of his ſubiects, did take vpon him that diſhonorable and moſt infortunat enterprize.

Herbert king of Britaine ſent ambaſſadors to Gregorie.

King Gregorie his anſwere.

Gregorie hauing heard the meſſage of theſe ambaſſadours, for anſwere declared vnto them, that he vnderſtood well inough, that the Britains now ſued for peace vpon no reuerend conſideration they had vnto their oths of couenant; but onelie for that they ſaw how if they ſhould purſue the warre ſtill, they were ſure that in the end they ſhould be like to haue the foile: and therefore he was fullie thus reſolued, not to conclude anie peace or truce with ſuch diſloiall people, till they had reſigned ouer into his hands the whole poſſeſſion of the countries of Cumberland and Weſtmerland, with aſſurance neuer to pretend anie claime or title vnto thoſe dominions from thenceforth: and herewith for performance of couenants, to render into his hands not onelie the keies of all the townes, caſtels and fortreſſes in the ſame countries, and to auoid quite their waies into Wales to other their countriemen there, but alſo to deliuer ſixtie noble mens ſonnes and heires apparant as pledges to remaine with the Scots.

Gregorie required a reſignation of Cumberland and weſtmerland.

The ambaſſadours returning home with this meſſage, and reporting it accordinglie vnto their king, when all men had ſaid their aduiſe, in the end they condeſcended to conclude a peace with the rehearſed conditions preſcribed by the Scotiſh king, ſith they ſaw no better meane to preſerue their nation from preſent deſtruction. And thus deliuering the appointed number of pledges, they left the countries of Cumberland and Weſtmerland void, ſurrendering into the Scotiſhmens hands the poſſeſſions of all the townes, caſtels and fortreſſes, and therewith departed into Northwales, where they placed themſelues in the countrie betwixt Conway and the riuer of Dee, out of the which they expelled the Engliſhmen (that were then in poſſeſſion thereof) and therewith they erected a kingdome there, which they named Stradcluid, mainteining warres againſt the Engliſhmen manie yeares after.

Peace was concluded.

Humf. Lhoid. 870.

King Gregorie hauing thus inlarged his kingdome, aſſembled his nobles at Carleill, where he reſolued (with their aduiſe) to follow ſuch good fortune as by Gods prouidence ſhould chance vnto them. Whereupon it was agreed, that they ſhould go firſt vnto Yorke to conquere that citie, whileſt the Engliſhmen in Kent were occupied with the Danes that were come thither; ſo as neither the one nation nor the other could attend to make anie attempt to hinder the Scotiſhmens enterprize. But in the meane time came ambaſſadours vnto Gregorie from king Alured, to congratulat his proſperous ſucceſſe againſt his enimies the Danes and others. Theſe ambaſſadours alſo willed to haue the ancient league betwixt Engliſhmen and Scots renewed, by which means both their powers might ioine togither againſt their common enimies, when they ſhould attempt anie wrongfull inuaſion.

The policie of the Scots to haue taken Yorke.

King Alured ſent ambaſſadours vnto king Gregorie.

This requeſt was granted, ſo that ſhortlie thereupon peace was eſtabliſhed betwixt thoſe princes and their people, with confirmation of the old league, whereto were added theſe articles; That the Scots ſhould inioy poſſeſſion of Northumberland without anie claime to be made to the ſame by the Engliſhmen; If the Danes chanced to inuade either of their dominions, the warre ſhould be accounted as common to them both; Neither ſhould the Scots grant paſſage to anie enimie of the Engliſhmen through Scotland, neither the Engliſhmen ſuffer the Scotiſhmens enimies to paſſe through England; If anie Engliſhmen did rob or ſteale anie thing out of Scotland, that ſhould not breake the league; but the offendors with the receiuers ſhould be deliuered to the Scotiſh magiſtrats, to be puniſhed according to the qualitie of the offenſe; and the like ſhould be obſerued by the Scots towards the Engliſhmen.

Peace confirmed.

New conditions of peace.

No paſſage to be granted vnto the enimie.

Puniſhment of robbers.

Thus things being quieted with the Engliſhmen, as Gregorie was about to lay armour aſide, word came to him of new troubles forth of Galloway, by reaſon of an inuaſion made by the Iriſhmen into that countrie. For the Iriſhmen hauing knowledge that the inhabitants of Galloway had ſpoiled two ſhips of Dubline arriuing on their coaſt, ſent ouer a great power of men, the which landing in Galloway, made great ſlaughter of the people on each ſide. King Gregorie being aduertiſed hereof, ſtreitwaies made towards them, but they hauing knowledge of his comming drew to their ſhips with a great prey of goods and cattels, and returned therewith immediatlie backe into their owne countrie.

Galloway inuaded by the Iriſh men.

Herevpon Gregorie without delaie got togither his ſhips and followed the enimie with all his armie, and landing in Ireland, put the nobles of that realme in great feare, who as then were in contention togither which of them ſhould haue the gouernement, by reaſon their king was latelie dead, and had left a ſonne behind him being but a child in yeres, to ſucceed him in his throne. Some therefore of the wiſer ſort, and ſuch as tendered the wealth of their countrie, went earneſtlie about to agree the parties, but when they ſaw that it would not be, they did ſo much preuaile, that a truce was taken betwixt them for a while, leaſt fighting ſtill amongſt themſelues, they ſhould put their countrie in danger to be ouerrun of the Scots: againſt whome when they had agreed vpon the foreſaid truce, either of the factions raiſed a power, one Bren being generall of the one, and Cornelius of the other; for theſe two princes were heads of the parties, betwixt whom the controuerſie for the gouernement of the realme reſted, and thereupon by conſent of the reſidue had the leading of all them that were of their faction.

A truce was taken betwixt the two parties.

The two Iriſhmen gather their powers.

Theſe two capteins with their armies incamped themſelues vpon the banke of the riuer Bane, vnder the mounteine called Fute: their camps being ſeuered by a ſmall diſtance the one from the other, in ſuch a ſtrong place, that it was not poſſible for the

Two armies one neere the other.

the enimies to approch them without manifeſt danger to caſt away themſelues. Their chiefe purpoſe was to prolong the time here in this place, till they had famiſhed the Scotiſh armie, and then to deale with them at their pleaſure. But the induſtrious proviſion of Gregorie paſſed the politike deuiſe of the Iriſhmen: for he had commanded that euerie one of thoſe Scotiſhmen, which paſſed the ſeas with him, ſhould purueie himſelfe of vittels, according to the cuſtome of the countrie, for fiftie daies ſpace, as of bread, cheeſe, butter, lard, and powdered beefe: as for drinke, they knew they ſhould not need to care, ſith they were ſure to find water inough in euerie place where they chanced to come: for as yet filthie & ſeruile gluttonie had not ſoftned nor inured with wanton delicacie the warlike natures of the Scotiſh people.

In the end Gregorie, hauing for certeine daies reſted himſelfe and his men, and deuiſing in the meane time which way he might beſt indamage the enimies; at length concluded to ſend in the night ſeaſon two thouſand of his ſouldiors vp to the ridge of the forenamed mounteine called Fute, through the thicke buſhes and woods, wherewith the ſame was couered, to the end that getting to the top of that hill, right ouer where the Iriſh camps laie, they might in the morning (at what time Gregorie with the reſt of the armie went about to aſſaile his enimies) tumble downe ſtones from the browes of the hill vpon them, thereby either to deſtroy great numbers of them, either elſe to conſtreine them to come forth of their ſtrength into the plaine fields, and ſo to fight with them in a place indifferent.

Kenneth Cullan the thane of Carrike, tooke vpon him to haue the conduct of them that ſhould go about this interpriſe, who conueieng his band ouer the water of Bane, and ſo vp on the backeſide of the mounteine, in the morning when their felowes fell in hand to aſſaile the Iriſh campe, where Bren lodged, they tumbled ſuch plentie of mightie ſtones downe vpon the Iriſhmen, that aboue a thouſand of them being ſlaine, all the reſidue were forced to forſake their ground, & to flee in maner without anie ſtroke ſtriken. The Scots that were ſent to purſue them, tooke a great number of them priſoners, and ſlue but a few, hauing before hand ſuch commandement from their prince.

Whileſt this miſchiefe fell vpon Bren and his people, Cornelius with his folkes curſſing that infortunate daie, left their lodgings, and marched their waies in good order of battell, till they were farre inough out of danger. The bodie of Bren alſo was found amongſt other in the rifling of the campe, with the head bruiſed in peeces, and the braines paſhed out with ſome ſtone throwne downe by the Scotiſhmen from the hill ſide: which Gregorie at the requeſt of ſome of the priſoners, cauſed to be buried in chriſtian ſepulchre. He cauſed alſo women and children to be ſent awaie harmeleſſe, onelie reteining the men of able age priſoners. Furthermore he commanded that they ſhould vſe neither fire nor ſword, but againſt ſuch onelie as with weapon in hand made anie reſiſtance: and commanded them alſo that they ſhould prouide themſelues of vittels to ſerue them, whileſt they ſhould lie abroad & remaine there in that countrie.

Herevpon manie of the Iriſh people thus taſting the mercifull clemencie of the Scotiſh king, yeelded themſelues vnto him with ſundrie fortreſſes, ſo that Gregorie finding ſufficient prouiſion of vittels to ſerue his hoſt for a long ſeaſon, he went vnto the ſtrong citie of Doungarg, or Doungard, which he enuironed about with a ſtrong ſiege, & continuing the ſame certeine daies, at length they within wearied with continuall trauell and lacke of vittels, opened the gate, and ſuffered him to enter. He would not permit his men to meddle with anie of the ſpoile, but appointed the townelmen to redeeme the ſame (their armour excepted) of his ſouldiors for a peece of monie.

The towne was yeelded.

A gentle ranſome.

Afterward, tarieng in this citie by the ſpace of three daies, he departed and came afore another citie called Pontus, which he receiued by ſurrender, and therfore preſerued the citizens from all hurt & annoiance. From thence he purpoſed to haue gone vnto Dublin, about 14 miles diſtant from Pontus, but as he marched thitherwards, he was aduertiſed that Cornelius was comming towards him with ſuch an huge armie, as the like had not beene ſeene within the memorie of man in that Ile. Wherevpon Gregorie changing his purpoſe of going to Dublin, vpon report of theſe newes, he got him vp into the next mounteine.

Pontus was ſurrendred alſo.

Cornelius came with an huge armie.

The next day came the Iriſhmen ranged in three battels. In the firſt there was a great multitude of Kernes with darts and bowes: in the ſecond were a great number of mightie tall men, armed in cotes of male, with bucklers and great long ſwords, which they caried vpon their right ſhoulders. In the third battell, wherein ſtood their generall Cornelius, with all the chiefeſt nobles of the countrie, were an infinite companie of all ſorts of ſouldiors, choſen forth of all the whole numbers. The Scots (according to their cuſtome) diuided themſelues into two wings, and a middle ward, in euerie of the which were three ſorts of ſouldiors: as firſt archers, and thoſe with long ſpeares, then bilmen, and laſt of all ſuch as bare long ſwords and leaden malles.

The Iriſhmen came in three battels. Kernes. Theſe might we name Gallowglaſſes, if they had been furniſhed with axes.

The Scots came in two wings.

Thus the battels being ordered on both parts, forward they make one towards another to begin the fight. The Scots (after their ſhot and throwing of darts was ſpent, and that they came to ioine) kept off their enimies with long ſpeares or iauelins, in ſuch ſort, that they were not able to come neere them: which diſaduantage Cornelius perceiuing, commanded on high, that they ſhould with their ſwords cut thoſe iauelins in ſunder. And as he lifted vp the viſor of his helmet, the better to exhort his people to the execution hereof, he was ſo wounded in the face with a ſpeare, that he was faine to withdraw apart out of the field. The Iriſhmen ſuppoſing he had fled, incontinentlie to ſaue themſelues, threw off their armor and fell to running awaie. Thus did the victorie incline to the Scotiſh ſtandards.

Two battels ioine.

Cornelius was ſore wounded.

The Iriſh ran away.

There died but a few (to ſpeake of) in the battell, howbeit in the chaſe there was a wonderfull number ſlaine: for the Scots purſued them euen vnto Dublin gates, which citie the next daie Gregorie beſet on each ſide with a mightie ſiege. There was got into this citie at the ſame time a wonderfull multitude of people, what of ſuch as were receiued into it fleeing from the battell, as alſo of other which were there aſſembled before, in hope of aſſured victorie and ſafegard of their goods. By reaſon wherof being thus beſieged, they began quicklie to want vittels, ſo that either they muſt of neceſſitie yeeld, either elſe by ſome iſſue auoid that danger wherein they were preſentlie bewrapped.

Dublin beſieged.

But forſomuch as they ſaw no great likelihood of good ſucceſſe in that exploit, in the end it was concluded amongſt them, that (ſith there was no meane for thoſe noble men which were incloſed within that citie to eſcape the enimies hands, and that there were none other of anie reputation abroad able to defend the countrie from the Scotiſhmens puiſſance) they ſhould fall to ſome treatie with the Scotiſh king for a peace to be had, with ſo reaſonable conditions as might be obteined: for other remedie in that preſent

They conſult vpon a treatie of peace to be made.

sent mischiefe they could deuise none, and therefore this was iudged the best waie of the whole number, namelie of Cormach bishop of Dublin, a man for his singular vertue and reputation of vpright life, of no small authoritie amongst them.

He tooke vpon him also to go vnto Gregorie to breake the matter, & so comming afore his presence, besought him most humblie to haue compassion vpon the poore miserable citie, and in such sort to temper his wrath, if he had conceiued anie peece of displeasure against the citizens, that it might please him yet vpon their humble submission to receiue them vnto his mercie, and further to accept into his protection his cousine yong Duncane, vnto whome the kingdome of Ireland was due of right, as all the world well vnderstood. He besought him also to remember, that it apperteined more to the honor of a king, to preserue the lawfull right of other kings and princes with the quiet state of cities and countries, than by violent hand to seeke their destruction.

Wherevnto the king answered, that he was not come into Ireland for anie couetous desire he had to the realme, or to the intent to spoile his kinsman of the gouernement thereof, but onelie to reuenge such iniuries as the Irishmen had done to his subiects. Not the Scots but the Irishmen themselues were they that had giuen the occasion of the warre, which they had derelie bought with no small portion of their bloud (which had bene shed) as punished for that crime worthilie by the iust iudgement of almightie God. But as touching an end to be had of his quarell, & for the reseruing of the kingdome vnto yong Duncans behoofe, when he had the citie at his pleasure, he would then take such order as he should thinke most conuenient.

This answer of the Scotish king being reported vnto them within the citie, they determined forthwith to set open their gates to receiue him: who, when he had caused search to be made whether all things were truelie ment according to the outward shew or not, he marched forth towards the citie to enter the same in order of battell, with all his whole armie, into the which he was receiued with procession of all the estates: for first there met him all the priests and men of religion, with the bishop the foresaid Cormach, who hauing vpon him his pontificall apparell, bare in his hand the crucifix: then followed the nobles with the other multitude.

Which order when Gregorie beheld, he commanded his battell to staie a little, and therewith he himselfe aduanced forth on foot till he came to the bishop, and falling downe vpon his knees, he reuerentlie kissed the crucifix, whereupon receiuing humble thanks with high commendation of the bishop for such his clemencie, he entered the citie, not staieng till he came into the market place, where commanding one part of his armie to keepe their standing, he went with the residue vnto the church of our ladie, and after to that of saint Patrike, where hearing the celebration of diuine seruice, when the same was ended, he entered the castell, where his lodging was prepared. In the morning he caused execution to be done of certeine vnrulie persons of his armie, who in the night passed had broken vp the houses of some of the citizens, and rauished diuerse women. And for this act Gregorie being had in high reuerence of the Irish people, lodged part of his armie within the citie, and part he commanded to lodge without in the campe.

At length hauing remained a season in this estate at Dublin, he caused the Irish lords to assemble in councell, where in the end the peace was concluded betwixt him and them, with these articles and couenants. First it was agreed that the yong king Duncane should be brought vp vnder the gouernement of wise and discréet persons, to be instructed in all princelie knowledge, within a strong castell, (wherein he had hitherto remained euer since his fathers decease) till he came to yeres of discretion. And that in the meane time Gregorie should haue the gouernance of the realme, receiuing all the fortresses into his possession. He should also haue the appointment of the magistrates, who should see iustice ministred according to the old statutes & ordinances of the Irish kingdome. That the Irishmen should receiue neither Englishman, Britaine, nor Dane, into their countrie, no not so much as for trade of merchandize, without safe conduct to be granted by him. So that things being thus brought to a quietnesse in Ireland, he receiued an oth of the chiefest of them for performance of the couenants, and herewith taking with him three score hostages, he returned with his victorious armie backe into Scotland.

After this there chanced no notable trouble to the Scots, neither forreine nor ciuill, by all the time of king Gregories reigne, so that passing the rest of his life in quietnesse, he studied chiefle for the politike gouernement of his people in good order and rule, to the aduancement of the common-wealth: and finallie died an happie old man, in a castell called Dundore within the countrie of Garioth, in the 18 yeere after his entring into his estate, and after the birth of our Sauiour 893. He was neuer maried, but liued in continuall chastitie: for his famous victories and other his princelie doings, he deserued of the Scots to be numbered amongst their most high and renowmed princes. Amongst other his princelie acts which he set forward in his life time, to the adornement of his countrie and common-wealth; Aberdine (of a village) was aduanced by him to the state and dignitie of a citie, and the church there indowed with faire reuenues, and sundrie priuiledges. His bodie was conueied vnto the abbeie of Colmekill, and there buried with all solemne pompe and exequies: ouer the which his next successor, Donald the fift of that name, caused a faire tombe to be erected.

In the daies of this Gregorie also, there liued that famous clearke John Scot, a Scotishman in déed borne, but brought vp in studie of good literature at Athens, where hauing learned the Greeke tong, he was sent for into France, to come vnto the emperour Lewes, with whom he remained in seruice for a time: and by whose commandement he translated the booke of saint Dionyse, intituled Hierarchia, into Latine. Afterwards being sent ambassador from the same Lewes vnto Alured or Alfred king of England, he continued with him and taught his children, hauing a place thereto appointed him within the abbeie of Malmesburie, where he had such resort of hearers and scholers, that it was a wonder to behold. Notwithstanding, at length when he ceassed not to blame and sharpelie to reproue the corrupt maners of such his scholers, as were giuen more to libertie than learning, he was by them murthered with daggers, as he was reading vnto them, and was afterwards registred amongst the number of martyrs.

BVt to our purpose. After Gregorie succéeded Donald the 5 in gouernement of the kingdome, he was the sonne of Constantine the second; who finding the state of the realme in good quiet and flourishing in welth, he applied his whole studie to maintéine the same in semblable plight and condition. And before all things he caused iustice to be dulie ministred, so that no iniurie, speciallie if it were done to anie poore person, escaped vnpunished. Christ the Lord of all vertue had giuen him such a godlie disposed

Cormach B. of Dublin went vnto K. Gregorie.

Duncane.

A wittie saieng.

King Gregorie his wise & godly answer.

Dublin is surrendered vnto K. Gregorie.

Gregory was receiued with procession.

Cormach bishop of Dublin becōmeth a crosse-bearer.

He kisseth the crucifix.

He entred the castell.

A peace concluded with Ireland.

Articles of couenant.

Their yoong king to be brought vp.

K. Gregorie to haue the gouernment of the realme.

He should appoint the magistrates.

No man to traffike in Ireland without a passport

K. Gregorie returned into Scotland.

The king died.

893.

Aberdine is made a citie.

King Gregorie is buried in Colmekill.

John Scot. Some hold that he was an Englishman. Bale.

Dionys. Areopagita was translated by John Scot.

He taught K. Alured in England.

He taught in Malmesburi

He was killed of his scholers.

Donald.

Donald the fift.

He was a good iusticier.

He was religious.

disposed

diſpoſed mind, whoſe religion (to the aduancement of his glorie) he had euer in high veneration. Among other his godlie ordinances, he made this ſtatute to be obſerued as a law, that ſuch as by ſwearing vnaduiſedlie blaſphemed the name of almightie God, or in curſing and banning called vpon the name of the wicked fend, and betooke anie chriſtian creature vnto his heilliſh power and domination (a vice naturallie following the people of that nation) ſhould haue his tong thruſt through with a burnig iron. But woe worth the negligence of ſuch as haue ſucceded him, in ſuffering ſo neceſſarie an ordinance to be aboliſhed and worne out of vſe, conſidering the horrible othes and blaſphemie, with the bitter and dreadfull curſings ſo much frequented of all eſtates in this our time, as well in Scotland as elſewhere, as without great horror of the hearers cannot bee halfe expreſſed.

A puniſher of blaſphemers.

God ordinances are neglected.

But to our purpoſe touching the gouernement of Donald, it chanced afterwards, that he had knowledge how Gormond a Dane was landed with a puiſſant armie vpon the coaſts of Northumberland, and had pitched his campe neere vnto the ſhore, without doing anie damage to the countrie: ſo that it was vncerteine what he intended, whether to begin a conqueſt there, or to paſſe ouer Humber to make warres on the Engliſhmen. To preuent therefore all dangers, Donald haſted towards Northumberland; howbeit he was not farre forwards on his iornie, but that word came to him, how Gormond was alreadie paſſed ouer Humber, and entered into the Engliſh borders. But yet did not Donald ſtaie his iournie, till he heard certeinelie that Gormond keeping vpon his way, was aduanced forward at the leaſt 40 miles off from the riuer of Humber, doubting leaſt happilie he had ment ſome deceit, as ſuddenlie to haue returned vpon the Scots in Northumberland, when the king had beene once gone backe.

Gormond arriued with a naue in Northumberland.

King Donald goeth to reſiſt him.

Gormond went beyond Humber.

But now, when it was knowne that his purpoſe was onelie to aſſaile the Engliſh countries, according to the league newlie confirmed, Donald ſent 5000 Scotiſhmen vnto the aid of the Engliſhmen; and alſo appointed two thouſand horſſemen to remaine with him in Northumberland (where he ſtaied for a time) diſcharging the reſidue, & licencing them to returne vnto their homes. Shortlie after Gormond fought with Alured at Abingdon, where in the end the victorie abode with the Engliſhmen and Scots, though the ſame was got with ſuch loſſe of men after long and doubtfull battell, that they were not able to purſue the enimies in chaſe, but conſtreined immediatlie after to conclude a neceſſarie peace with them, on condition that the Danes ſhould enioy common ſeats with the Engliſhmen in Albion, & that Gormond with his Danes ſhould be baptiſed and profeſſe the chriſtian religion. Herevpon alſo were pledges deliuered on both parts, and Gormond comming to receiue baptiſme had his name changed and was called Athelſtane, during whoſe life the peace continued betwixt the two nations.

Donald ſent 5000 men to the aid of the Engliſhmen.

Gormond is ouerthrowne by K. Alured.

A peace concluded.

The Danes to be baptiſed, and to remain in England.

Gormond is baptiſed with manie mo.

Whileſt things paſſed thus in England, there roſe a peece of trouble betwixt the inhabitants of Murrey land and Roſſe, which diſquieted king Donald not a little. The occaſion grew by reaſon of certeine theeues, which comming forth of Roſſe in the night time, ſecretlie entered into Murrey land, to fetch bowties from thence. At the firſt they of Murrey land made reſiſtance againſt them as well as they might, but after calling their neighbours to aid them, they ſkirmiſhed in ſuch wiſe, that within two moneths ſpace, there were ſlaine betwixt them two thouſand of the one ſide and of the other. Donald being not a little offended to haue his peace broken with intes-

They of Roſſe inuade Murrey land.

Two thouſand men ſlaine.

tine diſcord, gathered a great power, and with the ſame haſted into Murrey land: where calling the chiefeſt doers and maintainers of this buſineſſe to make anſwer to that which was laid to their charge, when they were not able to cleare themſelues of the crime, he put them to open execution of death, to the example of other. This trouble being in this ſort quieted, he went into Northumberland, to be there in a readineſſe, if the Danes or Engliſhmen (whome he ſuſpected) ſhould attempt anie thing againſt his ſubiects in thoſe parties: where in the end, after he had reigned almoſt 11 yeers, he departed this world. His bodie was buried in Colmekill amongſt his anceſtors, with a marble towne ſet ouer his graue, as the manner in thoſe daies was cuſtomablie vſed.

The king went with an armie into Murrey land.

The chiefe doers were put to death.

The king went into Northumberland.

Donald died.

Conſtantine.

AFter Donald the firſt, there ſucceeded in rule of the realme Conſtantine the third of that name, the ſonne of Ethus the ſwift, beginning his reigne in the yeere after the incarnation 903. He was more apt for ciuill gouernement, than for the ordering of warlike affaires. King Edward that latelie ſucceeded Alured in rule ouer the Engliſhmen being ware thereof, ſent vnto him an herald at armes, commanding him to reſtore vnto his ſubiects the Engliſhmen, the countries of Northumberland, Cumberland, & Weſtmerland (which the Scotiſh king Gregorie had in times paſt by occaſion of the troubleſome ſeaſon taken from the right owners by force) either elſe to looke for warres at his hands within fortie daies after this ſummons.

Conſtantine the third.

903.

King Edward ſent an herald with defiance.

Conſtantine hereunto anſwered, that if king Edward were minded to make him wars for thoſe lands which he held by rightfull title, he with his people would be readie to defend themſelues, hoping in the almightie God that he would turne the puniſhment on them that vniuſtlie had pſked the quarrell. Herevpon inſued manie rodes and forraies betwixt the Engliſhmen and Scots, made (as occaſion ſerued) into ech others countrie, with diuers ſkirmiſhes and light bickerings for twelue moneths ſpace together, without anie notable incounter of their maine powers. In which meane time the Danes increaſed in puiſſance, more than was thought requiſite for the ſuertie either of the Engliſhmen or Scots, which moued king Edward by perſuaſion of his nobles, to make meanes vnto Conſtantine to haue the peace renewed: whereunto Conſtantine lightlie agreed: ſo that the league was confirmed againe with the former articles betwixt the Engliſh and Scotiſh nations.

The anſwer of king Conſtantine.

Forewarnings of war.

The peace was renewed and the league confirmed.

Shortlie after alſo the warre was renewed betwixt the Engliſhmen and Danes, and a peace againe confirmed by concluſion of a mariage betwixt Sithrike king of Northumberland, and Beatrice daughter of king Edward, till at length Sithrike was poiſoned by his wife the ſaid Beatrice: and then becauſe Aualaffus (whome the Engliſh writers name Aulafe) and Godfrie, the ſonnes of Sithrike, put the ſame Beatrice to death, hir father king Edward moued warre againſt them, and in foughten field diſcomfited them, but was ſlaine in that battell himſelfe (as Hector Boetius ſaith.) But for the further truth of this matter, ye may read more in the hiſtorie of England.

The Danes were diſcomfited.

The Danes being certified, that king Edward was thus ſlaine, conceiued ſuch hope of good ſucceſſe after to come, that albeit they were at this time vanquiſhed, they immediatlie made new preparation for the warre, and firſt of all Aualaffus the one of the two brethren before mentioned, ſent vnto Conſtantine the Scotiſh king, to allure him to ioine with them againſt the Engliſhmen, which with great gifts and large promiſes he eaſilie brought to paſſe, the league notwithſtanding which remained betwixt

The Danes conceiue hope of good ſucceſs.

The Scots euer falſe to the Engliſhmen.

The Scots and Danes confederate themselues togither.

the English and Scotish nations. Herevpon both the Scots and Danes made the greatest prouision that might be, thinking verelie to subdue the Englishmen, and to bring them to vtter destruction.

Malcolme sonne to king Donald was appointed by king Constantine to haue the leading of the Scotish armie, conteining the number of twentie thousand men. The same Malcolme also at the same time was created heire apparant of the realme, hauing Cumberland assigned vnto him for the maintenance of his estate. And euen then it was ordeined, that he which should succéed to the crowne after the kings decease, should euer inioy that prouince. Malcolme ioining his power with Aualassus and Godfrie (who had assembled in like manner a mightie host of Danes) they all togither brake into the English confines, sparing no kind of crueltie that might be deuised, murthering the people without anie pitie or compassion in all places where they came, to the intent that the Englishmen moued with the slaughter of their kinsfolks and friends, should come forth into the field to giue battell, supposing they should not be able to withstand the force of the Danes and Scotishmen now ioined in one armie togither.

Malcolme is made chiefe generall of the armie.

He is created also heire apparant.

The earle of Cumberland heire apparant to the king of Scots

The Scots and Danes ioine their powers togither.

They begin a cruell warre.

But the more vilanie they shewed in their doings, the soner were they punished for the same. For Athelstane the base sonne of king Edward (whome the Englishmen had chosen to succéd in gouernement of their kingdome after his fathers decease) with all spéd sought to be reuenged of such iniurious doings. Whereupon getting togither an armie, he incountred with them at a place called Broningfield, or Brunenburgh, in July, in the yeare 937, where the English at the first of purpose gaue somthing backe, as though they had fled: which manner when the Danes and Scots beheld, supposing the Englishmen had fled in déed, they began to pursue amaine, leaning their order of battell, ech of them striuing who might be the formost.

Athelstane base sonne vnto king Edward.

Athelstane came against the Scots.

937.

The Scots and Danes out of order.

The Englishmen (according to the order appointed to them by their capteins) suddenlie fell into arrate againe, and fiercelie returning vpon their enimies, did beat them downe in great numbers, & so atchiued a most triumphant victorie. There died in this mortall battell manie thousands of Danes and Scotishmen, but chieflie the Scotish nobilitie bought the bargaine most déere, who chosing rather to die in the field than to suffer rebuke by dishonorable flight, it came so to passe that few of them escaped. There died on that side (as some write) 20000 men in this battell, togither with Wilfert king of the Guentes, Hanwall king of Brittains, and seuen dukes that came to helpe the Scots and Danes. Athelstane by good aduise following the victorie, entred into Northumberland, and finding the countrie dispurueied of men of warre, he easilie made a full conquest therof, hauing all the holds and fortresses deliuered into his hands.

The Scots and Danes ouerthrowne.

The nobilitie went to wracke.

Athelstane tooke Northumberland.

Then without further delaie he passed into Westmerland, and after into Cumberland, where the inhabitants of both those regions bare-foted and bare-headed, in token of most humble submission, yéelded themselues vnto him, promising from thencefoorth to continue his faithfull subiects. In the meane time Malcolme being sore wounded in the battell, escaped; yet with great danger, and in an horsse-litter was conueied home into his countrie, where he declared to king Constantine the whole circumstance of the ouerthrow and losse of his countries aforesaid. Whereupon Constantine caused a councell to be called at Abirnethie, where he perceiued how sore his realme was infeebled through lacke of such of the nobilitie as were lost in the last battell, by reason the residue that were left, seemed through want of yéeres, neither able by counsell nor by force to defend the realme, so as he vtterlie despaired either to be of power to beate backe the enimies, or to gouerne his realme in such politike sort as he would haue wished. And therefore, to rid himselfe of all such cares and troubles, and withall despising all such worldlie pompe as might withdraw him from diuine contemplation (wherevnto he was partlie bent) he gaue ouer his kinglie estate, and became a canon within the abbeie of saint Andrewes amongst the couent there.

Westmerland and Cumberland recouered.

Malcolme escaped his hurts.

A councell called by Constantine.

Constantine becommeth a canon.

This was in the yeare of our Sauiour 943, and in the fortith yeare of his owne reigne (as Hector Boetius saith:) but if he did thus forsake the world, and entred into religion immediatlie after the battell fought at Broningfield or Brunenburgh (for so we find it named by some writers) then must it néedes be before this supposed time alledged by the same Boetius, for that battell was fought anno 937, as the best approued amongst our English writers do report, so that it should rather séeme that Constantine refused in déed to deale with the gouernement of the realme, about the same yeare of our Lord 937, or shortlie after; and that Malcolme gouerned as regent and not as king whilest Constantine liued, who departed this life (after he had continued in the abbeie of saint Andrewes a certeine time) in the foresaid yeare 943, falling in the fortie yeare after he first began to reigne. He was first buried in the church there amongst the bishops, but afterwards he was taken vp and translated vnto Colmekill, where he had a tombe set ouer him, as was conuenient for the memorie of his name.

943.

Match. West.

943.

Constantine died.

In the 36 yeare of his reigne there were two monstrous creatures borne in Albion, the one amongst the Danes being an hermophrodyte, that is to say, a child with both seres, hauing the head like a swine, the brest standing forth more in resemblance than the common shape of man, a fat bellie, with féete like a goose, legs like a man, full of brissels, and a verie euill fauored thing to behold. The other was borne in Northumberland, onelie hauing a mans ser, with one whole bellie from the nauill downe, but aboue the same diuided with two brests creassed or compassed ridge-wise, and not broad like to the shape of man: beside this it had foure armes and two heads. And euen as from the nauill vpwards it was thus diuided into two bodies, so did it appeare there was two contrarie wils or desires in the same, euer lusking contrarilie, as when the one did sléepe, the other would wake; when the one required to haue meat, the other passed for none at all. Oftentimes would they chide and brall togither, insomuch that at length they fell so far at variance, that they did beat and rent either other verie pitifullie with their nailes. At length the one with long sickenesse wearing away and finallie deceassing, the other was not able to abide the greeuous smell of the dead carcase, but immediatlie after died also.

A monster.

In other monster.

Two contrarie willes in this monster.

One part died before the other.

About the same time there issued forth a founteine of bloud out of the side of a mounteine in Galloway, and flowed in great abundance for the space of seuen daies togither, so that all the riuers therabout (whereof there is great store in that countrie) had their waters mired with bloud, and so running into the sea, caused the same to séeme bloudie certeine miles distant from the shore. These prodigious sights put men in great feare, for that diuinours did interpret the same to signifie some great bloudshed to fall vpon the Scots shortlie after. They were also the better beléeued, for that within a while after, that great ouerthrow happened at Broningfield, as before is specified.

Blond issued out of an hill.

What was ment by these wonders.

After

Malcolme

AFter that Constantine (as is said) was entred into religion, the before named Malcolme the sonne of Donald was admitted king, or rather regent: who although he perceiued right well how the force of the realme was so infeebled, that there was no hope to mainteine warres abroad; yet his chiefe studie was by all means possible to defend the borders of the Scotish dominion, and before all things to procure peace with the Englishmen. But as he was about to haue sent ambassadours vnto king Athelstane, to haue treated for peace, he was crediblie informed, how Athelstane had giuen Northumberland vnto Aualaffus, and made a league with him to haue his aid against the Scots. Which newes put Malcolme in wonderfull dread, for that he vnderstood how his realme was vnpurueied of skilfull capteins to make resistance. Yet he caused a councell to be called, wherein when such as were assembled proponed manie fond and childish reasons, it might happen there was small hope of anie good conclusion; but euen as they were at a point to haue broken vp without anie certeine resolution, word was brought how through seditious discord, which had chanced betwixt the Danes and Englishmen being assembled togither in campe, they had fought a right cruell and bloudie battell, the victorie in the end remaining with the Englishmen, who ceased not to pursue the Danes in chase, so long as anie day light appeered in the skie.

Aualaffus had giuen him Northumberland.

A councel called.

The English men and the Danes fall out togither, and fight.

Aualaffus with such Danes as he might get togither after that ouerthrow, fled into Westmerland, and within three daies after, in such ships as he found there vpon the coast, he sailed ouer into the Ile of Man, and spoiling the same, with all the preie he passed from thence ouer into Ireland. In the meane time king Athelstane hauing lost no small number of his people in the foresaid battell, omitted his iournie into Scotland, and lay still in Northumberland, no man vnderstanding what he intended to do. Which newes were so pleasant to the Scotishmen, that there was common supplications and processions made through the whole realme, in rendering thanks to almightie God for deliuering the people by this means from so great and present a danger.

Aualaffus fled into Westmerland, rifled the Ile of Man, and got him into Ireland.

They go in procession in Scotland for ioy.

Shortlie after came ambassadours from Athelstane vnto Malcolme, to moue means for a peace to be concluded betwixt the Scotish and English nations, according to the articles of the old league, which motion was ioifullie heard of Malcolme, though he set a countenance of the matter as though he passed not whether he had warre or peace: but in the end, for that (as he said) peace was most necessarie for all parts, he shewed himselfe willing to haue the old former league renewed betwixt the Englishmen and Scots, with anie reasonable conditions which should be thought requisit.

Imbassadors sent vnto Malcolme.

The league was confirmed againe.

After the returne of the ambassadours, the league was newlie confirmed betwixt the two kings and their people, with the semblable articles as were comprised in the old league, with this article onelie added thereunto; that Northumberland, being as now replenished most with Danish inhabitants, should remaine to the Englishmen; and Cumberland with Westmerland to the Scots: vpon this condition, that he which should succeed as heire vnto the crowne of Scotland after the kings decease, being heire apparant, should hold those regions, and do homage vnto the king of England as his vassall perpetuallie for the same. The peace being thus established betwixt these nations, Indulph the sonne of Constantine the third was proclamed prince of Cumberland, and inheritour to the crowne of Scotland.

Northumberland allotted vnto England.

Cumberland and westmerland to do homage vnto England.

After this, Malcolme passed the residue of his life in good quiet, without anie troubles of warre, as a man onelie studieng to maintein the state of his realme in good order, as well for the wealth of the temporaltie, as spiritualtie, wherevnto he was equallie inclined. At length, as he rode about the prouinces of his realme, to see the lawes dulie ministred, at Ulrine a village in Murrey land, where he caused iustice to be somewhat streictlie executed vpon offendors, he was murthered in the night season by treason of a few conspirators, in the fifteenth yeare of his reigne. But such as did this wicked deed with their complices, by diligent examination were tried out, and on the next day being apprehended, suffered due execution, according as they had deserued, being torne in peeces with wild horsses, and those peeces sent vnto sundrie cities, where they were hanged vp on the gates and towers, vntill they rotted away.

King Malcolme was murthered.

The conspirators were put to execution.

The murtherers were torne with horsses.

They that were the deuisers of the murder also, and procured the doers thereunto, were thrust quite through vpon sharpe stakes, and after hanged vp aloft on high gibbets; and other of the conspirators were put to other kinds of death, as the case seemed to require. The death of Malcolme chanced in the yeare after the death of our Sauiour 959. ¶ Here we haue thought good to put you in remembrance, that either the Scots are deceiued in their account of yeares; or else mistake the names of the kings of England: for where they write that this Malcolme departed this life about the 22 yeare of Athelstane king of England, that can not be; if Malcolms decease chanced in the yeare 959, for Athelstane was dead long before that time, to wit, in the yeare 940, and reigned but fiftéene yeares.

The procurers of the murther were staied.

959.

The mistaking of the names and times of the English kings in the Scotish writers.

Moreouer, where the Scotish writers make mention of the warres which king Edmund that succeeded Athelstane had against Aulafe and the Danes of Northumberland, in the daies of king Indulph that succeeded Malcolme, it can not stand by anie means (if they mistake not their account of yeares:) for the same Edmund was slaine in the yeare 948. But verelie this fault in the iust account of yeares is but too common in the Scotish historie, and therefore to him that should take vpon him to reforme the errors thereof in this behalfe, it were necessarie to alter in a maner the whole course of the same historie. And therefore we will not wish anie man to giue anie credit vnto their account in yeares, touching the reignes of the English kings, further than they shall see them to agree with our writers, whome in that behalfe we may more safelie follow, and by conferring the same with the Scotish writers in some places, happilie perceiue the true time, aswell of the reignes of their kings, as of acts done, to fall out in yeares and seasons, much differing from their account: whereof to admonish the reader, aswell here as in the English historie, we haue thought it not impertinent.

And albeit that some may aske what reason we haue to moue vs to doubt of their account of years, more than we do of that in our owne writers? We will referre the same vnto their iudgements that are learned, and haue trauelled indifferentlie alike, aswell in perusing the one as the other without affection. But as the errors are sooner found than amended, so haue we thought good to set downe in the margent of this booke, the yeares as we find them noted in the Scotish writers, speciallie in places where we differ anie thing from them, because we will not seeme by way of controlment to preiudice the authors, further than by due consideration the well aduised reader shall thinke it expedient.

But to my purpose. After the corps of Malcolme was once buried (according to the custome) amongst

Indulph.

mongſt his predeceſſors in the abbie church of Colmekill, Indulph prince of Cumberland was placed in the marble chaire at Scone, there receiuing the crowne and other the inueſtures of the kingdome. In the adminiſtration whereof he continued for the ſpace of fiue yeares without anie notable trouble, in the end of which terme, he was required by meſſengers ſent vnto him from Aualaſſus, to ioine with him in league againſt the Engliſhmen, in reuenge of that ouerthrow, which aſwell the Danes as Scots had receiued at Broningfield, alledging that opportunitie was now offered, ſith after the deceſſe of Athelſtane, the Engliſhmen had created Edmund to be their king, a man of a dull wit, & not fit for the adminiſtration of high affaires: neither did the league concluded betwixt Athelſtane and Malcolme inforce anie impediment, but that he might enter the warre againſt the Engliſhmen, conſidering that both the princes that were the authors of that league were departed out of this life, by whoſe deceaſſe the ſaid league was ended.

Indulph is prouoked by Aualaſſus to warre againſt England.

His perſuaſions.

But Indulph for anſwere hereunto declared, that the league was concluded betwixt Malcolme and Athelſtane, by great deliberation of aduiſe, and by conſent of all the eſtates of both realmes, taking their ſolemne oths for the true obſeruing thereof, ſo that he could not, vnleſſe he ſhould violate that oth, attempt anie thing to the breach of peace with the Engliſhmen, procuring the iuſt indignation of almightie God againſt him and his people in that behalfe. Herevpon the Danes accounting Indulph but a ſlouthfull and negligent perſon for this kind of anſwere, as he that regarded not the honor of his realme and people, in letting paſſe ſo great opportunitie to be reuenged of the Engliſhmen for the death of ſuch Scots as died in the ouerthrow at Broningfield, determined not to be noted with the like ſpot of reproch: but with all ſpæd ſending for aid into Norwaie, prepared to paſſe ouer into England, vnder the conduct of Aualaſſus, who ioining his power with the Norwegians, which came to his aid vnder the leading of a right valiant capteine called Rainold, tranſported with all ſpæd ouer into Northumberland, vnto whome the gouernour there named Elgarine, acknowledging himſelfe to be deſcended of the Daniſh blood, yeelded all the caſtels, townes & forts, promiſing to aid Aualaſſus againſt king Edmund to the vttermoſt of his power.

Indulph his anſwere.

The Danes not pleaſed with ſuch an anſwere procure warre againſt England.

The Norwegians come to the aid of Aualaſſus.

Rainold a baliant capteine.

Elgarine yeelded the forts vnto the Danes.

These newes comming to the knowledge of Edmund, with all ſpæd he gathereth his power, and ſending into Scotland for ſuch aid as he ought to haue from thence by couenants of the league, there came vnto him ten thouſand Scotiſhmen with ready wils to ſerue him in theſe his wars againſt the Danes. Then ioining his owne people with thoſe Scotiſhmen, he ſet forward towards the enimies. There were an 8000 Northumberland men with Aualaſſus, the which vpon the firſt incounter with the Engliſhmen, fell ſtreight to running away, which made an open and readie breach vnto the Engliſh part, to atteine the victorie: for the Danes being not able to reſiſt the violent force of their enimies, incouraged now with the flight of the Northumbers, were quicklie conſtreined to giue backe, and in the end to flee amaine, the Engliſhmen and Scots following in the chaſe with ſuch fierceneſſe, that all ſuch as they ouertooke died vpon the ſword, though they ſubmitted themſelues neuer ſo humblie in requiring mercie.

10000 ſouldiers ſent vnto king Edmund.

Elgarine is taken priſoner.

Elgarine yet chancing to fall into his enimies hands was taken aliue: for ſo had Edmund commanded, that if anie man might take him, he ſhould in anie caſe ſaue his life, that he might put him to death in moſt cruell wiſe, to the example of other.

After this, and for the ſpace of three daies after the battell, Edmund lay ſtill in the fields nere vnto the place where they fought, and then repaired vnto Yorke, where Elgarine for his treaſon was drawen in peeces with wild horſes. There chanced alſo no notable trouble in Albion, during the ſpace of foure yeares after this ſaid ouerthrow of the Danes with their capteine Aualaſſus, who is alſo otherwiſe called Aulafe, as is to be ſeene in the Engliſh hiſtories, where the ſame make mention of the foreſaid king Edmund, whome likewiſe they affirme to be the brother of Athelſtane, and not his ſonne, as before is partlie touched. Indulph in this meane time did with great diligence ſee to the good order of his realme, ſhewing therein what belonged to the office of a worthie prince. But euen as all things ſeemed to reſt in peace & quietnes through the whole Ile of Albion, Hagon king of Norwaie, and Helrike king of Denmarke, of purpoſe to reuenge the ſlaughter of their countrimen latelie made in Northumberland, came with a mightie nauie vnto the coaſts of Scotland, aſſaieng to land with their whole armie, firſt in the Forth, then in the riuer of Taie; but yet through ſuch reſiſtance as the Scots made, being aſſembled togither to keepe them off, they were faine to withdraw, and wafting alongſt the coaſts of Angus, the Marnes, Mar, and Buthqhane, at length faining as though they would haue taken their courſe homewards, they lanched forth into the high ſeas. But within foure daies after returning againe to the ſhore, they landed their people earlie in one morning vpon the coaſt of Boen, at a place called Cullane, a countrie ioining vnto Buthqhane, putting ſuch of the countrie people to flight, as preſented themſelues to impeach their landing and inuaſion.

Elgarine is drawen in peeces.

K. Indulph was diligent in his office.

The kings of Denmarke and Norwaie enter with an armie into Scotland.

The enimies are put off.

They land in Boen.

But Indulph being aduertiſed hereof, forthwith aſſembling the whole power of his realme, drew towards that part with ſuch ſpæd, that he was come into Boen before his enimies were certified that he was ſet forward. So ſone therefore as they heard he was come, ſuch as were abroad forraieng the ſame countrie, were called backe to the campe. But Indulph without protracting of time came ſtill forward, and vpon his approch to the enimies, he prepared to giue battell, and with a ſhort oration began to incourage his people to fight manfullie. But before he could make an end, the Danes gaue the onſet with ſuch violence, that the battell a long ſpace continued doubtfull on both ſides, the Danes on the one part and the Scots on the other, doing their vttermoſt indeuours to atchiue the victorie, till at length they of Louthian with their capteins Dunbar and Grame began to appeare on the backe halfe of the Danes. With which ſight they were put in ſuch feare, that thoſe which fought in the fore ward, retired backe vnto the middle ward, whome the Scots eagerlie purſuing, beat downe euen till they came vnto the reare ward, which coueting rather to die in the fight, than to giue backe, and ſo to be ſlaine in the chaſe (for thoſe in the reare ward were heauie armed men) continued the battell more with a certeine ſtiffe ſtubbornes of mind, than with anie great force or forcaſt, being ſo ouermatched as they were, & forſaken of their fellowes: for other of the Danes, namelie the archers and Kernes fled their waies, ſome towards their ſhips, and ſome here and there being ſcattered abroad in the fields, fell into the moſſes, the mareſh grounds, and other ſtreicts, where they were ſlaine euerie one by ſuch as followed in the chaſe.

King Indulph draweth nere towards the enimies.

K. Indulph prepared to battell.

The Danes gaue the onſet.

A ſupplie ſent vnto the Scots.

The Danes fled.

Indulph himſelfe with certeine companies about him, departing from his maine battell to diſcouer the fields, as though all had beene quiet on each ſide, fell by chance vpon a whole band of the Danes, where

The king with few in his companie

the

falleth into the enimies dãger through negligence.

the same lay in couert within a close vallie, being fled from the field thither vpon the first ioining of the battels, with the which entering into fight, he was shot through the head with a dart, and so died; but not before he was reuenged of those his enimies, the whole number of them being slaine there in the place. His bodie was first buried in Cullane, a towne of Boene, and after translated vnto the abbie of Colmekill, and there interred amongest other his predecessors the Scotish kings. Indulph reigned about nine yeares and died thus valiantlie, though infortunatlie, in the yeare after the incarnation 968, as saith Hector Boetius.

K. Indulph was slaine with a dart and died.

961 saith Io. Ma.

968

Duffe.

AFter the corps of Indulph was remoued vnto Colmekill and there buried, Duffe the sonne of K. Malcolme was crowned K. at Scone with all due solemnitie. In the beginning of his reigne, Culene the sonne of K. Indulph was proclaimed prince of Cumberland: immediatlie whereupon the king transported ouer into the westerne Iles, to set an order there for certeine misdemeanors vsed by diuers robbers and pillers of the common people. At his arriuall amongst them he called the thanes of the Iles afore him, commanding streightlie as they would auoid his displeasure, to purge their countries of such malefactors, whereby the husbandmen and other commons might liue in quiet, without veration of such barrettors and idle persons as sought to liue onlie vpon other mens goods.

The king went vnto the westerne Iles.

He purged the Iles.

The thanes vpon this charge giuen them by the king, toke no small number of the offendors, partlie by publike authoritie, & partlie by lieng in wait for them where they supposed their haunt was to resort, the which being put to execution according to that they had merited, caused the residue of that kind of people either to get them ouer into Ireland, either else to learne some manuall occupation wherewith to get their liuing, yea though they were neuer so great gentlemen borne. Howbeit the nobles with this extreme rigor shewed thus by the king against their linage, were much offended therwith, accounting it a great dishonor for such as were descended of noble parentage, to be constreined to get their liuing with the labor of their hands, which onlie appertained to plowmen, and such other of the base degrée as were borne to trauell for the maintenance of the nobilitie, and to serue at their commandement by order of their birth, and in no wise after such sort to be made in maner equall with them in state and condition of life.

Barretors taken and put to death.

Vagabounds compelled to learne an occupation.

The nobles were discontented with the kings dooings.

Furthermore, they murmured closelie amongest themselues, how the king was onlie become friend to the commons & cleargie of his realme, hauing no respect to the nobilitie, but rather declared himselfe to be an vtter enimie thereof, so that he was vnworthie to haue the rule of the nobles and gentlemen, vnles he knew better what belonged to their degrée. This murmuring did spread not onelie among them in the Iles, but also through all the other parts of his realme, so that they ceased not to speake verie euill of the gouernement of things. In the meane time the king fell into a languishing disease, not so grieuous as strange, that none of his physicians could perceiue what to make of it. For there was séene in him no token, that either choler, melancholie, flegme, or any other vicious humor did any thing abound, whereby his bodie should be brought into such decaie and consumption (so as there remained vnneth anie thing vpon him saue skin and bone.)

The occasion of murmuring of the nobilitie.

The king fell sicke.

And sithens it apeared manifestlie by all outward signes and tokens, that naturall moisture did nothing faile in the vitall spirits, his colour also was fresh and faire to behold, with such liuelines of loks, that more was not to be wished for; he had also a temperat desire and appetite to his meate & drinke, but yet could he not sléepe in the night time by anie prouocations that could be deuised, but still fell into exceéding sweats, which by no means might be restreined. The physicians perceiuing all their medicines to want due effect, yet to put him in some comfort of helpe, declared to him that they would send for some cunning physicians into forreigne parts, who happilie being inured with such kind of diseases, should easilie cure him, namelie so soone as the spring of the yeare was once come, which of it selfe should helpe much thereunto.

Howbeit the king, though he had small hope of recouerie, yet had he still a diligent care vnto the due administration of his lawes and good orders of his realme, deuising oft with his councell about the same. But when it was vnderstood into what a perillous sickneesse he was fallen, there were no small number, that contemning the authoritie of the magistrats, began to practise a rebellion. And amongst the chiefest were those of Murrey land, who slaieng sundrie of the kings officers, began to rage in most cruell wise against all such as were not consenting to their misordered tumult. The kings physicians forbad in anie wise, that the king should be aduertised of such businesse, for doubt of increasing his sicknes with trouble of mind about the same. But about that present time there was a murmuring amongst the people, how the king was vered with no naturall sickneesse, but by sorcerie and magicall art, practised by a sort of witches dwelling in a towne of Murrey land, called Fores.

The king being sicke, yet he regarded iustice to be executed.

A rebellion practised.

The rebellion was kept frõ the kings knowledge.

Witches in Fores.

Where vpon, albeit the author of this secret talke was not knowne: yet being brought to the kings eare, it caused him to send forthwith certeine wittie persons thither, to inquire of the truth. They that were thus sent, dissembling the cause of their iornie, were receiued in the darke of the night into the castell of Fores by the lieutenant of the same, called Donwald, who continuing faithfull to the king, had kept that castell against the rebels to the kings vse. Vnto him therefore these messengers declared the cause of their comming, requiring his aid for the accomplishment of the kings pleasure.

Inquirie was made.

The souldiers, which late there in garrison, had an inkling that there was some such matter in hand as was talked of amongst the people; by reason that one of them kept as concubine a yong woman, which was daughter to one of the witches as his paramour, who told him the whole maner vsed by hir mother & other hir companions, with their intent also, which was to make awaie the king. The souldier hauing learned this of his lemman, told the same to his fellowes, who made report to Donwald, and hée shewed it to the kings messengers, and therewith sent for the yong damosell which the souldier kept, as then being within the castell, and caused hir vpon streict examination to confesse the whole matter as she had séene and knew. Whereupon learning by hir confession in what house in the towne it was where they wrought there mischeefous mysterie, he sent forth souldiers about the middest of the night, who breaking into the house, found one of the witches rosting vpon a woodden broch an image of wax at the fier, resembling in each feature the kings person, made and deuised (as is to be thought) by craft and art of the diuell: an other of them sat reciting certeine words of inchantment, and still basted the image with a certeine liquor verie bustlie.

The matter appeareth to be true.

A witches daughter is examined.

The witches are found out.

An image of wax rosting at the fire.

The souldiers finding them occupied in this wise, toke them togither with the image, and led them into the castell, where being streictlie examined for what purpose they went about such manner of inchantment, they answered, to the end to make away

The witches were examined.

The whole matter is confeſſed.

the king: for as the image did walke afore the fire, ſo did the bodie of the king breake forth in ſweat. And as for the words of the inchantment, they ſerued to keepe him ſtill waking from ſléepe, ſo that as the wax euer melted, ſo did the kings fleſh: by the which meanes it ſhould haue come to paſſe, that when the war was once cleane conſumed, the death of the king ſhould immediatlie follow. So were they taught by euill ſpirits, and hired to worke the feat by the nobles of Murrey land. The ſtanders by, that heard ſuch an abhominable tale told by theſe witches, ſtreightwaies brake the image, and cauſed the witches (according as they had well deſerued) to bée burnt to death.

The nobles of the countrie ſet the witches on worke.

The witches were burnt.

It was ſaid, that the king at the verie ſame time that theſe things were a doing within the caſtell of Fores, was deliuered of his languor, and ſlept that night without anie ſweat breaking forth vpon him at all, & the next daie being reſtored to his ſtrength, was able to do anie maner of thing that lay in man to do, as though he had not béene ſicke before anie thing at all. But howſoeuer it came to paſſe, truth it is, that when he was reſtored to his perfect health, he gathered a power of men, & with the ſame went into Murrey land againſt the rebels there, and chaſing them from thence, he purſued them into Roſſe, and from Roſſe into Cathneſſe, where apprehending them, he brought them backe vnto Fores, and there cauſed them to be hanged vp, on gallows and gibets.

The king is reſtored to health.

The king with an armie purſued the rebels.

The rebels are executed.

Amongeſt them there were alſo certeine yong gentlemen, right beautifull and goodlie perſonages, being neere of kin vnto Donwald capteine of the caſtell, and had béene perſuaded to be partakers with the other rebels, more through the fraudulent counſell of diuerſe wicked perſons, than of their owne accord: wherevpon the foreſaid Donwald lamenting their caſe, made earneſt labor and ſute to the king to haue begged their pardon; but hauing a plaine denial, he conceiued ſuch an inward malice towards the king (though he ſhewed it not outwardlie at the firſt) that the ſame continued ſtill boiling in his ſtomach, and ceaſed not, till through ſetting on of his wife, and in reuenge of ſuch vnthankefulneſſe, hée found meanes to murther the king within the foreſaid caſtell of Fores where he vſed to ſoiourne. For the king being in that countrie, was accuſtomed to lie moſt commonlie within the ſame caſtell, hauing a ſpeciall truſt in Donwald, as a man whom he neuer ſuſpected.

Captein Donwald craued pardon for them but not granted.

Donwald conceiued hatred againſt the king.

But Donwald, not forgetting the reproch which his linage had ſuſteined by the execution of thoſe his kinſmen, whome the king for a ſpectacle to the people had cauſed to be hanged, could not but ſhew manifeſt tokens of great griefe at home amongſt his familie: which his wife perceiuing, ceaſſed not to trauell with him, till ſhe vnderſtood what the cauſe was of his diſpleaſure. Which at length when ſhe had learned by his owne relation, ſhe as one that bare no leſſe malice in hir heart towards the king, for the like cauſe on hir behalfe, than hir huſband did for his friends, counſelled him (ſith the king oftentimes vſed to lodge in his houſe without anie gard about him, other than the garriſon of the caſtell, which was wholie at his commandement) to make him awaie, and ſhewed him the meanes whereby he might ſoneſt accompliſh it.

Donwalds wife counſelled him to murther the king.

Donwald thus being the more kindled in wrath by the words of his wife, determined to follow hir aduiſe in the execution of ſo heinous an act. Wherevpon deuiſing with himſelfe for a while, which way hée might beſt accompliſh his curſſed intent, at length gat opportunitie, and ſped his purpoſe as followeth. It chanced that the king vpon the daie before he purpoſed to depart forth of the caſtell, was long in his oratorie at his praiers, and there continued till it was late in the night. At the laſt, comming forth, he called ſuch afore him as had faithfullie ſerued him in purſute and apprehenſion of the rebels, and giuing them heartie thanks, he beſtowed ſundrie honorable gifts amongſt them, of the which number Donwald was one, as he that had béene euer accounted a moſt faithfull ſeruant to the king.

The womans euill counſell is followed.

The king rewarded his friends.

At length, hauing talked with them a long time, he got him into his priuie chamber, onelie with two of his chamberlains, who hauing brought him to bed, came forth againe, and then fell to banketting with Donwald and his wife, who had prepared diuerſe delicate diſhes, and ſundrie ſorts of drinks for their reare ſupper or collation, wherat they ſate vp ſo long, till they had charged their ſtomachs with ſuch full gorges, that their heads were no ſoner got to the pillow, but aſléepe they were ſo faſt, that a man might haue remoued the chamber ouer them, ſoner than to haue awaked them out of their drunken ſléepe.

The king went to bed.

His chamberleins went to banketting.

When Donwald, though he abhorred the act greatlie in heart, yet through inſtigation of his wife hæ called foure of his ſeruants vnto him (whome he had made priuie to his wicked intent before, and framed to his purpoſe with large gifts) and now declaring vnto them, after what ſort they ſhould worke the feat, they gladlie obeied his inſtructions, & ſpædilie going about the murther, they enter the chamber (in which the king lai) a little before cocks crow, where they ſecretlie cut his throte as he lay ſléeping, without anie buſkling at all: and immediatlie by a poſterne gate they caried forth the dead bodie into the fields, and throwing it vpon an horſſe there prouided readie for that purpoſe, they conuey it vnto a place, about two miles diſtant from the caſtell, where they ſtaied, and gat certeine labourers to helpe them to turne the courſe of a little riuer running through the fields there, and digging a déepe hole in the chanell, they burie the bodie in the ſame, ramming it vp with ſtones and grauell ſo cloſelie, that ſetting the water in the right courſe againe, no man could perceiue that anie thing had béene newlie digged there. This they did by order appointed them by Donwald as is reported, for that the bodie ſhould not be found, & by bléeding (when Donwald ſhould be preſent) declare him to be guiltie of the murther. ¶ For ſuch an opinion men haue, that the dead corps of anie man being ſlaine, will bléed abundantlie if the murtherer be preſent. But for what conſideration ſoeuer they buried him there, they had no ſoner finiſhed the worke, but that they ſlue them whoſe helpe they vſed herein, and ſtreightwaies there vpon fled into Orknie.

The ſaboyner ſeruants cut the kings throte.

The king his buriall.

The poore laborers are ſlaine.

Donwald, about the time that the murther was in doing, got him amongſt them that kept the watch, and ſo continued in companie with them all the reſidue of the night. But in the morning when the noiſe was raiſed in the kings chamber how the king was ſlaine, his bodie conueied awaie, and the bed all beraied with blood; he with the watch ran thither, as though he had knowne nothing of the matter, and breaking into the chamber, and finding cakes of blood in the bed, and on the floore about the ſides of it, he forthwith ſlue the chamberleins, as guiltie of that heinous murther, and then like a mad man running to and fro, he ranſacked euerie corner within the caſtell, as though it had béene to haue ſæne if he might haue found either the bodie, or anie of the murtherers hid in anie priuie place: but at length comming to the poſterne gate, and finding it open, he burdened the chamberleins, whome he had ſlaine, with all the fault, they hauing the keies of the gates committed to their keeping all the night, and therefore it could not be otherwiſe (ſaid he) but that they were of counſell in the committing of that moſt deteſta-

Donwald kept himſelfe amongſt the watchmen.

Donwald a verie diſſembler.

ble

ble murther.

Some wiser than other. The matter suspected.

Finallie, such was his ouer earnest diligence in the seuere inquisition and triall of the offendors herein, that some of the lords began to mislike the matter, and to smell forth shrewd tokens, that he should not be altogither cleare himselfe. But for so much as they were in that countrie, where he had the whole rule, what by reason of his friends and authoritie togither, they doubted to vtter what they thought, till time and place should better serue therevnto, and herevpon got them awaie euerie man to his home.

Prodigious weather.

For the space of sir moneths togither, after this heinous murther thus committed, there appeered no sunne by day, nor mone by night in anie part of the realme, but still was the skie couered with continuall clouds, and sometimes such outragious winds arose, with lightenings and tempests, that the people were in great feare of present destruction.

Culene.

IN the meane time Culene prince of Cumberland, the sonne (as I haue said) of king Indulph, accompanied with a great number of lords and nobles of the realme, came vnto Scone, there to receiue the crowne according to the manner: but at his comming thither, he demanded of the bishops what the cause should be of such vntemperate weather. Who made answer, that vndoubtedlie almightie God shewed himselfe thereby to be offended most highlie for that wicked murther of king Duffe: and suerlie vnlesse the offendors were tried forth and punished for that deed, the realme should feele the iust indignation of the diuine iudgement, for omitting such punishment as was due for so grieuous an offense.

The king asked the cause of the foule weather. The bishops answer vnto the king.

Culene herevpon required the bishops to appoint publike processions, fastings, and other godlie exercises to be vsed of the priests and people, through all parts of the realme, for the good appeasing of Gods wrath in this behalfe; and in such sort and manner as in semblable cases the vse and custome in those dates was. He himselfe made a solemne vow, confirming it with a like oth, before all the peeres & nobles there assembled, that he would not ceasse till he had reuenged the death of king Duffe vpon the false inhabitants of Murrey land, to the example of all other.

The king required publike praiers to be had.

The king made an oth.

The multitude being present, getting them to armor, followed their prince, taking his iournie without further delaie towards Murrey land, the inhabitants of which region hearing of his approch, and the cause of his comming, were striken with exceeding feare: but namelie Donwald, being giltie in conscience, doubted lest if he were put to torture, he should be inforced to confesse the truth. Wher vpon without making his wife priuie to his departure, or anie other of his familie, saue a few such as he toke with him, he secretlie got him to the mouth of the riuer of Spey, where finding a ship readie, he went abord the same, purposing to haue fled his waies by sea into Norwaie: for this is the peculiar propertie of a giltie conscience, to be afraid of all things, and either in gesture or countenance to bewraie it selfe, accounting flight most sure, if occasion may serue thereto. For this Donwald, whome no man (though some partlie suspected him) might well haue burdened with the crime of his maisters death (by reason of his faithfull seruice shewed towards him afore time) had he not thus sought to haue auoided the countrie, was now detected of manifest treason, euerie man detesting his abhominable fact, and wishing him to be ouerwhelmed in the raging flouds, so to paie the due punishment, which of right he owght, for his vile treason in murthering his naturall lord.

Giltie conscience accuseth a man.

Donwald getteth him secretlie awaie.

The murther of the king is reuealed.

Culene being herevpon aduertised, passed ouer Spey water, and taking the castell of Fores, slue all that he found therein, and put the house to sacke and fire. Donwalds wife with his three daughters were taken: for Culene commanded, that whosoeuer could light vpon them, should in anie wise saue their liues, and bring them vnto him. Which being done, he had them to the racke, where the mother vpon hir examination confessed the whole matter, how by hir procurement chieflie hir husband was moued to cause the deed to be done, who they were that by his commandement did it, and in what place they had buried the bodie. Heere would the multitude haue run vpon hir and torne hir in peeces, but that they were restreined by commandement of an officer at armes. The K. with the residue for that night rested themselues, and in the morning toke order for due prouision of all things necessarie to take vp the bodie of king Duffe, and then to conueie it vnto Colmekill, there to be buried amongest his predecessors.

The castell of Fores is taken and all the inhabitants slaine.

The murther is wholie confessed.

King Duffe his bodie to be taken vp.

But as they were busie heereabout, word came that the traitor Donwald was by shipwracke cast vpon the shore within foure miles of the castell, as though he were by Gods prouision brought backe into his owne countrie to suffer worthie punishment for his demerits. Wherevpon the inhabitants of the places next adioining toke him, and kept him fast bound till they knew further of the kings pleasure: who verie glad of the newes, sent forth immediatlie a band of men to fetch him. They that were sent did as they were commanded: and being scarse returned, there came in diuerse lords of Rosse, bringing with them Donwalds foure seruants, which (as before is said) did execute the murther. Thus all the offendors being brought togither vnto the place where the murther was both contriued and executed, they were arraigned, condemned, and put to death in maner as followeth, to the great reioising of the people that beheld the same.

Donwald is taken prisoner

Donwalds foure seruants were taken also.

They were first scourged by the hangman, and then bowelled, their entrails being throwen into a fire and burnt, the other parts of their bodies were cut into quarters, and sent vnto the chiefest cities of the realme, and there set vp aloft vpon the gates & highest towers, for example sake to all such as should come after, how heinous a thing it is to pollute their hands in the sacred bloud of their prince. This dreadfull end had Donwald and his wife, before he saw anie sunne after the murther was committed, and that by the appointment of the most righteous God, the creator of that heauenlie planet and all other things, who suffereth no crime to be vnreuenged. Those that were the takers of the murtherers were highlie rewarded for their paines and trauell therein sustained, being exempt from charges of going forth to the warres, and also of all manner of paiments belonging to publike duties, as tributes, subsidies, and such like.

Donwald with his confederats are executed.

Rewards giuen vnto the takers of those murtherers.

These things being thus ordered, the bodie of king Duffe was taken vp, and in most pompous maner conueied vnto Colmekill, accompanied all the waie by Culene, and a great multitude of lords both spirituall and temporall, with other of the meaner states. There be that haue written how his bodie (though it had laine sir moneths vnder the ground) was nothing impaired either in colour or otherwise, when it was taken vp, but was found as whole and sound as though it had beene yet aliue, the skarres of the wounds onelie excepted. But to proceed, so soone as it was brought aboue the ground, the aire began to cleare vp, and the sunne brake forth, shining more brighter than it had beene seene afore time, to anie of the beholders remembrance. And that which put men in most deepe consideration of all, was the sight of manifold flowers, which sprang forth ouer all the fields immediatlie herevpon, cleane contrarie to the time and season of the yeere.

The bodie of king Duffe honorablie buried.

Marueilous things are seene.

Within a few yeres after this, there was a bridge made

made ouer the water in the same place, where the bodie had bene buried, and a village builded at the one end of the bridge, which is called vnto this day, Killos, that is to say, the church of flowers: taking that name of the wonder there happened at the remouing of the kings bodie, as the same authors would seeme to meane. But there is now (or was of late) a rich abbeie, standing with a verie faire church, consecrat in the honor of the virgine Marie. Monstrous sights also that were seene within the Scotish kingdome that yeere were these: horsses in Louthian, being of singular beautie and swiftnesse, did eate their owne flesh, and would in no wise taste anie other meate. In Angus there was a gentlewoman brought forth a child without eies, nose, hand, or foot. There was a sparhawke also strangled by an owle. Neither was it anie lesse wonder that the sunne, as before is said, was continuallie couered with clouds for sir moneths space. But all men vnderstood that the abhominable murther of king Duffe was the cause heereof, which being reuenged by the death of the authors, in maner as before is said; Culene was crowned as lawfull successor to the same Duffe at Scone, with all due honor and solemnitie, in the yeere of our Lord 972, after that Duffe had ruled the Scotish kingdome about the space of foure yeeres.

Killos.

Horsses eate their owne flesh.

A monstrous child.

A sparhawke strangled by an owle.

972.

The beginning of Culenes reigne, begun with righteous execution of iustice, promised a firme hope of an other manner of prince, than by the administration which followed he declared himselfe to be: for shortlie after loosing the rains of lasciuious wantonnesse to the youth of his realme, through giuing a lewd example by his owne disordered doings, all such as were inclined vnto licentious liuing, followed their sensuall lusts and vnbrideled libertie, abandoning all feare of correction more than euer had bene seene or heard of in anie other age. For such was the negligence of the king, or rather maintenance of misordered persons, that whatsoeuer anie of the nobilitie did either against merchants, priests, or anie of the commons, though the same were neuer so great an iniurie, there was no punishment vsed against them: so that all men looked for some commotion in the common-wealth thereupon to insue, if there were not other order prouided therefore in time. The ancient peeres of the realme also being greeued thereat, spared not to admonish the king of his dutie, declaring vnto him into what danger the realme was likelie to fall through his negligent behauiour.

King Culene did not continue as his beginning was.

He followes his sensuall lustes.

Euill doers were not punished.

God counsell was not heard

Culene answered them, that he wist well inough how young men were not at the first borne graue and sage personages, like to them with hoarie heads: wherefore their first youthfull yeeres could not be so stable as they might be hereafter by old age and continuance of time. But as for such rigorous extremitie as diuerse of his elders had vsed towards their subiects, he minded not (as he said) to follow, being taught by their example (as by the kings, Indulph, Duffe, and such other) into what danger he might incurre by such sharpe seueritie shewed in the gouernment of the estate. Whereupon he was determined so to rule, as he might giue cause rather to be beloued than feared, which was the onelie meane (as he thought) to retaine his subiects in due and most faithfull obedience. This answer was such, that although it seemed nothing agreeable for the preseruation of the publike state in quiet rest and safetie, yet was there no man, by reason of his regall authoritie, that durst reproue the same, but diuerse there were that praised him therein, as those that hated all such as loued the vpright administration of iustice.

The kings answer vnto his graue peeres.

He would not displease.

But such ancient councellors as had trulie serued in rule of the common-wealth in the daies of the former kings, Indulph & Duffe, misliking the state of that present world (wherin the youth of the realme, namelie all such as were descended of noble parentage, and vsed to be about the king, followed their wilfull & sensuall lusts, growing euerie day through want of correction to be worse and worse) departed from the court, and withdrew to their homes, without medling anie further with the publike administration. In whose place there crept in others, that with their flatterie corrupted the residue of such sparks of good inclination as yet remained in the king, if anie were at all; insomuch that in the end he measured supreame felicitie by the plentifull inioieng of voluptuous pleasures and bodilie lusts. He fansied onelie such as could deuise prouocations thervnto, and in filling the bellie with excesse of costlie meates and drinks, those that could excell other were chieflie cherished, and most highlie of him esteemed.

Ancient councellors leaue the court.

The youthfull court followeth their sensuall lusts.

A wicked time of voluptuousnesse.

Herewithall he was giuen vnto leacherie beyond all the bounds of reason, sparing neither maid, widow, nor wife, prophane nor religious, sister nor daughter (for all was one with him) that to heare of such villanie and violent forcings as were practised by him and his familiars, it would loth anie honest hart to vnderstand or remember. He was so farre past all shame in this behalfe, that when his leacherous lust by too much copulation was so tired, that he might no more exercise his former lewdnesse, he tooke speciall pleasure yet to behold other to do it in his presence, that his decaied lust might be the more stirred vp with sight of such filthinesse. This abhominable trade of life he practised for the space of three yeeres togither, giuing occasion of much spoile, rauine, manslaughter, forcings, and rauishments of women, with all such kind of wicked and diuelish transgressions: no execution of lawes (instituted by authoritie of the former kings, for restreint of such flagitious offenses) being put in vre, through negligence of this monstruous creature.

A leacherous king.

Forcing of womenkind exceeded.

So farre forth also increased the libertie of theeues, robbers, and other offendors, maintained by such of the nobilitie as consented vnto their vnlawfull doings, and were partakers with them in the same, that if anie man went about to withstand them, or refused to accomplish their requests and demands, he should be spoiled of all that he had, and happilie haue his house burnt ouer his head, or otherwise by misused in such outragious and violent sort, that it would greeue all those that had anie zeale to iustice, to heare of such enormities as were dailie practised in that countrie. Holbeit, at length the death of king Culene brought an end to all such wicked dealings: for falling into a filthie disease (through abuse of excessiue drinking and leacherie) called the wasting of nature, he consumed awaie in such wise by rotting of his flesh, that he appeared more like vnto a dead carcase, than vnto a liuelie creature, insomuch that his owne seruants began to abhor him.

O beastlie behauiour!

All honestie exiled.

Robberie, theft, &c. were maintained.

Death made an end of all.

Gonorrhœa.

Whereupon the lords and other honorable personages of the realme, vnderstanding his case, caused a parlement to be summoned at Scone, where they determined to depose king Culene, and appoint some other (whome they should iudge most meetest) to reigne in his place. Culene also not knowing wherefore this councell was called, as he was going thitherwards, at Methen castell, being almost in the mid waie of his iournie, was murthered by one Cadhard the thane of that place, whose daughter he had rauished before time amongst diuerse other. This end had Culene togither with all his filthie sensualitie: but the reprochfull infamie thereof remaineth in memorie with his posteritie, and is not like to be forgotten

A parlement.

King Culene was murthered.

gotten whileſt the world goeth about. He was thus diſpatched in the fift yéere of his reigne, and after the
976. birth of our Sauiour 976, the nobles & great péeres of the realme reioiſing at his death, though they allowed not of the manner thereof.

Kenneth. After that the bodie of king Culene was once conueied vnto Colmekill, and there buried amongſt his elders, the nobles and great péeres aſſembled togither at Scone, where they proclaimed Kenneth the ſonne of Malcolme the firſt, and brother vnto Duffe, king of the realme. In the beginning of his reigne, he had inough to do to reduce the people from their wild and ſauage kind of life (into the which they were fallen through the negligent gouernment of his predeceſſor) vnto their former trade of ciuill demeanor. For the nature of the Scotiſhmen is, that firſt the nobles, and then all the reſidue of the people transforme themſelues to the vſage of their prince: therefore did Kenneth in his owne trade of liuing ſhew an example of chaſtitie, ſobrietie, liberalitie, and modeſtie, miſuſing himſelfe in no kind of vice, but refraining himſelfe from the ſame. He baniſhed all ſuch kind of perſons as might prouoke either him or other vnto anie lewd or wanton pleaſures. He mainteined amitie aſwell with ſtrangers as with his owne people, puniſhing moſt rigorouſlie all ſuch as ſought to moue ſedition by anie manner of meanes. He toke buſie care in cauſing the people to auoid ſloth, and to aplie themſelues in honeſt exerciſes, iudging (as the truth is) that to be the waie to aduance the common-wealth from decaie to a flouriſhing ſtate.

Thus when he had ſomewhat reformed the miſorders of his ſubiects, he indeuored himſelfe by all meanes he could deuiſe to puniſh offendors againſt the lawes and wholeſome ordinances of the realme, and to purge all his dominions of théeues, robbers, and other ſuch as went about to diſquiet common peace. At Lanerke, a towne in Kile, was a ſeſſions apointed to be kept for execution of iuſtice, where certeine offendors were ſummoned to appéere. But at their comming thither, perceiuing that ſuch manifeſt proofes would be brought againſt them of ſuch crimes as they had committed, that they were not able to excuſe the ſame, through perſuaſion of diuerſe noble men vnto whom they were of kin, they fled ſecretlie their waies, ſome into the weſterne Iles, and ſome into other places, where they thought moſt expedient for ſafegard of their liues. The king perceiuing that through the diſloiall meanes of the lords his purpoſe was ſo hindered, that he might not miniſter iuſtice, according to the inſtitution of his lawes, he diſſembled his wrath for a time, and licenced euerie man to depart to their houſes, his traine onelie excepted. Then went he into Galloway to viſit ſaint Ninian for performance of his vow, which he had made ſo to do. Héere he inuented (by conference which he had with ſome of his priuie councell) a deuiſe, whereby he might fetch againe the offendors vnto iudgement: but this was kept cloſe till the yéere following, for doubt leaſt if thoſe lords which bare them good will had come to anie inkling thereof, they would by vttering it haue diſappointed his purpoſe.

At length, after a yéere was paſſed, he apointed all the lords and nobles of his realme to aſſemble at Scone, as though it had béene to haue communed about ſome weightie affaires touching the ſtate of the realme. The night then before they ſhould come togither into the councell-chamber, he cauſed by ſome of his faithfull miniſters, a ſort of armed men to be laid cloſe in a ſecret place, with commandement giuen to their capteine, that in no wiſe he ſhould ſtirre with his band till the next day that all the lords were aſſembled togither, and then without delaie to execute that which ſhould be giuen him in commandement.

The king and lords ſitting, the armed men ſtep forth.

On the morrow after the nobles comming togither into the councell-chamber, they had no ſooner taken their places, euerie one according to his degrée about the king, but that the armed men before mentioned, came ruſhing into the houſe, placing themſelues round about them that were ſet, according to the order preſcribed by former appointment. The lords with this preſent ſight being much amazed, beheld one an other, but durſt not ſpeake a word. Then the king perceiuing their feare, began to declare vnto them the whole cauſe of his calling them to councell at that time, and why he had appointed thoſe armed men to be there attendant. The effect of his oration there made vnto them was, that he had not cauſed thoſe armed men to come into the chamber for anie harme ment towards anie of their perſons, but onelie for the publike preſeruation of the realme. For ſo much as they knew, there was one kind of people much noiſome to the common-wealth, being confederate as it were togither by one conſent to exerciſe all ſorts of miſchiefe and oppreſſion againſt the poore people, as to rob, ſpoile, and take from them all that they had, to raviſh their wiues, maids, & daughters, and ſome times to burne their houſes: the which licentious libertie in ſuch wicked perſons, through want of due puniſhment in the daies of king Culene, what danger it had brought vnto the whole ſtate of the Scotiſh common-wealth, there was none but might well vnderſtand.

The king putteth the lords out of doubt.

An oration made by the king.

A rehearſall of all enormities

For ſith it was ſo, that the lords and other high eſtates liued by the trauell of the commons, then if the ſame commons ſhould in anie wiſe decaie, the lords and ſuch other high eſtates could in no wiſe proſper: for if the labourer through iniurie of the robber were forced to giue ouer his labour; where ſhould the lord or gentleman haue whereupon to liue? So that thoſe which robbed the huſbandman, robbed alſo the lord and gentleman; and they that ſought to mainteine ſuch loitering perſons as vſed to rob the poore man, went about the deſtruction both of king, lord, and gentleman; yea and finallie of the vniuerſall ſtate of the whole common-wealth. Therfore he that loued the common-wealth, would not ſéeke onelie to defend the commons from ſuch iniuries as théeues and robbers dailie offered them; but alſo would helpe to ſée iuſt execution done vpon the ſame théeues and robbers, according to the laudable lawes and cuſtomes of the land. The laſt yeare (ſaid he) you your ſelues remember (I thinke) how I purpoſed by your helpe and counſell to haue proceéded by order of the lawes againſt all enimies and perturbers of the peace. At Lainrike was the day apointed for them to haue appeared, but there was not one of them that would come in, but contemptuouſlie diſobeieng our commandement kept them awaie, by whoſe counſell I know not. But I haue béene informed by ſome how diuers of you fauoring thoſe rebels, by reaſon they were of your linage, were of counſell with them, in withdrawing themſelues ſo from iudgement.

Lainrike, or Lanerke.

The often ſending of meſſengers betwixt them and you, well néere perſuaded vs to thinke that this report was true. But yet not withſtanding, I haue put away all ſuch ſiniſter ſuſpicion out of my head, wiſhing you (as I truſt you be) void of all ſuch diſſimulation. And now I require you, not as fautors of the rebelles, but as defendors of the common-wealth, though happilie ſomewhat ſlacke heretofore in diſcharge of your dueties, to ſhew your ſelues ſuch in helping to apprehend the offendors, as that the world may perceiue you to haue made full ſatisfaction for your fault and error, if before in you there were

A ſeſſion kept at Lainrike, or Lanerke.

The giltie ran waie.

The king diſſembled with theſe doings.

The king went to viſit ſaint Ninian.

The king conſulted how to call the tranſgreſſors vnto iudgement.

An aſſemblie held at Scone.

Armed men laid in watt.

were anie. In the end he was plaine with them, and told them flatlie that they should assure themselues to haue those armed men which they saw there present, to be continuallie attendant about them, till he might haue all the rebelles at commandement.

The lords gentle submission, with a large promise.

The lords hauing heard the kings speech, and perceiuing what his meaning was, first partlie excused themselues so well as they might of their cloked dissimulation, and then falling downe vpon their knées afore him, besought him to put away all displeasure out of his mind, and clearelie to pardon them, if in anie wise they had offended his maiestie, promising that they would with all diligence and faithfulnesse accomplish his desire, in causing the offendors to be brought in vnto iudgement: and till the time that this were brought to passe, they were well contented to remaine in such place where he should appoint them to abide. The councell then being broken vp, the king with those lords passing ouer the riuer of Taie, went vnto Bertha, which towne during the kings abode in the same, was streictlie kept with watch and ward, that no creature might enter or go forth without knowledge of the officers appointed by the king to take héed thereunto. If anie idle person were espied abroad in the streets, streightwaies the sergeants would haue him to ward.

The king went to Bertha.

Roges punished.

The nobles remained in the kings house, or in other lodgings to them assigned, procuring by their friends and ministers to haue such offendors as vsed to rob and spoile the husbandmen, apprehended and brought to the king to Bertha, there to receiue iudgement & punishment according to their merits: for so they perceiued they must néeds worke, if they minded the safegard of their owne liues. Hereof it followed also, that within short space after, there were brought vnto Bertha to the number néere hand of fiue hundred such idle loiterers as vsed to liue by spoile and pillage, manie of them being descended of famous houses: all which companie being condemned for their offenses to die, were hanged vp on gibbets about the towne, and commandement giuen by the king, that their bodies should not be taken downe, but there to hang still to giue example to other, what the end was of all such as by wrongfull meanes sought to liue idelie by other mens labours.

Iniurious men brought vnto Bertha.

A great number of vagabonds were iudged to die.

The rebelles being thus executed, king Kenneth licenced the lords to depart to their owne houses, exhorting them to remember their duties towards the common-wealth, and to studie for preseruation of peace and quietnesse according to their vocation. After this, the realme continued in quietnesse without anie forraine or inward trouble for the space of certeine yeares following, and had remained in the same state still, if the Danes had not made a new inuasion, who being sore grœued in their hearts for such displeasures as they had susteined in Albion, determined now with great assurance to reuenge the same. Wherevpon gathering an huge multitude of men togither, they were imbarked in vessels prouided for them; and sailing forth, they purposed to take land vpon the next coast of Albion where they should chance to arriue; & being once on land, to destroie all before them, except where the people should submit & yæld themselues vnto them. This nauie being once got abroad, within short time arriued at that point of land in Angus, which is called the red Braes, or red head, not far from the place where the abbie of Abirbroth, or Abirbrothoke was afterward founded.

The lords haue licence to depart.

The Danes séeke for to reuenge old losses.

The Danes take the sea to go into Albion.

The Danes arriue at the red head, or red Braes in Angus.

Here the Danish fléet first casting anchor, their capteins fell in consultation what they were best to do. Some of them were of this opinion, that it was not most expedient for them to land in that place, but rather to passe from thence into England; for at the Scotishmens hands being poore, and yet a fierce and hardie nation, there was small good to be got, being thereto accustomed to giue more ouerthrowes than they commonlie receiued. Againe, the soile of that countrie was but barren, and in manner ouergrowen with woods (as it was in déed in those daies) with few townes & small habitations, and those so poore, that no man knowing the same, would vouchsafe to fight for anie possession of them: wherein contrariwise England (that part namelie which lieth towards the south) was so fruitfull of corne and cattell, so rich of mines, and replenished with so manie notable cities and townes inhabited with men of great wealth and substance, that few were to be found comparable thereto. So that the matter being well considered, they could not do better, than to saile into Kent, where they might be sure of rich spoile, without anie great resistance. Other there were that held how that this iournie was attempted by the counsell of their superiors, onelie to reuenge such iniuries as the Danish nation had receiued at the hands of the Scotishmen, and not to atteine riches or anie dominion.

The Danes consult to go into England.

They consult for to saile into Kent.

They onelie sought reuenge.

The Scots also being a cruell people, & readie to fight in defense of other mens possessions (as in the warres of Northumberland it well appeared) would suerlie be readie to come to the aid of the Englishmen into Kent, euen so sone as it was knowen that the Danes were on land in those parts: so that by this means they should be constreined to haue to do both with the Scotishmen and Englishmen, if they first went into Kent: where if they set on land here in Scotland, they should incounter but onelie with the Scots. Therefore, the best were according to their first determination, to land amongest the Scots, sith chance had brought them vnto those coasts; adding that when they had somewhat abated the arrogant presumption of their enimies there, then might they passe more safelie into England, after a luckie beginning of fier and sword, to proceed against their aduersaries in those parties as fortune should lead them. This deuise was allowed of the greatest number, being glad to get beside the water. Wherevpon the mariners (vpon commandement giuen) drew with their ships into the mouth of the riuer called Eske, the which in those daies washed on the walles of a towne in Angus called then Celurke, but now Mountros. Here the Danes taking land, put the inhabitants of the countrie thereabouts in great feare, so that with all spéed for their safegard they got them into Mountros: but the towne being quickelie assailed of the Danes, was taken, put to the sacke, and after raced, cassell and all to the bare ground, not one liuing creature being left aliue of all such as were found within the same.

Some thought best to land in Scotland.

The Danes do land at Mountros.

Mountros taken, and all within was slaine.

From thence the armie of the Danes passed through Angus vnto the riuer of Taie, all the people of the countries by which they marched fléeing afore them. King Kenneth at the same time laie at Sterling, where hearing of these grœuous newes, he determined forthwith to raise his people, & to go against his enimies. The assemblie of the Scotish armie was appointed to be at the place where the riuer of Erne falleth into the riuer of Taie. Here when they were come togither in great numbers at the day appointed, the day next following word was brought to the king, that the Danes hauing passed ouer Taie, were come before the towne of Bertha, and had laid siege to the same. Then without further delaie, he raised with the whole armie, and marched streight towards his enimies, comming that night vnto

The Danes come to the riuer of Taie.

King Kenneth gathereth a great armie.

They laie siege before Bertha.

vnto Loncart a village not far distant from the riuer of Taie, famous euer after, by reason of the battell fought then neere vnto the same. The Danes hearing that the Scots were come, detracted no time, but forthwith prepared to giue battell.

King Kenneth set his men in aray.

Kenneth as sone as the sunne was vp, beholding the Danes at hand, quickelie brought his armie into order. Then requiring them earnestlie to shew their manhood, he promiseth to release them of all tributs and paiments due to the kings cofers for the space of fiue yeares next insuing: and besides that he offered the summe of ten pounds, or else lands so much worth in value to euerie one of his armie, that should bring him the head of a Dane. He willed them therefore to fight manfullie, and to remember there was no place to atteine mercie; for either must they trie it out by dint of sword, or else if they fled, in the end to looke for present death at the enimies hands, who would not ceasse till time they had found them forth, into what place so euer they resorted for refuge, if they chanced to be vanquished. The Scots being not a little incouraged by the kings words, kept their order of battell according as they were appointed, still looking when the onset should be giuen. Malcolme Duffe prince of Cumberland led the right wing of the Scots; and Duncane lieutenant of Atholl the left: King Kenneth himselfe gouerned the battell. The enimies on the other part had taken their ground at the foot of a little mounteine right afore against the Scotish campe. Thus both the armies stood readie ranged in the field, beholding either other a good space, till at length the Scots desirous of battell, and doubting least the Danes would not come forth to anie euen ground, aduanced forward with somewhat more hast than the case required, beginning the battell with shot, and throwing of darts right freshlie.

The king exhorted the Scots vnto valiantnesse.

The order of the Scotish battell aray.

The Danes had the aduantage of a little mounteine.

The Scots begin the battell.

The Danes being backed with the mounteine, were constreined to leaue the same, and with all speed to come forward vpon their enimies, that by ioining they might auoid the danger of the Scotishmens arrowes and darts: by this meanes therefore they came to hand-strokes, in maner before the signe was giuen on either part to the battell. The fight was cruell on both sides: and nothing hindered the Scots so much, as going about to cut off the heads of the Danes, euer as they might ouercome them. Which maner being noted of the Danes, and perceiuing that there was no hope of life but in victorie, they rushed forth with such violence vpon their aduersaries, that first the right, and then after the left wing of the Scots, was constreined to retire and flee backe, the middle-ward stoutly yet keeping their ground: but the same stood in such danger, being now left naked on the sides, that the victorie must needes haue remained with the Danes, had not a renewer of the battell come in time, by the appointment (as is to be thought) of almightie God.

The two wings of the Scots fled.

For as it chanced, there was in the next field at the same time an husbandman, with two of his sons busie about his worke, named Haie, a man strong and stiffe in making and shape of bodie, but indued with a valiant courage. This Haie beholding the king with the most part of the nobles, fighting with great valiancie in the middle ward, now destitute of the wings, and in great danger to be oppressed by the great violence of his enimies, caught a plow-beame in his hand, and with the same exhorting his sonnes to do the like, hasted towards the battell, there to die rather amongest other in defense of his countrie, than to remaine aliue after the discomfiture in miserable thraldome and bondage of the cruell and most vnmercifull enimies. There was neere to the place of the battell, a long lane fenced on the sides with ditches and walles made of turfe, through the which the Scots which fled were beaten downe by the enimies on heapes.

Haie with his two sonnes.

Here Haie with his sonnes, supposing they might best staie the flight, placed themselues ouerthwart the lane, beat them backe whome they met fleeing, and spared neither friend nor foe: but downe they went all such as came within their reach, wherewith diuerse hardie personages cried vnto their fellowes to returne backe vnto the battell, for there was a new power of Scotishmen come to their succours, by whose aid the victorie might be easilie obteined of their most cruell aduersaries the Danes: therefore might they chose whether they would be slaine of their owne fellowes comming to their aid, or to returne againe to fight with the enimies. The Danes being here staied in the lane by the great valiantie of the father and the sonnes, thought verelie there had beene some great succors of Scots come to the aid of their king, and therevpon ceasling from further pursute, fled backe in great disorder vnto the other of their fellowes fighting with the middle ward of the Scots.

Haie staied the Scots from running away

The Scots were driuen to their battell againe.

The Danes fled towards their fellowes in great disorder.

The Scots also that before was chased, being incouraged herewith, pursued the Danes vnto the place of the battell right fiercelie. Wherevpon Kenneth perceiuing his people to be thus recomforted, and his enimies partlie abashed, called vpon his men to remember their duties, and now sith their aduersaries hearts began (as they might perceiue) to faint, he willed them to follow vpon them manfully, which if they did, he assured them that the victorie vndoubtedlie should be their's. The Scots incouraged with the kings words, laid about them so earnestlie, that in the end the Danes were constreined to forsake the field, and the Scots egerlie pursuing in the chase, made great slaughter of them as they fled. This victorie turned highlie to the praise of the Scotish nobilitie, the which fighting in the middle ward, bare still the brunt of the battell, continuing manfullie therein euen to the end. But Haie, who in such wise (as is before mentioned) staied them that fled, causing them to returne againe to the field, deserued immortall fame and commendation: for by his meanes chieflie was the victorie atchiued. And therefore on the morrow after, when the spoile of the field and of the enimies campe (which they had left void) should be diuided, the chiefest part was bestowed on him and his two sonnes, by consent of all the multitude; the residue being diuided amongst the souldiers and men of warre, according to the ancient custome vsed amongst this nation.

K. Kenneth called vpō his men to remember their duties.

The Danes forsake the fields.

The spoile is diuided.

The king hauing thus vanquished his enimies, as he should enter into Bertha, caused costlie robes to be offered vnto Haie and his sonnes, that being richlie clad, they might be the more honoured of the people: but Haie refusing to change his apparell, was contented to go with the king in his old garments whither it pleased him to apoint. So entring with the king into Bertha, he was receiued with little lesse honor than the king himselfe, all the people running forth to behold him, whome they heard to haue so valiantlie restored the battell, when the field was in maner lost without hope of all recouerie. At his entring into the towne he bare on his shoulder the plow-beame, more honourable to him than anie sword or battell are might haue beene to anie the most valiant warrior. Thus Haie being honored of all estates, within certeine daies after, at a councell holden at Scone, it was ordeined, that both he and his posteritie should be accepted amongst the number of the chiefest nobles and peeres of the realme, being rewarded (besides monie and other great gifts) with lands and reuenues, such as he should chose sufficient

Haie refused costlie garments.

The king came to Bertha.

Haie is made one of the nobilitie.

He had reuenues assigned to him.

sufficient for the maintenance of their estates.

It is said, that by the counsell of his sonnes, who knew the fruitfulnes of the soile, he did aske so much ground in those parts where the riuer of Taie runs by the towne of Arrole ouer against Fife, as a falcon would flie ouer at one flight. Which request being freelie granted of the king, the place was appointed at Inschire for the falcon to be cast off: the which taking hir flight from thence, neuer lighted till shee came to a great stone neere a village called Rosse, not passing foure miles from Dundee. By which meanes all that countrie which lieth betwirt Inschire aforesaid, and the said stone (being almost six miles in length, and foure in breadth) fell vnto Haie and his sons. The name of the stone also being called the falcons stone to this daie, doth cause the thing better to be beleeued, and well neere all the foresaid ground still continueth in the possession of the Haies euen vnto this day. Besides this, to the further honoring of his name, the king gaue him armes three scutchons gules in a field of siluer, a plowbeame added thereunto, which he vsed in stead of a battell are, when he fought so valiantlie in defense of his owne countrie. Thus had the Haies their beginning of nobilitie, whose house hath atteined vnto great estimation of honor, and hath beene decorated with the office of the constableship of Scotland, by the bounteous beneuolence of kings that succeeded. These things happened in the first yeere of king Kenneth.

In the residue of the time that he reigned, though there chanced no great businesse by forren enimies, yet by ciuill sedition the state of the realme was wonderfullie disquieted. First a companie of Kerns of the westerne Iles inuading Rosse, to the intent to haue fetched a bootie, were met withall by the waie and ouerthrowne by the inhabitants of that countrie. After this skurre, another followed, farre more dangerous to the whole state of the common-welth, raised by one Cruthlint, one of the chiefest lords of the Mernes, who was sonne vnto a certeine ladie named Fenella, the daughter of one Cruthneth, that was gouernor of that part of Angus which lieth betwirt the two riuers, the one called Southeske, and the other Northeske. So it chanced, that on a time Cruthlint came vnto the castell of Delbogin to see his grandfather, the said Cruthneth as then lieng in the same: where vpon light occasion a fraie was begun amongst the seruingmen, in the which two of Cruthlints seruants fortuned to be slaine. Which iniurie when Cruthlint declared by waie of complaint vnto his grandfather, he was so slenderlie heard, and answered in such reprochfull wise, as though he himselfe had bin the author of the businesse, so that Cruthneths seruants perceiuing how little he was regarded of their maister, fell vpon him and beat him, that not without danger of life he brake forth of their hands, and hardlie escaped away.

In his returne homewards, he came to his mother Fenella, where she lay within the castell of Fethircarne, the chiefest fortresse of all the Mernes. Where being incensed through his mothers instigation, being a woman of a furious nature, he attempted forthwith to be reuenged of the iniurie receiued: so that assembling a number of his friends and kinsfolks so secretlie as he might togither, with a band of the inhabitants of the Mernes, he entereth into Angus, and comming vnto the castell of Delbogin in the night season, was suffered to enter by the keepers of the gate, nothing suspecting anie treason in the world, by reason wherof was Cruthneth suddenlie oppressed, the house sacked and raced, not one that was found within the same being left aliue. The spoile also was diuided by Cruthlint amongst them which came with him. The next day likewise he forraied the countrie all there abouts, returning home with a great bootie.

They of Angus prouoked herewith, rested not long; but assembling themselues togither inuaded the countrie of Perns, where making great slaughter on each side, they left the countrie void almost both of men and cattell. Thus did the people of those two countries pursue the warre one against another a certeine time, with dailie incursions and wastings of either others countries, in such cruell wise, that it was thought the one of them must needs shortlie come to vtter destruction, if speedie remedie were not the sooner prouided. The king being informed of this mischiefe and great trouble, which was fallen out through sedition amongst those his subiects, hee made proclamation by an herald, that those of Angus and Mernes, whom he vnderstood to be culpable, should appeare within fiftene daies after at Scone, there to make answer afore appointed iudges, to such things as might be laid to their charge, vpon paine of death to euerie one that made default. When the day of appearance came, there were but few that did appeare.

The most part of them doubting to be punished for their offenses with Cruthlint their capteine, fled out of Mernes, taking with them their wiues, and their children, and all their goods. The king being sore moued herewith, perceiued how readie the Scotish people were by nature vnto rebellion, when they were gentlie vsed: and againe how they obeied the magistrates best when they were restreined from their wild outragious doings by due punishment and execution of iustice. He considered therefore that if he did not cause those seditious rebels which had thus disobeied his commandements to be punished according to the order of the lawes, he should haue the whole realme shortlie disquieted with ciuill warre and open rebellion. Whereupon with all speed he caused earnest pursute to be made after Cruthlint, and the residue of the offendors, the which at length being taken in Lochquhabir, were brought vnto a castell in Gowrie called Dounsinnam, where after iudgement pronounced against them, Cruthlint first, and then other the chiefest stirrers on either side were put to execution. The commons, for that it was thought they followed their superiors against their willes, were pardoned and licenced to depart to their houses.

For this equitie shewed in ministring iustice by the king, he was greatlie praised, loued, and dread of all his subiects; so that great quietnesse followed in the state of the common-wealth, greatlie to the aduancement thereof, and so continued till the 22 yeere of this Kenneths reigne. At what time the blind loue he bare to his owne issue, caused him to procure a detestable fact, in making away one of his neerest kinsmen. This was Malcolme the sonne of king Duffe, created in the beginning of Kenneths reigne prince of Cumberland, by reason wherof he ought to haue succeeded in rule of the kingdome after Kenneths death. Whereat the same Kenneth greeuing not a little, for that thereby his sonnes should be kept from inioieng the crowne, found meanes to poison him. But though the physicians vnderstanding by such euident signes as appeared in his bodie, that he was poisoned indeed, yet such was the opinion which men had of the kings honor and integritie, that no suspicion at all was conceiued that it should be his deed.

The cloked loue also which he had shewed toward him at all times, and so sudden commandement giuen by him vpon the first newes of his death, that his funerals should be celebrated in euerie church and chappell for his soule; and againe, the teares which he shed

Haie his request.

The falcon measured Haie his lands out.

Haie had armes giuen him.

Ciuill wars in Scotland.

An other commotion in Mernes by Cruthlint.

Cruthlint went to see his grandfather.

Two of his seruants were slaine.

They set vpon Cruthlint also.

Cruthlint was instigated to reuenge

He killed all them that were in the castell.

The countrie is forraied.

They of Mernes requite their iniuries.

The king made a proclamation by an herald.

The culpable should appeare at Scone.

The faultie men ran away

The K. was sore offended therewith.

The K. minded to punish the disobedient rebels.

Cruthlint taken with manie more.

He is executed with certeine others.

The K. was worthilie commended for his iustice.

K. Kenneth poisoned his cousin Malcolme.

The K. was not suspected of this fact.

The poisoning of Malcolme is brought into suspicion.

ſhed for him, in all places where anie mention chanced to be made of the loſſe which the realme had ſuſteined by the death of ſo worthie a prince, made men nothing miſtruſtfull of the matter, till at length ſome of the nobles perceiuing the outward ſorow (which he made) to paſſe the true griefe of the heart, began to gather ſome ſuſpicion, that all was not well: but yet becauſe no certeintie appeared, they kept their thoughts to themſelues. About the ſame time came ambaſſadors forth of England from king Edward the ſonne of Edgar (which after through treaſon of his ſtepmother Elculda, was made a martyr) requiring that ſith Malcolme the prince of Cumberland was deceaſſed, it might pleaſe the king with the eſtates of the realme to chooſe ſome other in his place, who doing his homage vnto the king of England, according as it was couenanted by the league, might be a meane to confirme the ſame league betwixt the two nations for the auoiding of all occaſions of breach thereof that otherwiſe happilie might inſue.

Kenneth at the ſame time held a councell at Scone, where hauing heard the requeſt of theſe ambaſſadors, in preſence of all his nobles, he anſwered that he was glad to vnderſtand that king Edward was ſo carefull for maintenance of loue and amitie betwixt his ſubiects and the Scotiſhmen, according to the articles of the ancient league in times paſt concluded betwixt them, the ratification whereof for his part he likewiſe moſt earneſtlie deſired, and therefore in rendering moſt heartie thanks vnto him for his gentle aduertiſement, he purpoſed by the aduiſe of his nobles, and the other eſtates of his realme as then there aſſembled, to elect a new prince of Cumberland, without anie further delaie: and thereupon required the ambaſſador to be preſent on the morrow, to heare what he was whom the nobles ſhould name to be preferred vnto that dignitie. The ambaſſadors hereupon departing forth of the councell chamber, were conueied to their lodging by diuerſe of the nobilitie that were appointed to keepe them companie.

Then Kenneth with a long oration went about to perſuade the peeres, and other the eſtates of the realme there (as I ſaid) aſſembled, to alter the cuſtome and ancient order vſed by their elders in chooſing of him that ſhould ſucceed in the gouernance of the realme, after the deceaſſe of him that was in poſſeſſion. He vſed ſo manie reaſons as was poſſible for him to deuiſe in that behalfe, thereby to induce them to his purpoſe, which was to haue an act eſtabliſhed for the crowne to go by ſucceſſion, onelie to this end, that one of his ſonnes might inioy the ſame immediatlie after his deceaſſe. He declared alſo what diſcommodities, ſeditions, and great inconuenences had growne, in that the crowne had gone in times paſt by election: for though it was ordeined at the firſt that it ſhould ſo doo, vpon a good intent and great conſideration, yet in proceſſe of time proofe and experience had ſhewed, that more hinderance happened vnto the common-wealth thereby (beſide the danger euer inſuing incidentlie vnto ſuch iſſue as the king left behind him) than profit, if the ſundrie murthers, occaſions of ciuill diſcord, and other wicked practiſes were throughlie weied and conſidered, the ſumme whereof he recited from point to point, and ſo in the end with great inſtance beſought them, that ſo pernicious a cuſtome might be aboliſhed and taken away, to the great benefit of the whole ſtate of the realme, ſpeciallie ſith in all realmes commonlie the order was, that the ſonne ſhould without anie contradiction ſucceed the father in the heritage of the crowne and kinglie eſtate.

The king had no ſooner made an end of his long oration, which he handled after the pitifulleſt ſort hee could, but that diuerſe of the noble men which were there amongſt other, being made priuie to the matter aforehand, motioned meanes to haue Malcolme the ſon of Kenneth created prince of Cumberland, that he might ſo haue an entrance to the crowne after the deceaſſe of his father. This motion by and by was in manie of their mouthes, which Kenneth perceiuing, he required of the moſt ancient peeres whome they would name to be prince of Cumberland, that there might be a meane to ratifie and confirme the league betwixt the Scots and Engliſhmen, Conſtantine the ſonne of king Cullin, and Grime the nephue of king Duffe by his brother Mogall: howbeit by the force of the former law they might by good reaſon haue loked to haue had the preferment themſelues.

But yet perceiuing it was in vaine to denie that which would be had by violence (although they ſhould neuer ſo much ſtand againſt it) being firſt demanded of the herald what they thought, they anſwerd (notwithſtanding againſt their minds indeed) that the king might order all things as ſhould ſtand with his pleaſure, appointing whom he thought moſt meet to bee prince of Cumberland, and to abrogate the ancient law of creating the kings, in deuiſing new ordinances for the ſame, as ſhould ſeeme vnto him and thoſe of his councell moſt requiſite and neceſſarie. The multitude then following their ſentence, cried with lowd & vndiſcreet voices, to haue Malcolme the ſonne of king Kenneth created prince of Cumberland. And thus the ſame Malcolme (though as yet vnder age) was by the voices of the people ordeined prince of Cumberland, in place of the other Malcolme ſonne to king Duffe. The daie next following, the ambaſſadors comming into the councell chamber, heard what was decreed touching their requeſt, and then being highlie rewarded of the kings bountious liberalitie, they returned into England, and Malcolme with them, to be acquainted with king Edward, and to doo his homage for the principalitie of Cumberland, as the cuſtome was.

At the ſame time alſo there was a new act deuiſed and made, the old being abrogated (by the appointment of the king) for the creation of the Scotiſh kings in time to come, manie of the nobles rather conſenting with ſilence, than greatlie allowing it either in harts or voices, though ſome curriſauours among them ſet forward the matter to the beſt of their powers. The articles of this ordinance were theſe. The eldeſt heire male of the deceaſſed king, whether the ſame were ſonne or nephue, of what age ſoeuer he ſhould be, yea though he ſhould be in the mothers wombe at the time of the fathers deceaſſe, ſhould from thence-forth ſucceed in the kingdome of Scotland. The nephue by the ſonne ſhould be preferred before the nephue by the daughter, in atteining to the heritage of the crowne. And likewiſe the brothers ſonne ſhould be admitted before the ſiſters ſon. The ſame law ſhould be obſerued of all ſuch of the Scotiſh nation, as had anie lands or inheritance comming to them by deſcent. Where the king by this meanes chanced to be vnder age, & not able to rule, there ſhuld be one of the chiefeſt peeres of the realme choſen and elected to haue the gouernance of his perſon and realme, till he came to 14 yeeres of age. The which fourteenth yeere of his age being accompliſhed, he ſhould haue the adminiſtration committed to his owne hands. The heires of all other perſons of ech eſtate and degree ſhould remaine vnder the wardſhip of their appointed gouernors, till they came to the age of 21 yeeres, and not till then to meddle with anie part of their lands and liuings.

The peeres of the realme did willingly grant to his requeſt.

The herald required Conſtantine his voice firſt.

Conſtantine his ſaieng.

The multitude well pleaſed, crie Malcolme.

A new act for the ſucceſſion of the crowne.

Articles concluded in that parlement.

M.ſ. Theſe

Ambaſſadors come from K. Edward.

He required a new prince to be elected.

The K. heard his meſſage & his purpoſe.

The king requeſted that the crowne might come by inheritance.

A fit oration for his purpoſe.

He had come nough to walke in, to gather proofes & reaſons to perſuade this matter, it being good of it ſelfe.

King Kenneth miniſtred iuſtice truelie.

These lawes and ordinances being once publiſhed and confirmed, king Kenneth ſuppoſed the kingdome to be fullie aſſured vnto him and his poſteritie, and therevpon indeuored himſelfe to win the harts of the people with vpright adminiſtration of iuſtice, and the fauour of the nobles he ſought to purchaſe with great gifts which he beſtowed amongſt them, aſwell in lands belonging to the crowne, as in other things greatlie to their contentation. Thus might he ſeeme happie to all men, hauing the loue both of his lords and commons: but yet to himſelfe he ſeemed moſt vnhappie, as he that could not but ſtill liue in continuall feare, leaſt his wicked practiſe concerning the death of Malcolme Duffe ſhould come to light and knowledge of the world. For ſo commeth it to paſſe, that ſuch as are pricked in conſcience for anie ſecret offenſe committed, haue euer an vnquiet mind. And (as the fame goeth) it chanced that a voice was heard as he was in bed in the night time to take his reſt, vttering vnto him theſe or the like words in effect:

The good will of the nobilitie he bought with gifts.

The king had a giltie conſcience.

A voice heard by the king.

"Thinke not Kenneth that the wicked ſlaughter of
"Malcolme Duffe by thee contriued, is kept ſecret
"from the knowledge of the eternall God: thou art he
"that didſt conſpire the innocents death, enterpriſing
"by traitorous meanes to do that to thy neighbour,
"which thou wouldeſt haue reuenged by cruell pu-
"niſhment in anie of thy ſubiects, if it had bene offe-
"red to thy ſelfe. It ſhall therefore come to paſſe, that
"both thou thy ſelfe, and thy iſſue, through the iuſt ven-
"geance of almightie God, ſhall ſuffer worthie pu-
"niſhment, to the infamie of thy houſe and familie for
"euermore. For euen at this preſent are there in hand
"ſecret practiſes to diſpatch both thee and thy iſſue out
"of the waie, that other maie inioy this kingdome
"which thou doſt indeuour to aſſure vnto thine iſſue.

The king with this voice being ſtriken into great dread and terror, paſſed that night without anie ſleepe comming in his eies. Wherefore in the morning he got him vnto biſhop Mouean, a man of great holineſſe of life, vnto whome he confeſſed his heinous and moſt wicked offenſe, beſeeching him of counſell, which waie he might obteine pardon and forgiuenes at Gods hands by worthie penance. Mouean hearing how the king bemoned his offenſe committed, he willed him to be of good comfort. For as the wrath of almightie God was prouoked by ſinne and wicked offenſes, ſo was the ſame pacified againe by repentance, if ſo be we continue penitent and willing to amend. King Kenneth being confirmed in hope of forgiueneſſe by theſe and ſundrie other the like comfortable words of the biſhop, ſtudied vnfeinedlie to do worthie penance, leauing nothing vndone which he thought might ſerue for a witneſſe of his penitent hart, thereby to auoid the vengeance which he ſtood in feare of to be prepared for him, by reaſon of his heinous and wicked crime.

The king confeſſeth his ſinnes.

The king taketh great repentance.

It chanced hereupon, that within a ſhort time after he had bene at Fordune, a towne in Mernes, to viſit the reliks of Paladius which remaine there, he turned a little out of the waie to lodge at the caſtell of Fethircarne, where as then there was a foreſt full of all manner of wild beaſts that were to be had in anie part of Albion. Here was he receiued by Fenella ladie of the houſe, whoſe ſon (as ye haue heard) he cauſed to be put to death, for the commotion made betwixt them of Mernes and Angus. She was alſo of kin vnto Malcolme Duffe, whome the king had made awaie, and in like manner vnto Conſtantine and Grime, defrauded of their right to the crowne, by the craftie deuiſe of the king (as before is partlie mentioned.) This woman therefore being of a ſtout ſtomach, long time before hauing conceiued an immortall grudge towards the king, vpon the occaſions before rehearſed (namelie aſwell for the death of hir ſonne Cruthlint, as hauing ſome inkling alſo of the impoiſoning of Malcolme Duffe, though no full certeintie therof was knowne) imagined night and day how to be reuenged.

The king went to Fordune in pilgrimage.

A parke with wild beaſts at the caſtell of Fethircarne.

Fenella was of kin vnto Malcolme.

She vnderſtood that the king delighted aboue meaſure in goodlie buildings, and therefore to the end to compaſſe hir malicious intent, ſhe had cauſed a tower to be made, ioining vnto hir owne lodging within the foreſaid caſtell of Fothircarne. The which tower was couered ouer with copper finelie ingrauen with diuerſe flowers and images. Hereto was it hong within with rich cloths of arras wrought with gold and ſilke, verie faire and coſtlie. Behind the ſame were there croſſebowes ſet readie bent with ſharpe quarrels in them. In the middeſt of the houſe there was a goodlie braſen image alſo, reſembling the figure of king Kenneth, holding in the one hand a faire golden apple ſet full of pretious ſtones, deuiſed with ſuch art and cunning, that ſo ſone as anie man ſhould draw the ſame vnto him, or remoue it neuer ſo little anie waie forth, the croſſebowes would immediatlie diſcharge their quarrels vpon him with great force and violence.

She was deſirous for to reuenge.

Fenella hir malicious intent.

Croſſebowes readie bent, hidden.

Fenella therefore being thus prouided aforehand, after meate deſired the king to go with hir into that inner chamber, into the which being entered, he could not be ſatiſfied of long with the beholding of the goodlie furniture, aſwell of the hangings as of diuerſe other things. At the laſt hauing viewed the image which ſtood (as is ſaid) in the midſt of the chamber, he demanded what the ſame did ſignifie? Fenella anſwered, how that image did repreſent his perſon, and the golden apple ſet ſo richlie with ſmaragds, iacints, ſaphires, topaſes, rubies, turkaſſes, and ſuch like pretious ſtones, ſhe had prouided as a gift for him, and therefore required him to take the ſame, beſeeching him to accept it in good part, though it were not in value worthie to be offered vnto his princelie honor and high dignitie. And herewith ſhe hirſelfe withdrew aſide, as though ſhe would haue taken ſome thing forth of a cheſt or coffer, thereby to auoid the danger.

Fenella had the king into the inner chamber.

But the king delighted in beholding the gems and orient ſtones, at length remouing the apple, the better to aduiſe it, incontinentlie the croſſebowes diſcharged their quarrels ſo directlie vpon him, that ſtriking him through in ſundrie places, he fell downe ſtarke dead, and lay flat on the ground. Fenella aſ ſone as ſhe beheld him fall to the ground readie to die, ſhe got forth by a backe doore into the nert woods, where ſhe had appointed horſſes to tarie for hir, by meanes whereof ſhe eſcaped out of all danger of them that purſued hir, yer the death of the king were openlie knowne vnto them. His ſeruants ſtill waiting for his comming forth in the vtter chamber, at length when they ſaw he came not at all, firſt they knocked at the doore ſoftlie, then they raped hard thereat: laſtlie, doubting that which had happened, they brake open doore after doore, till at length they came into the chamber where the king lay cold dead vpon the floore.

The king was ſlaine with the croſſebowes.

Fenella eſcaped from the hall.

His ſeruants looked for the king.

The doores broken open they find him dead.

The clamor and crie hereupon was raiſed by his ſeruants, and Fenella curſſed and ſought for in euerie place, that had committed ſo heinous and wicked a deed: but the vngratious woman was conueied ſo ſecretlie out of the waie, that no where could ſhe be heard of. Some ſuppoſed that ſhe fled firſt vnto Conſtantine, by whoſe helpe ſhe got ouer into Ireland. The ambitious deſire which the ſame Conſtantine ſhewed he had to ſucceed in gouernment of the kingdome after Kenneths deceaſſe, increaſed that ſuſpicion greatlie. For immediatlie after it was known that Kenneth was dead, he got his friends togither, and went vnto diuerſe places, requiring the lords to aſſiſt

Fenella could not be found.

Fenella got hirſelfe into Ireland by the helpe of Conſtantine.

Conſtantine aſpired vnto the crowne.

aſſiſt him in atteining to the crowne, which by the old ordinance and law of the realme (inſtituted in the beginning, and obſerued till now of late, that Kenneth by his priuate authoritie had gone about to abrogate the ſame) ought to deſcend vnto him, as all the world verie well vnderſtood.

COnſtantine procured friends ſo on ech ſide, that by their meanes being of high authoritie in the realme, he was brought by them vnto Scone, and there crowned king the 12 day after Kenneths deceaſſe, in the 25 yeere after that the ſame Kenneth had begun his reigne ouer the Scotiſhmen, and in the yéere of our ſaluation a thouſand iuſt, in the which yéere (as is ſaid) ſundrie vnkeuth ſights were ſéene as well in Albion, as in other places. The ſea left vpon the ſands on the coaſts of Buchquane, an infinite multitude of fiſhes, the which lieng there dead, cauſed ſuch a filthie ſauour, that the aire being therewith infected, great death of people inſued. The moone appéered of a bloudie colour, to the great terror of them that beheld it. In the ſummer next following, corne failed, and cattell died ſo generallie, that if there had not béene more plentie of fiſh got than was accuſtomed to be, the people had béene famiſhed in manie places. In Albion and alſo France it rained ſtones. But all theſe dreadfull wonders might not withdraw the Scotiſhmen from their wicked vices, wherevnto in thoſe daies they were wholie giuen, though there wanted not diuerſe vertuous men, as well biſhops as other, that in their ſermons exhorted the people to repent and amend their naughtie liuings: for otherwiſe vndoubtedlie ſuch grillie ſights and tokens as chanced in thoſe daies, menaced ſome great miſchiefe to fall vnto the whole nation. And ſuerlie their words proued true: for the Scots continuing in their wilfulneſſe, being ſtubborne harted one againſt another, brought their countrie into danger of vtter deſtruction.

Malcolme the ſonne of Kenneth, created (as ye haue heard in his fathers life time) prince of Cumberland, hearing that Conſtantine (againſt the ordinance latelie made) had vſurped the crowne, aſſone as his fathers bodie was buried in Colmekill, with ſuch funerall pompe as apperteined, he deſired his fathers friends to giue him ſuch faithfull counſell as they thought moſt expedient, which way he were beſt to worke for the appeaſing of the ſedition now begun, by reaſon of Conſtantines preſumptuous attempt. There were ſome amongeſt that companie that toke it to be beſt, firſt to vnderſtand the minds of all the péeres and nobles of the realme, before they went about anie exploit againſt the tyrant; leaſt whileſt Malcolme ſhould ſéeke to deliuer himſelfe from danger, he might haplie wind himſelfe further into trouble, than without extreame perill of the common-wealth he ſhould be able to get forth thereof againe. Other there were that iudged it beſt ſuddenlie to go againſt Conſtantine before he made himſelfe ſtrong: for if they came vpon him yer he were prouided for their comming, manie of them that feigned themſelues to be his friends, would forſake him, ſo ſone as they ſaw anie power of his enimies at hand. And then ſhould he either fall into their hands, or be driuen to flée the realme for ſafegard of his life.

The fierce yong man following this counſell as the beſt to his ſéeming, & truſting more to his owne wit than to the graue aduiſe of men of skill, aſſembled togither in all haſt poſſible about the number of ten thouſand men, with whome making towards Conſtantine with ſpéedie iornies, at length he came into Louthian. Conſtantine being informed of all his aduerſaries doings, had gotten togither alſo an huge power, ſo that paſſing forth with the ſame to incounter them, the brute which ran of his great number and puiſſance, cauſed Malcolme for verie feare that he ſhould not be able in anie part to match him, to breake vp his armie, and to flée backe into Cumberland: by reaſon whereof he had béene put to ſuch hinderance and diſhonor, as would not eaſilie haue béene recouered, had not Kenneth the baſtard ſonne of his father the aboue mentioned Kenneth incamped with a mightie power about Sterling, & defended the paſſages of the Forth, that Conſtantine with his armie could not come ouer. Then roſe there great famine and penurie of vittels in both hoſts, ſo that Conſtantine with great indignation was conſtreined to breake vp his campe, and ſo to leaue his enterprize for that ſeaſon.

Malcolme thought himſelfe too weake.

Lacke of vittels cauſed Conſtantine to breake vp his campe.

Thus was the realme diuided into two ſundrie factions, whereupon followed waſtings and incurſions made into each others poſſeſſions, with ſuch crueltie, that the ſame might be a ſufficient inſtruction what miſchiefe happeneth through ciuill diſcord. The poore commons and huſbandmen were brought to ſuch miſerie through the often ſpoilings and robberies vſed by the men of warre, that they were not able to till their grounds. Finallie, there roſe one miſchiefe ſo faſt in the necke of an other, that no kind of crueltie was ſpared, robbing, reauing, and forcible extortion was exerciſed on all ſides without hope of anie redreſſe or amendment. Whileſt the Scotiſhmen were thus at diuiſion amongeſt themſelues, renting and pulling in péeces their owne miſerable natiue countrie, Edward king of England being oppreſſed with inuaſion of Danes, was glad to buie peace at their hands, for himſelfe and his people, with right large ſummes of monie; but perceiuing that his enimies ceaſſed not dailie to ſpoile and rob his ſubiects, he purpoſed to trie what he might do by making them warre: and to make his part the ſtronger, he required Malcolme prince of Cumberland to aid him againſt the Danes, according to the couenant of the ancient league. Malcolme conſenting to K. Edwards requeſt, came with a mightie armie of Cumberland men to ſupport him: by reaſon whereof the Danes doubting to be ouermatched, after certeine light ſkirmiſhes, without anie great bloudſhed, condeſcended to haue peace, which was concluded with theſe conditions: that king Edward ſhould paie vnto the Danes a thouſand pounds of gold, for the which they ſhould content themſelues with thoſe lands which they had alredie in poſſeſſion, and to inuade no further vpon the Engliſhmen; but contrariwiſe to be readie to fight in their defenſe, if anie forreine enimie ſought to make anie warres vpon them. In the meane time, whileſt Malcolme was thus in England occupied in aid of king Edward againſt the Danes, king Conſtantine thought the time to ſerue verie well for his purpoſe, to reduce all thoſe regions of Scotland, which toke part with his aduerſarie (the foreſaid Malcolme) vnder his ſubiection.

King Edward, or rather Ethelred, purchaſed peace of the Danes.

Malcolme is readie to helpe king Edward againſt the Danes.

King Edward made peace with the Danes.

He aſſembled therefore twentie thouſand men, and comming into Louthian, heard how Kenneth the baſtard aforeſaid (being left by his brother Malcolme to reſiſt Conſtantines attempts) had got togither an huge armie of his brothers friends, and was come vnto Crawmond, where the riuer falleth into the Forth, three miles from Edenburgh, purpoſing there to abide his enimies, if they minded to aſſaile him. Conſtantine herevpon haſted thitherwards, and comming within ſight of his enimies, ſtreightwaies ioined battell with them; immediatlie wherewith there roſe ſuch an outragious tempeſt of wind, comming out of the eaſt, & driuing the ſand in the faces of Conſtantines men, that they were not able to ſée about them to make anie defenſe a-

King Conſtantine renued warre with Malcolme.

Conſtantine ioined battell with Kenneth the baſtard.

King Constantine is slaine.

gainst these enimies that then preassed vpon them right eagerlie. By meanes whereof the discouenture lighted vpon Constantines side, though neither part had anie great cause to reioise: for in the hotest of the fight, Constantine and Kenneth chanced to incounter togither, and so fighting man to man, either slue other. Thus Constantine ended his life by dint of the enimies sword, in the third yeare of his reigne,

1002 & in the yeare after the incarnation 1002, & his bodie was buried in Colmekill amongst his predecessors.

Grime.

Then Grime nephue to king Duffe, hearing of the slaughter made betwixt king Constantine and Kenneth, gathered togither the residue of Constantines armie, being scattered abroad after the ouerthrow, supposing that by the death of Kenneth, the partie of his brother Malcolme was sore weakened, & thereupon he came vnto the abbeie of Scone, and there caused himselfe to be crowned king, as lawfull successor vnto Constantine, by force of the old laws and ordinances of the realme. And to establish himselfe the more firmelie in the state, he shewed great gentlenesse towards all them that were friends vnto Constantine, and bestowed vpon them manie bountious gifts. Neither was his liberalitie shut vp from other that had fauored Malcolme, for to the end he might allure them to beare him good will, he rewarded them highlie both in lands and treasure: but other of the same faction, whome he saw by no meanes could be wone, he caused them to be proclamed traitors, and confiscated their goods as rebels to his person, and enimies to the crowne.

Grime vsed liberalitie and gentlenesse towards Constantines friends.

Malcolme prince of Cumberland is moued against Grime.

Malcolme prince of Cumberland being moued with these things, & thinking it good counsell to preuent the purposes of his enimies, before they were ripe for execution, got him into Northumberland, and there gathering his friends togither, made himselfe strong, and so entered into Scotland, destroieng the countrie before him with fire and sword, and comming forward vntill he came to Lothian, where he was ioined with a great power of men, which came vnto him out of Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmerland, and also out of Galloway, Carrike, Kile, Cuningham, Lennox, Argile, and the Ilands, which were all readie to reuolt from Grime, if they might find anie to take their part against him.

A good counsell.

Malcolme sendeth priuilie to the lords of Scotland.

Malcolme his promise vnto the Scots.

Malcolme his messengers are committed to prison.

Malcolme being offended therewith, gathered an armie.

Grime is of greater force than Malcolme.

Malcolme would not haue his people to vnderstand the trueth thereof.

His aduise auailed not.

Malcolme sent foorth secret messengers vnto those lords that tooke part with Grime, requiring them to remember their promised faith, giuen vnto his father king Kenneth, concerning the obseruance of the law established by their consent for the succession of their kings: which if they would doo in renouncing their obeisance vnto the vsurper Grime, he promised so to gouerne the realme with equall iustice, that no estate in reason should find cause to mislike with his doings. Manie of the nobles by meanes of this message reuolted from the said Grime soliciting their friends by earnest trauell to doo the like. But other & the greater number tooke those that brought the message, & sent them as prisoners vnto Grime, who presentlie committed them to prison.

Malcolme sore offended therewith, by counsell of his friends, assembled an armie to go against them, that (contrarie to the law of all nations, as he seemed to take the matter) had imprisoned his pursuants and messengers: but as he was marching forward on his purposed iournie, he heard by the way, how his aduersarie king Grime had gathered a farre greater power than he had with him, not onelie of all such of the Scotish nation inhabiting beyond the riuers of Forth and Clide, but of them also of the westerne Iles. Malcolme doubting least if the certeintie hereof were once bruted amongest his people, the fame would increase the terror more than needed; he gaue commandement therfore that no maner of wight should be suffered to come into his armie, vnlesse he were first brought to his presence. But this deuise nothing auailed him: for thereby that which he desired to be concealed and kept most secret, became the more manifest, by reason that such as had some inkeling of the matter, told it from one to another; making it much more than it was indeed. For there rose a murmuring amongest them, that there was such treason contriued, that if Malcolme with his armie went forward to ioine with his aduersaries, he should not be in danger onelie of them, which he knew to come against him in Grimes host; but also of no small number of them which were in his owne armie, who vpon the ioining had determined to turne their speare points against him in Grimes quarell.

A brute spred in Malcolme armie of treason.

This rumor passing from one to another, put the whole number in great feare. It was first raised by certeine merchantmen, of whome there was a great number in Malcolms host, hauing more skill in buieng and selling, than in anie warlike feats or enterprises. These at the first suing for licence to depart home, and could haue no grant, began to lament their miseries, in such dolefull wise, that all the campe was troubled with the noise; insomuch that euen the old men of warre, and diuerse of the capteins were not a little discomfited and amazed with such wailefull clamors. Malcolme being aduertised hereof, thought not good to match in battell against his fierce enimies with his people thus astonied through dread and terror, and therefore gaue licence to the most part of his host to depart for that time, and abood onelie with certeine bands of his most faithfull friends nere to the water of Forth, to stop his enimies from passing ouer that riuer.

Merchantmen authors of the rumor.

Malcolme licenceth the most part of his armie to depart hence.

Malcolme intendeth to stop his enimie from passing ouer the Forth.

Whilest the realme of Scotland was thus disquieted and troubled with ciuill discord, Fothadus the great bishop of Scotland, a man of right approued vertue and clemencie, sore lamenting to see his countrie thus diuided and rent as it were in peeces, got him into his pontificall vestures, with a multitude of other reuerend priests and ecclesiasticall ministers, in humble wise comming and presenting themselues before king Grime, who with great reuerence receiuing them, willed to vnderstand the cause of their comming. Then Fothadus answered, that he was come as the seruant of Christ, the author of all peace and concord, beseeching him by way of humble supplication to take ruth and pitie of the great trouble and miserie fallen to the realme, since the time he had taken the gouernance vpon him, the state of things being such, as if some redresse were not found in all spedie wise, the vtter ruine of the common-wealth must nedes insue, by reason of the sundrie debats and factions dailie rising among the people of all sorts and degrees, so that murthers, robberies, rapes, with all other kinds of iniuries & mischiefs were still put in practise without restreint or punishment, in such licentious sort that no man could assure himselfe of his owne: for whether it were within doores, or without, the robber was as redie to laie hands on it as the owner. Neither was there anie hope of reformation so long as the ciuill wars lasted. Therefore if it might stand with the pleasure of king Grime in releefe of the poore commons of Scotland, to condescend vnto some necessarie agreement with Malcolme, Fothadus offered to vndertake to conclude a peace betwixt them, in such wise as should in no maner of behalfe be preiudiciall to his honor and roiall maiestie.

Fothadus the great bishop of Scotland.

Fothadus seeketh to take vp the matter.

The fruits of ciuill warre.

Fothadus vndertaketh to conclude a peace betwixt the parties.

Grime moued with the words of the bishop (who most instantlie besought him, although the calamitie and great affliction of his people did but little mollifie his heart; yet in respect of his owne suertie, which might not continue if his people were once destroied, to remit part of his high displeasure) answered, that peace he could be contented to haue, so the same might be concluded with his honor saued: for suerlie wars he neuer desired but onelie in defense of

Grimes answer were to Fothadus.

of his good title and right, which he had to the crowne deſcended vnto him by the old lawes and ancient ordinances of the realme, and therefore he purpoſed not to leaue the ſame with life, but to fight for it againſt Malcolme, and all his partakers, euen vnto death. But if it were ſo, that Malcolme would content himſelfe with the principalitie of Cumberland, and ſo thereupon breake vp his campe, and depart forth of the lands perteining vnto the crowne, he would gladlie come to a communication with him for peace; but if Malcolme refuſed thus to doo, he aſſured him that he would not leaue off to purſue him to the vttermoſt of his power, as his moſt cruell and fierce enimie.

Fothadus hauing heard Grimes words, beſought him to ſtaie a time, till he might go vnto Malcolme, to vnderſtand what his full mind was in this behalfe not doubting but to find him conformable vnto anie reaſonable motion, for relieuing of the poore afflicted ſtate of the land. Grime granting vnto this requeſt, Fothadus in like ſort and habit as he came vnto Grime, went vnto Malcolme, whome he found at Sterling; where comming before his preſence with a long oration, he greatlie bewailed the dolorous calamities of the Scotiſh common-wealth, into the which it was fallen through ciuill ſedition onlie, and herewith declared alſo by great likelihood of ſubſtantiall reaſons, how infortunat and miſerable the end ſhould be of the warres, if the ſame were purſued to the vttermoſt. His tale being throughlie heard and well digeſted, wrought ſo with Malcolme, that he promiſed to withdraw into Cumberland without anie further attempt, if Grime would in like caſe breake vp his campe, and agree to haue a truce for three moneths ſpace, in which meane time they might by certeine commiſſioners appointed and authoriſed thereto, talke and common for concluding of a finall peace and concord betwixt them.

Grime refuſed not this offer, and ſo thereupon licenced his people to depart to their homes, repairing himſelfe with certeine of his nobles into Angus vnto the caſtell of Forfair, there to take further aduiſe what was to be done touching the appointed communication of peace. But Fothadus would in no wiſe reſt, till the commiſſioners were met and aſſembled togither in communication at Scone, where within few daies after (chieflie through his earneſt diligence) peace was concluded with theſe conditions. Firſt, that Grime during his life time ſhould inioy the crowne, and after his deceaſſe the ſame to remaine to Malcolme & his heirs by lineall deſcent for euer, according to the ordinance & decree made & eſtabliſhed by K. Kenneth. And whoſoeuer ſhould go about either by word or deed to impeach or hinder the ſaid ordinance and decree, ſhould be reputed for a traitor to the common-wealth & realme. Furthermore all the lands lieng betwixt Louthian & Northumberland, and betwixt Clide and Weſtmerland, euen from the Almaine ſeas to the Iriſh ſeas, ſhould preſentlie remaine & be tranſported vnto the dominion & gouernement of Malcolme, with the which contenting himſelfe, during the naturall life of Grime, he ſhould continue in friendſhip with the ſaid Grime, & ſo in no wiſe ſtirre or moue anie warre or debate, either againſt him or anie of his friends: for if he did, and went about to breake anie of the articles of this peace, he ſhould not onelie loſe thoſe lands which he now held, but alſo be depriued of all the right, title, claime, and intereſt which either he or his poſteritie might make or pretend vnto the crowne at anie time hereafter.

When both the princes had bound themſelues by ſolemne othes to performe euerie point and points in theſe articles compriſed, they laid armor aſide, and began to take order for reforming of all miſdemeanours, which had happened within the land, by reaſon of the ciuill contention moued betwixt them and their partakers. Howbeit, commandement was giuen by either of theſe princes, that their ſubiects ſhould be ſtill in a readineſſe with armour and weapons (if need required) to defend themſelues againſt all ſudden inuaſions of their neighbours, whereby it may be gathered, that the one had the other ſtill in ſome miſtruſt, what countenance ſoeuer they ſhewed outwardlie. Yet notwithſtanding, for the ſpace of 8 yeares togither, the peace continued without breach, or anie notable trouble betwixt them.

But Grime at length of a chaſt & liberall prince, through long ſlouth and increaſe of riches, became a moſt couetous tyrant, and ſo corrupted in maners and conditions, that it paſſed the bounds of all reaſon and equitie: inſomuch that when he had put vnto death diuerſe of his nobles, to the end he might haue their lands and goods as forfeited by atteindor, he oppreſſed the people by continuall eractions alſo each day more than other. His ſubiects being thus brought into extreame miſerie through his wicked and vniuſt gouernement, not knowing where to ſeeke for redreſſe, ſaue onelie at the hands of almightie God, the puniſher of all ſinne, beſought him to haue pitie of their afflictions and miſeries, and to change the gouernment of the realme into ſome better ſtate. The lords alſo hauing great indignation of the trouble fallen to the realme, by the kings miſgouernance and auaricious crueltie, appointed a certeine number of gentlemen to go vnto him as ambaſſadors from them, to require him to put awaie from him ſuch naughtie perſons as by euill counſell had peruerted his mind, & moued him to doo things contrarie to his honor, and the wealth of his realme.

One of theſe ambaſſadors (to whome the charge was giuen) had the words in name of them all, who comming before the kings preſence, declared to him that they were ſent from the reſidue of the nobles and peeres of his realme, to admoniſh him of things perteining to the ſuertie of his eſtate, and common wealth of his dominions: which was, that whereas through perſuaſion of euill councellors he ſuffered manie enormities to be committed by his miniſters and officers againſt his ſubiects, to their vtter impoueriſhment and vndoing, the rebuke whereof did redound vnto his diſhonour; if it would pleaſe him to remoue out of his preſence and ſeruice all ſuch diſloiall perſons as ſought the hinderance of the common-wealth, he ſhould win therby the loue of all his liege ſubiects, which now could not but grudge and repine at this his gouernement, as men by the ſame brought into ſuch calamitie, that better it were for them in their iudgements to be dead than aliue, if reformation were not the ſooner had againſt ſuch extortions as his ſeruants and officers did dailie practiſe, and for the which no doubt he muſt needs anſwer, ſith the ſword was committed vnto him, not to inrich couetous perſons, nor to oppreſſe innocent and true dealing people, but contrarilie to puniſh and correct guiltie and vniuſt dealers.

When king Grime had heard what meſſage theſe ambaſſadors had brought, he anſwered to the ſame with fained words, and willed them vnder the pretext of courteſie to a banket, in purpoſe to haue put them all in priſon: but they being aduertiſed thereof got them in all haſt to their horſſes, and fled forthwith vnto Bertha, where the reſidue of the nobles at the ſame time were aſſembled. Grime hauing thus no regard to the wholeſome aduertiſement of his nobles, thought that all things would come forward with ſuch felicitie and hap as he wiſhed, not ceaſſing from raiſing new paiments and eractions ſtill of

applie their ſtudies to reforme miſdemeanors.

King Grime his alteration from noble qualities vnto deteſtable vices.

The common peoples praier

The lords require Grime to reforme the miſdemeanor of his officers.

King Grime purpoſed to haue ſlaine the meſſengers.

Fothadus ſweth vnto Malcolme.

Malcolms offer.

Grime is contented with Malcolms motion.

Fothadus his diligence to procure the parties to agrement.

The conditions of the peace betwixt Grime and Malcolme.

The warres being ceaſſed, the princes

The lords of Scotland arrere warre against Grime their king.

what miſchiefe inſued.

his ſubiects, till at length he was aduertiſed how his nobles had raiſed open warre againſt him, at which newes being ſore kindled with diſpleaſure, he got together a great number of men, and marched forth towards them that had ſo rebelled againſt him. Then followed more miſchæfe and trouble than euer had béene ſéene afore that time in Scotland: for by reaſon of this ciuill diſſention, caſtels were raced and ouerthrowne, townes burned vp, corne deſtroied, fields waſted, and the people ſlaine in all places, yea as well in churches as elſewhere.

Malcolme prince of Cumberland hearing of ſuch cruell wars as were thus raiſed in Scotland betwixt the king and the nobles of the realme, to the danger of the vtter ouerſion of the whole common-wealth, returned with all ſpéed forth of England (where he was with an armie as then in aid of king Egeldred againſt the Danes) into his owne countrie for defenſe of his ſubiects, if anie attempt ſhould happilie be made againſt them in that troubleſome ſeaſon.

Malcolme is required to receiue the Scotiſh eſtate.

Howbeit, he was no ſooner returned home, but the nobles of Louthian came vnto him, beſeeching him to take pitie vpon his miſerable and torne countrie, & to imploie his whole force to remoue away from the people ſuch imminent deſtruction as dailie haſted towards them, which to do they thought it was partlie euen his dutie, ſith God had beſtowed vpon him ſuch gifts, both of bodie, mind, and fortune, as moſt plentiouſlie appeared in him, not onelie for the weale of himſelfe, but alſo of his friends & countrie, & therefore his part was to ſhew his earneſt diligence to deliuer the common-wealth of ſuch tyrannie as was practiſed by the miſgouernement of Grime and his vnhappie councellors. Which being done, he might order all things as ſhould like him beſt.

Malcolme conſenteth to make warres againſt Grime.

Malcolme moued with theſe and the like perſuaſions of the Scotiſh lords, which dailie reſorted vnto him, reſolued with promiſe of their ſupport to leuie warre againſt Grime in this ſo neceſſarie a quarell, and ſo aſſembling a great puiſſance together, he did ſet forth towards his aduerſarie. By the way alſo there came ſtill vnto him great numbers of men from each ſide to aid him in this enterpriſe, offering by ſolemne othes to become his liegemen and ſubiects. Grime likewiſe being aduertiſed of thoſe newes, with all ſpéed got togther ſuch people as hee might aſſemble for the time, and comming forward with the ſame at the towne of Auchnabart, both the armies pitched downe their tents, the one faſt by the other, on the Aſcenſion daie. Here Grime ſuppoſing that he might take his enimies at ſome aduantage, if he came vpon them on the ſudden, for that being giuen to deuotion, they would looke for nothing leſſe than for battell on that daie, he got forth of his campe in the dawning of that morning, in purpoſe forthwith to aſſaile them.

Grime aſſembleth an armie to incounter Malcolme.

The camps néere the one to the other.

Grimes policie.

Malcolmes requeſt.

Notwithſtanding, Malcolme being aduertiſed thereof, ſent vnto Grime, requeſting him to deſiſt from battell for reuerence of that bleſſed feaſt, but Grime would in no wiſe aſſent thereto, but néedes would come on without ſtop or ſtaie; wherevpon both the armies ruſhing togither met right fiercelie, ſo that in the beginning there was great ſlaughter made on both ſides, but within a while king Grimes ſide was put to the worſſe, and in the end clearelie diſcomfited. In the chaſe were manie ſlaine, but yet no ſuch number as ſo notable a victorie required. It is ſaid that Grime was taken aliue ſtanding at defenſe, & moſt fiercelie fighting, who being ſore wounded in the head, had both his eies put out, and afterwards continuing ſo in great miſerie and languor certeine daies, at length departed out of this life, in the 9 yéere of his reigne, and was buried in Colmekill, after the incarnation 1010 yéeres.

The battell betwixt Grime and Malcolme.

Grimes part diſcomfited.

The end of king Grime.

1004. Io.

1010. H.

After this victorie thus obteined by Malcolme, he called ſuch noble men as were taken priſoners in this battell before him, vſing manie gentle words toward them, declaring that the right of the crowne apperteined vnto him, and that the warres which hée had made, were not attempted againſt the common wealth of the Scotiſh eſtate, but rather in reliefe thereof, to the end the people might be deliuered of the tyrannie exerciſed by Grime and his councellors. When he had thus vttered his mind vnto them, he appointed a publike aſſembly to be kept at Scone (for the election of a new king) there to be holden within 15 daies after. Whither the Scotiſh nobilitie comming togither at the time & place appointed, and conſenting to crowne Malcolme king, he vtterlie refuſed to receiue the crowne, except the law eſtabliſhed by his father Kenneth for the ſucceſſion thereof were firſt confirmed and approued, wherevpon the lords bound themſelues by ſolemne othes to performe the ſame, and neuer to breake and violate it in anie condition. His requeſt herein being granted with generall conſent both of the nobles and commons, the crowne was ſet vpon his head, he being placed in the chaire of marble, to the great reioiſing of all the people preſent.

Malcolme is required to receiue the Scotiſh eſtate.

A parlement at Scone.

Malcolme refuſeth the crowne but vpon cõditi.

The ordinã of king Kenneth for the ſucceſſion of the crowne confirmed.

Malcoln

When the ſolemnitie of this coronation was ended, he called before him againe all the lords and péeres of his realme; of the which, part had aided him in the laſt warres, and part had béene aſſiſtant vnto his aduerſarie Grime: and there vſed the matter in ſuch wiſe amongſt them, that he made them all friends, each one promiſing to other to forget all former offenſes, diſpleaſures, and controuerſies paſt, which he did to auoid all inteſtine trouble that might grow out of the rotes of ſuch rancor and malice, as in time of the ciuill diſcord had ſprong vp among them. Further, for the better adminiſtration of iuſtice in due forme and maner, he beſtowed publike offices vpon diſcréet perſons, ſkilfull in the laws and ordinances of the realme. Other offices perteining to the warres & defenſe of the realme, he committed to ſuch as were practiſed & trained in ſuch exercíſes, ſo that iuſtice was miniſtred on all ſides throughout the kingdome, with ſuch equitie and vprightneſſe, as had not bæne heard of in anie age before him. Whileſt the Scotiſh eſtate was gouerned in ſuch happie wiſe, by the prudent policie of king Malcolme; it chanced that Sueno king of Danes landed in England with a mightie naule, in purpoſe to reuenge the iniuries done before vnto his people by the Engliſhmen.

Malcolme agréeth the nobles of his realme.

Malcolmes wiſdome in ordeining officers.

Sueno king of Denmarke landed in England.

This Sueno (as appeareth more at large in the hiſtorie of Denmarke) firſt being an earneſt perſecutor of chriſtian men, and puniſhed by the diuine prouidence for his crueltie in that behalfe, ſhewed by ſundrie ouerthrowes receiued at the enimies hands, as in being thriſe taken priſoner, and in the end driuen and expelled out of his kingdome, he came into Scotland for reliefe and ſuccour, where through the wholeſome inſtruction of godlie and vertuous men, he renounced his heathenith beléefe, and receiued the chriſtian faith, and being baptiſed, at length was reſtored home to his kingdome. Shortlie after with a mightie armie of Danes, Gothes, Norwegians, and Swedeners, with other northerne people, he arriued (as is ſaid) in England, and chaſed king Egeldred into Northumberland, who there receiuing aid from the Scots, according to the league which latelie before he had contracted with them, he determined eftſones to trie the chance of battell with his enimies. Marching forwards therefore towards them, he came to the riuer of Diwſe, néere to the banks whereof, not farre from Yorke, he pitched downe

Sueno chuerted to the chriſtian faith in Scotland.

Egeldred (or as the Scots write Eldred) chaſed into Northumberland, getteth aid from the Scots.

downe his tents.

Sueno mesſage to the Scots.

Then Sueno not forgetfull of the benefits and pleaſures receiued but latelie at the Scotiſhmens hands, ſent an herald at armes vnto them, commanding them to depart their waies home, and to refuſe Egeldreds companie; either elſe to looke for moſt cruell battell at the hands of the Danes, the Norwegians, and others the people of Germanie, there readie bent to their deſtruction. Egeldred being aduertiſed that his aduerſaries meſſenger was thus come into his campe, cauſed him to be ſtaied and arreſted for a ſpie. And the ſame day he brought forth his battels readie ranged into the fields, to trie the matter by dint of ſword, if Sueno were ſo minded; who verie deſirous to accept the offer, brought forth alſo his people in perfect order and well arraied to fight, ſo that there was no ſtaie on either part, but that togither they flue moſt fiercelie, & in ſuch eger wiſe, that neither ſide had leaſure to beſtow their ſhot, but euen at the firſt they buckled togither at handblowes, continuing certeine houres with great & cruell ſlaughter, till at length the Engliſhmen were put to flight, leauing the Danes a verie déere and bloudie victorie. The murther alſo that day of the Scots was great, but yet nothing to the number of the Engliſhmen. Egeldred himſelfe with a few other, got a bote and paſſed ouer Duſe, ſo eſcaping out of the enimies hands, but the reſt were for the moſt part either taken or ſlaine.

The battell betwixt Egelred & Sueno

The Engliſh men put to flight by the Danes.

Egeldred eſcapeth by flight.

Thus Egeldred being vtterlie vanquiſhed and deſpairing of all recouerie, fled out of England ouer into Normandie, where he was verie friendlie receiued of Richard as then duke of Normandie, and afterwards purchaſed ſuch fauour there amongſt the Normans, that he maried the ladie Emme, daughter vnto the ſaid duke, and begot of hir two ſonnes, Alured and Edward, as in the Engliſh chronicles more at large it doth appéere. Sueno hauing thus ouercome his enimies, and now put in poſſeſſion of the whole realme of England, was in mind to haue deſtroied all the Engliſh generation, ſo to eſtabliſh the kingdome to him and his poſteritie for euer, without anie impeachment afterwards to be made by ſuch as ſhould ſuccéed of them that were then aliue.

Suenos cruell imaginations.

The nobles of England their humble petition vnto Sueno.

But the nobles of England aduertiſed of Suenos determination, came humblie before his preſence, & falling downe on their knées at his féet, beſought him in moſt pitifull wiſe to haue compaſſion on their miſerable eſtate, who in times paſt being a moſt puiſſant nation, both by ſea and land, were now ſatiſfied (if he would grant them life) to continue vnder what bondage and ſeruitude it ſhould ſtand with his pleaſure to preſcribe, for they deſired neither poſſeſſion of caſtels, townes, or other ſouereignties, but onelie to liue with their wiues and children vnder ſubiection within their owne natiue countrie, at the victors will and appointment.

Under what conditions Sueno licenced the Engliſhmen to liue in their owne countrie.

Sueno, albeit he was of nature verie cruell, yet he qualified his diſpleaſure by this humble ſubmiſſion of the Engliſh nobilitie; in ſuch ſort, that he vſed the victorie farre more gentlie, than at the firſt he had purpoſed, commanding that the whole Engliſh nation ſhould remaine in the countrie, but in ſuch wiſe, as by no meanes they ſhould preſume to beare anie armor or weapon, but to applie themſelues vnto huſbandrie, and other ſeruile occupations vnder the gouernement of the Danes, vnto whom they ſhould reſigne and deliuer all their caſtels, forts, and ſtrong holds: and taking an oth to be true liege men vnto Sueno, as their ſouereigne lord and king; they ſhould bring in (to be deliuered vnto his vſe) all their weapons and armor, with other munition for the warres, alſo all their gold and ſiluer, aſwell in plate as coine. If anie of the Engliſhmen refuſed thus to dow, proclamation was made that he ſhould immediatlie loſe his life as a rebell and a diſobedient perſon. Theſe conditions were hard, and hardlie vrged. The Engliſhmen were brought vnto ſuch an extremitie, that they were faine to accept theſe conditions of peace, for other meane to auoid preſent death they knew none. And thus was the dominion of England conquered by the Danes, after the Saxons had reigned in the ſame 564 yéeres.

529. H.B.

The miſerie of the Engliſhmen vnder the bondage of the Danes.

Such tyrannie alſo after this was vſed by the Danes, that none of the Engliſh nation was admitted to anie office or rule within the realme, either ſpirituall or temporall, but were vtterlie remoued from the ſame, and ſome of them caſt in priſon and dailie put in hazard of their liues. Finallie, the Engliſhmen were brought into ſuch miſerable thraldome, that euerie houſholder within the realme was conſtreined to receiue and find at his owne proper coſts and charges, one Dane, who ſhould continuallie giue good watch what was ſaid or done in the houſe, and to aduertiſe the king thereof, for doubt of conſpiracies or treaſons to be contriued and practiſed againſt his perſon and roiall eſtate. This Dane by the good man of the houſe and his familie, for honor ſake, was called lord Dane, which word was afterwards turned to a name of reproch, as where anie idle perſon liued loitering, without the vſe of ſome honeſt exerciſe to get his liuing withall, the people were and yet are accuſtomed to call him a lordaine.

The name of lordain how it came vp.

¶ Thus farre out of Hector Boetius we haue ſhewed of Suenos doings in England, the which although it agrée not in all points with our Engliſh hiſtories, yet ſith the hiſtorie of Scotland in this place ſéemeth partlie to hang thereon, we haue thought good to ſet it downe as we find it in the ſame Boetius: but aduertiſing the reader withall, that if our hiſtories be true, this which followeth touching Suenos inuading of Scotland, chanced before that Egeldred, whome the Scotiſh writers name Eldred, was driuen to flée into Normandie. For when that Sueno laſtlie returned into England, and conſtreined Egeldred ſo to forſake the land, he liued not long after but departed this life about Candelmas, in the yéere 1014 (as in the Engliſh hiſtories ye may read more at large) not hauing time to make anie ſuch iournie into Scotland: ſo that it may be thought, if he did enterpriſe anie ſuch exploit there, it was before this his laſt arriuall in England.

Sueno landed héere this laſt time of his comming forth of Denmarke into England in Julie, in the yéere 1013, & departed this life in the beginning of Februarie, in the yéere 1014

But now to proceed according to that which we find in the foreſaid Boetius. Sueno hauing ſpoiled the Engliſhmen of their liberties (in manner before remembred, or rather brought them to become tributaries vnto him, as at the firſt time of his arriuall here he did in deed), he thought it neceſſarie, for the more ſuertie of his eſtate in England, to conclude ſome peace or league with his neighbours the Normans, Britains, & Scots, vnder condition that they ſhould not ſupport anie Engliſhman againſt him. But forſomuch as he could not compaſſe his intention héerein, he furniſhed all the caſtels and fortreſſes on the ſea-coaſts, ouer againſt Normandie, with men, munition, and vittels, to reſiſt all ſudden inuaſions that might be attempted on that ſide. And on the other part towards the north, he made all the prouiſion he could deuiſe to make mortall wars vpon the Scots: and the more to annoie his enimies, he ſent commandement vnto Olauus his lieutenant in Norwaie, and to Onetus his deputie in Denmarke, to come with all the power they might leauie into Scotland, to make warres on his enimies there.

Sueno prepareth to inuade the Scots.

Olauus, and Onetus.

Whereupon ſhortlie after thoſe foreſaid capteins arriued with an huge armie in the mouth of Speie, and landed in ſuch puiſſant order, that the inhabitants of Murrey land fled out of their houſes, with their

The Danes land in Scotland.

their wiues, children, and goods (such as they could conueie awaie with them) into places where they thought to remaine most out of danger. But the Danes, after their manner, burne and spoile all before them, aswell churches and chapels, as other buildings and edifices. Such of the people as could not flee in time, but by chance fell into their hands, were slaine without all mercie. Also all the strengths and holds in the countrie were taken by the Danes, three castels onelie excepted: that is to say, Elgin, Fozes, and Narne, which the Danes named afterwards Burg, and for that they trusted (when the same was wone) the other two would yeeld without anie further defense, they first laid siege vnto this castell of Narne, inforsing themselues with all their power to win it: but in the meane time, they were informed how Malcolme the Scotish king was come within fiue miles of them with all the forces of his realme to giue them battell.

The cruelties of the Danes.

The castell of Narne besieged.

Incontinentlie herevpon they raised their siege, and hasted forth to meet him, with no lesse courage than if victorie were alreadie present in their hands. Shortlie after, there came vnto them heralds also from Malcolme, to vnderstand whie they had thus inuaded his realme with open and most cruell warre, hauing no occasion giuen by him or his subiects so to do: who scarselie had done their message, but that they were slaine forthwith by cruell outrage of the Danes. Malcolme being sore moued to vnderstand the law obserued by all nations for the safetie of messengers to be thus violated by the enimies, kept on his iournie with the more fierce courage, till he came to a medow a little beside Killos, where he incamped for that night. Great noise and clamour was heard throughout the armie, euerie man being desirous of battell, to reuenge the iniuries done by the Danes against their friends and countriemen: notwithstanding on the morrow, when they saw their enimies in farre greater number, and in better order than euer had béene séene by anie of them before that time, their hart began to wax faint, hauing greater care which waie to saue their owne liues, than to giue the onset vpon their enimies.

Malcolme sendeth ambassadors to the Danes.

The Danes slea the ambassadors.

The Scots through feare are astonied.

Malcolms words to his nobles.

Malcolme perceiuing such dread to be entred into the harts of his people, that they were now more like to run awaie than to fight, if he should bring them forth to battell, got him to a little hill, and calling his nobles about him, he declared vnto them how he could not but detest their great cowardise, that were thus astonied at the first sight of their enimies, without further triall of their forces. ¶ At home (said he) ye are most hardie and valiant, where no danger appéreth. What rebuke then is it vnto you, to be thus faint harted (now that ye are come where valiancie should be shewed) in degenerating so far from your worthie fathers and noble progenitors, the which at Loncart vnder the conduct of my father Kenneth, obteined so famous a victorie of the selfe same nation, whose furious puissance ye séeme now so much to feare? There hath béene triall made in battell with this enimie in our time, both within the bounds of Scotland, and also of England, to the great honor and renowme of our elders. What discomfitures the Danes haue receiued are yet fresh in memorie, so manie of them losing their liues amongst vs, that Albion may well be reckoned the sepulture of Danes; as some of you can well record by your owne remembrance, and other haue heard by report of their forefathers and ancestors. Ye ought then (said he) to be of good courage, rather than to faint now at need, considering ye haue to do with those enimies, who are but the remnant of the other, which before haue béene vanquished and ouerthrowne by Scotishmen, both at Loncart, and in diuerse other places; yea and besides that, such as moouing warres now at this present without iust occasion, haue violated the lawes both of God and man, deseruing thereby iust vengeance at Gods hands, the punisher of all such vniust offendors. There is great hope therefore of victorie (said he) left vnto all such as fight against these enimies, if we take manlie harts vnto vs, and shew our selues in valiant constancie like to our elders, whereby it shall then appéere what outragious follie remained in the Danes, to inuade vs without occasion of iniuries preceding. Therefore if ye haue not more regard to the safetie of your fraile bodies, which must needes at length perish, than to the defense and preseruation of your common countries; why passe ye not forward, sith there is now no place nor time to take longer aduise in the matter, as ye may well vnderstand by the presence of the enimie readie to ioine?

Loncart.

Albion the sepulture of Danes.

The nobles moued with these words of their prince, began boldlie to exhort their people to battell. Incontinentlie herevpon rose such noise and raging furie through the armie, that without measuring either their owne forces or their enimies, they rush forth vpon them without anie order or good araie. Olauus & Onetus beholding the Scots to come thus furiouslie against them, boldlie incountred them with arraied battels. Herevpon insued a verie terrible fight, with great manhood shewd on both sides, nothing being let passe that might apperteine to worthie capteins: the Scots inforcing themselues to defend their countrie and ancient liberties on the one side, and the Danes doing their best indeuour by valiant hardinesse to saue their liues and honors on the other. At length, after huge murther & slaughter made on both parts, the Scots were put to flight, Malcolme was sore wounded, & had his helmet so fast beaten to his head, that it might not well be got off, yet was he conueied out of the field in manner for dead, and kept secret in a wood, till he was somewhat amended, and then got him into places out of danger. The Danes hauing got this victorie, and gathered the spoile of the field, returned to besiege eftsones the castell of Narne, with more force and violence than before.

The Scots without order rush forth to battell.

The Scots put to flight. Malcolme is wounded.

This castell in those daies was inclosed on each side with the sea, hauing one narrow passage as an entrie vnto it, made by craft of man in manner of a bridge. Those that were within it, hauing knowledge of the ouerthrow and losse of the field, rendered the fortresse, on condition, that leauing all their armor, weapon, and other munitions behind them, they might depart with their liues and other goods saued. Neuertheless the Danes, contrarie to their faith giuen, being once entred the castell, hanged all those which they found within it ouer the wals, in most despitefull manner. Thus was Narne wone by the Danes, the strongest hold within Murrey land, and so garnished with men, munition, and vittels, that it was thought impregnable. Then those souldiers which kept Elgin and Fozes, hearing what cruelties the Danes had thus vsed, fled out of those castels, and left them void without anie person to defend them. The Danes reioising at this good fortune, trusted to establish themselues sure seates in Murrey land, and therevpon sent backe their ships into Norwaie and Denmarke, to fetch from thence their wiues and children. In the meane time they constreined such Scots as they had laid hands on, to reape and inne the corne growing abroad in the fields, vnto their vse and commoditie.

The castell of Narne rendred by composition.

The Danes breakers of faith and promise.

Elgin and Fozes left void.

K. Malcolme being aduertised of all these things, doubting least by the arriuall of new aid, his enimies might war more puissant, in the beginning of the next summer he assembled a great multitude of warriors,

Marthlake.

ors, and came into the land of Angus, where at Marthlake a battell was fought betweene them and the Scots, with great slaughter on both parts, but in the end the Danes were put to flight, manie of them being slaine, and but few taken. Olaus beholding the discomfiture of his people, with his companions and chiefe men of warre, fled into Murrey land, and there sate downe about him.

The Danes put to flight.

Olaus fleeth into Murrey land.

The Scots and Danes afraid of another.

The next day, as he was minding to have pursued the residue of his valiant captens that had left the battell, and the spoile of the field amongst his men, and dealing from further pursute of the Danes at that time with his Angus, where he remained the residue of the verie winter, he called a counsell with his nobles touching the publike affaires of the realme, and how to recouer his countrie of Murrey land out of the enimies hands. King Suend hearing in the meane time how luckie successe his people had sped this in Scotland at the battell of Marthlake, in reuenge thereof determined to inuade the Scots with two mightie armies, the one to be rigged in England, and to come forth of the riuer of Thames, and the other to be sent from Denmarke, one Camus a Dane, verie expert in warlike knowledge, being appointed to be generall of all the men of warre that should come from both those parties.

Suend prepareth a new armie to inuade Scotland.

Camus appointed captaine generall of the Danes.

The yeare next insuing, both these fleets according to commandement and order giuen, arrived and met together within the mouth of the Forth, neere to saint Ebbes head. Here Camus going about to land his men, was kept off by the stout resistance of the Scots, there assembled for the same intent. Camus then plucking vp the sailes, directed his course vnto the Ile of Sketh, where riding at anchor for the space of one moneth, and abiding for some prosperous wind, at length when the same came once about, he passed from thence vnto the Redbraes, called in Latine *Rubrum promontorium*, & there landed his whole armie, before the countrie could be gathered to resist him. Camus being once landed, got him to the next hill, and beholding the ruine of the towne of Montros, which a few yeares before had beene destroied by the Danes, he reioised not a little, for that his chance was to come on land in the selfe same place, where the Danes had earst vanquished their enimies, hoping of like lucke in this his enterprise and present expedition.

Saint Ebbes head.

The Scots keepe off the Danes from landing.

Camus with his armie lasteth at the Redbraes.

After this, he tooke his iournie through Angus, sparing no maner of crueltie that might be deuised: cities, townes, villages, and churches, with all maner of other buildings publike and priuat were consumed with fire. At his comming to Brechine, for that the castell there in those daies was of such strength, that it might not be hastilie woone, he caused the towne and church being right faire and sumptuouslie built in honor of the Trinitie (to whom it was dedicated) to be spoiled, & so raced to the earth, that one stone was not left standing vpon an other. With these and the semblable cruelties, Camus raging both against God and man, was finallie aduertised that king Malcolme was come to Dundee with all the power of Scotland. Then suddenlie he tooke the nert way towards the sea side, comming the nert day following vnto a village called Balbrd, where he pitched downe his tents. The same day, king Malcolme making all haste possible to succour his subiects, and preserue the countrie from the cruell outrage of the Danes, came to the towne of Barre two little miles from the place, where his enimies were incamped. In the morning he drew into the field, in purpose to giue them open battell.

Camus marcheth through Angus.

The crueltie of the Danes.

The towne and church of Brechine destroied.

King Malcolme hasteth forward to fight with the Danes.

But before he arraied his battels, he called his nobles and captens togither, desiring them to consider how they should match in fight against people blinded with vile auarice, liuing on the spoile and pillage

Malcolmes oration.

The Scots oftentimes renew battell.

Onetus is slaine.

To you, that is to God, and our ladie, and saint Moloke, for to be ioined them togither according to the manner of that tune.

Malcolmes praier.

cc

cc

cc

cc

cc

The Scots forced to retire.

lage got by theuerie, and not by anie iust warres: enimies not onelie to the christian faith, but also to all innocent people, whome they sought vniustlie to inuade, without hauing occasion so to do, saue onelie vpon an iniurious meaning to liue by spoile of other mens goods, wherein they haue no maner of propertie. He willed them therfore to remember how they were come thus against those enimies in defense of their natiue countrie, appointed vndoubtedlie by God to reuenge the cruell iniuries done by the Danes against his name, and people that professed the same. They ought not then to measure force in number of souldiers, but rather in manhod and valiancie of heart. Camus likewise exhorted his people, not vsing manie words, but yet pithie, desiring them to remember how it behoued them either to win immortall fame by victorie, either else to die with miserie in an vncouth land, by the hand of their most fierce and cruell enimies.

Camus exhorteth his Danes.

Herewith Malcolme imbattelling his people, brought them forth stronglie ranged in good order to incounter the Danes, which likewise approched towards him in good arraie of battell. His heart was filled the more with hope of victorie, for that he had tried sundrie times before the force of the enimies in diuers conflicts and encounters. For such is the nature of noble and valiant stomachs, the more experience they haue in honorable enterprises, the more are they kindled in desire to shew their powers in famous acts and worthie attempts. The armies here vpon on both sides, fiercelie rushing togither, began a battell right cruell & terrible, continuing certeine houres with such bloudshed, that the riuer of Lochtæ ran with a purple hue downe into the Almaine seas. The fields also where they fought, though they were full of sand (as the nature of the soile giueth) yet were they made moist by the abundance of blond spilled in the same. Manie there were so earnestlie bent to be reuenged on the enimie, that after they had their deaths wound, they would run themselues forward vpon their aduersaries weapon, till they might close with him, inforcing their vttermost powers to dispatch him also; so that diuers were séene to fall to the ground togither fast grasping one another, and so immediatlie both of them to die withall: such burning hatred kindled their harts, that thus were they wholie set on reuenge. At length yet the honor of the field remained with Malcolme.

The nature of valiant hearts and noble stomachs.

A bloudie battell.

Malcolme winneth the field.

Camus peceiuing the discomfiture to light on his side, with a small companie about him thought to haue escaped by flight vnto the next mounteins, but being pursued of his enimies, he was slaine by them yer he was got two miles from the place of the battell. The place where he was slaine, is named after him vnto this day, and called Camestone, where is an obeliske set vp in memorie of the thing, with his picture grauen therein, and likewise of those that slue him. The principall slear of Camus was one Keith, a yong gentleman of right hardie courage, whose seruice in the battell was verie notable, in recompense whereof he was rewarded by king Malcolme, with sundrie lands and faire possessions in Louthian. His familie (saith Hector Boetius) hath and doth continue in great honor amongest Scotishmen euen vnto this day, and is decorated with the office of the marshalship of Scotland, to the high renowme and fame thereof, amongest the chiefest péers of the realme.

Camus is slaine.

An obeliske.

The house of Keithes aduanced to honor.

An other companie of the Danes flieng from this ouerthrow were slaine at Abirlemnon, not past foure miles from Brechin, where is set vp a great stone or obeliske, grauen with certeine characters or letters, to aduertise them that passe that waies forth, of this slaughter of Danes there made by our worthie elders. The residue of the Danes that escaped with life from the field, hauing certeine Scotishmen to their guides corrupted with monie fled to their ships, declaring to their fellowes what mishap had fortuned. King Malcolme after he obteined this famous victorie (as before is said) at Barre, he caused the spoile of the field to be diuided amongest his souldiers, according to the laws of armes; and then caused the dead bodies of the Danes to be buried in the place where the field had béene fought, and the bodies of the Scotishmen which were found dead were conueied vnto the places of christian buriall, and there buried with funerall obsequies in sundrie churches and churchyards. There are séene manie bones of the Danes in those places where they were buried, there lieng bare aboue ground euen vnto this day, the sands (as it often chanceth) being blowen from them. The other Danes, which escaped to their ships, pulled vp sailes to haue passed into Murrey land vnto Olaus, but remaining on the seas the space of foure daies togither, tossed to and fro by contrarie winds, at length by a streinable east wind they were driuen vpon the coast of Buchquhan, and through want of conuenable harbrough were in présent danger to haue béene cast away. At length, after they had ridden at anchor in the Firth there, to their great displeasure a long space, and finding no prosperous winds to depart from the shore, for that their vittels began to faile them, they set fiue hundered of their best and lustiest souldiers on land, to fetch in some bootie or preie of cattell, therewith to relieue their hunger and famine. They that were thus sent forth, being perfectlie appointed with armour and weapon, ranged abroad till they had got togither a great number of beasts, with the which drawing towards their ships, they were incountred by the way by Warnachus the thane of Buchquhane accompanied with the power of that countrie, whose force when they saw how they were not well able to resist without some aduantage of place, they got them vp into an high crag, where, with tumbling downe stones vpon the Scotishmen as they mounted vp towards them, they caused them somewhat to staie; but at length through the earnest exhortation of Warnachus, the Scots (as people inflamed with wood desire to be reuenged) mounted the hill in despight of their enimies, though diuers of them were slaine in that assault. Those which wan the height of the crag vpon the Danes, made such a cruell battell with them, that there was not one Dane that escaped their hands.

The diuiding of the spoile.

Bones of Danes.

Warnachus thane of Buchquhan

This conflict was fought nére vnto Gemmer a village or towne in Buchquhane, where, in memorie thereof, lie manie great bones of the Danes to be séene yet euen vnto these daies. It should appeare by the same bones, that men in former time were of more huge growth and stature, than they be at this présent. The other Danes which were on ship bord, vnderstanding what had happened to their fellowes (because they returned not againe to the ships) so soone as the wind came about for their purpose, hoised vp sailes, and toke their course forthright towards Murrey land. In the meane time king Sueno hearing of these ouerthrowes, which his people had in such sort receiued at the Scotishmens hands, as a prince of a right haughtie courage, not lightlie ouercome with anie aduerse fortune, made preparation in all spédie wise to be reuenged, appointing his brother Canute, as then hauing the administration of Denmarke; to come from thence with a new fléete and armie against the Scots. It is said, that this Canute, according to order prescribed him by his brother Sueno, landed first in Buchquhane, and destroied

Danes slain nére vnto Gemmer.

Sueno preparеth the third time to inuade Scotland.

Canute brother vnto Sueno, ap-

Malcolme Camus is slaine.

Danes slaine at Abirlemnon.

pointed generall to come against the Scots.

destroied a great part of that countrie by fire and sword, in reuenge of the slaughter of his countriemen the Danes, which had beene there made latelie before.

King Malcolmes determination.

Malcolme sore kindled in wrath by these iniuries, though through continuance of the wars his power was greatlie decaied, yet did he assemble an armie with all speed he could deuise, and marched with the same towards the Danes, in purpose to staie them with often skirmishes and light incounters, but in no wise to ieopard with them in anie pitcht field or generall battell, for feare least if he had the ouerthrow, he should not be able to furnish a new power for defense of his countrie, against the rage of the enimies. For the space therefore of fiftéene daies togither, there was often skirmishing betwixt the parties. The which terme being expired, the Scots beholding so huge murder of their countriemen and friends, with the spoile of the fields, and destruction of the townes and villages, burning and blasing on each side before their faces, they come to king Malcolme, and desired him that he would grant them licence to fight with their enimies, protesting plainelie, that if he would not consent thereto, they would giue battell at their owne choise.

The Scotishmens request vnto their king for licence to fight.

Malcolme perceiuing the earnest minds of his people to incounter their enimies in plaine field, and that he might no longer protract the time, he granted their petition, and therewith beseeching them to remember their honors and dueties: incontinentlie the onset was giuen with great hatred and malice on either part, so that most egerlie continuing in fight a long time, they inforced themselues to rid each other out of life: so that all the nobles well neere on both sides were slaine, the name of victorie rather than the victorie it selfe remaining with the Scots, who were so feeble and faint with long fight & slaughter, that in the end of the battell they were not able to pursue those few of the Danes, which escaping with life fled faintlie out of the field. And so for that night, which followed the day of this bloudie battell, they lodged heere and there in seuerall places, at aduenture as well as they might.

The onset is giuen.

The Scots wan the name of victorie, rather than victorie it selfe.

On the morow after, when it was vnderstood on both parties, what losse they had sustained, their minds were conuerted rather to peace than to renew battell, bicause they were not of power longer to mainteine it. Whereupon by mediation of such as toke vpon them to treat a peace, the same was concluded with these articles. First, that the Danes should depart out of Murrey land, Buchquhan, and all other the bounds of Scotland. That the warres should clearelie ceasse betwixt the Danes and Scotishmen, during the naturall liues of Sueno and Malcolme, or either of them. That neither of those two nations should aid or in anie wise support the others enimies. That the field where the last battell was fought, should be hallowed for christian buriall, within the which the Danes that were slaine in the same battell should be buried, and a church to be built there, and lands appointed forth for the maintenance of priests, to celebrate there according to the order of the christian religion, then vsed by both the people: for the Danes latelie before that season had also receiued the faith. This peace being ratified by the solemne othes of both the kings, Sueno and Malcolme, Canute with his Danes resigning vp the possession of such holds and places as they held in Murrey land, Buchquhan, or else where within anie part of the Scotish dominions, got him to his fleet, and departed with the same home into Denmarke.

Peace concluded for want of power to mainteine battell.

The articles of the peace betwixt the Danes and Scotishmen.

The holds in Scotland deliuered vp by the Danes into the Scotish mens hands.

Canute returneth into Denmarke.

King Malcolme hauing thus restored his countrie vnto ioifull peace, thought nothing so good as to performe the articles of the agréement accorded betwixt him and the Danes, and therefore caused a church to be builded in the place appointed, dedicating the same in honor of saint Olaaus patrone of Denmarke and Norwaie, to signifie vnto such as came after, that sundrie nobles of the Danes laie buried in that church. In memorie hereof, the lands that were giuen to the same church, are called euen yet vnto these daies Crowdan, which signifieth as much as if ye should say, The slaughter of Danes. The church which was first builded there, chancing as often happeneth in those parties, to be ouercast with sands, an other was erected in place not farre off, hauing a more commodious site. Sundrie of the bones of them that were buried in this place, being left bare by reason that the sands were blowne away besides them, Hector Boetius (the writer of the Scotish chronicle) beheld in the yeare 1521, which séemed more like vnto giants bones, than to men of common stature (as he auoucheth) whereby it should appeare, that men in old time were of much greater stature and quantitie of bodie, than anie that are to be found in these our daies.

A church builded.

Crowdan, what it signifieth.

Bones of Danes.

Publike praiers.

Malcolme being thus deliuered of his enimies the Danes, caused publike praiers generallie to be made throughout the realme, in rendring thanks to almightie God, that it had pleased him to deliuer his people from the troubles of warre. He toke order also, that churches should be repared, which by the enimies in time of the warres had béene destroied. And further, he caused the administration of the lawes and wholsome ordinances of the realme to be vsed and put in practise, according to the due forme of the same, which manie yéeres before could haue no place, by reason of the warres. He caused an assemblie of all the estates of his realme to be called at Bertha castell, in those daies standing not farre from the place where the towne of Perth now standeth. In which conuention were manie things enacted, both for the setting forth of Gods honor, and the weale of the realme, whereby Malcolme wan much praise amongst his subiects, to the eternall memorie of his name.

The repating of churches.

The restoring of lawes and iustice.

A parlement at Bertha.

After this, supposing it most honorable to aduance the bloud of such as had serued well in the last warres, or had their fathers or other friends slaine in the same, he called a parlement at Scone, in the which, causing partition to be made of the realme, by diuiding it into baronies, he bestowed it amongest the nobles, according to the qualitie of euerie one his merits, reseruing in maner nothing to the maintenance of the crowne, common entries onelie excepted, with the mounteine wherin the marble chaire stood, and a few other possessions which he purposed to giue vnto churches and chapels. The nobles on the other part, to the end the king might haue sufficient wherewith to mainteine his roiall estate, granted vnto him and his successors for euer the cuskodie and wardship of their heires, if they chanced to die leauing them vnder the age of 21 yéeres: and in the meane time till the same heires came to the said age, they agréed that the king and his successors should inioy the vse and profits of their lands, whether they were men or women, and when they came to the age of 21 yéeres, that then they should enter into the possession of their lands, yéelding vnto him or his successors one yéeres rent in name of a relefe: and if they chanced not to be married before their fathers decease, then also should they marrie at the kings appointment, or else compound with him for the same.

A parlement at Scone.

Diuision of the realme into baronies.

The wardship of heires granted to the king.

Mariage of wards.

Thus ended the parlement for that season, with great ioy and comfort on each hand, for that the king had shewed such liberall bountiousnesse towards his barons, and they no lesse mindfull of their duties had

declared

declared such beneuolent hearts, as appeared in that their free and large gift granted in forme and maner as before is expressed. Neither did Malcolme forget the vow which he made at Murthlake, when he was in danger to haue receiued the ouerthrow at the hand of the Danes. For according to the same vow, he caused a church to be built in the same place, erecting a bishops see there, and indowed it with the lands & possessions of these three places, Murthlake, Cleometh, and Dunmeth, with all ecclesiasticall iurisdictions and tithes apperteining thereto. The bishops that sat in this see were called the bishops of Murthlake, till the daies of king Dauid the first, who changing the name, caused them to be called the bishops of Abirden, augmenting the see with sundrie faire reuenues to the better maintenance thereof.

The see of Murthlake, otherwise Aberden.

Malcolme thus hauing purchased rest from further troubles of warre, gouerned the realme a certeine time after in good order of iustice, and caused a booke to bee set forth, called *Regia maiestas*, conteining the lawes and ordinances wherby the realme should be gouerned: and assigning forth in the same what fees also should be giuen vnto the chancellor, secretarie, constable, marshall, chamberleine, iustice, treasuror, register, comptroller, and other the officers of his house. Such princelie doings and noble vertues were found in this Malcolme for a season, that if the same had continued with him in his latter age, there had neuer reigned ante king in Scotland, that might haue bene thought to haue passed him in worthie fame: neuertheles his excellent qualities were stained at length by that reprochfull vice of vile auarice. For as it oftentimes happeneth, couetousnesse and age laid hold on him both at once. He then began to repent in that he had beene so liberall in giuing away his lands to his barons; & to recouer the same againe, he surmized feigned matter by vntrue suggestions against diuerse of the chiefest nobles, putting some to death, & banishing other, that he might by this meanes inioy their lands and goods as confiscate to the crowne for their supposed offenses.

The booke called *Regia maiestas*.

Malcolme waxeth auaritious.

Couetousnes and age arriuing togither.

Malcolmes crueltie to purchase riches.

The nobles hauing great indignation at such crueltie vsed by the king against them and their linage, and that vpon no iust causes, but onelie vpon forged deuises, they conspired in sundrie meetings secretlie appointed amongst them, to find some meanes to dispatch him out of life. At length he chanced to haue some inkling whereabout they went, & doubting to fall into their hands, fled for safegard of his life vnto Glammis, where diuerse of the conspirators were brought into his lodging, by some of his owne household seruants, and there slue him in reuenge of their friends, whome he before had wrongfullie put to death. These murtherers with their complices incontinentlie fled with all speed possible to auoid further danger for this their act: but missing their way (for the ground was quite couered as then with snow) they finallie came to the loch of Forfair, which was the same time frozen ouer. They therefore thinking to passe ouer it, when they came into the midst, the ise brake vnder them, so that sinking in, they were finallie drowned. Howbeit their bodies were afterwards drawne forth of the loch with drags, and dismembred, and their heads and quarters were sent to diuerse townes of the realme, and there hong vp for a signification of their wicked treason. This was the end of king Malcolme in the 32 yeere of his reigne, if ye reckon from the death of Constantine, or 25 after the death of Grime, and after the incarnation of our Sauiour 1034 yeeres. He was buried in Colmekill with his ancestors.

The conspiracie of the Scotish nobilitie against Malcolme.

Malcolme slaine at Glammis.

The murtherers drowned.

31. H.B.
1040. H.B.

Strange sights.

In this season was seene manie wonders and strange sights in Albion. On Christmas daie there was an earthquake, and a great rift of the earth made therewith in the midst of Striueling towne, out of the which issued such an abundant streame of water, that it bare away the next wood that was adioining to the riuer of Forth. In the summer the sea rose higher, & flowed further into the land, than euer it had beene seene at anie other time. On Midsummer daie, which is the feast of saint Iohn Baptist, there was such a vehement frost, that the corne and other fruits of the earth were blasted and killed, so that thereupon followed a great dearth in all the countrie.

Duncane.

After Malcolme succeeded his nephue Duncane the sonne of his daughter Beatrice: for Malcolme had two daughters, the one which was this Beatrice, being giuen in mariage vnto one Albanath Crinen, a man of great nobilitie, and thane of the Iles and west parts of Scotland, bare of that mariage the foresaid Duncane; the other called Doada, was maried vnto Sinell the thane of Glammis, by whom she had issue one Makbeth a valiant gentleman, and one that if he had not beene somewhat cruell of nature, might haue beene thought most worthie the gouernement of a realme. On the other part, Duncane was so soft and gentle of nature, that the people wished the inclinations and maners of these two cousins to haue beene so tempered and interchangeablie bestowed betwixt them, that where the one had too much of clemencie, and the other of crueltie, the meane vertue betwixt these two extremities might haue reigned by indifferent partition in them both, so should Duncane haue proued a worthie king, and Makbeth an excellent capteine. The beginning of Duncans reigne was verie quiet and peaceable, without anie notable trouble; but after it was perceiued how negligent he was in punishing offendors, manie misruled persons tooke occasion thereof to trouble the peace and quiet state of the common-wealth, by seditious commotions which first had their beginnings in this wise.

Duncan king of Scotland.

Makbeth.

Duncan of too soft a nature.

Banquho the thane of Lochquhaber, of whom the house of the Stewards is descended, the which by order of linage hath now for a long time inioied the crowne of Scotland, euen till these our daies, as he gathered the finances due to the king, and further punished somewhat sharpelie such as were notorious offendors, being assailed by a number of rebels inhabiting in that countrie, and spoiled of the monie and all other things, had much a do to get awaie with life, after he had receiued sundrie grieuous wounds amongst them. Yet escaping their hands, after hee was somewhat recouered of his hurts, and was able to ride, he repaired to the court, where making his complaint to the king in most earnest wise, he purchased at length that the offendors were sent for by a sergeant at armes, to appeare to make answer vnto such matters as should be laid to their charge: but they augmenting their mischiefous act with a more wicked deed, after they had misused the messenger with sundrie kinds of reproches, they finallie slue him also.

Banquho thane of Lochquhaber.

The house of Stewards.

A mutinie amongst the people of Lochquhabe

A sergeant at armes slaine by the rebels.

Then doubting not but for such contemptuous demeanor against the kings regall authoritie, they should be inuaded with all the power the king could make, Makdowald one of great estimation among them, making first a confederacie with his nerest friends and kinsmen, tooke vpon him to be chiefe capteine of all such rebels as would stand against the king, in maintenance of their grieuous offenses latelie committed against him. Manie slanderous words also, and railing tants this Makdowald vttered against his prince, calling him a faint-hearted milksop, more meet to gouerne a sort of idle monks in some cloister, than to haue the rule of such valiant and hardie men of warre as the Scots were. He

Makdowald offereth himselfe to be capteine of the rebels.

vsed

vſed alſo ſuch ſubtill perſuaſions and forged allurements, that in a ſmall time he had gotten togither a mightie power of men: for out of the weſterne Iles there came vnto him a great multitude of people, offering themſelues to aſſiſt him in that rebellious quarell, and out of Ireland in hope of the ſpoile came no ſmall number of Kernes and Galloglaſſes, offering gladlie to ſerue vnder him, whither it ſhould pleaſe him to lead them.

Makdowald diſcomfiteth the kings power.

Makdowald thus hauing a mightie puiſſance about him, incountered with ſuch of the kings people as were ſent againſt him into Lochquhaber, and diſcomfiting them, by mere force take their capteine Malcolme, and after the end of the battell ſmote off his head. This ouerthrow being notified to the king, did put him in wonderfull feare, by reaſon of his ſmall ſkill in warlike affaires. Calling therefore his nobles to a councell, he aſked of them their beſt aduiſe for the ſubduing of Makdowald & other the rebels. Here, in ſundrie heads (as euer it happeneth) were ſundrie opinions, which they vttered according to euerie man his ſkill. At length Makbeth ſpeaking much againſt the kings ſoftnes, and ouermuch ſlacknelſe in puniſhing offendors, whereby they had ſuch time to aſſemble togither, he promiſed notwithſtanding, if the charge were committed vnto him and vnto Banquho, ſo to order the matter, that the rebels ſhould be ſhortly vanquiſhed & quite put downe, and that not ſo much as one of them ſhould be found to make reſiſtance within the countrie.

The final ſkil of the king in warlike affaires.

Makbeths offer.

And euen ſo it came to paſſe: for being ſent forth with a new power, at his entring into Lochquhaber, the fame of his comming put the enimies in ſuch feare, that a great number of them ſtale ſecretlie awaie from their capteine Makdowald, who neuertheleſſe inforced thereto, gaue battell vnto Makbeth, with the reſidue which remained with him: but being ouercome, and fleeing for refuge into a caſtell (within the which his wife & children were incloſed) at length when he ſaw how he could neither defend the hold anie longer againſt his enimies, nor yet vpon ſurrender be ſuffered to depart with life ſaued, hee firſt ſlue his wife and children, and laſtlie himſelfe, leaſt if he had yeelded ſimplie, he ſhould haue beene executed in moſt cruell wiſe for an example to other. Makbeth entring into the caſtell by the gates, as then ſet open, found the carcaſſe of Makdowald lieng dead there amongſt the reſidue of the ſlaine bodies, which when he beheld, remitting no peece of his cruell nature with that pitifull ſight, he cauſed the head to be cut off, and ſet vpon a poles end, and ſo ſent it as a preſent to the king, who as then laie at Bertha. The headleſſe trunke he commanded to bee hong vp vpon an high paire of gallowes.

Makbeth and Banquho are ſent againſt the rebels.

The rebels forſake their capteine.

Makdowalds head ſent to the king.

Makbeths cruelltie.

Them of the weſterne Iles ſuing for pardon, in that they had aided Makdowald in his traitorous enterpriſe, he fined at great ſums of monie: and thoſe whome he tooke in Lochquhaber, being come thither to beare armor againſt the king, he put to execution. Herevpon the Ilandmen conceiued a deadlie grudge towards him, calling him a couenant-breaker, a bloudie tyrant, & a cruell murtherer of them whome the kings mercie had pardoned. With which reprochfull words Makbeth being kindled in wrathfull ire againſt them, had paſſed ouer with an armie into the Iles, to haue taken reuenge vpon them for their liberall talke, had he not beene otherwiſe perſuaded by ſome of his friends, and partlie pacified by gifts preſented vnto him on the behalfe of the Ilandmen, ſeeking to auoid his diſpleaſure. Thus was iuſtice and law reſtored againe to the old accuſtomed courſe, by the diligent means of Makbeth. Immediatlie whereupon word came that Sueno king of Norway was arriued in Fife with a puiſſant armie, to ſubdue the whole realme of Scotland.

Makbeth deemed by the Ilandmen.

Iuſtice & law reſtored.

Sueno king of Norway landed in Fife

But here to the intent it maie be the better perceiued, what this Sueno was, I will ſomwhat touch from whence he deſcended. That Sueno, who (as ye haue heard) conquered the realme of England, being alſo king of Denmarke and Norwaie, had three ſonnes, Harold, Sueno, and Canute; the firſt he made king of England, the ſecond king of Norwaie, and the third king of Denmarke. Harold inioied not the ſame dominion of England paſt three yeeres after his fathers deceaſſe, but was ſlaine by Ethelred or Egelred, whom his father Sueno had chaſed into Normandie. But the ſame Ethelred kept not long the kingdome in peace, for Canute king of Denmarke, to reuenge his brothers death, landed in England with a mightie hoſt, and ſleaing Ethelred, recouered the kingdome to the vſe of the Danes: but yet one Edmund ſonne to the foreſaid Ethelred, ſurnamed Ironſide, maintained the warre againſt Canute for a ſeaſon, till at length by both their conſents they agreed to fight a combat ſingularlie man to man, ſo to trie the matter betwixt them, who ſhould reigne as king ouer the Engliſhmen.

This agreeth not with our Engliſh writers.

Harold that reigned king of England, was not the ſon of Sueno but of Canute and was not ſlaine, but died of naturall diſeaſe. See more hereof in England.

Canute king of Denmarke, Edmund Ironſide.

In this fight when they had continued a long ſpace, and ſhewed right notable proofes of their manhood: Edmund (ſaith Canute) ſith it hath pleaſed almightie God, that thou ſhouldeſt thus trie the force of my hand without hurt or wound, I thinke it bee likewiſe his pleaſure, that thou ſhouldeſt inioy part of the realme: go to therefore, I receiue thee as partener with me in the kingdome, ſo that (if thou be contented let vs diuide the kingdome betwixt vs without anie more contention. Edmund gladlie accepted this condition of agreement, ſuppoſing it better to haue halfe the kingdome, than to ſtand to the doubtfull triall of loſing the whole: for he had receiued a wound at Canutes hands, though Canute vnderſtood not ſo much: againe, he foreſaw that occaſion hereafter might be offered, whereby he might without all trouble come to inioy the whole. Herevpon either of them lept beſide their wearied horſſes in that fierce & earneſt fight, & imbracing each other became good friends, in diuiding the realme according to the aboue mentioned motion of Canute. That part of England that lieth ouer againſt France was aſſigned vnto Canute; and the other, that is, the north parts vnto Edmund. In the meane time Emma the wife of Ethelred, with hir two ſonnes (which ſhe had by the ſame Ethelred) Alured and Edward, fled ouer into Normandie, doubting leaſt this concord betwixt Canute and Edmund ſhould turne ſmallie to hir aduancement.

Canutes words to Edmund Ironſide.

The diuiſion of the realme of England betwixt Canute and Edmund Ironſide.

Alured & Edward the ſons of king Ethelred.

But now touching the arriuall of Sueno the Norwegian king in Fife (as before is expreſſed) ye ſhall vnderſtand, that the pretenſe of his comming was to reuenge the ſlaughter of his vncle Camus, and other of the Daniſh nation ſlaine at Barre, Crowdane, and Gemmer. The crueltie of this Sueno was ſuch, that he neither ſpared man, woman, nor child, of what age, condition or degree ſoeuer they were. Whereof when K. Duncane was certified, he ſet all ſlouthfull and lingering delaies apart, and began to aſſemble an armie in moſt ſpeedie wiſe, like a verie valiant capteine: for oftentimes it happeneth, that a dull coward and ſlouthfull perſon, conſtreined by neceſſitie, becommeth verie hardie and actiue. Therefore when his whole power was come togither, he diuided the ſame into three battels. The firſt was led by Makbeth, the ſecond by Banquho, & the king himſelfe gouerned in the maine battell or middle ward, wherein were appointed to attend and wait vpon his perſon the moſt part of all the reſidue of the Scotiſh nobilitie.

The crueltie of Sueno king of Norwaie.

Duncane beſtirreth himſelfe in aſſembling an armie.

The Scotiſh armie diuided into three battels.

The armie of Scotiſhmen being thus ordered,

came vnto Culros, where incountering with the enimies, after a ſore and cruell foughten battell, Sueno remained victorious, and Malcolme with his Scots diſcomfited. Howbeit the Danes were ſo broken by this battell, that they were not able to make long chaſe on their enimies, but kept themſelues all night in order of battell, for doubt leaſt the Scots aſſembling togither againe, might haue ſet vpon them at ſome aduantage. On the morrow, when the fields were diſcouered, and that it was perceiued how no enimies were to be found abrode, they gathered the ſpoile, which they diuided amongſt them, according to the law of armes. Then was it ordeined by commandement of Sueno, that no ſouldier ſhould hurt either man, woman, or child, except ſuch as were found with weapon in hand readie to make reſiſtance, for he hoped now to conquer the realme without further bloudſhed.

Sueno vanquiſheth the Scots.

Suenos commandement to ſpare fire and ſword.

But when knowledge was giuen how Duncane was fled to the caſtell of Bertha, and that Makbeth was gathering a new power to withſtand the incurſions of the Danes, Sueno raiſed his tents, & coming to the ſaid caſtell, laid a ſtrong ſiege round about it. Duncane ſeeing himſelfe thus enuironed by his enimies, ſent a ſecret meſſage by counſell of Banquho to Makbeth, commanding him to abide at Incheuthill, till he heard from him ſome other newes. In the meane time Duncane fell in fained communication with Sueno, as though he would haue yelded vp the caſtell into his hands, vnder certeine conditions, and this did he to driue time, and to put his enimies out of all ſuſpicion of anie enterpriſe ment againſt them, till all things were brought to paſſe that might ſerue for the purpoſe. At length, when they were fallen at a point for rendring vp the hold, Duncane offered to ſend forth of the caſtell into the campe great prouiſion of vittels to refreſh the armie, which offer was gladlie accepted of the Danes, for that they had béene in great penurie of ſuſtenance manie daies before.

Duncane fled to the caſtell of Bertha.

Sueno beſieged king Malcolme.

Fained treatie.

The Scots héerevpon toke the iuice of mekilwort berries, and mired the ſame in their ale and bread, ſending it thus ſpiced & confectioned, in great abundance vnto their enimies. They reioiſing that they had got meate and drinke ſufficient to ſatiſfie their bellies, fell to eating and drinking after ſuch greedie wiſe, that it ſéemed they ſtroue who might deuoure and ſwallow vp moſt, till the operation of the berries ſpread in ſuch ſort through all the parts of their bodies, that they were in the end brought into a faſt dead ſléepe, that in manner it was vnpoſſible to awake them. Then forthwith Duncane ſent vnto Makbeth, commanding him with all diligence to come and ſet vpon the enimies, being in eaſie point to be ouercome. Makbeth making no delaie, came with his people to the place, where his enimies were lodged, and firſt killing the watch, afterwards entered the campe, and made ſuch ſlaughter on all ſides without anie reſiſtance, that it was a wonderfull matter to behold, for the Danes were ſo heauie of ſléepe, that the moſt part of them were ſlaine and neuer ſtirred: other that were awakened either by the noiſe or other waies forth, were ſo amazed and dizzie headed vpon their wakening, that they were not able to make anie defenſe: ſo that of the whole number there eſcaped no more but onelie Sueno himſelfe and ten other perſons, by whoſe helpe he got to his ſhips lieng at rode in the mouth of Taie.

Spiced cups prepared for the Danes.

The Danes ouercome with drinke, fall aſléepe.

Makbeth aſſaulteth the campe of the Danes, being ouercome with drinke and ſléepe.

The ſlaughter of Danes.

Sueno with ten other eſcaped.

The moſt part of the mariners, when they heard what plentie of meate and drinke the Scots had ſent vnto the campe, came from the ſea thither to be partakers thereof, and ſo were ſlaine amongſt their fellowes: by meanes whereof when Sueno perceiued how through lacke of mariners he ſhould not be able to conueie awaie his naule, he furniſhed one ſhip throughlie with ſuch as were left, and in the ſame ſailed backe into Norwaie, curſing the time that he ſet forward on this infortunate iournie. The other ſhips which he left behind him, within thrée daies after his departure from thence, were toſſed ſo togither by violence of an eaſt wind, that beating andruſhing one againſt another, they ſunke there, and lie in the ſame place euen vnto theſe daies, to the great danger of other ſuch ſhips as come on that coaſt: for being couered with the floud when the tide commeth, at the ebbing againe of the ſame, ſome part of them appéere aboue water.

Sueno fléeth with one ſhip leauing the reſidue of his naule behind him.

The fléete of the Norweg ans ſunke by vehement rage of winds.

The place where the Daniſh veſſels were thus loſt, is yet called Drownelow ſands. This ouerthrow receiued in manner afore ſaid by Sueno, was verie diſpleaſant to him and his people, as ſhould appéere, in that it was a cuſtome manie yéeres after, that no knights were made in Norwaie, except they were firſt ſworne to reuenge the ſlaughter of their countriemen and friends thus ſlaine in Scotland. The Scots hauing woone ſo notable a victorie, after they had gathered & diuided the ſpoile of the field, cauſed ſolemne proceſſions to be made in all places of the realme, and thanks to be giuen to almightie God, that had ſent them ſo faire a day ouer their enimies. But whileſt the people were thus at their proceſſions, word was brought that a new fléet of Danes was arriued at Kingcorne, ſent thither by Canute king of England, in reuenge of his brother Suenos ouerthrow. To reſiſt theſe enimies, which were alreadie landed, and buſie in ſpoiling the countrie; Makbeth and Banquho were ſent with the kings authoritie, who hauing with them a conuenient power, incountred the enimies, ſlue part of them, and chaſed the other to their ſhips. They that eſcaped and got once to their ſhips, obteined of Makbeth for a great ſumme of gold, that ſuch of their friends as were ſlaine at this laſt bickering, might be buried in ſaint Colmes Inch. In memorie whereof, manie old ſepultures are yet in the ſaid Inch, there to be ſéene grauen with the armes of the Danes, as the maner of burieng noble men ſtill is, and héeretofore hath béene vſed.

Drownelow ſands.

The oth that knights took in Norwaie, to reuenge the death of their friends.

Solemne proceſſions for victorie gotten.

A power of Danes arriue at Kingcorne out of England.

The Danes vanquiſhed by Makbeth and Banquho.

Danes buried in S. Colmes Inch.

A peace concluded betwixt Scots and Danes.

A peace was alſo concluded at the ſame time betwixt the Danes and Scotiſhmen, ratified (as ſome haue written) in this wiſe: That from thenceforth the Danes ſhould neuer come into Scotland to make anie warres againſt the Scots by anie maner of meanes. And theſe were the warres that Duncane had with forren enimies, in the ſeuenth yéere of his reigne. Shortlie after happened a ſtrange and vncouth wonder, which afterward was the cauſe of much trouble in the realme of Scotland, as ye ſhall after heare. It fortuned as Makbeth and Banquho iournied towards Fores, where the king then laie, they went ſporting by the waie togither without other companie, ſaue onelie themſelues, paſſing thorough the woods and fields, when ſuddenlie in the middeſt of a laund, there met them thrée women in ſtrange and wild apparell, reſembling creatures of elder world, whome when they attentiuelie beheld, wondering much at the ſight, the firſt of them ſpake and ſaid; All haile Makbeth, thane of Glammis (for he had latelie entered into that dignitie and office by the death of his father Sinell.) The ſecond of them ſaid; Haile Makbeth thane of Cawder. But the third ſaid; All haile Makbeth that héereafter ſhalt be king of Scotland.

The prophecie of three women ſuppoſing to be the weird ſiſters or feiries.

Then Banquho; What manner of women (ſaith he) are you, that ſéeme ſo little fauourable vnto me, whereas to my fellow héere, beſides high offices, ye aſſigne alſo the kingdome, appointing forth nothing for me at all? Yes (ſaith the firſt of them) we promiſe

cc miſe greater benefits vnto thée, than vnto him, for he
cc ſhall reigne in déed, but with an vnluckie end: nei-
cc ther ſhall he leaue anie iſſue behind him to ſuccéed in
cc his place, where contrarilie thou in déed ſhalt not
cc reigne at all, but of thée thoſe ſhall be borne which
cc ſhall gouerne the Scotiſh kingdome by long order
cc of continuall deſcent. Herewith the foreſaid women vaniſhed immediatlie out of their ſight. This was reputed at the firſt but ſome vaine fantaſticall illuſion by Mackbeth and Banquho, inſomuch that Banquho would call Mackbeth in ieſt, king of Scotland; and Mackbeth againe would call him in ſport likewiſe, the father of manie kings. But afterwards the common opinion was, that theſe women were either the weird ſiſters, that is (as ye would ſay) the goddeſſes of deſtinie, or elſe ſome nymphs or feiries, indued with knowledge of prophecie by their necromanticall ſcience, bicauſe euerie thing came to paſſe as they had ſpoken. For ſhortlie after, the thane of Cawder being condemned at Fores of treaſon againſt the king committed; his lands, liuings, and offices were giuen of the kings liberalitie to Mackbeth.

The ſame night after, at ſupper, Banquho ieſted with him and ſaid; Now Mackbeth thou haſt obteined thoſe things which the two former ſiſters prophecied, there remaineth onelie for thée to purchaſe that which the third ſaid ſhould come to paſſe. Wherevpon Mackbeth reuoluing the thing in his mind, began euen then to deuiſe how he might atteine to the kingdome: but yet he thought with himſelfe that he muſt tarie a time, which ſhould aduance him thereto (by the diuine prouidence) as it had come to paſſe in his former preferment. But ſhortlie after it chanced that king Duncane, hauing two ſonnes by his wife which was the daughter of Siward earle of Northumberland, he made the elder of them called Malcolme prince of Cumberland, as it were thereby to appoint him his ſucceſſor in the kingdome, immediatlie after his deceaſſe. Mackbeth ſore troubled herewith, for that he ſaw by this means his hope ſore hindered (where, by the old lawes of the realme, the ordinance was, that if he that ſhould ſucceed were not of able age to take the charge vpon himſelfe, he that was next of bloud vnto him ſhould be admitted) he began to take counſell how he might vſurpe the kingdome by force, hauing a iuſt quarell ſo to do (as he tooke the matter) for that Duncane did what in him lay to defraud him of all maner of title and claime, which he might in time to come, pretend vnto the crowne.

The words of the three weird ſiſters alſo (of whom before ye haue heard) greatlie incouraged him herevnto, but ſpeciallie his wife lay ſore vpon him to attempt the thing, as ſhe that was verie ambitious, burning in vnquenchable deſire to beare the name of a queene. At length therefore, communicating his purpoſed intent with his truſtie friends, amongſt whome Banquho was the chiefeſt, vpon confidence of their promiſed aid, he ſlue the king at Enuerns, or (as ſome ſay) at Botgoſuane, in the firſt yeare of his reigne. Then hauing a companie about him of ſuch as he had made priuie to his enterpriſe, he cauſed himſelfe to be proclamed king, and forthwith went vnto Scone, where (by common conſent) he receiued the inueſture of the kingdome according to the accuſtomed maner. The bodie of Duncane was firſt conueied vnto Elgine, & there buried in kinglie wiſe; but afterwards it was remoued and conueied vnto Colmekill, and there laid in a ſepulture amongſt his predeceſſors, in the yeare after the birth of our Sauiour, 1046.

Malcolme Cammore and Donald Bane the ſons of king Duncane, for feare of their liues (which they might well know that Mackbeth would ſéeke to bring to end for his more ſure confirmation in the eſtate) fled into Cumberland, where Malcolme remained, till time that ſaint Edward the ſonne of Ethelred recouered the dominion of England from the Daniſh power, the which Edward receiued Malcolme by way of moſt friendlie entertainment: but Donald paſſed ouer into Ireland, where he was tenderlie cheriſhed by the king of that land. Mackbeth, after the departure thus of Duncanes ſonnes, vſed great liberalitie towards the nobles of the realme, thereby to win their fauour, and when he ſaw that no man went about to trouble him, he ſet his whole intention to mainteine iuſtice, and to puniſh all enormities and abuſes, which had chanced through the féeble and ſlouthfull adminiſtration of Duncane. And to bring his purpoſe the better to paſſe without anie trouble or great buſineſſe, he deuiſed a ſubtill wile to bring all offendors and miſdoers vnto iuſtice, ſoliciting ſundrie of his liege people with high rewards, to challenge and appeale ſuch as moſt oppreſſed the commons, to come at a day and place appointed, to fight ſingular combats within barriers, in triall of their accuſations. When theſe théeues, barrettors, and other oppreſſors of the innocent people were come to darren battell in this wiſe (as is ſaid) they were ſtreight waies apprehended by armed men, and truſſed vp in halters on gibbets, according as they had iuſtlie deſerued. The reſidue of miſdoers that were left, were puniſhed and tamed in ſuch ſort, that manie yeares after all theft and reiſings were little heard of, the people inioieng the bliſſefull benefit of good peace and tranquillitie. Mackbeth ſhewing himſelfe thus a moſt diligent puniſher of all iniuries and wrongs attempted by anie diſordered perſons within his realme, was accounted the ſure defenſe and buckler of innocent people; and hereto he alſo aplied his whole indeuor, to cauſe yoong men to exerciſe themſelues in vertuous maners, and men of the church to attend their diuine ſeruice, according to their vocations.

He cauſed to be ſlaine ſundrie thanes, as of Cathnes, Sutherland, Stranauerne, and Ros, becauſe through them and their ſeditious attempts, much trouble dailie roſe in the realme. He appeaſed the troubleſome ſtate of Galloway, and ſlue one Makgill a tyrant, who had manie yeares before paſſed nothing of the regall authoritie or power. To be briefe, ſuch were the worthie doings and princelie acts of this Mackbeth in the adminiſtration of the realme, that if he had atteined thereunto by rightfull means, and continued in vprightneſſe of iuſtice as he began, till the end of his reigne, he might well haue béene numbred amongeſt the moſt noble princes that anie where had reigned. He made manie holeſome lawes and ſtatutes for the publike weale of his ſubiects.

Mackbeth ſtudieth which way he may take the kingdome by force.

Prophecies mooue men to vnlawfull attempts.

Women deſirous of high eſtate.

Mackbeth ſleeth king Duncane.

Mackbeth vſurpeth the crowne.

Duncanes buriall. 1046. H.B.

Malcolme Cammore and Donald Bane flée into Cumberland.

Malcolme Cammore retetued by Edward king of England.

Mackbeths liberalitie.

Mackbeth ſtudieth to aduance iuſtice.

Mackbeths policie.

Streict iuſtice.

A kinglie endeuour.

Iuſtice miniſtred without reſpect of perſons.

Lawes made by king Makbeth ſet *foorth according to Hector* Boetius.

HE that is within orders of the church, ſhall not be compelled to anſwere before a temporall iudge, but be remitted to his ordinarie.

Liberties of them that haue taken orders.

The tenth part of all fruits that increaſe on the ground, ſhall be giuen to the church, that God may be worſhipped with oblations and praiers.

Tithes to be paid to the church.

He that continueth obſtinatlie in the curſſe of the church by the ſpace of one

Perſons accurſed.

whole yeare, contemning to be reconciled, shall be reputed enimie to the commonwealth: and if he perseuere with indurat mind the space of two yeares, all his goods shall be forfeited.

The order of knighthood.

He that taketh the order of knighthood, shall take an oth to defend ladies, virgins, widows, orphans, and the communaltie. And he that is made king, shall be sworne in semblable maner.

Eldest daughters.

The eldest daughter shall inherit hir fathers lands, as well as the eldest sonne should, if the father leaue no sonne behind him. And if anie woman marie with the lord of the soile, she shall lose hir heritage.

The kings gift.

No man shall inioy anie lands, rents, offices, or other possessions, but onelie by gift and grant of the king.

No offices to go by inheritance.

No office shall go by inheritance, but shall still remaine at the kings free disposition, as shall stand with his pleasure to assigne it.

Judges.

No man shall sit as iudge in anie temporall court without the kings commission authorizing him thereto.

All conuentions, offices, and acts of iustice, shall passe in the kings name.

Reteiners.

He that is reteined or becommeth a sworne man to anie other person saue onelie to the king, shall lose his life for it; and euerie man shall be bound to defend the king against all other creatures.

Raisers of the kings people, or vnlawfull assemblies.

He that raiseth the kings liege people, shall lose life, goods, and lands, and so shall they do that assemble togither by his procurement.

Waiters vpon other men.

He that attendeth anie man to the church, market, or to anie other publike assemblie, as a reteiner, shall suffer death, except he haue liuing at his hands, on whome he so attendeth.

Keeping of horsses.

A horsse kept by anie of the commons or husbandmen to anie other vse than for tillage and laboring of the earth, shall be forfeited to the king by escheat.

Counterfet fooles, minstrels, iesters, and these kind of iuglers, with such like idle persons, that range abroad in the countrie, hauing no speciall licence of the king, shall be compelled to learne some science or craft to get their liuing; if they refuse so to do, they shall be drawen like horsses in the plough and harrows.

Possession of lands.

Though the sonne chance to be put in possessiō of his fathers lands by the kings licence, during the life of his father; yet shall the same lands be forfeited to the king if his father be afterwards conuicted of treason committed against the kings person.

Dowrie of wiues.

All such women, that are maried to anie lord or baron (though she haue no issue by him) shall yet haue the third part of his lands after his decease, and the remanent shall go to his heires.

Mariage of lords and barons.

All maner of lords and great barons, shall not contract matrimonie with other, vnder paine of death, speciallie if their lands and rowmes lie neere togither.

Wearing of armour.

All armour and weapon borne to other effect than in defense of the king & realme in time of warre, shall be confiscated to the kings vse, with all other moueable goods of the partie that herein offendeth.

Capteins.

Such as be appointed gouernors, or (as I may call them) capteins, that buy within those limits, where their charges lie, anie lands or possessions, shall lose both

Buieng of lands.

lands, & possessions, and the monie which they haue paid for the same.

And if anie of the said capteins or gouernors marie their sonnes or daughters vnto anie maner of person that dwelleth within the bounds of their rowmes, they shall lose their office: neither shall it be lawfull for anie of their sonnes or coparteners to occupie the same office.

Makbeths counterfeit zeale and equitie.

These and the like commendable lawes Makbeth caused to be put as then in vse, gouerning the realme for the space of ten yeares in equall iustice. But this was but a counterfet zeale of equitie shewed by him, partlie against his naturall inclination to purchase thereby the fauour of the people. Shortlie after, he began to shew what he was, in stead of equitie practising crueltie. For the pricke of conscience (as it chanceth euer in tyrants, and such as atteine to anie estate by vnrighteous means) caused him euer to feare, least he should be serued of the same cup, as he had ministred to his predecessor. The words also of the three weird sisters, would not out of his mind, which as they promised him the kingdome, so likewise did they promise it at the same time vnto the posteritie of Banquho. He willed therefore the same Banquho with his sonne named Fleance, to come to a supper that he had prepared for them, which was in deed, as he had deuised, present death at the hands of certeine murderers, whom he hired to execute that deed, appointing them to meete with the same Banquho and his sonne without the palace, as they returned to their lodgings, and there to slea them, so that he would not haue his house slandered, but that in time to come he might cleare himselfe, if anie thing were laid to his charge vpon anie suspicion that might arise.

Makbeths guiltie conscience.

Makbeths deuise to slea Banquho and his sonne.

Banquho is slaine, but his sonne escapeth.

It chanced yet by the benefit of the darke night, that though the father were slaine, the sonne yet by the helpe of almightie God reseruing him to better fortune, escaped that danger: and afterwards hauing some inkeling (by the admonition of some friends which he had in the court) how his life was sought no lesse than his fathers, who was slaine not by chancemedlie (as by the handling of the matter Makbeth would haue had it to appeare) but euen vpon a prepensed deuise: wherevpon to auoid further perill he fled into Wales. ¶ But here I thinke it shall not much make against my purpose, if (according to th'order which I find obserued in the Scotish historie) I shall in few words rehearse the originall line of those kings, which haue descended from the foresaid Banquho, that they which haue inioied the kingdome by so long continuance of descent, from one to another, and that euen vnto these our daies, may be knowen from whence they had their first beginning.

Fleance Banquhos sonne fleeth into Wales.

The line of the Scotish kings.

Fleance therefore (as before is said) fled into Wales, where shortlie after by his courteous and amiable behauiour, he grew into such fauor and estimation with the prince of that countrie, that he might vnneath haue wished anie greater; at length also he came into such familiar acquaintance with the said princes daughter, that she of courtesie in the

end

Fleance deſloureth the prince of Wales his daughter.

end ſuffered him to get hir with child; which being once vnderſtood, hir father the prince conceiued ſuch hateſull diſpleaſure towards Fleance, that he finallie ſlue him, & held his daughter in moſt vile eſtate of ſeruitude, for that ſhe had conſented to be on this wiſe deſloured by a ſtranger. At the laſt yet, ſhe was deliuered of a ſonne named Walter, who within few yeares prooued a man of greater courage and valiancie, than anie other had commonlie béene found, although he had no better bringing vp than (by his grandfathers appointment) among the baſer ſort of people. Howbeit he ſhewed euer euen from his infancie, that there reigned in him a certeine ſtoutneſſe of ſtomach, readie to attempt high enterpriſes.

Fleance is ſlaine.

Walter the ſonne of Fleance.

His bringing vp.

The ſtout ſtomach appearing in Walter from his childhood.

It chanced that falling out with one of his companions, after manie tawnting words which paſſed betwixt them, the other to his reproch obiected that he was a baſtard, and begotten in vnlawfull bed; wherewith being ſore kindled, in his raging furie he ran vpon him and ſlue him out of hand. Then was he glad to flée out of Wales, and comming into Scotland to ſéeke ſome friendſhip there, he happened into the companie of ſuch Engliſhmen, as were come thither with quéene Margaret, and behaued himſelfe ſo ſoberlie in all his demeanours, that within a while he was highlie eſteemed amongeſt them. Not long after by ſuch means atteining to the degrée of high reputation, he was ſent with a great power of men into the weſterne Iles, into Galloway, & other parts of the realme, to deliuer the ſame from the tyrannie and iniurious oppreſſion there exerciſed by diuers miſgouerned perſons; which enterpriſe according to his commiſſion he atchiued, with ſuch prudent policie and manhod, that immediatlie vpon his returne to the court, he was made lord ſteward of Scotland, with aſſignement to receiue the kings rents and duties out of the parts of the realme.

Walter ſleeth into Scotland.

Saint Margaret.

Walter ſent with an armie to daunt rebels.

Walter made lord ſteward of Scotland.

This Walter Steward had a ſonne named Alane Steward, who went after with Godfreie of Bullogne duke of Lozaine, & Robert duke of Normandie ſonne to king William the baſtard that conquered England, into the holie land, at what time they with other weſterne princes made the great iournie thither, in the yeare 1099. Alane had iſſue Alexander Steward, that founded the abbeie of Paſleie of ſaint Benedicts order. Walter Steward, whoſe valiancie was well notified at the battell of Largis, as hereafter ſhall be ſhewed, was the ſonne of the ſaid Alexander. The ſame Walter had iſſue two ſons, the one named Alexander, fought right valiantlie in defenſe of his father at the foreſaid battell; and the other named Robert Steward got the lands of Terbowtoune, and maried the heire of Crukeiſtoune, from whom deſcended the earles of Leuenor and Dernlie. Moreouer, the aboue mentioned Alexander Steward that founded Paſleie, had diuerſe mo ſonnes, as John and James, with ſundrie other. Howbeit they toke new ſurnames by the name of thoſe lands, vnto the which they ſucceéded. The afore recited John Steward, after the death of his brother James, maried the heire of Bonkill a virgine of great beautie, and had by hir Walter Steward that inherited the lands of Bonkill, Ranfrew, Rotheſſaie, Bute, and Stewatoune, after that his father the forenamed John was ſlaine at Falkirke.

Alane Steward.

The iournie into the holie land.

Alexander Steward.

Walter Steward.

Alexander Steward the ſonne of Walter.

Robert Steward.

John Steward and James Steward.

Walter inheritor of Bonkill, &c.

He maried Margerie Bruce daughter to king Robert Bruce, by whome he had iſſue king Robert the ſecond of that name. This Robert the ſecond toke to wife one Iſabell Mure, a damſell of right excellent beautie, ſhe was daughter to ſir Adham Mure knight, and brought forth iſſue, three ſonnes and three daughters. The eldeſt ſonne hight John Steward otherwiſe named Robert, who ſucceéded immediatlie after his fathers deceaſſe in gouernance of the crowne. The ſecond called Robert was made earle of Fife and Menteith, alſo he was created duke of Albanie, and ruled the realme of Scotland vnder the name of gouernour, for the ſpace of fifteéne yeares. The third ſonne named Alexander was earle of Buchquhane and lord of Baudzenot. The eldeſt daughter was maried to James that was the ſonne and heire of William earle of Dowglas. The ſecond daughter was maried to John Dunbar, brother to George of Dunbar earle of March, and was made to the aduancement of his further fame earle of Murrey. He begot on hir one onelie daughter, that was maried to the Dowglas, and ſo Dowglas came to the earledome of Murrey. The third daughter was maried vnto John Lioun, that was after made lord of Glammis.

King Robert the ſecond.

John Steward otherwiſe named Robert.

Duke of Albanie.

Alexander Steward, ſonne to king Robert the ſecond.

John Dunbar.

Moreouer, the foreſaid Robert that was the firſt of the Stewards which ware the crowne in Scotland, maried Ewſame daughter to the earle of Roſſe, and got on hir two ſonnes, Walter earle of Atholl, and Dauid earle of Stratherne. This Walter ſollicited Robert duke of Albanie, to ſlea Dauid Steward duke of Rothſaie. And after that James the firſt was returned home forth of England, hée did what he could to moue him to ſlea all the linage of the ſaid duke ſtill being in hope after the diſpatch of his kinſmen to come to the crowne himſelfe, which hope moued him to procure his nephue Robert Steward, and Robert Graham his daughters ſon, to ſlea king James the firſt alſo, for the which crime the ſame Walter was after conuicted and deſtroied with all his ſonnes. His brother Dauid earle of Buchquhane died without iſſue, and ſo the lands of both theſe brethren returned againe to the crowne, without anie memorie of their blood. Of Robert Steward duke of Albanie, came duke Murdo, who maried the earle of Lennor daughter, and got on hir three ſonnes, Walter, Alexander, and James.

Ewſame.

Walter and Dauid ſonnes to king Robert.

Robert duke of Albanie.

James the firſt.

Graime or Grahame.

Duke Murdo

Duke Murdo himſelfe with his two firſt ſonnes were ſlaine at Striueling by king James the firſt; & the third brother James in reuenge thereof burnt Dunbertane, and was after chaſed into Ireland, where he deceaſſed without iſſue. Robert the third of that name maried Annabill Drommond, daughter to ſir John Drommond of Strobhall knight, and got on hir Dauid and James. The firſt died in Falkland, and the other atteined the crowne, and was called James the firſt, and maried the ladie Jane daughter to Johin Beauford erle of Summerſet in England. He had by hir two ſonnes borne at one birth, Alexander and James. The firſt died yong, the ſecond atteined the crowne, named James the ſecond. James the firſt had alſo ſir daughters, of the which the eldeſt was giuen in mariage to the Dolphine of France, the ſecond to the duke of Britaine, the third to the lord of Fair, the fourth to the lord of Dalkeith, the fift to the earle of Huntley, and the firſt had no ſucceſſion. James the ſecond maried Margaret daughter to the duke of Gelderland, and begot on hir three ſonnes, and two daughters.

King Robert the third.

Dauid and James, ſons to kings Robert the third

John Beauford earle of Summerſet.

James the firſt and his iſſue.

The duke of Gelders daughter.

The firſt ſucceéded him in the kingdome, and was called James the third: the ſecond named Alexander was duke of Albanie, and maried firſt the earle of Orkenies daughter, and got on hir Alexander, that was afterward biſhop of Murrey, and then parting with hir went into France, where he maried the counteſſe of Bullogne, and begot on hir John Steward duke of Albanie, that was gouernor of Scotland manie yéeres in the minoritie of James the fift. The third ſonne, John Steward was earle of Mar, whoſe chance was to be ſlaine in the Cannogatin a bathſtat. The firſt daughter of James the ſecond, was maried to the lord Boid, who begot on

James and Alexander.

Duke of Albanie the gouernor of Scotland.

The lord Boid.

hir a sonne that was slaine by the lord Dongumrie, and a daughter that was maried to the earle of Cassels. After the death of the lord Bold, the husband of this first daughter of James the second, she was eftsones maried to the lord Hammilton, and by that means was the house of the Hammiltons honored with the kings bloud. The other sister was maried to the lord Creichton, of whom came small succession worthie to be mentioned. James the third maried Margaret daughter to the king of Denmarke. Of the which mariage was borne James the fourth, Alexander that was bishop of saint Andrews & duke of Albanie, and John Steward earle of Mar, but these two died without issue.

The lord Hammilton.

Lord Creichton.

James the third and his issue.

James the fourth maried Margaret daughter to king Henrie the seuenth of England, and begot on hir James the fift, who marieng first the ladie Magdalen daughter to Francis the French king, had no issue by hir, for that she died in the yeere next after hir comming into Scotland, and then shortlie after the said James the fift maried the ladie Marie de Lorrein, duchesse of Lonuile, a widow, and by hir had he issue Marie queene of Scotland, that toke to husband Henrie Steward lord Dernlie, by whome she had issue Charles James, now king of Scotland. But to returne vnto Makbeth, in continuing the historie, and to begin where I left, ye shall vnderstand that after the contriued slaughter of Banquho, nothing prospered with the foresaid Makbeth: for in maner euerie man began to doubt his owne life, and durst vnneth appeare in the kings presence; and euen as there were manie that stood in feare of him, so likewise stood he in feare of manie, in such sort that he began to make those awaie by one surnamed cauillation or other, whome he thought most able to worke him anie displeasure.

James the fourth.

Makbeths dread.

His cruelitie caused through feare.

At length he found such sweetnesse by putting his nobles thus to death, that his earnest thirst after bloud in this behalfe might in no wise be satisfied: for ye must consider he wan double profit (as hee thought) hereby: for first they were rid out of the way whome he feared, and then againe his coffers were inriched by their goods which were forfeited to his vse, whereby he might better mainteine a gard of armed men about him to defend his person from iniurie of them whom he had in anie suspicion. Further, to the end he might the more cruellie oppresse his subiects with all tyrantlike wrongs, he builded a strong castell on the top of an hie hill called Dunsinane, situate in Gowrie, ten miles from Perth, on such a proud height, that standing there aloft, a man might behold well neere all the countries of Angus, Fife, Stermond, and Ernedale, as it were lieng vnderneath him. This castell then being founded on the top of that high hill, put the realme to great charges before it was finished, for all the stuffe necessarie to the building, could not be brought vp without much toile and businesse. But Makbeth being once determined to haue the worke go forward, caused the thanes of each shire within the realme, to come and helpe towards that building, each man his course about.

The castell of Dunsinane builded.

At the last, when the turne fell vnto Makduffe thane of Fife to build his part, he sent workemen with all needfull prouision, and commanded them to shew such diligence in euerie behalfe, that no occasion might bee giuen for the king to find fault with him, in that he came not himselfe as other had done, which he refused to do, for doubt least the king bearing him (as he partlie vnderstood) no great good will, would laie violent hands vpon him, as he had done vpon diuerse other. Shortlie after, Makbeth comming to behold how the worke went forward, and bicause he found not Makduffe there, he was sore offended, and said; I perceiue this man will neuer obeie my commandements, till he be ridden with a snaffle: but I shall prouide well inough for him. Neither could he afterwards abide to looke vpon the said Makduffe, either for that he thought his puissance ouer great; either else for that he had learned of certeine wizzards, in whose words he put great confidence (for that the prophesie had happened so right, which the three faries or weird sisters had declared vnto him) how that he ought to take heed of Makduffe, who in time to come should seeke to destroie him.

Makbeth is offended with Makduffe.

Makbeths confidence in wizzards.

And suerlie herevpon had he put Makduffe to death, but that a certeine witch, whome hee had in great trust, had told that he should neuer be slaine with man borne of anie woman, nor vanquished till the wood of Bernane came to the castell of Dunsinane. By this prophesie Makbeth put all feare out of his heart, supposing he might do what he would, without anie feare to be punished for the same, for by the one prophesie he beleeued it was vnpossible for anie man to vanquish him, and by the other vnpossible to slea him. This vaine hope caused him to do manie outragious things, to the greeuous oppression of his subiects. At length Makduffe, to auoid perill of life, purposed with himselfe to passe into England, to procure Malcolme Cammore to claime the crowne of Scotland. But this was not so secretlie deuised by Makduffe, but that Makbeth had knowledge giuen him thereof: for kings (as is said) haue sharpe sight like vnto Lynx, and long ears like vnto Midas. For Makbeth had in euerie noble mans house, one slie fellow or other in fee with him, to reueale all that was said or done within the same, by which slight he oppressed the most part of the nobles of his realme.

Lynxs eies and Midas. eares.

Immediatlie then, being aduertised whereabout Makduffe went, he came hastilie with a great power into Fife, and forthwith besieged the castell where Makduffe dwelled, trusting to haue found him therein. They that kept the house, without anie resistance opened the gates, and suffered him to enter, mistrusting none euill. But neuertheless Makbeth most cruellie caused the wife and children of Makduffe, with all other whom he found in that castell, to be slaine. Also he confiscated the goods of Makduffe, proclamed him traitor, and confined him out of all the parts of his realme; but Makduffe was alreadie escaped out of danger, and gotten into England vnto Malcolme Cammore, to trie what purchase hee might make by means of his support, to reuenge the slaughter so cruellie executed on his wife, his children, and other friends. At his comming vnto Malcolme, he declared into what great miserie the estate of Scotland was brought, by the detestable cruelties exercised by the tyrant Makbeth, hauing committed manie horrible slaughters and murders, both as well of the nobles as commons, for the which he was hated right mortallie of all his liege people, desiring nothing more than to be deliuered of that intollerable and most heauie yoke of thraldome, which they sustained at such a caitifes hands.

Makbeths crueltie vsed against Makduffs familie.

Makduffe escapeth into England vnto Malcolme Cammore.

Makduffes words vnto Malcolme.

Malcolme hearing Makduffes words, which he vttered in verie lamentable sort, for meere compassion and verie ruth that pearsed his sorowfull hart, bewailing the miserable state of his countrie, he fetched a deepe sigh; which Makduffe perceiuing, began to fall most earnestlie in hand with him, to enterprise the deliuering of the Scotish people out of the hands of so cruell and bloudie a tyrant, as Makbeth by too manie plaine experiments did shew himselfe to be: which was an easie matter for him to bring to passe, considering not onelie the good title he had, but also the earnest desire of the people to haue some occasion

Malcolme sigheth.

caſion miniſtred, whereby they might be reuenged of thoſe notable iniuries, which they dailie ſuſteined by the outragious crueltie of Makbeths miſgouernance. Though Malcolme was verie ſorowfull for the oppreſſion of his countriemen the Scots, in maner as Makduffe had declared; yet doubting whether he were come as one that ment vnfeinedlie as he ſpake, or elſe as ſent from Makbeth to betraie him, he thought to haue ſome further triall, and therevpon diſſembling his mind at the firſt, he anſwered as followeth.

Malcolme Cammore his anſwer.

I am trulie verie ſorie for the miſerie chanced to my countrie of Scotland, but though I haue neuer ſo great affection to relieue the ſame, yet by reaſon of certeine incurable vices, which reigne in me, I am nothing meet thereto. Firſt, ſuch immoderate luſt and voluptuous ſenſualitie (the abhominable fountein of all vices) followeth me, that if I were made king of Scots, I ſhould ſeeke to defloure your maids and matrones, in ſuch wiſe that mine intemperancie ſhould be more importable vnto you, than the bloudie tyrannie of Makbeth now is. Hereunto

Makduffes anſwer.

Makduffe anſwered: This ſuerlie is a verie euill fault, for manie noble princes and kings haue loſt both liues and kingdomes for the ſame; neuertheleſſe there are women enow in Scotland, and therefore follow my counſell. Make thy ſelfe king, and I ſhall conueie the matter ſo wiſelie, that thou ſhalt be ſo ſatiſfied at thy pleaſure in ſuch ſecret wiſe, that no man ſhall be aware thereof.

Then ſaid Malcolme, I am alſo the moſt auaritious creature on the earth, ſo that if I were king, I ſhould ſeeke ſo manie waies to get lands and goods, that I would ſlea the moſt part of all the nobles of Scotland by ſurmized accuſations, to the end I might inioy their lands, goods, and poſſeſſions; and therefore to ſhew you what miſchiefe may inſue on you through mine vnſatiable couetouſnes, I will rehearſe vnto you a fable. There was a fox hauing a ſore place on him ouerſet with a ſwarme of flies,

A fable of a fox.

that continuallie ſucked out hir bloud: and when one that came by and ſaw this manner, demanded whether ſhe would haue the flies driuen beſide hir, ſhe anſwered no: for if theſe flies that are alreadie full, and by reaſon thereof ſucke not verie egerlie, ſhould be chaſed awaie, other that are emptie and fellie an hungred, ſhould light in their places, and ſucke out the reſidue of my bloud farre more to my greeuance than theſe, which now being ſatiſfied do not much annoie me. Therefore ſaith Malcolme, ſuffer me to remaine where I am, leaſt if I atteine to the regiment of your realme, mine vnquenchable auarice may prooue ſuch; that ye would thinke the diſpleaſures which now grieue you, ſhould ſeeme eaſie in reſpect of the vnmeaſurable outrage, which might inſue through my comming amongſt you.

Couetouſnes the root of all miſchiefe

Makduffe to this made anſwer, how it was a far worſe fault than the other: for auarice is the root of all miſchiefe, and for that crime the moſt part of our kings haue beene ſlaine and brought to their finall end. Yet notwithſtanding follow my counſell, and take vpon thee the crowne. There is gold and riches inough in Scotland to ſatiſfie thy greedie deſire.

Diſſimulation and deiting in lies.

Then ſaid Malcolme againe, I am furthermore inclined to diſſimulation, telling of leaſings, and all other kinds of deceit, ſo that I naturallie reioiſe in nothing ſo much, as to betraie & deceiue ſuch as put anie truſt or confidence in my words. Then ſith there is nothing that more becommeth a prince than conſtancie, veritie, truth, and iuſtice, with the other laudable fellowſhip of thoſe faire and noble vertues which are comprehended onelie in ſothfaſtneſſe, and that lieng vtterlie ouerthroweth the ſame; you ſee how vnable I am to gouerne anie prouince or region: and therefore ſith you haue remedies to cloke and hide all the reſt of my other vices, I praie you find ſhift to cloke this vice amongſt the reſidue.

Then ſaid Makduffe: This yet is the worſt of all, and there I leaue thee, and therefore ſaie; Oh ye vnhappie and miſerable Scotiſhmen, which are thus ſcourged with ſo manie and ſundrie calamities, ech one aboue other! Ye haue one curſſed and wicked tyrant that now reigneth ouer you, without anie right or title, oppreſſing you with his moſt bloudie crueltie. This other that hath the right to the crowne, is ſo repleit with the inconſtant behauiour and manifeſt vices of Engliſhmen, that he is nothing worthie to inioy it: for by his owne confeſſion he is not onelie auaritious, and giuen to vnſatiable luſt, but ſo falſe a traitor withall, that no truſt is to be had vnto anie word he ſpeaketh. Adieu Scotland, for now I account my ſelfe a baniſhed man for euer, without comfort or conſolation: and with thoſe words the

Makduffe weepeth.

brackiſh teares trickled downe his cheekes verie abundantlie.

At the laſt, when he was readie to depart, Malcolme tooke him by the ſleeue, and ſaid: Be of good comfort Makduffe, for I haue none of theſe vices before remembred, but haue ieſted with thee in this manner, onelie to proue thy mind: for diuerſe times heeretofore hath Makbeth ſought by this manner of meanes to bring me into his hands, but the more ſlow I haue ſhewed my ſelfe to condeſcend to thy motion and requeſt, the more diligence ſhall I vſe in accompliſhing the ſame. Incontinentlie heerevpon they imbraced ech other, and promiſing to be faithfull the one to the other, they fell in conſultation how they might beſt prouide for all their buſineſſe, to bring the ſame to good effect. Soone after, Makduffe repairing to the borders of Scotland, addreſſed his letters with ſecret diſpatch vnto the nobles of the realme, declaring how Malcolme was confederat with him, to come haſtilie into Scotland to claime the crowne, and therefore he required them, ſith he was right inheritor thereto, to aſſiſt him with their powers to recouer the ſame out of the hands of the wrongfull vſurper.

Malcolme comforteth Makduffe.

Makduffe & Malcolme imbrace ech other.

Makduffe writeth letters to his friends in Scotland.

In the meane time, Malcolme purchaſed ſuch fauor at king Edwards hands, that old Siward earle of Northumberland was appointed with ten thouſand men to go with him into Scotland, to ſupport him in this enterpriſe, for recouerie of his right. After theſe newes were ſpread abroad in Scotland, the nobles drew into two ſeuerall factions, the one taking part with Makbeth, and the other with Malcolme. Heerevpon inſued oftentimes ſundrie bickerings, & diuerſe light ſkirmiſhes: for thoſe that were of Malcolmes ſide, would not ieopard to ioine with their enimies in a pight field, till his comming out of England to their ſupport. But after that Makbeth perceiued his enimies power to increaſe, by ſuch aid as came to them forth of England with his aduerſarie Malcolme, he recoiled backe into Fife, there purpoſing to abide in campe fortified, at the caſtell of Dunſinane, and to fight with his enimies, if they ment to purſue him; howbeit ſome of his friends aduiſed him, that it ſhould be beſt for him, either to make ſome agreement with Malcolme, or elſe to flee with all ſpeed into the Iles, and to take his treaſure with him, to the end he might wage ſundrie great princes of the realme to take his part, & reteine ſtrangers, in whome he might better truſt than in his owne ſubiects, which ſtale dailie from him: but he had ſuch confidence in his propheſies, that he beleeued he ſhould neuer be vanquiſhed, till Birnane wood were brought to Dunſinane; nor yet to be ſlaine with anie man, that ſhould be or was borne of anie woman.

Siward earle of Northumberland.

The nobles of Scotland diuided.

Makbeth recouleth.

Makbeth is counſelled to flee into the Iles.

Makbeths truſt in propheſies.

Malcolme

Malcolme following hastilie after Makbeth, came the night before the battell vnto Birnane wood, and when his armie had rested a while there to refresh them, he commanded euerie man to get a bough of some trée or other of that wood in his hand, as big as he might beare, and to march forth therewith in such wise, that on the next morrow they might come closelie and without sight in this manner within view of his enimies. On the morrow when Makbeth beheld them comming in this sort, he first maruelled what the matter ment, but in the end remembred himselfe that the prophesie which he had heard long before that time, of the comming of Birnane wood to Dunsinane castell, was likelie to be now fulfilled. Neuertheless, he brought his men in order of battell, and erhorted them to doo valiantlie, howbeit his enimies had scarselie cast from them their boughs, when Makbeth perceiuing their numbers, betooke him streict to flight, whom Makduffe pursued with great hatred euen till he came vnto Lunfannaine, where Makbeth perceiuing that Makduffe was hard at his backe, leapt beside his horsse, saieng; Thou traitor, what meaneth it that thou shouldest thus in vaine follow me that am not appointed to be slaine by anie creature that is borne of a woman, come on therefore, and receiue thy reward which thou hast deserued for thy paines, and therwithall he lifted vp his sword thinking to haue slaine him.

Branches of trees.

Makbeth setteth his men in order of battell.

Makbeth fleeth, & is pursued of Makduffe.

But Makduffe quicklie auoiding from his horsse, yer he came at him, answered (with his naked sword in his hand) saieng: It is true Makbeth, and now shall thine insatiable crueltie haue an end, for I am euen he that thy wizzards haue told thée of, who was neuer borne of my mother, but riped out of her wombe: therewithall he stept vnto him, and slue him in the place. Then cutting his head from his shoulders, he set it vpon a pole, and brought it vnto Malcolme. This was the end of Makbeth, after he had reigned 17 yéeres ouer the Scotishmen. In the beginning of his reigne he accomplished manie worthie acts, verie profitable to the common-wealth (as ye haue heard) but afterward by illusion of the diuell, he defamed the same with most terrible cruelties. He was slaine in the yéere of the incarnation, 1057, and in the 16 yéere of king Edwards reigne ouer the Englishmen.

Makbeth is slaine.

1057. Io.M.
1061. H.B.
8. H.B.

Malcolme

MAlcolme Cammore thus recouering the relme (as ye haue heard) by support of king Edward, in the 16 yéere of the same Edwards reigne, he was crowned at Scone the 25 day of Aprill, in the yéere of our Lord 1057. Immediatlie after his coronation he called a parlement at Forfair, in the which he rewarded them with lands and liuings that had assisted him against Makbeth, aduancing them to fees and offices as he saw cause, & commanded that specialtie those that bare the surname of anie offices or lands, should haue and inioy the same. He created manie earles, lords, barons, and knights. Manie of them that before were thanes, were at this time made earles, as Fife, Menteth, Atholl, Leuenor, Murrey, Cathnes, Rosse, and Angus. These were the first earles that haue béene heard of amongst the Scotishmen (as their histories do make mention.) Manie new surnames were taken vp at this time amongst them, as Cauder, Lokart, Gordon, Seton, Lauder, Wawane, Meldrum, Schaw, Leirmouth, Libertoun, Strachquhen, Cargill, Rattrey, Dundas, Cockbourne, Mirtoun, Menzeis, Abercrummie, Lillie, with manie other that had possessions giuen them, which gaue names to the owners for the time. Others got their surnames by offices, as Steward, Durward, and Banerman. Also the proper names of manie valiant capteins were turned into generall surnames, as Kennedie, Graham,

A parlement at Forfair.

Thanes changed into earles.

Surnames.

Hay, with diuerse other too long héere to rehearse. So that it came to passe then, as it hath done manie times since, that new surnames haue worne the old out of vse.

In the foresaid parlement thus holden at Forfair, in the beginning of his reigne, there were manie holesome ordinances established, both apperteining to ciuill administration, and also to the ecclesiasticall iurisdiction. In reward also of Makduffes seruice, who (as ye haue heard) chieflie aided him to the atteining of the crowne, he honored him and his posteritie with three sorts of priuileges. First, that the earle of Fife for the time being, at the coronation of a king, should by his office set the crowne on the kings head. The second was, that when the king should giue battell to his enimies, the same earle should lead the vauntgard of his host. The third, that the linage of Makduffe should inioy regall authoritie and power within all their lands and roomes, as to appoint officers and iudges for the hearing and determining of all matters and controuersies (treason onelie excepted) and that if anie of their men or tenants were called to answer in anie court out of their circuit, they might appeale to their owne iudges to be appointed, as before is expressed.

Makduffe earle of Fife his aduancement.

Priuileges granted vnto Makduffes linage.

Iohannes Maior writeth in his chronicles, that the third priuilege, which Malcolme granted vnto this Makduffe and his posteritie, was this, that for euerie gentleman that anie of them should hap to kill by chancemedlie, and not vpon pretensed malice, for the summe of 24 marks he should redéeme his punishment due for the same: & for the casuall slaughter of a meaner person he should be fined at twelue marks. So that murtherers were wont to say, that if they were able to paie that summe to the Kinboc, they ought to be released of further punishment, by Makduffes priuilege. But this third priuilege, together with the other two former grants, the said Maior forbeareth, and not without cause, as may appéere, considering the naturall inclination of that people vnto murther, which by this meanes nourishing secret hatred and malice in their harts, might vnder the cloke of casuall falling out, slea whom they listed.

Iohannes Maior.

It was ordeined also at this parlement, that barons which had liberties within themselues, should make gibbets, whereon men that deserued death should suffer execution: and also drawe-wels, wherein women that were condemned should be drowned, according to the order of the ciuill lawes vsed in Scotland. Moreouer, all the lawes that Makbeth had ordeined, were abrogated at this parlement. Thus whilest Malcolme was busied in setting orders amongst his subiects, tidings came that one Lugtake surnamed the fole, being either the sonne, or (as some write) the cosen of the late mentioned Makbeth, was conueied with a great number of such as had taken part with the said Makbeth vnto Scone, and there by their support receiued the crowne, as lawfull inheritor thereto. To appease this businesse, was Makduffe earle of Fife sent with full commission in the kings name, who incountring with Lugtake at a village called Essen in Vogdale, slue him, and discomfited his whole power, ordering the matter with them in such wise, that afterwards there was no more trouble attempted in that behalfe.

Gibbets and drawe-wels.

Makbeths lawes abrogated.

Lugtake.

Lugtake crowned at Scone.

Lugtake is slaine.

After this, the realme continued in peace certeine yeares, till it chanced a great number of theeues and robbers assembling themselues togither at Cockbourne pethes, did much hurt, by robbing and spoiling the people in the countries of Mers and Louthian: howbeit, at length one Patrike Dunbar of Dunbar, by commandement of the king, fought with them, slue their capteine, with six hundred of his compane,

A band of theeues.

Patrike Dunbar vanquisheth the theeues and

robbers of the countrie.

companie, and toke fourteſcore priſoners, the which he cauſed to be hanged. And thus hauing deliuered the countrie of thoſe pælers, with loſſe of fortie of his owne men, he returned to the king, with the head of the capteine of that rout: ſo that for his manhood herein ſhewed, he was made by the king earle of March, and for the maintenance of his eſtate, had the lands of Cockbourne Pethes giuen to him and his heires for euer, vpon this condition, that in times comming, the earles of March ſhould purge Yers and Louthian of all théeues and robbers. In memorie whereof, he was commanded to beare in his armes a fellons head ſprinkled with bloud.

Patrike Dunbar earle of March.

The head of a théeke or fellon giuen in armes

Shortlie after he got knowledge, how there were certeine gentlemen that had conſpired to ſlea him, & therefore taking occaſion to go on hunting, where this act ſhould haue béene executed, he calleth the chiefe author of the conſpiracie apart into a certeine vallie, which was cloſed on euerie ſide with thicke woods, and there brake the matter vnto him, in reproouing him verie ſharpelie, for that he had ſo traitorouſlie conſpired his death, whoſe preſeruation he ought chieflie to haue wiſhed, conſidering the manifold benefits he had receiued at his hands. And herewith leaping from his horſſe, drew his ſword, commanding the other likewiſe to draw his, that now hauing conuenient time and place thereto, they might trie the matter betwirt them, who ſhould be thought moſt worthie of life, by open force of knightlie prowéſſe. The conſpirator hearing theſe words, as a man altogither aſtoniſhed, fell downe vpon his knées at the kings féet, beſeeching his grace of mercie for his wicked purpoſe and heinous offenſe: who ſeeing him thus penitent, bad him ariſe, and ſaid; I am content hereupon to forgiue thee, ſo that thou be not of counſell hereafter in anie ſuch traitorous practiſe.

I conſpiracie.

The manlie courage of K. Malcolme.

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Whileſt things paſſed thus in Scotland, great and maruellous chances came to paſſe within the realme of England. For after the death of king Edward, ſurnamed the Confeſſor, Harold the ſonne of earle Godwine toke on him the kingdome. But William baſtard duke of Normandie, pretending title to the crowne of England, at length inuaded the land, and ſleaing Harold in field, made a full conqueſt of the realme, and was crowned king at London by Eldred archbiſhop of Yorke. Here ye haue to vnderſtand, that king Edward in his life time had ſent for his nephue Edward, the ſonne of his brother Edmund Ironſide, to come home forth of Hungarie, whither (after his fathers deceaſſe) he and his brother Edwine had béene ſent awaie, as in the hiſtorie of England it appéareth more at large. This Edward had married the daughter of the emperor Henrie, named Agatha, ſiſter to the quéene of Hungarie, and not the king of Hungaries daughter, although the Scotiſh writers do ſo affirme. By hir he had iſſue a ſonne named Edgar, and two daughters, the one named Margaret, and the other Chriſten.

Sée more hereof in England

Wil. Malm.

King Edward ment that his nephue the ſaid Edward ſhould haue ſucceded him, and (as ſome write) he would in his life time haue reſigned the crowne vnto him. But he (a thing worthie of admiration) vtterlie refuſed it, and would not once meddle therewith during his vncles life time; & (as it chanced) he died, whileſt his vncle king Edward was yet liuing. His ſonne Edgar therefore, to whom it ſéemed that the crowne was due, when he ſaw the realme conquered by the Normans, deſpairing to recouer it out of their hands, got a ſhip, and determined with his mother and ſiſters to paſſe ouer into Germanie to his friends and kinſfolke there: but by contrarie winds he was driuen to ſhore in the Forth, at a place called vnto this day the quæenes ferrie, Malcolme being at the ſame time at Dunfermeling, when he

Hector Boet.

The quéenes ferrie.

heard of the arriuall of this ſhip, and vnderſtood what they were that were aboord in hir, he reſorted thither with an honorable companie about him, to viſit them for honors ſake, vpon fauour he bare towards them, for that they were deſcended of that noble prince king Edward, in whome afore time he had found ſo much gentleneſſe and friendſhip.

Finallie, when he vnderſtood their eſtate, he brought them home with him to his palace, ſhewing them all the loue and friendſhip he could deuiſe; and in the end conſidering the excellent beautie, wiſdome, and noble qualities of the ladie Margaret, ſiſter to the ſame Edgar, he required of Agatha hir mother to haue hir in mariage, whereunto Agatha gladlie condeſcended. Shortlie after, with an aſſemblie of all the nobles of Scotland, this mariage was made and ſolemnized after the octaues of Eaſter, in the yeare 1067, with all the ioy & triumph that might be deuiſed. K. William conqueror of England, being informed hereof, feared leaſt this aliance betwirt Malcolme and Edgar might bréed ſome trouble and diſquietneſſe to his eſtate, ſith the ſame Edgar had manie friends through all the parties of England. To preuent therefore the occaſions of inteſtine troubles, he confined all the linage of the foreſaid Edgar, by reaſon whereof, a great number of Engliſhmen came into Scotland vnto king Malcolme, and manie of them obteining liuings at his hands, remained there continuallie during their liues, leauing to their poſteritie their names & poſſeſſions. Amongſt whome were theſe, Lindſeie, Maus, Ramſeie, Louell, Touhris, Preſtoune, Sandlands, Biſſart, Sowlis, Wardlaw, Parwell, with diuerſe other.

Malcolme Cammore marieth Margaret ſiſter to Edgar Athelling.

1067. H.B.

Engliſhmen flie into Scotland.

Surnames of Engliſhmen in Scotland.

There came diuerſe alſo out of Hungarie with quéene Margaret, who likewiſe left their names to their families, which yet remaine euen vnto this day, as Creichtoune, Fotringham, Giffart, Melvill, Worthwike, and others. Alſo there haue come at ſundrie ſeaſons out of France diuers ſurnames into Scotland, as Fraſer, Sinclare, Boſwell, Mowtray, Mountgummerie, Campbell, Bois, Betoun, or Betuin, Taillefer, and Bothwell, beſides ſundrie other which were but ſuperfluous to rehearſe at this time. ¶ But to the order of the hiſtorie. It is recorded by writers, that theſe (which at this time came out of England vnto Edgar) brought great quantitie of gold and ſiluer with them; alſo manie relikes of ſaints, and (amongſt other) that blacke croſſe which king Dauid gaue vnto the abbeie of Holie rod houſe in Louthian, which he founded at his owne charges. Shortlie after the proſcription of theſe Engliſhmen, William the conqueror ſent an herald at armes vnto king Malcolme, demanding to haue Edgar deliuered into his hands, and threatning that if he refuſed to deliuer him, he would ſuerlie fetch him, and that ſmallie for Malcolms commoditie.

Surnames of Frenchmen.

The blacke croſſe.

William conqueror threatneth king Malcolme.

But Malcolme, though he vnderſtood that he ſhould be ſure of wars at K. Williams hands for his deniall; yet he declared plainelie to the herald, that his maiſters requeſt was vnreaſonable, & therefore he minded not in anie wiſe to gratifie him therein. King William receiuing this anſwere from king Malcolme, proclaimed open warre againſt Scotland. In the meane time all Northumberland toke part with K. Malcolme, for that he was their earles ſiſters ſonne. Whereupon K. William ſent a valiant capteine, a Norman borne named Roger, to inuade Northumberland. Which Roger gathering a power of men, came haſtilie into that countrie, howbeit he abode a ſhort time there in honor, for by the Scots & Northumberland men his armie was diſcomfited, and he himſelfe traitorouſlie ſlaine by his owne ſouldiers.

Malcolms anſwere.

Open warre proclaimed by William conqueror.

Northumberland taketh part with K. Malcolme.

Roger a Norman capteine or rather earle Roger (as I take it.)

Sée in England.

But

The earle of Gloceſter.

But king William nothing diſcouraged with this ouerthrow: ſent one Richard earle of Gloceſter (whome amongeſt all the Engliſhmen he had moſt in truſt) with a mightie armie into Cumberland, againſt whome were ſent the earles of March and Menteith, who defended the countrie right manlie from the inuaſion of the ſaid earle, ſo that he was not able to take anie aduantage of them. King William aduertiſed hereof, ware wonderfull wroth, that no more good was done againſt his enimies, whereupon he ſent a new power thither with all ſpeed, vnder the leading of his brother Odo, who was both biſhop of Baieux, and earle of Kent. By this laſt armie, the countrie of Northumberland was ſore ſpoiled, and a great number both of Scots and Northumberlandmen diſcomfited and ſlaine. But as Odo was preparing to returne, there came Malcolme, with all the power he might make, and giuing an onſet vpon his enimies, ſlue a great number of them, and recouered all the bootie which Odos men had got in the countrie, and ſo right ioifull of that victorie, returned into Scotland. King William yet nothing abaſhed for theſe miſhaps, ſent his ſonne called Robert, with a far greater power than at anie time he had ſent before, into Northumberland, who remaining a long ſeaſon in campe neere to the riuer of Tine, attempted no notable enterpriſe, ſauing that he repared and newlie fortified the towne of Newcaſtell, which ſtandeth vpon the ſame riuer of Tine; and then at length a peace was concluded betwixt the two kings vnder theſe conditions, that king Malcolme ſhould inioy that part of Northumberland which lieth betwixt Tweed, Cumberland, and Stainmore, and to do homage to the K. of England for the ſame. In the midſt of Stainmore there ſhall be a croſſe ſet vp, with the king of Englands image on the one ſide, and the king of Scotlands on the other, to ſignifie that the one is march to England, and the other to Scotland. This croſſe was called the roiecroſſe, that is, the croſſe of the kings. Moreouer, it was concluded that Waltheof or Voldoſius (as the Scotiſh writers name him) the ſonne of Siward earle of Northumberland ſhould marie king Williams neece, borne of his daughter, and to be free from all paiments and exactions due to the king by anie maner of prerogatiue or means, for the ſpace of twentie yeares next inſuing.

Odo biſhop of Baieux and earle of Kent.

Malcolms enterpriſe againſt his enimies.

Robert the ſonne of William conquerour.

Newcaſtell vpon Tine fortified.

A peace concluded betwixt William Conquerour, and Malcolme Cammore.

The roiecroſſe.

Waltheof.

Siward earle of Northumberland.

In the necke of this peace thus concluded betwixt the kings, happened new trouble in Scotland, by reaſon of inteſtine rebellion: for the people of Galloway, and the Iland men, roſe in great numbers, and ſpoiled the borders of their neighbors, not ſparing from ſlaughter in all parts, where they were anie thing reſiſted. Againſt theſe rebels was ſent by king Malcolme, Walter the ſonne of Fleance (of whome there is mention made before) with a conuenient armie, who at his comming into Galloway, firſt gaue the people of that countrie an ouerthrow, and ſlue their chiefe capteine Makglaue. Then afterwards fighting with them of the Iles, he ſubdued them in ſuch wiſe, that all things were pacified euen at commandement. For which high prowes and diligence in this peece of ſeruice ſhewed, he was created by Malcolme high ſteward of the realme, ſo that afterwards both he and his poſteritie euer ſince haue borne that ſurname, euen vnto theſe our daies.

Rebellion in Galloway.

Walter the ſonne of Fleance.

Makglaue.

Walter created high ſteward of Scotland.

After the quieting of this buſineſſe, there ſprang a new tumult more dangerous than the former, for the Murreyland men, procuring them of Roſſe and Cathnes, with diuers other to ioine with them in confederacie, did not onelie ſlea the kings ſeruants, and thoſe that were appointed vnder him to ſee iuſtice miniſtred, but through ſupport of one Makduncane, whome they choſe to be their capteine, they alſo waſted and deſtroied the kings poſſeſſions, with more crueltie than euer had beene heard of before. Wherefore to puniſh theſe traitorous attempts, Makduffe was ſent with an armie into Mar. But the traitors doubting leaſt they ſhould not be able to withſtand his puiſſanee, thought nothing more auailable than to ſtop him with monie: but in the meane time came the king himſelfe in good ſeaſon into Monimuſke, where he was aduertiſed, that in maner all the north parts of Scotland with the Iles, were confederat with the Murreyland men againſt him. The king aſtoniſhed ſomething at theſe newes, vowed to giue the baronnie of Monimuſke (which he vnderſtood to be lands perteining to the crowne) vnto the church of ſaint Andrew in Fife, if it might pleaſe God to ſend him victorie ouer his enimies.

Makduffe.

The kings vow.

At length comming vnto the water of Speie, he beheld his enimies on the further ſide, in greater number, and in better furniture for armor than he thought had beene poſſible to haue found in all Scotland: he perceiued alſo that his ſtandard-bearer began to ſhrinke, and not to ſhew the like cheerefull countenance as he ought to haue done. Wherefore he pulled the banner from him, and gaue it to ſir Alexander Carron, who with this his new office obteined ſundrie faire lands and poſſeſſions, to him and to his heires for euer: but his ſurname was afterwards changed, and called Skrimgeour; of the which is deſcended a noble houſe, continuing yet in great honor in the ſame ſurname and office. When the king was once paſſed the water, and the armies on both ſides readie to haue ioined, through mediation of biſhops and other vertuous men, the matter was taken vp, and peace made on theſe conditions; That the commons that tooke part with the rebels, ſhould returne home out of hand, and the gentlemen to ſubmit themſelues to the kings pleaſure, their liues and lands ſaued. Howbeit manie of them were kept in perpetuall priſon during their liues, and all their goods confiſcated to the kings vſe.

Standard bearer.

Sir Alexander Carron.

A peace concluded.

The ſubmiſſion of gentlemen.

All ciuill trouble and commotion being thus quieted, king Malcolme (ſpeciallie by the good admoniſhment and exhortation of his wife queene Margaret, a woman of great zeale vnto the religion of that time) gaue himſelfe in maner altogither vnto much deuotion, and workes of mercie; as in doing of almes deeds, by prouiding for the poore, and ſuch like godlie exerciſes: ſo that in true vertue he was thought to excell all other princes of his time. To be briefe, herein there ſeemed to be in maner a certeine ſtrife betwixt him, and that vertuous queene his wife, which of them ſhould be moſt feruent in the loue of God, ſo that manie people by the imitation of them were brought vnto a better life. Agatha and hir daughter Chriſtine alſo, by the example of theſe two holie liuers, renounced the pompe of the court, and got them to a priuat and ſolitarie life, wherein they gaue themſelues wholie to diuine contemplation. Furthermore, Malcolme by the ſetting on of the queene his wife, ceaſſed not to ſet his indeuor wholie to the aduancement of the chriſtian religion, and to reſtore things that were decaied by the negligence of his predeceſſors. Therefore whereas before his time, there were but foure biſhops ſees in Scotland, as ſaint Andrews, Glaſcow, Galloway, and Murthlake, and two of them, that is to ſay, ſaint Andrews and Murthlake remaining onelie in good reparation (the other being decaied) he reſtored the other two to their former beauties, and furthermore erected two other of new, as Murrey and Cathnes, placing men of ſingular vertue and pureneſſe of life in the ſame.

King Malcolme through exhortation of his wife, giueth himſelfe to deuotion.

A godlie ſtrife

Agatha and Chriſtine renounce the world.

Biſhops ſees reſtored and newlie erected by king Malcolme.

A new rebellion in Murreyland.

But

But to proceed. It is ſaid, that ſuch outragious riot entred at this time, and began to grow in vſe among the Scotiſhmen, togither with the language and maners of the Engliſh nation (by reaſon that ſuch a multitude of the ſame, flieng out of their countrie, were dailie receiued as then into Scotland to inhabit there, as before is ſhewed) that diuerſe of the nobles perceiuing what diſcommoditie and decaie to the whole realme would inſue of this intemperance, came to the king, lamenting greuouſlie the caſe, for that this venemous infection ſpred ſo faſt ouer the whole realme, to the peruerting and vtter remouing of the ancient ſobrietie of diet vſed in the ſame. Wherefore they beſought him to prouide ſome remedie in time, before hope of redreſſe were paſt, that the people might be againe reduced vnto their former frugalitie, who hitherto vſed not to eat but once in the day, and then deſiring no ſuperfluous meates and drinks to be ſought by ſea and land, nor curiouſlie dreſſed or ſerued forth with ſawces, but onelie feeding to ſatiſfie nature, and not their greedie appetites.

Riot and ſuperfluous chere brought into Scotland.

The lamentation of the Scotiſh nobilitie for the intemperate ſurfetting begun to grow in vſe in their countrie.

The ancient ſparenelle of diet amongſt the Scots.

Through this their ſober fare, with the exerciſing of their bodies herewith in continuall trauell, they grew more ſtrong and greater of bodie, than their offſpring are found to be in theſe daies: for they were more in reſemblance like vnto giants than vnto men of our time, with great and huge bodies, mightie armes and limbs, preſſing vpon their enimies like vnto fierce lions, bearing downe all before them, without dread of anie danger, for that they exceeded all humane ſtrength and power. Herevpon king Malcolme toke great paines to haue redreſſed this infectiue poiſon, and vtterlie to haue expelled it forth of his realme. Howbeit the nature of man is ſo prone and readie to imbrace all kinds of vice, that where the Scotiſh people before had no knowledge nor vnderſtanding of fine fare or riotous ſurfet; yet after they had once taſted the ſweet poiſoned bait thereof, there was now no meane to be found to reſtreine their licorous deſires. ¶ And yet thoſe corrupted abuſes and riotous ſuperfluities (which came into the realme of Scotland with the Engliſhmen) planted therein by the daies of king Malcolme, are not to be compared in exceſſe with things vſed in our time. For in thoſe daies, as yet the nature of man was not ſo ouercome with the abuſe of ſuperfluities, as it is now adaies; for then though they were gone from the ancient ſparenelle of diet, they yet did not eat paſt twiſe a day, and had but two diſhes at a meale: but now the greedie taſte of mens inſatiable luſt is ſuch, that no kind of fleſh, fiſh, fruit, or whatſoeuer may be gotten, is vneth able to quench their gluttonous appetit & rauenous gormandizing; ſo that neither land, ſea, nor aire, is left vnſought to ſatiſfie the ſame, as though they were worthie of moſt high commendation that may deuour moſt: wherein they may be iuſtlie compared to greedie wolues and coruorants. But to bewaile that in words which cannot be amended in deeds, is but a follie: for the infection is ſo entered into the inner parts of the intrails, that neither with purging, cutting, nor ſearing, it may be holpen. Sooner ſhall you deſtroie the whole nation, than remoue this vice.

Sober fare cauſe of ſtrength and hugenelle of bodie.

Mans nature prone to vice.

The greedie taſte of mens inſatiable luſt.

Men compared to wolues & coruorants.

In the meane time whileſt things paſſed thus in Scotland, king William the Conqueror died in the 21 yeere of his reigne, and after the incarnation 1087. About which time king Malcolme cauſed the old church of Durham to be plucked downe and builded vp a new, beginning euen at the firſt floore. In which ſeaſon, one Egelwin or William (as the Scotiſh writers ſay) was biſhop of that ſee, and prior of the abbeie was one Turgot, who afterward was made biſhop of ſaint Andrews, and wrote the liues of quæne Margaret and Malcolme hir huſband in the Scotiſh tong. Afterward he deceaſſed in ſaint Andrews, but his bodie was brought vnto Durham, and there buried, becauſe he was firſt prior thereof. King Malcolme by perſuaſion of this Turgot, builded alſo a church in Dunfermling, dedicated to the Trinitie, ordeining from thenceforth that the common ſepulture of the kings ſhould be there, in like maner as it had beene afore time in the Ile of Iona at the abbeie of Colmekill.

1086. H.B.

The church of Durham built by king Malcolme.

Turgot.

The church of Dunfermling

The ſepulture of the Scotiſh kings.

Amongſt other vertuous ordinances alſo, which were deuiſed and made by king Malcolme (through exhortation of his wife quéene Margaret) mentioned by Turgot in the booke which he wrote of their liues, this is not to be forgotten, that he abrogated that wicked law, eſtabliſhed by king Ewin the third, appointing halfe a marke of ſiluer to be paid to the lord of the ſoile, in redemption of the womans chaſtitie, which is vſed to be paied yet vnto this day, and is called the marchets of woman: where otherwiſe by tenor of king Ewins law, the lord had the vſe of their bodies all the firſt night after their mariage. King William ſurnamed the Red, the ſecond ſonne of king William the Conqueror, and ſucceſſor to him in the kingdome of England, not well contented nor pleaſed in his mind, that the Scots ſhould inioy a great portion of the north parts of England, anciently belonging to his crowne as parcell thereof, he raiſed a great armie, and before anie denouncing of warre by him made, inuaded Northumberland, and toke the caſtell of Anwike, putting all ſuch to the ſword as were found in the ſame.

King Ewins law abrogated or rather altered.

William Rufus.

The caſtell of Anwike won by the Engliſhmen.

King Malcolme, to withſtand ſuch exploits attempted by his enimie, leuied a great hoſt of his ſubiects, and comming with the ſame into Northumberland, beſieged the ſaid caſtell of Anwike. And now when the keepers of the hold were at point to haue made ſurrender, a certeine Engliſh knight conceiuing in his mind an hardie and dangerous interpriſe, mounted on a ſwift horſſe without armor or weapon, ſauing a ſpeare in his hand, vpon the point whereof he bare the keies of the caſtell, and ſo iſſued forth at the gates, riding directlie towards the Scotiſh campe. They that warded, miſtruſting no harme, brought him with great noiſe and clamour vnto the kings tent. Who hearing the noiſe, came forth of his pauilion to vnderſtand what the matter ment. The Engliſhman herewith couched his ſtaffe, as though it had bene to the end that the king might receiue the keies which he had brought. And whileſt all mens eies were earneſt in beholding the keies, the Engliſhman ran the king through the left eie, and ſuddenlie daſhing his ſpurres to his horſſe, eſcaped to the nert wood out of all danger. The point of the ſpeare entered ſo farre into the kings head, that immediatlie falling downe amongſt his men, hée yeelded vp the ghoſt. This was the end of king Malcolme in the midſt of his armie.

The caſtell of Anwike beſieged by the Scots.

In hardie enterpriſe.

K. Malcolme is ſlaine.

It is ſaid, that king William changed the name of this aduenturous knight, & called him Perſe eie, for that he ſtroke king Malcolme ſo right in the eie, and in recompenſe of his ſeruice gaue him certeine lands in Northumberland: of whome thoſe Percées are deſcended, which in our daies haue inioied the honorable title of earles of Northumberland. The Scots after the ſlaughter of their king, brake vp their campe, and buried his bodie within the abbeie of Tinmouth in England. But his ſonne Alexander cauſed it afterwards to be taken vp, and buried in Dunfermling before the altar of the Trinitie. At the ſame time was Scotland wounded with another miſhap. For Edward the prince of Scotland, eldeſt ſonne to king Malcolme, died of a hurt

The name of the Percées had no ſuch beginning, for they came forth of Normandie at the conqueſt.

Erles of Northumberland.

K. Malcolme buried at Tinmouth.

Edward prince of Scotland died.

hurt which he receiued in a skirmish not farre from Anwike, and was buried in Dunfermling, the first of the blood roiall that had his bones laid in that place. Quéene Margaret being aduertised of the death both of hir husband and sonne, as then lieng in Edenburgh castell, hir disease increased through griefe therof so vehementlie, that within three daies after she departed out of this life, vnto an other more ioifull and blessed. King Malcolme was slaine in the

Quéene Margaret died.

1097. H.B.

yeere of our redemption 1092, on the 13 day of November, and in the 36 yeere of his reigne.

The Ides or October H.B.

In the same yeere, manie vncouth things came to passe, and were séene in Albion. By the high springtides which chanced in the Almaine seas, manie townes, castels, and woods were drowned, as well in Scotland as in England. After the ceassing of which tempest, the lands that sometime were earle Godwins (of whome ye haue heard before) lieng not farre from the towne of Sandwich, by violent force and drift of the sea, were made a sand-bed, and euer sithens haue bene called Godwins sands. The people haue thought that this vengeance came to that péece of ground being possessed by his posteritie, for the wicked slaughter of Alured, which he traitorouslie contriued. Moreouer sundrie castels and townes in Murreyland, were ouerthrowne by the sea tides.

Strange wonders.

In huge tide.

Godwins sands.

Thunder.

Such dreadfull thunder happened also at the same time, that men and beasts were slaine in the fields, and houses ouerturned euen from their fundations.

Trées and corne burnt.

In Louthian, Fife, and Angus, trées and corne were burned vp by fire, kindled no man knew how, nor from whence.

In the daies of this Malcolme Cammore, liued that famous historiographer Marianus a Scotishman borne, but professed a monke in the monasterie of Fulda in Germanie. Also Veremond a Spanish priest, but dwelling in Scotland, florished about the same time, and wrote the Scotish historie, whome Hector Boetius so much followeth. Malcolme had by his wife quéene Margaret (otherwise called for hir holinesse of life saint Margaret) six sonnes, Edward (as is said) was slaine: Ethelred, which died in his tender age, and was buried in Dunfermling: and Edmund which renounced the world, and liued an holie life in England: the other three were named Edgar, Alexander, and Dauid. There be that write how Edmund was taken, and put to death by his vncle Donald Bane, when he inuaded the kingdome, and vsurped the crowne, after the decease of his brother king Malcolme, and so then was Edgar next inheritor to the crowne.

Marianus.

Veremond.

The sons of K. Malcolme Cammore.

Donald Bane

This Donald Bane, who (as before is mentioned) fled into the Iles to eschue the tyrannicall malice of Makbeth, after he once heard that his brother king Malcolme was dead, returned into Scotland by support of the king of Norwaie, vnto whom he couenanted to giue the dominion of all the Iles, if by his means & furtherance he might obteine the crowne of Scotland. Herevpon landing with an armie in the realme, he found small resistance, and so with little ado receiued the crowne. For manie of the people abhorring the riotous maners and superfluous gormandizing brought in among them by the Englishmen, were willing inough to receiue this Donald for their king, trusting (bicause he had béene brought vp in the Iles with the old customes and maners of their ancient nation, without tast of the English likerous delicats) they should by his seuere order in gouernement recouer againe the former temperance of their old progenitors.

Donald Bane fled into the Iles.

Donald Bane returneth into Scotland.

His couenant for the gift of the Iles to the king of Norwaie.

The respect that the people had to receiue Donald Bane for their king.

As sone as Edgar Etheling brother to Quéene Margaret was aduertised that Donald Bane had thus vsurped the crowne of Scotland, he sent secretlie for his three nephues, Edgar, Alexander, and Dauid, with two sisters which they had, to come vnto him into England, where he had not kept them anie long while, but that a knight whose name was Organ or Orgar, accused him of treason, alledging how he nourished his sisters sonnes and daughters within the realme, in hope to make them inheritors to the crowne: but the malice of this false surmize remained not vnpunished, for one of Edgars friends, taking in hand to darraine battell with Organ, in defense of Edgars innocencie, slue him within lists. After that Donald had receiued the crowne at the abbeie of Scone, he perceiued that some of the nobles grudged at his preferment, shewing by some tokens that they had more affection vnto king Malcolmes children, than vnto him: and therefore he cast out a word amongst his familiars, that yet it were long the nobles should repent them of their doing, if they applied not them selues the more to his opinion.

K. Malcolms sons sent for into England by Edgar their vncle.

Orgar or one Organ accused Edgar Etheling of treason.

Organ is slaine within lists.

Donald threatneth.

Which words being marked, and deepelie imprinted in some of their hearts, turned afterwards to his great displeasure. For shortlie after came Duncane the bastard sonne of king Malcolme out of England into Scotland, supported with an armie of men appointed by king William the Red, to place him in the kingdome, and to expell Donald out of the same by force of armes, if he attempted anie resistance. Now when Donald approched with his puissance, in purpose to haue giuen battell, the most part of his people did forsake him, and drew vnto Duncans side, so that Donald thus abandoned of them that should haue aided him, was constreined for his refuge to flee againe into the westerne Iles: and so Duncane then comming vnto Scone, receiued the crowne of Scotland. But for that he had béene trained the most part of his life in the warres both in England and France, he had small skill in ciuill gouernement, iudging that thing onelie to stand with iustice, which was decided with speare and shield. By reason whereof Scotland was shortlie filled with new troubles and seditious diuisions.

Duncan Malcolms bastard sonne.

Duncane is crowned king of Scotland.

Duncane lacketh skill in ciuill gouernement.

Donald Bane being aduertised of all those things, that thereby happened in Scotland, sollicited Makpender erle of Mernes to take his part, and by some meanes to slea K. Duncane, which enterprise Makpender taking in hand, at length (in Menteth) accomplished the same in the night season, when he had espied such aduantage and opportunitie of time, that not so much as one man was found to pursue him. But to say the truth, Duncane was so farre out of the peoples fauor, that more reioised than were sorie for his death. After he was thus dispatched, his vncle Donald was restored againe to the kingdome, chiefliе by support of the forenamed Makpender, after his nephue the foresaid Duncane had reigned one yeere and an halfe, where Donald himselfe had reigned (before he was expelled by his said nephue) the space of six moneths, and now after he had recouered the kingdome, he continued in the regiment thereof three yeeres, not without great trouble and intestine commotions: for the most part of the lords maligning his aduancement, sought occasions dailie to depose him.

Makpender erle of Mernes sleieth king Duncane.

Donald Bane is restored to the crowne.

In the meane time the Flandrens made some stirre, neither did the warres with England ceasse, (though without anie great exploit or enterprise worthie of remembrance) sauing a few light skirmishes betwixt the parties, as occasion serued. At length came Magnus king of Norwaie with a great fléet, and sailing about the westerne Iles, garnished all the strengths within them in most defensible wise, with men, munition, and vittels, vsurping the dominion as souereigne lord of the same Iles: and at the same time ordeined those lawes and constitutions,

Magnus K. of Norway cometh into the westerne Iles.

ſtitutions which are vſed there amongſt the inhabitants euen vnto theſe daies. The Scotiſhmen hauing great indignation, that the Iles being ancientlie parcell of the crowne, ſhould be thus alienated from the ſame, ſent orators vnto Edgar (who was, as ye haue heard, the fourth ſonne of king Malcolme) deſiring him moſt inſtantlie to come into Scotland, to recouer his fathers heritage and crowne of Scotland out of the vſurpers hands.

Edgar king Malcolmes ſon is ſent for.

Edgar ſendeth meſſengers to Donald.

Donald ſleaith Edgars meſſengers.

Edgar is aided by K. William Rufus.

Saint Cutberts banner.

K. Donald diſcomfited and chaſed into the Iles.

K. Donald is taken.

king Donald dieth in priſon.

Edgar taking deliberate aduiſe touching this requeſt, firſt ſent ambaſſadours vnto Donald, promiſing that if he would be contented to reſore vnto him the crowne, being due to him by lawfull ſucceſſion, he would gladlie reward him with great lordſhips and reuenues in Louthian: but Donald was ſo farre from minding to doo him reaſon in this behalfe, that cauſing them which brought this meſſage to be put in priſon, he finallie ſlue them. Then Edgar by counſell of his vncle Edgar Etheling, purchaſing an aid of men at the hands of king William Rufus, ſet forwards toward Scotland. At his coming to Durham, he was admoniſhed by a viſion in his ſléepe, that if he tooke with him the banner of ſaint Cutbert, he ſhould haue victorie. On the morrow after, he came into the abbeie church, where firſt hearing diuine ſeruice, when the ſame was ended, he diſplaied the foreſaid banner, and cauſed it to be borne before him in that iournie. Neuertheles king Donald met him with a mightie armie, and after long fight, was chaſed into the Iles, where he was taken and brought vnto Edgar. ¶ Some ſay that when the battels were readie to haue ioined, his men beholding the banner of ſaint Cutbert ſpred againſt them, immediatlie forſooke him, ſo that he being deſtitute of ſuccour, fled, in purpoſe to haue ſaued himſelfe in ſome one of the weſterne Iles: but being apprehended by the inhabitants, was brought (as is ſaid) vnto Edgar, by whome he was (howſoeuer the hap of his taking chanced) caſt immediatlie into priſon, wherein he ſhortlie after died. The victorie thus atchiued, Edgar went vnto Edenburgh, and from thence vnto Dunfermeling to viſit the ſepultures of his mother and brethren.

Edgar.

Edgar is crowned and annointed.

A priuilege for the Scotiſh kings to be annointed.

Edgar the firſt annointed king of Scotland.

The paſſage into the holie land.

Robert duke of Normãdie.

Henrie Beauclerke king of England.

Afterwards comming to the abbeie of Scone, and aſſembling the lords of the realme, he receiued the crowne, and ſhortlie after was annointed by the archbiſhop of ſaint Andrews named Godrike, in the yéere of our redemption 1101. For his mother queene Margaret purchaſed a little before hir death of Urbane the pope, that from henceforth all the kings of Scotland ſhould be annointed. This priuiledge was confirmed afterwards by pope Iohn the ſecond of that name. The firſt king that was annointed according to that grant, was this Edgar, in the yere aforeſaid. About two yéers before this Edgar recouered thus the crowne of Scotland, was that generall paſſage made into the holie land vnder Godfrie of Bullongne, and other chriſtian princes.

Amongſt them, as one of the chiefe, Robert duke of Normandie went, and ſhould haue béene created king of Ieruſalem, had he not at the ſame time heard how his brother William Rufus the king of England was ſlaine by chance, through glanſing of an arrow ſhot at a déere in the new forreſt; and then hoping to ſucceéd him in the kingdom of England, he preferred that honor to the other, wherein he ſaw to be more trauell than gaine. But at his coming home, he found that his yongeſt brother Henrie ſurnamed Beauclerke, was placed in the kingdome of England, and ſo was duke Robert his hope fruſtrate of both the kingdomes, and that worthilie (as moſt men thought) for that he refuſed ſo neceſſarie a dignitie, wherein he might haue ſerued the common cauſe of the chriſtian common-wealth. Vnto Henrie Beauclerke in the ſecond yere of his reigne king Edgar maried one of his ſiſters called Mauld. The other named Marie he coupled with Euſtace earle of Bullongne: in which mariage was borne a daughter that was the onelie heire of the ſame Euſtace in the countie of Bullongne, the which when ſhe came to womans ſtate, was maried vnto Stephan earle of March in England, and of Morteigne in France, nephue to Henrie Beauclerke by his ſiſter. The king of England Henrie, had iſſue by quéene Mauld, two ſonnes and two daughters, William and Richard, Euſame and Mauld.

Mauld kind Edgars ſiſter.

Euſtace earle of Bullongne.

But now to returne to king Edgar, to ſhew ſome token of thanks towards ſaint Cutbert for his aid ſhewed, as was thought, in the battell againſt his vncle Donald, he gaue vnto the monks of Durham the lands of Coldingham: and to the biſhop of Durham called Canulph, he gaue the towne of Berwike. But for that the ſame biſhop wrought afterwards treaſon againſt him, he loſt that gift, and the king reſumed that towne into his hands againe. I do not find that Edgar had anie warres anie waie forth during all the time of his reigne, a prince rather reuerenced than dreaded amongſt his ſubiects for his ſingular equitie and vpright dealing. He departed out of this life at Dundée, in the 9 yéere of his reigne, and after the birth of our Sauiour 1107.

The lands of Coldingham.

Canulph biſhop of Durham.

Edgar rather reuerenced than dred.

1107. Io. Ma.

1109. H.B.

Alexander.

After the deceaſſe of this Edgar, ſucceéded his brother Alexander the fierce, ſo called for his rigorous valiancie in purſuing of théeues and robbers. In the beginning of his reigne, the inhabitants of Murrey land and Roſſe, beholding him to be moſt an end in the church at his praiers, and diuine ſeruice, after the maner of his parents, ſuppoſed he would proue no great quicke ſufficier in puniſhing offendors, and therevpon moſt preſumptuouſlie they began to rob and reaue on ech ſide, not ſparing to kill and ſlea all ſuch as came in their hands, without reſpect to age or ſex; inſomuch that the yong infants ſmiling vpon the murtherers, being about to execute their deteſtable crueltie, paſſed by the ſword as well as the reſiſters: ſuch rooted malice remained in their beaſtlie harts, which vpon renewing their old grudges they now accordinglie ſhewed. King Alexander therefore aduertiſed hereof, came into thoſe parts with a competent armie, and apprehending the chiefe authors and capteins, ſtroke off their heads. As he returned backe through Mernes, there came a woman vnto him weéping in moſt lamentable ſort, who fell vpon hir knées at his féet, beſéeching him to pitie hir caſe, hauing loſt both hir huſband & ſonne, by the tyrannous crueltie of the maiſter of Mernes, who for that they had called him before a iudge in an action of debt, had ſlaine and murthered as well the one as the other. The king moued with this deteſtable kind of iniurie, lighted from his horſſe, and would not mount vp againe, till he had ſéene the author of that heinous treſpaſſe hanged vp on a gibbet. After his comming into Gowrie, he tooke in hand to finiſh and make vp the caſtell of Baledgar, the foundation whereof his brother Edgar had begun, that it might be an aid to chaſtiſe a ſort of théeues and robbers which haunted the woods thereabout, to the great diſquietnes of all the countrie. He gaue alſo to the maintenance of that houſe certeine lands, which the earle of Gowrie had giuen him at the font ſtone, when he became his godfather.

Théeues of Murrey land and Roſſe.

The crueltie of théeues.

Execution.

The earle of Mernes ſon.

Righteous iuſticier.

The caſtell of Baledgar.

Whileſt he was thus buſie about the furtherance of that worke, diuerſe of thoſe théeues that were accuſtomed to liue by robberies in thoſe parts, perceiuing that this caſtell, which the king was about to build, ſhould turne vnto their deſtruction, they conſpired his death, and winning by rewards and promiſes

Treaſon of conſpirators to haue ſlaine the king.

miſes the helpe of the kings chamberlaine to the accompliſhing of their traitorous and moſt diueliſh practiſes, they entered one night through a priuie into his lodging, in purpoſe to haue ſlaine him as he ſlept in his bedchamber: but he by Gods prouidence hauing knowledge of their comming, ſtarted out of his bed, and caught a ſword which hong neere at hand, wherewith he ſlue firſt his chamberlaine that had brought them in, and then diſpatched ſix of the other traitors (which were alreadie entered his chamber) with ſingular force and manhod: the other fearing leaſt with the noiſe, his ſeruants that lodged within the houſe ſhould haue beene raiſed, and ſo haue haſted to aſſaile them on the backs, fled in all haſte poſſible. Neuertheleſſe, ſuch purſute was made after them, that manie of them were apprehended, & vpon their examination, being brought before the king, they declared plainlie how they were incouraged to worke that treaſon which they had gone about, by ſundrie great barons and gentlemen of the countrie. Finallie, the matter was ſo handled with them, that they diſcloſed the names of thoſe that had thus procured them to the treaſon. Whereupon the king gathering an armie, he marched forth to purſue them, but before he came vnto the water of Spaie, the conſpirators had gotten togither their power, & were lodged on the further ſide of the ſame water, to ſtop him from paſſing ouer.

The kings manhod.

The water of Spaie.

The king ſéeing them thus aſſembled to impeach his paſſage, ſent his banner-man ſir Alexander Carron with a choſen part of his armie to paſſe the water, and to fight with his enimies, where, by the hardie onſet of the ſaid ſir Alexander, they were quicklie put to flight, and manie of them that were taken in the chaſe ſuffered death, according as they had well deſerued. The realme after this execution done on theſe offendors, continued manie yéeres after in good tranquillitie. This Alexander Carron alſo for that he was ſéene in the kings ſight that day to fight moſt manfullie, in ſleaing diuerſe of the rebels with a crooked ſword which he had in his hand (of which ſort manie were vſed in thoſe daies) he was highlie rewarded at the kings hands, & euer after named Skrimgeour, that is to ſay, An hardie fighter. He had alſo his armes increaſed with a rampant lion holding a crooked ſword, as is to be ſéene in the armes of his poſteritie vnto this day. ¶ Other there be that ſay he got the ſurname of Skrimgeour, becauſe he ſlue an Engliſhman in a ſingular combat. The principall of this ſurname in our time held the conſtableſhip of Dundée, bearing in his armes a crooked ſword in faſhion of an hooke.

Sir Alexander Carron. The rebels are vanquiſhed.

Skrimgeour.

After that king Alexander had appeaſed the inteſtine commotions thus within his realme, he ſet in hand to repare the abbeie of Scone, wherein he placed regular canons, dedicating the church in the honor of the Trinitie, and ſaint Michaell. Not long after this alſo, he chanced to come into ſaint Colmes Inch, where he was conſtreined to abide three daies togither through violent rage of weather and tempeſts: and becauſe he found ſome relieſe of meate & drinke, by meanes of an heremit that dwelt within the ſame Inch, and kept a chappell there dedicated to ſaint Colme, he made of that chappell an abbeie of regular canons, in the honor of ſaint Colme, endowing it with ſundrie lands and rents for the maintenance of the abbat and conuent of that houſe. He alſo gaue to the church of ſaint Andrewes, the lands called the Boarrinke, ſo named, for that a great boare was ſlaine vpon the ſaid ground, that had done much hurt in the countrie thereabout. The tuſks of this boare do hang in chaines vpon the ſtalles of the quier in ſaint Andrewes church afore the high altar, and are 16 inches in length, & foure inches in thicke-

The abbeie of Scone.

Saint Colmes Inch.

The abbeie of ſaint Colmes Inch builded.

Lands named the Boarrinke.

Boare tuſks.

neſſe. Moreouer, the abbeie of Dunfirmling was finiſhed by king Alexander, and endowed with ſundrie lands and poſſeſſions.

The abbeie of Dunfirmling

Whileſt king Alexander was thus occupied in building and reparing of religious houſes, his brother Dauid liued in England with his ſiſter quéene Mauld, & through fauour which the king hir huſband bare towards him, he obteined in marriage one Mauld, daughter vnto Woldoſius, or rather Waltheof earle of Huntington and Northumberland, begot of his wife the ladie Judith that was neece vnto king William the Conqueror. And for that the ſaid Woldoſius or Waltheof had no other iſſue to inherit his lands, Dauid in right of his wife Mauld inioied the ſame, and was made earle of Huntington and Northumberland, and had iſſue by his wife a ſon named Henrie, by whome the lands of Huntington, and ſome part of Northumberland were annexed vnto the crowne of Scotland, as after ſhall appéere. Mauld the daughter of king Henrie Beauclerke, was maried vnto Henrie the emperor, the fourth of that name. William, Richard, and Eſtéeme, the reſidue of the iſſue which the ſame Henrie Beauclerke had by his wife (ſurnamed for hir ſingular bounteouſneſſe, the good quéene Mauld) in comming forth of France to repaſſe into England, periſhed in the ſea by a tempeſt, to the great dolour of the king their father, and to all other his ſubiects of ech eſtate and degrée. Their mother the ſaid Mauld was before that time departed out of this life. It was not long after, but that Alexander deceaſſed alſo, and was buried in Dunfirmling beſides his fathers ſepulture, in the 17 yéere of his reigne complet, and from the incarnation of Chriſt 1125 yéeres.

Dauid brother to king Alexander.

Woldoſius earle of Northumberland and Huntington.

The lands of Huntington and Northumberland annexed to the crowne of Scotland.

The death of king Alexander.

1124. H.I

In the daies of this king Alexander, the kinred of the Cummings had their beginning, by one John Cumming, a man of great proweſſe and valiancie, obteining of the king in reſpect therof, certeine ſmall portions of lands in Scotland. The houſe of theſe Cummings roſe in proceſſe of time thus from a ſmall beginning to high honor and puiſſance, by reaſon of the great poſſeſſions & ample reuenues which they afterwards atteined. At length (as often happeneth) the importable height of this linage was the onelie cauſe of the decaie and finall ruine therof, as in the ſequele of this hiſtorie ye may at full perceiue. Also in the daies of king Alexander, the order of knights of the Rhodes had their beginning, and likewiſe the order of White monks, the author whereof was one Nodobert. About the ſame time liued that holie man Richard de ſancto Victore, a Scotiſhman borne, but dwelled for the more part of his time at Paris in France, where he died, & was buried within the cloiſter of the abbeie of ſaint Victor, being a brother of the ſame houſe.

The beginning of the Cummings.

Knights of the Rhodes.

White monks

Richard de ſancto Victore

Dauid.

But now to proceed with the hiſtorie. After the deceaſſe of Alexander the fierce and firſt of that name, his brother Dauid came vnto Scone, and there receiued the crowne, as lawfull heire to his brother, for that he left no heire behind him. This Dauid, according to the example of his noble parents, ſet his whole care about the due miniſtring of iuſtice, to the honor of almightie God, and the weale of his realme. He had no trouble by warres with anie forraine enimies, ſo long as king Henrie Beauclerke liued. Therefore hauing opportunitie of ſuch a quiet time, he rode about all the parts of his realme, and vſed to ſit in hearing of iudgement himſelfe, ſpeciallie concerning poore mens cauſes and matters: but the controuerſies of the lords and barons he referred to the hearing of other iudges. If he vnderſtood that anie man were indamaged by anie wrongfull iudgement, he recompenſed the partie wronged, according to the value of his loſſe and hinde-

Dauid is crowned king of Scotland.

The care of king Dauid for the poore.

A righteous iudge.

hinderance, with the gods of the iudge that pronounced the iudgement.

Banketting geare banished.

Thus in the firſt years of his reigne he did manie things to the aduancement of the common-wealth, and baniſhed ſuch banketting cheare as was vſed amongſt his people after the example of the Engliſhmen, perceiuing the ſame to breed a great weakening & decaie of the ancient ſtoutneſſe of ſtomach, that was wont to remaine in the Scotiſh nation.

King Dauid built 15 abbeies.

He builded to the number of fiftéene abbeies, part of them in the beginning of his reigne before the warres were begun which he had with the Engliſhmen, and part after the ſame warres were ended.

The names of the abbeies builded by king Dauid.

The names of thoſe abbeies are as followeth: Holie rood houſe, Kelſo, Jedburgh, Melroſſe, Newbottell, Holmecultrane, Dundranane, Cambuſkenneth, Kinlois, Dunfirmling, Holme in Cumberland; alſo two nunries, the one at Carleill, and the other at north Berwike: with two abbeies beſide Newcaſtell, the one of ſaint Benedicts order, and the other of white monkes. He erected alſo foure biſhoprikes within his realme, Roſſe, Brechin, Dunkeld, and Dublane, indowing them with rich rents, faire lands, and ſundrie right commodious poſſeſſions. Moreouer he tranſlated the biſhops ſee of Murthlake vnto Aberden, for ſundrie aduiſed conſiderations, augmenting it with certeine reuenues, as he thought expedient.

Foure biſhopries erected in Scotland.

He was admoniſhed (as the report goeth) in his ſléepe, that he ſhuld build an abbeie for a religious order to liue in togither. Wherevpon he ſent for workemen into France and Flanders, and ſet them in hand to build this abbeie of canons regular, as he was admoniſhed, dedicating it in the honor of a croſſe (wherevnto he bare ſpeciall deuotion) for that verie ſtrangelie it ſlipped into his hands (on a time) as he was purſuing and following of a hart in the chaſe. But inough of theſe monkiſh deuiſes.

Holie rood houſe builded.

Manie prudent men blame greatlie the vnmeaſurable liberalitie of king Dauid, the which he vſed towards the church, in diminiſhing ſo hugelie the reuenues of the crowne, being the cauſe that manie noble princes his ſucceſſors haue come to their finall ends, for that they haue béene conſtreined through want of treaſure to maintéine their roiall eſtates, to procure the fall of ſundrie great houſes, to poſſeſſe their lands and liuings; alſo to raiſe paiments and exactions of the common people, to the vtter impoueriſhment of the realme. And ſometime they haue béene conſtreined to inuade England by warres, as deſperat men, not caring what came of their liues. Otherwhiles they haue béene inforced to ſtampe naughtie monie, to the great preiudice of the common-wealth. All which miſchiefes haue followed ſince the time that the church hath béene thus inriched, and the crowne impoueriſhed.

Liberalitie in king Dauid toward the church reprooued.

The church inriched, and the crowne impoueriſhed.

Therefore king James the firſt, when he came to king Dauid his ſepulture at Dunfirmling, he ſaid, that he was a fore ſaint for the crowne, meaning that he left the church ouer-rich, and the crowne too poore. For he tooke from the crowne (as Iohn Maior writeth in his chronicles) 60 thouſand pounds Scotiſh of yéerelie reuenues, wherewith he indowed thoſe abbeies. But if K. Dauid had conſidered how to nouriſh true religion, he had neither indowed churches with ſuch riches, nor built them with ſuch roialtie: for the ſuperfluous poſſeſſions of the church (as they are now vſed) are not onelie occaſion to euill prelats to liue in moſt inſolent pompe & corrupt life, but an aſſured net to draw gold and ſiluer out of realms. But now to returne where I left, touching the hiſtorie, ye ſhall note that (as I ſaid before) Dauid had by his wife Mauld inheritor of part of Northumberland, Cumberland, and Huntington, a ſonne named Henrie, who maried the earle of Warrens daughter, a ladie of high parentage, as deſcended of moſt noble bloud both French and Engliſh. On whome he begat three ſonnes, Malcolme, William, and Dauid; alſo three daughters, Adhama, Margaret, and Mauld. But now in the meane time, whileſt the eſtate of the common-wealth in Scotland ſtood in high felicitie, vnder the proſperous gouernement of king Dauid, there happened to him an heauie loſſe. For the quéene his wife the foreſaid Mauld deceaſſed in hir flouriſhing age, a woman of paſſing beautie and chaſtitie, which two points (as is thought) commend a woman aboue all the reſt. King Dauid therefore tooke ſuch griefe for hir death, that he would neuer after giue his mind to marie anie other, but paſſed the reſidue of his life without companie of all women. She was buried in Scone, in the yeare of our Lord God 1132.

Earle of warren.

The iſſue of Henrie.

Quéene Mauld deceaſſeth.

1132.

Whileſt theſe things came thus to paſſe in Scotland, Henrie Beauclerke king of England, cauſed all the nobles of his realme to take their oths, that after his deceaſſe they ſhould receiue his daughter Mauld the empreſſe for their ſouereigne ladie and quéene. She was as then returned into England; for hir huſband the emperour was latelie before deceaſſed. King Dauid alſo tooke his oth, and therefore when king Stephan (who vſurped the crowne of England after king Henries deceaſſe againſt the ſaid empreſſe) ſent vnto king Dauid to come and do his homage for the earledomes of Northumberland, Cumberland, and Huntington (according as by his tenure he was bound to do) with intimation that if he refuſed, king Stephan would inuade him with open warre; king Dauid anſwered, that he had giuen his faith once aforehand for thoſe lands vnto the empreſſe Mauld, which he minded not to breake for the threatning words of anie new inuaſions. King Stephan moued with this anſwere, ſent a power of men to the borders of Northumberland, (which as then was vnder the dominion of the Scots) to make a rode vpon the inhabitants of that countrie. They that had the charge of this enterpriſe, entering into the lands of their enimies, put all to fire and ſword that came in their way. The Scots kindled with that diſpleaſure, roded into England, and did the like diſpleaſures and hurts there. For the yeare after, the earles of March, Menteth, and Angus entred into England with a great armie, againſt whome came the earle of Gloceſter, and giuing them battell at Northalerton, loſt the field, and was taken priſoner himſelfe, with diuers other nobles of England. King Stephan therefore, conſtreined to redéeme the captiues, gaue not onelie a great ſumme of monie for them; but alſo made reſignation of all ſuch title, claime, or intereſt, as either he or anie of his ſucceſſors might make or pretend to the counties of Northumberland and Cumberland. Howbeit his nobles were no ſooner returned home, but that repenting him of that reſignation, he gathered his puiſſance againe, and entering into Northumberland, fought with the Scots that came forth to reſiſt him, and obteining the victorie, tooke a great part of the countrie into his poſſeſſion.

Mauld the empreſſe.

K. Stephan.

Homage is required.

The Engliſhmen inuade Northumberland.

The Scots make rodes into England

The earle of Gloceſter Robert was againſt king Stephan, but there might be ſome other happilie vnto whome king Stephan had giuen that title.

A reſignation.

K. Stephan repenteth.

King Dauid, to redreſſe theſe iniuries, gathered a mightie armie, with deliberat mind, either to expell the Engliſhmen out of all the bounds of his dominions, or elſe to die in the fæld. But ſhortlie after, Thurſtane archbiſhop of Yorke came vnto Roxburgh, called in thoſe daies Marken, to treat for peace, where a truce was concluded for three moneths, with condition, that the Engliſhmen ſhould deliuer vp the dominion of Northumberland vnto the lord Henrie king Dauid his ſonnes. But for ſo much

Roxburgh in old time Marken.

A truce.

much as this couenant was not performed on king Stephans ſide, king Dauid inuaded that part of the countrie which the Engliſhmen held, making great ſlaughter of all them that he found there about to reſiſt him. King Stephan moued herewith leuied his people, and came in puiſſant araie vnto Rorburgh; but for that he had ſecret knowledge that ſome of the nobles in his armie ſought his deſtruction, he was conſtreined to returne without atchiuing of anie worthie enterpriſe.

King Dauid inuadeth Northumberland.

King Stephan palleth vnto Rorburgh.

The yeare next inſuing, a peace was talked vpon, the archbiſhops of Canturburie and Yorke appointed commiſſioners in the treatie thereof on the behalfe of king Stephan, and the biſhops of Glaſcow, Aberden, and ſaint Andrews on the part of king Dauid. But Mauld queene of England, the daughter of Euſtace earle of Bullongne, and neece to king Dauid by his ſiſter Marie, was the chiefeſt doer in this matter, to bring them to agréement. The one of the kings, that is to ſay Stephan, laie at Dureſme with his nobles; and the other, that is to ſay Dauid, lay at Newcaſtell, during all the time of this treatie, which at length ſorted to the concluſion of a peace, on theſe conditions: that the counties of Northumberland and Huntington ſhould remaine in the gouernement of Henrie prince of Scotland, as heire to the ſame by right of his mother; but Cumberland ſhould be reputed as the inheritance and right of his father king Dauid. And for theſe lands and ſegniories the forenamed prince Henrie & his ſucceſſors, princes of Scotland, ſhould do homage vnto king Stephan and his ſucceſſors kings of England, for the time being.

A peace.

Couenants of agréement.

Homage.

The peace thus ratified betwixt the two kings and their ſubiects, K. Stephan returned into Kent, and king Dauid repaired into Cumberland, where he fortified the towne of Carleill with new walles and ditches. Thus paſſed the firſt three yeares of king Stephans reigne. In the fourth yeare came Mauld the empreſſe into England to claime the crowne thereof (as in the Engliſh hiſtorie more plainelie may appeare.) But whileſt England was ſore tormented with warres by contrarie factions of the nobles for the quarels of theſe two perſons, no ſmall ſorrow hapned to Scotland for the death of Henrie the prince of that land, and onelie ſonne vnto king Dauid, who died at Kelſo, and was buried in the abbeie church there, in the yeare of our redemption, 1152. His death was greatlie bemoned aſwell of his father the king, as of all other the eſtates and degrées of the realme, for ſuch ſingular vertue and noble conditions as appeared in him. But yet, for that he left iſſue behind him three ſonnes and three daughters (as before is mentioned) the realme was not thought vnprouided of heires.

K. Stephan returneth.

Carleill was repared by William Rufus king of England, about the yeare of our Lord, 1092.

The death of Henrie prince of Scotland.

1152.

Prince Henrie his iſſue.

The king alſo being mortified from the world, tooke the death of his ſonne verie patientlie, conſidering that all men are ſubiect vnto death by the law of nature, and are ſure no longer to remaine here, than their day appointed by the eternall determination of him that giueth and taketh away life & breath when it pleaſeth him, as by dailie experience is moſt maniſeſt. Therefore that king Dauid weied the loſſe of his ſonne in ſuch balance, it may appeare by an oration which he made to his nobles, at what time (after his ſonnes deceaſſe) they came to comfort him. For he perceiuing them to be right heauie and ſorrowfull for the loſſe which he and they had ſuſteined by the death of ſo towardlie a prince, that was to haue ſucceéded him, if God had lent him life thereto; in the end of a roiall feaſt, the which he made vnto thoſe nobles that came thus to viſit him, he began in this wiſe.

The lawes of nature.

An oration.

How great your fidelitie and care is, which you beare towards me, although oftentimes heretofore I haue proued it, yet this preſent day I haue receiued moſt ample fruit thereof: for now do I plainelie ſée, that you lament no leſſe for the loſſe of my late deceſſed ſonne, than if you had buried ſome one of your owne ſonnes, and are therefore come to your great trauell and paine to comfort me, whome you eſteéme to be ſore afflicted for the ouer-timelie death of my ſaid moſt obedient ſonne. But to let paſſe for this time due yéelding of thanks to you for the ſame, till occaſion and leaſure may better ſerue thereto; this now may ſuffice, that I acknowledge my ſelfe to be ſo much beholden to you, that whatſoeuer thing I haue in the world, the ſame is readie to do you pleaſure. But concerning the cauſe of your comming hither, in ſhewing your courteſies therein, you ſhall vnderſtand, that my parents, whom I truſt to be in heauen, and (as ſaints) inioy the fruits of their vertuous trauels here taken on earth, did ſo inſtruct me from my tender youth, that I ſhould worſhip with all reuerence the moſt wiſe creator and prudent gouernor of all things; and to thinke that nothing was done by him in vaine, but that the ſame is prouided and ordeined to ſome good vſe by his high and vnſearchable counſell. And therefore whileſt day and night I haue and do reuolue and call to remembrance the precepts and inſtructions of my parents, whatſoeuer hath chanced either tuching aduerſitie or proſperitie, good hap or bad, the ſame hath ſéemed to me (at the firſt) receiuing all things with equall and thankefull mind, and interpreting them to the beſt, farre more light than they commonlie ſéeme to others; and leſſe they did diſquiet me: ſo as with vſe I haue learned at length, not onelie patientlie to beare all aduerſities that may happen, but alſo to receiue the ſame as things pleaſant and euen to be deſired. And verelie my hap hath béene to be greatlie exerciſed in this behalfe, for I haue firſt ſéene my father, more déere to me than anie earthlie treaſure; and no leſſe profitable than greatlie deſired of all the people: and yet neither the loue of the people, nor of his kinſmen and friends might warrant him from this fatall neceſſitie of death. I haue knowen my mother right famous in the world for hir ſingular vertue to paſſe hence in like maner. My brethren that were ſo louing, and againe ſo greatlie beloued of me; alſo my wife whome I eſteémed aboue all other creatures, are they not gone the ſame way, and compelled to beare deaths hard ordinance? So verelie ſtandeth the caſe, that no man might yet at anie time auoid the violence of his force when he commeth, for we all alike owe this life vnto him, as a due debt that muſt néeds be paid. But this is to be receiued with a thankefull mind, in that the bountifull benevolence of our God hath granted that we ſhall be all immortall, if we our ſelues through vice, & as it were ſpotted with filthie diſeaſes of the mind, do not fall into the danger of eternall death. Wherefore of right (me thinke) I haue cauſe to reioiſe, that God by his ſingular fauour hath granted to me ſuch a ſonne, which in all mens iudgements was worthie to be beloued whileſt he was here amongſt vs, and to be wiſhed for now, after he is departed from hence. But ought we to take it heauilie, that he to whome he belonged, and who had lent him vnto vs, ſhould call for him againe, and take him that was his owne? For what iniurie is it, if (when I ſée occaſion) I ſhall aſke that againe, which you haue poſſeſſed through my benefit as lent to you for a time? Neither do I truſt to want him long, if God ſhall be ſo mercifull vnto me, as I wiſh him to be: for I hope ſhortlie to be called hence by commandement of that moſt high king, and to be caried vp to reſt among that fellowſhip of heauenlie ſpirits, where I ſhall

His parents godlie inſtructions.

Loſſe of friends.

His father.

His mother.

His brethren

His wife.

Death cannot be diſpenſed with.

Why we ought to take the death of our children and friends patientlie.

cc shall find my father and mother, my brethren, wife, and sonne in far better estate than here I knew cc them. Therefore that I may repeate it once againe, cc I reioise (I say) to haue obteined in my sonne, by cc the grace of the supernall God, that I am assured by cc faith, he is alreadie in that place to the which all we cc do earnestlie wish that we may atteine, and do in- cc deuour by all means, that when the time commeth cc in which our soules are to be losed forth of these cc fraile bodies of ours, as out of prisons, they may be found worthie of that companie, in which our confi- cc dence is that he now most blissefullie is remaining. cc Except anie man may thinke that we are so enui- cc ous, that therefore we do lament, because as yet cc we sticke fast ouerwhelmed and drowned in such fil- cc thie miers, and cumbred in such thornie thickets and cc bushes, out of the which he (being now deliuered of all cares) hath escaped. But let vs rather by follow- cc ing the footsteps of him and other vertuous persons cc that are gone afore vs, labor both day and night, that cc at length (through heauenlie fauour) we may come cc to the place where we do reckon that by diuine power he is alreadie arriued.

After that the king had made an end of his oration, and thanks giuen to God for his bountifull magnificence, they rose from the table, and departed to their lodgings, they all greatlie marueling at the kings high prudence and godlie wisdome. Then was Malcolme, the eldest sonne of the before mentioned prince Henrie, proclamed in his place prince of Scotland, and conueied through the most parts of the realme by Duncane earle of Fife, and other of the nobles appointed to attend vpon and to receiue the oths of all the barons for their allegiance in his name. William the second sonne of prince Henrie was conueied into Northumberland by the foresaid nobles, and there proclamed and created earle of that countrie. Then went king Dauid himselfe vnto Carleill, where he met with Henrie the sonne of the empresse, who receiued the order of knighthod there at his hands. This was a little before that the same Henrie came to an agréement with king Stephan, whereby he was admitted to the possession of halfe the realme of England, and promised by oth of assurance (as the Scotish writers say) that he should neuer go about to take the countries of Northumberland, Cumberland, and Huntington from the crowne of Scotland.

Shortlie after was king Dauid taken with a sore disease and maladie, which continued with him to the end of his life. And so when he perceiued himselfe to wax faint and feeble, he required to be borne in to the church, where he receiued the sacrament of the Lords bodie and bloud, with most solemne reuerence: and then being brought againe to his chamber, he called togither his nobles, and commending to them his yong nephues, the sons of his son the forenamed prince Henrie, he kissed ech one of them after an other, most instantlie desiring them in the honor of almightie God, to séeke the preseruation of common quiet, to the aduancement of the publike weale. This done, he departed out of this life in the 29 yeare of his reigne, or rather in the 30 yeare, if he reigned 29 and two moneths, as Iohn Maior saith. His bodie was buried in Dunfirmeling, after the incarnation of Christ our Sauiour 1153 yeares.

How farre this prince king Dauid excelled in noble vertues and sober conuersation of life, I haue thought it better to passe ouer with silence, than to go about in few words to comprehend that, wherein if I should spend much time, I were not able in anie wise worthilie to performe. For where in such cases few things are slenderlie shewed, the residue may séeme to be omitted though fault of the writer.

Malcolme the sonne of Henrie proclamed prince of Scotland.

Earle of Northumberland.

Henrie the empresse his sonne receiueth the order of knighthod.

The exhortation of king Dauid to his nobles.

King Dauid departeth out of this life.

1153.

But yet this is not to be forgotten, that where his singular pitifull regard, which he had toward the releefe of the poore, passed all other his notable vertues, he purged his court also in such wise of all vicious rule and misordered customes, that his whole familie was giuen onelie to the exercise of vertue. No riotous banketting nor surfetting chére was vsed amongst them, no lasciuious word heard come forth of anie mans mouth, nor yet anie wanton signes shewed to prouoke sensuall lust or carnall concupiscence. All the words, works, and whole demeanor of his seruants tended to some conclusion: nothing moued to stirre strife or sedition, but all things ordered in such friendlie and peaceable sort, that the chaine of brotherly loue séemed to haue linked them all in one mind and will. Such a rule was their maister king Dauid vnto them and all other, to direct and frame a perfect and godlie life after.

His singular pitie toward the poore.

King Dauids court.

King Dauids seruants.

King Dauids example, a rule of godlie life.

Malcolme

KIng Dauid being dead & buried (as is before said) Malcolme nephue to him by his son Henrie succéeded in the estate. He was but 13 yéeres of age, when he began his reigne; but yet his modestie and vertuous conditions were such, that all men conceiued a good hope that he would proue a right noble and worthie prince. He was nourished and brought vp in such vertue, euen from his infancie, that delting in chast conuersation and cleannesse of bodie and mind, he liued single all the daies of his life, and without mariage: wherefore he was surnamed Malcolme the maid. About the time of his entring into the possession of the crowne, there was a great derth through all the bounds of Scotland. And sone after followed a sore death both amongst men and beasts, though it was not perceiued that the disease whereof they died was anie thing contagious.

The education of king Malcolme.

A dearth.

A death not contagious.

Hereof did one Somerled the thane of Argile take occasion to attempt an higher enterprise than stood with the baseneslie of his linage and estate: for considering that the one halfe of the realme was consumed by mortalitie, and the other halfe néere hand famished through lacke of food, he thought it an easie matter for him, now whilest the king was vnder yéeres of ripe discretion, to vsurpe the gouernance of the realme into his owne hands, and so assembling togither an huge companie of such as in hope of preie lightlie consented to his opinion, bécame forwards, to make as it were a full conquest, sleaing and spoiling all such in his way as went about to resist him. But his presumptuous enterprise was shortlie represt: for Gilcrist earle of Angus lieutenant of the kings armie, raised to resist Somerleids attempts, incountred with him in battell, & slue 2000 of his men. Somerleid hauing receiued this ouerthrow, and escaping from the field, fled into Ireland, and so saued his life.

Somerleid thane of Argile goeth about to make himselfe king.

Somerleids crueltie.

Gilcrist sent with an armie against Somerleid.

Henrie the second of that name king of England, hearing that Malcolme had thus subdued his domesticall enimies, feared least he being imboldened therewith, should now attempt somewhat against the Englishmen; and therefore by counsell of his nobles, he sent an herald vnto king Malcolme, commanding him to come vp to London, there to do his homage vnto him, for the lands of Cumberland, Northumberland, and Huntington, in maner and forme as his grandfather king Dauid had before done vnto his predecessor Henrie the first, with certificat, that if he failed, he would take from him all the said lands. King Malcolme obeied this commandement of king Henrie: but yet vnder condition (as the Scotish writers affirme) that it should in no maner wise preiudice the franchises and liberties of the Scotish kingdome. At the same time king Henrie had warres against Lewes the first, king of

K. Malcolme summoned to do homage.

K. Malcolme goeth with king Henrie into France.

France, and so passing ouer into that realme, constreined king Malcolme to go with him in that iornie against his will, notwithstanding that he had a safe conduct frelie to come and go. In this voiage king Henrie did much hurt to the Frenchmen, and at length besieged the citie of Tholouse.

Tholouse besieged.

King Henries meaning.

In all which enterprises he had Malcolme present with him, to the end that Malcolme might incurre such hatred and displeasure of the Frenchmen, that therby the bond betwixt them and the Scots might finallie be dissolued. But in the end king Henrie hauing lost diuers of his noble men by sickenesse, returned into England, and then licenced king Malcolme to returne home into Scotland; who at his comming home, sent the bishop of Murrey, and one of his secretaries vnto the see of Rome, as ambassadors vnto the pope, which as then hight Eugenius the third of that name, to recognise the obedience which he owght to the Romane see. Shortlie after also, there was a parlement holden at Scone, where king Malcolme was sore rebuked by his lords, in that he had borne through his owne follie, armor against the Frenchmen their old confederate friends and ancient allies: but king Malcolme excused the matter with humble words, saieng he came vnwarilie into king Henries hands, and therefore might not chose but accomplish his will and pleasure at that time; so that he supposed verelie the French king would take no great displeasure with his doings, when he once vnderstood the truth of the matter.

Ambassadors sent to Rome.

A parlement at Scone.

K. Malcolme reproued by his nobles.

K. Malcolmes excuse.

King Henrie hauing perfect vnderstanding of this grudge betwixt the Scotish lords and their king, thought to renew the same with more displeasure, and therevpon sent for king Malcolme to come vnto Yorke, to a parlement which he held there, where at his comming he was burdened with a right grieuous complaint surmized against him by king Henrie, for that he should reueale vnto the Frenchmen all the secrets of the English armie, when he was with him in France, at the aboue remembred iournie, alledging the same to be sufficient matter, for the which he ought to forfeit all the lands which he held of the crowne of England, as Cumberland, Northumberland, and Huntington. And though king Malcolme by manie substantiall reasons declared those allegations to be vntrue and vniustlie forged, yet by king Henries earnest inforcing of the matter, sentence was giuen against him, by the generall consent of all the estates there in that parlement assembled. And moreouer, to bring king Malcolme in further displeasure with the nobles, king Henrie gaue notice vnto them, before king Malcolme returned backe into his countrie, how he had of his owne accord renounced all his claime, right, title, and interest, which he had to the foresaid lands, supposing by this means to make king Malcolme farre more odious to all his lieges and subiects, than euer he was before.

K. Malcolme goeth to Yorke

Fond dealing and not likelie to be true.

Sentence giuen against K. Malcolme at Yorke.

Malcolme therefore, vpon his returne into his countrie, not vnderstanding anie thing of that subtill contriued policie and slanderous report, was besieged within the castell of Bertha by the thane of Ernedale, and diuerse others. But after it was knowne how euill king Malcolme had beene vsed, and most vntrulie slandered, they desired pardon of their offense, as induced thereto by vntrue reports, which once being granted, they brake vp their siege, and euer after continued in faithfull allegiance like true and most obedient subiects. But king Malcolme sore moued for that he was thus iniuriouslie handled by king Henrie, first desiring restitution to be made of all such things as had beene wrongfullie taken from him, and so deteined by th' Englishmen, proclamed open warres against them. At length, after sundrie harmes done, as well on the one part as the other, they came to a communication in a certeine appointed place, not far from Carleill, where (to be briefe) it was finallie concluded, that K. Malcolme should receiue againe Cumberland and Huntington: but for Northumberland, he should make a plaine release thereof vnto king Henrie, and to his successors for euer.

K. Malcolme hated of his people.

Open warres proclamed against the Englishmen.

A conclusion of agréement.

For the which agréement he ran so farre into the hatred of his people, that he might neuer after find means to win their fauor againe; but doubting least if they should stirre anie rebellion against him, they might become an easie preie vnto the Englishmen, they remained quiet for a time. Howbeit shortlie after, there arose another péece of trouble, though lesse in outward apperance, by reason of the small power remaining in the author, yet dangerous inough, considering it was within the realme it selfe. One Angus as then the thane of Galloway, perceiuing he might not by secret practise atchiue his purposed intent (whatsoeuer the same was) determined by open force to assaie what luckie succes fortune would send him; hoping that those which through feare sate as yet still, would assist him in all his attempts, so soone as they saw anie commotion raised by him to occasion them thereto. Herevpon he assembled together a great companie: but before he could worke anie notable feat, to make anie account of, Gilcrist earle of Angus (whose faithfull valiancie was before manifestlie approued in the suppression of Somerleds rebellion) discomfited his power, in three sundrie bickerings, & chased Angus himselfe into Whiterne, where is a place of sanctuarie priuileged for the safegard of all offendors that flie thereto for succor in the honor of saint Ninian.

Feare of outward enimies causeth quietnesse at home.

Angus the thane of Galloway raiseth a commotion vpon what occasion writers make not anie mention.

Angus discomfited by Gilcrist.

Whiterne a place of sanctuarie.

Malcolme then, for that he durst not breake the franchises of that place, set a band of men of warre round about it, to watch that he should by no means escape awaie; so that at length wearied as it had bene with long siege, he yéelded himselfe to the king, who taking his sonne to pledge for his good abearing in time to come, licenced him to go whither it should please him: but the most part of his lands and liuings were confiscat to the kings vse. Wherevpon when he saw he might not mainteine his estate as he had done before, he became a canon in Holie rood house, and there ended his life (as it is reported.) It was not long after the pacifieng of this trouble, but that a new rebellion was raised: for the Murrey land men, by the prouocation of their capteine called Gildo, walked with fire and sword the countries of Rosse, Bowgewall, or Bougdale, Mar, Gareoch, Buchquhane, and the Mernes, in more cruell sort than anie forreine & most barbarous nation would haue done; insomuch that when the king sent diuers of his seruants vnto them to vnderstand the cause of their rebellious doings, they slue those messengers, contrarie to the law of nations.

Angus besieged in whiterne.

Angus yéeldeth himselfe to the king.

Angus became a canon.

A rebellion moued by the Murreis.

Gildo captein of the rebels.

The cruelties of the rebels.

To punish such iniurious attempts, the aboue named Gilcrist was sent with an armie into Murrey land: but the rebels nothing discouraged with the knowledge of his approued prowesse, met him in the field, and put him to flight. Herevpon the king himselfe, supposing that his presence was needfull to incourage his people after this ouerthrow, came with a farre greater power than he had sent forth before, with displaied banner, ouer the riuer of Spele, neere to the mouth whereof he fought with the enimies, and in the end (after sore and long fight continued with great slaughter and bloudshed) he gaue them the ouerthrow, and in reuenge of their cruelties shewed in time of this their rebellion, and to giue example to all other his subiects that should go about to attempt the

Gilcrist discomfited by the Murreis.

The Murreis are ouerthrowen.

the like, he commanded that none of thoſe of Murrey land ſhould be ſaued (women, childꝛen, and aged perſons onelie excepted) but that all the reſidue of that generation ſhuld paſſe by the edge of the ſwoꝛd. Thus the Murrey land men being deſtroied accoꝛding to his commandement thoꝛough all parts of the realme, he appointed other people to inhabit their roomes, that the countrie ſhould not lie waſt without habitation.

The Murreies deſtroied

In this meane time, Somerleid the thane of Argile, who (as ye haue heard) was fled ouer into Ireland, vpon truſt of the hatred into the which Malcolme was run, with the moſt part of all his nobles and commons, thꝛough this ſlaughter of his people, and namelie of them of Murrey land, he thought to aſſaie foꝛtunes chance once againe, and ſo thereupon returned with certeine Kernes and naked men into Scotland. But this laſt enterpꝛiſe of his came to a moꝛe vnluckie end than the firſt, foꝛ being vanquiſhed in battell at Renfrow, he loſt the moſt part of all his men, and was taken pꝛiſoner himſelfe, and after hanged on a gibbet, by commandement of the king, accoꝛding to that he had iuſtlie merited. Malcolme hauing thus ſubdued his aduerſaries, and being now in reſt and quiet, he ſet his mind wholie to gouerne his realme in vpꝛight iuſtice, and hauing two ſiſters mariable, he coupled the elder named Margaret with Conon duke of Bꝛitaine, and the ponger called Adhama he maried with Flozens earle of Holland.

Somerleid returneth into Scotland.

Somerleid vanquiſhed at Renfrow.

Somerleid is hanged.

King Malcolmes ſiſters maried.

After this, there was a councell holden at Scone of all the Scotiſh nobilitie, where when they were aſſembled togither in the councell-chamber, Arnold archbiſhop of ſaint Andꝛewes ſtod vp, and by a verie pithie oꝛation, toke vpon him to aduiſe the king to change his purpoſe touching his vow, which (as appéered) he had made to liue chaſt. He declared vnto him by manie weightie reaſons, that it was not onlie neceſſarie foꝛ him and his realme, that he ſhould take a wife (by whome he might raiſe vp ſéed to ſucceed him in the poſſeſſion of the cꝛowne) but alſo that he might not chooſe a moꝛe perfect ſtate of life (conſidering the office wherein he was placed) than matrimonie, being inſtituted, not by this law-maker oꝛ that, but by God himſelfe, who in no one of all his oꝛdinances might erre oꝛ be deceiued. Againe foꝛ pleaſure, he affirmed how nothing could be moꝛe delectable to him, than to haue a woꝛthie ladie to his bedfellow, with whome he might conferre all the conceits of his hart, both of griefe and gladneſſe, ſhe being a comfoꝛt vnto him as well in weale as in woe, an helpe both in ſickneſſe & health, redie to aſſwage anger, and to aduance mirth, alſo to refreſh the ſpirits being wearied oꝛ in anie wiſe faint thꝛough ſtudious trauell and care of mind.

A parlement at Scone.

The oꝛation of Arnold biſhop of ſaint Andꝛewes.

Matrimonie inſtituted by God.

The pleaſure of mariage.

The commodities by a wife.

Then ſhewed he what an aid childꝛen were vnto their parents, namelie to kings, how in peace they might gouerne vnder them, to the great commoditie of the common-wealth, and in warre ſupplie their roomes as lieutenants in defenſe of their countries, to the no ſmall terꝛoꝛ of the enimies. Wherefoꝛe ſith men are not boꝛne onelie foꝛ their owne weale, but alſo foꝛ the pꝛofit of their friends, and commoditie of their countrie; it could not be choſen, but that he ought to perſuade with himſelfe to alter his purpoſed intention, concerning the obſeruance of chaſtitie, and to take a wife to the great ioy and comfoꝛt of his ſubiects, ſith it was commendable both before God and man, and ſo neceſſarie withall and pꝛofitable, as nothing might be moꝛe. But theſe and manie other moſt weightie reaſons could nothing moue his conſtant mind, hauing euen from his tender yéeres affianced his virginitie vnto Chriſt, truſting that God would ſo pꝛouide, that the realme ſhould not be deſtitute of conuenient heires, when the time came that it ſhould pleaſe his diuine maieſtie to take him hence to his mercie from amongſt his ſubiects. Thus bꝛake vp that councell without anie effect of the purpoſe foꝛ the which it was called.

Childꝛen an aid.

Men not boꝛne foꝛ themſelues.

Commendable before God and man.

K. Malcolme might not be perſuaded to take a wife.

Shoꝛtlie after it chanced that king Malcolme fell ſicke, continuing ſo a long time, by reaſon whereof he ſought meanes to conclude a peace with Henrie king of England; which being bꝛought to paſſe, he ſet woꝛkemen in hand to laie the foundation of ſaint Rewles abbeie, which afterwards bare the name of ſaint Andꝛewes. When he had finiſhed this houſe, being a goodlie péece of woꝛke, and verie coſtlie, as may apéere at this day by the view thereof, he aſſigned foꝛth certeine rents foꝛ the ſuſtentation of the canons, whome he placed there of the oꝛder of ſaint Auguſtine, not ſo largelie as ſerued foꝛ the maintenance of ſuperfluous chære, but yet ſufficient foꝛ their neceſſarie finding: by reaſon whereof, the canons of that abbeie liued in thoſe daies in moſt feruent deuotion, hauing no pꝛouocations at all to inoꝛdinate luſts and ſenſuall pleaſures; but onelie giuen to diuine contemplation, without reſpect to auarice, oꝛ inlarging the poſſeſſions and reuenues of their houſe. He founded alſo the abbeie of Couper of the Ciſteaux oꝛder, and indowed it with manie faire lands and wealthie poſſeſſions. Finallie, being vered with long infirmitie, he departed out of this life at Jedburgh the 12 yære of his reigne. A certeine comet oꝛ blaſing ſtarre appéered 14 daies togither befoꝛe his death, with long beames verie terrible to behold. His bodie was buried at Dunfermling, after the incarnation 1185 yéres. In the daies of this Malcolme, Roger archbiſhop of Yoꝛke, conſtituted the popes legat, could not be ſuffered to enter into Scotland, bicauſe he was a man highlie defamed foꝛ his couetous pꝛactiſing to inrich himſelfe by vnlawfull meanes.

A peace concluded with England.

The Abbeie of ſaint Andꝛewes builded.

Superfluous rents of abbeies, pꝛouocations to inoꝛdinate luſts.

The abbeie of Couper founded.

The death of king Malcolme.

A comet.

1185.

Roger archbiſhop of Yoꝛke the popes legat.

After Malcolme ſucceeded his bꝛother William, ſurnamed foꝛ his ſingular iuſtice, the Lion. Shoꝛtlie after his coꝛonation, he ſent ambaſſadoꝛs vnto Henrie king of England, requiring him, that accoꝛding to iuſtice, he would reſtoꝛe vnto him the earledome of Noꝛthumberland, ſith it apperteined by good and lawfull intereſt vnto his inheritance. King Henrie anſwered the meſſengers, that if king William would come vnto London, and there do his homage foꝛ Cumberland and Huntington, he ſhould be aſſured to haue all things ſo oꝛdered, as he reaſonablie could wiſh oꝛ demand. Hereupon king William went into England, and ſo came to London, and after he had done his homage foꝛ Cumberland and Huntington, he required the reſtitution of Noꝛthumberland. But king Henrie made anſwer as then, that foꝛſomuch as the ſame was annexed to the cꝛowne, he might not without the aſſent of all the eſtates of his realme make reſtitution thereof. Notwithſtanding, in the next parlement, he pꝛomiſed to cauſe the matter to be pꝛoponed: and if it came to paſſe that his demand were found to ſtand with reaſon, he would do therein accoꝛding to conſcience, when time expedient ſhould ſeꝛue thereto.

William ſurnamed the Lion.

Ambaſſadoꝛs ſent to the king of England.

King William is required to do homage.

K. Williams requeſt foꝛ the reſtitution of Noꝛthumberland.

The anſwer of king Henrie.

About the ſame ſeaſon, king Henrie paſſed ouer into Noꝛmandie with an armie, and cauſed king William, with manie other nobles of Scotland, to go with him in that iournie. Foꝛ K. William would not diſobeie his commandement at that pꝛeſent, in hope to atteine in quiet and peaceable maner his ſute touching the reſtitution of Noꝛthumberland (as the Scotiſh wꝛiters do affirme) but in the end, after he had continued a long time with king Henrie, and pꝛceiued no comfoꝛt to recouer his lands, he got licence with much adoo to returne home: and ſo coming backe into England, paſſed thꝛough the realme with

King Henrie ſaileth into Noꝛmandie.

King William with manie nobles of Scotland went with king Henrie ouer into France.

with his nobles into Scotland, where he applied his whole indeuour to vnderstand the state of the common-wealth of his subiects, and speciallie he toke order in most diligent wise, to punish cruelties done by theeues and robbers, which vndoubtedlie was one of the most profitable acts that he could deuise to accomplish at that present, considering the state of his realme, as it then stood. For if the damages & skathes committed by theeues and robbers were equallie pondered with the hurts and hinderances which dailie grow by open warre against anie forren nation, it may well appeare, that more harme ariseth, & more heinous cruelties are exercised against the poore and miserable commons and innocent people, by such as liue by rapine & spoiling at home, than by anie outward enimies, be they neuer so fierce and strong in the field. And therefore the prudent consideration of this prince was no lesse to be commended, in that he sought to represse the licentious outrage of such arrand theeues and priuie murtherers, than if he had slaine manie thousands of forren enimies.

K. Williams zeale of iustice.

Scotland more indamaged by domesticall theeues than by forraine enimies.

When he had once clensed the realme of those misgouerned persons, he sent eftsoones his ambassadors to king Henrie, requiring (as before) to haue Northumberland restored vnto him, with notice giuen, that if he might not haue it with fauour, he would assaie to recouer it by force. King Henrie perceiuing that he must either satisfie king Williams request, either else haue open warres with the Scots, by aduise of his nobles, restored to king William so much of Northumberland as his grandfather K. Malcolme had in possession. King William accepted the offer, but so, as he protested that he receiued not that part in full recompense of the whole which was due vnto him (so saie the Scotish writers) but so as his entier right might alwaies be saued as well to the residue as to that which was then restored. Within few yeeres after, king Henrie feeling what hinderance it was for him to forbeare the commodities of those lands, which were thus deliuered vp to the Scotish kings vse, repented him of that bargaine: and therefore to find some occasion to recouer the same again, he procured his subiects that dwelled vpon the borders, to make forreies into the lands perteining to the Scots, so to prouoke them to battell.

Ambassadors sent to king Henrie.

Sée more thereof in England.

A portion of Northumberland restored to the Scots.

King William receiued a peace of Northumberland with his right saued to the residue.

King Henrie repenting him selfe of that which he had deliuered to the Scots seeketh new occasions of warre.

Complaint of these iniuries being brought vnto the warden of the Scotish borders, by such Scots as had lost such goods as were taken awaie by the Englishmen, he sent to demand restitution; but forsomuch as he could haue no towardlie answer, he got together a great number of men, the which entering into the English ground, did much hurt on ech side where they came. At the same time was king Henrie in France, and therefore the Englishmen thought it sufficient to defend themselus as well as they might without attempting anie notable enterprise in reuenge of the displeasures done by the Scots. Harnest was also at hand, and there vpon they ceassed on either part from further inuasions, till the winter season, which passed also without anie exploit atchiued worthie to be remembred; sauing certeine small rodes made by the Scots into the English borders as they saw occasion to serue thereto.

Warres with England.

But in the summer next following, king William raised a mightie armie, and came with the same into Cumberland, the right wing of the which armie was led by Gilcrist, whose approued valiancie often shewed in the time of king Malcolme, had aduanced him to marie with the kings sister. The left wing was assigned vnto the conduct of one Rowland the kings cosen, who was also lieutenant of the borders. The middle ward or battell the king himselfe led. The Englishmen, to the intent they might haue time and leasure to assemble their power, sent vnto king William, offering vnto him, not onelie large summes of monie, if he would returne backe with his armie without further inuasion, but also redresse of all maner of iniuries and wrongs, if anie such on their behalfe were to be proued. But king William for answer hereunto declared, that he had not begun the warre for anie desire he had to monie; neither had he first giuen the occasion, as one that was euer willing to liue vpon his owne: so that if they could be contented to restore Northumberland being his rightfull heritage, he was not so desirous of bloud, but that he would gladlie ceasse from all further attempts.

King William with England.

The offers of the Englishmen.

The answer of king William.

The Englishmen hauing receiued this answer, to the end they might protract the time in sending still to and fro, till they might espie some occasion to worke such feates as they had imagined, addressed forth other ambassadors vnto king William, with diuerse faire offers and golden promises. In the meane time, to take the Scotishmen at some aduantage, they conueie their whole power in the night season neere vnto the place where the same Scotishmen laie in campe, & diuiding themselues into two parts, the one was appointed to abide in the fields, till the sunne were vp, and then to shew themselues to the enimies, to traine them forth to battell: the other companie was laid closelie in a vallie not farre off, to take the aduantage as they saw their time. In the morning about the rising of the sunne, those that were appointed to procure the skirmish, approched so neere to the enimies campe, till they came euen within sight of them. The Scots amazed with the strangenesse of the thing, for that they had not heard before of anie assemblie of the Englishmen, at the first were somewhat afraid: but anon incouraging one another, they boldlie issued forth vpon their enimies, who of purpose (at the first) made but weake resistance, and at length fled amaine, to the intent to cause the Scotishmen to breake their arraie of battell in pursuing them, which they did so egerlie, that they left their king but slenderlie garded with a small companie about him. Then the ambushment lieng in the vallie, brake forth vpon him, according to the order before appointed, and in the meane time, the other that fled cast themselues about, and manlie abode their enimies, so earnestlie laieng it to their charge, that in fine they droue them backe, and constreined them to flee in good earnest, which they themselues had but onelie counterfeited to do before.

The Englishmen take by policie to vanquish the Scots.

The Englishmen retire of purpose.

The king left but weakelie garded.

King William perceiuing his people thus discomfited, and himselfe inclosed on ech side amongst his enimies, after he had assaied to breake forth on some side from amongst them, when he saw his indeuour could by no meanes preuaile, and that the enimies made onelie at him, he yéelded himselfe. There was not much bloud spilled on either side at this bickering, for the one part in the beginning of the fraie (as ye haue heard) fleeing of set purpose to the place where their ambush laie, escaped without much hurt; and the other, scared by the breaking forth of the ambush, abode the brunt but a small while, returning immediatlie towards the king; and then perceiuing they could do no good, they made the best shift they could ech man for himselfe, to escape the enimies handes. The king being thus taken of his enimies, was conueied to king Henrie ouer into Normandie, where he was as then remaining. The yeere that king William was thus taken, was after the birth of our Sauiour Christ 1174, and the ninth of king Williams reigne.

The Scots constreined to flee.

King William yeeldeth himselfe prisoner.

King William conueied into Normandie.

1174.

Other writers report the maner of his taking, not altogither agreeable with that which we haue heere aboue remembred, who declare how K. William, after he had wasted all Cumberland, came into Northumber-

Discord of writers.

Northumberland, not ceassing till he came to Anwike, where he staied for a time to haue had battell: but in the meane while the Englishmen laie close together without noise or appearance, in such wise that no Scotishman could haue vnderstanding where they were. At length king William wearied with long tarieng thus at Anwike, and seeing no enimies to appéere, determined to worke some exploit yet before his returne, and thereupon sent forth the most part of all his armie abroad into the countrie, to forreie the same, kéeping no great companie about him, till the returne of the other thus sent forth. Whereupon incontinentlie a great ambushment of Englishmen came vpon him with counterfeited Scottish ensignes, and were not once suspected for Englishmen, till the king was compassed in by them on ech side, and so finallie taken and led awaie per anie Scotishman wist thereof, saue a few which were left (as is said) with him for the time. In déed Wilhelmus Paruus, a canon sometime in the abbeie of Bridlington in Yorkeshire, in that his booke which he writes of the Norman kings of England, affirmes how there were not manie more than about three score horssemen with king William, while he was thus taken; and that the Englishmen were not past foure hundred horssemen, which toke vpon them that enterprise; whose capteins (as he reciteth) were these: Robert de Stuteuill, Ranulfe de Glanuill, Bernard de Baliioll, and diuerse other.

Wilhelmus Paruus.

Capteins of the Englishmen.

W. Paruus.

The same author writeth, that after the taking of the king, there rose a mutinie amongst the Scots: for whereas the Irish Scots bare a naturall grudge against the English Scots, yet whilest the king was present amongst them, they durst not vtter their malicious intentions: but now that he was thus taken from them, so manie of the English Scots as fell into the hands of the Irish, paid déerelie for the bargaine, being cruellie murthered and slaine: so that the residue were constreined to get them out of the waie into castels and towers, where they might be receiued. But now it is to be considered, that bicause there was no great slaughter made at the taking of king William, the warres notwithstanding continued betwixt England and Scotland: for the two before specified chiefteins Gilcrist and Rowland stoutlie withstood the Englishmen, and beat them backe as they enterprised to enter into Cumberland. At length a peace was taken, during the time that king William remained in captiuitie; vnder these conditions, that Northumberland should continue vnder the dominion of the Englishmen, and Cumberland (with the earledome of Huntington) to remaine (as before) vnder the gouernance of the Scotishmen.

Gilcrist and Rowland resist the Englishmen.

Northumberland vnder the Englishmen.

Immediatlie vpon the taking of king William thus at Anwike, his brother Dauid earle of Huntington, thorough licence of king Henrie came into Scotland, to haue the gouernement of the realme, till the king his brother might be redeemed. So soone therefore as he had once established the realme in good quiet and iustice, he sent Richard the bishop of saint Andrewes, with diuerse other noblemen, ouer into Normandie, to take order there with K. Henrie for the ransome of the king his brother, which was agreed in this manner. First, it was accorded, that king William should become and acknowledge himselfe to be the king of Englands liege man, against all men for the realme of Scotland and his other lands; and for the same should do fealtie to the said king of England, as to his liege soueraigne lord, in like sort as other his liege people were accustomed to do. And further, he should also do fealtie vnto the lord Henrie, the king of Englands sonne, (sauing alwaies the faith which he owght the king his father.) And in like manner it was couenanted and agreed, that all the prelats of Scotland, and their successors, should recognise their wonted subiection to the church of England, and do fealtie to the king of England, so manie of them as he should appoint. And likewise the earle and barons of Scotland, and their heires for their part, should do their homage and fealties vnto the said king of England, and to the lord Henrie his sonne, so manie as thereunto should be required.

Dauid earle of Huntington.

The king of Scots doth fealtie to the king of England for Scotland.

Rog. Houed. Matth. West.

The prelats of Scotland do fealtie to the king of England.

The earles and lords do homage vnto him.

Moreouer, the king of Scots should paie for his redemption one hundred thousand pounds sterling, the one halfe to be paid in hand: and for sure paiment of the other halfe, the earledomes of Cumberland, Huntington, and Northumberland should be deliuered vnto king Henrie in pledge or mortgage, till the time that the same summe was paid. And for the more suertie of these couenants, and that the Scots should moue no warre against the Englishmen, foure of the strongest castels within Scotland, that is to saie, Berwike, Edenburgh, Rorburgh, & Striueling, were deliuered into the Englishmens hands. These things being thus ordered the eight day of December 1175, & the king restored home; there followed a new stirre in Scotland, for Gilbert of Galloway, a right cruell and most mischéefous person, purposing to conquer the crowne by force, made great slaughter of all them that withstood his desire. And because his brother reproued his doings, he put out his eies, and cut off his hands. Against this Gilbert was Gilcrist sent with an armie by the king. There was fought a sore battell betwixt them, for the most part of those that followed Gilberts commandement, were desperat fellowes, such commonlie as for murder and other heinous crimes by them committed were in danger of the lawes, and therefore vpon hope of pardon desired a change; but yet in the end, Gilcrist with multitude won the field of them, and slue more in the chase than in the battell. Gilbert himselfe escaped and got ouer into the Ile of Man, and fled from thence into Ireland. Wilhelmus Paruus reporteth this matter somewhat otherwise, as thus: In the armie of king William (saith he) when he was taken neere vnto Anwike, were two brethren, Gilbert and Uared, that were lords of Galloway, hauing there with them a great retinue of their countriemen. These were the sonnes of Fergustus, sometime lord of that prouince; after whose decease the king of Scots that is superiour lord thereof, diuided the countrie betwixt these two brethren. But Gilbert the eldest brother found himselfe much grieued to haue anie part of those lands (which were his fathers) giuen from him; yet doubting punishment at the kings hands, he durst not attempt anie thing against his brother, till it fortuned the king to be taken. And then deliuered of the feare which had staied his mischéefous purpose, he taketh his brother at vnwares, and cruellie murdered him, after no common maner; but rather martyred him in beastlie wise, so to satisfie the instinct of his diuelish nature. And immediatlie after inuading the vpper countries, he exerciseth great slaughter of men on each hand. But his brother had a sonne called Rowland, which proouing a valiant young gentleman, boldlie resisted his vncles rage, with the assistance and aid of his fathers friends. And thus was Scotland brought into trouble (as Wilhelmus Paruus recordeth) till by the foresaid Gilcrist the murderer was expelled, as before is expressed. In the yeare following came Hugo cardinall of saint Angelo as legat from the pope into England, with authoritie to reforme the English churches, in such cases as were thought requisit; and after he had made an end there, to do the like in Scotland.

1175. Gilbert of Galloway rebelleth.

Gilbert of Galloway vanquished by Gilcrist.

Wilhelmus Paruus.

Hugh cardinall of saint Angelo the popes legat.

The bishops of Scotland summoned to a conuocation at Northampton.

Scotland. When he had therefore finished with England, he cited all the bishops of Scotland to appeare before him at a day prefixed at Northampton. They came according to his appointment, and being assembled there in consistorie, he went about in most earnest wise to persuade them to receiue the archbishop of Yorke for their metropolitane. But one Gilbert a yong man, howbeit singularlie well learned, and for his holinesse of life much commended (as Hector Boetius writeth) being sent of purpose by king William vnto this conuocation, to foresee that nothing were concluded in the same, prejudiciall to the ancient liberties and franchises of the realme of Scotland, did argue so stifflie to the contrarie, that the cardinall left off the pursute of such maner of matter, and brake vp that councell without determination of anie thing to the pupose in that behalfe.

Gilbert a learned man defended the liberties of Scotland.

This Gilbert that thus defended the cause and liberties of the Scotish clergie, was afterwards made bishop of Cathnes, and finallie after his departure out of this transitorie life, registred for his supposed perfect holinesse of life among the number of saints. The chiefest cause that moued the Scotish cleargie to withdraw their obedience from the primasie of Yorke, was the dissention and continuall enimitie betwixt the two nations for superioritie in temporall causes. The same yeare that this councell was holden at Northampton, sundrie vnketh wonders were séene in Albion. On Midsummer day being the feast day of the natiuitie of saint John the Baptist, there fell such a storme of haile, that it killed manie shéepe and small cattell: people that were out of houses, and from vnder couert anie where abroad, were beaten to the earth with violence of that storme. The sunne in September about nonetide was darkened for the space of two houres togither, without anie eclipse or cause naturall by interposition of clouds. In Yorkeshire was such terrible thunder with strange lightening, that manie abbeies and churches were consumed with the fire.

Gilbert bishop of Cathnes.

Wonders.

Haile.

The sun darkened.

Thunder.

About this season, the abbeie of Arbroth was built in most magnificent wise, and indowed with lands and reuenues in such ample sort, that few houses within the bounds of Albion might compare therewith. The church was dedicated in the yeare of Grace 1178, by king William, in honor of Thomas Becket archbishop of Canturburie, with whome (as is said) he had great familiaritie in time of his yong yeares. At the same time the abbeie of Hadington was founded by Adhama the mother of king William, and shortlie after she had built it, she died. Not long after, king William sent as ambassadors John bishop of saint Andrews, and Reignald abbat of Arbroth vnto pope Alexander the third, to present vnto him his obeisance, according as he thought good with his duetie. The pope séeming to reioise thereat, sent shortlie after vnto the king a rose of gold, filled with balme, and certeine new priuileges concerning the libertie of the church of Scotland. At the same time Gilcrist, hauing his wife in suspicion of adulterie, droue hir out of doores, and afterwards strangled hir in a village called Manis, not past a mile from Dundée. The king (for that she was his sister) toke such indignation therewith, that he seized vpon all his lands and goods, purposing to haue put him to death if he might haue got him into his hands: but when he saw he could not be found, he proclamed him traitor, and raced his castell (wherein he had dwelled) quite to the ground, in such wise that vnneth remaineth anie token at this day where it stood. This Gilcrist had a brother that hight Bredus, who before this mischance had got the lands of Ogiluie: of whome the house of the Ogiluies toke their beginning, that after came to great authoritie in the court, though at this time (through Gilcrists offense) his whole familie was néere hand destroied. About this time also, the queene, king William his wife, deceassed. A daughter which he had by hir, named Adhama, he gaue in mariage vnto the earle of Laon: but he himselfe after the decease of this his first wife maried Emengard, daughter to Richard vicount of Beaumount that was sonne to a daughter of king William the Conquerour. By this mariage and aliance, the peace was newlie confirmed betwixt England and Scotland, in such wise, that neither part might receiue anie rebels to the other, by means whereof Gilcrist, that before was fled into England, was constreined to returne into Scotland, disguised in poore weed, with two of his sonnes, and there passed forth his life a long time in great miserie amongest the woods and in out places, vnknowen to anie man what he was, by reason of his poore and simple habit. Somewhat before the aboue remembred mariage, Henrie king of England at the motion of Hugh bishop of Durham rendered vp the castell of Edenburgh into K. William his hands.

The house of the Ogiluies

The earle of Laon.

Emengard. 1186.

The peace confirmed with England.

The miserable state of Gilcrist.

The castell of Edenburgh restored.

About this time the Souldane named Saladine prospered hugelie against the christians in the holie land, making such cruell slaughter of them, that to heare thereof, all christian hearts were moued to pitifull commiseration and dolorous teares: in so much that Henrie king of England vowed to go thither with an armie to relieue the common necessitie of the christian publike weale, and had gone in deed, if he had not béene hindered by the conspiracie of his sonne, whome latelie before he had caused to be crowned king, that went about to vsurpe the sole administration to himselfe now in his fathers life time. About the same time William went with an armie into Rosse, against Makulzen and Makbein, two capteins of the westerne Iles, which vsed vpon occasion to passe ouer into Rosse, Cathnes and Murrey land, spoiling and wasting those countries; & when they heard of anie power comming against them, they would streight returne to their ships, and repasse againe into the Iles. But at this time, the king had sent forth a nauie to burne all those vessels, wherein the robbers had passed ouer and had left at anchor, by reason whereof when they were inclosed in on euerie side by the king, and taken prisoners, they after had suffered death on the wheele, according to the maner of the ciuill law.

Saladine the Souldane.

King Henries purpose to go into the holie land against the Saracens hindered by rebellion of his sonne.

Makulzen and Makbein capteins of pirats.

Death on the wheele.

The king in his returne from this iournie, came by the abbeie of Abirbrothoke, to view the worke of that house, how it went forwards, commanding them that were ouerséers and maisters of the works to spare for no costs, but to bring it vp to perfection, and that with most magnificence. After his departure from thence, he toke the way toward Bertha, and by aduenture espied where Gilcrist was deluing vp turfes, togither with his two sonnes. And though he knew not what they were, yet he mused to see two such goodlie yong men, as by resemblance they appeared to be, to be thus occupied in such toiling and base labour. Incontinentlie herewith Gilcrist with his bald head came afore him, and falling downe on his knees at the kings feet, said: If there be anie mercie in thée (most ruthfull prince) for them that are brought through their offenses into extreme miserie, hauing suffered condigne punishment for the same; I beséech thée for the loue that Christ had to all sinfull people, not sparing to shed his most pretious bloud for their redemption, to haue some pitie & compassion on me, & these my poore & miserable sons, which with me haue suffered much griefe and penurie, not hauing deserued the same by anie crime by them

Abirbrothok is builded.

Gilcrist deluing clods.

Gilcrist asketh pardon of the king in vnknowne habit.

The foundation of the abbeie of Arbroth, or Abirbrothoke.

1178.

The abbeie or nunrie of Hadington founded.

Ambassadors to the pope.

A rose of gold.

Gilcrist murthereth his wife vpon suspicion and adulterie.

The kings indignation against Gilcrist.

Gilcrist proclamed traitor.

Bredus the brother of Gilcrist.

them committed.

Gilcrist declareth what he is.

At the last, when king William had inquired of him what he was, and how it chanced he fell into such kind of miserie, the teares came so fast trickeling from his eies, that of a long time he was not able to declare his owne name. At length being come to himselfe, he said: I am Gilcrist (noble prince) the most sorowfull creature on earth, which (alas) put my hands in thy bloud, and was therefore disherited of all my lands, and banished with these my two sonnes out of thy realme, whereupon we remained in England for a time, till through proclamation made against outlawes, I was constreined to come hither againe with my said sonnes, where we haue liued by roots all the summer season, and now in the winter are glad to get our liuing with trauell of hand thus in digging and deluing of clods. Therefore if anie ruth or pitie haue place in thy heart, or that thine indignation be qualified, haue mercie on our sorowfull estate, and remit the offense, whereby thou maiest not onelie purchase great honor and fame by example of pitie, being highlie renowmed for that vertue amongest all nations, but also win great merit afore God, for shewing thy selfe the follower of Christ, the giuer of all mercie, grace, and peace.

The king moued by these words, and remembring the good seruice which Gilcrist had imploid so oftentimes afore in defense of the realme; and againe pitieng his case, to consider from what degrée of honor he was fallen into the deepest bottome of extreme miserie, he toke him wholie to his fauour, and not onelie forgaue him his former offenses, but also restored vnto him, and to his sonnes, all such lands as sometimes apperteined vnto them, except so much as the king had alreadie giuen vnto the abbeie of Abirbrothoke. Gilcrist euer after perseuered in due obedience to his prince. And forsomuch as his eldest sonne deceassed before him without heires, & that his yonger sonne, by reason of some impediment which he had, was vnmeet for marriage, he gaue the most part of his lands after his owne decease vnto the said house of Abirbrothoke. His yonger sonne also, no lesse well affectionated towards the same house, gaue the residue of his lands thereunto. The father and both his sonnes are buried before the altar of S. Katharine within the church of this abbeie, as the superscription of their tombes sheweth.

The king taketh Gilcrist to his fauour, and restoreth vnto him his lands.

Gilcrists gift vnto the house of Abirbrothoke.

Though king William was earnestlie occupied in the aduancing forward of the building of Abirbrothoke, yet did he not forget his dutie in the administration of his lawes; but diligentlie caused iustice to be executed, to the punishing of the wicked, and the rewarding of them that well deserued. He made also sundrie new lawes for the restreining of thèeues and oppressors of the people, so rigorous, that they might be in feare to heare him named. Furthermore, where as the church of Scotland was subiect to the church of Yorke, he obteined of pope Clement the third of that name, letters of exemption for his clergie, whereby the church of Scotland (within the which were conteined the bishops sées of saint Andrews, Glasco, Dunkeld, Dublaine, Brighne, Aberden, Murrey, Rosse, and Cathnesse) was declared exempt from all other forrein iurisdictions, except onelie from that of the see of Rome, so as it might not be lawfull from thencefoorth for any that was not of the realme of Scotland, to pronounce sentence of interdiction or excommunication, or otherwise to deale in iudgement of ecclesiasticall causes, except such one as the apostolike sée of Rome should speciallie appoint, and send thither with legantine power. The date of the said bull or letters of exemption thus obteined was at the popes palace of Laterane, the third Ides of March, and first yéere of the said pope Clements gouernment. Shortlie after, to wit in the yéere 1198, died Henrie king of England, after whom succéeded his second sonne Richard: for Henrie his eldest sonne deceassed before his father.

Laws deuised by king William against thèeues.

The death of Henrie king of England.

King Richard, after his coronation, prepared him selfe to passe with an armie into the holie land, and therefore made peace with all his neighbors, that no trouble should follow to his realme by reason of his absence: and here vpon to keepe the Scots in friendship, rather by beneuolence than by feare, he rendred into their hands the castels of Roxburgh, Berwike, and Sterling: and moreouer that part of Northumberland which his father had taken from king William when he toke him prisoner. He also deliuered the earledomes of Huntington & Cumberland; but vnder condition, that all the castels and holds within them, should be in the keeping of his capteins and souldiors, such as he should appoint. He released to king William also the residue of such summes of monie as were due for the foure castels laid to gage, ten thousand pounds onelie excepted, which he receiued in hand at that present towards the charges of his iournie. When king William had thus receiued his lands and castels by surrender, he made his brother Dauid earle of Huntington, who therevpon doing his homage vnto king Richard, according to the old ordinance deuised by king Malcolme the first, went with him also in that voiage with fiue hundred Scotishmen, or rather fiue thousand (as the translator of Hector Boetius saith) if no fault be in the printer.

K. Richard.

The castels of Roxburgh, Berwike, and Sterling rendred to king William.

Earle of Huntington.

Scots with king Richard in the holie land.

As the christian armie laie at siege before the citie of Acres, otherwise called Acon, it chanced that one Oliuer a Scotishman borne, was within the towne reteined in seruice among the Saracens; for being conuict of felonie in his native countrie he was banished out of the same, and fled to the Saracens, remaining so long amongst them, that he had learned their tong verie perfectlie, so that as then few knew what countriman he was. It fortuned that this Oliuer had one of the gates in keeping, on that side the towne where was but a single wall, without trenches or anie other fortification. He happened by some good aduenture to espie amongst the watch of those that were of the retinue of Dauid earle of Huntington, one of his owne kinsmen named John Durward, with whom of long time before he had béene most familiarlie acquainted; and incontinentlie he called to the same Durward, desiring vnder assurance to talke with him. After certeine communication, for that this Oliuer had not as yet vtterlie in his heart renounced the christian faith, he apointed with Durward to giue entrie at a certeine houre vnto earle Dauid, and to all the christian armie, vpon condition that earle Dauid would sée him restored againe vnto his land and heritage in Scotland. The houre set, earle Dauid came with a great power of men to the gate before rehersed, where he was suffered to enter according to appointment, and incontinentlie with great noise and clamour brake into the midst of the citie.

The siege of Acres.

Oliuer a Scotishman.

John Durward.

Earle Dauid entered the citie Acon.

In the morning betimes, king Richard perceiuing the citie thus woone, entred the same, and shortly after wan a tower, which the Saracens for a while manfullie defended. Thus was the citie of Acres woone from the Saracens, chieflie by meanes of the Scotishmen. But now touching their returne from this voiage (for sith in other places more large mention is made of such exploits as there atchiued herein, I passe ouer to make anie longer discourse thereof in this place) ye shall vnderstand, that in that streinable tempest, in the which king Richards nauie was dispersed in his comming homewards (as in

the

the historie of England is more at large expressed) the ship also that earle Dauid was in, chanced to be throwne on land on the coasts of Aegypt, where being taken prisoner, and led into Alexandria, at length he was redéemed by certeine merchants of Uenice, and first conueied vnto Constantinople, and after vnto Uenice, where he was bought out & redéemed by the English merchants, and in the end suffered to depart home. At his comming into Flanders, hée hired a vessell at Sluis, therwith to returne into Scotland; but being losed a little off from the shore, such a vehement tempest suddenlie arose, that droue him, not without great danger of life, néere to the coasts of Norwaie and Shetland.

Earle Dauid taken prisoner. He is redéemed.

He went to Scotland.

Here in the midst of this extreame ieopardie (as hath béene reported) after he had made a vow to build a church in the honor of the virgin Marie, if he might escape that danger of seas, he arriued at length in Taie water beside Dundée, not far from saint Nicholas chappell, without either rudder or tackle. The place where he arriued before that time hight Alectum, but he as then changed the name, and called it Dundée, which signifieth as though ye should say, The gift of God. When his brother the king heard that he was returned, supposing long time before, that he had béene dead, he came spédilie vnto Dundée to welcome him home, shewing himselfe most glad of his returne, insomuch that he caused publike processions to be celebrate through the realme, to giue God thanks that had thus restored his brother home into his countrie. Earle Dauid, according as he had vowed, builded a church in the field commonlie called the wheat field, and dedicating it in honor of the virgin Marie, made it a parish church. At a parlement also holden after this at Dundée, licence was granted vnto him to build an abbie in what place it should please him within Scotland, and to indow it with lands and rents as hée should thinke good. There were also manie priuileges granted the same time vnto Dundée, which indure to this day.

Arriued at Dundée.

The name of Dundée.

Processions was holden.

A church built.

Priuileges granted to the towne of Dundée.

Earle Dauid not refusing the grant and beneuolence of the king his brother, builded an abbeie called Lundoris, for monks of the order of saint Benet. One thing there is much to be wondered at, as a strange singularitie. For whereas that house standeth in a vallie, inclosed on each side with wood and water, by reason whereof there is great abundance of adders; yet doth no man catch hurt by anie of them, insomuch that ye shall see yong children play and run vp and downe amongst a great number of them, without anie skath or hurt following vnto them thereof. In this meane while, Richard king of England (who also in his returne out of the holie land was taken prisoner by the emperour of Almaine) was deliuered for a great summe of monie, and so returned into his countrie. King William hearing of king Richards returne into England, to congratulate the same, toke his brother earle Dauid with him, and came vnto London, where, in token of ioy, that he had vnfeinedlie conceiued for his safe comming home, after all troubles and dangers which he had passed, he gaue vnto him two thousand markes sterling, for that he knew at what great charges he had béene, aswell for furnishing of his voiage, as also for redéeming of his libertie.

The abbeie of Lundoris.

Adders without hurt.

K. Richards returne into England.

The gift of king William to king Richard.

By these friendlie points of humanitie shewed, there followed great amitie and loue betwixt these two kings. But king William fell sicke in England, and as it often happeneth, such as were vnquiet persons, desirous to be deliuered of all feare of lawes, were streight way put in an vntrue beliefe, that he was dead: and causing it to be bruted abrode, began to exercise all kind of misdemeanors by inuading the poore and simple people, with spoilings and slaughters in all parts. But after it was certeinlie knowne, that the king was not onelie aliue, but also recouered of his infirmitie, and comming homewards, those raskals and wicked rebels withdrew vnder the conduct of one Herald the thane of Cathnes, and erle of Orkenie, vnto the vttermost bounds of Scotland. Howbeit the king pursued them in such diligent and earnest maner, that he apprehended the most part of them in Cathnes, and commanded iustice to be done on them, in such wise, that mercie was not yet wanting: for such as were thought to be after a sort guiltlesse, were pardoned, and the other punished, euerie one according to the measure of his offenses.

A bruit raised that the king was dead.

Herald thane of Cathnes succourer of rebels.

Iustice not destitute of mercie.

But the principall leader of them, that is to say, the forenamed Herald, for that time escaped into the westerne Iles, but shortly after, returning to Cathnes, he was taken and brought to the king, who caused his eies first to be put out, then gelded, and lastlie to be hanged on a paire of gallowes. Also all those of his linage that were men, were likewise gelded, that no succession should follow of so wicked a wéed. In the yeere next insuing was more dearth felt in Scotland, than euer was heard of before: for a measure of barlie, in Scotish called a boll, was sold for fiue crownes; and yet in the yeere next following, accounting from the natiuitie of our Sauior 1199, was more plentifull abundance than euer had béene séene afore. The same yeere king Williams wife Ermengard was deliuered of a yong sonne named Alexander. The same yeere also died Richard king of England, & his brother John succeeded in his place. About three yeeres after this, was the foresaid Alexander the kings sonne created prince of Scotland. And the same yeere came a legat from the pope sent to K. William, presenting vnto him a sword, with a sheath & hilts of gold set full of rich pretious stones. He presented vnto him also a hat or bonet, made in maner of a diademe of purple hue, in token (as it should meane) that he was defender of the church. Manie indulgences and priuileges were granted at the same time by the pope, for the libertie of the church of Scotland. It was ordeined also the same time, that saturdaie should be kept as holidaie from none forward, and great punishment appointed for them that transgressed this ordinance, in doing anie bodilie worke from saturdaie at none, vntill mondaie in the morning.

The thane of Cathnes taken.

Seuere punishment.

Great dearth

1199

Alexander the prince of Scotland.

A legat sent from the pope.

A hat.

Defender of the church.

Saturdaie after none to be kept holie.

After this, king William returned againe into England to do his homage vnto king John, for the lands of Cumberland, Huntington, and Northumberland. Immediatlie whereupon king John willed him to passe with him into France, to make warres against the Frenchmen. And bicause he refused so to do, king John made claime to all the foresaid lands as forfeited to the crowne of England, and caused a great bootie of goods to be fetched out of the same: so that open warres had immediatlie followed, if the English lords had not compelled K. John to make restitution of all the goods so taken; bicause they thought it not expedient in anie wise to haue wars with the Scots at the same time, being alreadie in trouble with the Frenchmen. In the winter following, the frost was so vehement, & continued so long, that till mid March, no plough might be put into the ground. Ale was frozen in such wise within houses, and cellers, that it was sold by weight. Such a great snow fell also therewith, that beasts died in manie places in great numbers. Moreouer, from the Twelfthtide till Februarie, there was euerie day verie terrible earthquakes.

King William did homage to king John of England.

Ale sold by weight.

Earthquakes

After the end of winter, king John hauing made an end of his warres with France, began to build a castell

a caſtell in Northumberland ouer againſt Berwike, vpon purpoſe to haue ſome quarell to fall out with the Scots. King William being aduertiſed thereof, ſent his ambaſſadors vnto king John, requiring him to deſiſt from ſuch attempts, and not to ſéeke anie occaſion of new trouble: but forſomuch as he receiued no towardlie anſwer againe from K. John, he aſſembled a power, & comming to the caſtell which king John had cauſed to be builded, he ouerthrew the ſame, and raced it to the earth. King John ſore offended herewith, raiſed a mightie armie, and came towards Scotland, but at his comming to the borders, he found his aduerſarie king William readie to receiue him by battell, if he had come forward; howbeit through mediation of prudent men, the matter was taken vp betwixt them, ſo that on either ſide the armies were diſſolued, & both the kings repairing to Yorke, eſtabliſhed a peace there, with theſe conditions, that Margaret and Iſabell daughters to king William, after the tearme of 9 yéeres then next inſuing were once expired, ſhould be coupled in mariage with Henrie and Richard the ſons of king John, vpon this paction and couenant, that if the one died, the other ſhould ſucceéd to the crowne. For the which it was couenanted, that king William ſhould giue a right large dower. Alſo the caſtell which king John had builded, and king William raced, it was agréed that it ſhould remaine ſo defaced, and neuer after againe to be repared. For the ſure performance of theſe articles thus betwixt the two kings concluded, nine noble men of Scotland were appointed to be deliuered as hoſtages vnto king John. In that aſſemblie there at Yorke, King William alſo ſurrendered into the hands of king John, the lands of Cumberland, Huntington, and Northumberland; to the intent he ſhould aſſigne thoſe lands againe vnto his ſonne prince Alexander, and he to do homage for the ſame, according to the maner and cuſtome in that caſe prouided, for a knowledge and recognition that thoſe lands were holden of the kings of England, as ſuperior lords of the ſame. During the abode of theſe two kings at Yorke, there was brought vnto them a child of ſingular beautie, ſonne and heire to a gentleman of great poſſeſſions in thoſe parties, being ſore vexed with diuerſe and ſundrie diſeaſes; for one of his eies was conſumed & loſt through an iſſue which it had of corrupt and filthie humors, the one of his hands was dried vp; the one of his féet was ſo taken, that he had no vſe thereof; and his tong likewiſe that he could not ſpeake. The phyſicians that ſaw him thus troubled with ſuch contrarie infirmities, iudged him incurable. Neuertheleſſe, king William making a croſſe on him, reſtored him immediatlie to health. By reaſon whereof, manie beléeued that this was done by miracle, through the power of almightie God, that the vertue of ſo godlie a prince might bée notified to the world.

After his returne from Yorke into Scotland, he indowed the churches of Newbottell, Melros, Holie rod houſe, Dunfirmling, and Aberden, with manie faire poſſeſſions, as the letters patents made therof by him beare manifeſt teſtimonie. He alſo erected one new biſhops ſée called Argile, giuing therto ſufficient lands towards the maintenance and ſuſtentation thereof. After this, comming vnto the towne of Bertha, he had not remained there manie daies, but there chanced ſuch a floud, by reaſon of the riſing and inundation of the two riuers, Taie & Almond, that through violence of the ſtreme the towne wals were borne downe, and much people in the towne drowned, per they could make anie ſhift to ſaue themſelues, inſomuch that though the king with his wife, and the moſt part of his familie eſcaped out of that great danger and ieopardie, his yongeſt ſonne yet named John, with his nurſſe and twelue other women periſhed, and twentie other of his ſeruants beſide. Héere was heard ſuch clamor, noiſe, & lamentable cries, with bitter rorings and dreadfull ſhrikings, as is vſed in time when anie towne is ſuddenlie taken and ſurpriſed by the enimies: for as the cómon prouerbe witneſſeth; Fier & water haue no mercie: and yet of theſe two, water is more terrible and dangerous: for there is no force or wit of man able to reſiſt the violence of inundations, where they ſuddenlie breake in.

King William, after that the towne of Bertha was thus deſtroied and ouerflowed with water, began the foundation of an other towne, which was after called Perth, by a man of that name that owght the ground where the ſame towne was builded. Furthermore, to aduance the dignitie and augmentation of this towne, the king granted ſundrie beneficiall priuileges and freedoms thereto, that it might the ſooner riſe in riches and wealth. The firſt foundation thereof was laid after the incarnation of our Sauiour 1210 yéeres, but the name was changed afterwards, and called ſaint Johns towne, which name it beareth euen vnto this day. About the ſame time there roſe eftſoones new trouble in Cathnes, for one Gothred the ſonne of Makuilzen (of whoſe rebellion ye haue heard before) ſpoiled with often incurſions and rodes the countrie of Roſſe, and other bounds there abouts. His companie increaſed dailie more and more, by repaire of ſuch number of rebels as came vnto him out of Lochquhaber, & the weſterne Iles. King William, to repreſſe theſe attempts, ſent forth the earles of Fife and Atholl, with the thane of Buchquhane, hauing ſir thouſand in their companie, the which incountering with the enimies in ſet battell, gaue them the ouerthrow, and taking Gothred their chiefe capteine priſoner, brought him vnto the king, who cauſed both him and diuerſe other which were likewiſe taken priſoners, to loſe their heads. Gothred himſelfe was ſore wounded, before he was taken; ſo that if his takers had not made the more ſpéed in the conueieng of him to the king, he had died of his hurts before execution had thus béene done on him accordinglie as was appointed.

About this time aroſe the diſſention and variance betwixt John king of England, and pope Innocent the third, for that the Engliſh cleargie refuſed to aid the ſaid John with ſuch ſummes of monie as he demanded of them. Shortlie after, William king of Scotland, worne with long age, departed out of this world at Striueling, in the 74 yéere of his age, and in the 49 yéere of his reigne, and after the incarnation of Chriſt 1214 yéeres. He was buried in Aberbrothoke, before the high altar within the quier. The yéere afore his death, two comets or blaſing ſtarres apéered in the moneth of March, verie terrible to behold; the one did ſhine before the riſing of the ſunne, and the other before the going downe thereof. The yéere next following, there was a cow in Northumberland that calued a verie monſtruous calfe; for the head and necke reſembled a verie calfe in déed, but the reſidue of the bodie was like vnto a colt. In the winter after, there were ſéene alſo two moones in the firmament, the one being ſeuered from the other, and in ſhape naturallie horned, as ye ſée the moone in hir increaſing or waning. King William in his life time founded the abbeie of Balmernocht, but his wife quéene Ermengard indowed it with lands and poſſeſſions after his deceaſſe. In the 46 yéere of this king Williams reigne, two monks of the Trinitie order were ſent into Scotland by pope Innocent, to whome king William gaue his palace roiall in Aberden, to conuert the ſame into an abbeie for them

R.f. to

A caſtell ouerthrowne.

A peace eſtabliſhed at Yorke betwixt the kings John and William.

The couenãts of the peace.

Scotiſh hoſtages deliuered to king John.

A ſurrender made to a vſe.

A child healed by K. William.

Churches indowed by king William.

The erection of the ſée of Argile.

The towne of Bertha drowned by inundation.

The king in danger of drowning.

King John's ſon drowned.

The towne of Perth builded

Freedoms granted to the towne of Perth.

Saint Johns towne.

Gothred mooued a rebellion in Cathnes.

His companie increaſeth.

The earles of Fife and Atholl ſent againſt him.

The rebels ouerthrowne.

Gothred taken and beheaded.

The diſſention betwixt the pope and king John.

The cauſe.

The death of king William.

1214.

Two blazing ſtarres.

A monſtruous calfe.

Two moones.

The abbeie of Balmernocht founded.

to inhabit: and was in mind to haue giuen them manie other bountifull gifts, if he had liued anie longer time.

Alexander.

Alexander the second is crowned at Scone.

A time of mourning.

AFter the decease of king William, his sonne Alexander the second of that name succeeded, and was crowned at Scone with all due solemnitie; which being finished, he went vnto Abirbrothoke, where he remained 14 daies, in attending the funerall obsequies of his father, and commanded that no publike plaies nor great feasts should be vsed or kept in all that yeere, to the intent the death of his father might be lamented through the whole realme. The king himselfe, and all his seruants also, were clothed in mourning weed, during the space of one whole yeere.

A parlement at Edenburgh

The first parlement which he called, was holden at Edenburgh, in the which he confirmed all the acts and ordinances deuised by his father: and further appointed that all such as had borne offices vnder him, should still inioy the same.

Confirmation of officers.

Namelie he commanded that William Wlod bishop of Dunblaine should still continue lord chancellor, and Alane of Galloway high constable, which is an office of most honor & reputation next to the king, as he that hath power of life and death, if anie man draw bloud of an other by violence within two miles of the court.

The office of the constable.

When this parlement was ended, bicause the old queene his mother determined to remaine, during the residue of hir life, in the place where that holie woman queene Margaret sometime led hir life, he gaue vnto hir towards the maintenance of hir estate, the castels & townes of Forfair, with the lands and possessions to the same belonging. He also appointed certeine sage and most graue personages, to be chosen forth as iudges, which should be resident in euerie citie and good towne of his realme, for the hearing and due determining of all quarrels and matters in controuersie betwixt partie and partie. In this meane time great dissention rose betwixt John king of England, and his barons, by reason whereof great warres insued, as in the English historie doth apeere. The barons made sute both to the French king, & to the king of Scots for aid, so that at length Lewes the French kings sonne came ouer to support them, whereof when king Alexander was aduertised, he likewise came with an armie through England vnto London, causing his souldiers by the waie to absteine from doing anie kind of damage to the people. By his comming things were partlie quieted for a time, and shortlie after that he had communed with Lewes touching sundrie affaires perteining to both the realmes, they passed the seas with ten vessels ouer into France, leauing their powers behind them to assist the English lords.

The lands of Forfair giuen to the old queene.

A pyncelie appointment.

Dissention betwixt king John and his nobles.

King Alexander passeth to London.

The French king aduertised thereof, came downe to Bullongne, where finding his son and king Alexander, he renewed the ancient bond of amitie betwixt France and Scotland, with the same Alexander, according to the couenants of the old league, with this addition; that neither prince should receiue the enimies of the others realme, nor to marrie with anie stranger, the one not making the other priuie thereto. These things being ratified, king Alexander and Lewes returned into England: shortlie whereupon, king John died, more through anguish of mind and melancholie, than by force of anie other naturall disease. His son Henrie, the third of that name, succeeded him. And in the meane time had the pope accursed both Lewes, and king Alexander, with all those that fauoured their cause against king John, which curse was pronounced in a generall councell, which was holden at Rome by pope Innocent, there being present foure hundred and twelue bishops, and eight hundred abbats. King Alexander after the decease of king John, returning homewards with his armie, thought he might haue passed quietlie without anie annoiance by the waie, through meanes whereof he lost a certeine number of his men, being suddenlie inuaded by such Englishmen, as watched their time to take the Scots at some aduantage, in straieng abroad out of order: with which iniurie king Alexander was so moued, that he spoiled and harried all the countries by the which he passed, till he was entered within the confines of his owne dominion.

The league betwixt France and Scotland renewed.

The best approued writers affirme that Lewes went not ouer into France, till after the death of king John.

Lewes and king Alexander accursed.

A councell at Rome.

King Alexander returneth into his countrie.

Shortlie after, Cardinall Gualo came into England furnished with the popes authoritie, to denounce the excommunication aboue remembred, against Lewes and Alexander, with all their fautors, whereupon he accursed not onelie the foresaid persons, but also interdicted all the places where they came, insomuch that in the end Lewes was constreined to buy an absolution with no small summes of monie, of that auaricious cardinall Gualo: and after vpon agreement also made with king Henrie, he returned into France. Not long after came K. Henrie with an armie into Scotland, sore indamaging the countrie: but so soone as he was aduertised that king Alexander had assembled all the power of his realme to giue him battell, he retired with all speed into England. The king of England had in his armie at the same time 1200 men of armes, verie perfectlie appointed and furnished with armor and weapon as was requisit, and the king of Scots but onelie fiue hundred. But of footmen there were in the Scotish armie 60000 able personages well appointed, with ares, speares, and bowes, readie to die and liue with their prince, constantlie beleeuing, that to lose this present life heere in his defense, was an assured waie to be saued in an other world.

Cardinall Gualo.

Lewes returneth into France.

King Henrie inuadeth Scotland.

Ex codice antiquo S. Albani, written by Mat. Paris (as I take it.)

After that king Henrie was gone backe into England, king Alexander followed after him into Northumberland, where he ouerthrew & beat downe manie castels and strengths, which the Englishmen held. Then marching through the countrie vnto Carleill, he wan that citie, and garnished it with his people. After this, laieng siege vnto Norham castell, when he had continued at the same a certeine time, and perceiued how he lost but his trauell, he left it, and returned home with great honor and triumph for his other atchiued enterprises in that iournie. King Henrie being once aduertised that king Alexander had broken vp his campe, incontinentlie got eftsoons his people togither, and comming to Berwike, wan both the towne and castell. After entring into Scotland, he burned and spoiled the countrie alongst by the sea coasts, till he came as farre as Hadington, putting all such to the sword as were found in the waie; women, preests, and children onelie excepted. He assaied to haue woone the castell of Dunbar, but missing his purpose there, he returned into England.

King Alexander in Northumberland

Carleill won by the Scots.

Berwike woon by king Henrie.

Hadington.

In the meane time, the auaritious prelat Gualo, vpon trust to purchase some large portion of monie in Scotland, put the same vnder processe of interdicting, & namelie he accursed king Alexander most terriblie, for that he had inuaded England, and (as he alleged) spoiled churches as well as prophane places. These curses so inflamed the hearts of the Scotishmen with hatred against the Englishmen, that the same was not like to haue ended without the vtter destruction and ruine of both their realms. Neuertheless at length, by the diligent trauell of the bishops of Yorke and Salisburie, which came vnto king Alexander to treate an agreement, a finall peace was concluded, vnder these conditions. First it was agreed, that king Alexander should render the citie of Carleill into the Englishmens hands, and king Henrie the towne of Berwike vnto the Scots. The whole dominion of Cumberland to remaine vnto king Alexander, with the one

Scotland interdicted.

Bishops of Yorke and Salisburie.

A peace concluded.

The conditions.

halfe

halfe of Northumberland, to the Kecroſſe. And further, that king Alexander ſhould be abſolued of the cenſures of the church, which Gualo the cardinall had denounced againſt him.

Thus the two kings being accorded, the two foreſaid biſhops comming vnto Berwike, abſolued king Alexander, and deliuered his realme of interdiction, by ſuch authoritie as they had procured of the cardinall Gualo. But yet the ſame cardinall, not minding to depart with emptie hands, ſummoned all the prelats of Scotland to appeare before him at Anwike, there to receiue their full abſolution, to the intent by ſuch means to trouble them, till they had diſburſſed to his vſe ſome large portion of monie. Sundrie of them which loued quietneſſe more than contention, ſatiſfied his mind; but others refuſed vtterlie ſo to do, taking great indignation that ſpirituall cauſes were thus diſpatched for monie, and eccleſiaſticall preferments bought and ſold, no otherwiſe than ſecular poſſeſſions and prophane dignities. Incontinentlie thereupon Gualo cited them to Rome, ſuppoſing that rather than to take vpon them ſo long a iournie, they would haue compounded with him at his pleaſure. Notwithſtanding they being nothing in doubt thereof, went vnto Rome, and at their comming thither, made vnto the pope their complaint in moſt greeuous maner, of the inſufferable iniuries attempted in England and Scotland, by his moſt couetous legat the foreſaid Gualo: by reaſon of which complaint, and of ſundrie ſuch letters & informations as dailie came out of England and Scotland, from other biſhops & abbats, conteining right greeuous accuſations, concerning the inſatiable auarice of Gualo, the pope reuoked him home to Rome, to make anſwere in his preſence vnto ſuch matters as were laid to his charge.

At his returne thither, for ſo much as he was not able to diſcharge himſelfe of ſuch manifeſt crimes wherewith he was burdened, the pope condemned him in a great ſumme of monie, to be paid as a fine for his treſpaſſe and tranſgreſſions. And thoſe Scotiſh biſhops, which were come for their abſolution, were abſolued by the pope, and ſuffered to depart in peace. In this meane time, Dauid earle of Huntington, brother to William late king of Scots, (of whome ye haue heard before how he went in the iournie made by the chriſtian princes into the holie land) deceaſſed, and was buried within an abbeie in England. Henrie king of England, after he came to yeares of perfect diſcretion, ſhewed himſelfe to be more deſirous of peace than of warres. Whereupon at Yorke there was a meeting appointed betwixt him and king Alexander, where mutuall alliance was accorded betwixt them on this wiſe. Jane the ſiſter of king Henrie was promiſed to be giuen in mariage to king Alexander, and two ſiſters of king Alexanders were eſpouſed vnto two great princes of the Engliſh nobilitie. Theſe mariages were thus concluded in the yeare of our Lord, 1220.

In the yeare next following, came a legat into Scotland from pope Honorius, with buls to gather a ſumme of monie towards the furniſhing forth of an armie againſt the Turks or rather Saracens. This legat was a cardinall, and named Egidius, who hauing purchaſed no ſmall quantitie of coine both of the cleargie and laitie of Scotland, ſpent the ſame in riot and outragious inſolencie, making his excuſe at his returne to Rome, how it was taken from him by certeine Brigants and robbers. Within ſhort while after, was an other legat with ſemblable commiſſion ſent into Scotland from the foreſaid pope. But king Alexander, being aduertiſed of his comming, called a councell, in the which one of the biſhops (as ſhould ſeeme) toke great indignation, to ſee how couetouſneſſe reigned in moſt ſhamefull wiſe amongeſt the Romiſh legats, and ſpake in maner as followeth.

The cleargie of Scotland ſummoned by cardinall Gualo to come to Anwike.

Dale of ſpirituall promotions.

The Scotiſh cleargie cited to Rome.

The complaint of the Scotiſh cleargie to the pope

The auarice of Cardinall Gualo.

Cardinall Gualo condemned in a ſumme of monie.

The Scotiſh biſhops abſolued.

Dauid earle of Huntington deceaſſed.

1219.

In interview betwixt the kings of England and Scotland.

Mariages concluded.

A legat ſent from pope Honorius for a collection.

A legats excuſe.

An other legat.

Albeit ſundrie conſiderations there are which might ſtay me from vttering ſuch things as be moſt preiudiciall to the common-wealth, yet (moſt noble prince) when I conſider thine humanitie, faith, and conſtancie, giuen to nothing more than to the defenſe and weale of thy true liege people, I cannot but (for the zeale I beare to common libertie) declare the truth. For ſith all maner of tyrannie is intollerable, yea euen that which is exerciſed by kings or princes deſcended by lineall ſucceſſion to their rightfull heritage: much more is that tyrannie to be deteſted, which is exerciſed by men of vile and baſe linage. Therefore, if the ſundrie and manifeſt wrongs done to vs theſe manie yeares now paſſed, had come by the popes themſelues, the ſame might ſomewhat more ſufferablie haue béene borne: but ſith naughtie & vile perſons, of baſe birth and obſcure linage, promoted to benefices and eccleſiaſticall dignities onelie for their wicked and horrible vices, haue not onelie interdicted our realme, without lawfull commiſſion; but haue alſo conſumed in maintenance of their wanton and inſolent vices, that monie which they gathered in our countrie by the popes authoritie, vnder colour of raiſing an armie to go againſt the Turks and Infidels; I am of this opinion, that their curſſed auarice ought to haue no further place amongeſt faithfull people, ſpeciallie amongeſt vs, whoſe ſimplicitie and humbleneſſe they haue in contempt. In the yeares paſſed, ye complained of the iniuries done by Gualo, when he had put your realme vnder the cenſure of interdicting, and the moſt part of your prelats vnder the curſſe; becauſe they would not anſwer him with monie, according to his couetous demands, wherewith he might mainteine his outragious luſts. Which Gualo alſo (as ſhould appeare) by moſt certeine coniectures, was of ſuch a diueliſh nature, that though he were ſent to treate a concord betwixt the Engliſhmen and Scots; yet to ſatiſfie his auaritious deſire, he miniſtred ſuch occaſion of warre betwixt them, that both the realmes (had not the matter béene the ſooner taken vp) were at a point to haue entered ſo far into malitious hatred the one againſt the other, that it was not like that anie peace would haue taken place, till the one or both had béene vtterlie deſtroied. But ſince theſe heinous and terrible déeds are manifeſt inough; to what end ſhould I here remember them, ſith the ſame cannot be done without your great griefe and diſpleaſure? Moreouer, after we were deliuered of this Gualo, ſhortlie after commeth another, one ſhewing himſelfe to come forth of the ſame ſhop; for in conuerſation of life he was to be iudged no whit better, but rather worſe: for after that he had got vp amongeſt vs of this realme large ſummes of monie, vnder pretenſe of redéeming the chriſtian priſoners out of the Saracens hands, and waging of new armies againſt them; he waſted the ſame monie in riotous luſt and inſolencie, feining, when it was gone, that it was béreft him by Brigants. Therefore ſith we haue had experience, and are alreadie ſufficientlie taught by the doings of the two fore-remembred legats, to our heauie griefs and no ſmall damages; we may be worthilie reputed vnwiſe and verie foles in déed, if we now admit the third. For it is not to be thought, that this new legat ſhall vſe the matter in anie better ſort, than his fellowes haue done before him. And verelie, if anie man ſhould demand of me, what I thinke ought to be done in this matter, I do for my part proteſt, that neither this legat, nor anie other in times to come,

An oration of a biſhop.

Tyrannie intollerable.

Men of baſe linage.

The Scots fore offended againſt Gualo.

The practiſe of Gualo.

The biſhops oration.

come, ought to be receiued within this realme, conſidering how the ſame hath béene walked & robbed by their continuall exactions. If there be anie amongſt you that hath moꝛe monie than he knoweth which way well to ſpend, he may (in the name of God) beſtow it vpon the poꝛe, rather than to the vſe of ſuch vicious legats, as oꝛder it in ſuch ſoꝛt, that all men haue cauſe to thinke what ſoeuer commeth into their hands, is but caſt away and clearelie loſt.

Legats cannot be receiued.

These woꝛds of this biſhop (whatſoeuer he was) were liked ſo well of all the councell, that the legat could not be receiued into the realme. After the breaking vp of this councell, the mariage was conſummat betwixt king Alexander and Jone, ſiſter to Henrie king of England; alſo betwixt Hubert de Burgh high iuſtice of England, and Margaret ſiſter to king Alexander, by reaſon of which mariages, the peace was confirmed with the Engliſhmen, and as it had bœne ſealed vp foꝛ a moꝛe full and certeine aſſurance. Shoꝛtlie after followed ciuill warres in Scotland, by the motion of one Gileſpie Roſſe, who hauing liued moſt licentiouſlie in riotous outrage, at length arreared open warre againſt the king, and firſt ſleaing diuerſe ſuch of his companions as had kept him companie afoꝛetime in his lewd miſdemeanoꝛs, foꝛ that they refuſed now to sticke to him in this rebellious enterpꝛiſe, he went with the reſidue that offered to take his part vnto the towne of Ennernes, which he toke and burned, with diuerſe other places being of the kings poſſeſſions, till at length John Cumin earle of Buchquhane coming againſt him with an armie deliuered to him by the king, purſued the ſaid Gileſpie in ſuch earneſt wiſe, that finallie he toke him with two of his ſons, and ſtriking off all their thꝛée heads, ſent the ſame to the king as a witneſſe how he had ſped.

Peace confirmed with the Engliſhmen.
Gileſpie Roſſe a rebell.
Ennernes burned by Gileſpie Roſſe.
John Cumin earle of Buchquhane.
Gileſpie Roſſe beheaded.

This buſineſſe being thus quieted, an other inſued after this maner: The men of Cathnes ſoꝛe offended with their biſhop named Adam, foꝛ that vpon refuſall to pay their tithes he had accurſſed them, fell vpon him within his owne houſe, and firſt ſcourging him with rods, at length ſet fiꝛe vpon him and burnt him within his owne kitchen. Which act being repoꝛted to the king, as then ſoiourning at Edenburgh, he haſted foꝛth with all ſpeed to puniſh the offendoꝛs, not ceaſſing till he had taken foure hundꝛed of them, all the which number he cauſed to be hanged; and foꝛ that he would haue no ſucceſſion to come of ſuch a wicked ſéed, he appointed all their ſons to loſe their ſtones. The place where they were ſo gelded, is called euen to this day the ſtonie hill. The earle of Cathnes, foꝛ that he neither ſuccoured the biſhop in time of néed, noꝛ yet ſought to puniſh the offendoꝛs that did this cruell déed, was depꝛiued of his earledome, and the lands belonging to the ſame. The pope highlie commended king Alexander foꝛ this puniſhment taken of them, that had ſo cruellie murthered their biſhop.

New trouble.
Adam biſhop of Cathnes ſlaine by the people of that countrie.
Streight execution.
The ſtonie hill.
The earle of Cathnes loſeth his lands
King Alexander commended of the pope

After this, king Alexander comming vnto Aberden, gaue manie large gifts and pꝛiuileges therevnto, although the ſame beforе this time inioied ſundꝛie notable commodities and endowments giuen and confirmed by other kings his pꝛedeceſſoꝛs. The buls which were granted by ſundꝛie popes concerning the liberties of the churches in Scotland, were committed by the king to the cuſtodie of one Gilbert archdeacon of Murrey, who ſuccéeded next after the foꝛeſaid Adam in the ſée of Cathneſſe. In the third yeare after, as king Alexander with his mother Ermingard were ſitting at their banket on the twelfe day in Chriſtmas, otherwiſe called Yule, the earle of Cathnes, hauing good oppoꝛtunitie thereto, pꝛeſented himſelfe beforе the king, and beſought him of grace and pardon foꝛ his paſſed offenſe. King Alexander taking ruth & pitie of him, reſtoꝛed him (vpon his fine to be paied in maner as was agréed betwixt them) vnto all his foꝛmer honoꝛs, lands and poſſeſſions. Neuertheleſſe the offenſe that was pardoned by man, was afterward puniſhed by the iuſt iudgement (as ſome thought) of almightie God: foꝛ he was ſlaine as he lay in bed one night by his own meniall ſeruants, whome he had roughlie intreated, as the ſame went. The houſe alſo wherein he was thus ſlaine, was likewiſe ſet on fiꝛe and burnt ouer him, that no man ſhould haue ſuſpicion of his ſlaughter, but that it might ſéeme as though it had come by ſome ſudden aduenture.

The earle of Cathnes is pardoned and reſtoꝛed to his lands.
The earle of Cathnes is murthered by his ſeruants.

About this time, oꝛ ſomewhat beforе, there came into Scotland (ſent by ſaint Dominicke) certeine blacke friers, of which oꝛder the ſame Dominicke was the firſt authoꝛ. Theſe men that were firſt ſent by him, liued accoꝛding to his inſtitution, moꝛe perfectlie than ſuch as followed: foꝛ as it often happeneth, allthings commonlie from a good beginning fall into woꝛſe eſtate, ſo that the ſucceſſoꝛs of thoſe men declined from all good religion, into moſt inſolent abuſes and miſoꝛders, and ſo continuing in vicious liuing the ſpace of thꝛée hundꝛed yeares, at length were perfectlie reformed into a better rule, by a frier named John Adamſon, that pꝛoceéded doctoꝛ in the pꝛofeſſion of diuinitie in the vniuerſitie of Aberden, at the ſame time that Hector Boetius the Scotiſh chꝛonographer pꝛoceéded there in the ſame facultie. On the ſame maner, about the ſelfe ſame time, were ſent into Scotland, as well as into all other parts of the chꝛiſtian woꝛld, friers minoꝛs, of ſaint Francis his oꝛder. Manie of them alſo after his deceaſſe fell to diſſolute liuing, kéeping no ſuch ſtreict rules, as both he pꝛeſcribed, and alſo obſerued.

The firſt comming of blacke friers into Scotland.
John Adamſon.
The firſt comming of friers minoꝛs.

But now to returne to the reſidue of the hiſtoꝛie. The Scotiſh people inioied peace a long time after the appeaſing of the trouble in Cathnes, till time that Alane loꝛd of Galloway and conſtable of Scotland departed out of this life; and foꝛ that he had diuided his lands beforе his death amongeſt his thꝛée daughters, his baſtard ſonne gathered an armie of 10000 men, in hope to atteine the poſſeſſion of Galloway by foꝛce of armes; but at length, after he had woꝛought much ſcath in the countrie by his violent inuaſion, he was ſlaine with fiue thouſand of thoſe that toke his part, by the earle of Marth, and Walter Steward of Dunwald, which was ſent againſt him with a power. The eldeſt daughter of the aboue mentioned Alane of Galloway, was giuen in mariage vnto Roger Quincie earle of Winchéſter, who after his father in lawes deceaſſe, was made conſtable of Scotland, which office continued in the hands of his ſucceſſion, till king Robert the ſecond his daies; in whoſe time this Roger of Quincies poſteritie was diſherited and extinguiſhed, foꝛ certeine offenſes committed againſt the kings maieſtie, and then afterwards the office of the conſtable was giuen to the Haies of Arroll. The ſecond daughter of the foꝛeſaid Alane was maried vnto John Baliioll; & the third to the earle of Albemarle. Thus was the loꝛdſhip of Galloway diuided into thꝛée, by reaſon whereof the inhabitants of that countrie, taking diſpleaſure therewith, cleaued vnto the aboue mentioned baſtard, till he was vanquiſhed and ſlaine, as beforе ye haue heard. This trouble being appeaſed thus within the realme, K. Alexander was aduertiſed of great diuiſion riſing betwixt king Henrie of England and his nobles, and therefoꝛe to helpe towards an agréement betwixt them, he went to London with his wife quéene Jane, and Iſabell his ſiſter. Thꝛough his earneſt diligence, all the debates and quarels were remoued, and the parties thꝛoughlie accoꝛded. Which being done, he

The death of Alane loꝛd of Galloway.
His baſtard ſonne raiſeth a commotion.
The earle of March.
Roger Quincie earle of Winchéſter conſtable of Scotland.
The diuiſion of the lands of Galloway.
K. Alexander goeth into England.

maried

Isabell the sister of king Alexander married to the earle of Norfolke.

married Isabell his sister vnto the earle of Norfolke, and in the meane time his wife quéene Jane deceassed, without leauing anie issue behind hir, which chance caused the king hir husband to returne with great griefe and lamentation into Scotland. In the yeare next following, which was after the incarnation 1239, king Alexander (because he had no succession begot of his bodie) married at Rocksburgh the daughter of Ingelram lord of Concie, a virgine of excellent beautie named Marie, on whome he got a sonne named Alexander, which succeeded after his decease in the gouernement of the realme.

Jane quéene of Scotland deceaseth.

1239.

King Alexander marieth the daughter of the lord of Concie.

About the same time, John Cumin earle of Angus, being sent in ambassage to Lewes the French king, died by the way. Also at Hadington was holden a rotall tornament, where knights and esquiers aduanced themselues by valiant prowesse to win honor: neuertheless the end of all that pleasure and pastime ended in sorow. For Patrike Cumin earle of Atholl was slaine within his lodging in the night, and the house set on fire and burned ouer him, to the intent no suspicion should rise, but that it happened by some euill misfortune, and negligence of fire. But yet was John Billart, with Walter Billart his vncle shrewdlie suspected for the matter, insomuch that though no euident proofe could be had against him, yet were they banished the realme, and lost all their goods by confiscation to the kings vse. After these things were thus passed, a conuocation was called of the cleargie at saint Johns towne. In the which were diuerse prouinciall ordinances and statutes, made by consent of the king and nobles of the realme, which were obserued in the church of Scotland vnto these late daies. About the same time also, one Somerled thane of Argile, the sonne of that Somerled of whome ye haue heard before, following his fathers steps, rebelled against the king, sore indamaging by rodes & forages the parts bordering vpon the confines of his countrie of Argile, till at length the earle of March brought him to the brinke of such extreme necessitie, that he was faine to yéeld himselfe, with a cord about his necke in token of submission; and being so brought before the king, obteined pardon of his heinous offense.

Patrike earle of Atholl murthered.

John Billart suspected.

A conuocation of the cleargie at saint Johns towne.

Somerled thane of Argile rebelleth.

Somerleds humble submission.

In the same season, Henrie king of England, prouoked by the setting on of such seditious persons remaining in his court, as trusted by warres to aduance their priuat gaine (during which time law and iustice haue no place) began to build a castell iust against Berwike, in the same place where the other was begun afore by king Richard, which (as before is shewed) was raced and throwen downe by king William, by the articles of agréement with couenant that it should neuer be builded vp againe. This attempt of the Englishmen had ministred sufficient occasion of warre, if the nobles of England (considering that the building vp of this castell was contrarie to their bond and promised faith) had not staied the worke, and so thereupon that beginning of new trouble betwixt the English and Scotish nations for that present ceassed.

A castell begun to be builded by king Henrie against Berwike.

Matth. Paris disagréeth frō the Scotish writers touching the occasion of this warre, as in the English chronicles ye may read.

In the yeare following came ambassadors forth of France into Scotland, declaring that K. Lewes was readie to passe forward on that iournie, which he had taken in hand to make into Jewrie, and therefore desired aid of king Alexander, to support him in those warres against Gods enimies. With these ambassadors were sent ouer into France, certeine chosen bands of men of warre vnder the leading of Patrike earle of March, Dauid Lindseie of Glenneske, and Walter Steward of Dundonald, three capteins of great wisdome, and perfect experience in feats of chiualrie. The most part of all those Scotishmen, that thus went forth in that iournie, perished in Aegypt either on the sword or by sickenesse, so that few or none of them returned home againe. From henceforth, king Alexander liued not long: but falling into a sore and grieuous sickenesse within a certeine Ile called Carnere, not far distant from the coast of Argile, deceassed in the same Ile shortlie after, in the 51 yeare of his age, the 35 of his reigne, and of our redemption 1249, his bodie (according as he had commanded in his life time) was buried in Melrosse.

Ambassadors forth of France.

Scotishmen that went with Lewes king of France into Aegypt.

The death of king Alexander the second. 38. Io. Ma. but that can not be.

After that Alexander the second was thus dead and buried, his sonne Alexander the third of that name, not passing nine yeares of age, was proclamed king. There was no small adoo on the daie of his coronation amongest the nobles, for that by reason of the obseruation of starres, it was iudged to be an infortunate daie for him to receiue the diademe. And againe some held opinion, how he ought to be made knight first, before he were crowned; so that thus they were at strife togither, in such earnest maner, that it was doubted, least this contention would haue bred some great inconuenience, had not the earle of Fife preuented the same, in causing vpon a sudden the crowne to be set vpon the kings head, being placed in the marble chaire, according to the custome, without regard to the frinolous allegations of them that spake to the contrarie. When the solemnitie was ended, there came before him an Hillandman (for so they call such as inhabit the mountcine countries of Scotland) who in a kind of meeter of the Irish language, saluted him as king, thus: Bennach dere Albin Alexander, mak Alar, mak William, mak Henrie, mak Dauid, and so forth (reciting in maner of a genealogie or pedegrée, all the kings in order of whome he was descended, till he came vp to Gathelus the first beginner of the Scotish name & nation.) The words in English are as followeth: Haile king of Albine, Alexander the sonne of Dauid, the sonne of Alex, the sonne of William, the sonne of Henrie, the sonne of Dauid, and so forth as before. This Hilland Scot was highlie rewarded by the king for his labour, according as was thought requisite.

Alexander.

Alexander the third crowned

Infortunate day.

The earle of Fife preuenteth the occasion of further troubles.

The salutation of an Hilland man.

In the second yéere of his reigne, king Alexander (or rather such as had the gouernement of the realme vnder him) assembled togither all the prelates and barons of the realme at Dunfirmling, and there ordeined to take vp the bones of his grandmother quéene Margaret, which being done, he caused them to be put into a shrine of siluer, the 21 day of Julie, and minding to place the same where it resteth at this present, as it was borne forth toward that place, when the bearers came against the sepulchre of hir husband king Malcolme, they were not able to remoue the relikes anie further, till by the councell (as is said) of an aged man that was then & there present, they toke vp the bones of the same Malcolme also, and bare them forth with hirs to the place aforesaid, where they after rested in great veneration of the people. Such as were appointed gouernors (during the minoritie of king Alexander) doubting least the tender yéeres of their soueréigne might imbolden the enimies of the relme to attempt some inuasion, sent ambassadors vnto Henrie king of England, requiring that the peace might be ratified anew with him and his people, and further to make a motion of mariage to be had betwixt king Alexander and a daughter of king Henries.

The translation of quéene Margarets bones.

They were affianced in the daies of king Alexander the faire, as in the English chronicle it may appeare.

Shortlie after, vpon this motion, both the kings met at Yorke with a great number of lords, as well spirituall as temporall of both the realmes, where king Alexander (according to the promise before that time made) maried the ladie Margaret daughter to the forenamed king Henrie, on saint Stephans day

An interuiew of the kings of England and Scotland.

1250. in Christmasse, with all solemnitie and ioifull mirth that might be deuised. The charges whereof were borne partlie by king Henrie, & partlie by the archbishop, who in feasting those princes spent right liberallie. At length, king Alexander after he had solaced himselfe in the companie of his father in law king Henrie a certeine time, returned into Scotland with his new maried wife. During the minoritie of K. Alexander, the realme of Scotland was gouerned in great prosperitie by the nobles: but after his comming to ripe age, he was informed of certeine extortions done by some of the peeres of his realme against the poore people, and thereupon determined to see redresse therein. Amongst other there were accused of such trangression, the earles of Menteith, Atholl, and Buchquhane, with the lord of Strabogie, which were of one surname, that is to saie, of the Cumins. These being summoned to appeare before the iustices, with one Hugh Aberneth, and other of their complices, vpon their contempt so to do, were proclamed traitors, and as the Scotish men tearme it, put to the horne.

Complaint made of the Cumins.

The Cumins put to the horne.

The foresaid lords moued with this displeasure, purposed to reuenge the same, and assembling their powers in secret wise, toke the king at Kinrosse, and brought him vnto Striueling, where they kept him as captiue in ward a long time after. Through which aduenture much harme insued, by reason of misruled persons, that wrought manie oppressions against the people, in hope to escape the due punishment for their mischiefous acts prouided, sith the king who should haue seene iustice ministred, was holden in captiuitie by his presumptuous aduersaries. But of this matter ye maie see more in the English chronicles, about the 39 yeere of Henrie the third. The house of the Cumins was in those daies of great power within the realme, both in multitude of offring, riches, lands, possessions, and maine rent. There were at the same time to the number of 32 knights of that surname within the realme, all men of faire possessions and reuenues. But as it often happeneth, that men of great possessions and dominion are had in suspicion with the prince, whereby the same is for the more part the cause of their ruine and fall, specially when they presume too farre vpon their high power: so it chanced here. For within a short time after that the king was thus taken (as before is shewed) the chiefe author of the whole conspiracie, that is to saie, the lord Walter earle of Menteith, who was highest in authoritie among all those Cumins, was poisoned (as was thought) by his owne wife, through which mischance the residue of the Cumins were so eranimated, that obteining their pardon, for all offenses passed of the king, they did set him againe at libertie.

The king taken by the Cumins.

The great power of the Cumins.

Thirtie and two knights of one surname.

The height of great families the cause oftentimes of their fall.

The earle of Menteith is poisoned.

The king set at libertie.

This woman did thus make awaie hir husband the erle of Menteith through instigation of an Englishman called John Russell, as by coniectures it was suspected; namelie, for that refusing to marrie with anie of the Scotish nobilitie, she toke the said Russell to husband, though in estate to be compared with hirs, he was iudged a match farre vnmeet, and thereupon constreined to flie with him into England, she died there in great miserie. About this time pope Vrbane the fourth of that name instituted the feast of Corpus Christi, to be celebrated each yeere on the thursday after Trinitie sundaie. The Carmelite friers came at this time into Scotland, and erected a chappell of our ladie without the walles of saint Johns towne, which the bishop of Donkeld appointed them, therein to celebrate their seruice. It was also said, that in this season a monke of Melrosse was admonished in a dreame, where he should find a part of the holie crosse, not far from Peplis in Louthian, inclosed in a case ingrauen with the title of S. Nicholas. And not farre from the same was likewise found a stone chest, right cunninglie wrought and ingrauen, wherein were found certeine bones wraped in silke, but whose bones the same were it was not knowne. As soone as the case was opened, within the which the crosse was included, manie miracles were wrought (as it was then beleeued.) King Alexander for deuotion hereof, builded an abbeie in honor of the holie crosse, in the same place where that peece of the crosse was so found. In this abbeie afterwards there were monks inhabiting of the order of the Trinitie.

A part of the holie crosse found.

An abbeie built.

Not long after, the two kings of England and Scotland met togither at Warke castell, accompanied with a great number of the nobles and gentlemen of both their realmes, for the redresse of certeine misorders committed betwixt the borderers. Such reformation also was here deuised, and recompense made on either side, that both the realms continued afterwards in more perfect tranquillitie for a certeine space, than euer was seene in anie kings daies before that time. In this season was the church of Glasco finished in that perfection as it stands to be seene at this day, right sumptuouslie builded, for the most part at the charges of William bishop of that see, who liued not long after the finishing of the said worke. In the yeere following, which was the yeere after the birth of our Sauiour 1263, there fell a great dearth through both the realmes of England and Scotland, by reason of the wet haruest preceding, so that the corne and graine was quite marred and corrupted before it could be got beside the ground.

In interuiew Matth. Paris writeth that in the yeare 1256, both K. Alexander & his wife came into England to visit king Henrie, whom they found at Woodstoke, as in the English chronicles further appeareth.

1262.

A great derth

Acho king of Norwaie, being informed how the Scots were thus oppressed with famine and other miseries, by report of them that made the same more than it was in deed, supposed to find time and occasion fit for his purpose, to subdue them wholie to his dominion. Hereupon, preparing an armie and a fleet of ships conuenient for such an enterprise, he landed with the same in the westerne Iles, on Lammas day otherwise called Petri ad Vincula. Those Iles continued vnder subiection of the Norwegians and Danes, from king Edgars time vnto the daies of this Acho. From thence the said Acho with a mightie power of his Danes and Norwegians came ouer into Aran and Bute, which are two Iles, and onelie at that time amongst all the residue were vnder the dominion of Scots. But Acho hauing quicklie subdued them at his pleasure, in hope of more prosperous successe, transported his whole armie ouer into Albion, and landed with the same on the nert coasts, where after he had besieged the castell of Aire a certeine time, hee toke the same, and began to waste and spoile all the countrie thereabouts.

Acho king of Norwaie.

The westerne Iles vnder subiection of the Danes & Norwegians

Acho landed in Albion.

The castell of Aire besieged and woone.

King Alexander being sore astonied with these newes, for that he was yong, and not able (as it was doubted) to resist the force of his enimies, imboldened vpon such frequent victories as they had atchiued, thought best to prolong the time by colour of some treatie for a peace, that waie to diminish the enimies force, by long soiorning in campe without triall of anie battell. Hereupon were ambassadors sent vnto Acho, of the which one amongst them appointed thereto, being well languaged and wise, at their first comming before him spake in this manner.

King Alexanders purpose to infeeble his enimies force.

Ambassadors sent to Acho.

Were it not that our king & nobles of the realme (by an ancient custome obserued euen from the beginning) do vse first to seeke redresse of all iniuries receiued, before they offer to be reuenged with the sword; ye should not now behold orators sent vnto you to talke of concord, but a mightie armie in ordi-

The oration of one of the ambassadors.

" "

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nance

nance of battell comming towards you to giue the onset. We are of that opinion, that we neuer get so much gaines by victorie of the enimies, no though they haue robbed and spoiled our confines, but that we account it much better to haue peace, if we may haue restitution of wrongs done to vs, by some maner of honest meanes. For what greater follie may be, than to seeke for that by fier and sword, which may be purchased with faire and quiet words? Neuertheless, when our iust desires and reasonable motions are refused of the enimies, when we find them not willing to haue peace (for the obteining whereof all warres ought to be taken in hand) but rather that their onelie seeking is to haue warres, not respecting the quarrell: we are readie to rise wholie togither in reuenge of such contempts with all possible speed and violence against our aduersaries. We are sent therefore from our king and souereigne, to inquire what occasion you haue thus to inuade his realme and subiects, in violating that peace and league, which hath béene obserued and kept betwixt vs and your nation, the space of this hundred yéeres, and not onelie to take from him his two Iles of Bute and Aran, but also to inuade the maine land of his dominions, with such crueltie, as neither consideration of age or person séemeth to be had; but that women, children, and feeble old persons haue passed by the sword, as well as those that haue stood at resistance with weapon in hand against you. What heinous offense haue the Scotishmen at anie time committed either against you or anie other (whose reuengers ye may séeme to be) that they should deserue to haue such crueltie shewed against them? What furious ire hath moued you to burne the churches of God and his saints, with the murther of his people that flee into the same for safegard of their liues? But if you dread not God that gouerneth all things (by his diuine prouidence) which heere in this world we sée; if ye dread not the saints nor vengeance to come on you by the punishment of the righteous God: ye ought yet to dread the two most puissant kings of Albion, alied togither in bond of amitie and mariage, which shall come against you with such puissance, that ye shall not be able to resist the same. Therefore sith ye may depart with honor, we on the behalfe of him from whome we are sent, do admonish you, that better it is for you to redresse such iniuries as ye haue alreadie done, and therewith to repaire home, than to aduenture to be brought vnto such desperate ends, that when ye shall be constreined to séeke for mercie, the same in no wise will be granted vnto you. ¶ These words were spoken by the ambassadors, vpon purpose to put some terror into the hart of this hardie king Acho.

Peace to be preferred before warres.

Wherefore warres ought to be moued.

The cause of their message.

Neuertheles he was abashed so little therwith, that he answered them in this manner. Your beliefe is (I perceiue) ye ambassadors, to abash vs with your fierce and awfull words, supposing vs so weake harted, that we should leaue off our enterprise through your menacing threats: but ye are farre deceiued suerlie if your imagination be such. And where ye exaggerate our iniuries done to you in taking from you certeine Iles, we perceiue you are not met nor indifferent persons to be chosen for iudges in that cause, neither do we mind to learne of you, what we ought to estéeme right or wrong in such behalfe. If ye desire further to know and vnderstand the cause why we haue inuaded Aran and Bute, we saie and affirme, that not onelie those two Iles perteine to vs and our people by good title and ancient right of inheritance, but also all the other Iles of Scotland, as we are able by firme euidences sufficiently to proue. And therfore are we now come to take presentlie so much in value out of Scotland, as ye haue taken in

King Achos answer.

Burning of churches.

The cause of Achos coming into Scotland.

issues and profits out of those Iles in times past from vs. Shew then to your king, that we feare neither his menacing words, nor yet anie other violence that he can shew against vs. Notwithstanding, if he be more desirous of peace than of battell, and lusteth to auoid the spoiling and burning of his townes, and slaughter of his people; or if he desired not to sée the vtter extermination of his realme afore his eies, command him to send vnto vs forthwith ten thousand marks sterling for the fruits of our lands taken vp and receiued by him and his elders in times past, and further that he make a cleare resignation of all claime or title that he may séeme to pretend vnto the said Iles, in such sort that the same may passe vnder our dominion in perpetuitie without anie contradiction.

His demand.

When king Alexander had heard what the answer of his enimie was, he was therewith sore moued, & perceiuing no waie to eschue the battell, but that he should be constreined to trie fortunes chance, he assembled togither an armie of fortie thousand men, that though he were not able to match his enimies in prowesse, he might yet passe them in number. He diuided his host into three battels. In the right wing was Alexander Steward, a verie valiant knight, nephue to that Alexander which indowed the abbeie of Paslie. He had with him all the men that came forth of Argile, Leuenor, Atholl, and Galloway. In the left wing was Patrike Dunbar, hauing with him the men of Louthian, Fife, Mers, Berwike, and Striueling shire. In the middle ward was the king himselfe, with all the remnant people of the other parts of Scotland, to succour the wings when danger appéered. These battels were ordered in such arraie, that euerie band had a capteine assigned to them of their owne language, to exhort them to manhod, thereby to win praise and honor.

King Alexander assembleth his power.

The ordering of the Scotish host.

Alexander Steward leader of the right wing.

Patrike Dunbar capteine of the left wing.

The king in the middle ward.

At his entring into the confines of Conningham, where he came first within sight of his enimies, he called his people togither, and exhorted them to do their dutifull indeuors like hardie and valiant men, against those enimies that inuaded their countrie without anie iust cause or title of warre, and to put their trust in almightie God, desiring him to grant victorie vnto that part, which had most right and iustest cause of battell. He further shewed how necessarie it was for them to behaue themselues valiantlie, and how much it stood them in hand to fight with manlie courages, in defense of their wiues, children, liberties, and lands, hauing no hope of suertie of life but in the valiant vsing of their able hands, so that their whole safegard rested in this point, either to vanquish their enimies with manhod, or else to liue in seruile bondage as their slaues and miserable thrals, and to suffer their wiues and daughters to be abused at their lust and pleasure. He willed them therefore to consider, that not onelie he, but all Scotland should sée them fight that day, noting both their manhod & cowardise. But sith their cause was iust, and moued onlie in defense of their native countrie and ancient liberties, he trusted they would shew the more hardinesse and courage, namelie against them that sought onelie bloud and spoile. These with other the like words king Alexander vttered with bold spirit, to incourage his people. And on the other part king Acho likewise thought it expedient to vse some exhortation vnto his armie, that they should not be afraid of the great number and huge multitude of the Scots.

King Alexander exhorteth his people to do valiantlie.

Hope of suertie in what point it rested.

The necessitie of the cause.

Séekers of bloud & spoile.

Achos exhortation to his people.

The chiefest point to incourage them to do valiantlie, he supposed was the hope of spoile, and therefore he put them in remembrance, how by victorie not onelie all such riches as the Scots had brought thither with them (which could not be small) but also

Hope of spoile incourageth men of warre.

all

all the whole substance and treasure of the realme to be at their commandement, yea and the realme it selfe, if they minded to inioy it: so that this was the day which they had so much desired, wherein sufficient opportunitie was offered to shew what reward should follow to ech man for his good and valiant seruice. But for that high enterprises and famous exploits might neuer be atchiued without extreme ieopardie, it behoued them to atteine to these so great commodities by persing thorough, and ouerthrowing by dint of sword the arrated battels of their enimies, which how easie a matter it should be for them to bring to passe, such as well considered the circumstances, might some coniecture. For through dearth and famine which so long hath reigned amongst the Scotish people, their bodies and forces (saith he) are so wonderfullie infeebled, that they appeare to represent rather shadowes than full personages of men able to make resistance.

High enterprises atchiued with extreme perill.

Againe, in consideration how necessarie it was for euerie man to fight without fainting, sith they were inuironed on ech part without meane to escape, he desired them, that if it so fell out, that they should chance to be ouercome (which as he trusted should not come to passe) that in such misaduenture they would yet sell their liues derelie, and not to die vnreuenged. Thus hauing opened vnto them what prosperous hap followed by victorie, and what danger by the ouerthrow, he thought to haue sufficientlie instructed them to put all feare aside, and to do what lay in their vttermost forces to vanquish the enimies.

The ordering of the battels.

The kings on either side, hauing thus exhorted their people to do their indeuors, they arraie their battels. Acho disposed all his best souldiers and whole force of his armie in the middle ward, for that he had knowledge how the Scotish king was placed in the middle battell of his people: wherefore he supposed, that if he might ouerthrow and vanquish that part where the king stood, he should easilie then put the residue to flight. His wings (bicause he had not number sufficient to furnish them fullie) were arraied more weakelie in slender and thin ranks: but yet at the first incounter there was a terrible fight betwixt them, especiallie where the two kings fought: for they preassed still with great violence on that part where they saw anie danger, not ceassing to exhort & incourage their men to stand to the bargaine with manlie stomachs, so that on either side these two kings plaied the parts of verie valiant capteins.

The battels ioine.

The valiancie of the kings.

Acho with a band of verie hardie souldiers assaied sundrie times to perse and disorder the battell where king Alexander fought: notwithstanding he had so great number of people there with him, that he stuffed euen the ranks with fresh men where he saw it needfull. Also betwixt the wings, there was no lesse crueltie shewed on either side in the beginning of the battell, till at length the Norwegians, perceiuing themselues ouerpressed with multitude, and compassed in on euerie side, did somewhat begin to shrinke, and first those in the left wing, constreined to breake their order, fell to running awaie. Alexander Steward therfore, that had the leading of the right wing of the Scots, hauing pursued the enimies a certeine space, and slaine Achos nephue, a man of high reputation and authoritie amongst the Norwegians, caused the retreat to be sounded, and gathering his men againe into araie, brought them against the enimies of the middle ward, where was hard hold betwixt the two kings, the battell continuing with great slaughter on both parts, and vncerteine a long while to whether part the victorie would incline: but the Norwegians being now assailed on the backs by a new power of their enimies, at length they began to flee amaine.

The great number of Scotishmen.

The left wing of the Norwegians are put to flight.

Achos nephue is slaine.

The maine battell of the Norwegians fleeth.

In the meane time, the left wing of the Scots, whereof one Patrike had the leading, was in great danger, by reason the capteine himselfe was sore wounded, and thereby all the companies in the same wing sore discomforted: but after they once beheld how the middle ward of their enimies was put to flight, they recouered new courages, and with great force caused their aduersaries, with whom they were matched, to giue backe also: and so were the Danes and Norwegians chased by the Scots, with verie cruell slaughter through all Cunningham, not ceassing from the pursute of the enimies, till night made an end of that daies worke. King Acho with a few other escaped out of danger, and comming to the castell of Aire, which (as ye haue heard) he had wone before, he was there informed of an other losse which he had susteined: for his fleet conteining the number of an hundred and fiftie ships, were so beaten with an outragious tempest, that there were not past foure of all that number saued, the residue being drowned and broken against the rocks and cliffes. The mariners also, being constreined to come on land for safegard of their liues, were slaine by the people of the countrie, so that few of them or none at all escaped.

The left wing of the Scots in danger.

The Danes and Norwegians chased by the Scots

The losse of Achos ships by tempest.

The losse of the mariners.

Acho being thus abashed with these two infortunate mischances, aswell for the losse and discomfiture of his armie by land, as for the perishing of his nauie on the seas, got him vnto those foure ships that were saued, and sailed with them about the coast, till he arriued in Orkneie. In this battell, which was fought at Largis on the third day of August, in the yere 1263, there were slaine of Danes and Norwegians 24 thousand, and of Scots about fiue thousand. Thus saith Hector Boetius. But Fourdon seemeth not to agree altogither herewith, who writing of this inuasion made by the Norwegians into Scotland, saith, that they were but twentie thousand men of warre in all, imbarked in foure score ships, which comming to the new castell of Aran, besieged as well the said castell of Aran, as the castell of Bute, and tooke them both, spoiling also the churches alongst the sea coast, and after arriuing at Largis in Cunningham, on the feast of the natiuitie of our ladie, lost the most part of their vessels, which were drowned togither with thousands of men in the same. The residue that got to land, incountring with the Scots led by Alexander Steward of Dondonald, were discomfited, put to flight, chased & drowned in the sea, into the which they were driuen. Amongest other that were slaine, a nephue of king Acho was one, a yong gentleman of great valiancie, and sore lamented of his vncle. Acho had much adw to escape himselfe, he was so egerlie pursued of his enimies.

Acho the ende of his life.

1263.

Iohn Fourdon

Thus haue I thought good to shew the diuersitie of writers in this behalfe, that it may appeere how things are sometimes amplified by Boetius, to aduance the glorie of his countriemen, further perhaps than by the simple veritie of those that did write before him, may in some points be well auerred. But now to proceed. King Acho at his comming into Orkneie, sent into Norwaie and Denmarke for a new armie, prouiding ships & all other things necessarie, to haue made a new inuasion into Scotland against the nert spring: but for that he himselfe departed out of this life in the beginning of the yere nert following, all that purueiance and great preparation was dashed, and came to none effect. The same day that Acho deceassed, that is to saie, the 21 day of Januarie, Alexander prince of Scotland, the eldest son of king Alexander, whome he begot on his wife queene Margaret, the sister of Henrie king of England, was borne, to the great reioising of the people. For the people conceiued double ioy & gladnesse

Acho prepareth to make a new inuasion into Scotland, but dieth before his prouision was readie.

Alexander prince of Scotland, as eldest sonne to the king is borne.

nelle hereof, bicauſe that both a new prince was borne, and that enimie dead which ſought the deſtruction of the whole realme. After the deceaſſe of king Acho, his ſonne Magnus ſucceeded him, a verie faithfull prince, and one that had the feare of God before his eies.

1249.

Reginald. He began to reigne the firſt of Maie.

Yuarus.

Harold.

Magnus.

1254.

Yuarus.

Lieutenant or bailife of the Ile of Man vnder the Scots.

Ambaſſadors ſent from Magnus K. of Norwaie to king Alexander.

In the ſecond yeare of his reigne, he ſent his ambaſſadors (of whome the chiefe was the chancellor of Norwaie) vnto king Alexander, whome they found at ſaint Johns towne, and there ſignified vnto him, that king Magnus their maiſter would willinglie giue ouer all his title, right, and claime vnto Aran and Bute, ſo that the reſidue of the Iles might remaine in quiet poſſeſſion of him and his ſucceſſors in time comming. Herevnto was anſwer made by king Alexander, that the Iles by right of old inheritance perteined vnto him and his progenitors kings of Scotland, and therefore he might not make anie agreement with the Danes or Norwegians, till he had recouered the full poſſeſſion of the ſame Iles. The ambaſſadors being diſpatched and ſent awaie with this anſwer, incontinentlie Alexander Steward of Paſleie, and John Cumin were ſent with an armie ouer into Man, which Ile they then recouered (though not without bloud) forth of the hands of the Danes and Norwegians, who had kept the ſame in poſſeſſion now for the ſpace of 167 yeares paſſed, but not without ſome alteration and trouble, as may appeare by the annales of Richard Southwell, a writer (as ſhould ſeeme) well inſtructed in matters as well touching Scotland, and the north parts, as alſo concerning the ſtate of the out Iles. And therefore that the ſame may the better appeare to the readers, I haue thought it not impertinent to ſet downe what I haue read in the ſame Southwell, touching the kings, or rather viceroies of Man, and thoſe Iles which for a ſeaſon (as ſhould ſeeme in deed) were ſubſtituted by the kings of Norwaie, though it may alſo appeare, that ſometime there was a certeine ſucceſſion in them, as from the father to the ſonne, & from the brother to the brother, &c: in manner as if it had beene by waie of inheritance.

In time of the trouble betwixt the ſons of Malcolme Cammore and their vncle Donald Bane Magnus K. of Norwaie the ſon of Olaue ſubdued theſe Iles. Richard Southwell.

1265

Iohn Fordun

In the daies of king John therefore (as ſaith the foreſaid Southwell) one Gothred reigned as king in Man. And in the yeare 1228, one Reginald being king of thoſe Iles, was murthered by wicked perſons, & then his brother Olaue reigned in his place. In the yeare 1230, the king of Norwaie appointed one Huſbac, the ſonne of Osmund (ſurnamed Hacon) to gouerne the ſaid Iles called Sodorenſes, that is to ſay, the Ile of Man, & the other Iles there abouts the coaſts of Scotland; the which Huſbac, together with two other captains Olaue and Godred, ſurnamed Don, came by ſea, and arriued at Bute, where they wan the caſtell: but Huſbac was ſlaine with a ſtone that was throwne downe vpon him. And then after this, the foreſaid Olaue and Godred came vnto the Ile of Man, where they diuided the kingdome of the Iles betwixt them, ſo as Olaue had Man alotted to him for his part, and Godred the other Iles. But after that Godred was alſo ſlaine, Olaue gouerned both in Man, and in all the other Iles (thoſe excepted which the ſonnes of Somerled held in poſſeſſion.) In the yeare 1237, in the moneth of Maie, Alane king of Man, the ſonne of Godred, & brother to Reginald, departed this life, after whoſe deceaſſe his ſonne Harold ſucceeded him, and reigned 12 yeares, being but 14 yeares of age when he began his reigne.

Gothred king of Man.

Reginald.

1228.

Olaue, or Olauus.

1230.

Huſbac.

Inſulæ Sodorenſes.

Olauus and Godredus.

Bute.

Huſbac ſlaine.

Olauus and Godredus diuide the kingdome of the Iles betwixt them.

1237.

Alane.

Harold.

In the yeare 1247, Haco king of Norwaie ſent for Harold king of Man to come vnto his coronation, who comming thither, was honorablie receiued, and obteined king Hacos daughter in mariage: but as he returned from thence, in the yeare 1249, together with his wife, they periſhed in the ſeas by a tempeſt on the coaſts of Ireland. Then ſucceeded his brother Reginald, who reigned but 27 daies, for he was ſlaine the firſt of June the ſame yeare, by the ſeruants of a knight called Yuarus. Then Harold the ſonne of Godred Don gouerned Man one yeare, being remoued by the king of Norwaie: & after him Magnus the ſonne of Olaue began his reigne ouer Man & the other Iles, by conſent of the Manſkemen themſelues. But in the yeare 1254, one Yuarus was ordeined king, or rather viceroy of thoſe Iles, & gouerned the ſame, till the foreſaid Magnus king of Norwaie reſigned his title to all the ſaid Iles vnto king Alexander (as ye haue heard) who placed his lieutenants there, of whome the firſt was called Godred mac Mares, the ſecond Alane. And after him Maurice Okarfaire ſucceeded; and then followed one that was the kings chaplaine.

1247.

Harold paſſeth into Norway.

Is drowned in his returne.

For the time of the reſignation made, I follow Hector Boetius, by reaſon of ſome contrarietie which appeareth in Southwell in the account of the yeares aſſigned to the reignes of thoſe Iland kings, if you confer the ſame with the time of the foreſaid reſignation. But now to the matter. The lieutenant appointed to haue the rule of thoſe Iles, now that they were thus come into the hands of the Scots, was bound by his office to be readie with thirtene ſhips, and fiue hundred mariners to come to the aid of the Scots, at all times when he ſhould thereto be required. After this, were the earles of Atholl, Carrike, and March, Alexander Steward, with the thanes of Argile, and Lennos, ſent with a puiſſant armie vnto the other of the weſterne Iles, the which thoſe that were greateſt, they brought with much a do vnder the obeiſance of the crowne of Scotland, the reſidue ſubmitted themſelues.

The weſterne Iles recouered out of the hands of the Norwegians

Magnus king of Norwaie informed hereof, ſent eftſoones his chancellor in ambaſſage vnto king Alexander, to trie if he might by treatie recouer againe thoſe Iles: and if he might not bring that to paſſe, yet to compound with him for a yearelie tribute. The firſt motion of the chancellor would in no wiſe be heard, therefore ſurceaſſing to ſpend anie longer time about it, they fell in communication touching the ſecond, which toke effect at length in this wiſe. King Magnus by his letters vnder his great ſeale, renounced and gaue ouer his right or claime that he had or might haue, both for him and his ſucceſſors to all the Iles of Scotland. And king Alexander for this reſignation was agreed to paie the ſaid king of Norway, foure thouſand marks ſterling, together with a penſion or tribute of an hundred marks by yeare. And for the more confirmation of loue and amitie betwixt the two kings and their people, Margaret the daughter of king Alexander, being not paſt one yeares of age, was promiſed in mariage vnto Hanigo, the ſonne of king Magnus, the ſame mariage to be conſummat when ſhe came to yeares mariable. Further, in place where the greateſt ſlaughter of Danes and Norwegians had beene made, it was couenanted that an hoſpitall ſhould be erected & founded there, for the ſuſtentation of poore folks.

The chancellor of Norwaie ambaſſador to king Alexander.

The releaſe of Magnus king of Norwaie to the Scotiſh Iles.

A yearelie penſion.

Margaret K. Alexanders daughter.

About this ſeaſon, there were great warres in England betwixt king Henrie and his barons, of whome the chiefe was Simon Mountfort earle of Leiceſter, and diuerſe other. K. Henrie being not well able to withſtand his aduerſaries attempts, requeſted K. Alexander to ſend him ſome aid of Scots to ſubdue the rebels of his realme, that had arreared warres againſt him. Hereupon ſhortlie after, was Alexander Cumin, with fiue thouſand choſen men, ſent by king Alexander into England, who right valiantlie bare themſelues in that war which king

Warre in England.

King Henrie required aid of the Scots.

Alexander Cumin ſent into England.

king Henrie held against his barons, whereof in the English chronicle ye may read more at large. In these dates (as the translator of Hector Boetius hath written) that notable and most famous outlaw Robin Hood liued, with his fellow little John, of whome are manie fables and merie iests deuised and song amongst the vulgar people. But Iohn Maior writeth that they liued (as he doth gesse) in the daies of king Richard the first king of England, 1198.

Robin Hood and little John his companion.

In the yeare next and immediatlie following, after that Henrie king of England had subdued his domesticall enimies, there came a legat from pope Clement the fourth, requiring him to haue a collection of monie in Scotland towards the charges of leuieng an armie against the Saracens. But this legat was not receiued into the realme, but commanded to shew his message vpon the borders. He demanded therfore of euerie parish-church in Scotland foure marks sterling, and of euerie abbeie foure score marks. And to the end he might the soner purchase fauor to the furtherance of his purpose, he deuised by the way certeine statutes and ordinances right profitable to be vsed in the realme of Scotland, as he iudged. But king Alexander for answer hereunto alledged, that the Scots minded not to receiue anie statutes or decrees, other than such as were ordeined by the pope, or some generall councell: for by a generall rule; The more precepts, the more offendors are alwaies found. And as touching the request made for the collection of so great summes of monie, it was not thought necessarie, that so much coine should go forth of the realme: neuertheless if it were thought expedient, he would be contented to send forth at his owne proper costs and charges, a number of armed men to go with the christian armie against the Turks: but for monie otherwise forth, the realme would not depart with anie, least it should be wastfullie spent, or taken by the way of theeues, as it had beene aforetime.

A legat from pope Clement

The legats demand.

The answer of king Alexander to the legats message.

The more precepts the more offendors.

King Alexanders wisedome praised by king Henrie.

Henrie king of England praised much the wisedome of king Alexander for this his answer, as he declared shortlie after by his sonne prince Edward, who came to visit his sister the quæne, and his brother in law king Alexander at Rorsburgh, where they met him; for ye must vnderstand that K. Henrie had also learned by experience to be wise in that behalfe, as well as others. King Alexander yet after this sent vnto the pope a thousand marks in siluer: and vnto Lewes the French king, that required his aid in that iournie which he made into Affrike against the Saracens there, a thousand souldiers, vnder the leading of the earles of Carrike & Atholl, John Steward brother of Alexander Steward, Alexander Cumin, Robert Keth, George Durward, John Quincie, & William Gordon. All these going ouer with K. Lewes into Affrike, died there, either vpon the enimies sword, or by the intemperat heat of that countrie (whereto they had not beene accustomed) in the yeare after the incarnation 1270. The earle of Carrike, whose name was Thomas, perishing thus amongst the residue in Affrike, left no inheritor behind him to inioy his lands, sauing a daughter named Martha, being then about fifteene yeares of age. This yong ladie, chancing to ride on hunting in the woods for passtime and solace, as the vse is, fortuned by aduenture to meet with a noble yong man one Robert Bruse the sonne and heire to Robert Bruse the lord of Anandale in Scotland, and Cleueland in England, begot of Isabell the second daughter of Dauid earle of Huntingtor. The ladie immediatlie became so inamored of this yong gentleman, that she led him with hir home vnto Carrike, where (without making hir friends priuie to the matter) she maried him in all hast, least anie man should be about to hinder hir determined purpose. Of this mariage was borne that Robert Bruse which afterwards (through want of heires of the linage of king Alexander) atteined the crowne of Scotland. As soone as Alexander was aduertised hereof, he tooke such indignation that she should bestow hir selfe so lightlie vpon one whom she neuer saw before, that he seized hir castell of Turneberie into his hands, with all hir other lands and possessions, as it were by eschеat, for that she had maried without his consent. Notwithstanding, within short while after he tooke pitie on hir case, and for an easie composition of monie which she paied for hir marriage, restored to hir againe all hir lands and liuings, suffering hir to inioy hir husband without anie more trouble or veration. In the third yeare after, the said ladie was deliuered of the afore-remembred Robert Bruse that was after king of Scotland. And the same yeare, which was the yeare after the birth of our Sauiour 1274, Dauid the second son of king Alexander deceassed; and the third yeare after, the brethren of Edward king of England came into Scotland to visit the quæne their sister, & their brother in law the K. & after did attend them in their iournie to London, whither they went to be present at the coronation of the foresaid Edward, as then returned forth of Affrike after the decease of his father king Henrie, to take vpon him the gouernement of the kingdome descended vnto him by right of inheritance. He was crowned the same yeare on the day of the assumption of our ladie in August, with great solemnitie and triumph.

King Alexander displeased with the foresaid Martha.

Robert Bruse that was after king of Scotland is borne. 1274.

King Alexander with his wife the quæne came to London.

At the same time there was a Norman in king Edwards court, of such passing strength of bodie, that he ouerthrew all men with whome he wrestled, till at length one Ferquhard a Scotishman borne, of the countrie of Rosse, descended of noble parentage, vanquished him to his great praise & aduancement in honor: for king Alexander in guerdon of so worthie a deed there done in the presence of so honorable an assemblie, gaue vnto him the earledome of Rosse for euermore. Of this Ferquhard succeeded fiue earles all of his surname, but the first earle was named William Rosse, otherwise Leslie, in whose sonne the seuenth earle failed the dignitie of that house for fault of succession. At the same time prince Alexander king Alexanders sonne did homage vnto king Edward for the earledome of Huntington, as the Scotish writers do testifie. Shortlie after that king Alexander was returned forth of England at that time into Scotland, his wife quæne Margaret deceassed, and was buried in Dunfirmling. She bare by him two sonnes, Alexander and Dauid, and one daughter named Margaret, the which (according to the assurance before made) was maried about three yeares after hir mothers decease, vnto Hanigo, or rather Aquine king of Norwaie, and deceassed in the second yeare after the solemnization of the mariage, leauing behind hir a daughter named also Margaret.

A Norman of passing strength. Ferquhard a Scotishman ouerthrew the said Norman.

The earledome of Rosse giuen to William Rosse alias Leslie.

The death of quæne Margaret.

The mariage of Margaret king Alexanders daughter.

But before this hap fell so out, euen immediatlie after the death of quæne Margaret the mother, hir yonger sonne Dauid deceassed: by reason whereof, king Alexander being carefull of his succession, procured a mariage for his elder sonne prince Alexander, with the earle of Flanders his daughter, the which being brought into Scotland, was maried vnto the said prince in Jedworth, on the sunday after the feast of saint Martine in winter, in the yeare of our Lord 1279. The feast of this mariage was holden with great triumph and solemnitie continuallie for the space of fifteene daies togither. ¶ This yeare a number of the Scotish nobilitie, which had attended the ladie Margaret into Norwaie, were lost

The death of Dauid sonne to king Alexander.

The mariage of Alexander prince of Scotland.

1279.

1270.

Thomas earle of Carrike.

Martha daughter to the earle of Carrike.

Robert Bruse.

Robert Bruse maried to Martha daughter to the earle of Carrike.

1 thousand marks sent to the pope.

Scotish capteins sent into Affrike.

loſt by ſhipwracke, as they would haue returned backe againe to Scotland after the conſummation of hir mariage there with king Hanigo or Aquine. Shortlie after, by the force of deaths dreadfull dint, two greeuous loſſes chanced vnto king Alexander, the one following in the necke of another. For firſt his eldeſt ſonne prince Alexander, being not paſt twentie yeares of age, departed out of this world, without leauing anie iſſue behind him; and not long after, his daughter Margaret quæne of Norwaie deceaſſed alſo, leauing behind hir one onelie daughter (as before is mentioned) being as yet but an infant.

The death of Alexander prince of Scotland.

The death of Margaret quæne of Norwaie.

In the ſame yéere was a generall councell holden at Lions, the pope and a great multitude of the prelats of chriſtendome being there aſſembled. To this councell were ſummoned to appeare all the prouincials, wardens, and miniſters of the begging friers. And for that there were ſo manie ſundrie orders of them, each man deuiſing of his owne braine ſome new alteration; all thoſe orders were reduced into the foure orders, which after by the church of Rome were approued and allowed. A generall commandement was alſo giuen, that no man ſhould go about to begin anie new forme of ſuch vaine ſuperſtitious orders, which appoint themſelues to eſchue labor, to the end they may liue in pleaſure, luſt & idleneſs, vpon the trauell of other mens browes. In this mean time, after that the chriſtian armie was returned home out of Affrike, by reaſon of a truce concluded with the Soldan, the ſame Soldan (that truce notwithſtanding) ceaſſed not to make great ſlaughters and inuaſions vpon thoſe chriſtian men that remained behind. The chriſtian princes ſore moued herewith, made their appreſts for a new expedition into the holie land. The Scots gaue the tenth penie of all their lands, or rather (as ſome bookes ſay) the tenth part of all tithes belonging to churches, to the furtherance of this iornie: notwithſtanding through ſuch enuie and contentions as roſe amongſt the ſaid princes, that iornie brake, to the great damage and preiudice of the chriſtian faith.

A councell at Lions.

The foure orders of friers.

A commandement giuen againſt diuiſing new orders of friers.

The Soldan contrarie to the truce inuadeth the chriſtians.

The Scots contribution for a iournie into the holie land.

King Alexander hauing loſt his wife and children, in maner as is before expreſſed, not onelie hée himſelfe, but alſo all Scotland was in great penſiueneſſe and ſorrow, each man by a certeine foreiudgement and miſgiuing in mind, doubting the miſhap that might thereof inſue. But yet did king Alexander, by the aduiſe of his nobles, in hope of new iſſue, marie the daughter of the earle of Champaigne in France, named Iolant. The mariage was celebrated at Jedburgh with great feaſting and triumph: but that ioy and blithneſſe indured not long after. For the ſame yéere on the 18 day of Aprill, as he was galloping vpon a fierce horſſe at Kingorne, forcing him in his race ſomewhat raſhlie, he was throwne ouer the weſt cliffe towards the ſea by a wonderfull miſfortune, ſo rudelie, that he brake his necke, and ſo therewith immediatlie died in the 42 yéere of his reigne. He was buried at Dunfirmling, in the yéere after the incarnation 1290. It is ſaid, that the daie before the kings death, the earle of March a little before night, demanded of one Thomas Leirmont, otherwiſe named Thomas the rimer, or (as the tranſlator of Hector Boetius ſaith) Thomas Erſilton (who in thoſe daies was reputed for a noble prophetier) or (as we may call him) a ſoothſaier, what weather they ſhould haue on the morow? To whome the ſaid Thomas anſwered, that on the morrow [before none] ſhould blow the forreſt wind and tempeſt that euer was heard of in Scotland at anie time before.

K. Alexander maried the daughter of the earle not of Champaign but of Dreux, ſaith Southw.

R. Southwell varieth ſomewhat from the Scotiſh writers in report of K. Alexanders death. Sée more in England.

35. H.B.

1290.

1285. H.B.

1286. Io. Ma.

Thomas of Erſilton or the rimer.

A prophecie of a tempeſt.

On the morrow when the ſkie appeared cleare and bright, without cloud or anie other ſigne of foule weather, and that it drew néere vnto the midſt of the daie, and no wind heard from anie ſide, but all calme and quiet, the earle of March ſent for the forenamed Thomas, and told him that he had miſtaken his marks, in propheſieng of anie ſuch notable tempeſt as he had ſpoken of the night before, conſidering it prooued ſo lithe a daie, without appearance of anie tempeſt to inſue. This Thomas ſaid little thereto, ſauing that he ſaid it was not yet paſt none. And incontinentlie herevpon came a poſt to the caſtell gate of Dunbar, where this earle of March as then laie, bringing word of the kings ſudden death, as before is recited. Then ſaid the propheſier: That is the ſcathfull wind and dreadfull tempeſt, which ſhall blow ſuch calamitie and trouble to the whole ſtate of the whole realme of Scotland. This Thomas was a man in great admiration of the people, ſhewing ſundrie things, as they afterward chanced: howbeit they were euer hid and inuolued vnder the veile of darke and obſcure ſpéeches.

Manie ſtrange wonders and vnketh ſights were ſéene in the daies of this Alexander the third. In the 17 yéere of his reigne, there was ſuch an infinit number of wormes through all the parties of Albion, that not onelie the leaues and fruits of trées, but alſo flowres & herbs in gardens were eaten vp and conſumed with them. And in the ſame yéere, the waters of Forth and Taie roſe with ſuch high tides in flowing ouer the banks, that manie townes and villages were drowned, to the great deſtruction both of men and beaſts. In the 20 yere of his reigne, there was a comet or blaſing ſtarre ſéene of a meruellous quantitie, ſhining euerie day toward the ſouth, euen about none daies. On the Epiphanie day next after, roſe ſo great winds, with ſtormes of ſuch vnmeaſurable great haileſtones, that manie townes were throwne downe by violence thereof. In the meane time, roſe through the vehement rage of winds, a ſudden fire, in manie bounds within the realme of Scotland, that did much hurt to buildings and edifices, burning vp ſteeples with ſuch force of fire, that the belles were in diuerſe places melted, as though it had béene in a fornace. Amongeſt other, thoſe of the abbeie of Abirbrothoke were moſt pretious, which were as then conſumed togither with the ſteeple wherein they hong. The townes of Aberden and Perth were burned the ſame time: alſo part of Lamrike, with the temple, and all the townes and villages in Clow, a part of Angus: and likewiſe manie townes and other buildings in Louthian, and in diuers other parts of the realme, to long here to rehearſe.

Vnketh ſights and wonders.

High tides.

A blaſing ſtarre.

Great winds.

Fire cauſed through wind.

Bels melted

In the 31 yéere of his reigne, was the firſt comming of the peſtilence into Scotland, with great mortalitie of the people, where it had not bene heard that euer this ſickneſſe had come within that realme before that time. In the ſolemnization of the ſecond mariage of king Alexander, as the bridegrome (according to the manner) led the bride in a danſe, a great number of lords and ladies following them in the ſame danſe, there appeared to their ſight as it were cloſing vp the hindermoſt of the danſers, a creature reſembling death, all naked of fleſh & lire, with bare bones right dreadfull to behold. Through which ſpectacle, the king and the reſidue of all the companie were ſo aſtonied, and put in ſuch fright & feare, that they had quicklie made an end of their danſe for that time. In the daies of this Alexander the third, liued ſundrie great clearkes. Amongſt other, Michaell Scot was reputed for an excellent phyſician, and for his ſingular practiſe & knowledge in that profeſſion was no leſſe eſtéemed and had in high fauour with Edward king of England, than with king Alexander, during his life time.

The firſt comming of the peſtilence into Scotland.

A ſtrange ſight in danſing.

Learned men.

Michaell Scot a phyſician.

* This

Francis Thins addition, to this marke.)

The lawes of Alexander the third.

✻ This Alexander made manie healthfull and good lawes, whereof moſt by the negligence of men, and longneſſe of time are woꝛne away; ſo that things ſo profitablie by him deuiſed, ſéeme rather by repoꝛt to haue béene oꝛdeined, than that they are by cuſtome pꝛactiſed. He diuided the kingdome into foure parts, thꝛough which he made his pꝛogreſſe almoſt euerie yéere, remaining about thꝛée moneths in euerie place, there to ſit in iudgement, and to heare the complaints of the poꝛe, at what time the meaneſt perſon might haue fꝛée acceſſe vnto him. As often as he went into anie pꝛouince to giue ſentence of law, he commanded the gouernoꝛ of that place to receiue him with a choſen companie; and when he departed thence, to bꝛing him to the boꝛders of his iuriſdiction, where he was honoꝛablie receiued of the next gouernoꝛs. The which trauelling about his realme he vſed, to the end that he might know all his nobilitie, and that he might alſo be knowne of all others. During which time of his pꝛogreſſe, no great traine oꝛ multitude of courtiers did follow him; bicauſe he would not charge his people in receiuing of them; and foꝛ that cauſe alſo abated and reſtreined the troope of hoꝛſſemen which followed the nobilitie, and bꝛought them into a certeine & meane number, bicauſe he ſuppoſed that the multitude of hoꝛſſes (whereof in warre there was no vſe) were néedleſſe deuourers of meat. Further, he foꝛbad his people to trauell by ſea foꝛ gaine oꝛ merchandize, when he conſidered that thꝛough the vnſkilfulnes of ſailing, the rathneſſe that men vſed in committing themſelues to the ſeas, and the rapine of pirats, manie men were loſt, and their goods ſpoiled: whereby the merchants were dꝛiuen to extreame pouertie. Which pꝛecept when it had continued almoſt a whole yéere, and by manie mens ſpéeches was repꝛehended as dangerous and hurtfull to the weale publike, at the length there arriued ſuch plentie of ſtrange merchandize in Scotland, that the abundance and cheapeneſſe thereof did excéed the memoꝛie of anie foꝛmer age. But yet to take oꝛder with and foꝛ the benefit of the merchants, he foꝛbad his people to buie anie thing bꝛought in by ſtrangers, but ſuch as were merchants of his land, and that all the other people ſhould buie of them ſuch things as they néeded.)

Scotland without a K. and gouernoꝛ.

Miſchiefes inſuing foꝛ lacke of a king.

Six gouernoꝛs choſen to haue the rule of Scotland.

King Alexander the third, being in ſuch miſerable wiſe deceaſſed, as befoꝛe is ſpecified, the realme remained in great diſcomfoꝛt, by reſon he had neither left anie iſſue behind him to ſucceéd in the gouernement thereof, neither taken oꝛder in his life time by teſtament, oꝛ otherwiſe, foꝛ anie other to ſupplie the rome of a gouernoꝛ, ſo that hereof inſued ſuch infinit miſoꝛders, by the pꝛeſumption of wicked and vngratious perſons, the which vpon hope to eſcape vnpuniſhed (bicauſe iuſtice was like to want due pꝛoceſſe) ceaſſed not to attempt manie vnlawfull acts, to the grieuous oppꝛeſſion of the people: which miſruled demeanoꝛs and diſoꝛdered enterpꝛiſes of thoſe outragious perſons, when ſuch as had anie zeale to the wealth of their countrie vnderſtood dailie to multiplie and increaſe, they thought it apperteined to their duties to pꝛouide ſome remedie in due time, and thereꝛpon called a councell togither, wherein after ſundꝛie conſultations had, and manie matters debated touching the rule of the realme, it was finallie agreéd, that ſix gouernoꝛs ſhould be elected and choſen, of the which thꝛée ſhould haue the adminiſtration and rule of the noꝛth parts, and theſe were William Fraſer biſhop of ſaint Andꝛews, Duncane earle of Fife, & John Cumin earle of Buchquane. The other thꝛée were appointed to the gouernance of the ſouth countries, that is to ſay, Robert biſhop of Glaſcow, ſir John Cumin (a man of high eſtimation foꝛ his wiſdome and experience as well in matters concerning peace as warre) and James high ſteward of Scotland.

But in the meane time Edward king of England, ſurnamed Longſhanks, caſt in his mind, how he might make ſome conqueſt of Scotland, now the ſame was thus deſtitute of an head to gouerne it. And foꝛ that he well vnderſtood that the daughter of Noꝛwaie (of whom beforе ye haue heard) was right inheritoꝛ to the crowne of Scotland, though ſhe were but verie yong in yéres, & not able foꝛ mariage: yet to compaſſe his purpoſe that waies foꝛth, he ſent his ambaſſadoꝛs vnto the loꝛds of Scotland, requiring to haue hir to wife, and the realme withall, as due vnto hir by good title and right of inheritance. The loꝛds, after long deliberation herein had, conſented to his deſire, vnder theſe conditions, that the realme ſhould remaine in all fꝛeedoms and liberties, without anie kind of ſeruile ſubiection, in the ſame maner and ſtate as it was vſed in the daies of king Alexander laſt deceaſſed, and other his noble pꝛogenitoꝛs: and if it chanced, that no iſſue came of this mariage to ſucceéd them, then ſhuld the crowne returne by remainder ouer to the next heirs of king Alexander, without anie claime oꝛ pꝛetext of title to be made by king Edward, oꝛ anie of his ſucceſſoꝛs in time to come.

How can this be true, when K. Edward had a wife at that time? but verelie the Scotiſh writers ſhew themſelues ouercome with too much malice in moſt things which they write in the defamatiõ of K. Edward.

Immediatlie herewith, two noble knights, ſir John Scot of Albanoꝛe, and ſir James Wemis, were ſent into Noꝛwaie to fetch the bꝛide ouer into Scotland: but beforе their comming thither, ſhee was deceaſſed, & ſo they returned backe into Scotland againe without effect of their errand. And thus by means of hir death, all amitie betwixt Engliſhmen and Scots ceaſſed. Then began to inſue great trouble and buſineſſe in Scotland, by reaſon of the contention which ſpꝛang betwixt the kinſmen of king Alexander, foꝛ the title and claime which they ſeuerallie made and pꝛetended to the crowne. There were thꝛée chiefliе that ſéemed by néereneſſe of blood to haue moſt right, and therefoꝛe made moſt earneſt ſute in their claime: John Baliol, Robert Bꝛuſe, and John Haſtings. This Robert Bꝛuſe was ſonne to the ſon of that Robert Bꝛuſe, which maried Iſabell the yongeſt daughter to Dauid earle of Huntington, on whom he got a ſon named alſo Robert, that maried the inheritoꝛ of Carrike, as we haue ſhewed beforе, whoſe ſonne this Robert Bꝛuſe was, that now claimed the crowne. John Baliol came of Margaret, eldeſt daughter to the foꝛeſaid Dauid earle of Huntington: foꝛ Alane loꝛd of Galloway, which maried the ſaid Margaret, begot on hir two daughters, of the which the eldeſt named Dernogill, was giuen in mariage vnto ſir John Baliol, father vnto this John Baliol, that thus made claime to the crowne: alledging that foꝛſomuch that he was come of the eldeſt daughter of earle Dauid, the bꝛother of king William, he ought by reaſon to be reputed as next heire to the ſame king William, ſith none other perſon aliue appꝛoched ſo néere vnto him in bloud.

The daughter of Noꝛwaie deceaſſed.

The contention betwixt the kinſmen of K. Alexander foꝛ the crowne. Sée moꝛe of this matter in the Engliſh hiſtoꝛies.

The anceſtoꝛs of Robert le Bꝛuſe.

The line of the Baliol with his title to the crowne.

✻ Here I thinke it conuenient beforе any moꝛe be ſpoken of this hiſtoꝛie, to interlace ſomewhat (beſides that which is alredie ſpoken, being here in part repeated) of the deſcent of this Dernogill, the daughter of Alane loꝛd of Galloway, beginning the ſame ſomewhat higher, in this ſoꝛt. In the reigne of William K. of Scots, which began in the yere of Chꝛiſt 1160, as ſaith Leſleus, lib. 6. pag. 226, Ferguſius gouernoꝛ of Galloway left two ſons, Gilbert, and Ethꝛed, who after the death of their father, fell at variance foꝛ the lands of Galloway, to be diuided betwixt them in equall poꝛtions. This bꝛall comming to the eares of king William, he was deſirous to quench

Fr. Thin.

Buchanan.

Wil. Paruus nameth him Uttred.

quench thoſe flames of vnkindneſſe betweene the ſaid brethren, and for that cauſe with indifferencie (as he ſuppoſed) he ment to pacifie and ſatisfie each part, by diuiding the inheritance equallie betweene them. But Gilbert highlie taking this partition in grudge (becauſe he was eldeſt, & that the whole inheritance belonged to him) did with like hatred purſue both the king and his brother, the one as enuious againſt him, and the other as an vnequall iudge, in giuing his right from him. Wherfore when king William was taken priſoner of the Engliſhmen, this Gilbert being of bold ſpirit (and now by the kings miſhap out of all danger, being deliuered from the feare of anie law) began to vtter his conceiued hatred till this time couertlie concealed. For vpon the ſudden, he toke his brother priſoner, put out his eies, cut out his tong, and not contented with a ſimple death (to be giuen vnto him at one inſtant) did moſt miſerablie a long time togither put him to paine, by diſmembring the ſeuerall parts of his bodie, before he ſhould die. After which wretched fact againſt his owne brother, he ioined himſelfe to the Engliſh nation, and taking preies on the borders, he did vnnaturallie and traitorouſlie (as it were an vtter enimie to his countrie) rage againſt his owne citizens, with all kind of murther and ſlaughter of battell. In which he did ſuch harme, and ſo great oppreſſion, as if he had not bene reſiſted by his nephue Rowland (gathering a ſtrong power to him of ſuch common people as remained ſtedfaſt in dutifull obedience to the impriſoned king) he had vtterlie ſpoiled all the countries adioining to England, or elſe would wholie haue brought them into his ſubiection. For this Rowland a luſtie young gentleman, bold of ſpirit, indued with noble ſtrength of mind and bodie, did not onelie beat downe the force of his vncle, but did manie times (and that ſometimes moſt happilie) fight with the Engliſh, when they ſpoiled his natiue ſoile, or that he made anie inuaſion into their borders.

Of this matter though not ſo fullie is somewhat intreated before, pag. 275. The crueltie of one brother to another.

At length when king William was deliuered of reſtreint, and returned into Scotland, this Gilbert (notwithſtanding all his former euils) by the mediation of his friends, found fauor in the king, and was pardoned of all his offenſes, but yet ſo as he promiſed to make recompenſe of all ſuch damages as he had committed; for the ſure performance whereof, he found ſufficient pledges to the king. But Gilbert ſhortlie after departing this life, they which had ſerued vnder him, giuen by continuall vſe vnto theft and blod, did yeeld themſelues to the fauourable protection of the king of England, either for inconſtancie of mind, or feare of puniſhment, being touched with remorſe of conſcience for the euill which they had before committed. Theſe men thus ſhadowed vnder the wings of England, did againe take armes againſt their countrie, vnder the conduct of Gilpatrike, Henrie Kennedie, and Samuell, who before had beene authors and executors to Gilbert, of all ſuch euils as were by him performed. Againſt whom was Rowland ſent with an armie, who in a ſet battell ſlue the capteine, and a multitude of both kinds of the common people. They which eſcaped the conflict, did flie to the refuge of one Gilcombe, capteine of ſuch perſons as liued vpon ſpoile and pilfering, who by continuance of followers, & increaſe of people, were now growne to ſome number, & did wander ouer all Louthian, robbing & ſpoiling in euerie place where they ſet foot: and not ſo content, did from thence paſſe into Galloway, where this Gilcombe toke in hand the defenſe of Gilberts cauſe (now vtterlie forſaken of all men) vnder colour whereof, he not onelie challenged the inheritance belonging to Gilbert, but alſo behaued himſelfe as chiefe lord of all Galloway. At length incountering with this Rowland in the kalends of October (the third moneth after the companie of this Gilbert was before diſperſed) this Gilcombe was valiantlie ſlaine, with the greateſt number of his followers, by the ſaid Rowland, on whoſe part there was verie few miſſing.

Gilpatrike & other ſpoile Scotland.

Gilcombe ſpoileth his countrie.

Gilcombe ſlaine.

The king of England highlie offended therwith (becauſe the yere before they had ſworne themſelues to ſerue faithfullie vnder him againſt their owne bloud) came in haſte with a maine armie to Carleill to ſeeke reuenge thereof. Which when William king of Scots vnderſtood, he laboured by all the meanes he could, to appeaſe the king of Englands diſpleaſure, and to reconcile this Rowland vnto him. In the end the king of Scots wrought ſo with the Engliſh, that Rowland was admitted to come to Carleill to the preſence of the king of England; the which Rowland did accordinglie. At what time before the king of England, refelling the ſlanderous accuſations of his aduerſaries (and further declaring that he had done nothing either raſhlie, or vniuſtlie againſt his and the common wealths enimie) he was honorablie by the Engliſh king ſuffered to depart from Carleill. Theſe things thus done, & king William returned into Scotland, he called to remembrance the continuall conſtancie and good ſeruice, which Ethred the father of Rowland had manie times done to him and to the realme; therewithall not forgetting the worthie erploits which this Rowland had of late performed for the common wealth: for which conſiderations he worthilie recompenſed the ſaid Rowland, in beſtowing on him the whole countrie of Galloway. And further (although he did not merit the ſame by reaſon of his fathers euils) yet the king mildlie conſidering, that the ſonne was not to beare the offenſe of the father (but hoping by this vndeſerued liberalitie, to bind him faithfullie to ſerue him) did giue the lands of Catrike vnto the ſonne of the ſaid Gilbert. All which William Paruus reporteth to haue happened in the yeere of Chriſt 1183.

Rowland reſtored to the fauour of the king of England.

Rowland made lord of Gallowaie.

Catrike giuen to the ſonne of Gilbert.

Rowland being thus made lord of Galloway, maried the ſiſter of William Hommill conſtable of Scotland, who dieng without iſſue, obteined the ſame office by inheritance in right of his wife, from whome did iſſue Alane lord of Galloway, and conſtable of Scotland, by inheritance from his mother, a valiant gentleman, and ſuch a perſon as for his notable ſeruice (imploied in Ireland on the behalfe of John king of England) was rewarded by the ſaid king with honorable and rich reuenues: for which by the permiſſion of William king of Scotland, he profeſſed himſelfe the liege man of John king of England, and ſware fealtie vnto him. This Alane (as is before ſaid) maried Margaret the elder daughter of Dauid earle of Huntington, of whome he raiſed three daughters, whereof the eldeſt being Dornagill, was maried to Balioll, the ſecond to Bruſe: in right of which Dornagill, the ſonne of this Balioll challenged the crowne of Scotland, as deſcended from the elder ſiſter.) On the other ſide Robert Bruſe, albeit he was deſcended of the yongeſt daughter to earle Dauid, yet was he come of the firſt iſſue male, for his father was firſt borne, and therefore if king William had deceaſſed without iſſue, the crowne had deſcended to him: for which conſideration he mainteined that he ought now to be preferred. Haſtings alſo for his part, becauſe he was come of the yongeſt daughter of king Dauid, maried to his father Henrie Haſtings, wanted not allegations to propone, why he ought to be admitted. Beſide theſe, there were other alſo, that made claime to the crowne of Scotland, and had matter ſufficient to mainteine their ſute. This controuerſie being brought before the gouernors, was at ſundrie times argued with much con-

Haketh himſelfe lord of Gallowaie.

Rowland conſtable of Scotland.

Alane lord of Galloway, & conſtable of Scotland.

The title of Robert Bruſe

Haſtings.

tention, not without the assistance of the nobles fauoring the parties, as occasion of friendship or kinred mooued them, namelie Baliol and Bruse had no small number that leaned vnto their parts, by reason whereof, the gouernors were in doubt to proceed to anie definite sentence in the matter, least if they declared one of them king, an other would attempt to vsurpe the crowne by force.

The doubt of the gouernors

Hereupon they iudged it best to referre the decision of all this whole matter to some mightie king, which was of puissance able to constreine the parties repugnant to obeie his sentence. Hereunto was none thought so meet as Edward king of England, and therfore they chose him [Of whose faith and loue towards them, they did not anie whit mistrust, bicause Alexander the last king of Scots had found the father of this Edward, both a louing father in law to himselfe, and vpright vntor to his realme. Whereunto also they ioined this cause of hope in king Edward, for that the said Edward had of late before tried the fauor of the Scots towards him, by a singular testimonie, in that they so easilie consented to ioine the heire of Scotland with the son of the said Edward.]

Fr. Thin. Buchanan.

Whereupon king Edward toke this charge vpon him, as competent iudge, & promised by a certein day to come vnto Berwike, willing that their councell might be assembled there against that time. At his comming thither, at the day assigned, and hauing heard what could be said on eth part, and throughlie considering at length their allegations, he perceiued the same doubtfull, and required a longer time to discusse the truth by good aduise of counsell: and therefore required to haue twelue Scotishmen, the best learned and most skilfull lawiers of all the realme to be associat with twelue Englishmen, which he promised to chose forth of the most perfect and wisest clerks that might be found within all his dominions, to the intent that by their ripe and aduised debating of the matter, the truth might appeere, according to the which he minded to giue sentence, without fauor either of one part or other. [Before which he toke a solemne oth of the ambassadors of Scotland, and such nobles as were there to stand to his definitiue sentence, further thereupon requiring a writing to be made, sealed with the seales of the same nobles.]

The title doubtfull.

Fr. Thin. Buchanan.

The nobles sweare to stand to the order of king Edward.

After when all such matters and proues as were proponed by the parties, alledged by them for furtherance of their titles were put in writing, as matter of record, he returned backe againe into England.

This report of the Scotish writers smelleth altogither of malice conceiued against him, for that he scourged them so sore for their vntruths.

¶ Here the Scotish writers report, that king Edward vsed himselfe nothing vprightlie in this matter, but accordinglie (as it often happeneth) had the eies of his conscience blinded, vpon hope to gaine somewhat by this credit thus to him committed. But how vniustlie he is slandered in this behalfe, I leaue to the indifferent readers to consider, by conferring that which the Scots do write thereof, with that which is to be found in our English historie. But to proceed as we find it in the Scotish writers. King Edward to be satisfied in knowledge of the truth, sent into France for men learned and of great experience in the lawes, that he might haue their opinions in the demands of the parties for their doubtfull rights. But (saith Hector Boetius) he first commanded them in no wise to agree vpon anie resolute point, but rather to varie in opinions, that when the plee should seeme doubtfull by reason of their contrarietie in deciding thereof, he might the better vnder that colour, giue iudgement with which partie he thought most expedient to serue his purpose.

Respect of persons in deciding controuersies is not to be considered.

Howbeit the most part of the lawiers iudged with Robert Bruse, both for the worthines of his person, and also for that he was come of the first issue male. But some there were that gaue sentence with John Baliol, for that he was descended of the eldest sister. King Edward supposing this to be the time most conuenient for his purposed intention to conquer the realme of Scotland, returned to Berwike, where he had appointed the 24 learned men before specified, to be present, that finall sentence might be giuen, according as he had before promised. When he was come thus vnto Berwike, and the foresaid 24 learned lawiers assembled as assistants with him, and the parties appearing before him in a chamber prouided for the purpose, he caused the dores to be suerlie kept, and the entries stronglie warded, that no man might come in or out, but by his appointment and licence. His purpose was to make him king, that would be sworne to hold the crowne of Scotland of him, as superior lord thereof. And bicause he knew that Robert Bruse was a man of singular manhod and wisedome, he thought best to assaie him first, and if he found him not conformable to his purpose, then he minded to trie what the Baliol would do.

K. Edward commeth to Berwike.

The purpose of king Edward, as the Scots do vntrulie report.

When Robert Bruse had throughlie heard king Edwards motion, he answered that he weied the libertie of his countrie, more than his priuate preferment, and therefore minded not to deliuer his countrie (which euen to that day had beene free) into the bondage and seruitude of the Englishmen. King Edward perceiuing his stoutnesse of stomach, brake off with him, and fell in talke with the Baliol, who had such blind desire to atteine the crowne, that he passed not whether he intoied the same in libertie or seruitude, so he might haue it. Hereupon when this Baliol had giuen his faith by assured oth vnto king Edward, that he would do homage vnto him for the realme of Scotland, and acknowledge to hold the same of him as superior lord, king Edward gaue sentence with him, to haue most right to the crowne and realme of Scotland, now thus in controuersie.

The answer of Robert Bruse.

The Baliol promiseth to do homage to king Edward

It is said, that the earle of Glocester, a man of great prudence and authoritie in England (seeing the Baliol thus made king, and Robert Bruse without reason put backe) spake in this sort to king Edward: Oh king, remember what is done by thee this day, sparing to giue righteous sentence in this matter; for though the same be now couered and hid, it shall be reuealed, when the great iudge that searcheth consciences, and the secrets of euerie mans mind, shall cause thee to answer for it at the dreadfull day of that vniuersall iudgement: thou hast now giuen sentence on a king, but then shall iudgement be giuen on thee. Shortlie after, John Baliol went in great arraie vnto Scone, where he was crowned king of Scotland on saint Andrewes day, in the yeere from the incarnation 1292. In the yeere next insuing, on saint Stephans day in Christmasse, he came to Newcastell vpon Tine, and there did homage vnto king Edward for the realme of Scotland, contrarie to the mind and consent of all his nobles, for that by this meanes, he seemed to submit his realme (which had remained in freedome vnto those daies) into the seruitude of the Englishmen: but small felicitie succeeded therof. * And heere it appeereth by Buchanan, that the nobilitie of Scotland, which held with Baliol, did also their homage: for being farre from home, they durst not contend against the power of two kings. Whereof some taking it greeuouslie in their hart, dissembled with the present time, and couered their anger vnder the cinders of a faire countenance, which yet in the end burst out, notwithstanding this painted shew. For the declaration and proffe whereof, there was shortlie after occasion offered to Makduffe, by the death of the earle of Fife, being (in the time when there was no king) made one of the six gouernors of the realme: for this earle was not onelie killed by those of Abirnethie (which

The saieng of the earle of Glocester (as the Scots write, but not like to be true.)

King Edward was no man so to be dealt with.

John Baliol crowned king of Scotland. 1292.

John Baliol doth homage to king Edward.

So say the Scotish writers, but how trulie, read more hereof in England.

Fr. Thin. Buchan. li. 8.

(which familie did then greatlie flourish in riches and authoritie within Scotland) but the brother alſo of the ſaid earle was called into law by the Abirnethians, for whome the king in aſſemblie of the ſtates did giue ſentence againſt the other. This Makduffe after the land whereof the contention grew was ſo adiudged, ſuppoſing therein the king to be more vniuſt againſt him than was cauſe, and that the king was not ſo ſeuere a reuenger of his brothers death, as he hoped that he would be; forſoke the Balioll, and appealed to the king of England; before whom he commenſed his ſute againſt Balioll. The deciding whereof was appointed to be holden at London, where was an aſſemblie or parlement of the nobilitie, after the Engliſh manner, amongſt whome this Balioll had his place alſo.

John Balioll king of Scots anſwered a ſute cõmenſed againſt him in the parlement of England as an inferior perſon ſhould.

The parlement begun and Balioll there ſummoned or cited, would haue anſwered by his procutor or attornie: but this (not being allowed) Balioll was compelled to riſe out of his ſeat, and to defend his cauſe himſelfe in an inferior place. Which contumelie when he durſt not at anie time reueſſe, ſecretlie he ſtill bare in mind, vntill fit opportunitie might anſwer the reuenge thereof. But when he would, and then could not deliuer himſelfe of ſuch diſgrace; he returned home with a mind of deadlie anger, rolling mounteins of choler therein, who ſtill bending himſelfe on euerie ſide to ſatiſfie his anger, dwelled on this point; how he might reconcile the hearts of his ſubiects: and offend the ſtate of the Engliſh. Whileſt Balioll with this meditation was feeding his hot ſtomach, a fit means was now offered to performe his deſire, by reaſon of the wars newlie growen betweene England and France, as after ſhall appeare. For vpon this occaſion of wars, king Edward of England commanded this Balioll by tenure of his land, & tenure of his homage, to come with all the power he could prepare to aid him in his warres againſt the king of France.)

John Balioll repenteth him

King John Balioll incontinentlie herewith became repentant, in that he had indangered himſelfe thus by doing his homage; and therevpon ſent his ambaſſadors to king Edward, as then ſoiourning at London, to renounce his act touching the ſame homage, alledging that for ſomuch as it was done without the aduiſe of the three eſtates of Scotland, it was of no ſtrength in it ſelfe, and not meete to be obſerued being done by force; for which cauſe he would renounce his friendſhip and aliance, aſwell for manie other iniuries done vnto him and his; as for that he would ſeeke to reſtore his countrie to his former libertie. Which meſſage when none of the better ſort durſt take in hand to execute, a certeine monke (or as other haue the abbat of Alberbrethie) caried theſe letters into England, vpon the receit whereof, king Edward anſwered the ambaſſadors (whom he tawnted with innumerable contumelies) that ſince we perceiue (ſaith he) your king will not come vnto vs, we intend ſhortlie to come vnto him, wherewith the ambaſſadors departed. Butus (ſaith Buchanan) could ſcarſelie returne home in ſafetie: being at his returne into Scotland rather had in contempt of his owne people, than anie iot reuerenced for ſuch an ambaſſage.

Fr. Thin.

Ambaſſadors into England

The league renewed betwixt France and Scotland.

After this, king Edward the better to accompliſh his purpoſe againſt the Scots, found meanes to conclude a peace with the king of France, and for the more confirmation of the ſame peace, the French kings daughter was giuen in mariage vnto king Edward his ſonne. Nuertheleſſe (as ſaith the Scotiſh chronicle) he purpoſed (when he had wrought his will once againſt the Scots) to inuade France as fiercelie as before, notwithſtanding anie bond of amitie or mariage by him contracted. After this, he procured the friendſhip of Robert Bruſe, and vpon promiſe (as it is to be thought) to make him king, the ſame Robert deliuered into king Edward his hands all ſuch caſtels as he held in Scotland. John Balioll the Scotiſh king, vnderſtanding that king Edward minded to make a conqueſt vpon him, ſent William biſhop of ſaint Andrews, and Matthew biſhop of Dunkeld, with ſir John Sowlis, and ſir Ingram Umfraiuile into France, to renew the ancient league betwixt him and Philip the fourth, as then king of France; which accordinglie was done: and for the more corroboration thereof, the eldeſt daughter of Charles earle of Vallois and Anjou, brother to king Philip, was promiſed in mariage vnto Edward Balioll, the ſonne of king John, which Edward ſhould inioy lands of yearelie rents & reuenues to the ſumme of fiftéene hundred pounds ſterling, in places not of the demeſnes belonging to the crowne, as Ballieuille, Dampiere, Harecourt, and Horneie, which his father held in France with Lanarke, Kidion, Paldeleie, Cuningham, and the caſtell of Dundee, with the apurtenances in Scotland: and hereto was annexed a prouiſo, that if thoſe ſeignories and places exceeded the value of fiftéene hundred pounds of yearelie reuenues, then ſhould the ſurpluſage remaine to the K. of Scotland: but if the ſame amounted not to that ſumme, then ſhould the ſaid king make them good, and ſupplie the ſame with other rents in Scotland, or otherwiſe, as ſhould be thought meet. And further, the ſaid ſumme of fiftéene hundred pounds in yearlie rent was aſſigned as it were the dower of the ſaid ladie, to inioy to hir ſelfe during hir life after hir husbands deceaſſe, if hir hap were to ſuruiue him.

Ex chron. Abindon, as I take it.

In conſideration whereof, king Philip couenanted to content and pay vnto king John in name of the mariage monie, the ſumme of 40000 crownes, or (as other write) 25000 pounds Turnois. The charter conteining the articles, couenants, and agréements of this mariage and league aboue mentioned, beareth date at Paris, the 23 day of October, in the yeare of our Lord 1295. And the letters procuratorie made by king John to the ſaid biſhop of ſaint Andrewes, & the other his aſſociats, bare date at Striueling, the third nones of Julie the ſame yeare. Shortlie herevpon, king John was aduertiſed that king Edward purpoſed to come and beſiege Berwike; wherefore by aduiſe of his nobles he ſent the moſt part of all the lords and gentlemen of Fife and Louthian vnto Berwike, to defend the towne againſt the enimie, if he came to beſiege it. The Engliſhmen came not onelie with a mightie power by land, but alſo with a great nauie by ſea towards the ſaid towne of Berwike. Of whoſe comming the Scots being aduertiſed, came forth againſt thoſe that approched by ſea, toke 17 of their ſhips, and chaſed awaie the reſidue.

Hector Boetius. Abindon.

1295.

The gentlemen of Fife, and Louthian ſent to Berwike to defend it againſt the Engliſhmen.

Engliſh ſhips taken at Berwike.

King Edward rather prouoked than feared with this miſaduenture, came with a farre greater puiſſance than before, to renew the ſiege: but when he perceiued his purpoſe toke not ſo ſpeedie effect as he hoped it ſhould haue done, he deuiſed how to take this towne by ſome ſlightfull policie. Herevpon he feined as though he would haue broken vp his ſiege, and ſo raiſing his campe, withdrew a little from the towne, and then hauing prouided banners and enſignes, reſembling altogither ſuch as diuerſe noblemen in Scotland vſed, he ſuddenlie returned toward the towne, euerie one of his ſouldiers wearing a a croſſe of ſaint Andrewes aboue on their harneſſe, after the manner of the Scotiſhmen. There were alſo ſent before vnto the towne, certeine Scots that ſerued the king of England, which gaue knowledge to the capteins within the towne, that their lord king

Berwike beſieged.

The policie of king Edward to win Berwike.

John was comming with his armie to their succors. The Scots that were within the towne, beleeuing it had beene most true, set open the gates, and came forth against their king (as they supposed) to haue receiued him with all ioy and gladnesse.

The Scots deceiued and intrapped.

But when they came nere vnto the Englishmen, they perceiued both by their language and habit what they were: but this was not before the Englishmen were hard at the gates, so that when the Scotishmen would haue fled backe to haue got into the towne againe, the Englishmen pursued them so fast at the heeles, that they entered the gates with them, and so toke the towne with great slaughter, as well of the souldiers and men of warre, as also of women, children, and aged persons, without all ruth or compassion, so that they left not one creature aliue of the Scotish bloud within all that towne. Thus was Berwike wone the 30 day of March, in the yere 1296. Such abundance of bloud was spilled thorough all parts of the towne (as the Scotish chronicles testifie) that where at the falling tide the water was not able to driue about the mils, some of the same mils yet, were now at a low water set on gate, by reason the streames were so hugelie augmented with bloud. There were slaine aboue seuen thousand persons that day, with the greatest part of all the nobles and gentlemen of Fife and Louthian.

The cruelties of the Englishmen.

Berwike is wone.

The 29 of March being good friday. 1295. H.B.

The abundance of bloud spilled. Streames augmented with bloud.

King John hearing of this slaughter of his people at Berwike, in great desire to be auenged, gathered his power, and sent the same forth against king Edward, with whome they met not farre from Dunbar, and there incountring with him in battell, the Scotish host was discomfited, the most part of the Scots being either slaine or taken. The earles of March and Menteth, with 70 knights, fled to the castell of Dunbar; but they were besieged so streictlie by the Englishpower, inuironing the castell on ech side, that in the end they were constreined for lacke of vittels to yeeld themselues to king Edward, on condition to haue their liues saued, which couenant was not obserued; as the Scotish writers affirme: for king Edward hauing got them into his hands, caused them forthwith to be put to death. It was reported that Robert Bruse vpon secret conference had with king Edward before this battell at Dunbar, solicited all his friends in the Scotish armie, to flee vpon the first ioining, which the residue perceiuing, were so discomforted, that incontinentlie they threw awaie both armor and weapon, and so were vanquished without resistance.

The Scots discomfited at Dunbar.

The castell of Dunbar rendered to king Edward.

Robert Bruse occasion of the ouerthrow of Scots at Dunbar.

Truth it is, that after this victorie, Robert Bruse submitted himselfe vnto king Edward, requiring him to performe his promise touching the right which he had to the crowne of Scotland: howbeit he receiued no answer to his liking touching that request; for K. Edward had no lesse desire to inioy the kingdome of Scotland, than Bruse, as the Scotish writers affirme. Therefore to cast off Robert Bruse concerning his demand, he answered thus, as is said; Beleeuest thou that we haue nothing else a do but to conquere realmes, and to deliuer them ouer againe vnto thee? Robert Bruse hereby perceiuing the subtile meaning of K. Edward, returned right sorrowfull vnto his lands in England, hauing great indignation in his mind, that he had obeied king Edwards requests: but yet considered with himselfe that he must suffer for the time, till occasion serued to reuenge the iniuries received, which he minded to do, and that in most cruell maner, as afterwards it will appeare. King Edward after he had thus wone the castell of Dunbar, got likewise both the castels of Edenburgh and Striueling, and pursued king John till he had constreined him to take for his refuge the castell of Forfaire. Herewith

Robert Bruse submitteth himselfe to K. Edward.

The answer of king Edward to Robert Bruse.

The castels of Edenburgh and Striueling wone.

King John driuen into the castell of Forfaire.

John Cumin lord of Strabogie came to king Edward, and was sworne his liege man.

Shortlie after, by a politike practise of the same John Cumin, king John with his sonne Edward came to Mountros, where perceiuing himselfe vnwiselie to be fallen into the hands of king Edward, through feare of death which he doubted by reason of the menacing words of king Edward, he suffered himselfe to be spoiled of all his kinglie abilliments, and with a white wand in his hand (as the maner is) presented himselfe before king Edward, resigning there vnto him all his right and title which he had to the crowne of Scotland, vtterlie renouncing the same both for him and his heires for euer. Hereof was a charter made in most sufficient wise, confirmed with the hand and seale of king John, and other the nobles of Scotland substantiallie as might be deuised, bearing date the fourth yeare of his reigne. After this, king Edward assembled all the lords and barons of Scotland at Berwike, where he caused them to be sworne his liege men, and to do homage vnto him as to their souereigne lord and supreme gouernor. Which William Dowglasse (a man of noble birth and famous for his deeds) refused to do, and for his obstinacie was cast into prison, where after a few yeares he ended his life. And for the more suertie of their allegiance, he constreined them to surrender into his hands all the strengths & holds of the realme, both as well those that stood on the sea coasts, as also such other as were situat in the inner parts of the countrie.

John Baliol king of Scotland resigneth all his right to king Edward.

A charter.

Homage of the barons of Scotland to king Edward.

Fr. Thin.

The holds of Scotland deliuered into king Edwards hands.

These things done, and order taken in each behalfe as was thought requisit for the quiet keeping of the countrie, he sent king John and his sonne Edward Baliol vnto London, where they were kept in strong ward; till at length he suffered the said king John to returne into Scotland: but leauing still his sonne in pledge behind him, least he should attempt anie new rebellion after his departure; which after was deliuered at the request of the pope. King John vpon his returne into Scotland, perceiuing that he was in the hatred both of his lords and commons, he withdrew againe of his owne accord into England, forsaking wholie the administration of the Scotish dominion, and finallie went ouer into Normandie to his ancient inheritance and lands there, where at length falling blind, and waxing away by long age, he departed out of this world in the castell Galliard, leauing those lands which he possessed on that side the sea, vnto his sonne Edward Baliol, who being released out of captiuitie, was come ouer to his father before his decease.

John Baliol kept as prisoner in England.

He returneth into Scotland.

He renounceth the administration of Scotland.

He returneth into France, and deceaseth in castell Galliard.

In the meane time, king Edward hauing well in remembrance the warres which he had intended to make against France, had he not bin staied through the businesse of Scotland, purposed now to pursue the same with all diligence; & therefore garnishing all the strengths & forts in Scotland to withstand the Scots, if they attempted anie rebellion against him in his absence, he appointed Hugh Cressingham regent there, whilest he should be occupied in France, which Cressingham before was treasuror. Then hauing prouided a great nauie of ships, he passed ouer into France, trusting that the Scots would not stur, sith they had of late sustained so manie ouerthrows and sore losses one after an other by the last wars: but tyrannie is of such a nature, that by no kind of prouision it may anie long time be suerlie defended. For those people that be oppressed by anie tyrannicall seruitude, will not faile to seeke to deliuer themselues from the yoke of that intolerable burden when soeuer opportunitie of time and occasion serueth. Therefore the lords of Scotland hauing

King Edward his purpose to inuade France.

Hugh Cressingham regent of Scotland.

King Edward burdened by the Scotish writers of tyrannie.

The Scotish lords assemble at Striueling.

hauing knowledge that king Edward was passed ouer the seas, they got them all togither straightwaies, and assembled in councell at Striueling, where by generall agreement, twelue noble men were chosen to be gouernors of Scotland, euerie one in their limits appointed, that they might the better prouide to resist the enimie. Amongest these gouernors, John Cumin earle of Buchquhan was principall, a man of great wisedome and singular knowlege in all affaires, as well of peace as of war.

Twelue gouernors elected in Scotland.

John Cumin.

This earle of Buchquhan raised a mightie armie, and with the same entered into Northumberland, where he wasted with fier and sword all that countrie. After this, he lay in siege to Carleill, but he wan nothing there, the towne was so well defended. In that season also, the fame of William Wallace began to spring, a young gentleman of so huge stature and notable strength of bodie, with such skill and knowledge in warlike enterprises, and hereto of such hardinesse of stomach in attempting all maner of dangerous exploits, that his match was not anie where lightlie to be found. He was sonne to one sir Andrew Wallace of Cragie, knight, and from his youth bare euer an inward hatred against the English nation. Sundrie notable feats also he wrought against the Englishmen in defense of the Scots, and was of such incredible force at his coming to perfect age, that of himselfe alone, without all helpe, he would not feare to set vpon three or foure Englishmen at once, and vanquish them.

William Wallace beginneth to wax famous.

Sir Andrew Wallace knight father to William Wallace.

When the fame therefore of his worthie acts was notified throughout the realme, manie were put in good hope, that by his means the realme should be deliuered from the seruitude of the Englishmen within short time after. And herevpon a great number of the Scotish nation as well of the nobilitie as other, were readie to assist him in all his enterprises. By reason whereof he might not easilie be intrapped nor taken of the Englishmen, that went about to haue got him into their hands. At length, when occasion serued to vse the helpe of such a notable chieftaine, he was chosen by generall consent of the Scotishmen as gouernour vnder John Wallioll, to deliuer his countrie from bondage of the English nation. At the same time manie abbeies & spirituall benefices in Scotland were in Englishmens hands. Neuertheless, this William Wallace by commission had of William Fraser bishop of saint Andrews, auoided and put them forth of all parts of Scotland, leauing neither temporall nor spirituall person of their bloud within that realme. For shortlie after, by publike authoritie, he receiued the armie that John Cumin earle of Buchquhan had led before, and constreined those Scots that fauored king Edward, to obeie his commandements, in renouncing all such faith and promise as they had giuen or made vnto him.

Abbeies of Scotland in Englishmens hands.

Castels won by William Wallace.

This done, he passed forth with great puissance against the Englishmen, that held sundrie castels within Scotland, and with great hardinesse & manhood he wan the castels of Forfair, Dundée, Brechen and Mountros, sleaing all such souldiers as he found within them. Wallace now ioifull of this his prosperous successe, and hearing that certeine of the chiefest captains and officers of those Englishmen that kept the castell of Dunoter, were gone forth to consult with other Englishmen of the forts next to them adioining, came sudenlie to the said castell, & tooke it, not leauing a man aliue of all those whome he found as then within it. Then after he had furnished that hold with his owne soldiers in most defensible wise, he went to Aberden. The towne he found in maner void of all the inhabitants, but the castell was so stronglie garnished with men and munition, that

Dunoter won by William Wallace.

considering it might not be wonne without great murder, he raised from thence, and returned into Angus. King Edward as then being in France, hearing of those exploits atchiued by this Wallace his aduersarie, sent diuerse noble captains vnto his lieutenant Hugh Cressingham, with an armie into Scotland to redresse the matter.

Hugh Cressingham sent into Scotland

Wallace in the meane time had laid siege vnto the castell of Couper, but now being aduertised of the comming of this armie against him, he raised his siege, & went to Striueling to defend the bridge there, that Hugh Cressingham with his armie should not passe the same, according as the report went his intent was to do. Here incountring with the enimies, the third daie of September, he obteined a verie worthie victorie, for he slue not onelie the foresaid Cressingham with a great part of his armie being passed the riuer, but also forced the residue to flee, in such sort, that a great number of them were drowned, and few escaped awaie with life. Thus hauing gotten the vpper hand of his enimies here at Striueling, he returned againe to the siege of Couper, which shortlie after vpon his returne thither, was rendred vnto him by those that were within in garrison. There were manie of the Scotish nobilitie the same time, that sent vnto him, offering to leaue the king of Englands part, and to aid him with monie and vittels, if he would onelie receiue them into fauour, whereunto he granted. By which meanes, sundrie other castels were yelded vnto him, the which after he had garnished with men, munition, and vittels (according as was thought requisit) he brake vp his campe, and went with sundrie of his most faithfull friends vnto the castell of Striueling.

Hugh Cressingham slaine at Striueling and his armie discomfited by William Wallace.

The castell of Couper rendred to Wallace.

Afterwards perceiuing that through scarsitie of corne, great dearth arose on each side within the realme of Scotland, he deuised which way he might best relieue the peoples necessitie and lacke in that behalfe, and herevpon he determined to passe with a mightie armie into England, and to sojourne there the most part of the winter, in susteining the whole number of his men of warre on such prouision as they might find within the bounds of their enimies countrie. He commanded therefore that all the Scots, appointed to go with him in that iournie, should be readie at a certeine day and place prefired. But diuers of the northerne Scots (as they of Aberden and other) for that they disobeied his commandements set forth by letters and proclamations, were hanged as rebels and traitors to their countrie. By whose example, other being put in feare, his commandements were the better obeied, so that hauing got togither an huge host of men, he entered with the same into Northumberland, wasting and spoiling the countrie euen vnto Newcastell. Thus putting the enimies in great feare and terror of his awfull name, he brought his armie backe againe into Scotland, laden with spoile and glorie of their prosperous atchiued iournie. They entred into England (as Io. Maior writeth) about the feast of All saints, and remained there till Candlemas after, liuing still vpon the spoile of the Englishmens goods.

Dearth in Scotland. The policie of Wallace to relieue the peoples lacke in time of dearth.

Disobedience punished.

Wallace inuadeth Northumberland.

Fr. Thin.

Edward king of England, being informed of the great slaughter of his people, and what damage the Scots had done in Northumberland, returned in great displeasure out of France into England, and sent his ambassadors vnto Wallace, sore menacing him, for that he had inuaded his realme in such cruell wise in his absence, which he durst (as he sent him word) full little haue done, if he had beene at home himselfe. Wallace hereunto answered, that he had taken the aduantage for the atchiuing of his enterprise, touching the inuasion of England, in like sort as king Edward had done for the conquest of Scot-

K. Edwards message vnto Wallace.

The answer of Wallace to K. Edwards message as the Scots do write.

land, at such time as he was chosen by the nobles of the realme as indifferent iudge in decision of the right and lawfull title of the parties that stroue and were at contention for the crowne. And further, to the end it might apeare vnto king Edward, that he inuaded England in defense of his owne natiue countrie, and that he was fullie bent to imploie his whole indeuor to deliuer the same from all maner of subiection to any forreine power, and to reuenge the iniuries done to them by the Englishmen in times past; he willed the English ambassadors to declare from him vnto king Edward, that he purposed to hold his Easter in England (if God afforded him life) and that in despite of king Edward, and all such as would beare armor against him.

Wallase entred England with an armie of 30000 men.

And vndoubtedlie according to his promise he kept his day: for assembling togither an armie of 30000 men, he entred into England at the time before appointed, where king Edward was readie with an armie vpon Stanesmore, double in number to the Scots, to giue them battell: but when the time came that both parties were readie to haue ioined, the Englishmen withdrew, hauing no lust (as should seeme) to fight with the Scots at that time) who perceiuing them to giue backe, incontinentlie would haue rushed forth of their rankes to haue pursued in chase after them: but Wallase (doubting least the Englishmen had ment some policie, and saieng (as writeth Io. Ma. lib. 4. cap. 14.) that it was honor inough for him that he had inforced so mightie a prince in his owne countrie to forsake the field) caused the Scots to keepe togither in order of battell, and so preseruing them from the deceitfull malice of their enimies, brought them backe into Scotland with liues and honors saued, besides the infinit spoiles and booties which they got in this iornie.

But as in the beginning all men were glad to support Wallase in all exploits and enterprises which he tooke in hand, so afterward when his fame began to wax great, to the derogation of other mens renowmes, such as were farre his superiors in birth and linage, that fauor which manie bare him at the first, was now turned into enuie, hauing no small indignation, that a man of so base parentage should so surmount them in all honor and dignitie. Those that enuied him most, were of the Cumins bloud, and Robert Bruse. King Edward being aduertised of this enuious grudge, and new sedition amongst the nobles of Scotland, had secret conference by his agents with the chiefest amongst those that thus enuied the high glorie of Wallase, and vpon trust of such practise as was concluded by reson of the same conference, he came with a mightie armie into Scotland, and at Falkirke met with this Wallase, who mistrusting no guile, had raised a power to resist him: but now being come in sight of the Englishmen, there rose a right odious contention betwixt the head captains, who should haue the leading of the vantgard, which is reputed a most high honor among the Scotishmen. And among other, Iohn Steward, and Iohn Cumin, thought scorne, that Wallase a man of so low beginning, should be preferred before them in that honour: but on the other part, Wallase considering that the charge of the whole was giuen vnto him by agreement and consent of the three estates, thought it no reason that he should giue place to anie of them, though vnto his face, as saith Iohn Maior, the lord Steward had before vpbraided him with his pride, comparing him to an owle, which from his originall had begged a feather of euerie bird, and being now inriched with abundance of feathers, did aduance himselfe aboue all other birds.

Wallase is enuied.

K. Edward inuadeth Scotland.

Wallase raiseth a power to resist him.

Strife for the leading of the vantgard.

In the meane time came the Englishmen vpon them right fiercelie, before the Scotish chieftains (hauing their brests filled with more malice one against another, than with desire to defend their countrie against their enimies) could bring their men into anie perfect arate. Herewith at the comming to the point of ioining, the Cumins with their retinues fled out of the field, and left the residue of the Scots in all the danger. Robert Bruse seruing that day among the Englishmen, fetched a compasse about an hill, and came on the backs of the Scots, so that they were in maner compassed in, and beaten downe on each side: yet Wallase left nothing vndone that might perteine to the dutie of a valiant capteine. But at length, all his indeuors notwithstanding, the Scots (ouerset with multitude of enimies, as the Scotish writers affirme) were slaine in such huge numbers, that he was constreined to draw out of the field, which such small remnants as were left aliue. The Englishmen pursued fiercelie after him, & namelie one valiant capteine named Frere Brian Iate, a templer, whome Wallase perceiuing to be within his danger, stepped forth vnto him, and slue him there in sight (as it is said) of all the English armie. Which valiant act of Wallase caused the Englishmen somewhat to state, for doubt of further perill by their vnwise pursute likelie to befall them. In this infortunate battell, were slaine on the Scotish side, Iohn Steward of Bute, with his Brandans (for so they name them that are taken vp to serue in the warres forth of the Stewards lands) Makduffe earle of Fife, with sir Iohn Graham, whose death was much lamented by Wallase, as one whome he highlie esteemed for his great experience in warlike knowledge. Manie other noble and valiant men died in this conflict, whose names would be too long to rehearse. This battell was striken on Marie Magdalens date, in the yere of our Lord 1298, and therefore the Englishmen haue holden it euer since an happie day for to fight against the Scots.

The Cuming fled.

The Scots discomfited at Falkirke.

Frere Brian Iate slaine by the hands of William Wallase.

Nobles of Scotland slaine at the battell of Falkirke.

Marie Magdalens day prosperous to the Englishmen to fight against Scots

✻ When William Wallase was passed the riuer Carran, where he might defend himselfe, and gather his dispersed people, Bruse desired to speake vnto him, which Wallase did not denie. Whereupon each of them (drawing alone by themselues without any arbitrers to the bankes of the riuer, in such place as it was narowest, and they might without anie companie best heare one another; Bruse began to say as followeth. I do much muse, thou most valiant of all men, what came into thy mind to be caried away by the vncerteine fauor of the common people, and to stand against the mightiest king of our age, supported with the greatest forces of the Scots: and dailie to offer thy selfe to euerie danger, and that for no reward assured to thee for all thy labors. For if thou shouldest ouercome king Edward, the Scots will neuer aduance thee to the kingdome, and if thou be ouercome, there resteth no refuge for thee, but onelie the mercie of thine enimie. And dost thou not see the Cumins, and mee, and the most of the nobilitie, to follow the English faction? Neither dost thou consider the malice of the princes conceiued against thee? Looke vnto thy selfe, and thou hast but a few of the nobles thy partakers, and a small number of the commons (which are more vncerteine than the wind) to follow thee, whose fortune is now almost ouerthrowne. All these words Iohn Maior supposeth that Robert Bruse did speake, to serch the mind of Wallase, whether he ment to aspire to the crowne or no: being in deed rather contented that Wallase had left the field, than otherwise to reduce him to the part of king Edward.

Fr. Thin. Iohn Maior lib. 4. cap. 14. Buchan. lib. 8. Lesleus epis. Ross. li. 6. p. 235

Conference betweene Wallase & Bruse.

To whome Wallase answered in this sort. The end of all my trauell was not to atteine the kingdome;

cc dome; for my birth and fortune neither did or could deſerue it, and my mind did neuer deſire it: but the cc negligent ſlouth of thée (to whome the right of that diademe doth apperteine, and who doth grædilie hunt cc therafter) made my citizens (perceiuing themſelues deſtitute of faithfull gouernors) to follow me, and cc cauſed me (when I ſaw them in that miſerie, rather cc butcherlie borne, than in honeſt ſeruitude to be oppreſſed) to ſéeke for libertie. Which ſuerlie I had obcc teined for them and you, if the nobilitie had not ſo cc uillie ſtriued againſt me, reſtrained themſelues for comming into the field, and had but ſent their hinds cc (which till their land) forth to the battell, at which time I had ſcarſe 10000 men, & thoſe of cómon ſort. cc Trulie if the princes had not béene impediment thereto, I could haue brought forth to fight a hun- cc dred thouſand bold and chérefull ſouldiers. But now cc in truth I perceiue the hatred of the nobles againſt me this day. Wherefore if thou pretend to poſſeſſe the cc kingdome, I giue thée faithfull warning, eſpecially to beware of the Cumins: who if they had more re- cc garded the glorie of their countrie, than of ſecret ma- cc lice to others, would not ſo wickedlie haue forſaken cc the field, what hate ſoeuer they had conceiued againſt cc me. If they haue giuen their faith to the king of England, they are not bound to kéepe it: in a wic- cc ked promiſe no oth is to be performed. I am now cc wearie of my life, and rather deſire to die, than to liue in this ſort, to ſee the miſerie of my beloued coun- cc trie. Wherefore imbrace you this thraldome (which is ſo much eſtéemed of you) to whome filthie ſeruitude cc with eaſe ſéemeth more pleaſant, than honeſt libertie cc with danger: for I had rather chooſe willing death cc with frédome (in which I meane to ſpend my blood) cc than to do as you haue done, becauſe the loue of my countrie ſhall not depart from my hart, before the cc life of my bodie depart from his office. Which being ſaid, Bruſe burſt forth in teares, conſidering the no- bilitie of the mind of Wallaſe, although perhaps he nothing miſliked the miſfortune of the man, as doubting the end of all his pretenſe to be, to atteine to the crowne. This being thus done, they both depart to their companies. By which conference (ſaith Leſlee biſhop of Roſſe) this good was wrought to Scotland (to recompenſe the ouerthrow of Falkirke) that Wallaſe partlie by the bitternelle of his words, and partlie for the loue of his countrie, did now draw Bruſe from the Engliſh, to take part with the Scots.)

1298. But notwithſtanding all theſe valiant ſpéeches of Wallaſe, when he conſidered the infortunat diſcomfiture by him ſo treacherouſlie receiued, he came to Perth, and there vttering by complaint the iniurious enuie of the nobles againſt him, he renounced and diſcharged himſelfe of all the authoritie which had béene committed to his hands, touching the gouernance of the realme, and went into France, as ſaith Leſleus. But Iohannes Maior ſaith, that he neuer came there, although he will not flatlie denie it. The ſame time, Philip king of France, the fourth of that name, and ſurnamed le Beau, hauing great ruth in his hart for the miſerable calamities thus chanced to his ancient confederat friends the Scots, and that chieflie for the quarrell of France, ſent his ambaſſadors vnto Edward king of England, who had latelie before maried his daughter, requiring that there might be ſome peace or abſtinence of warre granted. At his requeſt therefore a truce was taken betwixt the Scots and Engliſhmen, to indure from the feaſt of All ſaints, till the feaſt of Pentecoſt next following.

The Scots in the meane time ſore oppreſſed by reaſon of long warres, ſent ambaſſadors to pope Boniface, in preſenting a verie grieuous complaint vnto him, for the great affliction done to them by king Edward, who was fullie bent by iniurious meanes (as they alledged) to conquer their realme, and therefore they beſought him to conſtreine king Edward by vertue of his prerogatiue, which he pretended to haue ouer the realme of England, to ſtand to his order in deciding the right concerning the liberties of Scotland, which might no other waies be determined, but by intollerable damage falling to the people through blind deſire and couetous ambition of the nobles, contending for the crowne. The pope (as is ſaid) after he had by good and deliberat aduiſe heard the matter, gaue ſentence with the Scots, that they had iuſt cauſe of warres in defenſe of the liberties of their countrie, againſt K. Edward and his fautors. ¶ But for this matter, looke in the Engliſh chronicles, where it ſhall well appéere, that the pope by theſe letters of king Edward, was fullie ſatiſfied of his ſuperioritie ouer Scotland.

The Scots ſomewhat recomforted hérewith, ſhortlie hérevpon choſe John Cumin to their gouernor, in purpoſe to trie with the Engliſhmen for their liberties. Whereof king Edward being aduertiſed, ſent forthwith an armie into Scotland, which paſſed through the countrie to ſaint Johns towne, with great damage of thoſe that were adiudged rebels to king Edwards empire. All the countrie in manner vnto Forthrie, at this ſeaſon was ſubiect to the Engliſhmen, ſauing ſuch few of the inhabitants, as liued within the woods, hauing more regard to the ancient liberties of their countrie, than to anie deſire of preſeruing their goods or liues. John Cumin therefore, deſirous to redreſſe this beaute miſerie and lamentable caſe of his countrie, admitted Simon Fraſer fellow with him in the adminiſtration of the warres againſt the Engliſhmen, and therewith gathering an armie of eight thouſand hardie men of warre, ſetteth in hand to reuenge the iniurious doings of the enimies, chaſing out of the realme all ſuch officers with their ſeruants, as king Edward had placed in anie romes within the bounds of Scotland; and ſuch as reſiſted, he purſued in moſt cruell wiſe, not ſparing to put them vnto the ſword in all places, where he might find them.

King Edward ſore kindled in diſpleaſure with theſe attempts of ſuch deſperat perſons, raiſed an armie of thirtie thouſand men, and ſent the ſame into Scotland, vnder the leading of a verie ſtout and valiant captein, named Radulph or Rafe Confraie. This Radulph at his comming into Scotland, tooke ſmall regard to the ordering of his field, but diuided his armie into three parts, euerie part conteining ten thouſand men, and appointed them to paſſe forth to forraie the countrie, and to meet altogither at Roſlin, in ſuch ſort and time as he preſcribed. John Cumin and Simon Fraſer being aduertiſed hereof, gathered their powers togither, to the number of ſeuen or eight thouſand men, and determined to trie the chance of battell with one part of the Engliſh armie firſt, truſting that if they happened to haue the vpper hand of one of the three parts, the other two would be the more eaſie to deale with. The Scotiſh captains reſolued thus vpon that point, exhorted their people to remember how they were to fight in defenſe of their wiues, their children, their goods, and liberties of their countrie, againſt ſuch as ſought to bring them into thraldome and vile ſeruitude.

With which words the Scots were ſo imboldened, that minding either to die or to win the victorie, they gaue the onſet ſo fiercelie on their enimies, that the firſt battell of the Engliſhmen was quicklie ouerthrowen and vanquiſhed. But ſcarſelie had they gathered the ſpoile, when an other part of the Engliſhmen came vpon them with more fiercenelle than the other

vallaſe renounceth his office.

Philip king of France.

A truce.

Scotiſh ambaſſadors ſent to pope Boniface.

Scotland againe inuaded

Radulph Cõfraie.

I remember not that anie of the Engliſh nobilitie bare this ſurname in thoſe daies, wherefore I thinke it was the lord John Segraue. John Cumin and Simon Fraſer.

The firſt battell of the Engliſhmen ouerthrowne.

The opinion of the pope.

John Cumin the yonger elected gouernor of Scotland.

An armie of Engliſhmen ſent into Scotland.

King Edwards officers chaſed out of Scotland.

The ſecond battell ouercome.

other before: neuertheleſſe, the Scots incouraged with their freſh wonne victorie, got themſelues ſpéedilie into arraie, & receiued their enimies with ſuch incredible manhood, that they had quickly got the vpper hand of theſe alſo. But ſcarſe had they made an end with this ſecond battell, when the third part was at hand readie to charge them, being now ſore infeebled, what thorough wearineſſe and wounds receiued in the two former incounters, beſides the want of ſuch of their numbers as were ſlaine: yet by exhortation of their capteins, and the valiant preſence of the officers of bands beſide, they ruſhed forth on their enimies with ſuch earneſt forwardneſſe to receiue them, that after a verie ſharpe bickering, they put the whole number of them to flight. Few of the Engliſhmen had eſcaped the Scotiſhmens hands, had they not béene ſo wearied with continuall fight, that they were not able to follow anie great waie in the chaſe.

The third battell of the Engliſhmen vanquiſhed at Roſlin. 1302.

This victorie fell to the Scots in manner as is before rehearſed, vpon ſaint Matthewes day, in the yære after the birth of our Sauiour 1302. The glorie of this victorie was great, conſidering that thirtie thouſand Engliſhmen well furniſhed, & thoroughlie appointed for warre, ſhould be thus in one day vanquiſhed with an handfull of Scotiſhmen. For as their hiſtories make mention, they paſſed not eight thouſand at the moſt: and therefore all men ſuppoſed that it came to paſſe by the ſingular fauour and grace of almightie God. But yet the Scots did not long inioy the benefits of ſo notable a victorie. For king Edward hearing of this diſcomfiture of his people at Roſlin, gathered a mightie armie of Engliſhmen, Gaſcoigns, Iriſhmen, and ſuch Scots as toke his part, and hauing all his furniture and puruetiance readie both by ſea and land, he ſet forward with the ſame to inuade the Scots on ech ſide. The Scots perceiuing they were not of puiſſance able to reſiſt his inuaſion, withdrew to their ſtrengths: by meanes whereof the Engliſh armie paſſed through all Scotland, euen from the ſouth parts to the north, & found few or none to make reſiſtance, except Wallaſe, and ſuch as followed his opinion, which were fled to the mounteins and woods, to eſchue the malice of the Engliſhmen.

The matter is amplified by the Scots to the vttermoſt.

The great preparation of king Edward to inuade the Scots.

The Scots withdraw to their holds.

The Engliſh armie paſſeth through Scotland from the ſouth parts to the north.

It is ſaid, that king Edward required by a meſſenger ſent vnto this Wallaſe, that if he would come in and be ſworne his liege man and true ſubiect, he ſhould haue at his hands great lordſhips and poſſeſſions within England, to mainteine his port as was requiſit to a man of verie honorable eſtate. But Wallaſe refuſed theſe offers, ſaieng that he preferred libertie with ſmall reuenues in Scotland, before anie poſſeſſion of lands in England, were the ſame neuer ſo great; conſidering he might not inioy them, but vnder the yoke of bondage. The caſtell of Sterling at the ſame time was in the kéeping of one ſir William Athred knight, who would not render it to king Edward by anie ſummons or other meanes, till after three moneths ſiege he was conſtreined to giue it ouer vnder theſe conditions; That all perſons being within the caſtell, ſhould depart by ſafe conduct with bagge and baggage at their pleaſure. Neuertheleſſe king Edward cauſed the ſaid ſir William Athred to be conueied to London, where he remained as priſoner manie yeares after.

K. Edward ſendeth vnto Wallaſe.

Wallaſe refuſeth the offers of K. Edward

The caſtell of Sterling rendred.

This Athred the Scotiſh bookes name Dilkes.

Sundrie other caſtels were taken by force the ſame time by king Edward, and all ſuch as reſiſted, being found within anie of them, ſlaine without mercie or ranſome. Amongeſt other, the caſtell of Urquhard in Murrey land was taken by force, and not one left aliue that was found in the ſame (one gentlewoman onelie excepted) who being great with child, was in that reſpect preſerued. She was the wife of Alexander Boyis, lord of that houſe, though by reaſon ſhe was got into poore apparell, the Engliſhmen toke hir but for ſome other woman of meaner eſtate. She therefore with hir life ſaued, being ſuffered to depart, got hir ouer into Ireland, where ſhe was deliuered of a ſon, that was named at the font-ſtone Alexander, who when Scotland was recouered out of the Engliſhmens hands, came to king Robert le Bruſe, requiring him to be reſtored vnto his fathers heritage, being as then in the occupation of other poſſeſſors. King Robert doubtfull what to doo héerein, for he thought it neither conuenient that a prince ſhould take lands or poſſeſſions from noblimen, which had béene giuen to them in reward of their manhood, ſhewed in defenſe of the realme: neither iudged he it reaſon to kéepe him from his rightfull inheritance that had loſt his father, his friends, and all his whole ſubſtance in the like cauſe and quarell by iniurie of the common enimies.

The Urquhard taken by force.

Wherefore to qualifie the matter, he deuiſed this meane: he gaue vnto this Alexander Boyis certeine other lands in Mar, nothing leſſe in value (conſidering the largeneſſe and fertilitie) than the other of Urquhard were: and willed him to content himſelfe with thoſe, in recompenſe of ſuch as belonged to his father: to the intent that all parties might be ſatiſfied, and no man ſhould ſéeme to haue wrong in being depriued of his rightfull poſſeſſions. This Alexander Boyis had afterwards his name changed, and was called Forbeſſe, for that he ſlue a beare in thoſe parties, by great and ſingular manhood. And ſo the ſurname of the Forbeſſes had beginning, as deſcended from him. Scotland being ſubdued by the mightie puiſſance of king Edward, he went about to aboliſh all the old ſtatutes and ancient conſtitutions of the realme, truſting by that meanes, that Scots liuing togither with Engliſhmen, vnder one vniforme maner of lawes, they ſhould finallie ſort themſelues to be of one mind and opinion, as well touching the ſupreme gouernement of their publike weale, as alſo in all other things, touching the friendlie ſocietie of life.

The beginning of the name of the Forbeſſes.

Chronicles and other bookes burnt.

He burnt all the chronicles of the Scotiſh nation, with all manner of bookes, as well thoſe conteining diuine ſeruice, as anie other treatiſes of prophane matters, to the end that the memorie of the Scots ſhould periſh: and thereto appointed greeuous puniſhments for them that ſhould diſobeie his commandements héerein, in kéeping anie of the ſaid bookes vndefaced. And he ordeined alſo, that the Scots ſhould occupie church bookes after the vſe of Sarum, and none other. Moreouer, he compelled all ſuch Scotiſhmen as were of anie ſingular knowledge in learning or literature, to be reſident in Oxford, doubting leaſt the Scotiſh nobilitie increaſing in politike prudence by their inſtructions, ſhould ſeeke to throw off the yoke of bondage. Thus king Edward going about (as the Scotiſh writers doo report) to extinguiſh the name of Scots, togither with their rule and empire, paſſed through the moſt part of all the bounds of Scotland. And vpon verie hate which he had to the Scotiſh antiquities, at his coming to Camelon, he commanded the round temple ſtanding ouer againſt the ſame, to be throwen downe, which was builded (as before is ſhewed) in the honor of Claudius the emperor, and the goddeſſe Victoria. But for that his commandement was not immediatlie put in execution, he changed his purpoſe, and appointed onelie that the monuments of Claudius, with the ſuperſcription of his name, ſhould be taken awaie; and in place thereof, the armes of king Arthur, with his name to be ſet vp; commanding the place to be called Arthurs hoif (as ye would ſay) Arthurs

Scotiſhmen learned, commanded to be reſident in Oxford.

The temple of Claudius was at Colcheſter, and not in Scotland, whatſoeuer Hector Boetius or other dreame thereof.

Arthurs hoif.

thurs court.

The marble chaire is conueied into England, and placed in weſtminſter.

Moreouer king Edward at his returning into England, toke the chaire of marble with him, and cauſing it to be conueied vp to London, did place it at Weſtminſter, where it remaineth yet vnto this day. Furthermore, before his departure out of Scotland, he appointed all the Scotiſh lords to aſſemble at Scone, where he cauſed them to take a new oth, that from thenceforth they ſhould take him for their ſouereigne lord, and to obeie him in all things as lotall ſubiects. All the nobilitie of Scotland was ſworne to him that day (Wallaſe onelie excepted) who eſchued more than the companie of a ſerpent, to haue anie thing to do with the Engliſhmen, touching anie agreement to be made with them, agreeable to their deſires. Moreouer, to keepe the Scots from rebellion, king Edward ordeined Odomare de Valence to be gouernour there, as his generall lieutenant ouer the whole realme of Scotland in his abſence. And hauing thus ſet all things in good and quiet order (as he ſuppoſed) he returned into England with great ioy and triumph.

The nobilitie of Scotland worne to K. Edward.

Wallaſe eſchueth to agree with the Engliſhmen.

Odomare or Pimer de Valence gouernour of Scotland vnder king Edward

In the meane time, Iohn Cumin ſurnamed the red, and Robert Bruſe hauing conference togither, complained the one to the other of the miſerable ſeruitude wherein the realme of Scotland as then ſtood by the oppreſſion of king Edward. And at length vpon offers made betwixt them, it was agreed, that if by anie meanes they might deliuer the realme out of the Engliſhmens hands, the one of them ſhould be king, that is to ſay, the Bruſe, and the other, that is to ſay, the Cumin, ſhould inioy all the Bruſes lands and poſſeſſions, with manie other preferments of honors and dignities, as nert vnto him in all authoritie touching the gouernement of the realme. There were indentures made betweene them, ſubſcribed with their names, and ſealed with their ſeales interchangeablie, for the full ratifieng of couenants agreed in this confederacie betwixt them. Shortlie after, vpon deliuerie of thoſe writings, Bruſe went into England, for he might not remaine long in Scotland, for doubt of ſuſpicion which king Edward had in him, becauſe of the title which he had to the crowne of Scotland (as before is ſpecified) ſo that (as was thought) king Edward would haue put both him and his brethren vnto death long before, if he might haue once got them all into his hands.

Conference betwixt Cumin and Bruſe.

Indentures of agreement betwixt Cumin & Bruſe, touching the conſpiracie.

John Cumin (after that he and Bruſe were thus agreed vpon articles, and departed the one from the other) began to doubt, leaſt this conſpiracie deuiſed betwixt them, would not ſort to anie luckie concluſion for his purpoſe, either for that he feared the great puiſſance of king Edward, either elſe for that his authoritie and power (as he miſtruſted) would not be great, if the Bruſe once atteined the crowne: and hereupon he ſent one of his ſeruants to king Edward, with his counterpane of the indenture, conteining the couenants of the conſpiracie, ſigned and ſealed with Bruſes owne hand and ſeale. The meſſenger deliuered this writing in ſecret wiſe to king Edward, declaring vnto him the whole matter, as it was paſſed and concluded betwixt the Bruſe and his maiſter, according to inſtructions giuen him in that behalfe. But king Edward at the firſt gaue light credit either to the writings or words of the Cumin, ſuppoſing that the ſame proceeded onelie through enuie, which he bare towards the Bruſe, euer dreading leſt he ſhould beare no rule in Scotland, if the Bruſe once atteined anie authoritie within the ſame. Yet at length, king Edward pondering with himſelfe the whole circumſtance, and being in ſome doubt of the matter, he ſhewed the counterpane of the indenture vnto Bruſe himſelfe, queſtioning with him, if he knew his owne hand? Bruſe ſtoutlie denied that he was priuie to anie ſuch deuiſe or writing, and therefore deſired of king Edward to haue the ſame for one night, to peruſe and ſcan ouer at leaſure, & then if he were not able to proue that it was forged, and maliciouſlie deuiſed vpon an enuious purpoſe, to put him in danger of life, he would forfait all his lands and liuings that he held either within the realme of England, or elſe where. King Edward, becauſe he coniectured at the firſt how this accuſation of Cumin was nothing like to be true, granted his requeſt, wherein manie iudged he did vnwiſelie: but ſuch was the ordinance of almightie God, that Bruſe ſhould eſcape that danger, to accompliſh that whereunto he was appointed. The earle of Glocester immediatlie after that Robert Bruſe was departed from the kings preſence, ſent vnto him twelue ſterling pence, with two sharpe ſpurs, whereby he coniectured his meaning to be, that the beſt ſhift for him was to auoid out of the waie in moſt ſpeedie wiſe, whereupon he cauſing a ſmith to ſhoo three horſſes for him, contrarlie with the calkins forward, that it ſhould not be perceiued which waie he had taken by the tract of the horſſes, for that the ground at that time (being in the winter ſeaſon) was couered with ſnow: he departed out of London about midnight, accompanied onelie with two truſtie ſeruants.

John Cumin doth doubt.

Cumin diſcloſeth the conſpiracie.

Robert Bruſe is examined.

He deuiſeth his writing.

Robert Bruſe doth flee.

It chanced alſo, that there fell on the ſame night more ſnow aloft vpon the other ſnow that was fallen before, by reaſon whereof it could not eaſilie be iudged in the morning which way he was gone, though king Edward vpon knowledge had that he was fled, ſent out a great manie of horſſmen after, to haue brought him againe, if they might anie where haue found him. But Bruſe haſted forth with ſuch ſpeed in his iournie, that the ſeuenth day of his departure from London, he came to Louchmaben in Annandale, and there found Dauid, or (as ſome bookes haue) Edward his brother, with Robert Fleming, a worthie yong gentleman, vnto whome (they muſing what he meant by his ſudden comming) he declared into what perill of life he had fallen by means of Cumin, and how narowlie he had eſcaped out of king Edwards hands. His brother hearing the matter, conſented to go with him, and to be partaker of all haps that might fortune to fall out in his flight; and by the way they chanced to light vpon one of Cumins ſeruants, that was going with letters vnto king Edward from his maiſter the ſaid Cumin, ſignifieng by the ſame, that if Bruſe were not the ſooner put to death, there would inſue ſhortlie ſuch trouble and ruffling in Scotland againſt K. Edward, that it would be much adoo to appeaſe it.

He commeth to Louchmaben.

Robert Fleming.

A ſeruant of Cumins taken with letters on him.

These letters being found about Cumins ſeruant, through means of yong Fleming, the Bruſe after he had apoſed the bearer throughlie in each behalfe, and learned of him that his maiſter the ſaid Cumin was in the friers at Dunfriſe, he firſt ſlue this fellow that was thus ſent with the letters, & after in all haſt poſſible came to Dunfriſe, by the guiding of the ſame Fleming, where in the quier of the friers church there he found Cumin. And reaſoning the matter there with him, for that he had vſed him ſo euill, and withall ſhewing him the indenture which king Edward had deliuered to him, as before is mentioned, in the end (after ſome multiplieng of words togither) Robert Bruſe plucked forth his ſword, and ſtroke the foreſaid Cumin a ſore blow in the bellie, and thereupon fleeing out of the church, met with two of his deareſt friends, James Lindſeie, and Roger Kirkpatrike, who beholding his countenance altered, and comming forth of the church in ſuch haſt, demanded of him what was the matter: I trow (ſaid he) that Cumin is ſlaine. Why (ſaid they againe) haſt thou attempted ſo high

Cumin was at the friers in Dunfriſe.

an

an enterprise, and left it doubtfull: And immediatlie herewith they went to the place where Cumin lay wounded (as before is mentioned) and asked of him whether he thought he had anie deaths wound, or hoped to recouer if he might haue a good surgian. And for that he answered how he trusted to do well inough if he might haue a good surgian in time; they gaue him three or foure other wounds so grieuous and deadlie, that forthwith vpon the same he yeelded vp the ghost. This chanced in the yeare of our Lord 1305, the fourth Ides of Februarie. About the same time was William Wallase taken at Glaskow by the means of sir John Menteth and others, in whome he had euer put a most speciall trust; but they being corrupted with the offers of large rewards promised by king Edward to such as could helpe to take him, wrought such fetches that he was apprehended at length by Odomare de Valence earle of Penbroke, who with a great power of men brought him to London, where he was put to death, and his quarters sent into Scotland, and set vp in sundrie great townes there for a spectacle, as it were to giue example to other. This was the end of that puissant champion William Wallase, praised amongst the Scotishmen aboue all other in that age, for so much as he would neuer yeeld or consent to acknowledge anie superioritie in the Englishmen ouer his countrie, no not when all other had submitted themselues to king Edward as his liege subiects and most obedient vassals. It is said, that when he was yong and went to schole, he learned by heart two verses of his schoolemaister, which euer after he bare in mind, and vsuallie would rehearse them, (when a toy toke him in the head) as followeth.

1305.

Cumin is slaine.

Wallase is taken.

Wallase is brought to London.

He is put to death.

Dico tibi verum, libertas optima rerum,
Nunquam seruili, sub nexu viuito fili.
My sonne I say, freedome is best,
Then neuer yeeld to thrals arrest.

Iohn Fourdon. Iohn Maior.

Of this William Wallase one Henrie, who was blind from his birth, in the time of my natiuitie (saith Iohn Maior) composed a whole booke in vulgar verse, in which he mitred all those things vulgarlie spoken of this Wallase. But I do not in all points saith the same author, giue credit to the writings of such as he was, who onelie get their food and clothing (whereof this man was most worthie) by reciting of histories before the nobilitie of Scotland.

Fr. Thin.

BVt now touching Bruse; after he had slaine Cumin (as before is mentioned) he purchased an absolution from Rome for that act: and to the end he might then through authoritie obteine some aid to resist the puissance of his aduersarie king Edward, he went by support of friends vnto Scone, & there caused himselfe to be crowned king, on the 27 day of March, though he had no great number that toke his part in the beginning, as shortlie after well appeared. For when he should assemble an armie against a power of Englishmen that were sent against him by king Edward, immediatlie vpon knowledge had of his attempts, he was not able to get togither anie sufficient number to resist his aduersaries, though with those few which came vnto him, he thought to trie the chance of battell, and so incountring with Odomare de Valence lieutenant of the English armie at Mefken the 19 day of June 1306, he was there put to flight; and though the slaughter was not great, yet for that it was iudged to be an euill signe to haue such infortunat lucke vpon his entering into the estate, the peoples fauor shranke greatlie from him.

Absolution from Rome.

Robert Bruse is crowned king of Scotland, the first of that name.

Iohn Maior.

King Robert is discomfited at Mefken.

Odomare de Valence after he had obteined this victorie against king Robert, banished the wiues of all those that supported the same Robert, by means thereof, manie ladies and gentlewomen were constreined to flee into woods, and other desert places, to eschew the crueltie of their aduersaries. King Robert also after this ouerthrow, fled into Atholl, and from thence to Streill, where the third Ides of August at a place called Dalreie, he fought againe with the Cumins and other such Scots & Englishmen as were assembled in those parties readie to pursue him, and had the like lucke here that had chanced to him before at Mefken; for he was put to flight after the same maner, though he lost here but few of his men, neither in the fight nor chase. This place Dalreie is as much to say, as the kings field: Buchan lib. 8, which is also called Dawkie by I. Maior. lib. 4. cap. 19, who supposeth that Bruse had so hard a beginning for a punishment of the death of Cumin, slaine in the church by him and his friends. Wherevpon finding fortune thus contrarie vnto him in these two seuerall battels, he was left so desolat and vnprouided of all friendship, that he was constreined for his refuge to withdraw into the woods and mounteins, with a few other in his companie, and there liued on herbs and roots oftentimes for want of other food.

King Robert estsones discomfited in Athdil.

Fr. Thin.

The miserable state of K. Robert in the beginning of his reigne.

WHilest he remained in this estate of aduerse fortune, there were two that shewed themselues right trustie and faithfull seruants vnto him aboue all the rest, the earle of Leuenor, and Gilbert Haie: for though either inforced by persecution of enimies, or constreined through some other necessitie, they departed sometimes from his presence; yet did they euer acknowledge him for their souereigne lord and onelie king, readie at all seasons to serue and obey him in each behalfe. The most part of all other his friends yea and seruants, in that present miserie, did clearelie forsake him; so that sometimes he was left with onelie one or two in his companie, & glad to keepe himselfe secret in desert places, where no person lightlie vsed to resort. His wife & queene fled to saint Dutho, and chanced to be taken by William Cumin earle of Rosse, who deliuered hir to king Edward, by whose commandement she was committed to safe keeping at London, where she remained till after the battell of Bannockburne. His brother Nigell was also taken, and so afterwards were his two other brethren, Thomas and Alexander, with manie other nobles and gentlemen of Scotland, of whome some were executed at Carleill, and some at Berwike. Nigell was taken at the castell of Kildrome whither he fled, and came to Berwike. Thomas and Alexander were taken at Locreis, and carried to Carleill, and so beheaded. Io. Maior. lib. 4. cap. 19. Finallie the most part of all such as had aided him before, and were now shronke from him, were within one yeare after, either slaine or kept as prisoners in England.

The earle of Leuenor and Gilbert Haie faithfull seruitors to king Robert.

King Roberts wife taken.

Nigell Thomas and Alexander brethren to king Robert are taken and put to death.

Yet though he was thus left desolat of all aid and succor, hauing his brethren and other of his friends murthered and slaine to his vtter discomfort and ruine (as was to be supposed) he neuertheless liued euer in hope of some better fortune, whereby in time to come he might recouer the realme out of the enimies hands, and restore the ancient libertie thereof to the former estate. As for the paines which he toke in liuing barelie for the most part by water & roots, & lodging oftimes on the bare earth, without house or other harborough, he was so accustomed thereto by haunting the warres in his youth, that the same greeued him little or nothing at all. But to conclude, such was his valiancie and most excellent fortitude of mind and courage, that no iniurious mischance of froward aduersitie could abash his inuincible heart and manlike stomach. At length, after he had wandered from place to place in sundrie parts of Scotland,

King Roberts good hope in time of extreme aduersitie.

His inuincible hart and vndaunted stomach.

Scotland, the better to auoid the ſleights of them that laie in wait to apprehend him, he got ouer into one of the Iles, where comming vnto one of his ſpeciall friends, a man of high nobilitie and welbeloued of the people in thoſe parts, he was moſt hartilie welcome, and gladlie of him receiued, to his great eaſe and comfort.

ing Robert getteth uer into the lles.

Here when he had remained a certeine ſpace, hee got ſupport of men, armor and weapons, by meanes whereof taking new courage, he paſſed ouer vnto Carrike, & winning the caſtell there that belonged to his fathers inheritance, he ſlue all the Engliſhmen, which he found within it, and beſtowed all the ſpoile of monie and goods gotten there amongſt his ſouldiers and men of warre. His friends that laie hid in couert and ſecret corners, hearing of theſe his doings, began from each ſide to reſort vnto him, by whoſe aſſiſtance ſhortlie after he wan the caſtell of Inuerneſſe, and ſlue all them that were within it in garriſon. With the like felicitie he got the moſt part of all the caſtels in the north, racing & burning vp the ſame till he came to Glenneſke, where being aduertiſed that John Cumin with ſundrie Engliſhmen and Scots were gathered againſt him, becauſe he was vpon a ſtrong ground, he determined there to abide them: but they being thereof informed, and wondering at his manlie courage, durſt not approch to giue him battell, but ſent ambaſſadors vnto him to haue truce for a time, vnder colour of ſome communication for a peace, till they might increaſe their power more ſtrongly againſt him: which being done, they purſued him more fiercelie than before. Neuertheleſſe K. Robert receiued them at all times in ſuch warlike order, that they might neuer take him at anie aduantage, but were ſtill driuen backe with ſlaughter and loſſe, though the ſame was of no great importance to make account of, but ſuch like as happeneth oftentimes in ſkirmiſhes & light incounters, where the battels come not to ioine puiſſance againſt puiſſance. The ſame whereof yet procured him the fauour of ſundrie great barons in Scotland.

ing Robert urchaſeth id in the lles.

ie winneth he caſtell of Carrike.

his power ncreaſeth.

Inuerneſſe aſtell taken.

ing Robert ommeth to Glenneſke.

* About this time, Simon Fraſer, and Walter Logan (moſt valiant knights, and greatlie fauouring their countrie) were taken (by ſuch as followed the faction of Cumin) deliuered to the Engliſh, ſent to London, and there executed. Almoſt about which time, James Dowglaſſe ioined himſelfe to the part of king Robert. This James being the ſonne of William Dowglaſſe, was a yong gentleman very actiue and forward in all thoſe exerciſes and arts. Who when he gaue himſelfe to ſtudie at Paris (hearing that his father was by the king of England caſt in priſon, in which he ſhortlie after died, as is before noted) returned home to diſpoſe the reſt of his life after the aduiſe of his friends. But being without liuing, & all his other friends by miſfortune diſperſed: he committed himſelfe to the ſeruice of W. Lambert biſhop of ſaint Andrews, of whome hee was gentlie receiued into his familie, and well interteined: vntill king Edward comming to Sterling (after that he had almoſt pacified all the reſt of Scotland) to beſiege Striueling: at what time Lambert going to Sterling to ſalute the king, caried Dowglaſſe to attend vpon him, to the end to prefer him to his liuing and inheritance. Whereupon the biſhop finding the king at conuenient leiſure, beſought him to be fauourable to this Dowglaſſe; to reſtore him vnto his fathers patrimonie: and that (receiuing the yong man into his fealtie and defenſe) it would pleaſe him to imploie him in his faithfull and warlike ſeruice: adding further ſuch commendations in the behalfe of James, as for that time he thought moſt conuenient. But the king vnderſtanding his name and kinred, ſpake bitterlie of the diſobedience and ſtubbornneſſe of his father William Dowglaſſe; further anſwering, that he would neither vſe the ſame James, nor his trauell in anie thing, neither that he could (if ſo he would) reſtore him to his patrimonie, becauſe he had with the ſame gratified other that well deſerued it. For which cauſe being by the king ſo repelled, he remained ſtill in the biſhops ſeruice, vntill Bruſe came into Yerne, at what time (leaſt he might loſe the opportunitie to offend king Edward, whome he ſecretlie in heart diſdeined) this Dowglaſſe departed from Lambert his maiſter, taking with him all the biſhops gold, and certeine of his beſt horſſes, with the which, hauing in his companie diuerſe other hardie yong gentlemen, priuie to his doings, he fled with all ſpeed vnto king Robert, offering him his ſeruice, and to ſpend his life in his quarell and defenſe.) The biſhop was priuie to his couſins going awaie, yea and counſelled him thereunto, though he would by no means it ſhould outwardlie ſo appeare, for doubt leaſt if things had not come to paſſe as he wiſhed, he might haue run in danger for his cloked diſſimulation. The Dowglaſſe was ioifullie receiued of king Robert, in whoſe ſeruice he faithfullie continued both in peace and warre to his liues end.

* Sir Thin. Simon Fraſer and Walter Logan executed.

A craftie diſſembling prelate.

Though the ſurname and familie of the Dowglaſſes was in ſome eſtimation of nobilitie before thoſe daies, yet the riſing thereof to honor chanced through this James Dowglaſſe: for by meanes of his aduancement, other of the ſame linage toke occaſion by their ſingular manhood and noble prowes ſhewed at ſundrie times in defenſe of the realme, to grow to ſuch height in authoritie & eſtimation, that their mightie puiſſance in maintenance, lands, & great poſſeſſions, at length was (through ſuſpicion conceiued by the kings that ſucceeded) the cauſe in part of their ruinous decay. Edward king of England hearing of the doings of his aduerſarie king Robert, doubted (if ſome redreſſe were not found in time) leſt the Scots reioiſing in the proſperous ſucceſſe of his ſaid aduerſarie, would reuolt wholie from the Engliſh obeiſance: and hereupon purpoſing with all ſpeed to ſubdue the whole realme of Scotland from end to end, he came (with a far greater armie than euer he had raiſed before) to the borders; but before his entring into Scotland, he fell ſicke of a right ſore and grieuous maladie, whereof he died ſhortlie after at Burgh vpon ſands, as in the Engliſh hiſtorie more plainlie doth appeare, though Buchanan ſay he died at Lancaſter.

The riſing of the Dowglaſſes to honor.

The death of king Edward Longſhanks.

The Scotiſh writers make mention, that a litle before he departed out of this world, there were brought vnto him 55 yong ſtriplings, which were taken in the caſtell of Kilbrunmie, after it was wone by the Engliſhmen, and being aſked what ſhould be done with them, he commanded they ſhould be hanged incontinentlie, without reſpect to their yong yeres, or conſideration of their innocencies that might haue moued him to pitie. After his deceaſſe, his ſonne Edward of Carnaruan ſucceeded in the gouernement of England, who following his fathers enterpriſe, called a councell at Dunfreis, ſummoning the lords of Scotland to appeare at the ſame, and cauſed a great number of them at their comming thither to do their homage vnto him, as to their ſuperior lord and gouernor: but yet diuers diſobeied his commandements, and would not come at his ſummoning, vpon truſt of ſome change of fortune by the death of his father, for that the ſon was much giuen (as was reported) to incline his eare to lewd counſell, not without the great griefe of his people, and namelie of the lords and chiefe nobles of his realme.

The cruelitie of king Edward as is noted by the Scotiſh writers.

Edward of Carnaruan, ſonne to Edward Longſhanks.

Homage to king Edward of Carnaruan

Shortlie

Shortlie after this, the said Edward of Carnaruan returned into England, and in the meane time John Cumin erle of Buchquhane gathered a mightie armie, both of Scots and Englishmen to resist against king Robert, that he might thereby declare his faithfull affection toward the new English king. He trusted onelie with multitude of people to cause his enimies to giue place: but king Robert though he was holden with a sore sickenesse at that time, yet he assembled a power, and caused himselfe in a horse-litter to be caried forth with the same against his enimies, who abiding him at a streight, supposed it had bin an easie matter for them to be put to slight: but it chanced quite contrarie to their expectation, for in the end the Cumin with his whole armie was discomfited, and a great number of king Roberts aduersaries slaine or taken. This victorie was gotten at a village called Enuerrour, ten miles distant from Aberden, on the Ascension daie, wherewith king Robert was so much refreshed in contentation of mind, that he was suddenlie thervpon restored to his former health, hauing at that time also taken the castell of Aberden, which he vtterlie destroied, and caused to be leuelled with the ground, to the end his enimies might haue no more refuge thereby.

John Cumin discomfited by king Robert at Enuerrour 1308. Fr. Thin.

In the same yere Donald of the Iles came with a great armie of Englishmen and Scots against K. Robert, and was on the feast day of the apostles Peter and Paule discomfited by Edward Bruse the kings brother, at the water of Deir. At this battell was a right valiant knight named Rowland, slaine of the English part, with a great number of other about him, and Donald himselfe was taken prisoner.

Donald of the Iles discomfited by Edward Bruse.

Thus king Robert through fauour of prosperous fortune, obteining the victorie in sundrie conflicts, came with an armie into Argile, and not onelie subdued the countrie to his obeisance, but also toke Alexander lord of Argile out of a strong castell in that countrie, and banished him with all his friends into England, where shortlie after he deceassed. In the yere next following, king Edward came with an armie into Scotland, where ioining with an other armie of Scots that were assembled readie to aid him, he passed through the countrie vnto Ranfrew, and at length without atchiuing anie notable enterprise worthie the mentioning, he returned againe into England.

Argile subdued by king Robert. This was in 1309, as Iohn Ma. saith.

K. Edward commeth into Scotland. Anno 1310 as should seeme by Io. Maior.

In the same yeere, through continuall warres, there rose such dearth & scarsitie of things in Scotland, that neither corne nor other vittels could be had for monie: for the ground in manner generallie through the countrie laie vntilled, and beasts with all kind of cattell were driuen awaie, as booties taken by the enimies. By reason wherof the famine so increased on each side, that the people were constreined to eat horsses, and other lothsome flesh & meats, thereby to sustaine their liues. In the yere following which was after the incarnation 1311, king Robert chased the Englishmen out of all parts of Scotland, winning manie castels out of their hands, diuerse of the which he raced and consumed with fire. After this entring at sundrie times into England with his fierce armie, he brought from thence innumerable booties of cattell and other riches, afflicting the Englishmen with like slaughter and calamities, as the Scots had suffered in the yeares before, by the outragious force and puissance of king Edward.

I sore dearth.

1311.

Castels recouered by king Robert.

King Robert inuadeth England.

1312. Io. Ma.

The towne of Perth recouered, otherwise called S. Johns towne.

On the eight day of Januarie next insuing, King Robert wan by fine force the strong towne of Perth, sleaing and hanging all the people both English and Scottish, which were found in the same. He threw also the walles of that towne to the ground, and filled the ditch with the rampire. The same yere the castels of Dunfreis, Aire, Lanarke, with manie other strengths and castels were rendered vnto him, and cast to the ground.

Castels won.

The castell of Rokesburgh was taken by sir James Dowglasse on Fealkings euen, in the yeare 1313, when they of the garison were ouercome with immoderate surfetting by meats and drinks excessiuelie taken, according as on that day the accustomed vse is. In that yeare also Thomas Randall, afterwards created earle of Murrey, wan the castell of Edenburgh. In which yeare also, Bruse wan the Ile of Man; Iohn Maior lib. 5. cap. 1. And the same yeare Edward Bruse besieged the castell of Striueling: but the strength of the house was such, what by nature of the high crag whereon it stood, and what by fortification of mans hand beside, all his trauell and inforcement diligentlie imploied to win it, proued vaine for the time. Within this castell as capteine thereof, was a right valiant knight named sir Philip Mowbray, a Scotish man borne, but taking part with the English men, who feared nothing the siege, for he had sufficient store of men, vittels, munition, and all maner of purueiance sufficient to defend the hold for a long season: so that finallie Edward Bruse, perceiuing no meanes whereby to atchiue the enterprise, which he had rashlie taken in hand, was abashed thereof: for by force he saw well inough it could not be brought to passe, and by large offers made to the capteine, if he would render the place, and become seruant to the king his brother, he could not once moue him to giue anie eare thereto, insomuch as at length he sought to trie him another way forth, which in the end toke better effect than was likelie it would haue done, considering the lacke of circumspection vsed in the bargaine making: as thus.

Rokesburg wone on Shrouetue day. 1313.

The castell Edenburgh wone.

Striueling stell besieged

Sir Philip Mowbray.

After long siege, and (as before is said) no good done, there was a motion made betwixt him and the capteine within for a truce, which was accorded on this wise: that if the fortresse were not succoured within twelue moneths next insuing, it should then be rendered vnto king Robert, and in the meane time no force should be vsed against it. This composition was vnwiselie made, as most men iudged: for euerie man of anie wisedome might easilie coniecture, that king Edward hauing so long day to make his prouision, would come in support of them within the castell, and that so stronglie, as would be hard for the Scots to resist him. King Robert himselfe also was sore offended with his brother for his follie shewed in this behalfe: but yet hee would not go about to breake the couenant accorded, for doubt to lose his brother, whose aid hee might not well want.

In vnwise composition

King Robert offended with his brother.

In the meane time king Edward sent forth messengers with letters, not onelie vnto all his subiects, but also vnto all his confederats and alies, to haue men of warre taken vp and retained to serue him in his warres against the Scots, which he intended to follow to the vtter destruction of the whole nation. There came therefore in hope of spoile, not onlie such as were appointed by commissioners of the musters, but also a great number of other that offered themselues of their owne accord to go in that iournie, namelie such as had little to liue vpon at home, and trusted to amend the matter by some good fortune in the warres abroad. The countries out of the which it is reported by the Scotish writers, that such aid came to the English, were these; Holand, Zeland, Brabant, Flanders, Picardie, Bolognois, Gascoigne, Normandie, Guian, and Burdelois. For all these at that time were either subiect to the king of England, or else in confederate league with him. There were also manie Scots that were English by deuotion, and aided king Edward at this time.

K. Edward taketh vp souldiers.

Out of what countries K. Edward had aid of men.

But

But the number of naturall Engliſhmen exceéded anie one nation beſide, inſomuch that the whole armie what of one and other, conteined (as the fame went) one hundred and fiftie thouſand footmen, and almoſt as manie horſſemen, beſide cartage-men, coſtrels, women, and lackies, but the fame herein belike (as often happeneth) did farre exceéd the truth. For it is not to be thought (as Iohn Maior himſelfe writeth) that he ſhould get ſuch a number togither, not for that England it ſelfe is not able to ſet forth ſuch a power: for as the ſame Maior ſaith, as manie men as are to be found in England of lawfull age, ſo manie able perſonages may be found there to paſſe for able ſouldiers. But either kings are not of abilitie to find ſo great a multitude with vittels and ſufficient proviſion, or elſe they will not ſtreine themſelues thereto. Neuertheleſſe, the whole number by all likelihood was great, for many as well ſtrangers as Engliſhmen, brought their wiues, their children, and whole houſhold-meinie with them, in hope after the countrie were once ſubdued, to haue dwelling places appointed them in the ſame, there to inhabit: for ſo had king Edward promiſed them. By reaſon whereof the diſorder was ſuch, that no warlike diſcipline might be obſerued amongſt them; for men, women, and children, were all mixt togither, with ſuch clamor and noiſe, through the huge number of people, and diuerſitie of languages, that it was a thing right ſtrange to behold a campe ſo confuſedlie ordered.

Fame oftentimes exceédeth the truth.

K. Edwards promiſe.

King Edward himſelfe moſt proud and inſolent of ſuch incredible number, toke no héed at all to the gouerning of them, ſuppoſing victorie to be alreadie in his hands; inſomuch that at his comming to the borders, he toke aduiſe with his councell to what kind of torment and death he might put king Robert, for he had no doubt of catching him at all. He alſo brought with him a religious man ſomwhat learned belike, of the order of the Carmelites, to deſcribe the whole maner of his conqueſt and victorie ouer the Scots: ſo ſure he thought himſelfe that all things would come to paſſe as he could wiſh or deuiſe. This Carmelite, as may appeare in Iohn Bales booke, intituled A ſummarie of the writers of great Britaine, was named Robert Baſton, and had the gouernance of an houſe in Scarburgh, of the Carmelites order, he being (as before is ſaid) of that cote himſelfe.

K. Edward thinketh himſelfe ſure of victorie.

Robert Baſton a Carmelite.

On the contrarie part, king Robert ordered all his doings by good & prudent aduiſe, and with 30000 men, right hardie and throughlie exerciſed in wars, came forth againſt his enimies, ſhewing no token of feare in the world, but boldlie pitched downe his tents in good order and warlike arate, vpon a plaine a little aboue Bannockſborne. Whether he did this for the great confidence he had in the hardineſſe of his people, or for that he would ſhew how little hée doubted the puiſſance of his enimies, leaſt they ſhuld haue him in contempt, it is vncerteine. Indéed there were diuerſe expert warriours amongeſt the Engliſhmen, that ſaid (when they heard how the Scots were thus aſſembled to fight) that the victorie would not be had, except it were dearelie bought: the wiſedome and manhood of king Robert was knowne ſo well amongſt them, that they were aſſured he would not leopard himſelfe in ſuch a caſe, but that he knew he had ſuch fellowes about him, as would sticke to their tackle.

Iohn Ma. hath in his booke 35 thouſand. King Robert his comming toward the battell.

The opinion of expert warriors of king Edwards.

Moreouer the Scots by appointment of their king, to the furtherance of his hardie enterpriſe, had caſt déepe pits and ditches in the place where it was iudged the battels ſhould ioine, and pitched ſharpe ſtakes within the ſame, and after couered them ouer ſlightlie with gréene turfes or ſods, in ſuch wiſe that a few footmen might paſſe ouer well inough; but if anie great number ſhould come preaſſing togither, or that anie horſſemen came thereupon, the ſods would ſhrinke and fall to the bottome of the trenches, with extreme perill of the men and horſſes, that were ſure to fall vpon the ſtakes ſet there for that purpoſe; or elſe to be ſo incloſed, that they ſhould not be able to get out of thoſe pitfals. By the place where king Robert was thus incamped, there runneth a great brooke or water called Bannockſborne, ſo named of oten-cakes called bannocks, which were vſed to bée made commonlie at the mils ſtanding on the banks of the ſaid water. It falleth into the Forth right famous afterwards by reaſon of this battell fought nére to the ſame.

Trenches made by Scots to ouerthrow the Engliſhmen.

Bannockſborne.

When both the armies were approched within a mile togither, king Edward ſent eight hundred horſmen by a ſecret waie, vnto the caſtell of Striueling, to giue notice to ſir Philip Mowbrate the capteine, that he was come with his armie to ſuccour him. K. Robert being aduertiſed of their gate, & beholding them which way they tooke, he ſent Thomas Randall with fiue hundred Scotiſh horſmen to ſaue the countrie from ſpoile, who with ſingular manhood incountering with thoſe Engliſhmen in ſight of both the armies, there inſued a cruell fight betwixt them for ſo ſmall a number, continuing a long ſpace with vncerteine victorie. In the meane time ſir James Dowglaſſe, dreading that his ſpeciall friend the ſaid Thomas Randall ſhould be ouerſet with multitude of the Engliſhmen, came to K. Robert, and falling on his knées before him, required licence to go forth to the ſupport of them that were thus fighting with their enimies: which bicauſe the king would not grant at the firſt, he ruſhed forth of the campe without licence, hauing in his companie a ſmall band of men, but yet choſen out for the purpoſe, that if it were but by ſhewing himſelfe, hée might put the enimies in ſome feare.

The fight of Th. Randall with 500 Scotiſhmen in his companie againſt 800 Engliſhmen.

Notwithſtanding, when he was come nére to the place where they fought, and ſaw how the Scots had got the victorie with great murther of the Engliſhmen, he ſtaied and went no further; leaſt he ſhould by his comming ſéeme to beréeue them the glorie of the victorie, which had woone it with ſo great proweſſe & ſingular valiancie. All thoſe in the Scotiſh campe were relieued, in good hope of greater ſucceſſe to follow in the whole enterpriſe by ſo happie a beginning. The Engliſhmen paſſed little thereof, but yet for that the Scots ſhould not ware proud, and take ouermuch courage thereby, they determined to giue them battell the next morow. King Robert with great diligence cauſed his people to prepare themſelues readie to receiue the enimies, though he was nothing able to match them in number, deuiſing which waie he might traine them into the ditches before prepared. He commanded through the armie that euerie man ſhould on the next morow receiue the ſacrament of the Lords bodie, through the which they might haue the better hope of victorie againſt the vniuſt inuaders of their realme and countrie.

The Engliſh men determine to giue battell.

King Robert prepareth to receiue the enimies by battell.

On the other ſide, the Engliſhmen truſted that all things would proſper with them, euen as they could beſt deuiſe: for by one ſmall daies labour they hoped to be lords of all Scotland, and to diſpoſe of the lands and goods of their enimies, as ſhould ſéeme to them good, and moſt for their owne auaile. But king Robert all the night before the battell toke litle reſt, hauing great care in his mind for the ſuertie of his armie, one while reuoluing in his conſideration this chance, and an other while that; yea and ſometimes he fell to deuout contemplation, making his praier to God and ſaint Phillane, whoſe arme as it was ſet and incloſed in a ſiluer caſe, he ſuppoſed had

Saint Phillane.

A subtill chapleine.

A matter deuised betwixt the king and his chapleine, as is to be thought.

The exhortation of king Robert to his people.

Fr.Thin.

beene the same time within his tent, trusting the better fortune to follow by presence thereof. In the meane time, as he was thus making his praiers, the case suddenlie opened, and clapped to againe. The kings chapleine being present, astonied therewith, went to the altar where the case stood, and finding the arme within it, he cried to the king & other that were present, how there was a great miracle wrought, confessing that he brought the emptie case to the field, and left the arme at home, least that relike should haue beene lost in the field, if anie thing chanced to the armie otherwise than well.

The king verie ioifull of this miracle, passed the remnant of the night in praier and thankesgiuing. On the morow he caused all his folks to heare diuine seruice, and to receiue the sacrament, as ouer night he had appointed. The abbat of Inchchaffraie did celebrate before the king that day, and ministred vnto him and other of the nobles, the communion, other priests being appointed to minister the same vnto the residue of the armie. After this, when seruice was ended, the king called the people to his standard, and first declared vnto them from point to point, how necessarie it was for them to shew their wonted manhood, considering that such an huge multitude of people was brought thither against them by king Edward, not of one nation or dominion, but of sundrie languages and parties, as well subiects as alies to the Englishmen, with full purpose vtterlie to extinguish the Scotish name and memorie, and to plant themselues in their seates and romes, as in possessions vtterlie voided of all the ancient and former inhabitants. To increase the fierce stomachs of the Scotishmen against the enimies, he recounted vnto them what he heard by credible report touching the menacing words and insolent brags of the same enimies, able to moue verie quiet minds vnto full indignation. Againe, to auoid feare out of their harts, which they might conceiue by reason of the multitude of their aduersaries, he rehearsed what a number of rascals were amongest them, without anie skill of warrelike affaires, not taken vp by choise and election in appointed musters, but resorting without difference togither, in hope of spoile and booties, hauing not else wherevpon to liue at home in their countries.

Moreouer, if nothing else might raise their harts in hope of victorie, their iust cause sith they came in defense of their countrie against iniurious inuaders, was matter sufficient to aduance their manlie stomachs, in trust of Gods aid in that quarell, hauing partlie assured them thereof, by notable miracles shewed in the night last passed. Hereto he added, that the greater multitude there was of the enimies, the more spoile and riches was to be got, if they atteined the victorie. Finallie, the more to stirre their harts to doo valiantlie, he required them of one thing, which he trusted (their manhood being such) they would not thinke hard for them to atchiue, and this was, that euerie of them would but dispatch one of the enimies, which if they performed, he promised them assured victorie. As for ten thousand, he knew to be amongst them of such approued souldiers, and old men of war, as he durst safelie vndertake for them that they would slea two of the enimies apeece, at the least. Such manner of persuasions king Robert vsed to incourage his people.

✲ But Iohannes Maior, lib. 5. cap. 2. putteth speech much different from this, in the mouth of Bruse, further saieng, that when this oration was ended, that the king came downe the hill, on which he stood, when he vttered these words, and bareheaded imbraced all the nobilitie in his armes, and after turning himselfe to the whole armie, he reached to euerie man his hand, in signe of amitie: but I suppose he was ouerwearied before he had shaken 35000 men by the hands.) On the other part, king Edward caused the coronels of ech nation within his campe, to exhort their retinues to remember, that if they fought valiantlie for one houre or two, they should purchase infinit riches with the whole realme of Scotland, in reward of their labour: for he desired nothing for himselfe, but the superioritie. Againe, he willed they should haue in remembrance what irrecouerable shame would follow (sith they had departed out of their countries in hope of gaine) to returne home with emptie hands, and void of victorie, not without some reproch and note of cowardise.

The exhortation of king Edward.

✲ Besides which (as seemeth by Iohannes Maior) king Edward clothed in his kinglie robes, is said to haue vsed these speeches to the armie. If I did not behold the open victorie, I would this day (most valiant men) make an other beginning of speech vnto you. We are in preparation & number of souldiors farre beyond these miserable Scots. Besides which, we haue abundance of brasse peeces, catapultes, bowes, and other such engins of warre, which on the contrarie part the Scots doo want. They are onelie couered with leather pilches made of bucks skins, and with clokes like vnto the wild mounteine people, for which cause our archers, before the strength of the maine battell shall ioine, will soone subdue them. Maruell not that they haue before time subdued some of my subiects, because they did it by their accustomed deceits, and not by strength of battell. And though by chance they haue ouercome (in fight) some weake companie of equall number vnto them, yet are they not able to resist vs; being farre more excellent in number, preparation, and order of battell. The Scot hath a weake nation fighting on his owne charge, not hauing anie chosen souldier. God hath in this field inclosed that for Bruse (nourished by my good father) to the end that he might receiue worthie punishment for his wickednesse. His three brethren were consumed by my father: therefore it now remaineth that we apprehend (aliue) these other two wicked and wauering men, to lead them to London, there to receiue their due punishment. You had great reuenues (noble princes) giuen to you by my father, in that kingdome. Therefore now shew your selues valiant persons, that you may againe reconer the same, at this day possessed by the vniust and vnrightfull owners. Besides which, I will further by line geometricallie measure forth all the land of Scotland, to be diuided vnto those that deserue the same, according to the merits of the men. Thus much Maior.)

Fr.Thn. Iohannes Maior maketh K. Edward to speake (by his pen) what he list himselfe.

" Io. Maior forgot that guns were not yet inuented.

K. Edward a good mathematician by Maiors hyperbolicall speeches.

But yet when they should march forward in arraie of battell towards the Scots, they might scarse be seuered from their wiues and children, which they had there in campe with them: neuertheless, at length by the sharpe calling vpon of their capteins, they were brought into order of battell, not without much adoo, by reason of the vnrulie multitude. The archers were placed in wings, mingled amongst the horsemen on the sides of the wards and battels, which stood inclosed in the middest of the same wings. King Robert appointing all his battels on foot, diuided the same into three parts: the fore ward he committed to Thomas Randolfe, & James Dowglasse, capteins of verie approued valiancie, vnder whome went seuen thousand of the borderers, and three thousand of the Irish Scots, otherwise called Baterans or Redshanks. These no lesse fierce and forward, than the other practised and skilfull. The second ward was gouerned by Edward the kings brother, wherein were ten thousand men: but for that he was suspected of too much rashnesse, there was ioined with him

Incombrance in an armie.

The order of the English battels.

The appointing of the Scotish battels.

The first battell.

The second.

him certeine ancient gentlemen of great ſobrietie and circumſpection, to qualifie his haſtie and hot nature. The third battell, in the which were (as Iohn Maior recordeth) fiftéene thouſand fighting men, the king himſelfe led, ſhewing a verie chærefull countenance amongeſt them, ſo farre forth, that euerie one that beheld him, conceiued in his mind an aſſured hope of victorie to ſuccéed.

The third.

The abbat of Inchchaffrate aforeſaid (who as before is mentioned, did celebrate that morning afore the king) came forth before the battels, with the crucifix in his hands, bearing it aloft like a ſtandard, admoniſhing them valiantlie to take in hand the defenſe of their countrie, and the libertie of their poſteritie: for (ſaith he) you muſt not euerie man fight as it were for his owne priuat defenſe, his owne houſe and children, but euerie man for all men, and all men for euerie man muſt fight for the libertie, life, patrimonie, children, and wiues of all the realme: for ſuch and ſo great is the dignitie of our countrie, as they which deface or ſpoile it, are to be puniſhed with perpetuall fier, and they which doo preſerue it, are to be recompenſed with an eternall crowne of glorie. And herewithall this abbat inſtructed them of manie things touching the loue of their countrie, which nature hath ſo planted in all men, that for the preſeruation and libertie therof, none ſhould refuſe anie danger, no not the loſſe of life, yea though (if it were poſſible) that it might be manie times loſt therefore. Which done, he feared not to admoniſh them to worſhip the image of Chriſt, which he ſhewed them on the croſſe. Incontinentlie whervpon, the Scotiſh armie fell on knées before it, deuoutlie commending themſelues to almightie God.

The abbat of Inchchaffrate bearing a croſſe. Fr. Thin.

Leſleus epiſc. Roſſ. li. 7. pag. 144. ſaith, it was Mauricius the abbat a man of ſingular pietie and puritie of life, ſuch vertue they can find in their clergie.

The Engliſh armie beholding the Scots fall on knées, thought verelie they had yélded without ſtroke ſtriken. But when they ſaw them riſe againe, and to come forward, they began to be ſomewhat doubtfull. And herevpon ruſhing togither, at the firſt ioining a great number of people on either ſide were beaten downe & ſlaine. The archers which were arraied on the vtter ſkirts of the Engliſh wings, ſore annoied the Scots, till finallie Edward Bruſe came on their backs with a thouſand ſpeares, and brake them aſunder, in ſuch wiſe that they did but little more hurt that day. Albeit incontinentlie herewith a battell of horſſemen to the number of thirtie thouſand, came ruſhing togither all at once in ſhocke, to haue borne downe and ouerridden the Scots; but being ſo in their full race galloping with moſt violence towards them, they tumbled into the foſſes and pits before mentioned, in ſuch wiſe one vpon another, that the moſt part of them was ſlaine, without all recouerie. Neuertheleſſe the Scots in maner oppreſſed through the huge multitude of the enimies, were néere at the point to haue bæne vanquiſhed. [During which conflict ſaith Buch. this happened (which though it be a ſmall thing to put in writing, yet was ſuch as oftentimes it chanceth in battell, and as brought no ſmall benefit to the perfection of their buſineſſe) that king Robert (who continuallie rode before the battell appointed to his gouernement) holding a mace of warre in his hand (and kéeping the firſt order in the arraie) was eſpied of an Engliſhman that knew him verie well: and forthwith rode full againſt Bruſe with his ſpeare. But the king beating the ſtroke aſide, came to his Engliſh aduerſarie, ouerthrew him by the force of his horſſe, in the end killed him with his mace & ſo left him dead. Whervpon, the common people beholding the valure of their king and capteine, did with great force by the inſtigation of their fierce and fierie minds (and not by the kings perſuaſion) fall vpon their enimies in ſuch ſort, that they ſéemed to haue had the victorie of the aduerſe battell of their enimies: had it not bæne for the Engliſh archers, which were placed in the wings of the battell; whom Bruſe (ſending out certeine light horſſemen) did ſone repreſſe: whereby the Scots incouraged, made their partie good, rather by hidden policie, than prepared force. For a ſtratagem by the Scots deuiſed, and an error by the Engliſh therof conceiued, did far more hurt to the enimie, than the power aſſembled in the field. For that deuiſe in the end was the cauſe that the Engliſh loſt the victorie, being in this ſort.]

The abbat of Inchchaffrate bearing a croſſe. Fr. Thin.

Leſleus epiſc. Roſſ. li. 7. pag. 144. ſaith, it was Mauricius the abbat a man of ſingular pietie and puritie of life, ſuch vertue they can find in their clergie.

Fr. Thin.

Nothing omitted for the glorie of their nation, ſince valure is commendable in all men, but moſt in a king *Et virtus in hoſte laudatur.*

The firſt toining.

Thirtie thouſand Engliſh horſſemen ouerthrowen in trenches.

King Robert killeth an Engliſhman.

The Scots which were appointed to attend the carriage, as carters, wainemen, lackies, and the women, beholding in what danger their maiſters, friends, & countriemen ſtood, put on ſhirts, ſmocks, and other white linnen aloft vpon their vſuall garments, and herewith binding towels and napkins to their ſpeares, and to other ſuch ſtaues as they got in their hands, placed themſelues as well as they could in arraie of battell, and ſo making a great muſter and ſhew anew, came downe the hill ſide in the face of their enimies, with ſuch a terrible noiſe and hideous clamor, that the Engliſhmen fighting as then with moſt furie againſt the Scots with vncerteine victorie, and beholding this new reenforce comming downe the hill vpon their faces, ſuppoſing verelie it had bæne ſome new armie, their hearts began to faint, the more in dæd, for that they ſaw themſelues vneth able to ſuſteine the violent incounter of the Scots then preſent. And herevpon they began to turne their backs, and fell to running away as people clearelie vanquiſhed: on whome the Scots followed with inſatiable ire, and ſlue them down on all ſides where they might ouertake them. Sir James Dowglas with foure hundred choſen horſſemen, was commanded by king Robert to purſue the king of England with all ſpéed, to trie if he might ouertake him.

The Engliſh mens hearts begin to faint.

The Engliſh men put to flight.

Dowglas (according to his charge) followed him in chaſe to Dunbar, & calling betwixt that and the borders, laie in wait to haue taken him, if he had returned by land; but he being receiued into the caſtell of Dunbar by Patrike Dunbar erle of March, with fiftéene earles in his companie, was by the ſame earle of March conueied into certeine veſſels, lieng there at anchor, with the which he paſſed alongſt by the ſhore into England, to ſhew an example of the vnſtable ſtate of princes: for though this Edward was that day in the morning right proud of the great puiſſance and number of people which he had about him, not vnlike ſometime to the great armie of king Xerxes, yet he was conſtreined before the euening of the ſame day, to ſaue his life in a poore fiſhers boat. In this battell were ſlaine fiftie thouſand Engliſhmen (as the Scotiſh writers affirme) amongſt whome was the earle of Glocester, with two hundred knights. On the Scotiſh part were ſlaine about foure thouſand, and amongſt other two valiant knights, ſir William Wepount, and ſir Walter Roſſe. The ſpoile was ſo great of gold, ſiluer, and other iewels gotten in the field, that the whole number of the Scotiſh armie was made rich thereby: and beſides this, they got little leſſe monie and riches by ranſoming of priſoners taken at this battell, than of ſpoile gotten in the fight, campe, and field. But the death of ſir Giles Argentine, that died amongſt other in this mortall battell, was ſo diſpleaſant to king Robert, for the familiaritie which he had ſometimes with him in England, that he reioiſed little of all the gaine got by ſo famous a victorie. He cauſed his bodie to be buried right honorablie in ſaint Patriks church, beſide Edenburgh. The quéene king Roberts wife, who had bæne kept

King Edward eſcapeth

The vnſtable ſtate of worldlie puiſſance.

The number of Scots ſlaine.

Sir Giles Argentine ſlaine.

The quéene king Roberts wife restored to hir husband

in captiuitie the space of 8 yeares, was in England now deliuered by exchange for one of the nobles of England, which was taken at this battell. The rich clothes of silke, veluet, and gold, which were found in the English campe, were distributed to the abbeies and monasteries of the realme, to make thereof vestments, copes, and frontals for altars. The Carmelite frier, of whome ye heard before, brought thither by king Edward to describe the victorie of the Englishmen, was taken prisoner amongst other, and commanded by king Robert to write contrarilie the victorie of the Scots, according as he had séene: who thereupon gathered his rudde wits together, & made certeine rude verses beginning thus.

Verses made by Robert Baston the Carmelite.

De planctu cudo metrum cum carmine nudo,
Risum retrudo cum tali themate ludo.
With barren verse this rime I make,
Bewailing whilest such theame I take.

There be some that haue iudged, how this victorie was atteined by the singular fauor of almightie God, by reason of miracles which they rehearse to happen at the same time. The night before the day of the battell, there came to the abbeie of Glastenburie two men in complet armour, desiring to lodge there all night: the abbat kéeping an house of great hospitalitie, receiued them right gladlie, and making them good cheare, demanded what they were, and whither they were going: who answered that they were the seruants of God, and going to helpe the Scots at Bannorsborne. On the morrow the chamberlaine found them departed before anie of the gates were opened, & the beds faire made, and not stirred otherwise than as they left them ouer night. The same day that the battell was foughten, a knight clad in faire bright armour, declared to the people at Aberden, how the Scots had gotten a famous victorie against the Englishmen, and was séene shortlie after to passe ouer Pictland Firth on horssebacke. It was supposed by the people that this was saint Magnus, sometime prince of Orkenie, and for that cause king Robert endowed the church of Orkenie with fiue poundes sterling of the customes of Aberden, to furnish the same church, with bread, wine, and wax.

Miracles if ye list to beléeue them.

Manie noble men for their approued manhood shewed in this conflict, were highlie rewarded at the hands of king Robert. One Robert Fleming, by whose means he reuenged the treason wrought against him by John Cumin, with slaughter of the same John, had the lands of Cumnernald giuen him, which were of the inheritance belonging to the said Cumin. It is reported by writers, that two knights of Brabant that serued amongest the Englishmen, chanced to heare manie reprochfull words spoken in the English campe against king Robert, who being somewhat moued therewith, and misliking such dismeasured talke, wished in words that the victorie might chance vnto him. For the which with K. Edward informed thereof, caused them by a trumpet to be conueied vnto the Scotish campe, with commandement to aid king Robert to the vttermost of their powers, purposing to punish them according to his mind, if he atteined the victorie, as he had no doubt but he should. Herevpon, before the ioining of the battels, he caused proclamation to be made, that whosoeuer brought their heads vnto him, should haue an hundred marks in reward.

Robert Fleming rewarded for his faithfull seruice.

A proclamation.

King Robert hearing in what danger they had run for his sake, rewarded them with great riches of the spoile got in the field, with the which they returning into Brabant, built a goodlie house in Antuerpe, naming the same Scotland, and causing the Scotish armes, and the picture of Bruse to be set vp in the same, appointed it for a lodging to receiue them of the Scotish nation that should resort vnto that towne, as may appeare euen vnto this day. And this was done for a memoriall, to shew what loue and hartie beneuolence these two knights bare towards king Robert and his people, for the great liberalitie receiued at his hands. This glorious victorie chanced to the Scots on the day of the natiuitie of saint John Baptist, in the yeare 1314.

The Scotish house in Antuerpe builded.

1314.

Fr. Thin.

Buchanan.

✠ About this time for the varietie of fortune (in so small a course of yeares) happened a thing not vnworthie the reporting. For John Wentith, which before betraied his déere friend Wallase to the English, being therefore (as of right he ought) extremelie hated of the Scots, was (in recompense thereof beside manie other rewards) benefited with the gardianship of the castle of Dunbriton: which fort (after all the other castles before said were recouered to the Scots) was almost the onlie thing (except some few others) that remained in the hands of the English: and because this fort was by nature inexpugnable, king Robert dealt with the capteine (by such as were friends and of kinred vnto him) to betraie the castle into his hands, promising great recompense therefore. Whereunto this Wentith by no means would agrée, vnles K. Robert would giue to him the earledome of Lennox for his reward. Wherevpon the king being greatlie in doubt what to say therein; (though in deed he vehementlie longed for the said castle) because he did not thinke the obteining thereof to be of such good vnto him, as that he would therefore offend or lose the earle of Lennox; who had in all his calamities béene the most certeine, and almost the onelie friend of the king: which doubt, when the earle vnderstood; he forthwith came vnto him, willing him in no wise to refuse the condition; wherevpon the bargaine was concluded betweene John Wentith and the king, and that in such sort, as it was most solemnelie confirmed.

John Wentith made capteine of Dunbriton castle.

Now, when the king should come to receiue this castle (according to compositions) as he was in the wood Colchon, a mile distant from the same, a certeine carpentar called Rowland came thither secretlie vnto him, & desired licence that he might speake to the king, for he would discouer a great matter touching a treason that was deuised and prepared against him, by the capteine of Dunbriton. Which pardon obteined, he opened vnto Bruse, that below in the wine-cellar of the castle, were a number of English inclosed, which at dinner should either take or kill the king (being then safe) after that he had obteined the castle. Wherevpon the king nothing abashed, but kéeping on his former determination, & being (according to appointment) receiued by the said John Wentith in the castle of Dunbriton: after that he had searched all other places, and was courteoulie inuited to sit downe to dinner; answered that he would not eate, vntill he had looked into the cellar below. Whereunto for excuse, and to defer the time, the capteine answered that the smith was absent and caried the key away with him. But the king not waiting for the comming of the smith, did incontinentlie breake open the cellar doore, whereby all the deceit appeared. After which, the armed men were brought forth before the king, who being seuerallie examined, confessed the whole matter; and further, that there was a ship readie in the hauen to haue caried the K. prisoner into England, if they had taken him aliue. Wherevpon the rest being punished, John Wentith was onelie cast into prison, & reserued from further paine: because the king would not offend his friends & kinred in so dangerous a time as that was. For this Wentith had manie beautifull daughters, maried to men of great power & riches. After which imprisonment of this

Englishmen inclosed in a cellar to kill king Robert after his enterance into Dunbriton castle.

1315.

this Wentich was by mediation of ſuch as greatlie fauored him, reſtored to the fauor of Bruſe, vnder whome he did after ſerue moſt faithfullie.

1314. The crowne of Scotland intailed. Margerie the daughter of of king Robert by his firſt wife.

Immediatlie after, king Robert called a parlement at Aire, where, by conſent of the three ſtates he was confirmed king, and the crowne intailed to the heires male of his bodie lawfullie begotten, and for want of ſuch heires, to remaine vnto his brother Edward Bruſe, and to the heires male of his bodie; and if he chanced to die without ſuch heires, then ſhould the crowne deſcend to Margerie the daughter of king Robert, and to the heires generall of hir bodie by lawfull ſucceſſion. In which parlement it was further decreed, that if the king were in his minoritie, he ſhould then be gouerned by Thomas Randolph, and if anie miſfortune chanced vnto the ſaid Randolph, that then the gouernement of the kings perſon and kingdome ſhould be committed to James Dowglaſſe.

This Margerie was gotten by king Robert on the earle of Mar his ſiſter, his firſt wife, and was maried by the aduiſe of his nobles vnto Walter great Steward of Scotland. Alſo king Robert, for that his firſt wife aforeſaid was deceaſſed, maried ſhortlie after Elizabeth the daughter of the earle of Ulſter, on whome he got a ſonne named Dauid, and two daughters, the one named Margaret, and the other Mauld. The firſt was maried to the earle of Sutherland, and bare him a ſonne named John: the ſecond departed this world in hir infancie. After the mariage ſolemnized betwixt his daughter Margerie, and the foreſaid Walter Steward, king Robert went through all the bounds of his realme, and did not onelie confirme the ancient liberties and priuileges of the burrowes and townes in all places where he came, but alſo augmented the ſame, and granted vnto diuerſe, aſwell townes as baronies, ſundrie new prerogatiues and franchiſes, as may appeare by his charters made vnto them of the ſame, ſpeciallie to the townes of Perth, Dundee, and Aberden.

The ſecond mariage of king Robert.

The iſſue of king Robert by his ſecond wife.

Liberties by king Robert.

1315. In the yeare following, which was in the yeare 1315, the princes of Ireland oppreſſed (as they tooke it) with long and inſufferable tyrannie of the Engliſhmen, and truſting by ſupport of Scots to recouer their libertie, now after ſo notable an ouerthrow of the whole Engliſh puiſſance, ſent ambaſſadors vnto king Robert, requiring that it might pleaſe him to ſend his brother Edward Bruſe, to receiue the crowne and gouernement of their countrie of Ireland. This requeſt being granted, Edward prepared to take that iournie in hand, and ſo with a ſmall power of Scotiſhmen tranſporting ouer into Ireland, and ioining with an armie of ſuch as were readie to aſſiſt him there, he tooke the towne of Vlſter, and ſlue a great number of Engliſhmen which were found in the ſame. Then afterwards, by the generall conſent of all the eſtates of Ireland, Edward Bruſe was proclaimed king of that realme, and certeine of the Iriſh nobilitie ſent ambaſſadors vnto the pope, to ſue for a ratification of their act and proceedings, for the ſuertie and weale of their countrie, ſith they were not able longer to ſuſteine the greeuous yoke of the Engliſh thraldome. Theſe ambaſſadors, through their earneſt diligence, got ſuch fauor in their ſute, that the pope ſundrie times charged the Engliſhmen to auoid out of Ireland: howbeit, they ſeemed to paſſe little of his commandements in that behalfe, for they dailie ſought how to make themſelues ſtrong in that part, leaſt they ſhould loſe the poſſeſſion of that countrie, which their enimies were about to get forth of their hands.

The lords of Ireland require aid of king Robert.

Vlſter.

Edward Bruſe proclaimed king of Ireland.

The Engliſh men paſſe little on the popes commandements.

King Robert being informed how through the reenforcement of the Engliſh armie, being dailie refreſhed with new ſuccors, his brother was like to run in danger to be caſt away, he left ſir James Dowglaſſe gouernor in Scotland, with a competent number of men to defend the borders, and he himſelfe with a great power of other ſouldiers and men of war went ouer into Ireland, to ſupport his brother: but ſuffering great diſtreſſe at his firſt comming thither, for want of vittels & other prouiſions, he loſt almoſt the one halfe of his folkes through verie famine & hunger, & the reſidue were conſtreined to eate horſſes and other ſuch lothſome meats, therewith to ſuſteine their languiſhing liues. At length being approched within a daies iournie of his brother, in purpoſe to haue ſupported him with thoſe people which he had left, his brother not abiding his comming, fought vnwiſelie with the Engliſhmen at a place called Dundach, and receiuing the ouerthrow, was ſlaine himſelfe with a great number of other. It is vncerteine whether he had anie knowledge of the comming of his brother king Robert, or that through deſire of fame he feared leaſt if he ſtaied till his brother came, a great part of the praiſe (if they got the victorie) ſhould remaine to him: and therefore he made ſuch haſt to fight. But howſoeuer it was, thus he was ſlaine on the fourteenth of October, in the yeare 1317.

See more hereof in Ireland.

King Robert paſſeth ouer into Ireland.

Edward Bruſe is ſlaine in Ireland.

See more of this matter in Ireland.

Edward king of England, hearing that king Robert was paſſed ouer into Ireland, thought the time to ſerue well for his purpoſe, eftſoones to inuade Scotland: and hereupon comming with a great power to the borders, he purpoſed to haue done ſome great feat. But ſir James Dowglas the gouernor, hauing likewiſe gathered an armie, gaue him battell, and put both him & his people to flight. In this battell were ſlaine three notable capteins on the Engliſh ſide: as ſir Edmund Lilaw a Gaſcoigne capteine of Berwike, with ſir James Neuill, and the third ſir James Dowglaſſe ſlue with his owne hands. King Edward perceiuing it was not like that he ſhould do anie good at that time againſt the Scots by land, thought it beſt to aſſaile them by ſea, which way forth the Engliſhmen commonlie were euer too good for the Scots. He rigged therefore a fleet of ſhips, and ſent the ſame into the Forth, which burned the countrie on each ſide, and tooke manie rich booties from the inhabitants neere to the ſhore.

K. Edward ſendeth a nauie into Scotland.

Duncane earle of Fife, hearing of theſe cruelties done by the Engliſhmen, came forth with fiue hundred hardie ſouldiers, to defend the countrie from ſuch inuaſions: but when he perceiued that the enimies were of greater number than he was able well to incounter, hauing but an handfull of men in compariſon to them, he gaue ſomewhat backe, and in the meane time met with William Sinclare biſhop of Dunkeld, hauing about three ſcore armed men in his companie, who blaming the earle for his faintneſſe of courage, cauſed him to ſet forward againe towards the enimies, & finding them buſie in ſpoiling & harrieng the countrie, they gaue an onſet vpon them ſo fiercelie, that there was ſlaine at the firſt incounter to the number of fiue hundred of the Engliſhmen, and the reſidue chaſed to their botes lieng at Dunbritiell, which they entred in ſuch haſte, that one of the botes being peſtered with ouer great number, ſanke with them before they could get to their ſhips. K. Robert euer after cuſtomablie called this Wil. Sinclare his owne biſhop, for the noble prowes which he ſhewed in this enterpriſe.

Engliſhmen diſcomfited.

William Sinclare called K. Roberts biſhop.

In the ſame yeere Robert Steward the ſonne of Walter Steward and Margerie Bruſe was borne, which Robert after the death of K. Dauid le Bruſe was preferred to the crowne. After this, Thomas Randall earle of Murrey, the ſecond day of Aprill

Robert Steward borne.

1318.

Berwike recouered.

recouered the towne of Berwike out of the Englishmens hands, which they had held for the space of twentie yeares before. It was taken now by practise, through meanes of one Spaldein an Englishman, who for his labour had certeine lands giuen him in Angus, which his posteritie inioieth to these daies.

Fr. Thin. Scala chron.

¶ Trulie it were a wonderfull processe to declare what mischiefes came through hunger and other misfortunes, by the space of 11 yeares in Northumberland; for the Scots became so proud after they had gotten Berwike, that they nothing esteemed the English nation. But (amongst other things by the Scots attempted) much about this time, Adam de Gardonne came with 160 men, to driue awaie the cattell pasturing by Norham, which the people of the towne perceiuing, ran forth and incountered with the Scots, who had gotten the victorie of them, had not Thomas Grey capteine of the castell, seeing them in some ieopardie, issued forth with 60 of his souldiers, & slaine most part of the Scots, and their horsses. The which Grey had beene twise before besieged in the castell of Norham, once almost by the space of a whole yeare, and another time by the terme of seuen moneths, in which he behaued himselfe like a worthie gentleman, in that his enimies got none aduantage of him, although that during the siege, they had erected manie fortresses before the castell, to annoie such as were within: of which forts they made one at Upsitlington, and one in the church of Norham, the castell whereof had beene twise teinted and in danger of losse, had not the lord Persie and Neuill (being great succourers of the marches) rescued the same. For at one time the vtter ward of Norham castell was taken in the time of this Grey on saint Katharins eeuen, which the Scots kept not but three daies, and their purpose in winning the same did vtterlie faile them.)

Ri. Southwell.

The Scots enter further into England thã they were accustomed, euen vnto Wetherbie (as Fourd. saith.)

After that the earle of Murrey had recouered Berwike, he and the lord James Dowglasse in the moneth of Maie inuaded England with a puissant armie, passing further into the countrie than the Scots had beene accustomed to do before time, burning as they went forward the townes of Northallerton and Burrowbridge; and comming to Ripon, they spoiled the towne of all the goods found therein; but compounding with them that kept the church against them for a thousand marks, they forbare to burne anie of the buildings. After they had taried here three daies, they departed thence, and went to Knaresburgh, which towne they burnt, and beating the woods (into the which the people were withdrawne with their goods and cattell) they got a great bootie, and returning homewards by Scipton in Crauen, they first spoiled the towne, and after burnt it, and so marching thorough the countrie, came backe into Scotland with their spoiles and prisoners without anie resistance. [This castell of Knaresburgh was taken by John Lilleborne, which after rendered himselfe to the king vpon certeine conditions.]

Fr. Thin.

1319.

Berwike besieged.

Ri. Southwell.

In the yeare following, king Edward came and laid siege vnto Berwike but the towne was so well defended, that he was constreined with small honor to returne home, and leaue it as he found it. For in the meane time, while king Edward lay at the siege before Berwike, Thomas Randall earle of Murrey, and the lord James Dowglasse assembled their forces togither; but perceiuing themselues too weake to remoue the siege by force, they passed by, and entring into England, wasted and spoiled all before them, keeping on their way vnto Burrowbridge: whereof when the citizens of Yorke were aduertised, with their capteins William Melton their archbishop, and the bishop of Elie, not making them of the countrie once priuie to their purpose, but hauing in their companie a great number of priests and men of religion, they gaue battell to the Scots one day in the after none, not farre from the towne of Mitton vpon Swale, twelue miles distant from Yorke northwards.

William Melton archbishop of yorke.

The battell of Mitton vpon Swale.

But forsomuch as the most part of the Englishmen were not expert in the feates of warre, and came not in anie orderlie arraie of battell, they were easilie vanquished & put to flight by the Scots, who were readie to receiue them in good order, close togither in one entier squadrone, and after their accustomed maner, at their first ioining they gaue a great shout, wherewith the Englishmen out of hand began to giue backe: which when the Scots perceiued, they got them to their horsses, and followed the chase most egerlie, beating downe and sleaing the Englishmen, neither sparing religious person nor other, so that their died to the number of foure thousand Englishmen that day, and amongst the rest was the maior of Yorke one. In the water of Swale (as was said) there were drowned to the number of a thousand. To be short, if night had not come the sooner vpon, it was thought scarse there should anie of the English part haue escaped.

The English men discomfited.

The maior of Yorke slaine.

When king Edward lieng as yet at the siege of Berwike, vnderstood what mischiefe the Scots did within his realme, he raised his siege, in purpose to haue incountered with his enimies: but the Scots aduertised of his purpose, returned with all their prisoners and spoile by Stanemore, and so through Gilland, and the west marches, withdrew home into their countrie. About the feast of All saints, when the inhabitants of the north parts had got in their haruest, so that their barnes were now stuffed with corne, of the which prouision they were to liue all the yeare after, the Scots vnder the conduct of the said two capteins, the earle of Murrey, and the lord Dowglasse, entered into England, and burnt the countrie of Gilland, taking away both such people as they tooke prisoners, and also all the cattell which they might meet with, and so kept vpon their iournie till they came to Burgh vnder Stanemore, destroieng all afore them, & then returning through Westmerland, practised the like mischiefe there, in burning vp houses and corne in all places where they came, as they had done before in Gilland. And finallie passing through Cumberland with the like hauocke, at length they drew home into their owne countrie, with no small number of prisoners, and plentie of great riches which they had got in that iournie. [And the souldiers going backe againe toward Scotland, fought with the commons of Newcastell at the bridge end, for certeine displeasures done vnto them, in which conflict sir John Perith knight was slaine, and manie other squires belonging to the constable and marshall. About which time also, king Edward (lieng at Lieth to go vnto Edenburgh) was constreined to returne for lacke of vittels.]

The Scots inuade England.

Burgh vnder Stanemore

Fr. Thin. Scala chron.

About the same time died Margerie Bruse king Roberts daughter. Shortlie after also was a truce taken betwixt the two realmes of England & Scotland for a certeine time. Then king Robert hauing no trouble, neither within his realme nor without, caused a parlement to be holden at Perth, where he required the lords to shew their deeds and charters whereby they held their lands. The lords after long aduisement taken herein, at length pulled out their swords all at once, declaring that they had none other euidence nor charter to shew for the tenure of their lands. King Robert was somewhat amazed at this sight, and woke no small indignation therewith, but

Margerie Bruse deceaseth.

A parlement at Perth.

The euidents and charters whereby the lords of Scotland held their lands.

but yet he diſſembled for the time, and commended them for their noble hearts and valiant ſtomachs: neuertheleſſe, he purpoſed to be reuenged of their proud preſumptions, when more opportunitie of time ſerued thereto. Sundrie of the nobles perceiuing that the king bare an inward grudge towards them for this matter, deuiſed amongſt themſelues how to deliuer him into king Edwards hands, ſo to auoid all danger that might follow of his diſpleaſure conceiued thus againſt them. For the accompliſhment of this their treaſonable practiſe, they made a bond in writing, confirmed with their hands and ſeales betwixt them, & minded to ſend the ſame into England vnto king Edward. But king Robert hauing ſome inkeling of this their purpoſe, cauſed diligent watch to be laid by the way for ſuch as ſhould paſſe into England from them with the ſaid bond, inſomuch that in the end a palmer or pilgrime was apprehended which had the bond, and other writings incloſed within his pilgrims ſtaffe.

Conſpiracie of the lords againſt king Robert.

A palmer taken with writings on him.

King Robert vnderſtanding by theſe writings all the manner of the treaſon, and what they were that had conſented to the ſame, haſtilie ſent for the whole number of them, as though there had beene ſome matter in hand wherein he wiſhed to haue their aduiſe. They were no ſooner come, but ſtreightwaies calling them before him, he queſtioned with them whether they knew their owne hands and ſeales, and immediatlie therewith ſhewed the writings, which were found in the palmers ſtaffe: and becauſe they could not denie their owne act, they were committed to ward within ſundrie caſtels, till he had taken further aduiſe in the matter. Incontinentlie after, he went to Berwike, and there arreſted the capteine of the towne, named ſir William Soulis, and cauſed him to be conueied to Perth (committing the ſaid William Soulis (as ſaith Io. Maior) with the counteſſe of Straherne, to perpetuall priſon) where ſhortlie after he called an aſſemblie of all the eſtates of the realme. This was called the blacke parlement, kept in the yeere after the incarnation of our Sauiour 1320. In this parlement, at the beginning thereof, was Dauid Abernethie, the ſiſters ſonne of king Robert, accuſed as partie to the treaſon aforeſaid, though being laboured vnto by the reſt of the conſpirators to ioine with them therein, he refuſed ſo to do, but yet for that he did not vtter the thing, but concealed it with them, he was condemned & loſt his head, the people ſore lamenting his miſhap, for the great valiancie which was knowne to be in him, hauing ſerued honorablie manie yeeres before againſt the Saracens, and other miſcreants in the parties of beyond the ſeas, where he was called the flower of chiualrie.

The lords that had conſpired, are committed to ward.

The blacke parlement. 1320.

Dauid Abernethie loſeth his head.

In deed the king himſelfe would gladlie haue ſaued his life, but for that he minded to do iuſtice on the reſidue, and finding no man to make ſute for him, he permitted the execution to proceed againſt him. On the morrow after, he cauſed all the reſidue of the traitors to be brought forth to iudgement, and ſentence being giuen againſt them, he commanded without delaie that they ſhould be executed. Then came diuerſe and ſundrie perſons in moſt humble wiſe to make ſute for pardon to the king for their friends and kinſmen: but he made them plaine anſwer, that there was none to be found that would make interceſſion for the ſauing of his kinſmans life the day before, when he was led to execution, that had offended nothing ſo grieuouſlie, in compariſon of them for whome they now made ſute, and therfore he bad them be contented, for they ſhould aſſuredlie haue according to that which they had deſerued. And therewith were the officers commanded to make haſt with the execution, which was done incontinentlie without anie further reſpit.

Among other were theſe, Gilbert de Malet, Iohn Cogi knights and Richard Bron a notable warriour. Iohn Maior.

Execution without reſpit

There were ſome that were accuſed to be partakers in this treaſon, but yet for that no euident proofes could be produced againſt them, they were diſmiſſed, as Walter Harwell, with Walter Berclaie ſhiriffe of Aberdene, Patrike Graint, Hameline Neidzinton, and Euſtace Rathze, knights; beſides eight others. But yet the counteſſe of Straherne & William de Soulis were condemned to perpetuall priſon. The earle of Buchquhanes lands, who ſuffered at that preſent, were diuided into two parts, the one being giuen to William Haie that was made conſtable of the realme in place of Iohn Quincie, who likewiſe ſuffered at the ſame time; and the other part was giuen vnto William Reth, togither with the office of the ſtewardſhip of the realme. About the ſame time the king of England by complaint made to the pope, purchaſed that a legat was ſent from the ſee apoſtolike into Scotland, to admoniſh king Robert to ceaſſe from further diſquieting the realme of England, by ſuch cruell inuaſions, as were ſurmiſed that he wrongfullie exerciſed againſt the ſame realme. But anſwer was made herevnto by the king, and other the nobles of the realme of Scotland, that all the world might well vnderſtand that the whole occaſion of all the trouble which had chanced betwixt the two realmes of England and Scotland, did onelie proceed of the couetous deſire in the Engliſhmen, ſeeking to conquer that realme without anie iuſt claime or title: and therefore they thought it reaſon firſt to ſuppreſſe the loftie ſtomachs of the Engliſhmen; and then if there were anie thing worthie to be reformed on their behalfes, they would be contented to ſtand vnto the order of the popes authoritie therein. Thus was the legat diſpatched home, without other effect of his errand [ſauing (as ſaith Buchanan) he curſſed and interdicted the Scots and Scotland.]

A legat ſent from Rome to the Scots.

The anſwer made to the legat.

Fr. Thin.

Shortlie after, king Robert entered with an armie into England, and waſted the countrie before him, till he came to the recroſſe, which ſtandeth vpon Stanemore. Howbeit it ſhould ſeeme by that which Richard Southwell writeth hereof, that king Robert was not preſent himſelfe in perſon in this iournie, but that he appointed the earle of Murrey to be his lieutenant, who with an armie, after the feaſt of the Epiphanie entered into England, and comming to Darington, ſtaied there for a ſeaſon, whileſt the lord James Dowglaſſe, and the lord Steward of Scotland went abroad to harrie and ſpoile the countrie on ech ſide, the one of them paſſing forth towards Hartlpole and Cliueland, and the other towards Richmond. The inhabitants of Richmondſhire, hauing no capteine amongeſt them to defend their countrie from that grieuous inuaſion of the enimie, gaue a great ſumme of monie in like manner, as at other times they had done, to haue their countrie ſpared from fier and ſpoile.

King Robert with an armie in Scotland.

Ri. Southwell. 1321.

The biſhoprike of Durham burnt by the Scots.

Richmondſhire redeemed from ſpoile with a ſumme of monie.

The Scots taried at this time about 15 daies within England, and in the end returned without battell. For when the knights of the north countries repaired vnto the duke of Lancaſter then lieng at Pomfret, and offered to go into the field with him againſt the Scots, he would not once ſtirre his foot, by reaſon of the diſcord that was depending betwixt him and king Edward: but howſoeuer the matter went, king Edward ſore grieued in his mind with ſuch inuaſion made by his enimies the Scots, he gaue order to leauie an armie of an hundred thouſand men, what on horſſebacke and on foot (as the report went) appointing them to be readie to enter into Scotland at Lammas next: whereof king Robert being aduertiſed, ment to preuent him, and thervpon in the octaues of the Natiuitie of ſaint Iohn Baptiſt,

The duke of Lancaſter's diſloialtie.

King Robert inuadeth England.

Baptiſt, he entered into England with an armie nere to Carleill, and burnt a manor place that ſometime belonged to him at Roſſe, and Allerdale, and ſpoiled the monaſterie of Holme, notwithſtanding his fathers corps was there interred.

The abbeie of Holme burnt.

From thence he marched forward, deſtroieng and ſpoiling the countrie of Copland, and ſo keeping vpon his iournie, paſſed Dooden ſands, towards the abbeie of Fourneis: but the abbat meeting him on the waie, redeemed his lands from ſpoile, and brought king Robert to his houſe, and made to him great cheere: but yet the Scots could not hold their hands from burning and ſpoiling diuerſe places; and marching forward vnto Cartmele beyond Leuin ſands, burnt and ſpoiled all the countrie about, except a priorie of blacke canons which ſtood there. Paſſing from thence they came to Lancaſter, which towne they alſo burnt, ſaue onelie the priorie of blacke monks, and a houſe of preaching friers. Heere came to them the earle of Murrey, and the lord James Dowglaſſe with an other armie, whereupon marching further ſouthwards, they came to Preſton in Anderneis, and burnt that towne alſo, the houſe of friers minors onelie excepted.

Fourneis abbeie.

Leuin ſands.

The towne of Lancaſter burnt.

Preſton in Anderneis burnt.

And thus being foure ſcore miles within England from their owne borders, they returned homewards with all their priſoners, cattell, and other bowties which they had got in that iournie, comming to Carleill on the eeue of ſaint Margaret, and lodging about that towne the ſpace of fiue daies, they waſted and deſtroied the corne, & all other things that came within their reach. Which done, on ſaint James euen they entred into Scotland againe, hauing beene within England at this time three weekes and three daies. Immediatlie hereupon, to wit, about the feaſt of Lammas, king Edward with his armie came to Newcaſtell, and deſirous to be reuenged of ſuch iniuries done to his ſubiects, entered into Scotland, and paſſing forth till he came to Edenburgh, through want of vittels and other neceſſarie prouiſion, he was conſtreined to returne home within the ſpace of 15 daies. For king Robert aduertiſed of his comming, had cauſed all the corne and cattell in the countrie to be conueied out of the waie into certeine forts, wherevnto the Engliſhmen might not come to get it into their hands, & ſo to relieue themſelues therewith. But in their returning homeward, ſomewhat to reuenge their diſpleaſures, they ſpoiled and burnt the abbeies of Melroſe, and Driburgh, with diuerſe other religious houſes and places, not ſparing anie kind of crueltie againſt all thoſe of the inhabitants that fell into their hands.

K. Edward raiſeth an armie.

He entered Scotland.

The abbeies of Newbotle or Melroſe & Driburgh burned.

In reuenge hereof, king Robert ſhortlie after entred with a puiſſant armie into England, ſpoiling & waſting the countrie, till he came almoſt to Yorke. At length, hearing that king Edward was comming towards him with an armie, he choſe a plot of ground betwixt the abbeie of Biland and ſaint Sauiour, there to abide battell; which king Edward refuſed not to giue, though in the end he was put to flight with his whole power, and chaſed with great ſlaughter both of Engliſhmen and Normans, which were there in his aid. Diuerſe alſo of the nobilitie were taken priſoners, as John de Britaine earle of Richmond, and Henrie Sowlie, with others. This battell was fought in the yeere of our Sauiour 1323, 15 daies after the feaſt of ſaint Michaell the archangell. King Edward lieng the ſame time at the abbeie of Riuale, aduertiſed of this ouerthrow, fled and got him into Yorke, leauing his plate and much other ſtuffe behind him for want of cariage in that his ſudden departure, which the Scots comming thither found, and tooke awaie with them. And from thence they paſſed forth into Yorkeſwold, ſpoiling and waſting the countriemen vnto Weuerleie, which towne for a ſumme of monie they were contented to ſpare, and ſo then they returned homewards, entering againe into Scotland on All ſoules day, which is the ſecond of November, after they had remained within England at that time the ſpace of a moneth and foure daies.

King Robert inuadeth the north parts of England, approching almoſt to Yorke.

K. Edward is put to flight.

The earle of Richmond is taken.

1323.

Ri. Southwell. Riuale abbeie.

Yorkeſwold waſted by Scots.

Shortlie after, king Robert ſent an ambaſſador to the French king [to pacifie him offended with them for the Engliſh] and to renew the ancient bond of amitie betwixt the two realmes of Scotland and France, which was accompliſhed with this new condition added to the former articles, that if it chanced that ſucceſſion failed touching the inheritance of the crowne of either realme, ſo that a doubt ſhould riſe, who ought by right to inioy the ſame, the claime and title thereof ſhould be tried and decided by the nobles of both the realmes; and further, that they ſhould not onelie remoue and exclude all ſuch as went about wrongfullie to vſurpe the crowne, but alſo to defend and mainteine the true inheritor to the vttermoſt of their powers. In confirmation of this couenant, both the kings receiued the ſacrament. And for further ratifieng of it, they made a prouiſo, that whereas (then) they had the popes conſent hereto, neither he, nor anie of his ſucceſſors hereafter ſhould diſpenſe with them for the breaking of that bond; and if they did, euerie ſuch diſpenſation ſhould be reputed vaid and of none effect.

Fr. Thin. Buchanan.

The bond of amitie betwixt Scotland and France renewed with new articles.

A prouiſo.

In this yeere 1323 (as Richard Southwell reporteth) about the Aſcenſion day, came commiſſioners from the two kings of England and Scotland, vnto Newcaſtell, there to treate of ſome agreement of peace. For the king of England came Amerie de Valence earle of Penbroke, the lord Hugh Spenſer the yonger, and foure other perſons ſufficientlie authoriſed. And for the king of Scots came the biſhop of ſaint Andrewes, Thomas Randall earle of Murrey, and foure other perſons likewiſe of good calling. After much talke, in the end they agreed vpon a truce to indure for 13 yeeres, which was proclamed in both realmes about the feaſt of ſaint Barnabie next inſuing. About this time alſo, or not long before, an Engliſhman deſcended of noble linage, called Hamton, chanced for ſpeaking certeine words in commendation of king Robert, to fall at variance with one of king Edwards priuie chamber, named John Spenſer; inſomuch that fighting togither about the ſame words, Hamtons hap was to ſlea this Spenſer, & thereupon knowing there was no waie but death, if he ſhould hap to be caught, he fled with all ſpeed into Scotland, where he was receiued of the king in moſt friendlie wiſe, and had giuen to him for the maintenance of his eſtate like a gentleman, the lands of Cadzow [which (as ſaith Buchanan) he called by the name of Hamilton.]

Ri. Southwell.

Hamton an Engliſhman, of whome the Hamiltons are deſcended.

Fr. Thin.

The poſteritie of this Hamton remaineth in Scotland vnto this day, increaſed ſo in kinred and honor, by reaſon it was in proceſſe of time mingled with the kings bloud, that few linages in that realme are of like eſtimation. They are now called Hamiltons, ſomewhat changed from the name of their firſt beginner. [Donald earle of Marre, was made by king Edward the ſecond gardian or capteine of the caſtell of Briſtow in England, the which he kept vntill the comming of queene Iſabell againſt hir huſband Edward the ſecond, at what time he deliuered the ſame into the hands of the ſaid queene, and returned into Scotland.]

The Hamiltons mingled with the kings bloud. Fr. Thin.

1325. Scala chron.

In the meane time, Edward king of England being ruled altogither by two of the Spenſers, as Hugh the father and Hugh the ſonne, ran ſo farre into the hatred of his people, as well the nobles as commons, that in the end he was depoſed of all kinglie

K. Edward depoſed.

kinglie authoritie, committed to prison, and in fine secretlie murthered, as in the English historie more plainelie appéreth.

His son Edward the third crowned. 1326.

His sonne Edward the third was placed in his rome, and crowned the 26 day of Januarie, in the yéere 1326. In the night of the same day in which he receiued the crowne, the Scots ment to haue stolne the castell of Norham by scaling, and they went so cunninglie about their purpose, that they were to the number of 16 of them got aloft on the wals: but the capteine of this castle Robert Maners being warned aforehand of their comming by one of his souldiers that was a Scotishman borne, suddenlie assailed them, slue nine or ten of them, and take fiue prisoners aliue, but sore wounded, so as this misfortune falling to them in the beginning of king Edward the third his reigne, might haue beene a forwarning of their losses to follow in the dates of his gouernement.

Ri. Southwell. The castell of Norham.

Whilest these things were a doing in England, king Robert though he might séeme to haue title inough to the crowne of Scotland, which he had possessed now not onlie by rightfull conquest, but also by lawfull interest of inheritance for a certeine number of yéeres, by consent of all the estates of the realme; yet to the end to put awaie all doubts, and to conclude the succession of the Balioll from all claime, which hereafter they might pretend to the crowne of Scotland, he sent sir James Dowglasse into France vnto the lord John Balioll, to require him to transpose and resigne all the challenge of right and interest which he might séeme to haue to the crowne of Scotland, as well for himselfe as his heires & successors for euer, to king Robert le Bruse, and his heires. In consideration of which resignation, he offered faire lands and rents to him to be appointed forth in Scotland.

James Dowglasse sent into France to the Balioll.

The Balioll being now sore worne with age, and thereto blind of bodilie sight, lightlie consented vnto this motion, considering (as he said) he tooke it to be the ordinance of almightie God, that king Robert should inioy the gouernement of the Scotish kingdome, as most worthie and able thereto, hauing deliuered the same, and defended it most valiantlie from the hands of most cruell enimies. He called therefore his friends and kinsmen togither, in the presence of whome he wholie resigned vnto king Robert and his heires, all the right and title which he or anie other for him either had, or hereafter might haue to the crowne of Scotland, concerning anie interest or claime which might be auouched for anie cause or consideration, from the beginning of the world vnto that present day. After the returne of sir James Dowglasse forth of France, with so good expedition and dispatch of that businesse wherabout he was sent, king Robert verie joifull thereof, assembled a parlement of the nobles and other estates of the realme at Cambuskenneth, where he procured a new act to be established touching the succession of the crowne, which was, that if his sonne Dauid deceassed without heires of his bodie lawfullie begotten, that then Robert Steward begotten on Margerie Bruse his daughter, should succéed in possession of the crowne. All the lords at the same time were sworne to maintaine this ordinance.

The resignation of the Balioll to king Robert.

A parlement at Cambuskenneth.

An act for the succession of the crowne.

In the meane while king Edward the third sent vnto king Robert for peace, but forsomuch as it was perceiued to be but a coloured pretense, no conclusion thereof insued, but preparation made on either part for wars. King Robert shortlie after fell sicke, by reason whereof, being not able to ride abroad, nor to trauell himselfe, he committed the administration of all things touching the common-wealth, and other the affaires of the realme vnto Thomas Randall, earle of Murrey, and to the lord James Dowglasse, two capteins, for their high prowesse and noble valiancie in those dales greatlie renowned. These two hardie chieftens assembling an armie of twentie thousand men, or (as some writers haue) 25 thousand, entered with the same into Northumberland, wasting & spoiling the countrie on each side. [And incountring with an assemblie of the English at Darlington, there slue manie of them, and put the rest to flight.] Against whome came king Edward with an armie of an hundred thousand men: of the which number there were (as Froissard saith) eight thousand horsemen, and 24 thousand archers. At their comming into Northumberland, they might well perceiue by the smoke of the fires, which the Scots made in burning of villages, houses, and townes, where the enimies were: but yet because they tarried not long in a place, but passed on without soiorning here or there, the Englishmen might not come neere to fight with them.

Thomas Randall and to James Dowglasse.

They inuade Northumberland. Fr. Thin. Buchanan. 1327.

King Edward the third commeth with an armie against them.

King Edward therefore was counselled to draw towards Scotland, that lieng betwixt them and home, he might haue them at some aduantage as they should returne, which was thought should be shortlie, as well for lacke of vittels, as also to defend their owne borders, when they heard once that the English armie drew that waies forth. But comming to the riuer of Tine, through abundance of raine (latelie fallen) the streame was so risen, that neither horsse nor man might passe, so that the armie was constreined to incampe there for the space of three daies, in great scarsitie of vittels, till they were faine to send vnto Newcastell (which was distant from thence 16 miles) and to Carleill (which was about 22. miles thence) for prouision, which was sent them from those places in great plentie.

In the meane time were thus certeine light horsemen sent abroad into the countrie, to vnderstand where the Scots were, and to view their doings. [Vpon proclamation before made by the king (that who so could bring him word where the Scots were harbored, should haue a hundred pounds of yéerlie reuenues in recompense for the same; Thomas Rokesbie after diligent search, brought word to the king thereof:] for those which were sent, finding where the Scots were incamped, vpon the top of a mounteine, not past fiue miles from the English campe, returned backe to king Edward, and declared what they had séene and learned of the enimies doings. Fr. Thin.

The Scots are incamped on a hill.

King Edward right joifull of the news, causeth his armie to be diuided into three battels, and forthwith marcheth on towards the place where his enimies late. And comming about none dales within sight of the Scots, he perceiued at length that the place which they kept was so strong, what with the heigth of the ground, & thereto defended on the one side with the course of a riuer, that by no means they might be assailed without great and manifest danger. The Englishmen in the end thought it best to chose forth a place to incampe in for that night, and so doing, sent an herald at armes vnto the Scots, requiring them to come downe vnto some euen ground where battell might be giuen; but the Scots refused so to do, alledging that sith the Englishmen were three to one in number, it was no reason to will them to forsake their ground of aduantage which they had taken and chosen forth for their owne defense.

The English men sent to the Scots.

The answer of the Scots.

Thus were they incamped neere togither either in sight of other for the space of three nights, euerie day shewing themselues in order of battell, without breaking their arraie, except certeine of the horsemen, which on either part now and then came forth

and

The rule of things committed to Thomas

and fell in ſkirmiſh, ſo that ſometimes a man might haue ſæne good emptieng of ſaddles betwixt them. On the fourth day in the morning, when the Engliſhmen beheld the hill where the Scots had lien the night before, they perceiued how they were gone, and thereupon ſending forth light horſſemen to trie out which way they had taken, word was brought how they were but remoued to an other hill a little off, lieng faſt by the ſame riuer, and there lay incamped more ſtronglie than before. Incontinentlie herevpon, king Edward raiſeth his campe, and remoueth to an other hill lieng ouer againſt that hill where the Scots with their power were now lodged. At length, after that both the armies had lien thus a good ſpace the one ouer againſt the other, James Dowglaſſe tooke aduiſe with himſelfe to exploit a right hardie enterpriſe.

The Scots diſlodge.

The Engliſh armie raiſed.

He choſe forth two hundred of perfect good horſſemen, mounted vpon verie ſwift and readie geldings, with the which in the night ſeaſon he paſſed ſtilie by the Engliſh watch, that he was not once deſcried by anie of them, till he was entered into their campe, where by the noiſe of the mouing of the horſſe fæt, ſome chanced to awake that lay aſleepe. But yet per the alarme were raiſed to anie purpoſe, the Scots thus led by Dowglas had perſed through, euen vnto the kings tent, and cut two cords of the ſame in ſunder, ſo that the king was in no ſmall danger to haue bæne ſlaine, had not the Scots withdrawen the ſoner for doubt of being incloſed with their enimies as now raiſed on each ſide to come to his ſuccors, but Dowglaſſe yet returned in ſafetie with his number backe againe to the Scotiſh campe, hauing ſlaine (as ſome bookes report) three hundred Engliſhmen at this brunt. The Engliſhmen warned hereby, tooke better heed after to their watch.

An enterpriſe exploited by ſir James Dowglaſſe.

These armies lay thus one againſt an other for the ſpace of eighténe daies, till at length the Scots priuilie in the night conueied themſelues away, and returned home in moſt ſpéedie wiſe, ſuppoſing they had done ſufficientlie inough for that time. It chanced that in the euening, before the Scots went thus their waies, there was a Scot taken by the Engliſh watch, who being brought before the king, confeſſed that there was commandement giuen through the Scotiſh campe, that euerie man ſhould be readie with his armor and weapon to follow the ſtandard of Dowglaſſe at a certeine houre the ſame night, but whither they intended to go, it was vnknowne, ſaue onelie amongeſt the capteins. Herevpon the Engliſh doubting leaſt the Scots minded to giue them a camiſado that night, placed themſelues in order of battell, and ſo ſtood till the nert morning readie to haue receiued them, if they had come. The Scots alſo made great fires within their campe, that they might ſée about them. In the breake of the day, there were two Scotiſh trumpeters taken by the Engliſh ſcouts, the which being brought before the king, declared that the Scotiſh armie was broken vp and returned, and further ſhewed how they were appointed thus to declare vnto him, hauing ſuffered themſelues to be taken for the ſame intent. As ſoone as the Engliſhmen were aduertiſed that the Scots were thus departed, they haſted to the place where they had lien incamped, in hope to haue found ſome riches, which for haſt they had left behind them: but at their comming thither, they found nothing, but 20000 paires of hieland ſhoes, which are made of the gréene hides of beaſts vntanned. Alſo they found thrée hundred hides of ſauage beaſts ſet vpon ſtakes in ſtead of caldrons, therein to ſeeth their meat. Moreouer, they had left behind them fiue hundred dead carcaſſes of beaſts: ſhéepe, which for that they could not driue them away, they killed, to the end the Engliſhmen ſhould haue no gaine by them. There were likewiſe found fiue Engliſhmen with their legs broken, & bound naked vnto trées, which were quicklie loſed and committed to the cure of ſurgians. The enimies being thus departed, king Edward by aduiſe of his councell brake vp his campe, and returned to London, ſuppoſing it but loſt labour to trauell his people anie further at that time.

The Scots ſecretlie returne home to their countrie.

King Edward breaketh vp his campe.

In this yeare died Walter Steward, father to Robert Steward, that was after king of Scotland. And in this yeare following, or rather the ſame yeare, Q. Elizabeth mother to Dauid Bruſe the prince deceaſſed, and was buried in Dunfirmling in the yeare after the birth of our Sauiour 1328. In the ſame yeare, king Robert wan the caſtell of Norham, and ſhortlie after beſieged the caſtell of Alnwike, where were ſlaine William de Mowhtalte knight, John Clapauen, and Maliſius de Dunbar, with diuerſe other of the Scotiſh nobilitie. In the end of the ſame yeare, there were ambaſſadors ſent from king Edward into Scotland for the concluſion of a peace, which was accorded in this wiſe: that K. Edward ſhould renounce all his right & claime which he had or might haue to the crowne of Scotland, in declaring it frée as it was in time of king Alexander the third, vnder theſe conditions, that Northumberland ſhould be admitted for the marches of Scotland on the eaſt part, and Cumberland on the weſt. For the which renuntiation thus to be made, and for the damages done to England by the Scots, it was couenanted that king Robert ſhould pay to king Edward thirtie thouſand marks ſterling. And for the more ſuertie and ratification of this finall agrément and peace betwixt the two nations, it was concluded that Jane the ſiſter of king Edward ſhould be coupled in mariage with Dauid Bruſe the prince of Scotland.

1326, as Io. Maior ſaith, but that cannot be, if ſhe died the ſame yeare that the Scots were beſieged in Stanhop parke.

Norham caſtell wonne.

Alnewike beſieged.

Imbaſſadors ſent from K. Edward for a peace.

A peace concluded with England in the yeare 1328, after the account of them that begin the yeare at Chriſtmaſſe.

Jane, or rather Jone, the ſiſter of king Edward, maried to Dauid Bruſe prince of Scotland.

All which articles were put in writing, wherevnto all the ſeals of the great lords within both the realms were ſet in moſt ſubſtantiall wiſe. The ſolemnization of the mariage before remembred was kept at Berwike within a while after, on the eightéenth day of Julie, in the preſence of a great number of the nobilitie, both of England and Scotland. King Robert liued not paſt twelue moneths after this mariage, departing out of this life at Cardros the ſeuenth day of Julie, in the yeare of our Lord 1329. In the latter end of his daies, he was grieuouſlie vered with a leproſie, which thus finallie made an end of him, in the twentie fourth yeare of his reigne, being one of the moſt valiant princes knowen in anie part of the whole world in thoſe his daies, hauing felt in his time the force of either fortune: for in the beginning of his reigne, ſuch ſtorms of aduerſitie ſurrounded him on each ſide, that if his conſtant manhood had not bæne the greater, it might haue brought him in deſpaire of all recouerie: for beſide ſundrie diſcomfitures, which he receiued at the hands of the enimies, with loſſe of all his brethren (his brother Edward onlie excepted) the moſt part of all the lords of Scotland were againſt him, and aided his aduerſaries to the vttermoſt of his power: yet he nothing diſcouraged herewith, ceaſſed not to imploy all induſtrious means to deliuer his countrie from the yoke of ſeruile bondage (which he beléeued would ſucceed by the gouernment of the Engliſh kings) till at length (as it were in deſpite of all former chances) he atteined the effect of his whole indeuors, ſo much the more to his praiſe, as he had found the hinderance and difficultie great in bringing the ſame fullie to paſſe.

The death of king Robert.

1329.

King Robert taſted both proſperous and aduerſe fortune.

His fame therefore did ſpread hugelie, not onelie amongſt

The fame of king Robert.

amongst his owne people, but also amongst strangers, insomuch that his due praise was not wanting, no not euen amongst and in the midst of his verie enimies. For (as it is said) on a time it chanced that king Edward the third, sitting at a banket amongst his nobles, fell in talke with them of warlike enterprises, and of such notable capteins as had excelled in knowledge in that behalfe. At length, after much reasoning to and fro, he proponed this question to the king of heralds, that as then stood by, commanding him to declare which were the three most worthie & valiant capteins that he had knowne in all his daies. The herald aduising with himselfe of this matter, staied a space, in which meane while all the companie were quiet, longing to heare his answere therein, both for that they knew his skill was such as was able best to giue sentence in such a matter; and againe, for that manie of them thought hée would haue numbred some of those that were there present amongst those three. But the herald did not onelie know all the noble men within the realme of England, but also all such strangers as had in anie wise excelled in Martiall prowesse, hauing all their acts and valiant doings in fresh memorie, and thereupon boldlie vttered his mind as followeth.

His praise amongst the enimies.

A question proponed to an English herald by king Edward the third.

The first, most worthie and valiant chiefteine (said he) that hath liued in these our daies, was Henrie the emperour: for he subdued three kings and three realmes, and maintained his imperiall estate and prosperous felicitie to his liues end. The second, was sir Giles of Argentine, who in three sundrie battels against the Saracens got the victorie, & slue two of their principall capteins with his owne hands. The third (if vnder your graces correction I may praise the enimie) I must iudge to be Robert Bruse king of Scotland: whom the herald had no sooner named, but all those that were present, with scornfull laughter began to iest at the heralds presumption, for that he durst so malapertlie in the kings presence honor the enimie with so high praise. At length, at the heralds request, the king commanded them to be still. The herald then began againe thus: I beséech your highnesse (said he) if I haue ought offended, to take my words in good part: for I haue béene euer of this opinion, that the truth should in euerie case be vttered, received, and allowed in your presence; namelie, where your highnesse commandeth anie man to declare the same. This one thing therefore I shall desire you to consider, that if a man must néeds be vanquished, it is lesse dishonor to be vanquished of him that is knowne for a right valiant personage, than of him that is but a coward. Moreouer, to shew plainelie vnto your grace, how much I estéeme the valiancie of king Robert (whome I perceiue some here may not abide to haue numbred with the two former most valiant capteins) if truth might appeare, I durst be bold to preferre him with good cause before them both: for the valiant acts atchiued by Henrie the emperour may be ascribed rather to the wisedome of his councellors, than to his owne valiantnesse and prudence: but contrarilie, king Robert being confined out of his countrie, and destitute of friends and all conuenient aid, recouered the realme of Scotland, by his singular manhood, out of the hands of your noble father, and established it with such tranquillitie, that he appeared more terrible to his enimies of England, than euer they had béene afore to his subiects of Scotland. ¶ These or the like words vttered by the herald, were well allowed of the king, and stopped the mouths of them that take the matter so strangelie at the first.

The heralds answer to the question.

The herald is scorned.

The heralds excuse.

The heralds opinion.

The opinion of the herald concerning king Roberts valiancie.

But now to returne to the purpose. King Robert a little before the time of his death, called togither into the chamber where he laie, the chiefest péeres of his realme, and there in presence of them all, committed vnto them the gouernment of his sonne Dauid, a child as then not past seuen yéeres of age. He also aduised them of sundrie things touching the rule of the realme after his decease, which he perceiued was at hand. And first he counselled them, that in no wise they should at anie time make an absolute lord ouer the Iles, bicause the people of the same are of nature vnstedfast, and soone seduced and brought to moue rebellion against the king, into the which being once fallen, they are not easilie reduced to their due obedience againe, by reason their countries are of such strength, that they cannot be approched but by sea, as inuironed with the same. Secondarilie, he aduised them neuer to appoint anie set battell with the Englishmen, nor to ieopard the realme vpon the chance of one field: but rather to resist and kéepe them off from indamaging their countrie, by often skirmishing, & cutting them off at streicts & places of aduantage, to the intent that if the Scots be discomfited, they may haue some power yet reserued to make new resistance. Thirdlie, he forbad them in anie wise to make any long peace with England; for naturallie men wax dull and slouthfull by long rest and quietnes, so that after long peace, through lacke of vse and exercise of armes, men are not able to susteine anie great paines or trauell.

The aduise giuen by king Robert vnto his nobles before his decease.

Moreouer, he alledged, how the Englishmen would continue in peace no longer than there wanted opportunitie and conuenient occasion for them to attempt the warres: and therefore he iudged it best, that the Scots should neuer conclude anie perpetuall peace with them, nor take anie truce longer than for three or foure yéeres at the most. He willed them further, to consider one thing, that when their appeared least occasion of warres with England, then they ought to be most circumspect, least peraduenture their enimies should come at vnwares, and find them vnprouided for timelie resistance. Hereunto he desired them, that after his decease, they would chose some one of the most worthie capteins within the whole realme, to beare his heart vnto Jerusalem, and there to see it buried within the temple, before the holie sepulchre of our Lord. For if he had not béene for a long space hindered by vrgent busines of warres at home, and lastlie preuented by death, he had vowed to haue passed with an armie into the holie land, in defense of the christian faith, against the Turkes and Saracens.

His desire to haue his heart borne to the holy sepulchre.

Here vpon when he was dead, the lords by one assent, appointed sir James Dowglasse to take this enterprise in hand, who willinglie obeied their order, as he that had euer during the life of king Robert, serued most faithfullie the bodie wherein the same heart was inclosed, & for this cause the Dowglasses beare the bloudie heart in their armes. ✻ The commendations of which king Robert, Buchanan setteth forth (to comprehend manie things in few words) to be: that he was euerie way a most worthie person, and that there were few to be found (from the former heroicall daies) equall vnto him in all kinds of vertue. For as he was in battell most valiant, so was he in peace most temperate & iust. And though his vndiuided good successe and perpetuall course of victories (after that fortune was once satisfied or rather wearied with his misfortunes) were verie great, yet he séemeth to Buchanan to be farre more wonderfull in his aduerse fortune: whose valure of mind was such, that it could not be broken (no not so much as weakened) by so manie euils as happened vnto him at one time: whose singular constancie appeared by the captiuitie of his wife, and the death of his valiant brethren. And besides that, his friends were

The cause why the Dowglasses beare the bloudie heart.

Fr. Thin.

There is no bodie but hath his shadow, no rose but hath his pricke.

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at one time vered with all kind of calamities, and they which escaped death, were banished with the losse of their substance: he himselfe was not onelie spoiled of all his patrimonie, but of the kingdome also, by the mightiest king of that age Edward the first, king of England, a man most readie in counsell, and of dispatch of his affaires as well in warre as peace. Yea, so farre was this Bruse oppressed at one time with all these kinds of euils, that he was driuen into extreame pouertie. In all which misfortunes he neuer doubted of the recouerie of the kingdome, neither did or said anie thing vnbeseeming the noble mind of a king, for he offered no violent hands to himselfe, as did the late Cato and Marcus Brutus, neither with Marius did he pursue his enimies with continuall hatred. For when he had recouered his former estate, he so liued with them that most occasioned his labour and trouble, that he rather remembred himselfe to be a king ouer them, and not an enimie vnto them. To conclude, he did not so forsake himselfe towards his end (when a grieuous disease added troubles to age) but that he confirmed and established the present estate of the kingdome, and prouided for the quiet of posteritie, whereby his subiects did not so much lament his death, as that they were depriued of so iust a king and godlie father.)

Hyperbolicall commendations.

Sir James Dowglasse then chosen as most worthie to passe with king Roberts heart vnto the holie land, closed the same in a case of gold, imbalmed with sweet spices, & right pretious ointments. And herewith hauing in his companie a number of nobles, and gentlemen, amongst whom sir William Sinclare and sir Robert Logan were chiefe, he passed forth till he came to the citie of Jerusalem, where he buried the heart aforesaid, with all reuerence and solemnitie that he might deuise. This done, he resorted with such number as he had brought thither with him, vnto such other christian princes as at the same time were gathered with great puissance, from sundrie parts of christendome to war with the Turks, and there in companie with them, he did so noble seruice against the common enimies of our religion, that by his often victories he wan great honor to the christian name. At length, hauing accomplished his charge in those parties, with no lesse fame and glorie than princelie magnificence, he toke the seas to haue returned home into Scotland: but by force of contrarie winds he was driuen on the coast of Spaine, landing there vpon the borders of Granado, where at the same time he found the king of Aragon, readie to make warres against the Saracens that inhabited in those parties.

The valiantie of James Dowglasse shewd against the Turkes.

James Dowglas commeth on land in Spaine.

The Dowglasse, to make his manhod and prowesse the more knowne in all parts where he came, offered the king of Aragon to serue vnder him in those warres against the infidels, and so fought at sundrie times in his support against the enimies, with prosperous successe, till at length hauing too much confidence in fortunes fauour (which hath brought so manie noble men to their deaths) hee wared negligent, and toke small regard of dangers that might insue, so that in the end he was inclosed by an ambush laid for him by the enimies, and there slaine amongst them, with all such as he had about him. This was the end of that noble Dowglasse, one of the most valiant knights that liued in his daies. He had gotten the victorie 57 sundrie times in fight against the Englishmen, and 13 times against the Turkes, at it is written at length (saith Bellenden) in Scotichronicon. He might haue bene right necessarie for the defense of Scotland, if his chance had bene to haue returned home in safetie. He ended his life in maner (as is before mentioned) on the 26 day of August, in the yere of Grace 1330.

James Dowglas slaine by the Saracens in Spaine.

How often James Dowglasse had got the victorie.

1330.

Dauid.

But now to proceed in order with the historie, yee shall note, that after the decease of king Robert, his sonne Dauid, a child scarse seuen yeres of age, was proclamed king, and afterwards crowned at Scone, the 23 day of Nouember, in the yere of our Lord 1331. During the time of his minoritie, earle Thomas Randall was ordeined gouernor of the realme, who for the space of foure yeres in the latter end of K. Roberts reigne, had the whole administration of things committed to his charge by the same king, for that by reason of sickneslie he was not able to attend the same himselfe. This earle Thomas then being elected gouernor by the generall consent of all the nobles of the realme, considered with himselfe, how necessarie it was for the people to continue in peace, till they had somewhat recouered their hinderance & losses chanced to them by the former wars. He addressed therefore certeine ambassadors immediatlie after the death of king Robert, vnto the king of England, to require a new confirmation of the peace betwixt both the realmes for a season. These ambassadours found the king of England easie inough to be intreated for the grant of their suit, so that a generall truce was taken for the space of three yeres.

1331.

Earle Thomas Randall gouernor of Scotland.

Ambassadors sent into England.

A truce for three yeres.

In that meane time, earle Thomas applied his whole studie for the maintenance of iustice and equitie through the whole realme, not omitting yet to appoint order, that men should be prouided of armor and weapon for defense of the countrie, if necessitie so required. [Wherefore when he was going to Victone (a towne in Galloway) word was brought to him, that there was a strong assemblie of theeues in that countrie, besetting the high waies, and spoiling the passengers: whervpon sending forth a companie of his followers, he apprehended and hanged them all, not fauouring anie vnder pretext of deuotion or religion. For one of them latelie come from Rome (and safe as he supposed by the charter of the popes pardon) was also apprehended and executed by appointment of this Randall, saieng, that the pardon of the fault belonged to the pope, but the punishment thereof belonged to the king.]

Fr. Thin. Buchanan.

Moreouer, for the better prosse of exercising iustice amongst them that coueted to liue by truth, and to haue more readie occasion to punish others that ment the contrarie, he commanded the saddles and bridles, with all other such instruments and stuffe as pertained to husbandrie, should be left abroad both day and night without the doores: and if it chanced that anie of them were stollen or taken awaie, the shiriffe of the shire should either cause the same to be restored againe, or else to paie for it on his owne purse. Finallie, such punishment was exercised against theeues in all places, that both theft and pilfering were quite suppressed, and the realme brought to more tranquillitie than euer it was in anie kings daies before. Manie insolent and misruled persons were tamed by his seuere chastisement and iustice. Also that vertue might bee cherished within the realme, he commanded that no vagabund nor idle person should be receiued into anie towne or place, except they had some craft or science wherewith to get their liuings. By this meanes he purged the realme of Scotland of manie idle & slouthfull roges and vagabunds.

A meane to haue iustice executed.

Punishment of theeues.

A laudable ordinance against vagarant persons.

It is said, that during the time whilest such strict punishment was exercised against offendors, by the ministers of the lawes thereto by him authorised and assigned: it fortuned that a carle of the countrie, because he durst not steale other mens goods, stole his owne plow irons, that he might haue the value of them recompensed to him by the shiriffe: nenertheless, such earnest diligence was vsed in the search

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and triall who had the plow irons; that finallie the truth came to light, whereupon for his craftie falſehood the partie giltie was hanged, as he had well deſerued. The gouernor himſelfe, for that he ſaw how hard it was to reduce them that had bæne brought vp in ſlouthfull loitering, vnto honeſt exerciſe, held euer about him a gard of warlike perſons, that hee might the more eaſilie oppreſſe all ſtubborne offendors, which would not ſubmit themſelues to his commandements. Thoſe that appeared before him vpon ſummons giuen, had fauourable iuſtice, tempered with much mercie miniſtred vnto them.

Upright iuſtice.

Iuſtice tempered with mercie.

Others that refuſed to obeie, were purſued with his gard, and hanged euer as they were taken: as it happened on a time at Haddington, where threeſcore euill and naughtie diſpoſed perſons being gathered togither, robbed and ſpoiled the people on each ſide: and for that they regarded not, but rather miſuſed a purſeuant, whom he ſent vnto them, they were all taken incontinentlie by his foreſaid gard, which followed the ſaid purſeuant at the hæles, and without reſpit hanged them vp on gibbets to giue example to others. Thorough ſuch rigorous iuſtice, no rebellion was heard of within the realme of Scotland manie yeres after, ſo that ſuch tranquillitie folowed, that not onelie thæues and loitering lubbers were daunted, but the realme alſo aduanced in wealth and riches, to the great terror of all the foes and enimies thereof. King Edward aduertiſed of this great felicitie chanced to the Scots by this meanes, began to enuie the ſame, and imagined with himſelfe, that if earle Thomas, the author of the ſame felicitie were diſpatched out of the way, it ſhould not onelie impeach the proceeding of ſo great wealth to the Scots, but alſo make for the ſuertie of the realme of England: for the ſingular manhood and high proweſſe of this earle was by him and other his nobles ſore ſuſpected.

Stubborne rebels ſharpelie puniſhed.

K. Edward enuieth the felicitie of the Scots.

He thought good therefore to attempt the thing by ſleight, which might not be done by force, that afterwards the realme of Scotland might be the more infeebled, and as it were made open to receiue diſpleaſure at his hands. For king Dauid was yong, and manie of his nobles bare ſmall good will either towards him, or his houſe, for the ſlaughter of their fathers and friends in the blacke parlement. Herevpon he deuiſed, which way he might beſt deſtroie earle Thomas, the onlie confounder of all his imagined hope, as to atchiue anie luckie enterpriſe againſt the Scots. At length he deuiſed to diſpatch him by poiſon: and after he had long debated by whome he might worke that feat: finallie he found none ſo fit for his purpoſe, as a monke of the order and facultie of thoſe, that wandering from place to place, can with diſſembling viſage ſay that thing with mouth, which they neuer thought in heart: for oftentimes men of that order, put no difference betwixt ſhame and honeſtie, cloking their execrable wickednelſe vnder the feined ſhadow of their hypocriticall cowles.

K. Edwards purpoſe to deſtroie earle Thomas (as the Scots do write.) But this is a kind of practiſe amongſt men to forge ſlanderous reports to bring princes in contempt.

This monke, fullie inſtructed in that wherabout he was ſent, came into Scotland, and feining himſelfe to be a phyſician, got credit within a while amongſt the people, to be a man of moſt excellent knowledge, for he had a companion with him, that being made priuie to the matter, ſet forth his cunning and practiſe to the vttermoſt, declaring what notable and moſt deſperat cures he had taken in hand, and made the patients perfectlie whole of the ſame, where all other had quite giuen them ouer: namelie he bruted it abroad, that for healing of the ſtone and grauell, his like was not to be found in all chriſtendome, as euidentlie had appeared by cures which he had ſhewed vpon ſundrie noble men, both in England and France. This he ſpake, for that it was knowne, how the lord gouernor was ſore vexed with that diſeaſe, hoping by this meanes to haue him in cure, that he might thereby the more eaſilie worke his diueliſh enterpriſe.

A monke ſent into Scotlād to poiſon the gouernor. The fitteſt inſtrument to bring ſuch a thing to paſſe.

And euen according to his deſire it came to paſſe: for being taken for ſuch a man as he was named to be, he was ſent for to the gouernour, and comming before him, he handeled the matter ſo with words, that the gouernour was contented he ſhould take him in hand, which he did with ſuch wicked intention, that perſuading him to keepe ſuch diet as he preſcribed, and herewith to take ſuch ſirrups & other things as he would giue him, at length he moſt traitorouſlie poiſoned him in deed. The venem was of ſuch mixture, as would not ſlea him out of hand, but by little and little waſte his entrails, that the monke might haue leaſure to eſcape home into England, yer it were perceiued what he had done. He therefore after he had miniſtred his wicked poiſon, found meanes to conueie himſelfe out of the waie, and returned moſt ſpeedilie into England, informing king Edward how he had delt. The gouernor feeling himſelfe tormented dailie worſe and worſe in his ſtomach and wombe, and hearing that the monke was gone, and minded not to returne to him againe, he began to doubt the matter, and ſhortlie after learned by phyſicians that he was poiſoned, and that the venem had taken ſuch hold within his bowels, that it was not poſſible to remoue it.

The gouernor is poiſoned.

The monke fleeth.

In the meane time was king Edward come with an armie to the borders, purpoſing to inuade Scotland, for that he thought how the gouernour was either dead, or at the verie point of death, and therefore he was in hope, that comming in time of the trouble vpon his death into Scotland, he ſhould find occaſion to atchiue ſome enterpriſe, highlie to his aduantage. But the gouernour aduertiſed hereof, raiſed a power, and though he were not able either to ride or go, yet he cauſed himſelfe to be caried forth in an horſe litter. King Edward hearing that the gouernour was comming towards him with an armie, & that himſelfe in perſon quite contrarie to his expectation, he ſent an herald vnto him for meane of communication of ſome peace, as was outwardlie pretended, though nothing elſe was ment but that he ſhould eſpie how all things in the Scotiſh campe ſtood. The gouernour hearing of this heralds comming, arraied himſelfe in his beſt apparell, that it might appeare he was rather recouered of his infirmitie, than otherwiſe weake and feeble thorough his diſeaſe, and then cauſing the herald to be brought before him, where he was ſet in a chaire, to heare what his meſſage was, which conſiſting in certeine demands not greatlie agreeable to reaſon, the gouernour with bold countenance anſwered, that he truſted within ſhort time to make it knowne, what right the Engliſhmen had to moue ſuch vnreaſonable requeſts, and thus diſpatching the herald, he gaue him all ſuch gorgeous and rich apparell as he ware at the ſame time when he thus talked with him.

K. Edward his purpoſe to inuade Scotland.

The gouernour in an horſelitter is caried forth to incounter the Engliſhmen.

An herald ſent to the gouernour.

The gouernours anſwer to the herald.

King Edward at the returne of the herald, not perceiuing otherwiſe by his report, but that the gouernor was in health, he returned immediatlie with his armie into England, and licencing euerie man to depart to his home, laid hands on the monke, and as one that had diſſembled with his prince (for ſo he tooke it) cauſed him to be burnt for his vntruth. Thus was the wretch righteouſlie recompenſed, as he had moſt iuſtlie deſerued. In the meane time, the gouernour returning homewards, through force of the venem ſtill increaſing, deceaſſed at Muſcleburgh, and was buried at Dunfirmling, in the yeere of our redemption 1331. [He left behind him two ſonnes,

The monke is burnt.

Fr. Thin. Buchanan. 1331.

M.ſ. Thomas

Thomas and John, worthie such a father, they being persons of great valure, and friends to their native countrie.]

Two gouernours chosen to rule Scotland.

After his decease, by common consent of the three estates of the realme in councell assembled, Patrike earle of March, and Dauid earle of Mar were chosen gouernors, the first (that is to say, the earle of March) had the charge of that part of the realme which lieth on the south side of the Forth, and the other (that is to say, the earle of Mar) was appointed to gouerne all that on the north side. Shortlie after rose great trouble in Scotland by meanes of Edward Balioll, the son of John Balioll before remembred, as thus:

Twinam Lorison.

It chanced there was one Twinam Lorison, a gentleman borne, but spotted with vile conditions, as adulterie, and diuerse other, for the which being put vnder censures of the church by the officiall of Glascow: he tooke at length the same officiall as he was going towards the towne of Aire, and held him in captiuitie, till he had paied two hundred pounds for his deliuerance. But this iniurie remained not long vnpunished: for sir James Dowglasse, before his passage to the holie land, would not suffer him to rest, till he had constreined him to flee into England for his more safegard.

Scotish lords banished into England.

At his comming into England, he met with Dauid Cumin earle of Atholl, and manie other Scotishmen, which were banished in times past by king Robert, for that they assisted the king of England against him. These persons being driuen out of the realme, and confederat altogither in one band, remained in England long time after, euer trusting to see some occasion offered, whereby they might one day returne againe into their owne native countrie. And now, hearing that earle Thomas Randall the gouernour was deceassed, this

Twinam Lorison sent vnto Edward Balioll.

Twinam Lorison in name of them all was sent ouer into France to persuade Edward Balioll to attempt the recouerie of the crowne and realme of Scotland, as the rightfull heritage of his father, and descended vnto him as lawfull and rightfull heire. Though the Balioll had no regard to make anie claime at all to the crowne of Scotland before this time, yet through the pithie persuasions of the earnest messenger, declaring how easie a matter it were for him to atchiue, considering the aid which he should haue in England, both at the kings hands, and also by the Scotishmen which remained there in exile, by whose meanes he might assure himselfe of support inough within Scotland it selfe, after he was once entered: finallie he concluded to passe ouer into England, to proue what purchase he might make there.

Edward Balioll commeth into England

At his comming thither, he made suit to the king, to aid him in his righteous quarell towards the atteining of the crowne of Scotland, which if he might bring to passe with prosperous successe, he promised to hold the same of him and his successors as superiors lords thereof. King Edward gladlie vpon that condition, condescended to his request, notwithstanding the aliance contracted with king Dauid, by the

The promise of the Balioll to K. Edward

K. Edward doth agree to aid the Balioll.

marriage of him with his sister. Herewith he appointed forth six thousand men well apparelled and araied for the warre, to passe by sea with the Balioll, and other the confederats into Scotland, trusting that vpon their arriuall there, they should find no small number of friends to assist them. For beside the Balioll, there was the lord Henrie Beaumount a Frenchman, who had maried the earle of Buchquhanes daughter and heire: also the earles of Atholl & Angus [the lords Persie and Wake, Richard Talbot, Henrie Ferres, John Mowbraie] & other Scotish lords such as were banished Scotland, when K. Robert le Bruse recouered it out of the Englishmens hands. These were appointed to go with the Balioll to assist him in that enterprise: and likewise the lord Stafford, and diuerse other English capteins, whereupon when all their prouision was once readie, with the number appointed them by king Edward, and a few others, they got them a shipboord, and sailing forth by the coast till they entered into the Forth, at length they came on land neere the towne of Kingorne, and shortlie after, incountring with Alexander Seiton, they slue him, and put his folkes to flight.

The Englishe writers speak but of two thousand, or 2500. at the most. Ri. Southwell.

Fr. Thin.

Edward Balioll landeth in Scotland.

Alexander Seiton is slaine.

The earles of Mar and March gather their people.

Balioll verie ioifull of this happie successe, came with his people to Perth, otherwise called S. Johns towne, whereof the earles of Mar and March being aduertised, they raised two mightie armies, and hasted toward the enimies, not as though they should haue to do with men of warre, but to chastise a number of theeues and robbers that were come out of England. Yet at length they concluded to ioine both togither in Stratherne, that they might iointlie set vpon their enimies both at once. The Balioll seeing the matter brought so farforth, that no feare of death nor starting-hole by flight might auaile him, boldlie came forward, and pitched downe his tents at Duplin neere to the water of Erne, trusting that if his armie would stand to it, and fight with manlike constancie, he should weild his enimies well inough, notwithstanding their huge number. The same night came the earle of Mar with his power, and incamped with the same within sight of the English armie, but the earle of March lodged about fiue miles from thence, at Othirardour.

Edward Balioll at Duplin.

The negligence of the Scots.

The Scots that were with the earle of Mar, hauing knowledge of the small number of their enimies, made no accounts of them, so that they neither tooke heed to their watch, nor to anie other order for defense of themselues, but fell to singing, dansing, reuelling, and drinking, in most dissolute manner. The Balioll taking occasion hereof, determined to assaile them the same night in their campe; and thereupon causing his people to make them readie to accomplish that enterprise, in the dead of the night he issued forth of his campe, and comming vnto the water of Erne, passeth the same by the ford, where one Andrew Murrey of Tullibard had pight a stake of set purpose, in midst of the streame, to shew them the waie. Thus hauing got all his armie ouer the water, without anie noise or din, so secretlie as might be deuised, he entered the campe of his enimies, and brake through till he came to the tent of the earle of Mar, the Scots generall, before he was once descried. Heere at the first was the earle himselfe slaine, lieng fast asleepe in his bed, & after with huge noise they set vpon the whole campe, murdering the Scots as then buried in sleepe without all defense. And thereupon followed so cruell slaughter, that nothing was heard but grunting and groning of people, as they lay on heapes readie to die, weltering togither in their owne bloud. And if it had not beene that Edward Balioll had caused ech of his men to wrap a white cloth about his arme, no man might haue knowne (by reason of the darknesse of the night) his friend from his fo.

The earle of Mar is slaine in his bed.

See more hereof in England.

The Englishmen were so earnestlie bent to the slaughter of Scots, that they might not be filled with the bloud and murder of them, so that they saued none whome they might ouertake. There were slaine of nobles and gentlemen, to the number of three hundred, beside innumerable of the commons. A certeine number of the Scots that escaped out of the place, closed themselues togither, and in purpose to be reuenged on the Englishmen for the death of their fellowes, returned vpon them againe, and were slaine themselues euerie mothers sonne. The chiefest nobles that were slaine at this battell, were these,

The great slaughter of Scots.

Sixteene thousand saith Ric. Southwell.

The earle of Mar was not slaine in the night as before ye haue heard, but

now in the morow following as ſaith Southwell. Noblemen ſlaine at Duplin.

theſe, the earle of Mar generall of the armie, Robert Bruſe earle of Carrike, Alexander Fraſer knight, William Haie conſtable of Scotland, with all his linage ſo wholie, that had not his wife as then being great bellied, bæne afterwards deliuered of a ſonne, all his ſurname had bæne vtterlie extinguiſhed. [Whereupon ſaith Buchan. Thomas Randolph, Robert Bruſe, William Seintclere biſhop of Dunkeld, and Duncan Makduffe deſpairing of good ſucceſſe, ſware fealtie to Baliol.] There were ſlaine alſo Robert Keith marſhall of the realme, with manie of his ſurname, Dauid Lindſeie of Glenneſke, Alexander Beiton, George Dunbar, Robert Strathaquhen, Thomas Haliburton, and John Skrimgeour knights, with manie other ouerlong to rehearſe. The earle of Fife & a few other were taken. This battell was fought on the thirteenth day of Auguſt, in the yeare 1332. After that Edward Baliol had atchiued this victorie thus at Duplin, he went ſtraightwaies vnto Perth (otherwiſe called ſaint Johns towne) and giuing aſſalt thereto, quickelie entered it by force, without anie great reſiſtance. The earle of March that lodged (as is ſaid) the ſame night that the battell was fought, not paſt fiue miles off, hearing what had chanced both in the battell and towne, came with his people arraied in good and perfect order vnto Perth aforeſaid, to beſiege the Engliſhmen with Edward Baliol and other as then within it. But hauing lien there a certeine ſpace, and filled the ditches in the meane time to ſuch aduantage, that it was thought if he had giuen the aſſalt, he muſt needs haue entered, he ſuddenlie raiſed from thence, and departed, to the vnſpeakeable damage (as was thought) of the whole Scotiſh nation. The ſiege being thus raiſed, there came dailie great numbers of nobles and commons to the Baliol, offering him their aid and ſeruice as his loiall ſubiects, towards the atteining of his right to the crowne.

The earle of Fife taken.

1332. H.B.

Perth woone by the Baliol

Perth beſieged by the erle of March

He raiſeth his ſiege.

HEreupon, perceiuing his power ſufficientlie increaſed, and receiuing the othes of the earle of Fife, and William de Seintclere biſhop of Dunkeld, he went accompanied with them and a great number of other, vnto Scone, where he was crowned the 24 day of September, in the yeare laſt before remembred, and receiued there the ſame time the homages and fealties of a great companie of nobles & gentlemen, at that ſolemne feaſt there aſſembled. King Dauid being not paſt nine yeares of age, to auoid all dangers in that troubleſome time, as deſtitute of ſuccors, by aduiſe of his councell, was conueied ouer into France with quéene Jane his wife, ſiſter to Edward king of England, and was moſt friendlie receiued by Philip king of France the ſixt of that name, ſo that they remained there with him for the ſpace of nine yeares. And in the meane time diuers noble men that yet remained at the deuotion of king Dauid, vnderſtanding that K. Edward le Baliol ſoiourned within the towne of Perth, otherwiſe called ſaint Johns towne, which ſtandeth almoſt in the middle part of the realme, and was at that preſent not cloſed with anie wall, or rampire, they raiſed their powers, and beſieged him within the ſame towne, he hauing as then no great companie about him.

Edward Baliol crowned king of Scotland, not the 24 of September, but the fourth of October, as Ri. Southwell ſaith.

King Dauid is conueied ouer into France.

Ri. Southwell.

Saint Johns towne beſieged.

Whereof when they of Galloway had aduertiſement, becauſe the king was their ſpeciall lord and chiefe gouernor, they aſſembled togither vnder the conduct of the lord Euſtace de Makeſwell, and inuaded the lands of thoſe Scotiſhmen that had thus beſieged their lord king Edward Baliol, and by that means conſtreined the aduerſaries to leuie their ſiege. Wherevpon earle Patrike and the new earle of Murrey, with the lord Andrew de Murrey, and the lord Archembald Dowglaſſe, with an armie aſſembled in all ſpéd, entered into Galloway, doing all the miſchiefe they could deuiſe, with fire & ſword, taking & bringing away from thence a great number of cattell and other goods; but they ſlue no great number of people, for they found them not at home, being withdrawen out of the way for feare of this terrible inuaſion. Thus did the Scots in that part of the realme ſpoile & harrie each others countries.

Galloway inuaded.

In the meane time, king Edward le Baliol fortified the towne of Perth, appointing the earle of Fife to the kéeping thereof, whileſt he with an armie paſſed into the countrie; but before he returned, his aduerſaries (that is to ſay) the ſonnes of them that had bæne ſlaine at the battell of Duplin, Robert Keith, Alexander Lindſeie, James and Simon Fraſer wan S. Johns towne in the third moneth, after they had laid ſiege thereto, as Hector Boetius ſaith. But whither that is to be intended after the firſt beſieging thereof, or now after their laſt comming thither, I can not affirme; but as the ſame Boetius writeth, now when the towne was woone, the earle of Fife, and Andrew Murrey of Tullibard, were taken, with other of their complices. The earle with his wife and children were ſent to the caſtell of Kildrummie, there to remaine vnder ſafe kéeping; but Andrew Murrey for his treaſon afore committed, was beheadded. The towne being thus woone, was deliuered to the kéeping of John Lindſeie. But Buchan. out of an other author ſuppoſeth that it was not committed to the cuſtodie of anie; but that the walls were pulled downe to the ground. The gaining of this towne put the Scots in hope of more proſperitie to ſuccéd.

Saint Johns towne fortified.

Saint Johns towne woone.

And therevpon John Randoll the earle of Murrey, ſonne to earle Thomas late of famous memorie, and Archembald Dowglaſſe lord of Galloway, the brother of James Dowglaſſe latelie ſlaine (as before is mentioned) in Spaine with Simon Fraſer and others, gathered a great armie, and came with the ſame [and William Dowglaſſe lord of Liddeſdale to Maufet] againſt the Baliol, who being aduertiſed thereof, met them in Annandale, where incountring togither, after cruell fight & great ſlaughter on both parts, at length Baliols part was put to the worſt, ſo that he himſelfe was glad to flee, hauing got an horſſe without a bridle, and reſted not till he came to Roxburgh, or rather to Carleill, as Richard Southwell ſaith. In this battell were ſlaine ſir Henrie Baliol, a man of great valiancie, ſir John Mowbraie, Walter Cumin, and Richard Kirkbie; but Alexander Bruſe earle of Carrike, and the lord of Galloway were taken priſoners, and ſaued by the helpe of the earle of Murrey, for that they had ſubmitted themſelues to the Baliol but latelie before. Shortlie after the atchiuing of this victorie, Andrew Murrey a man of great puiſſance and poſſeſſions was choſen to be gouernor, as colleage and aſſociat with the earle of March. Theſe two gouernors, hearing that the king of England was minded to inuade Scotland with a maine armie, ſent ſir Alexander Seiton with manie other gentlemen vnto Berwike for defenſe of that towne and caſtell; [Alexander (as ſaith Buchan.) being capteine of the towne, and Patrike Dunbar capteine of the caſtle and borders adioining.] Shortlie after, the new gouernor Andrew Murrey was taken priſoner at Roxburgh, by reaſon that hauing put his enimies to flight in a ſkirmiſh which he made with them at the bridge without the caſtell, he purſued ouer raſhlie in the chaſe, and was incloſed amongſt them, and ſo taken yet he might be reſcued. [At which time alſo William Dowglaſſe lord of Liddeſdale was ſent to Annandale, to defend the weſt marches.] There

Fr. Thin.

The battell diſcomfited and put to flight in Annandale.

Andrew Murrey choſen fellow gouernor with the earle of March.

Fr. Thin.

Andrew Murrey the new gouernor is taken priſoner.

Fr. Thin.

Ri. Southwell. Crab, a pirat taken.

was also taken beside the gouernor, a notable pirat named Crab, who before that time had done manie displeasures to the Englishmen both by sea and land: and now because his countriemen would not ransome him, but to his further griefe had slaine his sonne within Berwike, he became the king of Englands man, and did the Scots more damage afterwards, than euer he had done to the Englishmen before. The gouernor at length was ransomed for a great summe of gold.

William Dowglasse of Liddesdale taken prisoner.

About the same time William Dowglasse of Liddesdale named for his singular manhod, the flower of chiualrie, fought with the Englishmen in Annandale, where himselfe was taken, and his people discomfited. Both these noble men thus taken prisoners, were deteined in captiuitie more than a twelue moneths space, & then ransomed for a great summe of gold. This William Dowglasse was sonne to sir James Dowglasse, of whom so often mention is made heretofore. The realme of Scotland being thus diuided in two parts, the one assisting the Baliol, and the other continuing in their allegiance sworne and promised to king Dauid: Edward king of England iudged the time to serue well for his purpose to make conquest on the Scots, and herevpon gathering a mightie armie both of Englishmen and strangers, as well such as were subiects to him as other, whome he reteined out of Normandie, Anieu, and Flanders, he came with the same to subdue (as he outwardlie pretended) onelie such Scots as would not yéeld themselues to the Baliol. The Scots perceiuing themselues thus ouerset with enimies on each side, sent John Randoll earle of Murrey into France vnto king Dauid, that by his means they might purchase some aid of the French king to defend the realme from the force of the enimies. In the meane time the king of England besieged Berwike both by sea and land, notwithstanding such as were within it defended the towne so manfullie that he got but small gaines by assaults; by reason whereof the siege continued for the space of foure moneths: during which time manie issues and skirmishes were made betwixt the Scots and Englishmen, whereat manie proper feats of armes were atchiued with variable fortune.

Edward king of England purposeth to subdue the Scots.

The earle of Murrey is sent into France.

Berwike is besieged.

Buchanan.

William Seiton bastard sonne to the capteine of the towne was taken prisoner, and his bastard brother, as he assailed the English ships one night ouerfiercelie, was drowned by mischance in the sea. At length, when they within the towne began to want vittels, the capteine sir Alexander Seiton sent vnto king Edward, promising that if he would grant a truce for the space of 6 daies, if no succour came in the meane time to resist his siege, the towne should be deliuered into his hands at the end of that terme; and for the assurance thereof, he was contented that his eldest sonne and heire Thomas Seiton should remaine with the said king in hostage. Whilest things passed thus at Berwike, the nobles of Scotland by common consent chose Archembald Dowglasse to be gouernor in place of Andrew Murrey. This Archembald Dowglasse raising a mightie armie of Scotishmen entered with the same into the borders of England, so to withdraw king Edward from the siege of Berwike to defend his owne lands from burning and spoiling. But king Edward aduertised hereof, deuised an other shift; for immediatlie sending a messenger to sir Alexander Seiton capteine of the towne, he certified him plainelie, that vnlesse he rendered the towne forthwith into his hands, both his sonnes which he had with him, the one as hostage, and the other as prisoner, should be without further delay hanged on a gibbet there in sight afore his owne face.

Sir Alexander Seiton capteine of Berwike.

Archembald Dowglasse chosen gouernor in place of Andrew Murrey.

Sir Alexander Seiton hereto answered, that as yet the terme of the truce was not expired, & therefore desired the king either to obserue the couenants, or else to deliuer the pledges, that he might be at his aduantage: but king Edward (as saith the Scotish chronicle) immediatlie caused a paire of gallows to be raised before the towne, and both the sonnes of sir Alexander to be led thither, to suffer on the same without further respit. Sir Alexander Seiton beholding that pitifull sight, and weieng with himselfe, that he might saue the liues of those innocent creatures, if he would, was brought into great perplexitie of mind: the naturall affection and compassion which he bare towards his sonnes moving him to haue rendered the towne on the one side, and the dutie with faith promised to his king and countrie restraining him from all such resolution on the other. But in the end, the tender regard he had to saue the liues of his sonnes, had ouercome him, and caused him to haue rendered the towne into his enimies hand, had not his wife and mother to his said sonnes, exhorted him most earnestlie to the contrarie, alleging that such reproch and dishonor should redound vnto them, and their posteritie, if through their fault the towne were traitorouslie deliuered into the enimies hand, that from thencefoorth they should be infamed for euer: and as for the death of their sonnes, it was not to be counted a losse, for by this kind of death, they should win immortall name, & leaue to their parents the high honor and renowme of faithfull & loiall subiects. Againe they were yoong inough to beget and bring forth new children, where they should be neuer able to recouer honor once lost; if by deliuering the towne into the enimies hands, they should séeme to betraie their countrie, & falsifie their faith to their naturall prince and souereigne.

Sir Alexander Seiton in doubt what to do.

The manlie stomach of Alexander Seitons wife.

With such & manie other the like words, this noble & worthie ladie persuaded hir husband to restraine his inward griefe, and brought him with right sorrowfull and heauie chére vnto his chamber, that through commiseration had of his sonnes, he should commit nothing either against his honor or weale of the towne. In the meane time, his two sonnes were put to death, ending their liues (saith Hector Boetius) with most honor, for the righteous quarell of their countrie: [at what time K. Edward remoued his campe to Halidon hill.] Archembald Dowglasse the gouernor, being at that present entered into Northumberland with his armie, hearing that king Edward had thus cruellie put to death those two yoong gentlemen, came the third day after with all his power, and pitched downe his tents not far from K. Edwards armie, fullie resolued to giue him battell, as well to reuenge the displeasure for the death of the said gentlemen, as to deliuer the towne of Berwike from further danger of the enimies force.

Sir Alexander Seitons sonnes executed. Fr. Thin.

Archembald Dowglas purposeth to giue battell.

Yet were there sundrie prudent councellors in the Scotish armie, that for diuers respects aduised him in no wise to fight with the enimies at that present, considering the huge number of practised souldiers which they had amongest them, and the want of skilfull warriours on his side, hauing few with him saue yoongmen, and such as lacked experience in the wars, for that they had béene but little trained therein. Notwithstanding, he himselfe was of contrarie opinion, iudging that the good willes and desire which his people had to fight with the Englishmen, should supplie their lacke of skill: and thereupon determining to trie the chance of battell with them, commanded his armie to refresh themselues with meat, drinke, and slépe for that night, and to prouide themselues readie for battell on the nert morning. In the breake of the day he arraied his people in order of battell. The vauntgard was gi-

uen

The appointing of the Scotish battels.

uen to Hugh, lord Rosse, hauing with him Kenneth earle of Southerland; Simon and John Fraseir, and John Murrey lieutenant to the earle of Murrey, who as then was sore tormented with a grieuous malapie or sicknesse. The second battell was committed to the gouernance of Alexander Lindseie, with whome were ioined Alexander Gordon, Reinold Graham, and Robert Kenneth. In the third battell was the gouernor himselfe, accompanied with James, John, and Alane Stewards, the sons of Walter great Steward of Scotland.

The policie of the English men.

On the other part, the Englishmen were nothing slow to come forward to incounter the Scots, but at the first to take the vantage of the ground, they gaue somewhat backe, withdrawing to the side of an hill, which they hauing once got, boldlie turned themselues to the Scots that pursued them ouer rashlie, in hope that the victorie had beene alreadie theirs: but being here fiercelie receiued by the Englishmen, and beaten downe in heaps on each side, though they inforced themselues with all their might to be reuenged both for old and new iniuries which they had receiued, and so slue no small number of the enimies; yet in the end was the Scotish armie put to flight, and more slaughter made in the chase, than was afore in the battell: for one wing of the Englishmen making forwards to get before the Scots, so stopped their passage, that they were slaine miserablie on each side, as they had beene inclosed within a toile or deere-stall. There were but few in number that were taken prisoners, those on the next day were beheaded by commandement of king Edward, except a small number which were kept secret by some of the Englishmen for profit of their ransome. There were slaine on that day of the battell, to the number of fourteene thousand men, amongest whome were these as principall: Archembald Dowglas the gouernour, John Steward, James Steward, and Alane Steward, the sonnes of Walter Steward; the earle of Rosse, the earle of Southerland, Alexander Bruse earle of Carrike, Andrew, James, and Simon Fraseir. This battell was fought on Magdalen day, in the yeare of Grace, 1333.

The Scotish armie put to flight.

The great slaughter of Scots.

The number of Scots slaine at Hallidon hill.

1333. H.B.

¶ That this number and therewith manie mo do abound by one yeare, Wil. Harison doth gather together by the * feries, because Adam Meremouth saith, that Magdalen day fell on the monday this yeare, and that the morrow after being tuesday, Berwike was surrendered. But for so much as the same Meremouth maie be perhaps deceiued, or mistaken herein: I haue here thought good (as in other places) to note in the margent the yeare, according to the account of Hector Boetius, specialie in this place, the rather because he agreeth with Richard Southwell, Robert Auesburie, and other of our English writers, concerning this yeare in which this battell was fought: but where the same Boetius saith, that it was fought on Magdalen day, R. Southwell, Robert Auesburie, Thomas Walsi. and diuers other affirme, that it was fought the nintenth of Iulie being saint Margarets euen. But now to proceed. The place where this battell was striken, is called Hallidon hill.

Buchanan.

*Ferias.

Immediatlie vpon this ouerthrow of the Scotish power, Alexander Seiton and Patrike Dunbar captens of Berwike, despairing of all support, yelded the towne to king Edward, with condition to haue their liues and goods saued, and to become subiects to king Edward. Herevpon, when they had receiued their oths, Patrike Dunbar was commanded by king Edward, to build vp againe the castell of Dunbar vpon his owne costs and charges, for that he had throwen it downe, when he saw he was not able to defend it against the English power comming toward him. K. Edward accomplishing his desire, returned backe into England, leauing behind him with the Balioll, manie great lords of England (amongst whome for chiefe was Richard Talbot) that vsing the aduise and counsell of them he might rule the realme of Scotland as should be thought expedient. Edward Balioll hereupon went thorough all the bounds of Scotland, placing garrisons of Englishmen in most part of all the strengths and castels of the realme, for he had them all at his commandement, fiue of them onelie excepted, which were kept by such Scotishmen, as would not renounce their allegiance promised to king Dauid. For Dunbreton was kept by Malcolme Fleming of Cumirnald, Lochleuin by Alane of Vepont, the castell of Kildrummie by Christine Bruse, and Arquhart by Robert Lauder, the pile of Loudopin, a strong thing of so small a compasse, was in the keeping of one John Thomson [who were supported with monie by Philip the French king] These captens would by no means neither yeeld themselues nor their fortresses to Edward Balioll, but defend them to the vttermost for the behoofe of their souereigne lord and maister king Dauid.

Richard Talbot.

All the fortresses of Scotland in Baliols hands, fiue onelie excepted.

Fr. Thin.

The popes ambassadors not regarded.

In the meane time, Philip king of France laboured to the pope, that he might by his authoritie cause the Englishmen to surceasse from further vexing the Scots, by their cruell inuasions made into their countrie: but when the popes ambassadors came about this matter into England, they were so little regarded, that they could not get licence to declare that message, and so were they glad to returne without doing anie thing in the matter whereabout they were sent. Shortlie after was a parlement called at Perth, where Edward Balioll was confirmed king of Scotland, a great number of the nobles promising there by solemne oths, neuer to remooue anie rebellion against him in times to come. In the meane time rose great altercation betwixt Henrie Beaumont, and Alexander Mowbray for certeine lands in Buchquhane [which Edward the first had giuen John Mowbray, brother of this Alexander.] Henrie Beaumont claimed those lands by the right of his wife, that was daughter to the said Alexander, but the Mowbray claimed them as heire to his brother.

A parlement at Perth.

Strife betwixt Mowbray & Beaumont. Fr. Thin.

After long contention, Mowbray had the lands adiudged to him by sentence of the Balioll, by reason whereof, Dauid Cumin earle of Atholl, and Richard Talbot, fauouring the cause of Henrie Beaumont, began to practise such conspiracies against the Balioll, that to auoid further danger, he was glad to repeale the former sentence by him giuen on the behalfe of Alexander Mowbray, and by new sentence adiudged the lands vnto Henrie Beaumont, for that (as was alledged) he had maried the inheritor thereof, which sentence he was constreined to change (saith Buchanan) by this means. * Balioll (fauouring Alexander) and hauing adiudged the matter on his side, so offended the minds of the aduersaries, that they feared not openly to complaine of the iniurie. But when they perceiued that they nothing profited therein by their speeches, they all departed from the court to their owne possessions. of which faction Talbot, whilest he goeth into England, was taken and carried to Dunbreton: Beaumont doth strengthen Dungard a strong castell of Buchquhan, and not onelie maketh the land whereof the contention was, but also the whole countrie adioining, to be subiect to his gouernement. Cumin (returning to the part of Dauid Bruse) goeth into Atholl (whereof he was earle) and fensing the places of strength thereabouts, armeth himselfe to withstand all force,

1334. Fr. Thin. Iohn Maior.

The towne of Berwike yelded to K. Edward on S. Margarets day, as R. Southwell. saith.

tic anie be prepared against him. Balioll fearing the conspiracie of these great men, changeth his iudgement, and awardeth the lands (wherof the contention grew) to Beaumont, and reconciled Cumin vnto him, by the gift of many rich possessions, that then belonged to Robert Steward, which shortlie after was king of Scotland.

Thus through puissance of the parties, the truth in deciding the controuersie, might not onlie not haue place, but Balioll was also driuen to that extremitie, that he must haue one of them (with his faction) to be his enimies. For now Alexander, stroken with this iniurie (to haue the iudgement giuen before for him thus to be reuoked) forsaking the Balioll ioined himselfe with Andrew Murrey gouernor of Scotland (for Dauid Bruse) hauing a little before ransomed himselfe, with a great masse of monie out of the Englishmens hands. These things (although done at seuerall times) we haue ioined togither, least by often repeating of them in other places, the course of the historie might be broken: for (vpon this) Andrew Murrey besieged Beaumont in the castell of Dongard, the inheritance of his wife, where he surrendered the same, vpon condition that he might freelie repaire into England: at what time also Richard Talbot (being beyond the mounteins, in the inheritance of his wife the daughter of John Cumin of Scotland (for now manie English nobles possessed great reuenues in Scotland by mariages) hearing of these newes, that Balioll was forsaken by the earle of Atholl and Beaumont, would haue gone into England, but was taken in Lownes. ¶ This yeere the earle of March holding on the part of the king of England, came to him to Newcastell vpon Tine, who returning homeward, was grieuouslie wounded of the people of Northumberland, for courtousnes, to haue robbed him of such monie as K. Edward had liberallie bestowed vpon him.)

1334. Scala chron. Scala chron. Iohn Maior. Scala.chron.

Not long after this, Edward Balioll came to Rainfrew, and there receiuing the people into his obeisance, had the keies of the castell of Rothsaie and Dunnone, brought vnto him by sir Alane Lile shiriffe of Bute [at what time the king gaue to him the keeping of the castell of Rothsaie, hauing before made him shiriffe.] Thus did the Balioll increase in puissance, by such confluence of people as dailie submitted themselues vnto him, & he inriched them liberallie with lands and goods still as they came to him, thereby to win there good wils. He sought by all meanes possible to haue gotten Robert Steward into his hands, as the person whome he knew to haue most right, next vnto king Dauid to the crowne of Scotland: but through the diligent foresight of his friends, this Robert Steward being about the age of fiftéene yéeres, was conueied [with bote and horsse, by the helpe of William Hariot and John Gilbert] to the castell of Dunbreton, where he was ioifullie receiued by Malcolme Fleming the capteine.

The castels of Rothsaie and Dunnone deliuered to the Balioll. Fr.Thin. Robert Steward. Fr.Thin.

The Balioll being sore offended, that such castels as were kept by his enimies, were so great an impediment to his interprises, by succouring and relieuing his aduersaries to make warres against him, he got togither an armie, and the next yéere laid siege to the castell of Lochleuin: but perceiuing that this castell might not be woone without long siege, he appointed sir John Striueling to continue the siege with a great power of men, vntill the castell were yéelded. There were left also with him, Michaell Hariot, Dauid Wemis, and Richard Maleuill, with diuerse other. These capteins aduising the place and site of the castell, lodged themselues within the churchyard of saint Serfe, beside Kinrosse, making bastiles and other defenses within the same, for their more safegard. Within the castell were two valiant capteins to defend it, the one named Alane Uepont and James Lambie, citizens of saint Andrews.

Lochleuin besieged.

Alane Uepõ and James Lambie capteins of Lochleuin.

The enimies assaied all the meanes that might be deuised to haue woone this castell, but all was in vaine. At length, they deuised a subtill sleight, whereby to compasse their intent, on this wise. They went about to dam vp the mouth of the riuer where it issueth out of the Loch, with earth, trées, & stones, that the water being so kept in, might rise to such an height, that it should ouerflow the castell, and so drowne all the people within it. And to cause the Loch to swell more spéedilie, they turned the course of diuerse riuers and brookes in the countrie thereabouts, and brought them into the same Loch. It chanced at the same time, that sir John Striueling capteine of the siege, with a great part of the armie, went vnto Dunfirmling for deuotion sake, to visit the shrine of saint Margaret, sometime quéene of Scotland. Whereof Alane Uepont then capteine of the castell, hauing vnderstanding, about midnight prepared three botes, and taking certeine souldiers with him, rowed forth to the head of the dam or water, and there, with such engins as he had deuised for the purpose, assaied to boare through and make a hole in the banke or rampire that kept vp the water, which when they had brought to passe, they returned quickelie againe to the castell.

A deuise to drowne the castell.

The water hauing once gotten an issue, within a while ware the hole so large, that entering with more violence, it finallie brake downe the banke, and rushed forth with such an huge streame, that it bare downe all afore it, drowning vp the bastils and tents of them that lay at siege there, and caried the same with men and all downe into the déepe sea, they were so suddenlie taken, yer they could make anie shift to escape. Alane Uepont, when the water was fallen to the old marke, issued forth of the castell, & setting vpon those that had escaped the danger of the water, slue part of them, and put the remnant to flight. John Striueling hearing the mischiefe that had happened to his folks, returned to the siege, and made a vow neuer to depart from thence, till he had taken the castell, and slaine all them within it. But yet, after he had laine there a long time, and saw it was not possible to win that fortresse, he was constreined to raise his siege, and to go his waies, after he had lost thereat no small number of his people. This siege of Lochleuin chanced in the Lent season, in the yéere 1335.

The bastiles and tents of them that lay at siege drowned.

1335.

In the yéere following, king Edward prepared an armie both by sea and land, to enter into Scotland. He sent by sea 70 ships well and sufficientlie decked for the warres, to enter by the Forth: but by a sore tempest manie of those vessels perished betwixt Inchketh and the North land. He himselfe hauing the Balioll in his companie, with fiftie thousand men, came by land vnto Glascow, and perceiuing there was little for him to do, for that no rebellion greatlie anie where appeared, he returned backe againe into England with the Balioll, and left Dauid Cumin earle of Atholl gouernor in his roome, to subdue the residue of the rebels, and to win those strengths, which as yet were defended against him. Dauid Cumin left thus to be gouernor in Scotland, toke vpon him the rule in name both of the king of England, and also of the Balioll, and seized into his hands all those lands in Murrey and Buchquhane, which perteined to Robert Steward, confiscating all the goods of such the inhabitants, as would not be sworne vnto him. [Who notwithstanding that hee was of such great authoritie in Scotland, of credit with both kings, Edward of England, & Edward of Scotland, and of exceeding great possessions of his

K. Edward inuadeth Scotland both by sea and land.

Dauid Cumin earle of Atholl gouernor of the Balioll in Scotland. Fr.Thin. Buchanan.

his owne, would yet neuer vsurpe anie superioritie to him himselfe in stile, but passed all the grants and writings in the name of Edward king of England, and of Baliol king of Scots. At what time none would publikelie professe him a subiect to Dauid Bruse, but boies, who in their plaies & games would alwaies call their king, Dauid Bruse.]

Incontinentlie hereupon, Robert Steward assembled his friends by the helpe of Dungall Campbell of Lochquhow, and suddenlie tooke the castell of Dunnone, sleaing all the Englishmen and other, which were found therein. [Which Campbell (as saith Iohn Maior) came with 400 men, and by the testimonie of Buch. was a man of great power in Argile.] The commons of Bute and Arrane, glad of this prosperous beginning, assembled togither to the number of foure hundred persons, and set forward, that they might come to support Robert Steward in such his late begun enterprises: and being incountered by the waie by Alane Lile shiriffe of Bute, they laid so lustilie about them, that they slue the shiriffe, [with John Gilbert capteine of the castle of Bute] there in the field, & discomfited all his people [which they did after this manner. These people of Bute, (called the seruants of Bawdanus) seeing such stirs to be made by Alane Lile, ran to a heape of stones not farre from them, and with great force pelting the shiriffe, they in the end killed him with stones, and put the rest to flight.] Diuerse of them taken prisoners, were brought awaie, and presented vnto Robert Steward, who in recompense of this seruice, granted sundrie priuileges vnto the inhabitants of Bute and Arrane: as among other things, to be free from pateng tribute for their corne and graine. Such felicities succeeding one another, caused manie of the Scots to ioine themselues with Robert Steward, in hope to recouer the realme out of the Englishmens hands. Amongst other, Thomas Bruse earle of Carrike, and William Cunther [whome Iohn Maior calleth Carucher, & Buchanan Carruder of Annandale] with a number of the commons came vnto him.

About the same time, the earle of Murrey returned forth of France, and landed at Donbriton, where he was most ioifullie receiued by the said Robert Steward. Shortlie after the said Steward, and the said earle, hauing with them a great power of their friends and alies [as Godfrie Rosse, and others] came into Clidesdale, Ranfrew, Kile, Cunningham and Aire, which togither with Ros and Murrey, they reduced to the obeisance of king Dauid. [At which time (as saith Buchanan) did Ranfraie come to his old lords the Stewards.] The earle of Murrey also, to reuenge the iniuries done by the earle of Atholl, went vnto Aberden, and there learning where he soiorned, made thither with all speed: but the earle of Atholl vnderstanding how all the countrie tooke part with his aduersaries, fled into the mounteins, where he sustained his life with hearbs and rots for a time, and durst not come forth to shew his head. At length, when he saw no waie to escape, he came forth and in most humble wise submitted himselfe to the lords that defended the part of king Dauid. They receiuing him vpon his submission, sware him to be true vnto king Dauid, and exhorting him to be as diligent in reconciling the people vnto king Dauid, as he had béene afore to subdue them to the obedience of the Baliol, they suffered him to depart.

About the same time, sir William Dowglasse of Liddesdale, and Andrew Murrey, were ransomed home out of England, for a great summe of monie, after they had béene kept there by the space of three yéeres in captiuitie. At their comming to Edenburgh, they found the lords assembled in councell, at the which John Randolph earle of Murrey, and Robert Steward, with generall voices were elected gouernours. Manie Scotishmen at this time reuolted from the king of England, submitting themselues to king Dauid, as Alexander Ramsay, a verie skilfull warrior, Laurence Preston, John Herring, and John Haliburton knights, with diuerse other.

The earle of Murrey and Robert Steward elected gouernours.

Fr. Thin. Buchanan.

* After this, John Randolph, and Robert Steward, were sent into the north parts with a strong armie, gathered of such as were wearied by the English gouernement, whereat Dauid Cumin (being feared with the sudden assemblie) fled for his safetie, whome they egerlie pursued, and taking him (being then beset in a narrow streict, and oppressed with penurie of all things) they compelled him to yéeld (without anie more circumstances) to their faction, who then swearing fealtie to Dauid Bruse, was permitted to depart vpon his promise: whereunto they gaue such faith, that they left him deputie for them. At what time he did not faintlie dissemble the fauouring & defending of the part of Bruse. In the meane time, Randolph returned into Louthian, and ioined himselfe with his old friend William Dowglasse latelie returned out of England, & now with great slaughters of his enimies egerlie reuenged the long lothsomnesse of his imprisonment: to whome also to make their partie the stronger, came Andrew Murrey, which was taken at Bokesborowe. Wherefore these gouernours sufficientlie garded with the nobilitie, appointed a parlement at Perth, in the kalends of April. Whither when the nobles came, there could not be anie thing performed, by reason of the secret hartburning harbored in the bosoms of William Dowglasse, and Dauid Cumin earle of Atholl: the cause whereof was pretended to be, in that Dowglasse did obiect vnto Cumin, that it was by his meanes, that he was no soner deliuered out of prison from the English: amongst which nobilitie, Steward fauored Cumin, and almost all the other tooke part with Dowglasse. Which dissention amongst the nobilitie, was occasioned for suspect which they had of the Cumins comming to that place with so great a traine: for he brought thither such number of his friends and followers, that he was a terror to all the rest of the assemblie, to the increase of which suspicion, they further ioined a conceit they had of Cumins great and changeable wit, his aspiring mind, and certeine rumors spred abroad of the comming of the English, with whome no man did doubt, but that the earle of Atholl would ioine for his defense.)

Hector Boet. saith it was holden at Darlé.

Edward king of England vnderstanding the rebellion of the Scots, determined to assaile them both by sea and land: and so prouiding a nauie of an hundred and foure score ships, sent the same well vittelled and manned to saile into the Forth, the which being there arriued, burnt and spoiled the townes on both sides that riuer, but returning backe into England, they lost manie of their vessels by a tempest. King Edward himselfe, togither with Edward the Baliol entered by land, with an armie of fiftie thousand men, leading the same to the towne of Perth, otherwise called saint Johns towne, and there lodged in campe, abiding for the comming of the earle of Atholl, who as then being solicited thereto by the king of Englands agents, was readie to turne againe incontinentlie to his side [who after accordinglie, with Godfrie of Rosse, & Alexander Mowbraie, with other, came to the king of England.]

Ye may read more of this matter in the historie of England.

A nauie sent into Scotland. Shipwracke.

K. Edward inuadeth the Scots by land.

Fr. Thin. Scala chron.

The same time, whilest the king of England lay thus at Perth, the earle of Namure (whom the Scotish writers wrongfie name the duke of Gelderland) came into England with an armie, and purposing to passe thorough Scotland vnto the place where king Edward lay in campe, to come to his aid, was discomfited

Not the duke of Gelderland but the earle of Namure, named Guy.

The castell of Dunnone taken. Fr. Thin.

The shiriffe of Bute slaine.

Fr. Thin.

Fr. Thin. Buchanan. Iohn Maior.

A releasement of tribute.

Fr. Thin.

The earle of Murrey returneth forth of France.

Fr. Thin. Countries reduced to the obeisance of king Dauid. Fr. Thin.

1335.

K. Edward inuadeth Scotland both by sea and land.

The earle of Atholl fleeth into the mounteins.

He submitteth himselfe.

Dauid Cumin earle of Atholl gouerneth the Baliol in Scotland.

Sir William Dowglasse, and Andrew Murrey ransomed.

Fr. Thin. Buchanan.

comfited on the Burrowmoore, beside Edenburgh, by the power of the gouernours, and others, which were there assembled against him. There died manie on both parts in the fight (as Iohn Fourdon writeth) for the strangers fought verie valiantlie: insomuch that if William Dowglasse, with diuerse other, had not come downe from Pictland hils to the aid of the Scots, whilest they were thus fighting, the strangers that day had wone the victorie. But now discouraged with the sudden comming of this fresh aid to their aduersaries, they began to giue place, and drew towards Edenburgh: neuertheless keeping themselues in order of battell, they fought still: and at length comming to Edenburgh, they were driuen vp thorough the friers street, and so by an other street, called saint Marie Wind, where one sir Dauid de Anand, a verie valiant knight chanced to be wounded by one of the enimies, by reason whereof he was so kindled in wrathfull desire to be reuenged, that with an axe which he had in his hand, he gaue his aduersarie (that had hurt him) such a blow on the shoulder, that he claue him downe togither with his horsse, that the axe staied not till it light vpon the verie hard pauement, so as the print of that violent stroke remained to be seene a long time after in one of the stones of the same pauement.

Iohn Fourdon.

William Dowglasse commeth to the succour of the Scots.

Dauid de Anand a Scotish knight.

Hyperbole.

The strangers still retiring, and manfullie defending themselues, at length got to the hill where Edenburgh castle standeth, and there slue their horsses, making as it were a rampier of their carcasses, to defend themselues from the force of their enimies: but being inuironed by the Scots on ech side all that night, and hauing neither meate nor drinke wherewith to sustaine their languishing bodies, the which beside hunger and thirst, were sore tormented with cold also, and want of conuenient lodging, they yelded themselues the next day, with condition to haue their liues saued. When the spoile of the field (where they first ioined) was gathered, amongst the dead bodies there was found a woman of an huge stature, who in the beginning of the battell stept forth before hir companie, and incountering in singular fight with an esquire of Scotland, named Richard Shaw, she ouerthrew him, and afterwards beating downe hir enimies on ech side, long it was yer she might be ouerthrowne, which chanced not before she was inuironed about on ech side with hir enimies.

A woman of manlike force and stature.

The earle of Namure hauing yelded himselfe into the hands of the gouernours, was verie courteoustie vsed, the earle of Murrey not onelie rendering vnto him all his goods, but also granting him licence to depart: and for his more suertie, he went himselfe in person with him to the borders, to see him safe deliuered out of all dangers. But by an ambush that lay in wait for the earle of Murrey, he was taken prisoner, and brought to king Edward. Dauid Cumin earle of Atholl, hearing that the earle of Murrey one of the gouernours was thus taken, supposing king Edwards part to be much aduanced thereby, came streightwaies vnto Perth, and gaue his faith eftsones vnto Edward Balioll, and was againe established by him gouernour of the realme of Scotland, as he was before. The king of England, hauing in the meane time gotten the towne of Perth, returned into England, and toke the Balioll with him, for doubt least when he had recouered the whole gouernement of the realme, he should shrinke awaie from him. The earle of Atholl hauing now regained his former authoritie, began to exercise great crueltie against all those that were enimies to the Balioll.

The earle of Murrey is taken prisoner.

The earle of Atholl reuolting to the Balioll is eftsones established gouernor.

The king of England returneth home taking the Balioll with him.

The nobles of the contrarie faction (as Patrike Dunbar earle of March, Andrew Murrey, & William Dowglasse, with other) toke great despite thereat, and raising an armie to restreine his insolent doings, came towards him, whereof he being aduertised (as then lieng at siege before the castle of Kildrummie) rose and met them in the fields within the forrest of Kilblaine, where he gaue them a sore battell, and had gone awaie with the victorie, had not Iohn Crag capteine of Kildrummie sallied forth of the castle with three hundred fresh men, and comming to the succour of his friends, renewed the battell in such earnest wise, that the aduersaries thereby were discomfited, earle Dauid their chiefteine being slaine in the field, with Walter Bride, Robert Cumin, and a great number of other, both gentlemen and commons. Sir Thomas Cumin was taken prisoner, & beheaded the next day, being Newyeres day. For the battell before mentioned was fought the last day of December (as Fourdon noteth.) Who further saith, that the earle of Atholl had with him three thousand men against his aduersaries, which were not past eleuen hundred.

The earle of Atholl is slaine.

Fourdon.

✠ This Dauid earle of Atholl was verie inconstant & greedie of gouernment, who if he had brought all the Scots to haue taken king Edwards part, would out of doubt, haue afterward contended with king Edward, and inuaded the kingdome of Scotland by violence; he did most grieuouslie oppresse the giltlesse and poore people, and wickedlie ordered all things after his own fansie, without reason.) Cumin earle of Atholl was slaine on this wise: Andrew Murrey was chosen gouernour in place of the earle of Murrey, taken (as before is said) by the Englishmen. This Andrew Murrey in the beginning of his new office, laid siege to the castle of Couper, with a mightie power of men, but hearing that the Cumins made foule worke in the north parts of the realme, against such as fauoured not the English part, he left that siege, and went against them, with whome incountering in battell, he ouerthrew their armie, and put them all to flight.

Fr. Thin. Iohn Maior li. 5. cap. 14.

Andrew Murrey chosen gouernor.

The Cumins put to flight.

At this bickering were slaine two of the Cumins, Robert and William, Thomas Caldar, and diuerse other valiant men, though enimies for the time vnto the gouernour. This victorie reduced all the north parts of Scotland vnto the obeisance of king Dauid. Few Englishmen after the same abode within the north bounds of Scotland, except those that were within the castle of Dungard in Buchquhane. At length this castle was wone, & all that kept it slaine, except Henrie Beaumont the capteine, who being sworne neuer to returne againe into Scotland, was licenced by the gouernour to depart into England without anie interruption. After this, the gouernour came to the castle of Lochindorris, and laid siege to it, where within was the countesse of Atholl, the wife of the late slaine earle Dauid. This woman hauing knowledge aforehand, that hir house should be besieged, had sent vnto the king of England and to Edward Balioll for succours.

The north parts of Scotland reduced to the obeisance of king Dauid.

The castle of Dungard wone.

The castle of Lochindorris besieged.

The king of England hauing now doubting least all the strengths in Scotland, kept by such as were his friends, would be lost without recouerie, if the same were not the soner rescued, he raised an armie of fortie thousand men, and entering therewith into Scotland, came to the castle of Lochindorris aforsaid. The Scots that lay there at siege, vpon knowledge had of his comming towards them, brake vp, and departed from thence. Herevpon, when he had refreshed the hold with new men, munition, and vittels, he toke the countesse forth with him, and passed with bloudie sword thorough Murrey, euen to Elghine, and returning by Mar, burnt the towne of Aberden. [Then he went to Striueling, where he stronglie repared the castle: from whence he toke his iournie to Bothuill, and there also in winter he made the castle

The king of England commeth to raise the siege of Lochindorris.

The towne of Aberden burned by the Englishmen. Fr. Thin. Scala chron.

stle stronger, in which he placed a valiant garrison: to this fort the lord Berkeleie conueied vittels from Edenburgh, and in one night discomfited William Dowglasse that lay in wait to intercept him. After which, king Edward did shortlie lose all the said castels, which he had before with so great care fortified. His nauie being on the sea at the same time, entered into the Forth, and spoiling (as other had done afore time) the church of saint Colme, felt reuenge thereof shortlie after: for that ship (as they tell the tale) wherein saint Colmes goods (for so they call them) were laden, sonke to the bottome of the sea, without force of anie tempest, or other apparant occasion.

The towne of Perth newlie fortified.

The king of England at his comming to Perth, forth of the north parts of Scotland, and finding the towne vnfortified, caused the same to be newlie fensed with wals and bulworks, at the charges and onelie expenses of these six abbeies, Aberbrothoke, Couper, Lundoris, Balmerinoch, Dunfirmling, & saint Andrewes. Henrie Beaumont also, who contrarie to his oth before taken, was now returned with king Edward into Scotland, was made capteine of saint Andrewes. Also Henrie Ferrar was made capteine of the castle of Lucres, William Montacute of Striueling, William Felton of Rockesburgh, and the keeping of the towne of Perth was committed vnto one Thomas Vthred. Whilest king Edward ordered things in Scotland after this maner, his brother (surnamed by the Scotish writers Eltham) came vnto him at Perth, who in the west parts of Scotland had exercised much crueltie, as well against the enimies of the Englishmen, as against those that were fauourers and friends vnto them, insomuch that passing through Galloway, Carike, Kile, and Cunningham, he put all to the fier and sword that came in his waies. He burned the church of saint Bute, and a thousand persons within it, which were fled thither for safegard of their liues. At his comming to Perth, he found the king his brother within the church there, who being sore offended with him for his misordered doings, verie sharplie reproued him for the same: and forsomuch as he answered him somewhat frowardlie, he plucked forth his sword, and there thrust him through the bodie, euen before the altar of saint John, wishing that all such might perish on the same wise, as put no difference betwixt friend and foe, place hallowed and vnhallowed; as being no reason, that the church should be anie more refuge for him, than he had made it for other.

His crueltie.

K. Edward sleieth his brother Eltham.

It may be, that king Edward slue some other man in this sort, as the Scots heere do write: but for the earle of Cornewall that was brother to king Edward, and surnamed John of Eltham, because he was borne at Eltham, it is nothing true that he was so made awaie, for he died of a naturall infirmitie, as by our English writers it manifestlie appeareth. But now to proceed with the historie, as we find it written. Such things accomplished in Scotland (as before ye haue heard) king Edward returned into England, & left the Baliol behind him with a great power of men at Perth. About the same time, Henrie Beaumont slue all such Scots as he might lay hands on, that had borne at the battell of Kilbleine, where his cosine Dauid Cumin was slaine. Moreouer now, after that king Edward was returned into England, Andrew Murrey came forth of the mountens, into the which he was before withdrawen to eschue the furie of the Englishmen, and by the assistance of sundrie of the nobles of Scotland, he wan the castle of Kincleuin, and raced it to the earth. Shortlie after he came into Mernes, and there toke the castle of Kilnesse, and likewise raced the same. Then passing forward, he burned Dunnoter.

He died of a naturall infirmitie, as by the English writers it appeareth.

K. Edward returneth into England.

Andrew Murrey commeth forth of the mountens.

He winneth the castle of Kincleuin.

On the other part, the Englishmen made no lesse spoile and destruction on ech side where they came, so that the Mernes, Angus, Stermond, and Gowrie through spoile, murther, & other disgraces, chancing by continuall warre, were left in manner waste and desolat. At length, this Andrew Murrey assembling a great power, with support of them of Murrey, Mar, and Buchquhan, fought with his enimies at Panmore in Angus, where he obteined the victorie with huge slaughter of Englishmen, and other his aduersaries. In this battell was slaine Henrie Mountfort, who latelie before had beene sent by king Edward into Scotland to support the Baliol, beside foure thousand others, the most part gentlemen: so that this ouerthrow was verie displeasant to the king of England, hauing his side sore weakened thereby. After the gaine of this victorie, Andrew Murrey passed through Fife & Angus, ouerthrowing the castle of Lucres, with all the other strengths of Fife, the castle of Couper onelie excepted.

The calamitie chancing to sundrie countries of Scotland through continuall wars.

The victorie of Andrew Murrey gotten at Panmore.

Henrie Mountfort slaine.

The castle of Lucres ouerthrowne.

*Andrew Murrise gardian of the Scots (and sir Dauid Bruse) did much harme in the countrie of Carleill, from whence he went to besiege the castle of Edenburgh (as yet in the hands of the English) whose intent coming to the knowledge of the marchers of England, they hasted to repaire to raise the same siege of Edenburgh, and to rescue their countriemen within the towne. By meanes whereof, the Scots remoued and came to Clerkington, and the English came to Krethtowne not farre distant; betweene whome there was a great fight, and manie slaine on both sides. But the victorie inclining (without anie great conquest) to neither partie, both armies parted: for the English went ouer Tweed, and the Scots feining that they would go into England, lodged themselues at Galuschell. So that king Edward hearing of such prosperous successe chancing to his aduersaries, sent incontinentlie two capteins with two armies into Scotland, to the support of the Baliol.

Fr. Thin. Scala chron.

Two armies sent into Scotland.

William Talbois a man of notable prowes, hauing the conduct of the one of these armies, was incountred by William Keith, and after the discomfiture of his people, being taken prisoner, was kept in captiuitie till he paid two thousand marks for his ransome. The other was led by Richard Mountfort with whome Laurence Preston and Robert Gordon met, and giuing him battell, slue the same Richard with the most part of all his companie. About the same time sir William Montacute earle of Salisburie, togither with the earle of Arundell came into Scotland with a great power of men, and besieged the castell of Dunbar, lieng at the same for the space of 22 weeks. [At which battell also was king Edward, the earle of Glocester, the lords Persie and Neuill, being in the yeare 1337, as saith Scala chron.] Within the said castell was the countesse hir selfe, surnamed blacke Agnes of Dunbar, who shewed such manlie defense, that no gaine was to be got anie waies forth at hir hands, so that in the end they were constreined to raise their siege, and to depart without speed of their purpose. It is said, that this countesse vsed manie pleasant words in iesting and tawnting at the enimies doings, thereby the more to incourage hir souldiers.

William Talbot, or rather Talbois is taken prisoner.

Richard Mountfort or Montacute is slaine.

The castell of Dunbar is besieged by the earles of Salisburie and Arundell. Fr. Thin.

1337.

Blacke Agnes of Dunbar.

One day it chanced that the Englishmen had deuised an engine called a sow, vnder the pentise or couert wherof they might approch safelie to the wals: the beholding this engine, merilie said, that vnlesse the Englishmen kept their sow the better, she would make hir to eat hir pigs: and so she after destroied it. In the yeare next after this siege, there was such a dearth through all the bounds of Scotland,

An engine called a sow.

A great dearth and al-

So a death in Scotland.

land, with such mortalitie of people, as a greater had not lightlie beene seene nor heard of. The cause of which mortalitie proceeded (as was thought) for that the ground lay vntilled and not occupied, by reason of the continuall warres before passed. [The marchers of England (that were left behind the lords that went into Scotland) were discomfited at Prestes: where Robert Maners was taken, with manie other prisoners, beside a multitude that were slaine, by reason of certeine displeasant words amongest them, which caused that they brake order, diuided themselues, and fought in an inconuenient place.]

Fr. Thin. Scala chron.

The castell of Couper left void.

All the souldiers that kept the castell of Couper, for lacke of vittels left the house void, and comming to the sea side, hired a ship to haue passed into England, but through negligence of the maister mariner, they fell vpon a sand-bed, and so were cast away. About the same time the most part of all the strengths and fortresses in Louthian were kept by Englishmen.

The castell of Louthian in the hands of the Englishmen.

The towne of Edenburgh was stuffed with a great number of souldiers, both Englishmen and Scots. Amongest whome there was a Scot of a right stout stomach named Robert Pendergest; he, for that it was perceiued he loued but little the Englishnation, was euill intreated and vsed amongst them, in so much that on a day, hauing his head broken by the marshall named Thomas Knatoun, he ceassed not to seeke some meane to be reuenged, till he brought his purpose to passe, so that shortlie after he slue the said marshall, and afterward to auoid the danger of death due for that fact, he got away, and came to William Dowglas, whome he persuaded with all diligence to passe vnto Edenburgh, where he might find his enimies at some great aduantage, by reason of the slothfull negligence as then growne amongest them. William Dowglas following this aduertisement, came secretlie on a night vnto the foresaid towne, and slue foure hundred Englishmen snorting in sleepe and dronkennesse, before they were able to make anie resistance.

Not long after, Andrew Murrey the gouernor of Scotland deceassed, to the great damage of the common-wealth, and was buried in Kolmarkie, in the yeare after the birth of our Sauiour 1338.

The death of Andrew Murrey the gouernor. 1338.

It came well to passe for Scotland, that about the same time the king of England entring into wars against France, was constreined to ceasse his pursute of the conquest which he minded to make in Scotland, the which must needs haue come to full effect, if he had followed his former purpose and intent. But to proceed, after the decease of Andrew Murrey the gouernor, Robert Steward toke all the charge on him for the gouernment of the realme, till king Dauid returned home out of France, and began to rule all things himselfe. Tiuidall also was recouered out of the Englishmens hands, with diuers other places, about this time, by the high prowes and manlie valiancie of William Dowglas and other Scotish capteins; and therefore in the reward of the good seruice shewed by the same William in conquest of that countrie, he inioied the same afterward as his rightfull inheritance. [Henrie earle of Lancaster and Derbie, hearing of the valure of these two worthie capteins, William Dowglas, and Alexander Ramseie, earnestlie desired to see them, and to trie their strengths in iusting. Whereupon, there was a day appointed therefore at Berwike by all the said parties, where they met with their complices prouided accordinglie. At what time a certeine Englishman asked Peter Grame, if he would not refuse to iust with him, to whome he answered, that he accepted the chalenge, but willed him first to dine well, because he should that night sup in paradise. Which fell out accordinglie, for in running togither the Englishman was slain.] The king of England moued with high displeasure at these doings, sent a right valiant knight named sir Thomas Berkleie with a great power of men into Scotland. Against whome came William Dowglas, and Robert Steward the gouernor, and gaue him battell at Blackeborne, where the Scots were discomfited and so beaten downe, that few of them escaped, which were not either slaine or taken. Notwithstanding the two capteins saued themselues by flight.

Tiuidall recouered out of the Englishmens hands by William Dowglas.

Fr. Thin. Io. Maior. lib. 5. cap. 5.

Sir Thomas Berkleie.

The battell of Blackeborne.

Not long after, William Dowlas fought with his enimies at the Cragings, where hauing not past fortie men in his companie, he discomfited sir John Strueling, who had with him neere hand fiue hundred Englishmen and Scots, that toke his part in the king of Englands quarell. In the yeare following, the same William Dowglas wan the castell of Hermitage, & slue all them that were found within it. In the yeare next after, he fought fiue times in one day with sir Laurence Abernethie, principall capteine vnder the Baliol, and being put to the worse at foure of those times, at the fift he vanquished his enimies, and toke prisoner their capteine the said sir Laurence, who was sent to the castell of Dunbreton, there to remaine in safe keeping for a time. For these and such worthie enterprises hardlie atchiued, this Will. Dowglas was much commended, and within a few daies after the taking of the said sir Laurence Abernethie, he was sent by the gouernor the said Robert Steward into France, as ambassador to king Dauid, for the dispatch of certeine weightie matters touching the state of the realme.

Sir John Strueling discomfited.

The castell of Hermitage wone.

Sir Laurence Abernethie taken prisoner.

Sir William Dowglas sent into France.

In the meane time, Robert Steward the gouernor raised a mightie armie, and came with the same vnto the towne of Perth, planting a strong siege round about it; for diuiding his host into foure parts, he lodged them with their capteins in foure seuerall places. The first consisting for the most part of westerne Scots, he gouerned himselfe; the second he committed to Patrike Dunbar earle of March; the third to William earle of Rosse, and the fourth, to Maurice of Powbray lord of Clidesdale. These lay thus at siege of this towne for the space of ten weekes. And though sundrie times they gaue alarmes and assaults to it, yet was it so stoutlie defended by Englishmen and other within, that the Scots for a long time lost more than they wan. At length when they were in maner past all hope to get the towne, & readie to haue departed from it, William Dowglas arriued in the Taie, bringing with him out of France in fiue ships, both men of war, and also munition of armour, artillerie, and weapons, which serued the Scotishmen in that season greatlie to purpose.

1339.

The towne of Perth besieged.

There was also in that armie beside other noble men William Keith of Galleston.

William Dowglas returneth out of France.

Amongest other, there were two knights of the familie of Castelgaliard, and two esquiers, Giles de la Vois, and John de Breise; also a noble pirat, named Hugh Handpile, who had the charge ouer the foresaid fiue ships. [While Edward the third was at the siege of Turneie, the earls of March and Southerland made a rode into Scotland, and were discomfited by Thomas Greie the elder, Robert Maners, & John Copeland, with the garrison of Roksborow, then in the hands of the Englih, but after wone by the Scots, on Easter day, at the verie houre of the resurrection; the gouernement whereof seemed to be fatall, because all the capteins of this towne died of euill deaths, amongst whome was Alexander Ramseie the capteine hereof that died with hunger, being put in prison for verie enuie that William Dowglas bare vnto him.] About the same time, one William Bullocke had taken essones

John Fourdon

Fr. Thin. 1340. Scala chron.

the

the castell of Couper to the king of Englands vse, but by persuasion of this William Dowglas, he rendered it vp againe, and departed with bag and baggage. Those Scots that had serued vnder him likewise, were content to forsake the king of Englands wages, and to serue William Dowglas, who led them forthwith to the siege of Perth, the which towne shortlie after his comming was rendered into the gouernors hands, by Thomas Athzed the capteine, in the third moneth after it was first besieged, & in the yeare after our redemption 1341.

The towne of Perth rendered to the gouernor.

1341.

John Fourdon.

Among other exploits attempted at this siege after the comming of the lord William Dowglas, the Frenchman Hugh Handpile, taking vpon him on a day to approch the towne with his ships, and to giue an assault thereto, he lost the chiefest vessell he had, although afterwards when the towne was now rendered, the lord William Dowglas caused the same ship to be to him againe restored, and with great thanks and liberall rewards giuen as well to him as to the other of the Frenchmen, he sent them backe into France, greatlie to their pleasure and contentation; although in their returne, as they passed out of Drumlie Firth, they escaped verie hardlie from the shore. [The winter after the siege of Turneie, king Edward went to Melrosse, but from thence riding through part of the forrest of Etrike, in a tempestuous time, he came backe againe to Melrosse, where Henrie earle of Lancaster iusted with William Dowglasse (by couenant) in the kings sight. King Edward taking a truce, departed from Melrosse, halfe ouercome with melancholie against those that first moued him to this tournie, not succeeding as they hoped and desired that it should haue done.]

Fr. Thin.

In the same yeare (as some do write) or (according vnto other) in the yeare following, there was such a miserable dearth, both through England and Scotland, that the people were driuen to eat the flesh of horsses, dogs, cats, and such like vnused kinds of meats, to sustaine their languishing liues withall, yea, insomuch that (as is said) there was a Scotishman, an vplandish felow named Tristicloke, spared not to steale children, and to kill women, on whose flesh he fed, as if he had beene a woolfe. Perth being once deliuered (as before is said) to the gouernor, he went with his armie to Striueling, and besieging the castell, had it rendered vnto him the eight day after his comming thither, on these conditions, that Thomas Foulkie the capteine, with his wife and children might safelie passe into England, without fraud or guile of anie impeachment [of which castell (as saith Buchanan) Maurice the sonne of Andrew Murrey was made capteine.] Edward Baliol, by such good and prosperous successe, as did thus dailie fall vnto his enimies, to auoid further danger, after oft remouing from place to place, at length he was constreined to flie into England, lest he should haue fallen into his aduersaries hands.

A sore dearth.

Children eaten.

The castell of Striueling rendered.

Alias Rugbie.

Fr. Thin.

Edward Baliol withdraweth into England.

Not long after, the castell of Edenburgh was wonne by policie on this wise. William Dowglas hauing acquaintance with one Walter Towers, [whom Buchanan called William Cur a merchant] caused him to prouide a ship, and to arriue therewith in the Forth, feining as though he were a merchant, and to offer wines to sell vnto the garison that kept Edenburgh castell. This Towers according to instructions thus giuen him, prouided him of all things necessarie for the purpose, & so comming into the Forth with his ship, came on land himselfe, and brought with him into Edenburgh two punchions of wine, which he offered to sell vnto the steward of houshold to the capteine of the castell, who falling at a price with him, appointed that he should bring them earlie in the morning vp to the castell, that they might be receiued in. Towers hiring a cart ouer night, came with the punchions vp to the castell gate, earlie vpon the breake of the day in the nert morning, and hauing the gates opened, entred with his cart, and being come within the gates with it, he plucked forth a wedge or pin deuised of purpose, and immediatlie therewith the cart with the punchions fell downe, so stopping the entrie of the gates, that in no wise they might be shut or closed againe.

The castell of Edenburgh wonne.

Fr. Thin.

A policie.

The Dowglasse hauing in his companie William Bullocke, Walter Fraser, and John Sandlands, right valiant knights, with diuerse other hardie and bold personages, laie in couert not far from the castell, & hauing knowledge giuen him by sound of horne, or otherwise, when to come forth, he hasted therevpon with all diligence vnto the gates, and finding them thus open, first slue the porters, and after into the castell, within a while had dispatched all them within, and so became maisters of that fortres, within the which for capteine they left one William Dowglas, the bastard brother of the other William Dowglas, by whose conduct chiefle, both this enterprise and diuers other were luckilie atchiued. Thus was the realme of Scotland clearelie recouered out of the enimies hands, the Englishmen, and all other that toke part with the Baliol, constreined to auoid out of all the parts and bounds thereof. The castell of Edenburgh was thus recouered by the Scots in the yeare last before remembred, to wit, 1341.

1341. H.B.

The same yeare, or in the next insuing, the second of June, king Dauid with his wife quéene Jane, and sundrie nobles both French and Scotish, came safelie through the seas, and arriued in Innerbernie, from whence with no small triumph they were conueied vnto Perth. About the same time, Alexander Ramsey of Dalehouse, one of the most valiant capteins knowne in those daies, gathering a great power of men, entered into England, and hauing knowledge that the Englishmen were assembled, in purpose to giue him battell, laid an ambush for them, and training them within danger thereof, by such a fierce and new onset as he gaue vpon them, he put them out of order, and chased them most egerlie, killing and slaieng a great number of them at his pleasure. Amongest the prisoners that were taken, the earle of Salisburie (as the Scotish historie saieth) was one, and the capteine of Rokesburgh another.

1342. Io. Ma.

King Dauid returneth into Scotland.

Alexander Ramsey rideth into England.

This Ramsey was so renowmed, that euerie noble man was glad to haue his sonne and kinsman to serue vnder him.

Sir Alexander Ramsey, perceiuing that the most part of the garrison of Rokesburgh were either slaine, or taken in this last conflict, togither with their capteine, came hastilie thither, and giuing a right fierce assault thereto, by fine force toke it. Wherefore king Dauid in recompense of his valiancie thus declared in his seruice, gaue vnto him the keeping of this castell, togither with the shirifwike of Tiuidale. Whereat William Dowglasse toke such displeasure, that seeking to be reuenged, he found meanes to apprehend this Alexander Ramsey within the church of Hawike, and put him in prison within the castell of Hermitage, where he remained in great miserie and lacke of food till he died. [About which time by the said kind of death (as saith Buchanan) was William Bullocke slaine, by Dauid Berkelie. The death of which two did draw Scotland into manie factions, and filled it with seditions.]

The castell of Rokesburgh wonne by Alexander Ramsey.

Alexander Ramsey taken by William Dowglas, & imprisoned.

Fr. Thin.

King Dauid was sore moued herewith, purposing to see such punishment done vpon William Dowglasse for that rebellious attempt, as might serue for an example to all other how they went about anie the like offense. Neuertheless, the Dowglasse kept him out of the way amongst the mountains

teins and other desert places, till finallie Robert Steward and other nobles purchased his pardon, so that at length he came into fauor againe, and had all his lands and liuings restored vnto him, as well in Tiuidale as elsewhere.

The earle of Salisburie exchanged for the earle of Murrey.

Some after the earle of Salisburie was taken by sir Alexander Ramsey (as is said) he was exchanged for the earle of Murrey, that had beene holden manie yéeres before as prisoner in England. But it should appeare by other writers, that the earle of Salisburie was not taken at that time in the borders of Scotland (as before is supposed) but in the borders of France, where he was in the wars which king Edward the same time made against the Frenchmen, & now was exchanged for the earle of Murrey. But howsoeuer it was, king Dauid after the realme of Scotland was once brought into a quiet estate from the former trouble of war, he called a parlement at the towne of Perth, where he rewarded verie liberallie all such as had either done any notable seruice themselues, or had lost any of their friends or parents in defense & recouerie of the realme out of his aduersaries hands. Among other, Hugh Boece had in recompense of his fathers slaughter at Duplin, the inheritor & ladie of the baronie of Balwid giuen him in mariage; which baronie is yet possessed by the heires of the said Hugh.

Froisard.

1342.

A parlement at Perth.

The bounteous liberalitie of K. Dauid.

This Hugh was grandfather to Hector Boetius.

Shortlie after vpon the breaking vp of this parlement, king Dauid raised a mightie armie, and entered with the same into Northumberland; but committing the whole charge to John Randolph erle of Murrey as lieutenant generall, he wold not that anie of his owne banners should be spred and borne in all that voiage [although himselfe were there in person, seruing secretlie, and would not be knowne in this iournie.] The most part of all Northumberland was burnt and spoiled, for they remained there a moneth before they returned, conueieng awaie with them great riches, which they got abroad in all places where they came. Shortlie after, he came with a new armie into England, causing his owne standard to be caried afore him at that time, as he that toke vpon him the whole gouernance of that enterprise himselfe. The Englishmen withdrawing all their goods into strengths, minded not to giue the Scots any set batell, but to take them euer at some aduantage, if they straied abroad any where vnwarilie to fetch in booties. Neither were they altogither disappointed of their hoped prey, for 5 Scotish knights, whose names were Steward, Eglinton, Craggie, Boid, and Fullarton, pursuing their enimies on a time ouer fiercelie, were taken prisoners, and after redeemed for great summes of monie. At length, king Dauid perceiuing that he wasted but time, returned into Scotland. But not long after he went againe into England, in which iournie his people were so beaten with vehement stormes of raine and haile, that they had much adoo to saue themselues from perishing through the vnmeasurable force of that so rigorous weather.

Fr. Thin.

Fiue Scotish knights taken prisoners.

King Dauid the third time inuadeth England.

Foule weather.

On the other side, the Englishmen that were gathered to resist against him, were in semblable maner neere hand destroied with the like rage of tempest. Herevpon king Dauid, to the end that his enterprise should not seeme altogither to want effect, ouerthrew sundrie strong houses on the English borders, and so returned home without other damage either done or receiued. About the same time did Edward king of England besiege the towne of Calis. The French king therfore deuising all waies possible whereby to saue that towne, and to cause his aduersarie to raise his siege, sent ambassadors into Scotland, to require king Dauid, that with an armie he would enter into England, and do what damage he might vnto the Englishmen, to trie if by that meanes king Edward could be constreined to leaue his siege, and to returne home for defense of his owne countrie and subiects. In the meane time also (as I find in the Scotish chronicles) king Edward addressed his orators into Scotland, offering vnto king Dauid, vpon condition that peace might be had, to deliuer into his hands not onelie the towne of Berwike, but also Edward Baliol his old aduersarie, for whose cause the warre had so long continued betwixt them.

Calis besieged.

Ambassadors frō ỳ French king into Scotland.

These offers being propouned in councell, though some of the wiser sort gaue aduise that in no condition they ought to be refused; yet the king himselfe (for loue that he had to the French king with whome he had beene brought vp) and other of the nobles hauing yong heads, vpon desire to be reuenged of the Englishmen by practise of warres (wherevnto they were inclined) wold néeds condescend to the French kings chargeable requeſt, & refuse the king of Englands beneficiall offers. Whereupon an armie was leuied, and solemne proclamation made, that all such as were able and fit to beare armour, should meet the king at a certeine day and place, which was to them in the same proclamation assigned. The earle of Rosse therefore came with his people vnto Perth, and there made his musters before the king: but in the night following he slue the lord of the Iles, with seuen of his kinsmen as they were in their beds, and therevpon fled, and got him with all speed againe into Rosse [whereby the armie was greatlie diminished, when the friends of both parts fearing ciuill warres amongst the families departed home.]

Ambassadors from the king of England into Scotland.

The king of Englands offers.

The Scots readie to helpe the French, hinder their neighbors the English.

In armie raised to inuade England.

The lord of the Iles slaine by the earle of Rosse.

Fr. Thin.

King Dauid, though he was sore displeased herewith, and desired most earnestlie to haue punished that heinous act; yet bicause he would not hinder his iournie, he let passe the punishment therof, till more conuenient opportunitie might serue thereto. [Notwithstanding that William Dowglasse of Liddesdale did earnestlie persuade him, at that time to leaue the iournie, and first to punish these turmoils at home, whereby all things might be quieted in his absence.] At his comming to the borders, and before he entered into England, he made manie knights, to stirre them the rather to do valiantlie; but first he created William Dowglasse an earle, which William was sonne to Archembald Dowglasse, slaine before at Halidon hill. There was vndoubtedlie a mightie power of the Scots assembled at that present; insomuch as there was of earles, lords, knights, and gentlemen, to the number of two thousand men of armes; and of such armed men as they called hoblers, set forth by the burrowes and good townes twentie thousand; beside the archers and other footmen; so that they were at the least fortie thousand men in all, or (as some writers affirme) three score thousand.

Fr. Thin.

William Dowglasse created earle of Dowglasse.

Ri. Southwel. Two thousand men of armes, 20000 hoblers.

King Dauid with that his puissant armie, the first of October entered Northumberland, and coming to a fortresse not farre off from the borders called Lidell, they laie round about that place for the space of three daies, without giuing thereto anie assault: but the fourth day they assailed it right fiercelie, and in the end entered by fine force, sleaing the more part of all those which they found within the house. The capteine sir Walter Selbie was taken aliue, but immediatlie by king Dauid his commandement, had his head striken off, and was not permitted to haue so much time as to make his confession, which he instantlie desired to haue done, but it would not be granted. From thence the armie remoued, and went vnto the abbie of Lauercost, which they spoiled; and that done they departed, and passing by Naward castell, and the towne of Redpeth, kept on

King Dauid inuadeth England.

The fort of Lidell.

Sir Walter Selbie beheaded by the Scots.

Lauercost.

on till they came vnto the priorie of Yerham, which they ſacked; but the towne was ſaued from fire by commandement of king Dauid, who in this iournie appointed to preſerue foure townes onelie from burning; to wit, Yerham aforeſaid, Corbridge, Darington, and Durham, to the end he might in them lay vp ſuch ſtore of vittels, as he ſhould prouide abroad in the countrie, wherewith to ſuſteine his armie during the time of his abiding in thoſe parties.

King Dauid lodged in the manor of Beaurepaire.

From Yerham, where he laie three daies, he marched to Ebcheſter, waſting and ſpoiling the countrie on each hand, and after turned towards the wood of Beaurepaire; and comming thither, lodged himſelfe in the manour, and ſet his people abroad into the countrie to fetch in booties, & to burne vp the townes and houſes in all places where they came. The ſpoile, waſte, deſtruction, and ſlaughter which the Scots practiſed with fire and ſword, was wonderfull to heare, and incredible almoſt to be told, they ſpared neither yong nor old, church nor chappell: religious houſes as well as other were conſumed to aſhes.

The abbeie of Durham ſpoiled.

The abbeie of Durham, and all places thereabout (as the Scotiſh writers affirme) were ſpoiled and miſerablie ſacked, although it was ſaid king Dauid was admoniſhed in a dreame, that he ſhould in anie wiſe abſteine from violating the goods and lands perteining to ſaint Cuthbert.

The earle of Northumberland lieutenant of the North.

The earle of Northumberland lieutenant of the North vnder king Edward, to reſiſt theſe iniuries, raiſed a great power of men, and ioining the ſame with ſuch bands of old ſouldiers as king Edward had latelie ſent ouer out of France for that purpoſe, firſt diſpatched an herald at armes vnto king Dauid, requiring him to ſtaie from further inuading the countrie, and to returne into Scotland, till ſome reaſonable order for a finall peace might be agreed vpon betwixt him and the king his maiſter: otherwiſe he ſhould be ſure to haue battell to the vtterance within three daies after. King Dauid contemning this meſſage, required his folks to make them readie to receiue their enimies if they came to aſſaile them, and on the nert morrow, he diuided his armie into three battels. In the firſt was Robert Steward prince of Scotland, and Patrike Dunbar earle of March: in the ſecond were apointed John earle of Murrey, and William earle of Dowglaſſe: in the third was the king himſelfe, with all the reſidue of the nobles. [Contrarie to the which Buchanan placeth Dowglaſſe in the firſt, the king in the middle, and Steward in the third.]

An herald.

The appointing of the Scotiſh battels.

Fr. Thin.

In the morning earlie before the battell, the earle of Dowglaſſe departed from the armie to deſcrie the Engliſh hoſt, and to vnderſtand their force and order (if it were poſſible:) but entring ſomwhat vnwarilie within danger of his enimies, he was chaſed, and that to ſuch diſaduantage, that he loſt fiftie, or rather fiue hundred (as ſome bookes haue) of yong gentlemen, and ſuch other light horſſemen as he tooke forth with him, eſcaping verie narrowlie himſelfe alſo from being taken at the chaſe. In the meane ſeaſon, the Engliſh hoſt diuided likewiſe into three battels, approched forward, and came within ſight of the Scotiſh armie. Whereupon Dauid Graham with a wing of fiue hundred horſſemen, well apointed gaue a full charge on the ſkirts of the Engliſh archers, thinking to haue diſtreſſed them: but he was ſo charpelie receiued and beaten with arrowes, that loſing a great number of his men, he was conſtreined to flee backe to the maine battell, and that not without great danger of being taken in his flight by ſuch as followed him.

The earle of Dowglas chaſed.

Dauid Graham driuen backe.

Theſe two diſcomfitures notwithſtanding, the Scots ruſhed fiercelie vpon their enimies, & fought with great manhood a long ſeaſon; but in the end, Robert Steward, and the earle of March, perceiuing their people partlie to ſhrinke backe, cauſed the retreat to be ſounded, in hope to ſaue their men by withdrawing into ſome ſafer place: but this flieng backe of the earle of March and Robert Steward, brought the diſcomfiture vpon all the reſidue of the Scots. For that battell of Engliſhmen that was firſt matched with them, came now with ſuch violence vpon the maine battell where king Dauid fought, that within a ſhort while after, the ſame was vtterlie diſcomfited and put to flight. In this buſineſſe king Dauid himſelfe did in euerie point plaie the part of a moſt valiant chieftaine, incouraging his people as well with words as notable examples to do their indeuours. Neither would he flie after hee ſaw himſelfe deſtitute of all conuenient aid, but ſtill continued in earneſt fight, deſiring nothing ſo much (as ſhould appeare) as death, for that he thought nothing more diſpleaſant than life, after the ſlaughter of ſo manie of his nobles and liege people.

The cauſe of the ouerthrow

The Scots diſcomfited.

King Dauid his valiancie.

At length hauing his weapons ſtriken out of his hands, one John Copland came vnto him, and willed him to yeeld; but he with one of his fiſts gaue this Copland ſuch a blow on the mouth, that by force of the gantlet he ſtrake out two of his teeth before he did yeeld vnto him. Which Copland is miſnamed by Iohn Maior, and not onelie called Couptaunt, but alſo reported by him to be a Gaſcoigne, whereas it is euident by our hiſtories, that he was named Copland, and a meere Engliſhman. But to our purpoſe. The Scots that fought in the rereward had no better ſucceſſe than the other: for that battell was alſo broken & put to flight, with great ſlaughter as well of the nobles, as other commons, beſides thoſe that were taken. There were ſlaine in this dolorous conflict, the earle of Murrey, the earle of Stratherne, the conſtable, the marſhall, the chamberleine and chancellor of Scotland, with a great number of other nobles and commons [with Maurice Murriſe.] There were taken with the king fiue earles, that is to ſay, Dowglaſſe, Fife, Sutherland, Wigtoun, and Menteith [the earle of March & the Seneſcall fled, but after the earle of Mench being taken, was with the earle of Menteith (as ſaith Scala chron.) drawne and hanged at London.] And beſides other great riches loſt in this field, the holie croſſe (as they call it) of holie rood houſe, was found vpon king Dauid, who bare it about him, in truſt that by vertue thereof he ſhould be inuincible: but he was ſpoiled both of that and all other his iewels which were found vpon him at the ſame time. This battell was ſtriken neere vnto Durham, the 17 day of October, in the yeere 1346. What countries and places the Engliſhmen got after this victorie, ye may read in the Engliſh hiſtorie.

King Dauid taken by John Copland.

1346.

Scala. chron.

Nobles ſlaine in this battell.

Fr. Thin.

Priſoners taken.

Fr. Thin.

In the yeere following, the Baliol, with the earle of Northumberland made a road into Louthian, and Cliddeſdale, bringing a great bootie of goods and cattell out of thoſe countries into Galloway, in which countrie the Baliol abode a long time after. At length, the Scots recouering themſelues with much paine, after the ſlaughter of ſo manie of their nobles and commons, beſide the diſcomfort for the taking of their king, choſe and apointed Robert Steward as gouernour to haue the rule of the realme. About the ſame time, William Dowglaſſe the ſonne of Archembald Dowglaſſe, that was brother vnto good ſir James Dowglaſſe, who (as before is ſaid) was ſlaine in Spaine, returned forth of France, and by ſupport of his friends chaſed the Engliſhmen out of Dowglaſdale, Tiuidale, Twidale, Etrike foreſt, & Twedale. John Copland capteine of Rokeſburgh, to reſiſt ſuch enterpriſes, gathered a number of men,

The Baliol ſoiorneth in Galloway.

Robert Steward gouernour of Scotland.

Countries recouered out of the Engliſhmens hands.

and came forth against his enimies, but receiuing the ouerthrow, he was chased into Rokesburgh againe, with losse of diuerse of his men.

John Copland chased.

1349.

In the yéere next following, which was from the incarnation 1349, there came such a pestilence thorough all parts of Scotland, so vehement and contagious, that it slue néere hand the third part of all the people. This was the second time that the pestilence was knowne or heard of to haue come in Scotland.

The second pestilence that was heard of in Scotland.

The same yéere, or (as other bookes haue) the yéere next insuing, one John saint Michell slue sir Dauid Berklie knight at Aberden, in the night season, by procurement of sir William Dowglasse of Liddesdale, as then prisoner in England with the earle of Dowglasse, both of them being taken at Durham field. The occasion was, for that this sir Dauid Berklie had aforetime slaine one John Dowglasse, brother to the said sir William, and father to sir James Dowglasse of Dalkéeth.

Sir Dauid Berklie slaine

1353. I. Ma.

In the yéere following, was the same sir William Dowglasse, being latelie before ransomed out of England, slaine, as he was hunting in Strike forest, by his cosine and godsonne William earle of Dowglasse, in reuenge of the slaughter of Alexander Ramsey, and other old grudges. Thus was the house of the Dowglasses diuided amongest themselues, pursuing ech other manie yéeres togither with great vnkindnesse, vnnaturall enimitie and slaughter.

Sir William Dowglasse slaine.

1354.

1355.

In the yéere next following, which was 1355, shortlie after Easter, there arriued in Scotland a noble knight named sir Eugenie de Garenteris, with a companie of Frenchmen, though few in number, yet valiant and verie skilfull warriors, which were sent thither by John king of France, that succéeded his father king Philip of Valois, latelie before deceassed, and deliuered vnto the gouernor and other nobles of the realme of Scotland, fortie thousand crownes of the sunne, to be imploied about the leuieng of an armie against the Englishmen, that they might be constreined the sooner to withdraw their powers out of France.

Sir Eugenie de Garenteris a Frenchman, arriued in Scotland.

Fortie thousand crownes.

This monie was receiued, though a small part thereof came to the hands of the souldiers or men of warre of Scotland, for the lords and nobles kept it safe inough to their owne vse. Yet neuertheless, the earle of March, and William Dowglasse, gather their people, and passe forth with the same to the borders, and entering into England, appoint William Ramsey of the Dalehouse, to ride before with a number of light horssemen, to the end, that if the Englishmen did assemble and come forth too strong against him, he might retire backe to the maine battell, where they lay in couert, at a place called Nisbet more. This Ramsey doing as he was commanded, made a great forraie thorough the countrie, and hauing got togither a great bootie of cattell, withdrew with the same homewards: but being sharplie pursued by the Englishmen, in hope to recouer their goods, he fled amaine, and they following egerlie in the chase, were vpon the Scotish armie before they were aware. The Scotishmen, and those few Frenchmen that were there, set vpon the Englishmen fiercelie, and finallie put them to flight, though not without some slaughter on their part: for there were slaine of Scots sir John Holieburton, and sir James Turnebull knights. These were taken prisoners of Englishmen, sir Thomas Greie, and his sonne, with John Darcas, and manie other Englishmen.

The earle of March and William Dowglasse enter in to England with an army.

William Ramsey of the Dale house.

The Englishmen intrapped.

Put to flight.

Prisoners taken.

Fr. Thin. Scala chron.

1355.

✻ The taking of which Greie is reported by others to haue béene after this manner. The lords Persie and Neuill, gardians of the English marches, tooke truce with the lord William Dowglasse, at the time that he conquered the lands which the Englishmen had woone of the Scots. But Patrike earle of March (being in confederacie with Garanteris) would not by anie persuasion consent to that leage: wherevpon (with a number of others) he made a road to the castle of Norham, ambushing themselues vpon the Scotish side of the riuer of Twéed, sending ouer a banneret with his ensigne, and 400 men to forage & spoile the countrie, who gathering the preies, draue them in despite alongst the castle: wherevpon Thomas Greie, capteine of Norham (sonne to Thomas Greie, that had béene three times by the Scots besieged in the said castle of Norham, in the reigne of king Edward the second) séeing the commons of England thus robbed (and déeming it his part to defend his countrie, friends, and their substance) issued forth of Norham with few men more than fiftie of the garrison of the castle, and a few of the common people vnexpert in matters of war; who (not knowing of the secret ambush of the band which Patrike had laied in wait behind Twéed) issued forth to follow and recouer the preie: but being so farre gone in chase of the enimie, as that he could not returne in safetie (because he was beset before and behind with the 400 on the one side, & the ambush laied by Twéed on the other side) the said Greie and his compane (finding none other remedie but to hazard the succesle) forsoke their horsles, and on fot (standing to the extremitie) with a wonderfull courage set vpon the Scots, whereof more were killed than of the English, but the Scots comming so sore on the English (not able to resist) they began to flie, at what time Thomas Greie (as before is declared) was taken prisoner.)

The earle of March, and Dowglasse, after the obteining of this victorie, came sudenlie in the night season vnto the towne of Berwike, and raising vp ladders to the wals, wan the towne, but not without losse of diuerse Scotish gentlemen, as Thomas Haus, Andrew Scot of Balwerie, John Gordon, William Sinclare, Thomas Preston, and Alexander Nowbrate knights. Of English were slaine Alexander Ogill capteine of the towne, Thomas Persie brother to the earle of Northumberland, and Edward Greie, with others. Eugenie de Garenteris with his Frenchmen did verie valiantlie beare himselfe in this enterprise, whome Robert Steward the gouernour rewarding with great gifts, sent backe into France, commending him by letters vnto the French king, as he that had done his dutie in euerie behalfe verie thoroughlie. The castle of Berwike, notwithstanding that the towne was thus woone, held forth the Scots and Frenchmen, by reason whereof when an armie of Englishmen came to the succours thereof, they raced the wals, and burnt the houses of the towne, and so departed.

Berwike woone.

Berwike wals raced.

Fr. Thin. Scala chron.

✻ The tidings wherof were brought to king Edward at the verie instant of his landing from Calis into England, for which cause he taried at his parlement appointed at London but three daies, and with all speed came to Berwike, where he entered the castle; wherat the burgesses amazed, treated with him, and thervpon the towne of Berwike was redelliuered (against the minds of the Scots) to king Edward.) K. Edward himselfe being come to the rescue and recouerie of Berwike, and hauing receiued the towne, and finding it so defaced, tooke order for the reparing thereof againe, went to Roxburgh, and there receiued of the Balioll a full resignation of all his pretended right to the crowne of Scotland. [For there the 26 of Januarie, the said Balioll hauing resigned (as before) all his title to king Edward, alledged these causes: first, in consideration that the Scots were full of rebellion; also, because he had no heire, nor anie verie néere of his linage: and for that he

Berwike is repared againe by king Edward.

The Balioll resigneth his right.

Fr. Thin. Scala chron.

Leſleus epiſc. p. Roſſe. lib. p. 257.

he was of K. Edwards blod of England, he knew not where to beſtow it better than vpon him. This Baliol is by no author (as Leſleus ſaith) placed in the catalog of the kings, as well for that he bound himſelfe (by homage) to the gouernement of England with an oth, againſt the gouernement & maieſtie of Scotland: as for that being a tyrant, & by force inuading the crowne, he continued not long in the ſame. In truth, I ſuppoſe he held it not verie long, and that in continuall warre. But yet for that which I can ſee, he was crowned king at Scone, 1332, as Leſleus himſelfe, Buchanan, and all other authors do agrée. Beſide, he gouerned by him & his agents vntill the yéere of 1342, at what time he yéelded his crowne to king Edward of England; which was the full part of ten yeares, after which againe he recouered a good part of Endgland. Wherefore it ſéemeth ſtrange to me, that Roſſe will not allow him a place in the catalog of kings, ſince Buchan. maketh him the nintie fourth king, and ſo placeth him vnder that title, and maketh Dauid Bruſe (who was crowned before Baliol, and gouerned after Baliols departing Scotland) the 98 king, naming alſo Robert (who ſucceéded after Bruſe) the hundred king in order of gouernement; in ſuch ſort, that both theſe writing at one time (but with diuers affections) cannot agrée on the number of their kings: one receiuing, & the other reiecting him to be placed in the catalog of their kings.] After this, king Edward paſſing forth to Hadington, ſpoiled and waſted the countrie by the way on each hand as he marched forward; and for diſpleaſure that his nauie on the ſea (after the ſouldiers and mariners had béene on land, and burned the church of our ladie in thoſe parts called Whitekirke) had with force of a rigorous tempeſt béene ſore ſhaken, and manie of the ſhips loſt and drowned togither with men and all, he fell into ſuch a rage, that he cauſed all the buildings in thoſe parts to be burnt and ſpoiled, as well abbeis as all other churches and religious houſes, as though he minded (ſay the Scotiſh writers) to make warre both againſt God and all his ſaints. Theſe things chanced in the yeare 1355, after our common account, about the feaſt of the Purification of our ladie, & by reaſon the Engliſhmen did ſo much hurt at that time in thoſe parts by fire, they called it euer after; The burnt Candlemas.

Whitekirke burnt.

1355.

The burnt Candlemas.

Shortlie after that king Edward was returned into England, William Dowglas of Niddeſdale recouered out of the Engliſhmens poſſeſſion the lands of Galloway, & the lands of Dritſdale were in like maner recouered by one Kirpatrike. In the ſame yéere on the 20 day of October, was the battell of Poitiers fought, where Edward prince of Wales, otherwiſe named the Blacke prince, ouerthrew the armie of France, and tooke king John priſoner, with his yongeſt ſonne Philip, and a great number of other of the French nobilitie beſides. There was at this battell with king John, the earle William Dowglas, & to the number of thrée thouſand Scots, hauing diuers knights and gentlemen to their capteins, of whome there died in the ſame battell Andrew Steward, Robert Gordon, Andrew Holiburton, and Andrew Haus, knights. The earle of Dowglas eſcaped with life and vntaken, but Archembald Dowglas, ſon to ſir James Dowglas ſlaine in Spaine, was taken priſoner; albeit his taker ſuffered him to depart for a ſmall ranſome, by reaſon that William Ramſey of Colluthis, who was alſo taken with him, made ſemblance as though the ſame Archembald Dowglas had béen ſome poore ſlaue, cauſing him to pull off his boots, and to do other ſuch drudging ſeruice, as fell not for the eſtate of a man of any eſtimation or honeſtie, to the end it ſhould not be knowne that he was.

Galloway recouered.

The battell of Poitiers.

The French king John taken priſoner.

Archembald Dowglaſſe taken priſoner

A ſubtill politie.

Thus the king of England at one time hauing two kings vnder his captiuitie, ſat crowned betwixt them at meate in the feaſt of Chriſtmaſſe, making (as the vſe is) amongſt the Engliſhmen in that ſeaſon) a great banket. And this he did (as is reported) to the intent that the maner thereof might be bruted abroad to his high praiſe & glorious fame. King Dauid within certeine yeares after was conueied by the earle of Northampton vnto Berwike, where the moſt part of all the nobles of Scotland aſſembled togither to conſult with him touching ſome agrément to be had for his ranſome: but becauſe they could grow to no certeine point therein, he was brought backe againe to London, and there remained in priſon as before. In the meane time, Roger Kirkpatrike ſlaine by James Lindſeie, in a caſtell where the ſaid James dwelled, and receiued the ſaid Roger as his gheſt. This Lindſeie fled vpon the fact committed; but yet being apprehended and brought to the gouernor Robert Steward, he ſuffered death for that offenſe.

Two kings priſoners in England at one time.

Roger Kirkpatrike ſlaine.

Shortlie after, that is to wit at Michaelmaſſe next inſuing, after king Dauid had béene at Berwike, there was an agrément made for his ranſome, whereupon being deliuered, he returned into Scotland, in the eleuenth yeare after his taking at Durham field. It was agréed that there ſhould be paied for his ranſome one hundred thouſand marks ſterling, at ſundrie daies of paiment, as was accorded betwixt them. * After he had béene 11 yeares in England, in which place alſo Froiſſard ſetteth downe that he paied but 50000 marks Engliſh. And Scala Chron. ſaith, that at the feaſt of S. Michaell, Dauid king of Scots was deliuered for 100000 marks of ſiuer: for which, his hoſtages came to Berwike, being the countie of Southerland, and his ſonne that was borne of the ſiſter of king Dauid; Thomas Seneſcall that was named in Scotland earle of Angus; Thomas Demurrike baron of Bothuill, and other twentie ſons of noble men in Scotland.]

King Dauid is deliuered.

1357.

Fr. Thin. Scala chron.

Truce alſo was taken for the ſpace of fourtéene yeares betwixt both realmes, and diuers nobles of Scotland were appointed to lie as hoſtages in England, till the monie were paied, as is before mentioned [of which pledges (as ſaith Leſleus) moſt died in England, by means whereof, the king was deliuered of a great part of his ranſome.] K. Dauid was alſo bound by couenant of agréement to race certeine caſtels within Scotland, which ſéemed moſt noiſome to the Engliſh borders: which couenant he performed. For vpon his returne into Scotland, he caſt downe the caſtels of Dalſwinton, Dunfreis, Portowne, and Duriſdere. He alſo called a parlement, wherein he enacted ſundrie things for the puniſhment of them that fled from him at Durham field: and firſt for that his coſine Robert Steward was one of them, being through means thereof a great cauſe of the ouerthrow, he procured that the act (by which the crowne was appointed for want of iſſue of his bodie lawfullie begotten, to deſcend vnto the ſaid Robert Steward) was vtterlie reuoked and diſanulled, and John Southerland the ſonne of Jane his yongeſt ſiſter, appointed heire aparant in place of the ſaid Robert. And all the lords of Scotland were ſworne to obſerue and kéepe this ordinance.

Truce for 14 yéres.

Fr. Thin.

Caſtels raced.

A parlement.

Robert Steward diſherited of the crowne.

John Southerland made heire apparant.

The earle of Southerland, father to the ſaid John, in hope that his ſonne ſhould inioy the crowne, gaue away the moſt part of his lands, diuiding the ſame amongſt his friends, as to the Haies, the Sinclares, the Ogilbies, and Gordons: but he was neuertheleſſe deceiued of his hope. For ſhortlie after his ſon being one of them that was giuen in pledge to remaine in England, till the monie for the kings ranſome

The death of John Southerland.

some was paid, died there of the pestilence, in such sort as the most part of the other pledges likewise did. And shortlie after his decease, Robert Steward was reconciled to the kings fauor, and ordeined heire apparant to the crowne in semblable maner as he was before. The cleargie of Scotland condescended to giue the tenth pennie of all their fruits & reuennes towards the paiment of the kings ransome [which the pope caused the clergie to giue.]

Robert Steward againe ordeined heire apparant.

The contribution of the cleargie.

1363.

Not long after, king Dauid called an other councell, wherein (according to his promise made to the king of England before his deliuerance) he mooued the lords and barons of Scotland in a matter whereof he wished not to haue of them anie towardlie answer, and that was this: Whether they could be contented, that after his decease, the crowne of Scotland should be transferred vnto the king of Englands sonne, and to his lawfull heires: [Which thing Iohn Maior assigneth to the yeare 1363, who also saith, that it was this parlement (as he hath red) and done by the persuasion of Jane the queene, forgetting that he said before, that she died in the yeare 1357.]

Fr.Thin. Buchanan.

A demand proponed to the lords of Scotland.

Fr.Thin.

1357.

The lords hearing what was proponed vnto them, answered without anie long studie, that so long as anie of them were able to beare armour or weapon, they would neuer consent thereto. King Dauid right ioifull to heare them at this point, thought himselfe discharged, for that he was not bound to labor further in this sute, because his promise made to the king of England touching this point, onelie was, that if the Scotish lords would agree, then he should intaile the crowne to his sonne. In the yeare next following, which was from the incarnation 1357, queene Jane the wife of K. Dauid went into England to see hir brother king Edward, & died there before she returned (leauing no issue behind hir) [at Hertford in the yeare of our redemption (as saith Io. Maior) 1362, and was buried (as saith Sca. chro.) in the greie friers in London beside hir mother. This woman doth the said Maior commend for a most rare person, in that she neuer forsoke hir husband in his banishment into Fraunce, & in the time of his imprisonment in England; for which cause she deserueth as great praise as Penelope, although in hir life she inioyed small worldlie pleasure, hauing had hir bodie dedicated to the mariage bed. For

Their answer.

1357

Quéene Janes death. Fr.Thin.

Iohn Maior li. 5. cap. 22.

Ouid.

Si nihil infausti durus tulisset Vlysses,
Penelope felix, sed sine laude foret.

According to which, it might haue beene said of this woman, that she might haue beene counted happie, if hir husband had neuer beene oppressed with these manie disgraces of fortune; but then she should neuer haue beene extolled with that commendation, which now to the worlds end she hath amongest the wisest.]

K. Dauid, after hir decease, maried a yong ladie gentlewoman named Margaret Logie, daughter to sir Iohn Logie knight, but within three moneths after he repented him, for that he had matched himselfe with one of so meane parentage, to the disparagement of his blood. Herevpon he banished both hir, and all other that had counselled him to marie hir, confining them for euer out of all the parts of his dominions. She hir selfe went vnto Auignon, where as then the pope with all his consistorie remained, and entering hir plaint there in the court, followed the same with such diligence, that in the end sentence was giuen on hir side (that is to say) that king Dauid should receiue hir againe into his companie, and to accept and vse hir as his iust and lawfull wife. Thus should the realme of Scotland haue run in trouble and danger of interdiction, had she not departed out of this life by the way in returning homewards.

King Dauid marieth Margaret Logie.

He repenteth his mariage.

He banisheth hir.

She complaineth to the pope.

Sentence giuen on hir part.

She departeth this world.

✻ Charles the first surnamed the wise, being king of France (supported by the aids of Scots) prepared an expedition into the holie land, in which iornie, when a greeuous contention fell among the French and English, the last were ouercome by the first through the singular manhod of the Scots. Which benefit Charles not forgetting, erected an order of an hundred archers to be about his person, and by office to keepe watch and ward for him (in the night) within his court gates: which (vpon this originall) is obserued with great solemnitie, euen in this our age.] K. Dauid in the meane time repared sundrie places and strengths of his realme, & built a tower in Edenburgh castell, bearing the name after him euen vnto this day, called Dauids tower. ✻ About this time (or rather more trulie as others haue before this written in the yeare of Christ 1356; or shortlie after the deliuerie of Dauid Bruse from captiuitie as the third sort do say) William Dowglasse being about to go on pilgrimage beyond the seas (at such time as king John was preparing his host against the Blacke prince) went with K. John vnto the foresaid battell, being honored by his hands with the title of knighthod: but after, hauing manie of his men slaine, and being inforced to forsake the field, he returned home into Scotland. William Dowglasse shortlie after, vpon the deliuerie of Dauid Bruse from the captiuitie of England, was created earle of Dowglasse. Much about which or at the selfe same time, the said king of Scots aduanced William Ramseie to the earldome of Fife, by the means of the wife of the said Ramseie, whom the king intirelie loued (as the report went.) The right of which countie king Dauid affirmed to be iustlie in him (so that he might liberallie giue it) as truelie vested in his possession by the forfeiture which Duncan sometime countie of Fife had done in K. Robert Bruses daies; in murthering of an esquier called Michaell Beton, whome he miserablie slue in a riuer for extreame displeasure. Wherefore this William Ramseie surmized that Duncan (to obteine pardon for his offense) did by indenture make Robert Bruse K. of Scots his heire in reuersion, if he died without issue male. Yet had this Duncan a daughter (by his wife the countesse of Glocester, and daughter to the king of England) which was enterteined in England, and should haue beene sold to Robert the seneschall of Scotland. But she (rather respecting the satisfieng of hir loue, than the honor of hir estate, rather chosing to be a kings wife, than an earles ladie) toke to husband one William Felton, a knight in Northumberland, which (at the said time when William Ramseie was made earle of Fife) challenged that earldome in the right of his wife, daughter and heire to the said Duncan earle of Fife. But for anie thing that I can yet see, the said Ramseie went away with the honor thereof.] After this appeasing of certeine rebels that sought to trouble the quiet state of the realme, he purposed to haue gone to Jerusalem: but hauing prouided all things necessarie for such a iournie, he fell sicke of a burning feauer, and died within the castell of Edenburgh in the thirtie ninth yeare of his reigne, and fortie seuenth of his age, which was from the incarnation 1370, his bodie lieth in Holie rod house, where it was buried in the yeare aforesaid.

Fr.Thin. Lesleus lib. 7. pag. 256.

Dauids tower built. Fr.Thin.

Scala chron. Of this man Dowglasse and his deeds in France, the English chronicles do also report.

William Dowglasse made earle.

Scala chron. William Ramseie made earle of Fife.

The death of king Dauid.

1370

✻ During the time that this Dauid Bruse was prisoner in England, he did so earnestlie set his louing affection vpon Katharine Mortimer, a damsell of London (by reason of familiar acquaintance with hir) that he could not forbeare hir companie, but (as it seemeth) brought hir also into Scotland with him; whereat the lords disdeining, and highlie offended with the king therefore, procured one Richard de Hull,

Fr.Thin. Scala chron.

Hull, a vallet of Scotland (in feining ſome matter vnto hir from the king, as being ſent in meſſage by him) to find meanes to rid hir out of life, which he did ſo couertlie, and handeled the matter ſo cunninglie, that he ſuddenlie murthered hir riding from Melros to Seltræ. Wherevpon, the king conceiuing great dolor (not daring to ſæke reuenge thereof, for doubt of the nobilitie) cauſed hir to be honorablie buried at Newbotle, not ceaſſing (as farre as in him lay) after hir death, to manifeſt the ſingular loue he bare vnto hir in hir life.)

Strange wonders.

Sundrie maruellous things were ſæne in the daies of this king Dauid, within the bounds of Albion. In the 16 yære of his reigne, crowes, rauens, and pies, in the winter ſeaſon brought forth their brood, and ceaſſed in the ſummer and ſpringtime, contrarie to their kind. All the yewes in the countrie the ſame yære were barren, and brought no lambes. There was ſuch plentie of mice and rats both in houſes, and abroad in the fields, that they might not be deſtroied. In the 27 yære of his reigne, the riuers and other waters roſe on ſuch heigth through abundance of raine that fell in the latter end of harueſt, that breaking forth of their common chanels, with their violent ſtreame manie houſes & townes were borne downe and deſtroied. About this time liued diuerſe clerks, in that age counted notable, as Iohn Duns, of the order of ſaint Francis, Richard Midleton, and William Ocham, with others.

yewes barren

Great raine.

Iohn Duns.

King Dauid being thus dead and buried, the nobles aſſembled at Lithquo, about the election of him that ſhould ſucceed in his place. The greater part of the nobilitie, and ſuch as were of the ſounder iudgement, agreed vpon Robert Steward; but William earle of Dowglas being come thither with a great power, clamed to be preferred by right of Edward Balioll, and of the Cumin, which right he pretended to haue receiued of them both, and there ought to be no doubt (as he alledged) but that the crowne apertained by iuſt title vnto them, as all the world knew, and therefore ſith he had both their rights, he maintained that he was true and vndoubted inheritor to the crowne. It appæred that the ſaid earle Dowglas purpoſed to vſurpe the crowne by force, if he might not haue it by friendlie and quiet meanes: but neuertheleſſe he was diſappointed of his purpoſe, by reaſon that George earle of March, and John Dunbar earle of Murrey, with the lord Erſkine [which thræ were capteins of Dunbreton, Sterling, and Edenburgh] and others (of whoſe friendlie furtherance he thought himſelfe aſſured) gaue their voices with the Steward, aſſiſting his ſide to their vttermoſt powers. The Dowglas perceiuing hereby that he ſhould not be able to mainteine his quarell, reſigned therevpon his pretenſed title, which in effect was of no importance, nor worth the diſcuſſing.

The aſſemblie of the lords for the election of a new king.

William earle of Dowglaſſe clameth the crowne.

Buchanan.

Fr. Thin.

He reſigneth his right to the Steward.

Robert.

Robert Steward is crowned king of Scotland.

1370.

THen was Robert Steward conueid to Scone, and there crowned with great ſolemnitie, and was called Robert the ſecond. This came to paſſe in the 47 yære of his age, on our ladie day in Lent, called the Annuntiation, being the yære of Chriſt 1370. Moreouer, that the firmer amitie & friendſhip might continue and be nouriſhed betwixt this king Robert and his ſubiect the earle of Dowglaſſe aforeſaid, it was accorded that Eufemie eldeſt daughter to king Robert, ſhould be giuen in mariage to James ſonne to the earle of Dowglaſſe aforeſaid. ¶ Thus ye may perceiue how the Stewards came to the crowne, whoſe ſucceſſion haue inioied the ſame to our time: quæne Marie mother to Charles James that now that now reigneth, being the eight perſon from this Robert, that thus firſt atteined vnto it [of whoſe firſt originall and deſcent you ſhall ſæ before in the life of Duncan.

The first coming of the Stewards to the crowne. Fr. Thin.

He had to wife at the time of his atteining to the crowne, Eufemie daughter to Hugh earle of Roſſe, by whome he had two ſonnes, Walter and Dauid. But before he was maried to hir, he kept one Elizabeth Mure in place of his wife, and had by hir thræ ſonnes, John, Robert, and Alexander, with diuerſe daughters, of the which one was maried to John Dunbar erle of Murrey, and another to John Leon lord of Glames. The earledome of Murrey continued in poſſeſſion of the Dunbars onelie during the life of this earle John & his ſonne, in whom the ſucceſſion failed touching the name of the Dunbars, in the inioieng of that earledome: for leauing a daughter behind him that was married to the Dowglas, the ſame Dowglas came by that means to the ſaid earledome of Murrey. King Robert after his coronation made ſundrie earles, lords, barons, and knights. Amongſt other, James Lindſey of Glenneſke was made earle of Crawford. His wife quæne Eufemie deceaſſed the third yeare after hir huſband atteined the crowne, and then incontinentlie he maried Elizabeth Mure [or Moore, daughter to ſir Adam Mure knight] his old lemman, to the end the children which he had by hir might be made legitimate by vertue of the matrimonie ſubſequent. [Although before he had procured this Elizabeth to be giuen in matrimonie to one Gifford a noble man in Louthian, which alſo died (as fortune ſerued) when Eufemie firſt wife of the ſaid Robert died, whereby they (being now both at libertie) might renew their owne old loue, and in wedlocke poſſeſſe that which before they inioied in adulterie.]

Elizabeth Mure king Roberts concubine.

How the Dowglaſſes came by the earledome of Murrey.

Eufemie the quæne deceaſeth.

Fr. Thin. Elizabeth the Mure maried to king Robert. Fr. Thin.

Not long after, by authoritie of a parlement aſſembled, he made his eldeſt ſonne John, begotten on Elizabeth Mure aforeſaid, earle of Carrike: his ſecond ſonne begotten on hir, earle of Menteith and Fife: and his third ſonne Alexander, begotten likewiſe on the ſame mother, he created earle of Buchquhane, and lord of Badzenoch. [Beſides which hée had alſo two daughters by hir.] His eldeſt ſonne Walter, begotten on Eufemie his firſt wife, was made earle of Atholl, and lord of Brechin: his ſecond ſonne Dauid, begotten on the ſame Eufemie, was made earle of Stratherne. The ſaid Walter procured the ſlaughter of James the firſt, for that he pretended a right to the crowne, as after ſhall appeare. Shortlie after, he called an other parlement at Perth, where it was ordeined, that after the death of king Robert, the crowne ſhould deſcend vnto John his eldeſt ſonne, and to his iſſue male; and for default thereof, vnto Robert his ſecond ſonne, and to his heires male; and for default of ſuch heires, to Alexander his third ſonne, and to his heires male, and in default of them, to remaine to his ſonne Walter, begotten on Eufemie his wife, & to the heires male of his bodie begotten: and if ſuch ſucceſſion failed, then it ſhould deſcend vnto his yongeſt ſonne Dauid the earle of Stratherne, and to his heires generall either male or female. And all the nobles of the realme were ſworne to performe this new ordinance touching the ſucceſſion of the crowne, and that in moſt ſolemne maner.

The preferment of the kings ſonnes to dignitie.

Fr. Thin.

An act for ſucceſſion of the crowne.

About this time, the borderers, which are men euer deſirous of warres and trouble, to the end they may aplie their market, whereby they moſt chieflie liue, that is to ſay, reiſe and ſpoile of their neighbors goods, through enuie of long peace and quietneſſe, vpon a quarell piked, ſlue certeine of the houſhold ſeruants of George earle of Dunbar at the faire of Roxburgh, which as then the Engliſhmen held. Earle George ſore offended herewith, ſent an herald vnto the earle of Northumberland, warden of the Engliſh marches, requiring that ſuch as had committed the ſlaughter might be deliuered to receiue

The borderers deſirous of warre.

Roxburgh faire.

1370. Buchanan.

The truce violated.

celue according to that they had deserued: but when he could get nought but dilatorie answers, full of derision rather than importing anie true meaning, he passed ouer his displeasure till more opportunitie of time might serue. In the yere following, against the next faire to be holden at Roxburgh aforesaid, the said earle of March, with his brother the earle of Murrey gathered a power of men secretlie togither, and comming to the said towne, tooke it, slue all the Englishmen found within it, put their goods to the sacke, and after set the towne on fire, and so departed.

Roxburgh surprised by the earle of March.

The English men inuade Scotland.

Herevpon the Englishmen shortlie after enter with an armie into Scotland, burning and doing much hurt vpon the lands of sir John Gordon, for that they ioined to the earle of Marches lands. Sir John Gordon verie desirous to reuenge this iniurie, came into England with an armie, and getting togither a great bootie of cattell, returned therewith homewards, but being incountered by the way at a place called Carran or Carram, by John Lilborne and other Englishmen, there was a sore fight betwixt them, the victorie for a time shewing it selfe so variable and vncerteine, that sir John Gordon was sore wounded, and the Scots were fiue times that day had in chase, and as oft got the like aduantage of their enimies. In the end the Englishmen were clearelie discomfited, and their capteine sir John Lilborne, with his brother and diuerse other brought prisoners into Scotland [the maner whereof Iohn Maior condemneth and laieth the fault of breach in earle Dowglasse.]

The English men discomfited.

Sir John Lirborne taken.

Fr. Thin.

To reuenge these displeasures, Henrie Persie earle of Northumberland entered into Scotland with seuen thousand men, & comming vnto Duns, there pitched downe his tents; but the night following came the herds and other people of the countrie, hauing prepared certeine bagges made and sowed togither, of drie leather like to bladders, into the which they had put small peble stones, & running vp & downe about the place where the Englishmen were incamped, made such a noise with those bags full of stones, that the Englishmens horsses breaking their halters and bridles wherewith they were tied, ran from their maisters and keepers, and were scattered so abroad in the countrie, that the Scotishmen got hold of them, and so in the morning the Englishmen that had watched all night (for doubt to haue bene assailed by their enimies) perceiuing themselues set on fot, returned home without anie further attempt.

Henrie Persie erle of Northumberland.

A policie to affright horsses

In the meane time, Thomas Mulgraue capteine of Berwike, comming to the succours of the earle of Northumberland, chanced to meet with sir John Gordon vpon the way, by whom he was taken, and lead into Scotland as his prisoner. Neither had the Scots the better thus onelie on the east marches, but also on the west, where sir Io. Johnston had sundrie skirmishes with the Englishmen, and went euer awaie with the vpper hand. [All which before (vntill the death of Eufemie the quéne) Buchanan appointeth to the first two yéres of the king, before the death of the quéne.] About this time, pope Gregorie the 11 sent a legat from Auignion to king Robert, forbidding him in any wise to meddle with the goods perteining to the church, after the decease of anie bishop, person, or vicar. [About this time happened the death of Edward the third, king of England. And Charles the fift king of France sent ambassadors into Scotland, to renew the old leage betwene the two nations, and to persuade him to warre vpon England, to the end the warres might thereby be withdrawne out of France: which was performed accordinglie.

Tho. Mulgraue capteine of Berwike taken prisoner

Fr. Thin.

A legat from the pope.

Fr. Thin.

1375. Buchanan.

On the 22 day of October, in the yére 1378, Dauid Steward was borne, which afterwards was made duke of Rothsaie, and on saint Andrews day next following, towne of Berwike was taken by sir John Gordon, and sir or seuen other knights, but it was not long kept: for a number of English men entring by a posterne of the castell, recouered the towne easilie againe out of the Scotishmens hands. After this, William earle of Dowglas came with twentie thousand men to the faire of Pennire within England, and spoiled all the goods found as then in the same faire, and so returned with great riches into Scotland: but the Scotishmen smallie reioised at this gains, for with such cloth & other wares as they brought awaie with them from the foresaid faire, they drew into the countrie such a violent and sore pestilence, that the third part of all the people (where it came) died thereof. This was the third time that the pestilence was knowne to haue done anie great hurt in Scotland, being in the yére after the incarnation 1380.

1378.

Berwike taken by Scot

Recouered againe out of their hands.

1380.

The faire of Pennire.

The third time that the pestilence came into Scotland.

1380. Fr. Thin.

The Englishmen [with the number of 1500, vnder the conduct (as saith Buchanan) of Talbot] to reuenge the displeasure done by the erle of Dowglas at Pennire, raised a great armie, and came with the same ouer Sulway, and inuading the Scotish borders on that side most cruellie, spared neither fire nor sword. In the meane time, the Scots gathered to the number of fiue hundred men, & stood in a streict till the Englishmen should come and passe by them, and then with such huge noise and clamor they set on the Englishmen, that in giuing backe there was foure hundred of them slaine, and a great number of the residue for hast drowned in the water of Sulway, and hereby was all the bootie of cattell & goods recouered againe by the Scots, and the most part of it restored to the owners. Charles the first as then French king, hearing of such prosperous aduentures dailie chancing to the Scots, sent ouer his ambassadors vnto king Robert, exhorting him to follow his good fortune, and occasion thus offered to reuenge old iniuries against the Englishmen, now that their hearts seemed to faile them through losses susteined diuerse waies of late at the Scotish mens hands. An other cause of their message was also (as the Scots do write) to renew the old league & band betwixt Scotland and France, which being done in solemne wise according to the maner, they returned into France, & with them went ambassadors from king Robert vnto their master the said K. Charles, Walter Wardlaw, cardinall & bishop of Glascow, with manie other noble men, who in like maner there renewed the same leage & bond of friendship, to the high contentation of both the princes. This was in the eleuenth yére of king Robert his reigne.

The Englishmen inuade the Scotish borders.

Englishmen slaine and drowned.

Ambassadors frō the Frēch king.

1381. Le

Anno Reg. 11

The renuing of the league betwixt Scotland and France.

In which yére John Lion chancellor of Scotland was slaine by James Lindesay, earle of Crawford. This John Lion grew into so high fauour with king Robert, that he gaue to him his daughter the ladie Elizabeth in mariage, with diuerse possessions and lands, called Glammis. Of him the surname of the Lions is descended: and in memorie thereof, they beare in their armes the lion & lillies, with the tresse in forme and fashion as the king of Scotland beareth his, saue that their lions are placed in a blacke field. The cause why the earle of Crawford thus slue the chancellor, was onelie vpon enuie and spite, for that after he had maried the kings daughter, he atteined to such estimation and authoritie, that he might do all things with the king, according to his owne will and pleasure. For this offense the earle of Crawford remained in exile certeine yeres after, and durst not returne home, till finallie through earnest sute made

The chancellor of Scotland slaine.

Enuie & spite.

The earl of Crawford in exile.

to

to the king by the earles of Dowglasse and March, his pardon was begged, and then at length he was reconciled to the kings fauour.

his pardon is begged.

In the meane time, Edward king of England, the third of that name, departed this life, and Richard of Burdeaur, sonne to the blacke prince Edward, that was sonne to the said king Edward, succeeded, in the fourth yeere of whose reigne, being after the birth of our Sauiour 1381, John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, with other English lords, came into Scotland in ambassage [to whome were appointed James earle of Dowglasse, and John Dunbar earle of Murrey] to treat for the appeasing of the discord as then continuing betwixt the two realmes: and in the end the matter was so handeled, that a truce was concluded to indure for three yeeres. As the said duke was returning homewards, he was informed of the rebellion and insurrection made by the commons of England against the nobles, hauing one Jacke Straw and others to their capteins, whereupon doubting to passe thorough his owne countrie till things were better appeased, he returned into Scotland, and was conueied by William earle of Dowglasse, and Archembald Dowglas lord of Galloway, to holie rod house beside Edenburgh, where he remained till he heard that the rebels were suppressed, and their capteins slaine or taken, and put to execution.

Anno reg. 12. 1382. Io. Ma.

1381.

English ambassadors sent into Scotland. Fr. Thin.

A truce taken.

Rebellion in England.

Jack Straw

As soone as the truce was expired, Archembald Dowglasse lord of Galloway, displeased in his mind that the Englishmen lieng in garison within the castell of Lochmaben, did daillie harrie and rob the villages and countrie townes of Galloway and Annandale, raised a great power by support of the earls James of Dowglasse, and George of March, and therewith laid a strong siege vnto the said castell of Lochmaben, & hauing lien there at the space of nine daies, they fought with a number of Englishmen that came out of Carleill to rescue this castell, whom hauing put to flight, they gaue therwith also a sharpe assalt to the castell, and put them within in such feare, that sir William Fetherston then capteine thereof, and the residue consented to yeeld the house vnto the Scots euen the same day without more adoo, vpon condition they might depart with their goods in safetie into England.

The truce expired.

The garison of Lochmaben

Anno reg. 14. 1384. Io. Ma.

1384.

The castell of Lochmaben endered to the Scots.

But Fourdon writing of the winning of this castell, speaketh not of anie ouerthrow giuen to those that should come from Carleill, in maner as other write. For thus he saith. When Archembald Dowglasse had got knowledge that the same castell was vtterlie vnprouided both of men and vittels necessarie for the defense thereof, he assembled an armie together, with the helpe of the earles of Dowglasse and Dunbar, who ioining with him, inuironed the castell about with a strong siege, so that no succour could enter to the releefe of them within at anie hand. Herevpon the capteine sir William Fetherston knight, sent letters vnto the lord wardens of the English marches, requiring aid, and letting them to vnderstand in what danger he stood for lacke of men and vittels. The wardens wrote to him againe, that he should do his best for eight daies to hold out; and if no succour came within that terme, then to do as he should see cause. Herevpon sir William Fetherston requiring a truce of the Scotish lords for the space of those eight daies, within which terme if no succour came to remoue their siege, he would yeeld the castell vnto them, the liues and goods of them within saued. This was granted, and the Scots ceassed further to annoy them within by assalts: and when the ninth day was come, and no aid from England appeered, they receiued the castell into their possession, according to the couenant. And so the Scots hauing thus woone the castell of Lochmaben, raced it quite downe to the earth.

John Fourdon.

It is rased.

King Richard hearing that the Scots had atchiued this enterprise, appointed the baron of Graistocke with a certeine number of men to go with vittels and munition vnto Roxburgh, for doubt least if the Scots came to lay siege to that fortresse, and finding it vnprouided, they might peraduenture bring it into further danger than would lightlie be remedied. As this baron was come within a mile of Roxburgh, he was taken by the earle of March, and brought to Dunbar with all his prouision. The king of England being informed also of this mishap, appointed two armies, one by sea, and another by land, to inuade the Scots; the duke of Lancaster hauing the generall charge and conduct of them both, who giuing order to them that should passe by sea what they should do, entered himselfe by land, and walking the countries of March and Louthian, came to Edenburgh, and toke the towne. But whereas his souldiors would haue spoiled and burned it, he compounded with the inhabitants for a summe of monie, and so returned without doing anie more damage.

The baron of Graistocke taken.

Anno reg 15. 1383. I. Ma.

An armie by sea and an other by land, prepared against the Scots.

The duke of Lancaster commeth with an armie to Edenburgh.

His nauie being as then arriued in the Forth, tarried behind, & first burning the abbeie of saint Colmes Inch, a number of the souldiers with their capteins landed in Fife, and spoiled diuerse townes and villages there: but in the end, Thomas and Nicholas Erskinnes being brethren, Alexander Lindsey, and William Cunningham of Kilmauris, set vpon them, and slue the most part of them, so that few in number escaped againe to their ships, being pursued hard to the water side. The same yeere the earle of Dowglasse recouered all the strengths of Tiuidale out of the Englishmens hands, which they had held euer since the battell of Durham vnto those daies. This earle of Dowglasse, one of the most valiant personages in those his daies, within the whole realme of Scotland, died within his castell of Dowglasse, shortlie after he had atchiued this enterprise, and was buried in the abbeie of Melrosse.

The Englishmen discomfited in Fife.

The strength of Tiuidale recouered.

The earle of Dowglas deceaseth.

After his decease, his sonne James, or (as saith Buchanan) William succeeded in the earledome of Dowglasse, a verie fierce and hardie knight, the which shortlie after appointed by the king to haue the guiding of an armie, he passed with the same into England, and burnt the countrie so farre as Newcastell. But being countermanded home, he returned and came vnto Perth, where he found the lord John de Vian, admerall of France, and earle of Valentinois, who about the same time was arriued in Scotland with two hundred and fortie ships well and perfectlie furnished for the warres, and in them two thousand and fiue hundred armed men, diuerse of them being lords and barons, besides gentlemen and others. Also there was amongest them 400 hagbutters (as Bellenden saith) and two hundred with crosbowes: the residue bare pikes, halberts, and such like weapons. They were paied their wages for one whole yeere aforehand, and had brought vittels with them to serue them as long. They had brought also with them foure hundred paire of white curets, foure hundred halfe long swords, & fiftie thousand franks, to be giuen among the nobles of Scotland, accordinglie as king Robert should appoint and thinke expedient.

James earle of Dowglasse.

The Scots inuade Northumberland.

1385.

John de Vian admerall of France.

200. Buchan. 26 barons, 800 men of armes or knights. I. Fourdon. I doubt whether there were any hagbuts vsed in those daies, though guns were somewhat before that time.

The admerall and other the nobles of France, being thus come into Scotland to make warres on the Englishmen, were highlie feasted by the king and lords of the realme, as then present with him; and when the earle of Dowglasse was once come, by common consent of them all there assembled together in councell, it was ordeined that an armie should be raised with all speed, that ioining with these

French-

Frenchmen they might paſſe immediatlie into England. The earle of Fife ſonne to king Robert was appointed to be generall of this armie, hauing with him the earles of Dowglaſſe, and March, Archembald Dowglaſſe lord of Galloway, and diuerſe other of the Scotiſh nobilitie. This armie when they were all togither, amounted to the number of fiftie thouſand men, the which entring into England, toke the caſtels of Warke, Fourd, and Cornewall. After this, by robbing and ſpoiling the countrie betwixt Berwike and Newcaſtell, they did much hurt in all parts where they came; but through continuall raine which fell as then in great abundance, they were conſtreined to returne into Scotland, where they pitched downe their field nére to the caſtell of Rockeſburgh, purpoſing to haue aſſaied the winning thereof: but forſomuch as they could not agrée in whoſe name it ſhould be kept if it were wonne, they left that enterpriſe. For the Frenchmen required that if they wan it, that then it might be kept by them, in the name and to the behoſe of the French king, whereunto the Scots would not agrée.

The earle of Fife.
An armie of Scots and Frenchmen enter into England.
Caſtels won.
The Frenchmen & Scots cannot agrée.

Yet after this, the Frenchmen wiſhing to accompliſh ſome other enterpriſe, went to the weſt borders, where ioining with Archembald Dowglas lord of Galloway, they paſſed ouer Sulway ſands; and ſo entering into Cumberland, did wonderfull much hurt in that countrie. At length they determined to lay ſiege vnto Carleill, but being called from thence they returned into Scotland, and then (as ſome authors write) and not before, they laid ſiege to Rockſburgh, and raiſed from thence within eight daies after, by reaſon of the variance before alledged. At Allhallowentide next inſuing, the Frenchmen returned into France, hauing indured no ſmall trauell and paines, ſince their firſt comming forth of their countrie. After they were gotten a ſhipbord to returne homewards, the Scots againe enter into England with an armie, remaining there for the ſpace of two moneths (as the Scotiſh writers ſay.) And in the meane time king Richard aſſembled a mightie power, and inuading Scotland, paſſed through the Mers and Louthian, putting all the townes, countries, and houſes vnto vtter ruine, as in the Engliſh hiſtorie more plainlie may appéere.

They inuade Cumberland.
The Frenchmen returne into France.
King Richard inuadeth Scotland.

1387. In the yeare next inſuing, Walter Wardlaw biſhop of Glaſcow and cardinall, departed this life. Alſo within a while after that king Richard was returned backe into England, Robert Steward earle of Fife, with James earle of Dowglas, Archembald Dowglas lord of Galloway, entred into England with an armie of thirtie thouſand men, comming ſo ſecretlie thorough the water of Sulway, that they came to Cokermouth in ſuch ſpédie wiſe vpon the ſudden, that the people had not leaſure to conueie away their goods: ſo that the Scots remaining there for the ſpace of thrée daies, got a rich bootie togither, and returned with the ſame thorough the countries of Weſtmerland and Northumberland ſafe, and without incounter againe into Scotland. Amongeſt certeine other things, found in rifeling and ranſacking of houſes in this iournie, there was a charter found of certeine lands giuen by king Athelſtane, in this forme: I king Athelſtane gines to Paullane, Odhiam and Rodhiam, als guid aud als faire, als euer yay mine waire, and yarto witneſſe Mauld my wife. ¶ By tenure of which déed it may appeare, that our anceſtors gaue more credit to the true meaning of a few words barelie expreſſed in their writings, than that there needed ſo long proceſſe and circumſtance as is now vſed with long ſtudie of penning, nothing being thought ſufficient to aſſure the parties of their couenanted bargaines, and concluded agreements.

1387.
An armie of thirtie thouſand Scots inuaded England by the weſt marches.
Cokermouth taken vpon the ſudden.
The forme of an old déed of gift.
The true meaning of men in old time.

In this laſt iournie againſt the Engliſhmen, William Dowglas baſtard ſonne to Archembald Dowglas lord of Galloway, wan great fame and honor for his high prowes and noble valiancie, ſhewed as well in certeine approches made vnto Carleill, as in diuerſe other ſkirmiſhes elſewhere. The king alſo herevpon began to fauour him in ſuch wiſe, that he thought him worthie of ſome high aduancement; and therevpon gaue him his daughter in mariage, named Giles, a ladie of ſuch excellent beautie, as hir match in thoſe daies was not to be found: [with whome for hir dowrie, he gaue the lands of Middeſdale.] He begat on hir a daughter, which was after maried to the earle of Orkenie. This William Dowglas (as Iohn Fourdon noteth) was of a blackiſh or ſwart colour, not ouercharged with fleſh; but big of bone, a mightie perſonage, vpright and tall, valiant, courteous, amiable, full of liberalitie, merrie, faithfull, and pleaſant in companie, but herewith he was of ſuch ſtrength, that whome ſoeuer he ſtroke either with mace, ſword, or ſpeare, downe he went were he neuer ſo well armed. At one time (as the ſame Fourdon ſaith) he hauing with him but eight hundred, fought againſt thrée thouſand Engliſhmen, of whome two hundred he ſlue in the field, & brought fiue hundred priſoners with him into Scotland.

William Douglas honored for his high proweſſe.
Fr. Thin.

In the yéere 1388, Robert earle of Fife, and Archembald Dowglas lord of Galloway, entered with a proud armie into England, and in the meane time came ſundrie Iriſhmen by ſea to the coaſts of Galloway, and landing in diuerſe places, fetched awaie great booties of cattell, and other goods of the inhabitants: whereof William Dowglas, ſonne of the ſaid Archembald being informed, got a conuenient power of men togither, by ſupport of his brother in law, Robert earle of Fife, and by licence of the king paſſed ouer with the ſame, ſhiped in certeine veſſels into Ireland, where being got on land, he laid ſiege to the towne of Carlingford. The townesmen doubting to be taken by aſſault, purchaſed a truce for certeine daies, promiſing to giue a great ſumme of monie to haue their towne ſaued: but in the meane time, they aſſembled the number of eight hundred men, through helpe of an other towne not farre off, called Doundalke, and ioining with them, they diuided themſelues into two parts. One part ſet vpon Robert Steward of Durisdeir, who hauing the conduct of the earle of Fifes men, was gone abroad into the countrie to fetch in ſome preie: and the other part aſſailed William Dowglas, that lay ſtill afore the towne.

1388.
Iriſhmen fetch preies in Galloway.
William Douglas inuadeth Ireland with fiue hundred men, as Iohn Fourdon ſaith.
Carlingford beſéeged.
The craftie dealing of the townesmen.
The Iriſhmen aſſaile the Scots in two ſeuerall places.

Neuertheleſſe, the ſaid Robert and William receiued the enimies with ſuch manhood, that they put them in both places to flight, and immediatlie after gaue aſſault to the towne, and entring the ſame perforce, put all the goods found therein to the ſacke, and then ſet it on fier, and burned it to aſhes. This done, they toke threeſcore ſhips which they found in diuerſe hauens and creeks there on that coaſt, and fraughting fiftéene of them with ſuch ſpoile as they had got, they burned the reſidue, and then returning homewards, ſpoiled the Ile of Man by the way as they paſſed. Shortlie after their returne home, the king of England ſent an armie into Scotland, which did much hurt in the Mers, in burning and ouerthrowing diuerſe towers and houſes. King Robert being certified hereof, as then remaining in the north parts of Scotland, aſſembled the nobles of his realme at Aberden: and there by all their aduiſes it was concluded, that the whole puiſſance of the realme ſhould be raiſed with all ſpéd, to reuenge thoſe iniuries don by the Engliſhmen. Herevpon were two armies aſſembled, the one, wherein were fiftéene thouſand men, was committed to the gouernance of the earle of

The Iriſhmen put to flight.
Carlingford wonne by aſſalt.
The Ile of Man ſpoiled.
Engliſhmen burne in the Mers.
Two armies of Scotiſhmen aſſembled

of Fiſe, hauing with him the earle of Menteith, Archembald Dowglaſſe lord of Galloway, and Alexander Lindſeie of Walcop. The other conteining like number of men, was apointed to the guiding of the earles of Dowglas and March, hauing with them James Lindſeie earle of Crawford, John Dunbar earle of Murrey, and the lord Hare the conſtable of Scotland, with diuerſe other of the nobilitie [both which (ſaith Froiſſard) amounted to the number of 40000 men.]

Fr. Thin.

These two armies parting in ſunder at Jedworth, the earle of Fiſe with his people entered into Cumberland by the weſt marches, and the earles of Dowglas and March with theirs, entered on the other ſide into Northumberland, paſſing thorough the countrie, ſpoiling and waſting the ſame, till as farre as Durham; and on the other part, the earle of Fiſe ſpared neither fier nor ſword, all the way as he paſſed. At length both theſe armies met togither about a ten miles from Newcaſtell. Here the earle of Dowglaſſe choſe forth ten thouſand of the moſt able men that could be found amongeſt all the numbers, with the which he went to Newcaſtell, to trie if by anie meanes he might take the towne. There was gathered into Newcaſtell before his comming thither, the moſt part of all the choſen men from Yorke to the borders, with the earle of Northumberland, who by reaſon of extreme age was not able to ſturre abroad (anie thing to purpoſe) himſelfe, but he had with him two of his owne ſonnes, the one named Henrie, and the other Raſe, verie forward and luſtie gentlemen. This Henrie being the elder, was ſurnamed for his often pricking, Henrie Hotſpur, as one that ſeldome times reſted, if there were anie ſeruice to be done abroad.

Cumberland inuaded.

Northumberland inuaded.

Ten thouſand of the choiſeſt men with the earle of Dowglas.

The aſſemblie of the Engliſhmen at Newcaſtle.

1388.

Henrie Hotſpur.

The earle of Dowglaſſe incampeth faſt by Newcaſtle.

The earle of Dowglaſſe comming to Newcaſtell, incamped with his people on that ſide the towne towards Scotland, and viewed the towne earneſtlie, which way he might beſt come to giue aſſault to win it. Henrie Perſie deſirous to ſhew ſome proofe of his ſingular manhood, wherein he greatlie truſted, required to fight with the earle of Dowglaſſe man to man; which requeſt the earle granting, togither they ran, mounted on two great courſers with ſharpe grond ſpeares at the vttерance. The earle of Dowglaſſe in this incounter bare himſelfe ſo well, that in the end he droue the Perſie out of his ſaddle. The Engliſhmen that ſtood without the gates, made to the reſcue, recouered him on foot, and brought him forthwith backe into the towne. Incontinentlie hervpon, the earle of Dowglaſſe cauſed the aſſault to be giuen, and filling the ditches with haie and fagots, came with ladders to the wals: but the Engliſhmen ſo well defended themſelues, that the Scots were beaten backe, not without great loſſe and ſlaughter of their people.

The earle of Dowglas and Henrie Perſie run togither.

The Perſie diſmounted beſide his horſſe.

In aſſault giuen to Newcaſtell.

¶ Froiſſard making mention of this enterpriſe thus made by the Scots, varieth ſomewhat from the Scotiſh writers in this place: for he ſpeaketh nothing that the Dowglaſſe and the Perſie ſhould thus run togither on horſſebacke (as before is ſpecified) but that in giuing aſſault to the towne, it chanced, that as the Engliſhmen defended their barriers without the gate, the Dowglas fortuned to be matched hand to hand with Henrie Perſie, and there by force plucked the Perſies ſtaffe from him, and in returning hoiſted it vp on heigth, ſaieng, he would carrie the ſame for his ſake into Scotland: and the next day after, he raiſed his campe and departed homewards towards the borders, & comming to a place called Otterborne, about twelue or fourteene miles from Newcaſtell, pitched downe his tents there, that his ſouldiors might take ſome reſt, & refreſh themſelues after their great trauell, for they had not reſted of all the day nor night before, nor to anie purpoſe, ſince their firſt entering into England.

Froiſſard ſome what varieth from the Scotiſh writers.

Dowglas incamped at Otterborne.

In the meane time the Engliſh power was highlie increaſed at Newcaſtell, for a great number of the countrie came, and entered into the towne the ſame night that followed the day of the aſſault. Henrie Perſie then perceiuing his number ſufficient to fight with Dowglaſſe, ſet them in order of battell, & determined to iſſue forth vpon the Scots, and to giue them an incounter: but when he vnderſtood that they were gone homewards, he followed them with all ſpeed, for he would by no meanes that they ſhould paſſe into Scotland without battell, truſting to recouer the diſhonor which he had ſuſteined by loſing his ſtaffe at the barriers before the gate of Newcaſtell. Earle Dowglaſſe aduertiſed that the enimies were comming to giue him battell, exhorted his people with few words to remember their wonted manhood, that by gaining the victorie, they might win euerlaſting fame and honor, with ſafegard to themſelues and their countrie. The Perſie likewiſe for his part, incouraged his men, willing them to fight manfullie in reuenge of their iniuries done to them and their friends by the Scots, and herewith commanding the trumpets to ſound, he gaue the onſet fiercelie.

The Engliſh power increaſed.

Henrie Perſie followed the Scots.

The Dowglaſſe exhorteth his men to fight manfullie.

The Perſie with comfortable words incourageth his men.

Here both the armies ioining togither, a right terrible incounter inſued: but becauſe the night was at hand, before they began to ſoine, through want of light to ſee what was to do, they were ſeuered in ſunder for that time; but remembring that the moone would ſhortlie riſe, they determined ſo ſone as ſhe began to giue light, to renew the battell againe. As ſone therefore as the moone began to appeare, they ioined againe with more malice than before. The Engliſhmen fought ſo egerlie, that putting the Scots backe, and cauſing them to giue ground, they had woone the Scotiſh ſtandards, and ſo by all likelihood got the vpper hand, had not Patrike Heporne with his ſonne, & ſuch other of his companie as attended him, come to the reſcue, by whome the fight was begun afreſh. Herewith alſo came the earle of Dowglaſſe, and with a great mace in his hand laid ſuch ſore ſtrokes round about him, that none came within his reach, but downe he went.

The onſet is giuen.

They were ſeuered by comming on of the night.

The battell is renewed.

Patrike Heporne releeueth the Scots at point to be ouercome.

The valiancie of the earle of Dowglaſſe.

Fr. Thin. Buchanan.

✻ The ſaid Dowglaſſe the yonger, hauing with him Robert & Simon Glendoure, was (all which notwithſtanding) moſt grieuouſlie wounded, whom his friends (comming about to ſuccor) found then caſt vpon the ground, next vnto whome lay one named Hart moſt miſerablie wounded alſo. At what time a prieſt (which had faithfullie aſſiſted this Dowglaſſe in all diſtreſſe) did (now the bodie being faint and deaied) defend the ſame from other hurt of the aduerſarie. Dowglaſſe lieng in this eſtate, his neare friends (John Lindſeie, John and Walter Seintclere) came vnto him, demanding how he did. To whome he ſtoutlie anſwered (as one whome the preſence of death nothing diſmaied) that he was verie well; for ſaid he, I do not now die in my bed (by ſluggiſh deſtinie) but in the field, as almoſt all my anceſtors haue done. Wherefore, this ſhall be the laſt thing that I will require of you; firſt to keepe my death moſt ſecret, ſecondlie that you ſuffer not my ſtandard to be throwne downe, and laſtlie that you reuenge my death; the which if I may before hand by your promiſe hope to be performed, I ſhall with more patience indure all other things. Whervpon they firſt ſeuered his bodie that it ſhould not be knowen; then they erected his ſtandard, crieng (as the maner is) A Dowglaſſe a Dowglaſſe. At which voice, there was ſo great a concurſe of people, & ſuch a toſſull aſſault vpon the enimie; that forthwith they draue them from the place of the battell. For at the verie

This prieſt was William archdeacon of Aberden, as ſaith Io. Maior lib. 6. cap. 3. & Leſleus lib. 7. pa. 263. calleth him William Loundie archdeacon of ſaint Andrewes, kinſman to Dowglaſſe.

This Dowglaſſe was hurt in the ſhoulder in the lower part of his breſt, and in the thigh with ſeuerall arrowes, and had a deadlie blow on his head being vncouered. Io. Maior. lib. 6. cap. 3.

name

name of Dowglaſſe, not onelie the common people, but Iohn earle of Murrey (ſuppoſing that the ſame ſide was in diſtreſſe) prepared in all haſt to ſuccour them.]

The Engliſh men put to flight.

Finallie, the whole number of the Scotiſhmen bare themſelues ſo manfullie, that the Engliſhmen being broken and put to flight, were ſlaine & borne downe. The chaſe continued till the breake of the day with killing and taking, as in ſuch caſes is euer ſéene, though the more part in déed were taken with their liues ſaued after they once fell in the chaſe.

Raſe and Henrie Perſie taken priſoners.

Amongeſt other, Raſe Perſie and his brother Henrie, were taken by Keith, the marſhall of Scotland, ſomewhat before the Engliſhmen began to turne.

Fr. Thin.

[But Leſleus. lib. 7. pa. 263. ſaith that Henrie Hotſpur was taken by Montgomerie, who for his ranſome did build the caſtle of Pounune, which his heirs to this day do inioy.

Other perſons taken.

There was alſo taken beſides the two Perſies, diuers other men of name, as Robert Ogill, Thomas Halberke, Iohn Lilborne, William Wauchlut, Robert Heron, the baron of Hilton, Iohn Colwell, and Patrike Louell knights.

The number of priſoners taken.

There were taken in all of Engliſhmen, to the number of a thouſand and fortie, and ſlaine what in the field and chaſe (as Froiſſard recounteth) aboue an eightéene hundred. [But Buchan. ſaith, there were 1840 ſlaine, 1000 wounded, and 1004 taken.)

Fr. Thin. There were ſlaine but fiue hundred Engliſhmen as Hector Boetius ſaith.

But yet the Scotiſh writers themſelues report a leſſe number. Neither did this victorie chance to the Scots without great loſſe and ſlaughter. For amongſt other, the earle of Dowglaſſe himſelfe was thriſe ſtricken through the bodie, and alſo wounded ſo mortallie on the head, that being borne to his tent a little before the end of the battell, he died of thoſe hurts immediatlie after, to the great diſcomfort of all his armie, conceiuing more dolorous griefe for the loſſe of ſo worthie a chieftaine, than ioy for the gaine of a great victorie.

The death of Iames earle of Dowglaſſe.

His bodie was conueied vnto Melros, & buried beſide his father earle William in the abbeie church there.

Hée more of this matter in England.

And becauſe this earle Iames had no heires of his bodie begotten, his coſine Archembald Dowglas lord of Galloway ſucceéded him in the earldome.

Archembald Dowglaſſe ſucceéded Iames the earle of Dowglaſſe.

The houſe of the Hepborns (of the which this Patrike Hepborne that fought ſo valiantlie in this battell at Otterborne did deſcend) aroſe in Scotland after this wiſe.

It chanced in the daies of king Dauid the third, there was an Engliſhman of that name taken priſoner in Scotland, who by chance being in place where the earle of March was got vpon a yong gelding vnbroken, the which plaieng the vnrulie iade, in fetching and flinging aloft, put the earle in great danger of his life; and when all other that were preſent there gaue backe, and durſt not ſtep in to make anie ſhift to helpe the earle: this Engliſhman lept to him, and boldlie catching hold on the bridle reine, held the horſſe faſt, till the earle was ſafelie got beſide him.

The firſt aduancement of the Hepborns.

In reward of which benefit, the ſaid earle gaue vnto this Hepborne certeine lands in Lowthian, whoſe poſteritie increaſed afterwards in ſuch power of lands and ſurname, that the ſame inioied not onelie the earldome of Bothwell, but was alſo diuided into ſundrie branches, and manie knights thereof haue riſen of right worthie fame and eſtimation.

The earles of Bothwell.

1310. 12. kal. Aug. Buchanan.

This battell of Otterborne was fought on ſaint Oſwalds day, which is the fift of Auguſt, in the yeare 1388.

1388. Fr. Thin. Buchan.

¶Amongſt thoſe that fled to the battell, was Mathew Redman gouernor of Berwike, whom Iames Lindſeie (ſuppoſing by the beautie of his armor to be of the nobler ſort) did vehementlie follow by the ſpace of three miles. At the laſt, Redman perceiuing that he was not by flight able to eſcape (and déeming it better to hazzard his life, than otherwiſe to be ſlaine without aduenture) alighted from his horſſe to fight with his enimie on foot, which Lindſeie did accordinglie; in the end after a long conflict betweéne them, the Engliſhman (being as ſaith Buchanan inferior to the Scot in armor & weapon) did yéeld himſelfe to his aduerſarie. By whome (after that he had giuen an oth to returne at a certeine day) he was permitted to go at libertie. Such in thoſe daies was the humanitie amongeſt the borderers, and both nations towards their priſoners, which to this day doth continue betweéne the inhabitants of thoſe places. But if anie do not returne at the day appointed, this puniſhment is ſet vpon him for a perpetuall diſgrace. That in the aſſemblies of true daies (to demand reſtitutions of things and iniuries done by the one nation vnto the other) they vſe that he which complaineth himſelfe to be deceiued by his priſoner (on his promiſe) doth carrie about a hand or gloue painted in a cloth vpon a long ſtaffe or ſpeare to be ſéene of all men; the which is accounted a ſingular infamie to the deſeruers thereof. For they which haue ſo broken their faith, be euer after hated of their friends and acquaintance; for which diſhoneſtie, they will not afford them good report or interteinment. Lindſeie hauing with this condition diſmiſſed his priſoner (and perceiuing a great number of armed men) made directlie towards them, not knowing that they were his enimies, vntill he had ridden ſo néere vnto them, that he could not withdraw himſelfe out of their danger. Theſe men were the bands of the biſhop of Durham, who when he came too late to Newcaſtell (to ioine with Perſie at the battell of Otterborne, becauſe he ſuppoſed that the enimies would not ioine vntill the next day) commanded his armie to reſt there, and to fall to their ſupper. Shortlie after which, he tooke his iournie towards the Scots.

Lindſeie had a halberd, and Redman a ſword with a backler which he caried at his backe. Io. Maior. lib. 6. cap 14.

The diſgrace of priſoners breaking promiſe.

Io. Ma. ſaith if they breake promiſe, the picture of him is tied to a horſſe taile and drawen about the borders of the countrie.

The biſhop of Durham goeth towards the Scots, accompanied with Thomas Lindſeie and Thomas Clifford.

But (before he was anie great way marched out of the towne) vnderſtanding (by thoſe that fled from Otterborne battell towards Newcaſtell) that Perſie was ouerthrowne, and had loſt the field, he returned with his friends to Newcaſtell, to conſult what he ſhould do againſt the enimie. At which time it was declared, that the next day at the ſunne riſing, they ſhould all be redie in armor to ſéeke the Scots. According wherevnto in the morning of the next day, the inhabitants bordering thereabouts were aſſembled, who (with theſe that the biſhop had brought thither) were of all ſorts gathered togither, to the number of 10000 horſſemen and footmen. Theſe ſtirred the biſhops mind, that (with all ſpéed) hée ſhould lead them toward the Scots, and trie the ſucceſſe of battell, for the Scots (ſaid they) wearied with the former daies fight, and moſt of them wounded, will not be able to abide the ſecond batell. With which ſpéeches they perſuaded themſelues of an eaſie conqueſt. Whereupon the biſhop ſet forward with his armie, whoſe comming being vnderſtood by the ſcouts of the Scots, the erle of Murrey (whom now all men did follow after the death of Dowglas) called the preſent nobilitie togither to conſult what ſhould be done with the priſoners, whom they could not in iuſtice now kill (hauing receiued them vpon ranſome) but it would ſéeme a moſt cruell part: and to reſcue them (being their enimies, and almoſt an equall number to themſelues) it was a thing moſt dangerous. Wherefore it was concluded, that the priſoners ſhould ſweare, that they would not ſtirre whileſt the Scots and Engliſh were in fight; and further, that if the Scots were ouercome, and they (being now their priſoners) recouered from them, that yet they ſhould ſtill remaine priſoners vnto them as before, and ſo returne to them at a certeine day. Theſe things thus done, they left the priſoners

The biſhop of Durham goeth againſt the Scots.

Iohn Maior writeth, that ſome ſay they tied theſe priſoners faſt with ropes, li. 6. c. 4.

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in the campe, with a ſmall gard which ſhould execute a preſent reuenge vpon them, if they did at anie time ſeeme to attempt anie thing.

After this the Scots (full of the victories latelie obteined) afreſh deſcended into the battell, defended behind with the marches, and on the left and right ſide with the dead bodies of the former conflict: at what time it was alſo commanded that euerie one (as he did approch the enimie) ſhould blow the horne he caried about his necke (hanging at his backe) as lowd as he could, which ſound being of it ſelfe terrible, was in the eccho (by reflexion of the hilles) ſo multiplied, that it forced the enimie to ſuppoſe the Scots to be of greater number than in truth they were. But before they entred into the battell (as ſaith Iohn Maior) George of Dunbar earle of March incouraged his ſoldiers with theſe words. We haue this night (moſt noble Scots) ſuſteined the chiefe heat and force of the battell, we haue ouerthrowne the youth and ſtrength of Northumberland with their two princes: for which there is no cauſe why we (after ſuch honor obteined againſt thoſe valiant princes) ſhould now feare this ſillie prieſt. Trulie there remaineth nothing now for vs, but that euerie one of vs giue but two ſtrokes, becauſe the leader will flie at the third, and all the flocke will follow, ſince the ſhéepeheard ſtroken, the ſhéepe will be diſperſed. But if they ſhall ſo long contend with vs, that (as God moſt rightlie forbid) we chance to be ouercome, then ſhall we moſt ſhamefully loſe the glorie which we before haue honorablie gained by this nights trauell. But contrarie, if we be men, and put on vs ſuch valiant hearts (as the preſeruation of honor requireth) we ſhall eaſilie teach this mitred prieſt, that it had béene farre more honor to him, ſafetie to his, and moſt commoditie to them all, that he had remained at home, with rods to correct vnbrideled and negligent ſcholers, than with ſword to enter battell againſt growne and bearded ſouldiers.

The maner of the Scots was, that going to battell they carie a horne about their necks like hunters, and in the battell incourage themſelues to fight with that, Io. Ma. li. 6. ca. 4. which I ſuppoſe was alſo the maner of the Engliſh (as may be by manie ſubſtantial reaſons approued.)

This being ſpoken, and the Engliſh now come to the point to ioine with the aduerſarie, the Scots began the alarms with their hornes, whereupon the Engliſh hearing that terrible noiſe (vnaccuſtomed to them in ſuch multitude) remembring that they muſt fight in the middle of dead carcaſſes of their friends and kinred latelie ſlaine (a ſpectacle to diſcourage moſt valiant hearts) and ſomewhat abaſhed at the chéerefulneſſe of the Scots ſtanding againſt them (which they looked not for after the laſt battell) the Engliſh (I ſay) conſidering theſe things, retired towards the place from whence they came, and ſuffered the Scots to returne without anie other purſute againſt them. In the meane time, when Alexander Lindſeie (taken as before, and as yet priſoner in Newcaſtell) chanced to be ſéene and knowne by Redman (his yélded priſoner) he was moſt courteouſlie (after congratulation of amitie betwéene them) ſuffred to depart frō Newcaſtell to Scotland.)

A parlement at Perth.

In the yéere following, a parlement was holden at Perth, in the which demonſtration was made by king Robert, that forſomuch as he was broken by great age, and might not through féebleneſſe occaſioned thereof attend to his office in gouernement of the realme, it was neceſſarie that ſome gouernor ſhould be choſen; wherfore he required that his ſecond ſonne Robert earle of Fife might inioy that office, conſidering his eldeſt ſonne Iohn earle of Carrike (by reaſon of a ſtripe which he had receiued on the leg by an horſſe of ſir James Dowglaſſe of Dalketh) was not able to trauell, but kept his bed, and might ſturre no way forth abroad. The lords conſented to the kings requeſt, and ſo the earle of Fife was conſtituted gouernour of Scotland, by common conſent of all the lords of the realme [before which time (as ſaith Buchanan) they were called wardens and not gouernors.] Alſo the earle marſhall of England was ſent by king Richard to the borders, to remaine there as warden in the place of Henrie Perſie priſoner in Scotland. It is reported by the Scotiſh writers, that this earle ſhould make ſtout brags, that he would fight with the Scots the next time he met with anie power of them, whether he were like in number to them or not. But when it came to paſſe that Robert Steward the Scotiſh gouernor was entered into Northumberland with an armie, hée withdrew into places of ſafegard, and ſuffered the moſt part of the countrie to be harried and burned.

Robert earle of Fife is choſen gouernor of the realme.

Fr. Thin.

The earle marſhall of England, warden of the marches.

The gouernor of Scotland inuadeth Northumberland.

In deed our Engliſh writers affirme, that the ſaid earle, hauing with him but fiue hundred men of armes, was not able to accompliſh anie notable exploit auailable againſt the great multitude of his enimies.

A truce taken

In the ſame yeere was a truce taken betwixt England and France, the Scots (if they would ſo agrée) being comprized therein. Herevpon there came ambaſſadors forth of England, to vnderſtand what the king of Scots would determine in that behalfe. By whom it was anſwered, that he would with good will ſtand to the ſame truce according as it was concluded. Whileſt things paſſed thus in Scotland, Alexander Steward earle of Buchquhane burnt the cathedrall church of Murrey, the lanterne and ornament of all the north part of Scotland, vpon diſpleaſure conceiued againſt the biſhop of the ſame place. Whereat his father the king tooke ſuch indignation, that when his ſonne the ſaid Alexander was brought to his preſence, he commanded him to bée committed vnto ſtreict priſon, wherein he remained till after his fathers deceaſſe. The realme being in this maner brought to good tranquillitie, king Robert falling into great infirmitie and féebleneſſe, by reaſon of extreame age, without any maner of other accidentall ſickneſs, deceaſſed at his caſtell of Dundonald, the 19 day of Aprill, in the yeere after our redemption 1390, being as then aboue 75 yéeres of age, and hauing reigned the ſpace of 19 yéeres, his bodie was buried at Scone before the high altar.

English ambaſſadors ſent into Scotland.

The king of Scots agréeth to the truce.

The cathedrall church of Murrey burnt.

The earle of Buchquhane impriſoned.

The deceaſſe of king Robert the ſecond.

1390.

His happie ſucceſſe in warres.

The conſtancie of K. Robert in word and promiſe.

His vpright iuſtice.

His diligence to redreſſe poore mens wrongs.

Robert.

John Steward earle of Carrike admitted to the crowne.

1390.

Fr. Thin. Buchanan.

This Robert the ſecond, though by reaſon of his great age, he went not forth into the wars himſelfe, yet was there neuer prince afore him that had more happie ſucceſſe by the conduct of his capteins which he ſent forth as lieutenants vnder him, for they neuer lightlie returned home but with victorie. He was a prince of ſuch conſtancie in promiſe, that he ſeldome ſpake the word which he performed not. Such an obſeruer he was alſo of iuſtice, that whenſoeuer he remoued from anie place, he would cauſe proclamation to be made, that if anie of his men or officers had taken vp anie thing vnpaid for, the partie to whom the debt was due ſhould come in, and immediatlie he ſhould be ſatiſfied. He willinglie heard the complaints of the poore, and was no leſſe diligent to ſée their wrongs redreſſed.

After the deceaſſe of king Robert the ſecond, his ſon Iohn Steward earle of Carrike was admitted to the crowne, which he receiued at Scone on the Aſſumption of our ladie. And forſomuch as Iohn was thought to be an vnfortunate name for kings, they changed the ſame, and called him Robert after his father, being now the third of that name. ❧ But whether the ſame was ſo altered, either for the calamities which happened to the two Johns, the king of England and the king of France, or for the good ſucceſſe of the two former Roberts (Bruſe and Steward) had in the victories and gouernement of the realme: for their vertue in peace and warres: for their vniuerſall happineſſe in what they attempted:

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I will leaue vncerteine, hauing no certeintie deliuered thereof vnto me. This Robert the third rather lacked vices, than was beautified with anie extraordinarie vertues, for which cause he being king in name, his brother Robert was king in deed, as one vpon whome the whole gouernement did depend.

Iohn Ma. lib. 6. cap. 6.

The king Robert did marrie Annabell (the daughter of Iohn Drummond) whome he receiued into his bed, rather for hir singular beautie, than the honor of hir parents, or for anie benefit that might grow to the common wealth by hir or hir aliance. In the begining of his reigne, a truce was taken betweene England and Scotland, for the space of three yéres, which shortlie after was proroged to the terme of foure yéres.)

Buchanan.

William Dowglas of Middesdale chosen admerall by the lords of Prutzen.

About the same time William Dowglasse of Middisdale was chosen by the lords of Prutzen, to be admerall of a nauie, conteining two hundred and fortie ships, which they had rigged, and purposed to set forth against the miscreant people of the northeast parts. But being appealed by the lord Clifford an Englishman (who was there likewise to serue with the foresaid lords in that iournie) to fight with him in a singular combat: before the day came appointed for them to make triall of the battell, the lord Clifford lay in wait for the Dowglasse, and vpon the bridge of Danzke met with him, and there slue him, to the great disturbance and stay of the whole iournie. Moreouer, shortlie after the coronation of king Robert the third, tidings came that Duncane [whom some call Daiech Steward] sonne to Alexander Steward the kings brother afore rehearsed, was entred into Angus with a great number of men, and slue Walter Ogiluie shiriffe of the countrie, that came forth with a power to resist him from spoiling the people, whom he miserablie afflicted; howbeit these his insolent doings were not long vnpunished. For the earle of Crawford being sent against him with an armie, caused him to disperse his companie, and to flée his waies; but being apprehended with the most part of his said companie, they were punished according to their demerits.

He is slaine by the lord Clifford. Duncan Steward inuadeth Angus.

Fr. Thin.

The north parts of Scotland sore disquieted by two clans.

At this time also the most part of the north countrie of Scotland, was sore disquieted by two clans of those Irish Scots, called Laterans, which inhabit the hie-land countries, the one named Clankaies and the other Clanquhattans. These two being at deadlie fude, robbed and wasted the countrie with continuall slaughter and reise. At length it was accorded betwixt the parties, by the aduise of the earls of Murrey and Crawford, that thirtie persons of the one clan, should fight before the king at Perth, against thirtie of the other clans men, with sharpe swords to the vtterance, without anie kind of armor or harnesse, in triall and decision of the quarell, for the which the variance betwixt them first arose. Both these clans right ioifull of this appointment, came to Perth with their number, where, in a place called the North inch, a litle beside the towne, in presence of the king and other iudges assigned thereto, they fought according as it was agréed, and that with such rage and desperate furie, that all those of Clankaies part were slaine (one onelie excepted) who to saue his life, after he saw all his fellowes slaine, lept into the water of Taie, and swam ouer, and so escaped. There were 11 of Clanquhattans side that escaped with life, but not one of them vnwounded and that verie sore. At their entring into the field or lists where they should fight the battell, one of the clans wanted one of his number, by reason that he which should haue supplied it, was priuilie stolen awaie, not willing to be partaker of so deare a bargaine. But there was a countrie-felow among the beholders, who being sorie that so notable a fight should be passed ouer, offered himselfe for a small summe of monie to fill vp the number, though the matter apperteined nothing to him, nor to anie of his friends. [This man (as saith Buchanan) séemed to be a saddle-maker, who for halfe a Frenchcrowne, and his diet during his life (if he were victor) toke the matter in hand, in which none behaued himselfe more valiantlie than he, on whose part the said eleuen did suruiue, himselfe making vp the number.] This battell was fought thus betwéene the two clans, in maner as is before remembred, in the yeere 1396.

Fr. Thin.

1396.

In the third, or (as saith Buchanan) the second yéere after, a parlement was holden at Perth, wherin, besides diuerse constitutions and ordinances enacted for the aduancement of the common-wealth, the king made his eldest sonne named Dauid (that was then about eightéene yéres of age) duke of Rothsaie, and his brother Robert (that was earle of Fife and gouernor of the realme, as before ye haue heard) he created duke of Albanie. These were the first dukes that had béene heard of in Scotland, for till those daies there was neuer anie within the realme that bare that title of honor. [Which virgin title (saith Buchanan of that honor) gaue neuer good successe to the maisters]. During the time that the peace continued betwixt the two realmes of England and Scotland, there were sundrie iusts and combats put in vre, and exercised betwixt Scots and Englishmen, for proofe of their valiant actiuitie in feats of armes, to win thereby fame and honor. But amongst the residue, that was most notable, which chanced betwixt Dauid earle of Crawford Scotish, and the lord Welles English.

1398.

The first dukes that were created in Scotland.

Fr. Thin.

Iustes and combats betwixt Scots and Englishmen.

It was agréed betwixt these two noble men, to run certeine courses on horsebacke, with speares sharpe ground for life and death. The place appointed for these iusts was London bridge, and the day the three and twentith of Aprill, being the feast of saint George. At the place & day thus prefixed, they came redie to furnish their enterprise, and being mounted on their mightie coursers, they ran togither right egerlie. At the first course, though they atteinted, yet kept they their saddles without anie perill of falling. The people beholding how stiffelie earle Dauid sat without mouing, cried that the Scotishman was locked in his saddle. He hearing this, leapt beside his horsse, and verie nimblie mounted vp againe into the saddle, armed as he was, to the great wonder of the beholders. This done, he toke another staffe, & so togither they ran againe right fiercelie the second time, and yet without anie great hurt on either part: but the third time, the lord Welles was borne out of the saddle, and sore hurt with the grieuous fall.

The earle of Crawford of Scotland, & the lord Wels of England iusted for life and death.

The lord Wels borne out of his saddle.

And for bicause the earle of Crawford thus vanquished his aduersarie on saint Georges day, hée founded a chanterie of seuen priests to sing in our ladies church of Dundée, in memorie of S. George, which they did vnto our time, not without singular commendation of the said earle. After this, he remained three moneths in England, in sporting and feasting amongst the nobles, before he returned into Scotland, highlie praised of all estates for his noble port and great liberalitie there shewed amongst them. Not long after, one sir Robert Morlaie an Englishman, came into Scotland to trie his manhood in singular battell, with whome soeuer would come against him: he vanquished one Archembald Edmounston, and Hugh Wallase: but at length he was ouercome by one Hugh Traill at Berwike, and died shortlie after vpon displeasure thereof conceiued.

Praise of the erle of Crawford.

Sir Robert Morlaie.

In the same yéere, Richard king of England, maried

married Iſabell daughter to the French king, and ſone after went into Ireland, to ſubdue ſuch Iriſh rebels, as troubled the quiet ſtate of the countrie. But in the meane time, his lords at home rebelled againſt him, and determined to depoſe him from the crowne, ſo that vpon his returne into England, he was apprehended, put in ward, and ſhortlie after conſtreined to renounce all his right to the crowne, and adiudged therewith to perpetuall priſon: yet at length (as the Scotiſh chronicle telleth) he got forth of priſon diſguiſed in womans apparell, and came into Galloway, where he fell in ſeruice with a Scotiſh man named Makdonald. But at the laſt, being bewrayed and knowen what he was, and therevpon brought to king Robert, he was right honorablie by him interteined: neuertheleſſe, knowing himſelfe depoſed from his roiall eſtate, he gaue himſelfe wholie to contemplation, till finallie he departed this world at Sterling, and was buried in the blacke friers there within the ſame towne, as the ſame Scotiſh chronicles vntrulie do report. But to the matter, Henrie the ſonne of John of Gaunt, ſometime duke of Lancaſter, after that king Richard was depoſed, was crowned king of England at Weſtminſter, the thirtenth day of October, in the yere 1399.

In the yere nert inſuing, that is to ſay, 1400, king Robert, in conſideration of a ſumme of monie to him aforehand paid, contracted couenants of mariage to be had and made betwirt his ſonne the duke of Rothſaie, and the earle of Marches daughter. But Archembald earle of Dowglas, hauing indignation that the earle of March ſhould be preferred before him, by ſupport of the duke of Albanie, procured a councell to be called, in the which he found meanes to aſſure his daughter the ladie Margerie, or Marie (as ſaith Buchanan) vnto the ſaid duke of Rothſaie, & with all ſpeed went about to conſummate the mariage betwirt them, to put the matter out of all doubt. The earle of March perceiuing this dealing, came to the king, and required to know his pleaſure, if he minded to performe the couenants concluded, concerning the mariage betwirt the prince and his daughter, or not; making as it were a great complaint of that which was alreadie done to the breach thereof; and receiuing anſwer nothing agreeable to his mind, he departed in a great fume, not ſticking to ſay, he would be reuenged on ſuch vntruth per it were long. Shortlie after he fled into England, leauing his caſtell of Dunbar well ſtuffed of all things neceſſarie for defenſe, in the keeping of his ſiſters ſonne named Robert Haitland. But when Archembald Dowglaſſe came thither in the kings name, and required to haue the caſtell rendered into his hands, this Robert Haitland obeied the kings commandement, and deliuered the houſe to the ſaid Dowglaſſe.

George earle of March informed hereof, procured all his friends to conueie themſelues into England, and determined with himſelfe to do all the diſpleaſure and miſchiefe he might inuent againſt his owne native countrie. King Robert ſore dreading, leaſt by this earles procurement ſome trouble might hap to follow amongeſt his ſubiects [did (firſt confiſcating his goods) ſend] an herald at armes into England with letters vnto him, promiſing by the tenure of the ſame, not onelie to pardon him of all offenſes committed, but alſo to redreſſe all wrongs or iniuries which he had anie waies forth receiued, if he would returne into Scotland. And forſomuch as the earle of March refuſed this offer, the ſame herald according to inſtructions giuen him at his departure from king Robert, went immediatlie to Henrie king of England with other letters, earneſtlie deſiring him to cauſe the earle of March to depart out of his realme, & not to receiue anie rebels out of Scotland into his bounds, whereby the peace might be violated, which as yet remained betwirt the two kingdomes.

Sent letters alſo vnto the king of England.

King Henrie vpon reaſonable allegations (as he pretended) refuſed to ſatiſfie king Roberts petitions in this behalfe, by reaſon whereof the peace brake betwirt them and their ſubiects, without anie further tracting of time. For ſhortlie after, Henrie Perſie, ſurnamed (as is ſaid) Henrie Hotſpur, and the earle of March entered into Scotland, and got togither a great bootie of goods and cattell [in Louthian about Hadington, at what time they did in vaine beſiege the caſtell of Hais or Halis, who being at Lintone were come vpon by the Scots, for (to haue returne of the booties taken) Archembald earle of Dowglaſſe] hauing aſſembled a power of men, came with the ſame towards the enimies, immediatlie wherevpon they fled to Berwike, and left all their bootie behind them, which being recouered by the ſaid earle of Dowglaſſe and his companie, he returned backe vnto Edenburgh, where he ſhortlie after being taken with an hot feuer, departed out of this life, leauing behind him an honorable memorie of his name, for his high proweſſe and noble valiancie ſhewed in manie and ſundrie enterpriſes, by him luckilie atchiued for the wealth of his countrie. He was named of his terrible countenance and dreadfull looke, The grim Dowglaſſe.

Henrie Hotſpur and the earle of March enter into Scotland. Fr. Thin.

The deceaſſe of Archembald earle of Dowglaſſe.

After his deceaſſe, his ſecond ſonne that was called likewiſe Archembald, was made earle of Dowglaſſe; for his eldeſt ſonne William Dowglaſſe died in the yere before his father. Shortlie after, Henrie king of England came into Scotland with an armie, without doing anie great damage to the people; for he required no more of them that kept anie caſtels or ſtrengths, but onelie to put forth a banner of his armes as he paſſed by. At his comming to Hadington, he was lodged in the nunrie there, & ſhewed much bounteous humanitie toward the nuns, and all other of that houſe, not ſuffering anie manner of thing to be done preiudiciall to the ſame. The like gentleneſſe he vſed towards them of the Holie rood houſe, at his comming to Edenburgh, wherein he likewiſe lodged. It is thought, that in memorie of the friendlie interteinement, which his father the duke of Lancaſter found in theſe abbeies, at the time of his being in Scotland, when the rebellion chanced in England, through Jacke Straw and his complices, he ſhewed ſuch fauour towards them at this preſent. To be briefe, it ſhould appere, that king Henrie came into Scotland, as it were inforced, more thorough counſell of his nobles, than for anie hatred he bare towards the Scots, as he well ſhewed in returning backe againe, without doing them anie further iniurie.

Henrie king of England inuadeth Scotland.

[In the yere after, or thereabout, died Walter Trailie biſhop of ſaint Andrewes, and the] Scotiſh quene Annabell Drommond, after whoſe deceaſſe hir ſonne Dauid the duke of Rothſaie, that vnder hir gouernment had bene well and vertuouſlie brought vp, hauing now got once the reine at libertie, fell to all kind of inſolent outrage, ſeeking to defile wiues, virgins, nuns, and all other kind of women, in all places where he came. At length, his father perceiuing his ſonnes youthfull nature to rage after that manner in vnbridled luſt, beyond the bounds of all meaſure, to the great reproch of them both, wrote to his brother the duke of Albanie, requiring him to take his ſonne, the ſaid duke of Rothſaie into his cuſtodie, and to ſee him ſo chaſtiſed for his wanton behauiour, as he might learne to amend the ſame. ¶ Here is to be noted, that the duke of Albanie had of long

Fr. Thin.

The death of quene Annabell.

The inſolent outrage of the duke of Rothſaie.

time before, desired to see the duke of Rothsaie dispatched out of the way, as the person whome he most doubted; & therefore hauing commission thus from the king to take him, he reioised not a little, trusting thereby to compasse his purpose without danger. And heerevpon taking the duke of Rothsaie betwirt Dundee & saint Andrewes, he brought him to Falkeland, where he shut him vp in streict prison, and kept him without all manner of meat or drinke, so to famish him to death.

The duke of Rothsaie committed to prison.

It is said, that a woman vnderstanding the duke of Albanies intention, and taking ruth of the others pitifull case, found meanes to let meale fall downe thorough a rift of the loft of that tower wherein he was inclosed, by meanes whereof his life was certeine daies susteined; but after this was once knowen, incontinentlie was the woman made awaie. On the same manner, an other woman through a long reed fed him with milke of hir owne breists, and was likewise dispatched as soone as hir doings were perceiued. Then after this, the duke destitute of all worldlie sustenance, thorough verie famine was constreined to eat not onelie all such filth as he could find within the tower, but also in the end he gnawed off his owne fingers, and so finallie in this miserable state of martyrdome (as I may call it) ended his wretched life, and was buried in Lundoris, where (as the fame went) manie faire miracles were done neere to his graue, till time that James the first began to punish the murtherers, for since that time such miracles ceassed.

The duke of Rothsaie famished to death.

Miracles.

About the same time, George earle of March did manie displeasures to the Scots, making sundrie rodes into their countrie, greatlie to his profit. The earle of Dowglasse that had the gouernement of Louthian in those daies, tooke order, that certeine capteins of that countrie should euerie one of them for his turne, with a competent number for the time, make a rode into England, to reuenge such displeasures. The first that went, was Thomas Haliburton of Dirlington, who returned in safetie with a great preie taken of Englishmens goods. Next vnto him was Patrike Hepborne of the Halis the yonger, appointed to go forth as capteine generall with a certeine number, who entering into England, got a great bootie togither; but the Englishmen following there vpon to recour it, incountered with him at Nesbet in the Mers, and there not onelie slue him, but also distressed his people. Besides them that were slaine with their capteine, there were also manie that were taken, as John and William Cockborne, Robert Lawder of the Bas, John and Thomas Haliburton, with manie other. Almost all the floure of Louthian (as Iohn Maior writeth) perished in this battell, which was fought the 22 of June, in the yeare 1402.

The displeasures done by George earle of March.

The earle of Dowglas gouernour of Louthian.

Thomas Haliburton.

Patrike Hepborne slaine at Nesbet.

1402.

Archembald Dowglas inuadeth England.

Archembald earle of Dowglasse sore displeased, and wonderfullie wroth in his mind for this ouerthrow, got commission to inuade England with an armie of ten thousand men, and hauing the same once readie with all things necessarie for his voiage, he set forward, and entering into England, burnt and harried the countrie, not staieng till he came as farre as Newcastell. In this armie there was with the Dowglasse, Murdocke eldest sonne to duke Robert earle of Fife, Thomas erle of Murrey, George earle of Angus, with manie other lords and nobles of Scotland. At the last, when they were returning homewards with a preie of infinit goods and riches, Henrie Hotspur, and George earle of March, with a great power of men met them, and assailed them so with such incessant shot of arrowes, that where the earle of Dowglas with his armie had the aduantage of an hill, called Homildon, he was constreined to forsake the same; and comming downe vpon the Englishmen, was neuertheless put to the worsse, the most part of his people being either taken or slaine. It is said, that after the Scots were once put to flight, they gathered againe, and renewed the battell by the exhortation of Adham Gordon, & sir Iohn Swinton, but that did little availe them, for they were still beaten downe and slaine. Among other of those that were slaine, were the same sir John Swinton, and Adham Gordon: also John Leuinston of Kalender, Alexander Ramsaie of Dalhousie, with sundrie other gentlemen & nobles of Scotland.

The nobles of Scotland in this armie.

Henrie Hotspur and the earle of March assaile the Scots at Homildon.

The Scots through fore of the Englishmens shot descend the hill.

The Scots are put to the worsse.

Adham Gordon.

Men of name slaine.

Archembald earle of Dowglas, Murdocke Steward eldest sonne to duke Robert the gouernour, George erle of Angus, Robert Erskin of Gallowaie, the lord Saulton, James Dowglas maister of Dalkeith, and his two brethren Iohn and William, with the most part of all the barons of Fife and Louthian, were taken prisoners. This battell was fought on the Rod day in haruest, in the yeare 1403, vpon a Tuesday. Henrie Persie verie proud of this victorie, came with the earle of March vnto the castell of Cockclauis in Teuidale, and laied siege to the same, but Iohn Greinelow capteine thereof defended it so manfullie, that they got no great aduantage; yet at length he fell to this composition with them, that if he had no rescue within the space of three moneths [or (as Buchanan saith) fiftie daies] the castell should be then rendered into their hands. When the gouernour of Scotland was informed what agreement the capteine of Cockclauis had made, he assembled the lords in counsell to haue their aduise for the leauieng of an armie against the time appointed. There were manie of this opinion, that it was better to lose the castell, than to leopard the liues of so manie men as were necessarie to furnish that enterprise for the sauing of it. But the gouernour shewed, that he weied the losse of it so much, that if none of the nobles would passe with him to the rescue thereof, yet he would go himselfe to do what in him might lie to saue it. But in the meane time, such trouble rose in England, that there needed no power to be leauied for the defense of Cockclauis. For by a conspiracie practised against king Henrie, certeine of the English nobilitie were alied togither to haue destroied him, but amongest the residue, the Persies were as chiefe.

Prisoners taken.

Buch. 1401. 1402. H.B.

The castell Cockclauis besieged.

A compositio

Fr. Thin.

A conspiracie against king Henrie by the Persies and other.

They fought togither at Shrewesburie a verie bloudie battell, where the king got the victorie, and slue the lord Persie, surnamed (as before ye haue heard) Henrie Hotspur. At this battell was also the earle of Dowglas, with a great companie of Scottishmen on the Persies side, for being taken prisoner at the battell of Homildon (as before is said) it was accorded betwirt him and the said Henrie Hotspur, that aiding him & other his complices against king Henrie, if it chanced the said king Henrie to be vanquished and put from the crowne, according to their intent and purpose, then should the said earle Dowglas be released of his ransome, and haue the towne of Berwike rendered vnto him in reward of his aid and assistance. He fought (as is reported) with singular manhood, and had the fore ward on the Persies side. He slue that day with his owne hands, three gentlemen arraied in the kings cote armour; and finallie when the battell was lost, he was taken in the chase, and saued aliue, where not one more of all his retinue of Scots escaped with life, but were all slaine out of hand. Neither was this victorie gotten by king Henrie, without great slaughter of those that were on his part, for he lost foure verie valiant knights, as Stalwart, Blunt, Massie, and Pottoke, with seuen hundred other souldiers and men of war (as

Shrewesburie field.

The earle of Dowglasse & Shrewesburie field in aid of the Persies.

He led the fore ward there.

He is taken prisoner.

(as the Scotiſh writers haue) but the Engliſh authors name a farre greater number, as ſixteene hundred at the leaſt.

King Henrie (as the ſame Scotiſh writers do record) vſed the counſell & aduiſe of the earle of March, in the obteining of this victorie, being fled latelie before from the rebels ſide to him. The earle of Dowglas, in reſpect of his noble parentage and high valiancie, was verie tenderlie cheriſhed by king Henrie, who for that he had ſeene him do ſo valiantlie in the day of that battell, reputed him worthie of all honor. The earle of Dowglas yet was verie infortunat in moſt of his enterpriſes, ſo farre forth, that he neuer wan battell wherein he chanced to be, and was therefore named Archembald Tinneman; though there were no default to be found at anie time in his owne perſon, for he euer fought with great manhood. At the battell of Hommildon he loſt one of his eies, and at this battell of Shrewesburie he loſt one of his ſtones. The old earle of Northumberland, hearing that euill ſucceſſe his ſonne and other his kinſmen had found in their rebellious enterpriſe at Shrewesburie, with one of his nephues (that was his ſonnes ſonne) and other of his friends and kinſmen, withdrew into Scotland, where he was receiued by Henrie Wardlow biſhop of ſaint Andrewes, and lodged with him at his eaſe and in good ſuertie within his caſtell of ſaint Andrews aforeſaid.

The earle of Dowglas infortunat in battell.

His ſurname Tinneman.

The earle of Northumberland fled into Scotland.

About the ſame time, king Robert was aduertiſed, that his ſonne the duke of Rothſaie was pined to death in Falkland (in manner as before is expreſſed) which newes were ſo greeuous vnto him, that he grew each day more and more in ſorow and melancholie. The duke of Albanie kept it ſo long as was poſſible from the kings knowledge, and being now ſent for by the king to anſwer him for ſuch treaſonable ſlaughter of his ſonne, he came, and ſo excuſed the matter with a faire painted tale, as though he had beene nothing guiltie in the cauſe, and for further declaration of his innocencie, he promiſed (if it might pleaſe the king to come vnto Edenburgh) he would bring in the offendors which were culpable of the murther. The king as then remaining in Bute (where for the moſt part he euer ſoiourned) though he were not well able to trauell by reaſon of long ſickneſſe, yet in a chariot he came vnto Edenburgh, vpon the earneſt deſire he had to ſee his ſons death puniſhed. And at his comming thither, the duke of Albanie deliuered vnto him certeine naughtie perſons, & ſuch in deed, as for their heinous acts and vngratious conditions deſerued well to die (though not for this matter) which neuertheleſſe by vntrue ſuggeſtions and forged accuſements, being brought before corrupt iudges (and ſuch as the duke of Albanie had prouided for his purpoſe) were condemned as giltie of his death, whome in all their life time they neuer ſaw.

The death of the duke of Rothſaie commeth to the knowledge of his father.

The duke of Albanie excuſeth himſelfe.

The king commeth to Edenburgh.

Giltleſſe perſons condemned.

Though this matter was handled as finelie as was poſſible, and made ſo ſound and cleare as could be deuiſed; yet was not the king ſo ſatisfied in his mind, but that he had a great ſuſpicion in the duke of Albanie as author of his ſonnes death: but for ſo much as the duke had all the realme vnder his obeiſance, partlie by policie, and partlie by authoritie of his office, being gouernor thereof, the king durſt not attempt anie thing againſt him, but rather doubted, leaſt he hauing an ambitious deſire to the crowne, would compaſſe alſo to haue the life of his ſecond ſonne (named James) as then prince of Scotland; and therefore by the faithfull helpe & good aduiſe of Walter Wardlaw the biſhop of ſaint Andrews, he prouided a ſhip, and ſent the ſaid prince forth in the ſame to paſſe into France to K. Charls the ſixt, deliuering him alſo a letter written and directed vnto the king of England in his fauour, if he chanced at vnwares by anie fortune to fall into the Engliſhmens hands.

The ſuſpicion of the king towards the duke of Albanie.

The king ſendeth away his ſonne the prince.

Henrie lord Sinclare, the ſecond earle of Orkeneie, was appointed to haue the conuete of him, who hauing all his purueiance readie, tooke the ſhip that was appointed for them at the Baſſe, where it laie at anchor, and loſing from thence, they ſailed forward till they came to Flamburgh head, where (as ſome ſay) they were taken on the ſea by Engliſhmen, the which hearing how the prince of Scotland ſhould paſſe that waies, laie in wait for him. Others write, that his deſire was to be ſet on land there, becauſe he might not awaie with the aire of the ſea, being brought far out of quiet in his head & ſtomach therewith. But how ſoeuer it was, the truth is, taken he was in the ninth yeare of his age, the 33 day of March, in the yeare of our incarnation 1406, and was kept in captiuitie of the Engliſhmen by the ſpace of eightéene yeares. At his comming to the preſence of king Henrie, he deliuered to him the letter directed from his father king Robert, the tenor whereof here inſueth, as in the Scotiſh toong they be written.

James prince of Scotland taken by the Engliſhmen. H.B. 1404.

The tenor of the ſaid letter as it *is written in the Scotiſh* toong.

RObert king of Scots to Henrie king of England greeting. Thy great magnificence, humilitee, and iuſtice, are right patent to vs, by gouernance of thy laſt armie in Scotland; howbeit ſike things had beene vncerteine to vs afore. For though thou ſeemed as enemie with moſt awfull incurſions in our realme: zit we found mair humanities and plaiſures than damage (by thy cumming) to our ſubdittes. Specialie to yame that receiuit thy noble fader the duke of Longcaſtell the time of his exill in Scotland. We may not ceis yairfore, wuhile wee are on life, but aye luyk and loik thee as maiſt noble and worthie prince, to ioys thy realme. For yocht realmes and nations contend amang themſelfe for conqueſts of glorie & launds, zit na occaſioun is amang vs to inuade athir realmes or lieges with iniuries, bot erar to contend amang our ſelfe, quhay ſall perſew othir with maiſt humanitee and kindneſſe. As to vs we will meis all occaſion of battell, quare any occurres at thy pleaſure. Forther, becauſe we haue na leſſe ſollicitude in preſeruing our childzen fra certaine deidlie enimies, than had ſometime thy noble fader, we are conſtreined to ſeeke ſupport at vncowth princes hands. Howbeit, the inuaſioun of enimies is ſa great, that ſmall defenſe occurres againſt yame without they by preſerued by amitie of nobill men. For the warld is ſa full of peruerſit malice, that na crueltie nor offenſe may be deuiſit in erd, bot the ſamine may be wrought be motion of gold or ſiluer. Heirfore, becauſe we knaw thy hyneſſe full of monie, noble vertues, with ſike puiſſance and riches, that na prince in our daies may be compared thairto: we deſire thy

humanitæ and suppoꝛt at this time.

We traist it is not vnknowen to thy maiestie, how our eldest sonne Dauid is slaine miserablie in pꝛisoun be our bꝛothir the duke of Albanie, quhome wæ chesit to be gouernour (quan we were fallen in decrepit age) to our subdittes and realme, beseekand thy hienes thairfoꝛe to be sa fauoꝛable, that this bearer James our second and allanerlie sonne may haue targe to liefe vnder thy faith, and iustice, to be some memoꝛie of our posteritie, knawand the vnstable conditioun of mans life sa sodanlie altered: now flurisaund, and sudenlie falling to vtter consumptioun. Foꝛthir beliefe well, quhan kings and pꝛinces hes na other beild bot in thair awin folks, thair empire is caduke and fragill. Foꝛ the minds of common people ar eurr flowaund and mair inconstant than wind. Zit quen pꝛinces ar roboꝛat be amitæ of othir vncowth kings thair bꝛethir and nighbouris, na aduerſitie may occurre to eiect thaim fra thair dignitie riall. Foꝛthir gif thy hienes thinke nocht expedient (as God foꝛbeid) to obtemper to thir owꝛ desires; zit we requeſt ane thing quhilk was ratifiſt in our laſt trewes & conditioun of peace, that the supplicatioun made be ony of the two kings of Ingland and Scotland sall staund in manner of saufeconduct to the bearer. And thus we desire to be obseruat to this our allanerlie sonne, and the gratious God conserue thæ maist noble pꝛince.

After that king Henrie had causeꝺ these letters to be opened and read, he aduiſed himselfe thereon with great deliberation; but in the end, he determined to staie this James pꝛince of Scotland as his lawfull pꝛisoner, foꝛ that he was thus taken in time of warres, and that moꝛeouer, there were diuers rebels of England succoꝛed within the bounds of his fathers dominion, to the high displeasure of the said king Henrie. But such was the fauour shewed in his bꝛinging vp, that his captiuitie turned moꝛe to his honoꝛ, pꝛofit, and commoditie, than anie other woꝛldlie hap that might by anie means haue otherwise chanced vnto him. He had such perfect instructoꝛs to teach him, aſwell the vnderſtanding of tongs as the sciences, that he became right expert and cunning in euerie of them. He was taught also to ride, to run at the tilt, and handle all kind of weapons conuenientlie to be vsed of such a personage, whereunto he was so apt and readie, that few in anie point of actiuitie might ouermatch him. He had good knowledge in musike, and could plaie on sundꝛie instruments right perfectlie. To be bꝛiefe, it appeared in all his behauiour and maners, in what companie so euer he came, that his bꝛinging vp had bœne according to his nature, neither of them differing from his birth, and the qualitie of a noble and most vertuous pꝛince.

After it was signified vnto his father king Robert, as he sat at super, that his sonne was thus arrested in England, he made full great and dolorous mone, soꝛe lamenting that euer he matched himselfe in mariage with a woman of so meane degrée (to the disparagement of his bloud) as was quœne Annabell, on whome he begat his sonnes, which (as he toke it) was the onelie cause why aſwell foꝛraine pꝛinces as his owne subiects had him thus in contempt. He toke this matter so soꝛe to hart, that within thꝛee daies after the newes came vnto him, he departed this woꝛld thꝛough foꝛce of sickneſſe, now increased by melancholie, which had vexed him a long time befoꝛe. He died at Rothsaie in the sixteenth yœre of his reigne complet, and from the incarnation 1408. His bodie was buried at Paſleie, with his wife quœne Annabell befoꝛe rehearsed. He was a man of a mightie stature, verie liberall and gentle, so that if he had not bœne maimed with a hoꝛſſe, and thereby grew lame, that he might trauell about the affaires of the realme himselfe, it was thought the common-wealth should haue pꝛospered vnder his gouernement, as much as euer it did vnder anie of his pꝛedeceſſoꝛs.

The gouernoꝛ Robert duke of Albanie, after the deceaſſe of his bꝛother king Robert, was by new election chosen, oꝛ rather confirmed in his office of gouernoꝛ, which he exerciſed moꝛe vpꝛightlie, & with better iuſtice now after his bꝛothers death, than befoꝛe. [Foꝛ (as saith Buchanan) take away from him, that he was ouermuch blinded with desire to gouerne (whereunto he cared not by anie means to aſpire) there were in him manie other good parts woꝛthie to haue such gouernement: foꝛ he was baliant in battell, wiſe in counſell, he did decide matters of controuerſie with great equitie, he wan the nobilitie with his liberalitie, and did not sucke the commons dꝛie by exactions.] In the meane time, the caſtell of Jedwoꝛth (which the Engliſhmen had held euer since the battell of Durham) was taken by Tiuidalemen, and raced downe to the earth. Archembald earle of Dowglaſſe, as yet remaining captiue in England, after he had knowledge of king Roberts death, made shift to agrée foꝛ his ransome, and so being set at libertie, returned with all speed now at length vnto Scotland.

Shoꝛtlie after, there was a councell called, wherein was a motion made foꝛ the reſtoꝛing of Geoꝛge earle of March to his countrie, lands, and bloud. After long debating of the matter, and hard hold to and fro both with him and againſt him, it was in the end concluded, that he should returne into Scotland, and be receiued as a true Scotiſhman; but vnder this condition, that he should foꝛgo his lands of Annerdale, and Lochmaben, which should foꝛ euer remaine to the Dowglaſſe, and to his heires. All his other lands and poſſeſſions, it was accoꝛded, that he should inioy as in his foꝛmer right & eſtate. And thus was the earle of March pardoned of all paſſed offenses committed againſt the crowne of Scotland, and returned home, to the great comfoꝛt of his friends.

✻ Perſie that before was fled into Scotland to the erle of March his old friend, was courteouſlie receiued, interteined, & nouriſhed accoꝛding to his eſtate, by the said earle of March: during which time, he ſolliciteꝺ his friends in England to find means foꝛ returne into his countrie. And amongſt other of his friends, with whom he dealt by secret meſſengers; he directed letters concerning the same, to an old (and as he deemed a moſt faithfull) friend of his, called Rafe Rokſbie, declaring vnto him that he should not want friends, both Scotiſh & Engliſh (thꝛough whoſe helpe he did not deſpaire to recouer his patrimonie) if he might haue his aid also therein, foꝛ this Rafe was shiriffe of Yoꝛkshire. This man, after he had intiſed Perſie (vnder the aſſurance of falſe hope and truſt in him) to come into England, he opened the conſpiracie to the king, and secretlie laid wait to intercept the said earle, by which meanes, (getting him into his poſſeſſion) he cut off his head, and sent it to the king to London. At which time also, there was an Engliſhman in Scotland, which called himselfe Richard the second: but falſlie (as I suppoſe

James the pꝛince of Scotland staied as pꝛiſoner in England.

His bꝛinging vp.

An happie captiuitie.

His instructoꝛs in the tongs.

His training in warlike exercises.

His knowledge in muſike.

The griefe of his father K. Robert.

The death of king Robert the third.

1406, Buch. 1408.

His buriall.

His ſtature and qualities

The duke of Albanie confirmed gouernoꝛ of the realme.

Fr. Thin.

Jedwoꝛth caſtell taken.

The earle of Dowglaſſe is releaſed and returneth into Scotland

A motion made foꝛ the reſtoꝛing of the earle of March to his countrie.

The earle of March reſtoꝛed home.

Fr. Thin.

Buchanan. 1409.

ſuppoſe, ſaith Buchanan; for when the elder Perſie did often and importunatlie require to talke with him, he could neuer be perſuaded by anie mens words to come, or enter ſpæch to, or with the ſaid earle of Northumberland, fearing (belike) leaſt his deceipt would be vnderſtood by him, which knew his owne and true king verie well. This counterfeit king yet boaſting him to be of the princelie bloud, was honored accordinglie; after certeine yeares, and at length (feining himſelfe to be far from all deſire of gouernement, to the end he might worke his effect the more ſafelie) he died and was buried in the church of the frier Dominicks in Sterling, with a title of the king of England grauen vpon him.)

Rebellion moued by Donald of the Iles.

About the ſame time, there roſe great trouble in Scotland, by the rebellion of Donald of the Iles, who claming by right of his wife, a title to the earldome of Roſſe, was defeated of the ſame, by the practiſe of the gouernor, hauing by ſubtill conueiance, aſſured the ſaid earldome vnto his ſecond ſon the earle of Buchquhane named John. The foreſaid Donald, by way of ſupplication, beſought the gouernor to doo him reaſon; but he receiued nought, except it were froward ſpæch, wherewith he toke ſuch diſpleaſure, that raiſing all the power of the Iles he came into Roſſe, and ſubdued the ſame at his pleaſure. ✠ The which to make the matter more plaine, and to deduce his title out of Leſleus (which he forgetteth not to report for the honor of his owne houſe) I will ſet the ſame downe in this maner.

Donald ſubdued Roſſe. Fr. Thin. Leſleus lib. 7. cap. 268.

Walter Leſle a noble man, after ſingular proweſſe ſhewed by him (in externall battell) vnder the Romans, returned with honor into Scotland, where he maried the daughter of William earle of Roſſe, (ſlaine at the battell of Halidon) and with hir obteined the earldome of that prouince, of which wife he raiſed one ſonne called Alexander, after earle of Roſſe; and one daughter giuen in mariage to Donald of the Iles. This Alexander toiued himſelfe in mariage with Eufemie the daughter of Robert the gouernor, and had by hir one onelie daughter and heire chriſtened after the name of hir mother, who (after the death of hir father, being yet a tender maid and vnpractiſed in the courſe of things) was partlie by the flatteries, and partlie by the threats of the gouernor, induced to giue the earldome of Roſſe vnto him, by whoſe helpe, as it was reported, ſhe ſhortlie after died. Wherevpon, Donald that had to wife the ſiſter of Alexander Leſle (aunt to this Eufemie which ſold hir inheritance) demanding the erldome of Roſſe by right of inheritance (as is ſaid) by his wife, entered Roſſe, and brought it to his ſubiection. But not being ſatiſfied with this, he paſſed through Murrey, Boghtuall, and other bounds thereabouts, till he came vnto Garioch, purpoſing to burne Aberden.

The earldome of Roſſe tranſferred from the line of Walter Roſſe to the Stewards.

The earle of Mar.

But Alexander Steward earle of Mar, hauing gathered a power with all diligence to reſiſt this Donald, met with him at a village called Harlow, & incontinentlie not ſtaieng for more aid that was comming towards him, ſet on the enimies more raſhlie than orderlie, and more fiercelie than diſcreetlie, not paſſing for keeping anie accuſtomed arraie of battell, as had bæne requiſit. By reaſon whereof, great ſlaughter was made on either part, the victorie in the end being ſo doubtfull, that both parts were faine to withdraw out of the field, and flee to the next mounteins, as glad to be ſeuered the one from the other. There was ſlaine on Donalds part nine hundred men, with Makclane, and Makinthos. On the earle of Marres ſide, there died Alexander Ogiluie ſhiriffe of Angus, with ſeuen knights of name, and diuers other gentlemen, with commons, to the number of ſix hundred. This battell was ſtriken on ſaint Iames euen, in the yeare 1411. Donald of the Iles, after this bickering wholie granted the victorie to his enimies, in flæing all the night long after the battell towards Roſſe; and from thence with like ſpæd he paſſed ouer into the Iles.

The battell of Harlow.

Doubtfull victorie.

The number ſlaine.

1411. Donald of the Iles fleeth.

In the yeere next following, the gouernor prepared to make a iournie into the Iles, to chaſtiſe the foreſaid Donald; but he through feare of further damage, ſubmitted himſelfe, and was ſworne neuer to procure anie trouble to the realme in time to come. Not long after the battell of Harlow, Patrike Dunbar, ſecond ſonne to the earle of March, with one hundred of hardie perſons, came earlie one morning ſomewhat before the breake of the day to Faſt caſtell, and wan the ſame, taking the capteine priſoner, whoſe name was Thomas Holdon. At the ſame time was the bridge of Rorburgh broken downe, and the towne burnt by William Dowglaſſe of Drumlanerik, Gawan Dunbar another of the erle of Marches ſonnes, and diuerſe others. In the ſame yeere (or rather in the yeere before) the vniuerſitie of ſaint Andrews was firſt founded, which afterwards was furniſhed with diuerſe notable learned men brought in and placed there by James the firſt, to the end that by their inſtructions his people might increaſe in learning, to the further aduancement of vertue, laudable maners, and all ſorts of ciuill cuſtomes. Amongeſt ſundrie other expert men in all ſciences which he brought into Scotland, there were 18 doctors of diuinitie, & 8 doctors of the canon law.

1412. Donald of the Iles ſubmitteth himſelfe.

Faſt caſtell wonne.

1410. Buc.

The bridge of Rorburgh broken downe

1411

The firſt beginning of the vniuerſitie of S. Andrews.

Doctors of diuinitie, and of the canon law. Fr. Thin.

✠ From this time by the ſpace of ten yeeres (ſaith Buchanan) there was almoſt nothing done worthie of memorie, betweene the Scots and the Engliſh, either becauſe the truce occaſioned it (which yet I find not mentioned of anie man) either for that Henrie the fourth, king of England, being dead, and his ſonne Henrie the fift reigning in his place, and being all the time of his gouernement buſied in the warres of France, the Engliſh ceaſſed to offer iniuries to the Scots: or for that the gouernor of the Scots durſt not moue anie thing againſt the Engliſh, fearing leaſt the K. of England would then returne home the right and true heire of Scotland, who (he was moſt aſſured ſhould find fauour againſt him) in the hearts of his owne people, that would tenderlie pitie the miſfortune of his impriſonment, and ſeeke to eſtabliſh him in the kingdome. Wherefore if there were anie thing done in that meane time, they were but ſome few and ſmall excurſions within the realme, which more aptlie might be called robberies & ſpoiles, than anie right wars. For as Pennure in England was burned by Archembald Dowglas, ſo (to anſwer the ſame) Dunfreis in Scotland was in the like order deſtroied by the Engliſh. Beſides which there was a certeine exchange of priſoners of the one nation with the other: for Mordac the ſonne of the gouernor (taken at Halidon) was returned into Scotland, and Perſie (who was brought out of England by his grandfather into Scotland, and left vnder the protection of the gouernor) was deliuered to the Engliſh, and after by the new king of England was reſtored to the title & lands of his anceſtors earles of Northumberland.

This man (though by the lawes of armes he was no captiue) yet the vniuſt deteining of James the ſonne of the king of Scots ſtoped the mouths of the Engliſh, that they could not complaine of anie iniurie done in deteining him. The doing whereof ſo little offended this Perſie, that while he liued, he did (with all kind of courteſie) giue witnes of the humanitie ſhewed vnto him by the Scots. Not much different from this time, came two ambaſſadors into Scotland, the one from the councell of Conſtance (whereof

the chiefe was the abbat of Pontineac) and the other was from Peter de Luna, who did ſtiflie reteine and defend the papaſie, whereof he had once gotten poſſeſſion, which Peter by the trauell and perſuaſion of Henrie Hardine (an Engliſh man, and a Franciſcane frier) had drawne the gouernor of Scotland to follow his faction, which yet ſucceeded to none effect: becauſe the vniuerſall companie of the cleargie ſtiffelie labored againſt it, and did ſubſcribe to the depoſition of Peter, and to the councell of Conſtance for the election of Martine the fift to the papaſie.

The earle of Stratherne ſlaine.

Much what about the ſame time, John Drummond ſlue Patrike Graham earle of Stratherne, by traitorous meanes, and thereupon fled into Ireland: but as he was about to haue paſſed from thence ouer into England, the veſſell wherein he ſailed, was driuen on the coaſt of Scotland, where hée was taken, and afterwards loſt his head for the ſaid offenſe. Shortlie after alſo, there roſe great warres betwixt England and France, as in the hiſtories of thoſe realmes may more plainlie appeare. There was alſo a great rebellion raiſed in Wales, againſt Henrie the fift king of England, which was the ſon of Henrie the fourth latelie deceaſſed. ¶ We find in the Scotiſh chronicles, that this Henrie the fift, at his returning forth of France, after his firſt iournie thither (hauing in the ſame woone the towne of Harfléet, & diſcomfited the whole power of France at Agincourt) was conſtreined to go againſt the Welſhmen, and incountering with the prince of Wales, was diſcomfited, and loſt ten thouſand of his men: but after this, he reinforced his power, and came againe into Wales, not ceaſſing till he had brought the Welſhmen ſubiect at his pleaſure: but the Engliſh writers make no mention of anie ſuch matter.

warres betwixt England and France.

Rebellion in Wales.

Henrie the fift diſcomfited by the Welſhmen He ſubdueth them.

Whileſt things paſſed thus in England, William Haliburton wan the caſtell of Warke, and ſlue all ſuch as he found within it, howbeit ſmall while indured the ioy of this fortunate ſucceſſe to the Scots: for ſundrie Engliſhmen that knew all the ſecrets of the houſe, found means to enter through a gutter, that ſerued in maner of a ſinke, to auoid all the filth of the kitchen into the riuer of Twéed, breaking downe a pane of an old wall, and ſo made entrie for the reſidue of their fellowes; by reaſon whereof they eaſilie recouered the caſtell, and in reuenge of them that were ſlaine there when the Scots wan it, they likewiſe ſlue all thoſe which were then within it, without anie reſpect of one or other. After this, in the yéere 1419, the third day of September, Robert duke of Albanie, that had béene gouernor of Scotland for the ſpace of fifteene yéeres, after the death of king Robert the third, departed out of this life, hauing borne himſelfe in all his time as a right valiant and noble prince. [This doth Buchanan attribute to the yéere 1420, being the fiftéenth yeere after the death of Robert the third.]

The caſtell of Warke woone.

It is againe recouered.

1419.

The deceaſſe of Robert duke of Albanie. Fr. Thin.

A little before his deceaſſe, there came from Charles the French king, the earle of Vandoſme, and chancellor of France, both to renew the ancient league betwixt the two realmes of Scotland and France, & alſo to get ſome power of Scots to paſſe into France, to ſupport the ſaid Charles againſt the Engliſhmen, which as then ſore inuaded his realme. Wherevpon ſhortlie after by decrée of councell, it was ordeined, that John Steward earle of Buchquhane, ſecond ſonne to duke Robert, and Archembald Dowglas earle of Wigton, ſhould paſſe into France with ſeuen thouſand armed men. The king of England informed hereof, to cauſe the Scots to kéepe their men at home, menaced to inuade Scotland with a puiſſant armie, & that in all haſt. Which rumor being ſpred ouer all the bounds of his realme, cauſed the Scots for doubt thereof to lie all the nert ſummer on the borders: but in the meane time, king Henrie paſſed into Normandie, to purſue his wars againſt France with all diligence.

Ambaſſadors from the French king.

An armie of Scots ſent into France.

The king of England menaceth the Scots.

At length, through the procurement of the duke of Burgognie, vnder certeine conditions and couenants of agréement, king Henrie toke to wife the ladie Katharine daughter to the French king. And among other articles of the ſame agréement, it was concluded, that after the deceaſſe of Charles the French king, the crowne of France ſhould immediatlie deſcend vnto king Henrie, as lawfull inheritor vnto that realme, without all contradiction; by reaſon whereof, Charles the Dolphin, and ſonne to the ſaid king Charles, was clearelie excluded from all claime to the ſame: but this notwithſtanding, the Dolphin did not onelie refuſe to ſurrender his title, but alſo ſought to mainteine the war againſt king Henrie as his aduerſarie, and open enimie to the realme. In the meane while alſo, the earles of Buchquhane and Wigton, with Alexander Lindſeie brother to the earle of Crawford, and Thomas Swinton knights, accompanied with ſeuen thouſand well armed men, arriued in France, to the great reioiſing of the Dolphin, as he well declared in the thankfull receiuing, and moſt heartie welcomming of them. Finallie, the towne and caſtell of Chatelon in Touraine was deliuered to them, that they might haue a place at all times to reſort vnto, at their owne will and pleaſure.

The king of England marieth the daughter of the French king.

The articles of agréement.

The Dolphin of France maintaineth warre againſt the Engliſhmen.

Scotiſh ſoldiers arriued in France.

Chatelon in Touraine deliuered to the Scotiſhmen.

Fr. Thin. Buchan. li. 10

1420. Buc.

1421. N.G

✻ Shortlie after they were imploied in the battell of Bauge. For the duke of Clarence brother to the king of England (in whoſe place he was deputie and generall of the armies in France) after that he had ſpoiled and ouerrun the countrie of Anion (which hitherto had remained moſt ſtedfaſt in the obedience of the French) was comming (as it was ſuppoſed) to the towne of Bauge, about two daies before Eaſter: for which cauſe the Scots (thinking that the duke in that holie feaſt would, as the maner was, ceaſe from all violence of warre, and attend the church ceremonies appointed for thoſe times; or elſe as ſome write, by reaſon of the truce which was taken for eight daies) did more negligentlie looke vnto their eſtate than wiſdome would they ſhould haue done. The which when Clarence vnderſtood (either by Andrew Fregoſe an Italian, or by the Scotiſh forragers intercepted by his horſſemen) he reioiſed that he had ſo good occaſion offered worthilie to performe ſomething. Wherefore riſing forthwith from dinner, he commanded his horſſemen to arme themſelues, with whome he went directlie towards his enimies, at what time he was (beſides the beautie of his other furniture) richlie adorned with goodlie diadems of gold (ſet with manie pretious ſtones) and placed vpon a chaplet of iron. At whoſe ſudden approch, thoſe few French which were nére vnto them in a village called little Bauge (amongſt whom was John de la Croix) being feared, made their defenſe in flight; and for ſafegard entered the ſteeple of the nert church adioining, in the which they were hardlie after beſieged.

The battell of Bauge.

Nic. Gil.

Whileſt theſe were thus inuiron'd, the clamor and cries which was now come to the nert armie (wherein the Scots were aſſembled) ſuddenlie cauſed them with great feare to flée to their weapons. At that time the erle of Buchquhane (whileſt the others prepared themſelues) ſent thirtie archers to poſſeſſe the bridge, vnder which the nert riuer had his courſe, and through which they might paſſe ouer; where (incountering with the Engliſh enimie) Hugh Kennedie came vnto them out of the nert church (in which he ſoiorned) with a hundred of his companie halfe armed, as it often falleth out in ſuch ſudden exploits. Theſe

with

with their arrowes ſo ſtreictlie kept this ſtreict, that the horſſemen could not haue anie paſſage there, for which cauſe the duke of Clarence did firſt forſake horſſe (as the reſt of the companie did after him) began the battell on foot, and with a ſtrong aſſault made way for his men, beating from them the Scots, who were for the moſt part vnarmed, and the others not verie well armed.

After this, in the meane time whileſt Clarence taketh his horſſe againe, and ſome of the reſt ſcatteringlie do paſſe the bridge, the earle of Buchquhane commeth vpon them, & forthwith (deſirous to make triall of his people egerlie ſéeking after it) there was a bitter battell committed, with like minds of hatred the one againſt the other: for the Scots did reioiſe, that they had now obteined cauſe, time, and place, where they might (after their firſt arriuall in France) ſhew ſome token of their valure, and refute thoſe tawnts which the Frenchmen laid vpon them, obiecting that the grædineſſe of wine & vittels had brought them ouer into that countrie. With which reproch the Frenchmen are wont to vpbraid the Engliſh, the Spaniard the French, and the Affrican the Spaniard. But as the Scots were eger in a ſtrange countrie to win honor, ſo was the Engliſh no leſſe deſirous of conqueſt, greatlie diſdeining both at home and abroad, to be ſo infeſted with that implacable nature of the Scots. In which battell none did fight more valiantlie or egerlie than did the duke of Clarence himſelfe. Againſt whome (ſo noted for the richneſſe of his armor) came John Swinton, which græuouſlie wounded him in the face, and whome the earle of Buchquhane (ſtriking on the head with his mace) quite ouerthrew to the ground. Which done, the Engliſh fled, and were græuouſlie ſlaine, becauſe the ſame continued till the night ended the quarrell; which battell was fought on Eaſter eue, a little after the equinoctiall ſpring. In this battell were ſlaine of the Engliſh about 20000, amongſt whome were 26 of noble calling, whereof were the duke before ſaid, the earle of Riddeſdale, otherwiſe called the earle of Angus, & the lord Greie were part: but of the Scots and Frenchmen, there were few miſſing, and they of the meaner ſort. All which, as we haue here ſet it downe, is the common report of the death of the duke of Clarence. But the booke of Pluſcart reporteth, that the duke was ſlaine by Alexander Macelſell, a knight of Lenor, which tooke from him the coronet (whereof we ſpake before) and ſold the ſame to John Steward of Dernill, for a thouſand angels, which he after laied to pawne to Robert Huſtone, to whom he owght fiue thouſand angels; & this ſaith that booke was the moſt common report at thoſe daies. The chiefe praiſe of which victorie remained with the Scots, euen by the teſtimonie of the enuious aduerſaries, as the writer of this ſtorie ſaith vpon his credit.) At this battell alſo were a great companie of priſoners taken, amongeſt whome (as principall) were theſe, the earle of Huntington, & the earle of Summerſet, with his brother, both of them being brethren to the ladie Jane, that was after maried to king James the firſt, king of Scotland. For the high valiancie of the Scotiſhmen ſhewed in this battell, the Dolphin created the earle of Buchquhane high conſtable of France, and gaue him ſundrie townes, caſtels, and lands, therewith the better to mainteine his eſtate.

✠ King Henrie hearing of the death of his brother the duke of Clarence, did ſubſtitute for his deputie his other brother the duke of Bedford, promiſing that he would ſhortlie after come thither himſelfe with an armie of foure thouſand horſſe, and a thouſand footmen (which he performed accordinglie.) For with all ſpéd he after came into France with a mightie hoſt, and had with him James the Scotiſh king, or rather prince of Scotland, for all this while the Scots reputed him not as king, for that he was not as yet crowned: nor ſet at libertie out of the Engliſhmens hands, into the which (as before ye haue heard) he chanced to fall by his fathers life time.

The king of England taketh the prince of Scotland ouer with him into France.

The cauſe why king Henrie did take this James ouer with him at that preſent into France, was, for that he hoped by his meanes to procure all the Scotiſhmen that were in ſeruice with the Dolphin to forſake him, and to returne home into their owne countrie: but when he had broken this matter vnto the ſaid James, and promiſed, that if he could bring it to paſſe, he would not onelie remit his ranſome, but alſo ſend him into Scotland highlie rewarded with great riches: James anſwered herevnto, that he maruelled much, why he did not conſider how he had no authoritie ouer the Scots ſo long as he was holden in captiuitie, and as yet had not receiued the crowne, but (ſaith he) if it were ſo that I might be ſet at libertie, and had receiued the crowne according to the accuſtomed manner, together with the othes and homages of my ſubiects, I could then in this matter do as ſhould be thought to ſtand with reaſon; but in the meane time I ſhall deſire your grace to hold me excuſed, and not to will me to do that which I may in no wiſe performe.

The anſwer of James the king, or rather prince of Scotland.

King Henrie maruelling at the high wiſedome which appeered to be planted in the head of that young prince, left off to trauell with him anie further in this matter. In the meane time, the warres continuing betwixt the king of England and the Dolphin of France, manie townes were beſéged, woone, and ſacked, and ſundrie light bickerings and ſkirmiſhes chanced betwixt the parties, as occaſion ſerued. But the Engliſhmen ſhewed themſelues to beare ſuch hatred toward the Scots, that ſo manie as fell into their hands neuer néeded to ſtreine their friends for their ranſomes, which crueltie they put not in practiſe againſt their enimies, being of an other nation. [For king Henrie, when he had taken the towne of Meldens, hanged twentie Scots which he found therein, laieng to their charge that they had fought againſt their owne king.] At length, king Henrie fell into a græuous diſeaſe, which in ſhort time made an end of his life, notwithſtanding all the helpe that either by phyſicke or other waies might be miniſtred vnto him. The ſame yeere, that is to ſay, 1422, the French king Charles, the firt of that name, deceaſſed; after whome ſucceeded his ſonne Charles the ſeuenth, before named the Dolphin, as the cuſtome there is. By the death of theſe kings, the wars were not altogither ſo earneſtlie followed as before, whervpon the earles of Buchquhane and Wigton returned into Scotland, and ſhortlie after was an armie leuied, and ſiege laied both to Rockſburgh, and to Berwike, but for that they lay long abroad and did no good, returning home without gaine, this iournie in deriſion was called The durtie rode, or (as the Scots terme it) The dirtin raid.

The cruell dealing of the Engliſhmen towards the Scots.

Fr. Thin. Buchan. lib. 10.

The death of Henrie king of England.

1422.

The death of Charles the French king.

Rockſburgh and Berwike beſieged.

The dirtin raid.

But now to ſpeake ſomewhat concerning the order of the common-wealth in Scotland, ye ſhall vnderſtand, that after the death of Robert duke of Albanie, his ſonne Murdo Steward earle of Fife and Menteith was made gouernour, continuing in that office for the ſpace of foure yéeres, though (to confeſſe the truth) he was farre vnmeet thereto, differing much from the wiſedome and manhood of his father, for in him remained ſundrie vices, greatlie variable and contrarie one to another. In time of anie aduerſitie, he ſhewed himſelfe as a man deſpairing of all comfort or helpe: in proſperitie ſo lift vp in careleſſe inſolencie, that he had no ſtaie of himſelfe, by reaſon whereof

Murdo Steward earle of Fife elected gouernour of Scotland.

The repugnant vices reigning in Murdo Steward.

eckor Boet.

uchan. lib. 10.

priſoners taken.

The earle of Buchquhane is created conſtable of France.

Fr. Thin.

Buchan. lib. 10.

whereof ſometimes he ſuffered heinous offendors, through dread of their puiſſant friends (a thing not to be ſuffered in Scotland) to eſcape vnpuniſhed; and at other times againe, he ſhewed himſelfe more ſeuere & cruell in executing of iuſtice, than the matter required.

Thus was he ſtill in extremities, keeping no temperance nor laudable meane in anie of his doings. Hereto was he ſo negligent in chaſtiſing his ſons Walter, James, & Alexander (whether through ſoftneſſe & lacke of wit, or by reaſon he bare ſuch a fond & tender fatherlie loue toward them) that they hauing him in ſmall regard, plaied manie outragious parts, to the ſore offending of a number. At length, one of them taking diſpleaſure with his father, for that he would not giue him a falcon, the which he had long before greatlie deſired, ſtepped to him, and plucking hir beſide his fiſt, wrong hir necke from hir bodie euen preſentlie before his face. Wherevpon the father somewhat kindeled with this preſumptuous deed of the ſonne: Walter (ſaid he, for ſo was his name that had thus miſuſed him) ſith it is ſo that thou and thy brother will not be ruled by my ſoft and gentle gouernement, I ſhall bring him home yer it be long, that ſhall chaſtiſe both you and me after an other manner. And after this, he reſted not to trauell ſtill for the redéeming of James the firſt out of captiuitie, till at length he brought him home in déed, to the great wealth, ioy, and good hap of all the Scotiſh nation. ✠ For calling togither a parlement (of the nobilitie) at Perth, they conſulted of receiuing home their James impriſoned in England, and at length willinglie agréed (either for fauour they bare to the lawfull heire, or being wearied with the lothſomnes of the preſent gouernement) to ſend an ambaſſage to the king of England, to demand the reſtitution of king James. Wherevpon they diſpatched into England (to execute their deuiſe) Henrie Lichton biſhop of Aberden, Archembald Dowglaſſe (the third earle of that name, and firſt of that familie) the ſonne of Archembald Dowglaſſe, duke of Touraine, William Hcie conſtable of Scotland, Richard Cornuall archdeacon of Londane, and Alexander Jarraine a Drum, knight.)

In the meane time, the French king, Charles the ſeuenth, being ſore vexed with wars by the Engliſhmen, ſent to the earle of Buchquhane his conſtable, requiring him to returne againe with all ſpeed into France, and to bring ſo manie Scotiſhmen with him, as he conuentientlie might. This earle therefore found meanes to perſuade Archembald earle of Dowglas, father to the foreſaid earle of Wigton, to paſſe with him into France, which two earles with an armie of fiue thouſand men, or (after ſome writers) ten thouſand, tooke the ſeas, and arriued with proſperous wind and weather at Rochell, and coming to the French king, were receiued of him with all ioy and gladnes. ✠ With this companie alſo was ſent ambaſſador, Gilbert Grenlaw biſhop of Aberden, a man of great authoritie amongeſt the nobilitie of Scotland, for his ſingular wiſedome, and ſuch a perſon as with great dexteritie executed the office of the chancellorſhip of the realme. The effect of whoſe meſſage was, to comfort Charles the ſeuenth, then king of France, and to aſſerteine him, that not onelie they which were now allanded in France, but alſo all the inhabitants of Scotland would remaine ſo ſtedfaſt in his faith & friendſhip, that they would ſpend both liues and goods in the defenſe of the crowne of France, as the following experience ſhould well trie. Wherevpon the earle of Dowglaſſe was by the king for his further aduancement, honored with the title of the dukedome of Touraine. But that glorie of the Scots was ſone diminiſhed (as ſaith Leſleus) by the infortunat ſucceſſe which they had through the Engliſh at the battell of Vernoile. In which (beſides all the hired or common ſouldiers which were alſo moſt ſlaine at that time) there periſhed of the nobilitie, the two brethren of the gouernour, the earle of Buchquhane conſtable of France, Archembald Dowglas duke of Touraine, with James his ſonne and heire, Alexander Lindſeie, Thomas Swinton, Robert Steward, and manie other, as in the French and Engliſh hiſtories more largelie may apéere.

Leſleus lib. 7. pag. 270. 1424. N. Gi.

And héere a little to ſtep out of the way, becauſe in this place Buchanan girdeth at the Engliſh (as he doth in all the parts of his booke, with moſt bitter tawnts) I will a little ſhew that he hath forgotten himſelfe in the ſame: as well againſt vs generallie (as apéereth in manie places) as againſt Graſton, Humfrie Lhoid, and Hall, eſpeciallie in manie other places thereof. And therefore (readers) giue me leaue in milder ſort to ſpeake of him (being dead) than he doth of others. For although (againſt all humanitie) he do moſt bitterlie with words of heat inflame his pen againſt Humfrie Lhoid, departed the world manie yéeres (as it apéereth) before he tooke the later penne in hand (after the ouerſéeing of his old fragments) as himſelfe in his epiſtle confeſſeth, to write an hiſtorie: yet I will ſpare him in better ſort. And therefore I much muſe, that he a man ſo learned and graue, would now in his later age, when reaſon ſhould moſt rule him, ſo dip his pen in gall, as forgetting himſelfe, he ſhould be of theſe rough conditions (contrarie to all learning, which *Emollit mores, nec ſinit eſſe feros*) he would call men impudent, immodeſt, vnlearned, liers, vnbrideled, malicious, backbiters, euill tonged; and that he can rather proue the Britains to be made of dogs and brute beaſts, better than to be deſcended of Brutus. All which ſpeeches are to be found in his booke: for (if there were a fault in Lhoid) as there was none, becauſe it ſéemes he did not well conceiue his mind: could not he either reprehend error, or diſproue men, but with ſuch bitter tawnts, when they but onelie ſhew their opinion, diſſenting in orderlie ſort from others, as it is lawfull for all learned men to do? Where learned he that rhetorike, to reiect the opinion of men with dogs eloquence, and ſooner to deduce that creature (formed to the image of God, and lord of all beaſts) to be rather made of dogs than of men, and for one or two priuat perſons to inueie againſt a whole ſtate?

A digreſſion againſt Buchanan.

But Humfrie Lhoid imputeth a note of infamie to his nation (as he ſuppoſed) in diſproouing Hector Boetius, who arrogantlie (beſide all truth) hath tranſferred to his Scots, both places, perſons, and déeds, which neuer belonged to them. And is this ſo great a fault in Lhoid, when himſelfe and Leſleus biſhop of Roſſe (ſecretlie miſliking Boetius) haue in ſilence paſſed ouer a great manie imperfections in the hiſtorie of Boetius, and placed manie other things after an other ſort, referring them to other times than Boetius doth? And why ſhould he maligne Lhoid for reprehending him, whome himſelfe condemneth, & of whome he ſaith that *In deſcriptione Scotiæ quædam parùm verè prodidit, & alios in errorem induxit*, and whome for manie faults (by Boetius eſcaped) he further ſaith in the later end of his ſecond booke, that he will not defend him in ſuch errors, as no reaſon there is why he ſhould? But if from the abundance of the hart the tong and hand do ſpeake and write, I can not ſée but that by his diſtempérat ſpéeches, I muſt condemne him of ſecret grudge, not ſo much to the perſon of Lhoid, as to the whole nation, againſt which the chiefeſt part of his booke ſéemeth to be a ſtomaching inuectiue. And yet ſuch as it is, they muſt of neceſſitie follow that intreat of the hiſtorie of his nation, or elſe he will exclame againſt them (as he doth in this

place

His negligence in chaſtiſing his ſonnes.

An inſolent part of one of his ſonnes.

The words of duke Murdo to his ſon.

Duke Murdo trauelleth for the redéeming of James the firſt. Fr. Thin. Buchan. lib. 10.

Leſleus lib. 7. pag. 272.

The earle of Buchquhane returneth into France.

Fr. Thin. Leſleus lib. 7. pag. 270.

The earle of Dowglaſſe made duke of Touraine.

place of the battell of Vernoile) that they malicioulie obſcure the glozie of the Scots, following the authozitie of the aduerſarie, and not the truth of the hiſtozie written by him, oz the French nation.

And in this place of his booke, rather than he will want occaſion to tawnt and diſgrace vs by his cholerike pen, he will ſéeke a knot in a ruſh, and make a mounteine of a molehill, in ſo behement inuaieng againſt the Engliſh, that ſay that the Scots were not able to mainteine ſuch titles of honoz as were giuen them by the French: a ſimple matter to make ſuch diſcourſe vpon, and to ſtep ſo much awzie out of the courſe of the ſtozie. But thinke you Buchanan hath committed no ſuch (nay greater) faults againſt vs? Yes trulie, and that I ſuppoſe will be well pzoued at an other time, in an other treatiſe vpon his booke now iuſtlie fozbidden in England, and (as I heare) moze iuſtlie in Scotland. And hære remember I pzaie thée gentle reader, that in one place of his booke he ſaith that he ment to haue obſerued this courſe from the beginning, that he would not ſéeke to digreſſe by bypaths out of the courſe of the hiſtozie. And hath he ſo ſone fozgotten that in the firſt fozehead of his booke, almoſt thzée leaues togither, & alſo in manie other parts of the ſame (as well as in this place of the battell of Vernoile) he hath lept manie miles out of the way, with bitter wozds to tawnt Humfrie Lhoid, Grafton, Hall, & all the Engliſh hiſtozies, and by manie whole pages (in manie parts of his wozke) with much ſpence of powder and ſhot, to batter the credit of the Engliſh writers. Theſe trulie were not parts of ſuch a perſon, as the place (which he had about the pzince whileſt he liued) required. But inough of this by me (who am not *Honorarius arbiter*, and will be no ſeuere cenſurer of other mens writings at this time (wherevnto I was occaſioned by Buchanans digreſſion in this place) ſince the ſame will be moze ſubſtantiallie touched by others in other wozks (wherevnto I refer my ſelfe) and ſo returne to the order of the hiſtozie.)

The Scotiſh chronicles declare, that the loſſe of this field chanced ſpectallie through enuie and diſcozd, which reigned amongeſt the chiefteins. Foz the duke of Alanſon enuieng that the Scots ſhould dailie riſe in honoz within France, kept himſelfe backe, till time the Scots were ouerthzowen and bzought to vtter deſtruction. Againe, euen vpon the ioining, there roſe great ſtrife and contention betwixt the conſtable & the duke of Touraine, who ſhould haue the ſupzeme rule of the Scotiſh legher, the one diſdaining to giue place to the other. Thus ye may perceiue, how the Scots with loſſe of manie of their liues, and much bloudſhed, supozted the ſide of Charles king of France, againſt the Engliſhmen. And though there came dailie newes of diuerſe great ouerthzowes giuen by the Engliſhmen to ſuch Scotiſhmen and other, as ſerued the ſaid king Charles, yet did not the Scots therefoze ſtaie at home, but at ſundzie times, and vnder ſundzie capteins repaired into France: as amongeſt other, one Robert Patillocke of Dundée with a new power of Scots went ouer to king Charles the ſeuenth afozeſaid, ſhewing ſuch pzoofe of his ſingular manhood and valiancie in thoſe wars, as in recouerie of the realme of France out of the Engliſhmens hands, his ſeruice ſtood king Charles in notable ſtéed. Chiefflie his diligence and pzoweſſe well appéered, in reducing the parties of Gaſcoigne vnto the French ſubiection, which had remained a great number of yéeres vnder the dominion of the Engliſh kings. And hærevpon was he called by the inhabitants euer after, *Le petit roy de Gaſcoigne.*

✲But to returne to the buſineſſe of Scotland and of the Scots, as they paſſed in the meane time. We ſay, that the French reioiſing of this conqueſt of Gaſcoigne, would not ſéeme to be vnthankfull to the Scots therefoze: foz which cauſe they erected a ſtatue oz image of this Patillocke, in the hall of the king of France, as a perpetuall memozie of this conqueſt, and as a ſingular teſtimonie of their good will towards the Scots, which they placed there to remaine a monument to all poſteritie. Beſide which, he confirmed and increaſed the number of the gard of Scotiſh archers (which they were wont to vſe in peace and warre) firſt inſtituted by Charles the king of France, ouer all which he made this Patillocke chiefe capteine, which office the Scots did then and ſince ſo well diſcharge, that the ſame continueth yet in our memozie. Beſides which (a little befoze this) Charles the firſt appointed an other companie of Scotiſh horſſemen to be in wages with him, being commonlie called the trope of the Scotiſhmen at armes. Of whome the chiefe gouernour was Robert Steward (bozne of the familie of the earle of Lennor) who was honozed by the king with the title of the lozd de Aubignie, with other lands and great poſſeſſions beſtowed vpon him. All which (being of long time poſſeſſed of the Scots of the ſame ſurname, by continuall ozder of bloud & deſcent, that is, by Bernard the famous capteine of warre, then by Robert, and to conclude, by John Steward, bzother of the earle of Lennor) is at this day alſo in poſſeſſion of the wozthie yong gentleman (the ſonne of the ſaid John) who giueth fozth a rare hope that he will not degenerat from the nobilitie of his anceſtozs. The ambaſſadozs ſent (as * befoze is ſhewed) into England foz K. James, behaued themſelues ſo ſagelie therein, that in the end, they bzought it to good concluſion: as thus. Firſt it was agréed, that king James ſhould be ſet at libertie, and alſo pay foz his ranſome the ſum of 100000 marks ſterling, the one halfe to be paid in hand, and foz the other halfe to leaue ſufficient pledges behind him, till it were paied. Albeit ſome writers alledge, that leauing pledges foz the paiment of the one halfe, he was diſcharged of the other, in conſideration that he toke to wife the ladie Jane, daughter to the earle of Summerſet. The ſaid earle and the cardinall of England his bzother, conueied him with his quéene their néece, vnto the bozders of both the realmes. And at their taking leaue each of other, there was pzeſented vnto king James and to the quéene his wife, beſides a cupboard of maſſie plate, ſundzie faire cloths of rich and coſtlie arras by his wiues friends, with manie other iewels and things of great pzice & valure.

King James then departed on this wiſe from his wiues bzethzen, and other ſuch his déere friends, as his vertue and pzincelie behauiour had pzocured him during his abode here by the ſpace of ſixtéene oz eightéene yeares in England, entered into Scotland, and came to Edenburgh on Care ſundaie, otherwiſe called Paſſion ſunday in Lent, where he was receiued with all honoz, ioy, and triumph that might be deuiſed. ✲At what time as the nobles came to giue him their dutifull welcome into his natiue ſoile and inheritance, there began to be manie complaints by them, who ſince the death of their laſt king (partlie by negligence, and partlie by the default of the gouernozs) had béene moleſted with diuers kinds of iniuries; wherevpon, Walter the ſon of Mozdac, Malcolme Fleming, and Thomas Boid being gréeuouſlie accuſed, were (to pacifie the exclamation of the common people) committed to diuers pziſons till the nert parlement, which was appointed the firſt kalends of June following, where is moze intreated of this matter, as after ſhall appeare, Buchanan hauing thus placed it befoze the kings

Lefleus lib. 7. pag. 271.

Lefleus lib. 7. pag. 271.

*Pag. 260. col. 1. numb. 30, 40.

The ranſome of K. James.

Jane daughter to the earle of Summerſet maried to king James the firſt.

Gifts giuen to K. James by his wiues friends.

King James commeth to Edenburgh.

Fr. Thin. Buchanan, lib. 10.

Enuie and diſcozd.

Robert Patillocke capteine of a powzer of Scotiſhmen ſent into France.

Robert Patillocke called Le petit roy de Gaſcoigne. Fr. Thin.

kings coronation.]

Iames.

He is crowned at Scone togither with his wife.

1423, Buch. 1424, Lesl.

AND after that, as sone as the solemnitie of the feast of Easter was finished, he came to Perth, and shortlie after to Scone, where he was crowned king, and his wife quéene, by duke Murdo the gouernor, and Henrie bishop of saint Andrewes, the one and twentith day of Maie, after the incarnation 1424. There came forth of England with this James the first, diuerse English gentlemen, which remaining euer after in seruice with him, were aduanced to certeine lands, possessions, and liuings in Scotland. Amongest whome (as one of the chiefest) was Andrew Graie, who afterwards by the kings aid and good furtherance, got in mariage the daughter and heire of Henrie Mortimer of Foulis, named Helen, and by that means came the lordship of Foulis vnto the hands of the Graies, whose surname and posteritie continueth yet in Scotland, inuested with great lands and dignities, both in Gowrie and Angus.

Andrew Graie.

The surname of the Graies in Scotland.

King James after his coronation returned from Scone to Edenburgh, where he called before him all those that bare anie authoritie in the administration of the common-wealth, during the time of the gouernors duke Robert and duke Murdo, namelie the chancellor, the treasuror, the clearks of the register, the controller, the auditors, and receiuers, with all other that had borne offices, or had anie thing to do concerning the kings rents. At length, when he perceiued by their accounts made, that the most part of all the lands, rents, and reuennes perteining vnto the crowne, were wasted, bestowed, alienated, and transported by the two foresaid gouernors, vnto their friends and fautors, contrarie to all right or good consideration (the customs of burrowes and good townes onlie excepted) he was not well content herewith, though for the time he passed ouer his displeasure, in shewing outwardlie no semblance, but as if he had liked all things well.

King James keepeth an audit.

In the meane time, he aduisedlie perused all euidences, rols, and charters perteining to the crowne, and shortlie thereupon called a parlement at Edenburgh, in the which, by aduise of the three estates, a generall tax was ordeined and granted, to be raised through the whole realme; as twelue pence of the pound to be paied of all lands within Scotland, both spirituall and temporall; and foure pence for euerie cow, ore, and horsse, to be paied for the space of two yeares togither. This paiment was leuied the first yeare without anie trouble, but the second yeare there rose such murmur and grudging amongst the poore commons about the paiment thereof, that he remitted the residue that was behind, & tooke neuer anie tax after of his subiects, vntill he maried his daughter with the Dolphin of France. Amongst other bils put vp in this parlement, there was diuerse complaints exhibited by the people, for sundrie oppressions vsed and done by the sons of duke Murdo, and other great peeres of the realme, before the kings returne into Scotland.

A parlement at Edenburgh.

A tax leuied.

The commons grudge at paiments.

Bils of complaint exhibited against the sonnes of duke Murdo.

Whereupon Walter Steward, one of the sons of the said duke Murdo, was arrested, and sent to a castell situated vpon a rocke within the sea called the Basse, there to remaine in safe keeping. Also Malcolme Fleming of Cumernald, and Thomas Boid of Kilmarnoke, were committed to ward in Dalkeith, but these two at the intercession of diuerse noble men were pardoned and forgiuen of all offenses for an easie fine, with condition, that they should satisfie all such persons as they had in anie wise wronged. In the foresaid parlement also, K. James tooke a solemne oth, to defend as well the liberties of his realme, as of the church, during the course of his naturall life. The like oth by his example did all the residue of the barons take at the same present time. Not long after, an other parlement was called and holden at Perth, in the which duke Murdo, with his sonne Alexander, were arrested and committed to ward. So was also Archembald earle of Dowglasse, with his brother William earle of Angus, George earle of March, Adam Hepborne of Hales, and manie other great barons of Scotland, euerie of them being put in sundrie castels and strengths, to remaine there in safe keeping. Duke Murdo was sent to Carlaurocke, and his duchesse was put in Temptalloun.

Walter Steward put in prison.

The oth of K. James.

A parlement holden at Perth. Duke Murdo with his sonne Alexander, and diuerse other peeres of the realme arrested.

In the yeare following, on the Holie rod daie, called the Inuention of the crosse, James Steward the third sonne of duke Murdo moued with greatire, for that his father and brethren were holden in prison, came with a great power to the towne of Dunbreton, and burnt it, after he had slaine John Steward of Dondonald, and two and thirtie other persons, which were found in the same towne: but the king kindled in great displeasure for this attempt, pursued this James so fiercelie, that he was faine to flee into Ireland, where he afterwards deceassed. [And Finelaw (which was sometime one of the order of the frier Dominicks) which fled with him into Ireland, & was author that the said James committed all these outrages, died there also. Besides which, there fled into Ireland the wife of Walter, his two sonnes, Andrew and Alexander, with Arthure the bastard: who (in the end) returning home, was after by James the third aduanced to great honors.] In the nert yeare insuing, K. James called a parlement at Sterling, in the which he sitting with scepter, sword, and crowne in place of iudgement, Walter Steward with his brother Alexander were condemned, and incontinentlie were lead forth to a place before the castell, and there beheaded.

1425.

The towne of Dunbreton burnt.

Fr. Thin. Buchanan. lib. 10.

A parlement holden at Sterling.

1426.

Walter and Alexander the sonnes of duke Murdo beheaded.

On the morrow after, duke Murdo himselfe, and Duncan Steward earle of Lennor were conuicted of high treason, and beheaded before the castell in semblable manner. [It is a constant fame (saith Buchanan) though I find it not written in any place, that the king sent the heads of the father, husband, & children, to Isabell the wife of his cosine germane, to trie whether she being a fierce woman, would (as it iustlie happened) by distemperance of griefe discouer the secrets of hir mind. But she (notwithstanding all which grieuous and vnlooked for spectacles) did not inordinatlie burst out into anie bitter words, but onlie said; If the faults be true which are laid against them, the king hath done but right and iustice vnto them.) Thus by the attaindor of duke Murdo and his sonnes, the earldome of Fife, Menteith, and Lennor came into the kings hands. The residue of the lords and barons remaining as then in prison, and abiding the kings pleasure, were sore afraid, when they heard what rigorous iustice had béene executed on duke Murdo and his sonnes: notwithstanding, within 12 moneths after they were all set at libertie, and receiued into the kings fauor, on promise of their loiall demeanor & dutifull obedience euer after to be shewed, during their naturall liues.

Duke Murdo and Duncan Steward earle of Lennor beheaded Fr. Thin.

✠ The parlement being ended, John Mountgomerie, & Humfreie Cunningham were sent by the king to the castell of Louchleuine, which was kept against him by the runagat James Steward, whom in short time they forced to surrender the said castell. Not long after, John Steward of Dernleie (who was maister of the Scotish garrison of horssemen in France, the rest of the former capteins being consumed) came into Scotland with the bishop of Reims, as ambassador in the name of Charls, to renew

Fr. Thin. Buchanan. lib. 10.

new the old league betweene the two nations, and to conclude matrimonie betweene Lewes the sonne of the said Charles the seuenth, and Margaret the daughter of K. James, both being yet verie yong. Which thing so dispatched, in the next yeare being the (1428) he determined (hauing pacified all Scotland betweene the mountents of Granzeben) to subdue the further parts beyond it also. Wherefore to begin the same, he commanded the castell of Innernesse (setting conuenient place in the furthest borders of Murrey) to be repared. Whither when he came two yeares after, to sit in iudgement vpon misdemeanors of the inhabitants, and to suppresse their robberies, he called before him the chiefe of all the families of that countrie, especiallie such as being accompanied with great traines, were wont to fetch preies from their next borders, did set tribute on the quieter sort, and did compell the common people to minister sustenance to those idle loiterers: of which capteins, some had a thousand, some two thousand, & some far manie more redie at their call to obeie their commandement: with which they ceassed not to keepe the good in danger vnto them for feare of hurt, and made the euill (amongest whome they were assured of refuge & defense) the bolder to commit all kind of wickednesse. Which persons when the king had gotten in, and drawen to come before him, partlie by flatteries, and partlie by threats: he committed about fortie of their leaders to seuerall prisons: whose euill being throughlie knowen, he hanged two notable fellows amongst them, called Alexander Macror and John Macarecture; at what time also he beheded James Campbell (for the murther of John of the Iles) a man deerelie beloued of his people. The rest which remained (being of the common sort) they likewise dispersed into diuers prisons, whereof some were after executed, and some were permitted freelie to depart to their owne. The capteins of the factions thus slaine (or for the most part restreined in prison) the inferior sort durst not attempt anie thing, being destitute of leaders. Wherevpon the king calling them before him, did giue them a louing admonition to embrace iustice, because there was no surer or certeine hope of safetie in anie thing, than in the innocencie of life, the which if they would determine to doo, they should alwaies find him readie to honor and reward them; if not, they might learne by the examples of others what they should hope to receiue themselues.)

1426.

1428.

In the yeare next following, which was after the incarnation 1427, Alexander lord of the Iles was arrested by the king at Innernes, for that he was accused to be a succorer & maintener of theeues & robbers in the countrie: but forsomuch as he promised in time comming to reforme his former misdemeanors, he was pardoned and set at libertie, whereof insued great trouble immediatlie after. For shortlie vpõ his deliuerance, he gathered a power of wicked scapethrifts, and with the same comming into Innernes, burnt the towne, and besieged the castell, inforcing with all diligence to win the same, till he was aduertised that the king was comming towards him with a great power, whereupon he fled incontinentlie to the Iles. Finallie hauing knowledge that a great number of people lay dailie in wait to take him, that they might present him to the kings hands, he came disguised in poore araie to the Holie rod house, and there finding the king on Easter daie deuoutlie in the church at his praiers, he fell downe on his knees before him, and besought him of grace, for his sake that rose as that day from death vnto life.

1427.

Alexander lord of the Iles arrested.

He is set at libertie.

He rebelleth.

The towne of Innernes burnt.

Alexander of the Iles cometh to the king and asketh pardon.

At request of the queene, the king pardoned him of life; but he appointed William Dowglasse earle of Angus to haue the custodie of him, and that within the castell of Temptallon, that no trouble should rise by his meanes thereafter. His mother Eufemie daughter to Walter sometime earle of Rosse, was also committed to ward in saint Colmes inch; because it was knowne that she solicited hir sonne to rebell (in maner as is afore said) against the king.

Not long after, Donald Ballocht, brother to the said lord Alexander of the Iles, came with a great power of men into Lochquhaber. The earles of Mar and Cathnes came with such number of their people as they could raise, to defend the countrie against the inuasion of those Flandrien, and fought with the said Donald at Innerlochtie, where the erle of Cathnes was slaine, and the earle of Mar discomfited. Herewith did Donald returne with victorie, and a great preie of goods and riches into the Iles. The king sore moued with the newes hereof, came with a great armie vnto Dunstafage, purposing with all speed to passe into the Iles. The clans and other chiefe men of the said Iles aduertised hereof, came to Dunstafage, and submitted themselues vnto the king, excusing their offense, for that (as they alledged) the said Donald had constreined them against their willes, to passe with him in the last iournie. All those clans vpon this their excuse, were admitted to the kings fauour, and sworne to pursue the said Donald vnto death.

Donald Ballocht inuadeth Lochquhaber.

The earle of Cathnes slain Donald Ballocht returneth with victorie & spoile into the Iles.

The clans of the Iles submit themselues to the king.

Shortlie hereupon, this Donald fled into Ireland, where he was slaine, and his head sent by one Odo a great lord of Ireland (in whose countrie he lurked) as a present to the king that laie as then at Sterling. There were also three hundred of his adherents taken, and by the kings commandement hanged for their offenses within three weekes space, after his first fleeing into Ireland. This trouble being thus quieted, king James passed through all the bounds of his realme, to punish all offendors and misruled persons, which in anie wise wronged and oppressed the poore people. He allowed no pardon granted afore by the gouernor, alledging the same to be expired by his death. For he thought indeed it stood neither with the pleasure of God, nor wealth of the realme, that so manie slaughters, reifes, and oppressions, as had beene done afore in the countrie, should remaine vnpunished through fault of iustice. It is said that within the first two yeres of his reigne, there were three thousand persons executed by death, for sundrie old crimes and offenses.

Donald flieth into Ireland. His head is sent as a present to the king.

Three hundred of Donalds complices hanged.

Pardons granted by the gouernor are void.

Three thousand offendors put to death within two yeres space.

And though such extreme iustice might haue beene thought sufficient to giue example to other to reforme their naughtie vsages, yet one Angus Duffe of Stratherne nothing afraid thereof, came with a companie of theeues and robbers, and toke a great preie of goods out of the countrie of Murrey and Cathnes: for recouerie whereof, one Angus Murrey followed with a great power, and ouertaking the said Angus Duffe neere to Strachnauerne, fiercelie assailed him. Who with like manhood made stout resistance, by reason whereof there insued such a cruell fight betwixt the parties, that there remained in the end but onelie twelue persons aliue, & those so wounded, that they were scarse able to returne home to their houses, and lined but a few daies after. About the same time, there was also another notable theefe named Makdonald Rosse, which grew with spoiles and robberies to great riches. This wicked oppressor rhod a woman with horse shoes, because she said she would go to the king, and reueale his wicked doings. As soone as she was whole, and recouered of hir wounds, she went vnto the king, and declared the cruelties done vnto hir by that vngratious person Makdonald. ✻ The king (who before had heard the same

Angus Duffe

A cruell fight.

Makdonald Ros a notable robber.

He rhod a widow.

Fr. Thin.

Buchanan.

same of others, and had gotten Makdonald in prison, determining to see due punishment for that wicked fact) comforted the sillie woman, promising hir shortlie to behold a iust reuenge thereof. Wherevpon Makdonald being brought out of prison with twelue of his companions, the king commanded that they (by the talion law of Moses that yeeldeth an eie for an eie, and a tooth for a tooth, and by the example of Phalaris, who burnt him first in the bull that was the author thereof for others) should likewise be shod with iron horsshoes, in that sort as they before had serued the woman, and then to bee caried three daies togither about the citie for a spectacle to the people, to feare to attempt such extraordinarie wickednesse; making proclamation that euerie one might see this new kind of punishment. After which, at length (doubting if he liued he would not cease to commit the like, or else reuenge the same) he chopped off Makdonalds head, & caused his twelue fellowes and partakers to be hanged in the high waies.)

Lesleus.

1430.

In the third yeere after, which was from the incarnation 1430, on the eleuenth daie of October, Jane the queene of Scots was deliuered of two sonnes at one birth, Alexander and James. The first deceassed in his infancie. The other succeeded after his fathers decease in the kingdome, & was named James the second. At the baptisme of these two infants, there were fiftie knights made. Amongst the which, and first of all other, was William the sonne of Archembald Dowglas, that succeeded his father in the earledome of Dowglas. His father the said Archembald Dowglas, somewhat before this time, or (as other authors say) in the yeere next insuing, was arrested by the kings commandement, and put in ward, remaining so a long time, till at length by supplication of the queene, and other peeres of the realme, the king pardoned him [with John Kennedie] of all offenses, and set both them And Alexander earle of Rosse at libertie. King James in this sort did what in him lay to bring the realme of Scotland in such quiet tranquillitie, that (in purging the same of all offendors, and such as liued by reiffe and robbing) passengers by the high waies might trauell without dread of anie euill disposed persons to molest them.

The queene deliuered of two sonnes at one birth.

Fiftie knights dubbed.

Archembald earle of Dowglas arrested and put in prison.

Fr. Thin.

King James desirous to purge his realme of vnrulie persons.

✠ Hauing thus with diligence suppressed the robberies (practised through all parts of his realme) he forgot not to looke into small offenses which were secretlie done, and of lesse danger; determining to take awaie all euill customes which had continued in the realme. For custome, being an other nature doth bring to passe, that a common error (by manie ages continued) maketh a perfect law, and therefore (because the inferior iudges would the better administer iustice, if they had persons of high authoritie that might punish their false sentences) he chose forth speciall persons of the better sort (commended for their wisedome, grauitie, and holinesse of life) and made them iustices, whome he sent ouer all the realme giuing them full authoritie to heare and determine all quarels and suites (if anie were brought vnto them) whereof the ordinarie iudges either (for feare) durst not or (for hatred or fauor) would not, or (for strength of others) could not giue anie perfect iudgement.)

Fr. Thin. Buchan. li. 10.

He caused also the bailiffes and prouosts of good townes, to see that iust measures were vsed by all manner of buiers and sellers, and none to be occupied, but such as were signed with the note & marke of the said bailiffes or prouosts. Moreouer, he repared and fortified the castels and fortresses of his realme, and stuffed them with such ordinance and munition as was thought expedient. He granted al-

An ordinance for measures.

Castels repared and munited.

so sundrie priuileges and great liberties to the vniuersitie of saint Andrews, to the high aduancement thereof, and was oftentimes himselfe present at their disputations, taking great pleasure therein. Such as were knowne to be learned men, and were presented to him by the vniuersitie, he preferred to great benefices and other ecclesiasticall liuings, still as the same chanced to be vacant. [Hauing for that cause made a law in the said vniuersitie, that none should inioy the rome of a canon in ane cathedrall church, vnles he were a batcheller of diuinitie, or at least of the canon law.] By which meanes all maner of vertue and good learning increased dailie through the realme during his time, and namelie musike was had in great price, which he appointed to be vsed in churches with organs, the which before his time were not much knowne amongst the Scotishmen.

Priuileges granted to the vniuersitie of S. Andrews

Fr. Thin. Lesleus lib. 7. pag. 274.

Organs brought into Scotland.

Much what about the same time, there was a parlement holden at Perth, in the which Henrie Wardlaw bishop of S. Andrews, in name of all the three estates there assembled, made a long and right pithie oration to this effect; that where by the high policie and prudent diligence of the kings maiestie there present, iustice, and all due administration of lawes and good ordinances were so reuiued, that nothing seemed to be ouerpassed, that might aduance to the profit and commoditie of the common-wealth; yet was there one wicked vsage crept in of late, increasing so fast, that if spedie remedie were not had in time, all those commodities brought into the realme by his comming, should be of small auaile, and that was, such superfluous riot in banketting cheere, and numbers of costlie dishes, as were then taken vp and vsed after the English fashion, both to the great hinderance of mans health, and also to the vnprofitable wasting of their goods and substance. If the laudable temperance vsed amongest the Scotishmen in old time were well considered, nothing might apeare more contrarie and repugnant thereto, than that new kind of gluttonie then vsed, by receiuing more excesse of meats and drinks than sufficeth to the nourishment of nature, through prouocation of such deintie and delicate dishes, confectioned sawces, and deuised potions, as were now brought in amongst them. As for such gentlemen as the king had brought with him forth of England, they were worthie in deed to be cherished and had in high fauour; neither was this abuse to be so greatlie imputed vnto them, considering it was appropriate to their nation. But the Scotishmen themselues were chieflie to be blamed, that had so quicklie yeelded to so great an inconuenience, the enormitie whereof appeared by the sundrie vices that followed of the same, as excesse, sensuall lust, slouth, reiffe, and wasting of goods. For if temperance be the nourisher of all vertue, then must the contrarie, that is to say, intemperance, be the bringer forth and prouoker of all vice. If it might therefore please the kings highnesse, to shew his accustomed wisedome and prouidence in repressing this abuse of costlie fare, so much damagable to his people, he should do the thing that was meritorious before God, and no lesse profitable and necessarie for the publike weale of all his subiects.

A parlement at Perth.

Bishop Wardlaw inueieth against superfluous fare.

Vices following delicate fare.

By these and manie other the like persuasions, bishop Wardlaw vsed to dissuade the king and his people from all superfluous courses of delicate dishes and surfetting bankets. Insomuch that euen then there was order taken, that fewer dishes and more spare diet should be vsed through the realme, licencing gentlemen onelie, and that on festiuall daies, to be serued with pies, the vse of them not being knowne in Scotland till that season. Neuertheless, such intemperance is risen in processe of time following.

Order taken for suppressing of costlie fare.

Vse of baked meates in Scotland when it began.

1433.

The grædie appetite of gluttons neuer ſatiſfied.

following, that the grædie appetite of gluttons in this age may be ſatiſfied with no competent fæding, till their bellies be ſo ſtuffed with immoderate gormandiſe, that they mate ſcarſe fetch breath, through which their noiſome ſurfetting, they fall dailie into ſundrie ſtrange and lothſome kinds of diſeaſes, being oftentimes killed by the ſame in their flouriſhing youth, as by dailie experience plainlie appeareth.

A terrible eclipſe.

In the ſame yære the ſeuentænth day of June, was a terrible eclipſe of the ſunne, at three of the clocke at after none, the day being darkened ouer head for the ſpace of one halfe houre togither, as though it had bæne night, and therevpon it was called the blacke houre. At the nert Lammas, the king raiſed an armie, & came with the ſame to Rorburgh, beſieging the caſtell for the ſpace of fiftæne daies togither. He had in this armie (as the report went) the number of two hundred thouſand men, accounting cariage men & all other ſuch as followed the campe: yet notwithſtanding all this huge multitude, hauing waſted his powder and other munition, before hæ could doo anie great hurt to his enimies, he was conſtreined to raiſe his field, and leaue the caſtell in the Engliſhmens hands as he found it. After this king James perceiuing how the knowledge of handicrafts and manuall occupations was decaied in Scotland, through continuall exerciſe of wars, ſince the daies of Alexander the third, to the further aduancement of the common-wealth, and that his ſubiects might haue occaſion to auoid ſlouth and idleneſſe (the rot of all miſchiefe) he brought a great number of cunning craftſmen out of Germanie, France, and other parties, to inſtruct his people in their arts and faculties.

Rorburgh beſieged.

In huge armie.

Men of occupation brought into Scotlãd to inſtruct the Scotiſhmen therein.

Idleneſſe the rot of all miſchiefe.

Not long after, one Paule Craw a Bohemian borne, was burnt at ſaint Andrews, for preaching and ſetting forth the doctrine of John Hus, & John Wikcliffe. John Fogo being one of them that helped chieflie to condemne him, was made (for his great and earneſt diligence therein ſhewed) abbat of Melroſſe. [After which, the ſaid king James began to take vpon him the perſon of a priuate man, ſundrie times aſſociating himſelfe to the compants of others (but eſpeciallie of the merchants) in changed apparell, according to the ſtate of ſuch perſons with whom he would companie, to the end he might thereby learne what men did ſay and iudge of him, and ſo vnderſtand what was to be corrected in the gouernement of the common-wealth.] About the ſame time was the abbeie of Charturar monks founded beſides Perth, by king James, with great coſt and magnificence.

Paule Craw burnt.

John Fogo.

Fr. Thin. Leſleus lib. 7. pag. 275.

The abbeie of Charturar monks built beſides Perth by K. James.

Alſo the lord Scrope and other aſſociats with him, came in ambaſſage from Henrie the firt, king of England. The effect of whoſe meſſage was, to haue the ancient league betwirt the Scots and Frenchmen diſſolued, promiſing that if the councell of Scotland would conſent thereto, and ioine in leage with the Engliſhmen; that both the towne and caſtell of Berwike, with all the lands lieng betwirt Tweed and the Kecroſſe (as the Scots write) ſhould be deliuered into the Scotiſhmens hands. King James hauing ſmall credit in ſuch faire promiſes, perceiued the ſame to tend onlie to this end, that the league betwirt the Frenchmen and Scots might be once clearelie broken, and then to vſe the matter as occaſion ſhould ſerue their turne. This matter therefore being propoued before the councell, it was concluded, that in no wiſe the ſaid league betwirt the Frenchmen and Scots ſhould be diſſolued, and ſo therevpon the Engliſh ambaſſadors were diſpatched without more talke concerning that matter.

The lord Scrope ambaſſador into Scotland.

The offer of the Engliſh men to haue the Scots to ioine with them in leage.

1433. In the ſame yære, that is to ſay, 1433, the king

caused George Dunbar erle of March, ſonne to that earle which rebelled againſt his father king Robert the third, to be areſted and put in ſafe keeping within the caſtell of Edenburgh. He ſent alſo the earle of Angus with his chancellor William Creichton, and Adam Hepborne of Hales to the caſtell of Dunbar, deliuering them letters ſigned with his hand, and directed to the keepers of the ſaid caſtell, that they ſhuld deliuer vp the houſe immediatlie vpon ſight of thoſe letters vnto the bringers of the ſame. The keepers durſt not diſobeie his commandement, but ſuffered them to enter according to their commiſſion. Within twelue moneths after, a parlement was held at Perth, where the foreſaid George earle of March was diſherited of all his lands and liuings for his fathers offenſe committed againſt king Robert the third. Thus the houſe of the Dunbars loſt the earledome of March, wherein the ſame had flouriſhed ſo manie yæres togither, to the great defenſe and ſafegard of the realme of Scotland on that ſide, againſt both ciuill and forreine enimies.

George erle of March areſted and put in ward.

A parlement at Perth.

The earle of March diſherited.

The king yet moued with ſome pitie toward ſo noble a linage, within ſhort time after gaue the earldome of Buchquhan to the ſaid George; and after the kings deceaſſe, the lords of the councell thinking the ſame too little, aſſigned forth to him and his ſon Patrike, the ſumme of foure hundred marks yærelie, to be receiued out of a parcell of his owne ancient inheritance of the earledome of March, to inioy the ſame till James the ſecond came to full age. In the yære 1435, Alexander Steward earle of Mar departed out of this life. This Alexander was a baſtard ſonne of the earle of Buchquhan, that was one of the ſonnes of king Robert the ſecond. He was a man of right ſingular proweſſe, and in his youth following the warres, was with Philip duke of Burgognie at the ſiege of Liege, or Luike, where he bare himſelfe ſo manfullie, that few wan the like honor at that tournie. Not long after, to his high aduancement, he got in mariage the ladie Jacoba counteſſe of Holland: notwithſtanding, he continued but a while with hir, being forced to forgo hir companie, either for that ſhe had another huſband, or elſe for that the inhabitants would not ſuffer a ſtranger to reigne ouer them.

The earldome of Buchquhan giuen to George Dunbar.

1435. The death of Alexander Steward erle of Mar.

Leodium.

After his returne into Scotland, he ſent meſſengers into Holland, requiring to haue the iſſues and profits of ſuch lands as were due vnto him in right of the ſaid counteſſe his wife; but receiuing nought ſaue a froward anſwer, hæ prouided him of ſhips, and made fore warres on the Hollanders by ſea: firſt being put to the worſe; but at length he toke a number of their ſhips laden with merchandize, as they were returning homewards from Dantzicke. The mariners were drowned, and the ſhips burnt. Through which loſſe the Hollanders being ſore abaſhed, fell to a compoſition with him, and toke truce with the Scots for an hundred yæres. This earle of Mar ſo long as he liued had the gouernance of the north parts of Scotland vnder king James the firſt, for he was a right prudent perſon, as well in warlike enterpriſes, as in ciuill adminiſtration. Hæ brought forth of Hungarie ſundrie great horſſes and mares for generation, that by ſuch meanes the countrie might be prouided of great horſſes of their owne race, where till that time there was none bred within Scotland, but ſmall nags, more mæt to ſerue for tournieng hacknies, than for anie ſeruice in the warres.

Warres betwixt the earle of Mar & the Hollanders.

Truce twixt the Scots & Hollanders for tearme of 100 yæres.

Good mares brought out of Hungarie into Scotland for breed.

Not long before this time, there came an ambaſſage from the king of Denmarke to king James, requiring him to make paiment of ſuch yærelie tribute as was due to the ſaid king of Denmarke, being alſo king of Norwaie for the weſterne Iles, according

Ambaſſadors out of Denmarke.

Their requeſt

cording to the promise and agreement made by Alexander sometime king of Scotland, the third of that name, vnto his predecessor Magnus, at that time king of Norwaie. The ambassadors that came with this message were honorablie receiued, and in like sort interteined by king James, who at their departure gaue to them sundrie rich gifts, and appointed sir William Creichton to go with them into Denmarke, ambassador frō him, to the king there, who vsed himselfe so sagelie in this businesse which he thus went about, that renewing the old league betwixt the two realmes of Denmarke and Scotland, stedfast peace and assured amitie without anie more adoo therof insued. Much about the same time, there came ambassadors from the French king, Charles the seuenth, not onelie desiring to haue the old league betwixt France and Scotland to be ratified at that present by a new confirmation, but also to confirme the same with better assurance. Margaret eldest daughter to king James, at request of the said king Charles, was giuen in mariage vnto Lewes the Dolphin, and eldest sonne to the said king Charles.

Sir William Creichton sent into Denmarke.

Peace and amitie betwixt Scotland and Denmarke.

Ambassadors forth of France.

The old league renewed betwixt France and Scotland.

The Dolphin marieth Margaret daughter to king James.

Manie great lords of Scotland were appointed to haue the conueiance of hir into France, and great prouision of ships made for that voiage, because the king was aduertised that the Englishmen had a fleet abroad on the seas, to take hir if they might meet with hir by the waie. But as the hap fell, it chanced the same time, as the Scotish ships should passe, there appeered on the coast of England, a great fleet of Spaniards, which the Englishmen supposing to be the Scots, they came vpon them with foure score sels of one and other, thinking verelie to haue had their wished preie, euen according to their expectation: but being receiued with as hot a storme as they brought, they quicklie vnderstood how they were in a wrong bor, and so shrewdlie amazed (as Hector Boetius saith) they susteined great losse both in men and ships, and in the meane time the Scotish naue passed by quietlie without damage, incountering not one ship by the waie that sought to impeach their passage. There went 140 ladies and gentlewomen forth of Scotland, to attend this ladie Margaret into France, amongest which number there were fiue of hir owne sisters.

Englishmen lie in wait for the Scotish fleet.

The Englishmen incounter a fleet of Spaniards.

The arriuall of the ladie Margaret of Scotland in France.

In the meane time, whilest such things were a doing, Henrie Persie of Northumberland inuaded Scotland with foure thousand men, not being knowen whether he had commission so to do from the king of England, or that he made that enterprise of himselfe. William Dowglasse earle of Angus, to resist this inuasion, gathered a power of chosen men, amongest whome were Adam Hepborne of Hales, Alexander Ramsete of Dalehouse, and Alexander Elphingston, with others. The earle of Angus being thus associat, met the Persie at Piperden, where a sore battell was foughten betwixt them, with great slaughter on both sides; but at length the victorie fell to the Scots, though there were slaine togither with Alexander Elphingston, two hundred gentlemen and commons of Scotland: and of the English part there died Henrie of Cliddesdale, John Ogill, and Richard Persie, with fifteene hundred other of gentle men and commons, of the which gentlemen, fortie were knights. There were taken also and brought home by the Scots as prisoners, to the number of foure hundred.

Henrie Persie inuadeth Scotland.

The battell of Piperden fought betwixt Henrie Persie and the earle of Angus.

The Scots get the victorie.

The number of Englishmen slaine.

Prisoners taken.

Shortlie herevpon, king James raised a mightie armie, and besieged the castell of Rocksburgh, but when he had almost brought his purpose so neere to passe, that those within began to fall to communication, for the rendering of the place, the quéene came to the campe in great haste vnto him, signifieng that there was a conspiracie begun against him, so that if he tooke not the better héed, he was in great danger to fall into the hands of those that sought his life. The king doubting the matter, raised his siege and returned home to prouide the better for his owne suertie, but that preuailed little: for Walter Steward earle of Atholl, and head of the whole conspiracie, pretending euer a right to the crowne, by reason that he was procreat by king Robert the second on his first wife, procured his nephue Robert Steward, and his cosine Robert Graham, to slea the king by one meane or other, which finallie they accomplished in this wise. This Robert Graham, for diuerse wicked acts before committed, contrarie to the lawes and ordinances of the realme, was driuen to an outlawrie, so that if he were taken, he looked for nothing but present death, and therefore hated the king most deadlie. And though by the quéenes diligence both his and other of the conspirators purposes were now disappointed, hauing contriued to dispatch the king at the siege of Rocksburgh; yet forsomuch as their names were not knowne, they hoped still to find occasion to atchiue their detestable intention, sith they were no more mistrusted than the others.

Rocksburgh besieged.

The king informed of a conspiracie made against him, raiseth his siege.

The earle of Atholl heard of the conspiracie.

Robert Graham.

Herevpon the said Steward and Graham came one euening to the blacke friers of Perth, where the king as then was lodged, and by licence of the porters comming into the house, entered vp into the gallerie before the kings chamber dore, minding to haue staied there till one of the kings seruants that was priuie to their diuelish purpose should come, by whose helpe they were promised to haue entrie into the chamber. But before the comming of this Judaslike traitor, an other of the kings seruants named Walter Straiton came forth of the chamber dore to haue fetched wine for the king: but being aduised of these two traitors standing there at the dore, either of them hauing a long sword girded to him, he stept backe, and cried, Treason: but yer he could get within the dore to haue made it fast, they leapt vnto him, and slue him there outright.

Robert Steward and Robert Graham murtherers of the king.

Walter Straiton is slaine.

Whilest this was a doing, not without great noise & rumbling, a yong virgin named Katharine Dowglasse (that was after maried to Alexander Louell of Bolumnie) got to the dore, and shut it: but because the barre was awaie that should haue made it fast, she thrust hir arme in the place where the bar should haue passed: she was but yong, and hir bones not strong, but rather tender as a gristle, and therefore hir arme was sone crasht in sunder, and the dore broken vp by force. Herewith entering the chamber, they slue such of the seruants as made defense, and then the king himselfe with manie cruell and deadlie wounds [at 28 seuerall blowes.] The quéene was also hurt as she was about to saue hir husband. Patrike Dunbar, brother to George sometime earle of March, was left for dead on the floore, by reason of such wounds as he receiued in the kings defense, doing most manfullie his vttermost deuoire to haue preserued him from the murtherers hands. Thus was James the first murthered the 21 day of Februarie, the 44 yeere of his age, the 13 of his reigne, and from the incarnation of Christ 1436. His bodie was buried in the house of the Chartarars at Perth which he founded in his life time, but had not as yet throughlie finished.

Katharine Dowglasse.

The murtherers enter the kings chamber, and slea the king.

The quéene is hurt.

Patrike Dunbar wounded and left for dead in the kings defense.

James the first murthered.

1437. Buch.
1447. l. Ma.
1336. Lesle.

* Of this James I find written in his singular commendation, that he was for proportion of bodie of the middle stature, with broad shoulders, hauing the other parts also answering therevnto, as they neither seemed monstrous big to be wondered at, nor ouertreme small to be scoffed at; but caried the maiestie of a person, whom Aeneas Syluius (expressing the most excellent conformitie of members in this our king) doth terme to be squared or of euen proportion

His stature and forme of bodie.

Fr. Thin. Lesleus lib. 7. cap. 271.

tion, as the parts of a quadrangle or iust square do answer eth other, so that nature seemeth not to haue framed a creature more apt or excellent than he, either for shape of bodie, or for kinglie maiestie. He did manie times imbrace iustice more liberalie and seuerelie, than well became a king, which ought to be called (and so in truth to be) the father and nourisher of the common wealth. For he seemed so exactlie to measure all things by the rule of iustice, that he is said (within the space of three yeares) to haue executed three thousand persons for their committed offenses. Although this may rather seeme to be a slander (than otherwise) grounded vpon no foundation, since all things seemed to haue beene performed by him in respect of sincere zeale of iustice, whereof this may be a sufficient argument, that he was of so mild and sweet nature, that we read not of anie of our princes that did more reuerentlie imbrace peace at home amongst his subiects, or more willinglie conclude the same abroad with strangers. What shall I say of his wisedome, which in manie and the greatest affaires did so manifestlie appere, that the kings of other nations did ioine in league and friendship with him? Of which wisedome, and of other his vertues (although he obtained part by the benefit of nature) he got the greatest summe by the learning & instruction which he purchased in England, when he was prisoner: at what time he was by the commandement of Henrie the king most diligentlie instructed. For he was there by the kings beneuolence so well trained in all sciences and gentlemanlie actiuitie, with the diligence of good scholemaisters, that it is not easie to iudge what science he best vnderstood: for beside that he had skill in all kinds of musike (but most excellent in plaieng on the harpe) he was so good an orator, that nothing might be more artificiall than that which he spake: againe, he was a rare poet, in which he seemed not so much cunning by art, as furthered by nature, which is sufficientlie proued by verses of diuerse kinds (at this day remaining) composed by him (in Scotish meeter) with that singular art, as he is thought fullie to equall the sharpenesse, grauitie, and wisedome of the ancient poets.

Buchan. also saith he wrote Latine verses with such good grace, as the rudenesse of that age permitted.

It is straunge that I saie, and far beyond the diligence of the princes of our time, yea and almost beyond the opinion of men: but yet most true and confirmed by the testimonie of them which knew him well; and therefore to be written to his perpetuall praise. He did so exactlie in mind and memorie comprehend the depth of diuinitie and law, that therein he excelled manie, & in his time gaue not place to anie: to conclude, there was nothing wherein the commendation of wit consisted, or wherein anie shew of the liberall arts appeared, that he would not with great diligence aplie his indeuor for the knowledge thereof, yea and that sometime to all mechaniall or handie-craft labors which were meet for a free man, which he is said most studiouslie to haue followed. But in the end, iudging it ouer base for kinglie maiestie to be exercised in these meane & inferior knowledges, he caused artificers of all sorts to be brought out of England, Flanders, and other nations, which should instruct our people therein; for by that means he persuaded himselfe he should in the end calme the rough maners of his nation, and that with these mild arts they would also receiue a mild and sweete condition of life & maners. Wherefore I may well say; O most happie common-wealth which was gouerned by so worthie a prince: & may iustlie exclame; O you most fierce and wicked rebels, that would by murther take away such an honor, beautie, and piller of the common-wealth. Now, besides manie other things by him done, I will here (being better late than neuer) set downe this (not touched before) which is, that he was not onlie a beautie to his countrie, in prouiding for his people to liue at quiet within doores; but he also sought for the defense of his realme against his enimies without doores: by artillerie, and other necessaries required for the warres. For the inuention of guns happing about his time, or not much before; he caused certeine peeces of artillerie to be made beyond the seas in Flanders, of which, there was one most especiall and great peece called the Lion, on the circumference whereof were these verses ingraued, testifieng the antiquitie in like maner of the same:

Illustri Iacobo Scotorum principi digno,
Regi magnifico, dum fulmine castra reduco,
Factus sum subitò, nuncupor ergo Leo.

John Maior lib. 6. cap. 13.

The nobles and peeres of the realme right sorowfull for the death of this James, assembled togither, and made such earnest & diligent search for the traitors before mentioned, that at the length they were apprehended and brought to Edenburgh, where they were executed on this maner. The earle of Atholl, which was not onelie principall in practise of this treason concerning the kings death, but also in times past was chiefe of counsell with Robert duke of Albanie, in making away of Dauid the kings eldest brother, and after the kings returne forth of England did most earnestlie solicit him to put duke Murdo to death, with all other of his linage, trusting that when they were dispatched, he should find means to rid the king also, and his children out of the way, & so at length atteine to the crowne without anie obstacle. This earle (I say) was first stripped of all his clothes, saue onelie his shirt; and then was an instrument of wood, made like to the drawer of a well, set fast in a cart with a frame: at the end of which instrument, was the earle fastened and bound, and so caried about the towne, sometime hoised on high, that the people might see him aloft in the aire, and sometime let fall againe with a swaie downe vpon the pauement.

The search made for the traitors.

The execution of the erle of Atholl.

After this, being brought to an open place, where most resort of people was, they crowned him with an hot iron, for that (as was said) a witch had told him, that before his death he should be crowned openlie in sight of the people. Through whose illusion being deceiued, he liued vnder vaine hope to atteine the crowne, directing all his imaginations to compasse the meanes thereto. Thus was he serued on the first day. On the second day, he was drawen with his complices laid on hurdels, round about the towne at an horsse taile. The third day, his bellie was ript, and his bowels were taken forth, and throwne into the fire flickering before his eies, & then was his heart pulled forth of his bodie, and throwne likewise into the fire: and last of all, his head was cut off, and his bodie diuided into foure quarters.

The prophesie of a witch.

His nephue Robert Steward was not altogither so cruellie executed. But Robert Graham, for that it was knowne that he slue the king with his owne hands, was put into a cart, the hand that did the deed being fastened to a paire of gallows, which were raised vp in the said cart; and then were three persons appointed to thrust him through in all parts of his bodie with hot irons, beginning first in those places where it was thought no hastie death would thereof insue, as in the legs, armes, thighes, & shoulders. And thus was he caried through euerie street of the towne, and tormented in most miserable wise, and at length had his bellie ript, and was bowelled and quartered as the other were before. Christopher Clawn also, and other that were of counsell in the conspiracie, were put to most shamefull kinds of deaths, as they had iustlie deserued, few or none lamenting their case. [Touching whose death, and

Robert Steward executed.

The ordering of Robert Grahams execution.

Christopher Clawn.

Fr. Thin.

Lesleus lib.7. pag.279.

the reuenge thereof, it is reported, that Aeneas Syl-
uius (being then ambassador in Scotland for pope
Eugenius the fourth to the said king James, con-
sidering the cruelnesse of such a wicked fact, with the
spéedie reuenge therefore executed by the nobilitie)
should say, that he much doubted, whether he ought
with greater praise to commend them which reuen-
ged the kings death, than by sharper sentence pu-
nish those that had committed such parricide.] In
the daies of king James the first, sundrie strange
and monstrous things chanced in Scotland. At
Perth there was a sow that brought forth a litter
of pigs with heads like vnto dogs. A cow also
brought forth a calfe, hauing a head like a colt. In
the harueſt before the kings death, a blasing star
was seene with long streaming beams. And in the
winter following, the frost was so vehement, that
ale and wine were sold by pound weight, and then
melted against the fire. A sword was seene gliding
vp and downe in the aire, to the no lesse dread than
wonder of the people.

Strange sights.
Pigs with heads like to Dogs,
A calfe with a head like a colt.
A blasing star.
A great frost.
Ale and wine sold by the pound weight
A sword seene in the aire.

Iames the second.
1436

IAmes the first made away through the traitorous
practise of the earle of Atholl (as before is spec-
fied) his eldest sonne James the second of that name
being as then but six yeares of age succéeded to the
crowne, as lawfull heire to the same, and by his mo-
ther and the nobilitie of the realme was brought to
Scone, where, by the vniuersall consent of the three
estates he was crowned king of Scotland, being
the 102 king of that realme from Fergus the first.
He was surnamed James with the fierie face, by
reason of a broad red spot which he had in one of his
chéekes. This James at his comming to mans state
prooued a stout prince, and maried the daughter of
the duke of Gelderland, as after shall appeare. In
the beginning he had some trouble and businesse, by
reason of the great authoritie and rule which the high
barons of the realme sought to beare & mainteine,
as the Dowglasse, and other, but in the end he sub-
dued them all.

Buchan. 103.

The daughter of the duke of Gelderland maried to James the second.

Shortlie after his coronation, because he was not
of himselfe able to gouerne, by reason of his tender
age; the nobles and estates of the realme chose sir
Alexander Leuingston of Calender knight, gouer-
nor of the king and realme, and sir William Creich-
ton knight was confirmed in his office to inioy the
same as he before had done, the K. being committed
to his keeping, togither with the castell of Eden-
burgh. Archembald earle of Dowglas remained in
his countries of Dowglas & Annandale, and would
neither obeie gouernor nor chancellor, wherby great
trouble was raised within the realme. Within a
short time also, the gouernor and chancellor were di-
uided. The gouernor with the quéene remained at
Striueling, but the chancellor had the king still with
him in the castell of Edenburgh; and what the one
commanded to be done, the other forbad: whereby
neither of them was obeied, nor anie execution of
iustice put in practise, so that through all the countrie,
reiffe, spoiles, and oppression were exercised with-
out feare of punishment. The quéene perceiuing
such mischiefe to reigne throughout all parts of the
realme, deuised a meane to aduance the gouernors
side, and hereupon with a small companie repai-
red to Edenburgh, where she to bring hir purpose to
passe, did so much by great dissimulation, that she
persuaded the chancellor to suffer hir to enter the ca-
stell, and to remaine with the king; but within three
daies after, she feigned one morning to go on pil-
grimage vnto the White kirke, and caused the king
hir sonne to be handsomlie couched in a trunke, as
if he had béene some fardell of his apparell, and so
packed vp, sent him by one of hir trustie seruants
laid vpon a sumpter horsse vnto Lieth, from whence

Sir Alexander Leuingston gouernor.
Sir William Creichton L. chancellor.

Disobedience in the Dowglasse.

1437.

A policie wrought by the quéene.

he was conueied by bote vnto Striueling, where, of
the gouernor he was ioifullie receiued, commen-
ding the quéene highlie for hir politike working, in
deceiuing so wise a man as the chancellor was. Then
raised he a great power of his friends and well-wil-
lers, and besieged the chancellor in the castell of E-
denburgh.

The king conueied vnto Striueling.

The bishop perceiuing in what danger he stod
through the womans deceipt, sent to the earle of
Dowglas, desiring his assistance against the quéene
and gouernor. But the earle refusing either to helpe
the one or the other, alledging that they were both
ouer ambitious in seeking to haue the whole gouern-
ment of the realme in their hands. The chancellor
then perceiuing himselfe destitute of all helpe, made
agreement with the gouernor, vnder certeine condi-
tions, that he should reteine still the castell of Eden-
burgh vnder his possession, and likewise continue
still in his office of chancellor. Shortlie after the earle
of Dowglasse deceassed at Lesselricke, in the yeare
1439, against whome aswell the gouernor as chan-
cellor had conceiued great hatred. He left behind
him a sonne (begot of the earle of Crawfords daugh-
ter) named William, a child of fourtéene yeares of
age, who succéeded his father in the earldome of
Dowglasse, appearing at the first to be well inclined
of nature, but afterwards by euill companie he
waxed wild and insolent.

In agréement made.

The earle of Dowglasse departeth this life at Lesselricke.
1439.

About this season, James Steward sonne to the
lord of Lorne, maried the quéene Dowager, and fa-
uored the earle Dowglasse in his vnrulie demea-
nor: whereupon, both the said James and his bro-
ther William, with the quéene, were committed to
prison in the castell of Strueling by the gouernors
apointment; but shortlie after they were released
by the sute of the lord chancellor, sir William Cre-
ichton, and Alexander Seton of Gurdon, who be-
came suerties for their good abearing, vnder great
forfeiture of sufficient band. About the same time,
or rather somewhat before, Alane Steward lord of
Dernlie was slaine at Palmais thorne, by sir Tho-
mas Boid. And in the yeare following, the same sir
Thomas was slaine by Alexander Steward of
Bolmet and his sonnes; where through there rose,
great troubles in the west part of Scotland. Wil-
liam earle of Dowglasse sent Malcolme Fleming
of Cumernald, and Alane of Lowder, vnto Charles
the seuenth, king of France, to obteine of him the
duchie of Towraine, which was giuen to Archem-
bald Dowglasse at the battell of Vernoill in Perth;
and the last earle, father to this earle William, had
inioied the same all his life time, whereupon that
sute was the soner obteined: which made the yong
earle more insolent than before.

The queéne imprisoned.

Alane Steward is slain.

He kept such a port, and vsed to haue such a traine
attending vpon him, specially when he came to the
court, that it should séeme he had the king in small
regard; for he thought himselfe safe inough in main-
teining the like state and port, or rather greater than
euer his father at anie time had mainteined before
him: insomuch as he would ride with two thousand
horsse, of the which number there were diuerse errant
théeues and robbers, that were borne out in their
vnlawfull and wicked practises by the same earle.
Certeine capteins of the Iles, as Lachlane, Make-
laine, and Murdac Gipson, with a wicked number
of the inhabitants of the same Iles, harried, spoiled,
and burnt the countrie of Lenor, and slue John Col-
quhouen lord of Lute vnder assurance. They also
slue women and children, without respect to age or
sex. In this yeare chanced a great dearth in Scot-
land, the like was neuer heard of before, and such a
death by pestilence, that few escaped that were ta-
ken therewith, and so the realme was plagued with
reiffe,

The great port of the erle of Dowglasse.

Lenox is hurried.

John Colquhouen, or Coguhuin slaine.

A dearth.

Pestilence.

reiſke, oppreſſion, dearth, and death of people. This yeare alſo the gouernor toke the whole adminiſtration vpon him, wherewith the chancellor was diſpleaſed, and leauing the king and him in Striueling, repaired to Edenburgh, where he deuiſed the way how to recouer the king from the gouernor, and ſo on a morning toke foure and twentie men with him and rode to the parke of Striueling where the king was then hunting, and the gouernor abſent at Perth.

Fr. Thin. Buchan. lib. 11.

✻At what time the chancellor with great courteſie drawing towards the king, did ſalute him, being in ſome feare to ſée ſuch companie come vnto him, hauing ſo few in his traine. Which when the chancellor perceiued, he praied the king to be of good comfort, and in few words (fit for that time) exhorted him that he ſhould looke to himſelfe and the kingdome, and deliuer himſelfe from the impriſonment of Alexander the gouernor, liuing freelie from henceforth after a kinglie maner; that he ſhould not accuſtome himſelfe to obeie the pleaſure and couetouſnes of others, that he ſhould vſe to command his ſubiects in all iuſt and lawfull cauſes; and that he ſhould deliuer his people from theſe euils which increaſed vpon them, by the ambition and couetouſneſſe of the rulers, which he could not now well remedie or reſiſt, except the king would take on him the gouernement, the which to do, he had without all danger or trouble prouided a meane. For he had in a readineſſe ſufficient number therefore, which ſhould attend vpon the king where ſo euer he would go, or to vſe anie other matter as need ſhould require. Which the king taking with a pleaſant countenance (either becauſe the matter liked him well, or to diſſemble the feare he had of the chancellor) did fullie approue, and went with his ſmall vnarmed companie and the chancellor toward Edenburgh.)

The king went with the chancellor to Edenburgh.

The chancellor (as Hector Boetius ſaith) had cauſed the number of foure thouſand horſſemen of his ſeruants, tenants, and friends, ſecretlie to be readie that morning about the town of Striueling, to reſiſt his aduerſaries if they ſhould haue vſed anie force againſt him: and now vnderſtanding of the kings going thus with the chancellor, they came to him on the way, and attending him, brought him ſafelie and without further trouble vnto Edenburgh, where he was ioifullie receiued. The gouernor when he was aduertiſed hereof, was grieuoullie diſpleaſed; but becauſe he knew not how to remedie the matter, he went to Edenburgh, and there got John Innes biſhop of Murrey, and Henrie Lichton biſhop of Aberdene, to labor ſome agreement betwixt him and the chancellor: which they did in this wiſe: the king to remaine in the keeping of the chancellor, and the gouernor to continue his office. And ſo by this accord they were made friends.

The gouernor and chancellor are made friends.

Fr. Thin. Leſleus lib. 8. pag. 294. Buchan. lib. 11.

✻During which turmoiles, William Dowglaſſe (that with a certeine pride of mind had highlie borne himſelfe, diſobeieng the rule of the gouernor, & diſdaining to ioine in ſocietie of the chancellor) did ſhew the dedlie hatred of them both againſt him; for which cauſe they ſeeke by all means vtterlie to take him awaie. For the doing whereof (to the end it might be performed without anie tumult) they appoint a parlement to be holden at Edenburgh; whither came not a few (as at other times in ſuch aſſemblies it alwaies hapneth) but almoſt the whole countries came flocking thither, to complaine of the iniuries which they had receiued: of which ſort, there was ſuch a miſerable ſhew, that men could not behold the ſame without great motion of a pitifull mind: when euerie one for himſelfe, the father for the children, the children for the fathers, and the widows for their huſbands, did complaine that they were by the robbers ſpoiled of all their ſubſtance. Whereupon (as it happeneth alwaies through pitie of gentle harts, to rue the afflicted) there aroſe great enuie againſt the captains and leaders of the wicked doers of ſuch ſpoile, whoſe euils were now growne to ſuch exceſſe, as by no means they might be ſuffered; whoſe factions were ſo largelie ſpread ouer the realme, that none could defend their life or liuehod: but ſuch as did yéeld themſelues to their actions, and whoſe riches were ſo increaſed, as the weake could not well find anie helpe (in the authoritie of the magiſtrate) againſt their violence.

Whereupon it liked the wiſer ſort (ſince their force ſéemed not almoſt able to be broken, or their parts to be ſeuered) to flie to policie and leaue ſtrength, not daring openlie to call the earle Dowglaſſe by that name of captaine of them, although they well knew him to be the chiefe author and fautor of thoſe people. Wherefore the gouernor and the chancellor (for a time diſſembling the hatred which they harboured againſt Dowglaſſe) perſuaded the whole parlement, that it were more conuenient with faire ſpeeches to pacifie Dowglaſſe, than with ſhew of ſuſpicious and euill words to ſtirre him to further heat: eſpeciallie conſidering that he was of that great wealth and power, that he alone, if he ſtood againſt them, might hinder all the decrees of the parlement: but if hée ioined with the nobilitie, there might be eaſie remedie found to ſalue all theſe preſent euils. Through which wiſe and ſubtill perſuaſion of Alexander the gouernour, it was decréed amongſt them, that there ſhould be honourable letters directed to him in the common & ſpeciall name of all the nobilitie, which ſhould admoniſh him, that being mindfull of the honorable place which he poſſeſſed (and of his worthie anceſtors, by whome the common-wealth of Scotland had receiued manie ſingular benefits) hée ſhould repaire to the parlement, which well could not, and willinglie would not, either keepe or determine any thing in the ſame without his preſence. In which aſſemblie, if hée would complaine of anie wrongs or grieſes offered vnto him, hée ſhould be ſatiſfied ſo fullie as they might lawfullie.

And if he or anie of his friends or familie had committed anie diſordered part, the nobilitie there met would fullie remit the ſame, as well for the nobilitie of his, and the worthie memorie of the déeds done by his anceſtors; as for that they rather attributed ſuch actions to the iniurie of the times, and the frailtie of his age, and the perſuaſion of others, than vnto him, of whome there was conceiued a ſingular hope of great towardneſſe, for the aduancement of his name and beneſit of his countrie. Therfore if he would come and ioine with them, he ſhould receiue in gouernement what part, place, and office of the common-wealth pleaſeth him, to the end that as in times paſt, their countrie had béene manie waies deliuered out of moſt heauie dangers by the hand of the Dowglaſſes, ſo at this preſent, the ſame might alſo by his preſence and furtherance, be againe aduanced and ſtrengthened from and againſt thoſe inteſtine euils wherewithall it now fainted. The yong man (by nature and age greédie of glorie) being moued with theſe flatteries, and the other perſuaſions of his friends (whereof euerie one was blinded with a certeine hope of good to happen to himſelfe) they now déemed it beſt (forgetting all former dangers) to thinke vpon their priuate commodities, and with that reſolution toke their iournie to come to the parlement.

The chancellor when he vnderſtood they were on there way, rode forth of Edenburgh manie miles to méet the Dowglaſſe, and courteouſlie inuited the earle to his caſtell of Creichton, which laie in his

waie as he ſhould ride, at which place he was moſt honourablie interteined by the chancellor. Where, when they had remained two daies, the chancellor (after hée had ſhewed manie tokens of a friendlie mind vnto him) bicauſe he would vtterlie baniſh from the earle all ſuſpicion of him, that he had anie miſlike in the ſaid earle) began familiarlie to perſuade him, that (remembring the kings dignitie, and the office of him whome the lot of inheritance, their countrie lawes, and the conſent of the parlament had aduanced to the gouernement and adminiſtration of all things) he ſhould in all humilitie acknowledge him for his chiefe lord and king; that he would permit the large patrimonie obteined by the bloud of his anceſtors to deſcend to poſteritie by lineall inheritance as he himſelfe receiued it; that he would clearelie deliuer the name and familie of the Dowglaſſes (no leſſe famous for their dutie, than their deeds) not onelie from the filthie ſpot of treaſon, but alſo from all note of ſuſpicion thereof; that he would reſtraine himſelfe and his from offering iniuries to the weake and common people; that he would remoue from him all ſuch as were giuen to robberie and ſpoile; that he would from henceforth aplie himſelfe to the defenſe of iuſtice, to the end that his former offenſes (if there were anie) might rather be attributed to euill counſell of the wicked, than to the naturall diſpoſition of himſelfe: for ſo the repentance of his yong yéeres might be taken for proofe of his innocencie in ſuch euils. With theſe and ſuch like ſpæches, declaring the faith of a wel-willing mind, he allured the earle to come to Edenburgh with Dauid his brother partaker of all his counſels and actions.

This faire tale of the chancellor, more than in times paſt or then beſéemed the place which he poſſeſſed, with the manie meſſengers ſent to him from Alexander the gouernor (to meet him on the way) almoſt euerie houre, draue a déepe ſuſpicion in the heads of the earles companie riding with him to Edenburgh, of ſome trecherie to be ment towards him. Whereupon the ſame began to be blundered from one to another of the traine, and came ſo faſt to the friends of Dowglaſſe, that ſome of them did boldlie and liberalitie admoniſh him, that he ſhould remaine in that purpoſe (which once he did) to ſtaie, to returne, and not to go forward with the chancellor: and at the leaſt (if he would aduenture himſelfe) to ſend home his brother Dauid, to the end that hée might not hazard the whole familie vnder the fortune of one ſtroke, as his father had before admoniſhed him when he died. Whereat the vnaduiſed youth of this man, being moued to anger againſt his friends, did by the voices of ſome of his men (as it were by one that ſhould make proclamation therfore) pacifie the ſecret murmurings that were amongeſt the companie; and anſwered ſuch of his friends as found fault therewith, that he ſufficientlie knew, that it was the common plague of all great families, alwaies to haue ſuch men about them, as being impatient of quiet and eaſe, reſpect not the danger and miſerie of their patrons, ſo it maie be commoditie vnto them: who bicauſe (they would not be reſtreined within the bounds of peacefull lawes) are authors of ſedition, in which (when all things are in turmoile) they may the better wander abroad to ſatiſfie their euill humor: whoſe ſpeaches hé regarded not, ſince hé rather reſpected and truſted the approued wiſedome of the chancellor and the gouernor, than the ſlouthfull & raſh minds of ſuch ſeditious perſons.

After which (to cut awaie occaſion from the reſt to anſwer) he ſet ſpurres to his horſſe, and haſtened his iourneie more than he did before, with his brother and a few of his other friends, taking his right courſe into the caſtell, and (as it were by a certeine deſtinie) caſting himſelfe hedlong into the ſnares of his enimies. At ſuch time as he came to the caſtell, the gouernor (according to his promiſe) was readie there to méet him, to the end the matter might ſéeme to be wrought by common conſent, and the weight of ſo great enuie might not light vpon the head of one man. Dowglaſſe being honorablie and friendlie by the gouernor receiued into the caſtell, was for dinner placed at the kings table. But in the middeſt of this ſweet meat (ſower ſawce being prepared) there was a bulles head ſet before him, which in thoſe daies was a ſigne of death. Wherewith the yong man amazed (and greatlie troubled in his mind, inwardlie repenting that he followed not the aduiſe of his followers) was about to riſe from the table: but being apprehended by armed men (appointed to that function) he was caried into the court next to the caſtell, and was there (in reuenge and puniſhment of his vnbrideled youth) beheaded, with his brother Dauid, and Malcolme Fleming, who (next vnto his brother) was in greateſt credit with him. Whoſe death the king now entring into his adoleſcencie or yéers (as we tearme it) of diſcretion, is ſaid heauilie with teares to lament, which the chancellor (grieuing to ſée) did greatlie rebuke in the king ſuch vntimelie and inordinate mourning, for the death of his and the common-wealths enimie, whoſe life (ſaid hé) would haue taken awaie all peace and tranquillitie in the realme.)

After the death of the ſaid earle, the ſtate of the realme became more quiet: for his vncle James Dowglaſſe baron of Abircorne that ſucceéded him, being a man of great ſtature, and verie fat, gaue himſelfe to quietneſſe, and liued but three yeeres after. The foreſaid William had but one ſiſter, that was called the faire maiden of Galloway, and was maried to one William Dowglaſſe, ſonne to this earle James before his deceaſſe, that the heritage ſhould not be diuided: bicauſe the earledome of Dowglaſſe was intailed vpon the heires male, and the lands of Wigton, Balwanie, Annardale; and Dermont remained to hir as heire generall. This earle William, after the deceaſſe of his father earle James, began to wax vnrulie, and to follow the vntoward maners of the other William Dowglaſſe latelie beheaded (as before ye haue heard) ſo that by ſupport manie diſobedient perſons would not obeie the gouernor and chancellor, wher vpon ſundrie great ſlaughters and oppreſſions were committed.

✲ Againe (by the mariage of this earle William with his rich kinſwoman) he did (beſides his vnrulie behauiour) aduance himſelfe in pride, whereof grew ſecret enuie, and of that roſe open malice: but he incountering ſufficientlie with them, partlie by force, & partlie by ſubtiltie, mainteined his people in thoſe oppreſſions and robberies, in deſpite of the prondeſt: which occaſioned the nobilitie to iudge, that the ſaid earle was priuie of their miſdemeanor. Amongeſt which euill diſpoſed companie, there was one John Gormacke of Atholl, who (when he had infected all the countrie about him with this miſerable plague of robberie) did ſet vpon William Ruwene (ſhiriffe of Perth, and had almoſt killed him) becauſe he had led a théefe of Atholl to execution. But at the length (true men being alwaies better than théeues) the ſhiriffe recouered the battell, and killed the captaine Gormacke, with thirtie of his companie, and put the reſt to flight into the mounteins.

Fr. Thin

Buchanan. Lib. 11.

In the yéere 1443, not manie daies after, the caſtell of Dunbreton (which is not by ſtrength to be ſubdued) was twiſe taken within a few daies: for Robert Semplier that was captaine of the inferior caſtell,

1443.

ſtell, and Patrike Galbꝛith captaine of the higher caſtell, did ſo diuide their gouernement of the ſaid caſtell (being a thing of great circuit) that euerie one had a peculiar and ſeuered entrance into his owne part without offenſe of the other. But yet theſe two (as moſt part of the realme of Scotland then was, and as it alwaies, oꝛ moſt commonlie happeneth in the minoꝛitie of the pꝛince, when euerie one will be a king) wanted not their factions, whome they did follow: foꝛ Patrike was ſecretlie thought to fauour Dowglaſſe, foꝛ which cauſe Semplier, oꝛ (as ſome haue Simplie) the other captaine perceiuing the part of the caſtell wherein Patrike ruled to be moꝛe negligentlie kept, than dutie oꝛ the ſtate of the time required, found opꝛoꝛtunitie to expell Patrike from thence, and to cauſe all his furniture to be caried out of the ſame, conuerting the ſaid caſtell to his owne vſe. In the end (the next day after) Patrike vnderſtanding thereof, and comming with foure vnarmed perſons (to fetch awaie his furniture and houſhold-ſtuffe) entered into the caſtell; and firſt finding the poꝛter alone, turned him awaie, then taking armoꝛ, expelled the others out of the higher caſtell: after which, calling aid out of the towne next adioining, he ſhut them alſo out of the inferioꝛ caſtell, and got poſſeſſion of the whole caſtell to himſelfe.)

1444. The king will rule himſelfe.

The king, after he came to the age of fouretéene yéeres, would not anie longer be vnder the gouernement of others, but toke the rule vpon himſelfe. The earle of Dowglaſſe informed thereof, came to him at Striueling, and put himſelfe and all he had to remaine at his pleaſure: whereupon the king receiued him, pardoned all his paſſed miſdemeanoꝛs, and admitted him to be one of his ſpeciall friends and pꝛiuie councelloꝛs in all his affaires. By his perſuaſion ſhoꝛtlie after, ſir Alexander Leuingſton, & William Creichton being diſcharged of their offices, were alſo put off from the councell, and all their friends baniſhed the court, and they themſelues were ſummoned to appéere befoꝛe the king: which becauſe they refuſed to doo, they were pꝛoclamed rebels, and put to the hoꝛne. The earle Dowglaſſe then foꝛ the old grudge he bare them, raiſed an armie, and harried their lands. In reuenge wherof, ſir William Creichton ſpoiled the earle of Dowglaſſe his lands, ſo that great trouble was raiſed thꝛough the whole countrie, and the lands of Strabꝛoke, Abircoꝛne, & the towne of Blackneſh were burnt and deſtroied.

1445. Leſle.

The earle of Dowglaſſe ruled wholie about the king, & made Archembald his bꝛother earle of Murrey, by ioining him in mariage with a ladie of the houſe of Dunbar inheretrix therof. Moꝛouer, Hugh Dowglaſſe was made earle of Oꝛmont. Thus the earle of Dowglaſſe aduanced his name, and ioined in friendſhip with the earle of Crawfoꝛd, with Donald earle of the Iles, and with the earle of Roſſe, to the end that ech of them ſhould be aſſiſtant to others. In this meane time, the earle of Crawfoꝛd at the requeſt of the earle of Dowglas, toke a great pꝛeie of goods out of the biſhop of S. Andꝛews lands in Fife, which biſhop was called James Benedie, ſiſters ſon to king James the firſt: where thꝛough the earle of Crawfoꝛd on the one part, and the earle of Huntleie with the Ogiluies on the other, met at Arbꝛoth in ſet battell, where the earle of Crawfoꝛd was ſlaine, and diuerſe barons on his ſide, although the victoꝛie and field remained with his ſonne, the maiſter of Crawfoꝛd, who ſucceeded his father, and was called earle Beirdie. On the earle of Huntleies ſide were ſlaine, John Foꝛbes of Petſlege, Alexander Berkleie of Gartulie, Robert Marwell of Teline, William Gurdun of Burrowfield, ſir John Oliphant of Aberdagie, and fiue hundꝛed moꝛe on their ſide, and one hundꝛed of the victoꝛers were alſo ſlaine, as Hector Boetius ſaith.

Pf. Thin.

Buchanan. lib. 11.

The ſame writer repoꝛteth that the occaſion of this battell did chance, thꝛough the variance that fell out betwixt the earle of Crawfoꝛds eldeſt ſonne Alexander Lindſeie, and Alexander Ogilbie oꝛ Ogiluie (as ſome write him) about the office of the bailiffewike of Arbꝛoth, the which the maiſter of Crawfoꝛd inioieng, was diſplaced and put out by the ſaid Ogiluie. Whereupon the maiſter of Crawfoꝛd, to recouer his right (as he toke it) got a power togither with helpe of the Hamiltons, and with the ſame ſeized vpon the abbeie, and Ogiluie with helpe of the earle of Huntlie, came thither with an armie to recouer the place againe out of his aduerſaries hands, and ſo vpon knowledge héereof giuen vnto the earle of Crawfoꝛd, he himſelfe comming from Dundee vnto Arbꝛoth, at the verie inſtant when the battels were readie to ioine, cauſed firſt his ſonne to ſtaie; and after calling foꝛth ſir Alexander Ogiluie to talke with him, in purpoſe to haue made peace betwixt him and his ſonne, was thꝛuſt into the mouth with a ſpeare, by a common ſouldier that knew nothing what his demand ment, ſo that he fell downe therewith, and pꝛeſentlie died in the place: whereupon togither the parties went incontinentlie without moꝛe pꝛotracting of time, and ſo fought with ſuch ſucceſſe, as befoꝛe ye haue heard. The earle of Huntleie eſcaped by flight: but Alexander Ogiluie being taken and ſoꝛe wounded, was led to the caſtell of Fineluin, where ſhoꝛtlie after he died of his hurts. This battell was fought the 24 of Januarie, in the yéere of our Loꝛd 1445.

Pf. Thin.

1445. I. Ma. 1446. Leſl. Buchanan. lib. 11. Leſleus lib. 8. pag. 279.

✻ The king thus ruled by the troꝛpe of the Dowglaſſes, the earle Dowglaſſe ſent to ſir William Creichton knight, to deliuer vp the caſtell of Edenburgh. But Creichton (faieng that the caſtell was committed to his gouernement by the whole realme, and that the king had not anie thing to doo therewith vntill he came to his full age) had all his goods foꝛthwith confiſcat to the kings vſe, with his caſtell of Creichton, which the kings people entered into and poſſeſſed. But leaſt they ſhould ſéeme to offer anie manifeſt wꝛong to the ſaid Creichton, they gaue out the ſame edict (as a veile of their malice and enuie) which Creichton had befoꝛe cauſed to be eſtabliſhed and pꝛoclamed. Foꝛ he firſt of all others made a law, that whoſoeuer did denie oꝛ reſiſt the king, demanding the deliuerie of anie caſtell, ſhould be in danger of treaſon; the bꝛeach and execution of which law did firſt come and fall by and vpon him, by whome that might be woꝛthilie ſaid (which is vſed to be ſpoken in common pꝛouerbe) Hee is fallen into the ſnare which he pꝛepared foꝛ others. Whereupon the Dowglaſſe (ſince the caſtell would not otherwiſe be deliuered) ſharpelie beſieged the ſame by the ſpace of nine moneths, which in the end Creichton ſurrendered into his hands, on certeine conditions to be perfoꝛmed. At which time alſo the ſaid Creichton was reinueſted with the honoꝛ of the chancelloꝛſhip, although he neuer after intangled himſelfe with affaires of the kingdome, hoping that in time to come (when the darke clouds of the wicked men, which had now ouerſpꝛead all things, were ouerblowen) a better foꝛme of gouernement would be bꝛought in, as a certeine light to giue ſhine to the common-wealth.

1446. Leſle.

Buchan. lib. 11.

James Steward a woꝛthie knight (not he that was ſurnamed The blacke) was ſlaine at Kirkepatrike, two miles from Dunbꝛeton, by Alexander Lilie, and Robert Boid, whoſe crueltie not being ſatisfied with his bloud, they laboured to bꝛing his wife (great with child, & vpon point of deliuerance) within their danger. Foꝛ the perfoꝛmance whereof, they ſent a pꝛieſt vnto hir, that (in haſte and as it were troubled) ſhould tell hir in what diſtreſſe the now reſted

sled, and that there was no meanes to relieue hirselfe by anie waie (since euerie place was beset with horsse and footmen) vnlesse she escaped by bote to Robert Bold at Dunbreton, who further vpon oth promised hir, that he would safelie bring hir backe to hir owne house.

The woman being credulous (and ignorant that Robert Bold was present at the death of hir husband) and caried out of Cardrosse, into the Dunbreton castell, might easilie perceiue hir selfe hardlie beset on euerie side by the deceipt of hir enimies, who (being so deceiued and ouercome with feare & griefe) was deliuered of child before hir time, and (togither with hir sonne) died there within few houres after.

Buchan. lib. 11. Almost at the same time, Patrike Hepburne (gouernour of Halis) held the castell of Dunbar, where he had Jane Seimer the quéene with him, to whome she fled for succour in the times of these tumults. Archembald Dunbar (supposing this to be a iust cause of anger) in the night did set vpon Halis the castell of Hepburne, which he toke at the first assault, by sleaing of the watch, who being stroken with a great feare for the same, did (in few dates after) restore the same to earle Dowglasse, with couenant that all they which were within, should depart in safetie without anie danger.)

James Steward is banished the realme. Sir James Steward surnamed the Blacke knight, husband to the quéene the kings mother, was banished the realme for speaking words against the misgouernement of the king and realme, wherewith he offended the earle of Dowglasse. As he passed the seas towards Flanders, he was taken by the Flemings, & shortlie after departed this life. The quéne his wife being aduertised of his death, died also within a while after, and was buried in the Charterhouse of Perth the fifteenth of Julie, in the yeere 1446. Hir name was Jane Summerset, daughter to the earle of Summerset. James the first maried hir (as before ye may read) in England. She had by him eight children, two sonnes, and six daughters, which were all honorablie maried: the first named Margaret, to the Dolphin of France: the second Eleanor, to the duke of Britaine: the third, to the lord of Tercuer in Zeland: the fourth, to the duke of Austrich: the fift, to the earle of Huntleie: and the first, to the earle of Morton. And by James Steward hir second husband, she had three sonnes: John earle of Atholl, James earle of Buchquhane, and Andrew bishop of Murrey.

He died. The quéne died. 1446.

Fr. Thin. ✻ After the death of the quéene, Hepburne deliuered the castell of Dunbar (to the king) being emptie, and without companie. ¶ In August, Alexander earle of Crawford did put to death at Toadune John Leonton, as an ingratefull person to him, since by his fathers helpe he had béene aduanced to great riches, and to the kings affinitie and kinred. Some after, sir William Creichton, with the bishop of Dunkeld, and Nicholas Otterburne a canon of Glascow, were sent in ambassage vnto the duke of Gelderland, for his daughter called Marie, to be ioined in mariage with king James. Their suit was obteined, and the ladie sent into Scotland noblie accompanied with diuerse lords both spirituall and temporall. At hir arriuall she was receiued by the king with great triumph, and the mariage solemnized by the assistance of all the nobles of Scotland, with great banketting, ioifull mirth, and all pleasant interteinment of those strangers that might be.

1448. Lesle. King James maried a daughter of the duke of Gelderland.

1447. 1448. Lesle. In the yeere 1447, there was a parlement holden at Edenburgh, in the which sir Alexander Leuingston of Kalendar late gouernour, James Dundas and Robert Dundas knights, at the pursute of the earle of Dowglasse were forfalted and condemned to perpetuall prison in Dunbreton, and James Leuingston his eldest sonne, Robert Leuingston treasuror, and Dauid Leuingston knights, lost their heads. James before his execution made a verie wise declaration to the standers by, declaring the instabilitie of fortune, and change of court, exhorting all persons to beware thereof; sith enuie euer followed high estate, and wicked malice neuer suffered good men to gouerne long. In the same parlement, sir William Creichton was also forfalted for diuerse causes, but principallie for that his seruants would not deliuer the house of Creichton to the kings herald, who charged them so to do. This forfalture was concluded in parlement by vertue of an act which the said William (when he was chancellor) caused to be made, and so being the first inuentor, was also the first against whome it was practised.

James Leuingston made an oration.

W. Creichton condemned.

Incursions made. 1448. The yeere next insuing were sundrie incursions made betwixt Scots and Englishmen on the borders, Dunfreis was burnt, and likewise Anwike in England: but shortlie after a truce was concluded for seuen yeeres, great offers of friendship made by the Englishmen for to haue the wars ceasse on that side, because the warre betwixt them and France was verie hotlie pursued, and ciuill dissention disquieted the state of England, which was raised betwixt the two houses of Lancaster & Yorke. ✻ This yeere there were manie méetings or parlements of the nobilitie, in which were lawes established for bridling the wicked facts of such as aplied themselues to spoiling of other men; whereupon a long peace followed in Scotland: beside which, there were other lawes made for auoiding of treasons, and chiefli of such as touched the kinglie maiestie. This lawe of treason was afterward executed first vpon Dowglasse, which was author thereof. In this parlement were manie earles and lords created, whereof the chiefe were Alexander Seton baron of Gordon, who was made earle of Huntleie, and George Leslie baron was made earle of Rothsaie, both men singularlie famed for their wisedome and valure.)

Fr. Thin. Lesleus lib. 8. pag. 300.

1446.

Englishmen fetch booties out of Scotland. 1450. The English borderers of the west marches fetched a great bootie of cattell out of Scotland, notwithstanding the truce, in reuenge wherof the Scots inuading England, wasted the countrie, burnt townes and villages, slue the people, & with a great preie of prisoners, goods, and cattell, returned home into Scotland. Herewith followed dailie rodes and forraies made on both sides betwixt the Scots and Englishmen, and that with such rage and crueltie, that a great part of Cumberland was in manner laied wast: for on that side the Scots chiefli made their inuasions, because that from thence the first occasion of all this mischiefe might séeme to haue had the beginning. When such things were certified to the king of Englands councell, an armie was appointed forthwith to inuade Scotland, vnder the leading of the earle of Northumberland, and of one Magnus surnamed Redberd, a capteine of great experience, as he that had béene trained vp from his youth in the warres of France. The Scots, because of his long red berd, called him in scorne and derision, Magnus with the red mane.

The Scots inuade England.

A knight named Magnus

The Scots hearing of the approch of this armie towards their borders, leuied a power: George, or rather Hugh Dowglasse earle of Ormont by the kings commission, hauing the conduction thereof, who vnderstanding that the enimies would enter into Annandale, drew thither with the said armie to resist their attempts. The Englishmen passing ouer the riuer of Sulweie and Annand, came to another riuer called Sarc, & there pitched downe their tents. And on the next day they began to rob and spoile the countrie on ech side: but aduertised that the Scots were at hand with an armie, they that were thus gone forth, were with all spéed called backe to the campe

The earle of Ormont generall of the Scottish armie

The English armie inuadeth Scotland.

campe by sound of trumpet, and forthwith their armie was brought into order of battell. Magnus with the red mane was apointed to lead the right wing, and sir John Penneinton a verie skilfull warriour gouerned the left wing, in the which the Welshmen were placed. The battell or middle ward the earle of Northumberland himselfe ruled.

Sir John Penneinton.

The earle of Ormont on the other side ordered his battels in this wise. He appointed a verie valiant knight called Wallase of Craggie, with an hardie number of souldiers to incounter with Magnus. And against the Welshmen he placed the lord Harwell, and lord Johnston, with a chosen companie of lustie Scotishmen, and commanding himselfe in the battell or middle ward, had scarse set his people in araie, when the trumpets in the English armie began to sound to the battell. He therefore exhorting his men to doo valiantlie, put them in remembrance that they had put on armor, being thereto prouoked by iniurie which their enimies had first offered them, whereupon they might conceiue good hope of victorie by the fauour of the righteous God, who giueth the vpper hand (for the most part) to that side that hath iust cause to make warre. He willed them then to put all feare out of their harts; and as they had force inough to banquish their enimies that came thus to brag and threaten them with vtter destruction: so he besought them to shew no lesse manlike stomachs to deliuer their countrie by hardie fight from iniurie of the same enimies.

wallase of Craggie.

The earle of Ormont exhorteth his armie.

He had no sooner made an end of his speech, but that the arrowes came so thicke from the English archers, that the Scots began to looke about them, as it were to see which waie they might best escape by flight. But Wallase perceiuing their faintnesse of courage, with lowd voice reproued their cowardise, and with most pithie words exhorted them to remember their duties, and to follow the example of him their leader, whome they should perceiue to haue fullie vowed to spend his life in defense of his countrie. The Scots herwith seemed to be so incouraged, that they rushed forward with great egernesse vpon the right wing of the Englishmen where Magnus stood, and so laied about them with speares, axes, and such like hand weapons, that with great slaughter they draue the Englishmen to breake araie and to flee: Magnus herewith being more chafed than afraid, as should appeare, preassed forward vpon Wallase with great violence, and seeking to approch vnto him that he might haue wroken his griefe vpon him, was inclosed among the Scotish troopes, and slaine with a few other of his friends and seruants that followed him.

The battell is begun.

Magnus is slaine.

The slaughter of this man, in whome consisted no small hope of victorie on the English part, put the residue of their armie in such feare, that they were not able longer to resist the Scotishmens violent impression, but turning their backs fled amaine, whom the Scots pursued in chase verie fiercelie, so that manie of the Englishmen died in the battell, but more now in the chase: for the tide being come in, staied manie of them that made their course to haue escaped thorough the riuer, whereby diuerse that ventured into the water were drowned; & other that durst not take the water, were oppressed by the Scots that followed them. There died in this battell of English men, to the number neere hand of three thousand, and amongest other, Magnus (as before ye haue heard) with eleuen other knights of no small account and estimation. Of Scots were lost somewhat aboue six hundred. There were taken prisoners of Englishmen sir John Penneinton, and sir Robert Harington knights, and the lord Persie, sonne to the earle of Northumberland, who holpe his father to horsbacke, whereby he escaped by flight: & beside these, a great number of other were by the Scots taken prisoners, whome the sword and water had spared.

The English men put to flight.

The number slaine.

Prisoners taken.

The earle of Northumberland escapeth by flight.

The earle of Ormont hauing got this honorable victorie, conueied the chiefest of the prisoners to the castle of Lochmaben, and after repaired to the court, where he was of the king iolifullie receiued, honorablie feasted, and highlie rewarded. After this, the Scots that dwelled vpon the borders, liued for a season in better quiet: for though the Englishmen wished to haue béene reuenged for this losse and ouerthrow of their people, yet by reson of ciuill wars that shortlie after followed, they were constreined to forbeare to make anie further wars against the Scots, till better occasion might serue. And for the auoiding of danger that might insue in time of this intestine trouble by forren enimies, they sued to haue a truce with the Scots, which for the terme of three yeares was granted. In this yeare, William earle of Dowglasse, with a great companie of nobles and gentlemen, as the lords Hamilton, Graie, Salton, Seton, and Oliphant; also, Calder, Urquhart, Cambell, Frasier, and Lauder, knights, went into Italie, and was at Rome in time of the Jubile which was kept there that yeare. He left behind him to gouerne his lands in Scotland, Hugh earle of Ormont that was his brother: but in his absence (by counsell of such as were about him) the king summoned the erle to appeare before him within 40 daies; & because he came not within that set time, he was put to the horne, & his lands inuaded & spoiled.

1448. Buch. 1450. Lesl.

A truce for three yeares betweene England and Scotland.

The earle of Dowglasse goeth into Italie.

* Whereupon the king sent William Sentclare earle of Orcades at that time chancellor first into Galloway, and then into Dowglasse, where he appointed collectors to take vp (to the kings vse) the reuenues of the Dowglasse. But when Sentclare was not of sufficient strength to performe what he would, because some & the most part reiected (though others imbraced) him, he returned home without doing anie thing. Wherewith the king greatlie moued (because he saw his authoritie contemned) called all the Dowglasses into law, and declared them publike enimies and detractors of his gouernement. And therupon (prouiding an armie against them) he goeth into Galloway: where, at their first comming (since their capteins were all in prison) a small part of the armie (seeing the enimies dispersed into rougher parts of the countrie to hide themselues) turned backe to the king without anie thing done. Whereat the king highlie offended (in that such wandering theeues should so lightlie dare to contemne his power) followed them into their starting holes and caues, and with no great labor tooke the castell of Lochmaben, reducing the countrie of Dowglasse (with extreame labor of his soldiors) to his subiection, at what time he leuelled the castell thereof equall with the ground.)

Fr. Thin.

Buchan.

The earle of Dowglasse goeth into England without licence of the king of Scots.

The earle aduertised hereof, with all speed returned home through England, and sent his brother James vnto the king, to know his pleasure: who commanding the earle to see his countries (namelie Annandale) purged of theeues and robbers, pardoned him of all offenses, and receiued him into fauor againe, so that he was also eftsones proclamed the kings lieutenant; but shortlie after going into England without the kings licence, to common with the king of England about the recouerie of losses susteined by the Englishmen by certeine inrodes (as he alleged) the king tooke the matter in verie euill part, for that he should seeme so to be had in contempt of the earle: and withall he mistrusted also, least there were some secret practises in hand to the preiudice of him and his realme: so that he stormed not a little towards the earle. Who being thereof aduertised,

came

The earle of Dowglasse sueth for pardon.

came in humble wise to the king, & besought him of pardon, if he had in anie wise offended him, assuring him that from thenceforth, he would neuer commit anie act that might tend to his maiesties displeasure.

Herewith the quéene also and other noble men made suite to the king for the earles pardon, so that in the end he was receiued againe into fauor, but yet discharged of bearing anie publike office, which pinched him so sore (namelie for that his aduersaries William Creichton lord chancellor, and the earle of Orknie séemed to beare all the rule about the king) that he sought to dispatch the chancellor, procuring certeine of his seruants and friends to assault him on a morning as he was comming forth of Edenburgh, but yet he escaped to his castell of Creichton, although wounded in déed right sore, and within few daies after, gathering a power of his kinsmen, friends, & alies, he returned againe to Edenburgh, and had destroied (as was thought) the earle of Dowglasse at that présent, if he had not shifted away the more speedilie, who being thus to his great greefe, and no small dishonor chased out of Edenburgh, deuised which way he might best be reuenged; and for the more easie accomplishment of his purpose, he procured the earles of Crawford and Rosse to ioine with him in that quarell against Creichton and other his complices, by force of which confederacie they couenanted to assist one another against the malice of the said Creichton, and all other their aduersaries.

He enuieth those that bare rule about the king.

He seeketh to destroie the L. chancellor.

The Dowglasse constrained to flée out of Edenburgh.

He maketh a part.

The earle of Dowglasse presumeth of assistance at the hands of his friends.

The earle of Dowglasse hauing concluded this bond of confederacie, bare himselfe verie high, in presuming further thereof than stood with reason: and this was one great cause of the kings displeasure now passinglie increased against the said earle. An other cause was this: a sort of théeues and robbers brake into the lands of the lord John Herres, a noble man, and one that had continued euer faithfull to the king, taking with them out of the same lands a great bootie of cattell. And whereas the said lord Herres complained vnto the earle of Dowglasse of that wrong, because the offendors were inhabiting within his roome, and yet could haue no redresse; he attempted to fetch out of Annandale some preie, wherewith to satisfie in part the wrong which had béene offered him by those limmers and robbers. But such was his euill hap, that taken he was with his retinue, and committed to prison, and shortlie after by commandement of the earle of Dowglasse he was hanged as a fellon, notwithstanding that the king by an herald commanded the contrarie.

The Lord Herres hanged.

The king being sore offended herewith (as he had no lesse cause) passed ouer his displeasure with silence, till he saw time and opportunitie to reuenge the same: but in the meane season manie an honest man bought the bargaine right déerelie, being spoiled of that he had, and otherwise euill intreated, and yet durst not the meaner sort once complaine for feare of further mischiefe: where the higher powers also sore lamented the great disorders dailie increasing, and yet were not able in anie wise to reforme the same, insomuch as it was greatlie doubted least the earles of Dowglasse, Crawford, Rosse, Murrey, and other of that faction ment to put the king beside his seat. Which dout being put into the kings head, brought him into no small perplexitie, whereupon by courteous messages he sent for the earle of Dowglasse, willing him to repaire to his presence, sotourning then in Striueling castell, which he refused to do, till he had assurance vnder the kings great seale for his safe comming and going (as some haue said.) And then about Shrouetide in the yeare 1451, he came to the court at Striueling, where the king

The confederacie mistrusted.

The king sendeth for the earle of Dowglasse.

1451.

tooke him aside, & in secret talke moued and requested him to forsake the league and bond of friendship betwixt him and the earle of Crawford, and other such his confederats.

There was a secret murmuring amongst a number, that this earle of Dowglasse purposed to make a prose on a day to get the garland beside the kings head. In déed by reason of his kinsmen and alies, he was of more puissance in the realme, than (as it was thought) stood with the suertie of the kings estate, vnlesse he were the more faithfull. He had at the same time two brethren that were also earles, as Archembald earle of Murrey, and Hugh, or (as other haue) George earle of Ormont, beside the earle of Angus, and the earle of Mortoune, that were of his surname and bloud, with a great number of other lords, knights, and men of great possessions and liuings, all of the same surname, and linked in friendship and aliance with other the chiefest Images of all the realme. Hereto (by reason there had béene so manie valiant men and worthie captains of the Dowglasses one after another, as it had béene by succession) the people and commons of Scotland bare such good will and fauour towards that name, that they were readie to ride and go with them, they cared not whither, nor against whome. It is said, that the earles of Dowglasses might haue raised thirtie or fortie thousand warlike persons readie at their commandement, whensoeuer it had pleased them to call. In déed the Dowglasses had euer the gouernement of all matters perteining vnto the defense of the realme, so that the men of war had them still in all the estimation and honor that might be.

Earles of the surname of the Dowglasses.

The linage and great aliance of the Dowglasses.

The loue that the people bare toward the name of the Dowglasses.

But now to the purpose, touching the conference had betwixt king James the second, and the earle of Dowglasse: it chanced in the end (vpon what occasion I know not) that the earle answered the king somewhat ouerthwartlie, wherewith the king tooke such indignation, that the earle herevpon was slaine by him, and such other as were there about him, on Shroue euen. Then after the earle was thus made awaie, his brethren made open warre against the king, and slue all such of his friends and seruants, as they might incounter with: insomuch that those which trauelled by the high waies, were in doubt to confesse whether they belonged to the king, or to the Dowglasses. The Lord of Cadzow being in the towne of Striueling, with a great companie of the earle of Dowglasses friends, in reuenge of his death incontinentlie burnt that towne, and did manie other great displeasures to the king and his subiects, setting forth proclamations against the king and his councell, for the violating of the assurance granted (as before is said) to the earle of Dowglas.

The earle of Dowglas answereth the king ouerthwartlie, and is slaine.

1442. Buch. His brethren make warre against the king.

Striueling is burnt.

Fr. Thin. Buchan. li. 11.

And that with such despite, as in the 6 kalends of Aprill, binding a wodden trunchion to an horsse taile, they fasten them to the safe conduct of the king and the nobles, which they forbeare not to traile vp and downe the streets (not sparing to reuile the king) with bitter and heaule words of contumelie and exclamation. With which not satisfied, when they were come into the market place, they did with the noise of fiue hundred hornes, and by the mouth of a crier, proclame the king and all such as were about him, faithbreakers, periured, and such persons as were to be denounced enimies of all godnesse and good men. And yet supposing this not a sufficient reuenge to quench the furie of their rebellious minds, they run with like rage, and with like order do spoile the countries & possessions of all such as tooke part with the king, and stedfastlie remained in the execution of their obedient dutie. For they besieged the castell of Dalketh, binding themselues (as coniured and periured enimies of all vertue) not to depart from thence,

1442. Buch.

thence before they had taken and spoiled the same, being grieuouslie offended with John the lord of that place, bicause that he with the earle of Angus had seuered themselues from the opinion & faction of the Dowglasses, whose furie (growing still to extremitie) found such support (by the inclining multitud) that the king was put to his shifts) that he was determined to haue left the realme, and to haue fled by sea into France, had not James Kenedie the bishop of saint Andrews caused him to staie, on the hope he had of assistance onelie by the earle of Huntleie, which earle hearing that the Dowglasses had gathered an armie in the south against the king, raised an other armie in the north to aid the king.

The king would haue fled.

On the other side the earle of Crawford, hauing assembled a great power, incountered him at Brethune, in purpose to stop the earle of Huntleies passage, where betwixt them was fought a sore battell, and the earle of Crawford chased into Finwin, so that manie noble men, gentlemen, and commons were slaine, and amongest other the earle of Crawfords brother was one. Hector Boetius writeth, that John Cullace of Bannamwin, whome the earle of Crawford had appointed to lead them that bare the battell axes, or (as I maie terme them) the bilmen, in the left wing of his armie, fled of purpose in the hotest of the fight, & so left the midle ward naked on the one side of the chiefest aid that the said earle had, and so the victorie by that meanes onelie inclined to the kings standard, which the earle of Huntleie had there with him. But howsoeuer it was, the said erle of Huntleie had the honor of the field, who neuertheless lost diuerse of his men also, though nothing so manie as his aduersaries did. This battell was fought the eightéenth of Maie, being the Ascension day, 1452.

Cullace of Bannamwin betraieth the erle of Crawford.

The earle of Huntleie victorer.

1452.

The earle of Huntleie the same day before the battels ioined, gaue lands to the principall men of those surnames that were with him, as to the Forbesses, Leslies, Iouings, Ogiluies, Grants, and diuerse other. Which bountifulnesse of the earle made them to fight more valiantlie. In recompense wherof the king gaue to the said earle the lands of Badzenoth & Lochquhaber. In the meane time, Archembald Dowglas earle of Murrey burnt the peill of Straboggie, perteining to the erle of Huntleie, and haried the lands thereabouts. In reuenge wherof, the erle of Huntleie at his returning backe, burnt & haried all the lands of the earledome of Murrey. In the meane time, at a parlement holden at Edenburgh, the earle of Crawford was denounced a traitor, and all his lands and goods deemed to be forfeited into the kings hands. James earle of Dowglas, James Lord Hammilton, the earles of Murrey, and Dzmont, the lord of Baluay, and manie other of that faction, were by publike proclamation made by an herald, commanded to appeare by a day to vnderlie the law. But in the next night that followed the day of this proclamation, certeine of the Dowglasses seruants that were sent priuilie to Edenburgh, to vnderstand what was done there, faltened writings vpon the church doores, sealed with the Dowglasses seale in this forme. The earle from hencefoorth will neither obeie citation, nor other commandement. Beside this, in the same writings, they charged the king with manie heinous crimes, calling him a murtherer, periured, false, and a bloudsucker.

Lands giuen to the earle of Huntleie.

The earle of Murrey.

The earle of Crawford forfaited.

Lords cited to appeare.

Writings set vp in cõtempt of the king.

The king therefore assembled an armie, and went forth against them: but bicause the time of the yere was contrarie to his purpose, he could do no great hurt to his enimies, although he burnt vp their corne, and droue awaie their cattell. But the Dowglas seemed to passe little for the kings malice, and the erle himselfe maried his brothers wife the countesse Beatrice, & sent to Rome for a licence to haue that mariage made lawfull: but by the kings agents in that court, the earles suite might not be obteined. Neuertheless, he kept hir still in place of his wife, and continuing in rebellion against the king, the next spring, and for the more part of the tearme of two yéeres next insuing, he haried and spoiled the kings possessions; and the king on the other part wasted Annandale, and all other the lands and possessions that belonged to the said earle of Dowglas or his friends: but shortlie after, as the king passed through Angus, to go into the north parts of the realme, the earle of Crawford came and submitted himselfe vnto him, craning mercie in most humble and lamentable wise, and obteined the kings pardon thorough mediation of James Kenedie bishop of saint Andrews, and sir William Creichton; but the said earle liued not past six moneths after, departing this life by force of an hot ague in the yéere 1454.

The earle of Dowglas marieth his brothers wife.

The earle of Crawford submitteth himselfe to the king, and is pardoned.

He departed this life.

1455. Buch.

1454.

A parlement.

The same yéere, the king called a parlement at Edenburgh, in the which James earle of Dowglas, and his brothers wife the countesse Beatrice (whome he had taken to him by waie of a pretensed & feined mariage) Archembald Dowglas earle of Murrey, George Dowglas earle of Dzmont, and John Dowglas baron of Baluay, were forfalted & condemned of treason. The earledome of Murrey was giuen to sir James Creichton, or rather restored to him from whome it had béene wrongfullie taken by the vniust sentence of William earle of Dowglas, who had procured it to be assigned vnto his brother the forsaid Archembald, though the right remained in the said sir James Creichton. But yet when the said sir James Creichton could not kéepe that earldome without enuie of diuerse and sundrie persons, hée handled the matter so, that shortlie after it returned againe to the kings hands. Moreouer at this parlement, George Creichton was created erle of Cathnesse, & William Haie constable of Scotland was made earle of Erroll. There were also diuerse created lords of the parlement, whose titles were as follow; Darlie, Halis, Boid, Lile, and Lorne. After the breaking vp of the parlement, the king made a iournie against his aduersaries into Galloway, and with small adoo brought all the castels of that countrie into his possession, and then turning into Dowglasdale, bicause the inhabitants thereof would not obeie him, he abandoned the spoile thereof vnto his souldiors, who practised no small crueltie against the inhabitants.

The Dowglasses forfalted, or (as I may say) attainted.

Creations of noble men.

Dowglasdale giuen in spoile to the men of Warre.

Herevpon the Dowglasses being driuen to their shifts, the lord James Hammilton of Cadzow was sent from them into England to sue for aid, but in vaine, for none there would be granted: wherevpon returning to his friends, he counselled the earle of Dowglas to trust to his owne forces; and sith the same were farre superior in number of men to the kings power, he gaue like wise counsell without delaie, to set vpon the king, that the matter might bée tried by chance of battell, the onelie meane to assure them of their liues and estates, for otherwise he saw not how anie vnfeined agreement might be concluded, the matter being now pulled so farre forth to an extremitie. But the earle of Dowglas vtterlie (as some write) refused to fight against his souereigne and true liege lord, if any other meane might be found. Wherevpon diuerse great lords which were with him there on his side, being men of great wit, and no lesse experience, aduised him yet to keepe togither his host, till by their trauell and assistance a peace were concluded, and pardon obteined for all parts: for if the armie were once broken vp, all hope was then past (as they alledged) for anie indifferent

The counsell of the lord Hammilton.

Io. Maior.

conditions

conditions of peace to be obteined.

The lord Hammilton departeth from the Dowglas.

Herewith also, the lord Hammilton being wiser than the residue, bad the Dowglas farewell, and so departed, concluding that he should neuer see so faire a day againe, wherein he might haue cast the dice for the whole kingdome. And being thus departed from the Dowglas, he repaired to the king as then lieng at the siege of Abircorne, who sent him to the castell of Rosseine, there to remaine vnder safe keeping with the earle of Orkenie, to whom the said castell belonged: but at length, the king did not onlie pardon the lord Hämilton of all passed offenses, but also receiued him into such fauor, that he gaue him his eldest daughter in mariage, as after shall appeare. But now vpon the withdrawing thus of the said lord Hammilton from the Dowglas, bicause the king had set forth an open proclamation of pardon to all those that would forsake the earle of Dowglas, the most part of the same earles companie departed from him, by reason whereof he fled into England, togither with his brethren. The king lieng at the siege of Abircorne, lost diuerse of his men, besides manie that were wounded; but yet taking first a strong tower, being one of the chiefest limmes of that fortresse, shortlie after hee wan the rest.

The earle of Dowglas being withdrawne (as yée haue heard) into England, within a while after got togither certeine companies of men, and with the same returned againe into Scotland by the west borders, in hope to find friends in those parties: but such as the king had apointed there to defend the countrie, assembling themselues togither, and setting vpon him, discomfited his people, slue his brother Archembald, and toke the erle of Ormont prisoner, being first sore wounded. The baron of Baluay escaped into a wood, and so got away. The earle himselfe also (as Hector Boetius saith) escaped by flight, and got vnto Dunstafage, where finding Donald earle of Rosse and lord of the Iles, he procured him (being of nature inclined and readie inough to follow such counsell) to make warre in his fauour against the king. And after he had once set him on worke, he got him backe againe into England. Donald wasted not onelie the kings possessions that lay nére to Dunstafage, but also passing through Argile, did much hurt in all places where he came. He inuaded also the Ile of Arrane, and chased the bishop of Lismore, constreining him to take sanctuarie. This done, he entered into Lochquhabir, & so into Murrey land, where he burnt the towne of Inuernes, and wan the castell by a guilefull traine.

In the meane time, the earle of Ormont after he was recouered of his hurts (as the said Boetius writeth) was presented to the king, and after he had remained in prison a certeine time, he was at length beheaded. Moreouer the countesse Beatrice, after she saw no hope left that the earle of Dowglas should recouer his former estate, came to the king, and submitted hirselfe, laieng all the blame in the earle, who had procured hir vnto such vnlawfull mariage with him, being hir former husbands brother. The king receiued hir right courteouslie, and gaue to hir the baronie of Baluay, to mainteine therwith hir estate. Shortlie after also the countesse of Rosse fled from hir husband, & came to the king for feare of hir husbands crueltie, wherof partlie she had alreadie tasted. The king because he had made the mariage betwixt hir and hir husband, assigned hir forth sufficient reuenues also for the maintenance of hir estate. About the same time Patrike Thornton one of the kings seruants, but a fauourer of the Dowglasse, slue John Sandlands of Calder the kings cousine, and Alane Steward at Dunbreton, for that they fauored the contrarie faction: but the king getting the offendor into his hands, caused him and his complices to die for their wicked offense committed. The vniuersitie of Glascow was founded about this time by one Turnbull, bishop of that see. In the yeere following, died William Hate earle of Erroll, and constable of Scotland: also George Creichton earle of Catnes, and William Creichton chiefe of that familie.

The earle of Dowglas his companie shrinketh from him.

He withdrawe-eth into England.

He inuadeth Scotland.

The earle of Dowglas discomfited.

Archembald Dowglas earle of Murrey slaine.

Earle of Ormont taken.

Donald earle of Rosse.

The earle of Ormont beheaded.

The countes of Dowglas Beatrice submitteth hir selfe to the K.

The countes of Ros.

Patricke Thornton.

The vniuersitie of Glascow founded.

1455.

Death of noble men.

In this meane while, the earle of Dowglas remaining in England, procured the Englishmen diuers times to make rodes into Scotland, whereby he lost (as the Scotish writers affirme) the loue of his owne countrimen, when they saw him thus ioine with the Englishmen, to the damage of his natiue land. At one time, Henrie earle of Northumberland, and the said earle of Dowglas inuaded the Mers, but taking little heed to themselues, and suffering their people to ride abrode to harie the countrie without order; Dowglas earle of Angus with a mightie armie of Scotishmen set vpon them, and put them to flight, sleaing diuers, and taking to the number of seuen hundred prisoners. Thus (as should appeare) the earle of Dowglas in vaine sought to disquiet his countrie, for all his friends in Scotland continued faithfull to the king, who had granted peace to all other of the Dowglasses and their complices: for it was Gods will the matter should be taken vp without more bloudshed, that the right line of the Scotish kings might be preserued. [For (as it appeareth) he was amongst the English inuading Scotland, subdued and taken by the barons Johnston and Colpull, who presented him vnto the king, whereupon the king after a sort banished him into the monasterie of Lendore, where he was bountifullie and honorablie receiued (according to his nobilitie) of the religious persons, in which place he liued manie yeres, and then died.] Fr. Thin. 1454. Lesleus. lib. 8. pag. 305.

And though the almightie God might haue brought that to passe by other meanes, according as it should haue pleased his good will and omnipotent power; yet he chose this way, whereby the effusion of much bloud might be auoided, which by ciuill battell had béene spilled, if the parties hauing their harts filled with rancor & ire, had buckled togither in battell. But the K. vsing the aduise of his kinsman James Kenedie archbishop of S. Andrews, compassed his purpose in the end, dispatching out of the way such as he ante wates forth mistrusted, of which number namelie were the Dowglasses, whose puissance and authoritie not without cause he euermore suspected. Many haue reported (as before is said) that in the beginning king James the second, through feare of the great power of these Dowglasses, was in mind to haue fled the realme, but being recomforted by the counsell and authoritie of the said bishop James Kenedie, he aduanced his studie to matters of greater importance.

James Kenedie archbish. of S. Andrews, chéefe chancellor to the king.

The said Kenedie turned the earle of Angus, bieing of the surname of the Dowglasses, and brother to him by his mother, to take part with the king. He procured also diuers other of the same bloud and surname, to reuolt from the other confederats, and to submit themselues vpon promise of pardon vnto the kings mercie; and so infeebling the forces of such as were aduersaries to the king, in the end he had them all at his pleasure. It was thought, that forsomuch as the Dowglasses had their lands lieng so vpon the west and middle marches of the realme, (that no man might beare anie rule in those parts, but onelie they themselues) if they had happilie ioined with the Englishmen, considering the great intelligence beside, which they had in all other parts of the realme, what by kinred and aliance, the realme might

The practise of bishop Kenedie.

Great power cause of suspicion.

might haue fallen into great perill: for truelie it is a dangerous thing (as Io. Maior ſaith) for the eſtate of a realme to haue men of great power and authoritie inhabiting on the borders and vttermoſt parts thereof. For if they chance (vpon anie occaſion giuen) to renounce their obedience to their naturall prince & ſupreme gouernor, the preiudice may be great and irrecouerable, that oftentimes thereof inſueth; as well appeareth in the earles of March, and other before mentioned in this hiſtorie: and likewiſe in France by the duke of Burgognie, Britaine, and Normandie: for till thoſe countries were incorporated and annered vnto the crowne of France, the kings of that realme were oftentimes put to great hinderance through rebellion by them, whome they accounted for their ſubiects.

But now to returne where I left. After the Dowglaſſes were once diſpatched, and things quieted, king James the ſecond began then to reigne and rule reallie, not doubting the controlment of anie other perſon. For then he ordeined lawes for his people as ſeemed beſt to his liking, commanding the ſame to be kept vnder great penalties and forfeitures. And being counſelled chieflie by the biſhop of ſaint Andrews, James Kenedie that was his vncle, and the earle of Orkenie, he paſſed through all the parts of his realme, granting a generall pardon of all offenſes paſſed. And ſo he ruled and gouerned his ſubiects in great quietneſſe, and cauſed iuſtice ſo dulie to be miniſtred on all ſides, that it was ſaid in his daies, how he cauſed the raſh buſh to keepe the cow.

Lawes ordeined.

A generall pardon granted.

1455

In the yeere 1455, the king held a parlement, in which were manie good lawes made and eſtabliſhed for the weale of all the realme, as in the bookes of the acts of parlement is conteined. He vſed the matter alſo in ſuch wiſe with the principall capteins of the Iles, and of the hie lands, that the ſame were as quietlie gouerned, as anie part of the low lands, ſhewing all obedience as well in paieng ſuch duties as they owed to the king for their lands, as alſo in readineſſe to ſerue in the warres with great companies of men, as became them to dow: ſpeciallie Donald lord of the Iles and earle of Roſſe, who had before ioined himſelfe in confederacie with the earles of Dowglas and Crawford againſt the king, and had taken into his hands the kings houſe, and caſtell of Inuerneſſe (as before ye haue head) naming himſelfe king of the Iles.

A parlement holden.

The Iles & high land quietlie gouerned.

Donald earle of Roſſe, and lord of the Iles.

Neuertheleſſe, he was now at length reconciled to the king, and gaue pledges for his good demeanor, and afterwards brought to the king three thouſand men in aid at the ſiege of Roxburgh, * whoſe reconciliation was after this maner. When this Donald perceiued aduerſe fortune to beſiege him on euerie ſide, he ſent meſſengers to the king, craning peace and pardon for himſelfe and for his offenſes. Who comming before the king (and with manie humble ſpéeches, remembring the manie parts of clemencie which the king had vſed to the earle of Crawford, and ſuch as followed his faction) they did ſo purge the fault of Donald (by tranſferring the ſame to the fatall rage and iniurie of the preſent times, and by promiſing in his behalfe that hereafter he ſhould liue moſt quietlie in dutifull obedience) that they moued the kings mind to haue compaſſion vpon him.

Fr. Thin. Buchanan. lib. 11.

"But yet the king anſwered in a meane ſort betweene both, not vtterlie pardoning, nor flatlie reiecting him: for (ſaith he) there be yet manie ſhewes extant of his wickedneſſe, and he hath not giuen forth anie one token of a changed mind. Wherefore, to the end that we may beléeue the ſame to be true (which you haue promiſed in his behalfe) hereafter to become a dutifull ſubiect and louing neighbour to vs, and to thoſe which are about him, he muſt with repentance (proceeding from an vnfeined tong) craue pardon from vs whome he hath grieuouſlie offended, and (with ſufficient reſtitution) recompenſe thoſe whome (by ſpoiling) he had iniured: beſides which alſo, he muſt with ſome worthie exploit wipe awaie the memorie and blot of all his former committed wickednes. And although I well know that no vertue doth more beſéeme a kinglie maieſtie than clemencie, yet we ought ſo to prouide, that (meaſuring all things by the line of reaſon) the wicked war not ſo proud and rebellious (by ouermuch lenitie and loſe gouernement) as the good may be excited to the honeſt performance of their dutie by fauour and iuſtice. Wherefore I will inioine a time to Donald, and the reſt of his aſſociats, wherein they may openlie ſhew ſome déeds of an altered diſpoſition, and from henceforth we will ſo account of him, as his workes and not his words ſhall iuſtifie him to be. But in the meane time, I will him to reſt in quiet, leauing it in the power of him and his, whether I, he, and they, will héereafter be accounted (by due deſerts) happie or miſerable. Which ſaid, the meſſengers departed, and Donald reſted ſatiſfied.)"

In the meane while great diſſention roſe in England betwéene the two houſes of Lancaſter & Yorke; the king being principall of the houſe of Lancaſter, was taken himſelfe at the battell of ſaint Albons. But the quéene with hir ſonne the prince, and Henrie the yong duke of Summerſet, with diuers other fled into the north parts of England, and ſent to the king of Scotland to deſire him of aid, who vpon good aduiſe taken with his councell, for that king Henrie had euer kept well the peace with the realme of Scotland, and alſo for reuenge of his vncle the duke of Summerſet his death, prepared an armie of twentie thouſand men to paſſe into England: and in the meane time all the north parts of England, hearing that king James was readie to ſupport the quéene of England, ioined with hir, and paſt forward into the ſouth parts, conſtreining the duke of Yorke to flée the realme, and ſo king Henrie inioied the gouernement of his realme againe, and for that time concluded an agréement with the duke of Yorke his aduerſarie; which laſted not long.

Diſſention in England.

The duke of Yorke remembring how readie king James was to prepare an armie in ſupport of his aduerſarie king Henrie, procured the borderers to make incurſions vpon the Scotiſh ſubiects, & would ſuffer no redreſſe to be had, nor daies of truce to be kept on the borders, as in time of peace the cuſtome was. Wherevpon king James raiſed a power, and in perſon entered with the ſame into England, doing great hurt by deſtroieng diuers townes, caſtels and peiles in Northumberland, the biſhoprike and other parts, till at length vpon faire promiſes made by the Engliſhmen, he returned into his owne countrie. [At this time, the art of printing was firſt inuented in the citie of Mentz in Germanie, but whether to great commoditie or diſcommoditie of learning, I leaue to the iudgement of others, ſaith Leſleus.]

King James inuadeth England.

Fr. Thin Leſleus lib. 8. pag. 308. The art of printing firſt inuented.

1458.

After this, king Henrie of England, perceiuing that the duke of Yorke by the counſell of the earle of Warwike, ceaſſed not to practiſe conſpiracies againſt him, ſent eſtſones to king James, requiring him of aid againſt them, and promiſed therefore to reſtore vnto the king of Scotland the lands in Northumberland, Cumberland, the biſhoprike of Dureſme, and ſuch like, which the kings of Scotland had held before. This offer was accepted, and by treaties and contracts accorded, ſealed, and interchanged betwixt the two princes (as the Scotiſhmen alledge.) The yeere next following, at the quéene of Englands

1459.

desire to support hir against the house of Yorke, king James with a great armie entered England, but after that the queene in the meane time had slaine the duke of Yorke, & got the vpper hand of hir enimies, at the same quéenes request, he retired into Scotland againe. Neuertheless shortlie after, when the earles of March and Warwike sought still to maintein their quarrell against the quéene of England, she was constreined to withdraw into the north parts, and to desire king James to approch effsones 1460. with his armie vnto the borders: which he did, meaning to win the castels of Rocksburgh and Warke, which were amongest other things promised to be deliuered vnto him by king Henrie, and so comming to Rocksburgh, laied his armie round about that castell, and planted his siege in full warlike manner.

Héere the king hauing great experience in knowledge of shoting great artillerie, departed from his campe, accompanied with the earle of Angus, and others, and came to the trenches where the great ordinance was planted, which he caused to be shot off. And héere by great misfortune, this worthie prince James the second, was slaine by the slice of a great péece of artillerie, which by ouercharging chanced to breake, and slue not onelie the king standing somewhat néere it, but also hurt the earle of Angus, with other: being a notable president from henceforth, how such great princes approch so néere within danger of such péeces of ordinance, when they are shot off. He was thus killed the third day of August, in the yéere of his life 29, of his reigne 24, and after the incarnation 1460. His bodie was buried with all funerall obsequies according to his estate, within the monasterie of Holie rood house at Edenburgh, the people generallie lamenting his death with no lesse sorow and dolefull mone, than as is séene in a priuat house for the decease of the welbeloued maister and owner thereof.

King James the second is slaine.

Alias 17. 23. Buchan.

1460.

The buriall of James the second.

The lamentation of the people.

In time of warre, amongest his subiects in the campe, he behaued himselfe so gentlie towards all men, that they séemed not to feare him as their king, but to réuerence & loue him like a father. He would ride vp and downe amongest them, and eat & drinke with them, euen as he had béene fellowlike with the meanest. He had issue by his wife quéene Marie three sonnes, and two daughters. His eldest sonne named James, succeeded him in the kingdome; the second named Alexander, was created duke of Albanie; and his third sonne called John, was made earle of Mar. The eldest of his daughters the Hammilton had in mariage (as before is said) and also after shall be mentioned.

The amiable conditions of James the second.

The issue of James the second.

James the third king of Scotland.

Alexander duke of Albanie.

John earle of Mar.

Fr. Thin. Lesleus lib. 8. pag. 310.

& All the time of the reigne of this king, christian religion did greatlie flourish amongest the Scots: for there were amongest them twelue notable and famous bishops, whereof the chiefest were James Kennedie bishop of saint Andrewes, Turnebull bishop of Glascow, Thomas Spenser bishop of Aberden, and Henrie Lichton bishop of Murrey. At what time likewise there were manie religious abbats that kept such great houses, as both the nobilitie and communaltie trauelling through out the kingdome, did neuer almost lodge in anie publike hosterie, but in the monasteries: which were neuer vered or spoiled, during the time of the ciuill warres of the kingdome. Beside these men of eminent learning, there flourished also Nicholas Deidone, and John Eldmaire, singular diuines, with manie other doctors laudablie séene in all kind of learning. In the reigne of which king also, Charles the 7, king of France, for singular seruice done vnto him by the Scots, in the warres (betweene the English and the French) did honorablie indow manie of the Scots (for recompense thereof) with manie rich possessions in Aquitaine, who by that meanes (setling themselues in that countrie) were the originall of manie worthie families of that prouince, amongest which is that famous kinred of Caldell de la Campania in Tolouse, at this time greatlie flourishing, which had his beginning from Caldell a thane (or baron) being knight in the north parts of Scotland: for the grandfather of him which is now liuing, head of that house did inioy the place of magistrat or ruler of the Capitoline in that citie, hauing that title confirmed to his posteritie. This mans sonne Peter Caldell being a senator in the high court of Tolouse (commonlie called the parlement) was for his singular learning and wisedome had in great honor of all men during his life, which stretched to extreame age. In whose place came John (the eldest sonne of the said Peter) who doth at this day possesse the rome of his father, as a senator of the said court of Tolouse. And his other children with great honor are indued with other offices of gouernement in the said citie.)

Lesleus lib. 8. pag. 300.

Some strange sights there appéered before the death of this king James the second: for the day before he was slaine, a blazing star was plainlie séene, which signified (as was thought) the death of the said king. In the yéere before the siege, there was in Dundee an hermophrodyt, that is, a person with both shapes, but esteemed for a woman onelie, till it was proued, that lieng with hir maisters daughter nightlie where she dwelt, she had got the yong damsell with child; for the which act, because she had counterfeited hir selfe a woman, and yet had wrought the part of a man; she was condemned to be buried quicke, and suffered according to that iudgement. At the same time, there was a certeine theefe, that with his familie liued apart from the companie of men, remaining secretlie within a den in Angus called Fenisden, who vsed to kill yong persons, and to féed on their flesh, for the which abhominable offense, being apprehended with his wife and all his familie, they were burnt to death. One of his daughters that was scarse twelue moneths of age, onelie excepted, the which being preserued and brought vp in Dundee, before she came to the age of twelue yéeres, she was taken in the like crime for the which hir father died, whereupon she was iudged to be buried quicke: and going to execution, when the people in great multitudes followed hir, in wondering at so horrible an offense committed by one of hir age and sere, she turned to them that thus detested hir wicked doing, and with a countenance representing hir cruell inclination, said to them: What néed you thus to raile vpon me, as if I had done an heinous act contrarie to the nature of man? I tell you, that if you knew how pleasant mans flesh is in taste, there would none of you all forbeare to eat it. And thus with an impenitent and stubborne mind she suffered the appointed execution.

A blasing starre.

An hermophrodyt, that is, a person being both man and woman.

A wicked theefe that vsed to kill yong persons and to eat them.

His daughter faileth to the like practise.

Hir words going to execution.

" "

" "

Iames the third.

AFter the death of James the second, his sonne James the third a child of seuen yeares of age succeeded, and forthwith was sent for to the siege of Rorsburgh, whither he was conueied by the quéene, a woman of a stout stomach, representing the manlike race of hir countrie Gelderland, of the which she was descended. For comming with hir sonne thus to the siege, she spent not time in lamenting and womanish bewailing the irrecouerable losse of hir husband, but rather in comforting the lords, whose part had bin to haue comforted hir: and aboue all things she exhorted them with all diligence to imploie their whole indeuors and forces to the winning of that castell. Whose words so incouraged the captens and whole armie, that the siege was continued till the castell was wone, raced, and beaten downe flat to the ground; and the yong king was crowned at

The stout stomach of the quéene.

Rorsburgh castell taken and broken downe.

1461. I.M. 1460. Leſſe. at Kelſo, with the vniuerſall conſent and great reioiſing of all the noble men, and other being there preſent in the armie.

Warke beſieged and won.

This done, they beſieged the caſtell of Warke, which likewiſe they toke, and threw downe, and afterwards the king with the nobles of his realme came to Edenburgh, to take order for the quiet gouernement of the realme. And becauſe the king was yong, there were choſen ſeuen regents to gouerne both king & realme, as theſe, the quéene his mother, James Kenedie biſhop of S. Andrews, that was ſiſters ſonne to James the firſt, the biſhop of Glaſcow, the earles of Angus, Huntleie, Argile, and Orkeneie. Theſe, ſo long as James Kenedie liued, agréed well togither about the gouernement of the realme; but within a while after his deceaſſe, they fell at ſquare, or rather before, as appeareth by Hector Boetius, who ſaieth, that in the ſecond yéere of this kings reigne, there was diſcord in brewing betwixt the quéene and the archbiſhop Kenedie, who perceiuing that the woman ſought to vſurpe wholie the gouernement vnto hir ſelfe, withſtood hir in that behalfe, in ſo much that it was doubted leaſt the matter would haue broken forth into ſome ciuill warre, if the biſhops of Glaſcow, Dunkeld, and Aberden, and certeine abbats had not taken in hand to trauell betwixt the parties for an attonement, who did ſo much in the matter, that they compounded the variance in this wiſe.

Seuen gouernors choſen.

The quéene mother was appointed to haue the charge of the kings perſon, and of his brethren, Alexander duke of Albanie, and John earle of Mar, and likewiſe of his two ſiſters; but as for the adminiſtration and gouernance of the realme, ſhe ſhould leaue it vnto the peeres. There were therefore elected by common conſent as rulers, the biſhops of Glaſcow and Dunkeld, the earle of Orkeneie, the lord Graham, Thomas Boid, and the chancellor. About the ſame time, one Alane Keir, in hope to get the heritage of his brother, John lord of Lorne toke him, and kept him in priſon. But Colen Campbell earle of Argile, taking great indignation with ſo preſumptuous a part, gathered a power, and comming againſt Keir, toke him, and ſet his brother at libertie, and brought the offendor vnto Edenburgh, where he died in priſon. Moreouer, ſhortlie after Donald lord of the Iles and earle of Roſſe, who had ſerued obedientlie in the armie at Rorburgh, and was (as outwardlie appeared) well reconciled, began anew to vſe his old maners, ſpoiling & harrieng the whole countrie of Atholl, and toke the earle thereof, and the counteſſe his wife captiues with him into the Iles.

Donald of the Iles eſtſones rebellath.

To repreſſe his iniurious attempts, the regents togither were preparing an armie; but therewith came true aduertiſements, that the ſaid lord of the Iles, and other the principall offendors of his companie, were ſtricken through the hand of God with a certeine frenſie or madneſſe, and had loſt all their ſhips and ſpoiles in the ſea, ſo that the earle of Atholl and his ladie were reſtored, and thoſe frantike perſons were brought vnto ſaint Brides church in Atholl, for the recouerie of their health, but it would not be. Donald himſelfe was afterward ſlaine in the caſtell of Inuernes by an Iriſhman that was a minſtrell. In the yeare 1461, Henrie the firſt king of England being vanquiſhed by his aduerſarie Edward the fourth, purchaſed of king James the third a ſafe conduct for himſelfe and a thouſand horſſe to enter into Scotland; and hereupon he came to Edenburgh, and was lodged in the houſe of the friers preachers, with his wife quéene Margaret, and his ſonne prince Edward. There was alſo with him the duke of Excetter, and the duke of Sommerſet, with manie other of the Engliſh nobilitie.

Donald became mad.

Hitherto hath Hector Boetius continued the Scotiſh hiſtorie.

He was killed 1461.

Henrie king of England by ſafe conduct commeth into Scotland.

✻ And to the end this firme amitie thus begun, might more increaſe, and be further ſtrengthened: the two quénes Margaret (of England) and Marie (of Scotland) both French (by birth and nature) began to intreat of a mariage (hoping by affinitie to eſtabliſh that perfect amitie) to be ſolemnized betweene the daughter of James the ſecond king of Scots, and the ſonne of Henrie (king of England) being called prince of Wales, although none of them as yet was aboue ſeuen yeares old. Which mariage, Philip duke of Burgognie (vncle to the quéene of Scots, and deadlie enimie to the quéene of England) labored by all means to hinder, by his ambaſſador Gruthuſius, a noble man and of great iudgement; for this Philip did vſe ſuch bitter eninitie againſt Reinold, grandfather to the ſon of king Henrie by the mothers ſide, that he did deepelie enuie anie good ſucceſſe to happen to anie of that race, whereby it might increaſe or floriſh; and therefore ſought occaſion by all deuiſe to hinder it: for whoſe cauſe, and at whoſe requeſt, the ſaid mariage was at that time rather deferred, than vtterlie broken off. But the end thereof (which was greatlie feared by this Philip to be the conſummation of the mariage) was by the aduerſe fortune of king Henrie vtterlie diſapointed. For (as after ſhall appeare) this Henrie being incouraged (by the beneuolence of the Scots towards him) and throughlie confirmed (by the letters of his friend ſent vnto him) diſpatched his wife into France to Reinold hir father, to procure what aid ſhe could of hir friends beyond the ſeas, to helpe to reſtore him to the kingdome: which iournie ſucceeded not to hir in vaine, obteining ſuccor from thence.)

Fr. Thin. Buchanan.

The quéene went into France for aid.

The ſame time, king Henrie deliuered the towne & caſtell of Berwike into the Scotiſhmens hands, whether by couenant thereby to haue the foreſaid ſafe conduct granted, or of his own voluntarie will, to the end he might haue the more ſupport and fauor amongeſt them, it is vncerteine by the variable report of writers. Neuertheleſſe, ſhortlie after a truce was taken betwixt king James and king Edward, for the tearme of fiftéene yeares, vpon what conditions or promiſes made on king Edwards part I find not. This truce was concluded in the moneth of Maie, in the yeare 1462, at the citie of Yorke, whither had bin ſent the biſhop of Glaſcow, the earle of Argile, keeper of the priuie ſeale, the abbat of Holie rod houſe, ſir Alexander Boid, and ſir William Crawfton knights, ambaſſadors and commiſſioners for king James.

Berwike deliuered to the Scotiſhmen.

A truce for 15 yeares.

1462.

All things in this ſeaſon were ordered in Scotland by the aduiſe and counſell of James Kenedie biſhop of ſaint Andrews, a man of great wiſedome and policie, as well appeared in his prudent & ſage gouernement of the realme, as well during the minoritie of this James the third, as alſo in the daies of his father king James the ſecond. Pierre de Brezeie, otherwiſe called le Seigneur de la Varenne, great ſeneſchall of Normandie, was ſent by the French king Lewes the eleuenth, with two thouſand fighting men, to aid the part of king Henrie againſt king Edward. This Brezeie was one moſt in fauour with king Charles the ſeuenth, father vnto the ſaid king Lewes, and therefore (as manie did ſuppoſe) he was appointed by K. Lewes (who greatlie loued him not) to be chiefe in this iourneie, to the end his life might be put in hazard and aduenture; notwithſtanding, after ſome danger both of tempeſt on the ſea, and alſo of the enimies hands, he wan the caſtels of Bamburgh and Dunſtanburgh, which he caſt to the ground, and after toke in hand to keepe the caſtell of Anwike, and being beſieged therein,

James Kenedie the archbiſhop gouerneth the realme.

Monſieur de la Varrenne ſent forth of France to aid the part of Margaret quéene of England.

He keepeth Anwike caſtell, and is beſieged.

ſent for aid to the Scots.

He is relcued by the earle of Angus.

Alias 13000.

George Dowglaſſe earle of Angus as then warden of the marches, immediatlie raiſed a power of 23000, men, and comming with the ſame to the borders, choſe forth of all his numbers fiue thouſand of the moſt able horſſemen in all his armie, and comming with them to the caſtell about the middeſt of the day, toke the Frenchmen away with him into Scotland: the Engliſh armie that lay there at ſiege beholding the maner, and not once making proffer to fight with him. Some Engliſhmen there were, that would faine haue fought with the Scots; but other (whoſe counſell was followed) were otherwiſe minded, alleging that better it were to let them paſſe without incounter, ſith they left the caſtell void, than to ieopard vpon the doubtfull chance of battell, for though their number were not great, yet were they piked and choſen men, able to atchiue a great enterpriſe.

1463. The queene mother died.

After this, the ſixteenth of Nouember, in the yeare 1463, the queene of Scots, mother to James the third, died at Edenburgh, and was buried in the college of the Trinitie, which ſhe hir ſelfe had founded. This woman, after the deceaſſe of hir husband James the ſecond, liued ſomewhat diſſolutelie, procuring Adam Hepborne of Hales a maried man to keepe hir ſuch familiar companie, as ſounded greatlie to hir diſhonor: for that ſhe could not within the whole realme find ſome ſingle man amongeſt all the nobilitie, with whome ſhe might haue maried, & in ſome ſort to haue auoided the greater open ſlander & infamie. In the ſame yeare, Alexander duke of Albanie, and brother to the king, was taken on the ſea by the Engliſhmen in the moneth of June, as he was returning from his grandfather the duke of Gilder: but the biſhop of ſaint Andrews James Kenedie, cauſed both the ſaid duke and alſo the ſhip, with all the goods there in being, at the time of the taking of it, to be reſtored; for otherwiſe (as he flatlie proteſted) he would not keepe the truce anie longer concluded betwixt the two realmes.

Adam Hepborns familiaritie with the queene of Scots, mother to James the third.

Alexander duke of Albanie taken on the ſea.

1464. King Henrie returneth into England.

The duke of Summerſet, in hope of great fauor which he ſhould find in England, perſuaded king Henrie to paſſe thither, and with a great companie of Scotiſhmen he entered England, and manie of the north parts reſorted vnto him: but at length, at his comming to Eram, the lord Montacute with a great power was readie to giue him battell, and there diſcomfited him and his whole armie. The duke of Summerſet and the lords Hungerford and Roſſe were taken and put to death; the duke at Eram, and the lords at Newcaſtell. King Henrie eſcaped verie hardlie into Scotland againe, and there remained a certeine ſpace after, till at length he thought to returne into England in ſuch ſecret wiſe, as he ſhould not haue beene once knowen, till he might haue got amongeſt his friends, which would haue ſupported him: but ſuch diligent watch was laid for him all alongſt the borders, that he was eſpied, taken, and deliuered to king Edward his aduerſarie, who ſhut him vp in the tower of London till he was at length there made away, as in the hiſtorie of England ye may ſee more at large.

King Henrie is impriſoned.

1466.

In the yeare 1466, that famous biſhop James Kenedie departed this life, and was buried in the college of ſaint Sauiour, founded by him within the towne of ſaint Andrewes in moſt ſumptuous wiſe. This prelat in prudent policie excelled all other Scotiſh biſhops, of whome anie writer maketh mention. He kept the realme in good quiet, and obſerued the truce concluded with the Engliſhmen, to the great weale and commoditie of the poore commons. He was verie rich, as appeared by ſundrie buildings and workes which he left behind him, as a memorall of his name. [Whereof the three eſpecial things for rareneſſe and magnificence, were his college of ſaint Sauiour (wherein youth might be trained to learning and religion) the other his ſepulchre, wherein he was buried (being a ſtatelie peece of worke, ſuch as before had not beene accuſtomed for biſhops of Scotland) & the third was a ſhip of wonderfull burden: all which three, the common people affirmed were of one price, and ſtood him in like charge.] Beſides his biſhoprike, he held in his hands the commandarie of the abbeie of Pettinweme, which was worth vnto him eight hundred crowns by yeare. [Afterward, at the parlement holden in October and Januarie, there were manie edicts made for the benefit of the commonwealth, & chiefelie for the eſtate of the merchants; at what time alſo there was a proclamation made, that none of the Engliſhmen ſhould beare anie office, nor receiue anie benefice or benefit in Scotland.]

Fr. Thin. Leſleus lib. 8. pag. 314.

1470. Buch. 1468. Leſle. 1469. Fr. Thin. Leſleus lib. 8. pag. 315.

1469. The mariage of James the third.

In the yeare 1469, on the tenth day of Julie, king James the third, being as then about twentie yeares of age, maried in the abbeie of Holie rod houſe neere Edenburgh, the ladie Margaret, daughter to the king of Denmarke and Norwaie, which ladie was at the ſame time not paſt twelue yeares of age, ſome ſaie ſixteene. Hir father the king of Denmarke and Norwaie, in name of hir dower, tranſported and reſigned to K. James all his right, title, and intereſt which he pretended to the out Iles. The ambaſſadors that were ſent into Denmarke to conclude this mariage, and to conueie the bride into Scotland, were theſe: Andrew Buſdeir biſhop of Glaſcow, the biſhop of Orkenie, the lord Auandale chancellor of Scotland, and Thomas Boid earle of Arrane, who had maried the kings ſiſter, and was now in his abſence run into the kings diſpleaſure; whereof his wife hauing intelligence, hearing of hir husbands arriuall with the other in the Forth, got out of Edenburgh, & comming on ſhipbord to him, gaue him to vnderſtand what diſpleaſure the king had conceiued againſt him: who perceiuing himſelfe in what danger he ſtood if he toke land, returned backe into Denmarke, taking his wife with him.

The king of Norwaie reſigneth his title to the out Iles.

The earle of Arrane in the kings diſpleaſure.

The king herewith was ſo offended, that he cauſed both the ſaid earle and his father to be attainted of high treaſon, and ſent for his ſiſter backe into Scotland, cauſing a diuorſe in abſence of hir husband to be ſued & gotten forth againſt them, marieng hir afterwards to James lord Hamilton, to whome he gaue the earldome of Arrane, which hir former husband had in gift before. Of this mariage, thoſe of the houſe of Hamiltons are deſcended, & are neereſt of blood to the crowne of Scotland, as they pretend. [For (as ſaith Leſleus, lib. 8. pag. 316.) if the line of the Stewards faile, the crowne is to come to them.] But now to ſhew further what we find written concerning the maner and cauſe of the baniſhment of the afore remembred Thomas Boid, Giouan Ferrerio, in his appendix of the Scotiſh hiſtorie annexed vnto Hector Boetius laſtlie printed at Paris in the yeare 1574, agreeth not with that which ye haue red before. For as he telleth the tale, the ſaid lord Boid being one of the gouernors of the realme, elected thereto (as before ye haue heard) within ſhort time grew ſo far in fauor with the king, that he might do all things with him at his pleaſure, although his aſſociats in authoritie did neuer ſo much go about to hinder his deuiſes: by reaſon whereof, he ſeemed to vſurpe the whole rule & adminiſtration of the realme into his owne hands, ſore to the griefe of thoſe his ſaid aſſociats being ioined with him in like office.

The lord Hamilton marrieth the kings ſiſter.

Fr. Thin.

Giouan Ferrerio in his appendix of the Scotiſh hiſtorie.

The lord Boid beareth all the rule about the king.

Hereof the ſtate of the common-wealth through the diſſention thus bred among the gouernors, was brought

Through default of agreement in the

gouernors, e-uill disposed men wax bold to worke mischiefe.

brought into a miserable plight; for iustice in most places wanted hir due course, so as theeues and robbers taking boldnesse thereof, not onelie vpon the borders, but also elsewhere, began to exercise great outrage, to the breach of publike peace, and namelie the inhabitants of the out Iles fell to their wonted trade of pilfering, so that passing ouer in their long boats or barges, and landing here & there on the shore, they tooke preies of cattell and other goods, greatlie to their profit, and no lesse damage of the people that inhabited on the coasts ouer against them. In the north parts also, seditious tumults amongest the nobles, gentlemen, and people were raised, to the great disquieting of the whole countrie. Such disorders continued no small time, and because the said Thomas lord Boid bare greatest rule about the king, the blame (as it commonlie happeneth) was imputed to him.

They that be in authoritie be euer subiect to the spitefull bloy of enuies dart.

At length, when the king was growen to ripe yeares, and able to see to the administration of the common-wealth himselfe, he was admonished by certeine graue personages to haue some regard, that such misorders as disquieted the whole state of the realme, might be reformed. Herevpon he called a parlement, in the which, whether through enuie that the lords had conceiued against the lord Boid, or for that his dooings no lesse deserued such complaint, was exhibited by generall voices of the states against him, that it was decreed by authoritie of the whole assemblie, that he should come to answer in iudgement such crimes wherewith he was charged; but when he refused so to do, and in contempt of the kings authoritie got togither a power of armed men to defend him from iniurie, that might seeme (as he pretended) to be offered him: at length, the king was driuen of necessitie to make preparation for the leuieng of an armie to apprehend him by force. Whereof Boid being aduertised, fled into England, because he perceiued himselfe not able to resist the kings power. The king assured that he was thus auoided out of his realme, banished him for euer, and seized vpon his lands and goods as forfeited.

The lord Boid is accused.

He refuseth to be tried by way of arrainment.

He fleeth into England.

After this, when the said Boid saw no hope to returne againe into the kings fauor, and finding no great comfort among the Englishmen, he passed from thence into Denmarke, where he remained till the mariage was concluded betwixt the king, and the ladie Margaret, daughter to the king of Denmarke, as ye before haue heard: and then in hope by occasion of this mariage to obteine pardon, returned now in companie of the bride, and of those ambassadors that were sent to haue the conueiance of hir into Scotland: neuertheless, vnderstanding by his wife that came to him on shipboord before he set foot on land, that the kings displeasure continued still towards him so greatlie, that if he came on land, he should be sure to lose his head, he returned into Denmarke, and tooke his wife with him; as before is mentioned. Finallie he went into Italie, where at length he was murthered by one, whose wife he went about to allure for the satisfieng of his sensuall lust. Before he was diuorsed from his wife the kings sister, he begat on hir a sonne, the which in the daies of king James the fourth, in a priuat quarrell that rose betwixt him and an other noble man, chanced to be slaine. Thus much touching the lord Thomas Boid of Kalmarnocke out of Ferrerio, who also in report of the matter touching the mariage betwixt the king and the daughter of Denmarke, somewhat varieth from an other that writ thereof.

He passeth into Denmarke.

His vaine hope to obteine pardon.

He goeth into Italie.
He is murthered.

1468.
The ambassadors sent

The ambassadors that were sent vnto Christierne king of Denmarke & Norwaie in the yeare 1468, as the said Ferrerio affirmeth, were these; Andrew bishop of Glascow, William bishop of Orkeneie, Andrew lord of Anandale chancellor of the realme, Martine Mane the great almoner, & the kings confessor, Gilbert de Kericke archdeacon of Glascow, Dauid Creichton of Craukon, & John Shaw of Hatlie. These ambassadors being dispatched into Denmarke in Julie, in the yeare aforesaid, came at length to Hafkuen, where K. Christierne then remained, and were of him ioifullie receiued, & well heard concerning their suit, in so much at length, after he had proponed the matter to his councell about the eight of September, it was agreed in this sort, that the ladie Margaret, daughter to the said king Christierne, should be giuen in mariage vnto K. James of Scotland, and that the Iles of Orkeneie, being in number 28, and likewise the Iles of Shetland, of which there are eightéene, should remaine in possession of the kings of Scotland, till either the said king Christierne or his successors in name of the mariage monie should pay vnto king James, or to his successors, the summe of fiftie thousand florens of the Rheine. This mariage was thought, by reason of this ingaging of those Iles, right profitable vnto the realme of Scotland, because of the controuersie and variance which had continued long before those daies betwixt the kings of Scotland and Denmarke, about the right of possessing those Iles.

vnto Denmarke as Ferrerio saith.

The mariage concluded.
The Iles of Orkencie and Shetland ingaged.

In the moneth of Nouember next insuing, after the mariage had béene consummate in Julie before, within the abbeie church of Holie rood house (as before ye haue heard) or in saint Giles church in Edenburgh (as other write) the three estates were called to assemble in Edenburgh, where the quæne was crowned, and the parlement holden, the most part of the lords remaining still in Edenburgh all the next winter: and in the summer following, the king and quæne made their progresse into the north parts, and were honorablie receiued in the principall cities and townes where they came, and likewise by the nobles of the countrie, to the great reioising of the whole realme. After their returning to Edenburgh, the king called a parlement in the moneth of Maie 1471, in the which among other things it was ordeined, that the lords, barons, and burroughs of the realme, should build ships and boats, and prouide nets for fishing. Also it was ordeined that none should weare silks in dublet, gowne, or cloake, except knights, minstrels, & heralds; except they might dispend one hundred pounds in lands by yeere: and that the football and other vnlawfull games should be debarred, and the exercise of shooting maintained. James eldest sonne to king James the third, was borne the tenth day of March, in the yeere 1472, who afterwards succéeded his father, and was called James the fourth. Christierne K. of Denmarke, to congratulate the happie birth of this yong prince being his nephue by his daughter, released all the right, title & claime which he or his successors might haue to the Iles of Orkeneie and Shetland.

1469.

1470.

1471.

The like act for shooting was instituted by king James the first. An. 1425. Iohn Maior

1472.

The right to Orkeneie and Shetland resigned.

A strange comet or blasing starre (as we call it) appeared in the south, from the seuenteenth day of Januarie, vnto the eightéenth of Februarie, and was placed betwixt the pole and the pleiades, that is to say, the seuen starres. A great ship built by Kenedie the late archbishop of saint Andrews, called the bishops barge, brake and was lost beside Wanburgh, being fraught with merchandize, the twelfth of March. Manie merchantmens seruants and other passengers were drowned with hir, some escaped by boat, and were taken by the Englishmen, among whome was the abbat of saint Colme, who was constreined to pay vnto his taker one James Kar foure score pounds for his ransome yer he could be suffered to depart. The abbasie of Dunfermling being

A blasing starre.

1473.

A shipwrack.

vacant, the couent chose one of their owne monks called Alexander Thomson, and the king promoted Henrie Creichton abbat of Paisley thervnto, whom the pope admitted, & Robert Shaw parson of Minto was preferred by the king vnto the abbasie of Paisley, and then in such wise began promotings of secular priests to abbasies at the princes request, and the laudable elections ancientlie vsed, made void: bicause the court of Rome admitted such as the princes made sute for and named, getting great rewards and notable summes of monie thereby, so that neither the bishops durst admit such as the couents elected, nor such as were elected durst pursue their right, and so the abbasies were bestowed vpon such as followed the court, and liued courtlie, secularlie, and voluptuouslie, to the great slander of religious men, which by the naughtie examples of their gouernors fell to the works of wickednesse, whereupon dailie much euill increased, and vertue in all estates decaied.

Abbeies giuen by vnlawfull meanes.

This yeere in September, the indulgence of the sée of saint Andrews was published by Patrike Graham bishop thereof, and the same sée erected into the dignitie of an archbishops sée, at the sute of the said Patrike, who gaue information to the pope, that bicause the archbishop of Yorke was metropolitan of Scotland, and that there was oftentimes warre betwixt the realmes of England and Scotland, the Scotishmen could not haue accesse to their metropolitan, speciallie in cases of appellation. And therefore the pope (as some write) thought it reason to make saint Andrews primat and metropolitan of Scotland, and ordeined that the twelue other bishops of Scotland should be vnder his primasie, who would not agrée therto; but promised the king by way of a taration eleuen thousand marks for his maintenance against the said archbishop: and the prelats sent to Rome about this matter. This yeere was a great death in the realme of Scotland, so that where a parlement was called in September, it was proroged vntill the twelfe day after Christmas. In Januarie the parlement was holden at Edenburgh, in which John lord of the Iles and earle of Ros was atteinted, partlie for his owne euill deeds, but most speciallie for the defaults of his father Donald lord of the Iles.

The bishop of S. Andrews made archbishop. 1474.

Primat and metropolitan. Twelue bishops in Scotland.

1476.

The lord of the Iles atteinted.

In Maie, in the yeere 1477, the king raised a puissant armie of the most able men vpon the north side of the water of Forth, to pursue the lord of the Iles both by sea and land. The earle of Crawford was made admerall of the armie by sea, and the erle of Atholl the kings vncle by his father was lieutenant of the armie by land. But such meanes was vsed by the earle of Atholl, that the lord of the Iles humbled himselfe to the kings pleasure, vpon certeine conditions; and thervpon in the beginning of Julie next insuing, the said lord of the Iles came to the parlement vnto Edenburgh, and there was the agréement made and confirmed betwixt the king and him: he resigned into the kings hands all the right he had to the earledome of Rosse, the lands of Cantire and Knapden, which earledome the king annexed to the crowne, and pardoned him and his seruants of all offenses and transgressions before that day committed, and inuested him anew in the lordship and seignorie of the Iles, and other his lands not released, to hold the same of the king by the seruice of ward and relefe. The king also gaue vnto the earle of Atholl for his diligence shewed, in reducing the said lord of the Iles vnto order, the lands and forrest of Clonie.

1446. Lesle. The king raised an armie.

The lord of the Iles submitteth himselfe.

He resigneth Ros, Cantire, and Knapden.

There was an inquisitor called Husman this yeere sent by pope Sextus into Scotland, to examin by vertue of his commission Patrike Graham archbishop of saint Andrews, whose examination and proues being sent vnto the pope, he pronounced him an heretike, schismatike, and simoniake, and declared him accursed, condemning him to perpetuall prison: and so he was degraded from all orders, cure, and dignitie of ecclesiasticall office, and William Schewes archdeacon of the same sée was promoted in his place, to whome he was also committed to sée him safelie kept in prison. He was first sent vnto saint Colmes inch, and from thence to Dunfermling, and laslie to Lochleuin, where he died, and was buried in saint Sarffis Ile in Lochleuin. The said William Schewes was consecrated archbishop of saint Andrews on Passion sunday in Lent, within Holie rod house, the king being present, and manie of the nobles of the realme. And there the said archbishop receiued the pall, as a signe of his archbishops dignitie, and so was confirmed primat and legat of the realme, notwithstanding the impediment made against Graham before by the bishops about the same.

1477. An inquisitor sent from the pope.

The archbishop is not well handled.

Deprined. 1478. Lesle.

Put in prison

1478. Lesle. 1479.

Wil. Schewes is consecrated archbishop.

This yeere also Alexander duke of Albanie was committed to prison by the king his brother, within the castell of Edenburgh, through euill counsell; but he brake out and escaped to Dunbar, where he caused the castell to be furnished with all necessaries: and leauing his seruants within it, passed himselfe into France, and was there of the king honorablie receiued, and louinglie intreated. In the beginning of Maie following, the king besieged that castell by his lieutenant the earle of Auendale, who lost at that siege three good knights, the lord of Lute, sir John Schaw of Sauch, & the lord of Cragiwallase, with the shot of a gun, & John Ramseie was slaine with a stone cast by hand. When they within saw they could not long indure, they left the castell and fled awaie by sea, and the earle of Auendale entered, and found it void of all things whereof ante account was to be made.

The duke of Albanie imprisoned.

He escaped.

Edenburgh besieged.

Doctor Ireland being graduat in diuinitie at Paris, was sent from the French king vnto the king of Scots, to persuade him to make war vpon England, to the end that king Edward should not aid the duke of Burgognie. And moreouer, he had in charge to moue for the pardon of the duke of Albanie, and shortlie after returned with answer. The erle of Mar called John Steward the kings ponger brother, this yeere in the moneth of December, was taken in the night within his owne house, and conueied vnto Cragmiller, where he was kept as prisoner by the kings commandement, and after was conuict of conspiracie for witchcraft which he should practise against the king: and herevpon in Cannogate beside Edenburgh, his veines were cut, and so he bled to death. There were manie and diuerse witches and sorcerers, as well men as women conuicted of that crime, and burnt for the same at Edenburgh. The king sent ambassadors into England to make sute to haue the ladie Cicill, daughter to king Edward, ioined in mariage with his sonne James the prince, which was granted, and the mariage concluded to be solemnized, when the prince of Scotland should come to perfect age: as in the English historie it more plainlie appeareth. Doctor Ireland, with a knight, and another religious man, came againe to king James from the French king, to persuade him to make warres against England: and at length, king James and his nobles condescended to breake the peace, wherwith Thomas Spenser bishop of Abirden (that was full tenderlie beloued of king Edward, and had beene euer a mediator for peace betwixt the kings of England, France, and Scotland, & the duke of Burgognie) when he heard that warre would follow, he died through griefe of mind

1479. Lesl. Doctor Ireland sent vnto the king of Scots.

1479. Lesl. 1480.

John Steward a prisoner.

was put to death.

Mariage concluded. 1480. Lesle.

Bishop Spenser died.

1481. King James sent an ambassage vnto K. Edward.

mind and melancholie at Edenburgh, in the moneth of Aprill. The king sent two heralds vnto king Edward, requesting him not to aid the duke of Burgognie, nor anie other against the king of France: for if he did, he must nèeds support the Frenchmen, by reason of the league betwixt France and Scotland: but king Edward would not admit those heralds to his presence, but kept them still without answer, till he had sent forth a naule of ships into the Forth before Lieth, Kingorne, and Pettenwen, and then were the heralds licenced to returne. The English fleet entering the Forth, tooke eight great ships which they found in that riuer, and landing at Blacknesse, burnt the towne, and a great barge that late there at rode, and so returned.

K. Edward sent a naule into Scotland.

Ships taken and burnt.

The king of Scotland prepared an armie.

The king assembled an armie from all parts of the realme, and amongest other, the lord of the Iles came with a great companie: and now the king being readie to enter into England, there came to him a messenger of king Edward, sent from a cardinall legat that was resident as then in England, commanding king James by authoritie apostolike, not to proceed anie further in his purposed iournie, to the end that peace being obserued, all christian princes might bend their powers against the Turke & Infidels. This commandement did king James obeie, and so discharged his armie, notwithstanding that king Edward sent forth his naule againe into the Forth, to the Ile of Ins Keith, but they did no hurt: for the countrie men kept them off. The Scotish borderers inuaded the English marches, destroied townes, and led manie prisoners awaie with them into Scotland. The king of England caused Berwike to be assieged both by sea and land all the winter season, and ouerthrew a wall that was newlie made about it for defense thereof: but the Scots within it defended the towne for that time so stoutlie, that the enimies might not win it from them.

A legat inhibited him.

In other naule sent into Scotland.

Berwike assieged by an armie of Englishmen.

1482.

The duke of Albanie commeth into England.

The duke of Albanie was maruellouslie beloued of the Scots, and namelie of the nobilitie, for his wise was dead, whom he had maried in France, perceiuing himselfe not so well intreated as before, came ouer into England, where king Edward receiued him verie honorablie, promising (as some haue written) to make him king of Scotland: and therevpon assembled an armie of thirtie thousand men, with a great naule by sea to inuade Scotland, and appointed capteins and leaders of the armie by land, his owne brother the duke of Gloucester, the duke of Albanie, and others. The king of Scots hearing of their approch to inuade his realme, raised a puissant armie to resist them, and came forward with the same vnto the towne of Lowder, where being incamped, the principall nobles of his realme, as Archembald earle of Angus, George earle of Huntleie, John earle of Lenor, James earle of Buchquhane, Andrew lord Greie, Robert lord Lile, and diuerse other being armed, entered the kings lodging, where they accused him of diuerse things done and practised by him contrarie to his honor and the common-weale of his realme; and specíallie, because he vsed yong counsell of lewd persons, vnworthie and base of birth, such as Thomas Cochram, whome of a mason he had made earle of Mar, through whose deuise and counsell he had caused to be coined certeine monie of copper, not conuenient to be currant in anie realme, which the people refused, and so great dearth and hunger was raised through the countrie. Moreouer, that he would not suffer the noble men to come nèere his presence, nor to take their counsell in gouerning the realme, but gaue himselfe to voluptuous pleasure, setting naught by the quéene his lawfull wife, & kéeping a naughtie harlot called the Daisie in hir place.

The presumptuous demeanour of the Scotish nobilitie.

Thomas Cochram.

Imbasing of coine.

The kings concubine named Daisie.

Also they laied to his charge, that he had put his brother the earle of Mar to death, and banished his other brother the duke of Albanie, and therefore they could not suffer him and the whole realme to be longer misled by such naughtie persons. And hèerevpon they tooke Thomas Cochram earle of Mar, William Roger, and James Hommill tailor, who with others being conuicted, were hanged ouer the bridge at Lowder. Onelie John Ramsèie a yong man of eighténe yéeres of age, for whome the king made great instance, was pardoned of life. This done, they returned to Edenburgh, and appointed the king himselfe to be kept in the castell by the earle of Atholl, and in the meane time, the second of August, they sent Andrew Steward elect bishop of Murrey, & John lord Darneleie to the English armie, lieng then at Tuider, to take truce for thrée moneths: but the dukes of Glocester and Albanie came forward vnto Restalrig, where they incamped without anie resistance. The English naule lieng also in the Forth was readie to assist their fellowes by land.

Cochram earle of Mar and other hanged.

The king kept vnder arrest.

Hærevpon, certeine noble men of Scotland, as the archbishop of saint Andrewes, the bishop of Dunkeld, Colin earle of Argile, and Andrew Steward lord Auendale, great chancellor of Scotland, went to the English campe, & treating with the two dukes, agréed vpon certeine articles, whereby the duke of Albanie was receiued into his countrie againe in peaceable wise, and had giuen to him the castell of Dunbar with the earledoms of March and Mar. He was proclamed also generall lieutenant to the king. And so the Englishmen returned homewards, and came vnto Berwike, where they hauing wone the towne as they passed that waies into Scotland, had left the lord Stanleie, and sir John Eldrington, with foure thousand men, to kéepe a siege before the castell, and now they inforced the same: but the lord of Halis then capteine within that castell, defended it verie manfullie, sending to the duke of Albanie and other, the lords of the councell, for reliefe to raise the siege. The duke in deed raised an armie, and came to Lamer more, but when they within perceiued that through dissention betwixt the king and the nobles of the realme, they were not like to be rescued, they yéelded the castell into the Englishmens hands, the 24 of August, in that yéere 1482, after it had remained now at this time in the Scotishmens hands the space of 21 yeeres.

The duke of Albanie is reconciled.

The castell of Berwike is taken.

1482

The king remaining as prisoner in Edenburgh castell, all things were ordered by the duke of Albanie, Andrew Steward lord of Auendale, chancellor, and others, till the said duke, the archbishop of saint Andrewes, the chancellor, the earle of Argile, and diuerse others, went to Striueling to visit the quéene and prince, where the duke was persuaded by the quéene, without knowledge thereof giuen to the other, to go vnto Edenburgh, and to restore the king vnto libertie. The duke accordinglie to the quéenes pleasure comming to Edenburgh, besieged the castell and wan it, remoued the earle of Atholl, and set the king and all his seruants at libertie, for the which good turne, the king shewed great tokens of loue to his brother the duke, although it lasted not long. The earle of Argile, the bishop of saint Andrewes, the chancellor, and others, which remained at Striueling, when they heard those newes, fled into their owne countries: and shortlie after, the bishop of S. Andrewes, at request of the king, resigned his bishoprike in fauor of maister Andrew Steward prouost of Glenelowden, and was content in recompense thereof, with the bishoprike of Murrey. This yéere there was great theft, reiffe, and slaughter in diuerse parts of the realme, by occasion of the variance betwixt the king and his nobles.

The king is prisoner.

The king is set at libertie.

The archbishop resigneth

1483.

✻ Charles the eight, king of France (in the beginning of his kingdome) sent into Scotland certeine

Fr. Thin. Lesleus lib. 8. pag. 323.

teine ambassadors, which were Beroald or Bernard Steward, lord of Aubignie, marshall of France, and Peter Mallart doctor of both lawes, to renew the old league betweene this James the third, and the king of France: for which cause the king of Scots and the nobles assembled at Edenburgh, where (with the French ambassadors) seeking all the rols of all the ancient leagues, they reconfirmed the same, with the seales of both parts set thereunto; which done, the Frenchmen (with whome were sent into France diuerse Scots) returned home. Amongest the Scots, one Robertson was the chiefe, a man famous for the feates of battell, and hauing imploied his seruice on the parts of the French in the Italian warres, which being ended, the said chosen soldiers following the conduct of Beroald Steward, went into England with Henrie earle of Richmont, after king, whose part they tooke against Richard at that time vsurper vpon the English, for which cause the earle of Richmont (when he was after king) did deerelie loue the Scots.

1483.

The seditions also, which a long time did burne in France, caused deadlie wars to grow betweene the king of France and the duke of Burgognie. Whereunto, when the death of Charles (the last duke of Burgognie, slaine at Nants by the duke of Loraine) did set end: Charles the eight of that name, king of France (assembling a great armie) did applie all his force and deuise to expell Alphonse out of the kingdome of Naples, who at that time succeeded happilie vnto him, by reason that Alphonse was then easilie removed. But after, when the Neapolitane people did reuolt (from the French faction) to Ferdinand the son of Alphonse, there arose great flames of warre and sedition through Italie, each part studieng to support the strength of his owne. The administration of which warre against Ferdinand, was chieflie performed by the Scots, as principall captens of that armie, or at the least equall with the best. Of which Scots the chiefe were Alexander duke of Albanie, son to James the second king of Scots, John also duke of Albanie sonne of this Alexander, George Montgomerie lord of Lorges, Bernard Steward (who was after made viceroy of Naples, which office he wiselie manie yeeres did execute) Robert Steward marshall of France, Nicholas Scot, and others, whereof manie (for their worthie exploits) were by the French honorablie rewarded with great possessions. Who also (as manie of the Scots before had done) planting themselues in Insubria, became the authors of manie ancient families. For though by the euill custome of common speech, they reteine the name of Scot (as taken of their countrie) yet by the ensignes, and tokens which they had and vsed, it may easilie be knowne of what families the Scots their ancestors did descend.

Certeine noble families in Italie and Insubria sprung from the Scots.

Wherefore it followeth by most certeine coniecture, that the ancient familie of the earles (to whome vse of speech hath long obteined the surname of Scots) flourishing in Placentia, had their originall from the stocke of the Dowglasses, as the armes of them both do well witnesse: which kindred (besides manie other earles thereof) is at this day notablie beautified by Christopher Scot, who (with singular pietie and learning) doth gouerne the church of Cauallon. Againe, there is another familie of Scots, commonlie called the Scoties in Insubria, whereof Bernard Scotta and Horace his brother (the one a senator of Mantua, and the other a prelat) are both famous, as well for their vertue, as nobilitie: also Francis Scotia, lord of Pine and Mondone, and other nobles of the marquesdome of Saluce, are descended from the Scots, with the large familie of the Schities (descended of James Orlando Scot, which we haue heard confirmed by the armes of that familie) are well aduanced about Cremona, Mantua, and Verona, as are also the Paparons in Rome (so called for their armes and ensignes) whose ancestors to be of the Scotish nobilitie, is witnessed by a worthie monument thereof in the church of saint Marie the great, in which the father and the son called Paparons, being there buried, are both adorned with the ensignes of knighthod out of Scotland.)

The duke of Albanie, for that he vnderstood there was poison giuen to him in drinke in the kings chamber, and therefore stood in feare of his life, fled from the court vnto the castell of Dunbar, whereby insued great discord. The king fearing the displeasure of his nobles, got him also into the castell of Edenburgh. The earles of Angus, Buchquhane, and others, left the king, and assisted the duke of Albanie. And the king through counsell of certeine meane persons whome he had againe taken vnto him, summoned the duke and other his assistants, to come to answer for such treason as he had to lay against them, withall prepared an armie to besiege Dunbar, wherof the duke being aduertised, fled into England, and afterwards being accompanied with the earle of Dowglasse, and a great number of Englishmen, inuaded Scotland vpon the west marches, where manie Englishmen were slaine and taken by the resistance of the lords Cokpull, Johnston, and others, the duke was put to flight, and the earle Dowglasse taken and brought to the king, who because he was an aged man, and had beene long banished his countrie, was sent to the abbeie of Lundoris, where he remained the rest of his daies, and at length, departing this life, was buried there.

Poison giuen.

The king is forsaken.

Lords are summoned.

Scotland inuaded.

Earle Dowglasse sent vnto an abbeie.

The duke of Albanie is blamed.

The duke of Albanie for the losse of that armie, was blamed of the king of England, and therevpon taking a misliking, secretlie departed ouer into France by the helpe of John Liddell, sonne to sir James Liddell knight, who afterwards lost his life for the same. The duke was well interteined in France by the king there: and shallie running at tilt with Lewes duke of Orleance, was hurt with the splint of a speare, and thereof died. He left behind him two sonnes, John duke of Albanie, that was after gouernor and tutor to king James the fift, and Alexander that was after bishop of Murrey, and abbat of Scone. This yeere the lord Hume, Torreblis, Oliphant, and Drummond, were made lords of the parlement. In the yeere 1484, the king sent the archbishop of saint Andrewes vnto Rome, for certeine priuileges which he obteined. And the same yeere, pope Innocent the eight of that name, sent the bishop of Imola to treat of peace, betwixt Richard king of England, & James king of Scotland. James king of Scots, hauing not long before made diuerse incursions and rodes into England, and that to his profit, he sued therevpon for a truce, which came to passe euen as king Richard wished, so that condescending to haue a communication, commissioners were appointed for both parts to meet at Notingham, the seuenth day of September next insuing.

1484.

The archbishop is sent to Rome.

The pope sent to intreat for peace.

Commissioners appointed on the behalfe of the king of England & Scotland, to treat for a peace at Notingham.

For the king of Scots there appeered Colin earle of Argile, the lord Campbell, the lord chancellor of Scotland, William bishop of Aberden, Robert lord Lile, Laurence lord Olifant, John Drummond of Stubhall, Archembald Quitelaw archdeacon of Lawden, and secretarie to king James, Lion king of armes, and Duncan Dundas. For king Richard, there came Richard bishop of saint Assaph, John duke of Norfolke, Henrie earle of Northumberland, Thomas lord Stanleie, George Stanleie lord Strange, John Greie lord Powes, Richard lord Fitzhugh, John Gunthorpe keeper of the kings priuie seale, Thomas Barrow maister of the rols, sir

Thomas

Thomas Bꝛian chiefe iuſtice of the common plées, ſir Richard Ratcliffe knight, William Cateſbie, & Richard Salkeld eſquires. Theſe councellors in the later end of September, after ſundꝛie meetings and communications had togither, concluded (as followeth) a peace to be had betwixt both the realmes foꝛ the ſpace of thꝛée yéeres, the ſame to begin at the riſing of the ſunne, on the 29 of September in the yéere 1484, and to continue vnto the ſetting of the ſunne on the 29 of September in the yéere 1487.

A peace concluded foꝛ thꝛée yéeres.

During which terme, it was agréed, that not onelie all hoſtilitie and warre ſhould ceaſſe betwixt the two realmes, but that alſo all aid and abatement of enimies ſhould be auoided, & by no colorable meanes oꝛ waie in anie caſe vſed. The towne and caſtell of Berwike to remaine in the Engliſhmens hands, foꝛ the ſpace of the ſaid terme, with the ſame bounds as the Engliſhmen poſſeſſed it at that ſeaſon, when it was deliuered to the Scotiſhmen by king Henrie the firt. It was likewiſe condeſcended, that all other caſtels, holds, and foꝛtreſſes, during the tearme of the ſaid thꝛee yéeres, ſhould abide in the hands of thoſe that held them at that preſent, the caſtell of Dunbar onelie excepted. This caſtell of Dunbar was deliuered vnto the Engliſhmen by the duke of Albanie, when he fled into France, and ſo remained in their hands at that time of concluding this truce.

The caſtell of Dunbar in the Engliſhmens hands.

Hére vpon (by reaſon the Scotiſh commiſſioners had not authoꝛitie to conclude anie full agréement foꝛ that caſtell, vnleſſe the ſame might be reſtoꝛed vnto the king their maiſters hands) it was accoꝛded, that if the king of Scots, within the ſpace of foꝛtie daies nert inſuing, did intimate his reſolute refuſall to be agreeable, that the ſaid caſtell ſhould remaine in the Engliſhmens hands aboue the ſpace of ſix moneths, that then during that terme of ſix moneths, thoſe that kept the caſtell foꝛ the Engliſhmen ſhould remaine in quiet, and not be troubled noꝛ moleſted by anie kind of meanes by the ſaid king of Scots, oꝛ anie other by his pꝛocurement, ſo that they within the caſtell likewiſe abſteining from making anie iſſues oꝛ reiſſes vpon the Scotiſh people. And if after that the ſaid terme of ſix moneths were once expired, it ſhould chance that anie warre aroſe foꝛ defending oꝛ recouering the ſaid caſtell, yet the truce ſhould indure foꝛ all other rights and poſſeſſions; notwithſtanding that it might be lawfull to doo what lay in anie of their powers, either foꝛ winning oꝛ defending the foꝛeſaid caſtell, as though no truce had béene concluded.

In article foꝛ the caſtell of Dunbar.

It was further agréed, that no traitoꝛ of either realme ſhould be receiued by the pꝛince of either realme; and if anie traitoꝛ oꝛ rebell chanced to arriue in either realme, the pꝛince thereof to deliuer him vpon demand made. Scots alreadie abiding in England & ſwoꝛne to the king there, may remaine ſtill, ſo their names be certified to the Scotiſh king within foꝛtie daies. If anie warden of either realme ſhould inuade the others ſubiects, he to whome ſuch warden is ſubiect, ſhall within ſix daies pꝛoclame him traitoꝛ, and certifie the other pꝛince therof within 12 daies. And in euerie ſafe conduct this clauſe ſhould be conteined; Pꝛouided allwaies that the obteiner of this ſafe conduct be no traitoꝛ. If anie of the ſubiects of either pꝛince doo pꝛeſume to aid, helpe, mainteine, oꝛ ſerue anie other pꝛince againſt anie of the contractors of this truce, then it ſhall be lawfull foꝛ him, to whome he ſhewed himſelfe enimie, to apꝛehend and attach the ſaid ſubiect, going, comming, oꝛ tarieng within anie of his dominions.

In article foꝛ traitoꝛs.

In article foꝛ Scotiſhmen alreadie being in England.

In article foꝛ the wardens of the marches

A clauſe to be put in ſafe conducts.

In article foꝛ ſuch as ſhould ſerue either pꝛinces in warre.

Colleagues compꝛiſed in this truce (if they would aſſent thereto) on the Engliſh part were theſe: the king of Caſtile and Leon, the king of Aragon, the king of Poꝛtingale, the archduke of Auſtrich & Burgognie, and the duke of Bꝛitaine. On the Scotiſh part, Charles the French king, John king of Denmarke and Noꝛwaie, the duke of Gelderland, and the duke of Bꝛitaine. The lordſhip of Loꝛne in the realme of Scotland, and the Iland of Lundaie lieng in the riuer of Seuerne, in the realme of England, were not compꝛehended in this agréement. This concoꝛd, peace, and amitie thus concluded, was appointed to be publiſhed the firſt day of October, in the moſt notable cities and townes of both the realmes.

Colleagues compꝛiſed in the truce.

Loꝛne & Lundaie excepted.

Foꝛ the ſure obſeruation, kéeping, & perfoꝛmance of this truce & league, there were appointed foꝛ conſeruatoꝛs on the Scotiſh ſide, Dauid earle of Crawfoꝛd and lord Lindſeie, George earle of Huntleie lord Goꝛdon and Badzenath, John lord Darneleie, John lord Kenedie, Robert lord Lile, Patrike lord Halæne, Laurence lord Oliphant, William lord Boꝛthwike; ſir John Roſſe of Halkheid, ſir Gilbert Johnſton of Elphinſton, ſir John Lundie, ſir John Ogiluie of Arlie, ſir Robert Hammilton of Fingalton, ſir William Balze of Lamington, ſir John Kenedie of Blarqhone, ſir John Wemes, ſir William Kochwen; Edward Stochton of Kirke patie, John Dundas, John Roſſe of Mountgrenan, eſquires.

It was further agréed, that commiſſioners ſhould mæet at Loughmaben on the eightéenth day of Nouember, as well foꝛ redꝛeſſe of certeine offenſes done on the weſt marches, as alſo foꝛ declaring and publiſhing the peace. On the Engliſh part, the lord Dacres, the lord Fitzhugh, ſir Richard Ratcliffe, ſir Chriſtopher Moꝛeſbie, ſir Richard Salkeild, oꝛ thꝛée of them. Foꝛ the Scots, the lord Kenedie, the lord Mountgomerie, the lord Lile, John Marwell ſteward of Annandale, Robert Creichton of Sanquhan, oꝛ thꝛée of them. Alſo, there were aſſigned commiſſioners to mæet at Roidenboꝛne foꝛ the eaſt marches, the firſt day of December; and at Haldan Stanke foꝛ the middle marches, on the fourth day of the ſame moneth. At which two places foꝛ Scotland, there were aſſigned to appeere the earle of Huntleie, the earle of Angus, the earle of Argile chancellor of Scotland, the lord Auandale, the lord Seiton, the lord Oliphant, the lord Stubhall, with others.

Commiſſioners appointed to mæet at Loughmaben

Commiſſioners to mæet at Roidenboꝛne.

And at Haldan Stanke.

Foꝛ England, the earle of Noꝛthumberland, the lord Gꝛeiſtocke, the lord Scrope of Maſſan, ſir William Gaſcoigne, ſir Robert Conſtable, and other. The ſame commiſſioners had authoꝛitie to aſſigne certeine perſons, to view and declare the bounds and limits apperteining to Berwike, accoꝛding to the true meaning of the league. Foꝛ the battell ground it was accoꝛded, that the ſame ſhould remaine without ſowing, earing, building, oꝛ inhabiting, as it had doone befoꝛe. Shoꝛtlie after the concluding of this truce, king Richard intreated foꝛ a mariage to be had betwixt the pꝛince of Rothſaie, eldeſt ſonne to king James & ladie Anne de la Pole, daughter to John duke of Suffolke and to the ladie Anne his wife, that was ſiſter to the ſaid king Richard. Foꝛ the concluding of this mariage, both the kings ſent their ambaſſadoꝛs againe vnto Nottingham, where their treatie had ſuch ſucceſſe foꝛ that time, that the mariage was agréed vpon, and writings thereof dꝛawen, ingroſſed, and ſealed, and affiances made and taken by pꝛoctoꝛs and deputies on both parts. The foꝛeſaid yong ladie was immediatlie called pꝛinceſſe of Rothſaie, but by the ſhoꝛt life of king Richard hir vncle ſhe ſhoꝛtlie after loſt that name.

The battell ground.

A mariage concluded betwixt the duke of Rothſaie and the ladie Anne de la Pole.

King James within a while after the concluſion of this league and mariage afoꝛeſaid, foꝛ the erpꝛeſſing and declaring of his opinion touching the caſtell of Dunbar, whether he would be agreeable that the ſame ſhould remaine onelie ſix moneths, oꝛ elſe during

King James by letters signifieth his mind touching the articles of Dunbar.

during the tearme of the whole truce in the Englishmens possessions, he wrote vnto king Richard a louing letter, signifieng vnto him, that he was not minded to seeke the recouerie of the said castell by force of armes, but rather to leaue it in his hand, during the whole terme of the truce. Neuertheless, he instantlie required him for the bond of that loue and familiaritie, which now by treatie and aliance was sprong vp betwixt them, that he would redeliuer the said castell into his hands, according as reason might moue him thereto; considering the Englishmen had no right to it, being onelie deliuered to them by traitors of their natiue countrie, without anie reasonable cause, or commission lawfullie authorised.

K. Richard would not deliuer the castell of Dunbar.

King Richard dalied in this matter with pleasant letters and faire words feeding forth king James, without minding to gratifie him in that suite, so that as long as king Richard liued, king James could neuer get it for anie thing he might do. In the

1486.

yeare 1486, Henrie earle of Richmond comming out of France with a power of men, of the which Bernard Steward a Scotishman was chiefe capteine, landed in Wales, and passing through the countrie into England, at length incountred king Richard, and slue him, so obteining the crowne of that realme. And after he was somewhat quietlie established in the same, he came into the north parts, where he remained the most part of the next summer, and regarding nothing more than to haue the loue and friendship of his neighbors, & to be confederat with the kings and princes ioining next vnto him, he sent from Newcastell one of his councellors Richard Fox bishop of Exceter, and sir Richard Edgcombe knight, ambassadors vnto king James, to treat a contract, and renew the bond of peace and truce betwixt the said kings and their realmes.

K. Richard ouerthrowne by the earle of Richmond.

An ambassage sent into Scotland.

The kings answer.

These ambassadors were gladlie receiued of king James, who declared vnto them, that he bare great fauor and loue vnto their maister, and would be glad to pleasure him in all he might: howbeit, that his subiects were not of so good a mind towards the English nation as he himselfe wished, and therefore he willed them to be contented with a truce for seuen yeares, sith further he could not do, for doubt to offend his nobilitie and subiects. But he promised secretlie, that when those seuen yeares were expired, he would renew the same for the tearme of other seuen yeares, and so from seuen yeares to seuen yeares so long as he liued. This he did, because he perceiued that his people had him in such hatred, that they would not consent to anie bond that he should make. The ambassadors perceiuing his good meaning toward king Henrie, confirmed the truce for those seuen yeares, and so returned home to king Henrie, who was glad of that they had done.

His promise.

Fr. Thin. Buchanan. lib. 12.

✠ In the meane time died the queene, a woman of singular beautie and goodnesse, who was supposed greatlie to mitigat the vnbridled force of hir husband. At what time also in France died Alexander

1487.

the kings brother, leauing behind him two sonnes, which were Alexander borne of his first wife (daughter to the earle of Orkeneie) and John (borne of his second wife) being after made gouernor of Scotland.) Immediatlie after that this truce was thus concluded betwixt the two realmes, king James caused the three estates to assemble in parlement at Edenburgh the first of October in the yeare 1487, in the which order was taken, that iustice oires should be holden through all the parts of the realme, & that no pardons should be granted for anie great crime that shuld be committed for the space of seuen yeares to come, so that the king began to vse sharpe execution of iustice in all parts, which was right displeasant to manie.

A parlement.

No pardon to be granted to offendors for the space of seuen yeares.

At the same time was an ambassador sent to the king of Romans, for the calling in of a letter of marque, which had beene granted against Scotish merchants, at the suite and instance of certeine Hollanders and Burgognions, and was shortlie after herevpon reuoked. After the parlement was ended, the king remoued vnto Striueling, leauing his wife the queene, and hir sonne the prince at Edenburgh castell, whilest he keeping persons about him of meane calling, gaue himselfe to take his pleasure with women, & to gather vp gold and siluer, greatlie to the offense of his subiects. Yet in the meane time, now after the death of king Richard, whether it was by treson or appointment, the castell of Dunbar was deliuered to the hands of king James, and that to his great ioy and high contentation; for he that ruled his kingdome more with rigor than with anie tractable meane of fauorable iustice, stood euer in feare of some troublesome tumult that might be raised by his owne people, if occasion were ministred either through hope of forren aid or otherwise.

Ambassador sent to the king of the Romans.

The king giueth himselfe to satisfie his lust in keeping women and gathering treasure.

After the death of king Richard, Dunbar is deliuered.

So long therefore as the castell was in the Englishmens hands, he doubted least through practise, some conspiracie should be contriued betwixt his owne subiects and the English nation, greatlie to the annoiance of his estate, & therevpon he was the more desirous to reduce the same castell into his possession. But the onelie meane to haue assured himselfe from the hands of such as sought his life, had beene to haue changed his wilfull maner of gouernment, & to haue leaned vnto such counsell as would haue aduised him for the wealth of his whole realme, and not vpon desire to please, haue mainteined his vndiscreet opinions, to the wronging aswell of his commons as of the nobles and peeres of his realme; for the nobilitie of Scotland, namelie the earles of Angus, Argile, and Lenox, the lords Halis, Hume, Drummond, Greie, and others, perceiuing themselues oppressed by such as from base birth had risen (without worthie deseruing) to the degree of councellors, and therewith aduanced to so high authoritie, as all things were ordered at their appointment, conspired togither, & determined by force of armes to see a reformation in such a disordered maner of gouernement.

The means whereby king James might haue auoided danger of det by his subiects.

The conspiracie of the Scotish lords against king James the third.

But yet because it should not be thought that they minded the destruction of their countrie, but rather the aduancement thereof, they made the lord James duke of Rothsaie sonne to the king (a child borne to goodnesse and vertue) the chiefe capteine in this their enterprise, and that in maner against his will; hereby openlie protesting, that they minded and purposed the suppressing and confusion of an euill king, and not the subuersion of their natiue countrie. By which their craftie imagined inuention, they thought to remoue all suspicion of their purposed vntruth and shamefull disloialtie. They had sent to the earle of Dowglasse, who remained prisoner (as ye haue

heard) in the abbeie of Lundors, and required him to assist them in their begun enterprise, promising that they would restore him againe to his lands and former dignitie, and honor him as principall of their faction. But that noble, wise, and ancient earle, being alreadie schooled with troubles, and hauing learned by experience (to his great griefe) what such matter meant, refused to breake his ward, or to assist them in anie wise, dissuading them from their enterprisse, because it seemed to him neither godlie nor honorable, sithens both himselfe and his friends had tasted for the like, great hinderance, which might be an example to him and others to beware in time to come.

The king being once informed of this rebellion and

king James gathereth an armie.

He ſendeth letters to the kings of Eng and & France

Eugenius 8: Buchanan.

The anſwer of the rebels to the kings meſſage.

and conſpiracie againſt him, was ſore diſquieted in his mind, and to meet their miſchiefous attempts, gathered an armie. Yet before the vsing of anie force, he ſent meſſengers to his ſonne, and to the nobles with him, to trie if he might come to ſome agreement with them. He ſent alſo letters to the king of England, & to the French king, requiring them to take ſome paines in the matter, to procure an attonement betwixt him and his nobles. And beſides this, he wrote to pope Innocent about the ſame purpoſe, praieng him to intermeddle his authoritie by ſending ſome legate into Scotland, to appeaſe the troubles thereof. But the Scotiſh nobilitie, and ſuch of the people as were vp in armor againſt him, were ſo deſperatlie ſet, and wholie bent on reuenge, that no wholeſome counſell nor medicinable aduiſe might appeaſe their furious rage, ſo that for anſwer to his meſſengers, they ſent him word, that if hee would reſigne the title of his crowne and realme, & depoſe himſelfe of his whole regall dignitie, then they would come to ſome communication with him or elſe not. The like anſwer was giuen to the ambaſſadors of England and France, that were ſent vnto them from the kings of both thoſe realmes, which ſore lamented the fortune of their friend and allie the Scotiſh king.

But Adrian the biſhop of Romes legat came too late, as who ſhould ſay, a day after the faire: for their grounded malice and ſpitefull hatred conceiued againſt him might not be qualified by anie maner of means, but that they were now comming forward with all their puiſance to Striueling where he then remained, he would not ſtaie till the erles of Huntleie, Ercroll, Atholl, Crawford, Rothus, Sutherland, Cathneſſe, & Marſhall; the barons, Forbes, Ogiluie, Granth, Fraſer, and others, were arriued with their powers, amounting to the number of fortie thouſand men, with the which they were comming forth of the north parts to his aid: but raſhlie and without good aduiſe he iſſued out of the towne, accompanied with the erles of Glencarne & Montros, the lords Graham, Ruthuen, Marwell, and certeine others, and forthwith ioined battell with his aduerſaries at Banockeſborne, within two miles of Striueling.

They meet in a pitched field.

The king is put to the worſſe.

He is ſlaine.

Now when nothing might quiet them, at length they met thus in a pitched field, where after great ſlaughter & murther made of an huge multitude of people, the king being put to the worſſe, fled into a mill, whither being fiercelie followed and found therein, he was cruellie ſlaine, and vnreuerentlie left ſtarke naked. ¶ A notable mirror to all princes, that calling to remembrance ſuch a miſerable and moſt dolorous ſight, they may take heed by what maner of perſons they ſuffer themſelues to be led and abuſed. For if this prince king James the third had not followed vpon a wilfull pretenſe, and obſtinat mind, the counſell and aduiſe of vanperlors, and ſuch as (being aduanced from baſe degree vnto high authoritie) ſtudied more to keepe themſelues in fauor, than to giue true aduertiſements, and faithfull aduiſe vnto their prince, he might haue reigned longer by manie daies & yeares, in great and high felicitie.

Fr. Thin.

[In which conflict was on the kings part ſlaine (as ſaith Buchanan) Alexander Coningham erle of Glencarne.] He was thus ſlaine neere Striueling, on the ſeuenth day of June, the yeare after the incarnation 1488, being alſo the 29 of his reigne.

Iames the fourth.

1488.

NOw then, after that the barons of Scotland had thus ſlaine their ſouereigne lord and liege king James, the third of that name: his eldeſt ſon James the fourth was crowned king of Scotland, and began his reigne the 24 of June, in the yeare 1488, being not paſt fifténe yeares of age, who notwithſtanding that he had béene in the field with the nobles of the realme againſt his father, that contrarie to his mind was ſlaine; yet neuerthleſſe afterwards, hée became a right noble prince, & ſeemed to take great repentance for that his offenſe, and in token therof, he ware continuallie an iron chaine about his midle all the daies of his life. He was greatlie giuen to deuotion and praier, viſiting religious houſes, and beſtowing on them ſundrie gifts. He gouerned his realme in great reſt, peace, iuſtice, and quietneſſe, riding him ſelfe in proper perſon diuerſe daies and nights, to ſuppreſſe and take théeues, robbers, and oppreſſors of his ſubiects in all parts of his realme, till he had brought the countrie to great quietneſſe. He was learned and liberall, and indued with manie other good vertues and qualities.

The king was repentant.

The king wore an iron chaine.

Was giuen to deuotion.

He was a great iuſticer.

He was learned.

Anon after his coronation, the erle of Lennor, and the lord Lile, with diuers other their aſſiſtants, notwithſtanding that they had béene with him at the ſlaughter of his father, ſéeing that things went not as they wiſhed, raiſed an armie, and cauſed the dead kings bleudie ſhirt to be borne afore them for a banner: and comming forwards toward Striueling againſt the yong king, were ouerthrowne at Tolmoſſe, where the Lennor men, and ſundrie other of the barons ſide were ſlaine, as the lord of Biltrucht, and other taken and hanged for their offenſes. The king called a parlement at Edenburgh, which was holden the firſt of October, where he being moued by clemencie, granted a generall pardon to all thoſe that came in field at Striueling with his father againſt him, and appointed euerie one to haue ſpeciall pardons there vpon vnder his ſeales. He likewiſe diſpenſed with the heires of them that were ſlaine with his father there in field, appointing them their particular diſpenſations vnder his ſeales, after the ſame maner. Further it was ordeined, that all iuſtices, ſhirriffes, ſtewards, bailiffes, lieutenants, and other which had offices in heritage, and had béene with his father at the field, ſhould be ſuſpended from the ſame offices for the tearme of thrée yeares: and thoſe which had offices for life, or for terme of yéeres, ſhould be vtterlie excluded from the ſame.

The nobles raiſe an armie againe.

They were ouerthrowne.

A parlement.

A generall pardon.

Moreouer, he tooke order that all ſuch goods as had béene taken from landed men and burgeſſes, ſhould be reſtored to them againe, except that which was taken from ſuch landed men and burgeſſes as were in the field againſt him; for that was deemed a lawfull praie. It was alſo iudged that the death of his father came vpon him through his owne default, and that king James the fourth then reigning, and all his adherents and partakers in that field, were innocent and giltleſſe of all ſlaughter made there at that time, and clearlie acquit of all purſute and occaſion thereof: the thrée eſtates granting to giue their ſeales to teſtifie the ſame, with the kings great ſeale of the realme, to be ſhewed vnto the pope, the kings of France, Spaine, Denmarke, and other princes their confederats. And for the ceaſſing of theft, reiffe, & ſuch other great enormities, the king was appointed to ride in perſon once euerie yeare through all parts of the realme. And certeine noble men were ordeined to exerciſe iuſtice in euerie ſhire next adioining to the places where they had their chiefe reſidence: and hereunto they gaue their othes to be diligent in the adminiſtration of iuſtice. Theſe ordinances were right well obſerued all the daies of K. James the fourth his life time, ſo that the realme was reduced to great tranquillitie, and gouerned in good peace and iuſtice. Furthermore, all gifts made by his father in preiudice of the crowne, were reuoked, from the ſecond day of Februarie immediatlie preceading his death, to the day in which hée was ſlaine.

*About

Fr. Thin. Buchan.lib.13.

✠ About this time was a monster borne of a strange forme, hauing from the nauill downeward the perfect parts of one man, not different from the right proportion of a man: but from the nauill vpward, it was double bodied, hauing all perfect parts answering euerie of those bodies, sundered to all actions and shew. This monster the king commanded to be diligentlie nourished and instructed, but chiefflie in musike (wherein it profited verie much.) Further also learning diuers sorts of languages, whose seuerall wits and natures manifestlie appeared by diuers dispositions of their minds. For sometime they would fall out one with another, and when anie thing displeased them, they would most bitterly contend the one with the other: contrarilie, when anie thing happened to their liking or desire, they would consult and agrée togither as friends. In which this was worthie remembrance, that if the legges or loines had bæne hurt below, they both togither felt the paine; but if they were pinched or grieued in any part aboue seuered from the other, then that bodie onelie felt the same which had that hurt done vnto it. Which different sense did more plainelie appeare in the death of the one of them: for when the one bodie died manie daies before the other, that which liued, did after by little and little consume, by the putrifaction of the other bodie then dead; which monster liued 28 yéeres, and in the time of John the gouernor: of which thing we doubt not to write (more boldlie) sith there are men yet liuing of honest fame which saw these things.)

Buchan.li.13.

This king in the beginning of his reigne, to make his estate the surer, and more faithfull to reconcile the harts of such as had mainteined factions against him, determined to marie the daughters of his aunt by two husbands, to two of those noble men: for which cause he maried Grecina Boid to Alexander Forbois, and Margaret Hammilton to Matthew Steward, by which in time there followed a most singular peace in the kingdome.) Also an esquier, and an herald were sent into France, Spaine, and other places, to learne where the king might be a suter for some great ladie to ioine with him in mariage. Moreouer beside these, there were sent honorable ambassadors into France, Spaine, and Denmarke, to renew the old amities & leagues betwixt those realmes and Scotland, as had bæne vsed in the daies of this kings progenitors. His two brethren, the duke of Rothsete, and the earle of Mar, he caused to be brought vp in good nourture and vertuous exercise, appointing to them such liuings for maintenance of their estates, as his father had assigned them.

1486 A mariage sought for the king.

For his councell he chose a certeine number of the prelats, noble men, and barons of his realme, such as were thought most meet, taking this order, that six of them at the least should continuallie remaine about him, by whose aduise he should do all things that touched the affaires of the realme: and in case any thing was done without their aduise, the same should be iudged void, & not to be obeied, & this was inuiolablie kept all his daies. When the esquier and herald were returned againe into Scotland, which had bene to visit strange countries, and made report of that they had sæne, there was a parlement holden, in which it was ordeined, that the bishop of Glascow, the earle Bothwell, and others, should go as ambassadors to sue for the kings mariage in place where it should be most expedient, and most to the kings liking. Great variance rose betwixt the archbishop of saint Andrews, and the bishop of Glascow, touching the prehemineyce of their iurisdiction, which drew the noble men into factions, till the king commanded the same to ceasse, and that they should trie it by law before competent iudges.

1491.

Two archbishops striue for the prehemineuce.

✠ James Ogiluie knight of Aire, was sent ambassador to the king of Denmarke, to whome the king gaue in charge, that he should labor to renew the old league that was betwéene the Danes and the Scots, which he wiselie executed and obteined, with certeine priuileges for the benefit of the merchants. By means whereof at his returne, he purchased such fauour of the king, as that he was aduanced to the title of a lord, in which the name of the Ogiluies was first increased with anie honorable title.) The king about the same time toke order for increase of some number of ships to be had in his realme, and that euerie hauen towne should build some, as well for fishing, as to transport merchandize from place to place.

Fr. Thin. Lesleus lib.8. pag.332.

Prouision made for ships. 1492. Lesle

The lords and barons, and such other as would, were commanded to helpe the merchants toward the building of such ships: and for good example, the king caused to make certeine ships at his owne charges, which might vse the trade of fishing. Moreouer, the king considering the ignorance that was amongst the landed men of his realme, when they should passe vpon inquests, he ordeined that euerie landed man should put his eldest sonne to schole, that he might learne perfectlie the lawes of the realme, and that vpon great forfeiture. Thus in the beginning of his reigne, diuers good lawes and constitutions were made, for the aduancement of the common-wealth, which he caused to be dulie obserued and kept during his time. The pope sent a protonotarie called Forman into Scotland, with a rose and a scepter of gold, to be presented vnto the king, desiring him to perseuere in godlinesse, honor, and vertue, as he had begun. The most part of this yéere the king spent in riding abroad through all parts of his realme to sée iustice ministred, speciallie in the north parts, where the people are commonlie furthest out of order.

Prouision made for learning.

1494. Lesle A protonotarie sent into Scotland with a rose. 1495. Lesle

1492. The king goeth on progresse.

There was shortlie after some appearance of warres betwixt England and France, whereupon king Charles sent vnto king James, requiring him of assistance, if it came to passe that the Englishmen did inuade France: and further declared, that he had one with him called Richard duke of Yorke, second sonne to king Edward the fourth, who had bæne preserued now manie yéeres secretlie by his aunt Margaret duches of Burgognie, and therefore was iust inheritor to the realme of England, whom he would send into Scotland, praieng the king to assist him to recouer his rightfull heritage, the said realme of England. And shortlie after hereupon, the said feined duke (whose right name was Perkin Warbecke, as in the English historie it appeareth) arriued in Scotland well and honorablie accompanied, to trie what purchase he might make there for succors to atteine his pretended right to the crowne of England.

1496. Les

Perkin Warbecke.

✠ After whose arriuall he was brought to the presence of king James, before whom he did lamentablie bewaile (as he well could) the fall of the house of Yorke, and his owne calamities: most humblie and vehementlie beséeching him, to ransome the kinglie bloud from that contumelie. For answer whereunto at that present time, the king bid him be of good heart, for he would so worke, that he should find his sute not defrauded of all due effect, in obteining succor in his distresse. Few daies after, the king assembling togither his councell, commanded this (counterfeit) duke of Yorke to be brought vnto him, who now (more than before) did in this assemblie bitterlie complaine of his misfortune, shewing, that being borne to great hope of a kingdome (as the sonne of the noblest king of that age) he was left

Fr. Thin. Buchan.lib.13

void

void of all helpe by the death of his father, & had like to haue fallen into the tyrannie of his vncle Richard duke of Glocester, before he could vnderſtand what calamitie or miſfortune might ſignifie.

But aided by diuine aſſiſtance, he (when his elder brother was murthered by his vncle) was preſerued by the helpe of his fathers friends, and conueied away from the bloudie hands of the vſurping king Richard, who (not able in that kingdome, whoſe heire by right he was) to lead a bare and begged life, did ſo liue in forein countries, as he counted the condition of his brother (taken from thoſe miſeries by ſudden death) to be happie in reſpect of his owne troubles and extremitie: for he was reſerued aliue to the ſcorne of fortune, not daring at the firſt to bewaile his calamitie amongſt ſtrangers, whereby he might moue their pitie towards him: yea (and after) when by little and little he came to open what perſon hee was, how noblie borne, whoſe heire, and to whome alied, he was (to increaſe all his former miſeries) more grieuouſlie aſſaulted by the malice of fortune than before. For then he could not almoſt liue in ſafetie in anie place, bicauſe of the ſubtiltie of his enimies, who would haue bought his life (of thoſe with whom he remained) priuilie ſoliciting them to diſcouer his ſecrets, and (vnder the colour of feined amitie) to corrupt his true friends, to ſearch out and diſcouer his hidden friends, and to defame him amongſt the common people.

Herewithall not yet ſatisfied, they reuile (ſaid he) the ladie Margaret his aunt, and impriſon the nobles of England that ſéemed to fauor his cauſe; notwithſtanding all which (ſhe vſing the truth of hir owne conſcience againſt the ſlanders of hir and his enimies, and moued with pitie for the diſtreſſe of hir kinſman) did with hir abilitie relieue his neceſſitie. But at length, when he ſaw no ſure defenſe in a woman and widow (whoſe authoritie could not ſtretch to the command of hir people in that liberall ſort as ſhe would) he was driuen to ſéeke the aid of other princes, and to requeſt them to looke into the miſfortunes that might light vpon ſuch great eſtates, and that they would not ſuffer kinglie bloud (oppreſſed by tyrants) to lament in ſuch extremitie. For yet he was not ſo baſe minded (although hee were in manie great miſeries) that he would not hope at one time or other to be reſtored to his kingdome, by the helpe of ſuch friends as he had in Ireland and England: adding thereunto the helpe which he ſhould haue out of France, whereof he had alreadie made ſome triall by the ſingular benenolence of the ſame king, hauing liberallie imparted manie benefits vnto him.

Beſides which, not ſuppoſing this to allure the kings mind to his fauor, he began by flattrie to extoll him, not douting but he (whoſe fauor had bene liberallie ſhewd to the deſtreſſed) would now diminiſh the ſame to him; but that he hoped that he would (for his ſingular humanitie to all baniſhed perſons, for pitie towards a miſerable creature, for loue towards his kinſman, for neceſſities cauſe towards his friend, and for the néereneſſe of league that ought to be among princes) ſuccor and relieue him with men and monie, thereby to helpe him to the recouerie of his kingdom. Wherfore againe he importunatly requireth the king of aid in this extremitie, ſince the ſame was honorable to himſelfe, acceptable to God, beneficiall for his realme, and a ſingular fame among other princes in ioining with them determined to reſtore him. Which if he might obteine (and that the rather by his furtherance) he did liberallie promiſe alwaies to ſtand a moſt firme friend to the Scots, for whoſe cauſe he would ſpend his crowne and life.)

Thus Perkin Warbecke did vſe the matter in ſuch ſubtill wiſe, that king James either giuing, or ſéeming to giue credit to his words, after aduiſe and deliberation had and taken with his councell, receiued him in honorable wiſe, naming and reputing him duke of Yorke, and therefore promiſed him to aid him in all that he might. And ſhortlie after, hee maried him to his nære kinſwoman the ladie Katharine, daughter to the earle of Huntleie, and moreouer raiſed a great armie, ſpeciallie of the borderers, and with the ſame hauing this pretenſed duke in companie with him, inuaded England, burnt towns ſpoiled houſes, and toke great boties and rich preies both of goods and priſoners, & allured with the ſweetneſſe of ſuch ſpoile and gaine, walked all the countrie of Northumberland, and had gone further, but that he could perceiue no aid comming in vnto this new found duke, contrarie to ſuch golden promiſes as he had made, that as ſone as they were entered into England, there would flocke vnto him both of the nobilitie and commons, and that in great numbers.

Perkin Warbecke marieth the earle of Huntleies daughter. 1495.

King James inuadeth Northumberland. 1496.

King James perceiuing no ſuch matter, thought it better to returne with aſſured gaine, than to tarie this new ſprong dukes doubtfull and vncerteine victorie. And ſo hauing his people laden and peſtered with ſpoile and priſoners, he drew backe into Scotland. The king of England aduertiſed hereof, made preparation for the raiſing of an armie, meaning to ſend the ſame againſt the Scots: but the rebellion of the Corniſhmen, which chanced the ſame time about a tare leuied then of the people, conſtreined him to imploie that armie to repreſſe the enterpriſe of thoſe rebels. Yet neuertheleſſe he ſent the earle of Surreie to the borders, that with the power of the countrie adioining, he might defend the ſame from the inuaſions of the Scots, if they attempted to breake in: and ſo the earle laie on the borders all that yéere. 1497. Leſle.

King James returneth without profer of battell.

A rebellion in Cornewall.

The earle of Surreie ſent into the north.

King James then perceiuing that no maine armie came againſt him, inuaded eſtſones the borders of England, and laied ſiege to the caſtell of Norham, ſending his light horſſemen abroad into Northumberland, and the biſhoprike of Durham, where they burned and ſpoiled all about in the countrie: but hearing that the earle of Surreie had raiſed an armie, and was comming towards them, they returned to the hoſt lieng before Norham, where king James perceiuing he could not win the caſtell, notwithſtanding he had done great hurt and damage thereto, he raiſed his ſiege, retired into his countrie, and left great companies on the borders for defenſe thereof. And ſo before the comming of the Engliſh armie, king James was returned. The earle of Surreie yet (as the Engliſh writers affirme) followed into Scotland, and toke diuerſe caſtels and towers, remaining within the countrie the ſpace of ſix or ſeuen daies, and then came backe without battell or anie notable ſkirmiſh offered. 1498.

The Scots inuade the borders of England.

The earle of Surreie raiſed an armie.

The Scots raiſe their ſiege.

The earle of Surreie went into Scotland.

About the ſame time was one Peter Hialas ſent ambaſſador from Ferdinando king of Spaine, to treat as a mediator for the concluding of peace betwixt the kings of England and Scotland, which Hialas trauelled ſo earneſtlie in the matter, that at length it was agréed, that certeine commiſſioners of both the realmes ſhould méet at Melroſſe, where for the king of England, doctor Fox, then biſhop of Durham, with this Hialas, and other graue perſonages, met the Scotiſh commiſſioners. After long conference and much talke had, for the concluſion of a generall peace, finallie nothing but a truce might be accorded for certeine yéeres, though Hialas did what he poſſiblie might, to haue agréed them for all maner of matters, quarrels, demands, and cauſes, whatſoeuer the ſame had bene, that a perpetuall peace might haue béene concluded, becauſe he was chieflie ſent

Peter Hialas an ambaſſador from the king of Spaine.

Commiſſioners met at Melroſſe or Jedworth (as ſome ſay.)

A truce concluded for yéeres.

The cauſe why Hialas was ſent.

eſleus lib. 1. ag. 334.

for that intent.

The king of England required to haue the counterfeit duke of Yorke (otherwise named Perkin Warbecke) deliuered to him: but king James (esteeming his honor more than anie earthlie thing) would in no wise seeme to betraie him that fled to him for succour, and with whome he had coupled one of his owne kinswomen in mariage: but he was contented to couenant, that the same Perkin should be constreined to depart out of Scotland, and not to be further aided by him, or by anie other through his meanes or procurement. The king of Scots to keepe promise made in the said treatie of peace, and knowing himselfe to be abused by the said Richard, whom he had reputed to be verelie duke of Yorke (although he was not so called him before his presence, and declared to him the great fauour and good will which he had borne towards him, putting him in remembrance that for his sake he had taken warre in hand against England, and inuaded the countrie in hope of assistance by his friends within the land, where not one resorted to him.

An article for Perkin Warbecke.

King James reasoneth with the counterfeit duke of Yorke.

And albeit he had maried his nere kinswoman, yet might he not keepe longer warre with England for his sake onelie; except he might be sure of some aid through his meanes, whereof he could see no appearance. He desired him therefore to withdraw forth of his realme, either into Flanders to his fathers sister the ladie Margaret; or into some other place where it pleased him to abide, and expect some better time more conuenient for his purpose. The said Richard gaue the king thanks, and obeied his pleasure, departing shortlie after out of Scotland, and sailed into Ireland, from thence to transport into Flanders. But finallie making an attempt into England, he was taken prisoner in the abbeie of Beaulieu, together with his wife, whose beautie was such, as king Henrie thought hir a more meet prete for an emperor, than for souldiors, and therefore vsed hir verie honorablie, appointing hir to remaine in the court with the queene his wife, where she continued so long as the said king liued.

Perkin warbeck went into Ireland to come into Flanders.

1499. This yeere, the peace being well kept betwixt England and Scotland, the same was neere at point to haue beene broken; by reason that the Englishmen which laie in garrison within the castell of Norham, did make a frate with certeine Scotishmen that came riding neere to the castell, as it had beene to haue viewed it. But although they ment no euill, yet diuerse of the Scotishmen were slaine, and manie wounded and sore hurt; so that king James hauing information thereof, was sore displeased therewith, thinking and saieng, that there was no more vncerteine thing, than to haue peace with England. And herevpon he sent his herald Merchmount with sharpe and vehement letters vnto the king of England, making great complaint for this iniurie and wrong done to his subiects, by those within the castell of Norham. But receiuing most reasonable letters for excuse of that which was done, as well from the king of England himselfe, as from the bishop of Durham owner of the castell, he was indifferentlie well appeased & satisfied, so that he required to haue the bishop to come into Scotland vpon safe conduct to common with him, as well for the full quieting of this matter, as for other things which he had to talke with him of.

The truce like to be broken.

King James requireth to talke with the bishop of Durham.

The bishop by licence of the king his maister, accomplished the Scotish kings request; so that comming into Scotland, he was receiued by him verie honorablie at Melrosse, where (after certeine talke had betwixt them for the appeasing of this last displeasure) the king brake with the bishop for the hauing of the ladie Margaret, eldest daughter to Henrie the seuenth, as then king of England, to be giuen him in mariage: and further declared that he was minded to send his orators vnto hir father the said king Henrie, about the same matter. And forsomuch as he knew that the bishop was one that might do much with king Henrie, who highlie fauoured him for his singular wisedome and learning, he desired him to be a meane to further his suit, which if it were obteined, he trusted it should highlie redound to the honor & wealth of both the realmes. The bishop considering herein as much as the king was able to tell him, did not onelie promise to do all that in him lay, but also incouraged him to send his orators with all speed, trusting that they should receiue a verie towardlie answer.

King James hauing the bishops aduise, anon after his returne into England, sent certeine persons ambassadors vnto king Henrie, to moue him to the effect aboue mentioned. These ambassadors were highlie welcomed, and verie well heard, so that to be briefe, their request seemed so agreeable to king Henries mind, that the mariage was shortlie thereupon concluded (but not consummate betwixt the foresaid James king of Scotland, and the said ladie Margaret daughter to king Henrie) in the seuentéenth yeere of the said king Henries reigne. At the same time, when this mariage was so agréed vpon, a peace was also concluded betwixt the kings of England and Scotland, for the terme of their two liues. And to auoid that none of either of the said kings subiects that had offended the lawes, should be receiued into anie of their dominions; it was accorded, that no Englishman should come within Scotland, without his princes letters supplicatorie vnto the king of Scots, nor anie Scotishman to come within England, without the like letters from his prince, desiring safe conduct and passeport.

Ambassadors sent into England. 1500.

Mariage concluded betwixt king James and the ladie Margaret.

Peace concluded betwixt England & Scotland.

1501. In the yeere next insuing, Robert Blakater the bishop of Glascow, Adam Heyborne the earle Bothwell, and other noble men of Scotland, were sent in ambassage from king James vnto the king of England, for the perfecting of the foresaid mariage betwixt king James, and the ladie Margaret, eldest daughter to king Henrie, which earle by letters of procuracie and mandat, in the name of his maister king James, affied and handfasted the foresaid ladie Margaret in all solemne wise, according to the maner: which assurance and contract thus made, was published at Paules crosse in London, on the day of the conuersion of saint Paule, in reioising whereof *Te Deum* was song, and fiers made, with great feasting & banketting throughout that citie. This done, the ambassadors returned into Scotland, and then afterwards was great preparation made in England for the conueieng of the said ladie into Scotland, and likewise great purueiance there for the receiuing of hir.

This was in the yeere 1502.

1503. Lesse. On the sirtéenth of June, king Henrie toke his iournie from Richmond, with his daughter the said ladie Margaret, and came to Coliweston, where his mother the countesse of Richmond then laie. And after he had remained there certeine daies in pastime and great solace, he toke leaue of his daughter, giuing hir his blessing with a fatherlie exhortation, and committed the conueiance of hir into Scotland vnto the earle of Surreie, and others. The earle of Northumberland, as then warden of the marches, was appointed to deliuer hir vpon the borders vnto the king of Scotland. And so this faire ladie was conueied with a great companie of lords, ladies, knights, esquires, and gentlemen, vntill she came to the towne of Berwike, and from thence vnto Lambert church in Lamer more within Scotland, where she was receiued by the king and all the nobles of that

King James purposeth to be a sutor for mariage in England.

that realme, and from the ſaid place of Lamberton church, ſhe was conueied vnto Edenburgh, where the day after hir comming thither, ſhe was maried vnto the ſaid king with great and ſolemne triumph, to the high reioiſing of all that were preſent.

The conſummation of the mariage betwixt king James the fourth, and the ladie Margaret.

And verelie the Engliſh lords (as the earle of Surreie and others) which gaue their attendance on the ſaid ladie till the mariage and feaſt were ended) at their returne home, gaue great praiſe not onelie to the manhood of the Scots, but alſo to their maners and heartie interteinment. For aſwell the noble men as the ladies and gentlewomen of Scotland at that preſent, were nothing behind the Engliſh lords & ladies in coſtlie apparell, maſſie chaines, and other furniture, as well for themſelues as their horſſes, and made great bankets to the Engliſhmen, and ſhewed them ſuch iuſts and other pleaſant paſtimes in honor of the mariage, ſo well, as after the maner of the countrie could be deuiſed. By reaſon of this mariage and aliance, men were in great good hope that perfect peace and ſincere amitie ſhould continue betwixt the two realmes of England and Scotland a long time after: and verelie during the life of king Henrie the ſeuenth, no cauſe of breach was miniſtred betwixt him and his ſonne in law, but that they liued in great loue and amitie.

The king of Denmarke commeth into Scotland.

About this time, the king of Denmarke, through diuiſion that did riſe betwixt him & his lords, was conſtreined to forſake his countrie, and to come for aid into Scotland, where the king receiued him louinglie, and vpon his earneſt ſute, for that he was both his coſine and confederat, and alſo the rather, at the contemplation of the French kings requeſt and perſuaſion, he prepared an armie of ten thouſand men, the which vnder the conduct of the earle of Arrane, he ſent with the ſaid king of Denmarke to aſſiſt him againſt his aduerſaries. The earle of Arrane according to his commiſſion, attending the Daniſh king into his countrie, reſtored him to his kingdome and former gouernement, and ſo leauing him in peaceable poſſeſſion thereof, returned with his armie againe into Scotland, with great honor both to himſelfe, the king, and realme.

He is reſtored to his kingdome by the earle of Arrane lieutenant to king James.

Shortlie after was a parlement called, during the which the queene was crowned, and manie good acts and conſtitutions made, eſpeciallie touching the limiting of places where iuſtice ſhould be miniſtred in the Iles and hie lands: whereby it came to paſſe, that the king was aſwell obeied, & his lawes were as duelie obſerued and kept by the hie land men, as by thoſe that dwelled in anie part of the low land.

The hie land men obedient to lawes.

1505. Leſl. 1504.

The king then being at peace with England, and iuſtice ſo miniſtred amongeſt his owne ſubiects, that they liued in great reſt and quietneſſe, certeine of his councell [as William Elfinſtone biſhop of Aberden] deuiſed waies to win the king great profit and gaines, by calling his barons & all thoſe that held anie lands within his realme, to ſhew their euidences by way of recognition: and if they had not writings to ſhew, according to the ancient inſtruments and lawes of the realme ſufficient for their warrant, the lands ſhould remaine at the kings pleaſure.

Fr. Thin.

A deuiſe to get the king monie.

But when the king perceiued his people to grudge herewith, and not without cauſe, as with a thing deuiſed to diſquiet his people and the whole countrie, of his owne curteous & gentle nature he eaſilie agréed with the poſſeſſors of ſuch lands: for the which he purchaſed great loue amongeſt his people, & the deuiſers of that ordinance wan paſſing great hatred and malice. This yeare in Maie the king held his court of iuſtice at Lowder, and remouing it to Edenburgh, there continued the ſame, where the lord of Thorneton was conuicted for killing his wife, and therefore

1506.

loſt his head [at Edenburgh by the kings ſentence.] There came an ambaſſador this yeare also from the duke of Gelderland, to renew the league betwixt the king and the ſaid duke. Alſo an herald came out of France, who brought news which the king liked well.

Fr. Thin.

This yeare alſo, the king cauſed a mightie ſhip to be made, the which was put forth into the rode the ſeuenth of Julie, and the king ſailed himſelfe into the Maie, an Iland in the Forth, and was driuen in againe with tempeſt: but the ſame ſhip was after appointed forth, and ſent to the ſea with ſundrie valiant gentlemen in hir, to meet with the Hollanders which had taken and ſpoiled diuerſe Scotiſh ſhips, and throwne the merchants and other that were in the ſame ouer board. For reuenge whereof, Andrew Barton toke manie ſhips of the Hollanders and filled certeine pipes with their heads, which he ſent vnto the king for a witneſſe how he had ſped. A ſtar like a comet appeared the tenth of Auguſt, giuing great light in the night ſeaſon like to the ſun beams. A Frenchman named ſir Anthonie Darcie knight, called afterward Le ſir de la Bawtie, came through England into Scotland to ſéeke feats of arms. And comming to the king the foure and twentith of September, the lord Hamilton fought with him right valiantlie, and ſo as neither of them loſt anie péece of honor. This yeare James prince of Scotland and of the Iles was borne in the abbeie of the Holie rod houſe, the one and twentith of Januarie; and on the three and twentith of the ſame moneth, he was baptiſed in the ſaid abbeie church. His godfathers were theſe, Robert biſhop of Glaſcow, and Patrike earle Bothwell; and the counteſſe of Huntleie was his godmother. The quéene, after ſhe was brought to bed, was verie weake and troubled with great ſickeneſſe, ſo that ſhe lay in great danger: for recouerie of whoſe helth the king went on foot vnto ſaint Ninians in pilgrimage; and afterwards in Julie, both the king and the quéene went thither to viſit the ſame ſaint.

A great ſhip made.

The Hollanders ſhips taken.

A bright ſtar appeareth in the skie.

Anthonie Darcie.

1507.

Prince Jams is borne.

The king went on pilgrimage.

Pope Julius the ſecond ſent an ambaſſador vnto king James, declaring him protector and defendor of the faith, and in ſigne thereof ſent vnto him a purpure diadem or crowne wrought with flowers of gold, togither with a ſword, hauing the hilts and ſkabbert of gold ſet with pretious ſtones, which were preſented vnto him by the ſaid ambaſſador, and the abbat of Dunfermling, within the abbeie church of Holie rod houſe. At that time the peace contracted betwixt the two kings of Scotland and England was there confirmed. The lord of Terueer or Camfire in Zealand (whoſe anceſtors not long ago came forth of Scotland) ſent his meſſenger the bailiffe of Terueer to the king, who preſented vnto him certeine great horſſes and other rich preſents, in remembrance that he came of the Scotiſh race; and the king in recompenſe thereof, ſent vnto the ſaid lord his order, and made his ambaſſador knight, rewarding him at his departing (which was in Auguſt) with right honorable gifts.

The pope declared king James protector of the faith.

Horſſes preſented vnto the king.

The whole realme remained in ſuch peace and quietneſſe in theſe daies, that the king rode one day himſelfe alone in poſt from Sterling, by S. Johns towne, and Aberden, vnto Elgin; and reposing a little part of the night in the houſe of maiſter Thomas Leſleie then parſon of Angus, went to horſſe againe, and came to ſaint Duthois in Roſſe, by that time they were readie to go to maſſe. This was on the one & thirtith day of Auguſt. About the latter end of September, the archbiſhop of ſaint Andrews, and the earle of Arrane, were ſent ambaſſadors into France. They toke ſhip the ſeuen and twentith of September. The ſeuentéenth of Februarie, James

Peace and quietneſſe in Scotland.

An ambaſſage into France.

prince of Scotland departed this life at Striueling, and the bishop of Galloway also, who was appointed to be his gouernor.

Fr. Thin. Lesleus.lib.8. pag.345.

¶ About this time, the K. (to tell you here, as saith Lesleus, a matter that to this day is remembred amongest the Romane people with great laughter) created a certeine Italian (with whose wit and pleasant speach he was delighted) abbat of Tungland. This man (being a noble framer of deceipt, & boaster of his wit) did on a time persuade the king, that he was so conuersant in all hidden knowledge of naturall things, and in the secret science of Alchumie, that he could turne all other mettals into pure gold, if anie would beare the charge thereof. But after much time spent thereabout (with long loking of the king, and the nobilitie, to see the effect hereof) there was nothing done, but that their purses were emptied, and the vaine man was defamed by the breach of his promise. At length when he was fallen into the hatred and offense of all men, he did (partlie to gather againe an opinion & report of his vaine glorie, and partlie to recouer the kings fauor) giue out a rumor, that he would (by flieng) be in France before the ambassadors (which were sent thither, and had losed from thore to take their iournie) should come thither. For the performance whereof, he appointed a day for them to met at Striueling, from whence he would take his flight, and begin his iournie. At what time, and to what place, manie resorted togither, desirous to see this new bird; amongest whome (for recreations cause) came the king also.

What need manie words. This man fastening (which he had caused to be made of the fethers of diuerse foules) vnto both his sides, lifted vp himselfe from the castell of Striueling, into the aire to take his iournie: but this deceiuer suddenlie fell headlong to the ground, not able to be holpen by the force of his wings: wherewith the people (vncerteine whether they should rebuke the follie of the man, or pittie his misfortune) flocked about him, demanding this winged abbat how he did: to whome he answered, that he had broken the bone of his thigh, and was out of hope to flie anie more hereafter. To conclude, they all were like to die with laughing, to see him, which before would flie like Icarus, did now lie like Simon Magus, with all his bodie almost broken in peeces. At length when euerie one had laughed their fill, this worthie abbat, to salue all the matter, referred the defalt of his flieng wholie to his wings, because they were not made of eagles fethers and such like, but onelie of pullens fethers, not met or accustomed to cut the aire with flight; and which by a certeine inward vertue (working according to the nature of those foules) did draw the fethers downe toward the downghill (wherupon those birds liue) as the adamant draweth iron.]

1508. In ambassage sent vnto the king.

The 9 of Maie in the yeare after, the lord D'obinie, and the president of Tholous, came from Lewes the French king as ambassadors to declare vnto king James, that he ment to match his eldest daughter in mariage with Francis de Vallois of Vien, and duke of Angolesme; notwithstanding that Charles king of Castile that was after emperor, made suite for hir. Because therefore he ment not to conclude anie thing in such a weightie matter without consent of his confederats, of which he esteemed king James as chiefe, he required him of his aduise and counsell therein; who after aduisement taken, made answer, that albeit the king of France had sufficient counsell about him, yet sith he had desired his aduise, he would frendlie giue the same: which was that he should rather marie his daughter within his owne realme, vnto such as should succeed him, than to bestow hir vpon anie forren prince, sith otherwise some claime might be made in time comming vnto the crowne by such as should match with hir. And so with this answer, the president of Tholous departed, reporting the same at his comming home vnto the French king, who thereupon followed his owne determination therein, confirmed and allowed thus by his confederat the king of Scotland.

The king of Scotland.

The lord D'obignie tooke a sickenesse and died thereof at Corstorphin, in the moneth of June, and caused his heart to be sent vnto saint Ninians in Galloway; because he had vowed a pilgrimage thither whilest he remained the French kings lieutenant in Naples, where he had atchiued manie high enterprises against his enimies. His name was Bernard Steward, lieutenant of those men of warre which Charles the eight of that name king of France did send with Henrie earle of Richmond into England, when the same earle came against king Richard, whome he vanquished, and thereby got the crowne. And so after manie noble victories and valiant acts atchiued, this lord D'obignie ended his life in his owne countrie of Scotland, where he was borne. This yeare also in Maie and June, there were kept great iusts and tourneies in Edenburgh, by one calling himselfe the wild knight, who counterfeited the round table.

The lord D'obignie died.

This was the king himselfe.

There were diuerse ambassadors sent forth this yeare also, as the archdeacon of saint Andrews, and sir Anthonie Darcie into France, and the bishop of Murrey into England. The fiftéenth of Julie, the quéene was deliuered of a daughter, which shortlie after she had receiued baptisme, deceassed, and the quéene in that childbed was againe in great perill of death. The bishop of Glascow died this yeare in his iournie to Jerusalem, the nine and twentith of Julie; James Beton succéeded him in that see. The thirtith of Julie, there was a great fraie betwixt the lord Yarwell, and the lord Creichton of Sanchar, where the lord Creichton was chased with his companie from Dunfreis, & the lord of Daliell and the yong lord of Crauthlaie with diuerse other were slaine. The nineténth of September was a great earthquake in manie places both of England and Scotland, namelie, the same was perceiued in churches.

Ambassadors sent.

The archbishop of Glascow died.

Bickering.

An earthquake.

The king of England sent a gentleman with horses trimlie trapped with bards of steele to be presented to king James, who thankefullie receiued them, and right honorablie rewarded the messenger. The archdeacon of saint Andrews returned forth of France in a great ship called the treasuror, which ship was cast away on the coast of England, and the archdeacon, and foure hundred persons that were in hir, were brought to the king of England: but the archdeacon in November following returned home and came to Edenburgh. Adam earle of Bothwell and lord Hales departed this life at Edenburgh the seuentéenth day of October, and earle Patrike succéeded him. Henrie the seuenth king of England, passed out of this world the two and twentith of April, in the yeare 1509, and his sonne Henrie the eight succéeded him, after whose coronation king James sent an honorable ambassage of certeine lords and a bishop to congratulat him at his first entrie into the rule of his kingdome, as to the maner in such cases appertaineth.

Horsses sent vnto king James.

The archdeacon of saint Andrews came out of France.

The earle Bothwell died.

1509.

King Henrie the eight succéedeth his father.

¶ At this time, John and Andrew Barton (obteining letters of marque from the king against the Portingals) preieng on the borderers of Portingale did take manie of their ships (landed with rich merchandize) which they brought into Scotland. Which kind of prises being often made by the Bartons vnto the Portingals, gaue them cause greeuouslie to complaine to their king, of the wicked piracie of the Scots.

Fr. Thin. Lesleus lib. 8. cap. 250.

The kings answer.

Scots: but neither the king of Portingale with his councell, nor his people with their force, could at anie time ſuppreſſe the Bartons (defended with the Scotiſh letters of marque) but that he would inuade, ſpoile, & carie awaie the Portingale ſhips, if he happened vpon anie of them. Touching which, becauſe it ſhall not ſeeme to be a manifeſt iniurie by the Bartons to the other (and not rather a iuſt cauſe giuen by the Portingals) we haue here inſerted the letters of our king Iames the fift (as they be found amongſt the records) written to Immanuell king of Portingale for this matter. In which it ſhall manifeſtlie appeare, whether the fault were not moſtlie in the Portingals or no.

Iames the fift, king of Scotland, *to Immanuell the woorthie king* of Portingale.

Woorthie king, friend, and deere cowſine, certeine yeares paſt, a Scotiſh ſhip laden with merchandize, & loſing from the port of Sluis in Flanders, was inuaded by two armed ſhips, gouerned by Portingals; whereof, the one was called John Vaſgue, and the other John Bret. Which ſhip (after certeine of hir merchants ſlaine, manie wounded, manie taken priſoners, and the reſt caſt into a fiſher-bote to be ſet on land at the next ſhore) was by them caried into Portingale: all which was done in the ſight of the reſt of the Luſitan ſhips, which at the ſame time did alſo loſe out of that hauen to paſſe into Portingale. The full trueth whereof, Charles the duke of Burgognie, and earle of Flanders, vnderſtanding (and moued not ſo much for the ſingular iniurie done to the Scots, as by the breach of the priuilege, & right of his harborows) did ſignifie the ſame (knowne, and found by order of iudgement) to the king of Portingale, admoniſhing him, that vnleſſe he tooke order for ſuch wicked deeds, and for the reſtitution of the hurt and loſſe: that he would indeuor, that all the Portingals (which frequented the marts of Flanders) ſhould by ſentence of iudgement, ſatiſfie all the damages which the Scots had ſuſteined. But the vntimelie death (of that iuſt and valiant man) did fruſtrat all his determination.

The king alſo our grandfather (when he had by his letters complained of that iniurie to the king of Portingale, and had not much profited) gaue forth letters of marque, that is, he gaue authoritie to John & Robert Barton, brothers & heires to that John, which was maiſter of that ſhip ſo caried away, to recouer ſo much of the Luſitans. Before the execution whereof, my grandfather died: after which (my father being yet verie yong) the whole ſtate of the realme did ſuppoſe it beſt to alter nothing in forren cauſes, vntill he came to full age. At time (being of ſufficient yeares) he did forbeare to grant the vſe of the ſaid letter of marque, till he had firſt conſulted with the king of Portingale thereabouts. Wherevpon (diſpatching an ambaſſador vnto him) our father alſo died (before we could againe heare anie anſwer from thence) leauing me a child not paſt three yeres old. For which cauſe, the gouernor of the kingdome iudged it beſt (during our minoritie) to defer theſe letters of marque, vntill we came to riper yeares; which was done, not without great griefe and complaint of thoſe miſerable and poore men.

Wherevpon, we alſo for theſe laſt two yeares (being now growen to riper age) willing to prouide, that aſwell the other merchants which in that ſhip of Julian, haue loſt their goods and kinred, as alſo to permit the heirs of the ſaid John Barton (by way of letter of marque before granted) hauing giuen them power, onelie to take ſo much recompenſe of the Portingals. Whereof yet, we thought it meet, that they ſhould vſe anie of them, vntill we had firſt (by this Snodoune our eſquier) laid before your maieſtie the whole order of the matter, which is the iudiciall knowledge of the piracie, the value of the loſſe, and the cauſe of our long ſilence, aſſuredlie hoping that you will not doo anie thing, in reſpect of your humanitie and vprightnes, but that which ſhall be good and iuſt. The which, if you deeme is yet to be deferred; we require your woorthineſſe to conſider, that we cannot forſake our ſubiects, afflicted with ſo great iniuries, whome hereafter we refer to the law of all nations, for recouerie of their goods taken away, which thing ought not to ſeeme to anie man (by anie meanes) to be the violating of friendſhip, league, or conſanguinitie, wherewith we haue beene linked. Wherefore, when that ſame ſhall happen, we deſire your excellencie to take the ſame in good part (moſt woorthie cowſine and confederat king) to whom I wiſh long and happie life. From Edenburgh, the day before the Ides of Aprill, in the yeare, 1540.

The king about this time gaue liberall poſſeſſions to Robert Borthwike, a notable artificer for making of field peeces and other guns; for the which liberalitie, he ſhould make certeine great peeces in the caſtell of Edenburgh; whereof there are manie yet to be ſeene in Scotland, with this ſuperſcription:

Machina, ſum Scoto Borthuik fabricata Roberto.

Fr. Thin. Leſleus lib. 8. pag 353.

This ſummed the king went in pilgrimage vnto ſaint Duthois in Roſſe, and the queene remaining at Holie rod houſe, was brought to bed of a prince, the twentie day of October, the which the third day after was baptiſed and named Arthur. Two great ſhips came forth of France to the king, fraught with guns, ſpeares, and all other kind of munition for warre. Alexander, baſtard ſonne to the king, newlie made archbiſhop of ſaint Andrews; who had beene long in Germanie ſtudent there in the ſchooles with that famous clearke Eraſmus Roterodamus, and had profited verie well, came from Flanders by ſea into Scotland, and was ioifullie receiued, becauſe he had beſtowed his time ſo well in vertues and learning.

The king went on pilgrimage.

A ſhip with munition. 1510.

The archbiſhop of ſaint Andrews.

The lord of Faſt caſtell came ouer with him, who had trauelled through a great part of chriſtendome: and moreouer paſſing into Turkie, came to the em-

The lord of Faſt caſtell went into Turkie.

perour of Turkie at the citie of Caire, who reteined him in seruice, and gaue him good interteinement, so that he remained with him, till he heard that the liuing of Fast castell was fallen to him by lawfull succession; notwithstanding that when he departed out of Scotland, there were eight seuerall persons before him to succéd one after another, which in the meane time were all deceassed. The 14 of Julie, Arthur prince of Scotland and the Iles, departed this life in the castell of Edenburgh. Two scorpions were found, the one quicke, and the other dead, in the orchard of the castell of Cragmiller, which thing was reputed for a maruellous great wonder, that anie should be séene within the Ile of Britaine. In the moneth of September, an vniuersall sickenesse reigned through all Scotland, whereof manie died. It was verie contagious, and they called it Stope gallant.

Prince Arthur deceassed.

Two scorpions found in Scotland.

Stope gallant a sickenes.

There came also a passing faire woman into Scotland about the same time, naming hir selfe Katharine Gordon, wife to Perkin Warbecke, that had named himselfe duke of Yorke, but at length being brought to the king, she confessed what shée was, and so auoided the realme. In which meane while, the ladie Katharine Gordon hir selfe remained in England, and had right good maintenance, so that she liued there verie well and honorablie manie yéeres after. Furthermore, the king vpon the eighth day of Nouember comming from Edenburgh to the water of Kule, tooke diuers misgouerned persons, & brought them to Jedworth, where the principall of the Trumbils, with naked swords in their hands, and withs about their necks met him, putting themselues in the kings mercie, which were sent to sundrie places to be kept in ward, with diuers other of those countrimen, whereby the marches were more quiet afterwards: and from thence the king passed to saint Johns towne, where iustice were holden the residue of the winter.

Katharine Gordon.

The Trumbils with other are taken by the king.

1511. The next yéere in the beginning of Maie, the quéene went from Dunfermling toward saint Duthois in Rosse, and was all the way right honorablie vsed and interteined. About the tenth of Julie, she returned to Edenburgh, where she found the lord Dacres, and sir Robert Durie knight come thither as ambassadors from the king of England hir brother, who were honorablie receiued. In the yéere next insuing, in June, Andrew Barton being on the seas to meet the Portingals (against whom he had a letter of marque) sir Edmund Howard lord admerall of England, and the lord Thomas Howard, sonne and heire vnto the earle of Surrey, were appointed by the king of England to go likewise to sea with certeine ships, and met with the said Andrew as he returned homewards néere to the Downes, hauing with him onelie one ship and one barke.

In ambassage from the king of England.

1511. Lesle.

1512.

The Englishmen at the first made signe vnto the Scots as though they ment none euill, saue onelie to salute them as friends; but getting within them, they set vpon them right fiercelie, and the Scots for a while did as valiantlie defend themselues, so that manie were slaine on both sides: but in the end the Englishmen got the vpper hand, wounded Andrew Barton the chiefe capteine of the Scots, that he died of the hurts that he there receiued, and the ship called the Unicorne, and the barke called Jennie Peruine, were both taken, with all the Scotishmen that remained aliue in the same, which were had to London, and staied as prisoners in the bishop of Yorke his house for a time, and after sent home into Scotland. King James was sore offended with this matter, and therevpon sent an herald with letters, requiring redresse for the slaughter of his people, and restitution of his ships, sith otherwise it might séeme to giue occasion of breach of the peace. But the king of England denied, that the slaughter of a pirat (as he tooke Andrew Barton to be) ought to breake anie bond of peace, yet neuertheless he promised to send commissioners to the borders, that should intreat of that matter, and other enormities chanced betwéene the two realmes.

Two ships taken by the Englishmen.

✲ About this time was Alexander Hume the onlie gouernor of all the marches of Scotland (which before were accustomed to be diuided into thrée parts) derelie beloued to king James, being a man of a fiercer disposition than was conuenient for the profit of the common-wealth. This man promised to the king (troubled with the cares of warre, and carefull to wipe awaie the reproch of late receiued by the English) that shortlie he and his followers with their kindred and alliances, would so bring the matter about, that the English should as greatlie lament for their losses, as they had now conceiued ioies of their victories. To the performance whereof, he gathered thrée thousand souldiers, wherewith he entered England, and there spoiled seuen townes before anie succour might come to rescue them: but as he returned backe laden with booties of all kinds, his men (being accustomed to pilfries and robberies) impatient of delate, presentlie diuided the preie in the host, euerie one departing home to his owne as it was nérest vnto him. Yet Alexander did not disperse such as he might keepe togither: but assembling as manie of them as would tarie, with a small companie abode the end of all things, alwaies hauing an eie to sée if anie pursute were made after them. But when he perceiued no bodie to follow, and that there was no doubt of danger (passing the time more careles than before) he fell vnwares into the hands of thrée hundred English laid in wait for him, who (taking the opportunitie of the time) did set vpon him and his, and (driuing them into extreme feare) they killed and put to flight all such as they incountered. In which tumult diuers of the Scots were slaine, and two hundred taken, of whome George Hume, brother of the said Alexander (exchanged for Comarch, Heron, and Ford, taken prisoners, and long reteined in Scotland for reuenge of the death of Robert Car) was one, and the chiefest, whereby he departed quietlie into Scotland.)

Fr. Thin. Buchanan. lib. 12.

The French king and the duke of Gelderland, perceiuing that the king of England was minded through procurement of the pope & others, to make them warres, either of them sent ambassadors into Scotland vnto king James, requiring his assistance against England: but king James minding to mainteine peace and concord betwixt the parties, sent an ambassador vnto the king of England, desiring him in brotherlie and most louing wise to liue in peace and quietnesse, and not to make anie warres against his confederat friends, offering himselfe to agrée and compound anie difference that was fallen betwixt the king of England and the said princes. The king of England, who had alreadie sent aid vnto the ladie regent of the low countries against the duke of Gelderland, made such faire answer hereunto as he thought stood with reason, and so dispatched the ambassadour backe againe to his maister, without anie more adoo in that matter, about the which he came for that time.

The king of France required aid against England.

King James perswadeth to peace.

✲ Much about these daies, there was called a prouinciall synod of bishops, abbats, and other religious persons at Edenburgh, in the monasterie of the Dominicke friers, Baiomanie the popes legat being present. In which by the common voice of them all (although against the will of manie of them) it was ordeined that benefices or priests liuings (whose reuenues did yerlie exceed the value of 40 pounds) should

Fr. Thin. Lesleus. lib. 8. pag. 356.

pay

pay a penſion of the tenth to the pope; and ſhould giue to the king (when he required) ſuch ſummes as he liked to demand: which vnto this day is called the Baiomane monie or tax.] John lord Gordon, ſonne and heire to Alexander Gordon erle of Huntleie, returned out of France, and was maried vnto the kings baſtard daughter, in November following, in this preſent were 1512, of whome the houſe of Huntleie is deſcended.

The kings baſtard maried.

The biſhop of Murrey came home.

Shortlie after came the biſhop of Murrey home, hauing bene at Rome, in France, and England, bringing with him from the pope, and the kings of France and England, manie good and pleaſant letters: and with him came a clearke of Spaine in ambaſſage vnto the king. This yere the eleuenth day of Aprill, the quéene was deliuered of a yong prince in the palace of Luithgo, who was ſhortlie after baptiſed, and named James the fift prince of Scotland, and of the Iles, that after ſucceeded his father in the kingdome. The lord Dacres, and doctor Weſt came in ambaſſage from the king of England, and Monſieur de la Mot came with letters alſo from the French king, to perſuade king James to make warre againſt England, promiſing him monie, munition, and all other neceſſarie prouiſions of warre. In his waie as he paſſed the ſeas towards Scotland, he had drowned three Engliſh ſhips, & brought ſeuen awaie with him vnto Lieth for prizes, in the which were but three Engliſhmen left aliue. Shortlie after, maiſter James Ogiluie abbat of Dirburgh came forth of France with letters of the like effect. After this Robert Barton went to the ſea, and in Julie brought into Scotland 14 prizes of Engliſh men which he had taken.

A yong prince borne in Scotland.

The French king ſent to perſuade the king of Scots to warre.

Fourténe prizes of Engliſhmen taken.

About this ſeaſon, the lord of Drumweidie was ſlaine in Edenburgh by two perſons, which tooke ſanctuarie in Holie rood houſe, and ſo eſcaped. John erle of Atholl deceaſſed the nineténth of September, & Lion Harold king of armes deceaſſed the firſt of October. Great miſrule was exerciſed on the borders in this ſeaſon, and therefore the king aſſembled the lords in Edenburgh for reformation thereof; and while they were there, the quéene was brought to bed of a child, which died ſhortlie after it was chriſtened.

Miſrule exerciſed.

The quéene brought to bed of a child.

1513. Leſle. There came a great ſhip into Scotland, which the king of France had ſent vnto the king, laden with artillerie, powder, and wines, & then was the league and band renewed betwixt Scotland and France. The ſame ſhip landed at Blackneſſe the nineténth of November. King James ſent a purſeuant called Unicorne into France, and another into England called Ilaie, which Ilaie required a ſafe conduct for an ambaſſador to be ſent from the king his maiſter vnto the king of England: but this would not be granted.

The league renewed with France.

Purſeuants ſent into England and France.

Vpon the ſaid Ilaies returne, Monſieur de la Mot was ſent backe into France, and with him ſir Walter Ogiluie, and a meſſenger whome the pope had ſent into Scotland. On the ſixténth of March next inſuing, doctor Weſt came as ambaſſador into Scotland from the king of England, appointing that certeine commiſſioners ſhould meet on the borders for redreſſe of all quarrels betwixt the two realmes, in the moneth of June next inſuing. And this appointment was kept, but no good could be done, as after ſhall appeare. The king ſent Fornian biſhop of Murrey into France, to ſignifie vnto the French king the meſſage of the ſaid doctor Weſt, and other things. In the moneth of Maie, there came certeine ſhips out of Denmarke laden with guns, powder, armor, & other kind of munition. Also Monſieur de la Mot landed in the weſt part of Scotland the ſixténth of Maie, with foure ſhips fraught with wine and flower, and returned againe the nineténth of the ſame moneth.

1513. Leſle.

Doctor weſt ſent into Scotland ambaſſador.

1513

Munition for warre ſent out of Denmarke.

Prouiſion ſent out of France.

The great Odonell of Ireland came to king James at Edenburgh, the firſt of June, offering his friendſhip and ſeruice to him before all other princes, and ſpeciallie againſt the king of England; whervpon he was thankfullie receiued, honorablie interteined, & richlie rewarded. And ſo the band of friendſhip being with him concluded, he returned into his countrie. The king prepared a great nauie of ſhips, the principall whereof were the Michaell, Margaret, and James. They made ſaile towards the ſea the twentie ſeuenth of Julie; and the king ſailed in the Michaell himſelfe, till they were paſt the Iland of Maie, James Gordon ſon to George earle of Huntleie being one of the capteins of the ſame ſhip.

Odonell profred friendſhip vnto king James.

A nauie ſent.

The commiſſioners met on the borders in June, according to the appointment: but becauſe the Engliſhmen would not conſent to make anie redreſſe or reſtitution, till the fiftéenth of October next, thinking by that delaie and continuance of time, they ſhould vnderſtand the ſtate of their kings proceedings in France, and in the meane time reteine in their hands the Scotiſhmens goods which they had taken both by ſea and land (as the Scotiſh writers affirme) the king of Scots being thereof aduertiſed, ſent Lion king of armes vnto king Henrie then lieng at ſiege before Terwine, with letters of complaint, commanding him that if king Henrie refuſed to accompliſh the contents of his ſaid letters, he ſhould denounce warre vnto him. Whereupon Lion arriuing in the Engliſh armie with his cote of armes on his backe, about the middeſt of Auguſt, deſired to ſpeake with the king, and was within a ſhort ſpace by Garter chiefe king at armes of England brought to the kings preſence, hauing his nobles and councellors about him, where, with due reuerence, & ſome good words firſt vttered, he deliuered his letters, the tenor whereof inſueth.

Commiſſioners met at the borders.

The Engliſhmen protract the time.

A king of armes ſent vnto K. Henrie of England.

The tenor of the king of *Scots letters.*

RIght excellent, right high, and mightie prince, our derreſt brother and couſine, we commaund vs vnto you in our maiſt hartie manner, and receiued fra Raff Heraulde your letters, quhar vntill ye approue and allow the doings of your commiſſioners latelie being with ours at the borders of bathe the realmes, for making of redreſſe quhilk is thought to you and your councell ſhould be continuet and delaet to the fiftænth day of October. Als ye write ſlaars by ſæ aught not compære perſonallie, but by their attourneys. And in your letters with our herauld Ilaie, ye aſcertaine vs ye will naught enter in the treur taken betwirt the maiſt chriſtian king and your father of Aragoun, becauſe ye and others of the hale liege nether ſhould nor may take peace, treur, nor abſtinence of warre with your common enimie, without conſent of all the confederats. And that the emperor, king of Aragoun, yea and euery of you be bounded to make actuall warre this inſtant ſommer againſt your common enimy. And that ſo to do is concluded and openlie ſworne in Paules kirke at London, vpon S. Markes day laſt by paſt. And farther haue denied ſafe conduct vpon our requeſts that a ſeruitor of ours might haue reſorted

to

to your presence (as our herauld Ilaie reports.

Right excellent, right high, and mightie prince, our derest brother and cousing, the said meting of our and your commissiouners at the borders, was peremptorily appointed betwirt you and vs after diuerse diets, for reformatioun before continuet to the commissiouners meting, to effect that due redresse suld haue bene made at the said meting, like as for our part our commissioners offred to haue made that time. And for your part, no malefactor was then arrestet to the said diet. And to glose the same, ye now write that slaars by sæ næd not compere personallie, but by their attourneis, quhilk is again law of God and man. And gif in criminall action all slaars suld naught compere personallie, na punitioun suld follow for slaughter, and then vane it were to seke farther metings or redresse. And hereby apperes (as the dæd shewes) that ye will nouther kæpe gud waies of iustice and equitie nor kindnes with vs.

The great wrongs and vnkindnes done before to vs and our leiges we ponderate, quhilk we haue suffred this long time in vpbearing, mainswering, noundressing of attemptates, so as the bill of the taken of inhalding of bastard Heron and his complices in your contrie, quha slue our wardan vnder trust of daies of meting for iustice, & thereof was filat & ordeint to be deliuerd, in slaing our liege noblemen, vnder colour by your folks, in taking of vthers out of our realme prisonet and chanet by the crags in your cuntrie, withhalding of our wiues legacie promist in your diuerse letters for despite of vs, slaughter of Androw Barton by your awn commaund, quha than had naught offended to you nor your leiges vnredresst, and breaking of the amity in that behalfe by your dæd, and withhalding of our ships and artillarie to your vse.

Quharvpon, eft our diuerse requisitions at your wardens, commissiouners, ambassadors, & your selfe, ye wrate and als shew by vthers vnto vs, that full redresse suld be made at the said meting of commissiouners, and sa were in hope of reformatioun, or at the lest ye for our sake wald haue desisted fra inuasioun of our friendes and cousings within their awne countries that haue naught offended at you, as we first required you, in favour of our tender cousing the duke of Gelder, quham to destroy and dilinherit ye sent your folks, and dud what was in them. And right sa we lately desired for our brother & cousing the maist christen king of France, quham ye haue caused to tine his countrie of Millaine, and nowinuades his selfe, quha is with vs in second degræ of blude, and hale bene vnto you kind without offense, and more kindar than to vs.

Notwithstanding, in defense of his person we mon take part, and thereto ye because of vthers, haue giuen occasion to vs and to our leiges in time by past, nouther doing iustlie nor kindlie toward vs, procæding alwaies to the vtter destructioun of our nærest friendes, quha mon do for vs quhan it shall be necessarie; in euill example that ye will hereafter be better vnto vs, quham ye lightly fauour, manifestlie wranged your sister for our sake incontrarie our writs: and saieng to our herauld that we giue you faire wordes, and thinke the contrarie, in dæd such it is, we gaue you words as ye dud vs, trusting that ye suld haue emended to vs, or worthin kinder to our frends for our sakes, and suld naughtight haue stopped our seruitors passage to labour peax, that they mought as the papes halines exhorted vs by his breuites to do. And therevpon we were contented to haue ouersene our harmes, and to haue remitted the same, though vther informatioun was made to our halie father pape Julie, by the cardinall of Yorke, your ambassador.

And sen you haue now put vs fra our gude beleue through the premisses, and speciallie in denieng of safe conduct to our seruants, to resort to your presence, as your ambassador doctor West instantlie desired we suld sende one of our councell vnto you vpon great matters, and appointing of differences debatable betwirt you and vs, furthering of peax if we might, betwixt the most christen king & you, we neuer hard to this purpose safe conduct denied betwirt Infidels. Herefore we write to you this time at length plainesse of our mind, that we require and desire you to desist fra farther inuasioun and vtter destructioun of our brother and cousing the maist christen king, to quham by all confederatioun, blude and alie, and also by new band quhilk you haue compelled vs latelie to take through your iniuries & harmes without remedie done dailie vnto vs, our leiges and subiects, we are bounden and oblist for mutuall defense ilk of vthers, like as ye & your confederates be oblist for mutuall inuasiouns and actuall warre.

Certifieng you, we will take part in defense of our brother and cousing the maist christen king, and will do what thing we trust may cause you to desist fra pursute of him, and for deuit and postponit iustice to our leiges we mon giue letters of marque accordng to the amitie betwirt you and vs, quharto ye haue had little regard in time by past, as we haue ordaint our herauld the bearer hereof to say, gif it like you to heare him and gif him credence: right excellent, right high & mightie prince our derest brother and cousing, the trinitie haue you in kæping. Geuen vnder our signet at Edenburgh the twentie sixt day of Julie.

The heraulds sent for.

King Henrie hauing read the letter, and considered thereof with aduise of his councell, sent for the herald againe, and told him that he had read and well perceiued the contents of the letters which he had deliuered to him, and would make him answer with condition,

condition, that he would promiſe to declare the ſame to his maiſter. Wherevnto Lion made this anſwer: The heraldis anſwer.

"Sir, I am his naturall ſubiect, and he is my naturall lord, and what he commandeth me to ſay, I may boldlie ſay with fauour; but the commandements of others I may not, nor dare ſay vnto my ſouereigne lord. But your letters ſent by me, may declare your maiſters pleaſure, albeit your anſwer requireth dowings and not ſaiengs, that is, that you immediatlie ſhould returne home. Then ſaid the king: I will returne at my pleaſure to your damage, and not at thy maiſters ſummons. And herewith he cauſed an anſwer to be written to the king of Scots, in forme as followeth.

King Henrie his anſwer.

RIght excellent, right high & mightie prince, &c. We haue receiued your writing dated at Edenburgh the twentie firſt day of Julie, by your herald Lion this bearer, wherein after rehearſall and accumulation of manie ſurmiſed iniuries, griefs and dangers don by vs and our ſubiects to you and your lieges, the ſpecialties whereof were ſuperfluous to rehearſe, remembring that to them and euerie of them in effect reaſonable anſwer founded vpon law and conſcience, hath tofore bene made to you & your councell; ye not onelie require vs to deſiſt from further inuaſion and vtter deſtruction of your brother and cooſine the French king, but alſo certifie vs that you will take part in defenſe of the ſaid king, and that thing which ye truſt may rather cauſe vs to deſiſt from purſute of him, with manie contriued occaſions and communications by you cauſeleſſe ſought & imagined, ſounding to the breach of the perpetuall peace paſſed, concluded, and ſworne betwixt you and vs, of which your imagined quarrels cauſeleſſe deuiſed to breake to vs, contrarie to your oth promiſed, all honor & kindneſſe, we can not maruell; conſidering the ancient accuſtomed manners of your progenitors, which neuer kept longer faith & promiſe than pleaſed them.

Howbeit, if the loue and dread of God, nighneſſe of bloud, honor of the world, law and reaſon had bound you, we ſuppoſe ye would neuer haue ſo farre procæded, ſpeciallie in our abſence. Wherin the pope and all princes chriſtened may well note in you diſhonorable demeanour, when ye lieng in wait, ſeeke the waies to do that in our ſaid abſence, which ye would haue bene well aduiſed to attempt, we being within our realme and preſent. And for euident approbation hereof, we need none other proofes nor witneſſes, but your owne writings heretofore to vs ſent, we being within our realme, wherein ye neuer made mention of taking part with our enimie the French king, but paſſed the time with vs till after our departure from our ſaid realme. And now percaſe ye ſuppoſing vs ſo farre from our ſaid realme, to be deſtitute of defenſe againſt your inuaſions, haue vttered the old rancour of your mind, which in couert manner ye haue long kept ſecret.

Neuertheleſſe, we remembring the brittlenes of your promiſe, & ſuſpecting though not wholie beleeuing ſo much vnſtedfaſtneſſe, thought it verie expedient and neceſſarie to put our ſaid realme in a readines for reſiſting of your ſaid enterpriſes, hauing firme truſt in our Lord God, and the righteouſneſſe of our cauſe, with the aſſiſtance of our confederats & alies, we ſhall be able to reſiſt the malice of ſchiſmatiks and their adherents, being by the generall councell expreſſie excommunicate and interdicted; truſting alſo in time conuenient to remember our friends, and requite you and our enimies, which by ſuch vnnaturall demeanor haue giuen ſufficient cauſe to the diſheriſon of you and your poſteritie for euer, from the poſſibilitie that ye thinke to haue to the realme, which ye now attempt to inuade.

And if the example of the king of Nauarre, being excluded from his realme for aſſiſtance giuen to the French king, can not reſtraine you from this vnnaturall dealing; we ſuppoſe ye ſhall haue like aſſiſtance of the French king, as the king of Nauarre hath now, who is a king without a realme, & ſo the French king peaceablie ſuffereth him to continue, wherevnto good regard would be taken. And like as we heretofore touched in this our writing, we need not to make anie further anſwer to the manifold griefs by you ſurmiſed in your letter: forſomuch as if anie law or reaſon could haue remoued you from your ſenſuall opinions, ye haue bene manie and oftentimes ſufficientlie anſwered to the ſame: except onelie to the pretended greefs touching the denieng of our ſafe conduct to your ambaſſador laſt ſent vnto vs.

Wherevnto we make this anſwer, that we had granted the ſaid ſafe conduct; and if your herald would haue taken the ſame with him, like as he hath bene accuſtomed to ſolicit ſafe conducts for merchants and others heretofore, ye might as ſoone haue had that, as anie other: for we neuer denied ſafe conduct to anie your lieges to come vnto vs and no further to paſſe, but we ſee well, like as your ſaid herald had hertofore made ſiniſter report contrarie to truth, ſo hath he done now in this caſe, as it is manifeſt and open. Finallie, as touching your requiſition to deſiſt from further attempting againſt our enimie the French king, we know you for no competent iudge of ſo high authoritie to require vs in that behalfe. Wherfore (God willing) we purpoſe with the aid and aſſiſtance of our confederats and alies to proſecute the ſame; and as ye do to vs and our realme, ſo it ſhall be remembred and acquited hereafter by the helpe of our Lord & our patrone ſaint George, who right excellent, right high and mightie prince, &c. Dated vnder our ſignet in our campe before Tirwine, the twelfth day of Auguſt.

This

This letter being deliuered vnto the Scotish herald, he departed with the same into Flanders, there to haue taken ship: but for want of readie passage he staied, and returned not into Scotland till Flodden field was fought, and the king slaine. For king James perceiuing all the Englishmens doings to tend vnto war rather than to peace, hauing taken order for the assembling of his people, immediatlie after he had sent forth his herald with commandement to denounce the warre, he determined to inuade the English confines, and first before his mane force was come togither, the lord Humes that was lord chamberlaine and warden of Scotland, the thirteenth day of August, hearing that the Englishmen had fetched a bootie within the Scotish ground, assembled a power, & followed them into Northumberland, but yer he could returne he was forelaid [in Broome house, or Broome field] by the Englishmen, which breaking out of their ambushes, put the Scotishmen to the worse, and of them toke and slue manie.

Englishmen fetched a bootie in Scotland.

Fr. Thin. ✻ These wars thus begun, the king determined to go to his armie (as it seemeth) not yet fullie assembled. Whereupon comming to Linuch, he went to the church to heare euensong, as the maner was. Buchan. lib. 13. To whome, after he had entered the chappell, there came an old man, whose heare was somewhat yellowish red, hanging downe vpon his shoulders, his forehead high with baldnesse, bare headed, hauing his bodie couered with a blewish garment, girded with white, and verie reuerent in his countenance. This man seeking the king, passed through the companie standing there, and drew neere to the king. Who being now come vnto him (and with a certeine rude behauiour, leaning vpon the seat wherein the king was placed) in homelie sort saied vnto him:

"King James sent vnto thee, to giue thee admonishment that thou hasten not forward to the place which thou hast determined: which warning if thou dost despise, it shall succeed ill with thee, and with all such as shall attend vpon thee. Further I am commanded to giue thee intelligence before hand, that thou eschue the familiaritie, custome, or counsell of women, and if thou dooest otherwise, it shall succeed to thy hurt and reproch. After which thus spoken, he mingled himselfe with the other companie, neither could after be found (the euensong being ended) when he was sought for by the king: for he was neuer seene after that he had thus deliuered his message. Which seemed the more strange, because that manie which stood neere him (marking all his order, and desirous to haue heard more things from him) could not perceiue his departure; amongest which persons (of those that meant to haue asked him further questions) Dauid Lindsete (a man of approued credit and vertue, verie well learned, and whose life was far estranged from lieng and falshood) was one, who told this same to me (saith Buchanan) as a thing most certeine; or else I would haue ouerpassed it as a fable caried about by common report.]

King James approched neere vnto England with his power.

In the meane time was the whole power of Scotland assembled, with the which king James approching to the borders, and nothing abashed with the euill lucke thus at the beginning chanced to his people, purposed with greater aduantage of victorie to recouer that detriment; and hereupon he made such hast, that he would not staie for the whole power of his realme, which was in preparing to come forward vnto him; but comming to the borders, he passed ouer the water of Tweed the two and twentith of August, and entered into England, lodging that night at Wesilham neere to the riuer of Tuisell, and the next day laid siege vnto the castell of Norham, and within short space wan the Braies, ouerthrew the Barnekine, & slue diuerse within the castell, so that the capteine and such as had charge within it, desired the king to delaie the siege, while they might send to the earle of Surreie alreadie come with an armie into the north parts, couenanting if they were not rescued by the nineteenth day of that moneth, they should deliuer the castell vnto the king. This was granted: and because none came within the time to the rescue, the castell was deliuered at the appointed day; a great part of it was ouerthrowne and beaten downe. After this he wan the castels of Fourd and Etell, & diuerse other places of strength, of which, part were ouerthrowne. He also toke manie prisoners, and sent them away into Scotland, and diuerse he assured: and thus he abode an eightéene daies within England, till two parts of his armie were scaled & departed home from him, which they did vpon this occasion. Barnekine. Fourd and Etell taken.

Fr. Thin. ✻ The king was determined & persuaded to haue besieged Berwike (beyond which he was now passed) since the same alone was more honor (than all the other places besides) if they wan it; the taking thereof they supposed not to be verie hard, because they were sure that the towne and castell were vnfurnished of all things for the defense thereof. Buchan. li. 13. Whereupon, the king (deeming nothing too hard for his armie, especiallie, since the English were set on worke as much as they might in the French wars) being nourished in that daintie (by his flattering courtiers) did leaue the same vndone at this time, meaning in his returne easilie to haue obteined it. But as they were yet at Ford, a herald of the English came vnto them, requiring that they would appoint a day and place, where and when both the armies might ioine in battell. Whereupon, there was a councell called amongest the Scots, in which it was agréed by the greater part, that the Scots should returne home into their countrie, least with so small a companie they might hazard the state of the whole countrie; especiallie, since that they had alreadie sufficientlie obteined fame, glorie and riches, and to the vttermost satisfied the band of amitie with the French; for there was no iust cause, why they for number (so few) and for trauell (in ouerthrowing so manie forts) so much weakened, should now againe be laid open to so great a multitude of the English daillie increasing with succors. For it was said at that time; that Thomas Hayward brought into the field (besides the rest of his armie) 6000 of chosen and valiant souldiers from the English campe (in France) before Turweine.

To which persuasion (to make the matter more strange) it was further added, that if the king did depart; the English host of necessitie must be dissolued, and could not that yeare againe be repared, because their souldiers were fet from the furthest parts of the realme; and that if the king would needs fight, that he then should do it in his owne realme, kéeping the time & place in his power alwaies to be appointed. But when the French ambassador (and certeine other, fed with the French pensions) labored to the contrarie; the king being by nature fierce, and grédie of warre, was easilie persuaded to abide his enimie in that place. In the meane time, when the English came not forth (at the day appointed to them by the herald, which before had béene with the Scots) the noblemen of Scotland, taking occasion thereof, did afresh go to the king, declaring that their not comming to battell was onelie a traine and deceipt, deferring the matter from day to day, to the end that their force might be increased, and the Scots diminished.

The king of Scots made too much hast.

Norham. The Braies.

Wherefore said they, we should vse the like policie against them. For since they haue not attended the

time

time prescribed vnto them, it is no shame to the Scots to returne into their countrie without battell, or to fight within their owne limits. Of both which, the surer counsell were to follow the first; which if it be not liked, then is there good occasion offered to execute the other. For since the riuer of Till (hauing hie banks) is not passable, but at certeine miles hence (except it be by a bridge) some few may there resist a great multitude. Besides which, when a part of the English armie is passed the bridge, the same bridge maie easilie (by engins placed therefore) be cut in sunder; so that there shall not be passage for anie more: by means whereof, the one part of them shall be subdued on the one side of this riuer, before that anie aid can come vnto them from the other banke. The king liked neither of these deuises and persuasions; but answered, that he would not suffer the English to depart (vnfoughten with) although there were an 100000 against him. At which rash answer, the whole nobilitie was greeuouslie offended.

Wherevpon Archembald Dowglas earle of Angus (which farre excelled all the others both in peeres and authoritie) laboured to turne the kings mind with all gentle persuasions, and began to make a more ample discourse vpon the two former counsels giuen by the nobilitie. For he shewed that the king had fullie satisfied the request of the French, in that he had now turned the greatest part of the English armie before bent against the French, against himselfe and his owne people; and had so wrought, that those great armies should neither hurt France nor do anie iniurie vnto the Scots, sith they were not able long to remaine in campe in those cold places, and in a barren countrie vnfurnished of all things (by the calamities of the last warres) and in which there was no corne; and if there were, it could not be ripened (the winter comming on so fast) in those northerne parts of the realme.

And where the French ambassador doth so much vrge vs vnto the battell, I suppose that the same should not seeme either new or strange vnto vs, that a strange man (which doth not respect the common euill of the realme, but the priuat commoditie of his owne nation) be ouer lauish in powring out the bloud of other men. Besides which, his request is ouer impudent, to demand of the Scots that which the French king (a man of singular experience and wisedome) doth not iudge conuenient for his owne kingdome or dignitie, if we be ouerthrowne. Neither should the losse of his host seeme more light vnto him (although we are few in number) bicause that all they of Scotland (which excell in force, authoritie or counsell) are assembled here togither, who being slaine, the rest of the realme would soone be a preie to the victor. What? Is it more safe for vs, and more profitable to the eschewing of all danger, for him to fight at this present? No trulie. For if Lewes do suppose, that the English (by imagined meanes) may be either made needie of monie, or else wearied by delaie; what can be done more necessarie for the present state of things, than to compell the enimie to diuide his armie, to the end that we may ease the weight of warre against the French by one part of the host to be sent against vs, and still to hold them plaie as it were alwaies to keepe them readie to set vpon vs, & by remouing to giue them cause to follow vs? For so I suppose shall the glorie and shew (which these men I feare rather valiant in words than deeds, do with their rashnesse so much pretend) be fullie answered. For what can happen more honorable to the king, than that we (by the ouerthrow of so manie castels, by the spoile of so manie countries with sword and fire, and by the driuing home of so great bodies and preies) haue done that iniurie to them, as that their countrie shall not by the peace of manie peeres recouer hir former estate? What greater profit may we loke for by warre, than in so great tumult of warres, with great praise and honor to vs, and with shame and reproch to our enimies, to obteine quiet, ioined with gaine and glorie for the refreshing of our selues? Which kind of victorie (that is gotten more by words than by swords) chiefflie belongeth to men, and of men specially to the leaders and capteins, as such a glorie whereof the common souldiors may not challenge anie part.

Which being thus spoken by earle Dowglas, although all they which were present seemed (by their countenance) to giue consent thereto: yet the king (who had with other bound himselfe to fight with the English) receiued these counsels with contrarie eares; and in heat commanded Dowglas to depart home, if he were afraid of the enimie. Wherevpon he (conceiuing some vnkindnesse, and inwardlie beholding wherevnto all these things would come by the kings rashnesse) forthwith burst out in teares. After which (as soone as he could settle himselfe thereto) he spake these few words. If (said he) my former life did not cleare me from the reproch of a coward, I know not with what reason or persuasion I might cleare or defend my selfe. For trulie so long as this my bodie was able to sustaine anie labor, I neuer spared to spend the same in the defense of my countries helpe, and my souereignes honor. But since I see their eares to exclude my counsell (which is the onelie thing wherewith I can now be profitable) I here leaue my two sonnes (who next vnto my countrie are most deare to me) and the rest of my kinred (of whom I greatlie account) as a certeine pledge of the truth and loue of my mind towards thee, and the common helpe of my countrie. And I pray God that he make this feare of mine to be false, and that I may rather be counted a lieng prophet, than behold those things which I feare will happen vnto vs. Which words when the Dowglas had said to the king, he departed thence with his companie. The rest of the nobilitie (bicause they saw they could not draw the king to their mind) take that place for battell which was next vnto them, to the end (seeing they were much inferior in number to their enimies, for there were 26000 fighting men in the English armie, as it was knowne by the scouts) to defend themselues with the benefit of the place, and thereupon got the hill next vnto their campe.)

The power of the north countrie raised.

In which meane time, the earle of Surrie, lieutenant to the king of England, hauing raised all the power of the north parts of England, came with the same towards the place where he heard that king James was incamped, and approching within three miles of the Scotish campe in full sight of the Scotishmen, pitcht downe his tents, and incamped with his whole armie. Although king James had great desire to fight with his enimies thus lodged in full view of his campe; yet bicause he was incamped in a place of great aduantage, so as the enimies could not approch to fight with him, but with great losse and danger to cast themselues away, he thought good to keepe his ground, specially bicause all those of the nobilitie, who were knowne to be of experience, did not hold with their aduise that counselled him to giue battell.

The English campe in sight of the Scotish campe.

King James was minded to keepe his ground.

At what time the earle of Surrie had sent an officer at armes vnto him, requiring him to come forth of his strength vnto some indifferent ground, where he would be readie to incounter him, & namelie the earle of Huntleie, a man for his high valiancie ioined with wisedome and policie, had in most reputation of all the residue, affirmed in plaine words [besides that which Dowglasse had before said] that nothing

Paulus Iouius,

The earle of Huntleie his counsell.

Fr. Thin.

nothing could be either more fond or foolish, than to fight at pleasure of the enimie, and to set all on a maine chance at his will and appointment, and therfore it should be good for them to remaine there in place of aduantage, and with prolonging the time to trifle with the enimie, in whose campe there was alreadie great scarsitie of vittels, neither was it possible that they should be vittelled from the inner parts of the realme, by reason of the cumbersome waies for cartage to passe now after such abundance of continuall raine as of late was fallen, and not like as yet to ceasse, so that in sitting still and attempting nothing rashlie without aduisement, the king should haue his enimies at his pleasure, as vanquished without stroke striken through disaduantage of the place, and lacke of vittels to sustaine their languishing bodies.

His persuasions.

Foule weather.

And suerlie beside the want of vittels, the foule and euill weather sore annoied both parties: for there had not beene one faire day, no scarse one houre of faire weather of all the time the Scotish armie had lien within England, but great cold, wind & raine, which had not onelie caused manie of the Scots to returne home, but also sore vered the Englishmen, as well in their iournie thitherwards, as also while they lay in campe against the Scotish armie. There was sending of messengers betwixt them to and fro, and the king had sent his quarell in writing vnto the earle of Surrie by his herald Ilaie the night before the battell, conteining as followeth.

King Iames his quarell vnto the *earle of Surrie*.

Where it is alledged that we are come into England against our bond and promise, thereto we answer: that our brother was bound as farre to vs as we were to him, and when we sware last before his ambassadors in presence of our councell, we expressed speciallie in our oth, that we would keepe to our brother, if our brother kept to vs, and not else. We sweare that our brother brake first to vs, and of his breach we required him diuers times of amends: and latelie we warned him, as he did not vs yet we brake. And this we take for our quarell, and by Gods grace shall defend the same at your assired time, which with Gods helpe we shall abide. ¶ Thus was the king verie desirous to trie the matter by battell, although the wisest sort of his nobles wished not that he should do anie thing ouer rashlie.

There chanced also manie things taken (as yée would say) for warnings of some great mischance to follow, which though some reputed but as vaine and casuall haps; yet the impression of them bred a certeine religious feare and new terror in his heart. For as he was in councell with his lords, to vnderstand their opinions touching the order of his battels, there was an hare start amongst them, which hauing a thousand arrowes, daggers, and other kind of things bestowed at hir, with great noise and showting, yet she escaped from them all safe and without hurt. The same night also, mise had gnawne in sunder the buckle and leather of his helmet wherewith he should fasten the same to his hed. And moreouer, the cloth or veile of his inner tent (as is said) about the breake of the day, appeared as though the dewie moisture thereof had beene of a bloudie colour.

Prodigious chances.

An hare.

The buckle leather of his helmet gnawn with mise.

The cloth of his tent of bloodie colour.

Herevpon the king keeping himselfe within his tent, the earle of Surrie constreined by necessitie to seeke all waies whereby to traine the king downe from the hill where he was lodged, remoued his campe towards the hils of Floddon, where the king of Scots laie incamped: and on the ninth day of September passed the water of Till at Twisell bridge; the rereward going ouer at Milford, putting themselues as neere as they could betwixt the Scotish campe and Scotland. King James perceiuing the Englishmen to passe the water, iudged that they had ment to win an hill that laie betwixt them and his campe, and therefore to preuent them, he caused his field to be raised, and fier to be set on the litter & cabins which they had made of boughs, and so with all speed remoued to the other hill, being gotten thither yer the English men could perceiue him to be remoued out of his former lodgings, bicause the smoke of the fiers which the Scots had made, couered all the countrie betwixt the two armies.

The Englishe campe remoued by the earle.

The Scots campe remoued also.

In the meane while were the Englishmen aduanced to the foot of Floddon hill, hauing thereby gotten double aduantage: for the Scotish ordinance could not much annoie them in marching vpwards vnder the leuill thereof, and they againe might gall the Scots in shoting off at them, as they came downewards vpon them. For king James hauing disappointed the Englishmen of the hill, thought verelie it should be an easie matter for him to ouerthrow them, which being put beside the place where they intended (as he thought) to haue camped, would neuer abide the countenance of his puissant armie, if he might atteine to ioine with them. Therefore the Scotish armie [after they had appointed the same into three wards, whereof (as saith Lesleus) the earle of Huntlete and the lord Hume led the right wing, the left had the earle of Crawford and Montrosse; and the king himselfe kept the middle ward, with the earles of Argile and Lennox] making downwards, incountered with the English host neere to the foot of the mounteine called Brankton, and first sir Edmund Haward leading one of the out wings of the English armie, hauing with him three thousand men, being fiercelie assailed by the Scots on foot, hauing speares and long weapons, and also by certeine horsemen, was in the end discomfited, and his people beaten downe and put to flight, so that being of them forsaken, he was constreined to follow. But yet he and diuerse other which escaped, ioined themselues to the next battell as well as they might. This so prosperous a beginning, who would thinke should haue turned to the losse of the Scots part, and aduancement of the English side. But so it came to passe, for king James no sooner saw that wing of the English host ouerthrowne and discomfited, but that he deemed how all the whole power of the Englishmen had beene fleeing away: and therfore alighting beside his horsse, and commanding those that were about him to follow, prepared himselfe to pursue the chase.

Aduantage getten by the ground.

King Iames his practise.

Fr. Thin.

Sir Edmund Haward was fiercelie assailed.

A good beginning had an euill ending.

King James deceiued himselfe and alighted from his horsse.

His capteins did what they could by words to remoue him from his purpose, declaring to him the dutie of a prince: which is not rashlie to enter the fight, but to prouide and see that euerie thing be done in order: and whereas comming to trie the matter by hand blowes, he can do no more than another man; yet keeping his place as apperteineth to his person, he may be worth manie thousands of other. The king nothing moued with these exhortations, breaking his arraie of battell, with a companie of noble men, rushed forward into the fore ward, where accomplishing the office of a footman, he found the Englishmen not fleeing, but manfullie standing at resistance,

The capteins good counsell not regarded.

The kings hardinesse marred all.

reſiſtance, ſo that there was a right hard incounter, and manie arrowes ſhot on euerie ſide, and great hurt done therewith.

At length ſir Edward Stanlie with the reregard of the Engliſhmen came fiercelie downe from the hill of Brauerton, vpon the backe of the kings armie, wherein they fought cruellie on both parts for a long ſpace; but at length the victorie inclined to the Engliſhmen. For the king himſelfe was there beaten downe and ſlaine, with all that whole battell which firſt entered the fight. The other part of the Scotiſh hoſt, whereof Alexander Hume lord chamberlaine had the gouernance, although he ſaw where the other Scotiſhmen were in danger, and cloſed in on euerie ſide, yet would he not once remoue one fot forward out of the place (where he ſtood) to aid them. Moreouer, the lacke of diſcretion in the king, which would needs run vpon his owne death, amazed the minds of all men, and brought them into ſuch perplexitie, that they knew not what to do; but loked one vpon another without ſtirring to or fro, as thoſe that were in deſpaire now after the death of their king to recouer the victorie, which by ſo ſtrange a chance ſeemed as it were ſliped out of their hands.

Howbeit, the lord chamberlaine bare the moſt blame, for that he did not cauſe a new onſet to be giuen. But it happened well for the Engliſhmen: for if king James had ordered himſelfe wiſelie in this battell, or that after he was ſlaine, a new furie had moued the Scots to haue renewed the fight in reuenge of the kings death, as had beene expedient, the victorie vndoubtedlie had beene theirs (as was thought by men of great vnderſtanding.) Whereupon the Engliſhmen remembring how manifeſtlie Gods godneſſe appeared towards them in this battell, confeſſed themſelues long after bound to God for their ſafetie and deliuerance out of that preſent danger. The fight began about foure of the clocke in the after noone, and continued three houres, in the which fifteene thouſand men were ſlaine on both parts: and of that number a third part at the leaſt was of Engliſhmen (as was crediblie reported) but (as our Engliſh writers affirme) there died of Engliſhmen not paſt fifteene hundred.

But yet the Scotiſhmen hold, that there died more of the Engliſhmen than of their nation at this field, and that manie thought it was not the bodie of king James which the Engliſhmen found in the field, and toke it for his; but rather an other Scotiſh mans corps, called the lard of Bonehard, who was alſo ſlaine there. And it was affirmed by ſundrie, that the king was ſeene the ſame night aliue at Kelſo: and ſo it was commonlie thought that he was liuing long after, and that he paſſed the ſeas into other countries, namelie to Jeruſalem to viſit the holie ſepulchre, and ſo to driue forth the reſidue of his daies, in doing penance for his former paſſed offenſes: but he appeared not in Scotland after as king, no more than Charles duke of Burgognie did appeare in his countries after the battell of Nancie, although his people had the like vaine opinion that he eſcaped from that diſcomfiture aliue.

But now to returne to the truth of the matter where we left. In the night following after this terrible battell, the reſidue of the Scotiſh armie returned homewards the ſame way they came, waſting and ſpoiling the Engliſh borders as they paſſed. At their comming home, euerie man ſpake euill of them, for that as cowards and naughtie perſons, they neither ſought to reuenge the death of their noble king, nor yet to ſuccour their fellowes that were beaten downe and ſlaine before their faces. But namelie Alexander Hume lord chamberlaine was reproued, as cauſe of all that miſchiefe, which behaued himſelfe not as a captetne, but as a traitor or enimie to his countrie. ✻ Upon the honor of this victorie, Thomas Haward earle of Surrie (as a note of the conqueſt) gaue to his ſeruants this cogniſance (to weare on their left arme) which was a white lion (the beaſt which he before bare as the proper enſigne of that houſe) ſtanding ouer a red lion (the peculiar note of the kingdome of Scotland) and tearing the ſame red lion with his pawes.]

Thus haue you heard how through raſhneſſe and lacke of ſkilfull order, the Scotiſh armie was ouercome, and that worthie prince king James the fourth brought to his fatall end, on the ninth day of September, in the twentie and fift yeere of his reigne, and thirtie and ninth of his age, which was in the yeere from the incarnation 1513. For his politike gouernment and due adminiſtration of iuſtice, which he exerciſed during the time of his reigne, hee deſerued to be numbred amongeſt the beſt princes that euer reigned ouer the Scotiſh nation. All theft, reiffe, murther, and robberie ceaſſed in his daies, by ſuch rigorous execution of lawes penall as he cauſed to be exerciſed through all the bounds of Scotland: inſomuch that the ſauage people of the out Iles ſorted themſelues through terror and dread of due puniſhment to liue after the order of lawes and iuſtice, where otherwiſe of themſelues they are naturallie inclined to ſedition, & diſquieting of each other. To conclude, men were in great hope, that if it had pleaſed the hie determinate power of almightie God to haue lent to him longer life, he ſhould haue brought the realme of Scotland to ſuch a flouriſhing eſtate, as the like in none of his predeceſſors times was yet euer heard of.

There died with him in that infortunate battell, of noble men (beſide others of the meaner ſort) the archbiſhop of ſaint Andrewes his baſtard ſonne, the biſhop of the Iles: the abbats of Inchaffreie and Kilwennie: the earles of Montroſſe, Crawford, Argile, Lennor, Glencar, Cathnes, Caſſelles, Bothwell; Arrell high conſtable of Scotland, Addell, Atholl, and Morton: the lords Louet, Forbois, Cluetton, Rws, Inderbie, Saintcleare, Parwell, and his three brethren, Daunlie, Sempill, Borthicke, Bogonie, Arſkill, Blackater, and Cowin: knights and gentlemen of name, ſir John Dowglas, Cuthbert Hume of Faſt caſtell, ſir Alexander Seton, ſir Danie, maiſter John Grant, ſir Dunkin Cawfield, ſir Sander Lowder, ſir George Lowder, maiſter Marſhall, maiſter Key, maiſter Ellot, maiſter Cawell clerke of the chancerie, the deane of Elleſter, Macke Kene, Macke Clene, with manie others.

✻ This James the fourth was of a firme bodie, of iuſt ſtature, of moſt comelie countenance, and of ſharpe wit, but altogither vnlearned, as the fault of that age was. But he did diligentlie aplie himſelfe to an old cuſtome of the countrie, cunninglie to cure wounds, the knowledge whereof in times paſt was a thing common to all the nobilitie, being alwaies vſed to the warres. He was eaſilie to be ſpoken vnto, gentle in his anſwers, iuſt in his iudgements, and ſo moderat in puniſhments, that all men might eaſilie ſee he was vnwillinglie drawen vnto them. Againſt the detraction of the euill, and admoniſhment of the good, there was ſuch worthineſſe of mind in him (confirmed by the quiet of a good conſcience, and the hope of his innocencie) that he would not onelie not be angrie, but not ſo much as vſe a ſharpe word vnto them. Amongeſt which vertues, there were certeine vices crept in by the ouermuch deſire to pleaſe the people, for whileſt he labored to auoid the note of couetouſneſſe (obiected to his father) and ſought to win the fauour of the common ſort (with ſumptuous feaſts, gorgeous ſhewes, and large gifts) he fell into

dir Edward Stanlie tnua ed the backe f the rere- ard.

king James laine.

The lord hamberlaine ood ſtill.

The lord hamberlaine eareth the lame.

The Engliſh nen thanked God for this noble victorie.

5000. Buchan. 15000 men laine.

The Scotiſh men returne home againe.

They were re uiled of their owne people.

Fr. Thin. Buchan. li. 13

The ſauage people reformed themſelues.

Fr. Thin. Buchan. lib. 13.

that pouertie, that it seemed (if he had liued long) that he would haue lost the fauor of his people (wone in old times) by the imposition of new tares. Wherefore his death was thought to haue timelie happened vnto him.)

Iames the fift.

AFter the death of that worthie prince king Iames the fourth, slaine at Branrton (as before ye haue heard) his sonne James the fift succéded him: for after the returne of those that escaped from the said field, the quéene assembled the lords and estates of the realme togither at Striueling, where the 21 day of September 1513, hir sonne the foresaid James the fift, a child of one yéere, fiue moneths, & ten daies of age, by vniuersall aduise and consent was crowned king, and his mother the quéene apointed regent of the realme, vsing the counsell of the reuerend father James Beton archbishop of Glascow, the earles of Huntlete, Angus, and Arrane. ✻ This gouernement the quéene obteined by reason of hir husbands testament, who making his last will (before that he went to the warres) did appoint thereby that the whole administration of all things should remaine with hir, so long as she continued a widow: the which though it were against the custome of the countrie (being the first example of a womans gouernement amongest the Scots) yet it séemed tolerable to most men (giuen to peace) especiallie since there were not men sufficient at that time for honor and experience to take that charge in hand, by occasion of the great slaughter of the nobles at Floddon field, which gouernement she did not long inioy.]

In assemblie at Striueling 1513.

The king crowned, and the quéene appointed regent. Fr. Thin. Buchan. lib. 13.

For shortlie after they fell at variance amongest themselues, about the bestowing of those benefices which were vacant by the deaths of those persons which had béene slaine at the field; by reason whereof, some of them writ letters secretlie into France to John duke of Albanie, willing him to come into Scotland to be tutor to the king, and gouernor of the realme, as he that was nert of bloud to the king, and nærest to the crowne, in case the kings children deceassed without issue. He therefore sent monsieur de la Bastie into Scotland, who in companie of the earle of Arrane, the lord Fleming, and Lion the herald (which long had béene in France) landed on the west coast the third of November. And shortlie after, the said monsieur de la Bastie deliuered his letters to the quéene and lords, who thereupon met at saint Johns towne, and there by vniuersall consent it was accorded, that the duke of Albanie should be admitted tutor and gouernor to the king & realme, and that the same should be confirmed in parlement by the three estates which should be kept at Edenburgh, the thirtenth day of March next, for the same intent.

Debate.

The duke of Albanie is sent for.

Monsieur de la Bastie is sent into Scotland.

An assemblie had at Striueling.

To rehearse the troubles and great disquietnesse that chanced, during the minoritie of this king, thorough lacke of due administration of iustice, and by discord & variance dailie rising amongest the lords & péeres of the realme, a man might haue iust cause greatlie to wonder thereat, and in weieng the same throughlie, no lesse lament the oppression done to the poore commons in that wicked and most miserable time, when iustice séemed to sléepe, and rapine with all the other sorts and rabble of iniurious violence inuaded hir emptie seat, triumphing ouer all as a conqueror. ✻ During the times of which disorder, there was (amongest those which preied and spoiled others) a great capteine of the same faction, called Macrobert Struan, who (ouerrunning Atholl and the adioining places) was accompanied for the most part with eight hundred théeues, and sometime more. Which Struan was at length (whilest he spoiled euerie man at his owne pleasure, and at that time remaining with his vncle John Creichton) taken by

The great disquietnesse reigning in Scotland during the minoritie of Iames the fift.

Fr. Thin. Buchanan. lib. 12.

wait laied for him, and inforced to depart with his life.]

The quéene sent louing letters vnto the king of England, hir brother, requiring him of peace. Whereupon a truce was taken betwixt the two realmes of England and Scotland, for the space of one yéere and a day. In the beginning of Februarie, the king of England, hearing that a parlement should be holden in Scotland, for the bringing in of the duke of Albanie to be tutor, wrote to his sister that she should in anie wise impeach and staie his comming thither; declaring how dangerous it was, not onelie for hir, but also for hir sonne to haue him gouernor, which was to succéed, if hir son were once out of the way. But the chiefest cause that moued the king of England to labour, that the duke should haue nothing to do in Scotland, was (as manie thought) for that he knew how the duke, in fauour of the king of France, would shew himselfe an enimie against England, with all the force he might make or procure.

The king of England writeth to his sister.

Now shortlie after that the peace was concluded betwixt him and the king of France, he sent a letter also, requiring him not to suffer the duke to passe into Scotland, for the reason first alleged. But notwithstanding the labor that king Henrie made to the contrarie, it was concluded by the states in parlement assembled in Edenburgh, at the time prefixed, that sir Patrike Hamilton, and Lion king of armes should be sent into France, to procure the duke to come into Scotland, being now confirmed tutor and gouernor, according to the lawes of the realme in such cases prouided. Whereupon, in Aprill then nert following they toke the seas, and passed into France, accordinglie as by the states had béene deuised.

The duke of Albanie confirmed tutor by parlement.

1514.

This yéere came a legat into Scotland from the pope, with certeine priuileges granted to the king and realme. The thirtith of Aprill was the quéene deliuered of a prince in the castell of Striueling, which was baptised by the postulat of Dunfirmling, and the archdeane of saint Andrewes, and instantlie confirmed by the bishop of Cathnesse, by the name of Alexander. During the time that the quéene lay in childbed, great discord fell out betwixt the lords of the west parts, and the other lords of the realme: but shortlie after the quéene called an assemblie at Edenburgh the twelfth of Julie, where they were all well agréed. And hérewith two of the cleargie were sent into England for peace. And the 28 of the same moneth, maister James Ogiluie abbat of Dri burgh, and sir Patrike Hamilton, and Lion the herald came forth of France with articles in writing from the king there, and the duke of Albanie; by the which the dukes comming was excused, because the king could not want him, till some end were had touching the warres betwixt him and the king of England, which was concluded in October nert insuing.

A legat from Rome.

The quéene deliuered of hir second son Alexander.

This yéere, the first of August, the quéene maried Archembald Dowglasse earle of Angus, and immediatlie after in saint Johns towne toke the great seale from the bishop of Glascow, that was chancellor of the realme. Wherupon the said bishop got him to Edenburgh, where manie lords assisted him, and kept out the quéene and hir new husband, so that they might not enter there: whereof great discord rose within the realme amongest the nobles and péeres of the same. In the peace contracted betwixt Lewes the twelfth of that name, king of France, and Henrie the eight king of England, no mention was made of the realme of Scotland: for the which the Scotishmen thought great fait in the French king, seeing that for his cause the warre had béene attempted betwixt them and England. The same yéere, about

1515.

The mariage of the quéene mother.

The great seale taken from the bishop of Glascow.

A peace concluded betwixt England & France.

The deceaſſe of the biſhop of Aberden.

bout the twentie fift of October, William Elphingſton biſhop of Aberden, and lord keeper of the priuie ſeale departed this life at Edenburgh. He had béene a faithfull councellor to James the third & to James the fourth, by whoſe helpe he founded and indowed the college in the old towne of Aberden, for the increaſe of learning & vertue, which hath flouriſhed with good wits of ſtudents euer ſince, till theſe our daies.

Monſieur de la Bautie.

The 20 of November, Le ſire de la Bautie receiued the caſtell of Dunbar in the name of the duke of Albanie, at the hands of the deane of Glaſcow brother to the biſhop of Murrey, called Forman. Shortlie after, John Hepborne the prior of ſaint Andrews then elect archbiſhop of that ſée, beſieged the caſtell of ſaint Andrews, and wan it by force from the keepers of it, which were appointed to defend it in the name of Gawin Dowglaſſe, wherewith the quéene and the earle of Angus were highlie offended. The twelfth of Januarie, being a verie darke & windie

1514. night, the earle of Lennor, and the maiſter of Glencarne vndermined the nether groundſoile of the caſtell gate of Dunbreton, & entered thereby into the caſtell, & ſo toke it, putting out thereof the lord Erſkin. Shortlie after (that is to ſay) the fifteenth of that moneth, a great aſſemblie was made betwixt the earles of Angus and Arrane, the one to haue fought with the other, which was the cauſe and beginning of great trouble that inſued.

The caſtell of Dunbreton taken.

The ſame day in Edenburgh were the buls publiſhed, which Forman the biſhop of Murrey had purchaſed at Rome, for the obteining of the archbiſhoprike of ſaint Andrews, the abbaſies of Dunfirmeling, and Arbroeth, through ſupplication of the quéene and duke of Albanie. From which buls the prior of ſaint Andrews appealed, pretending title to the archbiſhops ſée by election and generall gift of the lords of the realme; and herupon got togither his friends in Edenburgh, as the maiſter of Hales and others. And on the other part, the lord chamberleine, and diuerſe of the biſhop of Murreis friends got the kings letters, by vertue whereof they proclamed the ſaid maiſter of Hales, and the prior of ſaint Andrews rebels, with all their aſſiſtants, putting them to the horne: whereupon they were conſtreined to depart out of Edenburgh. And in Maie following, the prior went vnto Rome, there to iuſtifie his appeale.

The popes buls publiſhed.

1515. Leſle.

Contention about the inioieng of the ſée of ſaint Andrews.

The foure and twentith of Februarie, a parlement was aſſembled at Striueling; but becauſe the lords could not agrée amongſt themſelues, it was proroged till the comming of the duke of Albanie, which was loked for to be in Scotland, in Aprill; or at the furtheſt in Maie next inſuing, as he had ſent word by ſir John Striueling of the Keir, that was latelie come from him with letters vnto the lords and péeres of the realme. The fifteenth of Maie, truce was proclamed betwixt England and Scotland, to

1515. indure for three yeares, or three moneths (as ſaith Leſleus) but the ſame day at ſix of the clocke in the afternoone, the Engliſhmen entered the borders of Scotland vpon the water of Rule, and forraied the countrie, doing great hurt therein, notwithſtanding the truce. The ſeuentéenth day of Maie, John duke of Albanie, tutor and gouernor of Scotland, arriued at the towne of Aire, with eight ſhips well appointed, and furniſhed with men and all kind of neceſſarie proviſion for his eſtate.

Truce betwixt England and Scotland.

The duke of Albanie his arriuall in Scotland.

From thence taking the ſea againe, he ſailed alongſt the coaſt till he came to Dunbreton, and there came onland, & on the next day paſſed forth to Glaſcow, where all the weſtland lords receiued him with great ſemblance of reioiſing for his arriuall. The ſix and twentith day of Maie, he was receiued into Edenburgh, a great number of lords méeting him on the way. The quéene alſo came from hir owne lodging and met him, to do him honor. Sundrie conceipts, pageants, & plaies were ſhewed by the burgeſſes, to honor his entrie in the beſt maner they could deuiſe. Shortlie after his comming to Edenburgh, there came thither forth of all parts of the realme, the lords and barons, where they being aſſembled in councell, he toke vpon him the gouernement of the realme, which he promiſed to vſe by their aduiſe, ſo that they would aſſiſt him in ſetting forth of iuſtice and good orders, which they vndertoke to do.

The duke of Albanie receiued into Edenburgh.

Herevpon was the parlement, which had béene proroged till his comming, ſummoned to be kept at Edenburgh the twelfth of Julie, in the which diuerſe acts were concluded and made; and the lord Drummond was adiudged in the dukes mercie, for ſtriking Lion king of armes. The duke pardoned him of life and honor, but his lands and goods remained in the kings hands: notwithſtanding, he was afterwards reſtored to the ſame againe. In this parlement alſo, the duke of Albanie was confirmed by the three eſtates of the realme tutor and gouernor to the king, the ſcepter and ſword being deliuered to him: his oth alſo was taken by the lords, and theirs giuen to him, that each of them ſhould be faithfull to others, and namelie to their king and ſouereigne lord, and alſo ſhould mainteine iuſtice to the vttermoſt of their powers, for the aduancement of his honor, and ſuertie of the realme.

A parlement ſummoned.

In the meane time, whileſt this parlement was in hand, the gouernor was aduertiſed that the king ſhould haue béene conueied forth of the realme ſecretlie into England: whereupon he ſuddenlie departed in the night time from Edenburgh, with his men of warre in good order, & came to Striueling, where the king, with his brother Alexander, laie with the quéene; which caſtell, togither with the kings perſon, and the other within it, were deliuered to him the third day of Auguſt; whereupon he committed them and the caſtell to the keeping of foure lords of the realme, whereof the earles of Eglenton and Montroſſe were two. The lord Hume, becauſe he had aſſiſted the earle of Angus and the quéene againſt the gouernor, was denounced a rebell; and the earles of Lennor & Arrane, with manie others, were ſent to his houſes to ſeize the ſame into the kings hands. In the caſtell of Hume was laid gunpowder by a traine, wherby diuerſe of them that entered firſt into the caſtell were burned.

The king deliuered to the keeping of certeine lords.

The lord Hume denounced a rebell.

The lord Hume himſelfe got him into England, and ſore diſquieted the marches, ſo that no day of truce was holden, neither on the eaſt nor middle marches. The twelfth of Auguſt, the quéene, the earle of Angus, and his brother George Dowglas, went from Temptallon vnto Berwike, and from thence paſſed to the nunrie of Caudſtreame whereupon aduertiſement being giuen to the K. of England, and his pleaſure therein knowne, the ſix and twentith of that moneth ſhe was receiued by the lord Dacres, & conueied to Harbottell caſtell, where

The birth of the counteſſe of Lennor.

ſhe remained till ſhe was deliuered of a daughter, called Margaret Dowglaſſe, afterwards maried to the earle of Lennor, as in place conuenient it ſhall further appeare. There was no Scotiſhman at this time receiued into England with hir. The gouernor perceiuing the rebellion of the lord Hume, paſſed to the borders with his Frenchmen, where the ſixt of October, the ſaid lord Hume came & ſubmitted himſelfe to the gouernors pleaſure, and his brother Alexander ſhortlie after did the ſame, and they were both deliuered to the earle of Arrane, who was apointed to keepe them in ſafetie within the towne of Edenburgh.

The lord Hume ſubmitted himſelfe.

But the twelfth of October next inſuing, the ſaid earle of Arrane departed from thence in the night

The earle of Arrane stealeth away.

season, with those his prisoners, stealing their waies on fot. Herevpon, the gouernor causing the parlement to be holden that was summoned to begin the foure and twentith of October, the said lord Hume, maister William Hume, and Dauid Hume, were conuict of treason by all the states, to lose their liues, lands, and goods. This parlement was proroged till fiftéene daies after, within which time the earle of Arrane was appointed to make appearance, or else it was agréed that they should proceed against him in like maner. And in that meane space, the gouernor went to beseege the castell of Hamilton, where that noble aged ladie, the old countesse of Arrane, daughter to king James the second, & mother to the earle of Arrane, and aunt to the duke by his fathers side, caused not onelie the castell to be surrendered at the dukes pleasure, but procured also the earle of Arrans peace, which earle, the twelfth of Nouember nert insuing, came with the bishop of Glascow vnto Edenburgh, and there submitted himselfe to the dukes will.

The lord Hume and other conuicted of treason.

The old countesse of Arrane purchaseth hir sons pardon.

About the same time, certeine lords toke part with the earle of Murreie the kings bastard brother, and the earle of Erroll, against the erle of Huntleie, and raised a commotion; so that being got into Edenburgh, there was much adoo, & the towne greatlie disquieted. The gouernor lieng in the abbeie, came into the towne, and toke the earles of Huntleie, Erroll, Murreie, and others; and committed them to ward within the castell, while he tried the cause, and finding that maister William Haie being with the earle of Murreie had raised that sturre, he sent the same Haie into France, there to remaine during his pleasure, and forthwith the said earles were set at libertie. Lion king of armes appointed to go into England with letters to king Henrie, was stopped at Caldstreame by the lord Hume, who toke his letters from him, and kept him prisoner, till Alexander Humes mother, that remained prisoner in Dunbar, was exchanged for him. The eightéenth day of December, Alexander duke of Rosseie the kings brother departed this life at Striueling.

A commotion betwixt the earles of Murreie and Huntleie.

Lion king of armes staied by the lord Humes.

The seuentéenth day of Januarie, a truce was taken betwixt Eggland and Scotland, till the feast of Pentecost nert. This truce was agréed vpon at Coldingham, by certeine commissioners, appointed on either part there, to treat for peace. For the realme of Scotland were these: Monsieur de Planes the French ambassador, archdeacon of saint Andrews, maister Gawin de Dunbar, and sir William Scot of Baluerie knights. The Englishmen comprised for their part, the earle of Angus and the lord Hume within the compasse of this truce. In the meane time, the earle of Arrane departed from the gouernor againe, and repaired to the west parts, where he confederated himselfe with certeine lords, notwithstanding that sir James Hamilton, and the lord of Cauder remained pledges for his good demeanor within the castell of Edenburgh. The earles of Lennor, Glencarne, and other caused the castell of Dunbreton and diuerse other to be furnished, and toke the castell of Glascow with the kings great artillerie that laie within it, and spoiled the same.

A truce concluded betwixt England & Scotland.

The earle of Arrane estsones reuolteth from the gouernor.

The earle of Lenox furnisheth Dunbreton.

The gouernor aduertised thereof, raised an armie & went to Glascow, where, by the labor of the bishop of that place, an appointment was taken, so that the castell was deliuered into the bishops hands. The earle of Lennor came in to the gouernor, and toke a new respit, and about the beginning of March nert following, the earle of Arrane and the lord Hume did the like. Forman the archbishop of saint Andrews, against whome the prior of saint Andrews did stand (as ye haue heard) for that same benefice, to the great disquieting of the realme, by such partakings as chanced thereabout among the lords, came now to the towne of Edenburgh, and resigned all the three benefices, whereof he had purchased buls of the pope, that is to say, the archbishoprike of saint Andrews, the abbasies of Arbroth and Dunfirmeling in the gouernors hands, to bestow the same at his pleasure: who by the counsell of certeine lords, to satisfie such as claimed interest to the same, and pacifieng of all debates, bestowed them as followeth.

The earles of Lennor and Arrane take a respit.

Forman resigneth his title to the archbishops sée.

First, the said archbishoprike he gaue to the said Forman with the abbasies of Dunfirmeling, and to maister James Hepborne he gaue the bishoprike of Murrey, and benefices worth a thousand marks by the yeare vnto the prior of saint Andrews for a recompense; the abbasie of Dryburgh he gaue vnto maister James Ogiluie, and the bishoprike of Aberden (then vacant) vnto Alexander Gurdon, and to the archbishop of Glascow called Beton he gaue the abbacie of Arbroth, assigning to the earle of Murrey a large pension out thereof. One of the Hamiltons was made abbat of Kilwinning, [and George Dundasse was made prior of the knights of the roads.] And thus he bestowed the benefices which had béene vacant euer since Floddon field, vnto diuerse lords, or to their kinsmen, that by such liberalitie vsed towards them, all debates and discords might ceasse, which had happened amongest them, specially about the bestowing of the same benefices. This was done in the moneth of Februarie.

Bestowing of benefices.

Fr. Thin.

1515.

Shortlie after, the gouernor, by counsell of the lords, to the end the realme might come to a perfect quietnesse, and the noble men vnited togither, receiued into fauor the earle of Angus, & maister Patrike Pantoun secretarie, who for his cause had béene kept as prisoner in Insche galle. He likewise receiued the lord Hume, and his brother, pardoning them all their offenses past. And in parlement holden the fift of Maie, they were restored to all their lands, heritages, fées, and honors. About that time, the lord of Strawen in Atholl committed diuerse great offenses and crimes, for the which he was taken by the earle of Atholl, and beheaded at Logtraith by the gouernors commission.

The earle of Angus and others receiued into fauor.

All this while, the parlement was not dissolued but vpon prorogation, and so the same began againe the first day of Julie, at what time the king of England, at request of his sister the quéene of Scotland, wrote letters to the lords now assembled in parlement, requesting them to expell the gouernor forth of the realme. But all the lords and states with vniuersall consent sent Albanie the herald with letters to the said king, excusing them, that they might not in anie wise satisfie his desire therein, the same being against reason and the lawes of their countrie.

The parlement began againe.

The king of Englands letters to the lords.

In the moneth of September, the gouernor commanded the lord Hume, with his brother maister William Hume, and Dauid Bar of Fernihurst, to be arrested and bestowed in seuerall places, that better rule might be kept vpon the borders: but they lieng now in ward, sundrie informations were giuen vp against them: and therevpon, the eight of October, the said lord Hume and his brother were conuict of treason, for assisting and mainteining of the théeues vpon the borders, and other crimes; for the which he was beheaded: and on the morrow after, his brother the foresaid William Hume was likewise beheaded, and their heads were set vpon the Tolbuith in Edenburgh: Dauid Bar was spared.

The lord Hume and other arrested and committed to ward.

The lord Hume beheaded.

✻ Alexander lord Hume left yet three brethren in life, who were all by the iniuries of those times grieuouslie afflicted with diuerse misfortunes. For George, being banished for the slaughter of a man, remained

Fr. Thin. Buchan. lib. 14.

remained in England amongeſt his friends. Iohn abbat of Jedworth was baniſhed beyond Taie. Dauid the yonger brother, which was prior of Coldingham two yeares after the death of his brethren, was (by Iames Hepborne, the huſband of his ſiſter) ſlaine by a traine, vnder colour of a meeting and parlée, wherevnto he was called; whome all men did pittie, becauſe he was a harmeleſſe yong gentleman, of a ſingular wit, and fowlie betraied by thoſe of whom he ought not ſo to haue bin intrapped.

The duke of Albanie viſiteth the borders.

Another parlement.

The duke of Albanie ſecond perſon of the realme.

Shortlie after, the duke rode to Jedworth with a great companie of men, & ſtaied the great robbing & reauing which had béene vſed on the borders, & left there good wardens to kéepe good rule in thoſe parts, and ſo returned to Edenburgh. The third of Nouember, another parlement was holden, in which it was decréed, that the gouernor ſhould be déemed and reputed for ſecond perſon of the realme, notwithſtanding the claime made by his elder brother Alexander Stewart, that was begotten on the daughter of the earle of Orkeneie, which was alleged to haue béene firſt maried to their father the duke of Albanie, before he was maried to the earle of Bullognes daughter, on whome he begot the gouernor. Whereupon this Alexander made proteſtation to be heire to his father; but they were afterward agréed, and Alexander renounced his title in his brothers fauor, and was made biſhop of Murreie, and abbat of Scone. At this parlement, the gouernor required licence to go into France, and to be abſent there ſix moneths: but this ſute was not granted till Aprill following.

The gouernor aſketh licence to go into France.

The earle of Lennox in ward.

At the ſame time was the earle of Lennor put in ward within the caſtell of Edenburgh, till he had cauſed the caſtell of Dunbreton to be deliuered vnto one Alane Stewart in the conſtables name, & then he was ſet at libertie. In the moneth of December, Monſieur de la Bautie was made warden of the eaſt marches in ſtead of the lord Hume, and kept daies of truce: which procured ſuch hatred, that it coſt him afterwards his life. In the moneth of Ianuarie, the gouernor went to ſaint Johns towne, and there held his ſeat of iuſtice, where the lord Fleming for the time was made great chamberlaine of Scotland, with all the fées thereof. In the yeare 1517, there came ambaſſadors from Francis the new French king, to deſire, that the ancient league might be renewed betwixt him and the king of Scotland, their realmes, dominions, and ſubiects.

Monſieur de la Bautie made warden of the marches.

1517.

Ambaſſadors from France.

For this cauſe, all the lords of the realme were aſſembled at Edenburgh, where, by them it was concluded, that the gouernor himſelfe ſhould paſſe the ſeas into France; and alſo that the biſhop of Dunkeild, the ſecretarie, and the maiſter of Glencarne as ambaſſadors ſhould go thither: the which the thirteenth of Maie, went a ſhipbord, and by the eaſt ſeas ſailed thither, and the gouernor toke ſhip at Newmarke beſide Dunbreton the ſeuenth of June, taking his courſe by the weſt ſeas, and ſo paſſed into France, where it was agréed, that he ſhould haue remained but onelie foure moneths, he hauing appointed the biſhops of ſaint Andrews and Glaſcow, the earles of Huntleie, Argile, Angus, and Arrane, to gouerne in his place, whileſt he was abſent. Alſo he ordeined Anthonie Darcie, or Monſieur de la Bautie lieutenant of the borders.

An ambaſſage into France.

The gouernor goeth into France.

He alſo had cauſed the king to be brought into Edenburgh caſtell, within the which he ſhould remaine in the kéeping of the earle Marſhall, the lords Erſkin, Borthwike, Kithuen; of the which, two at leaſt ſhould be alwaies preſent. The quéene that remained as then in England, after ſhe vnderſtood that the gouernor was departed towards France, returned to Edenburgh the ſeuenteenth of June, but ſhe was not ſuffered to ſée the king till Auguſt following: at what time, for feare of the peſtilence to be crept into the caſtell, he was remoued to Cragmiller, where the quéene oftentimes came vnto him; but at length, through ſome ſuſpicion conceiued, leaſt the quéene might conueie him away from thence into England, he was eſſoones brought vnto the caſtell of Edenburgh, in which he was kept after, according to the order taken in that behalfe.

Gouernors appointed to the kings perſon.

The king remoued.

The doubt which the Scots had in the quéene.

Much about this time in the which theſe things were done, John Gordon (the eldeſt ſonne of that Alexander earle of Huntleie, which for the praiſe of his ſingular goodneſſe obteined the ſurname of good) returning out of France (whither a little before he had ſailed with the gouernor) was ſingularlie welcomed and interteined of all men, who going vnto his owne people (in the north parts) was vrged with ſuch grieuous ſickneſſe that he died therwith, and by his father (to whom he ſhould by courſe of nature execute the ſame office) ſhortlie after buried in the abbeie of Kilroſſe, with a goodlie towne erected on him by his ſaid father. The death of which John gaue (for manie cauſes) manie griefes vnto manie perſons: but amongſt other the chiefeſt to his father, who liued not long after his ſonne. Which Alexander when he died, left the ſaid earledome to his nephue, ſonne of his ſonne John; who becauſe he was but ten yéeres old, was committed to the earle of Angus, to be inſtructed in all goodneſſe of maners anſwering to the excellencie of that wit wherewith he was indued.

Fr. Thin. Leſleus lib. 9. pag. 386.

This earle Huntleie adorned with excellent ſweetneſſe of maners and pleaſantneſſe of wit, the earle of Angus would neuer or verie hardlie ſuffer to depart out of his companie. For which cauſe when the erle of Angus, for certeine ſuſpicions of treſon was baniſhed Scotland into England, he attempted by all deuiſes and perſuaſions to intiſe the child to haue gone with him: but the yong boie could not be allured with anie flatteries or perſuaſions to ſubmit himſelfe to the leaſt note of reproch, in forſaking his king and countrie. Wherefore when the earle of Angus was departed into England, the child lifting vp his craning hands to the king, did grant himſelfe and all he had to the king and his countrie, whome the king receiued with all kind of humanitie; and prouided that he ſhould be inſtructed in euerie ſort of vertue and learning, that was to be deſired in ſuch a prince; becauſe the ſaid child was borne of his ſiſters mariage.

The lords and other nobles highlie offended (as well for the death of the lord Hume, as for that they ſaw Anthonie Darcie lord Bautie the French aduanced to greater credit than themſelues, and not onelie to be made warden of the marches, but alſo capteine of Dunbreton, the ſtrongeſt fort of Scotland) began to raiſe tumults in the land. For William Cockborne (vncle of Comarch Lancton) who (expelling the gardians of the pupill) did kéepe the caſtell of Lancton, aſſiſted with the helpe of Dauid Hume lord of Wodburne (whoſe ſiſter the ſaid Cokborne had maried) firſt began a commotion in thoſe parts. For when they ſaw that all means were taken from them openlie to reuenge the ſame, and to ſet vpon Bautie, they determined to performe the ſame (with ſome ſecret deuiſe) by lieng in wait for him.

Buchan. lib. 14

For the caſtell of Langton or Lancton, being kept in the poſſeſſion of Wodburne (and ſuch as toke his part againſt the king) he the ſaid Wodburne appointed ſubtill fellows ſecretlie to enter the caſtell, and to reteine it in the kings name. After which, this Wodburne feining a counterfeit anger (for he was a man full of all ſubtiltie) that this caſtell was ſo iniurioſlie taken from him, and kept to the

Leſleus lib. 9. pag. 387.

kings behoofe, he laid siege to the castell (as though he went about to recouer the same with all the power he could) to the intent that Bautie might be intised to come thither to raise the siege. For which cause Bautie (supposing in truth that the castell had bene kept to the vse of the king) hastening the rescue thereof, came forth of the castell of Dunbar to assemble the men of the countrie to raise the siege, as lieutenant of the borders, he was chased by the said lord of Woodburne and other so fiercelie, that in the end he was slaine, and foure Frenchmen with him: his head was cut from the shoulders, and set vp in the towne of Duns [vpon the castell of Hume] the nintéenth of Januarie.

1517.

Monsieur de la Bautie slaine by the lord of Woodburne. Fr. Thin.

The lords regents were herewith meruellouslie offended, & chose the earle of Arrane to be warden of the borders in de la Bauties place, who was also chosen to be prouost of Edenburgh: therewith the earle of Angus was highlie displeased. But the erle of Arrane, not séeming to passe much thereof, tooke George Dowglas the said earle of Angus his brother, and Marke Kar, committing them to ward within the castell of Edenburgh, because of the fauor he bare vnto the said lord of Woodburne & his complices. Moreouer, for due punishment of the murther of the foresaid de la Bautie, there was a parlement called the nintéenth of Februarie next, in the which, Dauid Hume lord of Woodburne, and his thrée brethren, William Cockborne & John Hume, with diuerse other their partakers, were indicted for the besieging of the castell of Langton, the slaughter of monsieur de la Bautie, and for the setting vp of his head, intercommuning with the Englishmen, and diuers other misdoings.

Parlement called.

The lord of Woodburne indicted.

Immediatlie after the end of this parlement, the earle of Arrane came into the Mers, with a great armie, and hauing with him the kings great artillerie, ment to haue besieged such places as would haue resisted him. But at his being in Lowder, the keies of the castell of Hume were brought vnto him, which on the next morrow he receiued, and put men within it to keepe it, as he did in Langton and Woodburne, which he receiued at the same time. The maister of Hales was also sought for at that time, that hée might haue bene apprehended to answer the slaughter of Dauid Hume, prior of Coldingham, whom he had slaine traitorouslie. A litle before this parlement, the bishop of Dunkeld was returned from the French king with a bond of the league renewed betwixt Scotland and France. And at that same time was one capteine Mores a Frenchman sent forth of France, with a certeine number of men, to receiue the castell of Dunbar into his kéeping, which accordinglie he did, the same béeing deliuered vnto him.

The earle of Arrane commeth into the Mers.

The maister of Hales.

The bond of league betwixt Scotland & France.

Capteine Mores.

1518.

The earle of Lennor, who had béene with the gouernor in France, returned home into Scotland, & with him came a French herald from the king with letters, and maister Walter Steward abbat of Glenluce came likewise from the gouernor. And about that time, because the quéene and lords were aduertised that the French king had contracted new bonds of peace and amitie with the king of England, without making mention of Scotland, they thought themselues euill vsed, being his confederat friends, and therevpon sent sharpe letters to the king of France, and to the gouernor, by Albanie the herald. In the moneth of June, maister Gawen Dunbar, archdeane of saint Andrews, and clearke of the register, was preferred to the bishops sée of Abberden that was vacant by the death of Alexander Gourdon.

The abbat of Glenluce.

The Scots euill vsed at the French kings hands.

This Gawen founded an hospitall in Abberden, and indowed the same with lands for sustenance of twelue poore men, with a prouost to haue care ouer them. He also builded a faire bridge, with seuen arches ouer the water of Dée beside Abberden, and purchased lands for the perpetuall vpholding thereof. He also builded two steeples in the cathedrall church, with halfe of the crosse church, and a faire palace for the small prebendaries, called the chapleins. Moreouer, he bestowed manie rich & pretious ornaments vpon the same church of Abberden, as copes, chalices, and other such like things, which remained there long after. Manie right commendable works were accomplished by this diligent prelat, greatlie to his praise and high renowme; for he spent not the fruits of his benefice in vaine, but on such maner of buildings.

The bishop of Aberden a builder.

The seuentéenth of June, there rose great stur in Edenburgh, by the falling out of the earle of Rothes, and the lord Lindsey, about the inioieng of the chirkewike of Fife, by reason whereof, they were put in ward, the one in Dunbar, and the other in Dunbreton. About the beginning of August, the quéene remaining in Edenburgh, vnderstood that the earle of Angus hir husband, as then sojourning in Dowglas dale, had taken a faire gentlewoman in those parts, and kept hir as his concubine; for the which act she conceiued such hatred against him, that there was neuer no perfect loue betwixt them afterwards. In the beginning of Februarie, there came a clearke as ambassador from the French king with letters, concerning the concluding of the truce betwixt Scotland and England, which message the lords made small account of, because the king had omitted to comprehend Scotland in the league which he lastlie made with England. The seuenth of June, a mad man in Dundee slue in his mad fit a ladie of inheritance, a nun, with two other women, the one of them being great with child, and also two men.

Contention betwixt the erle of Rothes and the lord Lindsey.

The cause of the hatred betwixt the quéene and hir husband.

1519. Lesle

1519. A mad man.

The king of England wrote letters vnto the French king, desiring him to staie the duke of Albanie, that he might not come into Scotland; and furthermore, he laid ships of warre in the pase vpon the seas to watch for his comming, and to take him by the waie as he should passe. In September the king was remoued forth of the castell of Edenburgh vnto Dalkith, for doubt of the pestilence, which was suspected to be in the castell of Edenburgh. And from Dalkith the erle of Arrane rode to Edenburgh to haue bin effsones elected regent & prouost of that towne: but he missed his purpose, for the townesmen would not suffer him to enter, but repelled him backe, so that diuerse were hurt on both sides.

The king of England séeketh to keepe the duke of Albanie forth of Scotland.

The earle of Arrane.

Herevpon, great dissention rose betwixt the said earle of Arrane, and the earle of Angus, because of his repulse in that sute: whereby the whole realme was diuided into partakings, so that sundrie slaughters thereof insued, as of the prior of Coldingham, and six of his men murthered, by the lord of Woodburne at Lamerton, the first of October. About the same time, the king returned to the castell of Edenburgh, and in the towne there were remaining at the same time the earles of Angus, Erroll, and Crawford; the lord Glames, and other; the bishops of saint Andrews, Abberden, Dikenele, and Dublane, with diuerse abbats and other prelats. And in the towne of Glascow was the bishop of Glascows chancellor, with the earles of Arrane, Lennor, Eglenton, and Cassels; the lords Rosse, Sempill, the abbat of Paisley, the bishop of Galloway, and other noble men of the west. Thus the lords were diuided, and would not take anie order for the good gouernment of the common-wealth.

Dissention betwixt the earles of Arrane and Angus.

In December, monsieur de la Falot, and a French clearke called Cordell, with an English herald called Clarencieux, came from the kings of France and

Monsieur de la Falot.

and England, with an ambaſſador alſo from the gouernor, with a concluſion of peace taken for one yeere, betwixt Scotland and England: who comming to Edenburgh, were receiued by the earle of Angus, and the other lords there with him, the which ſent for the chancellor & the earle of Arrane to come thither; but they would not come anie néerer than to Linlithgo. The ambaſſador therefore toke in hand to perſuade, that an aſſemblie might be had in Striueling: but the earle of Angus would not come there. Neuertheleſſe, the ſaid ambaſſadors went thither, where the earle of Arrane and his partakers, as the chancellor and others, receiued them thankfullie, and proclamed the peace, according to the treatie which they had brought, and ſo with courteous anſwer and great rewards licenced them to depart. But in their returne toward England, the earle of Angus with a great number of men met them at Carlauerok, reprouing them sharpelie for their demeanor, and for taking their anſwer of the chancellor, ſo that they were not a litle afraid, leaſt the earle in his diſpleaſure would haue vſed ſome outrage towards them, which otherwiſe than in words it ſhould appéere he did not.

The peace proclamed.

1520. In Januarie, about the keeping of a court at Jedworth, there was raiſing of people betwixt the earle of Angus on the one part, and Andrew Kar the lord of Fernihurſt; in whoſe aid, James Hamilton came with foure hundred Pers men: but the lord of Seſſeford then warden, aſſiſting the earle of Angus his part, met Hamilton at Kelſo with a great companie, and when they were lighted on foot, and ſhould haue foughten, the Pers men left ſir James Hamilton, the baſtard of the earle of Arrane, in all the danger, with a few of his owne men about him, ſo that with much paine he was horſſed, and eſcaped in great danger vnto Hume, with loſſe of foure of his ſeruants which were ſlaine: and on the other part, there was an Engliſhman ſlaine called Kaſe Kar, that came in aid of the warden. On the morrow after, the lord of Fernihurſt, as baliffe to the earle of Arrane, of that regalitie, held his court at the principall place of the forreſt of Jedburgh, and the earle himſelfe held his court likewiſe in an other part of the ſame land, three miles diſtant from the other.

1520. Variance betwixt the earle of Angus and the lord of Fernihurſt.

The thirtieth day of Aprill, the lord of Woodburne, and maiſter William Dowglaſſe, newlie made prior of Coldingham, with their partakers in great numbers, came to Edenburgh to aid the earle of Angus, who was within the towne, againſt the earle of Arrane, and James Beton the chancellor, who were alſo there. But now by the comming of theſe ſuccors, which entered by force at the neather bowe, and ſlue the maiſter of Mountgomerie, ſonne of the earle Eglenton, and ſir Patrike Hamilton knight; the earle of Arrane, and the chancellor, were conſtreined to forſake the towne, & to paſſe through the north loch. [To reuenge this contumelie, the Hamiltons beſieged the cell of Parnocke (which is the caſtell of Cuningham) but they ſhortlie returned backe without doing anie thing againſt them.]

Fr. Thin. Buchan. li. 14.

The one and twentith of Julie, the earle of Angus being in the towne of Edenburgh, George Hume, brother to the late lord Hume beheaded, came thither with the abbat of Coldingham, brother to the earle of Angus, and Dauid Hume of Woodburne, and a great companie of gentlemen, and others, and paſſed to the Tolbuith, where they remained, till the heads of the lord Hume, and of his brother William were taken downe beſide the place where they were faſtened on a tauill, and this was done in preſence of the prouoſt for the time being. The nert day they went to Linlithgo, and from thence to Striueling, in hope to haue found the chancellor, and ſome other of that faction there. But miſſing of their purpoſe, they returned to Edenburgh againe, and cauſing ſolemne funerall obſequies to be kept in the blacke friers, for them that ought thoſe heads, with offerings and bankets, they afterwards returned home to their owne dwellings, without attempting anie other thing for that preſent.

The lord Hume's head taken downe.

In November, the duke of Albanie arriued in Scotland on the weſt parts, at an hauen called Crawach, the nineteenth of the ſame moneth; and on the three and twentith he came to Edenburgh, accompanied with the queene, the archbiſhop of Glaſcows chancellor, the earle of Huntleie, and manie other lords, knights, barons, and gentlemen; and within ſir daies after their comming thither, the prouoſt and baliffes were depoſed, becauſe they had béene choſen in fauour of the earle of Angus, and other appointed in their romes. Then was there a parlement ſummoned to be kept at Edenburgh, the ſix and twentith of Januarie nert following; and on the ninth of Januarie, a generall ſummons of forfalture was proclamed at the market croſſe in Edenburgh, wherein were ſummoned the earle of Angus and his brother, the prior of Coldingham, the lord of Woodburne, the lord of Dalehouſie, John Summerwell of Cawdſtreme, and William Cockborne of Langton, with their complices, to make their appéerance in the ſaid parlement, to be tried for ſundrie great offenſes by them committed.

The duke of Albanie returneth into Scotland. 1521. Buch.

The prouoſt & baliffes of Edenburgh depoſed.

A parlement ſummoned.

1521.

Maiſter Gawin Dowglaſſe biſhop of Dunkeld, hearing of this proclamation, fled into England, and remained in London at the Sauoie, where he departed this life, and is buried in the church there. He was a cunning clearke, and a verie good poet: he tranſlated the twelue bookes of the Aeneidos of Virgill in Scotiſh méeter, and compiled alſo The palace of honor, with diuerſe other treatiſes in the Scotiſh language, which are yet extant. The earle of Angus fearing the ſentence of forfalture to be laied againſt him at the parlement, procured his wife (although there was ſmall liking betwixt them) to labor for his pardon to the gouernor. Whereupon it was agreed, that the earle, and his brother George Dowglaſſe ſhould paſſe out of the realme into France, and there to remaine during the gouernors pleaſure: and ſo they departed into France, and remained there all the nert yéere following.

Gawin Dowglaſſe biſhop of Dunkeld fleeth into England.

The earle of Angus feareth the ſentence of forfalture.

He and his brother baniſhed.

The king of England, hearing that the duke of Albanie was arriued in Scotland, and had taken the rule vpon him, doubting leaſt he ſhould perſuade the Scotiſhmen to aſſiſt the French king, againſt whome, by perſuaſion of the emperor he ment ſhortlie to make warre, ſent his herald Clarencieux into Scotland, to require the duke to depart from thence, alledging, that it was promiſed by the king of France at the laſt enterueiw betwixt them, which chanced the ſummer before, that he ſhould not come into Scotland. And moreouer, whereas the king of England was vncle vnto the king of Scots, he conſidered with himſelfe that by nature he was bound to defend his nephue, as he ment to do; and therefore he thought it not reaſon, that the duke being nert to the crowne to ſucceed, if ought came to the yong king, ſhould haue the gouernement of him, leaſt he might be made awaie, as other yong kings had béene. He further complained, that the earle of Angus ſhould be ſent out of the realme, ſo that he could not inioy the companie of his wife, ſiſter vnto the ſame king of England.

Clarencieux an Engliſh herald ſent into Scotland.

The king of England douteth to haue the duke of Albanie gouernor to the king his nephue.

Clarencieux had therefore commandement, that if the duke refuſed to depart out of the realme of Scotland, he ſhould intimate a defiance with open warre againſt him: which the ſaid Clarencieux did, declaring his meſſage vnto the duke from point to point

Warre denounced by Clarencieux againſt the duke of Albanie.

point at Holie rod house, as he had in commandement. To whome the duke answered, that neither the king of France, nor the king of England should staie him from comming into his countrie. And as touching the king, who was as yet yong in yeres, he loued him as his souereigne lord, and would keepe him, and defend both him and his realme against all other that would attempt to inuade the same, according to his conscience, honor, and dutie. And as touching the earle of Angus, he had vsed towards him all clemencie and mercie, notwithstanding his euill demerits, and that principallie for the quenes cause, whome he would honor as mother to his souereigne lord. This answer being reported vnto the king of England, contented him nothing at all, and therefore prepared to make warre.

The duke's answer.

1522.

The tenth of Aprill, there came seuen great ships into the Forth, vnto Inchkeith, to haue spoiled the ships, and inuade the coast there: but they were so stoutlie resisted and kept off, that they were not suffered to do anie great exploit, and so they returned without preie or prise. In this season, Andrew Forman bishop of saint Andrewes deceassed, and bishop James Beton archbishop of Glascow, chancellor of Scotland, was remoued to saint Andrewes, & made abbat also of Dunfirmling, and the archbishoprike of Glascow was giuen a yong man one Gawin Dunbar, that was the kings schoolemaister. In the moneth of Maie, there was great adoo in Edenburgh, by the falling out of the seruants of the earles of Murrey and Erroll, with the seruants of the earle of Huntleie, by reason whereof, the whole towne fell to partakings; but the duke comming suddenlie from the abbeie of Holie rod house, staied the matter, and committed the said earles vnto ward within the castell.

The death of the archbishop of saint Andrewes. James Beton succeeded him.

A stur in Edenburgh.

The emperor commeth into England. Scots and Frenchmen banished forth of England.

The emperor came into England, and persuaded the king there to moue warres against the French king, and so not onelie the Frenchmen but also the Scots were commanded to auoid out of England, their goods confiscated, and they conueied forth of the land, with a white crosse sowed vpon their vppermost garment. In Julie, the earle of Shrewesburie was sent by the king of England vnto the borders, with commission, to raise the power of the north parts to inuade Scotland, who vpon the sudden entered and came to Kelso, where he burnt one part of the towne; but the borderers of the Mers and Teuidale, not being halfe so manie in number as the other, set vpon them, slue, and tooke manie prisoners, and so constreined them to returne into England with small honor.

The earle of Shrewesburie inuadeth Scotland.

Fr. Thin. Lesleus lib. 9. pag. 400.

* The gouernor after this (when he saw the English ouerrun all the borders of Scotland) called a parlement at Edenburgh, the 9 kalends of August, to cure the same wound. Beside this, the French fearing them selues (because of a prepared and well furnished nauie of the English which did euerie waie couer and keepe the sea) sent manie (and those wise and of excellent knowledge) vnto the gouernor, to request him that he would either by counsell persuade, or by authoritie inforce his Scots to take armor against the English. After which (the matter being with great consultation and manie reasons tossed in argument to and fro) it was decreed by common consent of the parlement, that a chosen number of souldiers should be prepared, to defend the borders from the inuasion of the enimie, & (the more stronglie to repell the English force) it was concluded, that the children of such as were slaine in that expedition, should be freed from all charges or troubles that might light on them during their minoritie: and further, that the wiues of all such which had anie lands (during their liues & fell in that conflict) should after the death of their husbands keepe the same for the terme of fiue yeeres.)

The duke of Albanie, hearing of the great preparation that the earle of Shrewesburie made, to raise an armie of foure score thousand men to inuade Scotland, he likewise (as it was before decreed) sent vnto all the earles, lords, and nobles of the realme, willing them to raise all such power as they could make in defense of their countrie; which they did. And so being assembled, the duke with a mightie armie of Scotishmen and certeine Frenchmen, with great artillerie, marched forward, till he came to the water of Eske ouer against Carleill: and perceiuing that the English armie came not then forward, he did what he could to persuade the noble men to enter into England: but as they were in councell togither about that earnest motion made to them by the duke, a certeine graue personage said to them in this maner.

The duke of Albanie raiseth an armie to inuade England.

The words of a councellor.

My lards, hither we be come by the commaundement of my lard gouernor duke of Albanie, and albeit we be readie to defend our awne natiue realme, contrarie the inuasioun of our auld enimies of Englaund, yet neuertheless it semeth not guid, nor for the weele of our realme of Scotlaund, to passe within Englaund with our armie to inuade the same at this time. And the earnest persuasiouns quhilk the gouernor makes to vs to do the same, procedes alanerlie for the pleasure of France. It appeareth to be sufficient inough for vs so lang as the king our souereigne lard is within age to defend our awn realme, and not to inuade: otherwise, we may put the haile countrie and nobilitie thereof in hazard of tintsall: for king James the fourth brought the realme of Scotlaund to the best that it euer was, and by the war it was brought to the worst almost that might be: for by that warre, was he and his nobilitie tinte, quhilk Scotlaund sare laments. Wherefore by mine aduise, let vs go to the gouernor, and know of him the cause why he wauld persuade vs to inuade Englaund.

Then they all came to the gouernors tent, and the earle of Arrane, an auncient wise man spake for them all, and said: My lard gouernor, by your will and commaundement, heere is assembled the maist of the nobilitie of Scotlaund with their power, vpon a pretense to enter within Englaund. My lards heere wauld know the cause and quarrell why this warre is begun, gif it might please your godnesse, it should well satisfie their minds. The duke studied a little space, and said: This questioun wauld haif bin demaunded per now; for well you know, that I for verie luse I beare to the realme of Scotlaund (of the quhilk I haue my name, honor, and lignage) haike passed the seas from the noble realme of France, into this realme of Scotlaund. And great cause there was for me so to do, to bring you to a vnitie, when ye ware in diuisioun, by reasoun whereof, your realme was like to haue bin conquered and destroied. And also the king of Fraunce, by my suites and intercessioun, will ioine with you in aid against the English natioun: and when this warre was determinate in the parlement, you made me capteine, authorizing me to inuade Englaund with banner displaied. Then was no demaund made of the cause or quarrell, and that I haif done, is by your assent and agreement, and that I will iustifie. But to answer your demaund, me thinke you haif iust cause to inuade Englaund with fire, sword, and blond, gif ye be not forgetfull, and without you will beare dishonor and reproch for euer. For ye know that this realme of Scotlaund is our inheritaunce, as a portioun of the world allotted to our natioun and aunceslors whome we succeed. Then where may there be better warre, than

The earle of Arrane declareth to the gouernor the mind of the lords.

The dukes answer to the earle of Arrane.

cc than to mainteine this our naturall inheritance? Is it not dailie ſéene, the great inuaſiouns that the cc Engliſhmen on vs make, the great manſlaughters and murders, with theſts and ſpoiles that they do cc dailie? Is not this one cauſe of warre? To defend the countrie is the office of a king, the honor of noble men, and the verie ſeruice of chiualrie, and the dutie cc naturall of the communaltie: for I thinke it a iuſt quarrell, gif we might conquer the realme of Eng- cc laund, and anner it to our owne realme, for the great iniuries and wrongs done by that nation vn to vs and cc our predeceſſors. For ſéene the begining of our habi- tatioun in this Ile of Britaine, the Engliſhmen and we haue euer bin enimies, and vs haik they euer ha- cc ted, and yet haue we euer withſtand them. Suppoſe, we at the laſt battell of Floddoun field by chaunce cc loſt our ſouereigne lard, & diuerſe noble men, quhilk was rather by treaſoun of the lard chamberlaine, cc than otherwiſe, who would not relieue the kings ar- mie when he might. And yet I thinke we wan the cc field, quhilk murder all we noble men ought to re- cc uenge. Therefore I wauld that you ſuld couragi- ouſlie aduance your ſelues in this quarrell to get ho- cc nor, and to be reuenged.

1522. The repite of wiſe counſellor.

Then one wiſe man that was preſident of the councell, anſwered the gouernor, ſaieng: My lard, fortune of weir is led by him that all leides, and he ſtrikis the ſtrake, we can warke na meracles, & heare are the lards of Englaund readie to incounter vs. cc And gif we inuade their realme, ſuerlie they will cc fight, for their power ſall increaſe dailie, and ours cc will diminiſh. And gif God graunt vs the victorie (as I truſt he ſall) yet haue we not won the field, cc for readie comming is the earle of Shrewesburie ſa mikell dread in Fraunce (as ye knaw well) with an cc great puiſſant armie, and there is na doubt, but the king of Englaund will ſend or bring another armie cc gif we ſuld chance to get the firſt battell. And gif we get the ſecound field, that will not be without cc great loſſe of manie nobles, by reaſoun whereof, the cc realme ſhall be weaker. And gif we be ouercommen how manie ſuld be ſlaine, God knawes. They that cc flée are worthie to be reputed as traitors to the king, and ſo by wilfulneſſe and fule hardineſſe, the realme cc may be in ieopardie to be vndone. I ſay, while the king is within age, we aught to moue na weir, leaſt by weir we may bring him to deſtructioun.

The gouernors words & the preſidents replie.

Then ſaid the valiant gouernor: Yére is an puiſſaunt armie of Scotlaund, gif we returne, we ſall incourage our enimies. Therefore ſéene you thinke cc it not gude to inuade, my councell is that we campe cc ſtill on the bordures, while we ſée what the Engliſh- men pretends to do againſt our relme. To the which the nobles conſented, and laie ſtill there in campe certeine daies after. After this conference had be- twixt the nobles and the gouernor, the quéene as then being not with them, but aduertiſed of all the procée- dings and determinations, ſent word to the gouer- nor, and deſired him that there might be a treatie of peace had, and ſhe promiſed to get the warden of the Engliſh marches to come to the gouernors campe, vpon pledges, whervnto the gouernor condeſcended.

Meanes made for peace.

The lord Dacres.

Yérevpon, the lord Dacres, warden of the weſt marches of England [with Thomas Mulgraue] came vnto the gouernors campe, and thither alſo at that time was the quéene hir ſelfe come, and ſo vp- on the eleuenth of September, an abſtinence of war was taken and couenanted, that in the meane time the duke and quéene ſhould ſend ambaſſadors into England, to treat and conclude a reſolute peace.

In the moneth of October nert inſuing, there were thrée ambaſſadors ſent into England, accor- ding to the agreement in the laſt treatie, but there were ſo hard and extreame conditions propoued on the king of Englands behalfe, that the ſame could not be accepted, as being contrarie to the honor and weale of the realme of Scotland, as the Scotiſhmen toke the matter. And ſo thoſe ambaſſadors returned without agrément or concluſion of peace: wherevp- on followed great trouble betwixt them of the bor- ders of both realmes. The earle of Northumberland was made warden of the whole marches, but ſhortlie after, he began to make ſute to be diſcharged of that office, & ceaſſed not till he obteined it: and then was the earle of Surreie made generall warden, and the lord marqueſſe Dorſet, warden of the eaſt & middle marches; the lord Dacres continuing ſtill in his of- fice of wardenſhip ouer the weſt marches.

The earle of Northumber- land made lord warden.

The earle of Surreie.

The lord marques Dorſet.

The lord Da- cres.

About the firſt day of March, the ſaid lords came to the borders, about which time, the duke of Albanie conſidering that the warres betwixt Scotland and England were irkſome to the nobles of the realme, becauſe the ſame wars were taken in hand chieflie to ſerue the French kings turne, therefore he paſſed by the weſt ſeas into France. And in the beginning of March, where he was verie hartilie and gladlie re- ceiued of the king, his requeſt was onelie to haue fiue thouſand horſſemen, and ten thouſand footmen of Almains, to be tranſported into Scotland: and doubted not, if he might haue this granted, but that with that power, and the aſſiſtance of the Scots, he ſhould be able to ouerthrow the king of England in battell, or elſe to driue him out of his realme. But the French king neither beléeued this vaine brag, nor yet might ſpare anie ſuch power, hauing warre at that time both againſt England, and the emperor: neuertheleſſe, he promiſed him ſome aid, wherevpon the duke abode and waited for the ſame a long ſea- ſon. In the meane while, the lords of Scotland cau- ſed certeine noble men to lie vpon the borders mo- nethlie, in defenſe of the ſame againſt the Engliſh- men, dailie looking for ſupport from France. Euerie companie remained their moneths, and then depar- ted home as the cuſtome is, and thus they continued ſtill till September following. Much hurt was done on either part, and diuerſe houſes were ouerthrowne and deſtroied both in England and Scotland.

The duke of Albanie goeth ouer into France.

His requeſt.

His vaine brag.

1523.

The borders watched.

During which time, the king of France prepared certeine ſhips, with men, and munition, to paſſe with the duke of Albanie into Scotland. But the king of England, to catch him by the way, had laid a great nauie of ſhips in the paſe on the ſeas, as he ſhould make his courſe. But the duke embarquing himſelfe with his people at Breſt in Britaine, ſai- led by the weſt parts of Scotland: and the one and twentith day of September landed at Kirkowbre in the weſt part of Scotland; he brought with him (beſide a good number of Frenchmen) Richard de la Pole, a man of great parentage, borne in Eng- land, and baniſhed his countrie. Whileſt the duke was on the ſea making ſaile toward Scotland, the earle of Surreie, with an armie of twentie thou- ſand men, entered into Scotland, and comming to Edenburgh, burned the towne and the abbeie. [But Leſleus, lib. 9. pag. 407. ſaith it was Jedworth which the earle burnt.] It was thought they ment to haue paſſed further, but the Scotiſhmen aſſembling themſelues againſt their inuaſions, they were con- ſtreined to returne with loſſe (as ſome Scotiſhmen haue written.)

The duke of Albanie re- turneth into Scotland.

Fr. Thin.

The earle of Surreie in uadeth Scot- land.

Fr. Thin.

✲In this place, Buchanan (before he commeth to the parlement aſſembled by the duke of Albanie af- ter his returne out of France) writeth in this ſort. We haue ſhewed (ſaieth he) how miſerable the ſtate of Scotland was the laſt ſummer (through the diſ- ſention which was amongeſt the nobilitie) by the Engliſh (with all kind of ſlaughter) ſpoiling the places bordering nére vnto them, and beſetting the

Buchanan. lib. 14.

the ſea on euerie ſide, whereby we might be out of hope of all forren aid. For the deuiſe of the enimie tended to compell the fierce minds of the Scots (abated with ſuch euils) to conclude a league with him; wherewith the Scots were not behind (by reaſon of the French faction) that by the means of the quéene there might be a perpetuall truce taken betwéene them. For when the lord Hume was (by death) taken away, the Dowglaſſe baniſhed, and all the reſt of the nobilitie rather mét for companions than leaders in battels; ſuch as had withdrawen their mind from the French, aplied themſelues to the quénes faction.

Wherevpon ſhe (to gratifie hir brother, and to wreſt all the gouernement into hir owne hands) did (diſſembling hir grædie deſire to rule) perſuade them, to deliuer their ſonne (almoſt now paſt childiſh yeares) out of the hands of ſtrangers, and themſelues from the yoke of other mens bondage. For the quæne did well foreſée, that preparation and ſuccor was made, and did come againſt hir huſband, whome before ſhe had begun to hate extreamelie. The king of England alſo did commend and prefer to the Scots the counſell of his ſiſter, by manie letters ſent, and with faire promiſes offered; becauſe he had none other mind, but that a perpetuall friendſhip might alwaies remaine betwéene the adioined kingdoms; the which, as he had at other times deſired; ſo now he moſtlie wiſhed it, not for anie commoditie to himſelfe, but to the end that all men might well perceiue that he would imbrace, defend, and almuch as reſted within his abilitie, ſéeke the commoditie of his ſiſters ſonne by all the means he might. And if the Scots would perſuade themſelues to breake the league with the French, and ioine in amitie with the Engliſh; they ſhould ſhortlie well vnderſtand, that the king of England did not ſéeke after ſouereingtie, glorie, power, or honor; but onelie ſtudied for a concord amongſt themſelues, & a league betwéene their nations. For which cauſe, he would beſtow his onelie daughter Marie vpon James the king of Scotland; by which mariage, the Scots ſhould not be ſubiect to the gouernement of England; but contrarie, the Engliſh vnder the rule of the Scots. For by that means, beſides the quenching of great hatred betwéene the nations (and intercourſe of merchandize, exchange of mutuall curteſies and ioinings in affinitie) there ſhould be an indiſſoluble knot made for the honor of the whole Iland.

And with this, they (for England) remembred the profit and diſaduantage that might riſe to the one from other, by the friendſhip or hatred of either kingdome, and the benefit that they might looke for, from their Engliſh neighbours, more than by anie poſſibilitie they might obteine from their French confederats. For on the one ſide, the Engliſh and they were borne in one continent, brought vp vnder the ſame influence of the heauen, and ſo like in all things, in tong, in maners, in lawes, in decrées, in countenance, in color, and in lineaments of bodie, as that they rather ſéeme one than two nations. On the other ſide, the French are not onelie different from them, by naturall ſoile and clemencie of the heauens; but more ſeuered from them in order and forme of liuing, being further ſuch a people, as if they were enimies vnto them, they could not greatlie hurt them; and if they be their friends they can not greatlie helpe them. But the Engliſh are at hand with men, munition, and monie; when the French, being ſo far off, are onelie with allurements, inforcements, and for their owne commoditie drawen to take their part. Beſides which, there can be no ſuccor from France but by ſea, which the enimie may eaſilie ſtop; and ſo the Scots not able to be ſuccored by them. But from the Engliſh they may haue aid by land with ſpéed, and no man can hinder them thereof. Wherefore they ſhould conſider how diſcommodious (for the diſpatch of their affairs) and how vnapt (for the defenſe of themſelues) it ſhould be, to hang all the hope of their succor vpon the fauor of the wind, and to place the moſt ſuertie of their eſtate in the vnconſtant friendſhip of the vncerteine elements. For (if neuer before) yet at this time the Scots might not onlie perceiue in thought but féele in déed what helpe is to be hoped (in preſent dangers) from abſent friends, when that the Engliſh can not onelie helpe you now, but at this inſtant do alſo kéepe away your promiſed and long expected aid, which they haue ſo beſieged vpon the ſea, that you can receiue no benefit or helpe from them.

After that theſe things were thus laid abroad for the knitting of the Engliſh league, as there were not a few which gaue conſent to that motion, ſo were there manie that ſtiflie argued to the contrarie. For in that aſſemblie, there were manie penſioners of the French faction, who (increaſing their priuat commoditie by the publike detriment) did vtterlie abhor from all peace; beſides whome, there were alſo ſome, which ſuſpected the facilitie of promiſe in the Engliſh: eſpeciallie, ſince the whole eſtate of England did then chiefelie hang vpon the backe of Thomas Wolſeie the cardinall, an euill and ambitious perſon, and who referred all counſels and conſultations to the amplifieng of his owne priuat authoritie and dignitie; and for that cauſe, aplied that and all other things to euerie blaſt of fortune. All our men although they were moued by diuerſe reaſons (as the varietie of diuerſe wits bred diuerſe minds) did yet with like endeuor tend vnto one end, which was alwaies to defend the French league; for they denied, that the ſame ſudden liberalitie of the enimie, could anie way ſort to their benefit; ſince this was not the firſt time that the Engliſh had vſed that policie to intrap vnwarie men: as did Edward the firſt, who (ſwearing and binding himſelfe with all bonds of law, when he was choſen an arbitrator to ceaſe the ſtrife of the kingdome of Scotland) did with great iniurie make a king of Scots at his pleaſure: and of late alſo, Edward the fourth king of England (when he had promiſed his daughter Cecilie to the ſonne of James the third) did (the maid being readie for the mariage) diſſolue the ſame, by taking occaſion of warre through our ciuill diſſentions. According to which, the Engliſh do now alſo ſéeke none other matter, than (caſting a vaine hope before vs to gouerne them, to bring vs into right ſeruitude; and (when we are deſtitute of all forren helpe) to oppreſſe vs with all the power of their kingdome.

Neither is that true alſo (wherein the chiefeſt ſtrength of their ſpéech conſiſteth) that the aid of our neighbors nére at hand, is better or ſurer to vs than further friendſhip. For how may we looke for anie good from thoſe our neighbors, ſince commonlie amongeſt neighbors there neuer want occaſions of diſſention; which oftentimes chance bringeth forth, and the ſtronger (hauing ſmall or no occaſion) will manie times ſéeke to offer: at what time, he which is greateſt in armes, muſt & will appoint lawes of agréement as ſéemes beſt to his liking. Beſide, there was neuer yet ſo ſacred or firme a bond of amitie betwéene adioining kingdoms, which was not oftentimes broken, either by offered or ſought occaſions of diſpleaſure & breach: neither is it to be hoped, that the Engliſh will abſteine from offering violence vnto vs; that haue not ſpared the bloud of ſo manie of their owne kings. For the ſanctitie of leagues, & the religion of an oth, and the faith of compacts and

where the Engliſh haue killed one, the Scots haue murthered ten as the courſe of their hiſtories will well prowne.

and couenants, are in truth firme bonds of amitie amongeſt the good: but amongeſt the wicked, they are nets to intrap others, if occaſion of commoditie be offered for breach of them. All which benefits and iniuries, do dwell in people, whome nærenesse of bounds, conuerſation of language, and not vnlike maner of life hath ioined togither.

And if all theſe things ſhould be far otherwiſe, yet there be two things which we ought ſpeciallie to foreſée and prouide for; whereof, the one is, that we ſpend not our time in vaine by chiding and diſagréement, as perſons drawen into diuerſe factions; the other, that we reiect not our old friends (for this new alliance) before we haue heard what they can ſay; eſpeciallie in ſuch a cauſe (as this) which may not be determined, but by the conſent of the parlement. Vpon which, the French followers did earneſtlie ſtand, that there ſhould not anie thing be done therein; and therefore ſent certeine of the French aid as ambaſſadors about the cauſe. This thus ended, and the comming of the gouernour ſpread abroad, the ſame made manie glad, confirmed the doubtfull thereof, and withdrew others (that were inclined to the Engliſh part) from the ſame opinion they were of.]

The duke immediatlie after his arriuall came to Edenburgh, where he cauſed all the lords of the realme to aſſemble in that towne, where he declared the great loue and affection that the king of France bare to the realme of Scotland, inſomuch as hearing of the ſlaughters, murthers and burnings, practiſed by the Engliſhmen, he thought that he felt the ſame done vnto him, reputing himſelfe one of their members. And for reuenging thereof, he would bée partner with them as their member: for more credit whereof, he ſhewed the kings letter, confirming his declaration. He therefore exhorted them to aſſemble an armie, in reuenge of iniuries & wrongs done to them and their countrie; for he had brought with him monie, men, and artillerie to the furtherance thereof. Hereupon it was concluded, that the armie ſhould aſſemble at Dowglas dale the eighteenth of October: the which concluſion they kept, and from thence they marched to Caldſtreame vpon Twæd, and ſent ouer the water certeine of their great artillerie, with a companie of Frenchmen and Scots, by the guiding of Dauid Car; and being got ouer, they lay ſiege to the caſtell of Warke, which was kept by ſir William Liſle capteine thereof, hauing with him a ſtrong garriſon of Engliſh ſouldiors, and great prouiſion of artillerie, and all things neceſſarie: yet at the firſt aſſault, the vtter barnekin was wone, and the ſaid companie of Scotiſhmen and Frenchmen lay within the ſame, indamaging the caſtell in all they might.

Dauid Car. Warke caſtell beſieged.

The earle of Surrie and diuerſe others of the Engliſh nobilitie, with an armie of fortie thouſand men, were at Anwike, not far diſtant from Warke, and the marqueſſe Dorſet was ſent with a great companie to kéepe the towne of Berwike, for doubt leaſt the ſame ſhould haue béene beſieged. Alſo in the meane time, a new aſſault was made to the inner barnekin of Warke, and the ſame wone likewiſe as the other had béene before. After this was the caſtell aſſailed, and part of it beaten downe with the artillerie lieng on the Scotiſh ſide of the water of Twéd. At which breach, the aſſault was giuen, and the ſame continued, till that through darkneſſe and lacke of light, the aſſailants were driuen to retire. Great ſlaughter was made at that aſſault on both ſides, but eſpeciallie of them within the houſe. The aſſailants ment to haue giuen a freſh aſſault the next day, being the fourth of Nouember: but a ſore and vehement ſtorme and tempeſt of raine chanced that night, ſo that they were conſtreined to leaue off that enterpriſe, and to get themſelues ouer the riuer againe vnto the armie, leaſt by the riſing of the water of Twéd, they might haue béene cut off by their enimies, before they could haue béene ſuccoured.

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The earle of Surrie with an armie of fortie thouſand men.

The marques Dorſet appointed to kéepe Berwike.

Warke aſſaulted.

The Scots and French retire backe ouer the water.

In the meane time, whileſt this ſiege continued, a number of Scotiſhmen made a road into the countrie of Glendale within the Engliſh marches, and burnt and ſpoiled diuerſe townes, caſt downe ſundrie piles, and returned without anie reſiſtance: for the earle of Surrie would ſuffer none of his people to depart from the armie, nor breake order, for feare of more inconuenience. The duke of Albanie lieng on the Scotiſh ſide of Twéd, ſent an herald vnto the earle of Surrie, willing him to call to remembrance, how in his abſence he had inuaded Scotland with fire and ſword: for the which cruell dealing, he required him vpon his honor to come forward, and he would méet him in the confines of both the realmes, and giue him battell. To the which meſſage the earle anſwered, that he had no commiſſion to inuade Scotland at that time, but it onlie to defend. And (as ſome haue reported) he cauſed a ſecret meſſenger to paſſe to the quéene, as then lieng a good way diſtant from the armie, to moue for ſome abſtinence and truce, and further to perſuade the duke to retire home; which he did, ſo that by hir labor, a truce was taken for that inſtant, and afterward confirmed for a longer time: and thus the duke returned with honor (as the Scotiſhmen report.) This truce was well kept all the next winter following, and no inuaſion made, till the moneth of Maie: and then was the erle of Surrie ſent againe to the Engliſh borders, and the lords of Scotland on the other part monethlie laie on their borders by quarters, for defenſe of their countrie, as the vſe is.

Glendale burned by the Scots.

In herald ſent.

A truce.

Sée more of this matter in England.

1524.

On Trinitie ſunndale, being the one and twentith of Maie, fiue hundred Scots entered England, to ſurpriſe the Engliſh merchants, and others, going that day vnto Berwike, where yérelie on that day the faire is kept; and ſo by reaſon therof, they met with diuerſe of them that went to this faire, and tooke to the number of two hundred priſoners, whom they led with them into Scotland. But Hall ſaith, that by the comming of the yong lord of Fulberie to the ſuccors of the Engliſhmen, the Scots were chaſed, and loſt two hundred of their numbers. On the firſt of Julie, ſir William Fenwike, Leonard Muſgraue, & Baſtard Heron, with diuers other, to the number of nine hundred Engliſhmen, entred into the Mers, and began to ſpoile and rob the countrie: but they were ſhortlie compaſſed about with Scotiſhmen, & ſo hardlie aſſailed, that although they fought valiantlie a good while, yet by fine force they were compelled to giue ground, and ſéeke to ſaue themſelues by flight, in which two hundred of them were taken priſoners, and Baſtard Heron with diuerſe other ſlaine. Amongeſt the priſoners, were ſir Raſe Fenwike, Leonard Muſgraue, and diuers other gentlemen of good calling.

Scots enter into England

Engliſhmen inuade Scotland.

Engliſhmen diſcomfited.

Baſtard Heron ſlaine.

1524.

Foure thouſand ſaith Hal.

On the ſeuententh of Julie, the lord Marwell, and ſir Alexander Jordein, with diuerſe other Scotiſhmen in great numbers, entred England at the weſt marches by Caerleill, with diſplaied banners, and began to harrie the countrie, and burne diuers places. The Engliſhmen aſſembled on euerie ſide, ſo that they were farre more in number than the Scotiſhmen, and thereupon ſet fiercelie vpon their enimies, inſomuch that for the ſpace of an houre, there was a ſore fight continued betwixt them. But the lord Marwell like a right politike capteine (as of all that knew him he was no leſſe reputed) ceaſſed not to incourage his people: & after that, by the taking of

The lord Marwell inuadeth England.

of Alexander Iordein & diuers others, they had bin put backe, he brought them in araie againe, and beginning a new skirmish, recouered in maner all the prisoners, toke and slue diuerse Englishmen, so that he returned with victorie, and led aboue three hundred prisoners with him home into Scotland.

In assemblie of the lords.

After this tourneie, there was an assemblie of the lords in Edenburgh, with the duke of Albanie, where some of the lords were of mind that the warre should continue: other thought it not reason, that for the pleasure onelie of France, the realme should susteine such damage, as it had done by those three last yeres wars now passed, and therefore they persuaded peace. Moreouer, there was also much debating of the matter, touching the age and gouernement of the king; some of the lords holding that he was now of age to take the rule vpon himselfe, and that the gardianship or tutorie of a king expired sooner than of another priuate person. The duke of Albanie perceiuing how the lords were diuided amongest themselues, and neither content with his gouernement, nor willing to mainteine the warres which he had so earnestlie persuaded for the pleasure of France, hee declared to them that he wold returne into France, and so taking his leaue of the nobilitie, went to Striueling where the king was, of whome he toke leaue, also giuing vnto him such louing and faithfull counsell, as to his knowledge seemed expedient, and so went into the west countrie, where he toke the seas in September, and sailed forth into France, [neuer to returne into Scotland.]

The duke of Albanie returneth into France. Fr. Thin.

The king of England [before the rumor of the departure of the duke of Albanie] hauing in the moneth of June sent ouer into France, vnto Archembald earle of Angus, that remained there vpon the commandement of the duke of Albanie, persuaded him to come from thence secretlie into England, which accordinglie he did; and being safelie arriued in England, king Henrie procured him to passe into Scotland, that with the assistance of such lords as would be readie to take his part, he might raise war against the duke of Albanie, which sought by all meanes (as the king of England was informed) to destroie him & his: but yer the earle could come into Scotland, the duke was departed toward France. On the six and twentith of Julie, the king by the aduise of his mother, and certeine yong lords, came from Striueling vnto Edenburgh; and three daies after, the quéene toke the whole gouernment of the king vpon hir, and entered into the castell of Edenburgh with the king, where they soiourned the most part of the nert winter. The prouost of Edenburgh was discharged, whom the towne had chosen, and the lord Marwell was appointed by the quæne, prouost in his place. For the performance wherof, there was a parlement also summoned to be holden at Edenburgh the third day of Februarie nert insuing [and the bishop of saint Andrews and Aberden (as saith Buchanan li. 14.) were cast into prison, who after gathering armes (and cursing all others) within the space of a moneth following were reconciled to the king.]

The earle of Angus commeth into England.

The quæne taketh the gouernment into hir hands.

A parlement summoned. Fr. Thin.

The king of England glad to heare that the duke of Albanie was departed into France, sent into Scotland in ambassage one maister John Magnus, and Roger Ratcliffe esquier, to declare vnto the quæne and lords, that he would be content that a truce might be accorded betwirt the two realmes of England and Scotland, now that the duke of Albanie was returned into France, who had bene the onlie procurer of the warres. Herevpon they agréed to take truce to indure for one yére, and in the meane time they appointed to send ambassadors into England to treat vpon a continuall peace, alliance, and amitie to be had betwirt both the realmes. In this meane while, the earle of Angus came into Scotland: and because of the displeasure which the quéene bare him, there insued occasions of great diuisions within the realme. Notwithstanding the quéene by aduise of certeine lords, sent the lord Gilbert earle of Cassels, Robert Cockeborne bishop of Dunkeld, and doctor Mille abbat of Cambuskenneth, ambassadors into England, in the moneth of December; the which were receiued at Greenewich by the king of England the foure and twentith of the same moneth: where the bishop of Dunkeld made an eloquent oration in Latine, declaring the cause of their comming, the which in effect was for intreatment of peace, loue, and amitie betwirt the two realmes: and for the more sure establishment thereof, they required that a mariage might be concluded betwirt their king & the ladie Marie, daughter to the king of England.

Ambassadors into England

A truce taken for one yeare.

This request was well heard by the king, who thereupon appointed commissioners to common thereof with the said ambassadors. Diuerse articles were proponed by the said commissioners on the king of England his behalfe, and in especiall one; which was, that the king of Scotland should renounce the league with the king of France; and that further he should come into England, and remaine there till he came to perfect age to be maried. Because the ambassadors had not commission to conclude so farre, the earle of Cassels returned into Scotland, to vnderstand the minds of the lords and councell in these points, the other remaining at London till his returne to them againe. ✲ Vpon All saints day there was a great motion of wind, with such stormes and tempests of thunder and lightning which suddenlie arose, that the same (ouerthrowing manie priuat houses in Edenburgh, and the pinacle of the tower of Dauid in the same castell) entered into the quéenes lodging with a great flame, which burnt so vehementlie, and went so farre, that it had almost consumed the same; which storme (ouerthrowing the buildings about the chamber of the bishop of Whitchurch) the bishops lodging did yet remaine safe not touched with the violence of the flame.)

Fr. Thin. 1525. Lesleus lib. 9. pag. 414.

Candida Casa.

When the day of the parlement appointed to be holden in the Tolbuith of Edenburgh was come, the king, quæne, and lords, fearing some tumult in the towne to be raised by the earle of Angus, would not passe forth of the castell, but kept the parlement within the same. Archembald Dowglasse earle of Angus, and John Steward earle of Lennor, with diuerse others, to the number of two thousand men, came in the night season vnto Edenburgh, because they durst not enter the towne in the day time, for feare of the gunnes that laie in the castell. The nert day, being the fourtéenth day of Februarie, the said earles with the archbishop of saint Andrews, the bishop of Aberden, that by the quénes appointment had béene kept before in ward, the bishop of Dublane, Calene Campbell, the earle of Argile, and diuerse other lords and barons being in the towne, sent to the castell, alledging that the king was kept as prisoner by the quæne, and iustice suppressed, with great damage of the common wealth; and therefore he desired, that the king might be deliuered vnto them, to be gouerned by the aduise of the three states, and if they refused to deliuer him, they would besiege the castell, and if they wan it, all their liues within should rest at their pleasures, the kings onelie excepted.

The earle of Angus his request.

The quæne, by the counsell of the earles of Arrane and Murrey, refused not onelie to deliuer the king, but sent them word, that except they did depart the towne, they would suerlie discharge all the artillerie

artillerie of the caſtell againſt them. Hereupon, great feare roſe in the towne, ſpeciallie among the burgeſſes, but by the diligence of certeine perſons that trauelled betweene the parties, an aſſurance was taken on either ſide for certeine daies. In the meane time, the earle of Angus cauſed the caſtell to be forſet, that neither meat nor other thing might be ſuffered to be conueied into it, except ſo much as might ſerue for the ſuſtentation of the kings owne perſon. At length, all the parties were agréed, ſo that the foure and twentith day of Februarie, the king came vnto the parlement holden in the Tolbuith in moſt honorable wiſe, with the aſſiſtance of all the eſtates, hauing the crowne, ſcepter, and ſword borne before him, and from thence he was brought to the abbeie, where he remained.

He forſetteth the caſtell of Edenburgh.

The parties are agréed.

In this parlement, there were eight lords choſen to be of the kings priuie councell, the which toke the gouernement of the king and realme vpon them, as theſe: the archbiſhops of ſaint Andrews and Glaſcow, the biſhops of of Aberden and Dublane: the earles of Angus, Argile, Arrane, and Lennor: the quéene was adioined to them as principall, without whoſe aduiſe nothing ſhould be done. From this parlement alſo was the earle of Caſſels ſent, with anſwer to the king of England; who came to London the nintéenth of March. But bicauſe the king had knowledge that the French king was taken at the battell of Pauie, he would not proceéd in the treatie of mariage betwixt the king of Scotland and his daughter, till he had the emperors aduiſe, whome he affirmed to be his confederat friend: and ſo renewing the truce for three yéers and ſix moneths, the ambaſſadors returned into Scotland about the beginning of Aprill next inſuing, without anie contract of mariage at that time. The agréement betwixt the quéene and lords continued not long, for anon after died the biſhop of Dublane or Dunkeld (as ſaith Leſleus) whoſe benefice the earle of Angus obteined of the king for his brother William Dowglas, without the aduiſe of the quéene and other lords. Whereupon the quéene departed and went vnto Striueling, leauing the king with the eale of Angus, who toke the whole rule and gouernment of the realme and king vpon him, and made his vncle Archembald Dowglas treaſuror of the realme, and beſtowed benefices, offices, and all other things, by the aduiſe of his brother George Dowglas, and the earle of Lennor, who aſſiſted him.

Councellors appointed.

Truce renewed.

Fr. Tiſſ. 1521. Leſleus lib. pag. 414.

Leſleus lib. 9. pag. 417.

In this meane time, the archbiſhop of ſaint Andrewes, and the earles of Arrane, Argile, and Murrey, remaining with the quéene at Striueling, alledged that the king was withholden from them by the earle of Angus ſore againſt his will: and therefore they ſent vnto the earle, requiring him to deliuer him. But the earle cauſed the king to giue the anſwer himſelfe, that he would not come from the erle of Angus, albeit he would gladlie haue béene out of his hands if he might; as by ſecret meſſages ſent to ſundrie of the lords, and likewiſe at that time it appéered, for he willed them by priuie meanes to aſſemble an armie, and to come & fetch him out of their hands that thus deteined him. Herevpon ſhortlie after, they raiſed a power, and comming therewith to Linlithgew, purpoſing to paſſe into Edenburgh, that they might get the king out of the earle of Angus his hands: the ſaid earle, with the earle of Lennor and other his aſſiſtants being thereof aduertiſed, came to the field with the kings banner diſplaied, and brought the king with him, although partlie againſt his will.

The king not in his owne power.

The quéene mother in armes.

The earle of Angus his requeſt.

The quéene and ſuch lords as were with hir there in the armie, for the reuerence they bare vnto the kings perſon, and alſo fearing the danger that might chance to them if they buckled togither in a foughten field, they withdrew themſelues to Striueling, and from thence the quéene went into Murrey land with the earle of Murrey, and there remained a long time after. The earles of Arrane and Argile went into the weſt countrie, and the biſhop of ſaint Andrews to Dunfermling: and then the earle of Angus toke vpon him more boldlie the gouernment of the king and realme, and ſent to the biſhop of ſaint Andrews (who was chancellor) for the great ſeale, which was deliuered to them that were ſo ſent for it. The nobles of the realme remaining thus at variance, and diuided among themſelues, there was ſmall obedience of lawes & iuſtice. Diuerſe ſlaughters in ſundrie parts were committed, great theefts & robberies made by the borderers vpon the inland countries. Moreouer, a diuorſe this yéere (as ſome haue ſaid) was ſued before the archbiſhop of S. Andrews, betwixt the quéene, and the earle of Angus hir huſband, and then afterwards ſhe toke to huſband one Henrie Steward, ſonne to the lord of Auendale, the which Henrie was after created by the king lord of Methwen.

The great ſeale deliuered

A diuorſe betweene the quéene and the earle of Angus.

On the foure and twentith of Julie, the king being accompanied with the earle of Angus, the lord Hume, the Karres & others, rode vnto Jedburgh, in purpoſe to haue reformed the miſgouernance of the borderers; but after that they had remained there three daies with little obedience ſhewed towards them, they all returned. And vpon the 29 day of Julie, at the bridge of Melroſſe, the lard of Boclouth, accompanied with a thouſand horſſemen, began to ſhew himſelfe in ſight, whoſe principall purpoſe was to haue taken the king from the earle of Angus and his aſſiſtants, being requeſted and commanded by the king himſelfe ſo to do. The earle of Angus incontinentlie ſent an herald vnto the lard of Boclough, to know what his intention was to do; who anſwered, that he came to do the king honor and ſeruice, and to ſhew his friends and power as the vſe is of the borderers.

1526.

The lard of Boclough his enterpriſe, to take the king from the earle of Angus.

The earle of Angus, with the lord Hume, and the reſt, not being content with this anſwer, becauſe of the great feud betwixt him and the Humes, and the Kars, ſent vnto him a commandement in the kings name to depart, and not to approch néere to the kings preſence, vnder paine of high treaſon. Whervnto he anſwered, that he knew the kings mind well inough & would not ſpare for this commandement to come to his graces preſence. Which anſwer receiued from him, incontinentlie the earle of Angus, the lords Fleming and Hume, the Kars, the lard of Seſſeford, with their friends, alighted on foot; the king remaining on horſbacke, accompanied with the earle of Lennor, the lord Parwell, George Dowglaſſe, and Ninian Creichton, tutor of Sainquhar.

The lard of Boclough lighted alſo on foot, but becauſe the moſt part of his men were of the theeues and outlawes of the borders, commonlie called broken men, vpon their firſt comming to ioining with their ſpeares, they fled, leauing the lard of Boclough with a ſmall number of his owne ſeruants about him in all the danger: yet they defended themſelues verie manfullie, and ſlue the lard of Seſſeford and diuerſe other, on the earle of Angus his ſide: but finallie, oppreſſed with multitude, they were put to flight, and foure ſcore of Boclоughes men ſlaine in the chaſe. After this, the king returned to Jedburgh, and remained there the ſpace of foure daies, and then returned to Edenburgh.

The lard of Seſſeford ſlaine.

The lard of Boclough put to flight.

All this while, the king was gouerned and holden againſt his will, by the earle of Angus and his aſſiſters, although he did not outwardlie ſhew ſo in countenance, but diſſembled the matter as well as he

might, yet perceiuing two enterpriſes to haue quailed that had béene attempted for his deliuerance, he thought to aſſaie the third; and hérevpon, procured the earle of Lennor to aſſemble an armie, with aſſiſtance of the quéene and hir friends, to helpe to deliuer him from the hands of his enimies. The earle of Lennor did ſo, and came with ſuch power as he could raiſe from the weſt parts vnto Linlithgo. The earle of Angus being aduertiſed, that the earle of Lennor was gathering men, ſent to the earle of Arrane for aid, requiring him to come with ſuch power as he could make, and to méet him at Linlithgo. The earle of Arrane immediatlie hérewith gathered a power, and with the ſame came to Linlithgo before the earle of Lennor came thither, who ſhortlie after comming with his people, approched that towne, vnto whome the earle of Arrane ſent a meſſenger, requiring him to turne and ſaue his enterpriſe, aſſuring him, that albeit he was his ſiſters ſonne, he would not ſpare him, if he held forward vpon his iournie. The earle of Lennor hérewith anſwered in a great rage, that he would not ſtaie, till he came to Edenburgh, or elſe die for it by the waie. The earle of Arrane therefore not ſtaieng for the earle of Angus his comming from Edenburgh, iſſued forth of Linlithgo at the weſt end of the towne, and incountered the earle of Lennor and his companie, where there was a cruell onſet giuen on both ſides, but ſuddenlie the earle of Lennor his companie fled, and he himſelfe with the lord of Hunſton and diuerſe other gentlemen were ſlaine.

The earle of Lennox gathereth a power.

The earle of Arrane gathereth a power.

The earle of Lennox ſlaine

Fr. Thin. Buchan. lib. 14.

The death of which Dowglas the king did greatlie lament, and hearing the clamor and noiſe that was made in that conflict, did ſend forth (but all to late) Andrew Wood (his familiar) to haue ſuccored the Lennor, if by anie meanes he could. After this victorie, the faction of the Dowglaſſes (to the end that ſtriking a feare in thoſe that were enuious againſt them, they might make them alwaies to be in danger to them) began to moue queſtions and ſutes in law, againſt ſuch as had borne armor againſt the king: for feare whereof ſome bought their peace with monie, ſome tooke part with the Dowglaſſes, ſome followed the Hamiltons, and ſome ſtillie ſtanding in the matter, were followed and called into the law. Of which number Gilbert earle of Caſſiles (when he was earneſtlie preſſed by James Hamilton the baſtard, to yéeld himſelfe to the part of the Hamiltons) being a man of great ſtomach, gaue this anſwer, that the old league of friendſhip, which was betwéene their grandfathers (in which his grandfather was alwaies the more honorable and firſt named) ſhould not make him now ſo forgetfull of the honor of his familie, that he would ſéeme to degenerat from his anceſtors, and willinglie grant to be vnder defenſe (which is the next degrée of ſeruitude) of them, whoſe head in making an equall league and couenant was contented with the ſecond place of honor.

Wherefore, when the ſaid Gilbert apéered in the law at the day appointed, for the deciding of his cauſe: Hugh Kennedie his kinſman anſwered for him, that he was preſent in that battell, as ſent thither by the king, and not as enimie to the king, and he would (if néed required) bring forth the kings letters therfore, notwithſtanding the Hamiltons frowning and fretting againſt his boldneſſe: for the king had written as well to Gilbert (going home) as to manie others, to ioine with John Steward earle of Lennor, who ſéeing the battell at hand, and that he had not time left to call togither his friends and followers, did with his preſent companie (taking his iournie out of the waie) turne to Striueling. Wherfore (the power of the Hamiltons in that cauſe ſomewhat ſuppreſſed) James Hamilton the baſtard ſtirred with great hatred againſt Kennedie, did procure Hugh Campbell ſhirriffe of Aire to diſpatch him out of the waie, which he ſhortlie after did in his returne home. Afterward this Hugh, to the end he might diſſemble his conſcience or knowledge of this euill (the execution wherof he had committed to his fellowes) was remaining at the day and time of the ſame murther, with John Areſkine, whoſe ſiſter was the wife of Gilbert Kennedie.

The death of the earle of Caſſiles.

But ſhe (as ſone as ſhe heard of that déed) did with manie bitter words lay the fault vnto him, becauſe by that fact the noble houſe of the Kennedies had almoſt béene brought to vtter ſubuerſion, had he not left a yong ſonne behind him. This yong earle, after the death of his father, fled to his kinſman Archembald Dowglaſſe then the kings treaſuror, to whome he committed the defenſe of himſelfe and his familie. This done, Hugh Campbell was called into law for the ſaid déed, who being manifeſtlie conuicted thereof, was baniſhed into an other place. Neither did the Dowglaſſes with leſſe bitternelle exerciſe their anger againſt James Beton, for bringing their power to ſaint Andrewes, which they ſpoiled, as after appéereth.)

In the meane time, the earle of Angus bringing the king with him, arriued, and had come to the battell, but that the king was not willing to come forth of Edenburgh in that quarrell (as ſome haue written) and therefore made excuſes, as he did alſo by the waie, fayning himſelfe ſicke: but George Dowglas droue and called vpon his horſſe verie charpelie, and conſtreined him to ride forth with faſter pace than he would haue done, giuing him manie iniurious words, which he remembred afterwards, and would not forget them. They went that night to Striueling, and ſhortlie after paſſed through Fife, ſearching for the quéene, and the biſhop of ſaint Andrewes; and becauſe they were kept ſecretlie in their friends houſes, ſo that they could not be heard of, they ſpoiled the abbeie of Dunfirmeling, and the caſtell of ſaint Andrewes, taking awaie all the moueables which the archbiſhop had within the ſame.

The quéene ſought for.

✠ In the north parts alſo, the two families of the Leſlées and the Forboiſes, intangled with mutuall hatred, raiſed great flames of tumults and parts taking: which enimities did after grow to be the greater, becauſe there were dailie manie ſlaughters of the nobles & other people committed in Mar, Garreoth, and Aberden, whileſt ech faction labored to defend it ſelfe againſt the others. For which cauſe (when the common-wealth was much deformed thereby, and all iuſtice ſæmed almoſt vtterlie ouerthrowne in thoſe parts) the earle of Angus and other of the nobilitie (which were of the kings priuie councell) did not ceaſſe, vntill they had made vnitie betwéene thoſe two families. But in the end (the heire of the Forboiſes, & the lord Lenturke, hauing by wait killed the noble baron Meldrume, which fauored the Leſlées) thoſe buried contentions began againe to be raiſed from the dead; whoſe enimities being once againe knowne to the nobilitie (and what hurt might inſue thereof to the common ſtate) they attempted all poſſible meanes once more to quench that deadlie flame, and afreſh to ioine their minds togither in amitie, with this prouiſo, that the murtherers of Meldrume ſhould (for punilhment of their offenſe) be baniſhed into France, where the greateſt part of them died, after manie miſeries and reproches ſuſtained in their pitifull life. Which laſt league ſo ſincerelie vnited betwéene the Forboiſes and the Leſlées, was imbraced with ſuch faith ech to other, by renewing thereof with continuall mariages & other courteſies, that it continueth moſt firme euen vnto this day.

Fr. Thin. Leſleus lib. 9. pag. 423.

1526.

In

1520. Leſleus lib. 9. pag. 423, 24, &c.

In which north parts alſo, the inhabitants (partlie following their naturall diſpoſition, and partlie excited by the example of the former times long ſuffered ſo to be vſed) did in like ſort ouerrun and ſpoile all things, by reaſon of ouermuch libertie. But of all other ſturs raiſed in thoſe parts, that was the greateſt and moſt troubleſome, which was raiſed by the Makintoſches. Of which vnrulie people, the one familie was called the Glenchattens, and the other was ſurnamed Makintoſches after the head of that kindred; in which, the chiefe was called Lachlane Makintoſche a man of great poſſeſſions, and of ſuch excellencie in ſingularitie of wiſedome, that with great commendation he did conteine all his followers within the limits of their dueties, more than others did. Which conſtreints (when they could hardlie beare (as loth to liue in order) hauing ſo long paſſed their time licentiouſlie) did withdraw the hearts of manie men from him. Amongeſt whome was James Malcolmeſon his kinſman (who thirſting after the deſire to rule) toke occaſion (by the inſurie of the time) traitorouſlie with deceipt to kill this Makintoſche; after which (fearing further trouble to inſue towards him) he flieth to the Ile (at the lake Rothmurcoſie) as a ſanctuarie or defenſe for him. But the reſt of the familie of the Makintoſches did purſue him with ſuch eager minds, that by force taking him in the Ile, they worthilie killed him, and manie of his confederats, guiltie of that wickednelle. After which (becauſe the ſonne of Makintoſche, for his tender yeares, was not ſufficient with feare & puniſhment to bridle the minds of his fierce ſubiects) by common conſent they choſe the baſtard brother of the ſlaine man (called Hector Makintoſche) to be head and leader of that familie, vntill this yong nephue might grow to yéeres, and might weeld the gouernement of his owne tribe.

Rothmurcoſie

New tumults in that familie.

Now when when the earle of Murreie perceiued that if the ſonne of Makintoſche were committed to the raſhneſſe of a people ſomewhat fierce and cruell, that he ſhould (on euerie ſide) be oppreſſed with manie troubles, he did moſt godlie (for the care he had of him his nephue being his ſiſters ſonne) prouide, that he ſhould be caried to an other place, to the Dgiluies, the childs kin on the mothers ſide, where he ſhould be well inſtructed and imbued with the precepts of all learning and vertue. Whereat Hector was greatlie offended, to ſée that the child ſhould ſo ſubtilie be taken from him. Wherefore (affirming that much of his authoritie was thereby diminiſhed) he attempted (euerie way he might) to get the child againe into his poſſeſſion, that thereby he might ſalue and recouer his credit and authoritie. But ſome there were, which ſuppoſed that the great care and labor which he ſo much emploied (for getting the child into his hands) was to none other intent, but that he might make him awaie, and prepare a path whereby to lead his owne ſonne to the gouernement of that familie. Which conceipt being déeplie grauen in the mind of the earle of Murreie, cauſed him to ſéeke the preſeruation of the child, that by no means he might fall into the hands of Hector.

Therewith Hector being highlie incenſed (and determining to ſpue out his choler, ſéeking reuenge by anie kind of means) he did cauſe his brother William & other of his kindred, that ioining their force, they might ſtronglie ver the earle of Murreie, and ſpoile his poſſeſſions: which they did with ſo great furie, that ouerthrowing the fort of Dikes, and beſieging the caſtell of Tornewaie, they executed manie cruelties, ſlaughters, ſpoiles, burnings, and other miſchiefes vpon all ſorts of people, men, women, and children, and all ſuch as fauored them. For their hatred not limited againſt the earle of Murreie, extended further againſt the familie of the Dgiluies, amongeſt whome the child was left in cuſtodie for educations cauſe. With which mind this Hector and his complices placing their campe at the caſtell of Pettens, which belonged to the lord of Durnens (one of the familie of the Dgiluies) they did ſo furiouſlie beſiege the ſame, as the people of the ſame were in the end forced to yéeld the fort: which when they had entred, they killed foure and twentie of the Dgiluies, whom they found therein. Wherupon (their minds being now aduanced with ſpoiles and happie ſucceſſes) they became ſo proud, as (truſting ouermuch to proſperous euent in all their actions) they neuer ſet end to their wicked crueltie, vntill the erle of Murreie did with force execute iuſt iudgement vpon them. For when the earle beheld them immoderatlie reioiſing, in ſpoiling his lands, and committing other exceſſiue euils; he obteined of the king and his councell, that he might be made the kings deputie and gouernor in that battell, to bridle the rage and boldneſſe of thoſe in that order ſpoiling the common-wealth.

Wherefore the earle aſſembling an armie, did with ſuch ſpeedie valure come vpon them and their countrie, that at the firſt he toke almoſt two hundred of their capteins, and committed them to the gallowes. All whoſe faith was ſo true to their capteine, as (when life was ſcuerallie promiſed to euerie one man as he was alone lead to the gallowes) there would not anie one of them confeſſe where their capteine Hector had hidden himſelfe. For euerie one anſwered (with bold ſpirit) that they knew not where he was become; and if ſo be they did, that yet they would not (by anie paine or terror of death) be induced to breake their faith and to betraie their maiſter. But hanging not being thought a ſufficient reuenge (for ſuch capteins as the earle had taken) there were more grieuous puniſhments laid vpon William Makintoſche (brother to Hector) becauſe in the beginning he nouriſhed thoſe coles of choler for his brothers cauſe. For after that this William was hanged, his head was chopped off and faſtned vpon a pole at Dikes, and the other foure parts of his bodie were ſent to the townes of Elgin, Foreſſe, Inuerneſſe, and Alderne, there to be ſet vp publikelie to the reproch of them, and the example of others.

wonderfull faith of euill men to their capteine.

The familie of Makintoſche raiſe ſeditions.

Now, after all theſe ſturs, Hector (ſeeing his men were thus diſperſed and executed, and that himſelfe was excluded from anie other ſuccor) fled to the faithfull helpe of Alexander Dunbar deane of Murreie, by whoſe aduiſe he goeth humblie and ſecretlie to the king, beſeeching his mercie and fauor to be extended vnto him: for he ſuppoſed it better, rather to craue the doubtfull mercie of his lord, than to make triall of the earle of Murreis certeine reuenge. Wherevpon the king (ſeeing his humble ſubmiſſion) receiued him into his fauor; and did with all his heart louinglie after embrace him, becauſe he was valiant and wiſe in warre, and in counſell. But God, whoſe iuſtice is alwaies ſhewed in puniſhing of wickednelle, would not ſuffer this filthinelle of crueltie, theft, murther, & ſpoile (wherewith Hector did wickedlie defile his life) to go vnreuenged with moſt grieuous paine vpon the ſaid Hector. For in the citie of ſaint Andrews, ſudden death (than which there can be no greater puniſhment) was laid vpon him by one James Spenſe a prieſt, who was himſelfe afterwards beheaded.

When the earle of Murreie had ſhewed ſuch reuenge vpon the freends of Hector and their companions; the people of the prouince of Glencatten did from thenceforth keepe themſelues within the limits of their duetie: vntill that the ſonne of Lachlane

lane Makintosche came to mans estate and full age. Which yong man was in his first yeares imbued with such learnings and policie of life conformed thereunto, that when he was imploied about the common-wealth; all the capteins of them (who naturallie speake Irish in the furthest part of Scotland) did embrace him as a perfect paterne of all vertue, and an excellent workemaister to frame a well ordered state. Wherefore certeine (not able to sustеine the brightnesse of his vertue) did ioine in counsell with such as were nèerest of blood vnto him, and had before laid violent hands on his father, to take his life away by forceable means. Whereof we shall more liberallie intreat in an other place.]

This yeare the king by counsell of the earle of Angus, Arrane, and others, went with eight thousand men vnto Jedburgh, to set some order amongest the borderers, for the keeping of better rule: and so on the eight of June, the principals of all the surnames of the clans on the borders, came to the king, binding themselues, and deliuering pledges for their good demenors. The seuentеenth of Julie, there was a great assemblie of the lords at Holie rod house, at what time, there came a simple fellow (to loke vpon) seruant and horskeeper sometime to the earle of Lennor, who in the midst of a great companie of people in the abbeie close, strake sir James Hamilton knight verie desperatlie with a short prage or dagger in the bellie three seuerall stripes vp to the hast, and yet the said sir James died not of those hurts.

1527. Lesle.

Sir James Hamilton hurt by a desperat person.

The man being taken, by & by confessed the deed
" without repentance, saieng; Fy on the feeble hand
" quilke wald not do that thing the heart thought, and
" was determinat to do. And being inquired what he was, and who caused him to do the same; he answered that he was a seruant of God, sent by him to do that deed. And albeit he was put to great torture and paines dailie by the space of a moneth, yet would he neuer giue other answer, and so he was hanged, and his head set ouer one of the gates of Edenburgh towne. About the same time, there came out of Germanie maister Patrike Hamilton, abbat of Ferne, brothers sonne to the earle of Arrane, who had beene scholer to Martin Luther, & others there. This man being conuented and examined vpon certeine articles, as of iustification, predestination, of frée will, and such like, contrarie to the doctrine taught by the church in that time, because he did affirme, and constantlie defend them, he was declared an heretike and burned.

The abbat of Ferne burnt.

The eightеenth of March, the king besieged the castell of Edenburgh, the quеene and hir husband Henrie Steward, with James his brother being within it. But as soone as the quеene vnderstood, that hir sonne the king was there in person, she caused the gates to be set open, and vpon hir knées besought him of grace for hir husband and his brother, and would not rest, till she had obteined the same; but yet they were kept in ward within the castell, till the king afterwards released them. In the yeare following, the king being now come to the age of seuentеene yeares, and of good discretion and wit for his time, would not longer remaine vnder the gouernement of the earle of Angus and his companie. Whereupon he assembled diuerse noble men of Striueling, & by their counsell sent an herald vnto the earle of Angus & his assistans resiant as then in Edenburgh, commanding them on paine of high treason, that they should depart forth of that towne, & that none of them should come within foure miles of the court, whersoeuer the same chanced to lie.

Edenburgh castell besieged. 1528 Lesle.

The king being seuentеene yeares of age, refuseth to be longer vnder gouernement.

Shortlie after, the king himselfe with two thousand men, followed the herald: whereupon the earle of Angus (both being charged by the herald, and aduertised of the kings comming toward the towne, departed thence immediatlie. And shortlie after, the same herald was sent vnto him againe with commandement from the king, that he should remaine prisoner within ward in the countrie of Murrey, till the kings pleasure were further knowen: which he would not obeie; wherefore both he and his adherents were summoned to appeare in parlement to be holden at Edenburgh, in September next following. In this parlement begun at Edenburgh the first of September in this yeare 1528, the earle of Angus, with his brother George Dowglas, his vncle by his father Archembald Dowglas, Alexander Drommond of Carnocke, and diuerse other, were by decrée of parlement atteinted, and forfalted for diuerse offenses, and speciallie, for assembling the kings people to haue assailed the kings person: and because he had deteined the king against his will with him the space of two yeares and more, all which time he stood in feare of his life.

1528.

The earle of Angus forfalted.

The earle of Angus atteinted by parlement.

Henrie Steward created erle of Methwen.

In this parlement Henrie Steward the quеenes husband was created lord of Methwen, and made maister of the ordinance. ✻ Besides which, in place of earle Dowglas was Gawin Dunbar, the kings schoolemaister made chancellor, a good and a learned man, and one in whome manie did desire more ciuill policie; and in the place of Archembald Dowglas the treasurer was admitted Robert Carnicruce, more famous for his monie than his vertue. In this parlement there was onelie one found, called John Bannatine, who fauoring the Dowglas, did boldlie there protest, that what soeuer was therin don, ought by no meanes to be hurtfull to the earle Dowglas; since iust feare of his appearance there, was a iust cause to force him to be absent from thence. Within a few daies after, a brother of the earles called William, abbat of the monasterie of Holirod died, partlie by sickenesse, and partlie by griefe of mind, being wearied with the present state of things; whose place Robert Carnicruce, a man of base birth, but well monied, did obteine of the king: who had granted vnto him the auoidance of the next spirituall liuing. At length, the Dowglas out of hope of all good successe, burnt the townes of Constandie and Cranstoune, and so fled to the castell of Tantallon.]

Fr. Thin. Buchanan. lib. 14.

In October following, the king assembled a great companie of men, with artillerie, and diuerse kinds of munition, to besiege the castell of Tantallon, which the earle of Angus did hold, who aduertised of the preparation made for the same siege, furnished the castell with men and all kind of necessaries, and went himselfe into England. When the siege then was laid about the castell, it was so strong and so well prouided, that it might not be woone for all that could be done at that season: in somuch that after Dauid Fauconer, principall gunner of the kings side was slaine, the king caused the siege to be raised; yet at length (though not till a long time after this) it was deliuered to the king by appointment. ✻ Before the deliuerie whereof, the king depelie sware that he would not leaue one aliue to succeed in the inheritance and name of the Dowglasses, so long as he liued and was king.

The castell of Tantallon besieged.

Dauid Fauconer slaine.

Fr. Thin. Buchanan. lib. 14.

Where vpon he came to Edenburgh, where (to the end he might distresse them the more) he determined by the aduise of his councell to send a dailie companie (though no great number) to Coldingham, which should defend the husbandmen from the spoile. Which office appointed to Bothwell chiefe of Louthaine, he did vtterlie refuse; either fearing the power of the Dowglas (whereunto all the other strength of Scotland did of late not seeme to be equall) or that he would not (being then yong) imbrue his hands with the destruction of so famous a familie. Wherevpon,

since

ſince the king durſt not truſt the Hamiltons (as friends to his enimies, & being offended with them for the death of John Steward earle of Lennor, nor durſt commit the matter to anie of the adioining nobilitie) at length the ſame came ſo about, that Calene Campbell (dwelling on the furtheſt borders of the kingdome, being a man of good eſtimation for his wiſedome, and approued experience in feats of warre, and for his iuſtice dærelie loued of the people) was ſent by the king (with great authoritie) to the rebels. Whereby the Dowglaſſes (being forſaken of the Hamiltons and their other friends) were brought to thoſe extremities, that they were inforced to depart into England to K. Henrie the eight, who honorablie and liberallie receiued and interteined them. After this, the king (as is ſaid) getting the caſtell of Tantillone by compoſition, did ſcarſe kæpe all the couenants of his grant thereof in writing; although he performed this, that Alexander Drumman at the requeſt of Robert Bretton, had licence to returne home into his countrie, a little before which (as it ſæmeth) when James Coluille and Robert Carnicruſe were remoued from the court (as perſons ſuſpected to fauor the Dowglaſſes) their offices were beſtowed vpon Robert Bretton, then in great fauor with the king and courtiers, and aduanced to the gouernement of manie places.)

1529. The eightæenth of Maie, in the yære 1529, the earle of Cathneſſe and the lord of Sincler, with a great armie by ſea paſſed into Orkenie, to haue taken that Ile into poſſeſſion; but the people of the countrie aſſembled at the commandement of James Sincler of Kirkewall their capteine, who gaue battell to the earle and his armie with ſuch courage, that he diſcomfited the enimies: the earle with fiue hundred of his men was ſlaine, and drowned in the ſea, vnto the which they were driuen. The lord Sincler and all the reſidue were taken. The Orkenie men held opinion, that their patrone ſaint Magnus was ſæne that day to fight in the field on their ſide againſt their enimies. In the ſame moneth on the fiftæenth day, there was a great aſſemblie of the lords in Edenburgh, where the king himſelfe ſate in iudgement. The lard of Hinderland called Cockburne, and one Adam Scot of Tulhlaw, who was named king of thæues, were accuſed of theft, and of receiuing and maintæning of thæues, ſlaughters, and other crimes; of the which being conuict, they loſt their heads, which were ſet ouer the Tolbuith of Edenburgh.

On the ſame day, the earle of Bothwell was alſo conuict, for mainteining them and their crimes, and his life, lands, and goods, were in the kings hands. He was therefore kept in ward within Edenburgh caſtell, and after ſent into Murrey land, & laſtlie baniſhed the realme during the kings daies [and remained at Uenice.] Alſo, the lord Parwell, the lord Hume, the lards of Balglueth, Fernihurſt, Pollort, Johnſon, Parke Bar [with the earle Bothwell] and other principall men of the borders, were conuict by aſſiſe, and put in ward: by reaſon whereof, the borderers kept better rule euer after, during the kings reigne. [Few moneths after, the king commanded the noble men (before impriſoned, and then to be baniſhed) to be reſtored to libertie, taking pledges for their allegiance. Of which companie, one Walter Scot (killing Robert Johnſtone a thæfe of noted crueltie, therwith to gratifie the king) began deadlie enimitie with that familie, to the great hurt of both thoſe kinreds.]

About this ſeaſon, a landed man named John Scot, that had trauelled abroad in the world [ouer England, France, Italie and the holie land, as ſaith Leſleus] who now being returned into Scotland, (becauſe it was bruted in other countries that hæ had faſted 40 daies without either meat or drinke) was for triall therof put in Dauids tower in Edenburgh caſtell, and diligent watch ſet vpon him to ſæ that he had no ſuſtenance to relieue him withall, and ſo kept for fortie daies, he faſted all that time without anie kind of nouriſhment, to the great wonder of the people. In the ſummer of this yære 1529, Archembald Dowglas, that had bæne forfalted (as ye haue heard) came alone to the king while he was on hunting in Striueling parke, & beſought his grace of pardon, which he had obteined fullie at his hands, becauſe he fauoured him more than anie of that ſurname, if he had not bæne (as he was indæd) altogither determined that none of them ſhould remaine within the land at that time, and ſo he baniſhed him into France, where ſhortlie after through griefe of mind he departed this life.

1529. Archembald Dowglas baniſhed.

In the moneth of June, the king with an armie went to the borders to ſet order there for better rule to be kept, and to puniſh ſuch as were knowen to be moſt culpable. And herevpon he cauſed fortie and eight of the moſt notable thæues, with their capteine John Armſtrong to be apprehended; the which being conuict of murther, theft, & treaſon, were all hanged on growing trees, to the example of other. There was one cruell thæfe amongſt the reſt, which had burned a houſe with a woman and hir children within it: he was burned to death. George Armſtrong, brother to John, was pardoned, to the end he ſhould appeach the reſidue, which he did; ſo that they were apprehended by the kings commandement, and puniſhed for their miſdoings, according as they had deſerued. In Auguſt following, manie merueilous ſights were ſæne about Striueling, as candels burning on the tops of hils in the nights, and in the morning afore ſunne riſing. Diuerſe armed men appeared fighting vpon the ground, which was taken to be a foretoken of ſome trouble to inſue in thoſe parties. The fiftæenth day of Auguſt, a great number of people being aſſembled at the market in Campſconneth, fiftie & two perſons were drowned in the ferrie bote; amongſt the which were diuerſe honeſt men and women of the countrie.

The king commeth to the borders.

Thæues hanged.

A thæfe burnt to death.

Wonders ſæne in the firmament.

A ferrie bote drowned.

1530. The firſt of March, in the yære 1530, the abbat of Cuiroſe called James Inglis, was cruellie murthered by the lord of Culliallan and his ſeruants, amongſt whom there was a prieſt called ſir William Louthien, for the which they were apprehended, and the ſaid ſir William the twentie and ſeuenth of the ſame moneth, vpon a publike ſcaffold in Edenburgh was degraded (the king, quæne, and a great companie of people being preſent) and after his degradation, he was deliuered to the earle of Argile high iuſtice, and the next day the ſaid Culliallan and the ſame prieſt were beheaded. This yære the colege court of iuſtice called the ſeſſions was inſtituted in Edenburgh by the king, with conſent of the three eſtates in parlement aſſembled, and after confirmed in Rome; in the which are fiftæne councellors ordinarie, eight of them being ſpirituall perſons, of the which the moſt ancient is preſident, and ſeuen temporall men, but ſo as by this number the chancellor of the realme is aboue the preſident, when he is preſent. There are alſo foure councellors extraordinarie, remoueable at the princes pleaſure. In the yære 1531, I find little done to make account of, for the erle of Angus remaining in England, could not perſuade the king of England in his fauor to breake the peace with Scotland, though the ſame earle earneſtlie laboured to bring that to paſſe.

In abbat murthered.

The ſeſſions inſtituted.

1531.

✻ The earle of Bothwell, for that he went priuilie into England (being ſuppoſed to haue had ſecret conference with the earle of Northumberland) he was the 16 kalends of Februarie committed to the

Fr. Thin. Buch. lib. 14

1532.

The earle of Cathnes paſſeth ouer into Orkenie.

The earle of Cathneſſe ſlaine.

The blindnes of the Orknie men.

An aſſemblie of the lords.

King of thæues.

Execution.

The earle of Bothwell conuict.

Fr. Thin. Baniſhed the realme.

Fr. Thin. Other lords conuict, and put in ward.

Fr. Thin. Buchan. lib. 14.

John Scot faſted fortie daies without receiuing any food.

1231. Buch.

castell of Edenburgh, & sir John Sandland knight was sent with authoritie to the hermitage (a castell in Liddesdale) to represse the spoiles and robberies committed there. When of ancient time there had béene no certeine daies and place appointed for the deciding of monie, contentions, or debts amongest the citizens and people of Scotland, John duke of Albanie obteined from the bishop of Rome, that a yearelie summe of monie (as much as should be sufficient to paie the stipend of a few iudges that shuld be appointed therefore) should be leuied of the cleargie, of euerie one according to his estate and substance. Wherupon Galwin Dunbar bishop of Aberden for himselfe in the name of the cleargie, appealed to the said bishop of Rome. Which controuersie continued from the fift Ides of March, vntill the tenth kalends of Maie, at which day the college of the iudges of Edenburgh was established, of whom in the beginning there were many profitable things done, and law was equallie ministred; but yet the same end did not follow which was then hoped amongst them. For since in Scotland there be almost no lawes but such as are decréed by parlement, which are not commonlie perpetuall, but made for a time; and that the iudges as much as in them lieth do hinder the making of such lawes: the goods of all men were committed to the arbitrement of fiftéene men, which haue perpetuall power therfore, being in truth but tyrannicall gouernment, since their onelie arbitrements must stand for law. Thus much Buchanan.

But bicause Lesleus treateth in more ample and other sort of that matter; and for that I will not depriue the reader of the seuerall writings of them both touching one thing: I will also set downe Lesleus words, writing in this order. In this parlement (saith he) by the consent of the states, it séemed good that the forme of iudgement vsed by our ancestors should be taken away. For where certeine of the cleargie, of the barons, and of the citizens, were chosen euerie yeare to trauell ouer the foure parts of the realme, to giue iudgement of ciuill causes (as they terme it) and of other things intangled with the controuersie of law: and that then it oftentimes happened, either by the ignorance of the iudge that did not atteine to the perfection of the law, or by the malice of them which were corrupted with bribes, that the worser part had vniustlie the vpper hand against the righter; to which discommoditie this was also ioined, that no cause could be well examined to the vttermost by one man at one time, bicause the iudges were so often changed; whereby it must néeds folow, that seuerall iudges (hauing seuerall minds and wits) must for one matter giue inconstant & contrarie iudgements. Wherefore to take awaie this varietie of iudgements and other discommodities, wherewith the common-wealth was afflicted; it pleased the parlement by the persuasion of the king, that a certeine defined number of senators (being persons of the greatest knowledge in law) should haue a permanent place at Edenburgh, to decide all matters of controuersie, the maner & order whereof we haue set downe in our former booke, saith Lesleus. And I for my part thinke not vnmet for the more explaning thereof, to set it downe in this place out of the same Lesleus.

1533. Lesleus.lib.9. pag.437,438.

Lesleus. lib. 1. pag.79.

The companie (saith he) of these men (whom wee call the senat of the publike wealth) receiue none but such, whose praise of vertue and sharpenesse of wit (especiallie in matters of law) doth aduance them to that place. This court is so apted of the cleargie and secular nobilitie (as a man may tearme them) that the one part of the laitie doth answer the other number of the cleargie. Which we thinke to bée done by the great benefit of God, that the religion and simplicitie of the cleargie may temper the singular wisedome of the temporaltie, obteined by the experience of worldlie causes; and againe, the iudgement of the laitie may further and moderate the pure religion and ancient simplicitie of the cleargie. Ouer all these is one chiefe and head (which is a spirituall man) who hath the highest place in sentence and pronouncing of iudgement; except the iudgement of the chancellor of the kingdome happen to come in place; for then therevnto the Scots giue the chiefest preheminence in all the affaires of the common-wealth. Thus much he.)

In the yéere 1532, sir Arthur Darcie was sent to the borders, who being at Berwike, by the counsell of the earle of Angus then being there, they made a rode into Scotland, and burned certeine places: wherevpon the Scots assembling themselues to defend their countrie, made towards the Englishmen, who retired themselues to Berwike againe. After this were diuerse inuasions made on euerie side vpon the borders, and ships likewise taken by sea, and yet no warre was proclamed. In September, in the yeare 1533, certeine commissioners of either realme were at Newcastell, to intreat for a redresse and recompense to be made for burning of townes and villages, taking of goods, casting downe of piles, taking of ships, slaughters of men, and diuerse other spoiles and iniuries done, as well by the sea as by the land, from the 23 day of Aprill in the yéere 1532, vnto the day of the méeting of the same commissioners; which doings were little lesse in effect than had béene vsed in time of open warre, although the same was not proclamed. Bicause therefore that the scathes & iniuries fell out to be so great on both sides, that particular redresse could not bée had, the order thereof was referred to the pleasure of both the princes.

1532. Sir Arthur Darcie sent to the borders.

He maketh a rode into Scotland.

1533.

Further it was agréed, that for a perpetuall peace to be concluded, certeine commissioners should be appointed to treat therof at London, as afterwards they did. For the king of Scotland there were sent as commissioners about this treatie, William Steward bishop of Aberden, Robert Reid the abbat of Kinlos, and sir Adam Sterburie knight [or (as saith Lesleus li.9.pa.439.) Adam Otterburne] the which accompanied with diuerse other knights, barons, and gentlemen, came to London, and were there right honorablie receiued the 25 of March. After they had béene before the kings presence, there were certeine commissioners apointed by him to treat with them of peace, the which agréed vpon certeine conditions and articles for a peace to continue betwixt both kings during their naturall liues, and one yere after the decease of that prince which first chanced to depart this world: and so the commissioners returned into Scotland in the moneth of Maie next insuing.

1534. Lesle. Fr. Thin.

A peace concluded.

About the same time were sent into France Dauid Beton abbat of Arbroth, and James Erskin secretarie, as ambassadors to require the duke of Vandosmes sister in mariage for the king: with which motion the ladie and hir friends were verie well contented. Neuertheless (as afterwards shall apéere) the king himselfe passing secretlie into France in proper person, when he had once séene the ladie, he liked hir not; & so became a sutor to the French king his eldest daughter Magdalen, whome he obteined: wherefore the duke of Vandosmes sister would neuer after match hir selfe with anie other in mariage, but professed hir selfe in a house of religion, where she remained the residue of hir life time. The king of England sent ambassadors into Scotland, the bishop of Duresme, sir Thomas Clifford, the prior of Duresme,

Ambassadors into France.

The king himselfe passeth secretlie into France.

reſme, and one doctor Magnus, who were honorablie receiued in the moneth of Julie: and then was the peace before concluded by the ambaſſadors at London, confirmed by the king himſelfe, and the charter thereof interchangablie ſealed, with the great ſeales of both the realmes, during the liues of both the princes (as before ye haue heard.)

The peace concluded with England.

Fr. Thin. Leſleus lib. 9. pag. 439.

1534.

✻ The king in thoſe daies did ſhew ſuch hope of honorable vertue in him, that the wiſeſt and the moſt valiant princes of the world did honor him with the ornaments of their orders: for firſt Henrie king of England adopted him into the order of the garter, the emperor made him a fellow of the golden fléece, and ſhortlie after the French king clothed him with the order of ſaint Michaell. In remembrance of all which (for a note to be left to poſteritie) he cauſed the armes of Scotland, honored with theſe thrée orders, to be ſet vp ouer the gate of his palace of Lithquoe, with the ornaments of the honor of ſaint Andrew, which are proper to the kingdome of Scotland.)

The ſame yeere, the king paſſed through the north parts of his realme, and cauſed iuſtice dulie to be miniſtred in places where he came, againſt offendors. Moreouer, in Edenburgh was great inquiſition made, and puniſhment exerciſed againſt ſuch as were detected to hold opinions againſt the religion then vſed, the king himſelfe aſſiſtant thereto. Maiſter Norman Gorleie that was abiured before, and Andrew Stratton that would not renounce his opinion, were burned. The ſhiriffe of Linlitgew, and diuerſe other, that were fled for feare of puniſhment, were convict of hereſie. Diuerſe Engliſhmen that held againſt the diuorce betwirt king Henrie, and the ladie Katharine Dowager, fled this yeere into Scotland, and were receiued.

Iuſtice miniſtred.

English fugitiues receiued into Scotland.

Fr. Thin. Buchan. li. 14.

✻ About this time (to conclude a league with Charles the fift, emperor) this Charles ſent Godeſcall Erike (to the end the matter might be handled more ſecretlie) from Toledo (by Ireland) into Scotland,

1534.

who when he had declared his meſſage to him from the emperor [conteining the iniuries done to his aunt Katharine quéene of England, & to hir daughter by Henrie the eight, king of England: the calling of a generall councell: the ouerthrow of the Lutheran hereſie (to vſe Buchanans word) and for contracting of mariage] the ſaid ambaſſador did deliuer to the king the emperors letter, wherein was ſet downe the offer and choiſe of which of thoſe thrée Maries the king would take to wife: which were Marie (the ſiſter of Charles) a widow by Lodowike of Hungarie, hir husband ſlaine by the Turke: Marie of Portingale his néece by his ſiſter Leonara: or Marie of England his coſine germane by his aunt Katharine. Whereunto the king anſwered, that the mariage with England ſhould be moſt profitable, but the ſame was a thing of vncerteine hope, of greater danger & labour, & of longer delaie than his carefulneſſe (being the onelie man left of that line) might well indure. Wherefore of all the emperors kinred, that mariage by manie reaſons ſhould be moſt beneficiall for him, to take to wife the daughter of Chriſtern, king of Denmark, begotten vpon Iſabell ſiſter to the emperor. Whereunto for deniall therof, Charles did ſhortlie make anſwer (at Madrike) that he was affianced to another.)

In the yeere 1535, the pope ſent a meſſenger into Scotland, requiring king James to aſſiſt him againſt the king of England, whome he had decréed an heretike, a ſchiſmatike, a wedlocke breaker, a publike murtherer, and a ſacrileger; and therefore he had declared him to be depriued of the ſaid kingdome, the which he would beſtow vpon him, and other catholike princes. In the yeere 1536, the king tooke the ſea with fiue ſhips, without knowledge of the moſt

1535. The pope ſendeth into Scotland.

1536.

part of the lords of his realme, and ſailed about the Iles of Skie and Lewes, and the other Iles, and by ſtorme was driuen to take land at ſaint Ninians in Galloway, & ſo returned to Striueling, from whence he paſſed on foot in pilgrimage vnto our ladie chappell of Lauret beſide Muſkelburgh, and afterward ſent for diuerſe of his lords, and by their counſell tooke his voiage againe by ſea with fiue ſhips, to paſſe into France, as he was minded to haue done the firſt time: but what cauſed him to alter his purpoſe then, we find not. This ſecond time he imbarked at Kirkaldie the laſt of Auguſt, and with good and proſperous wind he ſhortlie after arriued in France, there being with him in companie the earles of Argile, and Arrane, the lords Bold and Fleming, with diuerſe other barons, knights, and gentlemen; and before him there were in France the earles of Murrey, Lennor, and Caſſiles, the lord Erſkin, the abbat of Arbroth, and others.

The kings voiage about the Iles.

He ſaileth into France.

Immediatlie after his arriuall, he rode in ſecret manner diſguiſed vnto Vandoſmes in Picardie, taking with him but one ſeruant named John Tennent, whome he cauſed to take vpon him as he had béene maiſter; and ſo comming to the duke of Vandoſme his place, got ſight of the ladie who ſhuld haue béene his wife; but not liking hir, he returned againe without talking either with hir or hir friends: and comming to Rouen where his companie were abiding for him, he paſſed from thence towards Paris, where the Dolphin of France was appointed by the king his father to méet him ſeuen leagues from the citie, who brought him to the king, who receiued him in ſuch hartie manner, as if he had béene his owne ſonne, and with as much honor as might haue béene ſhewed to the greateſt prince in earth. There were iuſtes, tourneis, and other princelie paſtimes practiſed and ſet forth; in which iuſtes and other exerciſes of warlike feates, he ſhewed himſelfe as hardie, cunning and valiant, as anie other perſon within all the realme of France, for the which he wan paſſing great praiſe.

He rideth to Vandoſme.

He is receiued into Paris.

In the meane time, he cauſed his ambaſſadors and the noble men that were with him, to declare vnto the king of France, that the cauſe of his comming was for mariage to be had betwéene him and the ladie Magdalen, eldeſt daughter to the king, whome he loued & fauoured aboue all other within his realme. The French king was glad héereof, that the ancient band betwirt Scotland and France might thus with new aliance be confirmed, and therefore declared that he would willinglie giue him his daughter in mariage. But héerewith he let him vnderſtand, that his daughter was much ſubiect to ſickneſſe, and therfore he referred that vnto the king of Scotland his owne pleaſure, whether he would haue hir, or his yongeſt daughter the ladie Margaret, who was after maried to the duke of Sauoy. This offer of choiſe being reported to the king of Scotland, he continued in his former purpoſe, which was, to match with the ladie Magdalen, who was in déed a pleſant yong ladie, beautifull, of good fauour, louelie countenance, and comelie manners, aboue all others within that realme.

He is a futor for mariage.

Hérevpon the mariage was contracted betwirt them, and an hundred thouſand crownes of the ſun promiſed with hir in dowrie, with thirtie thouſand franks of penſion, during the life of king James: which monie was deliuered vnto him at his returne homewards, beſides manie rich hangings, cupbords of plate, ſumptuous apparell, and rich iewels giuen to him and his wife, farre aboue the ſumme of an other hundred thouſand crownes, with two great ſhips (the one called the ſalamander) and great plentie of artillerie, powder, and other munition. Moreouer,

The mariage contracted betwixt the king of Scots and the ladie Magdalen.

uer, all his charges and expenſes were borne by the French king, during his being within the realme of France. At the ſame time alſo, was the ancient league and bond of amitie betwixt the two realmes of Scotland and France renewed, and the day of the ſolemnization of the mariage appointed to be holden the firſt of Januarie.

In the meane time, great preparation for the ſame was made, and all the nobles of France ſent for, to be there at that day. On the which within the church of Noſtre dame in the citie of Paris, the king of Scotland openlie maried the ſaid ladie Magdalen, in preſence of the king hir father, the king of Nauarre, ſeuen cardinals, and diuerſe great dukes, marquelles, earles, lords, barons, biſhops, & others. After the ſolemnization of the mariage, king James remained in France, till the moneth of Maie, paſſing the time with all kind of pleaſure and diſport that might be deuiſed for his honorable interteinement. Finallie, the king and his wife quéene Magdalen tooke their leaue of the king of France their father at Paris, about the latter end of Aprill, and ſo rode to Rouen, where they were receiued with great triumph, and from thence they paſſed downe the riuer to Newhauen where they imbarked, being accompanied by the admerall of France, and manie other noble men of the realme, appointed by the French king to attend vpon them into Scotland, & ſo they ſailed forth with pleaſant wind and proſperous weather, through the ſeas, till they came into the Forth, and there landed at the peare of Liethhauen, the 29 of Maie, in the yeare 1537, where a great number of earles, biſhops, barons, & other noble men & gentlemen of Scotland were readie to receiue them with paſſing ioy and gladneſſe, & from thence with great triumph they were conueied to the abbeie of Holie rood houſe.

1539. The mariage contracted.

The king with his quéene returneth into Scotland.

1537. Leſle.

This noble ladie with hir louelie countenance and ſéemelie demeanor, at hir firſt arriuall woone the loues and hartie good wils of all the nobles & people of the realme, and withall contented ſo highlie the mind and fantaſie of the king hir huſband, that there was neuer more hope of wealth and proſperitie to ſucceed within the realme, than at that preſent. But fortune enuieng ſo great felicitie, would not ſuffer them to continue anie longer time togither: for about the end of June ſhe fell ſicke of a vehement feuer, whereof ſhe departed this life the tenth of Julie next inſuing, and was buried in the church of Holie rood houſe, for whoſe death the king was verie ſorowfull, & ſtirred not abroad of a long time after: [whoſe death (ſaith Buchanan) was ſo lamented of all men, that then (as he ſuppoſeth) began the firſt vſe of mourning garments amongeſt the Scots, which yet at this day, not being paſt fortie yéeres, is not verie common, though publike orders and manners doe euerie day grow worſſe and worſſe.]

Quéene Magdalen departeth this life.

Fr. Thin.

In the ſummer of this yéere, Jone Dowglaſſe the ladie of Glames, ſiſter to the earle of Angus, was apprehended, and likewiſe hir huſband Dauid Lion, and both of them brought to Edenburgh, where they were accuſed and conuict by an aſſiſe, for conſpiracie of the kings death: the ſaid ladie was burned, and hir huſband hanged. Hir ſon the lord Glames was alſo conuict for miſpriſion and concealement of that crime, and therfore forfaiting all his lands, was condemned to die: but becauſe he was yong and of tender yéeres, the king pardoned him of life, and commanded him to perpetuall priſon, in the which he remained ſo long as the king liued. [This yéere was Bothwell, for that he was ouer familiar with the Engliſh, baniſhed into France (as ſaith Buchanan.]

The ladie Glames and hir huſband conuict of treaſon.

1537. Leſl.

Fr. Thin.

Shortlie after, John maiſter of the Forbois, and eldeſt ſonne to the lord Forbois, who had maried a ſiſter of the ſaid ladie Glames, was at Edenburgh likewiſe indicted and conuict by an aſſiſe, by procurement of the earle Huntleie, for the like conſpiracie of the kings death, for the which he was beheaded and quartered, and his head and quarters ſet aloft vpon the gates of Edenburgh. His father the lord Forbois, vpon ſuſpicion of the ſame conſpiracie, was long after kept in priſon within the caſtell of Edenburgh; but at length when nothing might be proued againſt him, he was releaſed and ſet at libertie.

The maiſter of Forbois beheaded.

This yeere, the king in September cauſed iuſtices to ſit in the north parts of the realme, and likewiſe in October; and in the winter following he cauſed the like to be done in the ſouth and weſt parts. The king himſelfe was often times preſent, aſſiſting the lords whome he had appointed his commiſſioners for the furtherance of iuſtice, and maintenance thereof thorough all parts of his realme. ✲ The king appointed an aſſemblie of the nobles, by whoſe conſent an edict was made to confirme the former law, in which all his grants made at Roane in his minoritie were voided and of no authoritie. At what time alſo by the ſaid perſons it was brought to paſſe by great labor, that the kings patrimonie ſhould be augmented with manie poſſeſſions. Wherefore when they perceiued that the kings charge and dignitie could not be mainteined with ſo ſmall reuenues, they aduanced his foure ſonnes (borne of diuerſe women) to the rich abbeies & priories of Melroſſe, Kelſo, Coldingham, Holie rood, and of ſaint Andrewes, whoſe reuenues they tranſferred to the kings coffers ſo long as he liued: by which (perhaps) there came no leſſe monie (ſaith Leſleus) vnto his coffers, than did ariſe of his kinglie inheritance.)

Iuſtices appointed to ſit in diuerſe parts of the realme.

Fr. Thin. Buchan. lib. 14. pag. 447.

The king by the aduiſe of theſe noble men of his realme, thinking it neceſſarie for him to match againe in mariage with ſome noble princeſſe, ſent into France vnto the earle of Murrey, and Dauid Beton abbat of Arbroth [whome (as ſaith Leſleus lib. 9. pa. 447) Paule the third had made a cardinall, & they of France had made biſhop of Miropreuſe] his ambaſſadors there reſident, willing them by the aduiſe of the French king to treat for a mariage to be had betwixt him and the ladie Marie de Lorraine, dutcheſſe of Longuile, widow, daughter to the duke of Guiſe. And being aduertiſed from his ſaid ambaſſadors, that the king of France, the ladie hir ſelfe, and hir friends, were well contented therewith, he ſent in the beginning of Maie the lord Robert Marwell, and the maiſter of Glencarne, well accompanied into France, to ioine with his other ambaſſadors for the contracting of that mariage, the which according to their commiſſion treated thereof, and concluded vpon reſolute articles, and ſo eſpouſed hir by procurators, as the vſe is amongſt ſuch eſtates, with great triumph in the citie of Paris, whereat the king and manie noble men were preſent.

1538. Leſle.

The king is ſuitor for mariage to the dutcheſſe of Longuile. Fr. Thin.

After this ſhe was conueied to Newhauen, and there taking the ſeas, paſſed through the ſame till ſhe came to Carell in Fife, where ſhe landed the tenth of June; and from thence ſhe was conueied to the new palace in the abbeie of ſaint Andrewes, being honorablie prepared for the receiuing of hir. And there the king accompanied with manie noble men, openlie ſolemnized and confirmed the foreſaid mariage with the ſaid ladie in the abbeie church, with great ioy and triumph. The king with his quæne remained there the moſt part of that ſummer. And within a few moneths after the mariage, ſhe conceiued with child, to the great comfort of the king and the whole realme, for the hope of ſucceſſion thereby; and therefore generall proceſſions and publike praiers were made thorough all parts of the realme, for the proſperous ſucceſſe of the ſame. After that the king had pacified the

The mariage ſolemnized.

borders

borders and all other parts of his realme, by exerciſing of iuſtice, and trauelling about the ſame in his owne perſon through all places (where néed required) ſo that there was as great quietneſſe, reſt, and policie vſed in Scotland, as euer was in anie kings daies before him: yet neuertheleſſe there were certeine diſobedient perſons in the Iles.

Great quietneſſe in Scotland.

The king therefore, to bring them to order, cauſed to prepare a good naule of ſhips, and in the moneth of Maie went aboord the ſame in the rode of Leith, hauing with him the earles of Arrane, Huntleie, Argile, and diuerſe other earles, lords, and barons, with whome he ſailed forth by the coaſts of Fife, Angus, Aberden, Murrey firth, Southerland, and Cathneſſe, till he came to Orkenie, where he landing and all his companie with him, were receiued verie honorablie by the biſhop Robert Marwell. Here they furniſhed themſelues with freſh vittels, and other ſuch things as were neceſſarie; and taking the ſeas againe, ſailed to the Iles of Skie and Lewes, where Mac Clewd of the Lewes, a principall clan of his kin, was brought vnto the king, who ſent forth alſo a companie to Mac Clewd Haugh, who came likewiſe out of his Ile, and preſented himſelfe to the king.

1539.

The king ſaileth northwards to the Iles of Orkenie and others

From thence the king ſailed by the coaſt of Roſſe & Kintaile, to the Ile of Tranternes, where diuerſe of the Maconiles, ſuch as the lord Olagarrie, John Moidart, and others (who alledged themſelues to be of the principall bloud, and lords of the Iles) were brought alſo to the kings preſence. From thence trauelling through the reſidue of the Iles, Maclane and James Maconile of Kinter, being the two principall capteins of the ſmall Iles, came likewiſe to the king who at length landed at Dunbreton, and ſent the capteins and ſhips with priſoners to paſſe the ſame waie he came round about the coaſt, ſo to come to Edenburgh, where the ſame priſoners being arriued, the chiefe heads of them were kept in ward as pledges for good rule in their countries, and were not ſuffered to depart ſo long as the king liued, whereby there followed great quietneſſe, and as good obedience to the lawes throughout all the Iles, as there was in anie part of the realme; and as good account and paiment made to the kings controller in his exchekер for the lands of the ſame Iles perteining to the crowne, as for anie part of the reuenues belonging thereunto within the maine land. [In this yéere (ſaith Buchanan lib. 4.) were manie taken for Lutherantſme, whereof ſome were burnt; nine recanted, and manie were baniſhed: amongeſt whom, George Buchanan was one, who eſcaped by a rope out of a windowe of a chamber.]

The out Iles brought to good order.

Fr. Thin.

Whileſt the king was in this voiage, the quéene was deliuered of a ſonne at ſaint Andrewes, whereof the king being aduertiſed at his landing, haſted with all poſſible diligence to the quéene, and ſhortlie after was the child baptiſed, and called James. The archbiſhop of ſaint Andrewes, and the earle of Arrane were godfathers, and the quéene the kings mother was godmother. For the birth of this prince, there were bounfiers made through all parts of the realme, with great triumph and giuing of thanks to God for the ſame. After this the quéene, mother to the king, returned vnto Methwen, where after ſhe had remained a certeine time, a ſickneſſe toke hir, of the which ſhortlie after ſhe departed this life, and was buried in the Charterhouſe church of ſaint Johns towne, by the toome of king James the firſt. The king himſelfe and manie nobles of the realme were preſent at the funerals, which were kept in moſt ſolemne and pompous manner.

The quéene deliuered of a ſonne.

The quéene mother departed this life.

The ſame yeare were burnt at Edenburgh for hereſie (as it was then taken) a regular canon, two blacke friers, and a ſecular man. Also two prieſts were degraded, and condemned to perpetuall priſon. The ſame time there was a graie frier in the citie of Glaſcow burnt for the like cauſe, and manie other ſummoned; and becauſe they would not appeare, they were denounced heretikes. About the ſame time, James Beton archbiſhop of ſaint Andrews, a man of great age departed this life, and was buried in ſaint Andrews. Before his departure, he had prouided ſucceſſors to all his benefices, firſt to his archbiſhops ſée, and to the abbeie of Arbroth, maiſter Dauid Beton, afterwards cardinall; and to the abbeie of Dunfermling maiſter George Durie that was archdeacon of ſaint Andrews. Theſe men, without anie gaineſaieng of the king, entered with his good will into the ſame benefices, immediatlie after his deceaſſe. This James Beton builded a great part of the new college of ſaint Andrewes, and left great ſummes of monie and treaſure to go through to make an end of the ſame worke.

1539. Leſle.

The death of James Beton archbiſhop of ſaint Andrews.

This yeare in the moneth of Auguſt ſir James Hamilton of Finhart knight, remaining as then in the towne of Edenburgh, was arreſted by Dauid Wood controller to the king, who charged him in the kings name to go to ward within the caſtell of Edenburgh. Which commandement he willinglie obeied, thinking himſelfe ſure inough, as well by reaſon of the good ſeruice he had done to the king, ſpeciallie in reparing the palaces of Striueling and Linletgew; as alſo for that the king had him in ſo high fauor, that he ſtood in no feare of himſelfe at all. Neuertheleſſe, ſhortlie after he was brought forth to iudgement, and conuict in the Tolbuith of Edenburgh, of certeine points of treaſon laid againſt him, which he would neuer confeſſe; but that notwithſtanding, he was beheaded in the moneth of September next inſuing [after that he had liberallie confeſſed at the place of execution, that he had neuer in anie iot offended the kings maieſtie, and that this death was yet worthilie inflicted vpon him by the diuine iuſtice; becauſe he had often offended the law of God to pleaſe the prince, thereby to obteine greater countenance with him. Wherefore he admoniſhed all perſons, that (moued by his example) they ſhould rather follow the diuine pleaſure, than vniuſtlie ſéeke the kings fauor, ſince it is better to pleaſe God than man.]

1540.

Sir James Hamilton arreſted.

Sir James Hamilton beheaded.

Fr. Thin. Leſleus lib. 9. pag. 451.

This ſummer the quéene remaining at Striueling, was deliuered of an other prince, which was baptiſed in the chappell of Striueling, and called Arthur: but within eight daies after, the ſaid prince deceaſſed at Striueling aforeſaid. On the verie ſame daie, prince James the kings eldeſt ſonne being at ſaint Andrews departed this life alſo, in ſuch wiſe, that there was but onlie ſix houres betwixt the time of their departures out of this world; which cauſed no leſſe lamentation through the whole realme, than there was ioy at their births. After this, the quéene went vnto ſaint Johns towne, where ſhe was honorablie receiued with great triumph made by the towne. She was accompanied with the principall men of the countrie, and from thence ſhe roade to Aberden, the king then being come vnto hir, where, by the towne and vniuerſitie they were receiued with great ioy, triumph, pageants, verſes, & plaies, ſet forth in the beſt maner for their paſtime. They remained there the ſpace of fiftéene daies, and were highlie interteined by the biſhop of that place.

The quéene deliuered of another ſon.

The two yong princes departed this life.

The king and quéene at Aberden.

There were exerciſes and diſputations held in all kind of ſciences in the colleges and ſchooles, with diuerſe orations made in Greéke, Latine, and other languages, to the high praiſe and commendation of the maiſters & ſtudents in that vniuerſitie. From thence the king with the quéene returned to Dundée,

Certeine perſons burnt for religion.

dæ, where a costlie entrie was prepared for them also, and after they had bene right princelie interteined there, they came to Falkeland. In the moneth of Maie, sir John Borthwike, commonlie called capteine Borthwike, suspected, defamed, and accused of heresie, was summoned to appeare in saint Andrews before the cardinall, and diuerse other bishops and prelats there present, where (notwithstanding his absence) the same being proued by sufficient witnesse against him (as was thought) he was conuicted and declared an heretike. An image was made to resemble him, and at the market crosse of the said citie, as a signe and memoriall of his condemnation, it was burned, to the feare of others, but he himselfe escaped their hands and got into England, where he was receiued.

Capteine Borthwike accused of heresie.

Fr. Thin. Lesleus lib. 9. pag. 453.

☆The king of Scots (hearing of the maner of the king of England, and how he honored himselfe) toke in euill part, that the king of England in all generall assemblies of the states of Ireland did call himselfe king of Ireland, when all his predecessors before were onelie intituled by the names of lords of Ireland. For by that new title, king James his authoritie did seeme to be diminished, when the king of England did write himselfe king of all Ireland: whereof a portion by manie ages was vnder the rule of the king of Scots. Yet at length K. James did yeeld thereunto; and that the rather, because the king of England vnder this title and authoritie, did not dispossesse the heires of the Scot Makeconell; and other his Scots of those lands which they there inioied in that countrie.]

A small portion in deed.

1541. The king of England sendeth to the king of Scots.

This yeare the king of England aduertised of the meeting of the emperor, the French king, and pope, at the citie of Nice, doubting some practise to be deuised there against him, sent to the king of Scotland the bishop of saint Dauids, & the lord William Howard, desiring him as his most tender kinsman and nephue, to meete him at the citie of Yorke in England, where he would communicat such things with him, as should be for the weale of both the realmes. And therewith the king of England, trusting that the king of Scotland would haue fulfilled his desire, caused great preparation to be made at Yorke for the receiuing of him. But albeit the king of Scotland was willing of himselfe to haue passed into England, to haue met and seene his vncle; yet after long reasoning and deliberation of his councell and prelats [especiallie James Beton bishop of saint Andrews, and George Trichtoune bishop of Aberden (as saith Buchanan. lib. 14.] assembled for that purpose, casting in their minds (as they toke it) what danger might fall to him and his realme, if he should passe into England, in case he should be staied and holden there, contrarie to his will, as king James his predecessor was, hauing no succession of his bodie.

Fr. Thin.

And againe, for that it was certeinelie knowen, that the principall cause, why the king of England required this meeting or interuiew, was to persuade the king of Scotland to vse the like order in Scotland, as he had done within his realme of England, in abolishing the popes authoritie, making himselfe supreame head of the church, expelling religious persons out of their houses, and seizing the iewels of their houses, their lands and rents, and such like information. And if it chanced the king should attempt the like, they should lose the friendship which was betwixt him, the pope, the emperor, and French king, that were his great friends and confederats. Hereupon they persuaded him to staie, and by their aduise sent pleasant letters & messages vnto the said king of England, desiring him to haue him excused, for that he could not come into England at that time, hauing such lets and causes of abiding at home, as shortlie he should vnderstand by his ambassadors, whom he ment to send to him, as well for this matter as other causes. And shortlie after sir James Leirmouth was appointed to go as ambassador into England, as well to make the kings excuse for his not comming to meet the king of England at Yorke; as also to make complaint vpon certeine inuasions made by the borderers of England into Scotland, and also for the vsing of the debatable ground betwixt the two realmes.

Sir James Leirmouth ambassador into England

But the king of England sore offended that the king of Scots would not satisfie his request, to meet him at Yorke (as before is recited, would admit no excuse, but determined to make warre into Scotland, albeit as the Scotishmen allege, he would not suffer the same to be vnderstood, till he had prepared all things in a redinesse. In the meane time he sent commissioners to meet with the Scots commissioners vpon the debatable ground, to talke for redresse to be made of harmes done vpon the borders, but no good conclusion could be agreed vpon by these commissioners, neither touching the debatable land, nor yet for reparing of wrongs done by the inuasions. ¶ But that the truth concerning the causes of this war, moued at this present by that noble prince king Henrie the eight, may the better appeare; I haue thought good here to set downe the same, as they were drawen forth and published in print to the whole world by the said king in a little pamphlet, vnder this title.

1542. The king of England meaneth to make warre into Scotland.

A declaration conteining the iust causes and considerations of this present warre with the Scots, wherein also appeareth the true and right title that the kings most roiall maiestie hath to his souereigntie of Scotland, and thus it beginneth.

A declaration of the iust causes of the warre against the king of Scots.

BEing now inforced to the warre which we haue alwaies hitherto so much abhorred & fled, by our neighbour & nephew the K. of Scots, one who aboue all other for our manifold benefits toward him, hath most iust cause to loue vs, and to reioise in our quietnesse; we haue thought good to notifie vnto the world his doings and behauiour in the prouocation of this war, & likewise the meanes & waies by vs to eschew & auoid it, & the iust & true occasions wherby we be now prouoked to prosecute the same, and by vtterance and diuulging of that matter, to disburden some part of our inward displeasure and griefe: and the circumstances knowen, to lament openlie with the world the infidelitie of this time, in which things of such enormitie do burst out and appeare.

the king of Scots our nephue & neighbor, whome we in his youth and tender age preserued and mainteined from the great danger of others, and by our authoritie and power conduced him safelie to the roiall possession of his estate, he now compelleth & inforceth vs (for preseruation of our honor & right) to vse our puissance & power against him. The like vnkindnesse hath beene heretofore shewed by other in semblable cases against Gods law, mans law, & all humanitie; but the oftener it chanceth, the more it is to be abhorred, and yet in the persons of princes, for the raritie of them, can so happen but seldome as it hath now come to passe. It hath beene verie rarelie & seldome seene tofore, that a king of Scots hath had in mariage a daughter of England. We cannot nor will not reprehend the king our fathers act therein, but lament and be sorie that it toke no better effect.

The king our father in that matter minded loue, amitie,

amitie, and perpetuall friendſhip betwéene the poſteritie of both: which how ſone it failed, the death of the king of Scots, as a due punihment of God, for his vniuſt inuaſion into this our realme, is and ſhall be a perpetuall teſtimonie of their reproch for euer. And yet in that preſent time could not the vnkindneſſe of the father extinguiſh in vs the naturall loue of our nephue his ſonne, being then in the miſerable age of tender youth. But we then forgetting the diſpleaſure that ſhould haue worthilie prouoked vs to inuade that realme, nouriſhed and brought vp our nephue, to atchiue his fathers poſſeſſion and gouernement, wherein he now ſo vnkindlie vſeth and behaueth himſelfe towards vs, as he compelleth vs to take armor and warre againſt him.

It is ſpeciallie to be noted, vpon what grounds, and by what means we be compelled to this warre, wherin among other is our chiefe greéfe and diſpleaſure, that vnder a colour of faire ſpeach and flattering words, we be indéed ſo iniuried, contemned and deſpiſed, as we ought not with ſufferance to permit and paſſe ouer. Words, writings, letters, meſſages, ambaſſages, excuſes, allegations, could not more pleaſantlie, more gentlie, nor more reuerentlie be deuiſed and ſent, than hath béene made on the king of Scots behalfe vnto vs; and euer we truſted the trée would bring forth good fruit, that was of the one part of ſo good a ſtocke, and continuallie in appearance put forth ſo faire buds: and therefore would hardlie beléeue or giue eare to other, that euer alledged the déeds of the contrarie, being neuertheleſſe the ſame déeds ſo manifeſt, as we muſt néeds haue regarded them, had not we bin ſo loth to thinke euill of our nephue, whome we had ſo manie waies bound to be of the beſt ſort toward vs.

And therefore hauing a meſſage ſent vnto vs the yéere paſt, from our ſaid nephue, and a promiſe made for the repairing of the ſaid king of Scots vnto vs to Yorke, and after great preparation on our part made therefore, the ſame méeting was not onelie diſappointed, but alſo at our being at Yorke in the lieu thereof, an inuaſion made by our ſaid nephue his ſubiects into our land, declaring an euident contempt and deſpite of vs. We were yet glad to impute the default of the méeting to the aduiſe of his councell, and the inuaſion to the lewdneſſe of his ſubiects, and according thereunto gaue as benigne and gentle audience to ſuch ambaſſadors as repaired hither at Chriſtmas afterward, as if no ſuch cauſe of diſpleaſure had occurred, ſpeciallie conſidering the good words, ſweet words, pleaſant words, effſones proponed by the ſaid ambaſſadors, not onelie to excuſe that was paſt, but alſo to perſuade kindneſſe and perfect amitie to inſue.

And albeit the king of Scots hauing (contrarie to the article of the league of amitie) receiued and interteined ſuch rebels as were of the chéefe and principall, in ſtirring the inſurrection in the north againſt vs, with refuſall before time, vpon requeſt made to reſtore the ſame; yet neuertheleſſe, vpon offer made, the ſaid ambaſſadors to ſend commiſſion to the borderers, to determine debates of the confines in the ſame, with ſo great a pretenſe of amitie, and ſo faire words as could be in ſpéech deſired, we were content for the time to forbeare to preſſe them ouer extreamlie in the matter of rebels. Alleit we neuer remitted the ſame, but deſiring to make triall of our ſaid nephue in ſome correſpondence of déeds, condeſcended to the ſending of commiſſioners to the borders, which to our great charge we did, and the king of Scots our ſaid nephue the ſemblable.

Where after great trauell made by our commiſſioners, this fruit inſued, that being for our part challenged, a péece of our ground plainlie vſurped by the Scots, and of no great value, being alſo for the ſame ſhewed ſuch euidence, as more ſubſtantiall, more authentike, plaine and euident, cannot be brought forth for anie part of ground within our realme: the ſame was neuertheleſſe by them denied, refuſed, and the euidence onelie for this cauſe reiected, that it was made (as they alledged) by Engliſhmen: and yet it was ſo ancient, as it could not be counterfeit now, and the value of the ground ſo little, and of ſo ſmall weight, as no man would haue attempted to falſifie for ſuch a matter. And yet this deniall being in this wiſe made vnto our commiſſioners, they neuertheleſſe by our commandement departed as friends from the commiſſioners of Scotland, taking order as hath béene accuſtomed, for good rule vpon the borders in the meane time.

After which their receſſe, the lord Warwell warden of the weſt marches of Scotland, made proclamation for good rule; but yet added therwith, that the borderers of Scotland ſhould withdraw their goods from the borderers of England; and incontinent the Scotiſhmen borderers, the fourth of Julie entered into our realme ſuddenlie, and ſpoiled our ſubiects contrarie to our leagues, euen after ſuch extremitie as it had béene in the time of open warre, whereat we much maruelled, and were compelled therefore to furniſh our borders with a garriſon for defenſe of the ſame. Whereupon the king of Scots ſent vnto vs James Leirmouth maiſter of his houſhold, with letters deuiſed in the moſt pleaſant maner, offering redreſſe & reformation of all attempts. And yet neuertheleſſe, at the entrie of the ſaid Leirmouth into England, a great number of the Scots then not loked for, made a forraie into our borders, to the great annoiance of our ſubiects, & to their extreame detriment. Wherewith, and with that vnſeemelie diſſimulation, we were not a little moued, as reaſon would we ſhould; and yet did we not finallie ſo extreamelie proſecute and continue our ſaid diſpleaſure, but that we gaue benigne audience to the ſaid Leirmouth, and ſuffered our ſelfe to be ſomewhat altered by his words and faire promiſes, tending to the perſuaſion that we euer deſired, to find the king of Scots ſuch a nephue vnto vs, as our proximitie of blond (with our gratuitie vnto him) did require.

In the meane time of theſe faire words, the déeds of the borderers were as extreame as might be, and our ſubiects ſpoiled: and in a rode made by ſir Robert Bowes for a reuenge thereof, the ſame ſir Robert Bowes, with manie other were taken priſoners, and yet deteined in Scotland without putting them to fine or ranſome, as hath béene euer accuſtomed. And being at the ſame time a ſurſeſance made on both ſides, at the ſute of the ſaid Leirmouth for a ſeaſon; the Scots ceaſſed not to make ſundre inuaſions into our realme, in ſuch wiſe as we were compelled to forget faire words, and onelie to conſider the king of Scots déeds, which appeared vnto vs of that ſort, as they ought not for our dutie in defenſe of our ſubiects, ne could not in reſpect of our honor, be paſſed ouer vnreformed: and therefore put in a readineſſe our armie, as a due meane whereby we might atteine ſuch a peace, as for the ſafegard of our ſubiects we be bound to procure.

After which preparation made, and knowledge had thereof, the king of Scots ceaſſed not to vſe his accuſtomed meane of faire words, which in our naturall inclination wrought effſones their accuſtomed effect, euermore deſirous to find in the king of Scots ſuch regard & reſpect to be declared in déeds, as the correſpondence of naturall loue in the nephue to ſuch an vncle, as we haue ſhewed our ſelfe toward him, doth require. Wherefore vpon new requeſt and ſute made vnto vs, we determined to ſtaie our armie

" mie at Yorke, appointing the duke of Norffolke our
" lieutenant, the Lord priuie seale, the bishop of Dur-
" ham, and the maister of our horsses, there to com-
" men, treat, and conclude with the ambassadors of
" Scotland, for an amitie and peace, vpon such condi-
" tions, as by reason and equitie were indifferent,
" whereby the warre might be eschewed, being by sun-
" drie inuasions of the Scots then opened & manifest.
" In this communication betweene our and their
" commissioners, after diuerse degrees of commission
" shewed by the Scots, and finallie one that was by
" our commissioners allowed, matters were propo-
" ned for conclusion of amitie, nothing difficill or hard
" of our part, but so agreeable to reason, as the com-
" missioners of Scotland said they doubted not, but
" if it might be brought to passe that the king of Scots
" our nephue might haue a meeting with vs, all mat-
" ters should easilie be compounded and determined:
" wherevpon they left speaking of anie articles of a-
" mitie, and the ambassadors of Scotland made much
" outward ioy in communication of meeting. They
" shewed themselues in words, fashion, and behauior
" much to delight in it, to reioise in it, and therewith
" thought it easie and facile to be concluded and ac-
" complished, and for their part they toke it then for a
" thing passed, a thing concluded, and most certeine to
" take effect, and onelie desired sir daies to obteine an-
" swer from their maister, and our armie, from that
" time to staie and go no further: whereunto our com-
" missioners then agreed.
" After these sir daies was sent a commission out
" of Scotland, with power to conclude a meeting pre-
" cislie at such a place, as they knew well we should
" not, nor could not in winter obserue & keepe. Where-
" with when our commissioners were miscontent,
" the ambassadors of Scotland to relieue that displea-
" sure, and to temper the matter whereby to win more
" time, shewed forth their instructions, wherein liber-
" tie was giuen to the ambassadours to exceed their
" commission in the appointment of the place, and to
" consent to anie other that by our commissioners
" should be thought conuenient. Which maner of pro-
" ceeding when our commissioners refused, alledging
" that they would not conclude a meeting with men
" hauing no commission thereunto: the ambassadors
" of Scotland vpon pretense to send for a more am-
" ple and large commission, agreeable to their instruc-
" tions for appointment of the place, obteined a de-
" laie of other six daies, to send for the ample commis-
" sion without restraint of place.
" Now after these six daies they brought forth a
" new commission, made in a good forme, and without
" exception: but therewith also they shewed new in-
" structions, conteining such a restraint as the former
" commission did conteine, so as the libertie giuen to
" the commissioners in the commission was now at
" the last remoued and taken awaie by the instructi-
" ons, with addition of a speciall charge to the ambas-
" sadors, not to exceed the same. And thus, first the am-
" bassadors of Scotland seemed to haue a will and de-
" sire to conclude on a place seemelie and conuenient,
" which for want of commission they might not do,
" and at the last might haue concluded a meeting by
" vertue of their commission; and then for feare of the
" commandement in their second instructions they
" durst not. And so they shewed their first instructions
" partlie to excuse their king, who should seeme secret-
" lie to will more than in the commission he did open-
" lie professe.
" Then with an ample commission from the king,
" they shewed their secret instructions for defense of
" themselues, why they proceeded not according to
" their commission, not caring how much they char-
" ged therein the king, whose fault they disclosed to dis-
charge themselues, trusting that by the benefit of
the winter approching, and the time lost in their com- "
munication, their maister should be defended a- "
gainst our power for this yeere, without doing for "
their part that by honor, right, law, and leagues they "
be obliged and bound to do. And in this meane time
our subiects being taken prisoners in Scotland, "
could not be deliuered vpon any ransome, contrarie
to all custome and vsage of the borderers in the time "
of peace and warre: and in this meane time staied a "
great part of our armie alreadie pressed, and in our "
wages to go forward.
In this time ambassadors (as ye haue heard) as- "
sembled to talke of an amitie, but concluded none. "
The treating of amitie was put ouer by communi- "
cation of a meeting. The communication of meeting "
was so handled by alteration of commission and in- "
structions on their behalfe, as it appeareth a plaine
deuise onelie inuented for a delaie, which hath giuen
vs light, wherupon more certeinly to iudge the king "
of Scots inward affection toward vs: whose deeds "
and words well weied and considered, do vs plain-
lie to vnderstand, how he hath continuallie labored "
to abuse vs with sweet and pleasant words, and to sa- "
tisfie the appetites of other at home and abroad with "
his vnkind and displeasant deeds. In his words he
professeth an indissoluble amitie, he allegeth kinred, "
he acknowledgeth benefits; onlie the fault is, that he "
speaketh another language to all the world in deeds, "
and thereby so toucheth vs in honor and denegation
of iustice, as we be inforced and compelled to vse the "
sword, which God hath put in our hands as an ex- "
treme remedie, whereby to obteine both quietnesse
for our subiects, and also that is due to vs by right,
pacts, and leagues. "
We haue patientlie suffered manie delusions, "
and notablie the last yeere, when we made prepara- "
tion at Yorke for his repaire to vs. But should we "
sutfer our people and subiects to be so oft spoiled &
without remedie? This is done by the Scots, what- "
soeuer their words be. Should we suffer our rebels
to be deteined contrarie to the leagues without re- "
medie? This is also done by them, whatsoeuer their "
words be. Should we suffer our land to be vsurped
contrarie to our most plaine euidence, onelie vpon a
will, pride and arrogancie of the other partie? This "
is done by them whatsoeuer their words be. All these
be ouer presumptuouslie done against vs, and giue
such signification of their arrogancie, as it is neces- "
sarie for vs to oppresse it in the beginning, least they "
should gather further courage, to the greater displea- "
sure of vs and our posteritie hereafter. And yet in the "
intreating of this matter, if we had not euidentlie
perceiued the lacke of such affection as proximitie of "
bloud should require; we would rather haue remit-
ted these iniuries in respect of proximitie of bloud, to "
our nephue, than we did tofore his fathers inuasion. "
But weieng that we be so suerlie ascerteined of "
the lacke thereof, and that our bloud is there frozen
with the cold aire of Scotland, there was neuer "
prince more violentlie compelled to war, than we be "
by the vnkind dealing, vniust behauior, & vnprince- "
lie demeanor of him, that yet in nature is our ne-
phue, & in his acts and deeds declareth himselfe not to "
be moued therwith, nor to haue such earnest regard "
to the obseruation of his pacts & leagues, nor such re- "
spect to the interteinment of the administration of
iustice, as naturall equitie bindeth, & conseruation of "
equitie requireth. Which we much lament & be sorie "
for, & vse now our force and puissance against him,
not for reuengement of our priuate displeasure (be- "
ing so often deliuered as we haue bene) but for re- "
couerie of our right, the preseruation of our subiects "
from iniuries, and the obseruation of such leagues "

as

"as haue paſſed betweene vs, firmelie truſting, that
"almightie God, vnder whome we reigne, will aſſiſt
"& aid our iuſt proceedings herein, to the furtherance
"and aduancement of the right, which we doubt not
"ſhall euer preuaile againſt wrong, falſhod, deceipt,
"and diſſimulation.

Hitherto appeareth how this preſent warre hath
"not proceeded of anie demand of our right of our ſu-
"periozitie, which the kings of Scots haue alwaies
"knowledged by homage and fealtie to our progeni-
"tozs euen from the beginning: but this warre hath
"beene prouoked and occaſioned vpon preſent mat-
"ter of diſpleaſure, preſent iniurie, preſent wrong mi-
"niſtred by the nephue to the vncle moſt vnnatural-
"lie, and ſupozted contrarie to the deſerts of our be-
"nefits moſt vnkindlie, if we had minded the poſſeſſi-
"on of Scotland, and by the motion of warre to at-
"teine the ſame, there was neuer king of this realme
"had mozе opportunitie in the minozitie of our ne-
"phue, noz in anie other realme a prince that hath
"mozе iuſt title, mozе euident title, mozе certeine
"title, to any realme that he can claime, than we haue
"to Scotland.

"This title is not deuiſed by pretenſe of mariage,
"noz imagined by couenant, noz contriued by inuen-
"tion of argument, but lineallie deſcended from the
"beginning of that eſtate eſtabliſhed by our progeni-
"tozs, and recogniſed ſucceſſiuelie of the kings of
"Scotland, by deeds, wozds, acts, and writings conti-
"nuallie almoſt without interruption, oz at the leaſt
"intermiſſion, till the reigne of our progenitoz king
"Henrie the firſt, in whoſe time the Scots abuſed the
"ciuill warre of this realme, to their licence and bold-
"neſſe, in omitting of their dutie: which foz the pozti-
"mitie of bloud betweene vs, we haue beene ſlacke to
"require of them, being alſo of our ſelfe inclined to
"peace, as we haue euer beene alwaies glad, rather
"without preiudice to omit to demand our right if it
"might conſerue peace, than by demanding thereof
"to be ſeene to moue warre, ſpeciallie againſt our
"neighbour, againſt our nephue, againſt him whome
"we haue preſerued from danger, and in ſuch a time
"as it were expedient foz all chriſtendome to be in v-
"nitie and peace, whereby to be mozе able to reſiſt the
"common enimie the Turke.

"But foz what conſiderations we haue omitted
"to ſpeake hitherto of the matter, it is neuertheleſſe
"true, that the kings of Scots haue alwaies acknow-
"ledged the kings of England ſuperioz lozds of the
"realme of Scotland, & haue done homage and feal-
"tie foz the ſame. This appereth firſt in hiſtozies wzit-
"ten by ſuch, as foz confirmation of the truth in me-
"mozie haue trulie noted and ſignified the ſame. Se-
"condlie, it apeareth by inſtruments of homage
"made by the kings of Scots, and diuerſe notable
"perſonages of Scotland, at diuerſe & ſundzie times
"ſealed with their ſeales, and remaining in our trea-
"ſurie. Thirdlie, it appeareth by regiſters and re-
"cozds iudiciallie and autenticallie made, yet preſer-
"ued foz confirmation of the ſame. So as the mat-
"ter of title beeing moſt plaine, is furniſhed alſo
"with all maner of euidences foz declaration there-
"of.

"Firſt, as concerning hiſtozies, which be called
"witneſſes of times, the light of truth, and the life of
"memozie, and finallie the conuenient way & meane
"whereby the things of antiquitie may be bzought to
"mens knowledge, they ſhew as plainlie this matter
"as could be wiſhed oz required, with ſuch a conſent
"of writers as could not ſo agree vpon an vntruth,
"conteining a declaration of ſuch matter as hath
"moſt euident pzobabilitie and apparance. Foz as it
"is pzobable and likelie, that foz the better adminiſtra-
"tion of iuſtice amongeſt rude people, two oz mozе of
one eſtate might be rulers in one countrie, vnited
as this Ile is: ſo it is pzobable and likelie, that in
the beginning it was ſo ozdered foz auoiding diſſen-
tion, that there ſhould be one ſuperiour, in right of
whom the ſaid eſtates ſhould depend.

Accozding whereunto we read, how Bzute, of
whome the realme then called Bzitaine toke firſt
that name (being befozе that time inhabited with gi-
ants, a people without ozder oz ciuilitie) had thzee
ſonnes, Locrine, Albanact, and Camber, who deter-
mining to haue the whole Ile within the ocean ſea
to be after gouerned by them thzee, appointed Alba-
nact to rule that now is called Scotland, Camber
the parties of Wales, and Locrine that now is cal-
led England: vnto whom (as being the eldeſt ſonne)
the other two bzethzen ſhould doo homage, recogni-
ſing and knowledging him as their ſuperioz. Now
conſider, if Bzute conquered all this Iland, as the
hiſtozie ſaith he did, and then in his owne time made
this ozder of ſuperiozitie as afozезhow can there be a
title deuiſed of a mozе plaine beginning, a mozе iuſt
beginning, a mozе conuenient beginning, foz the oz-
der of this Iland, at that time ſpeciallie, when the
people were rude? Which cannot without continuall
ſtriſe and variance conteine two oz thzee rulers in
all points equall without any maner of ſuperiozitie,
the inward conſcience and remozſe of which ſuperio-
ritie ſhould in ſome part dull and diminiſh the per-
uerſe courage of reſiſtance and rebellion.

The firſt diuiſion of this Ile, we find wzitten after
this ſozt, without cauſe of ſuſpicion why they ſhould
wzite amiſſe. And accozding hereunto we find alſo
in hiſtozie ſet fozth by diuerſe, how foz tranſgreſſion
againſt this ſuperiozitie, our predeceſſozs haue cha-
ſtiſed the kings of Scots, and ſome depoſed, and put
other in their places. We will here omit to ſpeake
of the rudeneſſe of the antiquitie in particularitie,
which they cared not diſtinctlie to commit to wziting.
But ſome authozs, as Antonius Sabellicus, amongſt
other, diligentlie ſearching what he might trulie
wzite of all Europe and the Ilands adioining, ouer
and beſides that which he wziteth of the natures, ma-
ners, and conditions of the Scots, which who ſo liſt to
read, ſhall find to haue beene the verie ſame in times
paſt, that we find them now at this preſent: he cal-
leth Scotland, part of England, which is agreeable to
the diuiſion afozeſaid, being in deed as in the land
continuall without ſeparation of the ſea, ſo alſo by
homage and fealtie vnited vnto the ſame; as by par-
ticular declarations ſhall moſt manifeſtlie appeere,
by the teſtimonie of ſuch as haue left wzitting foz
pzoфe and confirmation thereof.

In which matter, paſſing the death of king Hum-
ber, the acts of Dunwald king of this realme of
England, the diuiſion of Beline and Bzen two bze-
thzen, the victozies of king Arthur; we ſhall begin at
the yeere of our Lozd, nine hundzed, which is fiz hun-
dzed fozтie two yeeres paſt, a time of ſufficient anci-
encie, from which we ſhall make ſpeciall declaration
and euident pzoфe of the execution of our right and
title of ſuperiozitie euermozе continued and preſer-
ued hitherto. Edward the firſt, befozе the conqueſt,
ſonne to Alured king of England, had vnder his do-
minion and obedience the king of Scots. And here
is to be noted, that this matter was ſo notozious and
manifeſt, as Marian a Scot, wziting that ſtozie in
thoſe dates, graunteth, confeſſeth, & teſtifieth the ſame:
and this dominion continued in that ſtate thzee and
twentie yeeres.

At which time Athelſtane ſucceeded in the crowne
of England, and hauing by battell conquered Scot-
land, he made one Conſtantine king of that partie,
to rule and gouerne the countrie of Scotland vnder
him, adding this pzincelie wozd, that it was mozе

honorable to him to make a king, than to be a king. Twentie foure yéeres after that, which was the yéere of our Lord 947, king Eldred our progenitor Athelſtanes brother, tooke homage of Iriſe then king of Scots. Thirtie yéeres after that, which was in the yéere of our Lord 977, king Edgar our predeceſſor tooke homage of Kinald king of Scots. Héere was a litle trouble in England by the death of ſaint Edward king and martyr, deſtroied by the deceit of his mother in law. But yet within memorie, fortie yéers after the homage done by Kinald to king Edgar, that is to ſay, in the yéere of our Lord 1018, Malcolme king of Scots did homage to Knute our predeceſſor.

After this homage done, the Scots vttered ſome péece of their naturall diſpoſition: wherevpon, by warre made by our progenitor ſaint Edward the confeſſor, twentie nine yéeres after homage done, that is to ſay, the yéere of our Lord 1056, Malcolme king of Scots was vanquiſhed, and the realme giuen to Malcolme his ſonne, by our ſaid progenitor ſaint Edward: to whome the ſaid Malcolme made homage and fealtie, within eleuen yéeres after that William Conqueror entered this realme, whereof he accounted no perfect conqueſt, vntill he had likewiſe ſubdued the Scots. And therefore in the ſaid yéere, which was in the yéere of our Lord 1068, the ſaid Malcolme king of Scots did homage to the ſaid William Conqueror, as his ſuperior by conqueſt king of England. Twentie fiue yéeres after that, which was in the yéere of our Lord 1092, the ſaid Malcolme did homage and fealtie to William Rufus, ſonne to the ſaid William Conqueror: and yet after that was for his offenſes and demerits depoſed, and his ſonne ſubſtitute in his place, who likewiſe failed of his dutie: and therefore was ordeined in that eſtate (by the ſaid William Rufus) Edgar, brother to the laſt Malcolme, and ſonne to the firſt, who did homage and fealtie accordinglie.

Seuen yéeres after, that was in the yéere of our Lord 1100, the ſaid Edgar K. of Scots did homage vnto Henrie the firſt our progenitor. Thirtie ſeauen yéeres after that, Dauid king of Scots did homage to Mathild the empreſſe, as daughter and heire to Henrie the firſt. Wherefore, being after required by Stephan, then obteining poſſeſſion of the realme, to make his homage, he refuſed ſo to do, becauſe he had before made it to the ſaid Mathild, and therevpon forbare. After which Dauids death, which inſued ſhortlie after, the ſonne of the ſaid Dauid made homage to the ſaid king Stephan. Fouretéene yéeres after that, which was in the yéere of our Lord, a thouſand one hundred and fiftie, William king of Scots, and Dauid his brother, with all the nobles of Scotland, made homage to Henrie the ſeconds ſonne, with a reſeruation of their dutie to Henrie the ſecond his father. Twentie fiue yéeres after, which was in the yéere of our Lord 1175, William king of Scotland, after much rebellion & reſiſtance, according to their naturall inclination, king Henrie the ſecond then being in Normandie, William then king of Scots knowledged finallie his error, and made his peace and compoſition, confirmed with his great ſeale, and the ſeales of the nobilitie of Scotland, making therewith his homage and fealtie.

Within fiftéene yéeres after that, which was the yéere of our Lord 1190, the ſaid William king of Scots came to our citie of Canturburie, and there did homage to our noble progenitor king Richard the firſt. Fouretéene yéeres after that, the ſaid William did homage to our progenitor king John, vpon a hill beſides Lincolne, making his oth vpon the croſſe of Hubert then archbiſhop of Canturburie, being there preſent, a maruellous multitude aſſembled for that purpoſe. Twentie ſix yéeres after that, which was in the yéere of our Lord 1216, Alexander king of Scots maried Margaret, the daughter of our progenitor Henrie the third, at our citie of Yorke, in the feaſt of Chriſtmaſſe, at which time the ſaid Alexander did his homage to our ſaid progenitor, who reigned in this realme fiftie ſix yéers. And therfore betwéene the homage made by the ſaid Alexander king of Scots, and the homage done by Alexander, ſonne to the ſaid king of Scots, to Edward the firſt at his coronation at Weſtminſter, there was about fiftie yéeres: at which time the ſaid Alexander king of Scots repaired to the ſaid feaſt of coronation, and there did his dutie, as is afore ſaid. Within twentie eight yéeres after that, which was in the yéere of our Lord 1282, John Baliol king of Scots made his homage and fealtie to the ſaid king Edward the firſt our progenitor.

After this began Robert Bruſe to vſurpe the crowne of Scotland, and to moue ſedition therefore againſt them of the houſe of Baliol, which made for a ſeaſon ſome interruption in the ſaid homage; but yet no intermiſſion without the termes of memorie: for within fortie foure yéeres after, which was the yéere of our Lord 1326, Edward Baliol after a great victorie had in Scotland againſt the other faction, and inioieng the crowne of Scotland, made homage to our progenitor Edward the third. And twentie yéeres after that, which was in the yéere of our Lord 1346, Dauid Bruſe, who was euer in the contrarie faction, did neuertheleſſe in the title of the crowne of Scotland, wherof he was then in poſſeſſion, make homage to our ſaid progenitor Edward the third.

Within nine yéeres after this, Edward the third, to chaſtiſe the infidelitie of the Scots, made warre againſt them: when after great victories, Edward Baliol, hauing the full and right title to the realme of Scotland, ſurrendred clearlie the ſame to our ſaid progenitor, at the towne of Rorburgh in Scotland, where our ſaid progenitor accepted the ſame, and then cauſed himſelfe to be crowned king of Scotland, and for a time interteined it, and inioied it, as verie proprietarie and owner of the realme: as on the one part by confiſcation acquited, and on the other part by frée will ſurrendred vnto him. And then after the death of our ſaid progenitor Edward the third, began ſeditions and inſurrections in this our realme, in the time of our progenitor Richard the ſecond, which was augmented by the alteration of the ſtate of the ſaid Richard, and the deuolution of the ſame to Henrie the fourth: ſo as the Scots had ſome leaſure to plaie their vagues, and follow their accuſtomed manner. And yet Henrie the fift, for recouerie of his right in France, commanded the king of Scots to attend vpon him in that iorneis.

In this time, the realme of Scotland being deſcended to the houſe of the Stewards, of which our nephue directlie commeth: James Steward king of Scots, in the yéere of our Lord 1423, made homage to Henrie the ſixt at Windſore, which homage was diſtant from the time of the other homage made by Dauid Bruſe, three ſcore yéeres and more, but farre within the freſh memorie of man. All which homages and fealties as they appéere by ſtorie to haue béene made and done at times and ſeaſons as afore, ſo do there remaine inſtruments made therevpon, and ſealed with the ſeales of the kings of Scotland, teſtifieng the ſame. And yet doth it appéere by ſtorie, how the Scots practiſed to ſteale out of our treaſurie diuerſe of theſe inſtruments, which neuertheleſſe were afterward recouered againe.

And to the intent ye may know of what forme and tenure the ſaid inſtruments be, héere is inſerted the

"the effect in word and ſentence as they be made,
"which we doo, to meet with the cauillation and contri-
"ued euaſion of the Scots, alleging the homage to
"haue beene made for the earledome of Huntington,
"which is as true as the allegation of him that is
"burnt in the hand, to ſay he was cut with a ſickle.
And therefore the tenure of the homage is this.

The forme of the homage.

"I John N. king of Scots ſhall be
"true and faithfull vnto you lord
"Edward by the grace of God K.
"of England, the noble & ſuperiour
"lord of the kingdome of Scotland, as vn-
"to you I make my fidelitie of the ſame
"kingdome of Scotland, the which I hold &
"claime to hold of you. And I ſhall beare
"to you my faith and fidelitie of life and lim,
"and worldlie honor, againſt all men; and
"faithfullie I ſhall knowledge, and ſhall doo
"to you ſeruice due to you of the kingdome
"of Scotland aforeſaid: as God ſo helpe
"and theſe holie euangeliſts.

"Now for the third part, touching records and regi-
"ſters, we haue them ſo formall, ſo autenticall, ſo ſe-
"riouſlie handled, and with ſuch circumſtances decla-
"ring the matters, as they be and ought to be a great
"corroboration of that hath beene in ſtories written
"& reported in this matter. For among other things
"we haue the ſolemne act and iudiciall proceſſe of our
"progenitor Edward the firſt, in diſcuſſion of the title
"of Scotland, when the ſame was challenged by 12
"competitors (that is to ſaie) Florentius comes
"Holandie, Patricius de Dunbar comes de Mer-
"chia, Willielmus de Veſci, Willielmus de Roſſe,
"Robertus de Pinkeni, Nicholaus de Soules, Pa-
"tricius Galightlie, Rogerus de Mundeuile, Joan-
"nes de Comin, D. Joannes de Haſtings, Joannes
"de Balliolo, Robertus de Bruſe, Ericius rex Norwe-
"gie.

"Finallie, after a great conſultation and ma-
"ture deliberation, with diſcuſſion of the allegations
"proponed on all parts, ſentence was giuen for the ti-
"tle of Balioll, according whereunto he inioied the
realme. But for confirmation of the dutie of the ho-
"mage before that time obſerued by the K. of Scots,
it appeareth in thoſe records, how when thoſe compe-
"titors of the realme of Scotland repaired to our
"progenitor, as to the chiefe lord for diſcuſſion of the
"ſame, inſomuch as the authoritie of the iudgement
"to be giuen depended thereupon; it was then or-
dered that the whole parlement of Scotland, ſpirituall
"& temporall, & of all degrees aſſembled for that pur-
"poſe, and conſidering vpon what ground & founda-
"tion the kings of Scotland had in times paſt made
"the ſaid homages and recognition of ſuperioritie, the
"ſaid parlement finding the ſame good & true, ſhould
"(if they ſo deemed it) yéeld and giue place, and by ex-
"preſſe conſent recogniſe the ſame.

"At which parlement was alleged vnto them, as
"appeareth in the ſame records, not onelie theſe acts
"of the princes before thoſe daies, and before rehear-
"ſed: but alſo beſides the teſtimonie of ſtories, the
"writings and letters of forren princes at that time
"reciting and rehearſing the ſame. Whereupon the
"ſaid parlement did there agree to this our ſuperiori-
"tie, and inſuing their determination did particular-
"lie and ſeuerallie make homage & fealtie with pro-
"clamation, that whoſoeuer withdrew himſelfe from
"doing his duetie therein, ſhould be reputed as a re-
"bell. And ſo all made homage and fealtie to our pro-
"genitor Edward the firſt. And the realme of Scot-
land was in the time of the diſcuſſion of the title ru-
led by gardians deputed by him. All caſtels and
holds were ſurrendred to him, as to the ſuperiour
lord in the time of vacation. Benefices, offices, fées,
promotions paſſed in that time from the méere gift
of our ſaid progenitor, as in the right of this crowne
of England. Shiriffes named and appointed, writs,
and precepts made, obeied, and executed.

Finallie, all that we doo now in the duchie of Lan-
caſter, the ſame did our progenitor for the time of
the contention for that title in the realme of Scot-
land, by the conſent of an agréement of all eſtates
of the realme aſſembled and conſulted with for that
purpoſe. At which time the biſhops of ſaint Andrews
and Glaſcow were not (as they now be) archbiſhops;
but recogniſed the archbiſhop of Yorke, which exten-
ded ouer all that countrie. Now if the Scots will
take exception to the homage of their princes as
made in warre, and by force, which is not true; what
will they ſay, or can they for ſhame allege againſt
their owne parlement, not of ſome but of all confir-
med, & teſtified by their writings and ſeales; where-
vnto nothing inforced them but right and reaſon, be-
ing paſſed in peace and quiet without armor & com-
pulſion? If they ſay they did it not, they ſpeake like
themſelues; if they ſay they did it, then doo they now
like themſelues, to withdraw their dutie, not ſo much
to be blamed, as to be amended.

Thus appeareth vnto you the beginning of the
right of ſuperioritie, with a perpetuall continuance,
without intermiſſion within memorie. Certeine o-
miſſions and forbearings vpon the grounds and oc-
caſions before ſpecified we denie not, whereby they
haue manie times ſought and taken their opportuni-
ties to withdraw the doing of their duetie in know-
ledge of our ſuperioritie ouer them; which to auoid,
they haue not cared what they ſaid or alleged, though
it were neuer ſo vntrue, lieng alwaies in wait when
they might annoie this realme, not without their
owne great danger & perill, & alſo extreame detri-
ment. But as they detracted the doing of their du-
tie, ſo God granted vnto this realme force to com-
pell them thereunto within memorie, and notwith-
ſtanding anie their interruption by reſiſtance, which
vnto the time of our progenitor Henrie the firſt ne-
uer endured ſo long as it made intermiſſion within
time of mind, whereby the poſſeſſion might ſéeme to
be empaired. From the time of Henrie the firſt, vnto
the ſeuenth yeare of our reigne, our realme hath
béene for a ſeaſon lacerat and torne by diuerſitie of
titles, till our time; and ſince alſo by warre outward-
lie vered and troubled. The ſtorie is ſo lamentable
for ſome part therof, as were too tedious to rehearſe.

Since the death of our progenitor Henrie the firſt,
our grandfather Edward the fourth reigned, who af-
ter great trauels to atteine quietnes in his realme,
finallie in the time of preparation of warre againſt
Scotland died. Richard the third, then vſurped for a
ſmall time in yeares, whome the king our father by
the ſtrength of Gods hand ouerthrew in battell, and
moſt iuſtlie atteined the poſſeſſion of this relme, who
neuertheleſſe, after the great tempeſtuous ſtormes,
finding all matters not yet brought to perfect quiet
and reſt, ceaſſed and forbare to require of the Scots
to doo their dutie; thinking it policie rather for that
time to aſſaie to tame their nature by pleaſant con-
iunction & conuerſation of affinitie, than to charge
them with their fault, & require dutie of them, when
opportunitie ſerued not by force & feare to conſtreine
and compell them. And thus paſſed ouer the reigne
of our father without demand of this homage. And
being our reigne now foure and thirtie yeares, we
were one and twentie yeares letted by our nephue
his minoritie, being then more carefull how to bring

cc him out of danger, to the place of a king, than to re-
cc ceiue of him homage, when he had full poſſeſſion of
cc the ſame.

cc Wherefore being now paſſed, ſince the laſt ho-
cc mage made by the king of Scots, to our progenitor
cc Henrie the firſt, 122 yeares, at which time the ho-
cc mage was done at Windſor by James Steward,
cc then king of Scots, as before 56 of theſe yeares the
cc crowne of this realme was in contention, the trou-
cc ble wherof ingendred alſo ſome buſineſſe in the time
cc of the king our father; which was three and thirtie
cc yeares: and in our time one and twentie yeares hath
cc paſſed in the minoritie of our nephue. So as final-
cc lie, the Scots reſorting to their onelie defenſe of diſ-
cc continuance of poſſeſſion, can onelie allege iuſtlie
cc but 13 yeares of ſilence in the time of our reigne, be-
cc ing all the other times ſince the homage done by
cc James Steward, ſuch as the ſilence in them (had
cc they béene neuer ſo long) could not haue ingendred
cc preiudice to the loſſe of anie right that may yet be de-
cc clared and prooued due. For what can be imputed to
cc king Edward for not demanding homage being in
cc ſtrife for that eſtate, whereunto the homage was
cc due? What ſhould Richard the third ſearch for ho-
cc mage in Scotland, that had neither right ne leaſure
cc to haue homage done vnto him in England? Who
cc can blame our father, knowing the Scots nature
cc neuer to do their dutie but for feare; if he deman-
cc ded not that of them, which they would eſchew if they
cc might, ſéeing his realme not clearelie then purged
cc from ill ſéed of ſedition, ſparkled and ſcattered in
cc the cruell ciuill warres before.

cc Law and reaſon ſerueth, that the paſſing ouer of
cc time not commodious, that the purpoſe is not allege-
cc able in preſcription for the loſſe of anie right. And the
cc minoritie of the king of Scots hath indured twentie
cc one yéeres of our reigne, which being an impedi-
cc ment on their part, the whole preſcription of the
cc Scots, if the matter were preſcriptible, is thus dedu-
cc ced euidentlie to thirteene yéere, which thirteene yéere
cc without excuſe we haue ceaſſed and forborne to de-
cc mand our dutie, like as the Scots haue likewiſe ceaſ-
cc ſed to offer and render the ſame: for which cauſe ne-
cc uertheleſſe we do not enter this warre, ne minded
cc to demand anie ſuch matter now, being rather deſi-
cc rous to reioiſe and take comfort in the friendſhip of
cc our nephue as our neighbour, than to moue matter
cc vnto him of diſpleaſure, whereby to alienate ſuch na-
cc turall inclination of loue as he ſhould haue towards
cc vs: but ſuch be the workes of God ſuperior ouer all, to
cc ſuffer occaſions to be miniſtred, whereby due ſuperi-
cc oritie may be knowne, demanded, and required, to
cc the intent that according thereunto all things gouer-
cc ned in due order héere, we may to his pleaſure paſſe
cc ouer this life to his honor and glorie, which he grant
cc vs to do in ſuch reſt, peace, and tranquillitie, as ſhall
cc be meet and conuenient for vs.

When therefore the king of England had ſet forth this declaration of the cauſes that moued him to make warre againſt Scotland, he prepared to proſecute the ſame both by ſea and land, and hauing rigged and furniſhed diuerſe ſhips of warre, he ſent the ſame forth to the ſea, that they might take ſuch Scotiſh ſhips as were to returne from their voiages made into France, Flanders, Denmarke, and other countries, whether they were gone for trade of merchandize, with which the Engliſh ſhips incountred, tooke 28 of the principall ſhips of all Scotland, fraught with all kind of merchandize and rich wares, which they brought with them into the Engliſh ports.

Scotiſh ſhips taken.

The king of Scotland aduertiſed therof, ſent with all ſpéed an herald, deſiring reſtitution of his ſhips, as he thought ſtood with reaſon, ſéeing no war was proclamed: but the king of England thought it no reaſon to depart with them ſo ſone, till other articles of agréement might be concluded, and therefore refuſed not onelie to deliuer their ſhips, but alſo ſent ſir Robert Bowes with men to the borders, giuing him in charge to inuade Scotland, who according to his commiſſion, with thrée thouſand men rode into Scotland, and began to burne and to ſpoile certeine ſmall townes: whereupon the fraie being raiſed in the countrie, George Gordon the earle of Huntleie, who was appointed to remaine as lieutenant vpon the borders, for doubt of ſuch ſudden inuaſions, immediatlie gathered a number of borderers, and ſet vpon the Engliſhmen, and put them all to flight; ſir Robert Bowes, and his brother Richard Bowes, with diuers other, to the number of ſix hundred, were taken priſoners; and the ſaid ſir Robert Bowes and other the principall landed men were kept ſtill in Scotland till after the kings death. This victorie chanced to the Scots, at a place called Halden Rig in the Mers, vpon ſaint Bartholomewes day, which is the twentie fourth of Auguſt.

Sir Robert Bowes inuadeth the borders.

The earle of Huntleie giueth an ouerthrow to the Engliſhmen. 1542. Leſſe

After this, the king of England ſent the duke of Norfolke with the earles of Shrewesburie, Darbie, Cumberland, Surreie, Hertford, Angus, Rutland, and the lords of the north parts of England, with an armie of fortie thouſand men, as the Scots eſtéemed them, though they were not manie aboue twentie thouſand, who entered into Scotland the one and twentith of October, and burnt certeine townes vpon the ſide of the water of Tweed: but the earle of Huntleie, hauing with him ten thouſand of the borderers and other, ſo waited vpon them, giuing them now and then ſkirmiſhes and alarms, that they came not paſt two miles from the water of Tweed within the Scotiſh bounds at that ſeaſon.

In the meane time, the king of Scotland being aduertiſed héereof, gathered a great armie through all the parts of his realme, and came to Sowtraie hedge, where they muſtered, and were numbred to be thirtie ſix thouſand men, with the which he came to Falla Mure, and there incamped, determining to giue battell to the Engliſhmen, as he pretended: howbeit, if the duke had taried longer, as it was thought he would haue done, if the time of the yéere and prouiſion of vittels had ſerued, the Scots would yet haue béene better aduiſed, before they had ioined with him in a pight field. But true it is, that after the duke had remained there ſo long as vittels might be had and recouered from anie part, he retired with his armie backe into England, not without ſome loſſe of men, horſſes, and ſpoiles, which the Scots vnder the earle of Huntleie and others tooke from the Engliſhmen in that their retire, ſpeciallie as they paſſed ouer the riuer of Tweed.

After the Engliſhmen were thus departed and withdrawne home forth of Scotland, king James being of an high and manlie courage, in reuenge of harmes done by the Engliſhmen within his countrie, thought good that his whole armie ſhould paſſe forward and inuade England, himſelfe to go therewith in proper perſon. And héerein he requeſted the conſent of his nobilitie, who after long reaſoning, and good aduiſement taken in the matter, gaue anſwer [by the earle of Murrey] to the king in this ſort, that they could not thinke it good that they ſhould paſſe within England, and to ſeeke battell, the king himſelfe being with them, conſidering that his two ſons were latelie deceaſſed, ſo that he had no ſucceſſion of his bodie: for in caſe that they loſt the field, as in chance of battell is moſt vncerteine, then the king of England hauing great ſubſtance, might therwith follow the victorie, and put the realme of Scotland in great hazard.

Therefore

Therefore they thought it ſufficient to defend their owne bounds, and to conſtreine the enimie for feare to leaue the inuaſion thereof, as preſentlie they had done; and declared that they were determined to haue giuen battell to their enimies, if they had continued within the realme, and doubted not by the helpe of God, they hauing ſo iuſt a cauſe, and being inuaded in their countrie, but that they ſhould haue obteined the victorie. The king hearing their determination, albeit his high courage preſſed him to inuade; yet the approued wit of his nobles and councellors cauſed him to follow their aduiſe, and ſo returned with his armie backe againe, the firſt of Nouember, the armie of England being firſt diſcharged, and the duke of Norfolke in his returne towards London.

The king breaketh vp his armie.

Shortlie after, the king of Scotland went himſelfe in perſon to the weſt marches of his realme, where the lord Marwell was warden, vnto whome togither with the earles of Caſſiles, and Glencarne [the lord Fleming] and certeine other lords there with him, the king appointed to inuade the Engliſh marches on that ſide, taking with them the power of the borders, and ſent alſo with them Oliuer Sincler [the brother of Rolleline Comarch] and the reſidue of the gentlemen of his houſhold. Theſe earles and lords entering into England on ſaint Katharines euen, being the foure and twentith of Nouember, began to burne certeine townes vpon the water of Eſke. But as ſoone as the ſcrie was raiſed in the countrie, the lord Wharton warden of the weſt marches of England, ſuddenlie raiſed the power of the countrie, and came to a little hill, where they ſhewed themſelues in ſight vnto the Scotiſh armie.

The king goeth to the weſt borders. 1541. Leſl.

Oliuer Sincler.

The lord Wharton.

The Scotiſh lords perceiuing the Engliſhmen gathered, aſſembled themſelues togither, and inquired who was lieutenant generall there by the kings appointment; and incontinentlie Oliuer Sincler was holden vp on two mens ſhoulders, where he ſheweth forth the kings commiſſion, inſtituting him lieutenant to the king of that armie. But howſoeuer that was read, the earles and lords there preſent, thought themſelues imbaſed too much, to haue ſuch a meane gentleman aduanced in authoritie aboue them all, and therefore determined not to fight vnder ſuch a capteine, but willinglie ſuffered themſelues to be ouercome, and ſo were taken by the Engliſhmen, not ſhewing anie countenance of defenſe to the contrarie, and without ſlaughter of anie one perſon on either ſide.

The enuie of the lords againſt Oliuer Sincler.

The Scots diſcomfited by the Engliſhmen.

This rode was called Solowaie Moſſe, at the which were taken priſoners men of name, theſe perſons following: the earle of Caſſiles and Glencarne, the lord Marwell, the lord Fleming, the lord Somerville, the lord Oliphant, Oliuer Sincler, the lord of Craggie, and ſundrie other gentlemen, the which were led priſoners to London, where they remained till after the king was dead. The king being in Carlauerocke vpon the borders not farre from Solowaie Moſſe, when this miſfortune fell vpon his men: after he heard thereof, he was meruelouſlie amazed, the more, in calling to remembrance the refuſall made by his nobles, aſſembled with him in campe at Falla vpon his requeſt to inuade England. Herewith ſuch an impreſſion entered his mind, that he thought with himſelfe that all his whole nobilitie had conſpired againſt him, and therevpon toke ſuch a vehement and high diſpleaſure, increaſed with a melancholious thought, that he departed ſuddenlie from thence to Edenburgh, and after remoued to Falkeland, where he remained as a man deſolate of comfort, being ſore vexed in ſpirit and bodie, and would not permit anie manner of perſon to haue acceſſe to him, his ſecret & familiar ſeruants onelie excepted.

The griefe of the king for the ouerthrow of his men.

Now, as he was thus diſquieted, newes were brought him that the quéene his wife was brought to bed of a faire yong princeſſe the ſeuenth day of December, the which newes he liked verie euill; and added the griefe thereof to his former diſpleaſantneſſe, inſomuch that he perceiued the end of his life to approch, and withall ſaid, that he foreſaw great trouble to come vpon the realme of Scotland, for the purſuit which the king of England was like to make therevpon againſt the ſame, to the end he might bring it vnder his ſubiection, either by mariage, or by ſome other meane. It was reported that he was diſquieted with ſome vnkindlie medicine: but howſoeuer the matter was, he yéelded vp his ſpirit to almightie God, and departed this world the foureténth of December, in the yéere of our redemption, 1542, the thirtie thrée yeere of his age, and thirtie two of his reigne.

The birth of the Scotiſh quéene.

Shortlie after his departure, his bodie was conueied into Falkeland vnto Edenburgh in moſt honorable wiſe; the cardinall, the earles of Arrane, Argile, Rothes, Marſhall, and diuerſe other noblemen being preſent, and with all funerall pompe (as was requiſite) it was buried in the abbeie church of Holie rod houſe, beſide the bodie of quéene Magdalen, daughter to the king of France, his firſt wife. There was great lamentation and mone made for his death throughout all parts of his realme, for he was verie well beloued among his ſubiects. ❧ He was of ſweet countenance and courteous ſpeech, graciouſlie eied, hauing a diuine mind in all whatſoeuer, neither certeine in doubtfull things, nor doubtfull in things of certeintie, auoiding dangers with graue counſels, performing hard matters with great nobilitie of mind, and foreſéeing what might follow with an incredible iudgement: in ſuch ſort that hée was neuer vnprouided againſt the danger of anie thing, or was drawne from it by the difficultie thereof, or was hindered by the obſcuritie therein: whereby he might incurre the note either of a raſh, fearefull, or ſlow perſon.

Fr. Thin. Leſleus lib. 9. pag. 460.

All which ſingular commendations ſeemed to flow out of this ſpring, that he did not by heat of youth (raſhlie) but with great deliberation (ſoundlie) manage the whole affaires of the common-wealth. For as he did chieflie labor that his table might not exceed for gluttonie, nor be ouerſparing for miſerie: ſo if his apparell were decent, he eſteemed not the ſhew of womaniſh attire after the courtlie faſhion. He was ſo farre from pride, that he alwaies ſhewed himſelfe offended with the vſes thereof. He was an obſeruer of iuſtice, a defender of the law, and a ſharpe ſhield for the innocent and poore: for which cauſe he was of the nobilitie called the king of the commoners. For he ſet at libertie the poore oppreſſed with the tyrannie of the rich, and repreſſed the rich from ſpoiling of the poore: all which he did with a certeine ſeueritie, but yet ſuch, as in the ſame there appeared a wonderfull gentlenes of his naturall diſpoſition, bicauſe he ſeldome put anie of them to death, but did either by priſon or mulct puniſh the offenſe. For he was wont to ſay, that he would neuer take life from anie, but onelie to kéepe the law ſound, and for the example of others: and to kéepe downe the boldneſſe of ſuch as dwelt about the borders. With theſe conditions he left the realme plentifullie furniſhed with riches, and his owne treaſurie not emptie, but abundantly ſtored with gold, ſiluer and other furniture: for which cauſe it ſhould not ſéeme ſtrange, that his death was greatlie lamented of his ſubiects, to whom he was a perfect patrone, and a louing father.

Of whome alſo Buchanan lib. 14 writeth, that his vices did almoſt equall all his great vertues; but that they were rather to be imputed to the iniquitie of the time than the inclination of his nature,

for the libertie of all things had then dissolued the publike discipline, which could not be staied but by great seueritie of correction. And this made him more couetous of monie, because that he was kept extreame hard when he was vnder the gouernment of others. Whereby, when he came to bee at libertie, he was anew to furnish all his courts with houshold stuffe, finding his houses emptie, and all things conueied away: for his tutors had consumed the kinglie patrimonie vpon those whome he willinglie would not haue receiued it. Besides, for his excesse of women the fault grew by such as were his tutors, who gaue him libertie therto, supposing therby to keepe him the longer in their danger. The nobilitie did not greatlie take his death grieuouslie, because he had fined manie, imprisoned more, and caused no small sew (for auoiding his displeasure) to flie into England, and rather to commit themselues to the enimie than to his anger.)

Queene Marie.

THe eternall God calling to his mercie James king of Scotland, the fift of that name, Marie his onelie daughter and heire began hir reigne ouer the realme of Scotland, the eighteenth day of December, in the yeare of our Lord 1542, Francis the first of that name then reigning in France, & Henrie the eight ouer the Englishmen. She was not passing seuen daies old when hir father departing this life, left vnto hir his kingdome, hir mother lieng in childbed in the castell of Lithquo, of which place the lord Leuingston being capteine, had the charge committed to him, both of the daughter & mother, with the mothers good agreement and frée consent.

1542.

The lord Leuingston.

Moreouer, immediatlie after the kings death (because he deceassed without making anie will, or taking anie direction for the gouernement either of the realme, or custodie of the yong queene his daughter) Dauid Beton, cardinall and archbishop of S. Andrews, the speciall minister & factor of the French causes, to the aduancement and continuance thereof, inuented and forged [by Henrie Balfure] a will and testament of the late king now departed, in which (amongst other things) he established himselfe chiefe regent, adioining with him the earles of Murrey, base brother to the king deceassed, Huntleie and Argile, not once mentioning the earle of Lennox then absent in France, nor yet James Hamilton earle of Arrane his cousine, being there present in Scotland,

Dauid Beton cardinall.

His forging of a will.

Those that professed the reformed religion, beeing then called protestants, to whome the said cardinall was euer a cruell enimie and sharpe scourge, espied forth his vniust dealing in this behalfe, and trusting by the gentle nature and good inclination of the said earle of Arrane, to haue some libertie to imbrace the gospell, set him against the cardinall: so that by the helpe of his owne and their friends, he remoued the cardinall and his adherents from the vsurped rome and authoritie, and therewith was the said earle of Arrane proclamed gouernor and protector of the realme. [And therevpon shewing his authoritie, he entereth the kings palaces, as saith Lesleus lib. 10. pa. 464. and vseth the kings treasure, and calleth the officers of the treasurie to account, whereof he reteineth some, and changeth others at his pleasure.]

The protestants espied the cardinals craftie iugling.

1543 Lesle. Fr. Thin.

This earle of Arrane made a title to haue and inioie that office and rome, as next in bloud to the yong queene, as descended from a sister of K. James the third, maried to his grandfather lord Hamilton, in the yere 1475, by reason of which mariage he was created earle of Arrane, as by act of parlement holden the same yeare at Edenburgh, it was agréed and ordeined. The king of England that noble prince Henrie the eight, aduertised of the death of the king of Scots, considered with good aduise, that now there was offered a most readie meane and iust occasion, whereby the two realmes of England and Scotland might be brought into one entier monarchie, without warre or bloudshed, by the mariage of his sonne prince Edward, being then little past sir yeares of age, with the yong queene of Scotland.

He therefore being resolued fullie to bring the same to passe, either by quiet meanes or by force, and sending for the erles of Cassiles, and Glencarne, the lords Marwell, and Fleming, and other prisoners that had bene taken at Soloway mosse, caused them to be conueied vnto Hampton court, where the seuen and twentith of December they being right curteouslie interteined, he made vnto them an ouerture of his purpose and whole intent, proponing the whole matter vnto them, requesting them for their parts, to helpe (with their consents) that a contract of mariage might be made betweene his sonne the prince, and their yong queene; promising to them libertie without ransome, besides other pleasures and benefits, if they would doo their indeuor to persuade the gouernor, and other the nobilitie of Scotland to be agréeable herevnto.

The king of England taketh with the lords of Scotland prisoners for a mariage betwixt his son and their queene.

The Scotish earles and lords accepted the kings offer, and withall promised to doo their diligence to persuade the rest of the nobilitie in Scotland at their comming home: whereupon they were licenced to depart, and so comming to Newcastell, remained there with the duke of Suffolke, then the kings lieutenant of the north parts, till he had receiued forth of Scotland certeine pledges of the chiefest of these lords, for performance of their promises. Likewise the king of England sent with them the earle of Angus, and his brother sir George Dowglas with his letters to the gouernor, requesting effectuouslie, that they might be restored to their romes, lands and possessions in that realme.

1543. Buch.

Duke of Norfolke Buchanan.

The earle of Angus sent home into Scotland.

These lords arriuing at Edenburgh, about the midst of Januarie, declared to the gouernor their message and proposition made by the king of England, with such efficacie, that the gouernor being persuaded thereto by their words, sent for the lords and nobilitie of the realme to come to Edenburgh, to a conuention there, to be holden the seuen and twentith of that present moneth: where they concluded that a parlement should be kept in March next insuing. And doubting lest the cardinall (being there present) should go about to persuade the nobilitie not to consent to their desires, they caused him to be put in ward within the castell of Dalketh: the lord Seton beeing apointed to haue the custodie of him. About the same time, sir Robert Bowes, and all other the Englishmen that were prisoners, and had beene taken at Halding rig on saint Bartholomews day (as before ye haue heard) were sent home by the gouernor into England, and sir Rafe Sadler was sent ambassadour from king Henrie vnto the said gouernor, and other the lords of Scotland, and came thither before the said parlement, to persuade the lords to agree vnto the king his maisters motions, trauelling so diligentlie in the matters whereabout he was thus sent, that it was concluded by act of parlement, to send ambassadors into England, for the better satisfaction of king Henries desires.

1543. Lesle. 1542.

A conuention of the Scotish nobilitie.

The cardinall committed to ward.

Halding rig.

Sir Rafe Sadler.

Ambassadors sent into England.

And so the earle of Glencarne, sir George Dowglas, sir William Hamilton, sir James Leirmouth, and the secretarie being named and appointed thereto, departed in the moneth of March, and comming into England vnto the king, remained there till the latter end of Julie. In which meane time, such conenants, contracts, and promises were had and concluded, passed and sealed interchangeablie, as stood with the pleasure and good liking of king Henrie, so as the

mariage

The mariage confirmed.

marriage was fullie contracted, and a peace concluded for ten yeeres, by authoritie of the aforesaid parlement. Herewith also the lord governor shewed himselfe to imbrace the reformed religion, causing one frier Guilliam to preach against images, and fruitlesse ceremonies, and gaue libertie that the bible called The new and old testament, should be had in English, & vniuersallie publisht through the realme of Scotland.

Also he commanded not onelie the cardinall (as before ye haue heard) but also ordeined that the quéene mother should remaine in Lithgow with the yong quéene hir daughter, vnder some manner of safe custodie, and the cardinall to be remoued vnto his owne castell of saint Andrewes, with warders about him to see him safelie kept. ✻ Not long after, the cardinall was restored to vnhoped libertie, and the earle of Angus, George Dowglasse, and the lord Glames, the heire of James Hamilton, with manie others, by the consent of the three estates, were wholie restored to all their goods, and deliuered from the sentence of banishment.

Fr. Thin. Lesleus. lib. 10. pag. 465.

John Hamilton abbat of Passelew, brother of the governor, returning out of France (where he had imploied himselfe to studie) did (with certeine learned men, as Dauid Panter, and others, whom he had in his companie) visit the king of England, of whome they were most courteouslie interteined. After which this Hamilton returning into Scotland, was made treasuror of the kingdome, which office he discharged with great commendation, so long as his brother kept the gouernement, whom he did not onelie helpe in counsell for ordering of the kingdome, but also shewed him selfe a valiant and industrious man in the warres against the English, for defense of the kingdome of Scotland. About this time, the earle Bothwell, which was banished, and had remained long at Uenice, did returne into Scotland, whither he was honorablie welcommed, as a person much desired of his friends and kinred.)

The French king misliketh of the match with England.

The realme being thus brought in quiet, and vnder good gouernement, the French king sore misliking this new coniunction of the Scots with England, and doubting least the old former bond of alliance betwixt France and Scotland might thereby be vtterlie dissolued and shaken off, he sent for Matthew Steward earle of Lennor, then abroad in his seruice in the wars of Italie, and vpon his comming backe from thence to the court, he declared to him the decease of the late king of Scots, the intrusion of Arrane, and the attempts in that realme begun, with all the circumstances from point to point as he knew; and further discoursed with him what wrong he had to be set aside, and displaced from his right of gouernement; and therefore exhorted him to repaire home to recouer the same, offering not onelie to assist him with men, monie, and munition, but also to ioine his friends in Scotland with him in aid to attaine the place of regiment, and to remoue Arrane and others from it.

Matthew earle of Lennor.

The earle of Lennor herevpon with commission and instructions deliuered to him by the French king, had also letters from him directed to the lords that were of the French faction, wherin the said king requested them to remaine and continue in their former good meanings towards him, and to assist the earle of Lennor in all things, as should be thought expedient. ✻ Now, before the earle of Lennor returned out of France, the cardinall had vsed manie persuasions against the English, as well that the Scots set at libertie by the king, should breake their faith with him, as also to draw them to the French faction, and rather to suffer their pledges to receiue what king Henrie would vse vnto them, than by keeping promise to the English, to conueie the yong quéene vnto them.

Fr. Thin. Buchan. lib. 15.

Wherevpon, when the greater part of those nobles (whome the matter touched, could easilie find anie color for the excuse of their fault) had consented to the cardinals persuasion, onelie one amongest the rest would not yéeld thereto, which was Gilbert Kennedie earle of Cassiles, who could not be drawen from that constancie (in obseruing his faith) either by bribes, flatteries, or threats. For he (hauing two brothers pledges for him in England) did openlie protest, that he would returne to prison, and by no feare laid before him commit such a fault, as that he would redéeme his life with the bloud of his two brothers: for which cause he went forthwith to London, although euerie man spake against it. Wherevpon, the king of England did singularlie commend the constancie of the yong man, and further (to the end that his vertue might be knowne to all men) did set him at libertie with his two brethren, and sent him home honorablie rewarded.

Now the realme of Scotland being thus in great vprores by means of the quéenes and cardinals factions, whereof the last drew all (such as he could) to support the French league, they sent ambassadors into France, to request the French king to send home Matthew Steward earle of Lennor, as one that was not onelie emulous against Hamilton, but also his deadlie enimie for the slaughter of his father at Linnuchs: which yong Steward (beside his beautie and comelinesse of bodie, in the verie flower of his youth; the memorie, carefulnesse, and dangers of his father, a verie popular man, and beloued of the people; the worthinesse of that familie brought almost to an end, and that the same was of great power, and linked in mariage with manie nobles) did win and draw the minds of manie men, desirous to helpe him, for the great fauor they bare vnto him.

To the which further procurement of the peoples loue also, there might be ioined, that he was next heire to the crowne by the kings appointment, if he died without issue male; the which king James, if he had liued, would haue established by parlement: besides which likewise, there wanted not flatterers, which did not onelie stirre vp his noble mind (now gaping after great things, and vndefended against deceits) to the hope of gouerning of the kingdome for these one and twentie yéeres and more, during the quéenes minoritie, and to the rule and power ouer his enimies, whereby he might vse reuenge vpon them: but also they promised him to marrie the quéene Dowager: and in the meane time (if anie thing happened otherwise than well to the yong quéene) that he should obteine the crowne, whereby he should both be king, and the next lawfull heire of James Hamilton latelie deceassed, since the governor was a bastard, and could not onelie by law not loke or hope for the kingdome, but also not so much as hope to be heire to his owne familie. To all which were added the persuasions of the French before mentioned. Wherevpon, the yong man (whose mind was credulous, being tickled and intised with these hopes) determined to go into Scotland.)

The earle of Lennor passeth into Scotland.

The earle therefore fullie instructed by the French king, how to deale and proceed, toke his leaue, and with all spéed taking the sea, directed his course into Scotland, where (after his arriuall) he came to Edenburgh, in which towne all the lords being assembled togither with the governor, he declared to them the effect of his commission from the French king, his request to them, & good affection to maintaine them against England, if in case they would continue the old league with him, and not séeke to make anie new aliance with the king of England.

But

But perceiuing that the gouernor and his friends were minded to ſatiſfie the king of Englands deſires, he would not tarrie for a reſolute anſwer, but by the counſell of the earle of Argile, William earle of Glencarne, and others of the French faction, he ſuddenlie departed forth of Edenburgh toward the weſt countrie, highlie diſpleaſed (as ſhould ſeeme) with the gouernor, and taking Lithgow in his way, he conferred with the quéene Dowager (as they termed hir) deuiſing how to aſſemble the noble men of the French ſide, to bring hir and hir daughter to libertie, out of the danger of the lord gouernor: becauſe it was ſuppoſed that he ment to conuele hir into England.

The earle of Lennor conferreth with the quéene Dowager.

1543. Leſle.

About the ſame time, through práctiſe of the abbat of Palleie, brother to the gouernor, and others, the caſtell of Edenburgh was got out of the hands of ſir Peter Creichton, and the keeping thereof committed by the gouernors appointment vnto James Hamilton lard of Stanehouſe. But the erle of Lennor, with the aſſiſtance of the earles of Huntleie, Montroſſe, Mentiſe, Argile, and others of the French faction in Auguſt following, conueied the yong quéene with hir mother from Lithgew vnto Striueling. The cardinall alſo was there with them latelie before, hauing corrupted his kéepers, & gotten abroad at libertie. Hérewith was a day appointed and proclamed for the coronation of the yong quéene. The earle of Arrane then gouernor, with the earles of Angus, Caſſiles, the lords Marwell, Somerule, and diuerſe others, called the Engliſh lords, remaining ſtill at Edenburgh, aduertiſed the king of England of all the práctiks of Lennor, and other of that faction, requiring his aduiſe and counſell how to deale for diſappointing of their purpoſes, that ſought to continue the amitie ſtill with France, to the préiudice of peace with England.

The caſtell of Edenburgh recouered to the gouernors vſe.

The yong quéene conueied to Striueling.

The king of Englands aduertiſed héereof, as well thus from the gouernor, and other the Scotiſh lords, as alſo from ſir Rafe Sadler, his maieſties ambaſſador there, doubted greatlie leaſt theſe lords, in whoſe hands the quéene then was, in reſpect of the fauour which they bare to the French king, ſhould conueie hir ouer into France: where vpon he requeſted the gouernor, and the other lords that fauoured his ſide, ſo to deale, that ſhe might be ſent into England, there to remaine, till the mariage might be conſummate betwixt hir and his ſonne prince Edward: hauing in the meane time ſuch lords of hir countrie about hir to attend vpon hir, and to ſée to hir bringing vp, as ſhould be thought expedient. To conclude, his maieſtie not onelie ſent his princelie comfort by waie of counſell and good aduiſe, but alſo according to their deſire, and as by the duke of Suffolke (his highnes lieutenant then in the north) it was thought expedient.

The king of Englands doubt.

Thomas lord Wharton, with two thouſand men from the weſt marches, and the lord Euers with other two thouſand from the eaſt borders, were appointed to enter Scotland, and to ioine themſelues with the gouernor, and his friends, to aſſiſt them againſt their aduerſaries. But as they were in a readineſſe to march, through the ſecret labor of the cardinall, wiſhing the aduancement of the earle of Arrane his kinſman (whome he thought he ſhould well inough frame to be at his appointment) rather than Lennor that was knowne to be of a greater ſtomach, the matter was ſo handled, what by the cardinall and the earle of Huntleie of the one part, and the quéene Dowager on the other, that the earle of Arrane reuolting from the king of England, came in to the Dowager, and ioined himſelfe with the cardinall, and other the lords of the French faction: by reaſon whereof, they all concluded to maintéine him in the eſtate of lord gouernor, and not to place Lennor, as their purpoſe was to haue done, if Arrane had continued faithfull to the king of England.

The lord wharton. The lord Euers.

The earle of Arrane a faith breaker.

Shortlie after, the yong quéene was crowned at Striueling, the cardinall taking vpon him to order things as he thought good, appointing the gouernor to beare the crowne as chiefe perſon, & next in blood to the quéene, and the earle of Lennor to beare the ſcepter. After the coronation, a parlement was called and holden at Edenburgh, at the which, in preſence of the patriarch of Apuleia the popes agent, and of the French kings ambaſſadors, monſieur la Broſſe, and monſieur Menage, latelie before come into the realme, the earle of Arrane was newlie confirmed gouernor. And for the ſure preſeruation (as they pretended) of the yong quéene, it was agréed by the gouernor and the eſtates, that ſhe ſhuld remaine with the old quéene hir mother in Sterling caſtell, during hir minoritie, and certeine rents of that ſeignioríe were aſſigned for maintenance of ſuch traine as was thought expedient to be attendant about hir: and further, the lords Leuingſton, Erſkin, and Fleming [or (as ſaith Buchanan) the lord Grams, John Areſkin, John Lindſeie, & William Leuiſton] were appointed to abide continuallie with hir, for the better ſafegard of hir perſon.

The coronation of quéene Marie.

A parlement.

The patriarch of Apuleia.

Order for the cuſtodie of the quéene.

Fr. Thin.

Thus was euerie thing ordered as ſéemed to ſtand with the pleaſure of the cardinall. Wherevpon the earle of Lennor, perceiuing how vncourteouſlie he was vſed, to haue his aduerſarie thus confirmed in authoritie by the French ſide, and himſelfe reiected, he firſt ſent to the French king, informing him thoroughlie of the iniuries to him done, putting him in remembrance of the promiſes made to him when he departed from him; alſo the conſtantneſſe of his ſeruice, the hazard he had put himſelfe in for his ſake: and notwithſtanding how he was yet vnkindlie dealt with, that through truſt of his promiſed aid and aſſiſtance, he was brought out of credit in his countrie, and ſubiected vnder the commandement and authoritie of his enimie, and wrongfullie diſappointed of his right, which he looked to haue recouered, and to haue béene mainteined therein by his ſupport.

The earle of Lennor his diſpleaſure.

In conſideration whereof, he renounced his ſeruice, willing him from thenceforth not to looke for the ſame anie more at his hands. Hérewith Lennor ioining himſelfe with the earles of Angus, Caſſiles, and Glencarne, the lords Marwell, and Somerule, the ſhiriffe of Aire, the lard of Drumlanrig, and other of that ſide, called the Engliſh lords, ſet himſelfe againſt the gouernor, the cardinall, and others of that faction, ſo that the reſidue of this yeere was ſpent in ciuill diſſention betweene them. And héere is to be noted, that a little before that the earle of Arrane reuolted to the French part, there was arriued in the mouth of the riuer of Cloide on the weſt coaſt, fiue ſhips, which the French king had ſent to the aid of his friends in Scotland, vnder the conduction of James Steward of Cardonold, and of the forenamed monſieur de la Broſſe, & monſieur Menage, the French kings ambaſſadors.

He renounceth his ſeruice to the French king.

Ciuill diſſention in Scotland.

French ſhips arriuing in the riuer of Cloide.

There came with them alſo the patriarch of Apuleia, of whome ye haue likewiſe heard before. They had brought aboord in theſe ſhips fiftie thouſand crownes, and munition to the value of ten thouſand crownes. The earle of Lennor therfore, when he firſt reſolued to turne to the Engliſh part, with the aduiſe of his confederats, ſeized vpon thoſe ſhips, got the fiftie thouſand crownes, and the moſt part of the munition into his hands, and brought it to the caſtell of Dunbreton, reteining it to his owne vſe, where it was ſent to haue béene imploid to the maintenance of the French faction, againſt the king of England, and the lords that leaned to his ſide.

The earle of Lennor ſeized vpon the French ſhips.

The

The earle of Lennox raiſeth an armie.

The earle of Lennox therefore, raiſing a power of men of warre with the aſſiſtance of the lords of his faction, came with them vnto Leith againſt the gouernor that was then in Edenburgh: but through the diligent trauell of the cardinall, the earles of Huntleie, Murrey, and Argile, the matter was taken vp, and an appointment accorded: ſo that ſir George Dowglaſſe was deliuered as a pledge for his brother the earle of Angus, the maiſter of Glencarne for his father the earle of Glencarne, the abbat Caſſaghole for his brother the earle of Caſſiles, to remaine in ſafe keeping where it pleaſed the gouernor to appoint. The earle of Lennox came vnto Edenburgh to the gouernor, but within ſix daies after, they went both to Lithquho, from whence the earle of Lennox ſecretlie departed from the gouernor without bidding him farewell, and comming to Glaſcow, fortified the caſtell.

An appointment taken. Pledges deliuered.

The earle of Lennox commeth to the gouernor. He departed from him againe. He fortifieth Glaſcow. Fr. Thin. Leſleus. lib. 10. pag. 468. 1543. Leſle.

✠ When the gouernor had receiued true intelligence that the earle had taken Glaſcow, he (aſſembling ſuch power as he could make, as well of his friends and followers, as of others, eſpeciallie of the lord Boid) went vnto Glaſcow, in which place the earle of Glencarne had before placed his armie, to the end there to trie the matter with his enimies. But before the battell, the earle of Lennox had withdrawen himſelfe vnto Dunbreton, to gather a greater aſſemblie, ſhortlie after to returne to Glaſcow. The earle of Glencarne, with Tilbarne, Houſtone, Buchanan, Macfarlane, Drumquhaſſile, and other barons and nobles of the Lennox, Kamfrie, and other places adioining, with the citizens, eccleſiaſticall perſons of all orders, and the other ſort of common people, departed out of the towne to the plaine thereof (being a mile from the towne) there to trie the euent of battell (before the comming of the earle of Lennox) more in haſte than good ſpéd. Whereupon the gouernor (perceiuing himſelfe to be drawne forward to battell) commanded the trumpets to ſound to the alarmes. Whereupon the battels ioined, the hoſts began to fight violentlie, and the conflict grew to be extreme on both parts: in which (with great ſlaughter) they long time fought with vncerteine victorie.

But in the end (what with the force of his armie, and the incouragement of the capteine) the full conqueſt fell to the gouernor, who put his enimies to flight. At what time, of the fauourers of the Lennox there were manie ſlaine, partlie of the nobles (as the ſonne of the earle of Glencarne, and Monniepennie capteine of the footmen) and partlie of the common ſort (as the citizens of Glaſcow, and manie eccleſiaſticall perſons.) Beſides all which, there had manie more periſhed, if the gouernor (through his naturall clemencie) had not (when the victorie began to leane towards him) giuen a ſigne of retreit, & with much ſpéd ſaued manie of them. On the gouernors part were few killing, except Cambuſketh (the head of that familie) and the baron of Argentine. The gouernor purſuing this victorie, entered the towne of Glaſcow, where he vſed (by the perſuaſion of the lord Boid) wonderfull fauour towards the citizens, (farre beyond their deſerts) although that he depriued ſome (of the chiefeſt condition amongeſt them) from all the vſe and benefit of their goods.

The earle of Lennox remaining at Dunbar, receiued into the caſtell the earle of Glencarne, and others, which had eſcaped the battell, who ſometime after did reſt (being feared with the ouerthrow) from anie further turmoiles or troubles. But in the end, they which fauoured the Lennox, dwaſtelie ſtirre him to take weapon againſt the gouernor: whereupon he doth reſtrengthen the towne and ſteeple of Glaſcow, determining to gather a new ſupplie, and once more to caſt the dice of war. But the gouernor (minding to preuent all his indeuors by wiſe counſell) did (being accompanied with the cardinall) call to him about Glaſcow, all the nobilitie of the ſouth parts, and (bringing forth the hired ſouldiors) commanded the great péeces to be planted againſt the enimie. Whereupon (entering the towne) he beſieged the caſtell and ſteeple of the church (in which place were both Scots and Frenchmen) and in the end (after a ſlaughter of ſome of them) inforced the other to yéld their forts. After that the caſtell was thus come into the gouernors hands, he hanged eightéene of the chiefeſt and beſt loued vnto Lennox, and permitted the reſt to depart at libertie. The earle of Lennox (vnderſtanding that his affaires began to wauer, and to obteine ſuch euill ſucceſſe) doth ſend the earle of Angus and the lord Maxwell to the gouernor, to intreat of peace betwéene him and the earle of Lennox, the which they laboured with great diligence, according to the truſt repoſed in them.]

The earle of Angus and the lord Maxwell committed to ward.

But the gouernor cauſed them both to be ſecretlie conueied from the councell by the backeſide of the blacke friers of Glaſcow, vnto the caſtell of Hamilton, and from thence the earle was ſent to Blackeneſſe. The lord Maxwell was kept ſtill in hold at Hamilton, and George Dowglas, and the maiſter of Glencarne in Edenburgh caſtell. Theſe perſons thus impriſoned ſtood in great doubt of their liues (as ſome ſuppoſed:) but as diuerſe other did ſuſpect, they were rather committed for a colour, than for anie euill that was meant towards them. Howſoeuer it was with them, the earle of Lennox by the aduiſe of his friends ſent the earle of Glencarne, and a gentleman called Thomas Biſhop, vnto the king of England with offer of his ſeruice, and requeſt to haue in mariage the ladie Margaret Dowglaſſe daughter to the Earle of Angus, and néece to the ſaid king.

Mens opinions for the impriſoning of the earle of Angus.

1544.

The earle of Lennox ſendeth to the king of England.

✠ Herevnto the king granted. For the performance whereof (and the diſpatch of other things) he ſent the lord Wharton and diuerſe others. And on the earles part, the biſhop of Cathnes his brother and the earle of Glencarne were appointed, who met at Carleill to performe the agréement. The quéene, the cardinall, and the other of the French faction, did helpe the gouernor all they might, with counſell, power, and monie; becauſe they perceiued that he repented ſuch friendſhip with England as he had taken in hand by the counſell of Angus and of others. In the meane time there was a parlement aſſembled at Striueling, in which by common conſent, the earle of Lennox was condemned of treaſon; wherefore the ſentence of baniſhment was executed againſt him, and all his goods with his patrimonie were confiſcat to the quéene. Whileſt the French king was aſcerteined that Lennox had forſaken his faction, & committed himſelfe to the king of England, he ſuddenlie committed to priſon John Steward lord of Aubigne baron in France, brother to the earle of Lennox, and depriued the ſaid John Steward of all ſuch honors and offices as he poſſeſſed in France. For he was generall capteine of all the Scotiſh lands in France, being either ſuch as had gard of the kings bodie, or bowmen, or men at armes: for the king of France hath Scots in wages of all the orders.

Fr. Thin. Leſleus lib. 10. pag. 470.

But let vs now returne to the Patriarch, who was honorablie receiued by the cardinall and the biſhop of Scotland into the citie of Glaſcow: during whoſe abode there, great contention aroſe betwéene the cardinall and the archbiſhop of Glaſcow, who ſhould in that citie be of greateſt authoritie and honor. Which in th'end came to this iſſue, that both families fell togither by the eares, which of them ſhould go before

fore with his crosse borne vpright. For the cardinall archbishop of saint Andrews and primat of the kingdome, did affirme that the archbishop of Glascow should not haue his crosse borne in his owne church, so long as the cardinall was present. Which the seruants of the archbishop of Glascow take in such disdaine, that they plucked downe the cardinals crosse and threw it to the ground. Whereupon, the gouernor (vnderstanding the whole matter, and that it was now come from words to swords) made hast to appease this factious commotion, & caused the Patriarch therwith to be brought to Edenburgh accompanied with the clergie, where he remained all the winter following. In which towne he was honorablie enterteined and feasted of the quéene, the gouernor, and other of the nobles, whome he requited with the like courtesie.

Amongest these of the nobilitie, the earle of Murrey had the Patriarch on a day to a banket, in which this Murrey did shew an honorable thing not accustomed amongest others. For where he abounded in store of siluer vessels, yet he commanded his seruants to furnish a great cupbord with christall glasses brought from Uenice, & that in the midst of dinner he should ouerturne the cupbord as it were vnwillinglie. Which the seruant at the time appointed did performe. The noise of breaking of which glasses did suddenlie fill the eares of all the companie: and the Patriarch seeing the hurt, was somewhat moued. But the earle making no account of this thing, commanded his man afresh to furnish the same cupbord with as manie and fairer vessels of glasse than the former were, to the Patriarchs great admiration. For the Patriarch affirmed that the glasses of Muranoe and Uenice did not anie way excell these. Truelie this earle of Murrey was honorable, wise, iust, and famous amongest manie princes for his manifold vertues, & manie ambassages most happilie performed amongest them. Who shortlie after this, departing the court, died of the stone at his castle in Turnwaie.

This Patriarch shewed to the gouernor (besides other priuileges that he had from the sée of Rome) his great authoritie, in that he was legat from the popes side, amongest the Scots, as long as he remained there. Which office, when he departed to Rome, he procured to be transferred to the cardinall; at what time the Patriarch also in the name of the pope, did promise much helpe, and monie to be sent to Scotland against England. For he studied by all means he could, to hinder the mariage of those two kingdoms: because he suspected thereby, that some alteration might be made in Scotland touching the religion; with the ouerthrow of churches and monasteries. Now, after that the Patriarch had remained all the winter in Scotland, he departed from thence in March, who as he was honorablie enterteined in all places, so he spared not to recount to the French king and other princes (whome he visited in his iourneie) the humanitie he found in Scotland, which he also imparted to the bishop of Rome, to the other cardinals, & to the senat of Uenice; not without singular praise and honor to the Scotish nation.]

They that were sent, so solicited the earles cause, that in the end the king was persuaded that Lennor ought of right to haue the gouernement of the realme of Scotland, and to be second person in the same. And herewith, in consideration how vniustlie not onelie his maiestie had béene dealt with, but also how vnthankefullie and discourteouslie Lennor had béene vsed, both at the hands of the French king, and also of his adherents in Scotland, by the cardinall & others: he both thankefullie receiued his gentle offer of seruice, & also promised to aid him in his title and all other lawfull causes: and herewith prepared an armie to passe into Scotland by sea, appointing the earle of Hertford, and the lord Lisle to haue the conduction of the same, who shipping at Tinmouth with their people, arriued in the Forth vnder Werdie castell, a mile & a halfe aboue Leith the third of Maie, the whole nauie conteining aboue the number of two hundred ships. Here at Newhauen, a quarter of a mile from the said castell, they landed their armie of ten thousand men of warre, with great artillerie, and all kind of munition.

The king of England meaneth to aid the earle of Lennor.

The English armie landeth by Leith.

The lord gouernor being at that present within the towne of Edenburgh, hearing of their arriuall, went forth of the towne accompanied with the cardinall, the earles of Huntleie, Argile, Bothwell, and others, purposing to stop their landing: but perceiuing the puissance of the aduersaries to be such, as they could not resist the same, they returned to Edenburgh againe, and sent maister Adam Otterborne prouost of Edenburgh, and two of the bailiffs to the earle of Hertford, to vnderstand the cause of his comming; and withall offered, that if there were anie iniuries or wrongs done by anie of the Scots nation, he would apoint commissioners to talke with such as by him should be authorised thereto, for the full answering thereof, & to that effect he would gladlie receiue them into the towne of Edenburgh.

The prouost of Edenburgh sent to the earle of Hertford.

The earle of Hertford answered that he had no commission to talke of anie such matter; but rather to take reuenge of the vniust dealing and breach of promise on those that had falsified their faith. And therefore minding to burne the towne of Edenburgh, as well as other within that realme, he willed the inhabitants and all all those that were within the same to come forth, and submit themselues before him the kings lieutenant, to stand vnto the kings will and pleasure, or else he would not faile to proceed in execution thereof. The prouost answered that he would rather abide all extremities, than accomplish his request and desire in that behalfe; and therevpon returned to the towne.

The earles answer.

After the gouernor had heard what answer was made to the prouost, he caused the castell to be furnished with all things necessarie for defense, and departed straightwaies to Striueling. The English armie lodging that night in Leith, marched the next day toward Edenburgh, passing vp the Cannogat street to enter at the nether bow, where they found some resistance made by the Scots, so that diuerse were slaine on both parts. Towards night, the Englishmen, after they had continued long in skirmishing that day with the Scotishmen, retired to Leith. The next day the whole armie with the great artillerie came forward towards the towne, and breaking open the Cannogat, they entred the towne by the same, bringing their ordinance within sight of the castell, purposing to plant the same in batterie against it; but the capteine of the castell caused the artillerie within to shoot off at them in so great abundance, & so good measure, that they slue diuerse Englishmen, and dismounted one of their péeces, so that in the end they were constreined to draw backe their ordinance & retired; but yet in the meane time they set fire on the towne, and burnt the most part of all the houses in the same. They burnt also the Cannogat street, and the abbeie of Holie rood house. The gouernor at that present released out of prison the earle of Angus, the lord Parwell, the maister of Glencarne, sir George Dowglas, and others.

Edenburgh entred by force.

Sée more hereof in England.

Edenburgh burnt.

Prisoners set at libertie.

In this meane time also there came from the borders by land foure thousand of English horsemen, vnder the conduction of the lord William Euers, and his sonne sir Rafe Euers; who ioining with the armie at Leith, scowred the countrie on euerie

rie ſide of Edenburgh. Finallie, after the Engliſh armie had lien in Leith a certeine ſpace, they burnt that towne alſo, and ſent their ſhips awaie fraught with pillage and ſpoiles (got as well in that towne, as in Edenburgh, and abroad in the countrie) backe towards England. And therwith the earle of Hertford, the lord admerall, and others, returned by land through the countrie vnto Berwike, as in the Engliſh hiſtorie more at large appeareth. Whileſt the Engliſh armie was thus occupied in that part of Scotland, the erle of Lennor with an armie of men which he had raiſed, was readie to come on the backs of the gouernor and his adherents, if they had aſſembled their forces and come forward to haue giuen the Engliſhmen battell. For all this ſeaſon the ciuill contentions ſtill continued, and ſundrie conflicts and ſkirmiſhes chanced betwixt the parties.

Leith burnt.

The earle of Lennor.

r. Thin. eſcus lib. 10. ag. 474.

1544.

✲ The Scots which inhabit the mountains, and the Iles, did now in theſe turmoiles begin to ſhew ſome tokens of their inconſtancie. For they (which paied yeerelie tribute in the time of James the fift, kept the peace, liued within the bounds of law, and well obeied the gouernor) did now (after they ſaw all things on a flame) begin againe to ſpoile and deſtroie their neighbors, in the ſame vttering the humor of their naturall diſpoſition. Whereupon the gouernor (to reſtreine their boldneſſe) called vnto him George Gordon earle of Huntleie, and the earle of Argile, whereof he made the one gouernor of the north parts of Scotland, of the Orchades, and Shitland; and to the other, he committed the rule of Argile, and the Iles Hebrides. Whereupon Huntleie with all ſpeed gathered an armie from the north parts, and determined to bridle the Glancamerons, the Gencronelles, the Mudiardes, & the Kindiardes, with force and authoritie. The capteins or heads of which families, were Ewin Allanſon, Ronald Mackonellglas, and John Mudiard, who did poſſeſſe the lands of the lords Grant, and Louet, hauing expelled them by force from the ſame.

But when they firſt vnderſtood that Huntleie had incamped neere vnto them, they fled euerie one home to their owne poſſeſſions: which being defended partly by the weſt ſea, and partly included about with the mounteins, ſtopped Huntleie, ſo that hee might not haue anie paſſage vnto them: by meanes whereof (theſe diſſeſſors being baniſhed) the lords Grant and Louet were reſtored to their right inheritance. But it fell out contrarilie for Louet, who going to take his owne into his hands, fell into danger of his enimies. For at that time both the companies were diſpoſed into ſuch order, that neither partie could abſteine from fight. Whereupon they firſt diſcharge their bodies one againſt another, and their arrowes ſpent, they after flie to their ſwords, with which they fought ſo egerlie, that the night cutting off the battell, it could not be well knowne to which part the victorie gaue place. In which there was ſo great ſlaughter on both parts, that till the next morning in viewing the dead bodies, the victors were not knowne. Amongeſt whome of the part of the Glencamerons and Mudiardes there were manie ſlaine.

But by reaſon of the death of the lord Louet, and of his ſonne and heire (a youth of ſingular hope, and brought vp in France) with three hundred of the bloud and ſurname of the Fraiſers (for Louet was the head and leader of that familie) the hurt ſeemed to be the greater on their part. For there was a rumor ſpred, that there was not one of the familie of the Fraiſers left aliue that was of mans ſtate. But it happened by the ſingular benefit of God, that they left their wiues with child when they went to the fight, by which meanes the familie was after raiſed and reſtored. Huntleie (greatlie grieuing that the Fraiſers had receiued this grieuous wound) gathered a power togither, and with armes ſo purſued thoſe factious people, that he tooke and beheaded Ewin Allanſon, and Ronald, with diuerſe others, and put the reſt in priſon. The earle of Argile diſcharged the office committed to him as well as Huntleie did and with more happie ſucceſſe, for all the Iland men humblie ſubmitted themſelues vnto him, and deliuered pledges to liue quietlie hereafter.)

Buchanan. lib. 15.

Buchanan ſaith that this battell as it was beleeued, was procured by Huntleie to deſtroie the Fraiſers.

About this time the earle of Lennor, accompanied with Alexander the maiſter of Glencarne, otherwiſe called lord of Kilmawſe, Walter Graham brother to the earle of Montroſſe, ſir John Boythwike knight, and ſundrie other gentlemen, tooke the ſea to paſſe into England, and arriued at Weſtcheſter about Midſummer: & paſſing from thence to the court, he was toiefullie receiued. And immediatlie thereupon was the mariage celebrated betwixt him and the ladie Margaret Dowglas, daughter & heire to the earle of Angus, and to Margaret his wife queene of Scots, ſiſter to king Henrie the eight, at what time there was aſſured to him by way of inheritance, lands to the value of ſeuen hundred marks of yeerelie rent of aſſiſe, in conſideration of this mariage with the kings neece, and in recompenſe of lands loſt by him in France, to the which he was inheritor after the decealle of Robert Steward lord Obenie, one of the foure marſhals of France.

The earle of Lennor goeth into England

He marieth the ladie Margaret Dowglas.

Lord Obenie.

Moreouer, king Henrie being now vpon his iournie towards Bullongne, aſwell for the anoiance of his highneſſe enimies in Scotland, as for recouerie of the ſaid earles right in that realme, appointed the ſaid erle to enter Scotland in the moneth of Auguſt, accompanied with ſir Riſe Manſfield, ſir Peter Mewtas knights, maiſter Thomas Audleie, maiſter Thomas Brookes, old maiſter Winter comptroller of the kings ſhips, and his ſonne ſir William Winter that now is, and ſundrie other capteins, hauing vnder their charge two hundred hackbutters, two hundred archers with long bowes, and two hundred armed pikes, beſide the mariners belonging to thoſe ſhips that were appointed to go forth on this iournie, being in number about twelue or fourteene ſaile, belonging to Briſtow, and other of the weſt parts.

The earle of Lennor returneth into Scotland.

Upon their arriuall on the coaſt of Scotland, they burnt the Ile of Arrane, and raced the gouernors caſtell there to the ground. And afterwards arriuing at the Ile of Bute, they entered the ſame, and tooke the caſtell of Roſeis ſtanding therein (from whence the Stewards kings of Scotland had their originall) the capteine they had awaie priſoner with them into England. Here alſo they tooke two French ſhips laden with wines, and this done they entered the Firth of Clide, thinking to find none but their friends in the caſtell of Dunbreton. But true it is, that in this meane time the earle of Glencarne with ſundrie gentlemen being left in that caſtell, with the capteine thereof called Houſon, to keepe it in the name and to the behoſe of the erle of Lennor, were in his abſence perſuaded thorough practiſe of the queene Dowager, not only to renounce their promiſed faith to him, in defrauding him of that caſtell; but alſo to intrap and wind him within their danger to take him priſoner.

The Ile of Bute taken.

For this purpoſe they ſo diſſembled the matter, that they had got him on land onelie with three hundred men: and ſo farre forth they were growne in talke, that the erle of Lennor being entered into the caſtell with a few other with him, the monie was laid downe on the boord, to be paid to the capteine for his ſatisfaction. But in the meane time, the earle of Lennor, & ſuch as were with him, perceiuing ſome treaſonable

The earle of Lennor in danger to be betraied and taken.

treasonable practise in hand, got forth of the house againe vnto their companie below, leauing the monie behind them, and after made shift to get to their ships, and not before it was high time.

For if they had staied that night, they had béene intraped by George Dowglas, who with foure thousand men was secretlie drawne thitherwards, and entered the towne of Dunbreton, shortlie after that the earle of Lennox was thus departed and got to his ships lieng there at hand in the riuer of Clide, downe the which he retired to the sea, not without danger to haue lost the same ships, by reason of the narrownesse of the water: for the erle of Argile being gotten betwixt him and the sea with a great power of men, with banners displaied, hailsed the ships with shot of ordinance from the castell of Dinnune, annoieng the earle of Lennox his passage as much as he could. But he escaping with the English gentlemen, and the ships out of danger, toke aduise togither at the Ile of Bute what they were best to do.

The earle sore moued to haue béene thus repelled from Dunbreton, and stomaching the matter sore, to be so discountenanced by his enimie the earle of Argile, with the aduise of the English gentlemen, he returned with them, and with great shew of manhood toke land beside the castell and towne of Dinnune, where the earle of Argile with seuen hundred men was readie to incounter him, & to kéepe him off from landing: but by the helpe of the shot out of the ships, and great store of botes, the Englishmen landed, slue foure score of the enimies, most part gentlemen, and put the residue to flight, with the losse of three men onelie on the English side.

The earle of Lennox landeth at Dinnune.

This done, the towne of Dinnune was burnt, and the church spoiled, that was full of goods and ornaments. When the night approched, by reason the Englishmen had no powder, nor other prouision on land, the earle with his people returned to shipbord in safetie, howbeit not without offer of skirmish made by the enimies though to their losse, namelie of those that aduanced themselues most forward. About foure or fiue daies after, the earle of Lennox with fiue hundred men landed in another part of Argile, and remaining on land a whole day togither, burnt, spoiled, and wasted the countrie: the earle of Argile with two thousand men giuing the looking on, and not once offering the skirmish, so that the earle of Lennox with his souldiers retired to his ships without incounter.

The towne of Dinnune burnt.

The earle of Lennox landeth againe in Argile.

After this they inuaded the Ile of Kinter, where James Mackonell dwelled, burnt manie places in that countrie, toke and caried awaie great booties of cattell and other goods. All the coasts of Kile, Carrike, & Coningham, and likewise of Galloway remained in continuall feare, so that oftentimes their beacons were fired, and manie of the noble men constrained to come to the earle of Lennox, suing to him for assurance. In these exploites the earle had with him Walter Macferlane of Tirbat, and seuen score men of the head of Lennox, that spake both Irish, English, & the Scotish tongs, light footmen, well armed in shirts of male, with bowes, and two handed swords, and being ioined with the English archers and shot, did much auailable seruice in the streicts, the marishes, and mountaine countries.

Kinter inuaded.

Walter Macferlane.

Fr. Thin. Buchan. li. 15.

¶ During these things, they which had gouernment of Scotish affairs (as the quéene Dowager, the cardinall, and the gouernor) called a councell, in which they decréed that all such of the nobilitie as had force and armor, should be readie to follow the gouernor whither soeuer he went, and there to remaine with him for the space of eight daies. Shortlie after there assembled eight thousand men, and in the sharpe winter battered the church of Coldingham, standing in armor a whole day and night to the great toile and wearinesse of the men and horsses. The nert day the gouernor, either to accuse his tendernesse sustained in the last dates labor of warre, or else fearing the inuasion of the enimie (for he was certified of an armie of men that should come from Berwike) suddenlie (vnknowne to the other nobilitie) did flie to Dunbar with a few of his owne traine. They which went about to excuse the defame of this flight, reported how he feared that he should haue béene betraied to the English by his host, for hatred which they had conceiued against him for manie of his offenses.

This departure of the gouernor brought great trouble to the armie, & so much the more, because the secreter it was (and the reason vnknowne) the more cause it gaue to the rest to feare some further euill. Wherefore the greater part remained in this obstinate mind, that euerie one should returne the nert way home, and leaue the artillerie at random. But others (who were more carefull, and would séeme lesse fearefull) do agrée to stuffe the péces full of powder, and to breake them, rather than they should fall in the hands & helpe of the enimie. To the which deuise onelie Archembald Dowglas did resist, least he should ad a wicked déed to a wicked flight. Who when he could not staie any man, either by threat, intreatie, or authoritie, he exclamed with a lowd voice (for euerie one to heare him) that for his owne part he had rather die an honest death, than to haue a sure and rich life with such dishonor. Wherefore you my friends consider what you will do, for either I will bring awaie this artillerie, or I will not returne home with life; wherefore I meane to make this the last end both of my life and glorie. When he had spoken this, a few (whose honor was deare vnto them) were moued therewith, but the rest (despairing by reason of the shamefull flight of the gouernor) did scatteringlie depart, wandring whither they thought good, without anie order. The Dowglasse with such companie as he had (placed in good order) followed the artillerie, and brought the same to Dunbar, the horssemen of his enimies in vaine hastening after them behind at their backes. This expedition by the gouernor rashlie begun, and shamefullie performed, brake the hearts of the Scots, and aduanced the minds of the English, who gloriouslie applied the dastardnesse of the gouernor to their owne glorie.)

To conclude, after the earle of Lennox and his companie had atchiued these enterprises afore mentioned, he returned towards England, and sent sir Peter Mewtas knight, & Thomas Bishop a Scotish gentleman, to aduertise the king of England of his proceedings, who found him at the siege of Bullongne, where they declared to him the whole circumstance of euerie thing, as the same had passed in the earles iornie, which the king toke in verie good part. And vpon his returne into England, after the conquest of Bullongne, the earle of Lennox was also called home to the court by letters to him directed, he being then at Bristow.

Sir Peter Mewtas.

1545.

About the middest of Februarie, sir Rafe Eure commonlie called Euers, lord warden of the English middle marches, entred Scotland with a power of foure thousand Englishmen, Irishmen, and assured Scots; and comming first vnto Jedworth, lodged there that night. And therwithall vnderstanding that the gouernor and the earle of Angus were at the abbeie of Melros, about eight miles distant from thence, the nert morning he was got forth so earlie, that he was almost vpon the enimies in such wise on the sudden, that they fled out of their lodgings, and

Sir Rafe Euers inuadeth Scotland.

and left their beds and all their houshold furniture which they had in store there with them, not hauing time to conueie it awaie at their departure, their warning was so short. Sir Rafe Euers at his comming thither, finding them fled and gone, spoiled the towne and abbeie, vtterlie defacing the tombes and monuments of the earles of Dowglas, greatlie to the displeasure of the earle of Angus, and those of his linage.

*After this (the comming of the English being looked for the nert yéere) the minds of the borderers were greatlie troubled, bicause they were hopelesse to atteine anie succor from the gouernor, which vsed the aduise of the clergie, but chieflie of the cardinall. Wherevpon Archembald Dowglas earle of Angus (greatlie moued partlie with his priuat losses, for he had great possessions in the marches, and in Tiuiot, and partlie to sée his ancestors monuments defaced) came to the gouernor, and fullie laid before him the greatnesse of the danger wherein the realme did stand, persuading him to incounter and resist the same. At what time also (after the gouernour had opened vnto him, that he was forsaken of the nobilitie, and now left alone) the Dowglas shewed that the same happened vnto him by his owne fault, and not by the nobilitie, which would implote their liues, liuings, and goods, for the defense of the common-wealth. For he contemning their counsell, onlie leaned to the spiritualtie, who were cowards in warre, and seditious in peace.

Out of this founteine (saith he) a suspicion (that you dare not trust one another) is growne betweene you and them, which is the onelie cause why things are no better performed. But if you determine (in great affaires) to take the aduise of them (who will not refuse to spend their blood therein) I doubt not but that we shall be able to execute as great matters as euer our ancestors did: but if we shall (by our slouth) permit the enimie to take all things from vs, then of necessitie will follow, that either they shall shortlie banish vs, or bring vs into perpetuall seruitude: the inconueniences of anie of which cannot well be spoken. As touching our selues I know that thou art suspected to be a coward, and I a traitor, which reproch if thou thinke to purge (for thou canst not auoid it) prepare to cleare the same, not with painted speaches, but with bloudie weapons.)

Wherevpon the gouernor and the said earle (sore aggreeued to be thus foiled at the Englishmens hands) assembled togither [vnder the leading of Norman Lesle son of the earle of Rothseie] all such forces as they might recouer, so that they had quicklie got them about fifteene hundred men, whereof eight hundred at the least were gentlemen. Who hearing that the Englishmen were retiring towards Jedworth, they met them at a place called Pannier hugh, or Brunehouse, where both the parties alighting on foot, ment to trie the quarell by plaine force of hand. But as they were redy to ioine, the assured Scots, to the number of seuen or eight hundred reuolted vnto the part of their countrimen, by reason whereof, after a right sharpe and fierce conflict, the Englishmen in the end were constreined to flie, whome the Scots right egerlie pursued, slue sir Rafe Euers, the lord Ogle, sir Brian Leiton, and other gentlemen & souldiors to the number of eight hundred. They tooke also about two thousand prisoners, with certeine péeces of artillerie and other munition.

This victorie fell to the Scots the seuentéenth day of Februarie, the report whereof was right displeasant to the English nation, but speciallie the losse of that worthie gentleman sir Rafe Euers was greatlie bemoned, and that euen of the king himselfe, for the noble prowesse and great loialtie which at all times had béene found in him. His seruice had béene such in these wars against Scotland, that he had brought the more part of the Scots within twentie miles space of the English borders, vnto the obeisance of the king of England, although at length they holpe to worke his confusion, as before ye haue heard. ¶ Of this gentleman & his singular seruice in the field, I omit here to speake, bicause he was imploied otherwise, besides Scotland: wherefore I remit the readers to the twentith yere of king Henrie the eight, where to his high commendation this gentleman is recorded.]

His seruice against the Scots.

Abr. Fl.

*The occasion of the English ouerthrow (as saith Lesleus) and the Scots victorie, were chieflie by these meanes. First they fought vpon equall ground, and with vnequall helpes. For the Scots with the sunne on their backs (being declined toward setting) came forth of a narrow & marish place, and set vpon the English (at the side of an hill which was betweene them) hauing the sun in their faces, by which meanes they could neither well perceiue what number the Scots had, nor with their gunnes hurt anie of the Scots. But those that fought in the first battell, wherevnto was ioined (a feare not in vaine) which they had conceiued of the Scotish march-men, who in great number hauing red crosses (the note of the English) ran vp and downe hither and thither to sée the euent thereof.)

Fr. Thin. Buchan. lib. 16. pag. 478.

About the same time that the victorie before mentioned chanced to the Scots, Robert Cornorse bishop of Rosse departed this life, to whome succéeded Dauid Pantane, secretarie to the gouernor and prior of saint Marie Ile. In Aprill, William Steward bishop of Aberden likewise deceassed, and maister William Gordon chancellor of Murrete, vncle to George erle of Huntleie, was by the cardinals sute promoted to that sée, greatlie to the displeasure of the earle of Angus, that labored to haue preferred an other thereto. For this and other causes, the cardinall was greatlie in hatred of the Dowglasses.

Death of bishops.

*About that time, the king of England by praise & preies persuaded the Flemings to take fortéene of our ships harbored in the hauen, and to conuert the commodities (wherewith they were fraught, being verie costlie) to their owne commoditie. By means whereof at one time we had warres with two nations, England and Flanders. But sith the Flemings did not the same maliciously for hatred to the Scots, but carefullie for the loue vnto the English, as the Scots did certeinlie know, they shewed none other token of enimitie to the Flemings, but that they forbad them to fish on their coasts, and did sometime intercept their ships, without further iniurie done vnto them.)

Fr. Thin. Lesleus. lib. 10. pag. 479.

This yéere also, Montgomerie, otherwise called monsieur de Lorges, knight of the order of saint Michaell, was sent by the French king with foure thousand Frenchmen into Scotland to assist the Scots against England. He landed at Dunbreton, & came in good order to Edenburgh the thirtéenth of Maie: he brought with him from the French king the order of saint Michaell, to inuest therewith the lord gouernor, the earles of Angus, Huntleie, and Argile. Herwith also was an armie of Scots raised, and ioining with the Frenchmen, they approched the borders, where they laie for a season: but the earle of Hertford lieutenant generall of the north parts comming downe, tooke such direction for the safe kéeping of the English borders, that after the Scots had laine there in campe a certeine space without atchiuing anie great enterprise, though some notable exploit was looked for to haue bene attempted by them at that present, they brake vp their armie & went home.

1545. Buch. Monsieur de Lorges sent into Scotland.

Knights of saint Michaels order.

An armie of Scots lieth on the borders

Fr.Thin. Lesleus lib.10. pag.480.

¶ This castell of Dunbreton was at that time so carefullie kept by the captein therof, that he determined neither to deliuer it to the gouernor, nor to anie Englishman, nor to anie Scot. Wherevpon, the gouernor fearing least it should fall into the hands of the English, prepare to besiege the same; the newes therof comming to Glencarne, he signified the same vnto Lennor, affirming, that if he would come thither, he should shortlie obteine the castell. The king of England reioising of that newes, prepareth two ships, and in the meane time sent the bishop of Cathnesse into Scotland, which should forthwith be receiued into the castell. Wherefore the gouernor making the more hast, commeth to Dunbreton togither with the cardinall, and the earles Huntleie, and Argile, laieng present siege to the same, which was strong-lie done, and the castilains pressed to great extremitie by the slaughter of manie people. But at length by the policie of the earle Huntleie, it was so agreed, that the castell (which was by nature inexpugnable) should be deliuered. Which the gouernor receiued (with certeine conditions) and honorablie intreated the captein for the singular discharge of the trust committed to him: and therewithall he restored the bishop of Cathnesse, brother to the earle of Lennor to his bishoprike, which before he had lost by his going into England.)

The sixteenth of September, three or foure hundred Scots, with Marwell, Lochinuart, and Johnstone, aided with the Frenchmen, attempted to enter into England on the east borders: but the Englishmen perceiuing where they were about to passe by a certeine streit, they set vpon them with their archers, discomfited them, sleaing, & taking to the number of seuen score of them. Among other that were taken, one of the sonnes to the lord Hume, with a French captein, and George Elphinston archer of the corps to the French king, were accounted chiefe. Also on the west borders, Robert Marwell eldest son to the lord Marwell, was taken in a rode made by him and others, into the English confines on that side; although at an other time certeine Englishmen making a rode into Scotland were distressed, the more part of them being taken or slaine. At a parlement holden at Linlithquho, begun there the twentie eight of September, and continued till the first of October, Matthew earle of Lennor, and Thomas bishop of Atheltrea, were forfalted, and all their lands and goods giuen awaie and annexed to the crowne.

Frenchmen and Scots ouerthrowne.

The lord Marwels son taken prisoner

In this meane time, the king of England desirous to haue the seruice of the Iles of Scotland for sundrie great causes and respects, moued the earle Lennor to deale with them to that end: which he did. And his trauell toke such effect, that the Iland men were contented to rest at the king of England his deuotion, partlie for that they were in a manner sworne enimies to the earle of Argile, and his familie; and partlie for that they doubted the king of Englands puissance, if he should attempt to inuade those parties: and againe, bearing an old speciall fauour to the earle of Lennor and his house, hauing an ancient bond of aliance and amitie with the same, they were the more readie to satisfie his motion. Heere vpon, they elected amongest them a lord of the Iles, the next of bloud: a title long since verie odious to the state of Scotland, and by the inducement of the earle of Lennor, he was contented as the king of Englands pensioner, to receiue two thousand crownes of him yerelie, with certeine rich apparell of cloth of gold and siluer from the said earle.

The earle of Lennor procureth them of the Iles to serue the king of England.

The lord of the Iles elected, being one of the Maconels.

The first prose he attempted to shew of his seruice in the king of Englands behalfe, was this. Hauing instructions thereto from the earle of Lennor, vnder colour of conference for matters touching the estate of the countrie, he had suborned one of his aliance and seruants, called the clane Reginald, to intrappe the earles of Argile and Huntleie. And although they escaped verie narrowlie, the lord Louet an ancient baron, & great friend to those two earles, was slaine by the said clane, togither with seuen hundred of his kinsmen and friends: insomuch that there remained not but one yong boy of that linage to succéd in that lords lands [which is before more fullie handeled out of Lesleus.]

Clane Reginald sleieth the lord Louet.

Fr.Thin.

After this, the lord of the Iles, with six thousand men imbarked in certeine vessels, passed ouer into Carrike, harried and burnt the lands of the earle of Cassiles, then a great enimie to the king of England. In this voiage he got great spoiles, and slue manie of the enimies. After which enterprise so atchiued, he came with his power by sea, and landed in Ireland, where the earles of Lennor and Dermond were, with twelue hundred Irishmen, appointed to ioine with him, that with their whole power they might inuade the earle of Argiles countries, & consequentlie the maine land of Scotland at the broad side. But before the preparation could be made readie for that iorneie, the new lord of the Iles deceassed, whose burtall in Ireland to honor the earle of Lennor, stood the king of England in fourè hundred pounds sterling.

The lord of the Iles inuadeth Carrike.

He commeth into Ireland

He departeth this life.

But now to returne vnto the doings on the borders betwixt England and Scotland in this season. Ye shall vnderstand, that after the armie of Scotland was broken vp, the earle of Hertford by vertue of his commission, raised an armie in the countries of the further side of Trent northwards; so that when the same was assembled togither, with such strangers as were then in the kings wages, they were in all of horsemen and footmen twelue thousand fighting men. With this armie garded with great store of artillerie, munition, and all manner of furniture necessarie, the earle of Hertford entered Scotland, and marching to Coldingham, past vp by the water of Tweed, and burnt a great part of the Mers, and Tiuidale, the abbeies of Kelso, Melrosse, Driborne, and Jedworth, with townes & villages, to the number of fiue score.

But eight thousand, as some say.

The earle of Hertford inuadeth Scotland.

Howbeit, he entered not farre within the said countrie beyond the said water, but kept alongest nére to the same, and returned backe without anie incounter: for after the Scotish armie was broken vp, it was not like they would assemble againe, and so the earle of Hertford taking the time that serued his purpose, sore indamaged the Scotish borders at that present. Manie other small inuasions were made, as well by the one part as the other, and some skirmishes fell out betwixt them, sometime to the losse of the Scotish, and sometime of the English, according to the course of warre.

¶ Much about this time, or rather before, Robert Marwell the sonne of Robert (a yong man of singular vertue) was taken by the English. Besides which there was nothing done worthie the memorie, but that in the beginning of the next winter Montgomerie returned into France. After this, the cardinall leadeth the gouernor about the nére countries, vnder colour to reconcile such parts as were at dissention: then they came first to Perth, where foure men were punished for eating flesh on forbidden daies: from thence they went to Dundée called Toadune (to vse the name of the place, as Buchanan hath) to punish (as they said) such as vsed the late new testament of Luthers translation. Thither came also Patrike Greie (the head of a noble familie in those parts) accompanied with a good traine, togither with the erle of Rothseie, being before that commanded to be there by the gouernor, after the pacifieng of the o-

Fr.Thin. Buchan.lib.1

ther

ther tumults. But the cardinall (supposing it small safetie to receiue at one time two such noble and factious persons addicted to the restored religion, into the towne) wrought with the gouernor that he and they might go backe to Perth.

The nert morning, when those two noblemen (redie for the iourneie) vnderstood that the gouernor was on his waie towards Perth, they presentlie followed him. Who being come in sight, did strike such feare into the cardinall, that the gouernor commanded them to sunder themselues, and seuerallie to enter the citie: which they did. Whereupon the nert day they were both committed to prison. But Rothseie being shortlie deliuered, Greie (whome they hated more, and feared most) was kept longer in that restraint. But before they parted thence, it seemed good to the cardinall to abate the strength of Ruthwen capteine of the towne. For which cause, the gouernor taketh his office from him, and bestoweth the same vpon Kinsane Comarch, neighbor and kinsman to Greie. For this Ruthwen was a great enimie to the cardinall, and much fauored the restored religion: as likewise was Greie, who after the same sort did not beare a friendlie mind to the cardinall, nor to his religion.

By reason whereof, the cardinall supposed, that if he might set them (by this meanes) together by the eares (sith manie of both parts would ioine for defense of the chiefe of their families) and that if anie side had the worse (as both must be diminished) that then he had by so much abated the power of one of his enimies. Upon which occasion the gouernement of Perth (which had by manie descents remained in the familie of the Ruthwens) might be thus translated to Kinsane. Thus the new capteine was sent with a power to subdue the citizens by force, if they would not willinglie obeie: as it seemed that they would not; because they tooke it with some griefe, to haue (in this new capteine) the old libertie of voices (in chosing of their gouernor) taken from them. The besieging of the towne being therefore diuided into parts, Greie (which had wholie taken the matter on him) attempted the ouerthrow thereof, from the bridge of Taie. The other band (hauing laid their artillerie along by the riuer ouer against the towne) did inuade the open side of the said Perth.

But because the swelling of the sea did not answer their deuise, they came not in time to do anie thing therein. Greie assalting it by the bridge (which Ruthwen hauing receiued, and conueied the aid into the nert houses, would seeme to leaue vngarded) when he saw no armed men stirring, did (without all feare) enter further into the towne, where he was so sharplie set vpon by Ruthwen, and his companie (suddenlie and vnlooked for breaking out of the houses vpon them) that euerie one hastened to spie some place by which he might flie awaie. But the multitude confused and driuen into a streict, did let one an other thereof. For they behind, thinking to breake in amongest the other, did hinder the first that they could not flie: in which vnorderlie multitude, manie were troden vnder foot, and three score were killed with the sword.

The cardinall (although against his mind) hauing heard of the victorie of Ruthwen; yet he did not greatlie lament the slaughter made of his aduersaries. After this, the cardinall hauing thus sufficientlie progressed to Angus: he led the gouernor after the fourteenth of December to saint Andrews, to the end (if it were possible) to bind the gouernor more firmelie vnto him. For although before he had the gouernors sonne as pledge with him; yet (as often as he remembred the eagernesse of the Scotish nobilitie, the strength of his enimies, and the inconstancie of the gouernor) he greatlie feared, least the said gouernor should with like lightnesse be drawen to assist his enimies, as he had beene led to take his part.] During the time whilest they were at S. Andrews, the cardinall caused in the Lent season all the bishops & prelats of the realme to assemble at the towne of saint Andrews, where a learned man, named maister George Wischart, that had beene in the schooles of Germanie, was accused of heresie, which he had (as was alleged against him) publikelie preached, and priuatlie taught in Dundee, Brechin, and diuerse other parts of Scotland, since his returne home. This matter was so vrged against him, that he was conuict, and burnt there in the towne of saint Andrews during the time of that conuention or assemblie.

George Wischart a learned man burnt.

Fr. Thin.

Buchanan. lib. 15.

✲When these things were thus done, the cardinall, although he greatlie trusted to his riches; yet because he was not ignorant what were the minds of men, & what speeches the common people had of him) determined to increase his power with new deuises. Wherefore he goeth into Angus, and marieth his eldest daughter (as saith Buchanan) to the earle of Crawfords sonne. Which mariage was solemnized with great preparation, almost answerable to kinglie magnificence. During which time, the cardinall vnderstanding by his spies, that the English did prepare to inuade the Scotish borders on the sea (and spectallie did threaten those of Fife therewith) returned to saint Andrews, and appointed a day to the nobilitie, and such as dwelled about the sea coasts, to assemble togither to prouide in common for the defense thereof, and to prepare remedie for that hastened euill. For the easier and better performance whereof, he had determined, togither with the lords of that countrie, to haue sailed himselfe about the coasts, and to haue defended such places as were most conuenient.

Amongest others that came vnto him, there was a noble yong gentleman called Norman Lesle, sonne to the earle of Rothseie, whereof we haue spoken before manie times. This man (after that he had manie times employed his valiant and faithfull diligence in the behalfe of the cardinall) grew to some contention with the said cardinall for a priuat cause, which for a time did estrange both their minds the one from the other. This same contention did Norman (being thereto induced with manie faire promises) afterwards let fall. But certeine moneths following (when he returned to demand the performance of such liberall promises) they began to grow from common speech to brallings, and from thence to bitter tawnts & reproches, not fit to be vsed by anie of them both. Whereupon they departed with the greeued minds of euerie of them. For the cardinall being intreated more vnreuerentlie than he would or looked for; and the other threatning that being ouertaken by deceipt, he would reuenge it: they both returned discontented to their owne people. Whereupon Norman, declaring to his partakers the intollerable arrogancie of the cardinall, they easilie agreed all to conspire his death. Wherefore, to the end that the same might be lesse suspected, they departed in sunder afterward. This Norman accompanied onelie with fiue of his owne traine, entred the towne of saint Andrews, and went into his accustomed Inne and lodging; trusting that by such small traine he might cunninglie dissemble the determination of the cardinals death. But there were in that towne, ten of those which had consented to this conspiracie; which closed in secret corners, some in one place, and some in an other, did onelie expect the signe which was to be giuen vn-

to them to execute this deuiſe. With which ſmall companie this Norman feared not to aduenture the death of the cardinall in the ſame towne, furniſhed in euerie place with the ſeruants and friends of the cardinall.]

Whereupon the thirteenth of Maie, the cardinall being within his caſtell of ſaint Andrews, certeine of his owne friends (as he toke them) that is to ſay, the ſaid Norman, lord Leſleie, William Kirkandie, the yong lord of Grange, and Kirkmichell with ſirteene choſen men, entered the caſtell verie ſecretlie in the morning, toke the porter, and all the cardinals ſeruants, thruſting them out of the place by a poſterne gate. And that done, paſſing to his chamber where he laie in bed, as he got vp, and was opening his chamber doore, they ſlue him, and ſeized vpon the artillerie and munition, wherewith that fortreſſe was plentifullie furniſhed, and likewiſe with rich hangings, houſhold ſtuffe of all ſorts, apparell, copes, iewels, ornaments of churches, great ſtore of gold and ſiluer plate, beſide no ſmall quantitie of treaſure in readie coine.

The cardinall of ſaint Andrews murthered.

Sir James Leirmouth, prouoſt of ſaint Andrews, aſſembled all the people of that towne for the reſcue of the cardinall, after he heard that the conſpirators were entred the caſtell; but they ſhewed the dead bodie of the cardinall ouer the wals, as a ſpectacle to the people, and ſo they made no further attempt, ſith they ſaw no meane how to remedie or reuenge the matter at that preſent. The cauſe that moued the conſpirators thus to kill the cardinall, was thought to be partlie in reuenge of the burning of maiſter George Wiſchart, fearing to be ſerued with the ſame ſawce, and in the end to be made to drinke of the ſame cup. Partlie it was thought they attempted it through counſell of ſome great men of the realme, that had conceiued ſome deadlie hatred againſt him.

Fr. Thin. Leſleus lib. 10 pag. 481.

¶ But Leſleus alſo, writing of the cauſes of his death ſaith, that they were diuerſe: as the ſeuerall tormentors ſeuerallie framed euerie one a part for his owne excuſe. For Norman & John did complaine, that they were wronged by him with no ſmall iniurie, becauſe that the cardinall had not recompenſed him for the loſſe he ſuſteined; when the cardinall had reſtored to Colwine lord thereof (before through the cardinals counſell baniſhed by the king) the caſtell and poſſeſſions of Eaſter wemes; which the king had after giuen to the ſaid Norman. The lord Grange affirmed that he reuenged himſelfe, becauſe he was remoued by the cardinals aduiſe from the office of the treaſurorſhip; which (being granted by the king to him) he had diſcharged with great profit to the realme, & honor to himſelfe. And Kirkmichell did alſo ſay that he was diſpoſſeſſed by the cardinall of ſome other (I cannot tell what) poſſeſſions. All which cauſes were but veiles which they ſpread againſt the wind and report of ſo wicked and ſhamefull a deed. For vpon the fact, Norman being vexed with remorſe of conſcience, did not onelie labor to pacifie the anger of ſuch, that (either by bloud or benefit) were tied to the cardinall with all kind of duties; but did alſo, to ſhun the danger thereof, paſſe into France, and there by valour (in the ſeruice of Henrie the ſecond king of France) endeuored to wipe away that note of infamie, which he had caſt vpon his familie. All which notwithſtanding, both he and others (ſome after one ſort, and ſome after an other) were worthilie puniſhed for their wickednes.]

The ſame euening that the cardinall was ſlaine, the old lord of Grange, maiſter Henrie Balnauis, one of the councell of the realme, and ſundrie gentlemen of the ſurname of the Meluins, John Knoxs and others, to the number of ſeuen ſcore perſons, entred the caſtell to their ſupport, taking vpon them to keepe it againſt the gouernor and his partakers. Not long after, the gouernor, conſidering that his deere couſine the cardinall was thus made awaie, aſſembled the great lords of the realme, as the earle of Angus, Huntleie, Argile, and others, by whoſe aduiſe he called a parlement, and forfalted them that had ſlaine the cardinall, and kept the caſtell of ſaint Andrews. 1546. The ſlaiers of the cardinall forfalted.

Herewith alſo he raiſed a power, and beſieged the ſame caſtell, planting diuerſe peeces of great artillerie againſt it. But it was ſo ſtronglie furniſhed with all maner of artillerie & munition by the cardinall in his life time, that they within cared little for all the inforcements that their aduerſaries without could aduance againſt them. Whereupon, after that the ſiege had continued the ſpace of three moneths, the gouernor was glad to take an appointment with them within, to the end he might get out of their hands his eldeſt ſonne, who was remaining with the cardinall at the time when he was murthered, and ſo kept by them that did the murther, till now they agreed to deliuer him to his father, with condition that he ſhould raiſe his ſiege. The caſtell of ſaint Andrews beſieged. The ſiege raiſed.

They deliuered alſo the dead bodie of the cardinall, after it had laine buried in a dunghill within the caſtell, euer ſince the day in which they ſlue him. [The gouernor did name the abbat of Paſlew his brother to the biſhoprike of ſaint Andrews, and gaue the abbeie of Arbroth (being before granted to James Beton kinſman to the ſlaine cardinall) to George Dowglaſſe baſtard ſonne to the earle of Angus: which things were afterwards occaſions of great troubles in the realme.] In the yeare next inſuing, king Henrie the eight departed this life, after whome ſucceeded his ſonne Edward, the firſt of that name, king of England, France, and Ireland. Shortlie after, that is to ſay, the laſt of March, Francis the French king deceaſſed, and his ſonne Henrie, the ſecond of that name, ſucceeded him; who at the deſire of the gouernor of Scotland, appointed Leone Strozze prior of Capoa, a knight of the order of Malta, with a naule of 16 gallies, fraught with men of warre, and munition, to paſſe into Scotland, to helpe to win the caſtell of ſaint Andrews. Fr. Thin. Leſleus lib. 10. pag. 483. 1547. The king of England deceaſſed. The death of the French king.

The gouernor in the meane time with an armie paſſed to the weſt borders to beſiege the caſtell of Langham, the which was kept at that preſent by Michaell Wharton, hauing then with him but ſirteene Engliſhmen, who neuertheleſſe abid three or foure daies ſiege, and ſeuen canon ſhots, and ſo yeelded the houſe to the gouernor: and hereby was the peace broken, firſt by the Scots, euen as the Engliſhmen could haue wiſhed. Moreouer, at the ſame time, the erle of Rothous then returned out of Denmarke was acquit by an aſſiſe (as they call it) of earles and lords, of an accuſation wherewith he was charged, as confederat and partie with them that had murthered the cardinall.

Whileſt the gouernor was thus paſſed with his armie to the weſt borders, he was aduertiſed that the prior of Capoa was arriued, and [againſt the wils of ſuch as were againſt it] entred into the towne of ſaint Andrews: whereupon the gouernor, with all the nobilitie that were then about him, haſted thither to aſſiſt the prior, and ſo the ſiege was ſtronglie laid about the caſtell there. The prior cauſed certeine peeces of artillerie to be drawen vp, and mounted on the top of a church, which was higher than the caſtell; ſo that thoſe peeces ſhot plump into the caſtell, that none durſt ſhew themſelues on the wals, or abroad in the yard within the caſtell. He cauſed alſo certeine canons to be drawen with engins, Fr. Thin. The caſtell of ſaint Andrews beſieged by the French.

gins; nére to the verie wals of the castell, which battered the same in such sort, as the ditches were nére hand filled with the rubbish and stones of the wals that fell downe.

Moreouer, the gallies at an high water approched on the riuer side so nére to the castell, that with shot of canons and other artillerie, they sore annoied them within, and slue diuerse. The defendants perceiuing themselues thus besieged on all sides, & not able long to hold out, put forth a token vpon a speares point, to signifie that they desired parlee, which was granted, and certeine of them comming forth, were admitted to talke with the gouernor, the queene, and the prior of Capoa. They offered to render the castell, so they might depart, and haue their liues saued with bag and baggage.

The castell of S. Andrews yelded.

But this would not be granted, the gouernor vtterlie refusing it; at length he was content to pardon them of their liues, if the French king should thinke it good, else to stand to his pleasure. The spoile of the castell was giuen to the Frenchmen, who vpon the surrender entring the same, left nothing behind him that might serue them to anie vse in taking it away. All the principall men within it were led to the gallies, and conueied awaie into France prisoners at the French kings discretion. Diuerse of them were committed to sundrie prisons on the coast of Britaine, and others were appointed to row in the gallies till the yeare 1550, in which the prisoners were set at libertie, and the others that were in the gallies were redeemed by their friends for certeine summes of monie.

The prior of Capoa.

Thus was the castell of saint Andrews rendred the nine and twentith of Julie, fourténe daies after the arriuall there of the prior of Capoa, whereby his great valiancie, well knowen afore that time, was so renewed, as his praise for his spéedie dispatch and good successe therein was much aduanced. Shortlie after, the duke of Summerset, heretofore in this booke named earle of Hertford, vncle by the mother vnto the yong king of England, and admitted gouernor of his person, and protector of all his realms, dominions, and subiects, minding the aduancement of the yong king his nephue, thought good with all speed to procure the consummation of the mariage, betwixt him, and the yong quéene of Scots.

The duke of Summerset protector of England.

But perceiuing that the same could not be brought to passe without force, he séemed loth to let passe the opportunitie of time then offered (as he tooke it) to serue his purpose; and thereupon by aduise of councell leuied an armie with all expedition, and came to Berwike, about the latter end of August, and in the beginning of September entred Scotland with the same armie, conteining seauenténe or eighténe thousand men, which was diuided into three principall wards, the vant-gard led by the valiant earle of Warwike, the battell by the duke of Summerset himselfe, and the rere-ward by the lord Dacres of the north.

He entreth Scotland with an armie

There were certeine wings and troopes of men of armes, demilances, and light horssemen, and also of harquebusiers, that attended vpon these three wards, garded with diuerse péeces of great artillerie. The lord Greie of Wilton high marshall of the armie had the generall conduction of the men of armes and demilances. Sir Francis Brian, lieutenant of the light horssemen, with eight hundred of them was appointed to the vant-gard. Sir Peter Mewtas capteine of fiue hundred hagbutters, and sir Francis Fleming, maister of the ordinance with a thousand light horssemen, were appointed to the battell. And sir Richard Manners, with six hundred light horssemen, attended vpon the rere-ward.

The order of the English armie.

In this order marching through the Mers, and Louthian, they came at length vnto a place called Buckling Braes, nære to the Forth side, in which riuer the English fleet was arriued, and late before the towne of Leith, but now by order giuen came backe from thence, and lay nérer to the armie. The gouernor of Scotland aduertised of the comming of this armie of England thus to inuade Scotland, with all diligence sent abroad solemne summons for the leuieng of a new armie forth of all parts of the realme; supposing thereby to be sufficientlie furnished and inabled for the incounter; happen when it should; the contrarie part (no doubt) being likewise opinioned, and both hoping, or greedilie gaping after the glorie of victorie.

The English fleet.

The gouernor raiseth an armie.

For the gouernor did attempt at this time that which is accustomed to be vsed in the greatest dangers of the countrie: which was, that he sent out messengers through all the realme, who carieng a fierie crosse in their hands, should make signe (and declare) aswell to the laitie, as to the churchmen; that all they which were aboue sixténe yeares old, and vnder sixtie, should presentlie (with their armor) repaire to Mussilborow, and there be readie to defend the libertie of the countrie; who accordinglie came to Mussilborow (within lesse than two miles of the place where the English armie came to incampe, lieng at Preston) & placed themselues at Innernesse ouer against their enimies.]

Fr. Thin. Lesleus lib. 10. pag. 485.

Here we haue to vnderstand, that the Scots light horssemen oftentimes would come pricking almost within their staues length of the Englishmen as they marched, whooping and shouting, to the end they might traine them forth from their strength, and with railing words would still be in hand to prouoke them thereto. But the duke of Summerset, doubting the goodnesse of the Scotish prickers, gaue secret commandement, that no offer of skirmish by the Scotish horssemen should be taken. But at length the lord Greie of Wilton, not able to beare such bold presumption in the Scots, aduenturing as he tooke it ouer rashlie, and more than stood with their owne suertie, made suite to the duke of Summerset, that if they continued in such brauerie, it might be lawfull for him to set them further off.

The goodnes of the Scotish horssemen feared of the Englishmen.

The lord Greie desireth to incounter the Scotish horssemen.

The duke at the first by no meanes would assent thereto, telling the lord Greie, that his desire proceeded more of a lolitie of courage, than of anie knowledge of the enimie, and séemed to defend the goodnesse of the Scotish horssemen: but when the lord Greie persisted in his suite, and the earle of Warwike assisted his request, the duke in the end yéelded thereto. Herevpon when the lord Hume with the Scots the next time (which was on the Fridaie the ninth of September) came forth to offer the skirmish after their wonted maner, the lord Greie taking with him certeine bands of horssemen, both men of armes, demilances, and also light horsmen, diuided them in troopes, appointing the Spanish and Italian hagbutters on horssebacke to kéepe on a wing, and to gard the hindermost troope of the English horssemen.

He also gaue order to the leaders of euerie troope, that to which soeuer the enimie should once offer, in anie wise, that no answer by skirmish were made them, but after they had drawne them to their accustomed plaie and proffer of charge, that troope that it was offered vnto, presentlie vpon the enimies wheeling about should throughlie giue it them; and that so giuen, the next troope presentlie to giue it in the face: and so (as occasion required) both those troopes wholie togither to helpe other without breaking. The Scots comming forward, pricking and whooping after their old wont, the Englishmen forbare a great while, till at the last, foure or fiue hun-

Order giuen by the lord Greie.

dred of them came scattered vpon the spurre, with a maruellous shout within a stones length of the formost troope.

These thinking then to haue wheéled about, maister Nicholas Gainesford, the leader of that troope, and lieutenant of the lord Greies band of his men of armes of Bullongne, cried; A charge, which as spéedily on the English part as vnlooked for of the Scots being giuen, from charging at that time in sport, the Scots were driuen to gallop awaie so fast as their horsles might beare them, losing of their companies that were taken and slaine, to the number of eight hundred and more (as some haue written) [at what time the lord Hume (as saith Lesleus lib. 10. pa. 486) falling from his horsse, was grieuouslie wounded, and caried to Edenburgh, and his eldest sonne was taken prisoner] but yet, as diuerse of the Englishmen aduentured too farre in following the chase, they were distressed, and sundrie of them taken prisoners, among the which were some of their capteins, as sir Rafe Bulmer, Thomas Golwer, & Robert Crouch, each of them hauing in charge the leading of seuerall bands of light horsemen. ¶ Thus much for this Fridaies skirmish, wherein the chiefest force of the Scotish horsemen was defeated, to the great discouragement of the rest.

Nicholas Gainesford.

The Scots horsemen put to flight.

Fr. Thin.

English capteins taken.

* The English armie remaining still at Preston, did from a hill behold the number of the Scots, who (supposing that they saw a greater number than in truth there was) assembled in the meane time to consult of the estate of their affaires. And therevpon sent letters to the Scots, desiring that if they might obteine anie thing by iustice, that they should rather end the warre with couenants than with canons. The effect of which letters tended to this end. That the English did greatlie intreat the Scots, first to remember that both armies were christian men, to and of whome (vnlesse they vtterlie forget their profession) there should nothing be more welcome nor desired than peace & tranquillitie, and nothing more detestable than warre and vniust force. Besides this, that the cause of this present warre did not grow of couetousnesse, hatred or enuie, but from the desire of perpetuall peace, which could not be better or more firmelie established by any means, but by the league of matrimonie (being promised and confirmed by the publike consent and pledge of the nobilitie) with those conditions which were more beneficiall for the Scots than the English, being such as did not call them into seruitude, but into a felowship and liberall imparting of all their fortunes each to other. For so much more should that mariage be commodious to the Scots than to the English, by how much the hope of profit, and the feare of iniuries should bée greater from the stronger to the weaker.

Fr. Thn. Buchan. lib. 15.

Wherefore they should chiefliе consider (and in this kind) this to be their greatest reason, that since that their quéene was of necessitie to be giuen in mariage by the Scots, and that the same necessitie was not to be auoided; and the moderation therein verie hard: that the onelie power to chose hir a husband was left vnto the publike councell or parlement. And if they would chose (to their quéene) a husband for the publike profit and dignitie: of whome could they better take choise, than of a king their neighbor, borne in the same Iland, néere of bloud, instructed in the same lawes, brought vp in the same maners and language; not their superior onelie in riches, but almost also in all commodities and ornaments of externall things, and such a person which did bring with him peace, concord, amitie, and the forgetting of all old iniuries? But if they call to them anie other (differing from them in language, maners, and lawes) to take the kingdome: let them thinke with themselues, what and how manie discommodities will grow thereby, and to what euill counsels they shall indanger themselues: the which they may learne by the example of other nations, being farre better to be taught it by the misfortunes of others, than to féele the smart thereof by their owne experience.

Wherefore (as touching themselues) if they shall not perceiue the Scotish nation to be estranged from this amitie and concord, they would mitigate somwhat of their former promises (which by law they might chalenge) and be contented that the maiden quæne should be brought vp amongst them, and bée alwaies in their power, vntill the time that nature should inable hir fit for mariage, and vntill such time as she might chose hir a husband by the aduise of the nobilitie. And that in the meane time (vntill the same might be performed) that both the nations should absteine from warre: and that also the quéene (during that time) should neither be conueied into anie strange nation: nor that they should conclude anie pact or couenant with the French, or anie other forreine prince touching hir mariage. The which if the Scots would most holilie and handfastlie promise, the English would forthwith depart with a quiet armie. And further, that if the English had committed anie hurt or spoile (since they came into the countrie) they would recompense the same by the iudgement of good men.

These letters thus sent, the gouernor did impart vnto a few, and of those especiallie to John his brother bishop of saint Andrews (taken vnto him in place & authoritie of the slaine cardinall.) These two aduanced with great hope of victorie, were the cause that these letters were suppressed, bicause they feared that if the equall conditions of peace were knowne abroad, the most part would willinglie incline to the same quiet aduise. Wherefore they procured a false rumor to be spread through the host, that the English men were come thither with determination to take awaie the quéene by force, and by strength of armes to bring the whole kingdome into their subiection. For the gouernor being faint spirited by nature, had chosen vnto him foure such other councellors (like vnto himselfe) in the affairs of warre, by whose command & becke all things were performed. Of which number were his three kinsmen, John archbishop of saint Andrews, the abbat of Dunfermling, George Durie, with Archembald Beton; and the fourth was Hugh Rigs, a lawier, rather famous for his grosse bodie and foolish conditions, than anie knowledge in militarie affaires. These foure had so puffed vp the gouernor (inconstant by his owne nature, and changing his counsell by the wind of euerie rumor) that he would with stoped eares heare all other mens opinions. In the meane time, his friends hauing spread a feined tale (through the Scotish host) by him deuised, the Scots ran in all hast to their weapons, whose vnaduised spéed was in the end the cause of their vnfortunate procédings, as after shall apeare.)

The Scots meant not to haue giuen battell.

The purpose of the Englishmen.

For being true (as the Scots haue reported) that the gouernor, and the nobilitie of Scotland meant not to hazard battell within their owne realme, but rather to lie still and defend their ground, if the Englishmen should come forward to giue them battell there. The Englishmen aduertised thereof, the morrow after this great skirmish, raised their field verie earlie, purposing to take an hill called Pinkhill, where they might place their ordinance, and to shot into the Scotish campe, whereby they should force the Scots to dislodge from their ground of aduantage. The gouernor and the Scotish lords, beholding their enimies thus marching forward, thought best

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to ſtaie their enterpriſe, and therefore ſuddenlie, notwithſtanding their former determination, ruſhing forth of their campe, paſſed forward to incounter their enimies.

The ordering of the Scotiſh battels.

They were diuided into three battels; Archembald Dowglaſſe earle of Angus, with certeine lords with him, led the vant-gard; George Gordon earle of Huntleie, and his friends the rere-ward; and the gouernor accompanied with the earle of Argile and the reſt of the noble men, were in the maine battell. The Engliſhmen hauing got the hill, and perceiuing the Scots to come forwards with great haſt, ſtaied for their comming: but the Scots were ſo raſh and haſtie, paſſing firſt through the water in their armour, and ſo vp towards the hill, that continuing their march with ſuch ſpeed, as they ſeemed rather to trot, than to keepe anie ordinarie marching paſe, before they could come to ioine with the Engliſhmen, they were almoſt out of breath.

The Engliſh horſſemen eaten backe.

Howbeit, the earle of Angus, and the other in the vant-gard, boldlie abid the charge of all the Engliſh horſſemen, and ſo rigorouſlie reincountred them, that ſlaieng and beating downe no ſmall number both of men and horſſes, they put the reſt to flight; ſo that no ſmall part of them retired backe in ſuch diſorder, that they ran thorough the rankes of the footmen in the fore-ward, wherwith ſuch feare entered among the Engliſhmen, that (as hath béene reported) they had vndoubtedlie fled, if the manfull courage of the earle of Warwike had not béene ſhewed at that preſent, according to the wonted valure of his often approued proweſſe, whereby he cauſed them to ſtaie, and relie themſelues againe.

The valiantneſſe of the earle of Warwike.

In the meane time, the battell and the rere-ward of the Scots aduanced forward with great courage. But there was a gallie & two pineſſes of the Engliſh fléet, which from the ſea ſhot ſo terriblie at the Scotiſh armie, that the ſame was not onelie ſore galled and indamaged thereby, but alſo ſtaied, that they could not come eaſilie forward. And herewith the Engliſh vant-gard incouraged with the comfortable words and behauior of the earle of Warwike, and other the captains, made towards the Scotiſh vant-gard againe: the which not able of it ſelfe to reſiſt, retired in good order to the great battell of Scotland. Where vpon, the multitude fearing, by reaſon they ſaw them in the forward thus retire (albeit in good order) that all had béene loſt, gaue backe, and toke them to flight; whome the Engliſhmen followed amaine, ſlaieng the Scotiſhmen downe on heaps in paſſing great numbers. Manie were alſo drowned in the water of Undereſke, through the which they toke their flight.

The gallie and two pineſſes.

The earle of Huntleie taken priſoner.

The earle of Huntleie and the rere-gard ſtood ſtill with their enſignes and banners, till the chaſe was paſt by them: but at length were driuen to make awaie as well as the reſt, and the earle himſelfe in the retire being taken on foot, well clad in gilt armour inameled, was led priſoner to the lord protector. Diuerſe other men of name, barons, and knights, were taken priſoners. There were ſlaine no ſmall number of perſonages of good account. Among other, the lord Fleming, the maiſter of Erſkin, the maiſter of Graham, the maiſter of Meſſine, the maiſter of Ogiluie, the maiſter of Leuingſton, the maiſter of Roſſe [the maiſter of Argendale and Meſkane] the lard of Lochinwar, the lard of Glencarnocke, & others. [There were taken priſoners diuerſe noble men, the lord Zeſtrie, the earle of Huntleie chancellor of the realme, and others, as ſaith Leſleus lib. 10. pag. 487.]

Men of name of Scots ſlaine. Fr. Thin.

The next day, the Engliſh armie remoued to Leith, where the priſoners were put into a church, diuerſe of them being ſore wounded. But the earle of Huntleie, entering bond for them that they ſhould well and truelie paie their ranſomes, agréed vpon betwixt them and their takers, or elſe to come and preſent themſelues priſoners in England by a certeine day, they were ſuffered to depart. * The calamitie of which bloudie day, there were not a few which did impute iuſtlie to happen to the Scots, becauſe they did arrogantlie reiect ſuch honorable and beneficiall peace, and did hope (if they obteined the victorie) to haue vſed more crueltie to their owne people than vnto the Engliſh, either becauſe they would (as I my ſelfe coniecture) reuenge old quarels, or elſe haue vſed extremitie againſt ſuch as ſecretlie miſliked this conflict with the Engliſh.)

The earle of Huntleie entereth bond for his countriemen. Fr. Thin. Buchan. lib. 15.

The gouernor eſcaping from the battell, came to Striueling, where the quéene regent was, togither with hir daughter the yong quéene. Héere, by the counſell and aduiſe of the earle of Angus [Argile, Rotheſen, and Caſſiles] and diuerſe other lords that were alſo withdrawne thither after the battell, they were conueied to the countrie of Menteith, where they remained in the abbeie of Inch Mahome [deliuering the yong quéene to hir mother, Erſkine and Leuingſtone to be kept there] till the Engliſh armie was departed out of the realme, and then they remoued againe, and came to Striueling. [After that the gouernor had deliuered the earle out of priſon at Edenburgh] the Engliſh nauie wan the Ile of ſaint Colmes Inch [in the meane time] and did ſundrie other exploits by ſea, as in the Engliſh hiſtorie it may appéere.

The quéene remoued from Striueling. Fr. Thin. Leſleus lib. 10. pag. 487.

Fr. Thin.

Fr. Thin.

The Ile of ſaint Colmes Inch won by Engliſhmen.

Moreouer, the earle of Bothwell, whome the gouernor had before kept in priſon, and was the night after the battell ſet at libertie, repared to the duke of Summerſet, with diuerſe other lords and gentlemen of Louthian, whileſt he laie at Leith, offering themſelues to be at the king of Englands commandement, and ſo were aſſured from receiuing hurt or damage by the Engliſh power. The duke of Summerſet hauing remained at Leith eight daies, burnt a peece of it, and demanding the caſtell of Edenburgh, but could not obteine it, departed thence the eightéenth of December homewards the nert waie, ouer the mounteins of Soutreie, comming the third day before the caſtell of Hume, where they did ſo much by countenancing to win that fortreſſe, that within three or foure daies after their comming thither, it was yorrendred.

The earle of Bothwell.

1547.

The Engliſh armie returneth homewards.

Hume caſtell rendred to the Engliſhmen.

This caſtell being woone, & a garriſon left therein to kéepe it, they remoued to Rockeſburgh, where within the compaſſe of the ruinous wals of an old caſtell, they built a fort; & after returning into England, left a conuenient garriſon to kéepe it. They got alſo about the ſame time a ſtrong fortreſſe, called Faſt caſtell, ſtanding néere to the ſea ſide, and placed a garriſon within it. And moreouer, in this meane time, their fléet by ſea wan the caſtell of Broughtie crag, and put in like manner a garriſon within it to kéepe the ſame (as in the Engliſh hiſtorie it may further apeere) and in what ſort alſo all the chiefeſt lords and gentlemen of the Mers and Tiuidale came in, and ſubmitted themſelues to the duke of Summerſet, vpon aſſurance had and giuen.

Faſt caſtell woone by them.

Broughtie crag woone.

Furthermore, whileſt the duke of Summerſet with his armie did thus inuade Scotland on the eaſt part, it was ordeined by the ſaid duke, and other of the councell to the king of England, that Matthew earle of Lennox, and Thomas lord Wharton, then warden of the weſt marches of England, ſhould with a power inuade Scotland on the weſt ſide, to the end that there ſhould not anie of the weſt borders nor countries come to aſſiſt the gouernor againſt the duke of Summerſets armie, but be driuen to remaine at home to defend their owne countrie. Herevpon, there was an armie leuied, to the number of

fiue

fiue thouſand footmen, and eight hundred light horſſemen, with which power the earle of Lennox and the lord Wharton entering Scotland the eight of September, incamped the firſt night vpon the water of Eſke, and marched the next day through the nether part of Annandale, till they came to the caſtell of Milke, a fortreſſe of good ſtrength, the wals being foureteene foot thicke.

The caſtell of Milke yelded

Capteine of this caſtell was one John Steward, brother to the lard thereof, who vpon the approch of the earle of Lennox, yelded the houſe to him, without anie ſhew of reſiſtance. Whereupon, Ferguſe Graham, brother to Richie Graham of Erſke, was appointed with a garriſon of ſouldiors to keepe that caſtell to the vſe of the yoong king of England, and was afterwards confirmed capteine there with fiftie light horſſemen, by appointment of the duke of Summerſet, & the councell; ſo that during the wars, he remained there to the great annoiance of the Scots, enimies to England, and preſeruation of the countrie thereabouts to the king of Englands vſe.

On the twentith of September, the earle of Lennox, and the lord Wharton, incamped neere to the towne of Annand, and on the morrow after approching nearer to the ſame, gaue ſummons vnto the capteine therof, called Lion, of the houſe of Glams, who with an hundred Scots [whereof Marwell and Johnſtone, and Cokpull (as ſaith Leſleus lib. 10. pa. 489. being parcell] kept the church and ſteeple of Annand, being peeces of themſelues verie ſtrong and mightilie reinforced with earth: they within therefore refuſed to yeld, and valiantlie defended themſelues. The greateſt peeces of artillerie, which the Engliſhmen had there at that time, were certeine double and ſingle falcons, wherewith they beat onelie the battlements, till they might with certeine engines approch hard to the wals, and vndermine the ſame, ſo as the roofe of the church was ſhaken downe, and a great number of them within the church ſlaine and cruſhed to death. Such as eſcaped fled into the ſteeple.

Fr. Thin.

The church of Annand vndermined.

Two of the Engliſhmen that wrought about the mines, were ſlaine: but at length, the capteine moued by perſuaſion of the earle of Lennox, to whome he claimed to be of kin, rendered the ſteeple to him, with himſelfe, and 96 Scots ſouldiors, with condition to haue their liues onelie ſaued, and the capteine to remaine priſoner, and to go into England. Immediatlie vpon their comming forth of the ſteeple, fire was giuen vnto the traines of powder in the mines, and ſo both the church & ſteeple were blowen vp into the aire, & raced downe to the ground. This done, they burnt the towne (after they had ſacked it) and left not one ſtone ſtanding vpon an other, for that the ſame towne had euer beene a verie noiſome neighbour to England.

The ſteeple yelded.

The church and ſteeple of Annand blowen vp with powder.

The Engliſhmen had conceiued ſuch ſpite towards this towne, that if they ſaw but a peece of timber remaining vnburnt, they would cut the ſame in peeces with their bils. The countrie herewith was ſtriken in ſuch feare, that the next day all the Bilpatrikes and the Jordeins, the lards of Kirknichell, Apilgirth, Cloſburne, Powmendes, Nubie, and the Irrewings, the Bels, the Rigs, the Murreies, and all the clanes and ſurnames of the neather part of Annerdale, came in, and receiued an oth of obeiſance, as ſubiects to the king of England, deliuering pledges for their aſſured loialtie. The reſidue that would not come in and ſubmit themſelues, had their houſes burnt, their goods and cattell fetched awaie by the Engliſh light horſſemen, that were ſent abroad into the countrie for that purpoſe.

The Scots that came to aſſure themſelues.

These things thus executed, the earle of Lennox, and the lord Wharton, returned backe into England with their priſoners, booties, and ſpoiles, receiuing great thanks and commendations by gentle letters on the fiue & twentith of September, from the duke of Summerſet, then lieng at Rockeſburgh, about fortifieng of that place. The gouernor perceiuing thus that without the aſſiſtance of France he ſhould not be able to reſiſt the Engliſhmen, hauing now got ſuch foot hold within the realme of Scotland, required the queene Dowager, and monſieur Doiſell, liger ambaſſador for the French king, to perſuade with him by letters, to ſend an armie into Scotland, to the aid of his friends there.

The gouernors ſute to the queene Dowager, and to the French ambaſſadors.

The queene and monſieur Doiſell, perceiuing a readie waie prepared to bring that to paſſe which they moſt deſired (which was, to haue the queene of Scotland ordered in all things by the French kings aduiſe) they vndertooke to procure an armie out of France, according to the gouernors deſire, if he with the ſtates of the realme would agree that the queene might be ſent into France, and a contract made for hir beſtowing in mariage, as ſtood with the French kings pleaſure. The gouernor condeſcending herevnto, aſſembled the ſtates, and by their aduiſes, paſſed certeine couenants to the effect aforeſaid, & ſent the ſame in writing by certeine meſſengers into France.

The queene Dowager promiſeth aid out of France with condition.

The French king gladlie accepting this meſſage, prepared a nauie of ſhips and gallies to tranſport an armie into Scotland the next ſummer. In the meane time, the gouernor laied ſiege to Broughtie crag, and the duke of Summerſet, as well for meane to cauſe the Scots to retire that ſiege, as alſo for the annoiance of Clideſdale, apperteining to the gouernor and the earle of Angus, and other Scots that would not come in to the obeiſance of the king of England, appointed the earle of Lennox to make a new inuaſion into Scotland, and to vſe for triall of their fidelities the helpe of two thouſand Scotiſh light horſſemen, that were alreadie aſſured & ſworne to ſerue the king of England in all ſuch exploits in which they ſhould be imploied.

The gouernor ſendeth into France for aid.

Broughtie crag beſieged by the gouernor.

The earle of Lennox deſirous to aduance the king of Englands affaires, and hauing receiued letters from William earle of Glencarne, with promiſe of his aſſiſtance, and likewiſe of his father in law the earle of Angus, the lard of Drumlanrig, and thoſe lards and gentlemen of the countries of Kile, Conningham, Renfrew, and Lennox, entered Scotland about the twelfth of December, accompanied with Henrie Wharton, ſecond ſon to the lord Wharton, with two hundred light horſſemen, of the garriſons in Scotland, and comming firſt to Dunfreis, where the generall aſſemblie was appointed of the two thouſand aſſured Scotiſh light horſſemen, when the muſters ſhould be taken, he found ſcarſe three hundred, and thoſe for the more part of the broken countries of Annandale, Ewisdale, Eſdale, and Lideldale.

The earle of Lennox entereth into Scotland.

The earle of Glencarne came thither in deed, but vnder a counterfet ſhew of good meaning, where in truth he ment nothing but craft to diſcouer all the earle of Lennox his purpoſes: who perceiuing his double dealing, and finding no ſuch forces readie to aſſiſt him, as he looked for, and moreouer, miſtruſting the loialties of the maiſter of Marwell, & the gentlemen of Nideſdale, meaning (as he tooke it) to intrap him, and deliuer him to the queene Dowager, and the lord gouernor, ſtood in ſome perpleritie what way ſhould be the beſt for him to follow, thinking it not to ſtand with his honor to returne, without atchiuing ſome enterpriſe.

The earle of Glencarne his double dealing.

Now lord Harries.

The earle of Lennox in doubt what to do.

The earle of Glencarne had ſhewed to him two letters written by the lard of Drumlanrig, ſignifieng, that if the earle of Lennox came, accompanied

The lard of Drumlanrig.

onelie

onelie with Scotiſhmen, he would both ſerue him and honor him in the beſt wiſe he might: but if he brought thoſe Engliſhmen in his compante, he would not onelie refuſe to aid him, but alſo raiſe all the power he might make, either by his friends or otherwiſe, to reſiſt him, and proffer him a repulſe. The earle thus perceiuing that he was in danger to be betraied among them, and that there were all the deuiſes practiſed that might be to ſtaie thoſe that ſhould come to the deuotion of the king of England, diſſembled the matter with Glencarne, and other that were ſuborned to betraie him; pretending to them, that he would follow the courſe of their deuiſes.

The earle of Lennox diſſembleth with diſſemblers.

1547. Buch.

But in the meane time he got togither the Engliſh capteins that were appointed to attend him, and alſo ſuch Scotiſhmen as he knew he might truſt. And meaning to ſcourge Dzumlanrig, & to cut him ſhort, for that he was the chiefe inſtrument to ſtaie all the Scotiſhmen in thoſe parties from entering friendſhip with the Engliſhmen: he gaue ſecret warning to all the capteins & leaders about nine of the clocke at night, that they ſhould be readie with their men to mount on horſbacke at the ſound of the trumpet, and keepe with them the earle of Glencarne, the maiſter of Marwell, the lards of Cloſburne, Kirkmichell, and others the gentlemen of Nideſdale and Annandale.

horſſemen ent forth to courge Dzumlanrig.

They harrie ye countrie a- out Dzumlanrig.

He ſent forth ſix hundred choſen horſſemen vpon ſound of the trumpet, at twelue of the clocke at night, vnder the leading of Henrie Wharton, and other the capteins of the garriſons, who in the dawning of the nert morrow, arriued neere the place of Dzumlanrig, where they appointed foure hundred of their horſſemen to paſſe to the forraie, who raiſed fire, and burnt two miles in length, both townes and villages on ech ſide, euen hard to the gates of Dzumlanrig, ſpoiling the houſes of goods and riches, worth to the value of two thouſand marks, got three thouſand ſheepe, two thouſand herd of great cattell, beſide nine ſcore horſſes and mares.

The Annandalers laden with ſpoile and cattell, being in number foure hundred men, departed with their preie homewards. The lard of Dzumlanrig, lieng all this while in ambuſh with ſeuen hundred men, forbare to breake out to giue anie charge vpon his enimies, doubting leaſt the earle of Lennox had kept a ſtale behind: but now after he perceiued that the moſt part of the enimies were departed, and that the reſidue of the gentlemen & capteins of the Engliſh horſſemen were withdrawing towards Dunfreis, being not paſt ſix score men, he fiercelie followed after them with his power, in hope not onelie to ouerthrow and diſtres them, but alſo to take the earle of Lennox at Dunfreis.

Dzumlanrig purſueth the Engliſhmen.

Maiſter Henrie Wharton and thoſe ſix ſcore horſſemen, retiring beyond the water of Nith, and perceiuing that Dzumlanrig and his men entered the water raſhlie to purſue them, returned, and gaue ſuch a deſperate charge vpon them, that Dzumlanrig and his compante were ſcattered and put to flight: yet Dzumlanrig himſelfe, although there were ſome ſpeares broken vpon him, through the goodneſſe of his horſſe eſcaped. Two gentlemen of his ſurname and traine, that were in no ſmall eſtimation with him, were ſlaine, and ſix ſcore priſoners taken, and led to Dunfreis. The terror of this ouerthrow, and the bruit of the earle of Lennox his entrie thus made into Scotland, cauſed the gouernor to leuie his ſiege from Broughtie crag, and with ſpeed to come from thence, the better to defend his countries of Clideſdale, and Dowglaſdale. Sir Andrew Dudleie, capteine of Broughtie crag, bare himſelfe verie valiantlie in defending the caſtell during this ſiege, ſo that the Scots certes loſt diuerſe hardie perſonages: and among other, Gawen Hamilton, the gouernors kinſman, was ſlaine at the ſame ſiege.

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he ſiege of roughtie ag raiſed.

Moreouer, the prior of Whiterne by his letters and meſſengers, offered himſelfe to obeie the king of England: and the inhabitants of the burrough and hauen townes of Wigton and Kirkowbre, the knights of Loghinwar and Garleis, the lard and tutor of Bombie, the lard of Cardines, & all the gentlemen of Annandale, Nideſdale, and Galloway, euen to Whiterne, being foure ſcore miles in length from Caerleill, through the inducement of the foreſaid prior, and of the knights of Loghinwar and Garleis, (for the fauour they bare to the earle of Lennox) within two daies after the diſcomfiture of Dzumlanrig, came vnto Dunfreis, and there receiued an oth to be true to the king of England, and afterwards went with the earle to Caerleill, leauing the countrie in good quiet, and the king of England acknowledged for lord of Galloway, Nideſdale, and Annandale, by the inhabitants thereof.

The prior of Whiterne.

And after that the forenamed perſons had remained for a ſpace at Caerleill, they deliuered pledges, but eſpeciallie for John Marwell, & returned home to their countrie, as aſſured men & ſubiects to the K. of England. In this meane while, the gouernor hauing held ſiege before the caſtell of Broughtie crag, by the ſpace of thirtie daies, and now retiring from thence (as before ye haue heard) by the aduiſe of the principall lords about him, he cauſed maiſter James Haliburton, tutor of thoſe parties, to raiſe certeine companies of horſſemen, and appointed him with capteine Leirmouth (whome he left in Dundee with certeine footmen) to defend the countrie againſt the Engliſhmen, if they iſſued forth of Broughtie crag, to atchiue anie enterpriſe anie where neere thereabouts.

The Scots deliuer pledges.

James Holliburton.

Capteine Leirmouth.

The duke of Summerſet by aduiſe of the reſidue of the councell in England, minding to bridle the Scots that refuſed to come in & ſubmit themſelues to the king of England, toke order [with the lord of Wilton, who (as ſaith Leſleus. lib. 10. pag. 491.) remained in Scotland from the fourth Ides of Aprill, vntill the tenth kalends of June] for the building of one fort at Lauder, and an other at Hadington, as in the Engliſh hiſtorie it may appeare. And further it was appointed alſo, that about the end of Februarie, the earle of Lennox and the lord Wharton, with ſeuen hundred Engliſh horſſemen, beſide the aſſured Scots horſſemen, and about foure or fiue thouſand Engliſh footmen, ſhould by the weſt borders inuade Scotland: they according to their commiſſion ſet forward, and the firſt night came to Louchmaben, and there lodged.

1547. Leſle.

Fr. Thin. Forts built.

1548.

The earle of Lennox and the L. wharton inuade Scotland.

The next day they marched to Dunfreis, and whileſt they remained there, the earle of Angus being come to Dzumlanrig, by meſſengers entred ſome talke with his ſonne in law the earle of Lennor. But ſith it was perceiued that this was done, rather to intrap the earle of Lennor, or rather at the leaſt wiſe to driue time, vpon conſultation had with the maiſter of Marwell, the lard of Cloeſborne, and others the gentlemen aſſured of Nideſdale and Annandale, it was concluded, that the townes of Morton, Duſdere, and others, neere adioining togither in thoſe parts, ſhould be burnt; to the end that the earle of Angus might ſo be drawen to the field, and caught by ſome one meane or other.

The diſſimulation of the earle of Angus.

About midnight therefore, the forraie being ſet forth, vnder the leading of maiſter Henrie Wharton, to the number of twelue hundred light horſſemen, the maiſter of Marwell, now lord Herries, and the reſidue of the aſſured men being amongeſt them kept forward, and in the morning the earle of Lennor,

Maiſter Henrie wharton.

Lennor, and the lord Wharton marched forth with the footmen, till they came ten miles beyond Dunfreis. And where the earle of Angus was drawen to the castell of Drumlanrig, vnder pretense to commune with his sonne the earle of Lennor (but meaning to intrap him) if it were possible, he was so inuironed by the English footmen yer he could haue sufficient warning, that he was forced to flée onelie with fiue persons in his companie. But now the English horssemen being come to Dusdere, eight & fortie miles within the realme of Scotland, hauing passed sundrie great riuers, they set that towne on fire.

The earle of Angus put to flight.

Dusdere set on fire.

But the maister of Marwell, with the other Scotish gentlemen and light horssemen borderers, to the number of foure hundred, being in companie of the English horssemen (as before ye haue heard) had contriued the destruction of the Englishmen afore hand. And the better to worke their feat, they had procured (as ye haue heard) the earle of Angus to come vnto Drumlanrig with a chosen power of men for that purpose. There were also vpon euerie hill about, great numbers of Scotish footmen, with speares and lancestaues to assist the earle of Angus and his complices against the Englishmen. The lard of Drumlanrig with a number of chosen horssemen was aduanced forward in sight of the Englishmen, as they were busie in firing the towne of Dusdere.

The assured Scots therefore, thinking the enterprise to be suerlie inough conueid for their contriued purpose, openlie vpon the field neere to Dusdere, hoising vp a blacke pensill vpon a speares point for a token, reuolted wholie, and ioined themselues to the lard of Drumlanrig and other their countrie men, & thrust in betwixt the English horssemen & footmen, to the great perill of distressing aswell the one as the other. For making toward the place where the earle of Lennor, and the lord Wharton were comming forward with their footmen, neere to the old castell of Dauswinton, sometime the house of the Cumins, they bruted it abroad, that the English horssemen were quite ouerthrowen.

The assured Scots.

A false rumor spred.

The earle of Lennor, beholding the maner of his aduersaries, lighted on foot from his horsse, willing the lord Wharton to do the like; for this day (said he) I will die a true Englishman. At length the English horssemen fetching a compasse in retiring backe from Dusdere, came neere to the place where the earle and the lord Wharton were ranged in order of battell: and thinking no lesse but that their horssemen had beene ouerthrowen, were readie to march backe towards Dunfreis. But their horssemen thus comming in, and perceiuing how the matter stood, gaue a right valiant charge vpon the Scots, that stood countenancing the footmen, and readie to take the aduantage, if they might haue driuen them through shrinking backe into anie disorder.

But such was the violence of the shocke giuen at that instant, with great manhood (vndoubtedlie) by the English horssemen, that the Scots were therewith put out of arraie, scattered, & quite put to flight; the lord of Drumlanrig being taken prisoner, corrupted his taker, and so got away. The maister of Marwell escaped in great danger of life, for he had sundrie speares broken on him in the chase as he fled awaie. There were yet taken that day of the Scots to the number of foure hundred, beside sundrie that were drowned in the water of Nith. Amongest the prisoners were these men of name; the abbat of new abbeie, Christie Irrewing of Bonshaw, a brother of the lord of Hempsfield, & manie other gentlemen of name. Dunfreis was rifled and spoiled, as the earle of Lennor and the Englishmen returned thither, and a martiall court appointed there for execution of pledges; but yet suspended and staied, till the councels pleasure might be knowen in that behalfe.

The Scots put to flight.

Dunfreis spoiled.

There were at the first euill news spread abroad, and certified to the court of England of this iornie, how the earle of Lennor and the English armie was ouerthrowen, so that it was by order appointed, that the earle of Derbie, the Lord Scrope, and Coniers, with their powers should repaire to the west borders to garnish the same for defense against the enimies: but vpon the true report how the matter had passed, made by maister Henrie Wharton, and one Bishop a Scotishman, sent in post for that purpose, that appointment was staied; and maister Wharton was at that time made knight, and the said Bishop richlie rewarded for bringing so good news. Herewith were letters directed downe from the councell to the lord Wharton, for the execution of certeine pledges, that is to saie, the maister of Marwels pledge, being one of his nèerest kinsmen of the house of the Herries, also the warden of the Greie friers in Dunfreis, the vicar of Carlauerocke, and diuerse other which were executed at Carlill. In this meane time were the forts at Lawder and Hadington built, the castels of Pesser and Dawkith woone, all the mils burnt within foure miles of each hand of Edenburgh, and other exploits atchiued by the Englishmen, as in the historie of England is more at large expressed.

Pledges executed.

But now the French king, hauing prepared an armie readie to come into Scotland, caused the same to draw downe to Brest in Britaine, where the ships and gallies were rigged and made readie to passe therewith into Scotland. The chiefe leaders of which armie were these, which had charge chieflie to command in the same: monsieur de Desse lieutenant generall, monsieur Dandelot coronell of the French footmen, the counte Reingraue coronell of the Almains, monsieur de Malleraie, monsieur Doisell, Pietro Strozzie coronell of the Italians, monsieur Etauges capteine of the horssemen, sir Nicholas de Villegaignon a knight of the Rhodes (or rather Malta) capteine of the gallies, and monsieur Duno commissarie of the artillerie: with diuerse other worthie personages, and men of approued valiancie. These capteins with their powers being imbarked at Brest, sailed alongst by the east seas, and at length about the middest of June came into the rode before Leith, where they landed their people and ordinance. [A little before whose arriuall into France (as saith Lesleus. libro 10. pag. 491.) Chapelle Bironne landed in Scotland, accompanied with other nobilitie of France, to giue good counsell to the Scots answerable to the time, which was (to please their eares therwith) that there should a greater armie shortlie come out of France, to succor their extremities.]

1548. Buc
1547. Lesl
A nauie prepared at Brest in Britaine.

The chiefe capteins of the French armie that came into Scotland.

Fr. Thin.

Afterwards, with the aduise of the gouernor, and other of the Scotish lords, the French power went to besiege Hadington, and comming thither, incamped themselues in places of aduantage about the towne, cast trenches, planted their ordinance, battered the rampires, and kept them within streictlie besieged on each hand, vsing all the waies they could deuise to constreine the Englishmen to yeeld. They forbare yet to giue a generall assault, bicause they would not hazard (as they haue reported) the losse of so manie men as might haue béene slaine and maimed thereby, to the great weakening of their power there, hauing not meanes to supplie it when they would.

Hadington besieged.

why the Frenchmen forbare to giue an assault.

And yet they had a great armie of Scots with them for a season, and had made the breaches so reasonable,

ſonable, that with ſmall paine they might haue entered by the ſame, if the force of the defendants had not ſufficed with handblowes to haue beaten them backe, as no doubt there was no want of good wils in them ſo to haue done, if the Frenchmen had put the matter in triall: yet during this ſiege, they within ſtood in great neceſſitie of things behouefull for the defenſe of the towne. Whereupon ſir Henrie Wharton with a band of light horſſemen of the weſt borders, and others, came and put into the towne a certeine number of men with powder, and other neceſſaries, greatlie to the reliefe of the beſieged, & no leſſe diſpleaſure of the Frenchmen and Scots, that were not aware of this enterpriſe till it was done in the night ſeaſon, by the good and fortunate conduction of them that had the conueiance thereof.

The Engliſh horſſemen ouerthrowne.

But after this, there came a power of Engliſh horſſmen to the number of little leſſe than two thouſand demilances, light horſſmen, & harquebuſſiers on horſſbacke, vnder the leading of ſir Robert Bowes, ſir Thomas Palmer, ſir Henrie Wharton, capteine Gambo a Spaniard, and others; the which aduenturing ouer raſhlie within danger of the whole French power, were ouerthrowne and chaſed: ſir Robert Bowes, & ſir Thomas Palmer, with a great number of other capteins, gentlemen and ſouldiers being taken priſoners, beſides thoſe that were ſlaine. Yet after this ouerthrow of thoſe horſſemen, the French remoued their ſiege from the places where they had firſt planted it, and lodged further off from the towne, continuing there; till at length by an armie ſent forth of England vnder the conduct of the erle of Shrewſburie, the lord Greie, and others, they were conſtreined to retire from thence, as in the Engliſh hiſtorie ye may find more largelie expreſſed, to the which for the further report of the euents chancing during that ſiege, I referre the reader.

The earle of Shrewſburie remoueth the ſiege from Hadington.

But this is to be remembred, that whileſt the ſiege remained at Hadington, by a conuention or aſſemblie of the lords it was decréed, that the quéene ſhuld be ſent into France. And therevpon monſieur de Villegaignon, with foure gallies departing from Leith, made ſemblance as though he would haue ſailed into France: but hauing paſſed the mouth of the Forth, he turned his courſe on the left hand to paſſe alongſt the ſhore northward by the Germane ſeas, that compaſſing the land on the eaſt ſide, hée might paſſe about by the Iles of Orkenete, and ſo by the weſt Iles, till he came to Dunbreton where the yong quéene laie. This iournie he fortunatelie atchiued, the ſame neuer before (to mans remembrance) being made or attempted with gallies.

Sir Nicholas de Villegaignon.

The French gallies compaſſe about the realme of Scotland by Dungeſbie head.

1547. Leſle.

Monſieur de Brezze.

Fr. Thin.

At his arriuall & conuenient landing at Dunbreton, he found all things readie prouided, neceſſarie for the imbarking of the quéene, that he might conuey hir into France, for the accompliſhment wherof he had taken that iournie in hand. Herevpon ſhe being brought aboord into the kings owne gallie, wherin monſieur de Brezze was alſo appointed to be aboord with hir, as he that had bene ſent with expreſſe commandement to ſée hir conueied into France, [with the lords (as ſaith Leſleus lib. 10. 494) of Areſkine, and Leuingſton, the ladie Fleming, with certeine noble maidens named after the yong quéene, as Marie Leuingſton, Marie Fleming, Marie Seton, and Marie Beton] who togither with Villegaignon ſhewed ſuch diligence in atchiuing that enterpriſe, that finallie they arriued with proſperous wind and weather in the hauen of Breſt in Britaine with that yong quéene, béeing as then betwixt fiue and ſix yéeres of age.

The yong quéene of Scots conueied into France.

Fr. Thin. Leſleus. lib. 10. pag. 494.

✻ From thence being accompanied with the nobilitie of that prouince, ſhe kept hir right courſe to the kings palace of S. Germins in the towne of Lai-on, where ſhe was receiued with great preparation, & there taried the comming thither of the king, at that time pacifieng the ſeditions and turmoiles in the inward parts of France. When the king was come, hée gladded all men with his preſence, and prouided that there was a large houſhold, as well of the noble men and women of Scotland, as of others appointed to the yong quéene, which he ſtill increaſed (as the quéene grew more in yeres) vntill ſuch time as ſhe might be maried.)

But now to returne to the doings in Scotland concerning the warres there. After that the ſiege of Hadington was raiſed by the Engliſh armie (as before ye haue heard) the Frenchmen therevpon retired themſelues vnto Muſkelburgh; and chooſing forth a plot of ground for their aduantage, kept themſelues within the ſame. And herewith there came to them fiftéene thouſand Scotiſhmen to aſſiſt them, ſo that when the Engliſhmen came forwards to aſſaile them, they found them ſo ſtronglie imbattelled, that (whether their commiſſion didnot ſo farre extend, or whether they had no liking of the match) they forbare to ſet vpon them in that ground of ſo great diſaduantage for the aſſailants, and ſo returned backe to Hadington, and after homewards, hauing furniſhed the towne with new ſupplies of men, munition, and vittels ſufficient.

The Frenchmen incampe at Muſkelburgh.

Hée more hereof in England.

Here is to be noted, that the Engliſh fléet entering into the Forth, was readie to haue aided the armie by land, as occaſions might haue béene offered. But the lord admerall perceiuing no likelihood of battell by land, toke vpon him to atchiue ſome other enterpriſes, and firſt comming to Brent Iland, ſet certeine ſhips on fire there, of the chiefeſt in the riuer; and ſaluting the towne of Leith as he paſſed by with canon ſhot, he determined to land ſome of his men on the north ſide of the Forth, to make ſome ſpoile within the countrie of Fife. But Iohn Erſkin lard of Dun, as then ſomewhat diſeaſed, and returned home from the campe, cauſed ſuch dailie and nightlie watch and ward to be kept, that this enterpriſe could not be ſo ſecretlie conueied by the Engliſhmen, but that the ſame was perceiued, and ſo preuented, that vpon their landing they were forced to retire with loſſe: and happie was he that might firſt get againe to ſhipboord.

The lord admerall of England.

The lard of Dun.

The Engliſh men repelled at ſaint Menets.

✻ For James Steward, brother to the quéene (hearing of this tumult) came thither in haſt with the common people of ſaint Andrews, and ſome other few citizens which were remaining in the towne, to whome the neighbors about did alſo ioine themſelues, vnderſtanding the cauſe of that aſſemblie. The Engliſh being now come on land, about twelue hundred, ſtood in warlike ſort readie for the battell, and with the feare of the artillerie (which they diſcharged out of their ſhips) did eaſilie cauſe the rude multitude to flie awaie. But this James Steward (by litle and litle ſuppreſſing the feare of ſuch as fled) did (with ſuch violence) ruſh vpon his enimies, that forthwith he ouerthrew them, put them to flight, compelled them to returne to the ſea with great ſlaughter, when alſo manie of them (as they fled to their ſhips) were drowned, beſides thrée hundred that were ſlaine, and one hundred taken.)

Fr. Thn. Buchan. lib. 15.

The earle of Shrewſburie being come backe from Hadington vnto Dunglas, order was giuen for the building of a fort there, as in the Engliſh hiſtorie further may appeare. And in the meane time monſieur de Deſſe, remaining in campe at Muſkelburgh, hearing that the Engliſh armie was remoued homewards, & how diuerſe new bands of horſſmen and footmen being left in Hadington, were readie to come forth to ſkirmiſh abroad vpon ſight of the enimie; he toke aduiſe, to trie if he might

drawe them forth to their losse, and thereupon was monsieur Dandelot, and the Reingraue appointed to chose forth a thousand of their luskiest fotmen, the which with three hundred horsemen were conueied and laid close in ambush, behind a little hill not farre from the towne.

This done, a fewe horsemen were drawne forth to draw the Englishmen out of the towne to skirmish with them. The Englishmen were no soner aduised that the enimies were there at hand in the field, but that all their horsemen issued out of the towne backe with certeine fotmen, and streight had the French in chase; who retiring, mainteined the skirmish, of purpose to make the Englishmen more earnest to come forward. But immediatlie as monsieur de Desse saw his time, he gaue signe by sound of trumpet to the fotmen to breake forth, who togither with the horsemen gaue so fierce an onset vpon the enimies, that they were incontinentlie discomfited: and fleeing toward the towne, were followed by the French euen hard to the walles; diuers were slaine, and aboue an hundred taken prisoners.

The Englishmen put to the worsse at a skirmish neere to Hadington.

After this, monsieur de Desse raised from Muskelburgh, and comming to Leith set in hand to fortifie that towne. The marshall Strozzi, and monsieur Dandelot, with diuerse other capteins imbarking themselues in the gallie that yet remained, toke their course to returne to France. One of the same gallies (they being eight in number, beside a foist and a brigandine) was taken by an English ship called the falcon, as she passed through the narrow seas at a place named the Southfurlong, she being alone, and (as it chanced) hindermost of all the companie.

Leith fortified.

A gallie taken

After the departure of monsieur Dandelot, monsieur de la Chapelle de Biron remained coronell of the French fotmen in Scotland. As for the furniture on the water, there remained now but foure gallies vnder the guiding of one capteine Bach an Italian, a man of great experience and approued skill. For ye must vnderstand, that before the arriuall of the English nauie & armie to the succors of them in Hadington, monsieur de Mallerie vice admerall of France returned home with the fleet of ships that had brought the French armie into Scotland. In what sort the lord Greie of Wilton afflicted the countries of Tiuidale and Liddesdale, after the returne of the earle of Shrewsburie, is partlie touched in the historie of England.

Capteine Bach.

Monsieur de Mallerie vice admerall of France.

About the same time, there chanced a mutinie to rise betwixt the Scots and the Frenchmen in Edenburgh, by reason that a French souldier fell a quarelling with two or three Scotishmen; and falling togither by the eares, diuerse Scots that came to depart the fraie, would haue had the Frenchman to prison; but other Frenchmen being there also present, would not suffer the Scots to take him awaie. Whereupon arose a great tumult and stirre among them, insomuch that there were diuerse slaine on both parts, namelie James Hamilton lard of Stanhouse, knight, capteine of the castell, and prouost of the towne of Edenburgh, with his sonne; and maister William Steward one of the queens seruants, besides sundrie other. For the Frenchmen doubting some contriued commotion against them, assembled togither in order of battell in the streets; so that before the matter might be appeased by the capteins that shewed their diligent endeuors therin, they had inough to bring it to passe as they wished.

A fraie betwixt the French souldiers, and the townesmen of Edenburgh.

The beginner of this businesse was hanged the same day in the market place of Edenburgh, where he began first to pike the quarell. Monsieur de Desse, to shew that this variance had not proceeded so farre as the brute thereof gaue forth (for it was rather increased ye may be sure than diminished) vndertoke an enterprise in hand to win the towne of Hadington by a camisado, but in what sort they missed their purpose, and how they were well beaten backe, and sent away by the valiant manhod of the English capteins and souldiers then within the towne, yee may read further thereof in the English historie. There were seuen score (some say three hundred) slaine in the base court.

The Frenchmen giue a camisado to Hadington, & are beaten backe

But now, forsomuch as I haue said nothing of Broughtie crag, sithence the lord gouernor raised his siege from thence, ye shall vnderstand, that (as some haue written) shortlie after the earle of Argile came thither with an armie of his Irish Scots, and besieged it. But when he saw he could not preuaile, he toke truce with them within for a time, and before the same was expired, there came new succors to the Englishmen: so that the earle of Argile (by reason his people had remained there the full terme of their bounden & ordinarie seruice) was constreined to leaue his siege, and suffer the Englishmen to become maisters of a little hill, where afterwards they builded a fort. And now in the latter end of this yeere, they purposed also to haue fortified Dundee, and to haue kept the same with a garrison of souldiers; but hearing that monsieur de Desse with his Frenchmen was comming thitherwards, they auoided the towne of their owne accord, hauing first spoiled the houses, and after set them on fire.

Broughtie crag besieged by the earle of Argile. Vlpian Ful.

He raiseth his siege.

The fort builded by the Englishmen at Broughtie crag.

Dundee abandoned of the Englishmen

The Reingraue with two bands of his Almains, and monsieur de Etauges with his companie of horsemen were sent before, who comming to Dundee, and finding the Englishmen gone, incamped there, staieng till monsieur de Desse was come, that followed at hand with the French fotmen. Within two daies after, they going forth to view the fort, were in danger to haue beene caught yer they could get backe againe. For the Englishmen and Lanceknights that were there with them (part of Conrad Phennings bands) issued forth, and droue them to retire, not without danger to haue beene distressed, if the Reingraue had not vsed the greater policie in retiring the troope. To be short, monsieur de Desse, to stop the Englishmen from entering anie further into the countrie on that side, left seuen ensignes of Frenchmen, & two ensignes of Scots within Dundee, with artillerie and ploners to fortifie the towne, & to keepe it in safetie from the Englishmen. This done, he returned to Edenburgh, and sent the residue of his people abroad into the countrie, to lodge in townes and villages here & there, as was thought most expedient, for the better refreshing of them after their long trauell.

The Reingraue.

Dundee fortified by the Frenchmen

& While these things were in doing, the gouernor of Scotland sent the lord Carneigeie knight (and senator) ambassador to the protector of England, which should for ransome (as the custome is) demand deliuerie of the earle of Huntleie being prisoner: which if he could not obteine, that then he should request this libertie, that his wife and children might come vnto him into England. Whereunto the protector answered, that he would not set the earle free, vntill the warres were ended: but for the companie of his wife, he was content to grant it for certeine daies; with this prouiso, that he should not withdraw himselfe by anie meanes from the custodie of Rafe Vane (corruptlie by Lesleus called Wane) who had taken him in the warres. Wherefore, when the ambassador was returned into Scotland, Huntleie was committed to certeine keepers, who should carie him from London to Morpet, distant twentie and foure miles from the borders of Scotland. Now whilest the earle doth there looke for his wines comming to him, he thinketh vpon escape, and to come to hir. For he

Fr. Thin. 1548.

Lesleus lib. 10 pag. 498.

he had agréed with George Kar, that he ſhould one night priuilie bring to him thither, two of the ſwifteſt horſſes that he could get to flie awaie vpon them. According wherevnto Kar was readie out of the borders of Scotland with ſuch horſes as he knew would ſerue the turne, whereof one was for the earle, and the other was for his man.

The erle prepareth a ſuper for his kéepers, wherevnto they were ſolemnelie inuited, and to plaie at cards with him to paſſe awaie the tedioulnes of the night. At length (as though he had plaied inough at cards) he left off, but earneſtlie deſired his kéepers that they ſhould continue on their game. During which, the earle (going vnto the window, and loking out) did by a ſecret ſigne (for he could not well diſcerne anie thing, it was ſo extreame darke ouer all the element) eaſilie vnderſtand that all things were readie for his iournie. The earle then doubtfull (being ſometime in good hope, and ſometime in feare) thought vpon manie things, which he muttered to himſelfe: and at length vnaduiſedlie (as doubtfull men are wont to do) burſt out in theſe ſpeeches; Oh ſorrow, all theſe things be a hinderance vnto me, the ſharpeneſſe of the winter night, the doubt of my weake force and helpe, the let of an vnknowne way, and the want of a faithfull guide: God proſper the iournete. His kéepers hearing him ſpeake to himſelfe, aſked him what thoſe ſecret ſpéeches might ſignifie: to whom the earle (knowing that he was guiltie of his fault) anſwered, that thoſe words were vſed as a prouerbe amongſt the Scots: and firſt had their beginning by the old earle Morton, vttering the ſame in the middle of the night when he lay in dieng. Wher vpon (to the end that his kéepers ſhould not haue anie ſuſpicion of his determined flight) he ſitteth downe againe to cards.

After which ſuddenlie he roſe from them, as vrged by loſeneſſe of his bellie to vnburden nature, by which occaſion he forthwith (accompanied onelie with his ſeruant) leapeth forth, found the horſſes readie furniſhed for himſelfe and his man, got on them, & with ſpeedie iournie did flie to the borders of Scotland. When he was paſſed ouer the riuer of Twéed, and had a little refreſhed himſelfe from the labor of his iournie in the houſe of Kar, he went the ſame night (being Chriſtmas éue) to Edenburgh, where he was ioifullie & honorablie receiued of the quéene, the gouernor, his wife, and his other friends, with an vniuerſall gladneſſe of the whole multitude of the towne. As ſoone as his kéepers perceiued that he was gone, they ſpéedilie run to horſſe, and (doubtfull which way to follow) they ſéeke him here, and there, and euerie where, but all in vaine, for the diligence of the erle put them out of all doubt for obteining him. Whoſe flight was not onelie a frédome to himſelfe, but alſo to manie other noble priſoners, who (vpon the aſſurance of his faith and word) were permitted to depart into Scotland. The gouernor therefore, to congratulate with the earle for his returne, reſtored vnto him the chancellorſhip, and the rule of manie other prouinces which he had before his captiuitie. For which cauſe when he had remained a while at Edenburgh, he returned to the north parts of Scotland, where ſpéedilie and eaſilie he appeaſed all the tumults of thoſe people.)

On ſaint Stephans day at night, the caſtell of Hume was ſcaled, and woone out of the Engliſhmens hands. One of the ſurname of the Humes, a man of threeſcore yeers of age, was the firſt that entered on the wall, ſleieng one of the watchmen that kept his walke on that ſide. * Not long after, when the capteine of Falkecaſtell had commanded the husbandmen adioining, to bring thither (at a certeine day) great ſtore of vittels, the yong men there about hauing that occaſion, aſſembled thither at the day appointed, who taking their burdens from the horſes, and laieng them on their ſhoulders, were receiued (after they had paſſed the bridge, which was made ouer two high rocks) into the caſtle, where (laieng downe that which they brought) they ſuddenlie (by a ſigne giuen) ſet vpon the kæpers of the gates, ſlue them, and (before the other Engliſhmen could be aſſembled) poſſeſſed the other places, weapons, and artillerie of the caſtell, and then receiuing the reſt of their companie into the ſame (through the great and open gate) they wholie kept and inioied the caſtell for their countrimen.)

Hume caſtell recouered by the Scots.

K. Thin. Buchan. li. 15. 1549. Leſle.

About the ſame time, the Reinſgraue returned into France, leauing his fiue enſignes of Almains behind him, vnder the charge of capteine Retonze, a good man of warre and of great experience. Also monſieur de Etauges was taken in a ſkirmiſh at Broughtie crag, as I haue noted in the Engliſh hiſtorie: & about the ſame time, there landed at Dunbreton foure bands of ſouldiers, Prouancois and Gaſcoignes, bringing monie with them to paie the ſouldiers their wages, behind as then for the ſpace of three moneths. Sir James Wilford alſo was taken about the ſame time by the Frenchmen, in a ſkirmiſh at Dunbar (as I haue alſo noted in the hiſtorie of England.) Not long after, monſieur de Deſſe was appointed by the quæne Dowager, to go vnto Jedworth, to preuent that the Engliſhmen ſhould not fortifie there, whereof ſhe ſtood in ſome doubt.

1546.

The Reinſgraue returneth into France.

Monſieur de Etauges taken priſoner by the Engliſhmen.

Sir James Wilford taken

Immediatlie vpon his comming thither, the lard of Fernihurſt requeſted him to helpe to recouer his caſtell of Fernihurſt out of the Engliſhmens hands, which they had taken from him and kept, greatlie to the annoiance of all the countrie thereabouts. Monſieur de Deſſe taking with him monſieur de Diſell, and monſieur de la Chapelle de Biton, haſted thither with the chiefeſt part of his armie, ſending before certeine capteins with their bands to ſurueie the houſe; who at their comming thither, vſed ſuch diligence in following the offered occaſion, that they both repelled their enimies that came forth to giue them the skirmiſh; and purſuing them with great rigor, wan the lims of the houſe vpon them, forcing the capteine and ſouldiers to retire within the dungeon, and kept them ſo ſhort therein, that they had opportunitie to mine an hole through the wall, of ſuch largenes, as a man might eaſilie enter by the ſame.

Hærewith a great number of Scots hauing broken open the gate of the baſe court, where the Frenchmen were buſie to aſſault the dungeon, burſt in on heapes, vpon deſire to be reuenged vpon the Engliſhmen, and namelie of their capteine, who (as they ſaid) had done them manie great diſpleaſures. The capteine perceiuing this, and doubting if he fell into the Scotiſhmens hands he ſhould die for it, he preſented himſelfe at the hole which the Frenchmen had made, and yeelded himſelfe to monſieur de Duſſac, and la Mouthe Rouge, who minding to vſe him as became men of warre, would haue led him out of the preſe: but ſuddenlie a Scot comming behind him, whoſe wife (as was reported) he had raviſhed, ſmote off his head ſo full from the ſhoulders, that it leapt foure or fiue yards quite from the bodie. Manie other cruell parts the Scots ſéemed to ſhew againſt other Engliſhmen, taken here at Fernihurſt: but they excuſed the matter by the euill dealings of the Engliſhmen towards them before that time.

The caſtell of Fernihurſt woone by the Frenchmen.

The crueltie of the Scots.

Monſieur de Deſſe returning to Jedworth, aided by the furtherance and counſell of the Scots, ceaſſed not in occaſions of aduantage to attempt new enterpriſes againſt the Engliſhmen, as time and opportunitie ſerued; and among other exploits, the caſtell of Cornewall (an old houſe built after the ancient

The caſtell of Cornewall woone.

maner of fortifieng) was taken by the Frenchmen, and ſpoiled of all things worth the bearing awaie.

Capteine Cobies. Alſo capteine Cobios a Frenchman, hauing a band of fiftie light horſſemen Scots ſeruing vnder him, on a night had a faire hand againſt a number of Engliſh horſſemen, whome he charged ſo on the ſudden, as he ſaw them out of order, that he eaſilie diſcomfited them, and toke more priſoners (whome he brought to Jedworth) than he had perſons in his companie to aſſaile them.

A road made by monſieur de la Chapelle de Biron. Monſieur de la Chapelle de Biron, was ſent forth by monſieur de Deſſe, with the companie of horſſemen that belonged to monſieur de Etauges then priſoner, and fiue hundred footmen beſide Scots, to make a road into England: which enterprize he atchiued in burning townes and villages, and returned without anie great loſſe ſuſteined at that time.

Another made by monſieur de Deſſe, Fourd caſtell woone. Within two daies after his returne to Jedworth, monſieur de Deſſe diſlodged from thence, & taking with him foure field péces, and all his men of war, entered into England, toke the caſtell of Fourd and burnt it, with ten ſmall villages in the countrie thereabouts, ſituat within halfe a mile ech of other.

Thomas Kar There was one tower yet parcell of that caſtell of Fourd, which was kept by Thomas Kar, ſo that the Frenchmen could not win it, for they had no time to ſtaie long about it, remouing that night ouer the water, & incamped there within the Scotiſh ground.

As the Scots and Frenchmen executed theſe enterprizes, they were coaſted by certeine light horſſemen; but neuertheleſſe the Frenchmen returned in ſafetie to Jedworth, hauing ſore indamaged the Engliſh borderers by that road: inſomuch as it was thought, the Scots (which were with them at that

Scots gaine by ſpoile. road) gained at that time, by pillage and booties to the value of nine thouſand crownes. The Engliſhmen ſore grœued, that the Frenchmen lieng thus in Jedworth, ſhould in ſuch wiſe addreſſe one enterprize after an other againſt them, ſo greatlie to their annoiance, aſſembled a power togither at Roxburgh, purpoſing to haue aſſailed the Frenchmen in their campe at Jedworth.

Monſieur de Deſſe fleeth out of Jedworth for feare of the Engliſhmen. But monſieur de Deſſe hauing warning thereof, departed from thence firſt to Melroſſe, and after further off within the countrie, fearing to be conſtreined to giue battell. Which he could not haue done without manifeſt loſſe of his feeble armie, hauing not paſt fifteene hundred footmen, and fiue hundred horſſemen able to haue done ſeruice: for ſuch was the miſerie, which they had in manner continuallie ſuſteined through want of vittels, and other neceſſarie helps during the time of their incamping at Jedworth, that what through ſickneſſe and hurts receiued in aſſaults and ſkirmiſhes, no ſmall number of

The miſerable ſtate of the Frenchmen in Scotland. them were dead, and manie other ſo feeble, that they were not able to aid themſelues; inſomuch that now being got out of danger, they thought themſelues happilie eſcaped.

Shortlie after, in the beginning of the ſummer, the Engliſhmen armed fiue and twentie ſaile of men of warre, the which arriuing at the Baſſe, neere to the mouth of the Forth, aſſailed by faire and pleaſant words to haue perſuaded the keepers of the caſtell, there ſtanding on the height of a great rocke, to haue yelded the place into their hands. But perceiuing their perſuaſions would not be regarded, they toke their courſe vp into the Forth, and finding in their waie foure ſhips of Frenchmen and Scots, ſeized vpon them as a wiſhed preie: and the morrow next inſuing, at the verie breake of day, they came before Leith, and ſaluting the towne with canon ſhot, remained there at anchor ten or twelue daies, in which

Inſkith fortified by the Engliſhmen. meane while they landed their people at Inſkith, and began to fortifie with all diligence. But before the place could be put in anie ſtrength, the ſhips departed from thence backe towards the ſea, and left in the Iland foure enſignes of Engliſhmen, and one enſigne of Italians, to defend the pioners and the Iland againſt the Scots and Frenchmen, if they ſhould attempt to aſſaile them.

After the Engliſh nauie was thus departed, monſieur de Deſſe, and the quœne mother being at Edenburgh, determined with all diligence to imploie all ſuch forces as they might make about the recouering of the Ile, before the fortifications begun by the Engliſhmen ſhould be brought to anie perfection. Hœrevpon, monſieur de la Chapelle de Biron, imbarked in the gallie of monſieur de Villegaignon, rowed forth to view the maner of the Engliſhmens dealing within the Ile, which he did in ſuch effectuall wiſe, that approching within harquebuſe ſhot, he brought knowledge with him not onelie of the ſtate and whole circumſtances of their buildings, but alſo of the perfect number of their enſignes, and the qualitie of the men of warre that ſerued vnder the ſame.

La Chapel de Biron.

At that preſent alſo, monſieur de Thermes latelie before arriued at Dunbreton with an hundred men of armes, and two hundred light horſſemen after the manner of France, and one thouſand footmen, was come to the quœne, buſie now to further this enterprize. She had got togither within Leith hauen all the botes that belonged to all the créekes & hauens of the Forth: ſo that on thurſdaie after Trinitie ſun-

The diligence of the Scot quœne. daie, euerie thing being prepared readie for the purpoſe, in the morning by the breake of day the quœne was come to Leith, to ſée the imbarking of the men of warre appointed that day to trie what ſucceſſe fortune would ſend them. There was no diligence wanting, neither among the Scots nor Frenchmen, to beſtow themſelues abroad, & the comfortable words of the quœne greatlie incouraged them thereto, beholding them, and deuiſing with monſieur de Deſſe and the other capteins, till they were all ſet forward.

The forwardneſſe of the ſouldiers. Villegaignon with his gallies paſſed on before to keepe the Engliſhmen occupied, ſo as they ſhould not perceiue the Frenchmens meaning: but they

Inſkith aſſaulted by the Frenchmen diſcouering the veſſels at their ſetting forth, conceiued ſtreightwaies what was intended: and thereupon prepared to keepe the enimies off from landing, ſo that vpon the Frenchmens approch, they ſaluted them with arrowes and harquebuſe ſhot verie hotlie: yet at length by fine force the Scots and Frenchmen got on land, and droue the Engliſhmen and Italians backe from the ſea ſtrond vp to the higher ground, where they ſtood at defenſe on a plumpe togither, doing their beſt to defend the place againſt the aſſailants.

Capteine Cotton generall of Inſkith and others ſlaine. But finallie, their generall named Cotton, being ſlaine with George Aplebie eſquire, a capteine of an enſigne of footmen ſent forth of Derbiſhire, and one Gaſpar Pizoni, that was capteine of the Italians, beſide diuers other gentlemen, and the moſt principall men of warre and ſouldiers among them: the reſidue were conſtreined to retire vnto a corner or point of the Iland, where they were taken without further reſiſtance, although before they had made verie ſtout defenſe, hurt and ſlaine diuerſe Scots and Frenchmen, both at their landing, and alſo after they were entered on land. Among other, monſieur de la

Monſieur de la Chapelle hurt. Chapelle de Biron was ſtriken through the hand with an harquebuſe ſhot, and his burguenet beaten ſo into his head, that his friends that were about him, were faine to conueie him into one of the gallies to be dreſſed of his hurts by a ſurgian. Alſo a gentleman named Deſbories, which bare the ſaid monſieur de la Chapelle his coronell enſigne, was ſlaine with a pike by the hands of the forenamed Cotton the Engliſh generall.

Thus

Thus was Inskith recouered out of the Englishmens hands, after it had bene in their possession by the space of sirtene daies, the more to the high contentation of monsieur de Desse, for that at the same time he stood vpon his discharge and returne into France, being appointed to surrender vp his place to monsieur de Thermes, latelie before arriued (as ye haue heard) with commission to receiue the same. So that monsieur de Desse, to end his charge with the glorie of this atchiued enterprise, esteemed it much to stand with his honor: and no doubt with the swelling humor of the glorie thence redounding he was blowen vp; as in cases of victorie it commeth to passe in them that make a good hand: whereas the vanquished (God wot) are contrarilie qualified.

Shortlie after, he returned into France with the gallies, and monsieur de Thermes succéded in his place for the generall conduct of the French armie in Scotland. Who by the aduise of the gouernor, and other of the Scotish lords, determined with a siege volant to kéepe the Englishmen in Hadington from vittels and all other reliefe. First therefore, after that Desse was departed towards France, monsieur de Thermes with his Frenchmen and some Scots incamped at Aberladie, where they began the foundation of a fort, so to impeach the Englishmen from setting on land anie vittels there, to be conueid from thence to Hadington, as before they had done.

In this meane time, the Englishmen had increased their numbers of Almaines, and other strangers, and not onelie furnished their forts with new supplies of men; but also had an armie in the fields which lay most an end at Dunglas, and one while besieged Hume castell. But after they saw themselues disappointed of the meane, whereby they supposed to haue recouered it, they raised from thence, and spoiled the most part of Tiuidale and other the marches thereabout; in reuenge (as they alleged) of the disloialtie and breach of promise proued in the assured Scots. Generall of this armie was the earle of Rutland, lieutenant at that present of the north parts, a noble man, right valiant, wise, well aduised, and staied in his dealings, verie honorable and courteous in all his demeanor.

He was accompanied with capteins of good estimation and approued prowesse, as sir Richard Manners, sir Francis Leake, sir John Sauage, sir Thomas Holcroft, sir Oswald Wullcrop, & others. He so behaued himselfe in that dangerous time of the vprores and rebellions of the commons, through the more part of the realme of England; that although the appointed forces against Scotland were staied, and turned to the suppression of the rebels, to the incouragement (no doubt) both of Scots and Frenchmen in Scotland, yet they were so fronted and kept in aw by that armie vnder the earle of Rutland, that they rather lost than gained in this season at the Englishmens hands.

At one time the same armie, vnder the conduct of the said earle, passing forth with a conueie of vittels vnto Hadington, came so suddenlie vpon the Frenchmen where they laie in campe, that whether through default of their scouts, or other negligence vsed by them, or through the great diligence and prouident forwardnesse shewed by the Englishmen, the Frenchmen were in such hazard to haue bene vtterlie distressed, that if the Englishmen had not doubted more, than by anie was thought néedfull, they might haue ouerthrowen, taken, & slaine the Frenchmen handsmoth (as was supposed) at their pleasure. But the Englishmen euen at their first comming in sight of them (as it stood with the reason of warre, sith by the aduenturing rashlie oftentimes in such cases too late repentance easilie insueth) staied, the better to conceiue of that which they had to do. Whereby the Frenchmen had leasure to march their waies a maine pase, till they were got out of danger: for after they once beheld all the traps of the English horssemen almost at their elbowes, and herewith the battell of the Almaines suddenlie appearing on the hill top readie to come downe vpon them, it was no need to bid them packe awaie. The Frenchmen retire.

The Scotish light horssemen comming on the backe of the English armie, perceiued where the Almaines (to make them readie to giue battell) had throwen off their clokes, and left the same (with all their baggage and stuffe which they had about them) in kéeping of none but of their women and boies: whereupon those Scotish horssemen, not minding to suffer such a preie to escape their hands, came galloping in, and toke all the best stuffe they could lay hold vpon, and returned in safetie, before anie enimie could come backe to the rescue. The Almains were in no small chafe for the losse of their garments and other necessaries; but there was no helpe then to séeke remedie in that behalfe: for the Scots were withdrawen and got quite out of danger. The baggage of the English Lansquenets spoiled by the Scotish horssemen.

The English armie, after that the Frenchmen were thus fled and gone, passed forth to Hadington, with their cartages laden with vittels, to the great comfort of them within that fortresse, standing in great necessitie before this conueie came. This summer also, and a little before the vittelling thus of Hadington, vpon knowledge had that Julian Romero with his band of Spaniards, whereof he was capteine, seruing the king of England, was lodged in Coldingham, six miles distant from Berwike: certeine bands of Almains and Frenchmen came thither vpon the sudden, and surprising the Spaniards before they were aware of their approch, set vpon them in their lodgings, toke, and slue in maner the whole number of them. Hadington vittelled. Julian Romero distressed.

Things passing in this wise in Scotland in the summer of this yeare 1549, the Englishmen were not onelie in the meane time sore troubled with commotions raised by the commons of that realme; but also with the warres which the French king made against them, within the countrie of Bullognois, so that they had not meanes to imploie their forces against Scotland as they had determined to haue done; as partlie before, and more largelie in the historie of England is mentioned. By reason whereof, anon after Michaelmas they gaue ouer the kéeping of Hadington, and raising their fortifications there, they returned into England to the great reioising of Louthian, to whome that towne had giuen occasion of great troubles and calamities. Upon the giuing ouer thus of Hadington, the gouernor and the quéene Dowager were aduanced, in hope to recouer againe all that the Englishmen held within the bounds of Scotland. 1549. Hadington raced and left by the Englishmen.

But first it was thought good to assaie the winning of Broughtie crag; for it sounded (as was thought) greatlie to the diminishing of the estimation, aswell of the Scots as Frenchmen, that the English should kéepe foot so far within the realme, in despight of their whole puissance. Herevpon monsieur de Thermes about Candlemasse, hauing all things in a readinesse for the siege, came thither, and did so much, what with shot of canon to make batterie, and other meanes of inforcements, that giuing the assault both with Scots and Frenchmen, they entred the fort the twentith of Februarie by fine force, so that all those within were either taken or slaine. Wherevpon those English also that kept the castell, rendred vp the same without further resistance, amongest other prisoners: sir John Lutterell the capteine was one. 1550. Broughtie crag won by the Frenchmen.

The earle of Rutland.

The Frenchmen in danger to haue bene distressed.

A treatie for peace.

In this meane time there were certeine commissioners appointed betwirt the two kings of England and France to commune of a peace: but because they continued long in their treatie yer they could agrée, the Scots and Frenchmen surceassed not in occasions of aduantage to pursue the warre, so that comming before Lowder they besieged that fortresse, & skirmishing with the Englishmen that issued forth, to incounter them, droue them in at the gates with some losse on either part. And this done, the French held them within so streictlie besieged, that if peace had not béene the soner concluded, sir Hugh Willoughbie captéine of that fort must needs haue yéelded through lacke of shot, & other necessaries seruing for defense; which were spent, so that they were constreined to vse their pewter vessell in stead of bullets. But as it fortuned, a peace was accorded, passed, and confirmed, that verie selfe time betwirt the two kings of England and France, through the diligent and orderlie trauell of the commissioners appointed to deale therein, whose names insue.

Sir Hugh Willoughbie.

A peace concluded.

The names of the commissioners appointed to treat of peace.

First for the king of England, the right honorable John earle of Bedford, knight of the garter, and lord priuie seale; William Paget lord of Beaudesert, knight also of the garter; sir William Peter knight, chiefe secretarie to the said king; & sir John Mason knight, secretarie to him for the French tong. For the French king were appointed Francis de Montmorance, lord of Rochpot, knight of the order of saint Michaell, and lieutenant for the same king of Picardie, in absence of monsieur de Vandosme; Gasper de Colignie, lord of Chastillon, knight also of the order, and captéine generall of the footmen of France, and the said kings lieutenant generall in the countie of Bullogne; Andrew Guillard lord Mortier, knight also of the order, and one of the same kings priuie councell; and Guillaume Bouchettell lord of Sassie, knight likewise of the order, & secretarie of the estate of the finances. [And for the Scots (as saith Lesleus. lib. 10. pag. 506.) D. Painter bishop or Rosse.]

Fr. Thin.

The articles of the peace.

Among other articles comprised in this peace, it was couenanted, that all such forts, castels, and places as the Englishmen held in anie part within the Scotish dominions, should be deliuered and restored to the Scots; and that the forts of Dunglas, Rorburgh, and Aimouth, which the Englishmen had built and raised out of the ground, should be raced and throwen downe, to auoid all occasions of new controuersies that might grow by reason of kéeping or defending the same: so as the peace now concluded, might in all points be firmelie and truelie kept and obserued, aswell betwirt England and Scotland, as England and France, and betwirt all and euerie the subiects of the same realmes, both by sea and land. Monsieur de Mourret was sent into Scotland with the copie of this peace, by whose means it was proclamed anon after Easter about the beginning of Aprill, and euerie thing vsed and ordered according to the articles of the agréement concluded.

Monsieur de Mourret.

The Frenchmen returne home.

In Maie the Frenchmen and Almaines were imbarked at Leith in sixtéene French ships, and certeine Scotish ships, and departed from thence into France. A few there were, as Nigropellice and Saint Falcise, captens of light horsemen, with others that passed through England, and so home into their countrie. Moreouer the marquesse de Maine, after duke Daumals comming ouer into England about the same time for an hostage, passed afterwards through the realme into Scotland, to visit his sister quéene Dowager, and shortlie after returned.

The marquesse de Maine.

The death of the first duke of Guise.

They mourned both for the death of their father Claud de Lorraine, the first duke of Guise, who deceassed the eighteenth of Aprill this present yeare 1550.

Now when the French departed out of Scotland, there were manie Scots appointed vnto them; partlie, to defend them from pirats, if they should offer them anie iniurie in the streict of the British sea, and partlie for honors cause to bring them on their iournie into France. By whose departure Scotland was frélie deliuered from all forren souldiers, except certeine Frenchmen, who remained still in the countrie; because they had the Ile of Insketh and the castell of Dunbar committed to their charge, which afterwards they did most faithfullie discharge. Monsieur de Thermes, Chapellie, and diuerse other captens of France, remained also in Scotland (after that the others were imbarked to be gone into France) for pleasures cause, and to sée the countrie; who (trauelling ouer Scotland, and beholding the cities, searching the castels, and marking the bulworks of defense) did constantlie affirme, that in the whole world they neuer saw forts and townes more pleasantlie placed, or more naturallie defended. In séeing whereof they consumed the time with great pleasure, vntill the moneth of December, in which they all went into France with the quéene Dowager.

Fr. Thin. Lesleus lib. pag. 507.

Thus, as there was peace (by the departing of the French) with forren nations, which continued three yeares: so was there within the wals and kingdome warre and dissention amongest the Scots; which was most perillous and troublesome. For they which were the chiefe rulers (as the gouernor and his brother the archbishop of saint Andrews and others) did vse all things with extreame cruelties & couetousnesse. For the archbishop, being giuen to all libertie, followed by law his pleasures in all things, as though it had béene permitted vnto him. For first, as a presage of his following tyrannie, he permitted the slaughter of William Chreichton to go vnpunished, the same William being slaine in the gouernors house (if not within his owne sight) by Robert Semple: next followed the death of John Maluill an old man of Fife; who next vnto the gouernor was most accounted of by him, as chiefest of his familiars. This John had his letters (which he wrote to an Englishman, to whome he did commend a captéine his friend) intercepted. In which, although there were not anie suspicion of anie fault, yet was the author of them punished with the losse of his head. Whose patrimonie made his death séeme the more vile; because the same was giuen to the yonger sonne of the gouernor. The hurts of these wicked parts did perteine to few, the enimie thereof to manie, and the example vniuersallie to all. For by reason of this vnskilfull gouernement of the kingdome, and the slouth of his life, which offended the common people; the gouernor began to be had in contempt almost of all men.]

Buchanan lib. 15.

In September following, the quéene Dowager accompanied with the earls of Huntleie, Cassils, Marshall, Southerland, and diuerse other of the Scotish nobilitie tooke the sea, and sailing to France landed at Diepe: she was conueied thither by the prior of Capoa, & Leon Strozzie, sent and appointed with sir gallies to haue the conduction of hir. From Diepe she remoued to Rone, where the king then laie, of whome she was right courteouslie receiued, and had such attendance and seruice done vnto hir, during the time of hir tarriance there, as stood with the dignitie of hir person, and was answerable to the minds and expectations of hir traine; to the high praise likewise of the king and his court in that behalfe.

The quéene Dowager saileth into France.

The causes of the quéene Dowagers going into France

Buchanan. lib.15. Lesleus lib.10 pag.508.

France were, that now hauing disposed all things at home in Scotland, she might renew the old league in France, she might see hir daughter and hir other friends; and procure the gouernement of the realme to hir selfe. For the ambitious and subtill woman did thinke in hir mind, that the gouernor by his euill demeanor would soone be put out of his office, and that she might easilie find means to be substituted in his place. But before hir shipping into France, and whilest they were preparing, the earle of Huntleie commanded William Makintosche (chiefe of the familie of the Glenchattens, and his followers) to be apprehended (for a conspiracie secretlie begun against him, whilest he was the kings deputie in those north parts) and from thence (being first depriued of all his goods) caried him to Strachbolgie, where he was beheaded. Which fact (greatlie offending the minds of the earle of Cassils, and others that fauored the Makintosche) did so stir them against Huntleie, that a commotion and tumult had beene raised by them, vnlesse the wisedome of the queene had appeased the furie of their minds.

1551. Lesleus. lib.10 pag.508

For although the queene certeine yeares after, had vndone the sentence of proscription for the goods of Makintosche (restoring the same with the possessions and inheritances vnto the sonne of Makintosche) and thereby had seemed to cut awaie the cause of dissention betweene Huntleie and them: yet the kindred and friends of the Glenchattens (not suffering so great an iniurie to their familie to go vnreuenged) did secretlie (but eagerlie) pursue the same with great contention of mind. Wherefore entring the castell of Pet by deceipt, they apprehended Lanchlane Makintosche, and (condemning all his followers to banishment) did cruellie kill him (as the betraior of the head of his owne familie) because they supposed, that he ministred and blew the cole that fired Huntleie, to make the said William Makintosche out of the waie.

Lanchlane Makintosche apprehended.

Lesleus lib.10. pag.509.

A little before which, the maister of Ereskine, and Henrie Senclere deane of Glascow were sent into England; who at London did anew confirme the peace concluded before with the English; from whence they passed into Flanders, to make the like league with the low countries, which they did renew, to the great reioising of both nations; although in the beginning of the treatie there grew great and contentious questions for the restitution of the ships of Flanders and Holland (whereof the Scots had taken manie in the warres) notwithstanding that the Scots had alleged, that they did not offer anie violence to those of the low countries, before that they (by the persuasion of the English) had offered wrong to the Scots, in deteining their ships and merchandize

Thus much digressed from the queene Dowagers going into France, whereunto afresh to direct our pen, we say; that being at Rone, the king did there openlie make shew of hir welcome vnto him by diuerse arguments. Amongst which, this was not the least: that (besides other shews, honorable triumphs, & manie courtesies shewed to the Scots) calling a chapter of the knights of the order of saint Michaell, he admitted the earle of Huntleie and other chiefe lords of Scotland deere to the queene, and fauored by him, into the said order. Which honors and pleasures seemed the more augmented, in that the yoong queene of Scots was there present, adorned with such singular beautie, as was not easilie to be spoken, by the iudgement of Lesleus. After that they had thus spent some time in delights of courtesie, to feed the mind and eie, the king of France, the two queens of Scotland, and the other nobles, departed from thence to Paris; where they were with great triumph of the citizens most ioifullie receiued. At what time againe, the French king shewed such humanitie to Huntleie, and the other Scots; that he seemed for euer most firmelie to bind them vnto him. After that they spent some daies there at Paris, the king with that companie remoued to Blesies; where he remained all the winter.

Lesleus. lib.10. pag.510.

Now the queene Dowager, thinking the time and place fit for the executing of the cause of hir coming into France, and vsing therein the aduise of the duke of Guise, and the cardinall of Lorreine (hir brethren) openeth the same vnto the French king; shewing that amongest others, the chiefest cause to take that iournie, was to require his opinion, touching the gouernement of the kingdome of Scotland: and to know, if it pleased him that the helme of the same kingdome should be committed to hir rule. Which if he misliked, or deemed the contrarie; that yet she would wholie rest on his determination. The which matter pleased well the king, but yet with this promise; if the gouernor without anie tumult or raising of quarrels would giue it ouer.

Whereupon the queene, to bring euerie thing about as she desired, did persuade the king to confirme the dukedome of Chatelerault in France, vnto the gouernor, before granted to him and to his heires, & to make his eldest son erle of Arraine chiefe capteine of the bands of Scots in France. And further, to giue the earledome of Murrete to the earle of Huntleie (kinsman to the gouernor) and to his heires; the earledome of Rothsele to his sonne, which had maried the kinsman of the said gouernor; the whole earledome of Angus, to the earle thereof; and the erledome of Morton, to the sonne of George Dowglasse. All which he should procure likewise to be confirmed by such, as should be gouernors of the yoong queene. These things now done, the French king carefullie receiued the yoong queene of Scots into his protection; vntill she should come vnto more sufficient yeers, able to confirme all these gifts; the which if she refused then to do, the French king would then bestow as large possessions on them in France.

Buchanan. lib. 16. Lesleus. lib.10. pag.410.

In the meane time the gouernor had sent Carnegie knight and senator into France, who should in the name of the Scots giue great thanks to the king for the aid which they receiued out of France, against the Englishmen. After this the French king did liberallie open the determination of the queene mother of Scotland to the bishop of Rosse (then ambassador for the Scots in France) to Robert Carnegie, and to Gawin Hamilton (to whom, as was said, the abbeie of Kilwinin was giuen in commendam) to the end that the same which was at the first secretlie consulted betweene the king of France & the queene Dowager, might now openlie be considered among the Scots which were in France: declaring further, that he desired nothing more, than that the queene mother should sustaine the parts and place of the queene hir daughter, in the administration and gouernement of Scotland, sith the same mostlie stood with reason and equitie; and that he (the better to win the gouernor to yeeld thereunto) had giuen the gouernor the dukedome of Chatelerault, to his sonne the capteinship of all the Scots in France, and manie other liberall benefits to manie other of his kinsmen.

And to the end that no deceipt might be supposed to be hidden vnder this liberalitie, the French king willed the ambassadour to take possession of all these things in the dukes name. Robert Carnegie hauing his errand, returned into Scotland; & shortlie after, the bishop of Rosse was appointed ambassador, who at length with much adoo did wring from the gouernor a consent to part from his authoritie,

and to aplie himselfe to the will of the French king: which thus in the end obteined, the bishop of Rosse goeth againe into France, to aduertise the king what he had done. Whereupon the king considering his painfull & faithfull seruice, did reward him with the abbete of Labseie in France.

Lesleus. lib.10. pag.511.

Whilest these things were in doing, Edward the first, king of England, did send the marquesse of Northampton, & other of the nobler sort of ambassadors to Henrie the second, king of France, then so- Blois.
iourning at Blesies, to moue him to giue his daughter in mariage to the king of England. At what time there were manie martiall games and passtimes shewed before the king, in which the English ioining the Scots with them as companions of their sports, did beare a part, and wan the garland (from the others) to their singular commendation. The summer next following, the French king accompanied with the quéene mother of Scotland and other of the nobilitie, did with great pompe enter Turon, Anlow, Nants, and other cities of Britaine, which he had not before seene since he atteined the crowne. After certeine moneths consumed in those iournies, he returned to Founteinblew.

Lesleus lib. 10. pag.512.

But the quéene Dowager of Scotland, taking hir courteous leaue and farwell of the French king, hir daughter, & of other the nobilitie, departed from the court, and with easie iournies came to Jamiestie: where remaining a certeine time, she had the pleasant companie of hir mother the duches of Guise, and hir other friends to their great ioy: but that she shewed a certeine griefe (for hir father latelie deceased) which somewhat diminished the sweet pleasure of that méeting. Now when the quéene Dowager had remained almost 12 moneths or more in France, honorablie interteined, bountifullie feasted, louinglie saluted by hir friends and kinred, and hauing obteined a willing grant of the effects of hir request, the Scots do vrge hir to hasten hir returne into Scotland, preparing at Paris all things necessarie therevnto.

Lesleus lib.10. pag.512.

Wherefore departing thence, and comming againe to Rone, the quene mother moued and persuaded the nobilitie about the taking of hir iournie through England into Scotland. By occasion whereof, losing their ships from Newport, they passe the seas, and happilie landed at Portesmouth, a famous port of England. The knowledge of which arriuall comming to king Edward the first, he presentlie sent thither the earle of Southampton, and the lord William Howard to interteine hir: who receiued hir with singular ioy and courtesie, and conueied hir through Hampshire, Susser, and Surreie (three prouinces of England) to Hampton court, where the king as then remained; from whence (after that she had béene there most honorablie receiued) she came along the riuer of Thames to London, and landed at Poules wharfe in the after none, and from thence rode to the bishop of Londons palace by Poules, and there lodged.

Hir receiuing at the court.

The fourth of Nouember, she rode in hir chariot to the kings palace of the Whitehall, accompanied with the ladie margaret Dowglas, the three dutchesses, of Suffolke, Richmund, and Northumberland, and diuerse other great ladies and gentlewomen, both Scotish and English. At the court gate the dukes of Northumberland, and Suffolke, and the lord treasuror were readie to receiue hir. And at hir entering into the hall, the king stood in the vpper end thereof, and the erle of Warwike holding the sword before him. She at hir approching to him, knéeled downe, and he courteouslie toke hir vp, and kissed hir; and taking hir by the hand, led hir vp into his owne chamber of presence, & after into the quéenes chamber of presence, where he kissed all the ladies of Scotland, and so departed for a while.

She dined on the quéenes side that day with the king, his seruice and hirs comming both together; the kings being placed on the right hand of the table, and hirs on the left. What plentie of all maner of costlie meates and drinks there was, and what rich furniture of plate and all other things was shewed to set forth the feast, it were superfluous to write. All the ladies both of England and Scotland dined in the quéenes great chamber. After dinner the king shewed hir his gallerie and gardens, with all other commodities of the place. And about foure of the clocke, he brought hir downe againe by the hand into the hall, where he first receiued hir, and there kissing hir, she toke hir leaue, & returned to the bishops palace from whence she came.

Fr. Thin.

* And here I must not forget what Lesleus hath set downe in this place for the defense of his people, in not deliuering the yong quéene of Scots to the English, to haue entered the mariage bed of king Edward the first. Whose reasons although they may (the first ground of the warre considered, with the consent of the Scots parlement to that mariage, and the willingnesse of the English to haue caused them to performe their promise without battell) bée well answered, as matters that not derie greatlie defend the cause: yet I will not anie way say anie thing of him (being a man estranged from vs in religion, but learned, wise, of great experience, a faithfull seruant to his mistresse, and a graue bishop of Rosse) but set them downe plainelie as he writeth them, leauing the same to the iudgement of others, sith I meane not in anie thing to derogate from them, or arrogate vnto our selues more than is due. Thus therefore he writeth.

Lesleus lib. pag.113.

When the quéene (saith he) of Scots was come to London, the king of England sheweth vnto hir his treasurie, openeth the monuments, laieth abroad the antiquities of the kingdome, and laboured by manie other such kind of means, that he might prepare himselfe a passage (with the open notes of courtesie) to obteine the good will of the quæne. For he after persuaded hir with manie spéeches, that she shuld giue hir daughter vnto him, as it was before decréed by the Scotish nobilitie: which he proueth by manie arguments to be most beneficiall vnto both nations. When on the contrarie part (if she were giuen vnto the French kings sonne) it should not be profitable either to the Scots, which should giue; or the French, which should receiue hir to wife. Herewithall adding this vnto it, that there should alwais be continuall hatred, and deadlie enimitie betweene him and that person which should marrie hir.

Wherevnto the quæne both presentlie and wiselie answered, that the cause of hir daughters mariage to be solemnized with the French, was onlie by reason of the protector of England, which so bitterlie pursued the Scots with such earnest warre as then was made against them. For it was vnaduisedlie done of him, to séeke to compell by force of battell a woman, which is to be allured to the mariage bed with faire promises and flattering spéeches. Wherevnto she ioined, that the Scots were so vehementlie pressed by him, that they were inforced to craue aid from the French: for the more spéedie & easie obteining whereof, they were vrged to leaue the yong quéene of Scots in France for a pledge. Wherefore she greatly grieued that the matter was so fast knit vp by the necessitie of time, otherwise than the Englishmen would haue had it. But yet, she would labor the French king by hir letters and messengers, with all the diligence that she might, to sée if hir trauell and furtherance could do anie thing with him therein.

therein. Thus much Leſleus, and ſo againe to the matter.)

The firſt of Nouember, the quæne Dowager departed from London toward Scotland, riding from Poules through the citie, paſſing forth at Bithops gate. The duke of Northumberland, the erle of Penbroke, and the lord treaſuror brought hir to Shordich church, and there toke their leaue of hir. The duke of Northumberland had an hundred men after him with iauelins, whereof fourtie were gentlemen clad in blacke veluet cotes garded with white, & hats of blacke veluet with white feathers, and chains of gold about their necks. The earle of Penbroke had fiue ſcore men well appointed alſo, with blacke iauelins and hats with feathers, and the lord treaſuror had an hundred gentlemen and yeomen with iauelins in like maner, well apparelled: which three companies of horſmen furniſhed the ſtreets on either ſide, from the croſſe in Cheape, to Birchen lane end, as ſhe paſſed that waie.

The ſhiriffes of London had the conduction of hir to Waltam towne end, where ſhe lodged that night: and in euerie ſhire through which ſhe paſſed, the ſhiriffe, with the gentlemen of the ſame ſhire, receiued hir, and gaue their attendance on hir, till ſhe came to enter into the nert ſhire, where the ſhiriffe and gentlemen there receiued hir: and that order was obſerued till ſhe came to the borders of Scotland, and all hir charges for meat and drinks, aſwell for hir ſelfe, and whole traine, as alſo the proviſion for their horſſes, was borne and allowed by the king. [Beſides which, (as ſaith the ſame Leſleus) Richard Shelleie, now maiſter of the knights of Malta in England, and Edward Dudleie baron, were appointed to attend on hir all the waie through England, from London to Edenburgh, where ſhe was honorablie receiued by the earle Bothwell, and the lord Hume.] The earle of Huntleie, and diuerſe other of the Scotiſh lords returned home by ſea, the ſaid earle landing at Montroſſe, about the latter end of December.

✻ After that the quæne was arriued in Scotland, ſhe labored euerie waie to ſtop all occaſion of diſſention; and that theſe braules which were riſen amongeſt the nobilitie in the time of the warres, and were not yet fullie quenched, might grow no further, to bring the common wealth (alreadie much impaired) into new troubles. Wherefore, by the aduiſe of the gouernor, of the earles of Huntleie, Angus, and Argile, and by the quænes trauell, the controuerſies moued about the archbiſhoprikes of ſaint Andrews and Glaſcow, the biſhoprikes of Dunkeld and Brechine, the abbeies of Aberbrothie, Inchechaſtrie, and other benefices, were ended: by beſtowing ſome of them vpon noble mens children, and ſome vpon ſuch perſons as worthilie deſerued them.)

Doctor Wanthop, whome Leſleus lib. 10. pag. 514. calleth Robert Warhope, a Scotiſhman borne, archbiſhop of Armachane, ſo nominated by pope Paule the third, and after created *Legatus à latere* by Julius the third, deceaſſed this yeere in Paris, the tenth of Nouember. This man was blind from his infancie, but yet gaue himſelfe ſo to ſtudie, that he was firſt made doctor of diuinitie in the vniuerſitie of Paris, and after atteined to ſuch eſtimation in the court of Rome, that he was by the foreſaid popes aduanced (as before ye haue heard.) So that it is to be preſumed, that the ſufficiencie of his learning, (whereto he muſt needs aſpire altogither by the eare) (ſith he was quite depriued of the benefit of ſight) coupled with other good qualities of mind, were means to preferre him firſt into the popes fauour, and then to promotion of his beſtowing.

This yeere in the moneth of June, the quæne Dowager, and the gouernor, went into the north parts of Scotland; and at Inuernes, Elgin, Bamf, Aberden, and Perth, the gouernor ſat in iuſtice for redreſſe of wrongs, and adminiſtration of righteous lawes and orders. And afterwards they repaired to the weſt parts, and ſat likewiſe in iuſtice at Dunfreis, Glaſcow, Lanricke, and in other places of that countrie, where diuerſe were put to their fines for tranſgreſſing the lawes, but few or none touched by corporall puniſhment. Which was but a ſlender courſe taken in reforming enormities, and little better than impunitie; though in leuieng of the fines (perhaps) a proportion were vſed: for by that meanes manie an offenſe was redeemed by monie, and iuſtice was little better than bought and ſold, as at a publike mart.

wrongs done are by iuſtice redreſſed.

✻ After this, they returned to Edenburgh, where all things requiſite for the eſtabliſhing of iuſtice were confirmed by the counſell of the nobilitie, and of the wiſe ſenators. Whervpon, when nothing ſeemed to want for the ſetling of a perfect peace through all the realme, but this, that certeine of the inhabitants of the eaſt limits (accuſtomed to ſpoiles) did by driuing bowties of cattell from the borders of England, ſeeme to offer new occaſion of warre. At this time, the gouernor goeth to Jedworth, and remoued ſuch magiſtrats as had negligentlie gouerned their owne prouince, or diſpatched the generall affaires of the kingdome: where taking pledges of euerie familie, he made them after that time in better quiet. Whervpon a long time following, there was a mutuall peace betweene England and Scotland. About which time alſo, the proteſtants religion making breach into the doctrine of the Romans, there was a prouinciall councell kept at Bithquoe, where the Caluiniſts with their doctrine were condemned and accurſſed; and all things decreed in the councell of Trent vnder Paule the third, were eſtabliſhed, with manie other needfull lawes made to purge the corrupt manners of the clergie.

Fr. Thin. Leſleus lib. 10. pag. 515.

In which meane time, Dauid Panter or Painter (for I find both written) being a man of great learning, and famous by great experience, hauing faithfullie conſumed ſeuen yeeres in France, in the ſeruice of an ambaſſador legier, came out of France to Jedworth: where, when he had declared to the gouernor (in the aſſemblie of the nobilitie) the reaſon, order, and meane which he vſed in accompliſhing of his office; he was greatlie commended of all men. And for that he had ſo diligentlie, wiſelie, & truſtilie performed that great charge, he was with great ſolemnitie conſecrated biſhop of Roſſe, in the preſence of that aſſemblie. At which time alſo, the gouernor did dub into the order of knighthood certeine borderers, who had deſerued well of the common-wealth, to the end that their vertue adorned with ſuch honorable recompenſe, might be more inlarged toward the care of their countrie. Amongeſt which perſons ſo aduanced, theſe were the chiefe: Ceſſford and Fernihurſt, Andrew Kar of Littleden, Couldinknols, Greinherdie, Balclenche, with manie other valiant men.)

1552.

Leſleus lib. 10. pag. 516.

In this torneie (wherein the gouernor was thus the iuſtice) the quæne ſecretlie trauelled with the lords, both ſpirituall and temporall, to haue their conſents to be regent of Scotland, immediatlie after hir daughter the quæne came to ſufficient yeeres, and that the time of hir tutorſhip were accompliſhed, or ſooner; if the lawes of the realme would ſo permit. And to aſſure hir ſelfe of their good wils in this behalfe, ſhe contracted ſundrie priuie bands with them, making large promiſes of great rewards vnto euerie of them. To conclude, this matter was ſo handeled by hir and others, to whome ſhe committed the doings therein, that in the yeere following, the gouernor agreed to ſurrender vp the gouernance into hir

The quæne mother ſeeketh to be gouernor.

1552. Leſle
1553.
The gouerne-ment is reſig-

The archbiſhop of Armachane.

1551.

Fr. Thin.

Leſleus lib. pag. 513.

1552.

ned vnto the quéene.

hir hands, hir daughter the yong quéene being not yet full twelue yéeres of age.

The gouernor was promiſed not onelie a full diſcharge and a *Quietus eſt* of all his doings, as well for receipt of monie, iewels, & other things, during the time of his gouernement, but alſo a confirmation of the heritable gift of the dukedome of Chatelerault: likewiſe an other confirmation of all gifts and reſtitutions by him made, during the time he had exerciſed the office of gouernor. And forthwith the quéene Dowager ſent into France, to get all theſe things diſpatched, with ſuch aſſurances of writings vnder hands and ſeales, as was expedient, and to be ſent home into Scotland for his ſecuritie in all things.

Fr. Thin. Leſleus lib. 10. pag. 517.

1552.

✠ But before the gouernor had conſented to the quénes demand, there was great contention about the matter: for ſhe well vnderſtood that he would not depart with his office, before the time that the yong quéene had atteined to the age preſcribed for hir full yéeres. For it is ordeined by the law of the kingdome, that the king ſhall not remaine anie longer vnder tutors, than to the age of fouretéene; & the quéene (as it is in other women) at the yéeres of 12; at which times they may appoint procurators, which ſhall haue the gouernement of the kingdome vntill their full age. For which cauſe, the yong quéene choſe amongſt other (as after ſhall more appéere) the quéene Dowager to be one: whereupon, the quéene Dowager challenged the gouernement vnto hir ſelfe, for that hir daughter was certeine moneths aboue thoſe yéeres of twelue. Againſt which the gouernor did ſtiflie contend, conſtantlie affirming that the yong quéene did not exceed the age of eleuen yéeres.

Wherupon the quéene, to take from the gouernor all ſtarting-holes and other ſhifts, doth vrge the cuſtome of that kingdome, and the obſeruation of thoſe lawes to be, that they muſt reckon the yéere in which the Scotiſh king or quéene is yet vnborne in their mothers bellie, to be part of that number of twelue or foure téene; in which they may appoint gouernors to rule vnder them. Which the gouernor perhaps did ſéeme to confeſſe for the king, but that the ſame was true for a quéene it did not appéere; ſith it ſéemeth to be wrought by Gods high prouidence, that the kingdome of Scotland was alwaies héeretofore by manie ages gouerned by kings, and that a woman did neuer before this time (eſpeciallie one within age) challenge that kingdome vnto them, although the male line (as appéered from the Bruſes to the Stewards) deſcended from the women, haue ſometime poſſeſſed the ſterne of Scotland.

But in the end, ſaie or do what he could, the gouernor did ſurrender his place (as after ſhall more plainelie appéere) vntill which time we will purſue the orderlie courſe of things done in this place: which is, that whileſt the gouernor & the quéene mother were in this diſcord for the regent ſhip of the realme, manie ſeditious perſons (taking occaſion thereby with hope to ſcape vnpuniſhed) did renew the memorie of old iniuries. For hérevpon it happened, that manie of the familie of the Kars did (at Edenburgh) with great boldneſſe vtterlie ſlaie Balcleuche the knight. Beſides which, the yonger ſonne of the lord Ruthwen or Rewen, did publikelie thruſt through and ſlea John Chartruſſe a noble and a valiant yong man, for deadlie hatred (as was thought) betwéene thoſe two families. Yet it was ſpred abroad, that the chiefeſt cauſe why Ruthwen did kill Chartruſſe, was for that Ruthwen (being called into ſute of law by the other) diſtruſting his cauſe, and ſuppoſing that it would paſſe againſt him by iudgement, had none other remedie to relieue the matter, than that verie day to kill Chartruſſe. Which matter was the occaſion of making this law, that whoſoeuer with force or armes did either purſue or abate, recouer or loſe in anie action, ſhould not onelie be puniſhed for the raſhneſſe of the fact, but alſo ſhould haue the matter forthwith (euen in that moment of time) iudged againſt him.]

Leſleus lib. 10. pag. 519.

1552.

Sundrie ſlaughters of the nobilitie.

This yéere, the firſt of Julie, Edward the firſt of that name, king of England, departed this life, after whom ſucceéded his ſiſter Marie, eldeſt daughter to K. Henrie the eight. [Touching whoſe regiments, Abr. Fl. ſith this hiſtorie requireth matter appropriate vnto it ſelfe, we will ſaie little in this place, remitting the readers to the conuenient courſe of time wherein they flouriſhed and vaded. Onelie this is worthie the noting, that the realme of England was not ſo much in hir time afflicted with exquiſite troubles of barbarous perſecutors, to the diminiſhing of Gods ſeruants, and the increaſing of ſatans ſynagog, as it was like to haue triumphed vnder the glorious title of the victorious goſpell, if God had not (for the vnworthineſſe of the Engliſh people) taken the yong king awaie. For the proſperous beginning of his gouernement foretold an happie proceéding, and a bleſſed ending. But to returne to Scotland.]

1553.

✠ About this time, Norman Leſle, who (as you Fr. Thin. heard before) had fled for the death of the cardinall Leſleus lib. 1 Beton biſhop of ſaint Andrews into France (where pag 520. he then was impriſoned) being now ſet at libertie, did priuilie conueie himſelfe into Scotland. Which vnderſtood of the gouernor, he fined all thoſe that had receiued him into their houſe, & compelled Norman to flée to Denmarke, for feare that (if he were taken) he ſhould ſuffer extreme puniſhment. But when he knew that there was no place of ſafetie for him in that countrie, wandering ouer manie prouinces, he came at laſt into England, in the reigne of Edward the firſt; of whome, with the reſt of his companions, he was moſt courteouſlie receiued, with yérelie penſions out of the exchéker or common treſurie aſſigned vnto them for their maintenance, according to their eſtates.

1554.

But after that king Edward was departed the world, they all were alſo commanded to depart the realme, to whome (earneſtlie vrging that their penſions might be paied to them in an other place where they ſhould remaine) the duke of Norffolke did publikelie ſay in the councell, that it ſéemed not iuſtice, that a catholike prince ſhould paie anie penſions to ſuch as had murthered a catholike cardinall. With which anſwer the ſaid Norman was almoſt ſtroken dead, and being then wearied with the griefe of his exile, went againe into France, and there by king Henrie (by the meanes of the baron Brunſtone, whom this Leſle had ſent before to requeſt the ſame) he was made capteine of the Scotiſh light horſſemen in France. This man did ſo valiantlie, worthilie, and honorablie behaue himſelfe in warres, which the French king had (with Charles the fift then emperor) on the borders of Flanders, that he was alwaies formoſt in the front of the battell, to aſſault the enimie; hoping by that meanes to wipe awaie the blot of the cardinals ſlaughter, and more firmelie to bind the French king vnto him.

But after certeine light ſkirmiſhes (which he happilie performed againſt the enimie) following the battell at Renton (a towne in Picardie) moſt hotlie, and drawing néere within danger of the enimie, he was ſo wounded with a ſhot, that he could hardlie returne to his companie: but being relieued by his owne ſouldiers from the hands of the enimie, he was caried to Montrulle, where he ſhortlie after died, greatlie repenting him of his former wicked fact, and greatlie abhorring the other authors thereof, as furtherers of him therein. Towards whom (after his death) the French king was yet ſo louing (for the

ſingular

ſingular fortitude of mind that was in him) that he procured all ſuch of his Scots (as returned from the warres with Brunſtone) to be receiued into their owne countrie, and reſtored to all their goods and poſſeſſions.]

The couenants and articles are perfected. 1555. Buch.

In lent all the lords of the realme of Scotland aſſembled at Striueling, where all the couenants and articles of agreement, betwixt the quéene and the gouernor, were perfectlie and fullie concluded, and thervpon a parlement appointed to be holden in Edenburgh, the tenth of Aprill next inſuing: and in the meane time the gouernor deliuered the caſtell of Edenburgh vnto the lord Erſkin to kéepe, as it were by waie of aſſurance for his part, that all things at that parlement ſhould be accompliſhed, according to the points of the agréement made by full conſent. The lords then aſſembling in parlement at Edenburgh, on the ſaid twelfth day of Aprill, all the couenants of agréement had & made betwixt the quéene Dowager and the gouernor were preſented & read, touching the dimiſſion and giuing ouer of the gouernors authoritie, confirmed by the quéene hir ſelfe in France, with conſent of the king of France hir husband, the duke of Guiſe, and the cardinall of Lorrain hir curators, with a gift of the dukedome of Chaſtelerault vnto the gouernor, vnder the great ſeales of France, and others, to whome it apperteined.

1554.

A parlement. Edenburgh caſtell deliuered to the lord Erſkin to kéepe.

The quéene made gouernor by parlement.

The gouernor made duke.

After this, there was read a confirmation of the three eſtates of Scotland, touching the premiſſes, in which they bound themſelues to warrant the quéenes diſcharge made to him, & to eſtabliſh him as ſecond perſon of the realme [& to haue the gouernement of the caſtell of Dumbreton (as ſaith Buchanan) with other things conteined in the contract: to the which there in open parlement all the eſtates ſubſcribed, and put therevnto their ſeales. Which done, the gouernor gaue vp his office of tutorſhip, in preſence of the ſaid eſtates, the quéene mother, & monſieur Doiſell being there preſent, who receiued the ſame in the quéenes name, at that time remaining in France. And herewith preſentlie was a commiſſion ſhewed, giuen by the quéene of Scotland in France, with conſent of hir curators, making the quéene Dowager hir mother, regent of hir realme: which office ſhe tooke vpon hir, and was thereto admitted by the eſtates of the realme. Then was the parlement newlie authoriſed in the quéenes name, with conſent of hir curators, and in name of the quéene regent.

Fr. Thin.

The gouernor reſigned his office vnto the quéene.

The quéene mother hath the gouernance of the realme vnto the quéene mother.

Fr. Thin.

* Where is to be noted, that as at the firſt they which had the adminiſtration of the common-wealth vnder the king of Scotland in his minoritie, were firſt called gardians, and then gouernors: ſo now began they to haue a new title for the ſame, to be called regents of Scotland, not before accuſtomed among the Scots, which name hath euer ſince remained to all ſuch as execute that place (euen in our age) during the minoritie of Charles James the firſt, now ruling the ſcepter of Scotland. In which declination of things (as before you heard) to the gouernement of the French, the Scots could neuer be perſuaded that the caſtell of Edenburgh ſhould be deliuered to the rule of ſtrangers: fearing that if the quéene ſhould die without iſſue, that then the French would there by tyrannie ſettle themſelues. Wherefore the ſame was committed to the defenſe of John Areſkine, which he ſhould not deliuer to anie, but to one of the order, and of the nobilitie and parlement.

Buch. lib. 16.

About this time, the quéene regent ſent George Gordon earle of Huntleie to apprehend John Mudiard (or Mudcrac, as ſaith Buchanan) chiefe of the familie of the Reginaldins, a notable théefe, & one that was fraught with moſt wicked déeds: which iournie it is ſuppoſed that Gordon did not verie faithfullie diſcharge. Wherefore, when he returned without the diſpatch thereof, in not taking of that man, he was committed to priſon vntill the day appointed, wherein he ſhould anſwer the cauſe. Whoſe friends in the meane time (to mitigate the enuie againſt him for the ſame) did ſpred falſe rumors thereof, laieng all the fault in the familie of the Cathans: for they ſaid that the ſame was hindered by them for the malice that they bare vnto the Gordons: which ſpeeches did onelie riſe almoſt vpon this occaſion.

Leſleus lib. 10. pag. 522. Buchan. lib. 16.

Whileſt the quéene prepared for hir iournie into Scotland, Gordon did caſt into priſon William (the head of the familie of the Cathans) a yong man liberallie brought vp with the earle of Murreie for kinreds ſake, being ſiſters ſon to the ſaid earle; for none other cauſe but for that he would not yéeld him ſelfe to the protection of him. Gordon therefore grieued at this man, did not thinke it ſafetie to leaue him free and at libertie behind him, when he ſhould go into France with the quéene, although he could find no fault to laie to his charge woorthie anie puniſhment. Wherefore (by his friends) he perſuaded the yong man (ignorant of all deceit) that he ſhould yéeld himſelfe into his protection and tutorſhip: for ſo by that one meanes, both the ſame of the one and ſafetie of the other might be prouided for, which the yong man did accordinglie.

Wherefore Gordon being now lord ouer the life and death of this William, did (diſſembling his hatred to him) breake with his owne wife to execute the yong and giltleſſe man in his abſence, ſuppoſing thereby to transferre all the malice which ſhould riſe thereof vnto the fact of his wife, as not done by his conſent. Which fell out quite contrarie: for when euerie one knew the ſubtill wit of Gordon the earle of Huntleie, and that his wife (a choſen and rare woman) had paſſed all the reſt of hir life within the bounds of womanlie modeſtie; they were all eaſilie perſuaded, that he alone was author vnto hir of that wicked counſell. Whereupon, Gordon being now caſt in priſon for that fact, there was (in a councell holden by the regent) great contention and varietie of opinions, touching the puniſhment which he ſhould haue. For ſome would haue him baniſhed into France for certeine yeares, & ſome would onelie haue an exceſſiue mulct to be laied vpon him.

Both which opinions were reiected by the chiefe of his enimies, Gilbert earle of Caſſiles. For he, perceiuing by the preſent ſtate of things, that peace would not long continue betwéene Scotland and France; did vtterlie withſtand his baniſhment into that countrie. For he would not haue that man (being ſo ſubtilie and vnconſtantlie witted, proud, and deſirous of reuenge, of and vpon ſuch as were emulous, or backbiters againſt him) to be a firebrand and captaine to thoſe French, who (he was aſſured, for their inſolent pride) would haue warre with the Scots. For although he thought, that of right he ought to be puniſhed, yet he did not iudge, that ante domeſticall euill was ſo much, or the puniſhment thereof ſhould be thought ſo great, that they ſhould accuſtome the French to ſhed the Scotiſh bloud. Wherefore at length his puniſhment was agreed vpon (as after ſhall appeare) in renouncing of all his right to the earldome of Murreie, & other things.

The quéene hauing the diſpoſition of all things, did at hir pleaſure change all the officers, and made the earle of Caſſils treaſuror, & Oeilmort a French man controller; alſo an other Frenchman called monſieur Rubie, kéeper of the great ſeale, as vicegerent in place of the earle of Huntleie, who was chancellor and then in ward; [and James Machill regiſter, and the abbat of Couper kéeper of the priuie ſeale, as ſaith Leſleus. lib. 10. pag. 521. Donald gouernor of the Iles.] Theſe mens counſell and monſieur

Officers are changed.

Fr. Thin.

sieur Doisels she vsed principallie in all things. The earle of Huntleie being to be deliuered out of ward, did for his punishment renounce his title to the earledome of Murreie; whereof he had a gift in heritage. Also he renounced his interest vnto the farmes of Orkeneie and Sheatland, and to the earledome of Mar, and of the quéenes lands of Straits Die: and further was contented to go ouer into France, there to remaine for the space of fiue yeares. But yet afterwards the quéene was contented, that he should still remaine within the realme, for the which he gaue to hir fiue thousand pounds in monie.

The earle of Huntleie renounced manie things.

Fr. Thin. Lesleus. lib. 10. pag. 522.

✠ About the same time Marie the quéene of England, and the regent of Scotland, thought good to haue a peace betweene both nations, and that their commissioners should méet to determine all controuersies. At what time for the Scots, were Robert of Kinwardie, and John Bellenden of Achnowle knights: and for the English, were Thomas Cornwallesse, and Robert Bowes knights. At what time there were lawes made touching fishing, aswell in the sea, as in certeine other limited riuers; by which all occasions of contention was taken awaie from both nations. Richard Norton, a man of great counsell in prosperitie, and of great stomach in aduersitie, being capteine of Norham castell in England, was at that time cause of the making of this law for the commons; That if anie Englishman from a Scot, or a Scot from an Englishman, did by force take away anie fish that was taken; that he should paie the mulct of twentie shillings for the same: beside other punishments of the common law.

1551.

The law for fishing.

Couenants for seamen.

Further it was agreed, that whosoeuer by force of tempest, or for anie other cause, were driuen into Scotland or England, he should not by anie pretense be staied; but he might frélie by land or sea, either on horssebacke or on foot returne home. Prouided, that he had the testimonie of the next maister of the port, or of the next towne, to witnes the cause of his arriuall; and that during the time of his abode in such a countrie, he attempted nothing against the lawes of the kingdome. Not manie daies after this, Henrie Sinclere deane of Glascow, senator, and vicepresident of the high court, did returne into Scotland out of France; being a man greatlie familiar with James the fift, aswell for the singularitie of his wit, as the excellencie of his learning.

Lesleus lib. 10. pag. 523.

1555.

But in the time of the gouernor, the courtiers (not greatlie estéeming such wisedome & learning) made no account of him, although the quéene Dowager, and diuerse of the nobilitie held him in great honor; aswell for his déepe studie in the best arts, as for his rare knowledge of the publike lawes and antiquities of Scotland. This man, vpon his first returne, was forthwith both author and persuader to and of the bishop of the Orchades chiefe president, and to the other senators; that there should be new lawes made for the short ending of suits in law; for the obseruation of a right course of iudgments, and for the taking awaie of all euill customs. In the making & tempering whereof, he was of so great iustice; that such things as were set downe in the law, were more holilie and perfectlie brought to their ancient forme than they had béene before.

The reason is readie; to wit, aswell for that in equall deliuering law to all men: as in pleading, there was by his meanes more diligence vsed by the magistrats, aduocats, scribes, and officers; in cutting awaie vaine and superfluous formes and orders: which ministred occasion, that their suits did long hang in court, before they could be determined. At this time also the marquesse of Paine (being after made duke of Almaine) who in the meane time with manie other nobles of France, had remained pledges in England, did (hauing licence thereunto) come into Scotland to sée his sister, accompanied with sir Thomas Stewkleie of England now knight; who after he had remained some daies with his sister in pleasure & delight, discharged his faith, and returned againe into England.]

Lesleus. lib. 10 pag. 524.

In Julie was a parlement held at Edenburgh, in the which manie acts and statutes were made, right profitable (as was then thought) for the common-weale of the realme. Amongest which, to passe ouer the rest, these séeme worthie to remaine chronicled to posteritie. First, that none of the citizens (in the feasts of Whitsuntide, or anie such times, in which their hirelings are accustomed to go forth) should assemble armed, to cast forth the husbandmen after the old maner. Secondlie, that the inhabitants méeting togither, should no more assemble vnder a certeine colour of gaine, which for exercise of the bodie (as it was supposed) was holden after the example of one (I can not tell who) Robert Hood a wild or vplandish man. Thirdlie, that there should be no priuat leagues contracted betwéene subiects. Which lawes did after bring great peace, ease, and quiet to the publike state.

1555. A parlement

Fr. Thin. Lesleus. lib. 1 pag. 524.

In the verie same yeare 1555, in the eight kalends of August, fell the mariage of Marie quéene of England with Philip king of Spaine in the citie of Winchester. Wherefore ambassadors were sent from the quéene regent to Philip and Marie, to congratulat their mariage. Besides which, these ambassadors did require a renewing of the league, and that commissioners should be appointed to méet the next summer in the borders, to end all controuersies. In the meane time, whilest the quéene regent did administer the affaires of south Scotland, John Steward earle of Atholl was sent into the north parts with a chosen companie, to breake the force of John Mudiard or Muderace. At what time this earle vsed such courtesie and counsell in pacifieng, and such celeritie and wisedome in executing of things; that he brought the seditious Mudiard (impatient to haue anie gouernor) to the quéene, to whome the said Mudiard did willinglie yéeld himselfe, his children, and his kindred.

Lesleus. lib. 1 pag. 525. Buchanan. lib. 16.

To which man, the quéene (in respect of singular clemencie, and pietie to all men, according to the disposition of hir nature) did wholie remit all his offenses, with this condition; that he should faithfullie remaine prisoner in the castell of Mekens, and in the towne of Perth. But as the for (as the prouerbe is amongest vs) cannot liue without his starting holes; so this Mudiard and his companions, imbued with more than forlike conditions, did (deceiuing their kéepers) returne to their owne caues, and afresh trouble all the north Scotland with their raised seditions and spoiles. Which things inforced the quéene, that she did go into those parts, to hold iustice of oires: in which she might bridle the euils of wicked men, and purge those prouinces from all the roots of sedition.

Whereupon, in the moneth of Julie, the quéene accompanied with the earles of Huntleie, Argile, Rothes, Cassils, and Marshall; the bishop of Aberden and Rosse, M. Doisell, Rubie, and others, went to the towne of Inuernesse, in which citie (the faults known by publike accusation) there was iust punishment taken vpon the offendors. And because there were manie hidden in the higher and mounteine countries, which by their absence fled the punishment; she commanded the heads of the mounteine families, that they should bring their guiltie countrimen and kindred to iudgement, according to the law established by James the fift; with a great paine

1555. Buc 1556. H.B

Lesleus. lib. 1 pag. 527. Buchan. lib. 1

paine ſet vpon the chiefe of thoſe families; if the o-ther did ſtiflie reſiſt, & would not come into iudge-ment.

Whereupon it followed, that ſundrie of diuerſe families, that were by contempt departed awaie, did come to publike iudgement. Where manie, and thoſe not of the meaneſt ſort, paied the puniſhment for troubling the peace; amongeſt which, one Grant a baron being commanded to bring James Grant and diuerſe other wicked perſons before the iudges, did prouide to bring their dead heads, when they could not take their liue bodies. The earle of Cathnes alſo, becauſe that being warned thervnto, he did not bring his people before the iudges; was firſt committed to priſon in Inuerneſſe, then at Aberden, and laſtlie at Edenburgh, from whence he purchaſed his libertie with a great maſſe of monie.

Mackeie in like ſort, head and chiefe of the tribe of Strathnauerne & of Glencone, being called to iudgement (for that he had often waſted the countrie of Southerland next adioining) did contemne the precept. Whereupon the quéene prouided a great armie, which vnder the erle of Southerland brake into Strathnauerne, where he poſſeſſed all the places of doubt, leaſt anie hole might be left for the théeues to paſſe awaie from thence. Whereupon Mackeie, when he ſaw himſelfe ſo beſet (as that no place of flight was left him) yelded himſelfe to Hugh Kenedie, who led him to the quéene, by whom he was committed to priſon at Edenburgh a long time, but they of Glencone put in pledges, & (being committed to ſafe and ſtrong priſons) were reſerued to the iudgement of the quéenes pleaſure.

After this, the quœne leauing Inuerneſſe, and progreſſing the prouince of Roſſe, ſhe came to Elgine, Bamf, Aberden, and the chiefe places thereabouts, diligentlie to inquire of the miſdemeanor of thoſe people. At what time ſhe did temper the rigor of law with ſuch courteſie, that ſhe puniſhed the offendors by fine, and not by death. From thence ſhée came to Dundée, and to ſaint Johns towne, obſerving the ſame cauſe and courſe of hir comming. When ſhe had thus paſſed ouer the ſummer in bringing the mounteine people to their dutie, ſhe ſent the earle of Huntleie to ioine with the biſhop of Roſſe and Orkeneie, and to Hugh Kenedie; to whom ſhe did ſubſtitute a better and more commodious forme of diſpatch of their affaires by others: who ſhould receiue the libels and accuſations of priuate perſons, and diligentlie to inquire of them, in the townes of Inuerneſſe, Elgine, and other places. By whoſe diligence it came to paſſe, that all thoſe countries (being reduced to the rule of iuſtice) were made the more quiet.

Here I will not (ſaith Leſleus) now declare how honourablie & ſumptuouſlie the quœne in all hir progreſſe was receiued (without anie charge to hir) of the péeres, biſhops, and other nobles and gentlemen of Scotland, ſith the Frenchmen (which were then preſent with hir) haue opened to other nations as well as to their own people (with ſingular commendations to the Scots) the gorgious ſhew of this Scotland, being a moſt worthie ſigne of the fauour they bare to the quœne.] In the meane time there were ſent commiſſioners to the borders, as the biſhop of Dunblane, the lard of Lethington, & maiſter James Macgill: where doctor Tunſtall biſhop of Durham, & certeine others for England met them at Duns, and remained there till the quœnes coming backe forth of the north in September next following.

This yéere was a parlement holden, in which the lards Grimſton, Drumſton, and Grange, with maiſter Henrie Balnaues, and others, which were for-faulted in the gouernors time, were reſtored. At the ſame time the quœne, by the counſell of monſieur Doiſell, and Rubie, and certeine of the nobilitie of Scotland, requeſted that a new order might bee made, whereby euerie mans ſubſtance ſhould be put in an inuentarie, and according to the rate thereof to paie a yérelie taration, to be put and kept in the treaſure-houſe till warres began, and that then men of warre might be waged, therewith to lie vpon the borders, and none in that caſe to be charged to come from their owne houſes, but when anie great armie came forth of England to inuade Scotland.

A yérelie taxe to be leuied is proponed.

Diuerſe of the great lords were agreed to this ordinance: but the moſt part of the barons hearing thereof, aſſembled togither in Edenburgh, to the number of two hundred & aboue, and ſent the lards James Sandlandie of Calder in Louthian, and John of Wemis in Fife, to the quœne and lords, beſeeching them not to ſet ſuch new tarations vpon them, for they could not beare ſuch burdens; but would defend the realme, as before time their elders had done, not meaning to put their goods in inuentarie, as if they ſhould alreadie make their laſt will and teſtaments: and be paſt all hope of inioieng their temporall goods, as perſons not to liue longer in the world, but to take their farewell, and giue ouer all that they had by law of fatall neceſſitie not to be auoided. ✲ Adding further, that their elders did not onelie defend themſelues, and their goods againſt the Engliſh, when they were of farre greater power than they now be; but did alſo manie times make further inuaſion vpon them into their owne countrie. For which cauſe, they being not anie iot now ſo degenerat from their anceſtors, that they wold not, when need required, beſtow their ſubſtance and life in defenſe of their countrie.

This taratti-on is not granted.

1556.

Fr. Thin. Buchan. li. 16.

And as touching the hired ſouldiers, it was a thing full of danger, to commit the ſtate of Scotland to men without ſubſtance, or without hope of aduancement, and to ſuch as for monie will dare to do anie thing, being a thing apt to kindle their déepe couetouſneſſe, and to miniſter occaſion to them to attempt other matters. But to the end all other things may the better be looked vnto, let them more remember the déerenes of their countrie, than their owne eſtate or condition. For will anie man beléeue, that hired ſouldiers will more valiantlie fight for ſtrangers, than the owners will fight for the defenſe of their owne? That a little hire or wages readie to be abated in peace, will greatlier incenſe the minds of the common people; than goods, children, wiues, and temples, will moue the hearts of the nobilitie?

Whereunto may be ioined, that this matter perteineth to the higheſt good of the kingdome of Scotland, and that the ſame is of farre more importance than that it ſhould be communed of at this time, and in the tender age of our yong quœne. Beſides which the greater part of men do ſuſpect and feare, that the ſame new order for warre is vnprofitable, and ſuch as cannot be performed without ſome commotion of the Scotiſh nation, eſpeciallie ſith ſo great ſums of monie can hardlie be wrong out by tribute impoſed on the ſame Scots, as may ſuffice to nourith a hired armie to defend the borders. Wherefore it is to be feared, leaſt the end of perſuaſion grow to this point, that it do not rather open a gap to let in the enimie, than to be a barre to kéepe them backe. For if the Engliſh, after this example, being a farre richer nation, ſhall gather a much greater ſumme: who doubteth, but that they may with leſſe trouble to the cõmon people, ſuſteine an armie twiſe as great as that of the Scots, & ſuch as ſhall not onelie enter the borders, but ruſh euen into the verie bowels of the king-

kingdome of Scotland?

For the other part of the oration, I cannot tell whether it be better to ſuppreſſe it in ſilence, or to deliuer it (ſaith Buchanan) to common eies & eares. For I doo heare (writeth he) manie which doo murmur and aſke who ſhall gather this monie? How much thereof ſhall be neceſſarie to and for the hired ſouldiors, and how much to be left in the hands of the treaſuror? There be manie things which put vs in great hope, that no ſuch thing ſhall be eſtabliſhed for the eſpeciall goodneſſe and temperancie of that worthie princeſſe (in whoſe hand the whole gouernment now reſteth) doth incourage vs, that we ſhall not bee ſo taxed. But yet when we remember the outward deeds of others, and our owne at home, which haue before time beene done; we cannot ſo gouerne our ſelues, but that we muſt feare the ſame hereafter to fall vpon vs, which we haue alreadie felt.

But letting theſe things paſſe, which perchance we vainlie feare, let vs come to thoſe things in which our anceſtors did place their chiefe helpe (for maintenance of their libertie) againſt the weapons of their aduerſaries. Robert the firſt of that name (in compariſon of whome none of the Scotiſh kings were counted more wiſe, and without all doubt none more valiant, as we all confeſſe) did not onelie profit his ſubiects whileſt he liued, but alſo after his death: for when he laid at point to ſurrender his life, he gaue this admonition, that we ſhould neuer make continuall peace, nor long truce with the Engliſh. For that man (by nature and by vſe of long time exerciſed in both fortunes) did well perceiue, that ſuch as liued in idleneſſe and ſlouth, had their ſtomachs and minds abated, and their bodies weakened with delights of pleaſures, and that couetouſneſſe and lecherie did ſpring vp as it were in vntilled ground, when ſeuere diſcipline and ſparing was quenched, which made them alſo to be vnpatient of labor, and to hate battell, whereby their ſtrength being diminiſhed, they ſhould eaſilie giue place to their enimies.

After that theſe two noble men had ſaid thus much, the regent fearing tumultuous inſurrections if ſhe perſeuered in this eraction, left off anie further to purſue this tax, and is (in often acknowledging hir error) ſaid to haue vſed this ſpeech; That ſome of the beſt of the Scots, and not ſhe, were authors and workers of the ſame. By which words manie ſuppoſed that ſhe ment the earle Huntleie, a man of a ſharpe wit, latelie deliuered out of priſon, and rather readie to reuenge the iniurie receiued by reſtreint of his libertie, than mindfull of anie benefit ſhewed vnto him in his deliuerance. Wherfore when he ſaw the regent bent to this one thing to inure the Scots with taxes and paiments of monie: and fearing leaſt hir power being ouermuch increaſed, that ſhe would abate the ſtrength of the nobilitie, diminiſh their authoritie, and call the whole gouernment of Scotland into the hands of hir people, it was ſuppoſed that he gaue hir counſell anſwerable to hir diſpoſition for the gathering of monie which ſhe had then in hand, being in deed the part of an enimie to hir, becauſe he knew that the Scots would not paie anie tribut, nor be ſo obedient vnto hir as they had beene before. There were alſo ſome that ſuppoſed this deuiſe to grow from Dauid Painter biſhop of Roſſe; for he being a man of rare wit, and no leſſe learning, was with manie benefits tied to the Hamiltons, and was not anie waie eſtranged from their counſels and kinreds.

1557. In this yeere, an ambaſſador of Muſcouie going into England with a great ſhip, & another bote, was caſt on land by ſudden tempeſt of the ſea in the coaſt of Buchquane, a prouince in the north part of Scotland; who hauing loſt all his goods by ſhipwracke, was ſaued himſelfe, and ſome of his companie, becauſe they lighted on a rocke, where he & they might ſaue their liues. The inhabitants did liberallie interteine this ſtrange man, and brought him to Edenburgh to the queene, who would not permit this new gheſt to want anie thing ſo long as he remained with hir: and further, commanded and procured, that his goods loſt by ſea, and come into the hands of the people, ſhould be faithfullie reſtored to him againe, appointing moreouer the lord Hume for honors ſake to accompanie him to Berwike. Leſleus.lib.10. pag.328.

This yeere alſo in the moneth of Julie was Hoter Traberne ſent ambaſſador (from Anna duke of Oldenberge, and Delmenſore, and earle of Emden) out of eaſt Friſia into Scotland, to require that the ancient couenant of an hundred yeeres made betweene the Scots and the people of Emden (which by courſe of ſome yeeres paſt, was now of no force) might now againe be renewed. Which being granted & ſolemnelie eſtabliſhed, both thoſe nations from that day did liue togither in mutuall & perfect friendſhip. After this, warres ariſing betweene England and France, queene Marie of England, fearing leaſt the Scots would be ſtirred at the motion of the French to attempt ſomething againſt England, ſent ambaſſadors to the regent, to require that ſome of the Scots might with hir people meet on the borders, to treat of matters belonging vnto them both. Leſleus.lib.10. pag.529.

Whereupon in the moneth of Julie, the procurators for both the kingdomes met at Caerleill, whither for the Scots came Robert Reid biſhop of Orkneie, Henrie Seintclere deane of Glaſcow, Robert Carnegie knight, ſenators; and the lord Harries, at that time preſident of the weſt borders. For the Engliſh did come Tunſtall biſhop of Durham, the lords Dacres, and Wharton; amongſt whome there was talke for peace, and recompenſe of ſuch iniuries as were committed by both the nations. In the meane time a certeine Frenchman landed at the weſt part on Scotland, and declared to the queene the warres betweene England and France, deſiring hir to make warre vpon the Engliſh. Whereupon the queene ſent for the lords to commune with them at Newbottell, where ſhe opened to them diuerſe wrongs done on the borders by Engliſhmen, and how no redreſſe could be got: wherfore ſhe required that warres might be moued againſt England in reuenge of thoſe iniuries, although the biſhop of Orkeneie was the ſame time at Caerleill in talke with Cutbert Tunſtall biſhop of Durham and others, commiſſioners for England. The principall cauſe that moued the queene regent to ſeeke to make war againſt England, was for that the Engliſhmen aided the Emperor in fauor of his ſonne king Philip againſt the French king, becauſe their queene had taken to huſband the ſame king Philip, and ſent the earle of Penbroke ouer with an armie to ſoine with king Philips power.

1557. The queene regent deſired warres.

An aſſemblie at Caerleill.

The occaſion why the queene regent deſire to haue war.

It was thought therefore, that if the Scots inuaded the Engliſh borders, it might cauſe them to call backe their power forth of France to defend their owne countrie. But the Scotiſh lords would not conſent in anie wiſe to begin anie warres: which their dealing when monſieur Doiſell perceiued, hee ſpedily went to Haimouth beſide Berwike, and fortified the ſame with all diligence, making inuaſions into England. Whereupon the Scotiſhmen in their owne defenſe were conſtreined to make warre, and the earle of Huntleie was made lieutenant vpon the borders, who came thither; and remaining there by the aſſiſtance of the Frenchmen, made ſundrie inuaſions and rodes into England, burnt diuers townes and villages, and caſt downe manie ſtone houſes, piles

The Scotiſh lords refuſe to take warre in hand.

Haimouth is fortified.

Inuaſions are made into England.

piles and ſtrengths.

In this meane while were the Scotiſh commiſſioners at Caerleill; and the maiſter of Marwell warden of the weſt borders, being there with them, with much adoo got away and came home into Scotland. The quéene aſſembled a great armie out of all parts of the realme, the which came forward to Kelſo in the moneth of October, where the quéene & Frenchmen perſuaded them to enter by inuaſion into England. But they mening to take further aduiſe, paſſed ouer Twéd to Marwell hugh, where they incamped, and afterward approched the caſtell of Warke, inuironing the ſame with a ſiege for the ſpace of two or thrée dais. Capteine Read at that preſent had charge of that caſtell, with thrée or foure hundred footmen, and one hundred horſemen, ſéeming to care little for the Scotiſhmens forces.

The earle of Weſtmerland, being then lieutenant of the north parts, gathered ſuch power togither as he might make, and came to Lowike, accompanied with the lord Talbot, ſir James Croſts, and others, to ſuccor where moſt néed ſhould appeare. The Scotiſh armie, perceiuing the Engliſhmen thus in a readineſſe to reſiſt their attempts, toke aduiſe togither, and concluded that it was not for the weale of the realme, at that time to hazard battell forth of the bounds of their owne land, their princeſſe being abſent, and as yet in hir minoritie; conſidering alſo that the war was not taken in hand for their owne quarell, but for the pleaſure of France. Theſe and other the like reaſons, being alleged by the earles of Arrane, Huntleie, Argile, Caſſils, and others, to the quéene and French capteins, they were nothing ſatiſfied therewith; but the Scotiſh lords would attempt no further, but retired backe and ſcaled their armie.

In remouing from Warke, they were purſued by certeine bands of the borderers, and others, which were repelled, and ſtood in danger to haue béene diſtreſſed, if capteine Read had not with noble corage iſſued forth, and in time relieued them that were retiring: whereby they ſtaied and gaue a new charge, inſomuch as the Scots were beaten backe againe, and chaſed ouer the water to their maine armie that was alreadie paſſed ouer. The quéene and monſieur Doiſell, perceiuing that they could not get the Scotiſh lords to make anie further exploit at that preſent, ſhe retired home; but Doiſell with his Frenchmen were appointed to remaine ſtill in Haimouth, to countergarriſon the Engliſhmen within Berwike.

There were diuerſe fot bands of Scots waged by the French king, which were appointed to lie in places about the borders, as at Kelſo, Rockeſburgh, and ſuch like for defenſe of the countrie, and the annoiance of the Engliſhmen, as occaſions might ſerue. After this, ſir Andrew Kar, and diuerſe other entered England with a power of men about Martinmaſſe. Neuertheleſſe, the earle of Northumberland, being then lieutenant of the north parts of England, and lieng on the borders, aſſembled his forces togither, & comming to incounter the Scots on the very borders ſide nére to Cheuiot, at the firſt the Engliſhmen were put to the worſſe, but yet at length the Scots were ouerthrowne and chaſed: ſir Andrew Kar, and manie other being taken priſoners.

Sir John Foſter bare himſelfe verie valiantlie at this incounter, ſo that his ſeruice might not well haue béene ſpared. He was thruſt through the mouth into the necke, and alſo through the thigh; moreouer, his horſſe was ſlaine vnder him. The conflict was ſharpe, for both the horſſemen and fotmen came to make proofe of their forces. The warre thus being begun and followed, the Scots kept their quarterrage, and euerie noble man (as he was appointed) laie on the borders with a thouſand horſſemen, during his ordinarie tearme. And on the other ſide, the Engliſh borders were furniſhed with new ſupplies of men of warre, ſo that there were dailie rodes and incurſions made by the parties, to the great damage and ſpoile of the townes and villages ſituate nére to the confines of both the realmes.

Quarterage kept by the Scots for defenſe of their borders.

In December the quéene aſſembled a parlement at Edenburgh, where ſhée (highlie fauouring the French) ſhewed forth the letters of Henrie king of France, to be read by the whole aſſemblie, touching the ſolemnization of the mariage betweene the yoong quéene of Scots, and the French kings ſonne, which I haue here ſet downe.

1558.
A parlement.

The ſubſtance of the letter of the *French king, concerning the mariage* of his ſonne to the *queene of Scots.*

Leſleus lib. 10. pag. 533.

HEnrie by the grace of God, king of the French, to his worthie coſſines & princes of Scotland, and to the reſt of the orders, being our déere friends, gréeting. It is moſt plainlie knowen to all nations, how faſt a bond hath alwaies hitherto remained betwéene Scotland & France. Neither can it be hidden what theſe ſigns of amitie were, being for number manie, for greatneſſe large, and for dutie of friendſhip mutuall ech to other; by which the kings our anceſtors haue ſéemed to confirme, and as it were to increaſe this amitie, to the end it might remaine whole and ſound for euer: yea and ſo farre the ſhew thereof hath appéered, that all the benefits of either realme haue ſéemed to be common to ech other. Which bond of friendſhip we alſo haue (for the time in which we firſt receiued the enſignes of our kingdome) labored firmelie to reteine, to the end the ſame ſhould not anie waie be decaied or broken. The which in like ſort we well vnderſtand, that you haue likewiſe abundantlie performed vnto vs.

Wherefore (more ſtronglie to knit the ſame) we will not ſuffer this opportunitie (which the diuine goodneſſe hath laied before vs, as we verelie ſuppoſe) of mariage to be ſolemnized betwéene our ſon the Dolphin, and your quéene our déere and ſwéet ſiſter and daughter. Which thing (after that it began to be intreated) was ſo vrged by all parts, as the yoong quéene was vpon that condition left with vs, when ſhe was caried into France, by the conſent of our ſiſter the Dowager, and the gouernor of Scotland, to the great reioiſing of all you that yéelded therevnto; where now ſhe hath atteined ſuch beautie and number of vertues, partlie by the liberalitie of nature (which ſhe receiued from the kinglie bloud of hir parents) and partlie by the inſtruction of my wife, that I can hardlie anie longer ſuffer (in reſpect of the age of my ſonne) that this mariage (which we haue ſo much deſired) ſhould anie longer be deferred. And ſith at Chriſtmaſſe next my ſon ſhall come to thoſe yéeres, in which he may promiſe all things that ſhall be neceſſarie for the knitting vp of the mariage; and ſith alſo we haue determined (if it ſo ſéeme good to the quéene hir mother, and to the reſt of the parlement of Scotland, which we earneſtlie requeſt at your hands) that the mariage ſhall publikelie at Paris (on the day conſecrated to the thrée kings) with ſuch ceremonies as is requiſite, be fullie conſummate with the ſpeech of my ſonne and of your quéene:

We doo by theſe letters requeſt you, that by common conſent you forthwith ſend ſome of your chiefe

nobilitie, that maie honor the mariage with their presence, and that (hauing publike authoritie therefore) may frælie and according to law, dispose of those things which are accustomed to fall in such matters and affaires.

The which if you shall do, I promise that hereafter they shall liberallie vnderstand how acceptable they shall be to me: and how that you shall receiue all the fruit and benefit which shall arise of my sons mariage (for the performance whereof, by reason of his sufficient age, we will shortlie prouide) which said cõmoditie shall not onelie now remaine to you that be present, but also most abundantlie with great pleasure shall continue to your posteritie. For sith both our and your people of France and Scotland shall be so firmelie conioined (as we hope) by this mutuall knot of mariage, and our affaires with yours, and yours with ours, shall hang the one vpon the other, as it were by a certeine mutuall linke and knot, that both we (being out of the danger of such as would diminish and ouerthrow our states) maie for euer inioy such quiet as we did neuer hope to do before this. From our castell of saint Germans, the fourth kalends of November. 1557.

Subscription, By the king, Henrie:
A little below: De Laubespine.

Upon the reading of which letters in the parlement, by the consent of the whole estates, there were elected and chosen James Beton archbishop of Glascow, Robert Read bishop of Orkeneie, George Lesle earle of Rothes, Gilbert Kennedie earle of Cassiles, James Steward prior of saint Andrewes [the quænes bastard brother] George lord Seton [capteine of Edenburgh] James Fleming, and John Erskine iard of Dun [gouernor of Montrosse] ambassadors and commissioners to go into France, and there to contract mariage betwixt Marie quæne of Scotland, and Francis Dolphin of France, and to solemnize the same mariage. Whereupon, sufficient commissions and instruments were made to them by the estates of the parlement, and they accepting the same, made preparation for that iournie, and departed in the moneth of Februarie forth of the rode of Leith, and with great winds & boisterous stormes came into France, losing in their iournie one of their ships, with men and horsses before saint Ebbes head, in the Forth of Scotland, and an other with great riches & manie gentlemen, with the capteine called Waterton in the rode of Bullongne.

Lesleus. lib. 10. pag. 533. Fr. Thin.

Ambassadors sent into France to consummate the mariage betwixt the quæne of Scotland and the Dolphin of France.

1558.

Two ships lost.

The ambassadors themselues neuertheless escaped, and comming safe vnto the French court in the moneth of March, were honorablie receiued of the king at Paris, where the contract of mariage was made, and three score thousand franks assigned in dowrie to the quæne of Scotland, & thirtie thousand franks of yærelie pension, with manie rich iewels. There was also a perpetuall bond of league concluded betwixt France and Scotland, and great preparation made for the mariage, which was solemnized in Paris with great triumph and assistance of all the cardinals, dukes, earles, barons, lords, and bishops of the realme, in the church of Nostre dame, the 24 of Aprill in that present yære, 1558.

The assignement of the Scots quæns dowrie.

Fr. Thin. Buchan. lib. 16.

✠ After the solemnitie of this mariage, the legats of Scotland were called into the councell-house of the French king: at what time the chancellor of France delt with them, that they should represent the crowne and scepter, and other ornaments of the kingdome, to th' end the husband of the yong quæne might be crowned king also of Scotland. Whereunto the ambassadors did shortlie make answer, that they had no such thing giuen in charge to them. After which, the cardinall said; We desire nothing more at your hands at this time, but that which lieth in your power to performe; which is, here now to confirme by writing that you will hereafter, forward, approne & worke that this honor (which now we iustlie demand) maie be granted to the Dolphin, when the same shall be talked of in the parlement of Scotland. Which request (when it seemed full of impudencie) they supposed best more constantlie and sharpelie to retect.

Wherefore they answered, that their ambassage was restreined within certeine bounds, which they neither could nor would exceed. But and if they had bæne sent with free libertie of their ambassage, that yet it were not the part of faithfull friends (as the French professed to be) to require that which could not be granted without certeine and assured danger and infamie of treason, though danger of life were absent from it. All which notwithstanding, in all honest things which might well be granted they would yeeld vnto the French, ioined vnto them by so manie necessarie occasions. Wherefore they requested the French that they would not in their demands exceed the limits of modestie.

Wher vpon the ambassadors being dismissed from the court, foure of the chiefe of them (before they departed home) which were these, Gilbert Kennedie, George Lesle, Robert Read, and also James Fleming, all men of singular vertue and loue to their countrie, besides manie other of the companie, died there, not without mistrust of poison. It was also beleeued, that James the quænes brother had receiued the same draught: for (although he were of a better composition of bodie, stronger constitution of complexion, and of more youthfull strength, whereby he escaped death) he had alwaies after a continuall and dangerous infirmitie of his bellie whilest he liued, of the death of all which shall be somewhat more said hereafter. Thus leauing the Scotish lords ambassadors there in France for a time, we will returne to shew what happened betwixt the Scots and Englishmen at home, where the warres were pursued, to the losse or little gaine of both parts.]

About Whitsuntide, sir Henrie Persie with diuerse bands of the countrie garrisons, & sir George Bowes then marshall of Berwike, with sundrie bands of the garrison of that towne, passed forth into Scotland, they being in all about seuen or eight hundred horssemen, and two thousand footmen. They burnt the townes of Duns and Langton; and hauing got togither a great number of cattell, returned homewards. The Scots that laie in Kelso, and other places, keeping their quarterage on their borders (for the realme, as ye haue heard, was quartered, euerie part keeping their turne, as the manner is) assembled togither to the number of two thousand horssemen (or few lesse) and three bands of footmen, hasting forth to defend the countrie. And perceiuing where the Englishmen were, followed and coasted them as they returned with their bootie, till they came to Swinton, where they ouertooke them, and skirmished with them sharplie as they were passing through the towne.

A rode into Scotland.

Duns and Langton burnt.

The Scots assaile the Englishmen at Swinton.

The Scotish footmen beat backe part of the Englishmens shot into their battell, and prealled verie forward in hope to be assisted by their horssemen, the which (as ye haue heard) ouermatched greatlie the English horssemen in number: but the fight grew somewhat hot, and the more vnto the disaduantage of the Englishmen, forsomuch as their shot & powder began to faile them, by reason the mistie morning had made much of their powder dankish, so that they could haue no vse thereof. But herewith sir Henrie Lé, capteine Read, and others, being in the battell, behaued themselues verie stoutlie, causing the

the ſotmen to ſtaie, and boldlie to abide the enimie: & hærewith p̃ocured the hoꝛſſemen to giue a charge in ſuch conuenient time, as if the ſame had bẽne p̃otracted, it might haue turned verie euill to the Engliſh ſide.

But now as well the hoꝛſſemen as ſotmen plateng their parts, the Scotiſh hoꝛſſemen abiding without the towne in troupe (while their ſotmen were in ſkirmiſh) fled awaie, leauing their ſotmen to be ſlaine and ſpoiled of the Engliſhmen, and yet thoſe ſotmem fought it out right manfullie: ſo that if the Scots hoꝛſſemen had done their parts ſo well as the ſotmen, it was like to haue gone harder on the Engliſh ſide than it did. But now the Scotiſh hoꝛſſemen not entring the fight, their ſotmen were incloſed by the Engliſhmen: foꝛ thoſe that were in the foꝛe-ward, and were paſſed by, returned, and coming behind their enimies, holpe to beat them downe, ſo that few oꝛ none of the Scots oꝛ Frenchmen (whereof there were ſome few amongeſt them) eſcaped, but were either taken oꝛ ſlaine.

The Scots hoꝛſſemen flée.

The Scots ſotmen ſlaine.

Amongeſt others, capteine Cullane, and capteine Benedie, two chiefe leaders of the ſotmen were taken: diuerſe of their hoꝛſſemen alſo in the retire were taken, amongeſt whome William lord Keith, ſonne to the earle Marſhall of Scotland was the chiefeſt. But this victoꝛie was not atchiued without loſſe of diuerſe Engliſhmen. Amongeſt other one Pell, enſigne-bearer to ſir John Markhams band of ſotmen was ſlaine. Alſo maſter Edꝛington a capteine of light hoꝛſſemen was taken p̃iſoner by the lard of Edmonſton, at the firſt charge giuen vpon the Scotiſh hoꝛſſemen, and led awaie without reſcue. Beſide the manfull p̃oweſſe of ſir Henrie Perſie, and the other Engliſh capteins beforе mentioned, the foꝛward valiancie ſhewed that day of ſir William Bꝛereton, and Thomas Markham, that led his father ſir John Markehams band of ſotmen, alſo of Rafe Ellerkar a capteine of hoꝛſſemen, are not to be foꝛgotten, who with diuerſe other capteins & ſouldiers behaued themſelues in ſuch wiſe at that p̃reſent ſeruice, as their dealings therein deſerue ſpeciall memoꝛie.

The lord of Keith with oꝛhers taken p̃iſoners.

H. Edꝛington taken.

Hir william Bꝛereton.

Moꝛeouer, at an other time the Scots & Frenchmen entring into England, the Scotiſh hoꝛſſemen, to the number of a thouſand oꝛ thereabouts, paſſed foꝛth to burne and foꝛraie the countrie: but the earle of Noꝛthumberland, & his bꝛother ſir Henrie Perſie, aſſembled togither a power of hoꝛſſemen: and ſir Henrie Perſie mæting with them at Grendon, ſet vpon the Scots and chaſed them ouer the water of Twiſell, vnto the ſot battell of the Frenchmen: who retiring to the riuer of Twéed, paſſed ouer the ſame at Chapell Fourd, where they were aſſailed both by certeine ſot bands of the garriſon of Berwike, that were come foꝛth to aid the earle, and alſo by the hoꝛſſemen: ſo as diuerſe were dꝛowned in the riuer beforе they could get ouer.

He rode into Scotland.

Duns and Langton burnt.

The Scots put to flight at Grendon.

But after they were once got to the further ſide, they put themſelues in oꝛder of battell againe, and retired in a ſquadꝛon verie ſtronglie, ſuſteining little oꝛ no hurt at all, notwithſtanding that the erle of Noꝛthumberland (being then come) and his bꝛother ſir Henrie Perſie, with the reſt of the capteins and gentlemen of the countrie, purſued them ouer the water foꝛ the ſpace of two miles, ſkirmiſhing with them ſtill as they marched awaie, but could doo them no harme, becauſe they kept themſelues in ſo good oꝛder, & the Engliſh ſotmen were not able to reach them. Whereꝛpon the Engliſh hoꝛſſemen ſuffering the Frenchmen to depart, left them, and paſſing into the countrie, burnt long Ednam, and diuerſe other hamlets and villages, and ſo returned. Diuerſe Scots that day at the ouerthꝛow and chaſe of their hoꝛſſemen were taken p̃iſoners, as the loꝛd Greie, and oꝛhers.

The good oꝛder of the Frenchmen in their retire.

Lõg Ednam burnt.

The loꝛd Greie of Scotland taken p̃iſoner.

And after this, the Engliſhmen wan the ſtrong pile of Cawmils, wherein were ſirtéene Frenchmen that defended it foꝛ the time verie ſtoutlie, ſo that it coſt the liues of diuerſe Engliſhmen, beforе they could take it. Shoꝛtlie after, there was a ſoꝛe ſkirmiſh at Halidon hill. Foꝛ whereas the moſt part of ſummer it was oꝛdeined, that euerie daie certeine bands of ſouldiers ſhould ward on the ſame hill, to giue libertie to the inhabitants of Berwike, to mow and carie in their haie; they continued foꝛ a time without anie trouble offered by the Scots oꝛ French, ſo that the warders ſtanding in no doubt of the enimies, vſed out of their armoꝛ to ſhoot, bowle, quait, & exerciſe ſuch like games of pleaſure. Whereof the Scots & Frenchmen being aduertiſed, came one day from Almouth in ſo ſecret wiſe, that they were dꝛawen verie nére to the Engliſhmen, yet they had anie warning of their apꝛoch.

Cawmils wone by the Engliſhmen.

A ſoꝛe ſkirmiſh vpon Halidon hill.

This apꝛoch as it was p̃riuie, ſo was it likewiſe ſudden, inſomuch that beforе they could be got into oꝛder, the Scots and Frenchmen were almoſt at their elbowes; and falling in ſkirmiſh with them, handled them verie roughlie: although ſir William Bꝛereton, ſir John Markeham, maiſter William Dꝛewꝛie, Cutbert Vaughan, and other the capteins of the Engliſhmen did behaue themſelues right manfullie, bꝛinging their men in oꝛder, incouraging them, and doing what apperteined vnto hardie and ſkilfull warꝛioꝛs. But yet thꝛee times that day the Scots and Frenchmen put them from the higth of the hill, till at length ſir James Croſt comming from Berwike, vſed ſuch diligence and policie in the matter, that the Scots and Frenchmen were repelled and conſtreined to retire, withdꝛawing backe into Almouth, after they had continued in ſkirmiſh from one of the clocke till it was paſt foure with no ſmall loſſe on both parts.

After this, the earle of Bothwell, lieng on the boꝛders as lieutenant, accoꝛding to the oꝛder foꝛ the time of his quarterage, entred on a day into England, and ſent his foꝛraie to burne Fenton towne, kéeping himſelfe in ambuſh at Haltwell Sweire. Sir Henrie Perſie aduertiſed that the Scots were thus entred, got togither a thouſand hoꝛſſe, and making foꝛth to defend the countrie, ſet vpon the earle at the afoꝛeſaid place of Haltwell Sweire; but ſome feare entring into the hearts of the Engliſhmen, by reaſon of certeine ſhot which the Scots had there with them, fled, and were purſued by the Scots ouer the water of Till. There were taken aboue ſix ſcoꝛe Engliſhmen, amongſt whom capteine Eringꝛton, and capteine Kar, that had the leading of light hoꝛſſemen, were two: beſide diuerſe other men of good account in ſeruice, as one Vaughan a gentleman and ſuch like.

The earle of Bothwell.

Haltwell Sweire.

The Engliſh men put to flight.

About this time, whileſt the loꝛd Eure commonlie called Euers, remained capteine of Berwike, one Kirkaudie couſine to ſir William Kirkaudie lard of Grange, chanced to be taken p̃iſoner into Berwike; and afterwerds being ranſomed, at his comming home to Almouth, he made repoꝛt that he had bẽne tꝛeatablie vſed, during the time that he remained p̃iſoner, at the hands of the ſaid loꝛd Eure. By reaſon wherof, vpon chalenge made by Grange to fight a combat with the loꝛd Eure, the matter grew to this iſſue; that where their degrées were not equall, Rafe Eure bꝛother to the loꝛd Eure vndertooke (in his bꝛothers behalfe) to bꝛeake a ſtaffe with the lard of Grange vpon the ſide of Halidon hill at a day appointed: where they met, either of them bꝛinging twelue gentlemen with them, to ſée the triall of this chalenge perfoꝛmed.

The lard of Grange chalẽgeth the loꝛd Eure.

But when they came to haue their armor & weapons viewed, the truth is so, that Grange was armed in a cote of plate, and a curace aloft vpon it: wherewith some fault was found, because maister Eure was clad onelie in a single cote of plate, without anie other peeces of armor for defense of his bodie. But yet such was the great courage of the said maister Eure, that he would not refuse the chalenge, notwithstanding his aduersaries aduantage of armor. Wherevpon they ran togither, and brake both their staues; and as it fortuned maister Eure was hurt in the flanke. The warre being thus pursued betwixt England and Scotland; beside the incounters and roads which are before mentioned, there were two great roads made into Scotland; the one by the earle of Westmerland, and the other by the earle of Northumberland: the lord Talbot being there, & hauing the leading of certeine demilances.

The lard of Grange and maister Rafe Eure ran one against another.

Moreouer, it was thought good by the Englishmen, not onelie to annoie the Scots by land, but also by sea. Wherevpon sir John Clere with certeine ships of warre sailed forth alongest the coast, till at length he arriued at the Iles of Orkeneie; where going on land about an enterprise, & staieng longer than was requisit, he was incountred by his aduersaries, and slaine with manie of his people, which were there on land with him. But though the Scots had good successe in that part, they sustained great damage on the west side of the realme, by a iournie which the erle of Suffer then lord deputie of Ireland attempted against them. For the better vnderstanding whereof ye shall note, that after the lord Clinton high admerall of England had burnt the towne of Conquest in Britaine, there were seuen ships of warre appointed to passe into Ireland, as the Marie Willoughbie, the New barke, the Sacret, the Gerfalcon, and three other that were merchants, and appointed that yeare to serue the quéene of England in hir warres.

Sir John Clere slaine in the Ile of Orkeneie.

There were also beside those seuen ships of war, two vittellers appointed to attend vpon them. Sir Thomas Cotton was ordeined their admerall, and one Southweke of Douer was assigned to be their viceadmerall. Now vpon their arriuall in Ireland, the earle of Suffer hauing also prepared three other ships, with sufficient and necessarie prouision for his iourneie, imbarked with so manie souldiers as conuenientlie might be bestowed aboord in that fléet, conteining twelue saile in the whole; and departing toward the west of Scotland, landed in a part of the countrie called Kentire, with as manie souldiers and mariners as might be spared out of the ships, leauing them furnished with competent numbers for their safegard; and being got to land, he passed forth into the countrie, & burnt two houses that belonged to James Maconell chiefe gouernor of those parts, & a great enimie to the Englishmen.

The iournie of the earle of Suffex into the west parts of Scotland.

Kentire.

James Maconell.

He burnt also diuerse townes, villages, and hamlets belonging vnto the said Maconell, with great store of corne and other things which came in their waie. The Scots oftentimes skirmished with the Englishmen, but durst not aduenture to ioine with them in battell, they kept so good order by the earle of Suffer his politike and valiant conduction. There were a sort of Scots gotten into a boate meaning to haue fled, but being apprehended by the Englishmen, they were executed. Finallie, after the earle had remained there on land, in burning and spoiling the countrie for the space of three daies, he returned to his ships, and in safetie went aboord againe with his men: and making saile to the Ile of Arrane, entred the hauen called Amalasche, and landing at that place, burnt the countrie, and after went to Cumber, where he likewise burnt and harried that Ile.

The earle of Suffex burnt the Ile of Arrane.

This done, he meant to haue gone into two other Ilands, Ila and Jurete: but the winds grew so terrible with tempests and foule weather, that they lost one of their ships; and some of the rest were so rent & spoiled of their tackle and furniture, as they escaped in great hazard of being cast awaie also. There were six and twentie mariners drowned, the which perceiuing the ship to be in danger of sinking, fled into the boate, and so perished: the other that remained in the ship were saued, as maister Francis Randoll, and others. By reason therefore of such foule weather, the earle of Suffer was constreined to returne into Ireland, arriuing in Cragfergus, where he landed with his souldiers: and appointing the ships to returne into England, he passed by land vnto Dublin, spoiling the enimies countries by the waie, and taking from them a great preie and botie of cattell; notwithstanding the painfull passage that he had to make through the cumbersome waies, bogs, and woods, without reliefe of all necessarie things in that so troublesome a iournie.

Foule weather.

The earle of Suffex returneth into Ireland.

Thus far for those yeares warre in the daies of Marie quéene of England, betwixt the Englishmen and Scots: whereof sith I haue found none that hath written anie thing at all, I haue yet set downe these odnotes, as I haue learned the same of such as had good cause to know the truth thereof, being eie-witnesses themselues of such enterprises and exploits as chanced in the same warres; namelie capteine Read, capteine Wood, capteine Errington, capteine Gurleie, and capteine Markham; with others, which of their courtesie haue willinglie imparted to me the report of diuerse such things, as I wisht to be resolued in. Which accordinglie (so far as my remembrance hath serued) I haue here deliuered, to the end the same maie giue occasion to others (that maie happilie light vpon more full instructions) to impart to posteritie a more perfect discourse, where otherwise the matter might peraduenture wholie passe in forgetfulnesse.

And now to returne vnto the Scotish ambassadors that were sent into France, for the conclusion of the mariage betwixt their quéene & the Dolphin. After that the same mariage was consummat, and euerie thing ordered and brought to passe according to the effect of their commission; in the moneth of August they toke their leaue of the French king, the quéene, and nobilitie there, to returne homewards into Scotland: albeit few of them came home, for the bishop of Orkeneie departed this transitorie life in Diepe, the fiftéenth of September; the earle of Roths deceassed there the ninth of November; the earle of Cassils lord treasuror departed in the same place the fourtéenth of November; and the lord Fleming deceassed in Paris the eightéenth of December. And so onelie the archbishop of Glascow, the prior of saint Andrews, and the lard of Dun returned into Scotland in October. After whose comming, there was a parlement summoned by the quéene, to be holden in December next.

The ambassadors died almost all. Lesleus. lib. 10 pag. 538, 539.

Three came home againe.

Lard of Dun.

A parlement.

[In August, Archembald Campbell erle of Argile, whose wit was singular in dispatch of the affaires aswell of peace as of warre, was made high iustice of Scotland; and in France was aduanced to the title of a knight of the order of saint Michaell. Few daies betweene these things departed this life the bishop of Brechin, and Andrew Durie bishop of Whitechurch. To the one did succéed the abbat of Couper, in place of the other came Alexander Gordon archbishop of Athens by the quénes benefit. Dauid Painter or Paniter bishop of Ros, & James Steward, whome James the fift (being illegitimat father

Fr. Thin. Lesleus. lib. 10. pag. 539.

Candida Casa.

ſather vnto him) had made abbat of Melroſſe and Kelſo died alſo this yeare. Whoſe monaſteries the quéene did forthwith giue vnto the cardinall Guiſe; long after which followed alſo the death of the abbat of Bamtorinoch. At this verie time manie prodigious ſights (which I will not here recite, being touched by Leſleus) did appeare by a marker of ſuch ominous things, whereof theſe verſes were made.

Portentum eſt miſerę gentis, quæ numine læſo
Diuiſis ſacris diuidet imperium.

Leſleus lib. 10. pag. 542.

In September there was a parlement holden at Edenburgh, in which the acts of the former legats in France (about the mariage of the quæne of Scots to the Dolphin) were confirmed. At what time the Dolphin of France by his ambaſſadors did vehementlie requeſt, that the crowne (which they terme matrimoniall) ſhould be giuen vnto him by the decrée of the ſtates, whereby he might be called king of Scotland as long as the quéene liued. The quéene alſo iudging it a point of honor, to heape all title of glorie which ſhe could vpon hir huſband, as one that by a certeine inclination of mind did vertuouſlie fauor him; gaue in charge alſo to the ambaſſadors, that they ſhould earneſtlie follow the ſame cauſe amongeſt the Scots. And to the end to draw them the more eaſilie into hir opinion; ſhe drew the matter into certeine articles, deliuered to the ambaſſadors with more ample inſtructions touching the ſame: the ſumme of all which was this.

Firſt, diligentlie to beat into the Scots with what diſpoſition of mind the Dolphin was affected toward them, as well as his father, who held the Scots in that account as he did his owne people, and ſo alwaies would haue them: which good mind of the French towards the Scots to be plaine without anie diſſimulation, it maie well appeare as well by the couenants eſtabliſhed for the mariage, as alſo by the benefits which he hath not onelie beſtowed vpon the Scots and Scotland in generalitie, but alſo, in particularitie vpon certeine eſpeciall Scots of his owne frée will, almoſt without the requeſt of anie bodie. And that they ſhould alſo further laie abroad, what helpe the quæne and Scots haue had of the worthie cardinall of Lorraine, & the duke of Guiſe the quéenes vncle. All which the ambaſſadors themſelues (as they haue fullie proued) did well vnderſtand.

Secondlie, where the quéene doth thinke that ſhe is greatlie benefited with manie honors by ſo great a king, but eſpeciallie in this, that ſo mightie a prince hath taken hir into the fellowſhip of the holie bed; by which there can not anie other commoditie grow to the king than the reuenues of the kingdome which he hath purchaſed with his great charge and labor: and that the quéene conſidering all this (with great griefe of mind) doth ſéeke by what meanes ſhe might at leaſt erpreſſe ſome ſmall token of a thankefull mind for ſo manie benefits (becauſe if ſhe ſhould not doo ſome thing, no ſmall blot would ſéeme to be imputed to the quæne and the Scots) it came into hir mind to thinke by what meanes ſhe could requite ſome part therof, which ſhe could doo (as ſhe thought) if at the leaſt ſhe did but honor hir huſband with the kinglie title, & giue vnto him the mariage crowne of Scotland.

This thing therefore the quéene hir ſelfe doth earneſtlie deſire, and doth courteouſlie requeſt all the eſtates of Scotland, that the ſame maie be eſtabliſhed by the voices of the full parlement, and that they will command ſome three or foure of the chiefeſt nobilitie honorablie to carie the enſignes of the kingdome to him, that at the leaſt by this token of loue, the king & the beſt of the court maie well perceiue, with what reuerence and with what dutie they fauour the king hir huſband.

And to the end that this requeſt of the quæne, for the rareneſſe of the example, ſhould not breed anie doubt in the mind of the nobilitie, and to hold them as it were in ſuſpenſe, it was giuen in charge alſo to the ambaſſadors, that they ſhould in manner point with their finger, that manie ages paſt, the quéene of Naples did not onelie for loue ſhe did beare vnto him, adorne the duke of Anion hir huſband, with the bare name of a king; but did alſo by the conſent of the nobilitie, giue him rule and gouernement ouer the ſame kingdome. The like whereof was alſo done in our memorie by the quæne of Spaine to hir huſband the archduke of Auſtrich, & by the quæne of Nauarre to the duke of Vandoſme.

But if that the Scots be moued by the example of the Engliſh, who haue excluded Philip king of Spaine, that then the ambaſſadors ſhould eaſilie wipe awaie that doubt, if they admoniſh the Scots that the Engliſh are not tied to the Spaniards with that firme and néedfull band as the Scots are to the French, both which nations haue one priuilege, magiſtrats to gouerne, and one fellowſhip and participation of the adminiſtration of all the things in either kingdome. Wherevnto they muſt further adde that it was ſo far off, that the Engliſh ſhould reape anie fruit or commoditie by the Spaniards, that the king of Spaine himſelfe did (as it were) wring from the Engliſh all the commoditie he could, to performe his affaires out of the realme. And further, that the Engliſh being out of all hope for their quæne to haue anie iſſue by the ſame mariage, they would not grant vnto it, when there is a certeine and full hope left to the Scots, that iſſue may come of this marriage.

Beſides all this, let it be opened vnto the Scots, what great benefit maie redound vnto them by this ſigne of a thankefull mind. For it maie ſo happen, that if the king Dolphin ſhall féele himſelfe increaſed with this title of honor by the Scots, as a note of their good fauour to him, that he maie raiſe vp his father the king of France, that he will not by anie meanes permit the quéene of Scots his wife to be excluded from the kingdome of England, after the death of quéene Marie, who was not like to liue long being ſore troubled with the dropſie.

well fiſhed to catch a frog.

Not ſo likelie as that lies drop out of your pen.

Theſe things and manie others were giuen in charge to the ambaſſadors (comen out of France) to declare to the parlement of Scotland. Which being thus declared to the ſtates and the quéene regent, with might and maine ſéeking the furthering thereof; at length it was granted that he ſhould be king during the life of the quéene. For which cauſe Gilleſper Campbell earle of Argile, and James Steward, baſtard brother to the yoong quéene, being prior of S. Andrews, were named to erecute their conſent vnto the Dolphin, to declare him king, and to inueſt him with the ornaments thereto belonging, and further to ſhew the readie minds of the Scots toward him, not onlie in this but in all other things: by which anie honor or profit might anie waie riſe vnto him.

But whileſt theſe men doo prepare all things for ſuch a iournie, certeine factious perſons did beat into their eares, how beauie a iournie that would bee vnto them. For it would happen, that whileſt they were buſie in prouiding for ſmall things abrode, they ſhould by delaie corrupt, or by abſence cleane ouerturne matters of greater importance at home. For they did know how the ſubtill wit of James, and the great power and ſtrength of the earle of Argile would be milling in thoſe new things which were in hand amongſt theſe of the religion: for which they neuer left off intreating and perſuading, vntill they

had wholie staied them from that iournie.

Buch.lib.10. During these affaires, Marie quéene of England died, and that worthie ladie Elizabeth succéeded in hir place. Immediatlie whereupon, the yong quéene of Scots bare hir selfe as heire to that kingdome, and caused all hir hangings, bedding, vessels, and other houshold stuffe to be stamped and marked with the title and armes of the kings of England. And although France were then miserablie afflicted in chalenging the dominion and gouernment of Millane, Naples, and Flanders; yet they would nœdes heape euill vpon euill, and adde thereunto the title of England, as being vnto them a verie scorne and mockerie (as Buchanan tearmeth it.) Neither did the wiser sort of the French looke into that matter: for the Guises, who at that time gouerned all things, did consent to this error of the Scotish quéene, because they would thereby séeme to haue gotten to themselues a singular honor in adding the title of England to the French name.

The regent hauing now gotten a consent (as before you haue heard) of the matrimoniall crowne to be bestowed vpon the husband of the yong quéene of Scots, began after a sort to put on a new mind: for by little and little she conuerted that old and accepted courtesie into commanding arrogancie; and the gentle answers wherewith she was wont to appease all parts, were turned contrarie. Which before she durst not do by reason of the present state, which then was such, as she feared not to promise what she would not haue to be performed, because she had not then obteind the grant of the matrimoniall crowne: but now hauing all things after hir owne mind, she vsed other conditions, and other spéeches. There was also a parlement appointed at Striueling in the first daies of Maie.

And because she was heard oftentimes to saie, that she would not suffer the maiestie of the chiefe gouernement to be cast downe from the seat thereof, but wold restore it to the former place. By which sayings manie were admonished of some troublesome tempest to follow. Whereupon diuerse came to intreat hir for the protestants, amongest which for the dignitie of his name, to make the matter to be more easilie obteined, there were sent Alexander Ennigame earle of Glencarne, and Hugh Campbell shiriffe of Aire, a worthie knight, before whom the regent could not refraine hirselfe, but burst forth into these words.

"These men (saith shee) sith they haue preached not verie sincerelie, shall be banished, though you and your ministers resist against it. And when they replied, beséeching hir that she would remember what she had often promised: she answered, that the performance of promise is to bée chalenged of princes, so farre as it séemeth commodious for them to performe it. Whereunto they replied, that they therefore renounced all dutie and obedience vnto hir, and did further forewarne hir of the great mischiefes that would flow out of this fountaine: with which answer shée being stroken more than shée looked for, said in the end, that she would both thinke on it and them.)

In assemblie of the cleargie. Fr.Thin. In Julie and August, there was a conuention of all the prelats and cleargie holden at Edenburgh, in the which certeine men & women of Edenburgh were accused of heresie, and abiured at the towne crosse with faggots on their backes: [whereupon (as saith Lesleus lib.10.pa.538.) were great tumults raised at Edenburgh, for the appealing whereof, the lord Seiton was made gouernor there.] In this assemblie it was required, that the common praiers might be read in the Scotish tong in churches, with certeine other articles of reformation, whereof the answer was deferred till March, in which moneth a prouinciall councell was appointed to be holden at Edenburgh. The second of March, the said prouinciall councell of all the prelats and clergie of Scotland began, wherein diuerse articles were proponed by the temporaltie; as to haue the praiers and administration of the sacraments in the Scotish language, the election of bishops and all beneficed men to passe by the voices of the temporall lords & people of their dioceses and parishes, with diuerse other reformations: all the which the bishops refused to grant, where through there arose shortlie after great trouble in Scotland.

A prouincial councell.

Requests made by the laitie.

The quéene regent caused summons to be giuen to John Knor, John Wullocke, John Dowglas, and Paule Methane, to appeare at Striueling the tenth day of Maie: and for lacke of appearance they were denounced rebels, and put to the horne. Whervpon the said John Knor being in Perth, persuaded the maister of Lindseie, the lards of Tulibardin, Dun, Pettarrow, and diuerse other being there assembled, with the burgesses of the townes of saint Johns towne and Dundee, to pull downe the images and altars in all churches, and to suppresse the houses of friers, & other religious places. Who after a sermon made by him to that effect, the same tenth of Maie they began in saint Johns towne, and cast downe the abbeie of the Charterhouse, the Blacke and Carmelite friers, called the Tullelum [and so cleane, that (as saith Buchanan) within two daies there was left no signe thereof almost to be séene] and reformed all other churches thereabouts, breaking downe the images and altars in Fife, Angus, Mernis, and other parts there next adioining.

1559.
John Knor with other ar summoned.

Images and frierhouses pulled downe

Fr.Thin.

The quéene regent being aduertised thereof, sent for the duke of Chatelerault, and diuerse other of the nobilitie, as the earles of Atholl, Argile, Marshall, and others, who came with hir to Perth, otherwise called saint Johns towne, hauing with them two thousand Frenchmen [to whome also repaired (as saith Lesleus lib.10.pag.548) the archbishop of saint Andrew and Glascow, the bishops of Dunkeld, and Dunblane, James prior of saint Andrews, the abbat of Colwper and Dunfermeling, with manie other chiefe of the cleargie] who entered the towne vpon appointment of the lord Ruthen capteine thereof, and so receiuing it, gaue it in keeping to capteine James Steward, and capteine Cullane, with their bands of men of warre. In the meane time the erle of Argile, and the prior of saint Andrews, left the quœne in Perth, and went to saint Andrews, ioining themselues with the other, and made reformation of the churches, casting downe altars, images, houses of friers, and abbeies in that towne, and in Colwper, and other places thereabout: and assembling a great companie of countrie men, came to Londors, Balmeare, & Colwper, to make resistance against the Frenchmen that were in Falkeland with the quéene [come thither from Perth, after that she had left in Perth fiue hundred men vnder the charge of James Steward cardinall, & James Cullane.] But when they should haue met on Colwper more in battell, the duke of Chatelerault, the earle Marshall, and others, laboured betwixt them, so that the battell was staied, & the quœne with the Frenchmen returned vnto Edenburgh.

The quéene regent came to Perth.

Fr.Thin.

S.Andrews

Colwper.

Fr.Thin.

Two armies were pacified.

The earle of Argile, the prior of saint Andrews, and their assisters came to saint Johns towne and besieged it, till it was to them surrendered. The erle of Huntleie was sent to them from the quœne to treat with them of some accord, but he profited not. At the same time a certeine number of persons of the townes of Dundee & Perth, came to the abbeie of Scone, and spoiling the church, burnt it with the most

Saint Johns towne besieged.

Scone abbeie burnt.

Cõmon praiers to be had in the vulgar tong.

moſt part of the houſe, the earle of Argile, and the priор of ſaint Andrews being with them in compa-
The friers in Striueling deſtroied. nie. After this they went to Striueling, and to Lith-quo, where they cauſed the houſes of the blacke friers and graie friers to be throwne downe. From thence
The quéene departed from Edenburgh. they paſſed to Edenburgh, where the quéene hearing of their comming, departed with the Frenchmen vnto Dunbar, the duke of Chatelerault, and the erle of Huntleie being with hir in companie.

The earle of Argile and his companie, called the lords of the congregation, were receiued into Edenburgh by the bailiffes of the towne, where the places
The frierhouſes ouerthrowne. of the blacke and graie friers were ſuddenlie ouerthrowne, & the Church a field, and Trinitie college, and ſaint Giles church were reformed, and the images and altars pulled downe. The lords remaining
Fr. Thin. thus in Edenburgh [apprehended Robert Richardſon (as ſaith Leſleus) that was gouernor of the publike treaſurie, toke the keis by force from him, entered the abbeie] the coining houſe, toke the coining irons, ſeized vpon the quénes moueables, which they
Fr. Thin. Leſleus lib. 10. pag. 551. found in the palace, and kept the ſame. ✲ Whileſt theſe things were thus done at Edenburgh, Marwell lord Harries gouernor of the weſt marches, which at that time was deteined priſoner in Edenburgh caſtell, did priuilie get out of the ſame by a rope hanged to the wall, and hauing ſpéedie horſſes, departed to his owne companie, ſhortlie after ioining himſelfe to the lords of the religion.]

Monſieur Doiſell and the Frenchmen came from
Two armies pacified. Dunbar to the links of Leith, accompanied with the duke of Chatelerault, the earles of Huntleie, Bothwell, Mourton, and others. And the lords of the congregation came forth of the towne of Edenburgh of purpoſe to haue giuen battell to the Frenchmen, albeit they were not ſufficient partie to reſiſt them. But the erle of Huntleie trauelled betwixt them, by whoſe meanes there met twelue on euerie ſide, who agréed vpon certeine articles, and ſo the quéene and
Leith fortified. Frenchmen entered into Leith, and forthwith began to fortifie it.

The articles of agreement betweene *the regent and the lords of the* reformed religion.

Fr. Thin. Leſleus lib. 10 pag. 553. Buchanan. lib. 16.

1 FIrſt, that all the ſouldiers of the religion, and ſuch as did belong to them, ſhould depart from Edenburgh, and leaue the ſame to the gouernement of the quéene: with this prouiſo, that the citizens ſhould either remaine, or depart at their pleaſure.

2 Item, that thoſe of the religion ſhould reſtore vnto the magiſtrats wholie and trulie all ſuch ſums of monie, or other pretious things, which they had either priuatlie taken, or by open force ſpoiled from the magiſtrats.

3 Thirdlie, that the quénes palace, which they of the religion did poſſeſſe, with all the furniture and ornaments thereof, ſhould be deliuered vp againe to ſuch as ſhould be appointed therefore.

4 Fourthlie, that they of the religion ſhould not depart, before they had committed the lord Ruthwen and Pettarrow (whome they promiſed to put in pledges for their credit and good dealing) to the keeping of ſuch as were on the quénes part.

5 Fiftlie, that all men ſhould acknowledge the gouernement of the king and the quéene to be lawfull, which before they had gainſaid by the pretenſe of religion: and that they ſhould faithfullie obeie the regent, and the old lawes of the kingdome, except ſuch decrees as perteined not to religion.

6 Sixtlie, that they ſhould not by anie meanes trouble the catholike prieſts and eccleſiaſticall perſons, or hinder them from quiet gathering and inioleng their rents, tithes, and profits, vntill the fourth Ides of Januarie.

7 Seuenthlie, that they ſhould not from henceforth violate or deface churches, religious houſes, or anie other holie places.

8 Eightlie, that euerie man might at Edenburgh profeſſe and vſe what religion he would, which they commonlie called the libertie of conſcience.

9 Ninthlie, that the quéene regent ſhould faithfullie prouide, that the preachers of the reformed religion ſhould not be moleſted or hurt, either by hir, or by anie of the catholike gouernors. Both parties being thus ſatiſfied with theſe conditions, the French entered Leith.]

Shortlie after this, the duke of Chatelerault, partlie through perſuaſion of the earle of Argile his ſiſters ſonne, and the Weſtland lords, and partlie be-
Duke Chatelerault taketh part with the reformers of the churches. cauſe he vnderſtood that his ſon the earle of Arrane was fled forth of France to Geneua for the religion, he toke part with the lords from that time forth againſt the aduiſe of the biſhop of ſaint Andrews, and diuerſe other his friends. This yeare in June, Henrie the king of France, at the triumph of the mariages betwixt the king of Spaine and his daughter, and
King Henrie was hurt and died. duke of Sauoie and his ſiſter, was wounded in iuſts at the tourneillis in Paris by the count Montgomerie, and died of the hurts the tenth of Julie next inſuing, being the eleuenth day after he was wounded. Then Francis his ſonne, that had maried the
Francis the Dolphin ſucceeded his father. quéene of Scotland, was crowned king at ſaint Denis, and annointed at Reimes in September following.

✲ In the moneth of September, Croke a noble
Fr. Thn. Leſleus. lib. 10. pag. 554. man of France was ſent to the regent, to comfort hir in the kings name; declaring vnto hir that an armie was preparing to come into Scotland, vnder the leading of the marqueſſe of Albuſe or Elbuſe (as ſaith Buchanan) and that in the meane time with all ſpéed ſome troopes of men ſhould ſhortlie be there with monie, and other defenſes of warre. And to the end that nothing ſhould want to further hir, the king would ſhortlie ſend certeine noble men into Scotland, which ſhould counſell hir in theſe troubleſome affaires. Beſides which, he brought letters out of France from the king and the quæne, to the priор of ſaint Andrewes, in which they rather ſought to incline his mind by courteſie to obedience, before that they would inforce him therevnto by warre. Which letters being by Leſleus turned out of French into Latine, are by me thus deliuered in Engliſh, with the anſwer of the priор to the ſame.

Francis king of France to Iames *priор of the monaſterie of ſaint* Andrewes.

Leſleus lib. 11. pag. 554.

AFter that I vnderſtood by certeine letters, & by the common report of all (my coſine) that Scotland did flame in euerie part with tumults and ſeditions, it is ſtrange to ſée how greatlie I was aſtonied thereat. But when I heard that you (to whome my dead father, my déere wife, and my ſelfe, haue giuen ſo manie large benefits) ſhould be forgetfull of them all liberallie beſtowed, and become the author, head, and nouriſher of this fire of contention and bralles; I could not be perſuaded that you would ſo farre digreſſe from that office and dutie of pietie, which you haue alwaies made ſhew to beare vnto the quéene.

But if the thing were ſo, as the common fame doth report of you, I did verelie thinke that the promiſes and flattering words of others had intiſed you to this deceipt, onelie to take the fault vpon you; for whoſe

whoſe cauſe (when they had diſcharged themſelues thereof) the offenſe would ſéeme to be either none, or verie ſmall, after that you had taken it vpon you. Which my opinion of you, if it be true, it ſhall be as ioifull to me, as that which ſhould be moſt ioifull: for by this meanes I wiſh that ſome part of my diſpleaſure (into which I would haue you thinke that you are woorthilie fallen) were quenched, in that you haue (as I heare) but onelie deceiued the good hope which we conceiued of your pietie towards God, and your faithfull ſeruice towards me.

Wherefore, ſith nothing is more déere or acceptable vnto me, than that (controuerſies appeaſed) all things without anie tumult maie be knit togither by the law of good order: and ſith the ſame (as it ſéemeth to me) maie beſt be done by your trauell, I do admoniſh you by theſe letters, and (for the good will I beare you) do earneſtlie requeſt you, that you will returne to your owne profit and fidelitie, from which you haue moſt ſhamefullie fallen, to the end that I maie by the ſame more plainlie vnderſtand that you carie an other mind than that which I can gather out of your ſolliſh doings, the which ſhall then fullie apéere to me, if at length you ſo bend all your force, that all things diſordered in thoſe parts, maie by your diligence be called backe to the commonwealths ancient, ſound, and holie forme of obedience, which you know is due to God and me.

Otherwiſe I would haue you be perſuaded that I will ſhortlie ſubdue you, and all thoſe which ſhall cleaue or miniſter helpe vnto you, in taking iuſt puniſhment vpon you, which I will bitterlie execute. The charge of declaration whereof, and the further large expreſſing of my mind, I haue committed to this bearer, whome I would haue you credit as much as my ſelfe. I praie God (coſine) to kéepe you in health. Paris the ſixtéenth kalends of Auguſt.

Subſcription, Francis

A little beneath that: De Laubeſpine.

With which letters alſo the quéene of Scots directed other letters in this forme, as followeth.

Marie queene of Scots, and Dowager of *France*, to *James the* prior of the monaſterie of *ſaint Andrewes*.

I can not (coſine) but greatlie wonder, that you which are not onelie néereſt to vs by bloud, but are alſo (as you know) greatlie benefited by vs with manie liberalities, ſhould be either of that malice or boldnes, that you would with one fault ouerthrow the maieſtie of God, and violate the authoritie of me and the king my huſband. For it is a thing woorthie of great admiration, to conſider how it might happen that you who being preſent, did open to me the names of the duke of Chatelerault, and of manie others, which ſéemed to you to diminiſh my authoritie, ſhould now being abſent (as a leader and head of all other ſeditious perſons) hurt my dignitie, and that in matters of greateſt weight, in which the honor of God is leſſened, and my authoritie clearelie taken awaie: all which I ſhould more eaſilie haue beléeued of anie other my ſubiects, than of you.

Trulie moſt grieuouſlie (as I ought) I beare this, that you haue falſified that faith to me, which had a ſpeciall hope of your fidelitie: though as yet I can ſcarſe be perſuaded to thinke you to be ſo farre from truth and reaſon, that you would be caried awaie into ſuch blind errors. All which I deſire to fall out to be as true, as true maie be, requeſting alſo of God ſo to giue to you his light, that returning into the right waie, you maie ſhew your ſelfe a good man, and obedient to our lawes, by doing contrarie things to that which you haue alreadie performed. Wherefore, by theſe letters I admoniſh, and with intreatie as earneſtlie as I can, deſire you to recompenſe your former euill with following good déeds, and that the anger (which I and the king my huſband haue bitterlie conceiued againſt you) maie by that meanes be pacified. Otherwiſe trulie I would haue you vnderſtand, we will execute ſuch puniſhment vpon you, that you ſhall for euer be mindfull thereof. The which doubtleſſe if you compell vs by your déedes to performe, it ſhall be to you a moſt grieuous thing. I praie God kéepe you from all danger. Paris the 9 kalends of Auguſt.

I can not ſée why Leſleus ſhould call hir Dowager, ſith by hir letter it appéareth hir huſband was yet liuing, in that ſhe talketh of hirs and hir huſbands diſpleaſure.

Subſcription: Your good coſine Marie.

James Steward the prior of ſaint Andrewes (whome proſperous ſucceſſes had before aduanced) did in reading theſe letters of the king and quéene ſo frie in anger and hatred, that he could not forbeare but muſt nédes returne anſwer, expreſſing the ſame (after confirmed by his déedes) though now ſomewhat ſmothed with good woords. The effect of which letters were in this ſort: That he was grieued in his mind as much as he might, becauſe he was ſo farre fallen into the miſlike and diſpleaſure of thoſe princes, whome he reuerenced with great dutie, that they ſhould bitterlie obiect vnto him in their letters that he was a ſeditious perſon, noted of ingratitude, fraught with malice, and defiled with hereſie.

Touching which notes of theſe wickednes, ſith they were imputed to him by the nobilitie of Scotland (meaning ſuch as ſtood againſt the reformed religion) he with faire ſpéeches requeſted the princes, that they would not attribute more to the malice of his enimies in accuſing him, than to his vprightnes in purging himſelfe: and that they ſhould not thinke anie thing to be ſpoken by his enimies, but that which ſauoured of malice, enuie, and hatred, eſpecialie ſith they did not onelie go about to diminiſh his fame abroad amongeſt the princes, but alſo at home did openlie laie wait for his life and liuing.

But he would ſo labor, that all men ſhould well perceiue his good mind (towards the princes) fullie laied abroad without anie veile of diſſimulation, whereby his aduerſaries ſhould be aſhamed to haue laied ſuch open reproch againſt him, and the king & quéene ſhould miſlike that they had ſo eaſilie credited his enimies. Wherefore he deſired that hereafter they ſhould rather beléeue anie thing of him, than that he would be noted for an vnthankefull man, as they had obiected vnto him. From the deteſtable ſpot whereof (being of all the verie worſt, ſith nature abhorreth the ſame) he would kéepe himſelfe, and rather die by anie kind of torment, than to ſuffer the leaſt ſpot of ſuch a vice to dwell in his name, eſpecialiie in the affaires of that king and quéene, whereof he had found the firſt moſt courteous, and the ſecond moſt bountifull.

And therefore, as he had with all dutie hitherto proſecuted their fauour, ſo he (would during his life) contend, that his trauell, diligence, and faith, ſhould neuer want in performing or defending their affaires, ſo that they would not burthen him with that which might be a detriment to the cauſe of God and religion: for if either of them were in hand, neither the fraudulent counſels of his ſtriuing aduerſaries, neither the bitter woords of the ſharpe threats of the king or quéene, ſhould make him leaue off, or repelle the

cc their woꝛthie foꝛce in taking vpon him the defenſe of thoſe things.

cc Wherefoꝛe he would not haue the king oꝛ quéene to thinke that their authoꝛitie is touched, when he laboꝛed to pull awaie the deuiſes of the papiſts. From cc which onelie thing (ſith he ſuppoſeth the honoꝛ of God, the gloꝛie of the king and quéene, and the helpe cc and health of his countrie to be conteined therein) he cc will not be withdꝛawne by the foꝛce of anie man, noꝛ cc be in quiet foꝛ all the threats of the king and quéene, vntill he haue wholie cut awaie the bꝛanches of ſuperſtition, and vtterlie pulled vp the roots thereof.

Crokes had ſcarſe perfoꝛmed his ambaſſage foꝛ which he came (as befoꝛe you haue heard) in deliuering theſe letters: but foꝛthwith alanded at Leith Dtauian a Frenchman, with foure troops of ſouldiers, with a great maſſe of monie, & other furniture needfull foꝛ the warres: whome after a few daies the regent ſent backe againe into France, to require of the king, that foure other companies of ſouldiers might be ſent ouer, which might with thoſe (alreadie now in Scotland) ſupplie the number of twentie enſignes: to whome alſo it were expedient to ioine a hundꝛed hoꝛſmen, which number ſhe affirmed would ſuffice to pacifie all the tumults in Scotland, ſo that foure ſhips well appointed might alwaies lie in the hauen of Leith, to watch the poꝛt. Of all which if the Scots were pꝛouided (by the benefit of the king) and that the comming of hir bꝛother the marqueſſe of Albuſe were haſtened, ſhe pꝛomiſed then to bꝛing all things to an end.

Beſides which, ſhe did alſo ſignifie vnto the king, that the Scots of the reformed religion, foꝛ the increaſe of their faction, had ſecretlie growen in league with ſome of the nobilitie of France, who did dailie ſend letters and meſſengers to the Scots, to incouꝛage them not to leaue off from their attempts; pꝛomiſing alſo vnto them that they would hinder (by all the meanes they could) that no great armie ſhould be made out of France againſt them: and moꝛeouer, in that the Scots had ſent ambaſſadoꝛs to Germanie, and into Denmarke, foꝛ religions cauſe, to requiꝛe aid from thence, but their chiefeſt and pꝛincipall hope did reſt (as ſaith Leſleus) in England.]

1559. During theſe things, the duke of Chatelerault and the loꝛds of the congregation ſent to the quéene (whereof we will ſpeake moꝛe hereafter) beſeeching hir to leaue off from making of foꝛts within the realme. But ſhe would not grant ſo to doo: wherefoꝛe they aſſembled their whole foꝛces in Edenburgh, and

Leith beſieged beſieged the towne of Leith in October: the quéene and Frenchmen, with the biſhops of ſaint Andꝛews, Glaſcow, Dunkeis, the loꝛd of Seton, and diuerſe other Scotiſhmen being within it. But the Frenchmen of warre iſſued foꝛth of Leith, and met néere to

The Scotiſhmen are vanquiſhed. the abbeie of Holie rood houſe, with the Scotiſh loꝛds and their companie, where manie Scotiſhmen were ſlaine, & the reſt chaſed into Edenburgh: the Frenchmen alſo following them vnto the gates of Edenburgh, had entred, if thoſe within the caſtell had not ſhot off the artillerie at them, to ſtaie the ſlaughter and purſute.

In the time of this ſiege, the yong lard of Lethington, ſecretarie to the quéene, being with hir in Leith, left the towne, & ſecretlie departing, got him to the loꝛds, and holpe greatlie afterwards to obteine aid out of England. After this, the quéene and

The quéene came to Edenburgh. Frenchmen came to Edenburgh, which was peaceablie rendꝛed to them, where they remained all that winter. About the ſame time, Nicholas Pelue the biſhop of Amiens, monſieur de la Bꝛoſſe, & two doctoꝛs of diuinitie, came to Scotland in September, and la Bꝛoſſe was made lieutenant of the French armie, monſieur Partigues coꝛonell of the footmen.

New men ſent into Scotland.

And with them came a great companie of French ſouldiers vnto the quéene regent, ſo that then the French power was thirtie fiue hundꝛed good men of warre, beſides two bands of Scotiſh ſouldiers, vnder the leading of capteine Anthonie Kenedie, and James Steward of Cardonald.

✻ The Frenchmen being thus entered France, twelue of the chiefeſt of the nobilitie were aſſembled at Edenburgh, of whome there was a day required of hearing to be giuen to la Bꝛoſſe, and to the biſhop, affirming that they were ſent thither as ambaſſadoꝛs. To whome it was anſwered, that they did not ſéeke peace (as they did diſſemble) but threaten war: foꝛ otherwiſe to what end were it to bꝛing armed ſoldiers to diſpute thereof? Foꝛ the Scots were not ſo ignoꝛant of the ſtate of things, that they would commit them ſelues to that deciding of matters, in which they might be compelled to accept conditions anſwerable to the mind of the aduerſarie. But if amongeſt weapons it pleaſed them to make peace, they would alſo pꝛouide, that they would not rather ſéeme to be dꝛawne thereunto by compulſion, than quietlie led by reaſon. Foꝛ if they did trulie & from their heart requiꝛe that in déed which they ſéeme in woꝛds, they would diſcharge thoſe ſtrange ſouldiers, and méet (as they haue often done in other places) vnarmed, as to a thing that by woꝛds and reaſon is to be decided, and not by ſwoꝛds the ſtrength to be compaſſed. And thus much foꝛ the ambaſſadoꝛs. Fr. Thin. Buchanan. lib. 16.

Now you haue heard befoꝛe of the battell of Leith, the beſieging and the regaining of Edenburgh; touching which, becauſe it is omitted befoꝛe in the reciting of the things done in thoſe places, I thinke it not amiſſe (though it come a little out of courſe) to ſet it downe (as Buchanan hath placed the ſame) next after the ſpéeches vſed to thoſe ambaſſadoꝛs. Thus therefoꝛe he wꝛiteth touching the defenſe of Leith. Buchan. lib. 16.

Theſe noble men (meaning thoſe at Edenburgh) did wꝛite to the quéene much after this maner, That they did greatlie maruell, that the regent pꝛouoked with no iniuries, did ſo ſone depart from the foꝛmer couenants; and expelling the ancient inhabitants of Leith, and placing there a colonie of ſtrangers, ſhe would in that place build a caſtle to the deſtruction of the lawes and liberties of the realme, and to the danger of the liues of them all. Wherefoꝛe they did earneſtlie intreat hir, that ſhe would deſiſt from this thing raſhlie attempted (againſt the faith of hir pꝛomiſe, the publike commoditie, and the lawes and liberties of the kingdome) leaſt ſhe inforce them by neceſſitie to pꝛaie in aid of the whole people.

Beſides which alſo, they which were aſſembled at Edenburgh, did wꝛite to the ſame effect, about a moneth after that they had diſpatched the other letters, adding theſe petitions to the ſame laſt letters; That ouerthꝛowing the new foꝛtreſſes, ſhe would command all the ſtrangers and hired people to depart out of the towne, to the end that it might be fꝛée foꝛ all men (according to iuſtice) there to traffike and vſe their mutuall trade of buieng & ſelling one with an other. The which if ſhe refuſed to doo, they would take it foꝛ a ſure token, that ſhe ment to bꝛing this kingdome into ſeruitude; againſt which euill they would pꝛouide all whatſoeuer remedie that they could. Within thꝛée daies after, the quéene ſent Robert Foꝛman chiefe herald to anſwer the matter, with inſtructions and commandements deliuered to him in theſe woꝛds.

Firſt of all, you ſhall ſhew vnto them, that nothing could happen vnto vs moꝛe contrarie to our opinion, than that there ſhould be anie other hauing authoꝛitie here, beſides my daughter and hir huſband my ſonne in law, vpon whome all our authoꝛitie doth depend; that the foꝛmer acts of the nobili-

tie,

"tie, and this present request, or rather commande-
"ment doth well declare, that they acknowledge no
"other superioritie; and that their demands (or rather
"threatnings) with what shew of words soeuer they be
"cloked, are sufficientlie enough knowen vnto vs, as
"no new things. Againe, you shall require of the duke
"of Chastelerault, that he call to mind what he hath
"promised to vs by his words, and to the king by his
"letters. Which was, that he would not onelie hear-
"ken to the kings commandement; but also worke,
"that his sonne the earle of Arrane should not at all
"ioine with those tumults of the countrie, and whether
"the things which he now doth, are the performance
"of his promises.

"To their letters also you shall answer; that we
"haue openlie shewed our indeuor to bring things to
"quiet; that we will grant to anie thing, which maie
"not resist the pietie due to God, and doth not fight
"with their duetie towards their king and quéene, and
"that I did neuer so much as once thinke of the ouer-
"throw of their lawes and libertie; and much lesse, so-
"much as dreame of conquering the kingdome by
"violence. For to whome, or for whome should I séeke
"the kingdome, when my daughter doth alreadie
"possesse it? Touching the defense and fortifieng of
"Leith, you shall aske them this; whether that we at
"anie time haue attempted anie thing that waie, be-
"fore that they with manie assemblies, and at length
"with conspiracie among themselues, did openlie
"shew that they would shake off the lawfull gouerne-
"ment, and before that they at their pleasure troubled
"the whole publike state (vnknowledge to vs, who
"held the place and authoritie of the chiefest gouernor)
"strengthened their factions with strong cities, and
"made league and couenants with our ancient emi-
"mies?

"And to omit other things, what cause can they (in
"the end) bring forth, whie it was lawfull for them to
"reteine an armie at Edenburgh, to inuade the go-
"uernors of those affaires? And that it is not lawfull
"for vs at Leith for our owne defense and safetie, to
"haue anie other gard about vs? Truelie they séeke
"this therin, that we should labor to shun their furie
"(as hitherto we haue done) by continuall and dailie
"change of places. Is there anie thing in their let-
"ters that mentioned their dutie to the right magi-
"strate? Doth there lie open anie waie for the resto-
"ring of concord? Or do they shew anie token that
"they would haue these seditions pacified, and that
"they would all things should be reduced to their for-
"mer state?

"Let them cloke this with what colour they will of
"publike commoditie; yet it is manifest that they
"thinke and séeke nothing lesse. For if they had one-
"lie staied vpon a concord, we haue often shewed
"them a waie thereunto. Neither are they ignorant
"that these French had (by the commandement of
"their king) béene long before dispatched out of Scot-
"land, vnlesse their doings had béene the cause of
"their staie. Wherefore, if they will yet now offer
"anie honest conditions which may induce vs to hope;
"and that (the maiestie of the gouernement alwaies
"saued sound) maie declare that they will modestlie
"and obedientlie obeie their superiors: we will re-
"fuse no means to restore a concord & quiet amongest
"them and vs, nor omit anie thing that maie tend to
"the publike commoditie.

"Neither are we alone so affected towards them,
"but also their king and quéene; who hath sent vnto
"them a worthie knight of the order of the scallop
"shell, and one of the chiefe of the ecclesiasticall order,
"with letters and commandements touching the
"same: whome they did so contemne, as that they
"would not vouchsafe them answer, no not so much
as hearing. Wherefore, you shall demand, and
command the duke, the nobilitie, and all others of
what condition soeuer, that they depart in sunder;
or otherwise, that they shall not be kept togither,
vnlesse it be by strength of armes. To all this the
next day, which was the three and twentith of Oc-
tober, the nobilitie answered after this order.

We easilie vnderstand by your letters and com-
mandements sent by the herald, how obstinatlie
you be euillie minded against pietie towards God,
the publike commoditie of the realme, and the com-
mon libertie of vs all: all which things we must &
do defend, as of right we ought. Wherefore, from
henceforth we do suspend and forbid your gouerne-
ment, in the name of the king and quéene, or by
what other name or title you do vsurpe the publike
administration of the kingdome; as persons cer-
teinlie knowing, that those things which are now
done by you, do with the mind of those princes fight
against the publike safetie of this realme.

And as you do not esteéme vs lawfull subiects of
those princes & of this kingdome, to make a publike
senate or councell: so we do not acknowledge you
for a regent to execute supreme authoritie; speciallie
sith the gouernement (if you haue anie such commit-
ted vnto you by the princes) is for most iust & weigh-
tie causes forbidden you: and that in the name of
the same princes, whose councellors we are borne to
be, chiefelie in matters which perteine to the safetie
of all the people. And although we haue determi-
ned not to flæ anie danger, in deliuering of that
towne, in which you haue placed strange and hired
souldiers against vs: yet for the reuerence which we
beare vnto you, as vnto our quéene mother; we
earnestlie with all faithfull intreatie beséech you,
that you depart from thence; whilest the cause of
publike commoditie doth inforce vs to recouer that
towne by weapons

Besides which, we further request, that you will
leade them out of the towne with you, within foure
and twentie houres; if there be anie which do chal-
lenge vnto themselues the names of ambassadors,
either to decide controuersies, or to gouerne the af-
faires. For it is but equitie that we prouide for the
safetie, and willinglie spare the bloud of all those
hired souldiers, aswell for the ancient amitie which
hath béene betwéene the French and the Scots, as
for the mariage of our quéene with their king:
which friendship we would rather should be increa-
sed than diminished. The same day also, the said
herald declared at his returne to the regent, that the
day before it was persuaded in an assembled coun-
cell of the nobles and the other commons; that all the
déeds and saiengs of the regent did onelie tend to
verie tyrannie.

Herevpon, there was a decrée made to take the
gouernement from hir: so that the whole com-
panie subscribed, as to a most iust matter: and
that there they did forbid anie ambassage, giuen or
sent to hir by hir sonne in law and hir daughter:
further, commanding hir to execute no gouerne-
ment, vntill the generall assemblie of a parlement
to be appointed by them in such place as they should
thinke conuenient. The fiue and twentith daie, the
lords of the religion sent an herald to Leith, to will
all the Scots to depart the towne within foure and
twentie houres, and to separat themselues from the
subuerters of publike libertie. Thus much Bucha-
nan of this done about the state of Leith, before the
nobilitie besieged the same (as is before set downe.)
And so againe to the order of the historie.]

The lords of Scotland, perceiuing the French-
men increse, so that they by their owne forces onlie
were not able to resist them, sent William Petel-

The lords sue for aid vnto the quéene of England.

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lan̄ to Elizabeth the quæne of England for aſſiſtance, to expell the Frenchmen. Which the quæne of England granted, not onelie for to ſerue the Scotiſhmens turne; but ſpeciallie for the ſuertie of hir owne realme and ſtate, which as then was thought to ſtand in danger of trouble, in caſe the Frenchmen were ſuffered to remaine in Scotland: conſidering the euill dealing of the French king and his councell in ſome points alreadie ſhewed. The quæne of England therefore ſent the duke of Norffolke to Berwike, whither came to him the earle of Argile, the prior of ſaint Andrews, Harris the maiſter of Parwell, Robert Carnegie, and the yong lord of Lethington, ſecretarie, & made agreement to haue aid of England, to the effect aforeſaid.

They had their requeſt granted them. 560. Buch. 559. Leſle.

And for ſure keeping hereof, the Scotiſh lords deliuered pledges into England, there to remaine during the life of the king of France, and one yeare after his deceaſſe. The pledges were theſe: Dauid Hamilton, ſonne to the duke of Chatelerault; an other called Colme Campbell, couſine to the earle of Argile; Robert Dowglas, brother to the prior of S. Andrews; and the laird of Lochleuin, and a ſonne of the lord Ruthwen. About the ſame time, James Hamilton earle of Arrane, eldeſt ſonne to the duke of Chatelerault, and capteine of the Scotiſh companie of men of armes and archers in France, being fled for religion ſecretlie to Geneua, from thence came by the conuoie of maiſter Randall Engliſhman into England: which at his comming into Scotland he performed, and ioined himſelfe with the earle of Argile, and other lords in the cauſe aforeſaid.

Pledges ſent into England

Lord Hamilton taketh part with the earle of Argile.

The duke of Chatelerault, the earles of Argile, Arrane, and others, came to the towne of Glaſcow, and cauſed the images & altars to be taken downe, ſeizing the biſhops liuing into their hands, and tooke the caſtell of Glaſcow perteining to the biſhop, and put certeine gentlemen into it to keepe it. Whereof the Frenchmen being aduertiſed, marched forward to Glaſcow, to the number of fiue thouſand men: the biſhop of Glaſcow, the lords Sempill, Setton, Ros, and diuerſe others with them, tooke the caſtell againe, and ſtaieng one night of the towne, returned on the next morrow to Kirkintulloch, and from thence to Liſhquo and Edenburgh.

The towne of Glaſcow is taken.

After their returne from Glaſcow, a certeine number of Frenchmen went to Striueling, and paſſing by the bridge ouer the water of Firth, came into Fife, in purpoſe to haue gone vnto ſaint Andrews, and to haue fortified the towne. But they being in Kingcorne, there aſſembled togither in Fife the earles of Arrane, and Rothes, the prior of ſaint Andrews, the lord Ruthwen, the maſter of Lindſie, and diuerſe other, hauing with them no great number: but yet they dailie ſkirmiſhed with the Frenchmen, and would not ſuffer them to come from the ſea ſide; where diuerſe Frenchmen were ſlaine, and one of their capteins, with thirtie of his ſouldiors, and few Scotiſhmen, or in maner none: except that the earle of Southerland, who chanced to be with them at the pricking, was ſore hurt and maimed in the arme with the dredge of a caleeuer ſhot.

Certeine Frenchmen ſlaine.

As the Frenchmen were in their progreſſe, at the mouth of the water of Leuin in Fife, there arriued in their ſight a nauie of ſhips: which at the firſt kenning they tooke to be French ſhips, but ſhortlie after perceiuing them to be the Engliſh nauie, they returned with great diligence to Burnt Iland, where they paſſed the ferrie of Kingcorne in botes and craiers to Leith, and inſtantlie began to fortifie that towne, caſting great trenches about it, and making great blockehouſes for their defenſe, as preuenting ſuch perils as otherwiſe might haue befallen them, and

1560. Leſle.

The towne Burnt Iland is fortified.

dling remedies in due time, by warliſke policie of preſent deuiſe, to prouide againſt afterclaps. The Engliſh ſhips came to the rode of Leith, where they caſt anchors, the fourth Ides of Januarie.

In Engliſh nauie.

✻ In the meane time, whileſt thoſe of the religion had almoſt deſtroied all monaſteries, certeine barons of Perne, partlie for hatred to the catholike religion (as the Romiſh cleargie tearmeth it) and partlie blinded with deſire of preie (as in all aſſemblies of battell there will be ſome) ouerthrew the monaſterie of the Carmelite friers in Aberden. Who going about alſo to haue ſpoiled the monaſteries of the Trinitie, and of the friers Minors, were hindered thereof by the lord Leſle; and the baron of Buchquhane, at the commandement of the earle of Huntleie. Notwithſtanding which, they could not be ſo ſufficientlie repreſſed, but that they went to old Aberden (for ſo they call that place in that towne, which is beautified with the biſhops palace, the canonrie, and the vniuerſitie) and would haue aſſaulted the magnificent and ſtatelie church thereof. But to keepe them from the ſame, the biſhop, & John Leſle (the officiall of that place, the one by counſell, the other by preaching, and both by the aid of the earle of Huntleie) did their indeuor, at what time the Leſlées put them beſides their purpoſe.]

Leſleus lib. 10. pag. 563. 1560. Fr. Thin.

This Leſle is now called biſhop of Ros and compiled an hiſtorie of Scotland in Latine, printed at Rome.

The quæne regent hearing of the arriuall of the Engliſh, ſent vnto the viceadmerall of that fleet, named maiſter Winter, requiring to know of him, for what cauſe he was come into thoſe waters. This gentleman addreſſing himſelfe to accompliſh the commandement impoſed and laid vpon him, came face to face to the ſaid viceadmerall, and with countenance, wherein appeared tokens of inward courage, put forth his demand as he was inioined. The viceadmerall anſwered, that he had beene abroad on the ſeas ſeeking after pirats, and in caſe anie of them came thither, he was arriued there in the Forth to wait on them: where as the principall cauſe in deed was to impeach, that no Frenchman ſhould land there, in caſe anie came forth of France, and alſo to keepe them that late in Inſkith from vittels, and that no Frenchman ſhould paſſe by ſea forth of Leith.

✻ Whereupon the quæne regent did ſend Noualle the king of Frances orator in that realme, to requeſt the queene of England, that ſhe would call hir ſhips home againe, and that ſhe would not ſend aiding ſouldiers to the lords of the religion (whome Leſleus neuer tearmeth by anie other name than ſectaries and ſeditious perſons) whereby the peace might be broken with the French, and ſo occaſion of warre giuen. Whereunto hir maieſtie anſwered (with no leſſe care of hir kingdome than became the maieſtie of ſo good a mother to haue of hir children) that ſhe had no ſuch mind as to make warre. But becauſe that ſhe certeinlie vnderſtood, that great troops of Frenchmen did dailie land and increaſe in Scotland, for what cauſe ſhe knew not: ſhe could doo no leſſe than place ſouldiers in diuerſe forts and hauens, which might defend the Engliſh from the malice or hurt of ſuch ſtrangers, if they ſhould attempt anie thing. Neither would ſhe ſuffer that hir people ſhould ſet foot in Scotland, vnleſſe that they were prouoked thereunto by iniuries offered them.]

Leſleus lib. 10. pag. 564. Fr. Thin.

About the ſame time, the quæne regent, hearing that the duke of Norffolke was come to Newcaſtle as generall lieutenant of the north, ſent an herald with a letter to him, in which letter it was ſignified that the herald had credit to declare further matter than was conteined in the ſame letter. But when hee was demanded what he had to ſay, he denied to haue anie credit at all. Wherfore William Flower, then Cheſter herald, and now Norreie king of armes, was

A Scots herald ſent to the duke of Norffolke.

An Engliſh herald ſent to the quéene of Scots.

was ſent vnto the quæne, who comming to Holie rod houſe néere to Edenburgh, was receiued by ſundrie heralds, & ſo was had to one of their houſes, and there kept for that night. The next day after hæ had dined, he was brought to the court, and at his entering within the gates, there were a number of harquebuſſiers readie with their péeces that diſcharged and ſhot off the ſame.

At his comming to the preſence of the quéene, he with dutifull obeiſance deliuered his letters, and after the ſame had béene read, he was demanded what credit he had to vtter. Whereupon he declared, that the duke of Norffolke, being the quéenes maieſties lieutenant in the north parts of England, maruelled greatlie that ſhe would ſend an herald with letters, and write therein how ſhe had giuen credit to him; and yet when he was demanded to vtter his credit, he ſhould confeſſe that he had none. The quéene herewith called for the herald, to vnderſtand whether he had credit or not: who denied to haue anie at all. Wherwith the quæne ſéemed to be ſomwhat abaſhed, but neuertheleſſe ſhe brake forth and ſaid, that ſhe maruelled greatlie that the quæne of England ſhould ſend hir ſhips into hir riuer, without giuing hir knowledge aforehand.

Cheſter anſwered thereto, that where it was certeinlie knowne, that the French king had prepared to ſend a power of men of warre into Scotland, without aduertiſing hir thereof; ſhe could not but thinke that dealing verie ſtrange, and therefore had in verie déed ſent certeine of hir ſhips, with vittels for proviſion to be laid within hir townes and caſtels on the frontiers. Which ſhips by tempeſt being diſperſed, might hapilie be driuen into the riuer there, albeit he had not ſpoke with anie of them ſince there comming forth. But yet (as he had heard by others) they had béene verie vncourteouſlie vſed: for comming in after that maner for ſuccor, the canon had béene bent againſt them. Herewithall the count Martigues ſtanding by, began to ſpeake verie ſtout words vnto Cheſter, alleging that where it was perceiued well inough, that the quæne of England ment to make war againſt his maiſter the French king, he truſted ſhe ſhould gaine as little thereby, as his ſiſter had done in breaking with hir father Henrie the late French king. Cheſter hereunto anſwered, that he thought to haue found but one regent in Scotland, to whome he ſhould néed to make anſwer: whereupon Martigues was commanded to ſilence.

Martigues a forward captein, but an vntrue prophet.

All this while the quæne had talked with Cheſter in the Scotiſh tong. And bicauſe he did not ſo well vnderſtand hir, he began to ſpeake in the French language: whereat the quéene ſéemed greatlie to reioiſe, & ſo began againe to diſcourſe with him of hir griefs; and he on the other part made hir anſwer as fell beſt to purpoſe. And at length, when he was demanded what further credit he had; he declared, that where ſhe had requeſted a ſafe conduct for monſieur le Broſſe to paſſe through England into France, if ſhe would ſée him ſafelie conueied to Berwike, he durſt aſſure hir of a ſufficient ſafe conduct for his ſafe paſſage through the quéene his miſtreſſe realme: but at length, there was another gentleman commended to him, in lieu for la Broſſe, that was his couſine. And now when Cheſter ſhuld take his leaue, he declared that he had not bæne courteouſlie dealt with: for ſince his comming thither, he could not be ſuffered to paſſe anie where abroad out of his chamber, but at meale times. And therefore if anie of hir meſſengers ſhould come into the quéene his miſtreſſe dominions, he would procure (if he might) that they ſhould taſt of the like interteinment. But the quæne ſeemed not to vnderſtand that he had bin in anie wiſe ſo hardlie dealt with, ſhewing that ſhé was not well contented therewith; and ſo Cheſter toke his leaue, and returned backe into England, without anie reward for his paines taken in that iournie, at the hands of the Scotiſh quéene: how ſo euer ſhe liked of his meſſage.

1560.

An Engliſh armie. Leſleus lib. 10 pag. 565.

In the meane time, there was an armie prepared in England, of ſeuen or eight thouſand men, who were ſent into Scotland; the lord Greie of England being appointed generall, who came to the linkes, beſide the towne of Leith, on ſaturday the firſt of Aprill. Before they pitcht downe their field on the ſaid linkes, monſieur Martigues, coronell of the French armie, iſſued forth of Leith with nine hundred harquebuſſiers of Frenchmen, to a little knoll called the Halke hill, where a ſore, continuall, and hot ſkirmiſh was begun betwixt the Engliſhmen and Frenchmen, with hagbuts, caléeuers, and piſtolets, which ſkirmiſh continued fiue or ſix houres, in the which there were manie ſlaine on both parties, and diuerſe hurt. At length Martigues was forced with his companie to retire backe to the towne of Leith, and the Engliſhmen pitched downe their campe, and planted their ordinance beſide the ſaid hill.

They were backed with 500 pikes which kept aloofe.

The lord Greie ſent vnto the quéene.

The lord Greie being in Muſkelburgh, ſent to the quéene regent, that laie as then in the caſtell at Edenburgh, deſiring an abſtinence of warre for foure and twentie hours, that in the meane time he might ſend ſome of his councell to declare to hir the cauſe of his comming with that armie, and to commune of ſuch things as might ſtanch the ſhedding of blood. The quæne granted hereunto, and ſent an herald to Leith, to cauſe the ſaid aſſurance to be taken: but yer he came to the towne, the ſkirmiſh aforeſaid was begun with forwardneſſe inough of both ſides.

Men are ſent to ſpeake with the quæne mother.

In this meane time, the lord Greie ſent ſir George Howard, and ſir James Croſts to the caſtell of Edenburgh, to ſpeake with the quéene to that effect: who had long conference with hir vpon the blockehouſe at the vtter gate of the caſtell, during the time of the ſkirmiſh; where they declared, that the occaſion of the comming of the armie, was for the cauſe aboue mentioned, deſiring the quæne to procure the Frenchmen to depart the realme of Scotland: and they promiſed in that caſe to returne againe into their owne realme, and neither to diſquiet Frenchmen nor Scots. Wherupon the quéene toke time to be aduiſed till the next day, that ſhe might conſult with the principall perſonages within the towne of Leith, requiring that it might be lawfull for hir to ſend to them to that effect, which was granted.

The French men to depart the realme.

The next day ſhe ſent one Drummond a trumpetter, or herald (as ſaith Leſleus) with a letter to monſieur de la Broſſe, to the effect aforeſaid, directing him to paſſe to the Engliſh campe, and to get a guide with him to go to the towne of Leith, as was agreed: and there was one appointed to go with him. But immediatly after his departing from the Engliſh campe, he was ſuddenlie called backe againe, and his letters taken from him, was commanded to repaire to the caſtell of Edenburgh to the quæne, and to declare to hir that they would not haue anie talke, but would be reuenged on the Frenchmen, for the ſlaughter of their men the night before. Thus the parlée ceaſſing, the ſiege was inforced with right ſharpe purſute, and ſtrong defending on either part.

The Engliſh are deſirous to reuenge the iniuries done vnto them.

The Engliſhmen caſt trenches vpon the ſouth-eaſt ſide of the towne, and raiſed a litle mount which they called mount Pellam after the capteins name, and placed their ordinance aloft thereon: but bicauſe it was ſo farre from the towne, they did not ſo much ſcath thereto as they intended. The lord Greie, lieutenant of the Engliſh armie, lodged (during this ſiege)

A trench caſt to little purpoſe.

ſiege) within the towne of Leſſalrike, in the deanes houſe, and the moſt part of their demilances and other horſſemen laie in the ſame towne. The footmen with their capteins lodged in hales, tents, and pauilions, vpon the ſouth and ſoutheaſt ſide of the towne of Leith, and diuerſe Scotiſh lords incamped with them in the fields, as the earles of Argile, Arrane, Horton, and Glencarne; the lords Boid, Ogiltree, the prior of ſaint Andrews, the maiſter of Marwell, and others. The duke of Chatelerault, and diuerſe with him remained in Holie rod houſe: and with the quæne in the caſtell, the biſhop of S. Andrews, the biſhop of Dunkeld, the earle Marſhall, the lord Erſkin capteine of the caſtell, maiſter James Macgill clearke of the regiſter, the prouoſt of Dunglas, called maiſter Abraham Chreichton, and diuerſe others.

On Eaſter æuen, capteine Wood, and capteine Dethicke, ſeruing on the ſea vnder maiſter Winter the Engliſh admerall there, were appointed by him to paſſe vp the riuer to Blackeneſſe, who with their bands going aboord into a barke prepared for that purpoſe, ſailed forward: and on Eaſter day in the morning, preſenting themſelues before the caſtell, it was yeelded to them by certeine Frenchmen that were within, and thereupon it was deliuered to the keeping of James Hamilton, an ancient gentleman; and capteine Wood, being ſet on ſhore, came to the campe before Leith by land. On blacke Monday, the Frenchmen, iſſuing forth of Leith, ſet vpon the Engliſhmen in their trenches, and did much harme: as in the Engliſh hiſtorie it further appeareth. During the ſiege thus afore Leith, the quæne regent was ſore vexed with ſickeneſſe, but neuertheleſſe, ſhe continued to labor for agreement, not ceaſſing to ſend to the lords for to haue the matter taken vp. And for the better accompliſhing of hir deſire, ſhe procured the earle of Huntleie to come forth of the north, who toke vp his lodging in Edenburgh, and toke great paines to treat betwixt the quæne and lords for ſome agreement: but when he perceiued his trauell to be in vaine, hee returned into the north againe, and left the ſiege lieng ſtill as hee found it.

In this meane while, the Engliſhmen, lodging on the ſouthſide of the towne beſide mount Pellam, battered with their great artillerie at the pariſh church of Leith, and at ſaint Anthonies ſteeple, in which the Frenchmen had laid certeine peeces of artillerie, and at length beat it downe: but perceiuing they could not do anie great hurt to the walles on that ſide, they caſt new trenches vpon the ſouth and ſouthweſt ſide of the towne, and raiſed a mount there, naming it mount Summerſet, & placed thereon certeine peeces in batterie, and ſo beat the wals, that a great part thereof was ouerthrowne, and a breach made. Whereupon the Engliſhmen & Scots on a morning came with their ladders, and preſenting themſelues to the aſſault, found the breach nothing reaſonable; ſo that although they egerlie preaſſed forward to enter the towne, yet they were fiercelie beaten backe with great ſlaughter and bloudſhed on both parts, but namelie of the aſſailants.

The Engliſhmen, perceiuing that they were too raſh in aſſaulting the towne, being not aſſaultable, deuiſed other ſhifts to obteine their purpoſe, raiſing an other mount of earth on the weſt ſide of the water of Leith, and named it mount Falcon. Aloft on this mount, when it was brought vp vnto a great height, they planted their great artillerie, which continuallie beat into the towne, ſore annoieng them within, but ſpeciallie beating the houſes and places by the ſhore ſide, ſo that none might go vp nor downe the towne on that part, without danger to be ſlaine with ſhot from that mount. The Frenchmen, during the time of the ſiege, manie times iſſued forth towards the ſands, and ſometimes towards the trenches, ſo that ſundrie ſore ſkirmiſhes chanced betwixt the Engliſhmen and them, with the ſlaughter of diuerſe, both of the one part and the other. Amongeſt other of them within, there were ſlaine two Scotiſh men of name, to wit, capteine Benedie, and yong Henrie Drummond: and of them without, there was ſlaine a Scotiſh gentleman, called the lard of Cleiſch.

The Engliſh armie was throughlie furniſhed with vittels forth of all parts of the realme, and that vpon reaſonable prices: but the French within the towne could get none, more than they had prouided before the comming of the Engliſh armie, which when it began to faile them, they were conſtreined to eat their owne horſſes, whoſe fleſh ſeemed to them in that neceſſitie more delicious, than before that time anie maner of veniſon. Thoſe within Inſkeith alſo were in great neceſſitie of vittels: but yet neither they within the one place, nor they within the other, would render their ſtrength, looking ſtill for aid forth of France. ✠ Whileſt theſe things were done in Scotland, the French king, to ſhew how he fauoured the pope, and how farre he maligned the reformed lords of Scotland, ſent his ambaſſadors Iohn Babone a Burdeleie knight, and that eloquent man Anthonie Muret of France to pope Pius the fourth of that name, to yeeld all the dominions of France & Scotland at the popes commandement.

In the meane time, the quæne regent, perceiuing hir ſickneſſe ſo to increaſe, that ſhe looked for preſent death, ſent for the duke of Chatelerault, and all the lords of Scotland that were in the towne of Edenburgh, and in the campe: who came vnto hir altogither into the caſtell of Edenburgh, where ſhe made vnto them a graue and pithie exhortation, perſuading them to vnitie and concord with their ancient friends of France; and now more ſtedfaſt to them than at anie time before, by reaſon of the mariage of the quæne their good ſouereigne, with the king of France. And herewith ſhe brake out into certeine words, to diſſuade them from the amitie contracted with the Engliſhmen, declaring that the Engliſhmen aided them not for anie other reſpect, than for their owne turne and commoditie. Moreouer, for hir owne part ſhe ſaid, that ſhe fauoured the weale of the realme of Scotland, as much as France; conſidering ſhe had the honor to be quæne and regent thereof, and hir daughter heritable quæne of the ſame.

Furthermore ſhe ſaid, that if ſhe had attempted anie thing that ſeemed or appeered to the noble men contrarie thereunto; the ſame came to paſſe rather for lacke of wiſedome and iudgement, than for want of anie good will: and if it pleaſed God to prolong hir daies, ſhe would be glad to amend that had beene done amiſſe: and if he called hir to his mercie, ſhe praied them moſt hartilie to acknowledge their dutie vnto the quæne their ſouereigne, and to maintaine their ancient amitie with the king and realme of France, & to make ſome good accord with the French that were within the towne of Leith, who would gladlie accept the ſame, to the end that as well they as the Engliſhmen ſhould depart this realme. For ſhe feared greatlie (as ſhe ſaid) leaſt if the Frenchmen departed, the Engliſhmen would ſtill remaine, and ſubdue the land to their obedience: and therefore ſhe beſought all good Scotiſhmen to haue reſpect to the libertie and weale of their countrie.

After ſhe had talked thus a good while with manie teares, ſhe deſired the lords to forgiue hir in anie thing wherein ſhe had offended anie of them, during the time of hir being in Scotland, which they gladlie

The caſtell of Blackeneſſe yeeld.

Dé more vereek in England.

eſleus. lib. 10. The quæne laboured for an agreement.

Saint Anthonies ſteeple beaten downe.

Mount Summerſet.

They are beaten backe.

Mount Falcon.

The towne of Leith vnprouided of vittels.

Fr. Thin. Leſleus lib. 10. pag. 568.

The quæne ſent for the lords.

The quæenes oration vnto the nobles.

A miſtruſtfull mind.

seemed to do: and on the other part, she forgaue them with all hir hart (as it appeered) all offenses which they had committed against hir: and thus diuerse of them weeping, she tooke euerie of them by the hand, and so they taking leaue of hir, departed, and returned into Edenburgh, and to their campe. Whilest the siege thus laie before the towne of Leith, diuerse great troubles rose in sundrie parts of the realme, and spectallie betwixt the earle of Huntleie, and the earle of Atholl, so that there was taking of prisoners, and ouerthrowing of houses on either part, and great preparation made, and armies put in a readinesse to inuade either others countries.

The quéene taketh hir leaue.

The earle of Huntleie and Atholl are at variance.

But this businesse was pacified by the trauell and good mediation of maister Alexander Gordon, then postulat of Gallowaie, maister John Lesle officiall of Aberden, and William Lesle the yoong lard of Buchquhan, who agreed them for all matters in controuersie, & caused them to go to either others house.

The matter is pacified.

[During which siege of Leith also, the earle Bothwell, and Sarlalouse, then capteine of the souldiers, and gouernor of the castell of Dunbar, did at Dunbar with manie light excursions intercept manie of the English and Scots going to Leith, whome they ransomed for a great summe.]

Fr. Thin. Lesleus lib. 10. pag. 571.

At the same time, one maister Donald Fraser, archdeacon of Rosse, tooke the bishops castell of the canonrie of Rosse, and kept the same against maister Henrie Sincler, then bishop there, and the chiefest men of authoritie in that dioceese, as Wachenzée, Balnagoun, Foulis, and the shiriffe Tramercie, who assembled about the same, and besieged the castell, where great force was vsed, both by them without to win it, and of them within to defend it. The bishop being then resident in Cromercie castell, hearing that the house wold not be gotten without great slaughter, thought it against his conscience, his profit, and honor, to win it in that manner: and therefore sending for maister John Lesle, officiall of Aberden, and maister Alexander Dunbar, subchantor of Murreie, by their labour and diligent treating in the matter, the bishop by reasonable apointment recouered his castell of them that held it against him.

The castell of Rosse taken.

The castell is besieged.

The castell was restored againe.

The French king, vnderstanding in what distresse his men remained that were besieged within Leith, and perceiuing himselfe not able to send an armie to succour them within the time that their necessitie required, thought good to trie if the matter might be taken vp: and to that effect sent two ambassadors, the earle of Randon, and monsieur Monluc bishop of Valence, who declared to the quénes maiestie of England, the cause of their comming; which was, to desire hir to retire hir armie forth of Scotland, vpon some such reasonable conditions as might be agreed vpon. And herewith they declared that they were sent to the quéene, and not vnto the subiects of Scotland: for it was not meet that the king should send to his owne subiects (as they were by the mariage of their quéene) to require peace, or to condition with them for agreement.

Ambassadors sent.

Monsieur Monluc bishop of Valence.

The quénes maiestie of England therefore sent sir William Cecill knight, hir principall secretarie, and doctor Wotton deane of Canturburie and of Yorke, one of the priuie councell, with the French ambassadors into Scotland. Whilest they were yet vpon their iournie, the quéene regent (whome they thought to haue found aliue, and to haue vsed hir helpe as an instrument to haue furthered the treatie to some good end) consumed partlie through melancholie, thought, and grieuous displeasure, and partlie with long and incurable sicknesse, departed this life in the castell of Edenburgh the tenth of June, in the yeere of our Lord 1560. ✻ Hir bodie was first conueied into France, to the monasterie of Feschampe, which is in Normandie, from whence it was caried to the abbeie of S. Peter at Rhemes in Champaigne (whereof hir sister was then abbesse) in which it was after most honorablie buried.] She was a wise and verie prudent princesse, and in hir time had learned good experience of the nature and inclination of the nobilitie and people of Scotland.

In ambassage sent by the quéene of England.

The Scotish quéene mother departed. Fr. Thin.

Lesleus lib. 1 pag. 569. 1560.

The praise the quéene Dowager.

During the time that she was regent, she kept good iustice, and was well obeied in all parts of the realme in Orkeneie, and the westerne Iles. And if she had to hir owne experience ioined the councell of the nobles and wise men of the realme of Scotland, without following the aduise of strangers, there had béene neuer question nor debate betwixt hir and the nobilitie, as some deemed. But because that others, and namelie, monsieur Doisell, and Rubé, were adioined to hir by the estates of Scotland, who dailie pressed hir to deuise new alterations of lawes, impositions, tarations, and such things as were not in vse in Scotland: therefore the estates and people of the land did grudge, although not for anie misliking they had of hir, who suerlie deceassed, to the great griefe and lamentation of the whole number of the estates and people of the realme.

The death of that noble princesse made the French men within Leith, and also the ambassadors more discouraged than otherwise they would haue béene. But neuertheless these foure ambassadors of England and France comming to Edenburgh, entered in conference among themselues, vpon articles proponed as well for releise of the Scotishmen, as for the weale and suertie of the quéene of England and hir subiects. Wherevpon certeine lords of Scotland were admitted to talke with them also: and after long treatie, a peace was concluded the tenth of Julie, in the yeere of God 1560, with certeine articles touching as well Scots and French, as Englishmen. The effect whereof heere insueth.

The ambassadors came to Edenburgh.

They haue conference. Peace is concluded. 1559. Buc

Articles of the peace.

Articles of the peace.

FIrst, it was agreed, that all the Frenchmen should depart forth of the realme of Scotland by sea into France, & to that effect should imbarke and make saile within the space of twentie daies next following: and because the Frenchmen had no ships, the Englishmen should lend them ships, and certeine of the Frenchmen remaine as pledges in England, till the same ships were returned.

French souldiers depart the realme.

2 Item, that they should render the towne of Leith, and the Frenchmen to haue their munition, bag, and baggage, to conueie awaie with them at their pleasure, and that the wals of the towne should be throwne downe and demolished.

Leith they should render it.

3 Item, they should cause monsieur Charlebois capteine of Dunbar, to demolish and race the fort which they had built before the castell there.

The fort before Dunbar to be raced.

4 Item, that the Englishmen should raise their siege and depart forth of Scotland: after the departure from thence of the Frenchmen, and racing of the wals of Leith and Dunbar.

The Englishmen should depart also.

5 Item, that there should be made an act of oblition, in which the quéene of Scotland, with consent of the French king hir husband, should forget and burie in oblition all attempts made by the lords of Scotland against their authoritie, from the tenth day of March 1558, to the first day of August in the yeere of Grace 1560. And for confirming thereof, a parlement should be holden in Edenburgh, in the moneth of August next insuing, in which parlement the same should be ratified and allowed by the aduise of the estates of the realme of Scotland.

An act of oblition to be made.

A parlement to be kept.

6 Also it was agreed, that there should be a commission

million ſent from the French king and the quéene of Scotland, to hold the ſame parlement to the effect afoꝛeſaid.

o put awaie e armes and ime of ngland.

7 Item, that the quéene of Scotland and king of France ſhould cauſe to blot out and put awaie the bearing of the armes of England out of their ſcutchens.

oſſeſſion to kept with ldiers.

8 Item, it was agréed, that there ſhould remaine ſtill in the Ile of Inſkith thꝛée ſcoꝛe Frenchmen, and as manie in the caſtell of Dunbar, to kéepe (as it were) poſſeſſion to the quœnes vſe.

The whole number of the Frenchmen (a few excepted that paſſed thꝛough England) went abꝛoad the Engliſh ſhips in Julie, and ſailed into France, and in companie with them went the biſhop of Glaſcow and the loꝛd Seton. The Engliſhmen departed alſo, and in their way cauſed the foꝛt of Dunbar to be raced, as by the agréement of the peace it was appointed. A parlement was holden in Auguſt, and the act of obliuion ratified by the ſtates, & a confeſſion of faith publiſhed in the ſame: it was concluded alſo to ſend ambaſſadoꝛs into England, which was done. And ſhoꝛtlie after, the loꝛds ſummoned the pꝛincipall learned men of the realme foꝛth of the vniuerſities of ſaint Andꝛews, Aberden, Glaſcow, and other parts, to giue a reaſon of their faith.

he French- depart out Scotland.

parlement.

confeſſion faith publi- ed.

earned men lled.

And amongeſt other of Aberden that toke vpon them to diſpute with John Knox, John Wullocke, and maiſter Godman [were John Leſle (doctoꝛ of both lawes, chiefe iudge of the dioceſſe of Aberden called officiall; who ſhoꝛtlie after was ſenatoꝛ of the high court, and of councell to the quéene of Scots, and laſtlie made biſhop of Roſſe) Patrike Mirton the treaſuroꝛ, James Straquhine canon, and Alexander Anderſon a verie graue diuine. At what time theſe Roman pꝛelats behaued themſelues ſo well, that they were commanded not to depart the towne; but to be pꝛeſent at the ſermons of the miniſters.]

diſputation.

Thin.

In the winter, the loꝛds of the councell gaue faculties of benefices to diuerſe of their friends, who put foꝛth the pꝛelats, and receiued the fruits. The earle of Argile diſpoſed Dunkeild and Dunblan. The earle of Arran had the oꝛdering of the biſhoppꝛikes of ſaint Andꝛews, alſo of the abbaſies of Dunfermling, and Melroſſe, and other ſmall benefices. The like was vſed by other noble men, thꝛough all parts of the realme. Shoꝛtlie after, Francis the French king, huſband to the quéene of Scotland, departed this life in December, and Charles his bꝛother was crowned in his place. The quéene being then widow, and Dowager of France, departed from Oꝛleance (where the court lay when hir huſband deceaſſed) and went to the towne of Reimes in Champaigne, where ſhe remained till the fiftœnth daie of Apꝛill following.

ſtatings be- owed.

And then purpoſing to return into Scotland, ſhe toke hir iournie towards Januille, and ſo into Loꝛraine, there to take leaue of hir kinſfolke by hir mothers ſide. The biſhop of Glaſcow, and the abbat of Dunfermling Scotiſhmen, were ſtill attendant on hir in this iournie. There were with hir alſo the cardinals of Loꝛraine and Guiſe, the duke Daumale, and the marqueſſe Dalbeuf hir vncles.

The Scotiſh quéene went nto Loꝛraine.

Fr. Thin.

Buch. lib. 17.

Amongſt whom there had béene great diſputation touching the quéene of Scotlands returning into hir owne realme, wherevnto hir vncles were verie willing; although ſome did ſéeme to ſtaie the iournie, whoſe ſpéeches tended to this effect as followeth.

“ That the iournie was dangerous, eſpectallie be-
“ cauſe the quéene of England did not greatlie fauoꝛ
it; then that ſhe ſhould come to men by nature bar-
“ barous & ſeditious, which would not eaſilie obeie the gouernement of a man. Whereof ſhe had freſh examples befoꝛe hir eies, of hir father, and of hir mother, whome (when they either could not oꝛ durſt openlie oppꝛeſſe) they foꝛced to a deſperation of things with their manie deuiſes, ſith they daillie liued by them in danger of honoꝛ oꝛ of life.

On the contrarie part, they which would haue the Dowager of France returne to hir naturall countrie, and were ſkilfull of the affaires of Scotland, did allege that thoſe ſeditions were rather occaſioned by the default of the kings & gouernoꝛs, than of the ſubiects; whilſt they ſtriued to reduce that kingdome (which from the beginning had alwaies béene fꝛæ) to infinit bondage, and to the fꝛée power of the lawes: which that nation (being moꝛe warlike than welthie) could not indure. When contrarilie, they did not onelie defend all their gouernoꝛs (which did not attempt the ouerthꝛow of their liberties) from the outward enimie, and from the inward tumults of the people: but they alſo made them (thꝛough loue and dutie towards their kings) inuincible ouer their enimies, and famous amongeſt ſtrange nations.

And that the chiefeſt meane at this time to pacifie all thoſe troubles in Scotland, was not to make alteration of anie thing in Scotland, from the ſtate wherein euen now it ſtandeth. Where vpon ſhe reſolued to come ſpédilie into Scotland, whereof moꝛe ſhall be ſaid hereafter; vntill which, we will intreat of other matters done in Scotland. The quéene of Scots hauing hir mind ſtill ſetled vpon hir returne into Scotland; Noalius a ſenatoꝛ of Burdeaux landed befoꝛe this in Scotland (whither he was ſent) a little after the end of the publike parlement, foꝛ which cauſe he was ſtaied and turned ouer to the next aſſemblie of parlement, which was appointed the twelfe kalends of June.

But when at that time alſo the nobilitie aſſembled did not ſit in councell, becauſe they were yet vncerteine of the quéenes mind; in the meane time James Steward returned out of France, and bꝛought with him a commiſſion, which gaue them authoꝛitie to hold a parlement, therein to treat and conclude of matters touching the common-wealth. Wherevpon in the end there was audience giuen to the ambaſſadoꝛ, the effect of whoſe legacie was, to renew the old league with France, to vndo the league with England, and that pꝛieſts ſhould be reſtoꝛed to their liuings, out of which they had béene thꝛuſt by violence.

To theſe things it was anſwered, that concerning the league of France, they were not anie waie guiltie of the bꝛeach thereof; and contrarilie that the French had manifoldlie neglected the ſame; but ſpeciallie of late, in ſéeking the authoꝛitie of their publike libertie, in that they would haue bꝛought the people (their friends and giltles of anie euill) vnto miſerable ſeruitude. Foꝛ the league with England, they could not by anie meanes diſſolue that, except they ſhould be counted moſt vnthankefull, recompenſe ſo great a benefit with great wickednes, & conſpire againſt the defendoꝛs of their liberties. And as touching reſtitution foꝛ ſuch as they called pꝛieſts, they did acknowlege that they had not anie office, vſe, oꝛ authoꝛitie in the church.

In this councell alſo it was decréed, to ouerthꝛow all the monaſteries of monks, foꝛ which cauſe diuerſe were ſent out into all places of the realme to execute the ſame. By occaſion whereof, the quéene being in France, and deſirous to haue peacefull landing in Scotland; would not foꝛ this pꝛeſent meddle with religion, but diſſembled the ſame: although Dureus abbat of Ferline, and John Sinclere latelie apointed biſhop of Vꝛechine, did vehementlie perſuade and laboꝛ hir to the contrarie.

Fr.Thin. 1560. Abbridged out of the printed booke thereof.

In this yeare also on the ninth of March, was the election of superintendents at Edenburgh, which was published to serue for the election of all other ministers in this forme following (John Knox being the minister thereof.) First was made a sermon, in which these parts were intreated; principallie the necessitie of ministers and superintendents. Secondlie the crimes & vices that might vnable them of the ministerie. Thirdlie the vertues required in them. Fourthlie & lastlie, whether such as by publike consent of the church were called to such office, might refuse the same.

The sermon finished, it was declared by the same minister John Knox (the maker of that speech or sermon) that the lords of the secret councell had giuen charge and power to the churches of Louthian, to chose maister John Spotswood superintendent, & that sufficient warning was made by publike edict to the churches of Edenburgh, Luithithgue, Striueling, Treuent, Hadington, & Dunbar, as also to earles, lords, barons, gentlemen and others, which haue or might claime to haue voice in the election to be present that daie at the same houre. And therefore inquisition was made, who were present, and who were absent.

After this was called the said maister John Spotswood, who answering to his name, the minister Knox demanded, if anie man knew anie crimes or offenses of the said Spotswood, that might disable him to be called to that office. Which thing thrise demanded, there was after question moued to the whole multitude; if there were anie other whome they would put in election with the said Spotswood. Then the people were asked whether (if they admitted the said Spotswood for their superintendent) they would honor and obeie him as Christes minister in euerie thing perteining to his charge.

Euerie nation is to haue his peculiar gouernement in religion, as is best liking to the godlie disposers of the religion of that countrie, sith *vulgus monstrii multorum capitum.*

Wherevnto the people answered that they would, which thus granted, there were further questions and matters touching the articles of the apostles creed, and concerning the state of religion propounded to the superintendent, intended to be created. Wherevnto, when he had answered affirmatiuelie, the people were againe demanded for his allowance; which they easilie granted with the consent of the nobilitie. These things thus performed, and a certeine praier (to obteine the spirit of God to be powred into this new elect vessell) finished, the rest of the ministers (if there be anie) and elders of the church present, in signe of their full consent, shall take the elected by the hand.

And so the chiefe minister giuing an especiall benediction (the forme whereof is there set downe, with the exhortation which they must also vse to the elected) this election is wholie finished (without anie imposition of hands on his head) and he sufficientlie created a superintendent minister; of whose election of elders, deacons, excommunications, and other ecclesiasticall regiment, I meane not to speake anie more (as matter impertinent to my discourse, though not to the nature of an ecclesiasticall history) sith I haue onelie here in hand the politicall and temporall gouernement, and not the discourse of religion and essentiall forme thereof.]

Ambassadors sent into England.

Before this, in the beginning of the winter this yeare, the lords sent the earle of Morton and Glencarne, and the yong lard of Ledington secretarie, ambassadors into England; to giue thanks to the quæns maiestie of England, for the aid which they had receiued of hir, to expell the Frenchmen. The

1561. earle of Murreie passed through England into France. He departed from Edenburgh the eighteenth of March, and in Aprill came to Vitrie, as hereafter shall appeare; where he found the quéne, meaning to submit himselfe. But the day before he came, maister John Lesle officiall of Aberden was come thither, who was sent from the earle of Huntleie, and other the lords spirituall and temporall of the north parts; he tooke ship in the rode of Aberden, and landing at Vrule in Holand, passed through the lowe countries in post till he came to Paris, and from thence vnto Vitrie aforesaid [the eightéenth kalends of March] where he found the quæne, whom he most dutifullie saluted. Fr.Thin.

After which (being most courteoulie receiued of hir) he opened vnto hir the effect of his ambassage, which consisted spectallie vpon these parts; to admonish the quæne that she should not suffer hir selfe to be blinded or deceiued with the flattering words of James the prior of saint Andrews (hir bastard brother) for his onelie drift was, that he (hauing no French aid with him into Scotland) might obteine of the quæne the whole gouernement of the kingdome, vnder the colour whereof he might more easilie teare & cleane ouerthrow the catholike religion; which he did assault by all meanes possible. This is he which before is called the earle of Murreie that went into France but not rightlie, for he was not earle vntill long after this time.

Wherefore Lesle did with all the firmest aduise and counsell which he might, vrge the quæne not to yéeld to his cloked words. For the obteining of which demand from the quæne, he did fitlie ad to his persuasions, that James did rather aspire to the kingdome, than that he fixed his mind and eie vpon the ouerthrow of religion. Wherefore, if she had anie care of hir owne and the réalms affaires; she must prouide that this James should remaine in France, vntill she were arriued in Scotland, & had pacified all the tumults there.

But if she would not do so, that yet at least she should take order, that she with hir naule should land in the north parts of Scotland, & first go to Aberden: for by that meanes she might prouide, that the setled lords of the religion might sone be pacified, and the rest which were yet wauering, might more freelie and willinglie be brought againe to the catholike religion. For there was an other order to be vsed in Scotland, than that which the French obserued, whilest they gouerned there; at which time vndoubtedlie the Scots were hopelesse euer to haue inioied the presence of the quæne.

But now, sith that the Scots do vnderstand, that their quæne (contrarie to their hope) will returne vnto them, hir presence will (like the rising sun) so cause the clouds of all tumults to vanish out of the minds of all hir subiects, that they will easilie incline to the mind of the quæne, whatsoeuer she shall thinke, attempt, set downe, or decree, in restoring of religion. For the Scots are of that mind towards their princes, as they will in all things obeie their vpright gouernors; and are accustomed with no lesse mind to resist tyrants, if they vsurpe vpon them in eraction of authoritie.

Wherefore Lesleus did earnestlie persuade the quæne in the name of the earle of Huntleie, and the other nobilitie, that she should not giue hir selfe (as vanquished) into the hands of the enimies, and especiallie of James Steward hir brother, from whome (as from a fountéine) all their seditions haue had beginning. For James Cullen (kinsman to the erle of Huntleie, an expert seruitor in the warres by sea and land) was sent forth with Lesle (as captéine of that iournie) to bring hir safe to Aberden. For all the nobles of the north prouinces will sone be readie with twentie thousand men to gard hir to Edenburgh, and to defend hir against all the counsels, deceipts, and forces of all men.

Which message being thus ended from the mouth of Lesle, the quæne commanded him not to depart from hir, vntill she returned into Scotland; and

further

further gaue in charge, that letters ſhould be writ-
ten to the peeres and nobilitie of Scotland, to let
them vnderſtand of hir comming into Scotland, &
to be a witneſſe of hir good will vnto them. The next
day after came to the queene at Vitrie, in Cham-
paigne, James Steward (which is touched a little be-
fore) the prior of S. Andrews. Who after he had in re-
uerence done his dutie, bound himſelfe with all fi-
delitie, trauell, and diligence, moſt religiouſlie vn-
to hir; faithfullie further promiſing, that he would
procure that the Scots ſhould willinglie obeie hir,
without anie forren powers to be brought by hir in-
to Scotland.

For it was thought that he went into France for
that purpoſe, to diſſuade the queene that ſhe ſhould
not bring any power of the French with hir. But in
the end, diſcering his mind more fullie, and putting
awaie all ſuſpicion of deceit, he did with more fami-
liaritie requeſt the queene to honor him with the erl-
dome of Murreie. Whereunto the queene did cour-
teouſlie anſwer, that ſhe would ſatiſfie his requeſt
when ſhe came into Scotland. Wherefore, when this
James perceiued that the queene was ſomewhat
well bent towards him, and that ſhe credited his
words, he attended on hir vnto Janeuille, and there
remaining with hir a certeine ſpace, did after go in-
to Scotland (as is before ſaid) to prepare the minds
of the people, that they might receiue the queene
comming into the realme, with good conſent and du-
tifull honor; who paſſing through England, came in-
to Scotland in the kalends of Maie.]

The nobles aſſemble at Edenburgh.

The duke of Chatelerault, the earles of Hunt-
leie, Atholl, Marchall, and all other the noble men
of the realme, aduertiſed of the queens comming,
aſſembled at Edenburgh with all poſſible diligence.
In the meane time, whilſt the queene was preparing
to take hir iournie, and to come into Scotland, the
queene of England ſet forth ſome of hir great ſhips
to the ſeas, to watch & gard the coaſts of hir realme.

Ships wait in the narrow ſeas.

Whereof they being aduertiſed in France, ſent the
abbat of ſaint Colmes Inch to the queene of Eng-
land, to deſire of hir a ſafe conduct, in caſe by wind
or tempeſt ſhe chanced to land in England. But be-
fore he was returned to Calis therewith, as he was
appointed; the queene and hir retinue were ſafelie
landed in Scotland; neuertheleſſe, the Engliſh ſhips
toke ſome of the Scotiſh lords, as the earle of E-
glenton his ſhip, and others, which were brought in-
to England, and ſtaied for a time; but were after re-
leaſed, and ſent home into Scotland.

A ſafe conduct required.

Certeine ſhips taken.

The queene alſo, by the aduiſe of the L. of France,
ſent monſieur Doiſell into England, to paſſe
through the ſame into Scotland before hir cõming,
there to haue receiued the forts of Dumbar and Inſ-
keith, of monſieur Charlebois, and to haue kept the
ſame till hir comming. But he was ſtaied, and paſ-
ſed no further than to London: for it was thought
that his going into Scotland would turne to no
great benefit of that realme: becauſe that he & mon-
ſieur Rubeie were the principall authors of all the
troubles in Scotland, betwixt the queene regent, and
the nobilitie there. She was attended on from Pa-
ris vnto Calis with manie noble men; namelie hir
fir vncles, the dukes of Guiſe, and Daumall, the
cardinall of Lorraine and Guiſe, the grand prior,
and the marqueſſe Dalbeuf, alſo the duke de Ne-
meurs, and other of hir friends and kinſmen.

Monſieur Doiſell.

The queene was conueied into Calis.

There were two gallies prepared, and certeine
other ſhips to go with hir into Scotland, and there
went with hir three of hir ſaid vncles, the duke Dau-
mall, the grand prior, and the marqueſſe Dalbeuf:
alſo monſieur Danuille the conſtables ſonne, and
diuerſe other. She arriued at Leith the twentith day
of Auguſt, in the yeare of our Lord 1561, where ſhe

She taketh hir iournie into Scotland.

The queene arriued at Leith.

was honorablie receiued by the earle of Argile, the
lord Erſkin, the prior of ſaint Andrews, and of the
burgeſſes of Edenburgh, and conueied to the ab-
beie of Holie rod houſe. For (as ſaith Buchanan)
when ſome had ſpread abroad hir landing in Scot-
land, the nobilitie and others aſſembled out of all
parts of the realme, as it were to a common ſpec-
tacle.

Fr. Thin.

Buchanan, lib. 17.

This did they, partlie to congratulat hir returne,
& partlie to ſhew the dutie which they alwaies bare
vnto hir (when ſhe was abſent) either to haue thanks
therefore, or to preuent the ſlanders of their enimies;
whereof not a few by theſe beginnings of hir reigne
did geſſe what would follow; although in thoſe ſo va-
riable motions of the minds of the people, euerie
one was verie deſirous to ſee their queene offred vn-
to them (vnlooked for) after ſo manie haps of both
fortunes as had fallen vnto hir. For when ſhe was
but ſix daies old, ſhe loſt hir father among the cruell
tempeſts of battell, and was by great diligence
brought vp by hir mother (being a choſen and wor-
thie perſon) but yet left as a preie to others, by rea-
ſon of ciuill ſeditions in Scotland, and of outward
warres with other nations, being further laid abroad
to all the dangers of frowning fortune, before ſhe
could know what euill did meane.

For leauing hir owne countrie, ſhe was nouri-
ſhed as a baniſhed perſon, and hardlie preſerued in
life from the weapons of hir enimies, & violence of
the ſeas. After which, fortune began to flatter hir, in
that ſhe honored hir with a worthie mariage, which
in truth was to this queene rather a ſhadow of toie,
than anie comfort at all. For ſhortlie after the ſame,
all things were turned to ſorrow, by the death of hir
new yong huſband, and of hir old and greeued mo-
ther; by loſſe of hir new kingdome, and by the doubt-
full poſſeſſion of hir old inheritable realme. But as
for theſe things ſhe was both pitied and praiſed; ſo
was ſhe alſo for gifts of nature as much loued and
fauored; in that, beneficiall nature (or rather god
God) had indued hir with a beautifull face, a well
compoſed bodie, an excellent wit, a mild nature,
and good behauior; which ſhe had artificiallie further-
red by courtlie education and affable demeanor.
Whereby at the firſt ſight, ſhe wan vnto hir the
hearts of moſt people, and confirmed the loue of hir
faithfull ſubiects.]

Coſtlie iewels

Being thus come out of France, ſhe brought in-
to Scotland manie rich and coſtlie iewels of gold
worke, pretious ſtones, orient pearls, & ſuch like, as
excellent and faire as were to be found within Eu-
rope, with rich furniture of houſhold, as hangings,
carpets, counterpoints, and all other neceſſaries for
the furniſhing of hir princelie houſes. The chiefeſt
part of the hangings and other furniture of houſe-
hold, was ſhiped at Rone, and arriued at Leith in
the moneth of October next following. After the
queene of Scots had remained the ſpace of foure or
fiue daies at Holie rod houſe, the duke of Chatele-
rault, the earle of Argile, and diuerſe other of the no-
bilitie being preſent, there was an act made by the
lords of the councell [in which none of the cleargie (as
ſaith Leſleus lib. 10. pa. 580) were preſent] with con-
ſent of the queene, that to remoue all cauſes of
trouble in time to come for the matter of religion, it
was ordeined, that no alteration of the eſtate of re-
ligion publikelie ſtanding within the realme, at hir
arriuall in the ſame, ſhould be made; & that nothing
ſhould be attempted, either publikelie or priuatlie to
the contrarie, vpon great paine, which was put forth
and publiſhed through all parts of the realme with
great diligence.

Hir houſhold ſtuffe.

An act made concerning religion.

Fr. Thin.

After this, there were eleuen temporall lords, and
one biſhop choſen to be of the queenes ſecret councell,

Some appoin-
ted to be of the
queenes
councell.

Secretarie. Comptroller. Lords of the priuie councel.

by whose aduise she should rule and gouerne things, six of them to remaine continuallie with hir in roome of officers, as the secretarie, comptroller, and others. The lords of the priuie councell were these, the duke of Chatelerault, the earle of Huntleie chancellor, the earle of Argile, the earle of Atholl, the earle Marshall, the earle of Glencarne, the earle of Morton, the earle of Montrosse, the earle of Errol, maister Henrie Sinclar bishop of Rosse, and the lord Erskin, with the prior of S. Andrew. ✻ But among these reioisings of the quænes interteinment into hir kingdome, there happened a light fault, but such as did deepelie enter into the minds of both the factions, of the catholikes (forsooth) and of the reformed religion.

Fr. Thin. Buchanan. lib. 16.

For where it was agréed by the quéene and the nobilitie, that no alteration should be had of religion in the publike state, yet was masse permitted to hir and to hir familie priuilie to be vsed. For the preparation whereof whilest the vestments and other things were caried through the hall into the chappell, one of the companie snatched awaie the wax candels and brake them: by occasion whereof (if some of the household had not come betweene to helpe in that action, and ended the same) all the other furniture had béene throwne downe. Which matter was taken of people diuerslie, some blaming it as a most sawcie part; others interpreting it, that it was onelie done to trie the patience of the priest; and some iudged and said that the priest was worthie to be punished with that paine which the scripture appointeth to idolaters.

Which matter in the verie beginning was appeased by James the quénes bastard brother, not yet created, but in expectation earle of Murreie. For which cause he would not offend the quæne, as I suppose, though afterward he not onelie offended hir, but deposed hir, and set vp hir sonne; as more plainlie shall hereafter appeare. At the quieting of this matter (saith Buchanan) George Gordon was greatlie grieued, being a man bent to all occasions of troubles, who thinking now to win fauor to him thereby, did say to the quénes vncles that were present, that he would reduce the countrie beyond Caledon vnto the old religion. The which being indéed suspected of manie, and feared by such as had heard manie other things of his wit; they caried the same to the quénes brother, by meanes whereof this little sparke in the beginning was the occasion of all the long ciuill dissention in Scotland, as I am led to iudge by manie reasons.

Lesleus lib. 10. pag. 587.

But now although the gouernment (as before is touched) was appointed to twelue before named, or at lest to six, which by turnes should be assistant to the quéene: yet the whole déed of ruling did in effect depend vpon hir bastard brother James, by reason of the fauor that the quæne especiallie did beare vnto him. Wherefore this James, vsing the quænes authoritie at his pleasure, did bestow manie liberall gifts vpon his fellowes. Which the nobles so much misliked, that in the end manie of them began egerlie to beare his authoritie, as hereafter shall be more touched.]

Daumal went with the two gallies into France. The rest went through England into France.

The duke Daumall, after he had remained with the quéene a certeine time, toke his leaue of hir, and with the gallies returned into France. The grand prior and monsieur Dannille tarted somewhat longer, and passed through England into France. The marquesse Daulbeuf taried in Scotland all the nert winter, till the spring of the yére, and then returned into France through England. The towne of Edenburgh prepared great and costlie triumphs for the quénes entering, which shée made into that towne in the moneth of September. After this, she passed vnto Striueling, and from thence to Perth, and then to Dundee, and also to saint Andrews, into which townes she was receiued with great honor and triumph. From saint Andrews she returned vnto Edenburgh, where she remained all the nert winter. In December there was a great assemblie of all the principall lords, spirituall and temporall of the realme; where it was demanded of the prelats, to grant the third part of the fruits of their benefices to the quéene, towards the bearing of hir charges for the maintenance of hir traine, and to susteine the ministers, till some order were taken to mainteine hir household, and a gard to tend on hir, by the aduise of the estates.

The quéne visited the townes.

An assemblie of the lords.

The third part of the spirituall liuing demanded.

The prelats agréed for the quénes pleasure to support hir with the fourth part of the fruits of their benefices, for one yéares space onelie, to helpe to beare hir charges, and to susteine hir gard; and in the meane time order might be taken by the aduise of the whole estates for the same. But notwithstanding the refusall of the prelates to paie the third part, the lords of the priuie councell made an act, and set forth letters, that all the prelats and beneficed men should be charged to paie yéerelie to the quénes comptroller and his collector, the whole thirds of all fruits of their benefices: and that it should be lawfull to the comptroller and his deputies, to take the third of what part of euerie benefice where he best pleased, and to deale therewith at his pleasure: also to haue to do with the rents of brotherhods of common churches, and such like. This order hath béene obserued euer since, not without great grudge of the prelats, and other beneficed men of the realme, and their friends, as well those that professed the reformed religion, as others.

An act for the clergie.

✻ Whilest these things were in doing, William Mettellan the yonger was sent ambassador into England, to salute the quæne of that realme (as the maner is) & to declare the good mind that the quéne of Scots bare vnto hir, & the desire that his mistresse had to haue peace and vnitie preserued betweene them. Besides all which, and manie other demands touching Scotland (which I suppresse for manie reasons, because (as Salomon saith) *Cor regis inscrutabile*, & the mysteries of princes gouernment are not to be laid open to common eies and eares) this ambassador deliuered letters to the quæne of England from the nobilitie of Scotland. In which there was a courteous remembrance of hir former fauor and of their good will. Requesting further that the quéene of England would shew a publike and priuat liking and friendship to their quéene, to the end that the quéene of Scots prouoked by hir benefits, might not onelie remaine stedfast in the amitie alreadie begun: but might also (if it were possible) be daillie more and more fast bound vnto hir: and they for their parts would not omit anie occasion with all good will and diligence to continue this amitie.

Fr. Thin. Buchan. lib. 17.

To which ambassador the quéene of England made no lesse honorable than wise answer: the effect whereof, because it concerneth matter of great importance, & is long and largelie alreadie set downe by Buchanan, in hir maiesties singular commendation to the whole world in the Latine tong, I thinke it not necessarie héere to repeat: and therefore I do purposelie omit the same, least I might séeme by flatterie to intrude my pen into the eloquent spéech of hir maiestie: and not being able to deliuer it with such grace as both she spake it, and Buchanan penneth it, I might dishonor hir, & ouerthrow my selfe, like vnto Phaeton. For as he, taking vpon him to rule the chariot of the sunne, was by his insufficiencie therefore consumed with the heat and glorie thereof; so should I in presuming with vnskill to pen the

A preparation of triumphs.

tale

tale of ſuch a woꝛthie pꝛince, conſume my credit, in miſoꝛdering oꝛ defacing the maieſtie, grauitie, wiſedome, and life of hir ſingular wit and eloquence. Foꝛ which cauſe, leauing the ſame, we dꝛo in this ſoꝛt bꝛing backe our pen to the continuance of the hiſtoꝛie of Scotland.

Buchan. li. 17.

The quéene of Scots had a bꝛother called John, a man deſirous of authoꝛitie, but yet not ſo ſeuere in mind as was James the other bꝛother. This John eaſilie perſuading himſelfe to obeie the quéene in all things, was the moꝛe déere vnto hir, and moſt fit foꝛ hir, deſirous (as ſaith Buchanan, but how trulie I know not) to confound all things. With this John (in abſence of the other bꝛother James) ſhe did conſult to hier a companie of ſouldiers to be about hir, the cauſe whereof was this. In the night there was a tumult oꝛ ſtur, as though the earle of Arran would, in the abſence of the nobilitie, ſecretlie ſet vpon the quæne, and by ſtrength haue laboꝛed to carie hir to his caſtell, which was fouretéene miles from thence. All which ſéemeth likely to be but a tale, either foꝛ the quéenes mind that was eſtranged from him, oꝛ foꝛ the immoderat loue which he bare vnto hir: both which were ſufficientlie knowen to the common people. Which tumult being ſpꝛed abꝛoad, theſe ſouldiers after they had all night ſcowꝛed the fields, riding vp and downe hither & thither, they ſhewed themſelues the nert day beforе the court gates, to the offenſe of ſome, and the ieſt of others.]

1562.

James Steward made earle of Murreie.

Fr. Thin.

Fr. Thin. Buchanan lib. 17.

The ſunday beforе Shꝛouetueſdaie, being the eight day of Febꝛuarie (as ſome wꝛite) James Steward then pꝛioꝛ of ſaint Andꝛewes, and earle of Mar, baſe bꝛother to the quéene, was made earle of Murreie, [in place (as ſaith Buchanan) of the earledome of Mar, which belonged to John Areſkin] by the quéens ſpeciall gift, and was maꝛied the ſame day vnto Agnis Keith, daughter to the erle Marſhall, with great feaſts and triumphs, laſting thꝛée daies. ✲ In which maꝛiage he did ſo much exceed, that he greatlie offended the minds of his friends, and miniſtred matter to his enimies to ſpeake euill of him; and that the moꝛe vehementlie, becauſe he had beforе time in all his life behaued himſelfe far moꝛe temperatlie than he did at this time.]

The quéene of England deſirous to haue a méeting betwixt hir and the quéene of Scots hir coſine, ſent diuerſe meſſengers with letters, deſiring hir moſt inſtantlie to come to Yoꝛke, where ſhe would méet hir, to talke with hir of diuerſe matters, that might make to the confirmation of the amitie and friendſhip which nature had knit betwéene them, by coniunction and affinitie of bloud. And after conſultation had with hir councell, the quéene of Scots agréed thereto: and ſo they were appointed to méet at Yoꝛke in the moneth of Julie nert following. But when things were pꝛepared and put in a readineſſe foꝛ the iournie, the quéene of England ſent woꝛd to the quéene of Scots, that ſhe could not kéepe the appointment made foꝛ their méeting, deſiring hir to haue hir excuſed foꝛ that time. Which meſſage was accepted, and ſo the iournie ſtaied.

The quéene of England deſirous to ſpeake with the quéene of Scotland.

The méeting time was diſappointed.

Fr. Thin. Buchan. li. 17.

✲ Much about this time, oꝛ rather ſomewhat beforе, as in truth I ſuppoſe it was, James Hamilton being duke of Chatélerault, and father to the earle of Arran, firſt wꝛote to the quéene, then after went he vnto hir to ſaint Andꝛewes, and with manie pꝛaiers requeſted hir that ſhe would vpon ſufficient pledges deliuer to him the earle Bothwell, and Gawen Hamilton, but he could not obteine anie thing therein at hir hands. At what time alſo the quéene went to Dunbꝛeton (which Hamilton held ſince the time that he was gouernoꝛ) to demand the deliuerie of the ſame into hir hands, which was accoꝛdinglie deliuered vnto hir.] Shoꝛtlie after, the quéene of Scots toke hir iournie towards the noꝛth parts of Scotland, and ſet from Striueling in the moneth of Auguſt.

The quéene made hir pꝛogreſſe into the noꝛth parts of Scotland.

About this time it chanced that the loꝛd Ogiluie, and John Goꝛdon of Finnater, ſonne to the earle of Huntleie, met on the cauſeie of Edenburgh & fought, where (after manie blowes and ſtripes giuen and taken) the loꝛd Ogiluie and his companie were hurt. Wherefoꝛe John Goꝛdon was taken, & put in ward at the tolbuith of Edenburgh, out of which he eſcaped, after he had remained pꝛiſoner therein about twentie daies, and toke his waie noꝛthward: whereupon followed great trouble ſhoꝛtlie after to the houſe of Huntleie. The quéene accompanied with the earles of Argile, Murreie, and Hoꝛton, the loꝛd Erſkin, and others, paſſed foꝛwards in hir iournie towards the noꝛth part, and cauſed John Goꝛdon of Finnater to be ſummoned to apéere and anſwer the law at Aberden, foꝛ bꝛeaking pꝛiſon, and hurting the loꝛd Ogiluie. The quéene comming to the towne of Aberden, was honoꝛablie receiued with diuerſe oꝛations, and Latine enterludes, beforе the grammar ſchole and college.

Loꝛd Ogiluie and John Goꝛdon fight togither.

John Goꝛdon bꝛeaketh pꝛiſon.

John Goꝛdon is ſummoned by the quéene.

Goꝛdon is accompanied with a great companie.

✲ Theſe things thus done at Aberden, as the quéene determined to go further, ſhe was intreated by John Leſle a noble man, and followeꝛ of the Goꝛdons, to vouchſafe his houſe in hir waie, being 12 miles from the towne: to which ſhe granted, & went vnto the ſame. This place, becauſe it was no common place of reſoꝛt, was thought verie conuenient foꝛ the execution of the earle of Murreie, whoſe death was conſpired (as after ſhall apære.) Wherevpon Leſle, who was not ignoꝛant of this ſecret counſell, beſought the quæne that ſhe would not laie ſuch a note of infamie vpon him and his familie, that he ſhould ſeeme to haue betraied the chiefeſt bꝛother of the quéene, no euill man, and one that was not his enimie, whereby he might come vnto his death at his houſe. Wherevpon it then ceaſſed, and the nert night was alſo quietlie paſſed ouer at Kothimie, a towne of the Abernethians, becauſe the nert day the quéene was determined to go to Stꝛabogie.]

Fr. Thin. Buchanan lib. 17.

Wherevpon the earle of Huntleie, hauing beforе heard that his ſonne was thus ſummoned, aſſembled the pꝛincipall earles, loꝛds, baꝛons, and gentlemen of the noꝛth, who came with him to Aberden, to helpe his ſon at the law day appointed foꝛ his apéerance, which was in September. The earle came vnto the quéene himſelfe, and at length it was agreed, that his ſonne the ſaid John Goꝛdon ſhould returne to pꝛiſon againe in Striueling caſtell, there to remaine during the quéenes pleaſure. But he following the euill counſell of ſome yong heads that were with him, neither fulfilled the quéenes pleaſure, noꝛ his fathers appointment, but attempted to reuenge his extreme handling (as he toke it) vpon the earle of Murreie, whome he put moſt in blame foꝛ the rigoꝛ ſhewed againſt him, but his enterpꝛiſe toke not effect. Now the quéene aduertiſed of his diſobedience, went not to Stꝛabogie, notwithſtanding there was great pꝛeparation made foꝛ hir in that place, foꝛ the receiuing of hir and hir traine: but ſhe went vnto Balwanie, the earle of Athols place, and from thence to Kinlos, to Tarnewaie, and ſo came to Inuerneſſe, and there lodged.

Goꝛdon is commanded to Striueling caſtell.

He diſobeied.

In this meane while, the earle of Huntleie, purpoſing to attend on the quéene at Inuerneſſe, cauſed pꝛouiſion to be made in the caſtell foꝛ his lodging. The quéene ſuſpecting his dealing, leaſt this ſhould be done vpon ſome policie, commanded the kéepers of the caſtell to render the ſame to one of hir heralds: but it was not deliuered till the nert day, and theꝛefoꝛe the capteine of that caſtell called Alexander Goꝛdon, foꝛ refuſing to deliuer it, was hanged vpon the towne

The quéene ſuſpected the earle of Huntleie.

Alexander Goꝛdon was hanged.

towne bꝛidge. The lorꝺ Goꝛꝺon & his bꝛother John Goꝛꝺon of Finnater came that night within a little ſpace diſtant from the towne of Inuerneſſe, which cauſed great feare in the towne, ſo that there was a diligent watch all that night. The earle of Huntleie being come to Kinloſſe, and hearing that the caſtell of Inuerneſſe was commanded to be giuen vp into the hands of an herald, ſent with all diligence to the kéepers, that they ſhould deliuer it, & returned himſelfe to Strabogie.

The quéene remained in Inuerneſſe the ſpace of foure oꝛ fiue daies, where the pꝛincipall capteine of the clanes of the countrie came to hir, and with a great companie [of the ancient Scots (as hath Buchanan) whereof the chiefe were the Fraiſers and Murreies, valiant families in thoſe parts] conueied hir to Spine, where ſhe was informed that the earle of Huntleie had gathered an armie to come againſt hir, and made their aſſemble at Spaie. Hérevpon, they toke with them all the artillerie ouer Spine, and caried the ſame in carts, and all other kind of munition, and paſſed foꝛward to Bamf that night. The earle of Huntleie all this while came not foꝛth of Strabogie. The quéene as ſhe paſſed foꝛward, rode to the place of Finnater, and there in hir owne pꝛeſence, cauſed the kéepers thereof to be charged to deliuer it, which they refuſed to doo. From Bamf the quéene rode to the lard of Geichtis place, called Geicht, and the next day there was great pꝛeparation foꝛ hir entrie into the new towne of Aberden. She lodged one night in the biſhops palace, and the next day ſhe was honoꝛablie receiued, and lodged in the pꝛouoſts houſe of the towne, where ſhe remained all the time of hir abode in Aberden.

After this, the lorꝺ John pꝛioꝛ of Coldingham, with diuerſe gentlemen, was ſent againſt the earle of Huntleie to Strabogie, but he was eſcaped beforꝛe they appꝛoched. The ladie Huntleie receiued them verie courteouſlie, and gaue them good interteinement, and ſo they returned. There was charge giuen to Louthian, Fife, Angus, Stratherne, the Merns, and to the ſhire of Aberden, to come to Aberden quarterlie, euerie countrie to remaine there fiftéene daies; and ſo they did, during the time of hir abiding there. The earle of Huntleie ſent his wife in meſſage to the quéene and councell, but ſhe was not admitted to come within a mile of them, but commanded to returne. After this, he ſent a meſſenger, offering to enter in ward till his cauſe might be tried by the whole nobilitie: but this was refuſed. In the meane time all the pꝛincipall of the Goꝛꝺons that were landed men, were charged to enter into ward. About the ſame time James Hepboꝛne earle of Bothwell, who (vpon diſpleaſure conceiued againſt him about a quarell betwixt him and the earle of Arrane, had béene committed to pꝛiſon in Eaſter wéeke laſt befoꝛe paſt) eſcaped out of Dauids towꝛer in Edenburgh at a window.

✲The earle of Huntleie, vnderſtanding by his friends at the court how things paſſed, determined to flie to the mounteins: but after (truſting to the pꝛomiſes of his friends) he determined to abide battell in a place of ſome ſtrength. Whereꝛvpon in October he came with his armie to Coꝛnethie in Mar. By reaſon whereof the earle of Murreie, who at the firſt had ſcarſe a hundꝛed hoꝛſſemen with him, began with James Dowglaſſe earle of Moꝛton, and Patrike Lindſeie, to lead an armie againſt his enimies, and gathered a greater number of eight hundꝛed people of the regions adioining. Wherefoꝛe he firſt placed ſouldiers about the water paſſages, to kéepe all thoſe places, that Huntleie ſhould not eſcape; and with the reſt went foꝛward on a ſoft paſe, to méet his enimie: whoſe comming Huntleie did abide, with thꝛée hundꝛed men, kéeping their places, although not a few of that companie were fled from the Goꝛꝺons the night befoꝛe.

When the earle of Murreie was come to the ſide of a hill, from whence he might ſée all the marſhes about him, he incamped there in a ſlender oꝛder of battell. At length the armies met, at what time manie on the earle of Murreie his ſide did flée awaie, hauing befoꝛe giuen a ſigne to the enimie. But the earle Murreie, which ſaw there was no ſuccour in fléeing, ſtood to it valiantlie, called his men togither, ſet vpon the enimie, cauſed them (which befoꝛe followed his men fleeing awaie,) now to flie as faſt backe as they came foꝛward. Which change of foꝛtune when the traitoꝛs that befoꝛe fled did percetue, they came afreſh and purſued the Huntleies, and (to cleare them from the firſt fault) committed all the ſlaughter that was doone that daie.

There was killed of the part of Huntleie a hundꝛed and twentie, and a hundꝛed taken: but on the other ſide not one. Amongſt ſuch as were taken, was the earle Huntleie himſelfe, and his two ſons, John and Adam. But the father being old and ſhoꝛt bꝛeathed by reaſon of his groſſenes, was ſlaine betwéene the hands of ſuch as toke him, and the reſt were late in the night bꝛought to Aberden.] The quéene ſéemed ſoꝛie foꝛ the earles death. But in Nouember John Goꝛꝺon was beheaded in Aberden, and ſhoꝛtlie after the quéene returned ſouthwards, leauing foure commiſſioners in Aberden, the treaſuroꝛ, maiſter James Macgill, maiſter John Spens of Cundie, and the lard of Pettarrow, to compound foꝛ the eſchets of them that were in the field with the earle of Huntleie. Great ſummes of monie were taken and leuied of them foꝛ that treſpaſſe. ✲The earle Bothwell was commanded the firſt kalends of December by an herald to yéeld himſelfe againe to pꝛiſon, but becauſe he would not, he was declared a publike enimie.]

The lorꝺ Geoꝛge Goꝛꝺon, eldeſt ſonne to the earle of Huntleie, was taken by the duke of Chatelerault his father in law, at Cumernould, and bꝛought to Edenburgh, where he was put in the caſtell, and after by a iurie conuict, foꝛfalted, and condemned to die, and ſent to Dunbar caſtell, there to remaine in ward, where he continued till the yéere of God, 1565. ✲At this time was a monie mulct ſet vpon ſuch as did eat fleſh in the time of Lent. The ſetting foꝛth thereof was not ſo much foꝛ religion, as foꝛ publike commoditie, by the iudgement of Buchanan. The archbiſhop of ſaint Andꝛewes, becauſe (after an edict made therefoꝛe at the quéenes comming into Scotland) he did not abſteine from hearing and eating maſſe, was committed pꝛiſoner to the caſtell of Edenburgh, and the reſt that were found in ſuch actions were fined, with pꝛomiſe of a greater puniſhment to be laied vpon them, if they were found offending againe in that ſoꝛt.]

The quéene held a parlement in Edenburgh, where the earle of Huntleis dead bodie was bꝛought pꝛeſent befoꝛe the eſtates in the tolbuith, and foꝛfalted. The earle of Sutherland Geoꝛge Goꝛꝺon was foꝛfalted alſo, and diuerſe other of their friends. And in this parlement the act of oblituion was ratified and appꝛoued, and diuerſe other new acts made. This yeere in Auguſt, the quéene went on pꝛogreſſe into Argile. This yéere deceaſſed diuerſe councellois oꝛ ſenatoꝛs of the college of Juſtice, as maiſter John Stephanſon chancelloꝛ of Glaſcow, and the pꝛouoſt of Coꝛſtrophine. In place of the firſt, maiſter John Leſle, officiall of Aberden, was pꝛomoted; and in the pꝛouoſts place maiſter James Baulfour ſucceéded. There came an ambaſſadoꝛ from the king of Sweden, to treat of a mariage to be contracted with the

The earle of Huntleie is ſent foꝛ.

The ladie Huntleie is ſent vnto the quéene.

The Goꝛꝺons are impꝛiſoned.

The earle Bothwell eſcaped out of pꝛiſon.

Fr. Thin.

She came to Aberden.

Fr. Thin. Buchan. lib. 17.

John Goꝛꝺon is beheaded.

Fr. Thin. Buchanan. lib. 17.

The lorꝺ Goꝛꝺon is taken pꝛiſoner. 1563. Buch

1562.

Fr. Thin. Buchan. lib. 17

1563.

A parlement.

The act of oblituion ratified.

The quéene goeth on pꝛogreſſe.

New officers.

1564.

Ambaſſadoꝛs from Sweden

quéene, but his meſſage was not regarded. The ſecond of Julie, Henrie Sincler biſhop of Roſſe ſhipped at Leith to paſſe into France, to procure ſome helpe of his diſeaſe. He was cut of the ſtone in Paris, and died the ſecond of Januarie nert after. There ſuccéded to that biſhoprike of Roſſe, maiſter John Leſle, parſon of Ouen, being then one of the ſenators of the ſeſſion and college of iuſtice.

The biſhop of Roſſe went into France.

In the moneth of Auguſt, the quéene paſſed into Atholl in progreſſe, and from thence to Badzenocht, to Inuerneſſe, and to the canonrie of Roſſe, and returned through Murreie to Gartleie, Aberden, Dunnoter, and ſo to Edenburgh, where ſhe remained the nert winter. In the moneth of October, the earle of Lennor came into Scotland, and for his cauſe there was a parlement holden in December, in which he was reſtored to all his lands, honors, and dignities, within that realme. In December alſo, the biſhop of Dunblane deceaſſed, and after him ſuccéded maiſter William Cheſiholme his brothers ſon. In Januarie, the quéene toke hir iourneie through Fife, and in manie gentlemens places was banketted. In which time, Henrie Steward, lord Darnleie, a goodlie man of perſonage, and ſonne to the earle of Lennor, came into Scotland, where he came to the quénes preſence in the Weames, the ninth day of Februarie. The quéene ſo well liked him, that ſhe aſſembled all the temporall lords togither at Striueling, in the moneth of Aprill, and there obteined of them their conſents, that ſhe might marrie the ſaid lord Darneleie. After this, he was made earle of Roſſe.

The quénes progreſſe.

The earle of Lennox came into Scotland.

1563.

Parlement.

Lord Darneleie is made lord of Roſſe.

In the meane time, the quéene of England ſent ſir Nicholas Throckmorton into Scotland, to vnderſtand the proceedings in the quénes mariage with the lord Darneleie, and for other affaires, who came to the aſſemblie at Striueling to that effect. The quéene of Scots ſent maiſter John Hale abbat of Balmerinoch into England to the quéene, to mitigat hir diſpleaſure towards the lord Darneleie, and to obteine hir conſent to the mariage; who anſwered, that ſhe ment to ſend an ambaſſador of hir owne into Scotland for that and other cauſes, and (according to hir promiſe) ſhe ſent one. Shortlie after, certeine captéins & men of warre in ſaint Andrewes, Dundée, and ſaint Johns towne, receiued monie about the ſame time of the earle of Murreie, to take part with him, for the which they were after puniſhed. After the aſſemblie at Striueling, the quéene ſéemed not to like of the earle of Murreie ſo well as ſhe had done before: whereupon he departed the court, and repaired to ſaint Andrewes, where (through the counſell of certeine perſons) he ſought waies to ſtop the mariage.

The quéene neuertheleſſe ſent the biſhop of Dunblane to Rome for a diſpenſation to marrie with the lord Darneleie, being hir coſine in the ſecond degrée of conſanguinitie, which he obteined, & ſent it home ſhortlie after. The quéene was then principallie counſelled by the earles of Atholl, and Lennor, the lord Ruthwen, and their friends. In the meane time, the earle of Murreie perſuaded the duke of Chaſelerault, the earle of Argile, and ſundrie other, to méet at Striueling, where they made a bond to ſtop the mariage, alledging the ſame to be made for maintenance of the religion. The quéene aduertiſed thereof, releaſed the lord Gordon forth of priſon, wherein he had béene kept within the caſtell of Dunbar, and reſtoring him to his fathers lands, created him earle of Huntleie. She alſo ſent for the earle of Bothwell to returne home, who was baniſhed, and was then in France [and the earle of Southerland to returne out of Flanders.]

Embaſſage ſent into Scotland.

The earle of Murreie a ſuitor vnto the quéene.

Diſpenſation ſent from Rome for to marrie.

Conſultation to ſtop the mariage.

Gordon is created earle of Huntleie.

Bothwell is ſent for.

Fr. Thin.

1564.

Lord Darneleie is made duke of Albanie.

In the moneth of Julie, the lord Darneleie earle of Roſſe was made duke of Albanie. And on ſaturdaie at euen, the eight and twentith daie of the ſame moneth, before the mariage, he was proclamed king by the quéenes commandement at the market croſſe of Edenburgh. And on the nine and twentith daie of the ſame moneth, he was married to the quéene in the chappell of Holie rod houſe, at fiue of the clocke in the morning. Shortlie after, the duke of Chaſelerault, the earles of Argile, Murreie, and their complices, were ſummoned to appéere before the quéene and hir councell within ſix daies; & becauſe they refuſed ſo to do, they were put to the horne.

Lord Darneleie is proclamed king.

The quéene is maried.

Certein lords refuſe to appéere before the quéene.

Fr. Thin. Buchan. lib. 17.

¶ The king and quéene thereupon aſſemble their power, and by a herald demand the deliuerie of the caſtell of Hamilton. But (he returning without the effect of his meſſage) they addreſſe themſelues to warre. At what time the lords of the congregation were at ſome variance amongeſt themſelues, as ſeuered into diuerſe opinions: for the Hamiltons that were of greateſt power in thoſe places, did affirme, that they ſhould haue no firme conditions of peace, except the king and quéene were made awaie: for ſo long as they were in health, they could hope for nothing but new warres, new deceipts, and diſſembled peace; a thing farre more dangerous than open war. For though manie times the iniuries of priuat perſons maie be laid downe by trauell and perſuaſion, and maie be recompenſed againe with great commodities: yet there is no waie to appeaſe the diſpleaſure of kings, but by taking them awaie.

wicked counſell alwaies worſt to the giuer.

Vpon which bad ſpéech, the earles of Murreie and of Glencarne (which well vnderſtood that the Hamiltons did not ſéeke the publike commoditie, but their owne priuat riches as perſons that were nert to the crowne after the queens death) did abhor the ſlaughter and gouernement of the Hamiltons, whom of late they had felt to be both cruell and couetous: and did therefore giue more mild and ſound counſell, ſaieng that this diſſention being ciuill, was not yet come to be bloudie: in which hitherto they had onelie contended with words & not with ſwords, being not yet ſo far, but that (if it were poſſible) the ſame might be ended with honeſt conditions.

To the perſuaſion whereof, he ſaid that there were manie in the camps of the two princes, which gréedilie deſired to heare of peace, & would not faile to further their endeuor therein, nor to defend themſelues & their cauſe with néedfull weapons: all which did perchance foreſée that the king and quéene (by reaſon of their youth) had not yet faulted ſo greatlie, as that it turned to the vtter ouerthrow of the common-wealth; & if they haue faults (as who hath not) they were ſuch as were rather to their owne priuat reproch than otherwiſe, and therefore they ought not to be puniſhed with ſtat death: but rather to be cured with eaſier remedies. For he did remember it to haue alwaies bæne obſerued heretofore, that in the life of kings, we ſhould alwaies couer their ſecret vices, we ſhould mildlie interpret their doubtfull faults, and we ſhould with patience beare their knowne euils: ſo that they did not by them bring vtter deſtruction to the common-wealth.

When this opinion was pleaſing to moſt of the hearers, the other Hamiltons (except James, which was head of that familie) determined to reſt in quiet; but he accompanied with ſixtéene horſſes remained with the lords. Who being now ſo weakened of their power, that they could neither wage battell, nor ſafelie paſſe to their owne; did giue place to the time, and went that night to Hamilton.] The quéene aſſembled an armie, and went to Glaſcow to purſue them [at what time (as ſaith Buchanan) the earle of Lennor was made warden of the eaſt marches, and the duke and earles with other of their compa-

nie

An armie gathered against them.

nie came to Edenburgh, where the caſtell ſhot off at them, and therefore they departed towards Dunfreis, and were receiued by the lord Herris.

The lords went vnto Dunfreis.

The quéene hearing thereof, by aduiſe of hir councell aſſembled forth of all the parts of the whole realme an armie, appointing the ſame to be at Beggar, in the beginning of October, to purſue the rebels. In the meane time, ſhe hearing that the townes of ſaint Andrewes, Dundée, and ſaint Johns towne, had helped the lords to raiſe men of warre for their ſupport, paſſed thither hirſelfe, and toke inquiſition thereof, giuing order in thoſe townes, that no ſuch thing ſhould afterwards be put in practiſe. But there were none that ſuffered death for that matter; but diuerſe were committed to priſon in the north parts of the realme, as the prouoſt and bailzeis of ſaint Andrewes: alſo certeine of the towne of Dundée, and ſaint Johns towne, and other were baniſhed; and diuerſe barons, as Lundie, Lango, and Balward, were ſent to Aberden, and to other parts, where they remained the winter following.

Certeine townes are puniſhed.

About this time, the quéene toke the caſtell of Tantallon from the earle of Morton, becauſe he was ſuſpected to fauor the rebels. The keeping thereof was giuen to the earle of Atholl. The quéene returning to Edenburgh in September, prepared all things neceſſarie for the armie, and departing from Edenburgh, came to Beggar, where all the noblemen with their retinues were aſſembled the eight of October. From thence they paſſed forward to Dunfreis. In the meane time, the duke of Chatelerault, the earles of Murreie, Glencarne, Roths, the lord Ochiltre, the abbat of Kilwinning, the lards of Grange, Cuningham, Herdie, Pettarrow, maiſter James Haliburton tutor of Petcur, and others, hearing of the quéens comming with an armie, fled into England & came to Caerleill, where they were receiued, the earle of Bedford at that time being lord lieutenant of the north.

A great armie

The lords fled into England.

The lord Herris then maiſter of Marwell conueied them to the water of Sulweie, and afterward returned to Dunfreis to the quéene, where (of hir clemencie) he got pardon of his offenſe; and the lards of Lochinwar and Drumlanrig likewiſe. After the armie had taried certeine daies, putting direction for obſeruing of good order in the countrie, the quéen returned to Edenburgh, where ſhe remained all the next winter. The quéene ſent the maiſter Dauid Chalmer chancellor of Roſſe into France to the the king, with letters for his aſſiſtance againſt hir rebels. And ſhortlie after, the French king ſent a gentleman called monſieur Paluoiſer into Scotland, with verie friendlie letters vnto the quéene, promiſing his helpe & aſſiſtance againſt the rebels; which meſſage was moſt thankefullie receiued, and the ſaid Paluoiſer honorablie at his departure rewarded.

Their conuoiers got their pardon.

The quéene returned againe into Edenburgh.

The quéene ſent into France for aid.

The duke of Chatelerault, and the other lords with him departed from Caerleill to Newcaſtell vpon Tine, and from thence ſent the earle of Murreie, and the abbat of Kilwinning to the quéene of England, making ſute to hir grace for aid to be reſtored to their countrie againe. The quéens maieſtie promiſed them, that ſhe would ſend a gentleman to the quéene hir ſiſter, and moue hir in their fauors, as ſhe did; and ſo they returned to Newcaſtell, where the duke of Chatelerault, perceiuing no other helpe appearing, ſent the abbat of Kilwinning into Scotland to the quéene with letters, ſubmitting himſelfe to hir graces will, and ſo he obteined pardon for him and his friends, with licence to paſſe into France, there to remaine the ſpace of fiue yeares, and ſhortlie after he paſſed through England, and ſo ouer into France, according to his appointment.

The lords ſend to the quéene of England.

The quéene of England ſent to the quéene of Scots.

The king paſſed the moſt part of that winter in the countries of Fife, Stratherne, Striueling ſhire, & Louthian, ſpending his time in hawking. The quæne remained at Edenburgh with the nobilitie, and becauſe ſhe was conceiued with child, trauelled little abroad. ✠ About this time was a new order taken for placing the king and quéens name in all their writings and patents. For where, vntill this time, the kings name was ſet before the quéens: now quite contrarie, the name of the quéene was written before the kings: beſides which, afterward the quéene hir ſelfe would onelie ſet hir name to the writings in place of hirs and his; and Dauid the ſecretarie was apointed in his place to haue a ſtampe of the kings name, to vſe when néed required.]

The king went a hawking.

Fr. Thin.

Bucha. lib. 17.

In the meane time a parlement was called, to be holden in the moneth of March next inſuing, and ſummons decréed againſt the earle of Murreie, and the other lords that remained in England, and alſo againſt the earle of Argile, lieng then in his countrie of Argile to heare them forfalted. The French king ſent monſieur Rambeueullet into Scotland, as ambaſſador from him to the quéene, with commiſſion, to make the king hir huſband knight of the order of S. Michaell. Which with great ſolemnitie and reuerence was accompliſhed in the chappell of Holie rood houſe the tenth of Februarie, being ſunday: after the which, the ſaid Rambeueullet returned into France, being highlie rewarded.

A parlement.

The lords that were exiled are ſummoned.

The king receiued the order of ſaint Michaell.

1566.

From that time that the parlement was proclaimed, and the ſummons alſo publiſhed, the earle of Murreis friends being in Scotland, neuer ceaſſed to ſéeke all the waies and means they could deuiſe to ſtaie the ſame: in ſo much that the earle of Morton, the lord Ruthwen, and the lord Lindſeie, ſecretlie perſuaded the king to ſtaie the parlement, and alſo to conſent to the reſtoring of the erle of Murreie and his complices, making to him faithfull promiſe, that if he would follow their counſell, he ſhould be made & crowned king of Scotland abſolutelie, and the quéene ſo to haue leſſe to do with the gouernement afterwards, where through he agréed to them.

They perſuade with the king.

The king ſoone perſuaded.

And ſo after the parlement was aſſembled, the lords of the articles being choſen the ſeuenth day of March, they perceiuing the forfalture like to proceéd, and iudgement therof to be giuen, the eleuenth of March next following, the king with the aſſiſtance of the ſaid earle of Morton, the lords Ruthwen, and Lindſeie, entred into the quéens priuie chamber about eight of the clocke in the night, being ſaturday, and the ninth of March; where being arriued in warlike manner, the lord Ruthwen declared vnto the quæne, that they would not ſuffer hir anie longer to haue the gouernement of the realme, to abuſe the ſame by the counſell of ſtrangers, as ſhe had done; and therefore pulled violentlie out of hir chamber Dauid Richeo an Italian, that was one of hir ſecretaries, crieng pitiouſlie, *Iuſtitia, Iuſtitia*: and in hir vtter chamber they ſuddenlie ſtue him with great crueltie. The king himſelfe was alſo preſent, and his dagger was likewiſe found ſticking in the dead bodie.

The king is entred into the quéens priuie chamber.

Dauid Richeo is ſlaine.

The quéene was ſhut vp within hir chamber, and certeine apointed to attend hir, and to keépe all the dores and gates about the palace. The earles of Huntleie and Bothwell eſcaped by a backe windowe forth in their chamber, wherof the king and his companie were right ſorie. The erle of Atholl and others being with him, departed in the night ſeaſon by a ferrie ouer the Forth, called the quéenes ferrie, and went to S. Johns towne. On the morow being ſunday (the quéene being ſecretlie kept) proclamation was made, that all the lords that had voice in parle-

The earle of Huntleie is fled and the reſidue alſo.

ment

The exiled lords come into Scotland.

ment, ſhuld depart out of the towne of Edenburgh: and after none the ſame day, the earles of Murreie and Rothes, with other of their companies that came forth from Newcaſtell the ſaturday before, came to the abbeie of Holie rod houſe about ſix of the clocke in the after none, where they were thankfullie receiued by the king and his companie. They ſpake alſo with the quéene, who had no great comfort of their comming.

The morrow following, being monday, the earle of Murreie, and the other that were ſummoned, paſſed to the tolbuith of Edenburgh, & made their proteſtation there, that they were readie to anſwer in parlement, and none appeared to accuſe them. After this, it was concluded to kéepe the quéene in ſtreict ward. But by hir politike demeanor, their purpoſe in that behalfe was broken: for by ſecret conference with the king, ſhe perſuaded him to thinke, that ſhe had ioined himſelfe with thoſe that would be his deſtruction, if it happened with hir otherwiſe than well; as was no leſſe to be doubted, by reaſon of the high diſpleaſure that ſhe had taken being quicke with child: through the which perſuaſion, and other miſtiking of things, he departed ſecretlie with hir in the night ſeaſon, accompanied onlie with two men, and firſt came vnto Seiton, and after ward from thence to Dunbar.

They make their protestation.

The quéene had cõference with the king.

The king was ſone perſuaded.

Thither the earles of Huntleie and Bothwell haſtilie repaired, by whoſe counſell and others then with hir, ſhe cauſed proclamation to be made in diuerſe parts of the realme, charging all manner of men in feats of warre, to come vnto hir to Dunbar, & to paſſe from thence vnto Edenburgh within ſix dates after. She alſo ſent letters to the ſame effect vnto diuerſe noble men of the realme, who prepared themſelues with great diligence to meet hir. The earle of Murreie and the reſt of the lords being with him, hearing the preparation that was made againſt them, and perceiuing themſelues not able to reſiſt, thought good euerie of them to ſéeke ſome particular meane to obteine remiſſion at the quéens hands. Which they obteined all of them, except the earle of Morton, the lords Ruthwen, Lindſeie, and ſuch other as were with them at the murther of Dauid Richeo. Whereupon they deſparing of pardon, fled into England; where the lord Ruthwen died at Newcaſtell ſhortlie after; as in place ye ſhall heare.

Huntleie and Bothwell.

Proclamation made.

The earle of Lennor, being partaker with them, came to Dunbar, and got pardon: the earle of Glencarne and the laird of Cunninghame head came thither alſo, and were pardoned. Likewiſe the earle of Rothes purchaſed his pardon at the ſame time. The earles of Argile and Murreie, and the lord Boid, being at Lithquo, ſent to the quéene for their pardon, and obteined it, being commanded neuertheleſſe to paſſe into Argile, and to remaine there during hir graces pleaſure, which commandement they obeied.

Pardon is craued and obteined.

The murtherers are excepted.

Manie pardoned.

The eightéenth of March, the quéene well accompanied came to Hadington towards night: and on the nintéenth day, the biſhop of ſaint Andrews, and the Hamiltons met hir at Muſkelburgh, and ſo likewiſe did the lords Leuingſton, Fleming, Hume, Borthwike, and manie other noble men, and conueied hir vnto Edenburgh.

The quéene commeth to Edenburgh.

She lodged in the biſhop of Dunkelds lodging, and taried there a certeine ſpace, hauing with hir the erls of Huntleie, Atholl, Bothwell, Crawford, Marſhall, Southerland, Cathnes, the biſhops of ſaint Andrews and Roſſe, the lords Leuingſton, Fleming, and diuerſe other noble men, by whoſe counſell order was taken for redreſſing of the ſtate of the realme, whereby the ſame was ſhortlie brought to great quietneſſe. After this, the quéene perceiuing hirſelfe to draw néere the time of hir deliuerance, went to the caſtell of Edenburgh, there to remaine till ſhée were deliuered of hir birth. In the moneth of Maie, Thomas Scot ſhiriffe, deputie of Perth, & a prieſt called ſir Henrie Pair, ſeruant to the lord Ruthwen, were apprehended for being doers in the ſlaughter of Dauid, and were hanged and quartered. Their heads were ſet aloft, the one on the tower in the abbeie, and the other on the nether bow.

Execution done vpon the murtherers.

In the moneth of Aprill this yéere, the biſhop of Brechin preſident of the ſeſſion, deceaſſed, and in his rome ſucceéded to that biſhoprike, a friend and couſine to the earle of Argile, called Campbell. In the end of Aprill, the quéene, willing to haue the earles of Argile and Murreie ioined with the reſt of the counſell, ſent for them to come to the caſtell of Edenburgh, where all griefs and controuerſies that reſted betwirt them on the one ſide, and the earles of Huntleie, Atholl, & Bothwell on the other ſide, were referred to the quéene, who agréed them, and they all remained with hir the reſidue of the ſummer. The quéene hearing that the earle of Morton, the lord Ruthwen, and the other their aſſiſtants were receiued in England, and remained at Newcaſtell; ſhée ſent maiſter James Thornton chantor of Murreie, with letters to the quéene of England, and alſo to the king of France, and other hir friends there; declaring by the tenor of the ſame letters the abuſe and preſumptuous attempts of certeine hir ſubiects againſt hir, deſiring them not to receiue them within their realmes or dominions.

The quéene agréeth all the lords.

The quéene made ſute to the quéene of Eglnand.

Shortlie after, the quéene of England ſent a gentleman called Henrie Killigrew into Scotland, with letters and meſſage to the quéene, promiſing to cauſe them to depart forth of hir realme of England: and withall ſent vnto them warning to depart betwirt that preſent time, and midſummer then next inſuing. But in the meane time the lord Ruthwen departed this life at Newcaſtell, with great repentance of his former life: giuing God thanks, for that he had lent him time to call to him for mercie and forgiuenеſſe, whereof he did aſſure himſelfe. And from thenceforth the earle of Morton, and the maiſter of Ruthwen, remained ſecretlie néere to Anwike, and other places of the borders, till they obteined pardon, and were reſtored. About this time there came from the king of France a wiſe aged gentleman, named monſieur la Crocke, as his ambaſſador, and remained in Scotland all the winter following.

The quéene of England hir anſwer.

The lord Ruthwen repented.

An ambaſſage from the king of France.

In the moneth of June, the quéene perceiuing the time of hir deliuerance to approch, wrote vnto all the principall noble men of hir realme, to come and remaine within the towne of Edenburgh, during the time of hir deliuerance, where they aſſembled: and the king hir huſband, with the earles of Argile, Murreie, Atholl, and Mar, remained with hir in the caſtell; and the earle of Huntleie, Bothwell, and the remnant of the lords lodged in the towne. And vpon the nintéenth day of the ſame moneth of June, betwirt 10 and 11 of the clocke before none, hir grace was deliuered of a goodlie man-child, to the great comfort of hir highneſſe, and all hir ſubiects, whereof the nobilitie did greatlie reioiſe. And incontinentlie all the artillerie in the caſtell was ſhot off, and all the lords and people came togither in the church of ſaint Giles, to giue thanks to almightie God for his great and beneficiall goodnes ſhewed to them, in giuing to them a prince, and withall made their humble praiers vnto his diuine maieſtie, to indue him with the feare of God, with vertue and knowledge to gouerne the realme and ſubiects thereof, when ſoeuer the ſame ſhould fall into his hands.

A prince borne.

The ſame night at éeuen, there were great fires for ioy made in the towne of Edenburgh, and in all the

the countrie about, and likewise through all the whole realme, as by aduertisements were certified therof. The queene remained still in the castell of Edenburgh all the moneth of Julie following, till shée had recouered hir health and strength. In the beginning of August, she passed vp the water of Forth to Allowaie, where she remained certeine daies, the earles of Murreie and Mar being of companie with hir, and there the king hir husband came to visit hir. The same time monsieur Maluoisir came into Scotland from the king of France, bringing letters to the queene, who was conueied by the bishop of Rosse to Allowaie, where he was ioifullie receiued, courteouslie interteined, and highly rewarded. The queene of England sent maister Henrie Killegrew to the queene with the like message, reioising for hir safe and happie deliuerance, who likewise was receiued in most thankefull maner, and well rewarded.

The princes godfathers & godmothers.

Here is to be noted, that shortlie after she was brought to bed, she sent one of hir gentlemen called monsieur Clarimoich, with letters to the king of France, and to the duke of Sauoie: desiring them to send ambassadors, which in their name (as godfathers) might receiue hir son at the baptisme. Moreouer, she sent James Meluine to the queene of England with the like message, desiring hir maiestie to be godmother [who by hir ambassador Francis earle of Bedford, sent a present to the queene of Scots, (as I. Stow hath noted) a fount of gold curiouslie wrought & inamelled, weieng 333 ounces, amounting in value to 1043 pounds 19 shillings of English monie.] These princes were glad hereof, and promised to send ambassadors to that effect, as afterward they did. In the later end of August, the queene accompanied with the king hir husband, the erles of Huntleie, Murreie, Bothwell, and diuerse other, went into Meggat land, there to passe the time in hunting, where they remained certeine daies: and returning to Edenburgh, caused the prince to bee conueied vnto Striueling castell, where he was committed in keeping to the lord Erskin, after erle of Mar, and his ladie. And from thence the queene went on progresse into Glen Arkeneie.

Fr. Thin. I. Stow pa. 1131 in quart.

Fr. Thin. Buchan. li. 17.

✣ The king as a solitarie person goeth to Striueling, after which the queene determineth to go to Jedworth to assemble a parlement. About the beginning of October, Bothwell prepareth a tournie into Liddisdale, where he was hurt with a calæuer by a base theefe. Wherupon with vncerteine life he was caried to the castell of Hermitage, to which the queene (hearing of his mishap) came, attended with a small traine from Bothwike, and from thence hauing seene Bothwell, did in short time after returne to Bothwike, whither shée caused Bothwell to bee brought: after whose comming thither, the queene fell so grieuouslie sicke, that she was in danger of hir life, at what time the king came thither vnto hir.

1567.

In Januarie the king came to Glascow, where he fell sicke, and remouing from thence went to Edenburgh, and the queene accompanied him. She lodged at Holie rod house, but hee was lodged at a house within the towne, neere to the Kirke a field, within the which, on the tenth of the moneth of Februarie in the night he was shamefullie murthered, togither with one William Parat. He was cast into an orchard, and herewith the house was blowne vp with gunpowder. [Some giue report of his death, but touch not the maner thereof, onelie saieng that he was shamefullie murthered in a morning (a heauie breakefast) by his owne (but vnnaturall and rebellious) people, whose innocent blood crieth out for vengeance at the hands of God, who in iustice will (when he seeth due time) giue them their portion with malefactors agreeable to their merits.

The king murthered. 1566. Stow.

The earle of Bothwell murthered the king.

The earle of Bothwell was euen at the first vehementlie suspected to be the principall offendor in this most heinous and detestable murther. But the matter was so handled, that he was not onelie acquit by an assise, as they call it; but also shortlie after maried the queene. By reason wherof, the suspicion that men had alreadie conceiued, that she should be also priuie to the murther, was nothing diminished. But as I haue not to deale in that matter, so yet it is manifest, that some of the Scotish nobilitie, sore repining and maligning at such the spœdie aduancement of Bothwell, who (as euerie man persuaded himselfe, was the principall author of the murther) got them to armes on the sudden, before the queene or Bothwell were aduertised of their meaning, they being then at Borthwike castell, eight miles distant from Edenburgh.

The lords get them to armes.

✣ Thus leauing the lords awhile at Edenburgh, we will say somewhat out of Buchanan, of things done by Bothwell & the queene, before that she was taken by these noble men of the congregation, hauing at that time taken armes against hir. After the death of hir husband, whome she had caused to be buried not farre from Dauid Richeo hir secretarie, slaine (as was thought) by the meanes of the king of Scots: the queene (I say) after that, and also after the clearing of Bothwell from the murther of hir husband, was forceablie taken (as she was on hir iournie) by the earle Bothwell, and caried to his castell, where she remained not long, but yet honorablie interteined. Which fact of his bred great mislike in the peoples minds, and brought him in danger of his life, had not the queene (of hir clemencie) pardoned him the same.

Fr. Thin. Buchan. li. 17.

This done, there was a consultation had for a mariage to be solemnized betweene hir and the earle Bothwell, which (after a diuorse had betweene this earle and his then wife Katharine Gordon, granted by the iudges spirituall & temporall; and after the solemne bands asked betweene the said earle James Hepborne, and the queene Marie Steward) was with great solemnitie of the nobilitie (by their hands in writing consenting thereunto) consummat at Edenburgh. Against which onelie the bishop of Orkenie was found to resist; and at which monsieur de Crocke the French ambassador then in Scotland would not be present: being a thing which did greatlie offend the Edenburgers to mislike of the queene.

Which mariage breeding some euill opinion of the said queene of Scots, not onelie in hir owne realme, but in the mouths of forreine nations, shee wiselie consulteth with hir friends, how she might establish hir power, and prouide to saue hirselfe and hir kingdome from tumults and insurrections. Whereupon, first she determineth to send an ambassador into France, to reconcile the minds of the king, and of the Guises, offended with this mariage. Which office of ambassage was laid vpon William bishop of Dunblane, with this charge (as saith Buchanan) almost word for word.

Buchan. li. 17.

First, you shall excuse to the king, and to our vncles, that our mariage (to be consummate) came to their eares, before that we had opened our counsell touching that matter by anie messengers. This excuse (as it were to a foundation) doth leane to the true exposition of his whole life, and chiefflie to the offices and duties of the duke or capteine of the Orcades towards vs, euen vnto that day in which it seemed good to vs to take him to husband. For the opening of the historie whereof you shall take occasion to treat from the beginning of the last times of his adolescencie (youth, or yeres of discretion, as wee terme it) in this sort.

That when he first began to manage his owne affaires

" faires (being from the death of his father one of the
" chiefe of the nobilitie) he did wholie dedicate himſelfe
" to the dutie and ſeruice of the princes and kings of
" Scotland, as one borne of a famous familie for his
" ancient nobilitie, & of great reuenues in this king-
" dome which he poſſeſſeth by right of inheritance. At
" that time alſo he did eſpeciallie and altogither con-
" ſecrate himſelfe to our mother, whileſt ſhe had the
" gouernement of the realme.

" In which dutie towards hir, he did ſo conſtantlie
" perſeuere, that although the greater part of the no-
" bilitie, and almoſt all the townes were fallen from
" hir obedience (vnder the colour of religion) yet hée
" would neuer decline from hir authoritie, as a per-
" ſon that could not be wone by anie promiſes or be-
" nefits, or feared with anie threats, or loſſe of his li-
" uings, to neglect his dutie in anie part vnto hir: but
" that he wold rather ſuffer his principall houſe, which
" was the head of his patrimonie, with his plentifull
" and pretious ſtore of furniture thereof to be taken
" from him, and all his other lands to be left for ſpoile
" to the enimie, than violate his faith to our mother.
" Beſides which, being deſtitute of helpe both of vs
" and our people (when the Engliſh hoſt was brought
" by our domeſticall enimies into the bowels of our
" kingdome, which directed their weapons to none o-
" ther marke, than that our now husband at that time
" earle Bothwell, ſhould by force be inforced to flie) he
" fled into France, forſaking all his patrimonie, where
" he honored me with all dutie and ſeruice (that hée
" might) vntill my returne into Scotland.

" Neither are thoſe exploits to be omitted, which
" were done by him in the warres againſt the Eng-
" liſh before my returne into mine owne countrie,
" where he ſhewed ſuch parts of warlike valure and
" graue wiſedome, that he was iudged (being then ve-
" rie yong) méet to haue the gouernment of ancient
" perſons, to be made chiefe capteine of the armie of
" the countrie, & alſo to be choſen or ſubſtitute depu-
" tie and chancellor: as in truth he was. In which of-
" fice he did not deceiue the hope and expectation which
" men conceiued of him. For (by his affaires valiant-
" lie atchiued) he left a ſingular praiſe and fame of
" him, as well amongſt his owne people, as amongſt
" the enimies.

" After our returne into Scotland, he emploied
" all his indeuor to the inlarging of our authoritie, and
" ſpared not to put himſelfe in danger, in ſubduing
" thoſe rebels which dwell about the borders of Eng-
" land. The diſpatch wherof being thortlie performed,
" and they brought to great quiet, he was appointed to
" do the like in all the other parts of the kingdome.
" But as enuie doth alwaies accompanie vertue, ſo
" the Scots repining thereat, and deſirous of innoua-
" tion, did labor to diminiſh our fauour towards him
" (for his great labors imploied in our behalfe) in miſ-
" conſtruing his good deeds.

" By which in the end they wrought ſo much with
" me, that we committed him to priſon; partlie to ſa-
" tiſfie the minds of ſuch as were emulous againſt
" him, and could not brooke the increaſe of his follow-
" ing honor and greatneſſe; and partlie to appeaſe ſuch
" ſeditions as were likelie then to breake forth to the
" deſtruction of the whole kingdome. But he (eſcaping
" out of priſon) got him into France, to giue place to
" the power of his enimies, where he remained almoſt
" two yéeres next following. At what time the authors
" of the former ſedition, forgetting my clemencie to-
" wards them, and their dutie towards vs, did raiſe
" warre, and take weapons againſt their quéene.

" From thence was he called backe into Scotland,
" & being reſtored to his former honors & poſſeſſions,
" he was againe made generall of all the armie: by
" whoſe helpe our authoritie began afreſh ſo to floriſh,
" that all the rebels (ſuddenlie forſaking their coun-
" trie) were inforced to flie into England, vntill part
" of them vpon humble ſubmiſſion were receiued a-
" new into our fauour. But how traitorouſlie I was
" handled by the reſt that were reſtored (and eſpeciallie
" ſuch, whoſe anceſtors I had with benefits moſt pro-
" moted) our vncle is not ignorant, and therefore we
" will touch that no more.

" Neither is it to be ouerpaſſed in ſilence, with what
" diligence he deliuered me from the hands of ſuch as
" deteined me priſoner, and with what ſpeed (and ſingu-
" lar prouidence of his) I did both eſcape from priſon,
" and recouered my former authoritie: after that I
" had diſperſed the factions of the conſpirators and ſe-
" ditious perſons. In which trulie I am inforced to
" confeſſe, that his dutie and diligence at that time
" ſhewed towards me, was ſo acceptable vnto me,
" that I could neuer after forget it. Theſe things al-
" though they be great of themſelues, yet he hath hi-
" ther to increſed them with ſuch diligence and careful-
" neſſe, that we cannot deſire greater dutie, or with
" more aſſured truſt in anie man, than we haue found
" in him; vntill theſe laſt times which followed the de-
" ceaſſe of our husband.

" But from that time, as his thoughts did ſéeme to
" tend higher, ſo his actions did after a ſort ſéeme to be
" more inſolent. And although the matter went ſo far,
" that we were to take all things in the beſt part: yet
" theſe things did then moſt greeuouſlie offend me; but
" eſpeciallie his arrogancie, in that he thought that
" there were not other ſufficient abilities in vs, to re-
" compenſe his deſeruings, vnleſſe we gaue our ſelfe
" to him in mariage. Touching which, at the firſt he v-
" ſed ſecret reaſons and counſels: but in the end, when
" he ſaw them not to ſucceed after his mind, at length,
" ſhewing an open contempt of my authoritie, he fled
" to the benefit of violence, and vſed force (to the end
" his attempt might not want due effect) to bring me
" vnder his gouernement.

" Wherefore all this courſe of his life maie be an
" example, to ſhew how craftilie they can contriue
" their drifts (in attempting great things) vntill they
" haue obteined their purpoſe. For I did ſuppoſe, that
" all this his continuall dutie and carefulneſſe in ſpée-
" die obeieng of my commandements, had not iſſued
" from anie other founteine, than of a vehement deſire
" to ſhew his obedience and good will towards me:
" neither did I hope that a litle more fauourable coun-
" tenance (which we are accuſtomed to vſe to the more
" worthie perſons, to the end to win their minds to be
" more obedient to vs in dutie) ſhould ſo haue raiſed
" his ſtomach (more than anie others) that he would
" promiſe to himſelfe anie larger good will to proceed
" from me towards him, than he had before.

" But he taking aduantage of all haps, & drawing
" all things (that chanced) to the furtherance of his
" purpoſe, and keeping all his counſels ſecret from me,
" did ſtill ſhew his accuſtomed dutie, nouriſhed my old
" fauour to him, & ſecretlie attempted a new thing by
" the helpe of the nobilitie. Which he brought to paſſe
" with ſuch ſpéedie diligence, that (vnknowen to me)
" he obteined of the péeres of the realme (in the aſſem-
" blie of the parlement héere) a writing with all their
" hands ſet therevnto, for the more credit of the ſame.
" In which writing was conteined, that they did not
" onlie aſſent vnto the mariage; but that they alſo fur-
" ther promiſed to ſpend their life and goods (offered to
" all dangers) in the executing thereof, and that they
" would be vtter enimies to all ſuch as ſhould labor to
" hinder it. For the more eaſie obteining of whoſe con-
" ſents in this ſort, he had perſuaded the ſaid nobilitie,
" that the ſame was not done againſt my mind and
" conſent. At length, when he had purchaſed this writ-
" ting from them, he began by litle and litle (with ear-
" neſt

" nest intreaties & flatteries) to obteine our consent. But when at the first our answers did not conteut his desire, he began to laie before me almost all those things, which are accustomed to happen in the attempt of such matters.

" First, the outward tokens of our good fauour towards him, the reasons by which our friends or his enimies might hinder the same, & manie other things which being obiected or willinglie happening, might frustrate his hope, or change the minds of such as had before subscribed. At length (fortune fauouring him therein) he determined to pursue the matter, & in one instance to hazard his hope and life about the same. Wherefore, when he had determined with himselfe, with all importunitie to attempt the successe of his determination, he foure daies after hauing conuenient time and place therefore in the high waie, set vpon me with a strong hand, as I was comming from séeing of my déere sonne, and with gteat spéed caried me to Dunbar.

Which euill déed how gréeuouslie we toke (especiallie done by him, from whome all our subiects neuer loked to haue such things to procéed) euerie bodie maie easilie consider. For there I did vpbraid him, with what fauour I haue alwaies vsed him, what honorable opinion I haue had of him and of his conditions in my spéech vsed to others, and of his vnthankefulnesse to me therefore; with all other things that might deliuer me out of his hands. These matters I laied against him with bitter words. But his answers therevnto were more mild, and tempered with gentler spéeches, in this, that he would still vse all honor and dutie towards vs, and labor by all means to haue our good will, whom he would not offend.

" As touching this, that he had against our will caried vs into one of our own castels, he humblie craued pardon therefore (in that he was inforced therevnto) although in the same he had forgotten that reuerence and dutie, which euerie subiect owght vnto vs. Wherevnto he added, that he did the same for our safetie and defense. At which time also he began to repeat vnto me the whole course of his life, lamenting his fortune, to haue them (whome he neuer hurt) so gréeuouslie offended with him, that their malice had not ouerpassed anie occasions vniustlie to hurt him withall.

" But especiallie in this, that their great enuie had burdened him with the murther of the king, and that his power was vnequall to resist the secret conspiracies of his enimies, whome he could not know; because they did in shew and spéeches dissemble their friendship: & not knowing them, there was no waie for him to foresée and auoid their deceipts. Whose extreme hatred was now growen to such height, that he could not liue in safetie in anie place, or at anie time, except he might be assured of the quéenes vnchangeable fauour towards him. Which certeintie of hir fauor could not be shewed but by this one meane, to persuade hir selfe to receiue him into the mariage bed. At what time he did most holilie sweare, that he gaped not after anie extraordinarie gouernement, or that he would leape to the highest step of soueremerule thereby; but onlie to reape this fruit thereof, that he might serue and obeie hir as long as he liued, in such sort as he did before. Wherevnto he added the delights of such spéeches as that matter required.

" But in the end, when he saw that we could not be moued therevnto, either with praiers or promises; he shewed vnto vs what he had done with the whole nobilitie, and the chiefe of the parlement, and what they againe had promised vnder their hands. Which being suddenlie and vnhoped for laied against vs, whether it did with iust cause greatlie astonish vs, we leaue to the consideration of the king, the quéene, our vncles, and the rest of our friends. Wherefore, when I perceiued my selfe a prisoner vnder the power of an other man, farre from the helpe of all those whose counsell I did and should haue vsed; yea and that I saw them before my face, in whose former faith and wisedome I did repose my selfe; whose strength did defend our authoritie, and without which our power was but small or none: when (I say) I had seene all these to haue vowed themselues to serue his desire, and that I was alone left a prete for him, I did with my selfe in my mind consider manie things, but could bring none of them to effect.

" Besides which, he gaue to vs but short time to take anie aduise, but incontinentlie and importunatlie did still vrge the same vnto me. At length, when I saw no waie to escape by flight, nor anie person of all our kingdome which had anie care of our libertie (for we well perceiued by their hands giuen, and by their deepe silence at that time, that they were all drawen to take his part) I was compelled (after that I a lit tle pacified mine anger & displeasure against him) to refer my selfe to the discusse and consideration of his demands, & to laie before my selfe his dutie in times past, and the hope which we had of the following continuance of the same towards vs.

" And further, how gréeuouslie our people would suffer a strange king, and beaullie receiue one vnacquainted, and not inured with their lawes and customs, that they would not suffer me long to liue vnmaried, and that the people (being by nature factious) could not be kept in obedience, except our authoritie were supported and practised by a man which could equall them in bearing labor, and were able to bridle the insolencie of rebels in the administration of the common wealth: the weight of which charge, our power (being weakened and almost brought to nothing by continuall tumults and rebellions, since our comming into Scotland) was not able anie longer to sustéine. For by reason of these seditions, we were inforced to appoint foure or more deputies in diuerse parts of our realmes, which afterward also did (vnder the colour of the authoritie which they were permitted to vse vnder vs) inforce our owne subiects to take armes against vs.

" For all which causes, when we well perceiued that if we labored to preserue the dignitie of kinglie maiestie, that they would inforce me to mariage, that our people could not abide a forren prince, and that amongest our owne subiects, there was not anie which for the nobilitie of his familie, for his wisdome and valure, or for other vertues of bodie and mind, might be preferred before or equalled vnto him, I commanded my selfe to ioine with the whole consent of the parlement, and assemblie of the nobilitie before mentioned. After that my former constant determination was thus somewhat mollified by these and other reasons, he did wring from me partlie by force, and partlie by intreatie, a promise to him of mariage.

" Which done, we could not yet by anie meanes and persuasion obteine of him (fearing an alteration in our mind) that the time wherein this mariage should be performed, might be deferred so long, as that we might participat the same with the king and quéene of France, and such other friends as we had remaining in those parts. For he beginning with a bold attempt (after that he had once thereby atteined the first step of his desire) did neuer after that ceasse to ioine importunat praiers to his persuasions and arguments of reason, vntill he did without violence inforce vs to set end to the worke begun, and that at such time, and after such order, as seemed most conuenient vnto him for the execution of his determination

" nation. In which matter I cannot diſſemble, but
" that I was otherwiſe intreated by him, than either
" I would or had deſerued.

" For he was more carefull to ſatiſfie them, by
" whoſe conſent (ſhewed at the beginning) he thought
" himſelfe to haue obteined his purpoſe (though he did
" both deceiue them and mée) than to gratifie me, or
" to weie how mét it were for me, being brought vp
" in the precepts and rites of our religion; from which,
" neither he nor anie man liuing, whileſt I did liue,
" could draw me awaie (aliue) by anie action. In which
" thing trulie, though we do acknowledge our error,
" yet we willinglie deſire, that the king and quéene
" his mother, our vncle, or anie friend of ours, do not
" expoſtulat with him, nor anie waie laie the fault vn-
" to his charge.

" For ſith things be now ſo ended, as that they
" cannot be againe vndone, we take all things in the
" beſt part: & as he is in déed, ſo he is to be accounted
" our huſband, whome from henceforwards we haue
" determined both to loue & reuerence. Wherefore all
" they which profeſſe themſelues to be our friends,
" muſt alſo ſhew the like to him which is ioined vnto
" vs with an indiſſoluble knot. And although he hath
" in manie things behaued himſelfe leſſe diligentlie, &
" almoſt ouer-raſhlie, which we willinglie impute to
" his immoderat affection towards vs; yet we deſire
" the king, the quéene, our vncle, and the reſt of our
" friends, no leſſe to loue and fauor him, than if all
" things had till this day béene done after their aduiſe
" and determination; in the behalfe of which our huſ-
" band, we promiſe that he ſhall in all things (which
" ſhalbe required of him hereafter) alwaies grati-
" fie them in what he maie.

These remedies being found to defend the quéens credit amongſt forren princes, other remedies were to be ſought for defenſe of hir owne perſon againſt hir owne ſubiects. Wherefore (after that the earle of Murreie was appointed to remaine as baniſhed beyond the ſeas in France, whither he toke his iournie through England) the quéene (deliuered of ſuch a feare as he was to hir, & therfore better able to rule, or at leaſt to make better ſhift, with ſuch other as were conioined, to vſe Buchanans word, againſt hir) vſed what diligence ſhe might to gather forces, eſpeciallie in the Mers and eaſt Louthian.]

The quéene gathereth forces.

And thinking that the enterprize of the lords had béene broken and diſappointed, they marched from Dunbar on ſaturdaie the fourth of June, firſt to Hathington, & there reſting till the euen, ſet forward to Gladiſmore, and taking there deliberation in the matter; they lodged that night at Seiton, and in the morning marched in order of battell towards Carbarrie hill, and there choſe forth a plot of ground of great aduantage, appointing to fight on foot, becauſe the power of the lords in number of horſſemen, was ſtronger than the quéens, and of greater experience. There were with the quéene and Bothwell, the lords Seiton, Peſter, and Borthwike; alſo the lards of Wauchton, Bas, Drmiſton, Wederburne, Blackater, and Langton. They had with them alſo two hundred harquebuſiers waged, and of great artilleric ſome field péces. Their whole number was eſtéemed to be about 2000: but the more part of them were commons & countriemen.

Carbarrie hill.

The number of the quéens power.

The earles of Morton, Atholl, Mar, Glencarne, the lords of Hume, Lindſeie, Ruthwen, Sempill, Sauquhar; the lards of Drumlangrig, Tulibardén, Grange, and yong Seſford, were aſſembled togither at Edenburgh with a power like in number to the quéens, but for the more part conſiſting of gentlemen, although not furniſhed with anie number of harquebuſiers, except a few of the townſmen of Edenburgh; that willinglie ioined with them in that quarrell. Upon the fifteenth of June, they came forth of the towne, and approched their aduerſaries. But there was monſieur la Croque, the French kings ambaſſadour, who toke great paine, in trauelling betwixt the parties to reduce them to ſome agréement. ✻ Who by his interpretor laid before them how carefullie he had ſtudied for the commoditie & tranquillitie of the publike ſtate of Scotland before this; and that now alſo he caried the ſame mind with him. Wherefore he did vehementlie deſire (if it were poſſible) that the matter might be ſo taken vp, for the commoditie of both parties; that it might be ended without force or bloudſhed. For the compaſſing whereof, he would imploie all his trauell, ſith the quéene alſo did not refuſe to heare the counſell & perſuaſion of peace. For the more certeintie wherof, he did at that time promiſe them pardon and vtter forgetfulneſſe of all things paſſed before time; & did with great holineſſe there pledge him ſelfe, that no hurt ſhould fall vnto anie man there, for taking weapon againſt the higheſt gouernor.

Fr. Thin. Bucha. lib. 18.

After that the interpretor had deliuered theſe things, the earle of Morton anſwered, that he did not take armor againſt the quéene; but againſt him that had killed the king. Whome if the quéene would deliuer to puniſhment, or ſeparat him from hir; ſhe ſhould well vnderſtand, that they & the reſt of hir ſubiects held nothing more déere vnto them, than to continue in their dutifull obedience: without which granted to them, there could be no agréement made; becauſe they came not thither to craue pardon for anie offenſe which they had committed (wherevnto the earle of Glencarne added) but rather to giue pardon to ſuch as had offended.]

Wherefore the ambaſſador Croque returned backe to Edenburgh, and the quéens part began to decreaſe, diuerſe ſhrinking awaie from hir; ſo that after it began to grow towards the euening, Bothwell fled to the caſtell of Dunbar. But the quéene deſirous to talke with William Kircadie the lard of Grange, went to him, accompanied onelie with one capteine, and after ſome talke with him, ſhe paſſed to the lords, who toke hir with them to Edenburgh, [ſhe being in a ſhort garment, baſe, & worne, coming a little beneath hir knees (as ſaith Buchanan) of which lords ſhe requeſted that they would ſuffer hir to depart, & not to keepe hir in that ſort.] The Hamiltons were on the waie comming to aſſiſt the quéene, with ſeuen or eight hundred horſſemen; but before they could reach to the place, the quéene was in the hands of the lords, and ſo they returned.

The quéene commeth to the lords.

Fr. Thin.

The lard of Cragmiller [then prouoſt of Edenburgh] and ſir James Balfure alſo the capteine of the caſtell, were ioined in this confederacie with the lords, as ſhortlie after it appeared. The quéene after this was conueied ouer the Forth, and brought to Lochleuin, where ſhe was appointed to remaine in ward vnder the ſafe keeping of William Dowglas lard of that place. The earle Bothwell, eſcaping to Dunbar, found meanes to flée into Denmarke, where he was ſtaied and committed to priſon, wherein at length he died. Diuerſe perſons afterwards were apprehended as parties to the murther of the king, and thereupon condemned, were executed, confeſſing the ſaid earle to be the principall executor of the ſame murther. ✻ Leauing the quéene therfore in this miſerable plight, we will not yet forget (for the honor ſhe once had) to ſet downe certeine verſes made by Alexander Seton a Scot, in the commendation of hir anceſtors, and of hir; who in the firſt yeares of hir gouernement vſed hir ſelfe to the good liking of all hir ſubiects. In which verſes Seton doth further meane, that Leſle ſhould hereafter ſet forth hir gouernement, as he hath done that of the

The quéene is ſent to Lochleuin.

Fr. Thin.

The power of the lords.

other king before hir. The verses be as followeth.

Lesleus before the preface of his eight booke.

Clara atauis, genus antiquo de sanguine regum,
Nympha Caledonij gloria rara soli,
Maiorum hic laudes, totos quos insula ab orbe
Diuisit, toto cernis ab orbe legi.
Hoc illis peperere decus, non gloria regni,
Non genus, aut diues gaza, fauórque virûm:
Sed pietatis honos, fidei constantia, morum
Integritas, belli gloria, pacis amor;
Queis tua maiores superet quum viuida virtus:
Quæ tamen meritis laus fuit æqua tuis?
Vnum hoc Lesleo superest, tua fortia facta
Scribere, consiliis multa peracta suis.
Et mihi sunt verbis saltem tua facta canenda:
A proauis ne sim degener ipse meis.]

Iames the sixt.

THe nineténth of Julie, Charles James the yong prince of Scotland, after a sermon made by John Knor, was crowned king of the Scots in Sterling church, where were read certeine letters of commission and procuration, with the quéens priuie seale at them for the establishing of the same coronation. The first, for hir resignation of the crowne and gouernement of the yong prince hir sonne. The second, to authorize the earle of Murreie to be regent during the kings minoritie. The third, to giue authoritie and power to seuen other ioining with the said earle of Murreie, in case he should refuse to exercise the same alone; that is to say, the duke of Chatelerault, the earls of Lennor, Argile, Atholl, Morton, Glencarne, and Mar. The tenors of which letters of commission and procuration do héere insue, as we find them imprinted at Edenburgh by Robert Lekpreuic printer to the king of Scots, the first of Aprill 1568, among the acts of parlement begun and holden at Edenburgh, the fiftéenth of December, in the yeare 1567, by James earle of Murreie lord Abernethie, &c: regent vnto the said king.

The tenor of the commission, whereby *Marie the queene of Scots resigneth* the crowne to hir sonne, appointeth *his gardians, and maketh the earle of* Murreie regent.

MArie be the grace of God queene of Scotis, to all and sindrie our iudgeis and ministeris of law, liegis and subiectis, quhome it effeiris to quhais knalege thir our letteris sall come, greting. Forsamekle as by lang irkesome and tedious trauell takin by vs, in the gouernament of this our realme and liegis thairof, we are sa verit and werit, that our bodie, spirit, and sensis are altogeddir become vnhabill langer to trauell in that rowme: and thairfore we haue dimittit and renuncit the office of gouernament of this our realme and liegis thairof, in fauouris of our anelie maist deir sonne, natiue prince of this our realme. And because of his tender zouth and inhabilitie to vse the said gouernament in his awin persoun, during his minoritie, we haue constitute our derrest brother James earle of Murreie, lord Abernethie, &c: regent to our said sonne, realme and liegis foirsaidis.

And in respect that our said derrest brother is actuallie furth of our realme, and cannot instantlie be present to accept the said office of regentrie vpon him, and vse and exerce the samin during our saidis derrest sonis minoritie; we quhill his returning within our relme, or in cais of his deceis haue maid, constitute, namit, appointit, & ordainit, and by thir our letteris makis, constitutis, namis, appointis, and ordainis our traist consingis and counsalouris, James duke of Chatelerault, earle of Arrane, lord Hamiltoun, Matho earle of Lenínar, lord Dernleie, &c: Archibald earle of Argile, lord Campbell and Lorne, &c: John earle of Atholl, James earle of Mortoun, Alexander earle of Glencarne, and John earle of Mar, regentis to our said derrest son, realme and liegis; & in cais our said brother James earle of Murreie cum within our realme, and refusis to accept the said office of regentrie vpon his singular persoun, we make, constitute, name, appoint, and ordeine, our traist consingis and counsallouris foirsaidis, and our said brother regentis of our said deir sonne, realme, and liegis.

Geuand, grantand, and committand to thame, or onie fiue of thame coniunctlie full power for our said sonne, and in his name to ressaue resignationis of landis, make dispositiounis of wairdis, nonentressis, releuis, mariageis, beneficis, eschetis, officis, and vtheris casualiteis and priuilegeis, quhat sumeuer concerning the said office, signatouris thairvpon to make, subscriue, and cause be past throughe the seillis. And to vse and exerce the said office of regentrie in all thingis, priuilegeis, and commoditeis, sicklike as frælie and with als greit libertie as onie regent or gouernor to vs or our predecessouris vsit the samin in ony times bigan. Promittand to hald firme and stabill in the word and faith of ane prince, to quhatsumeuer thingis our saidis traist consingis dois in the premissis.

Charging heirfore zow all and sindrie our iudgeis and ministeris of law, liegis and subiectis foirsaidis, to answer and obeie to our saidis traist consingis, regentis foirsadis in all and sindrie thingis concerning the said office of regentrie, during our said derrest sonis minoritie, and ay and quhill he be of the age of seuentéene zeiris compleit. As ze and ilkane of zow will declair zow luifing subiectis to our said maist deir son, zour natiue prince, and vnder all paine, charge, and offense that ze and ilkane of zow may commit and incur agains his maiestie in that pairt. Subscriuit with our hand, and giuen vnder our priuie seill, at Lochlenin, the foure and twentith day of Julij, and of our reigne the fiue and twentith zeir.

The commission, authorising certeine *noble men in the queens name, to renounce* the kingdome to hir sonne, and authorising others to receiue the same in hir sons name.

MArie be the grace of God quéene of Scotis, to all and sindrie our iudgeis, and ministeris of law, liegis, and subiects, quhome it effeiris, to quhais knalege thir our letteris sall cum, greting. Forsamekle as sen our arriuall, and returning within our realme, we willing the commoun commoditie, welth, profeit, and quietnes thairof, liegis, and subiects of the samin, haue employit our bodie, spirit, haill sensis, and forcis, to gouerne the samin in sic sort, that our rotall and honorabill estate micht stand and continue with vs, and our posteritie, and our luifing and kind liegis micht inioie the quietnisse of true subiectis. In trauelling quhairin, not anelie is our bodie, spirit, and sensis sa verit, brokin, and vnquietit, that langer we are not of habilitie be onie meane to indure sa greit and intollerabill panis and trauellis, quhairwith we ar altogidder werifi, bot als greit commotiounis and troublis be sindrie occasiounis in the meintime hes ensuit thairin, to our greit greif. And seingit hes bene the pleasour of the eternall God,

God, of his kindlie luſe, mercie, and gudnes to grant vnto vs, of our awin perſoun, ane ſone, quha in cais be the hand of God we be veſeit, will, and of richt, and of equitie man, and aucht to ſucceid to vs and to the gouernement of our realme. And knawing that all creaturis ar ſubiect to that immutabill decreit of the eternall, ains to rander and gif vp this liſe tempozall (the hour and time quhairof is maiſt vncertane) and in cais be deceis we be takin fra this liſe, during the time of his minozitie, it maie be dowtit greitlie, that reſiſtance and troubill maie be maid to our ſaid ſon, now natiue pzince of this our realme, in his tender zeires (being ſwa deſtitute of vs) to ſucceid to that rowme and kingdome, quhilk maiſt iuſtlie of all lawis aperteneis to him. Quhilk inconuenience be Godis helpe and gud pzouidence we mene to pzeuent, in ſick maner, that it ſall not lie in the power of onie vnnaturall ſubiects to reſiſt Godis ozdinance in that behalfe. And vnderſtanding that na thing eirdlie is mair ioious, and happie to vs, noz to ſee our ſaid derreſt ſonne, in our awin life time peciablie placit in that rowme, and honozabill eſtate quhairto he iuſtlie aucht and man ſucceid to: we of the motherlie affectioun we beir toward our ſaid onlie ſonne, haue renuncit, and dimittit, and be thir our letteris freelie, of our awin motiue will renuncis, & dimittis the gouernement, guiding and gouerning of this our realme of Scotland, liegis, and ſubiects thairof, and all intromiſſioun and diſpoſitioun of onie caſualiteis, pzoperties, benefices, and offices, and all thingis apertaining, oz heirtofoir is knawin, oz heirefter ſall happen to apertein thairto, in fauouris of our ſaid derreſt ſone. To that effect, that he maie be plantit, placit, & poſſeſſit thairin, vſe & exerce all thingis belang and thairto, as natiue king, and pzince of the ſamis, & ſiclike as we oz onie our pzedeceſſouris, kingis of Scottis, hes done in onie times bypaſt.

Attour, that this our dimiſſioun maie tak the mair ſolempne effect, and that nane pzetend ignozance thairof, we haue giuin, grantit, and committit, and be thir our letteris, geuis, grantis, & committis our commiſſioun full, fre, and plane power, generall, & ſpeciall command, to our traiſt couſingis, Patrike lozd Lindeſaie of the Biris, and William lozd Ruthuen, and to ilk ane of thame coniunctlie and ſeuerallie, to compeir befoze ſa monie of the nobilitie, clergie, burgeſſis, and vther pepill of our realme, as ſall happin to be aſſemblit to that effect in our burgh of Striuiling, oz anie vther place, oz placis quhair it ſall be thocht maiſt conuenient, at onie daite oz daiis, and thair publikelie in thair pzeſence, foz vs, in our name, and vpon our behalf dimit, and renunce the gouernement, guiding, & reuling of this our realme, liegis, and ſubiects thairof, all intromiſſioun with the pzopertie, caſualtie, oz vtheris things apertening to vs thairby, and all richt, and title that we had, hes, oz maie haue be onie maner of way thairto, in fauouris of our ſaid ſon, to that effect, that he maie be inaugurat, placit, and rowmit thairin, and the crowne rotall deliuerit to him, and be obeyit in all thingis concerning the ſamin, as we, oz our pzedeceſſouris hes bene in times bypaſt.

And in likewiſe be thir pzeſents geuis, grantis, and committis our full, fre, and plane power, to our richt traiſt couſingis, James earle of Mozton, lozd of Dalkeith, John earle of Atholl, &c: John earle of Mar, &c: Alexander earle of Glencarne, William earle of Menteith, John maiſter of Graham, Alexander lozd Hume, Adam biſchop of Ozkneie, the pzouoſtis of Dundie, Montrois, oz onie of thame, to reſſaue the ſaid renuntiatioun, and dimiſſioun in fauouris of our ſaid ſon, and thair efter the reſſauing thairof, to plant, place, and inaugurat him in the kingdome, and with all ceremonies requiſit to put the crowne rotall vpon his heid, in ſigne and takin of the eſtabliſing of him thairin, and in his name to make, and gif to the ſaidis nobilitie, clergie, burgeſſis, and vtheris our liegis, his pzincelie and kinglie aith detfullie, & lauchfullie as effeiris: and to reſſaue thair aithis, foz due and lauchfull homage to be maid be thame to him, in all times cuming, as becumis ſubiects to thair natiue king and pzince. And generallie all and ſundzie vther thingis to dow, exercc, and vſe, that foz ſure performance and accompliſhment heirof maie, oz can be done, firme and ſtable haldand, and foz to hald all and quhatſumeuer thingis in our name, in the pzemiſſis leidis to be done, in the wozd and faithfull pzomis of ane pzince. And ozdanis thir our letteris (gif neid be is) to be publiſt at all places neidfull. Subſcriuit with our hand, and giuin vnder our pzeuie ſeill, at Lochleuin the foure and twentith daie of Julij, and of our reigne the fiue and twentith zeir, 1567.

The commiſſion, in which the earle of *Murreie is alone appointed to be re-* gent of the yoong king, and of *his kingdome.*

MArie be the grace of God, quéene of Scots, to all & ſindzie our iudgis, and miniſteris of our lawis, liegis, and ſubiects, quhome it effeiris, to quhais knalege thir our letteris ſall cum, greting. Forſamekle as efter lang, greit, and intollerable panis, & laubouris takin be vs ſen our arriuall within our realme, foz gouernement thairof, and kœping of the liegis of the ſame in quietnes, we haue not anelie bœne verit in our ſpirit, bodie, and ſenſis thairby, bot als at lenth ar altogidder ſa verit thairof, that our habilitie, and ſtrenth of bodie is not habill langer to indure the ſamin: thairfoze, and becauſe nathing eirdlie can be mair confoztabill and happie to vs in this eird, noz in our life time, than to ſe our deir ſon, the natiue pzince of this our realme, placit in the kingdome thairof, and the crowne rotall ſet on his heid, we of our awin fre will, an ſpeciall motiue, haue dimittit, and renuncit the gouernement, guiding, and gouerning of this our realme of Scotland, liegis, and ſubiects thairof, in fauouris of our ſaid ſon, to that effect: that in all times heirafter, he maie peciablie, and quietlie eniois the ſamin, without troubill, an be obeit as natiue king, and pzince of the ſamin be the liegis thairof.

And vnderſtanding that (be reſoun of his tender zouth) he is not of habilitie in his awin perſoun to adminiſtrate in his kinglie rowme and gouernement, as equitie requiris, quhill that heirefter he cum to the zeires of diſcretioun; and als knawing the pzoximitie of blude ſtandand betuirt vs, our ſaid ſone, and our derreſt brother James erle of Murray, lozd Abirnethie, &c; and haueand experience of the naturall affectioun, and tenderlie luſe he hes in all times bozne, and pzeſentlie beires towardis vs, the honour & eſtate of our ſaid ſone; of quhais luſe and fauour towardis him we can not bot aſſure our ſelfe: to quhome na greter honour, ioy, noz felicitie in eird can cum, noz to ſe our ſaid ſone inaugurat in his kingdome, feirit, reuerencit, and obeit be his liegis thairof. In reſpect quhairof, and of the certanetie, and notozitie, of the honeſtie, habilitie, qualificatioun, and ſufficiencie of our ſaid derreſt brother, to haue the cure and regiment of our ſaid ſone, realme, and liegis foirſaidis, during our ſaid ſonis minozitie: we haue maid, namid, appointit, conſti-

tute, and ordanit, and be thir our letteris namis, appointis, makis, constitutis, and ordanis our said derrest brother James erle of Murray, regent to our said derrest sone, realme, and liegis foirsaidis, during his minoritie and les age, and ay and quhill he be of the age of seuintene zeiris compleit. And that our said brother be callit, during the said space, regent to our said sone, his realme, and liegis.

Swa that our said sone efter the completing of the zeiris foirsaidis, in his awin persoun may tak vpon him the said gouernement, and vse, and exerce all and sindrie priuilegis, honouris, and vtheris immunitеis that apertenis to the office of ane king, als weill in gouerning his realme and pepill, according to the lawis, as in repressing the violence of sic as wald inuaid, or iniustlie resist him or thame, or his authoritie roiall. With power to our said derrest brother James erle of Murray, in name, authoritie, and behalfe of our said maist deir sone, to ressaue resignationis of quhatsumeuer landis haldin of him, or zit of offices, cassels, towris, fortalicis, milnis, fischingis woddis, beneficis, or pertinencis quhatsumeuer; the samin againe in our said sonis name to gif, and deliuer signaturis thairvpon: and vpon the giftis of wairdis, nonentressis, and releuis of landis, and mariageis of airis falland, or that sall happin to fall in our said sonis handis as superiour thairof.

And als vpon presentatioun of landis, beneficis, eschetis of guids mouabill and vnmouabill, dettis and takkis, respittis, remissiounis, supersedereis, and vpon the dispositioun of officis vacand, or quhen they sall happin to vaik, to subscriue, and cause be past the seillis the said office of regentrie, to vse and exerce in all thingis, priuilegis, and commoditeis, sicklike as frelie, and with als greit libertie, as ony regent, or gouernour to vse, or our predecessouris vsit in ony times bigane, and sicklike as gif euerie heid, priuilege and article concerning the said office wer at lenth expressit and amplifit in thir our letteris. Promisland to hald firme and stabill in the word and faith of ane prince, to quhatsumeuer thingis our said derrest brother in the premissis happinis to do. Chargeing heirfoir zow all, and sindrie our iudgeis, and ministeris of law, liegis, and subiectis foirsaidis, to answer and obey to our said derrest brother, in all and sindrie thingis concerning the said office of regentrie, as ze and ilke ane of zow will declair zow lulling subiectis, to our said maist deir sone, and vnder all paine, charge, and offense that ze and ilke ane of zow may commit, and incur againis his maiestie in that part. Subscriuit with our hand, and geuin vnder our preute seill, at Lochleuin the 14 day of Julij. And of our reigne, the twentie fiue zeir.

These commissions being read, the bishop of Argile, with two superintendents, proceeded to the coronation: the earle of Morton, and the lord Hume toke the oth for the king, that he should rule in the faith, feare, and loue of God, and to mainteine the religion then preached and exercised in Scotland, and to persecute all aduersaries to the same. The whole ceremonie was done in the Scots English tong, the quéene mother to the king remaining at that time prisoner in Lochleuin. ❧ But before we enter into the augmentation of the historie of this kings time, I thinke it not vnmet to deliuer one thing, which I haue with some wonder obserued in all the kings of Scotland descended of the Stewards: that neuer anie one of them except the first & second king of that name was of the age of man, or of one and twentie yéeres when they put on the kinglie ornaments. A rare thing, and not vnmeet to be considered of, although we can not enter into the secret iudgements of God. The proofe of which matter, being after this sort, I haue set downe in a catalog of the orderlie descent of those kings. In the computation of the yéeres of whose age and first comming to the crowne I haue followed Lesleus.

The kings oth.

Fr. Thin.

Robert Steward the first king of that surname, was 57 yéeres old when he began his reigne, in the yéere of our redemption 1370. John Steward son of the said Robert began his reigne 1390. These two alone were of full age, when the title of the kingdome descended vnto them. James Steward, the first of the name of James, & the third of the name of Stewards, was within age at the death of his father, when the title and crowne descended vnto him: who although he receiued not the crowne at Scone (because he was about eightéene yéeres honorablie kept as a prisoner in England) vntill hée was of mans age: yet being king in right, and the crowne inuested in him when he was within age, I doubt not to make him king from the death of his father, and so within age to haue obteined the kingdome, though not the kinglie vse thereof, beginning his reigne in the yéere of our redemption 1424.

James the second, and the fourth of the Stewards, was six yéeres old when he was crowned, in the yéere of Christ 1436. James the third, and fift of the Stewards, being seuen yéeres old, was crowned king of Scotland in the yéere that the word became flesh 1460. James the fourth, and sixt of the Stewards, being sixtéene yéeres of age, was adorned with the ensignes of the kingdome, in the yéere of our saluation 1488. James the fift, and the seuenth of the Stewards, being one yéere, fiue moneths, and ten dais old, was crowned king of Scotland, in the yéere from the birth of Christ 1513. Marie the eight of the name of Stewards, being but seuen daies old, was crowned quéene of Scots, in the yéere of Christ 1542. Henrie Steward, sonne to Matthew earle of Lennor, and husband to the said Marie Steward, was not one and twentie yéeres old, when he came to be king in the right of his wife Marie: for he was not past one and twentie when he was slaine, as before in the yéere 1567. Charles James Steward, the first of the name of James, and the ninth of the surname of Stewards, sonne of the said Henrie Steward and Marie Steward, being about a yéere old, began his reigne in the yéere that God became man 1567. To whome Andrew Meluine (this yéere 1585 in England) did whilest he was in Scotland dedicate these verses following:

Dum tu, magne puer, patribus das iura vocatis,
Et populi pensas crimina lance pari,
Iunatibi, tuus ille Solon, tuus ille Lycurgus,
Quæ retti è puris fontibus hausta dedit,
Nobilium regum exemplis obsignat auitis,
Hic, vbi quid fugias, quidue sequaris, habes.
Felix si fugias fugienda, sequenda sequaris!
Felix cum populo tuq; patréq; tuo.

There was order taken by the magistrates of the reformed churches, assembled for that purpose, touching the discipline of excommunication, and the excommunicated, diuided into these heads: that is to say, what crimes be worthie of that seuere censure of the church by excommunication: how the minister shall behaue himselfe in publike audience of the people: of confession of the penitent: of the offenses which merit publike repentance: of the order to proceed therein: the forme and the order of publike repentance: an admonition to the church: a thankesgiuing for the conuersion and repentance of the censured: the forme of the excommunication: the praier for the obstinate that will not repent after that censure: the praier before the excommunication:

Out of the booke printed thereof.

cation: the maner to inuocate the name of Jeſus, with the ſentence of excommunication: the order to receiue the excommunicate againe into the church: the forme of the abſolution: and laſtlie the praier for the church. Which booke conteining the diſcourſe of theſe matters at large, with authoritie of ſcriptures and reaſons, was ſet forth by John Knox miniſter, and commanded to be printed by the generall aſſemblie, in the yeere of Chriſt 1569, being ſeene and allowed by thoſe which follow, appointed to that function by the ſaid aſſemblie: whoſe names were John Willike, maiſter John Crage, Robert Pont, John Row, Dauid Lindſeie, William Chriſtiſon, James Greg, &c.

A parlement holden at Edenburgh.

On the fiftéenth of December a parlement begun, being holden at Edenburgh before the earle of Murreie lord regent, in the which diuers acts and ſtatutes were deuiſed, made, and ratified: as firſt concerning the quénes demiſſion of hir crowne, and reſignation thereof made to hir ſonne king James the firſt. And likewiſe concerning the inſtituting of the earle of Murreie in the regencie of the realme, which he tooke vpon him the two and twentith day of Auguſt laſt paſt, according to hir letters of commiſſion and procuration aboue ſpecified. Also there was an act made for the aboliſhing of the pope, and his vſurped authoritie. And an other act for the annulling of former acts made in parlement for maintenance of ſuperſtition and idolatrie. And hereto was annexed a confeſſion of the faith and doctrine receiued by the proteſtants of the realme of Scotland, authoriſed in the ſame parlement. There was alſo an act made for the indemnitie of thoſe that had leuied warre, and apprehended the quéene at Carbarrie hill, the fiftéenth of Julie laſt paſt, and concerning the deteining of hir in Lochleuin.

An act for the aboliſhing of the popes authoritie in Scotland.

The caſtell of Dunbar and the fortreſſe of Inſketh to be raced.

Moreouer, it was ordeined by an act paſſed in this parlement, that the caſtell of Dunbar, and the fortreſſe of Inſketh, ſhould be demoliſhed and raced downe to the earth. To be briefe, there were one and fortie acts or ſtatutes made and eſtabliſhed in this parlement, as by the regiſter thereof it maie appéere.

Fr. Thin. Buchanan. lib. 19.

* In the firſt beginning of the ſpring, the gouernor determined to make a progreſſe ouer the realme, with the iudges that were appointed to adminiſter law: which he ment to do, to the end that he might amend and eſtabliſh ſuch things as were indamaged by the tumults of the yeere before. Which matter working diuerſe opinions in thoſe of the quénes faction, did cauſe that Metellane and John Balfurie ſought meanes to deliuer the quéene out of priſon. Touching which matter alſo the Hamiltons labored who (being next to the crowne, if the yong king were gone, and the quéene made awaie, both which perhaps was no great matter to procure) did ioine with the quénes faction and fauourers. Whoſe part in like manner the earles of Atholl and Huntleie refuſed not to take, becauſe the mother of the one, and the wife of the other, were of the familie of the Hamiltons.

William Murreie of Tillibartine, for his contrarie opinion in the controuerſies of religion, and for priuat quarrels, being eſtranged and grieued from and with the gouernor, did not onelie now depart from the kings faction (although before he ſhewed great diligence in taking the quéene) but did alſo drawe with him a great companie of his friends inſtiſed thereunto with no ſmall hope of benefit to riſe vnto them thereby. And as theſe were heads and chiefe of ſuch as ſought the quénes deliuerance: ſo there were a great manie other, whom priuat neceſſitie, ſecret grudge, deſire of reuenge, hope of aduancement, and néereneſſe of aliance to thoſe which are before named, procured to follow, and to further the cauſe of the quénes libertie. In the meane time, whileſt the regent was at Glaſcow to miniſter law to ſuch as required it (and that he had there heard of theſe things) this determination of ſetting the quéene at libertie was put in execution, the manner whereof was in this ſort. There was in the caſtell of Lochleuin, wherein the quéene was kept as priſoner, the mother of the regent, and three of his brethren by an other father, with a great troope of women: but none were admitted to ſee the quéene, ſaue ſuch as were well knowen or ſent thither by the regent.

Of all this houſhold companie, there was none that ſéemed ſo meet to the quéene to execute anie matter, as was George Dowglas the yongeſt brother of the regent, being a man of a pleaſant wit, and eaſilie to be ouertaken with the faire ſpéeches of women. This man had acceſſe vnto the quéene to plaie at cards, and to vſe hir with other courtlie paſtimes: who determining to ſet hir at libertie, did with promiſes and gifts win the ſeruants of the caſtell to fauour him and his enterpriſes. Whereupon this Dowglaſſe (not vnwitting as was thought to his mother) omitteth nothing that might ſéeme to ſerue for the quénes libertie: the which although manie there did perceiue & tooke not in verie good part, giuing intelligence therof to the regent; yet he gaue ſuch credit to his owne people there, that he changed (as hath Buchanan) none of the kéepers in that place, but onelie commanded his brother George to depart out of the Iland. This ſaid George, when he paſſed into the next countrie adioining to the lake, in which the caſtell ſtood, did more liberallie than before (by corrupting the kéepers with monie) conſult with the quéene of all hir affaires.

Wherefore not onelie the Scots (whome the preſent ſtate of things did miſlike) being drawen into that faction; but alſo the Frenchmen by James Hamilton (which had béene regent not manie yéeres before) and James archbiſhop of Glaſcow ſollicited thereunto, the Scots promiſed their bodilie force, and the French promiſed their helping purſe. Now about the end of Aprill, an ambaſſador came out of France requiring in the name of his king, that he might haue leaue to go to the quéene: which if he were denied, he made ſhew that he would preſentlie depart. Whereunto the gouernor anſwered, that it was not in his power to grant it: that the quéene was not committed to priſon by him, and that he could not determine anie thing herein without their knowledge which firſt reſtreined hir of libertie, and after by decrée confirmed that déed: but he would not ceaſſe in pleaſuring his ſiſter, and ſuch a frend as the king (his maiſter) was, to do all that he might: and further, that he would take order for an aſſemblie of the nobilitie the twentith daie of the next moneth. Until which time the ambaſſador ſéemed ſomwhat appeaſed, and the regent aplied the adminiſtration of the lawes.]

On ſundaie the ſecond of Maie, in the yeere 1568, at ſupper time, the quéene eſcaped out of Lochleuin, by the meanes and helpe of George Dowglas brother to the lard of Lochleuin. The lard Seton, the lard of Ricarton, and James Hamilton of Orbiſton, were readie to receiue hir, and conueied hir ouer the quénes ferrie, firſt to Nudrie the lard Setons houſe, and from thence to Hamilton caſtell, where ſhe remained till the thirtéenth daie of Maie being thurſdaie, gathering in the meane time ſuch forces as ſhe might from all places. The earle of Murreie lord regent was in Glaſcow, at what time he thus eſcaped out of Lochleuin; and vpon knowledge had therof, ment at the firſt to haue withdrawen himſelfe to Sterling: but ſuddenlie changing his purpoſe in that behalfe, he determined to continue at Glaſcow,

1568.

The quénes eſcape out of Lochleuin.

The quéene gathereth a power.

The regents determination to ſtaie at Glaſcow.

Fr.Thin. Buchan.lib.19.

coſw, which is not paſt eight miles from Hamilton, becauſe he was perſuaded, that if ſhe ſhould ſhrinke backe neuer ſo little, he ſhould incourage his aduerſaries, and diſcourage his friends, and ſo conſequentlie weaken his part greatlie. ✻ Which they alſo ſuppoſed was the more weakened, by the departure of Robert Boid (vnto the quænes part) hauing vntill that time wone a great opinion of his conſtancie towards the regent.

This man, being of a famous familie, was now in the decaie of his houſe meanelie and ſparinglie brought vp vnder his father, a valiant gentleman, and one that followed the frugalitie of the Scots, who (willing to prepare a waie to the readuance of his houſe, as manie of his other kinred did) was now content to ſéeke meanes therefore: for which cauſe both he and his father did firſt follow the Hamiltons then ruling all things. But after that their gouernement was poſted ouer from them to the quæne mother the regent; and that contention was moued about religion: he ioined himſelfe to the lords of the congregation, from whome his father was moſt eſtranged: in which this Robert Boid firmelie continued vntill the quænes returne out of France. By meanes whereof, there was a great opinion of his valure & wiſdome, on whoſe counſell Coline Campbell earle of Atholl did almoſt wholie depend. But when by chance certeine of the nobilitie had conſtired or conſpired (to vſe Buchanans word) for no euill act, but for the defenſe of the king, he ſubſcribed to the ſame league.

But after, with like lightneſſe both he and the earle of Argile (which hong vpon his aduiſe) wrote vnto the quæne euerie thing that was done in the ſame aſſemblie, from which time this Boid was partaker of all the quænes ſecrets againſt his old friends, who with the quæne did yet obteine no greater opinion of conſtancie, than he did amongeſt others of lightneſſe and inconſtancie. But after that the quæne was impriſoned, and the earle of Murreie made regent, he went then to the part of the gouernor: with whome he ſhewed ſuch proofe of his wit and induſtrie, that he was admitted into the priuie counſels of the regent, contrarie to the opinion of others. But after when the matter ſhould be tried by fight betwéene the regent & the quæne (after hir eſcape from Lochleuin) he fled againe to the quæne.] All which notwithſtanding, the thirteenth daie of Maie afore mentioned, the quæne with hir power marched from Hamilton, by the ſouth ſide of Clede toward Dunbreton; and out of Glaſcow on the other part marched the lord regent with his forces: ſo as at length both the armies met at a place called the Langſide, néere to the houſe of Cathcart within two miles of Glaſcow.

The armies met at Langſide.

Lords on the quænes part.

There were on the quénes part the earles of Argile, Caſſiles, Eglinton, and Rothes, Claud Hamilton ſonne to the duke of Chatelerault, the lords Seton, Summeruill, Yeſter, Borthwike, Leuingſton, Herries, Marwell, Sauquhar, Boid and Roſſe, lards and knights, Lochinwar, Bas, Wauchton, Dalhouſie, Roſſen the ſhiriffe of Aire, ſir James Hamilton, and manie others. On the regents part were theſe accounted as principall, the earles of Morton, Mar, Glencarne, Menteith, the maiſter of Graham, the lords Hume, Lindſie, Ruthwen, Sempill, Ogiltrée and Cathcart, of lairds and knights, Bargawy, Blacquhan, Drumlanrig, Selford, Lus, Buchanan, Tulibardin, Peteur, Grange, Lochleuin, Lethington, and ſir James Balfour. At the firſt ioining there was a verie ſharpe incounter: for after they had beſtowed their ſhot of harquebuzes and arrows, they fell to it with ſpeares and ſwords. But at length, after three quarters of an houres fight, the quénes part was put to flight.

Lords on the regents part.

They ioine in battell.

The quénes part diſcomfited.

The victorie remained with the regent, who ſuffered none to be ſlaine but thoſe that were killed in the fight, before they turned their backs: among the which were foureténe of the ſurname of the Hamiltons killed. There were taken priſoners about three hundred, of which number the principall were theſe: the lords Seton and Roſſe, ſir James Hamilton, and manie other of that ſurname. Of the regents part, the lord Hume was hurt in the leg and face, and the lord Ogiltree in the necke, by the lord Herries: the lord Lindſeie, and the lards of Drumlanrig, and of Grange, bare themſelues verie valiantlie that day, failing not in anie point that belonged to the dutie of hardie capteins. The quénes part was thought to be néere at the point of ſix thouſand men, and the regents was reckoned to be foure thouſand: ſo that there were ten thouſand men in the field that daie, what vpon the one ſide and the other.

Foureténe of the Hamiltons ſlaine.

Priſoners taken.

The earle of Huntleie was comming forwards to haue aſſiſted the quænes part, but the battell was ſtriken, and hir people diſcomfited (as ye haue heard) per he could come, and ſo he returned. In this battell the valiancie of an Hieland gentleman named Macferlane, ſtood the regents part in great ſtéed. For in the hotteſt brunt of the fight, he came in with two hundred of his friends and countriemen, and ſo manfullie gaue in vpon the flanke of the quénes people, that he was a great cauſe of the diſordering of them. This Macferlane had béene latelie before (as I haue heard) condemned to die for ſome outrage by him committed: and obteining pardon (through ſute of the counteſſe of Murreie) he recompenſed that clemencie by this péece of ſeruice now at this battell, [which was (as ſaith Buchanan) fought the third daie of Maie, and the eleuenth after the quéne had eſcaped out of priſon.]

The earle of Huntleie comming forward to aid the quéne.

Fr.Thin.

The quéne perceiuing the ouerthrow of hir people, fled from the place where ſhe ſtood to behold the battell, and withdrew to Crawford towne, and ſo by the Sauquhar to Dundrenan in Gallowaie: and after ſhe had taried there two or three daies, ſhe toke ſhip and paſſed to Workington in England, where ſhe was ſtaied & conueied to Caerleill, and from thence to Bolton caſtell, belonging to the lord Scrope, who with ſir Rafe Sadler (being ſent downe for that purpoſe) had the cuſtodie of hir, till at length ſhe was committed vnto the earle of Shrewesburie. ✻ The French ambaſſador, which loked for the good ſucceſſe of this battell, and did promiſe to himſelfe aſſured victorie on the quénes part, vnderſtanding the contrarie, and being deceiued of his former hope, changed his copie, and with horſe and guides haſted all he could into England, without bidding the regent farwell. In which iournie he was robbed by théeues; but James Dowglaſſe, capteine of the marches of Drumlanrig, did this honor to the ambaſſador, that he had all his goods reſtored vnto him.]

The quéne of Scots fleeth into England.

Fr.Thin. Buchanan lib.19.

But now to the doings in Scotland. The regent ſent to ſummon Hamilton caſtell, but the anſwer was reſpited till the nert daie: and then he that had the charge came to Glaſcow, and offered the keies to the regent. The caſtell of Draſkan was alſo yéelded at the ſame time to the regent. The eightenth of Maie, the regent made proclamation, that the inhabitants of the ſhires of Merns, Angus, Fife, Mers, Louthian, Kile, and Carricke, ſhould prouide themſelues of victels for fiftéene daies, and to méet him at Beggar the tenth of June, to ride with him into the ſouthweſt parts of Scotland, to chaſtiſe certeine théeues, and other diſobedient perſons. Hereupon, the eleuenth of June, the regent marched forth of Edenburgh, and came that night to Beggar. The armie being aſſembled, conteined foure or fiue thouſand

The regents iournie into the ſouthweſt parts of Scotland.

ſand horſſemen verie well appointed, beſide a thouſand footmen, gunners and halberdiers: of boies and yong men that went with the cartage, there were about foure thouſand.

The caſtell of Boghall, perteining to the lord Fleming, was ſurrendred to them. The twelfth of June Skirling caſtell was raced (a faire houſe) to the end that other vnderſtanding therof, might be put in greter feare. That night they came to Crawford, where the caſtell was to them ſurrendred; it belonged vnto ſir James Hamilton, whom they had in their hands. The thirtéenth of June they marched to Saucher, a caſtell, the which being rendred they ſpared, becauſe the lord Chreichton the owner thereof, promiſed at a certeine daie to come to the regent to Edenburgh. The fouretéenth of June they came to Barbacaſt, where they laie that night, and the lard Wederborne was ſent to ſpeake with the lard of Louchinware. Wedneſdaie the fiftéenth of June, they marched to a place called ſaint John Sclaghan, ſtaieng there in truſt of the lard of Louchinwares comming vnto them, but he came not: wherevpon, the nert daie being the ſirtéenth of June, they raced the houſe of Kenmure, and an other houſe alſo, for that the owners were frends to the ſaid Louchinware.

The ſeuentéenth of June they came to a gentlemans houſe, ſtanding by the water of Ur, where diuerſe gentlemen came in, and were receiued. The eightéenth of June they marched to Dunfreis, and remained there all the nert daie. A ſtrong houſe ſtanding in that towne, & apperteining to the lord Marwell, was offered vnto them. Diuerſe of the Marwels, Johnſtons, Yrewins, Grahams, and Bels, came vnto the regent, and offering themſelues to be obedient, were receiued. Two daies before this, the lord Marwell, the lards of Johnſton, Cowhill, and Louchinwar, had béene at Dunfreis with a thouſand men, and ſpent all the victels. It was thought that the lord Marwell would haue come in, if the other had not counſelled him to the contrarie. The twentith of June they marched to Hoddom, a place belonging to the lord Herries: a thouſand of the broken men were aſſembled and offered ſkirmiſh; two or thrée were taken, they laie within a mile of the regent that night.

The one and twentith the houſe was yeelded, and the cuſtodie thereof committed to the lard of Drumlanrig that was appointed warden of thoſe marches. It was thought verie ſtrong, ſo that the defendants might haue kept it longer if they had béene diſpoſed. Great hunger began to pinch the armie, a pint of wine was ſold at ſeuen ſhillings Scotiſh, and no bread to be had for anie monie. The regent ſent forth the earle of Morton, and the lord Hume with a thouſand men, to trie if they might haue drawen the broken men to a chaſe: but it would not be, for they went their waies, and would not tarrie it. The two and twentith of June the campe laie ſtill, but the regent with a thouſand men went to Annand, and had it deliuered vnto him. Héere he met with the lord Scrope, and after returned to the campe. The thrée and twentith of June they went to Lochmaben and receiued the caſtell, the which the regent deliuered to Drumlanrig: but ſome of the Marwels being cloſelie hid within an od corner of the houſe, after the regent was gone, brake out and ſeized the houſe againe into their hands.

The ſame daie, two houſes belonging to the lard of Johnſton, the one named Lochwood, and the other Lowhouſie, were taken, but not burnt: becauſe the lard Johnſton had put in ſuertie to come in by a day vnto the regent. The ſame daie they take great ſtore of cattell, and that night with a ſhot of the great artillerie, they ſlue two théeues among thrée ſcore of thers that came and approched verie néere to the armie, as the maner of the prickers is. The armie laie that night at Milton holms. The foure and twentith of June they came to Péeples, and the nert day to Edenburgh, ſo ending that iournie; in the which they had paſſed through the countries of Clideſdale, Gallowaie, Niddeſdale, Annandale, & Twédale. Much a do and great trouble aroſe within Scotland, by reaſon that the Hamiltons and their adherents made parts againſt the regent, and thoſe other lords that gouerned vnder the king; whereof as I haue no certeine notes, ſo I muſt paſſe the ſame with ſilence.

Great trouble in Scotland.

Fr. Thin. Buchan. lib. 19.

¶ Whileſt theſe things were thus in doing, letters came to the regent from the quéene of England: for ſhe was perſuaded by ſuch as were fled with the quéene of Scots into England, that there was great iniurie done vnto the quéene of Scots, being burdened with high matters, through the enuie of hir euill ſubiects, in which chiefle the kinglie authoritie was reuiled, and the regiment of ſacred maieſtie defaced. A thing which did not alone perteine to the priuat perſon of the quéene of Scots, but to the example of all other princes. Which euill of expelling kings, was ſpédilie and ſoundlie to be preuented, leaſt it might créepe anie further. By which and other perſuaſions, the quéene of England required of the regent to ſend ſufficient men, that ſhould declare to hir the order of all things as they were done, and that ſhould anſwer all ſuch reproches as were laied againſt him.

Touching which matter, although it appéered grieuous and heauie in it ſelfe, to call things in queſtion which before were by parlement eſtabliſhed; and to bring in vſe a new kind of iudgement of their cauſes before forren iudges and kings who were their enimies, and firſt perſuaded againſt the regent by ſuch as maliced him and his faction; and that after a ſort the ſame ſéemed dangerous and full of ſhame: yet on the other ſide there were manie things that inforced him to accept that requeſt of the quéene of England, although it were vniuſt. Wherefore when he had determined to ſend ambaſſadors, and that they could not agrée who they ſhould be, ſith the chiefeſt, and thoſe of the nobilitie refuſed it: at length the regent profeſſed that he would take that iournie vpon him. For the performance whereof he choſe certeine perſons to accompanie him into England, contrarie to the mind of William Metellan, which onelie denied and ſtood againſt it. Wherefore he carried the ſaid Metellan with him (fauoring the quéene) not doubting in the end by one meanes or other to win him to his part.

The reſt that went willinglie with him, were James Dowglas, Patrike Lindſete, being of the nobilitie; the biſhop of Orknie, & the abbat of Fernlindon, churchmen; James Macgill, and Henrie Balnaue, lawiers of the college of iudges. To whome as the ninth was ioined George Buchanan author of the Scotiſh hiſtorie: with whome the regent accompanied to the number of 100 horſſes, toke his iournie into England, and came the fourth nones of October to Yorke, to the aſſemblie appointed there by the quéene of England. On which day, and almoſt at the ſame houre, Thomas Howard duke of Northfolke came thither alſo; to which duke were aſſociat in commiſſion, to heare the controuerſie of the Scots, the earle of Suſſex, and ſir Rafe Sadler knight. After a few daies, came thither ſuch as were ſent by the quéene of Scots, which did complaine of hir vnkind ſubiects, and required helpe to reſtore hir to hir kingdome. Theſe men being heard (ſundered from the regent and the earls) did (after they had proteſted that they came not vnto them as iudges, hauing anie right to make lawes to bind

The caſtell of Boghall.
Skirling caſtell.
Crawford.
Saucher.
Barbacaſt.
Saint John Sclaghan.
Kenmure.
The water of Ur.
Dunfreis.
Hoddom péeldeth to the regent.
The lard of Drumlanrig.
Annand deliuered to the gouernor.
Lochmaben.
Two houſes of lard Johnſton taken by the regent.

bind them) with manie woꝛds open the iniuries which the Scotiſh ſubiects had done vnto their quæne, and required of the quæne of England, that either ſhe would perſuade hir vnkind people to receiue their pꝛince againe; oꝛ if they refuſed the ſame, that ſhe would giue them an armie, with which they might compell them thereunto.

In few hours after this, the regent (calling the matter to the deciding of law, beꝛore equall arbitratoꝛs) did contend (ſith nothing was done but by right, by law, by the ancient cuſtome of their countrie, by the determination of the aſſemblie of parlement, and by the ſubſcription of manie ſuch as were there pꝛeſent to accuſe them) that he alone by his authoꝛitie could not vndo the ſame: but when the Engliſh commiſſioners had denied that they could be ſatiſfied with thoſe things done at home, & here pꝛonounced by the Scots, except ſome cauſe were ſhewed that inforced them ſo ſeuerelie to pꝛonounce againſt their quæne; the regent anſwered that he did chieflie flæ that matter, leaſt he ſhould be driuen to accuſe his quæne and ſiſter. Which he denied to do, not willing to laie abꝛoad to foꝛren nations hir wicked deeds, as Buchanan tearmeth them. To the contrarie whereof he would not be inforced, vnleſſe the quæne of England would pꝛomiſe to defend the cauſe of the now king, and to take him into hir pꝛotection: if he did manifeſtlie pꝛoue, that the quæne of Scots had murthered the king of Scots hir huſband. Whereunto the Engliſh anſwered, that they had authoꝛitie onelie to heare both parts, and to declare their whole requeſt vnto their quæne.

By reaſon whereof, in the end they wꝛote to the quæne of England all the ſtate of their doings; who did wꝛite backe, that the earle of Murreie ſhould ſend one oꝛ moꝛe to the Engliſh court, fullie to informe hir thereof, ſith ſhe would do all therein that belonged vnto hir. Which letters receiued, the earle of Murreie ſent Petellan (a man beꝛore ſuſpected, and that did after ioine in conference with John Leſle biſhop of Roſſe) to the court of England, aſſociated with James Macgill. Now after theſe men were come to the quæne at London, it was thought moſt conuenient by hir and hir councell, that the regent himſelfe ſhould be pꝛeſent, when all matters of controuerſie were intreated vpon. Foꝛ which cauſe, ſending part of his companie backe into Scotland, the regent came with a ſmall traine to London: where the ſame difficultie was obiected againſt him which was done at Yoꝛke: to which he anſwered as beꝛore. Whilſt theſe things were doing at London, the quæne of Scots did by James Balfure moue warres in Scotland. Foꝛ the furtherance whereof, ſhe wꝛote letters to hirs and Bothwels friends, and made manie deputies to execute hir authoꝛitie in Scotland.

When the regent ſaw himſelfe thus beſet on euerie ſide, he determined to returne with all ſpæd into Scotland aſwell as he might, without diſpatch of that foꝛ which he came. Wherefoꝛe the Engliſh ſtill inſtantlie vꝛging him to tell the cauſe (which being vntold, they could not determine anie thing therein) that moued them to do thoſe things in Scotland: the regent (loth to offend the quæne of England) made a long pꝛotеſtation how vnwilling he was to accuſe the quæne, and his ſiſter; and therefoꝛe requeſted one thing, that they which were the occaſion to lead him into this battell might be pꝛeſent thereat, foꝛ becauſe he would vſe their witnes in the weighteſt matters. Which foꝛ manie great reaſons being denied by the Engliſh, the quæne of England required, that the quæne of Scots (by foꝛce and armes expelled) might be reſtoꝛed home; & therewithall giuing the regent a day, to ſhew cauſe whie the reuengers of the kings death had taken armes againſt the quæne; although the erle of Murreie were none of them: foꝛ he was in France at the time of the dæd done. Wherefoꝛe the regent ſhewing all he could againſt the quæne of Scots foꝛ the defenſe of hir aduerſaries; in the end, the quæne of England deferring the ſame to another day, permitted the regent to depart home to appeaſe the troubles there, and that he ſhould leaue ſome one of his behind him, to anſwere all ſuch euils as ſhould be obiected againſt him.

But the regent deſired them whileſt he was there, that his accuſoꝛs might be bꝛought out. Whereupon the accuſoꝛs being pꝛeſent, and ſaieng that they had not then anie thing to ſaie; but that they would further ſhew their accuſation where it pleaſed the quæne: the matter with much controuerſie ended on both parts, & the councell bꝛake vp without anie finall ſentence therin. But whileſt the regent remained thus in England (as is a little beꝛore touched) there were manie things without ſucceſſe attempted by the quæne of Scots followers. Foꝛ James Hamilton (who a little beꝛore had bæne gouernoꝛ) being grieued with the miſhap of things at home, falling out contrarie vnto his mind, did therefoꝛe depart into France, where (remoued from all companie, and onelie attended vpon with a man oꝛ two) he did ſecretlie liue to himſelfe.

But when the quæne of Scots was eſcaped the pꝛiſon of Lochleuin, and that ſhe was after ſubdued in battell, being within a few daies after compelled to land in England; the Frenchmen that could not dꝛaw the earle of Murreie (now by his friends called home into his countrie) into their faction, thought it beſt foꝛ manie reaſons (ſith they might not foꝛ the troubles in France ſend him ſuccoꝛ oꝛ monie) to raiſe vp the ſaid Hamilton againſt the earle of Murreie, and eſpeciallie at that time whileſt the regent was in England. Wherefoꝛe he comming out of his den abꝛode into the woꝛld, inriched by the French with a few golden crownes, and ouercharged with manie faire pꝛomiſes, was impoꝛtuned by his friends and kinred, whileſt he haſtened from England into Scotland, that the quæne of England with the authoꝛitie of the quæne of Scots, would induce the earle of Murreie to deliuer vp his regentſhip of Scotland vnto him; ſith that place was of right due vnto him (by the maners and lawes of all nations, but chiefelie by the cuſtome of his countrie) as neereſt in bloud, and next in ſucceſſion.

Foꝛ the pꝛoſe whereof, it is not neceſſarie to reckon vp the memoꝛie of hiſtoꝛies from the firſt times, conſidering it is knowne to all men, that gouernoꝛs haue bæne giuen to thoſe of yong yeares (not able to rule the kingdome) of ſuch as haue bæne neereſt of bloud. Foꝛ ſo, after the death of James the third, Robert his vncle had the gouernement in the abſence of James the firſt; and Murdac the ſon of the ſame Robert ſucceeded him therein. And of late time in our remembꝛance, John duke of Albanie did gouerne the yong yeares of James the fift; and Hamilton himſelfe, in the minoꝛitie of Marie the quæne that now is, being as then neither fit foꝛ a huſband oꝛ a kingdome, did a few yeares rule all the affaires of Scotland. Who now by certeine rebels, was through vnlawfull voices excluded thereof with foꝛce and violence, and that (which is woꝛſe) a baſtard is aduanced thereunto in contempt of lawfull bloud. Which honoꝛ, if it were reſtoꝛed vnto him, he would ſhoꝛtlie appeaſe all thoſe ciuill bꝛalles, and reſtoꝛe the quæne of Scots vnto hir kingdome, without anie foꝛce oꝛ tumult of armes.

Whereunto the king of Scots legats did anſwer, that Hamilton did not onelie demand a thing quite contrarie

contrarie to the lawes and old cuſtoms of Scotland; but alſo a thing moſt vniuſt, if no authoritie of law were againſt it. For our anceſtors (by reaſon of many murthers committed by thoſe of the kings bloud) almoſt a thouſand three hundred yeares paſt, did change the order in creating of their kings. For whereas before, they which were of the familie of Fergulius, the firſt king of that name, were in the life of the king choſen after to reigne, not as neereſt of bloud; but as perſons moſt worthie to weild a kingdome: Kenneth the third (to the end to take awaie from the court all treacherie towards the kings familie, and cruell murthers of kinreds amongeſt themſelues) did eſtabliſh that order which is now obſerued in creating of our kings; which was, that the nert in bloud ſhould be aduanced to the place of the deceaſſed king.

But afterwards, when men were taught by the ſucceſſe of things, that it could ſcarſe be choſen; but that in ſuch inconſtancie of fortune, the right of the chiefeſt magiſtrat muſt ſometime light vpon children and vpon heires alſo vnfit for gouernement, they did ordeine, that he ſhould be choſen to the adminiſtration of the publike wealth; which did excell others in wealth and wiſedome. Which courſe our anceſtors haue kept almoſt theſe ſix hundred yeares, leauing the kingdome whole & ſound to poſteritie. According to the which, when Robert Bruſe was dead, there were gouernors choſen by voices: which were Thomas Randolph earle of Murreie, Donald earle of Mar, Andrew Murreie, John Randolph, & Robert Steward. For ſometime, as manie were choſen gouernors togither; ſo when James the ſecond was a child, Alexander Leuingſton, being no kin to the king, no not ſo much as of the nobilitie, but onelie a knight, was appointed gouernor to the yong king.

Which may not be excuſed, in ſaieng that the ſame was then ſo done, becauſe there wanted men of the kings bloud to ſupplie thoſe places. For at that time were liuing John Kennedie head of the familie, the kings kinſman by the ſiſter of James the firſt; and the vncle by his fathers ſide: James Kennedie alſo, biſhop of ſaint Andrews, a man of moſt account in the kingdome for all kinds of vertue, being borne of the kings aunt: and Dowglas alſo, earle of Angus, with Archembald earle of Dowglas, both of the kings bloud; whereof the laſt was in riches and power almoſt equall to the king, but far beyond the wealth and power of all others; of whome, none did euer complaine to the parlement, when they were put beſides the gouernement, and others not ſo neere of bloud appointed therevnto. Not long after, foure tutors were appointed to James the third, which were not made in reſpect of bloud; but choſen by the voices of the nobilitie.

And although of late, John duke of Albanie was by the nobilitie called out of France to the gouernment of Scotland, during the tender yeares of James the firſt, and confirmed in the ſame by publike decree of parlement; yet was it not giuen vnto him in reſpect of neereneſſe of bloud. For he had Alexander his elder brother in life, who although perhaps he was inferior to the duke; yet he was farre aboue James Hamilton (in all kind of vertue) which did ſometimes reach after that place. But in the abſence of James the firſt, Robert his vncle ruled the kingdome. But by what right? Was he admitted therevnto for neereneſſe of bloud? No trulie.

What then? Was he choſen of the people? No. How then was he made? Marie when king Robert the third was not ſufficient to rule the kingdome, either for ſtrength of bodie or mind, he did ſubſtitute Robert his brother as his deputie, & commended his children to his gouernment; who in the end famiſhed Dauid the eldeſt, and alſo threatened death vnto the yonger ſonne James, which he did auoid by fleeing Scotland. Which Robert being in the poſſeſſion of authoritie by tyrannie (and his brother killed with thought) did leaue the ſame to Murdac his ſonne. So that it cannot be doubted what the mind of the laſt king Robert was to his brother, for he would neuer (if he had liued and beene in health) haue made him tutor of his children, whom at the houre of his death he curſſed as the butcher of his children.

That time alſo, in which this Hamilton gouerned, doth remember vnto vs manie things (though what ſoeuer was then done, is no proofe that it was well done) which are to be conſidered of. For when the cardinall Beton did labor by ſubtiltie to inuade the chiefe gouernement, this Hamilton rather leaning to the hatred which good men did beare towards Beton, than truſting to the fauor of the people towards himſelfe, did leape into the emptie place of a gouernor; in which he ruled with much crueltie and couetouſneſſe, and in few yeares after, both ſold the gouernment (obteined by force) and the queene, whom he had vnder his authoritie. At what time was ſhewed the fauour which the people bare vnto him, when they preferred the gouernement of a ſtrange woman, before the bondage which they had vnder him.

You ſee now (I hope) the requeſt of the Hamiltons to be againſt our countrie lawes, and decrees of our anceſtors, and that ſo contrarie vnto them, that wanting other ſufficient arguments, he is conſtreined to confirme the ſame onelie with lies. But if there were anie ſuch cuſtome, I ſuppoſe there is none but doth ſee how vniuſt it were. For what can be more vnrightfull, than to commit yong, weake, and faultleſſe yeeres to his faith, which doth dailie either looke or wiſh for the death of the pupill? Whoſe whole familie hath alwaies beene at daillie and deadlie warre with the houſe of the king that now is? What defenſe can be here by neereneſſe of bloud againſt old malice, vnmeaſurable couetouſneſſe, and the headie violence of (alreadie taſted) tyrannie? Laodice the queene of Cappadocia is ſuppoſed to haue killed hir owne children, as they came to yeers of diſcretion, and to haue bought the ſmall continuance of hir gouernement with the bloud of hir ſonnes.

Wherefore, if the mother ſpared not hir owne fleſh, for the gaine of ſhort authoritie; what will old enimies do, inflamed to crueltie with the brands of couetouſneſſe (nay rather what is to be thought that they will not do) againſt a child, which deferreth effect of their hope of gouernement? If this example ſeeme ouer old or obſcure to anie man, or to be ouer farre fet, I will lay downe ſome neerer home, and thoſe moſt notable. Who is ſo ignorant of this latelie done, that he knoweth not that Galeas Sforcia (growne to diſcretion, a huſband, and ſonne in law to a moſt mightie king) was ſlaine by his vncle Lodowike? Or to whom are the calamities vnknowne, which followed ſo cruell a parricide and kin-ſlaier? For the moſt beautifull countrie of Italie was almoſt brought thereby to vtter deſtruction: the familie of the Sforcies, the mother of manie a valiant perſon cleane deſtroied, and the barbarous people (from whoſe crueltie and couetouſneſſe nothing was ſafe) brought into the pleaſant places about Padus. Who is he that is borne in Britaine, that hath not heard of the crueltie of Richard (the third king of that name in England) againſt the children of his brother? But with what bloudſhed was that in the end purged?

Now, ſith theſe did not feare to do ſuch euils to their

their nereſt bloud, by the onelie inforcing deſire to gouerne, being otherwiſe worthie perſons: what ſhall we loke for from him, whoſe inconſtancie of mind all the Scots do know? Whoſe vnſkilfull gouernement they haue tried with manie ſlaughters? And (which is more) whoſe familie not content with the murther of this kings great grandfather, did go about to intrap his grandfather by the mothers ſide, whileſt he was in life; and when he could not kill the grandfather by the fathers ſide, he thruſt the poore father out of the kingdome, brought forth the mother to be ſlaine as a ſacrifice, & ſold hir kingdome (when they could not inioy it) to ſtrangers: out of which bondage ſhe (by the prouidence of God) being deliuered, they haue throwne themſelues into theſe troubles in which they now are. Whereby we may eaſilie vnderſtand, what the iudgement of the common people was touching that matter; in that thoſe men do now ſeeme to be deliuered out of a priſon of miſerable bondage, and to behold the ſweet light of libertie, when they (which knew not how to order it) did ſell their gouernment to a ſtrange woman.

These things being thus heard on both ſides before the councell of England, the queene thereof by hir ſaid councell declared to Hamilton, that he required an vnluſt thing, and that he ſhould not hope for anie aid from hir; and that ſhe hath promiſed the kings ambaſſador, that Hamilton ſhould not depart England, before that the ſaid ambaſſador had leaue likewiſe to go home. After that theſe things were done, and that the regent ſomewhat indifferentlie diſpatched his affairs in England, he obteined leaue to depart, and was honorablie conducted home with the Engliſh, who ſufficientlie garded him: but eſpeciallie the nobilitie and companie of the north parts, ſith it was great honor for hir maieſtie ſafelie to returne him home, who (vpon hir letters had) was come out of his owne countrie. Which regent comming to Edenburgh the nert day after the kalends of Februarie, hee was there receiued with great pompe.

Buchanan. lib. 19.

Few daies after this, thoſe of the kings faction aſſembled at Striueling, where the regent declared vnto them what he had done in England; which being well liked, was in the end confirmed by all the nobilitie. Much about that time, James Hamilton chiefe of that familie came out of England, being by the queene of Scots authoriſed with a new and arrogant letter: in that ſhe called him hir father, and made him hir vicar and deputie of the kingdome. This man at his firſt comming made proclamation, that no man ſhould obeie anie other than ſuch as were ſubſtituted by him. Whereupon thoſe of the kings part (beſtowing ſummes of monie vpon ſouldiers, to make them readie, if need required, to the vttermoſt conflict) met on a day appointed at Glaſcow.

But when there was a great aſſemblie of the common people at Hamilton, more than they looked for, a meanes of agreement was attempted, with this condition: that Hamilton, comming to Glaſcow, ſhould acknowledge the king for chiefeſt gouernor: which if he did, all other things ſhould eaſilie be agreed; but if he denied that, he ſhuld come in vaine: all which he promiſed to do, and the kings armie was diſmiſſed. When he came to Glaſcow, they obteined their former goods and honors the ſame day, in which he and his friends profeſſed themſelues ſubiects to the king: but yet ſo, that in the meane time they ſhould remaine in priſon, or elſe giue pledges of their nert kin; with further notice, that if anie of the ſaid part would ſo do, they ſhould alſo be receiued on the ſame couenants, whereunto the earle of Argile and the earle Huntleie refuſed to ſubſcribe.

Hamilton comming at the day appointed to Edenburgh, did deferre the performance of his promiſes, deuiſing manie delaies; vntill the other principall of the factions were come, whereby the couenants might be eſtabliſhed by all their conſents, for which he praied day till the tenth of Maie: and that in the meane time he might vnderſtand the mind of the impriſoned queene of Scots: all which in the end was denied vnto him. Whereupon Hamilton (confeſſing the truth) ſaid, that he conſented to thoſe conditions by compulſion; and that (if he were free) hee would not allow of anie of them. For which anſwer, Hamilton & Maxwell were committed priſoners to the caſtell of Edenburgh. The earle of Argile was ſuffered to be quiet at home, but the earle Huntleie was more harolie dealt withall, becauſe that in the abſence of the gouernor he had taken manie, and had made deputies about Crawford and Ogilvie.

Whereupon there was day giuen vnto them both to meet at the aſſemblie at ſaint Andrews, whither the earle of Argile firſt came: with whom there was no extreme dealing, becauſe he ceaſed to trouble the realme anie more, was of kinred to the gouernor, and they two were of great friendſhip togither euen from their young yeers. But when the cauſe of Huntleie (long before his comming) was well debated, the gouernor pronounced, that he would pardon all priuate faults done to him, or to the king: but that hee neither could nor would pardon anie iniuries done to any other. And if Huntleie, or his friends that followed his faction, could paſſe away with thoſe ſpoils, he would willinglie labor that arbitrators choſen by both parts, ſhould temper the value of the damage. At what time alſo there grew a further miſchiefe, whether all they which tooke part with Huntleie ſhuld alſo be pardoned; but in the end, vpon deliberation, all things ſeemed indifferentlie well pacified.

During theſe things, the queene of England ſent letters into Scotland in the behalfe of the impriſoned queene; either that ſhe might wholie be reſtored, or iointlie rule with hir ſonne; or admitted to liue priuatlie in hir owne countrie. All which being denied to be granted, the Scots ſent Robert Petcarne, a man of great wiſedome and fidelitie, to deliuer their anſwer vnto the queene of England. Whileſt theſe things were in doing, the gouernor fearing the power of the impriſoned queene, which now waxed great, did call William Mettellan before him, from Perth to Striueling; who requeſted the earle of Argile to go with him for his better ſuertie. Afterwards, this William ſitting in the councell, was accuſed by Thomas Crawford of the kings death, whereupon he was commanded priſoner to a chamber in the caſtell, and others were ſent to apprehend James Balfurie.

Buchanan. lib. 19.

But in the end, the gouernors mildneſſe ſuffered no great hurt to fall vpon them; for Balfurie by his friends ſome obteined pardon; and Mettellan being led to Edenburgh, was left in a houſe there not farre from the caſtell: to whome certeine horſſemen were appointed keepers, vnder the charge of Alexander Hume a noble young man, appointed chiefe ouer them. But William Kircadie, capteine of the caſtell of Edenburgh, about ten of the clocke at night, did counterfeit letters ſigned with the hand of the earle of Murreie, and brought them to Alexander, willing him to deliuer William Mettellan, which he did accordinglie. Whereupon Mettellan was caried by Kircadie into the caſtell, to the great miſlike of the nobilitie, being almoſt vncerteine whether they ſhould impute the deed to Kircandie, or to the gouernor, not being vnacquainted with the boldneſſe of Kircadie: in ſuch ſort, that the ſame was like to grow to a commotion, if the innocencie

of

of the gouernour had not before béene ſufficientlie knowne.

1569. Rebellion in the north of England, by the earles of Northumberland & Weſtmerland.

In the yære 1569, the earles of Northumberland and Weſtmerland raiſed a rebellion againſt the quænes maieſtie of England; but by the good diligence and prouident circumſpection of the earle of Suſſex, then lieutenant of the north parts, and by ſuch direction as was giuen by hir maieſtie and hir councell, for the leuieng of an armie vnder the leading of the earle of Warwike, and the lord admerall Clinton, the ſaid two earles were kept ſo in feare, that they durſt not aduance farre forward in their wicked begun enterprize, but were conſtreined to retire backe towards Durham. Whervpon the earle of Suſſex, ſuppoſing that their meaning was for their laſt refuge and ſafegard to take the caſtels of Alnewike and Warkeworth, he wrote vnto ſir John Forſter lord warden of the middle marches, either by force, policie, or ſome other means, to get into his hands the poſſeſſion of thoſe two caſtels, and the ſame to fortifie with ſuch number and gariſons of men, as to his diſcretion ſhould be thought conuenient, for the ſafe cuſtodie and gard thereof.

Sir John Forſter, being at his houſe nære to Alnewike, when he receiued theſe letters, accompanied with his ſeruants, friends, and tenants, & ſome ſouldiers that were come to him from Berwike, marched vp to the caſtell on foot, where finding the houſe garded with a great number of the earle of Northumberlands ſeruants, reteiners, and tenants, he made proclamation before the caſtell gate, that euerie of them within the caſtell ſhould come forth, and withdraw to their owne houſes, vpon paine to be reputed rebels to the quænes maieſtie: and that which of them ſoeuer did refuſe to obeie this proclamation, ſtaieng either in the caſtell or elſewhere in anie vnlawfull aſſemblie, it ſhould be lawfull for euerie man to ſpoile his goods, and him to kill if he made reſiſtance.

Proclamation made at Alnewike by ſir Jo. Forſter.

This proclamation notwithſtanding, they within the caſtell, at the firſt refuſed to yéeld it vp. And therevpon ſir John Forſter marched through the towne into the market place, and there made the like proclamation in behalfe of all the inhabitants that were the earle of Northumberlands tenants, for their repairing home to their houſes. And comming herewith backe towards the caſtell, they within perceiuing themſelues deſtitute of ſuccor, and ſir John Forſter to increaſe in power, did vpon better aduiſe yéeld themſelues vnto him, who ſaued all their liues. After the ſame maner he got alſo the caſtell of Warkeworth, and fortified them both with ſufficient number of men. This done, he aſſembled ſuch forces as he was able to make, ſo that he got together to the number of eleuen hundred horſſemen, and toke order to forlaie and ſtop the paſſages, ſo as the earles friends and tenants in Northumberland ſhould not go vnto him.

The caſtell of Alnewike and Warkeworth fortified by ſir Jo. Forſter.

Sir John Forſter kéepeth Newcaſtell againſt the rebels.

Sir Henrie Perſie againſt his brother the earle of Northumberland.

After this, hauing in his companie the lord Ogle, and Thomas Forſter his brother, and other gentlemen, he went to Newcaſtell, where, with Thomas Gower eſquire, that had the principall rule therof at that time, he toke order for the defenſe of that towne againſt the rebels. Hither came to him ſir Henrie Perſie, offering his ſeruice againſt his brother, and other the rebels, to the vttermoſt of his power. Herevpon diuerſe excurſions were made forth of Newcaſtell into the biſhoprike, where the two earles were incamped, and ſundrie ſkirmiſhes chanced betwixt the two parties, though no great hurt followed thereof. The erles yet on a day came from Durham, and with their armie marched towards Newcaſtell. Sir John Forſter, and ſir Henrie Perſie, hauing intelligence thereof, iſſued forth of Newcaſtell with all their forces, and certeine péces of great ordinance. They had alſo with them certeine bands of the ſouldiers of Berwike, meaning verelie to haue ioined battell with the earles: ſir Henrie Perſie ſhewing himſelfe as willing and forward thereto as anie other in all the companies.

At Cheſter deane, midwaie betwixt Durham and Newcaſtell, the armies approched the one nære to the other, a ſmall broke running in a hollow diuiding them aſunder, ſo that there was no paſſage for them to conueie their ordinance ouer, the bankes on either ſide being ſo ſkéepe and cumberſome. Wherevpon the erles, perceiuing that they were diſappointed of their purpoſe, after ſome ſkirmiſhes betwixt the horſſemen, they returned vnto Durham: and from thence the next day they went to Yerham, and after being in vtter deſpaire, fled into Scotland: where the erle of Weſtmerland lighted among thoſe that ſhifted him awaie ſo from place to place, that he eſcaped out of that realme, when he could no longer remaine there in ſuertie. But the earle of Northumberland fell into their hands, which deliuered him vnto the regent, who thought he could do no leſſe than put him in ſafe kéeping, conſidering the amitie that was betwixt the two princes, the quænes maieſtie of England, and the king of Scots.

Cheſter deane.

The earles of Northumberland & Weſtmerland flée into Scotland.

But ſhortlie after, the regent (as he was riding through Lithquo) was wickedlie ſhot in with an harquebuſe, by one James Hamilton, and ſo wounded, that the next day he died of the hurt [as ſaith Buchanan out of a wood gallerie, in which were clothes hanged as it were to an other vſe.] ✠ But the night before the ſlaughter of the regent, Walter Scot, and Thomas Kar alſo of Fernihirſt entered into England to ſpoile the borders, which they did more cruellie than euer was done before, rather for deſire of reuenge of ſome iniurie, than for the gaine of anie boties. Beſides which, the capteine of the caſtell where Pettellan was priſoner, was now commanded to ſet the ſame Pettellan at libertie: who vpon oth before the nobilitie (which allowed and confirmed the ſame) did purge himſelfe of the death of the king, and of the ciuill warres moued in England (wherewith he was charged) adding that he would proue the ſame at anie time when day ſhould be appointed to him therefore. After which, there was an aſſemblie made for the election of a new gouernour.

1571. Buch. 1570. The earle of Murrcie lord regent ſlaine. Fr. Thin.

Buchan. lib. 20.

At what time Thomas Randolph, being ſent thither ambaſſador for the quæne of England in the life of the regent, had audience granted vnto him; whoſe meſſage was, to demand the deliuerie of ſuch rebels of England as had fled thither: which ambaſſador the deceaſſed gouernour had before refuſed to heare at Striueling. Wherevpon, ſith all things were then in a turmoile by his death, they departed. But now, when there was a parlement for the chooſing of a new regent, Randolph which had béene in Scotland ſome yéeres before, becauſe he ſæmed beſt to know the men and their conditions of Scotland, and bicauſe he had before diſpatched ſome other ambaſſages for the benefit of the realme, was held déere and well eſtéemed of the nobilitie, and therfore was brought into the councell.

Who, after that he had declared what the mind of his prince had béene vnto the Scots, he ſhewed that ſhe would not now abbate the ſame vnto them in theſe troubleſome times, no more than ſhe had before done. After which he remembred the inuaſions made into England, with the ſlaughters, ſpoiles, and burnings committed a little before: all which he well knew was not done by the counſell or labor of the publike ſtate: and therefore his quænes fauor was not diminiſhed to them, but that the ſame good will

did remaine to them now, as ample as euer it was. And where she was grieuouslie offended (and that without hir desert) yet she was not now determined (although by right she iustlie might) to demand publike restitution and recompense for such euils: nor to exact punishment of the whole nation for the misdoing of a few.

For she was not ignorant what tumults and troubles of all things was of late raised amongest them. Notwithstanding this euill, she did not yet anie whit doubt of the fauor of the good and vertuous men vnto hir: and that she would not onlie for their cause separate the offense from the publike consent: but also (if they themselues for the domesticall seditions could not inforce the disturbers of the quiet to make restitution of such spoiles) that she would ioine hir power with them, to the end by common counsell they might take iust punishment vpon the truce-breakers. Which if they could not then do by that meanes, that yet she would prosecute those iniuries with hir owne people, whose armie should without anie damage to them passe through such places as would be quiet, and take no reuenge vpon anie that were not guiltie of that iniurie. The rest of the parts of his ambassage did conteine admonitions alwaies profitable in all lawfull assemblies, but most necessarie for the present state of Scotland.

Whereof the first aduise was for the defense of religion, with an especiall care & diligence therein: sith the same alone doth teach vs the forme of our dutie, and peace towards God, our prince, our equall & christian neighbors. For no common-wealth diuided in it selfe can long continue: for which cause they must chiefle labor with all their power, with might and maine, with saile and ores, that peace and quiet maie be holilie and vertuouslie nourished at home amongest their people. For sith God the creator of all things, hath imparted a kinglie gouernement ouer this nation, it is iust and meet that they obeie their princes; and in dutifull sort bestow all honor, reuerence, and obedience vpon them; sith peace, concord, amitie, and loue, with all men (as much as in vs lieth to vse) is most acceptable to God, and doth take awaie (or at the least hinder) the thirst and shedding of mens blood, a fault which God of all others doth most hate.

Which vnitie increasing the wealth of euerie one, maketh all nations more fearefull to their enimies, and is the preseruer of iustice: whose chiefe part consisting in punishing the euill, is especiallie to be imbraced: when contrarilie dissention and treason is a thing most detestable to all lawfull gouernement: sith such kind of people are to be pursued with all extremitie, and not be succored with anie fauor, with anie mercie, or with anie pardon, into what countrie soeuer they flee for refuge of their hated wickednesse. All these things did Randolph both godlie and wiselie admonish vs of, and iustlie and modestlie require from vs.

But because there was no regent chosen for the supreme gouernement, there could no certeine answer be giuen thereunto: for which cause he was for that time put backe to the kalends of Maie. At last, William and James Dowglasse, brothers of the slaine regent by one mother, were heard in this parlement, who required that the vnworthie death of their brother might be reuenged, sith the same was taken awaie not for anie priuat grudge, but for the common-wealths cause. Upon the opening whereof men were of diuerse opinions about his death, though they all agreed that the offendors should be punished: for some would haue a day giuen to such as were suspected of the murther: for the names of manie persons were there shewed to answer the same. But it better pleased other not to wait for anie appointed day of law to be giuen to them, who had alreadie taken armes with violence to defend that deed which they had alreadie done; & that they should not onelie raise their weapons against them, but also against all such as were condemned in that assemblie of the nobilitie.

To which opinion all the knights and souldiors did some agree, who yet could not hold their determination, especiallie sith the earle of Atholl and Morton did dissuade them from it: whereof the first would haue them tarrie, vntill there were a greater assemblie of the nobilitie: and the other supposed that it would come to passe, that if they ioined manie faults in one, that the reuenge of the regent would perish and come to nothing, and the matter would burst out to ciuill wars, wherby all they that feared peace, would flee to the part of such as were guiltie of the murther. Wherefore their faults were to be diuided, and (if it were possible) to treat of them by law, and that nothing should be done or changed vntill the kalends of Maie, on which there was an assemblie or parlement appointed.

Upon which persuasion the companie was dissolued, though the greatest part of the nobilitie did condemne this delate, as moued thervnto: because that the other would saie that all things were done at the becke of the kings enimies, who had thus protracted the time, to the end that the malice of the death of this regent might by little and little vanish in the meane time, and the aduerse faction gather greater power togither. Which opinion of the common people was confirmed by manie things that went before, and manie things which followed. For presentlie (before the death of the regent was fullie spread abroad) James Hamilton (mortgaging his lands to John Summeruill of Cantrethame) borrowed monie thereof: with which, and with other monie taken vp of the rest of his friends, he sent to his fauorers (to hire souldiors) being warned before, that they should alwaies be readie at all times, and for all causes which should happen by the taking awaie of their deadlie enimie, the earle of Murreie: neither after that time did the quenes factions ceasse from meeting in diuerse distant places.

On the fifteenth kalends of March, there did assemble the chiefe of the rebellious faction (for by that name and epitheton doth Buchanan alwaies terme those that toke the quenes part) to deuise of their affaires. At what time the earle of Argile, and the lord Boid did write vnto earle Morton, that they would willinglie (sith they did not yet know who killed the regent, and who were consenting thervnto) consult with the other nobilitie about the same matter, both to search out and to punish the same: and that they would not come to Edenburgh about that matter. But if the kings faction would be so persuaded, they would willinglie come to Lithquo, to Faukirke, or to Striueling, there to meet with them. Whervpon, the earle of Morton, consulting with Metellan about the same (for so it was desired in the letters) in the end it came to no effect. At the same time, Thomas Bar wrote to Limuch (to vse Buchanans word) to the gardian of the castell, to see if he could obteine of the quene of England to staie hir armie: which if he brought to passe, that then he would take such order, that he would easilie pacifie the borders without anie further trouble, and that they should remaine in that dutie which they were wont: but if she did refuse this condition, he would continue in his attempt, not doubting but the good subiects would shew their obedience towards their imprisoned quene, & would ioine themselues togither, because aid would shortlie come out of France vnto them.

On

On the fift nones of March, the Hamiltons, the earle of Argile, and Boid came to Lithquo; but the murther of one hired ſouldio; did trouble all their deuiſe by a ſudden tumult that was raiſed therevpon. Wherefore the nert day after the archbiſhop of ſaint Andrewes did bring the Hamiltons home, the reſt of the quéenes faction, eſpecialliе the earles of Huntleie, Atholl, Crawford, and the lords Ogiluie, Hume, Seton, and Petellan, met at Edenburgh: in which the earle Morton was accompanied with a ſmall traine, vntill the earles of Glencarne and Mar were come with their retinue. The fourth nones of March the chiefe of the factions met togither to conſult of the eſtate of things; but the ſame did proceed verie ſlowlie, by reaſon of the abſence of the earle of Argile, whoſe power and authoritie was then verie great.

This man did Huntleie ſeeke to perſuade to ioine with the reſt of the faction; but he returned without doing anie thing (as it was ſuppoſed by moſt men) through the ſubtilitie of Petellan, which would haue things long deferred, that more conuenient meane might be had in that troubleſome ſtate of the kingdome, for the innouation of things. The greateſt thing done in this aſſembling, was the argument for the choiſe of a new gouernor, which (as it ſeemeth) came to no effect. Now when all theſe aſſemblies tended to little purpoſe, thoſe of the quéenes faction returned to ſowe ſedition by procuring Engliſh warres, thereby to draw the common-people to aſſiſt their part. Wherefore they ſend the capteine (that beſore had done the like) afreſh at this time to execute the ſame; who left nothing vndone that might tend to extreme cruelitie.

During which, the heads of the faction do reproch the quéene of England, and ſlander the nobilitie of Scotland, as though they were the clients and followers of the Engliſh; further threatning abroad in euerie place, that they would vſe the aid of the French and Spaniſh, if the lord of the congregation prated in aid of the Engliſh. Much about that time, (as it were by chance) landed (out of France) at Dunbreton, Meriacke, one of the chamber to the French king, which aduanced the mindes of the quéenes faction, with manie large promiſes: by meanes whereof the Hamiltons appointed an aſſemblie of their people at Lithquo the firſt ides of Aprill.

At which day, when a great aſſemblie was made of the quéenes faction, they began there openlie to treat of thoſe things which before were whiſpered in ſecret: which was, that the death of the king and regent might be either forgotten, or at leaſt war cold in the publike turmoile of the realme, by making warre vpon the Engliſh. After which conſultation, they determined to go to Edenburgh the third ides of Aprill, there (beſides manie other commodities which might grow to them by that place) to ioine vnto them the citizens, by whom there was great helpe of good ſucceſſe to be receiued. Which they thought they might eaſilie bring about, by reaſon that William Kircadie was gouernor both of the caſtell and towne, againſt which deuiſe the citizens did yet contend. But in the end, with hard conditions, the quéenes part was admitted into the towne. After which, not thus contented, they perſuaded the citizens to deliuer vp the keies of their towne, which they moſt wiſelie refuſed.

All this while there was a great reſort to Petellan then lieng of the gowt, for which cauſe his houſe was commonlie called the ſchoolehouſe, and himſelfe the ſchoolemaiſter. In which meane time, the earle of Atholl did not ſpare to trauell hither and thither, to draw thoſe of the other faction to that aſſemblie at Edenburgh. But they would not come thither at all, vntill the kalends of Maie (which was a day appointed for the parlement) vnleſſe they knew ſome iuſt neceſſitie which might preuent that day: and then if there happened anie thing of moment, which might not ſuffer anie delaie, they would communicate the ſame to the earle Morton, whoſe houſe was but foure mile from thence, & he ſhould giue other knowledge thereof. In the end, a day was appointed by the earle of Atholl, in which a few of both factions ſhould méet at the towne of the earle Morton, called Dalkeith, which place did not like the quéenes faction, whoſe ſtrength was much holpen by ſuch priſoners as Kircadie had ſet at libertie out of the caſtell of Edenburgh.

But all the deuiſes and helps of the quéens faction were quailed, by the rumor of the Engliſh armie comming to Berwike. Whereupon, Alexander Hume, and John Harwell latelie deliuered out of priſon, without anie publike authoritie, or leaue to ſet them free, went home to defend their owne poſſeſſions; and a portion of that monie, which they had gathered to hire ſouldiers, was giuen to the ſaid lord Hume, to ſtrengthen his caſtell of Hume. Thomas Kar, and Walter Scot (who were iudged to haue made ſome roads into England by the perſuaſion of the biſhop of ſaint Andrews, whereby wars ſhould riſe in England) being forſaken of thoſe which inhabited nere the ſe places, & fearing their owne eſtate, ſent vnto the chiefe of the faction, requeſting helpe of them: or if they would not do ſo, that at leaſt they ſhould come to Lowther the nert towne; and from thence ſhew or make warre vpon England. Which when they could not obteine (nor anie of the publike monie) they forthwith departed to their owne lands in great anger.

After this, whileſt manie other things paſſed, as that the quéens faction ſent an ambaſſador to the earle of Suſſex, to ſtaie his iournie into Scotland; that they alſo ſent letters to the quéene of England concerning their cauſe; and that a ſeruant of monſieur Lauſac in France, had brought letters to the quéens factions (with thanks for their fidelitie) directed alſo vnto other that were indifferent, to ioine with the impriſoned quéene; and that he promiſed them aid out of France; and that the quéens people were aſſured, that the kings part would come to Edenburgh at the kalends of Maie: after all theſe things (I ſay) they of the quéens ſide departed to Lithquo, ſuppoſing that place moſt commodious to aſſemble their confederats. Whither when the Hamiltons and their clients were come, they beſet all the way to Edenburgh: for when they vnderſtood that John Areſkin earle of Mar was comming thither, they laid ambuſhes vnder the nert hils to intrap him.

But he knowing the iniurie of the place, paſſed the riuer two miles aboue, and came to Edenburgh the third day of Maie about euening. Shortlie after, the kings part remaining at Edenburgh, and the quéens at Lithquo, the three earls, Arran, Argile, and Huntleie appoint a parlement at Lithquo, the three nones of Auguſt. The other faction ſent Robert Petcarne ambaſſador to the quéene of England, to intreat with hir about the ſuppreſſion of the common enimie; and further to let hir vnderſtand, that ſuch were the good minds of the Scots vnto hir, that they would chooſe a regent by hir appointment.

Beſides which, the ſaid lords of the kings part with generall conſent wrote letters vnto the erle of Lennor, then remaining in England, to repaire home with all conuenient ſpéed into Scotland. ¶ Ye maie read in the hiſtorie of England, in what ſort the erle of Suſſex lord lieutenant of the north parts, entring into Tiuidale the ſeuen & twentith of Aprill, burnt

the Mosse towèr, the towne of Crawling, the castell of Fernitherst, the towne of Howike, and the castell of Brauxton, that belonged to the laird of Buclewgh, with diuerse other castels, piles, towns, villages, and hamlets belonging to the lairds of Fernitherst, Buclewgh, and others in those parts: also how the lord Scrope inuaded the west borders of Scotland at the same time: and likewise how the said earle of Sussex wan the castell of Hume, with diuerse other matters which here I passe ouer, referring you to the said historie.

The earle of Lennox sent forward to returne into Scotland.

But now about the same time, the earle of Lennox, hauing got licence of the quæne of England to make his returne into Scotland, was set forward, and came to Berwike towards the latter end of Aprill, where being visited with sickenesse, he remained by the space of fourtéene daies or more. In the meane time the duke of Chatelerault, the earles of Huntleie, and Cassils, the lord Fleming, and sundrie others of that faction, séeing the time serued well for their purpose, now that the regent was slaine and dispatched out of the waie, gathered a power, to the number of three thousand men, and came downe to Edenburgh. But after that they had knowledge that the erle of Lennox was comming out of England with a power of Englishmen, by the quæns maiesties appointment; aswell for the safegard of the yong king, as also for the safe conduct of the earle of Lennox home into Scotland: the duke and earles aforesaid retired themselues from Edenburgh to Glascow, where they besieged the castell by the space of fiue or six daies, vntill the earle of Lennox approched thitherwards. For ye haue to vnderstand, that after the earle of Lennox was recouered of his sickenesse, there was apointed a power of horssemen and footmen, to go with him into Scotland, vnder the leading of sir William Drurie; as in the English storie ye may read more at large.

The duke of Chatelerault gathereth a power.

The duke retireth to Glascow.

There were diuerse valiant capteins and gentlemen that went with him in that iournie, aswell such as had charge, as those that went with him of their owne good wils, to sée the order of things, and to helpe to aduance their princes seruice. With charge there were these; sir George Carie capteine of an hundred lances, Henrie Austell capteine of fiftie lances, William Gurleie capteine of fiftie lances, maister Henrie Carie capteine of two hundred light horssemen, capteine Case lieutenant of the generals band of light horssemen, being also two hundred: sir Robert Constable sergeant maior of the footbands, sir Thomas Maners capteine Brikwell, capteine Caruill, capteine Game, capteine Lambard, capteine Crington, John Constable, and Humfreie Berwike leaders of the footmen. Capteine Crington was also lieutenant to sir George Caries companie of lances. Other gentlemen that went of their owne good wils, there were diuers; as maister George Deuereux, sir Jerome Bowes, maister William Knolles, maister Robert Knolles, maister Michaell Carie, maister Galwdie, maister William Drurie of Suffolke cousine to the generall, maister Greuill, brother to sir Fulke Greuill, maister Conweie, brother to sir John Conweie, maister Edmund Verneie, and manie others, whose names I could not learne.

Capteins and gentlemen that went with the earle of Lennox into Scoland.

The footmen laie the first night at Coldingham. The next day the earle of Lennox himselfe with sir William Drurie and the horssemen ouertooke the footmen, and lodged that night at Dunbar. The next day they made such spéed in their march, that they came through to Edenburgh, where they found the earles of Morton, Murreie, Glencarne, the lords Ruthwen, Lindseie, Sempill, Glamis, Methuen, Ogiltrée, and Cathcart, with diuerse gentlemen of the kings side; who receiued the said earle of Lennox, and the Englishmen verie courteouslie. From Edenburgh they passed to Lithquho, as in the English historie it maie appeare: and from thence the footmen passed to Faukirke, and there lodged. But the earle of Lennox, and the Scotish lords, with sir William Drurie and the horssemen rode to Sterling, where the king laie, then being in the custodie of the earle of Mar. From thence they went to Glascow, where the duke had besieged the castell, which was valiantlie defended by the laird of Minto and his brethren, with their seruants, being not past eightéene persons in all; and yet they kept it fiue or six daies against the duke and his whole power, slaieng (as hath béene reported) aboue fortie or fiftie of his men; but in the end they were in great danger to haue béene taken, if they had not béene the more spéedilie relieued. But the duke and his adherents, vnderstanding of the comming forward of the erle of Lennox with the English trees, brake vp his siege and fled awaie, with losse and dishonor, as in the English historie we haue likewise noted.

Faukirke.

The earle of Lennox and sir William Drurie ride to Striueling.

The castell of Glascow besieged by the duke of Chatelerault.

He breaketh vp his siege.

After that the earle of Lennox and his friends were thus come vnto Glascow, finding the siege raised, he remained there by the space of fiue or six daies. During which time, there came to him of his kinred and friends, which owght him their seruice, according to the vse of the countrie, the number of foure thousand men, verie well appointed after their maner; the more part out of the countries of Lennox and Dartheleie, which mustered before the said earle, and sir William Drurie, generall of the English there. This done, the earle of Lennox, accompanied with the earles and lords before mentioned, & likewise with the Englishmen, marched to Hamilton, where they entred into the palace belonging to the duke, and lodged therein that night.

A muster of foure thousand Scots.

Sée more hereof in England.

The next day they besieged the castell, whereof Andrew Hamilton of Merinton was capteine, hauing vnder him fiftie souldiers to defend it; and would not therefore deliuer it, till that two péeces of great ordinance being brought from Sterling, were planted in batterie. For then perceiuing themselues in danger to be taken by force, the capteine offered to yeeld the house to the Englishmen; but not to the lords of Scotland, with condition, to haue the liues of all them within saued. Which was granted, vpon promise, that they should neuer after beare armes against their king, and to depart the realme within a certeine terme, and hereunto they were sworne. But they kept not long their oth, for the night next insuing, they did beset the lord Sempill that was lodged at that present in a house not far off, and not able to kéepe it till rescue came, yeelded it and himselfe prisoner, so that he was kept by the Hamiltons in safe custodie by the space of twelue moneths after. The castell of Hamilton being yeelded (as ye haue heard) was blowen vp with powder. Diuers other houses there in the countrie about were burnt also, as Koplocke, the abbat of Kilwinnings house, with diuerse other of the Hamiltons houses in Clidesdale.

The castell of Hamilton besieged.

It is deliuered to the Englishmen.

The lord Sempill taken.

The castell of Hamilton blowen vp and raced.

After the castell of Hamilton was thus woone and ouerthrowen, the lords returned to the palace, and lodged there againe that night; and on the morrow, they set fire both vpon the same palace, and also vpon the towne of Hamilton: and therewith the Englishmen taking leaue of the lords in Scotland, departed homewards; as in the English historie ye may reade more at large. The erle of Morton went with them; but the earle of Lennox and the other earles and lords with their companies tooke their way towards Glascow, and from thence euerie of the

The earle of Lennox with the Englishmen come to Edenburgh.

The towne and palace of Hamilton burnt.

the noble men departed home to their houſes. Shortlie after, there was a conuention of the lords at Striueling, where the earle of Lennox was made lord lieutenant of Scotland: and afterwards in Auguſt following, there was an other conuention at Edenburgh, where, by the conſent of the three eſtates of the realme, the ſaid earle was made regent of Scotland.

A conuention of the lords.

The earle of Lennox made regent.

And about the ſame time, the earle of Huntleie toke vpon him to be lieutenant of Scotland for the quéene of Scots that remained ſtill in England, and therevpon in hir name ſummoned a parlement to be holden at Lithquho the one and twentith of September then next following. Vnto the which parlement, aſwell the earle of Lennox then regent, as all the reſidue of the lords of both parties were ſummoned. Whereof the regent being aduertiſed, cauſed a parlement to be ſummoned in the kings name to be kept at Lithquho, at the ſelfe ſame day which was appointed by the earle Huntleie. At which day there appeared the lords of the kings partie, & alſo ſundrie great lards, knights, and gentlemen, to the number of eight thouſand, verie well furniſhed, loking for the earle of Huntleis comming, according to his appointed order; but he came no néeter than Brechine.

The earle of Huntleie.

A parlement proclamed by both the factions at one day and place.

The earle of Huntleie commeth no néeter than Brechine.

Whereupon it was decréed by the regent and nobilitie there, to purſue him: and to that end, James Dowglas earle of Morton was ſent before with a thouſand horſſemen to haue taken him vpon the ſudden in the towne of Brechine, before he ſhould haue ante warning of their comming, the regent following after with an armie. But Huntlie hauing warning of their approch, eſcaped their hands, although verie narrowlie; in ſomuch that ſome of his footmen were ſo put to their ſhifts, that they were driuen for their refuge (being ſo beſet on the ſudden) to take the caſtell of Brechine: the earle of Huntleie promiſing before he went from them, to ſuccour them within eight daies; but they being ſtreictlie beſieged, and the earle not keeping promiſe with them, after thoſe eight daies were expired, they yéelded themſelues and the caſtell vnto the regents mercie.

The earle of Huntleie eſcapeth.

They were in all about three hundred, of which number one and thirtie of the chiefeſt were executed. Some of them had borne arms againſt the king before that time, and had béene pardoned, and therefore were now thought by the regent and his friends the more worthie to die. After this, the regent returned to Striueling, and from thence paſſed to the caſtell of Downe, and beſieged it; being kept by the ſeruants of the lord of ſaint Colmes Inch, who yéelded it to the regent after three daies ſiege. During the time of the regents being there, he ſent one of his ſeruants called John Wone, with letters into England, directed to the quéene of Englands councell: who (for his ſecret practiſing and conference had with ſuch as were enimies to the king and regent before his departure out of Scotland, and for receiuing of their letters to be conueied alſo, and herewith diſcouering ſundrie ſecrets to them, the which were committed vnto his credit and truſt) was apprehended, and the ſame letters which he had ſecretlie receiued being found vpon him, and the matters aforeſaid proued againſt him, he was by law executed.

Execution.

The caſtell of Downe yéelded.

About the ſame time the earle of Morton, the abbat of Dunfermeling, and James Macgill, clearke of the regiſter, were ſent into England commiſſioners vpon the kings partie; the biſhop of Roſſe, the abbat of Kilwinning, & the lord Leuingſton, appointed for the quéene then being in England. In Januarie following, the regent then being at Edenburgh, Claud Hamilton, one of the duke of Chateraults ſonnes, entred the houſe of Paſleie, then being kept by the ſeruants of the lord Sempill: and ſeizing vpon all things which they found as ſtood with his pleaſure, he fortified the houſe with men, munition, and vittels, ſuch as he could get either in the towne of Paſleie, or nere thereabouts. The regent aduertiſed thereof, repaired thither with a power in all ſpédie wiſe, and laid ſiege to the houſe. They within ſued for a truce, which was granted to them for the ſpace of ſix daies, the better to aduiſe of their owne eſtate: which terme being expired, proclamation was made by the regent, that if they would yæld the houſe, ſo manie of them as had not borne armes before that time againſt the king and regent, ſhould haue their liues ſaued, the reſt to remaine at the regents pleaſure.

Commiſſioners ſent into England.

Paſleie taken and kept by Claud Hamilton.

The regent beſiegeth Paſleie.

Herevpon contention roſe among them within the houſe: for whereas the more part of them hauing not ſerued in anie iournie or exploit againſt the king before that time, would néeds yéeld; the other, being the leſſe number, were not able to defend it of themſelues. Whereupon they were readie to draw their weapons one againſt another; but yet in the end they agréed to ſurrender the houſe, and yéelded themſelues, vpon ſuch condition as the regent had preſcribed: whereupon fiue of them were executed, & all the reſt were pardoned of their liues. The capteine John Hamilton, lard of Coughnall, and his two brethren excepted, who were ſent to the caſtell of Glaſcow, there to remaine in priſon, and ſhortlie after the ſaid John Hamilton was executed.

Paſleie is furrendred to the regent.

In March following, the regent returned to Glaſcow, and for that Gilbert Kennedie with the erles of Caſſils & Eglenton refuſed to ſhew themſelues obedient to the king, and would not come to the regent, who had ſent for them by letters at ſundrie times, the regent gathered his power at Glaſcow, and with the ſame marched towards Vrwin and Air, and ſo forward to the earle of Caſſils countrie, who hearing of the regents comming, ſent forth his brother to offer his ſubmiſſion. Whereupon it was concluded, that the meſſenger ſhould remaine with the regent as pledge for his brother, by the ſpace of twentie daies; and then the ſaid earle to make his appearance before the regent at Striueling, to anſwere ſuch matters as ſhould be laid to his charge.

1571.

The regent goeth againſt the earle of Caſſils.

The ſame time alſo Hugh Montgomerie earle of Eglenton, and Robert Boid leuied their bands alſo to appeare and anſwer in like ſort: and as well the one as the other (according to their aſſurance giuen) appeared at the day appointed; but yet not agréeing to ſuch articles as were required of them, they were both committed to priſon, the one in the caſtell of Dunbreton, & the other in the caſtell of Downe. Afterwards there was a truce taken betwéene the regent, the Hamiltons, and their adherents for twentie daies, to wit, vntill the laſt of March. Which truce once ended, the regent determined with himſelfe to giue an attempt to the caſtell of Dunbreton, which had béene long kept by the lord Fleming againſt the king, and the earle of Murreie late regent, who had beſieged it for the ſpace of halfe a yéere or more, but could not by anie meanes compaſſe to win it.

The earles of Caſſils and Eglenton committed to ward.

A truce for twentie daies,

But now on the firſt of Aprill, the truce being then expired, the regent going forward with his purpoſe, cauſed all the paſſages round about the countrie to be ſtopped, as well by land as by water; and the ſame night ſent thitherward captein Thomas Crawford, and capteine Hume, with an hundred ſouldiers, choſen out for the purpoſe: who the ſecond of Aprill, about foure of the clocke in the morning, came to the caſtell, where the ſouldiers with ladders, ropes, and other deuiſes, found meanes to clime vp the rocke, which

which is of an exceeding great heigth, and so with great paine, and more danger, at length got vp to the wall of the castell, standing vpon the heigth of the rocke, to the which wall they reared vp a ladder, by the which entered first one Alexander Ramsie, ensigne-bearer to capteine Crawford, & leaping ouer the wall, was streightwaies assailed by three of the watchmen, of the which he slue one: and a souldier named Wederborne that followed him, being the second that entered, slue another of them: the third of those watchmen was also slaine, as he was about to flee from them.

The castell of Dunbreton taken by a policie.

Herewith capteine Crawford & capteine Hume got ouer the wall, and entering the castell with the rest of their souldiers, stroke vp the drum, & cried; A Derneleie, being their watchword; and seizing vpon the ordinance, manned the same. The lord Fleming capteine of the castell, hearing that sudden fright and tumult within the house, fled out by the posterne gate at the neither baile, and so escaping, got a fishers boat, and passed into Argile. The souldiers of the castell, perceiuing their captein fled, and the castell possessed by the enimies, yeelded themselues, and were pardoned. There were taken within the castell John Hamilton, the archbishop of saint Andrews, monsieur de Veriacke a Frenchman, sent thither by the French king, also the ladie Fleming, wife to the lord Fleming, and John Fleming lard of Boghall, Alexander the sonne of William Leyingston, and John Hall an Englishman, being partener of a new intended conspiracie, as was after proued against him, for the which he was arreigned, condemned, and executed at London; as in the English historie appeareth.

Capteine Crawford & capteine Hume.

The lord Fleming escapeth.

John Hall.

The third of Aprill, being the morrow after that Dunbreton was thus strangelie wone, the regent came thither, and entered the same, where he calling the capteins and souldiers togither, caused them with him to kneele downe vpon their knees, and to giue God humble thanks for their good successe in that enterprise, brought to passe rather by the prouidence of God than otherwise, sith the castell seemed to all those that knew it, impossible in maner to be wone, by reason of the great heigth of the rocke, and the strange situation, being inuironed almost round about with the water of Clide on the one side, and the water of Leuin on the other. The report of the winning of this castell was ioifull to the townes and countries about, which before had beene a continuall scourge to them, by reason that the souldiers that kept it, would issue out at sundrie times, robbing, spoiling, and carieng awaie the commodities of the inhabitants there abouts, as well by land as by water.

The strong situation of the castell of Dunbreton.

The regent dealt verie honorablie with the ladie Fleming, suffering hir to depart away with all such plate and iewels, as apperteined either to hir or hir husband. He granted also a safe conduct to monsieur de Veriacke, to passe homewards through the countrie, but the archbishop of saint Andrews was sent prisoner to Striueling. The spoile of the goods found in the castell was giuen to the souldiers that ventured so dangerouslie to atchiue so high an enterprise, bringing it to the wished effect by policie with so little bloudshed as deserueth perpetuall remembrance. The day next insuing, being the fourth of Aprill, the regent appointed John Cuningham lard of Drumthassell, a man of good seruice, and seruant to the regent, to be capteine of that castell, and leauing him therein, departed to Striueling, where he caused the archbishop of saint Andrews to be examined vpon certeine articles, as well touching the murther of the late king Henrie, as also for the death of the earle of Murreie the late regent.

The ladie Fleming honorablie intreated.

At what time there came in a priest without compulsion of anie (as hath beene said) and before the regent declared that one John Hamilton, being in extreme sickenesse, vnder confession told him, that the bishop did send him with three others to the murther of the king. And as touching the murther of the erle of Murreie, the bishops flat answer was, he might haue letted it if he would. Herewith the people that heard him, cried, Awaie with him, hang him. And so for these and other offenses, for the which he had beene forfalted afore that time, he was now executed on a gibet, set vp in the market place of Striueling towne. After this, the regent summoned a parlement, to begin at Edenburgh the fourteenth of Maie next insuing, and passed from Striueling to Lithquo.

The archbishop of saint Andrews executed.

A parlement summoned.

Here the earle of Morton (with the rest of the commissioners for the kings part, being returned out of England, with other of the nobilitie) met the regent, and then they passed toward Edenburgh, where they thought to haue beene received, and so to haue kept the parlement there. But they were not suffered to enter that towne, nor yet the castell, the same being defended against them by the lard of Grange, who after the death of the earle of Murreie, was reuolted from the kings part to the Hamiltons side, and had fortified both the towne and castell: so that the regent and nobilitie being kept out there, held their parlement in the Cannogate street, within the suburbs of the towne, where sundrie of the quenes part were forfalted. This being done, and sundrie skirmishes had with them that issued forth of the towne against them without, the regent returned to Striueling, there to remaine for a season.

The castell of Edenburgh kept by the lard of Grange against the regent.

In the meane time the earle of Morton, hauing certeine stuffe come forth of England by sea, and brought to land at Leith, sent the lard of Carmichell with his houshould seruants, & two hundred shot, to fetch the same from thence vnto Dalketh, being fiue miles distant from Leith. At their returne with the stuffe, they were set vpon by the earle of Huntleie, and the lord Hume, who issued out of Edenburgh with their power: so that betwixt them was a verie hot skirmish. But in the end the earle of Huntleie, & the lord Hume were constreined to flie, and were pursued by Carmichell and his companie euen vnto the gates of Edenburgh, some of their men being slaine, and others taken prisoners. For reuenge of which ouerthrow, shortlie after the earle of Huntleie, and Clan Hamilton, with their forces marched from Edenburgh, to Dalketh, purposing to haue spoiled the towne.

The lard of Carmichell.

The earle of Huntleie and lord Hume put to flight.

But the earle of Morton, hauing knowledge of their intention and comming, sallied forth of Dalketh with the power which he had there with him, although not comparable in number to his aduersaries; & meeting them in the field, there was a sharpe skirmish betwixt them, and manie hurt on both parties: but in the end the earle of Morton was put to the worse, fourtie or more of his men taken prisoners. And the cause was, for that his footmen were too forward, wanting helpe of their horsemen that should haue succoured them. About the fiue & twentith day of Maie following, capteine Cullen issued forth of Edenburgh with two hundred shot, meaning to intercept certeine harquebusers, which were appointed to come out of Fife ouer the riuer of the Forth, vnto the earle of Morton, who kept still at Dalketh.

The earle of Morton put to the worse.

Wherevpon the said earle, hauing knowledge of Cullens enterprise, aduertised the regent therof, who being then at Striueling, the next day came downe to Dunfermling in Fife. But before his comming thither,

thither, Cullen had met with a bote vpon the water, wherein were aboord fiue and twentie shot, whome he toke prisoners, and led them awaie with him to Edenburgh. The next day the earle of Morton came to Leith, where he met with sir William Drurie, and there they lodged that night. The next morning sir William Drurie passing forth of Leith towards Edenburgh, accompanied with sundrie capteins, and other gentlemen for his conuoie thither, they within Edenburgh perceiuing them comming, imagined that they were come forth to offer a skirmish, wherevpon they issued out of the towne and castell to incounter them.

So that being readie on either side to begin the skirmish, sir William Drurie, being come to talke with the parties for some accord to be had, toke in hand with great diligence to appease them: and at length procured them to agree vpon a truce to indure till eight of the clocke at night. But yet when both parts staied in the fields for the space of an houre, because they could not agree whether companie should first retire from the field, they fell at length in skirmish (notwithstanding the truce) and fought verie sharplie for the time, till in the end they of the towne and castell had the ouerthrow: the abbat of Kilwinning being slaine, with diuerse other; and there were taken aboue an hundred prisoners: amongest the which the lord Hume, and capteine Cullen were accounted principall. Those that escaped were chased, & constreined for their safetie to flee into the towne of Edenburgh, & capteine Cullen was afterwards beheaded.

A skirmish.

The abbat of Kilwinning slaine.

The lord Hume and capteine Cullen taken.

The regent immediatlie after this skirmish came with all speed to Leith, as well to fortifie the towne, as to make some further attempt against his aduersaries within the towne and castell of Edenburgh. Herevpon was Leith [whose capteine was Patrike Lindsele] intrenched round about, being esteemed a place of great importance, standing both in the face of the enimies, and so readie to annoie them, and also serving well to preuent them of such succour as they looked for dailie out of France. In this meane time, the lard of Grange, then capteine of the castell, and prouost of the towne of Edenburgh, caused proclamation to be made, that all those inhabitants which were not willing to take part with him in his doings, should depart out of the towne. Wherevpon, manie of them departed thence, togither with their wiues and children, and toke with them also such goods as they could secretlie conueie: and comming to Leith, offered their seruice vnto the regent, who thankfullie accepted their offer: and so they remained at Leith, serving against the contrarie faction vpon their owne expenses.

Fr. Thin. Leith fortified.

A proclamation.

After this, the lard of Grange, vnderstanding that report had bene made by some of the kings part, that he was a traitor to the king, and an enimie to his countrie, offered the combat to anie that would iustifie the same. Which being aduertised to them within Leith, diuerse gentlemen were desirous to vndertake the challenge: but the regent granted it to the lard of Garlisch, being a Steward, & his kinsman, who had earnestlie requested it. Wherevpon, after diuerse messages by heralds sent to and fro betwixt them, the time and place was appointed; but the matter went not forward, excuse being made on the behalfe of the lard Grange, that by reason of the charge which was committed to him, it was not thought conuenient that he should hazard the whole cause vpon his owne person.

The challenge of the lard of Grange.

The lard of Garlisch.

Shortlie after, there came out of France one John Chesholme, who was sent with monie to the lard of Grange for the paiment of his souldiors: he brought with him also a certeine quantitie of powder, and three hundred caleuers. Vpon his entering into the water of Fourth, and comming vp the same, he learned how the regent was in Leith: wherevpon he landed at Brent Iland, and afterwards for feare hid himselfe betwixt two cliffs of a rocke, not farre from the queenes ferrie: but at length he was found out by the abbat of saint Colmes Inch, and deliuered to the regent at Leith, in which towne the said regent late aboue two moneths, vsing sundrie meanes, as well by practise and policie, as by force to haue taken the towne of Edenburgh. In the meane time sundrie skirmishes chanced betwixt them, and diuerse prisoners were taken on either part.

John Chesholme.

At length, the regent caused a parlement to be summoned, appointing the same to be holden at Striueling the two & twentith of August next insuing. And when that day approched, he left the lord Lindsele at Leith in charge, as his lieutenant to gouerne the towne, and all the men of warre appointed to remaine in gard thereof; and repaired himselfe to Striueling, where at the prefixed date did assemble the earles of Morton, Mar, Crawford, Sutherland, Montrosse, Eglenton, Glencarne, the lords Ruthwen, Glamis, Methwen, Sempill, Ogiltree, and Cathcart, with manie lards and gentlemen. The first day of this parlement the king was conueied thither, the crowne, scepter, and sword being borne before him.

A parlement summoned.

When he had taken his place, he vttered a certeine speech as had beene taught him, touching the assembling of that parlement, which matter the regent more at large declared vnto the whole house: and this done, they proceeded further to other affaires, concerning the state of the common-wealth. Moreouer in this parlement, the duke of Chatelerault with his two sonnes, the abbat of Arbroth, and Claud Hamilton, the earle of Huntlie, the lard of Grange and sundrie others were forfalted. This parlement continued by the space of seuen daies: at the end whereof; to wit, vpon the second of September, Claud Hamilton, the lard of Bouclugh, the lard of Drumilton, and diuerse others, to the number of three hundred horsemen, verie earlie in the morning entered the towne of Striueling, and suddenlie beset not onelie the regent, but also the rest of the nobilitie within their lodgings.

The duke of Chatelerault forfalted.

The regent hearing a great vprore raised within the towne [in which George Ruthwen was slaine] and not vnderstanding the cause, nor who were the authors thereof, after he perceiued how the house wherein he lodged was beset on ech side, he defended the same against the enimies for a good space: but at length despairing of succours, and doubting least the house had beene vnderlaid with some barrels of powder, and that it would be blowen vp if he yeelded not as some told him: and the enimie to increase that doubt, crieng still; Blow vp the house, what should we stand longer about him: at length he was contented to yeeld to the lard of Drumilton, but not before he saw that some of his stoutest capteins had yeelded themselues before his face. He yeelded, with condition to haue his life saued: but promise in that behalfe was not long kept. For those that had thus taken him, when they perceiued rescue comming downe from the castell, so that they should not be able to carrie him awaie, capteine Cauder with a pistolet shot him in to the bodie, before he could be recouered out of their hands.

Fr. Thin.

The earle of Lennox taken in his lodging

The earle of Lennox wounded.

The rest of the nobilitie, to wit, the earles of Morton, Eglenton, and Glencarne, and diuerse other being taken prisoners, were presentlie rescued by those that issued out of the castell. The earle of Morton being in the hands of the lard of Bouclugh, toke the same lard prisoner, he yeelding himselfe vnto him:

and

and likewise the earle of Glencarne tooke his keeper prisoner, and so did sundrie others take their takers: but Claud Hamilton, with others their companies, hauing first gotten all the horsses that were found in the towne into their hands, when they heard that the rescus was comming, shifted for themselues, and fled awaie. The regent, being mortallie wounded, but yet deliuered from his enimies, rid vp to the castell, and calling there vnto him the whole nobilitie, when he perceiued his end to approch, he vsed these words (or the like in substance) as followeth.

The earle of Lennox his words before his death.

"My lords, it is not vnknowen vnto you all, that my comming hither to take this regiment vpon me, was not of mine owne seeking, but at the request of you all. And that which chieflie moued me hereunto, was, for the defense of the kings person, being yet (as you see) an infant; of whome by nature and dutie I was bounden to haue carefull consideration, and that in his minoritie, the good and quiet gouernement of this common-wealth might be aduanced, and iustice executed vpon those that most cruellie did murther the late king, my sonne the kings father, and his vncle the good earle of Murreie, late regent: whose mischeeuous and diuelish deuises if in time you do not preuent by your wisedoms and discretions, they will procure the finall ouerthrow and destruction of you all. In this action (as you see) I haue spent my bloud, and haue plaied the last part of my tragedie; and now I feele death to draw neere at hand.

Wherefore I require you all, for the due regard that you haue of your duties, first to almightie God, and next to the king your most lawfull and naturall prince now in these his tender yeeres, wholie to imploie your seruice in his defense, with care to maintein the state of this common-wealth, whereby you shall not onelie accomplish your duties towards God, but shall be assured to find in your king in time to come (God lending him life) all that good which you can iustlie require. And I shall further commit to your friendlie protection, my poore seruants, who for their good seruice haue well deserued, and yet remaine vnrecompensed, desiring you all to be good to them. And lastlie, I desire you to commend me vnto the ladie Margaret my deere wife, now being in England: vnto whome I beseech God to be a comforter. And now sith my spirits begin to faile, and that my life draweth neere to an end, I take my leaue of you all, desiring you to praie to God for me. These words being ended, he called to God for mercie, and continuing in praier vnto the end, within a while after he departed this life, and was buried in the kings chappell in the castell of Striueling.

The earle of Lennox departeth this life.

¶ Thus haue I hitherto continued this historie of Scotland, not so largelie nor perfectlie as I could haue wished, but skambled forward with it in such sort as you maie see; hauing deliuered nothing vnto you to impaire the credit of the Scotish nation, otherwise than I haue found in authors, or learned by credible report (as I take it) hauing put off the partiall affection, which I beare of dutie to mine owne countrie, in this respect, that I should not seeme to wrest the words of writers, either to the aduantage of the English people, or disaduantage of the Scots, speciallie in politike gouernement, warlike exploits, ciuill demeanor, and other vertuous exercises: which as I haue found them either in anie one person particularlie, or in the multitude in generall; so haue I reported the same, not sparing the truth herein, as I haue found it recorded, either for loue or hatred, dread, fauor, or enuie: but yet in no wise presuming (as else-where I haue said) to vse mine owne censure, but rather leauing the iudgement of other mens reports vnto the readers discretion. To whome I wish such vnderstanding and knowledge in the truth, as maie satisfie himselfe, and redound to the publike commoditie of his countrie, and pleasure of the almightie; in whose hands are the hearts of kings & gouernors, guiding the states of realms and common wealths, as to his diuine wisedome seemeth most expedient. To whom be glorie, honor, and praise for euermore; Amen.

Thus farre the painefull industrie of *Raphaell Hollinshed*, and others.
The sequele, concerning the continuation of this Scotish historie, is a new addition before this time neuer in English published.

THE ANNALES OF

Scotland in ſome part continued from the time in which Holinſhed left,

being the yeare of our Lord 1571, vntill the yeare of our redemption 1586, by Francis Boteuile, commonlie *called Thin.*

SOcrates (good reader) being demanded how a man might ſpeake that which ſhould be beſt and acceptable to all men, moſt wiſelie (as one in all his life wholie giuen to ſerch and ſaie the truth in euerie thing) anſwered: That we then ſpeake beſt & moſt to be allowed, when we ſpeake nothing but that which we beſt and perfectlie know. For we know nothing excellentlie well, but ſuch things as are often heard by vs from others, manie times repeated by our ſelues; and that which is commonlie receiued, imbraced, approoued, and vſed by all men. Now thoſe things are moſt vſed which concerne publike affaires, and ſuch publike affaires are moſt knowne when they end in publike action; & publike action, ſo farre foorth as it concerneth the thing doone, muſt needs be true that the ſame was ſo doone in that order, as it was openlie ſene to be doone. Wherby might be concluded, that in chronicling and treating of publike affaires, we ſhould ſpeake that which is beſt, which is moſt acceptable, & moſt true: bicauſe we report things doone in the eies of all men. But how trulie that is performed in ſome new writers, it is well knowne to all men of iudgement. For ſuch is the affection of our age, that ſome of malice, and ſome for flatterie, and euerie one to feed their owne diſpoſition, doo ſo gloſe things publiklie doone, as with a certeine witcherie of words, they like Circes transforme the things doone in publike ſhew to be of other ſhapes than they were indeed. Whereby Socrates maie now ſeeme to be confuted, in ſaieng, that they ſpeake beſt that ſpeake things receiued of all men, and that be common to the world: for ſo ſhall miſreporting and flatterie, a thing commonlie knowne and vſed of all men, be the beſt ſpeech; which in truth neither is nor can be. Now what I haue ſeene and knowne in that, as well of things at home as of things abroad, I forbeare to write; and for that cauſe alſo might moſt iuſtlie reſtraine my pen (writing vpon the report of others) both now and hereafter from treating of ſuch publike affaires, to the end my ſelfe ſhould not run into the danger of a like falſifier or miſreporter. But then on the contrarie part, when I fall to an other expoſition of the ſame ſaieng of Socrates, that he ſpeaketh beſt, that ſpeaketh that which he beſt knoweth, and that we beſt know the things which are commonlie receiued, and that we receiue thoſe for ſoundeſt which time trieth to be moſt true, and thoſe things which be moſt true are ſuch as are knowne to be publikelie doone; I ſuppoſe I ſhall ſpeake beſt and moſt acceptablie in writing publike affaires; conſidering that I am not ſworne to anie faction, nor carried with hate or loue, nor bewitched with promiſe of gaine or honour, nor inforced to turne to the right or left hand, but onelie left at libertie to make truth the daughter of time to be the common end, knowledge, and report of publike things: ſith the end of labor, of contemplation of ſtudie, & fruit of writing (as appeareth 2. Met. 4.) is the atteining of truth, and not that perpetuitie or memorie of a famous name or report, a thing alwaies ſought by me to be auoided, being onlie content in ſecrecie to relie my ſelfe vpon the recording of truth, which of all things (in my mind) is moſt pleaſant, bicauſe the ſame is alwaie a conqueror. For as ſaith Nehemias, Truth is great and dooth mightilie preuaile. Wherefore, as I ſaid, ſith thoſe things be moſt true & beſt knowne which are publikelie doone, and that they are publikelie doone that ſort to anie action in the common-welth: we then conclude that we write beſt and moſt acceptablie, when we trulie ſet downe a common truth of common occurrents doone in the common-wealth; bicauſe that ſuch things trulie reported, doo conclude with Socrates that we ſpeake and write beſt in declaring a deed trulie doone, in that order (without ambages, gloſes, or parcialities) as the ſame was moſt trulie performed touching the truth of that outward act.

Accept therfore (good reader) that which I doo ſuppoſe I haue beſt ſpoken (by this my argument grounded vpon Socrates) in this my continuance of the Annales of Scotland vnwillinglie attempted, but by inforcement of others, whoſe commanding friendſhip it had beene ſacrilege for me to haue gaineſaid. And therefore rather careleſſe to hazard the hard opinion of others, deſcanting vpon my ſudden leaping into the printers ſhop (eſpecially at the firſt in a matter of ſuch importance) than the loſſe of the long and aſſured friendſhip of thoſe which laied this heauie charge vpon my weake ſhoulders, I haue like blind baiard boldlie run into this matter, vnder the hope of thy fauourable acceptance. And though herein I ſhall not in euerie reſpect ſatisfie all mens minds and iudgements, that for fauour of perſons, times, & actions, will like Proteus at their owne pleaſure make black ſeeme white, alter euerie matter into euerie ſhape, & curiouſlie carping at my barrennes in writing, bicauſe I omit manie things in this my continuance of the Annales of Scotland, & haue reported things in other formes than ſome mens humors would haue had me to doo: I muſt deſire thee to conſider for the firſt that the Scots themſelues, beſides manie others of our owne nation are the cauſe thereof, who either for feare durſt not, or for prentended aduiſe and conſultation in the matter would not, or for the reſtreint of others might not, impart to me ſuch things as ſhould both concerne the honour of the Scotiſh nation, and the ſubſtance of their owne cauſe. For the other matter, if I ſhould bind my ſtile to the affections of ſome, I ſhould breake the rule of Socrates, and not ſpeake the beſt, ſith I ſhould then ſpeake publike and common things, publikelie knowne to all men, contrarie to that order, in which they were commonlie and publikelie ſeene to be doone of all men; and ſo by that meanes fall into the reproch of a diſdeined reporter.

Now, if thou which art the reader, thinke that I (vnacquainted with mattets of ſtate, eſpeciallie in an other countrie, better knowne to all men than to my ſelfe) am far vnable to breake the dangerous ice of ſuch matters, and ſo more vnmeet to enter into the boſome of princes (whoſe harts as Salomon ſaith are vnſearchable) ſhould for my vnaduiſedneſſe ſeeme worthie the puniſhment of Prometheus, that ſtale the fier from Iupiter, and caried it abrode into the world, bicauſe the affaires of princes are not to be made common, to be ſubmitted to the cenſure of their ſubiects, nor to be written vntill the aſhes of all thoſe whome the things concerne were vtterlie conſumed: thou muſt yet remember that men haue eſcaped puniſhment in dealing with higher matters than with things of chronicles, or of ſuch like which onelie touch the life of the bodie. And therefore in puniſhing thereof vpon Prometheus, Iupiter went beyond himſelfe. For if the greater, that is for matters touching the ſoule, went not onelie free from puniſhment, but receiued eternall reward, as after ſhall appeare, how much more ſhould Prometheus haue beene ſpared, that but onelie medled with the bodie? Now it is manifeſt that in diuinitie and matters of the ſoule (a thing that ſo far exceedeth the bodie as the ſunne dooth the moone, as angels doo inferior creatures, and as light dooth darkeneſſe) there be manie which haue lept into heauen, and by contemplation placed their pen amongſt the ſonnes of God in writing, and laieng abrode to the world (as much as in them laie) the vnſearchable works of the Almightie, whereof we cannot comprehend the leaſt cauſe, order or perfection, and haue therefore not onelie not receiued puniſhment, but eternall reward both in bodie and ſoule; as Enoch was tranſlated to paradiſe; Elias taken vp in a fierie chariot; Paule rapt vp into the third heauen, with manie others. For which cauſe I ſaie, if they which lepped into matters farre beyond the reach of men, to expreſſe in the meaneſt degree of perfection, were not puniſhed for medling therein, and writing thereof; much leſſe ought I to be puniſhed with Prometheus in medling with the diſcourſe of matters vpon the earth, and ſuch as concerne the actions of mortall creatures, as battels, mutations of kingdoms, death of princes, and ſuch other earthlie accidents. Into which yet I would not haue ſo raſhlie deſcended, or taken ſo hard a prouince in hand, had not (as before I ſaid) the commandement of ſuch as I durſt not gainſaie, interponed it ſelfe as a ſhield to receiue and beat backe the ſharpe darts of enuious toongs. For which cauſe ſith I was bound to him by deſart, and that he had better opinion of me than there was cauſe whie; I feared not (though I deemed it the part of him which doubted the iudgement and reproch of the wiſer ſort, not to haue hazarded his credit) to enter into this dangerous ſea, being not ſo much furniſhed with hope to performe it well, as deſirous to diſcharge the requeſt of him, and to ſhew the hope I conceiued at the well acceptance thereof by thee. In which diſcourſe I had rather good reader thou ſhouldeſt complaine of want of ſufficiencie in me to performe ſo hard a thing: than that he ſhould miſlike of my goodwill in anſwering his deſire. And ſhould I feare to enter heereinto, being a thing meet onelie for great councellors and men priuie of matters of eſtate; as though there were no place for Greeke poets but onelie to Homer and Sophocles; and for Latine poets, but to Virgill, Ouid, and Horace? Did the ſingularitie and ampleneſſe of Platos knowledge in philoſophie feare Ariſtotle to write in the like argument? Or hath Ariſtotle ſtaied the pen of others? Shall no man be painters but Appelles or Zeuxis, or caruers or grauers but Phidias and Lyſias? Shall no man be orators but Cicero, Quintilian, aud Demoſthenes? Shall none write hiſtories but Cæſar, Liuie, Sabellicus, Paulus Iouius, Comineus, Guicciardine, or ſuch like? Or ſhall none deliuer their trauell to the world bicauſe they cannot write in Engliſh as did ſir Thomas Moore, ſir Iohn Cheeke, Roger Askam, Gefferie Fenton, or Iohn Lilie? Yes trulie, for when they haue doone their beſt, and written what they can, a man may yet imagine a far more excellent thing, euen of and in that wherein they haue beſt trauelled, written, painted, or graued, and that euen by the ſelfe ſame thing which they haue doone. And more good reader thou canſt not doo either vpon the baſenes of my ſtile, the diſorder of the matter, or the barrenneſſe of ſupplieng of things requiſit for the furniſhing and maieſtie of an hiſtorie, than to ſuppoſe and ſaie that a better forme and method of writing, a more ample diſcourſe for the matter, and a ſweeter ſtile for the manner might haue beene had for the hiſtorie of Scotland, than that which I haue ſet downe. Wherefore if the beſt writers be ſubiect to theſe faults, that when they haue ſpent all their wit, eloquence, and art, there is yet ſomewhat to be deſired in them, as well as in me the meaneſt writer, I am content to beare all ſpeeches, and deſire thee to thinke what I would doo, and not what I ſhould doo; to excuſe me by others, and not to condemne me with others; to accept this in that ſort as I haue meant it, and rather with mildneſſe to pardon my imperfections, than with malice to barke at my well meaning. Beſides which, if thou ſhalt deeme this worke and continuation of mine for Scotland, ought to haue been conſecrated to the fauourable acceptance, and honourable protection of him to whom the firſt volume was dedicated; I anſwer (beſides that I am to him an eſtranger, and not to beg vndeſerued fauour of anie perſon, and that the firſt patrone of this Scotiſh hiſtorie is now in the low countries beyond the ſeas) this is a thing by me ſo ſlenderlie doone, that it meriteth not his honourable iudgement, or the learned view or patronage of anie other of the nobilitie. For if it had, I would then haue beſtowed the ſame vpon thoſe to whom I haue alreadie conſecrated my ſelfe, whatſoeuer I am, hauing long before this couenanted with my bodie, onelie to tie it vnto their good commandement. For hauing but one heart, I cannot dilate it to ſerue and offer it ſelfe to manie perſons, conſidering that where is but one heart, there muſt needs be but one waie: and he that will beſtowe one heart vpon manie perſons, muſt diuide the ſame into manie portions, and ſo diſmember it, that in the end it will be no heart at all; or els he muſt go to the ſhambles to prouide manie ſheepes hearts, to beſtow vpon thoſe manie to whom he will bind his manie ſeruices: for which cauſes I may neither chooſe a new patrone, nor dedicate this to the old, but onelie to thee the fauourable reader. Now before I knit vp this exordium (which may ſeeme to thee in reſpect of the following hiſtorie, to be like the towne, the gates and entrance whereinto being verie great, occaſioned Diogenes to will the inhabitants to ſhut thoſe great gates, leaſt that little towne did run out thereat) I am to admoniſh thee good reader, that in all my former additions to the hiſtorie of Scotland, I haue neither word for word, nor ſentence for ſentence, ſet downe the writings of Leſleus or Buchanan, but haue choſen out the matter as I thought beſt and apt to my deſire. After which ſort I haue likewiſe in this my continuation of the annales of that countrie, not ſet downe or deliuered things to the world in that ſort and ſtile as I haue receiued intelligence thereof, but onelie culled foorth ſuch matter as both the time wherein we liue, the matter whereof I intreat, and the method required therefore, may well beare and chalenge. Thus hauing laid before thee, that he writeth beſt that trulie writeth publike affaires, that I was commanded by my deere freends to enter into this ſand: that I cannot diſcourſe of this hiſtorie as I willinglie would: that I ought not to forbeare to write bicauſe I cannot in ſtile and matter equall the beſt: that they are to be pardoned that attempt high things: that I haue purpoſelie in generall dedicated this labour to the common reader, and not in particular to anie honourable perſon: and hoping that thou wilt pardon all imperfections, I ſparinglie enter into the continuation of the annales of Scotland (being ſuch as thou maiſt be content to read, and I am contented to write) in this ſort as heere followeth, making my firſt entrance thereinto with the death of the earle of Lennox, with whome Holinſhed finiſhed his chronicle, and ſo to the matter, after this long and tedious deteining of thee from the ſame.

Francis Thin.

THE CONTINVANCE of the annales of Scotland, from

the death of the regent Matthew earle of Leneaux.

1572
Lesleus lib.10. pag.387. Buchan.lib.20.

THe earle of Leneaux slaine and buried at Stearlinge (as the state of that sante troblsome time wold so permit) the noblemen which were there present of that faction, taking part with the king, assembled themselues for the creating of a new regent, to which function they named three, and those first by oth compelled to yeeld to the voices of the nobilitie. The three appointed by them were Gilspec Cambell earle of Argile, James Dowglasse earle of Mourton, and John Areskine earle of Mar. But in the end, vpon consultation which of these for most causes (both beneficiall and honorable to the realme and king) were meetest to weeld so troublesome and dangerous an office; in the end it was laid vpon the shoulders of the last of the three, to whome (they wholie inclining) gaue full authoritie to execute the office of a regent. At the first entrance into which place, this Areskine, hauing nothing more deere or desired to and of him, than the besieging and recouerie of the castell and town of Edenbrough (out of the hands of the queens faction) to the vse of his maister and pupill (wherunto the last calends of October he was appointed, with a sufficient armie by the last deceased regent his predecessor) he was now hindered therof by sudden (and vnlooked for) turmoiles of the estates of the realme. Where vpon for that instant, the same was proroged to the ides of the said moneth of October. Which delate was after occasion of great impediment for the recouerie thereof, bicause it ministred time, power, substance, and succor to the citizens and capteins, to mure and strengthen the castell and towne, when the sharpe winter, the long nights, the hard carriage for the wars, preparation, and the want of sufficient furniture therefore (at the same time with the said turmoiles) occasioned departure from thense, without dispatch of that for which he came.

Colen.

The earle of Mar made regent of Scotland.

Certeine moneths after that the regent was gone from thense, there were some few and small excursions and skirmishes vsed amongst them, the victorie inclining to neither part. For the frée sight a watch out of the castell of Edenborough (towards euerie part of the countrie) so wrought, that the queenes faction should neither come to handstrokes, nor yet (being vnprouided) should be intrapped with the deceits of their enimies: bicause by a priuie token (giuen out of the highest towre of the castell) they were easilie warned to recoile and draw homeward in conuenient time. All which notwithstanding, they once felt the smart of the enimie, when all the horsse and lotmen were come out of the towne to intercept a part of the kings armie. For the kings faction (hauing first laid an ambush in the vallie) did with the rest come before the castell, in hope to traine the towne garrison vpon them out of the wals of their defense, which their expectation was not deceiued. For the said Edenburgers made hast out of the towne, to pursue the said part of the kings armie, which feined a spædie flight, to draw the other part further from defense of the castell. By means wherof, they of the towne did so egerlie pursue them so fleing, that in the end they went so far after their enimies, that they drew neere the enlignes of the other ambush, now shewing themselues out of the vallie to rescue their fellowes put to this feined flight. Which thing being well perceiued by the watch of the castell of Edenborough, forthwith it gaue the appointed signe, whereby those on the queenes part (before that they came neere to the place in which they were laid for) began fearfullie to recoile for their better safetie; whose flight was the more troublesome to them, bicause they knew they were in danger, and could not suspect from whense or how their hurt should come, although they were before warned therof by the said watch of the towre. In which recoile of the queenes part, the few horssemen which had before feined the flight (to draw on the other) returned, and made such hak on the backe of the lotmen, that the lotmen were inforced (with all the spéd that might be) to flie vnto the citie, the next wate that euerie man could find for his best defense: at what time yet manie of them were wounded, and manie taken prisoners, as well capteins and gentlemen of armes, as others.

Skirmishes about Edenborough.

An ambush laid by the kings faction.

The queenes part warned by the watch of Edenborough castell.

They which late in ambush pursue those that came forth to set vpō the kings part.

Whilest these things were thus slowlie performed, in that the towne of Edenbrough was with no more heat sought to be recouered, a miserable misfortune happened in an other part of Scotland: for a great slaughter was in the north end of the realme occasioned by this means. There were in that countrie two families of great power and authoritie, both valiant and wise, both harboring deadlie fod of long roted betweene them. These two were of the siernames of Gordon, and of Forboise, whereof the first liued with great concord and amitie amongst themselues,

A conflict betweene the Gordons and the Forboises

ſelues, and by the kings ſufferance had manie yeares gouerned the people adioining vnto them, whereby they purchaſed both ſtrength amongſt themſelues, and the helpe of other men towards them: when contrarie, the Fozboiſes were at wars one with another, dailie impaired their owne ſtrength by their owne ſlaughters, and in the end wrought their owne confuſion, for euerie diuided kingdome cannot long continue. But yet though this ſecret rancor did ſtill remaine amongſt theſe families, they did not in manie yeares before attempt ante open warres the one againſt the other; rather liuing in ſecret emulation, than open enuie, becauſe they had (in waie of ſome ſhew of reconciliation) by marriage intermingled both their families togither. Among theſe Fozboiſes there was one called Arthur (a man of ſingular wit, and of no leſſe readie hand to performe his deuiſe) who had alwaies followed the kings part to his vttermoſt, from the firſt time of theſe diſcords. This man therefore ſuppoſing this to be the time (now or neuer) wherin he muſt honor himſelfe and his name, increaſe the ſubſtance of that part which followed him, & ſuppreſſe the rage of the Gordons, firſt laboured to bring his familie to vnitie and mutuall loue, for all vertue gathered into it ſelfe is greateſt ſtrength. The which if he might compaſſe (as by anie poſſible meanes he would leaue no ſtone vnturned that might further it) he was then in ſo good ſafetie as he deſired. For then was there not anie faction or familie in thoſe parts whatſoeuer, whoſe wealth or ſtrength he doubted, and whoſe ſtate or authoritie he did feare.

The Fozboiſes diſagree among themſelues.

Arthur Fozboiſe.

For furtherance of which vnion, when daie and place was appointed to aſſemble the Fozboiſes togither, Adam Gordon, the brother of the earle of Huntleie (deuiſing by all policie he might to hinder the ſame, and hauing priuie intelligence thereof by his kin, fauourers, and followers) came with a great power of armed men vnto the ſame place (at the time appointed for the aſſemblie of the Fozboiſes) to breake off their vnion. And although there were two troopes of the Fozboiſes, which preſentlie appeered in their ſight, yet before they could ioine their ſtrengths, Adam Gordon ſpædilie ſet vpon the one armie (not readie to be ſuccoured by the other) and in the middle thereof did kill this Arthur Fozboiſe; who being the hope of all that race and now ſlaine, his death did ſo amaze the other, that forthwith the reſt were ſone ouerthrowne, ſcattered, and fled each one as he might beſt ſhift for himſelfe. In which vnhappie conflict ſome perſons of name were preſentlie killed, and manie others taken and reſerued for ranſome. Wherevpon the reſidue (fearing more crueltie ſhould be vſed vpon the priſoners, loath to haue anie more of their race to be cut awaie, and giuing place to the time preſent) withdrew themſelues from the fight, and neuer attempted anie thing afterward in the reuenge of their ouerthrow. Which feare and wiſe ſuppreſſion of reuenge grew not without iuſt cauſe, ſuppoſing that their aduerſaries (if they were further vrged) would ſhew no more mercie to ſuch as they had priſoners, than they did to the houſe of Alexander Fozboiſe before time, which they burnt with his great bellied wife and the other of his children.

Adam Gordon diſappointeth the vnion of the Fozboiſes.

Arthur Fozboiſe ſlaine.

The Fozboiſes put to flight.

The houſe, great bellied wife, and children of Alexander Fozboiſe burnt.

The eldeſt brother of Arthur (who was the chiefe of that familie) hauing his houſe ſo ſpoiled, and himſelfe hardlie eſcaping from his enimies hands, haſtned to the court, from whenſe (though the matter was in great extremitie) he was by the king to be releeued. For which cauſe there were appointed two hundred footmen to ſuch of the nobilitie as fauoured and followed that faction, with letters to the adioining nobilitie to aſſociat themſelues to the part of the Fozboiſes. Theſe thus confederat and come togither to the reſt of the Fozboiſes, with certeine other families of their affinitie & neighbours, ſo aduanced the ſpirit of this Alexander, that he now thought himſelfe ſufficientlie fenſed againſt all the forces of his aduerſaries. But as their number increaſed, ſo there wanted amongſt them one perſon ſufficient to inioy the place of a captaine, whome the reſt might follow, ſith all the principals and heads of the families were almoſt yong men, and ſcarſe one better than others in degree of calling. Wherefore the aſſemblie being drawen into diuerſe companies (for they were inforced to follow ſeuerall leaders) John Keth with fiue hundred horſſemen departed to his houſe not far from thenſe. Alexander Fozboiſe with his retinue and two hundred footmen went to Aberden, to expell Adam Gordon from thenſe, and to repare his armie in the iournie.

The Fozboiſes follow ſeuerall leaders.

John Keth departed.

Alexander Fozboiſe goeth to Aberden.

Adam Gordon (not ſléeping his affaires, knowing the preparation of the Fozboiſes, and vnderſtanding the approch of his enimie ſo neere with ſo ſmall companie) aſſembled his people, led them out of the towne, and compelled the citizens to follow, to make the number of his armie to ſeeme the greater. Shortlie after, in a field next adioining to the towne, the two companies met, and a ſharpe conflict was committed betweene them. In which the kings footmen (appointed to the Fozboiſes) deſirous (more haſtilie than wiſelie) to fight, and aduenturing further in following of the Gordons (than their ſhot of powder would continue) they went ſo far, that in the end (being out of the reach of defenſe or helpe of their company) they were put to fearfull flight by the bowmen of the Gordons, who purſued them egerlie, and continued the battell vntill night. At what time there were not manie of the vanquiſhed ſlaine, but moſtlie taken and reſerued as priſoners, amongſt which was the ſaid Alexander Fozboiſe taken, after that he had long and valiantlie defended himſelfe againſt his enimies in the ſame conflict, to the perpetuall glorie of that houſe.

The Fozboiſes ouerthrowen beſides Aberden.

After the ſuppreſſion of the Fozboiſes in the north parts, the quéenes fauourers were highlie incouraged to attempt greater matters. Wherefore aſſembling their power out of diuerſe parts of the kingdome, they bend their minds to the ſuppreſſing of Jedworth, a towne which after the manner of the countrie is vnwalled and vnfenſed, but onelie with the ſtrength of the inhabitants: which towne (certeine yeares paſt had ſtronglie reſiſted the force of the quéenes faction. Nære vnto this towne were neighbours Thomas Car of Fernitherſt, and Walter Scot, both which beſides their owne retinue had ioined vnto them the people of the next countries, being Lideſdale, Euian, and Eſkine, alwaies troubled with robberie and giuen to ſpoile, who at that time by the libertie of war freelie without reſtreint, did wander into further countries, to preie, ſpoile and catch what they could. Beſides whom there were alſo in Teuiot (aſwell by the infection of theſe countries, as by the cuſtome of ſpoiling in the wars, for theſe things were by vſe made an other nature and priuilege, as it were from the note and paine of ſin) great families defamed with ſuch theft and rapines, and not theſe alone (ſith this poiſon had crept almoſt ouer all the land) but certeine of the next Engliſh pale (being allured with hope of preie, and ſuppoſing all things lawfull in ciuill warres) ioined togither; and (to make their number the greater, and their power the ſtronger) called from Edenborough one hundred and twentie harquebuſhers, choſen out of the cheefeſt ſouldiers, to be aſſiſtant vnto them.

Jedworth defended from aſſaute.

Thomas Car.

Walter Scot.

Buchan. li. 14.

The inhabitants of Jedworth (not ignorant of their intent, and conſidering wherevnto all this preparation

paration tended) with spéedie & fearefull messengers signifie vnto John Areskine earle of Mar & regent, the present danger wherein they stood, craving some succor of light furnished souldiers to be sent to them, which forthwith was granted accordinglie. Whereupon Walter Car of Stekford, being called before the regent for that cause, had the charge of such aid granted vnto him, as a person who both for valure & experience was of sufficiencie to discharge anie such matter laied vpon him. Besides which, a conuenient number of sufficient souldiers, gathered out of the countries adioining, for that season assembled themselues in defense of the towne, & ioined their armie with them at Jedworth. At what time also to strike more feare in the one part & to aduance the courage of the other part, it was noised amongst both armies that William Ruthwine with a hundred shot and certeine horsmen (wherof he brought part with him, and part he gathered out of the marches adioining) were at the same time comming to Dxburge with the said Ruthwine. All which notwithstanding, the quænes faction trusting to their owne strength consisting in multitude (for they were in number three thousand men) did earlie in the morning draw towards the towne, to preuent the comming of such succours as both were promised, looked for, and then almost at hand. Which being by Ruthwine partlie before suspected, he hastened the people with more spéd to follow them at the héles, and by continuall shot wered the taile of his aduersaries with often assaults and skirmishes.

Walter Car also ioining vnto him and to his complices the townes men (readie to defend their liues, their goods, their wiues, and their children) take the direct waie towards his enimies, to the end the better to suppresse them and their vnited force. Which when the aduerse part perceiued, forthwith they retired to places of more defense, lest they shuld incounter their enimies with doubtfull battell; and least being set vpon before and behind, they might be suddenlie inclosed, before they could be able to turne themselues, either to escape, or to preuent the approching enimie. At what time such as sought after spoile, and were allured to that warre with hope of gaine, being now by that means defrauded of their preie, when they saw the towne manfullie defended, and the kings part readilie and stronglie come forth to battell, left the field, and departed euerie man to his owne house, as it was nérest to the place where they then remained. Whose sudden slight, without any occasion of danger, being vnderstood of the chiefe of the rest of such as were of the quænes faction (supposing at the first nothing lesse than that the enimie would make vpon them) they also followed after the others, raised their campe, and departed to Hawike with the rest of their followers and companie of footmen, hoping thereby to escape all danger, by reason of the sharpenesse of the winter and late fall of the snow, which would staie the following of the enimie.

But Ruthwine, iudging it best to vse the opportunitie of time, did before daie so spéedilie lead his armie to Hawike, that he was within a mile of his enimies, before they could by anie means be certified of his comming. Whose spéedie and vnlooked for approch did strike such extreame feare into the hearts of those which possessed Hawike; that there was no place left for anie consultation; but presentlie that euerie one should shift for himselfe as well as hé might. Whereupon suddenlie bringing forth their horsses and footmen, and following the course of the next riuer, they attempted to withdraw into places of more safetie for themselues, and further from their enimies. But the horsemen of Ruthwine spéedilie following at their héles, so preuented their deuise, that forsaking their footmen, they fled ouer all the countrie to the places best knowne vnto them.

Upon which the footmen being thus left to the spoile and prete of their enimies, did (for their more safegard) hide themselues in a little wood adioining to the said riuer. In which, being on euerie side beset with the force of their aduersaries (fullie determined to preie vpon them) they did in the end wholie yéeld themselues with submission to their courtesie. Wherupon (sith they were not able like prisoners, for their number was ouer great to be caried about from place to place in that sharpe winter) they were (vpon their oth to returne and become true prisoners) suffered harmeles of bodie, and lossesse of furniture to depart, some few being still reteined in that place as pledges for the others departed companie. But when the time of their returne approched, Kircawdie, deceiuing their faith with his light promises, forbad them to returne at their daie appointed, and made them incurre the note of periurie. The rest of the winter, and all the next spring was passed forth with light skirmishes on both parties of the kings and quænes factions, in which few lost their liues, and of that few more on the quéens than kings part. For the quænes fauourers, remaining in the mounteins next adioining to the citie, whilest they would take occasion and aduantage to performe anie thing well, would (scarse entring into the danger of the conflict) for the most part retire and flie into the citie for more defense.

In the meane time, while these things were thus ordered, there came manie ambassadors out of England, to pacifie these discords growne to these great extremities, betwéene the king and the imprisoned quænes factions. But the same ambassage so well meant by the quéene of England, and reiected by the seditious of Scotland, sorted not to that end which was meant, nor as the state of Scotland required. Wherefore these ambassadors returned home without anie such dispatch as might answer their trauels, their mistresses care and loue, and the vnitie of that quarelsome people: by reason that the Frenchmen fauouring the cause of the banished quæne, did not onelie hinder the peace and quiet of the Scots, for the benefit of the realme; but also sought warres for the destruction of they naturall subiects, and to bring in their owne gouernment; who for the furtherance thereof, did with great promises interteine the apt minds of the quarrelling faction, to kindle and mainteine the fire of continuall warre, vntill such time as by force they had gotten the vpper hand, and brought the kings fauourers to destruction. For the better support whereof, the French king sent some portion of monie, which being of it selfe not great, or such as their necessitie required, séemed rather sufficient to nourish an hope of abilitie to mainteine the warres, than fullie to dispatch or defraie the charges or the affaires therein; and that the rather, bicause some part of that monie was euer deuoured by such as had the cariage thereof.

Amongst these things there still continued, for a few moneths, certeine light skirmishes to little purpose betwéene the aduerse parties. But the greater companie, who could not satisfie their eagles minds with litle flies, abstained not from robbing and burning the countrie. For Adam Gordon, entring into Angus, besieged the house of William Dowglasse of Glemberuie: but after that long besiege, perceiuing that the man whome he sought for, was not to be found there, he cruellie destroied all whatsoeuer there was left, consuming it with fire and sword. Which tyrannie did strike such fearfull impression into the harts of those of Dundée, that they despairing of their owne abilitie to resist them, called their neigh-

Walter Car sent to defend Jedworth.

William Ruthwine with a power comming to Dxburge.

Walter Car ioineth with William Ruthwine.

The quænes faction flie awaie.

Ruthwine with his armie commeth to Hawike.

The quæns faction ouerthrowne and dispersed at Hawike.

Kircawdie causeth the prisoners not to returne at their daie appointed.

Imbassadors out of England.

The French king sendeth monie into Scotland.

Adam Gordon entreth Angus, and besiegeth the house of William Dowglasse.

They of Dundée craue aid out of Fife.

neighbours of Fife vnto their aid, sith they were next adioining vnto them, vnto whom also Gordon was a persecuting enimie continuallie in all that possiblie he might, bicause they constantlie and subiect like did in all dutie support the kings part.

Blackenesse betraied.

At which time Blackenesse being betraied to the Hamiltons by the keeper of that castell, did greatlie hinder the traffike and passage betweene Leith and Sterling. For which cause the regent as a person that hædfullie loked into the dangers of that time, and with wise forecast sought to preuent following euils, brake downe all the mils about Edenburgh, furnished all the noble mens houses and places of defense with garrisons nére vnto the towne, and closed vp all passage to and from the citie. For now there was fresh skirmishing, and manie on both parts, as well of the king as of the deposed quæne were taken prisoners, put to their ransome, compelled to abiure their faction, kept in continuall prison, or else presentlie slaine.

Edenburgh mils broken.

Prisoners taken both on the king and quæns part.

These things thus depending, and the king and the deposed quénes faction contending still to support their parts, the matter did dailie more and more grow to great slaughters: which being well perceiued by forreine nations (pitieng the present calamities, and seeking to prouide to staie the following dissention of that countrie which was like to be at hand vpon these ciuill and vnnaturall warres, if better order were not taken therefore), the quæne of England as the kings next and louing neighbour, and the French king also the confederat of Scotland, sent their ambassadors into the realme, to sée what qualification might be had in these troublesome and dangerous times of the kings minoritie; hoping either to set a finall end to these inconueniences, or at least to mitigate and staie that furie, that it should not at that present, or during the kings minoritie passe anie further. For the accomplishment whereof, sir William Drurie knight, and Thomas Randolph esquier, were sent from the quæne of England: and monsieur de Croque, who had also béene ambassador out of France into Scotland before that time, was now againe sent thither from the French king.

The quæne of England & the French king send ambassadors into Scotland.

These much about one time arriuing in Scotland, and ioining togither concerning the execution of their ambassage, dealt so effectuallie therein, that in the end they concluded an abstinence of warre to be had betweene the parties of the king and quænes faction, from that time which was about the first of August, to continue vntill the first of December following: and so brought both the parties in conclusion to relie and abide the full determination of all quarels to be set downe by the quæne of England, and the French king. Which being done the ambassadors returned home, monsieur Croque into France, and sir William Drurie and maister Randolph into England.

An abstinence of warre for a time.

Sir William Drurie and maister Randolph go into Scotland.

In October following died the earle of Marre, regent of Scotland, of a lingering sicknesse (as some affirme) but Lesleus saith lib. 10. pag. vltima, that *morte repentina concidit*) being buried in Allowaie a place of his owne, situat foure miles from Sterling, to whom in the erledome succéeded John erle of Marre, who after fled into England, as in this following discourse shall appeare. Which John Areskine earle of Marre the regent did marrie Annable Murrie daughter to the lard of Tullebarton, by whom he had issue this John, which succéeded him in the earledome of Marre (as is before said) and one daughter which was married to Archibald Douglasse now earle of Angus: but she died without issue. Of which deceased Areskine earle of Marre, Buchanan composed these verses commendatorie, expressing the nature, vertues, qualities, and valour of the said earle in this forme and maner following:

The death of the earle of Marre.

Si quis Areskinum memoret per bella ferocem,
Pace grauem nulli, tempore vtroque viro:
Si quis opes sine fastu, animum sine fraude cauentem,
Rebus in ambiguis sustinere fidem,
Si quis ob has dotes, sæuis iactata procellis,
Figit in illius patria fessa pedem:
Vera quidem memoret, sed non & propria: laudes
Qui pariter petet has vnus & alter erit:
Illud & proprium est, longæ quòd in ordine vitæ
Nil odium aut liuor, quod reprehendit, habet.

Upon the death of which earle Marre the regent, there happened long consultation for the election of a new regent to succéd in his place, that might in all respects defend the kings person and the realme, as he had done before. Wherefore the noble men, assembling for that cause, did in the moneth of December, one moneth and more after the death of that last regent, elect by one consent the earle Morton to that office, a man no lesse wise than prouident, and such a person, as both for the nobilitie of his birth, good seruice to the realme and to the king, did well merit the same. After whose election, the two princes, the English quæne, and the French king, minding to make a full conclusion of peace and amitie, and to settle the kingdome of Scotland in due obedience and vnitie, did in the meane time that the abstinence of warre before named continued, send their ambassadors to the regent and states of Scotland. Which ambassadors were maister Henrie Killigrew esquire for England, and monsieur de Veracke for France. But as monsieur de Veracke was dislodged from the coasts of France, and vpon the sea in his iournete to Scotland; he was apprehended and taken, before he could atteine to the shore of Scotland: whereby he neuer came on land amongest the Scots to performe his ambassage. Which being knowne to the Scots, and they finding that their most aid & surest friendship would come forth of England from that prince, whome religion, bloud, affinitie, and neighborhood had moued to like and follow, did in the end resolue themselues, that both the affection, aswell of the yong king, and of the imprisoned quæne, should referre themselues to the quæne of England, to make a finall conclusion of all controuersies and troubles which were then amongst them.

Eorle Morton made regent.

Maister Henrie Killigrew sent into Scotland.

Wherevpon the said Henrie Killigrew made a quiet end and pacification of all matters & debates betweene all the lords of Scotland after this maner.

In Februarie following the new creation of this regent Morton, there assembled at Perth, or saint Johns towne (by especiall edict therefore) the greatest part of the nobilitie of Scotland, as the regent, the earles of Huntlie, Argile, Atholl, and others: who pitieng the miserie of their countrie, condescended that the quæne of England should by hir ambassador, set a quiet end and order amongest them. Which the said Henrie Killigrew did in all points accordinglie, extending the same vnto all the nobilitie of Scotland, except such as were in the castell of Edenborough: which were the lord Hume, the lord of Grange, secretarie Lidington, the lord Kaskarrege, and others: who rather desirous of warre than peace, as persons meetelie well inured therewithall, would not consent to anie peace, other than such as might stand with their owne liking, and support of the imprisoned quænes faction, which they earnestlie followed, as after shall more appeare.

In assemblie at saint Johns towne.

But before this finall agreement, as I haue béene crediblie informed, there was a parlement called at Edenborough to begin the fifteenth of Januarie, in which were assembled the earle Morton regent, the earles of Angus, Argile, Glencarne, Cassels,

1573
A parlement at Edenborough.

sels, Eglinton, Mountrosse, and yong Marshall, for the earle Marshall his father: the lords of Ruthwen, Lindsete, Glames, Simple, Bold, Marwell, Herris, Graie, Oliphant, Sinclair, Forbois, Cathart, Ochiltree, Somerwell, and others: with the commissioners of the borows of Edenborough, Striueling, Perth, Dundie, saint Andrews, Glascow, Lithgo, and Couper. Out of which number of this assemblie were chosen for to be lords and iudges, to determine the articles propounded in that parlement, the earles of Argile, Glencarne, and Mountrosse, the lords Ruthwen, Lindsete, Bold, Simple, and Herris, with the bishops of saint Andrews & Orkenete, the abbats of Aberbroth, Dunfirmling, Canbuskineth, and Newbottle, besides the prior of saint Marie ile and Portinlake, which were also adioined vnto them: all which persons so passed, named, and appointed, determined, ratified, & passed these articles following.

The articles and acts of the parlement holden at Edenborough the 25 of Ianuarie.

1 The approbation and ratification of the regiment.

2 Annenst the true and holie kirke, and deiering of the true ministers & members thereof.

3 That nane of the aduersaries and enimies of Gods truth shall iniote the patrimonie of the kirke.

4 That sike of the disobedients as shall be receiued to mercie and pardon, protest the true religion, and sweare to resist the decrées and execution of the councell of Trent.

5 The establishing of the regiment, in case that charge yet baile during the kings minoritie.

6 Annenst recouering of the iewels, houshold stuffe, munition, and moueables, such as sometime were the quhenes the kings mother, to his highnesse vse and behoofe.

7 A declaration, that all things done in the kings name and authoritie is lawfull, and of the inualiditie of all things attempted in anie name, and vnder colour of quhat soeuer other authoritie, since his highnesse coronation.

8 Touching motion to be made for a league with the quhens maiestie of England, for the defense of forren inuasion, for the cause of religion; and that others professing the true religion, may be drawne into the same.

9 The declaration and interpretation of the act annenst masse and gleibis.

10 Annenst the interpretation of the popes and other counterfet buls or prouision to benefices with antedats.

11 Approbation with some addition to the act of priuie councell, made in the reigne of the quhene the kings mother, annenst the disposition of benefices to ministers of the kirke.

12 Annenst execution against persons excommunicat.

13 Annenst the reparation of parish kirks.

14 Annenst proceeding in cause of diuorse.

15 Annenst the reparation of the destructions, biggings, and other damneges within the towne of Edenborough during the late trouble.

16 A confirmation of the infeffement of certeine rents to the pedagog or college of Glascow. All which acts thus fullie passed in this parlement, there was the same aduise giuen to the regent, touching the receiuing to pardon of persons guiltie to the slaughter of the earle of Lennox late regent, & touching suspension and delaieng of pursute of the murther of the kings father. Whereof much being spoken, and thought good to be followed; yet there was nothing enacted that might establish the same.

During the time of which session of this parlement, manie occurrents deseruing remembrance happened after the said fiftéenth of Januarie. For Edenborough castell being somewhat distressed, the castilians were put from sallieng out of the castell gate, where capteine Craiford, and capteine Hume laie with their bands to kéepe them in. Notwithstanding all which, they within repaired vnto a posterne in the northside of the castell besides saint Cutberts church, and saint Margarets well, where they issued and fet water at their pleasure: which being espied by their enimies, capteine Michaell and his band came from Dondiske to stop their passage thereto. Who within thrée daies after such his approch, destroied their well, and inforced them to kéepe within the wals of the castell: at what time the regent aduanced his trenches made against the castell, from the bulworke or spurre of that castell to the west part: and from thense, to saint Cutberts kirke: so that with the water lieng on the southwestside, and the regents power on the other side, the castell was wholie inuironed. During which siege, the sixtéenth of the same moneth, the castilians, to feare such as were assembled in the forenamed parlement kept within the towne of Edenborough, bestowed fourescore and seuen great shot vpon the towne, which harmed not anie one creature, but a poore dog that was slaine before the doore of the regents house: although men, women, and children did dailie frequent and passe the stréets of the towne. Which was a rare matter, but yet not more strange than this: that there was not slaine on the regents part (from the first of the moneth of Januarie vntill this time, either by great or small shot in the towne or trenches, skirmishes or otherwise) aboue six persons, and within the castell but thrée, with as manie hurt betweene the tolbooth and the spurre of the castell. The cause whereof grew by reason of thrée trauerses made ouerthwart the stréets to saue the people, besides the other trenches made against the castell: at what time also the tolbooth and the church was fensed with a rampier forced of turffes, fagots, and other stuffe fit for that purpose. Whereby the lords of the parlement did as safelie assemble and sit in the tolbooth, and the people went as quietlie and safelie to the church to heare diuine seruice, as they at anie time did before the warres began, and before that the castell was besieged.

Skirmishes about Edenborough.

During which doings in the castell & the towne, there was an abstinence granted at the sute of the ambassadors of England for the duke and his adherents, vntill the foure and twentith of Februarie: in which meane time, certeine lords were appointed to conferre with the said ambassadors for an accord to be had betweene the king and imprisoned quénes faction. Whereupon sir James Balford came to the regents grace, obteined pardon for his offense, and earnestlie laboured to further this agrément. The earle of Argile was aduanced to the honour of the chancellorship. And Alexander Areskine maister of Marre was appointed to haue the kéeping of the kings person vpon certeine conditions, for the performance whereof he was to find foure sureties, lords of the parlement, to be bound for him bodie and lands, hauing fiftéene daies appointed vnto him to consider thereof, whether he would enter into so great a charge or no. And if in case he should refuse to accept the same, it was further resolued and concluded, that the erles of Glencarne and Bu-

An abstinence of war granted.

Sir James Balford submitteth himselfe to the regent.

Officers created.

quhan, the lord Glanes, and maister Marshall should haue the keeping of the king quarterlie one after another. And if anie of the foure should happen, during the time of his quarterlie gouernement, to be sicke, or not able to execute that function; that then the lord Lindseie should be assistant to him in that gouernement, during that time. Which being thus on all parts concluded, James Kircawdie arriued in the Blackenesse in a small pinnesse, and entred the castell of Edenborough, with such monie as he had prouided to bring thither. Which occasioned the castell of Edenborough to be reassieged and inuironed both by sea and land, and was the cause that capteine Bruse sallieng forth with other of his companie to forage the countrie, and to prouide vittels, were taken by the regents companie. Notwithstanding all which, yet the others within the castell continued their purpose, and defended the same against the regent and his companie, farre otherwise than was supposed that either they could or would do.

James Kircawdie entreth Edenborough castell.

1573

Whereupon the regent of Scotland solicited the quéene of England, in the behalfe, and for the succor of the yong king of Scots hir cousine, thus grieuouslie molested with the warres of his owne people. So that the quéene of England sent a power of fiftéene hundred Englishmen to the siege of Edenborough castell, ouer whome sir William Drurie knight and marshall of Berwike was made generall, with such capteins as follow; which were sir Francis Russell knight, third sonne to Francis erle of Bedford with other capteins, as Read, Parleie, Wood, Brickwell, Pikeman, Gam, Case, Carew, Errington prouost marshall, Assoll, Stærleie capteine of the pioners, and capteine Barton. To whom also to serue at their owne free will these gentlemen of name, sir George Carie, sir Henrie Leie knights, Thomas Cicill eldest son of the lord tresuror of England, William Knolles, Sutton, Cotton, Kelwaie, Dier, Tilneie, William Killegrew, & manie other gentlemen of good estimation did associat themselues with conuenient number to attend vpon them. These with their generall passed from Berwike to Leith, where they met with maister Henrie Killegrew the quéene of Englands ambassador, whose care, trauell, & furtherance at that time deserued no small commendation; and with the Scotish nobilitie, & such as they had assembled to ioine with the English in the behalfe of the yong king against such as tooke part with the deposed quéene. Which Scotish nobilitie and gentlemen of Scotland were the earle Morton regent, and such other earles and gentlemen as were tied and alied to him by kindnes and kinred, and such as fauoured the yong king, distressed by the deposed quéene, as was pretended. After the ioining of these two nations, they on the fiue and twentith of Aprill marched towards Edenborough: and the same daie sir William Drurie the generall summoned the castell of that towne in forme as followeth.

The taking of Edenborough castell by the English and the regent of Scotland.

The summons giuen to the castell of *Edenborough*.

SIr William Kircawdie, sometimes of Grange knight, forsomuch as the queens maiestie my souereigne ladie, vpon the ernest request of hir dere cousin the king of Scots your souereigne lord made to hir highnes by his regent, nobilitie, & estates of Scotland, after all good meanes vsed to haue reduced you to a dutifull obedience of his authoritie by treatie, which hitherto you haue not dulie harkened vnto, to the onlie hinderance of the vniuersall peace in this realme, by withholding that his highnesse castell, meaning (as it séemeth) to reserue the same for a receptacle of forren forces, to the manifest dangers both of this realme and of my souereigns; and therefore necessarie to remoue so perilous a danger to both the realmes, For which consideration hir maiestie hath sent hir aid and succors, men, ordinance, and munition vnder my charge and leading, for the expugnation and recouerie of the said castell to the said kings vse and behoofe. And therefore, according to hir maiesties commandement and commission; this shall be in due maner to warne, require, and summon you, that you render and deliuer the said castell with the whole ordinance, artillerie, munitions, iewels, houshold stuffe, and such other implements within the same to me, and to the vse and behoofe of the king your souereigne and his regent in his name, immediatlie after this my letter of summons or knowledge of the same shall come to you. Which if you obeie, as of dutie you ought; then shall I in hir maiesties name interpone my selfe to trauell with the regent, councell, and nobilitie here for the safetie of your liues, &c: otherwise, if you continue in your former obstinacie, abiding the canon, then no further to looke for grace or fauor; but you and the rest within that castell, to be pursued to the vttermost, and holden as enimies to hir maiestie, your owne souereigne, and countrie. Giuen at Edenborough by me sir William Drurie knight generall of hir maiesties forces now in Scotland, this fiue and twentith daie of Aprill, in the yeare of Christ 1573.

This letter by the lord Grange capteine of the castell thus in due sort receiued, he not regarding the contents thereof, nor considering the mild disposition of such as went about to spare their bloud, did vterlie denie the surrender of the castell, and with all force determined to defend themselues. Wherewith the English generall greatlie grieued, did incontinently redeliuer such answer to the said lord Grange as wrought an vtter discontent and mislike in the man. By meanes of which the pioners attending their charge, with expedition applied the casting of trenches and erecting of mounts or fortresses to plant the artillerie therevpon against the castell. After which euerie one hastening the cause of his comming, & ioining their force together, began to inuiron the towne, & to laie siege to the castell in fiue seuerall places, where were fiue seuerall fortresses erected for that cause, intituled by these names. The first mount allotted to the regent, had the name of the kings mount, the second the generall thereof the English sir William Drurie did possesse, the third was in charge of sir George Carie, the fourth was called sir Henrie Leies mount, and the fift fell to the gouernement of Thomas Sutton maister of the ordinance in the north parts of England. The whole number of which armie vnder paie was two thousand, whereof fiftéene hundred were English, and the other fiue hundred Scots: besides the nobilitie and gentlemen with their companie, and the citizens of Edenborough defended with thirtie péeces of artillerie conteining sir canons, nine demicanons, nine culuerings, and sir sacres. Whilest the armie without was thus preparing for to assaile the companie within, the capteine of the castell (to hinder their worke) liberallie saluted the pioners & other soldiors with such artillerie as they had within the castell, and vpon and about the walles thereof; whereby manie were hurt, some slaine, but more hindered before the trenches and mounts might be brought to their due perfection, for defense of the assailants, and offense of the assailed. In which action also the aduerse part forgot not to requite the castillians, but mostlie after that the pioners and labourers had finished

ſhed the mounts. At what time they gaue vehement and ſharpe aſſault to the caſtell, although that the extreame heat thereof began not vntill the ſeauentéenth daie of Maie following. In which ſiege on the ſaid ſeauentéenth daie of Maie, the caſtell was moſt roughlie aſſailed by thirtie ſhot of canon diſcharged againſt the ſame. At what time thoſe péeces ſo well perfourmed their parts againſt Dauids tower, that the force of the Engliſh canons was eaſie to be then and long after ſéene therein. Which aſſault continued vntill the one and twentith daie of Maie following, on which daie the whole batterie began not againe as before againſt part, but wholie round about on ech ſide of the caſtell. For vntill then Dauids towre was onelie the marke of the enimie: but after that daie they laid out their power in euerie place, offending and defending ech others ſoldiors, as well within the caſtell as within the mounts and trenches, in that ſharpe conflict hurting and killing manie of the Engliſh and Scots. Wherevpon the diligence of the Engliſh began to be ſo great, that they forthwith diſplaced the ordinance in the caſtell, and ſtroke one of their greateſt péeces iuſt in the mouth: whereby the ſame was broken, and the caſtillians force ſomewhat abated.

After this, on the ſix and twentith daie of the ſaid moneth of Maie, there was a freſh aſſault giuen at ſeuen of the clocke in the morning to the Spurre (a place of defenſe or blockehouſe before the ſaid caſtell) which by the aſſailants was taken, & forthwith vpon the entrance therin was the banner of the generall diſplaied and ſet vp, to declare who poſſeſſed the ſame, to the great diſcomfort of them in the caſtell. For although before they had loſt the vſe of one of their great péeces, that their walles were battered, that ſome of their men were ſlaine, & that they had almoſt all their water taken from them: yet would they not yéeld, neither did anie whit begin to deſpaire of kéeping the caſtell, or repelling the enimie; vntill ſuch time as the Engliſh had now gotten the poſſeſſion of the Spurre.

Now, during the time that theſe gaue the aſſault to the Spurre, there was an other band of Engliſhmen and Scots, that had in charge to make ſhew of a freſh aſſault, at the weſt part of the caſtell; to the end that ſuch as laied batterie to the Spurre, might with more eaſe to themſelues, and leſſe ſuſpicion of the aduerſe part, obteine the ſaid Spurre. But this laſt named band, ouer haſtilie putting themſelues in aduenture beyond the limits of their charge, were repelled and driuen to the recoile, with the hurt and loſſe of thirtie perſons, or thereabouts. All which notwithſtanding, the caſtillians (perceiuing their chiefeſt defenſe the Spurre to be loſt, and not greatlie reioiſing of this ſmall victorie ouer thoſe which aſſailed them on the weſt ſide) did the ſame daie by a drumme demand parlee: which they obteined with truce of peace from that daie, vntill the eight and twentith of Maie next following. For which cauſe the lard of Pittadrow was let downe by a rope from the caſtell, and after him the lard of Grange, capteine of the ſaid caſtell, with Robert Meluine; all which came to haue conference with the generall ſir William Drurie, & ſuch other perſons as were choſen to accompanie him about the ſame. In the end, vpon much conferrence had betweene the Scotiſh lards and the generall, the caſtell was the ſame eight and twentith daie (in which the truce ended) deliuered vp into the hands of the ſaid ſir William Drurie, which he kept in his poſſeſſion for a certeine time; during whoſe abode in the caſtell, he ſet vp and ſpred his enſignes and banners vpon ſundrie parts of the wals of the ſame.

This done, the generall (after quiet poſſeſſion had, not determining to reteine it vnto his miſtreſſe vſe, ſith he was onelie appointed by hir to aid the king of Scots, and ſuch of the nobilitie as toke his part) did after (according to his commiſſion) deliuer ouer the ſame caſtell to the vſe of the yong king of Scots; for which cauſe not meaning vtterlie to ſpoile the caſtell, he gaue but part of the ſpoile to the vſe of the ſoldiers, leauing the canons and other artillerie to the kings pleaſure. For before the ſurrender of the caſtell, it was agréed, that if the Engliſhmen had by force taken it, as they obteined it by compoſition, that then they ſhould wholie haue inioied the full ſpoile by the ſpace of thrée daies, the artillerie onelie excepted, which ſhould be carried awaie by the Engliſh. But ſith for theſe cauſes following, the ſame could not abide anie long ſiege, but muſt of neceſſitie yéeld it ſelfe, there was euerie part of the ſaid ſpoile giuen vnto the ſouldiers vpon the deliuerie of the ſame caſtell to ſir William Drurie. The cauſes of which ſurrender were manie.

First, for that they were depriued of water, becauſe the well within the caſtell was choked with the ruines of the caſtell wals; & the other well without could not ſerue them, becauſe there was a mount made to hinder them. An other water there was (which was vnknowne to ſuch as were without the caſtell) and was taken from them by the loſſe of the Spurre, out of which they were wont to haue a pint a daie for euerie ſouldier. The other cauſes of ſurrender were theſe.

Secondlie, diuerſe perſons were ſicke, eſpeciallie thorough drinke of the water of ſaint Margarets well without the caſtell on the north ſide, which had béene poiſoned by ſome of their enimies.

Thirdlie, diuerſe others were hurt.

Fourthlie, not manie to mainteine the caſtell, and they not able to take anie reſt, being ſo plied and dailie wearied with batterie.

Fiftlie, diuerſe of the ſouldiers diuided in opinions.

Sixtlie, ſome were no ſouldiers at all.

Seauenthlie, that no aid was to be looked for by the waie of France.

The eight and chiefe cauſe was, that the regent and his forces planted in the ſtrengths round about, and the horſſemen dailie and nightlie watching and riding, which held and toke from them all victtels, and had brought them to great ſcant of food before the ſiege began. All theſe eight cauſes moued the ſaid ſurrender of the caſtell.

After that the caſtell was thus gotten, the ſixtéenth daie of June following, the priſoners were deliuered by the ſaid ſir William Drurie, in the preſence of ſundrie Scots & Engliſhmen, vnto the regent; and that done, the ſame daie ſir William Drurie departed with his power to Berwike. The names of the priſoners were theſe; ſir William Kircawdie lard of Grange, and capteine of the caſtell of Edenborough, the lord Hume, William Metellan, lord of Lethington ſecretarie, the lard of Pittadrow conſtable of the caſtell, the counteſſe of Argile, the ladie of Lethington and the ladie of Grange, with others. But yet the priuat ſoldiers & others of meaner ſort were ſuffered to depart with bag and baggage.

Thus was the caſtell of Edenborough wone, as you haue heard, which by the common opinion of men was impregnable, and not to be taken by force; inſomuch as manie thought it toke the name of the maiden caſtell, for that it had not béene wone at any time before except by famine or practiſe. Which opinion being common is ſo much the falſer, in that the common ſort do imbrace it, for that they luſtlie incline to common fables. For this caſtell was not ſurnamed the maiden caſtell, becauſe it was neuer taken

ken by force: but because the princes children were there nourished, as maie well appeare by that which I shall set downe touching the antiquitie of this towne & the name thereof; of which there be diuerse opinions. For some will haue it to be built by Eboracus, of some called Ebrancus king of Britaines, called also in British Castle mynid Agnes, the castell of saint Agnes hill, afterward the castell of virgins. But Lesleus will haue it built long after the time of H. Lhoid, by the space of six hundred foure score and foure yeares, for thus he writeth. *Chrutneus Camelodunum primariam Pictorum vrbem & Agnedam postea Ethinburgum ab Etho quondam rege dictam, cum puellarum castro, vbi regis & nobilium Pictorum filiæ dum nuptui darentur, seruari, & præceptis ad humanitatem & virtutem informari solebant, condidit.* A little before which, the said Lesleus writeth that Fergusius died *Anno ante Christi in carnem aduentum* 305, & that *Hoc tempore Essadus Britonum & Chrutneus Camelonus Pictorum imperium tenebant*. Now this king Chrutneus that built Agneda, liued before Christ three hundred and fiue yeares by the Scots account, and Eborac or Ebranke liued nine hundred foure score & nine yeares before Christ: so that the Englishmen make this towne more ancient than the Scots. But as Lesleus hath mistaken himselfe, following Boetius, to place Camelodunum in Scotland: so hath he appointed Edenburgh to be built by the Scots, being built by the Britaines. But true it might be that Eborac first builded it, & that being in the space of six hundred foure score and foure yeares wasted and vtterlie decaied, the same was afresh erected by Chrutneus, and after repared by Ethus. The castell of which towne, being sometime appointed for the bringing vp of the daughters of the noblemen of the Picts, vntill they were marriageable, was for that cause (and not because it was neuer woone by force) called the maiden castell, as the said Lesleus affirmeth. But after, when christianitie came into Scotland, it was called (as I coniecture) Agneda, because it was the castell that stood on saint Agnes hill, & not before the comming of Christ so called Agneda, as hitherto it hath beene set downe, but not rightlie; as I maie with reuerence speake vnder correction of such as by better authoritie can disproue that I saie.

Humfred. Lhoid. in breu. Brit. I. Stow.

Lesleus lib. 2. pag. 84.

Campdenus in Scotia saith ab Ebranco Britanno aut ab Hetho Picto Edinburgum deducere quid aliud est quàm seriò ineptire?

1574

The tragicall historie of the warres of the low countries lib. 3.

But here let vs a little leaue the countrie of Scotland, and such things as were there then done; and talke somewhat of the persons of that realme, who performed matter of valure in forren countries. Whilest the towne of Leiden was stronglie besieged (in the moneth of June) and that the townesmen (hauing a needfull and heedfull care) were altogither imploied about making of prouision of all such things as were deemed necessarie for the defense of the same towne; the principall part of the commandators armie arriued in Bommell quarters, Gorcum, and Lowiestein. Howbeit the prince and the estates of the low countries made no great account therof, by reason that Bommell (which was well furnished of all things necessarie for the wars) was vnder the custodie of capteine Bausoure, coronell of the Scotishmen, who had there attending on him the number of seauen Scotish ensignes. Which Scots desirous to performe some matter of valure, dailie sallied out of the towne with some of the citizens and gentlemen Hollanders; in which often issuing they valiantlie skirmished with the enimies. Whereby in the end amongest their sundrie conflicts there were manie warlike exploits performed by the Scots, which deserued not to be forgotten: as well for that they often repelled the enimie, and kept their strength togither; as for that they being few in number, aduentured (beyond the hope of good hap, by incountering with a greater troope of such as came against them, than they were themselues) either to returne victors, or to lose their liues.

The Scots repelled their enimies at Bommell.

After which also the same Scots, continuing in those low countries, performed manie other matters of martiall exploits, which I will set downe in this place. For sith I haue beene denied of some of the Scots (whom these annales chiefelie concerne) such things as might supplie the default of sufficient matter of Scotland to furnish the same; and for that I haue beene defrauded of the performance of promise made vnto me by manie others of that nation, who for dutie vnto that countrie ought, and for clearing some sinister opinion conceiued against them of their actions in their owne countrie should haue sought to further me in these my labours: I must leaue things done in Scotland, and turne my pen to other places; producing matter to helpe my barren discourse, which inforced therevnto doth deliuer an action performed by the Scots in the same low countries; where they which were then in seruice against the Spaniards, vnder the paie of the prince of Orenge, did that which deserueth not to be forgot.

1576

The Scots denie their furtherance to the writing of the annales of Scotland.

These Scots therefore remaining in those countries, serving vnder the conduct of their coronell surnamed Bausoure, did in Januarie set forth & meet with the Spaniards at a place called the Footbale, distant not much more than a mile frõ Leige, where was a long and sharpe conflict betweene these two nations. In which by the successe of battell (for the most part yelding victorie vnto the stronger side) a great multitude of them were left dead in the place, and the rest driuen to saue themselues by flight from their enimies: who yet felt not this ouerthrow so sweet and gainefull, but that they lost manie of their people before the Scots were put to the worst.

The tragicall historie of the warres of the low countries lib. 4.

The Scots put to flight beside Leige.

But leauing these Scots in the midle of the wars of these countries vnder the prince of Orenge, we are to come to other matters following by succession of time, which hath deliuered to vs that Margaret the daughter & heire of Archibald Dowglasse earle of Angus, died in England the tenth of March in the yeare of our redemption 1577, beginning the yeare at the Annuntiation of the virgin. Which ladie being borne at Harbotell castell in England in the yeare of Christ 1515, was afterward brought vp in England; and then being priuilie affianced in the eight and twentith yeare of king Henrie the eight, being the yeare of Christ 1536, to Thomas Howard youngest brother to the duke of Northfolke, she was that yeare committed prisoner to the tower; but after set at libertie the last of October, in the nine and twentith yeare of king Henrie the eight, in the yeare 1537, & maried to Matthew Steward earle of Lennox by the consent of Henrie the eight king of England, in the yeare of our saluation 1544. After which, being tossed with both fortunes, sometime in aduersitie, & sometime in prosperitie, she was notwithstanding alwaies honorablie intertained in England, as both hir birth in respect of hir kinglie bloud, and hir calling in respect of hir place, did worthilie deserue. In the end, to cut off all hir other aduersities, and to draw to things falling in mine owne knowledge, she was on the two and twentith of April in the yeare 1565 (vpon the mariage of hir sonne Henrie Steward lord Darneleie vnto Marie Steward quéene of Scots) commanded by the quéene of England first to keepe hir chamber in the Whitehall the princes court and palace, where she remained vntill the two and twentith daie of June next insuing; and was then by sir Francis Knolles (one of the priuie councell and vicechamberleine to the quéene of England) and by some other of the gard conueied to the towre of London by water; in which place shé remained prisoner vntill

1577

Some part of the life of Margaret Dowglas.

I. Stow.

that

that hir ſonne the ſaid Henrie Steward was miſerablie and traitorouſlie ſlaine by the earle Bothwell and his complices (as ſome affirme, but how trulie I know not) vpon the twentith of Februarie one thouſand fiue hundred thrée ſcore & ſir. In which yeare, on the two and twentith of the ſame moneth, the ſaid ladie Margaret was diſcharged out of the towre and ſet at libertie, who ſtill remaining in England did (as before is ſaid) in the thrée ſcore & ſecond yeare of hir age, and in the ſirt yeare of hir widowhood, ſurrender hir ſoule to God, being moſt honorablie buried & anſwerablie to hir calling in the great chapell of Weſtminſter (built by Henrie the ſeuenth king of England) among the kings of that realme in an inward chapell ſtanding on the right & the ſouthſide of the ſaid great chapell. The yeare before whoſe death hir ſonne Charles Steward earle of Lennor (hauing before maried Eliſabeth the daughter of ſir William Candiſh, by whome he had iſſue Arbella) did alſo depart this life. Ouer the bodies of both which perſons, Thomas Fowler executor to the ſaid ladie Margaret, did with the goods of the ſaid ladie erect a coſtlie and ſtatelie towme of rich ſtone and curious workemanſhip, with the picture of that ladie, as liuelie, and as well coloured as art might afford it, about which monument is grauen this memorable epitaph declaring hir nobilitie, as inſueth.

At the head of the towme is ſet downe

Memoriæ ſacrum.

Margaretæ Dowglaſiæ, Matthæi Stuarti Leuiniæ comitis vxori, Henrici ſeptimi Angliæ regis exfiliæ nepti, potentiſſ. regibus cognatione conunctiſſimæ, Iacobi ſexti regis auiæ, matronæ ſanctiſſ. moribus, & inuicta animi patientia, incomparabili P.

Obijt Martij decimo Anno
Domini 1577.

On the right ſide of which towme is this ingrauen.

Margareta potens, virtute potentior, ortu
Regibus ac proauis nobilitata ſuis:
Inde Calidonys auſtralibus, inde Britannis
Aedita principibus, principibuſque parens:
Quæ mortis fuerant ſolait lætiſſima morti,
Atque Deum petijt, nam fuit ante Dei.

Henrie ſecond ſonne to this ladie and father to James the ſirt now king. This Henrie was murdered at the age of one and twentie yeares, Charles the yongeſt ſonne was earle of Lennor father to the late Arbell. He died at the age of one and twentie yeares, and is here intomed.

On the left ſide of the towme is this ingrauen.

This ladie had to hir great grandfather king Edward the fourth, to hir grandfather king Henrie the ſeuenth, to hir vncle king Henrie the eight, to hir coſine germane king Edward the ſirt, to hir brother king James of Scotland the fift, to hir ſonne king Henrie the firſt, to hir grandchild king James the ſirt; hauing to hir great grandmother and grandmother two quéens both named Eliſabeth, to hir mother Margaret quéene of Scots, to hir aunt Marie the French quæne, to hir couſines germane Marie and Eliſabeth quéens of England, to hir néece and daughter in law Marie quæne of Scots.

At the foot of hir towme is this written.

Here lieth the noble ladie Margaret countеſſe of Lennor, daughter and ſole heire to Archibald Dowglaſſe earle of Angus, by Margaret quéene of Scots his wife, that was eldeſt daughter to king Henrie the ſeuenth, which bare vnto Matthew earle of Lennor hir husband, foure ſonnes and foure daughters.]

Which honourable towme, with theſe ſuperſcriptions, was erected for the ſaid ladie, and finiſhed in the yeare of our redemption 1578, being begun and almoſt perfected in the life of the ſaid ladie Margaret. This ladie being (as before is ſhewed) countеſſe of Lennor and Angus, it will not be amiſſe to declare in this place, what became of both the ſaid earledoms, as well in hir life, as after hir and hir ſonne Charls his death. Touching Angus, this ladie Margaret, vpon the mariage of hir ſon Henrie lord Darnelete, which was ſolemnized the nine and twentith daie of Julie 1565, to Marie quæne of Scots, did giue the ſaid earledome with all the rights and members thereof vnto the ſaid quæne Marie, to diſpoſe as ſell beſt vnto hir liking. Whereupon the ſaid quéene beſtowed that honour and earledome vpon Archibald Dowglaſſe couſine to the ſaid ladie Margaret: who being exiled, was here in England at the writing hereof. The earledome of Lennor, after the ſlaughter of Matthew earle of Lennor (husband to this Margaret) which was in Sterling the fourth of September, in the yeare of our redemption 1571, but 1572 as hath Leſleus, was inueſted in Charles James the ſirt king of Scotland, heire in bloud to the ſaid Matthew earle of Lennor, father to Henrie lord Derneleie (that maried the quæne) father to the ſaid James the ſirt. Whereupon the yong king, mindfull of the aduancement of his vncle Charles ſonne to the ſaid Margaret, did inueſt the ſaid Charls with the honour of the ſaid earledome of Lennor, which Charles died in the life of his mother Margaret without heire male, by reaſon whereof the ſaid earledome reuerted to the crowne.

But here leauing the title and ſucceſſion of the earles of Lennor to an other place following (ſith I am entered into the diſcourſe of ſuch of the earles & countеſſes of Lennor as be dead) I thinke it better in this place, than not at all, to mention the epitaph of Matthew earle of Lennor ſlaine at Sterling (as is before touched) in the yeare of Chriſt 1571. For although the ſame matter would more aptlie haue bæne placed before at the end of the hiſtorie of Scotland, written by Holinſhed, or at the begtnning of my continuance of the annales of that countrie, when I mention the death of the ſaid earle: yet ſith the note of that epitaph came not vnto my hands, vntill I had thus farre proceeded in the hiſtorie; and the ſame alſo at that time paſſed the print (whereby I could not ſet it downe in due place) I will here (hauing ſo good occaſion therfore) intreating of the towme of his wife (whoſe charge alſo wanted not in erecting of this towme of hir ſlaine husband, and for that this doth alſo touch ſome part of hir epitaph) inſert the ſame in this place after this maner, as it is written vpon the ſtatelie towme of the ſaid Matthew Lennor, and now ſtanding in the chapell within Sterling caſtell, being as hereafter foloweth.

The epitaph of Matthew earle of Lennox.

Lo here a prince and potentate,
whoſe life to vnderſtand,
Was godlie, iuſt, and fortunate,
though from his natiue land
His enmies thrice did him out thring,
he thrice returnd againe,
Was lawfull tutor to the king,
and regent did remaine:
Where he with rigor rebels rackt,
the right for to defend,
Till enmies old through tyrans trackt,
did worke his fatall end.
Lo thus reſpects the death no wight,
When God permits the time,
Yet ſhall the vengeance on them light
that wrought that curſſed crime.

Beſides which alſo on the ſame towme are theſe heroicall verſes ſet downe, declaring his name, his deſcent, his mariage, his iſſue, his offices, and ſuch o-

ther

ther matters belonging vnto him, as followeth.

Behold herein interred is,
Matthew of Lennox earle,
Who long of late in Britaine ſoile,
did liue a pearleſſe pearle.
And as he was of roiall bloud,
by roiall progenie,
From Stewards ſtocke of ancient time,
princes of Albanie:
His fortune was euen ſo to match,
with paſſing vertuous wight,
Whoſe race deriued from famous kings,
of wide renowmed might.
His mother queene of Scotland was,
and eldeſt daughter deare,
Of Henrie ſeuenth Engliſh king,
a princelie mirror cleare.
Hir father earle of Angus was,
ſhe ladie Margaret hight,
The onelie heire of Angus lands,
and all his fathers right.
Thus did king Brutus bloud conioine,
for both by grace diuine
Are come of Northwales princes hault,
which were of Troians line.
And diuerſe goodlie imps there were,
that iſſued from them twaine:
Charls Iames now king, and *Charls the earle
of them dooth ſtill remaine,
King Henrie father to this king,
their firſt begotten ſonne:
Oh cruell fates! the which ſo ſoone,
his vitall thred vnſponne,
By whoſe deuiſe the grandſire came,
lord regent in this land:
And noblie bare the regall ſword
of iuſtice in his hand.
Whereby he did in tender age
of the kings maieſtie,
This realme protect with fortitude,
prudence and equitie.
But now dame fame with flickering wings
withouten anie let,
Shall ſpread abrode this worthie man,
and through the world him ſet.
And tearing time ſhall not conſume,
nor weare the ſame awaie,
But with the worthieſt reckned be,
vntill the latter daie.
After which time, eternitie
dooth triumph then by right:
Where he with angels ſhall reioiſe,
in Gods eternall ſight.

*This was Charles earle of Lennox buried in the towne which his grandmother the ladie Margaret Lennox before mentioned ſhe liued after the death of this Matthew his grandfather.

Beſides which Engliſh epitaph theſe verſes were alſo compoſed by Buchanan vpon the ſame earle of Lennox, wherein is not onelie ſet downe (as before) the honourable birth of the man, but alſo ſome of the places of his education, with other things which right fortunatlie happened vnto him in this ſort.

Regis auus, regis pater, alto è ſanguine regum
(Imperio quorum terra Britanna ſubeſt)
Matthæus genuit Læuinia, Gallia fouit,
Pulſo Anglus thalamum rémq; decúſq; dedit.
Cæpi inuicta manu, famam virtute refelli,
Arma armis vici, conſiliógq; dolos.
Gratus in ingratos: patriam inſtéq; piéq;
Cùm regerem, hoſtili perfidia cecidi.
Chare nepos, ſpes vna domus, meliore ſenectam*
Attingas fato, cætera dignus auo.

*James the ſixt king of Scots.

Thus ſetting end to the liues & deaths of this Matthew Steward erle of Lennor, of Margaret Dowglaſſe his wife, to their honourable epitaphs, and to their ſumptuous ſepulchres, we will come backe againe to ſuch others, either generall or ſpeciall, accidents as haue fallen in the kingdome of Scotland, and which will touch the vniuerſall gouernement, or the particular occurrents as well of Scotiſh as of other forren affaires managed by them at home, or in other countries, therwithall ioining the diſcourſe of ſuch things as haue beene performed by other nations in that kingdome. Amongſt which accidents in Scotland this rarelie happened, that the earle Morton ſurrendered his protectorſhip or regentſhip of the king and kingdome of Scotland. Which I maie worthilie count rare, ſith men in ſo great authoritie of commanding all perſons, can hardlie be brought to giue ouer ſuch honour, and to yeeld themſelues to the commandement of others, bicauſe *Qui primatus ſui authoritatem perdit, in deſpectionem & anguſtiam ſe mittit: qui autem locum ſuum ſapienter cuſtodit, ſe ac ſuos ad profectum dirigit.* And Bias the philoſopher knew, that it was a moſt hard thing of all other, and onelie sauouring of great magnanimitie and wiſdome, *Fortiter ferre mutationes rerum in deterius.* But he being verie wiſe, feared not the alteration of his eſtate, but rather deſired to be rid thereof, conſidering the weightineſſe and danger which depended therevpon, and remembring that notable ſaieng of Gregorie in his Morals, declaring the ſingular good of ſuch, which do ſhun the gouernement of temporall things, in theſe words. *Quaſi quodam iugo ſeruitutis premunt proſpera, dum appetuntur; premunt aduerſa dum formidantur. At ſi quis ſemel dominationem deſideriorum temporalium à collo mentis excuſſerit, quadam iam etiam vitæ libertate perfruitur, & dum nullo deſiderio fœlicitatis afficitur, nullo aduerſitatis errore coarctatur.*

Gl. ſuper ill eccleſ. 23 melius eſt ut filij.

This earle Morton (I ſaie) ſurrendred his office (as before is touched) in the moneth of March, in this yeare of our Lord one thouſand fiue hundred ſeuentie & ſeuen, at what time alſo Robert Bowes eſquier was then in Scotland for hir maieſtie of England. Upon the remouing of which erle Morton there were no more regents in that countrie, but the king toke vpon him to rule the realme by himſelfe & by ſuch curators as he ſhuld appoint therfore. For the king now about the twelfe yeere of his age thought he might aſwell take vpon him the gouernment of the countrie by himſelfe, and ſuch as he appointed at thoſe yeares, as manie of his anceſtors had done before in their yong yeares; notwithſtanding the opinion of manie of the better ſort of the preſbiterie, which maintaine that he cannot abſolutelie rule, or perfectlie eſtabliſh anie thing by the cuſtomes of their countrie, vntill he come to the age of fiue and twentie yeares. But we find in their owne hiſtories of Scotland, written euen by men of beſt iudgement, that James the ſecond of that name king of Scots, did in the fourteenth yeare of his age, in the ſeuenth yeare of his reigne, and in the yeare of our Lord one thouſand foure hundred fortie and foure, put Alexander Leuinſtone knight from his regentſhip, and toke vpon himſelfe the abſolute gouernement of the kingdome, of whom thus writeth Leſleus. *Gubernatoris cancellariique concilio & iuſſu factum eſt, vt omnium ordinum comitijs Striueling indies diceretur. An. Dom. 440, menſe Ianuary, omnium aſſenſu eſt conſtitutum, vt rex ſuum regnum luſtrans, contentiones ſopiat, cauſas decidat, concrouerſias dirimat, reliquáq; reipublicæ negotia præſens procuret. Multi nobiles ſeſe comites itineris adiungunt, qui in illius ſocietatem ſe penitus immergentes, odij cancellarij ac gubernatoris elati, perſuadent regi, vt aliorum ſeruituti ſe premi diutius non ſinat: ſed vt omni iugo excuſſo, ipſe ſibi reipublicæ gubernandæ partes aſſumat. Is iuuenili quodam regnandi ardore incenſus, illorum voces tanquam Syrenum cantum in ſuas aures effluere liberaliſſimè patiebatur. Decimum iam quartum annum agens, in regium ſolium præceps irruit, ac vt publicis comitijs ſolus præeſſet, omnes ordines Striuelingum vocat, 4 Nouembris 1444.*

The earle Morton ſurrendred his regentſhip.

The kings of Scotland take on them to rule the realme without procurators being within age.

Leſleus li. 8. pag. 295.

After

After which, about fiue yeares following, the ſame James, to ſhew his abſolute and ſufficient gouernement, did in the yeare of Chriſt 1449, in the nineteenth yeare of his age, and the twelfe yeare of his gouernement create Alexander Seton lord Gourdon earle of Huntleie, and George Leſle a baron earle of Rothſeie. James the fourth of that name king of Scotland, being but ſixteene yeares of age when he came to the crowne, in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand foure hundred foure ſcore & eight, adminiſtred the realme by himſelfe without any procurator, as I gather out of Leſleus. James the fift the king of Scots, in the yeare of our Lord one thouſand fiue hundred twentie and eight, in the ſeuentéenth yeare of his age, & about the fifteenth yeare of his gouernment, remoued the earle of Angus from the regentſhip, and toke vpon himſelfe the gouernment of the kingdome. And Marie the mother of the now liuing king of Scots, did in like ſort in the yeare one thouſand fiue hundred fiftie and two, in the tenth of hir age, and as much of hir gouernment of Scotland apoint procurators to gouerne the realme, whileſt ſhe remained in France with the French king hir huſband. But enough of this, ſith Leſleus in his 9. booke pag. 429, and alſo in his 10. booke pag. 517, hath liberallie argued on both parts, at what yeares the kings of Scotland may aſſume to themſelues the gouernement of the kingdome, after that they haue atteined to the crowne in thoſe yeares, which are ouer tender and vnfit to diſpoſe of the ſword and ſceptor. Wherefore to paſſe ouer the ſame, I thinke it not vnmeet in this place, ſith we haue mentioned this Morton which was the laſt regent, gouernour or protector of the kingdome, to ſet downe a catalog of all ſuch regents and gouernours of that realme, as haue come to my knowledge, after the ſame ſort as I haue done in England at the end of the gouernement of the duke of Summerſet, who was the laſt protector of that realme: into the diſcourſe whereof I enter as followeth.

The protectors, gouernours, or regents of Scotland, during the kings minoritie or his inſufficiencie of gouernement, or during his abſence out of the realme.

Conanus. Conanus was gouernor vnder Thereus about the yeare before the birth of Chriſt, one hundred thirtie and ſeuen: for Thereus renouncing the kingdome and fleeing to Yorke, where in the end he died, this Conanus during the exile of this Thereus, was regent or gouernour, of whom writeth Leſleus lib. 2. pag. 89. Conanus qui rempublicam Therei iam exulantis loco optimè adminiſtraret, interrex à nobilibus declaratur. Nam Thereo viuo nullum alium regem ſubſtituere voluerunt, quo mortuo, Ioſina eius frater ſuffectus eſt.

Cadallus. Cadallus liuing about the yeare before the birth of Chriſt, ſeuentie and nine, did purſue Gillus (the baſtard of Euenus) hauing ſlaine the ſonne of Euenus, and vſurping the crowne, of whom thus writeth Leſleus lib. 6, pag. 92. Tandem auctore Cadallo viro fortiſſimo, qui interrex à regni nobilibus interea conſtitutus eſt, quidam in illum (which was Gillus) conſpirant, quem in Hiberniam profugam aſſecuti, inita prius pugna capiunt, & ſtatim capite plectuntur.

Argadus erle of Argile. Argadus earle of Argile, when Conar who began his reigne in the yeare of Chriſt one hundred fortie and eight, was caſt in priſon for his euill life, was by the nobilitie choſen gouernour of Scotland, after which Ethodius the next king, whome this Argadus holpe vnto the crowne made him chiefe iuſtice of Scotland to him and his heires, which function at this daie the earles of Argile do inioie by inheritance.

Donald, Colollan, Mordacke and Conrade were made gouernors of the kingdome, for thus writeth Leſleus lib. 4. pag. 198. Senectutis tandem tædio illius (which was Elphine who began his reigne about the yeare of Chriſt, ſeuen hundred thirtie and three) vires ita debilitatæ ſunt, & cum regni oneri ferendo impar fuerit, quatuor ſui regni regulos (in quibus præſtans quædam ſed fucata virtutis ſpecies eluxit) delegit, quibus ſingulis ſingulas prouincias decreuit; Donaldo Argadiam; Colano Atholiam; Mordaco Gallouidiam; & Conano Morauiam. Donald, Colollan, Mordacke, & Konrade.

William Fraiſer biſhop of S. Andrews, &c: after the death of Alexander the third king of Scotland, which fell in the yeare of our Lord, one thouſand two hundred foure ſcore and three, who died without iſſue, the nobilitie (becauſe it was not knowen to whome the kingdome did apperteine, ſith there were manie which claimed the ſame, as Baliol, Bruſe, Haſtings, and others) agréed amongſt themſelues, and choſe ſix regents or gouernors of the ſame, vntill a king were fullie known and eſtabliſhed: the names of which ſix were theſe, William Fraiſer biſhop of ſaint Andrewes, Duncane earle of Fife, John Cumine earle of Buchquane, to whome the rule of the north parts were committed. The other three were Robert biſhop of Glaſcow, ſir John Cumine, and James high ſteward of Scotland, who had the diſpoſition of the ſouth parts. William Fraiſer.

Hugh Creſſingham an Engliſhman was made gouernor of Scotland by Edward the firſt, who going into France about the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand two hundred ninetie and ſix, after that he had brought Scotland vnder his ſubiection, appointed the ſaid Hugh (whom he had before made treaſuror of Scotland) to haue the gouernment of that realme in his abſence, whileſt he was buſied in the wars of France. But not long after, this Creſſingham was ſlaine at Sterling by William Wallace (and ſuch Scots as attempted by all the force they could to ſet themſelues at libertie from the ſubiection of the Engliſh) in the ides of September, in the yeare of Chriſt, one thouſand two hundred ninetie and ſeuen, at what time alſo Andrew Murrete was ſlaine, whoſe ſonne did certeine yeares after (as hath Buchanan) adminiſter and gouerne Scotland for the king. Hugh Creſſingham. Buchan. lib. 8.

William Wallace after manie worthie exploits done in the behalfe of his countrie againſt the Engliſh, was for the Scots choſen gouernor of the realme vnder John Baliol, when the king had forſaken the realme and was come into England, about the yeare of Chriſt, one thouſand two hundred ninetie and ſix, who after that (as is before touched) did ſlea Creſſingham the gouernor of Scotland vnder the king of England, which Wallace did after in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand two hundred nintie and eight renounce his office of gouernor, and was in the end for his rebellion againſt king Edward the firſt king of England, and abſolute lord of Scotland, taken, brought to London, drawen, hanged and quartered, in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand three hundred and fiue. William Wallace.

John Cumine, after that William Wallace had giuen ouer his office of gouernor, was choſen to be gouernor for the Scots, in purpoſe to trie with the Engliſhmen for their liberties, which being knowen to Edward the firſt king of England, he ſent an armie into the countrie, and deſtroied it. Wherupon John Cumine admitted Simon Fraiſer fellow with him in the adminiſtration of the wars againſt John Cumine.

the Englith, and diſcomfited the Engliſh in the yere of our Lord God one thouſand three hundred and two. After which, king Edward being againe a conqueror of the Scots, returned homewards, and left Odomare de Ualence his deputie in Scotland.

Odomare de Ualence or Aimer de Ualence.

Odomare de Ualence or Aimer de Ualence, vncle to king Edward the firſt king of England by the halfe bloud, was about the yeare of our Lord one thouſand three hundred and foure, made gouernor of Scotland vnder Edward the firſt king of England, who before in the yeare one thouſand three hundred & two, toke William Wallace and ſent him to London to king Edward, to be dealt withall as you haue heard before. After which Robert Bruſe being crowned king of Scotland, was on the nineteenth of June in the yére of Chriſt one thouſand three hundred and ſix, at Meſen diſcomfited by the Engliſh armie, and put to flight by the ſaid Odomare de Ualence, who after baniſhed all thoſe which ante waie toke part with king Robert Bruſe. But in the end Robert Bruſe recouering himſelfe & more aid, draue all the Engliſhmen out of Scotland, gouerning the kingdome all his life, by himſelfe & his ſubſtitutes, as by that which followeth maie well apeare.

Thomas Randolph.

Thomas Randolph earle of Murrete, much about the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand three hundred and ſix and twentie, being about the 21 yeere of Robert Bruſe, was made protector of the realme. For Robert Bruſe being fallen into extreme ſickneſſe, whereby he could not weeld the ſcepter to gouerne as the ſtate of that countrie required, cõmitted the adminiſtration of the reime to erle Thomas Randolph, and to James Dowglaſſe knight, who ruled the ſame to their ſingular commendation, and the countries good about foure yeares, during the life of the ſaid Robert Bruſe, whoſe death happened in the yére of Chriſt one thouſand three hundred twentie and nine. After the death of king Robert, when Dauid his ſonne came to the crowne, being but ſeuen yeares old, this Randolph was againe appointed to haue the adminiſtration of the kingdome as regent of the ſame, during the kings minoritie and inſufficiencie of gouernement, who confirmed a new peace betweene England and Scotland. Shortlie after which the gouernor died of poiſon at Muſcleborough, in the yere of our redemption one thouſand three hundred thirtie and one, being about the ſecond yeare of king Dauid, & was buried at Dunfermling, hauing had two ſons, John erle of Murreie, and Thomas, both being perſons worthie of ſuch a father.

Patrike Dunbar.

Patrike Dunbar earle of March was made regent after this ſort. After the death of earle Thomas Randolph, there was an aſſemblie of parlement of the three eſtates of the realme, in which in the ſaid yeare of Chriſt one thouſand three hundred thirtie and one, and the ſecond yere of the reigne of king Dauid, theſe two, Patrike earle of March and Dauid (whom Leſle calleth Donald) earle of Marre were choſen gouernors of the reime by common conſent. Whereof the firſt had the charge of that part of the reime which lieth on the ſouth ſide of the Frith, & the other was appointed to gouerne all that on the north: which Donald in the yere of Chriſt one thouſand three hundred thirtie and two was ſlaine ſléeping in his bed at Duplin neere to the water of Erne, by ſuch as followed and toke part with Edward Baliol atteining the crowne, and expelling Dauid from the kingdome.

Andrew Murreie.

Andrew Murreie, a man of great power, and of no leſſe poſſeſſion, hauing performed manie exploits of warre for his countrie, was made gouernor after the death of the earle of Marre, and ioined in that office with Patrike of Dunbar earle of March. Shortlie after which this Andrew was taken priſoner at Rocksborough, being yet in the end ranſomed for a great ſumme of gold. After which he died of a vehement ſickneſſe, and was buried in Roſe Parkie, in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand three hundred thirtie and eight.

Archibald Dowglaſſe, after the deceaſe of Andrew Murreie, was by one conſent of the nobilitie choſen gouernor in the place of Andrew Murreie, whileſt king Edward did beſiege Berwike, who raiſing a power of men entred England, and cauſed the king to remoue his ſiege of Berwike. Afterward this Dowglaſſe was ſlaine at the battell of Halidon hill, in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand three hundred thirtie and two (as ſome haue) but Hector Boetius and Buchanan refer it to the yeare of our Lord God one thouſand three hundred thirtie and three, the nineteenth of Julie. Archibald Dowglas.

Dauid Cumine was made protector in this ſort. When that Edward the third king of England, in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand three hundred thirtie and ſix had entred Scotland with maine force by land and by ſea; he afterwards hauing Edward Baliol the king of Scotland in his companie with 50000 men came by land to Glaſcow: but perceiuing no reſiſtance againſt him, retired with Baliol into England, and left Dauid Cumine earle of Atholl gouernor in his roome, to win ſuch holds and ſtrengths as were yet defended againſt him. Which Dauid toke on him to be gouernor in the name of Edward Plantagenet king of England, and of Edward Baliol king of Scots, ſeizing into his hands all the lands which perteined to Robert Steward, ſo that at one time there was chopping and changing of gouernors by each part which became ſtronger. Dauid Cumine.

Robert Steward regent of Scotland poſſeſſed that place, at this time alſo when Dauid Cumine was gouernor for Edward Baliol; for this writeth Leſleus li. 7. pa. 234. Verùm ne patria gubernatoris imperio deſtituta, aduerſariorum inſidijs pateret magis, Robertus Stuartus omnem regni curam in ſe tranſtulit, quoad Dauid ex Gallia rediret, ipſe tũc regni gubernacula ſuſcepturus. By which words appeareth, that as Dauid Cumine was gouernor for Edward Baliol gone into England, ſo this Robert Steward toke vpon him the regentſhip for king Dauid Bruſe fled into France: the which he the rather did, becauſe he would incounter Dauid Cumine which had ſpoiled him of all his liuings and patrimonie. Which Robert being thus procurator of the kingdome, granted ſundrie priuileges to the inhabitants of Bute & Arrane, as amongſt other things, to be free from paieng of tribute of corne and graine. For this Steward togither with John Randolph earle of Murreie, were by a councell aſſembled at Edenborough by generall voices elected and confirmed to be gouernors of the realme, about the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand three hundred thirtie and foure, or one thouſand three hundred thirtie and fiue. Robert Steward. John Randolph earle of Murreie protector.

Robert Steward earle of Fife, ſecond ſonne to Robert Steward the firſt king of Scotland (by the name of Steward) and the ſecond by the name of Robert, was (becauſe his father became extreme old, and could not follow the affaires of the kingdome) made gouernor by the conſent of the realme during the life of his father, about the yeare of our Lord God one thouſand three hundred foure ſcore and nine, being about the nineteenth yeare of the reigne of the ſaid Robert the ſecond: which office this Robert continued during the life of his father, dieng in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand three hun- Robert Steward.

dred

dred & ninetie. After whoſe death, when Robert the third, being before called John, came to the kingdome, and had by a fall from his horſſe ſo bruſed himſelfe, that he was not able to follow the gouernement of the kingdome, this Robert earle of Fife his brother was made gouernor of the kingdome. After which about the yeare of our redemption one thouſand three hundred ninetie and eight, being about the ninth yeare of Robert the third king of Scotland, the king created this Robert Steward duke of Albanie, being one of the firſt dukes which were made in Scotland. Beſides which alſo, after the death of the ſame Robert the third, which fell in the yeare of our Lord one thouſand foure hundred and ſix, this Robert duke of Albanie was by new election, or rather confirmation eſtabliſhed in the office of gouernor (as haue ſome Scotiſh chronicles) which duke of Albanie died in the yeare of our Lord one thouſand foure hundred and nineteene, the third of September, when he had béene gouernor fiftéene yeares after the death of Robert the third. Wherein it ſeemeth to me for this time that there is much difference of yeares, if the Scots haue truelie ſet the ſame downe: for thoſe accounts can not ſtand together, with the death of king Robert the third, and the yeares gouernement of the duke of Albanie, after the death of the king. But I paſſe it ouer, and rather impute the fault to the offendor, in miſtaking the figure of the number of yeares, than anie want of conſideration in the writer of the hiſtorie.

Murdacke Steward.

Murdacke Steward erle of Fife & Menteith, the eldeſt ſonne of Robert duke of Albanie, was after his fathers death made gouernor of Scotland, continuing in that office by the ſpace of foure yeares, vntill about the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand foure hundred twentie and foure, in which yeare he found meanes to bring home James the right king of Scots, who had béene eightéene yeares deteined in England, and placed him in the kingdome of Scotland, by the name of James the firſt: at what time the crowne was ſet vpon the kings head with the hands of the ſaid Murdacke the gouernor, & Henrie biſhop of ſaint Andrews. This duke was in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand foure hundred twentie and ſix, and in the ſecond yeare of the reigne of James the firſt conuicted of high treaſon, and beheaded before the caſtell of Sterling. He had iſſue two ſons, Walter Steward, and Alexander, which were alſo beheaded at the ſame place the daie before the death of their father.

Alexander Leuingſtone.

Alexander Leuingſtone knight was made gouernor the daie after that James the ſecond was crowned, in the yeare of our Lord God one thouſand foure hundred thirtie & ſix: for the king being but ſix yeares old, the nobilitie did appoint the ſaid Alexander Leuingſtone of Calender knight to be gouernor of the realme: at what time the kings perſon was committed to the education and rule of

William Creicton.

William Creicton knight lord chancellor, who was then confirmed in his office. After this in the yeare of our Lord one thouſand foure hundred fortie and foure, about the eight yere of James the ſecond, they both (through diſſention which had long continued betweene them about their authorities) were put from their offices, remoued from the king all their friends, baniſhed the court, and they themſelues commanded to appéere before the king: which becauſe they refuſed ſo to do, they were both proclamed rebels and put to the horne.

Marie.

Marie the daughter of the duke of Guelderland & widow to James the ſecond, was appointed with others to be gouernors: for after the death of James the ſecond, which fell in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand foure hundred and three ſcore (when James the third hir ſonne was but ſeuen yeares old) the nobilitie aſſembled at Edenborough to prouide for the adminiſtration of the realme, becauſe the king was ſo yong. Whereupon there were ſeuen regents appointed for the gouernement both of the kings perſon, and alſo of the kingdome, which were Marie the quéene his mother, James Kennedie biſhop of S. Andrews, being ſiſters ſonne to James the firſt, the biſhop of Glaſcow, the earles of Angus, Huntlie, Argile, and Orkenie. Theſe ſo long as Kennedie liued, agréed well togither about the gouernment of the realme; but ſhortlie after his deceaſe, or rather before, they fell at ſquare, which we will more largelie touch hereafter when we haue a little ſpoken of the death of this biſhop, falling in the yeare of our redemption one thouſand foure hundred three ſcore and ſix, and in the firſt yeare of the reigne of king James the third, who being buried in the college of ſaint Sauior which he founded moſt ſumptuouſlie in the towne of ſaint Andrews, did in his life time beſides his biſhoprike hold in his poſſeſſion the commandrie of the abbete of Pettinwen, which was worth vnto him 800 crownes by yeare: the grauitie and wiſdome of which biſhop occaſioned Leſleus in his commendation to ſet downe theſe few words.

Hic (which was this biſhop of ſaint Andrews) prudentia conſilióque ita valuit, vt quicquid latebat in republica inſidiarum, apperiret, vnde meritò poteſt dici, non armis regem, ſed ingenio epiſcopum Douglaſij ſuperbiam fregiſſe, ac furorem retudiſſe. Tria confecit (quorum fabrica artificio inſigniter polita, & ſumptu magnificè inſtructa, omnibus admirationem ſui faciebant) collegium ſancti Saluatoris, in quo iuuentus ad eruditionem ac religionem informari poſſit; ſepulchrum quo mortuus tegebatur, ac nauim onerariam ingentis magnitudinis. Horum vnumquódque eiuſdem fuiſſe pretij vulgi ſermone celebratum eſt. After his death, or rather (as hath Hector Boetius) in his life, in the ſecond yeare of the reigne of king James the third, being in the yeare that the word became fleſh one thouſand foure hundred three ſcore and two, there was diſcord kindled betweene quéene Marie the Dowager, and the archbiſhop Kennedie, who perceiuing that the woman did wholie séke to vſurpe the gouernement vnto hir ſelfe, withſtood it in that behalfe, inſomuch that it was doubted that the matter would haue broken forth into ſome ciuill warre, if that the biſhops of Glaſcow, Dunkeld, and Aberden, with certeine abbats had not taken in hand to trauell betwixt both the parties for attonement, who wrought ſo effectuouſlie therein, that the matter was quieted in this maner. The quéene mother was appointed to haue the charge and cuſtodie of the kings perſon, and of his brethren Alexander duke of Albanie, and John earle of Marre, and alſo of their two ſiſters. But as for the adminiſtration and gouernement of the realme of Scotland, ſhe ſhould leaue it to the péeres, wherefore by common conſent there were elected as gouernors the biſhops of Glaſcow, and Dunkeld, the earle of Orkenie, the lord Graham, Thomas Boid, and the chancellor.

Margaret.

Margaret the daughter to Henrie the ſeuenth king of England was (after the death of hir huſband James the fourth, and in the minoritie of hir ſonne James the fift, being but a yeare and ſix moneths old when he was inueſted with the kingdome) made regent of the realme, which ſhe ſhould gouerne by the counſell of James Betune archbiſhop of Glaſcow, the earles of Huntlie, Angus, and

Arrane, but shortlie after they falling out amongst themselues for the bestowing of benefices, the duke of Albanie was called out of France to performe that office.

John duke of Albanie.

John duke of Albanie being sent for out of France (where he accustomed to abide) to come into Scotland (to be tutor to the king and gouernor of the realme, as he which next of bloud to the king, and nerest to the crowne) was by vniuersall consent at saint Johns towne admitted to those offices accordinglie, hauing the same confirmed vnto him by a parlement holden at Edenburgh in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred and thirteene, and the first yeare of the yong king James the fift. Whereof intelligence being brought vnto the duke, yet in France, he in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred and fourteene, directeth dilatorie and excusing letters of his acceptance of that charge. At that time, but in the yere following, being the yeare of Christ, one thousand fiue hundred and fiftéene, and in the third of James the fift, on the seuentéenth of Maie, he arriued at the towne of Aire in Scotland to execute his office of gouernor, who was honorablie interteined at sundrie places as he passed along by the sea coasts, before he came to Edenburgh. After which a parlement was made to be called at Edenburgh (being but the continuance of the former parlement, as my memorie serueth) in which this duke of Albanie was againe confirmed gouernor, the scepter and sword being deliuered vnto him, and an oth by him to the lords, and by the lords to him giuen, that ech of them should be faithfull to ech other, and euerie of them to their lord and king, &c. After this the duke of Albanie going into France in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred and seuentéene, as saieth Lesleus, committeth the gouernement of the kingdome in his absence to the archbishops of S. Andrews and Glascow, and to the earles of Huntlete, Argile, Angus, and Arrane. And least ante euill might happen to the kings person in his absence, he appointed the king to be brought into the castle of Edenburgh, there to be committed to the earle marshall, and to the lords Eschwine, Bothwike, and Ruthwéene, whereof two at the least should alwaies be present with him. The duke hauing thus béene about some three yeares in France, returned into Scotland about the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred and twentie, remaining still gouernor: but in following time, which was the yere of Christ one thousand fiue hundred twentie and foure, and about the twelfe yeare of the reigne of king James the fift, the duke of Albanie left that office, and went againe into France.

Margaret the quéene.

Margaret the quéene, the mother of James the fift, did (after the departure of the duke of Albanie into France, in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred twentie and foure, the sir and twentith of Julie) find meanes that the yong king came from Sterling vnto Edenburgh: three daies after which the quéene toke the whole gouernment vpon hir, and entred into the castle of Edenburgh with the king, making the lord Maxwell prouost of Edenburgh. Then the quéene appointing a parlement to be held the Februarie following, there were in the same parlement eight lords chosen to be of the kings priuie councell, to take on them the gouernment of the king and the realme, which were the archbishop of S. Andrewes and Glascow, the bishops of Aberden & Dunblane: the earles of Angus, Arrane and Leneur, to whom the quéene was adioined as principall, without whose aduise nothing should be done. Which ordinance did not long hold, Archibald Dowglasse earle of Angus in the end fullie getting the whole gouernement into his hands.

Archibald Dowglas (after that the bishop of Dunbane was dead, and the quéene gone vnto Sterling, leauing the king with the earle of Angus, in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred twentie and fiue, being about the thirteenth of James the fift) toke the whole gouernement vpon him both of the king and kingdome, setting vp, remouing, and pulling downe what officer it best pleased him: who for the more declaration of his authoritie and gouernment, made his vncle Archibald Dowglas treasuror of the realme, and bestowed all benefices and offices by the aduise of his brother George Dowglas and the earle of Leneur who assisted him. After which there was a diuorce had betwéene the quéene and the earle, who falling in the kings disgrace in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred twentie and eight, and the sirteenth yeare of the same James the fift, was atteinted by parlement holden at Edenburgh in September, when the king had taken the absolute gouernment into his hands in the seuentéenth yeare of his age, and the said sirteenth yeare of his said gouernement. Whereupon the yeare following, this Archibald came vnto the king for to submit himselfe, but the king would not receiue him, by reason wherof he fled into England.

Archibald Dowglas.

James earle of Arrane in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred fourtie and two, when Marie (the daughter of James the fift) being but seuen daies old obteined the kingdome, was by authoritie of the nobilitie proclamed regent and protector of Scotland, notwithstanding all that Dauid Beton, fauorer of the French causes had without all reason vsurped the gouernment, vnder the pretense of a deuised will and testament of James the fift, in which testament he was appointed gouernor. This earle thus made protector, appointed by the old quéenes consent a gouernor to the person of the yong quéen, which was the lord Leuingstone capteine of Lithquo. This protector in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred fortie and foure, being the second yere of quéen Marie, was by the French king made knight of the order of saint Michaell. About eight yeares after which, that is in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred fiftie and three, being about the twelfe yeare of quéene Marie, this earle was inforced to leaue his office of gouernor, and the quéene toke the same into hir hands, appointing procurators to rule the same vnder hir: whereupon the gouernor in the yeare following, being one thousand fiue hundred fiftie & foure, was by the French king made duke of Chatelerault. The procurators which were appointed for and by quéene Marie, were (as hath Lesleus) Henrie king of France, Charles cardinall of Lorreine and the duke of Guise his brother, touching whom thus writeth the same Lesleus in these words: Hos (which was hir curators) sibi in Gallia delegerat regina nostra (being Marie the quæne of Scots) matris suasu, Henricum regem Franciæ, Carolum cardinalem Lotharingum, ac ducem Guisium eius fratrem, qui totam regni nostri molem reginæ matri procurandam transtulerunt: &c. This duke had issue James Hamilton earle of Arrane after lunatike, and one Dauid Hamilton.

James earle of Arrane.

Lesleus lib. 10. pag. 517.

Marie descended of the house of Guise, the dowager of Scotland, as widow to James the fift, and mother to the yong quéene Marie, was in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred fiftie and foure, being the twelfe yeare both of the age and reigne of the same quéene Marie, made regent of Scotland vnder hir daughter the same yong quéene, which office

Marie dowager of Scotland.

office this regent toke vpon hir haning the ſame confirmed by parlement, continuing in that place abont ſix yeares, & died in the caſtle of Edenburgh, in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand fiue hundred and thrée ſcore, being vpon the point of the eightéenth yeare of quéene Marie, whoſe bodie (as hath Leſleus) was after caried into France, for thus he writeth:

Leſleus lib. 10. pag. 569. Fuit autem corpus in Galliam poſtea tranſuectum, primùm ad monaſteriũ Feckamenſe, quod in Normania eſt, deinde ad cœnobium S. Petri Rhemis in Campania, cui ſoror ipſius piè tunc præerat, delatũ, honorificè condebatur.

James Steward. James Steward baſtard ſonne to king James the fift king of Scots, and baſe brother to Marie quéene of Scots now liuing and impriſoned, being prior of ſaint Andrews and earle of Mar, was in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand fiue hundred thrée ſcore and two, being about the twentith yeare of the reigne of the ſame quéene Marie, made earle of Murreie. About fiue yeares following, after that the nobilitie had conſpired againſt quéene Marie, toke hir, committed hir to priſon, depoſed hir, and vpon the ſame (on the nintéenth daie of Julie in the yeare a thouſand fiue hundred thrée ſcore and ſeuen, being the fiue & twentith yeare of the reigne of that quéene) aduanced hir ſonne Charles James Steward (being then about a yeare old) to the kingdome, by the name of James the firt: this James earle of Murreie, was made regent and gouernor of the yong king James the firt, and of the kingdome: who vpon the office receiued, did by parlement abolith the popes authoritie and doctrine in Scotland: continuing that office of regent vntill his death, falling about the time of thrée yeares after. For in the time of Chriſt one thouſand fiue hundred thrée ſcore and ten, being in the third yeare of the reigne of James the firt, this regent as he was riding through Lithquo, was ſhot at with an harquebus by one James Hamilton, and ſo wounded, that he died of the hurt the nert daie following, hauing before in that yeare, in which he was created earle of Murreie, maried Agnes Keith daughter to the earle Marſhall.

Matthew earle of Leneux. Matthew earle of Leneur, being ſent for out of England, where he had before long remained, was after the death of the earle of Murreie, in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand fiue hundred thrée ſcore and ten, being in the third yeare of the reigne of James the firt, made lord lieutenant or protector of Scotland, in a conuention of the lords of Sterling. After which in Auguſt following, there was another conuention at Edenburgh, where by the conſent of the thrée eſtates of the realme, the ſaid earle was made regent of Scotland, at what time the earle of Huntleie toke vpon him to be lord lieutenant of Scotland: for Marie quéene of Scots remaining then vnder cuſtodie in England, which Huntleie in hir name ſummoned a parlement at Lithquo the 21 daie of September, whereunto the earle of Leneur was ſummoned: to incounter which, the earle of Leneur cauſed a parlement likewiſe to be ſummoned in the kings name at the ſame place, whervnto the earle of Huntleie was warned at the ſame daie. But the earle of Huntleie comming no nérer at that time than Bzechin, it was ordered by the regent Leneur and the nobilitie, to purſue him: whereupon inſued great warres betwéene the nobilitie of Scotland diuided into factions, ſome taking part with the depoſed queene Marie, and other with the yong king in poſſeſſion. During which turmoiles and wars, this earle of Leneur hauing bin regent about a yeare and more, was wounded at Sterling with a piſtoll by capteine Cawder, whereof he ſhortlie after died, in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand fiue hundred thrée ſcore and eleuen, being about the fourth yeare of James the firt.

John Areſkin earle of Mar was made regent after the death of the earle Leneur, as maie appeare by that which I haue before ſet downe in the continuance of the annals of Scotland, after whome ſucceéded the earle Morton, of whome I haue a little before ſpoken, and of whome we will more intreat heraſter, when we come to ſpeake of his beheading, in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand fiue hundred fourteſcore and one, falling about the fourtéenth yeare of Lewes the firt, after that the ſaid earle had continued that office about fiue yeares. For being aduanced to that place, about the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand fiue hundred thrée ſcore and twelue, he continued in the ſame, vntill he ſurrendered it, in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand fiue hundred thrée ſcore and ſeuentéene, as is before touched. Thus ſetting end to the diſcourſe of the protectors of Scotland, let vs deſcend to other matters which haue ſucceéded.

John Areſkin earle of Mar.

Earle Morton regent of Scotland.

Going therefore forward with that yeare one thouſand fiue hundred thrée ſcore and ſeuentéene, we ſate that much about the time in the which the earle Morton gaue ouer his regentſhip, that the lord Glames, who was then in office of the chancellorſhip, was trecherouſlie ſlaine by his enimies at Sterling, with a ſhot of purpoſe diſcharged againſt him, as he was comming out of Sterling caſtell, & going to his owne lodging from the councell or parlement. Whereby it ſeemeth that this murthering by ſudden ſhot began now to be a common thing: for there were thrée great perſons in ſhort time diſpatched after that ſort, which were the earles of Murreie and Leneur regents, & this lord Glames chancellor. After the death of which lord Glames, the earle of Atholl was aduanced to that place, and inueſted with the title of lord chancellor of Scotland. Wherefore, hauing ſo good occaſion therefore at this time by talking of this earle of Atholl thus made lord chancellor to treate of that office: I thinke it not inconuenient in this place, nor diſagreéable to the nature of the matter which I haue in hand, ſomewhat by waie of digreſſion, to diſcourſe of the originall of this office in Scotland, which I will do in few words.

The lord Glames chancellor ſlaine.

The earle of Atholl made chancellor.

This officer the chancellor had his firſt originall in Scotland by Malcolme the ſecond of that name king of Scots, who begining his reigne in the yeare of our redemption one thouſand and ten, and gouerning thirtie yeares, departed the world in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand and fortie. This man, during the time of his gouernment, ordeining manie neceſſarie laws for the better rule of his countrie, and for the benefit of the crowne, did alſo firſt ordeine the honorable officers of the kingdome, as chancellor, conſtable, marſhall, chamberleine, and others, as appeareth by Leſleus in his hiſtorie of Scotland in theſe words: Fœliciter rempublicam haud paucos annos adminiſtrauit (king Malcolme) multis & egregijs operibus illuſtris: intérque cætera municipialium legum volumen condidit, quas noſtrates exinde in iudicijs ferendis ſeruarunt, nihil pene immutatas, regiorum magiſtratuum iudicúmque, quos licet mundiùs, magiſque Latinè vocare poſſunt, vulgò tamen cancellarium, conſtabilem, mariſcallum, camerarium, iuſticiariúmque vocitant, & qui a ſecretis, a theſauris, a cubiculo, a chartophylaceo eſſent: cunctorúmque miniſtrorum aulæ annua ſalaria, vt noſtris diebus penduntur, quantumque regijs pro diplomatibus, ac cæteris literis, libellionibus, tabularijs, lectoribúſque ſoluendum foret, inſtituit. This officer being in Scotland before the time of Edward the confeſſor, ſeemeth alſo to me co-

The originall of the office of the chancellor.

Leſleus lib. 8 pag. 204.

uertlie to proue, that the same officer was in England before the time of the same king, sith it appeareth, that the Scots for the most part haue alwaies taken their maner of gouernement, lawes, and customes from vs, as will be I doubt not sufficientlie proued, although it mate be that some will affirme that they might haue this officer from the Frenchmen & Romans as other nations had: which as I dō not suppose, because the Romans had but little dowings amongst them, for as they neuer vsed anie such officer in this land whilest they gouerned here (for anie thing that I can yet learne) so it maie be, (because they will not seeme to haue borrowed anie order of their gouernement from vs) that they will suppose that they had the first ground of this officer from the French, with whome they haue alwaies bæne in league euer since the time of their king Achaius the first, who (beginning his reigne in the yeare of Christ seuen hundred fourescore and eight) did knit a perpetuall league with Charles the great. But leauing this, we saie (more particularlie treating of Scotland) that much about this time, John Lesle bishop of Rosse (who had some yeares before bæne some certeine time imprisoned in the Tower of London in England, and had trauelled to Rome about the affaires of the imprisoned quæne of Scotland, where he labored to procure such aid for hir, as the princes which fauored hir faction would yéld) did depart from Rome, and went from the pope to Randulph, as the second of that name now emperor. Which said Lesle, taking his iourneie out of Italie, passed through the frontier townes of Germanie, and was staied at Platzburgh, otherwise called Palatinopolis, by George duke of Bauier, countie Palatine of Rhene, and earle of Veldezens; in which citie, his coffers and other things were rifled and searched: at what time there were manie writings found, and amongst others certeine papers, in which did appeare what friends the quæne of Scots had of all the parts of Europe, what enimies, and what neutrals: with letters and other instructions of Philip king of Spaine.

All which notwithstanding (though they gaue the said George occasion to mistrust Lesle, as an enimie to his religion) this bishop of Rosse was afterward dismissed, because he was furnished with the emperors passport, or safeconduct to come vnto him. Wherefore the duke of Bauier for his better discharge, and to manifest to the world that they did nothing but that, which both the present estate of these troublesome times, and the dutie of a religious prince required, did honorablie dismisse the said Lesle, bearing all his charges, restoring all his goods, & conueieng him out of his dominions with a goodlie companie of horsemen, after that he had caused the said bishop of Rosse to leaue a testimoniall writing in the Latine tong vnder his owne hand, to shew that no iniurie was done to the said bishop, in that his deteining and search for those causes; & that the bishop should not anie waie seeke anie reuenge thereof: the copie of which writing (as I receiued the same) I haue faithfullie and *verbatim* set downe in this sort.

x Castrations 422.

The testimoniall left by the bishop *of Rosse with the duke of* Bauier.

NOs Iohannes Lesleus, Dei gratia, episcopus Rossensis, & administrator Morauiæ, &c: testamur hoc scripto palàm & apud omnes hoc inspecturos, aut lecturos. Cùm in hisce periculosis & motuum plenissimis temporibus omnibus sacri imperij principibus & magistratibus prospectio incumbat, ne imperium aut eius membra aliquid detrimenti accipiant, neque per prætereuntes & redeuntes ex externis nationibus, calidas negationes, ad turbandum pacem publicam, aut noxias dissentiones sub quouis prætextu tractari, strui aut seminari inter ordines & membra imperij sinant aut patiantur; præcipuè cùm nunc exempla in vicinis locis extāt, quam facilè aliquid strui & seminari possit. Ita factum est, vt illustrissimus princeps Georgius, Iohannes comes Palatinus Rheni, dux Bauariæ, comésque Veldentziæ, &c: motus præcedentibus & alijs rationibus, in absentia, per suos capitaneos & ministros, in suo territorio Lutzelsteinensi, & vrbe Palatinopoli, nos cum nostris retineri mandauerit. Quam causam & mandatum retentionis imperatori, antequam exequeretur, significauit. Post factam retentionem, celsitudo eius certior facta de literis imperatoris nobis communicatis de Spira, vbi mandatum dederat, protestatione ibi aliqua habita, festinanter huc appulit: præsertim etiam simul cum literis imperatoris, aliquæ copiæ instructionis & memoralium eius celsitudini missæ fuerāt, vnde aucta suspicio, aliquid nos ad extirpandam religionem tentare: & cùm mentio aliqua extirpandæ religionis hisce verbis facta fuerit, nimirùm, vt extirpata hæresi, religio reuiuiscat, & simul cum procuratione Scoticorum monasteriorum, quorum Palatini aliquot possident, aliquid moturos in Germania putauerit, præsertim cùm plurimos catholicæ religionis principes & episcopos in itinere cum literis credentalibus a papa salutauerimus, & inuiserimus. Ad quam suspicionem amouendam & purificandam, cùm celsitudo eius aduenit, lectione aliquarum copiarum conati sumus celsitudini eius satisfacere. Etsi tamen aliquid scrupuli de extirpanda religione ac opinio de aliquibus negotijs quæ vrgerem remaneret, quæ pacem publicam tàm in religione, quàm politicis perturbare, & suspicionem principibus Augustanæ confessionis mouere, non minùs quàm ipsius celsitudini possent. Nihilominùs celsitudo eius, magis alijs rationibus, quàm præcedentibus suspicionibus imminentium periculorum non diutiùs nos detenturos concluſit. Ea tamen conditione, vt promitteremus nos contra patriā in causa religionis per viam armorum, aut structione dissentionum, aliquid nunquam tentaturos, sicut & alibi: sed quòd exhortationibus pijs & doctrina facere possimus, liberam relinquere conscientiam. Secundò, quòd polliceamur more solito, pro nostro, nostrarúmque familiarum nomine, neq; per nos neque per alios, vlla via & ratione quæ nominari possit, illam detentionem vindicatam fore. Quare consideratione habita periculorum & motuum, quæ passim (potissimùm verò in locis vicinis) cernuntur, sacro imperio, optima ratione metuendum & vigilandum, maximè verò in extremis imperij limitibus & terminis. Ideò ab illustrissima eius celsitudine ratione publicorum decretorum, & arctissimæ inter ordines cōiunctionis, hanc circūspectionem & detentionem nostram non iniquo animo ferimus, neque pro iniuria accipimus: cùm præsertim eius celsitudo non modò liberaliter nos habuerit, sed absque omni rerum nostrarum iactura, alijsque dispendijs, nos liberos fecerit, & gratiosè splendido equitum comitatu in maiorem securitatem deduci iusserit. Idcircò sanctè pollicemur, (decreto Constantiensis concilij, quo diuersis à Romana religione hominibus fidem datam seruandam haud esse, sancitum fuisse dicitur, hoc ipso scripto & optimo modo renuntiantes) nos nostro, nostrarùmque familiarum nomine, iam neque per nos, neque per alios vlla vi, vel ratione, recta aut obliqua, qua eius celsitudinem, aut eius famulos aut subditos

Lesleus lib. 8. pag. 411.

&

& ditiones hanc retentionem perſequi vel vindicare velle. Et ad maiorem huius ſcripti & promiſſi corroborationem propria manu ſignauimus, & ſigillo noſtro appreſſo confirmauimus. Actum & datum Luzelſteni 28 Decembris: anno Domini 1578.

Iohannes Leſleus epiſcopus Roſſenſis & adminiſtrator eccleſiæ Morauenſis.

This Leſle being yet liuing, and (as I vnderſtand) in great credit in France, poſſeſſing the place of the chancellor of Lions, is deſcended of an ancient familie, as one whoſe anceſtors and name hath both intoled honorable titles in deſcent, and great places of gouernement in the common-wealth of Scotland. For when Edgar the ſonne of Edward the outlaw and kinſman to Edward the Confeſſor king of England was vexed with vnluſt war, firſt by Harold king of England the ſon of Godwine, & then by the Norman baſtard ſurnamed the Conqueror, which ſlue Harold and obteined the crowne of England; Edgar did priuilie take ſhipping with his mother Agatha, and his two ſiſters, to the end, that being now out of all hope euer to obteine the kingdom of England, they might direct their courſe and ſaile againe into Hungarie, from whenſe they came. But it happened by diuine prouidence, that being on the ſea, they were grieuouſlie moleſted with vehement winds, which forciblie made them forſake their appointed courſe, and draue them into the mouth of the riuer of Forth or Frith, whoſe landing place is yet to be ſeene, & at this daie called S. Margarets hauen (after the name of hir which was ſiſter to this Edgar & called Margaret) whome Malcolme king of Scots (for the rare parts both of bodie & mind wherwith ſhe was wonderfully indued) did after take to wife, & ſolemnlie crowned to the great comfort of the whole kingdome. Upon which déed William the Conqueror, being more grieuouſlie mooued than he was before, baniſhed all the friends of Edgar out of England. By occaſion whereof, Lindſeie, Vaus, Ramſeie, Louell, and diuerſe other men of great nobilitie came then firſt into Scotland to craue aid of king Malcolme; which perſons being liberallie indued with rich poſſeſſions by the ſame Malcolme; their poſteritie do at this daie in our age flouriſh with great honor. Beſides which alſo, at this time there came out of Hungarie with Agatha before touched diuerſe other perſons of account, as Crichton, Fodringham, Gifkert, Manlis, Brothike, and others; amongſt whome Bartholomew Leſle deſcended of noble parentage, and of great valor of mind, did with the reſt appeare verie famous, whoſe ſharpe wit, and excellencie of knowledge (ioined with a ſound and ſtrong bodie) when Malcolme the king of Scots did behold, he vſed his helpe in the defenſe of the caſtell of Edenburgh, and in all other weightie affaires which concerned the warres.

Out of this familie of the Leſles haue ſprong and flouriſhed manie worthie perſons, valiantlie reſiſting and ſubduing their enimies. And amongſt thoſe, one Walter Leſle earle of Roſſe, who afterward purchaſed ſuch ſingular commendation for valor and wiſedome ſhewed in manie battels of the emperor Lewes the ſecond, & Charles the fourth, againſt the Saracens, Vt (one of their owne name now a biſhop of Roſſe in his hiſtorie of Scotland ſaieth) à quodam animi generoſo impetu, quo hoſtes frãgere, & ſub iugũ fortiter mittere ſolebat, generoſi equitis cognomentum ſit conſecutus: eiuſdem ſtirpis comes Rotheſius, multíque alij barones & equites Leſlei cognominati (quos Malcolmus primùm, ac alij deinde reges multis amplíſque agris, in Fifa, Auguſia, Gourea, & Gareocha, alijſque prouincijs munificè cumulabant) magnæ hodie nobilitatis virtutíſque commendatione in Scotia vigent. Of whoſe line and name at this daie (as is before ſaid) continuing in great honor, the earle of Rothos now liuing called Leſle dwelleth in Fife, and married the daughter of the earle of Gowrie or Gowrike, the ſame earle of Rothos being a perſon no leſſe wiſe and honorable, than deſcended of ancient and honorable anceſtors. But leauing that familie, let vs returne from whenſe we haue digreſſed.

Leſleus lib. 6. pag. 211.

The biſhop of Roſſe being departed from the duke of Vanier (as before you haue heard) in the yeare following, which was the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand fiue hundred three ſcore and ninetæne, Amies Steward the lord of Obignie in France, being of the houſe of the Stewards, and ſonne to John the eldeſt brother of Matthew Leneur, ſometime regent of Scotland, buried at Sterling, as is before touched, did come into Scotland, was by the king moſt honorablie receiued, and aduanced to further honor. For the king taking from Robert Steward (whom the laſt yeare he had created earle of Leneur) the title of that earledome of Leneur, he now inueſted this lord of Obignie with the ſame, and created him earle of Leneur, thereby more firmelie to bind the lord of Obignie in France to be faithfull vnto him in Scotland. And leaſt he ſhould ſéeme by taking the earledome from Robert Steward to haue wronged him, the king for recompenſe therof, beſtoweth vpon the ſaid Robert Steward as honorable a title and earldome as the ſame was, for he inueſted the ſame Robert with the earledome of March. Not long after which the king erecting the ſame earledome of Leneur vnto a dukedome, he did beſtow that honor of duke vpon the ſaid lord of Obignie, & created him duke of Leneur, which title at this daie, his ſonne being a towardlie yong gentleman doth moſt honorablie poſſeſſe, he being the onlie perſon in that countrie which doth in this our age inioie that title of duke, being ſuch an honor as was but latelie begun amongſt them, and neuer verie plentifull in that region: for the ſame hath not yet as I for this preſent ſuppoſe noriſhed at anie one time (when that title was riſeſt amongſt them) three perſons adorned with that ſtile. Now touching the matter of their firſt creation and continuance, I thinke it not vnfit to ſaie ſomwhat in this place.

The lord of Obignie made earle of Leneur.

Robert Steward made erle of March.

The firſt creation of dukes in that countrie was vſed by Robert the third of that name, whoſe right name being John, was after turned vnto Robert, for doubt of euill ſucceſſe to grow to the kingdome by a gouernor ſo called. For thus write the Scots as Leſleus hath deliuered with theſe ſpæches: Verùm quum ipſi nobiles arbitrarẽtur nomini ineſſe neſcio quid ominis infauſti, quòd reges Franciæ & Angliæ, hoc nomine conſignati, bello prehenderẽtur, mutato nomine Robertum vt patrem eum appellari decreuerũt. Quæ illorum ſiue in nominis obſeruatione ſuperſtitio, ſiue in regis conſeruatione diligentia, maioris mali regi iam impendentis augurium quoddam mihi videtur. Nam non multo poſt ex equo illi decidenti, omnia membra ita contuſa fuerunt, vt (quòd regnandi moleſtias ac labores nullo modo poterat pati) Roberti comiti Fifenſi fratri ſuo regni gubernationẽ dedere cogeretur. Which John as before is ſaid, hauing now obteined a new name, was the firſt which brought a new title of honor into his kingdome: for he created Dauid his eldeſt ſonne duke of Rothſeie, and his brother Robert (whom he had made protector of the kingdome) duke of Albanie, as is ſet downe by the ſame Leſleus in theſe words;

The firſt creation of dukes in Scotland.

Leſleus lib. 7. pag. 264.

To which king John of England and France, he might alſo haue added one of his own countrie of Scotland John Baliol the king, who was as infortunate in his gouernment as anie of the other.

Leſleus lib.7. pag.263.

words: Tertio plus minus anno (which was about the yeate of our redemption one thouſand three hundred foure ſcore and thirteene) concilio ex omni ordinum genere Perthi habito, poſt alias res pro regni cõmodo ſapienter actas, rex Dauidem filium ſuum titulo ducis Rothſaiæ, & Robertum fratrem ſuum quem regno adminiſtrando præfecerat, ducis Albanij honore ornabat: qui duo primi fuerunt in Scotia his titulis illuſtrati. Thus much he, proouing that it is not aboue one hundred foure ſcore and thirteene yeares ſince that title came firſt into Scotland. Wherby it appereth that England ſince the conqueſt hauing dukes erected by king Edward the third, who in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand three hundred thirtie & ſeuen, made his eldeſt ſonne duke of Cornwall, hath had dukes about two hundred fortie & nine yeres paſt, being fiftie and ſix yere before they had anie in Scotland. And as thoſe two before named were the firſt which were inueſted with the honor of duke in Scotland, ſo after the death of the ſame king which fell in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand foure hundred and ſix, in the Interregnum or vacancie of the kingdome (which continued eightéene yeares from the ſaid yere of Chriſt one thouſand foure hundred and ſix, vntill the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand foure hundred twentie and foure) in which James the firſt hauing béene trained vp in England obteined the crowne, and vnder the protectorſhip of Murdacke (the ſonne of the foreſaid Robert the firſt duke of Albanie) to whom the gouernment of the realme of Scotland was committed after the death of the ſaid Robert the third.

Leſleus lib.7. pag.268.

Archibald Dowglaſſe was the firſt Scot which paſſing the ſeas, & ſeruing a ſtrange prince, inioied anie ſuch title of duke in anie forrein nation. For the Scots going then to aid the French againſt the Engliſh, the French king to honour the Scots and to bind them to be more faithfull vnto him, created John Steward earle of Buquaine conſtable of France, & aduanced the ſaid Archibald Dowglaſſe to the honor of the dukedome of Turone: but he did not long inioie that great title, being ſhortlie after ſlaine at the battell of Vernoſle, in the yere of Chriſt one thouſand foure hundred twentie and foure. In treting of which battell Bucchanan, whoſe name may rightlie be deduced from Bucca vana, beyond all modeſtie and courſe of reaſon forgetting his calling, his learning and humanitie, hath ſpued out all his malice againſt the Engliſh nation, whereof I haue treated in my former additions to the hiſtorie of Scotland. Thus hauing ſomewhat digreſſed from the matter of later yeares, wherewith I ought to haue furniſhed my imperfect continuances of the annals of Scotland, I will returne to the lord of Obegnie, who was at this time created duke of Leneur, and who occaſioned me to make this diſcourſe. Wherefore I will here ſet downe what Leſleus hath written of the firſt originall of that houſe in France, and of this duke of Leneur thus by the king newlie as before ſaid created, the words of which Leſleus bithop of Roſſe be theſe: Nouam quoque Scotorum equitum turmam Carolus 6 (king of France, which had the warres againſt the king of England, when the Scots were thus aduanced in the dominions of France, being meane betwéene the ſaid yeares of Chriſt one thouſand foure hundred and ſix, and one thouſand foure hundred twentie and foure) paulo ante conſcripſit, quæ vulgò Scotorum armatorum cohors dicebatur. Huius primus dux Robertus Stuartus ex Lenoxij comitis familia ortus, domino de Aubigne multíſque alijs terris, muneribus, honoribus, & baleagijs cõmuni populi ſermone dictis, a rege inſignitus eſt. Quæ omnia a Scotis eiuſdem cognominis & proſapiæ continuata, ſucceſſionis ſerie per Barnardum nimirum celebrem militiæ ducem, deinde per Robertum, denique Iohannem Stuartum comitis Lenoxij fratrem iam diu poſſeſſa, præclaræ nobilitatis ac indolis iuuenis, Iohãnis filius non paruam ſuorum virtutis ſpem de ſe excitans, etiam nunc hodie obtinet. Thus much Leſle. Beſide which that Leſleus hath ſet downe of the firſt lord of Obegnie in France, Paulus Iouius in his booke of Empreſſe written in Italian, hath not forgotten to ſpeake ſomewhat of him, where he ſetteth downe the deuiſe of his enſignes or armes in this ſort tranſlated by me into Engliſh.

There was (ſaith Iouius) amongſt the Frenchmen a man of knowne vertue or prowelle, & moſt famous captaine called *Yeberard Steward) borne of the bloud roiall of Scotland) being honored with the title of monſieur de Obegnie, who being of kinred to James the fourth of that name, did beare for his deuiſe or enſigne, a field ſiluer, a ramping lion gewles, with a number of buckles thereabout; the which cote armour he did weare vpon his vpper garment, and likewiſe beare in his ſtandard, with this poſie, Diſtantia iungit: ſignifieng thereby, that he was the mean or buckle to hold and knit togither the king of Scots and the French king, with a iuſt counterpeiſe againſt the force of the king of England, naturall enimie to Scotland and France. Thus much Iouius, & thus much I of the duke of Leneur lord of Obegnie in France. After which, ſith I am now in diſcourſing of dukes of that countrie, and haue ſhewed when the firſt duke was made in Scotland, and who they were; I thinke it not vnfit for this place, to ſet downe a catalog of all ſuch dukes of Scotland as haue come vnto my knowlege by ſearch of hiſtories, ſince the creation of the ſame firſt dukes, in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand foure hundred and eightéene; which I will not refuſe to do in this place, following the ſame courſe which I haue obſerued before in the hiſtorie of England, where I haue ſet downe all the dukes, ſince the firſt creation of anie duke in that countrie. Wherefore thus I enter into my dukes of Scotland.

*Barnard.

A catalog of all the dukes of *Scotland by creation or* deſcent.

David Steward duke of Rothſeie.

DAuid Steward (eldeſt ſon of John Steward earle of Carricke, after called Robert the third, and leauing the name of John when he came to the crowne of Scotland) was (by parlement, about the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand three hundred foure ſcore and eightéene, being the eight yeare of Robert the third) made duke of Rothſeie, when he was about eightéene yeares of age, or rather twentie, as by all accounts it muſt be, if that be true that he was borne the two and twentith date of October one thouſand three hundred three ſcore and eightéene, made duke in the yeare one thouſand three hundred foure ſcore & eightéene, as ſome haue. But Leſleus (as before) referreth this as I by all circumſtances do gather, to the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand three hundred foure ſcore & thirteene. He maried Margerie the daughter of Archibald earle Dowglas, about the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand foure hundred, being the tenth of Robert the ſecond.

Robert Steward duke of Albanie.

Robert Steward ſecond ſon to Robert the ſecond king of Scots, by Eliſabeth Mure or More his wife, being by his father created earle of Fife and Menteth, was in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand three hundred foureſcore and eightéene, and the eight yeare of the gouernement of Robert the ſecond, aduanced

uanced to the title and honor of the dukedome of Albanie: this Robert and the other Dauid as I haue before noted, being the firſt dukes that euer were in Scotland. This man being gouernor of Scotland in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand foure hundred and one, falling in the yeare of the reigne of Robert the third, did apprehend Dauid the duke of Rothſeie, and committed him to ſtreict priſonment in Faukeland, where in the end he died by extreame famine, whoſe want of food was ſuch, that he was faine to gnaw his owne fingers: of this Robert is more ſpoken in my protectors of Scotland.

Murdacke duke of Albanie.

Murdacke called duke, was alſo earle of Fife, eldeſt ſonne to this Robert duke of Albanie, was as is moſt likelie duke of Albanie after his father, who being gouernor of Scotland, occaſioned me to intreat more of him in that place.

Alexander duke of Albanie.

Alexander Steward the ſecond ſonne of James the ſecond, was by his father aduanced to the dukedome of Albanie, who being verie yong at the time of his fathers death, which happened in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand foure hundred ſixtéeſcore, was with his brother John earle of Mar, committed to the cuſtodie of Marie their mother. After which in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand foure hundred thrée ſcore and thrée, being the third yeare of James the third, he was taken on the ſea by the Engliſhmen in the moneth of June, as he returned from his grandfather the duke of Guelderland, but was after reſtored home by the meanes of James Kennedie biſhop of ſaint Andrews. About ſixtéene yeares following, in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand foure hundred threeſcore and ninetéene, falling in the ſixtéenth yeare of James the third, this duke was committed priſoner to the caſtell of Edenburgh, out of which he brake and eſcaped to Dunbar, from whenſe being well furniſhed, he ſailed into France where he was honorablie receiued, and there maried the daughter and heire of the earle of Bononie, who ſhortlie after dieng, and the duke perceiuing himſelfe not to be ſo well vſed as he was before, came into England & was by king Edward the fourth louinglie accepted; who granted aid to this duke. Whereupon he in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand foure hundred foureſcore and two, did enter Scotland with a great power & ſpoiled the countrie, comming (without anie reſiſtance in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand foure hundred foureſcore and two, being the two and twentith yeare of James the third) as far as Radſtrag, or Raſkalrig, where he pitched his campe: which being knowne, he was by mediation of the nobilitie admitted home to his countrie, being further preferred to the earldomes of March and Mar, and proclamed generall lieutenant of the king; by meanes whereof, he gouerned the whole realme, the king being now in priſon. After which, this duke ſetteth the king at libertie through the perſuaſions of the queene, without knowlege thereof giuen to the other of the nobilitie: whereby new turmoiles did ariſe amongſt the people. Then in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand foure hundred foureſcore and two, and the three and twentith yeare of James the third; this duke hauing intelligence that there was poiſon prepared to be giuen to him in drinke in the kings chamber, whereby he ſtood in feare of his life, did forſake the court and fled to Dunbar: at what time alſo the king for his owne ſafetie, got him vnto the caſtell of Edenburgh: whereupon the earle of Angus and Buccluaine forſaking the king, toke part with the duke.

Leſle.lib.8. pag.319.

After which the duke being ſummoned as ſome haue (or being beſieged in the caſtle of Dunbar as other haue) fled into England. But Leſleus ſaith that he toke a little bote and ſo eſcaped into France, where he was honorablie interteined by Charles king of that realme; and where the Frenchmen for his ſingularitie in feats of armes, termed him the father of chiualrie; thus writeth Leſleus. But others (deliuering this matter in other forme) ſaie that after his flight from Dunbar, he paſſed into England, gathered power, returned into Scotland, did inuade the kingdome, & was put to flight: whereupon growing in diſgrace with the king of England, he then fled into France. And then after, the ſame Leſleus ſaith: Pariſijs dum ſingulare certamen Aurelianenſis dux cum aliquo equite iniuit aſtans, particula cuiuſdam haſtæ traijcitur, breuíque poſt moritur, about the yere of Chriſt one thouſand foure hundred eightie three. He left two ſonnes behind him, John duke of Albanie gouernor of Scotland during the minoritie of James the fourth, and one other Alexander, whom he had by his firſt wife in Scotland the daughter of the earle of Orchadie, which Alexander was after biſhop of Murrete, and abbat of Scone.

John duke of Albanie.

John Steward duke of Albanie, ſonne to the foreſaid Alexander duke of Albanie, did after the death of his father obteine that dukedome, in the yeare of Chriſt one theuſand foure hundred eightie three: of this man I haue made a more large diſcourſe in the gouernors of Scotland, whereunto I refer thée; and therefore omit to talke anie further of him in this place.

James Steward duke of Rotheſeie.

James Steward (eldeſt ſonne to James the third) being duke of Rotheſeie, is by ſome termed prince of Rotheſeie, was borne in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand foure hundred ſeuentie and two on the tenth date of March, being about the twelfe yeare of the reigne of his father James the third. This duke in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand foure hundred eightie and eight, in the nine and twentith yeare of his father, and the ſixtéenth of his age, was by the nobilitie rebelling againſt his father made capteine or leader of thoſe rebels, who at that time at Banocksburne two miles from Sterling, incountring with the king his father, did there ſlea him; whereupon this James duke of Rotheſeie was preſentlie made king by the name of James the fourth.

Alexander duke of Rotheſeie.

Alexander Steward the ſecond, ſonne to James the third, king of Scotland, and brother to James the fourth, was duke of Rotheſeie: for thus writeth Leſleus li.8.pag.331. In ſtudium incubuit rex (which was James the fourth then king, in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand foure hundred eightie and nine) ſedulò, vt Alexander dux Rothoſeiæ & Iohannes comes Marriæ ſui fratres tenelli adhuc liberali educatione diligentiſſimè imbuerentur, tantóque ſumptu pro ratione patrimonij, quod ſingulis pater reliquerat ſatis amplum, magnificè alerentur. He died the ſixtéenth kalends of Januarie, in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand fiue hundred and ſixtéene at Sterling.

Henrie duke of Albanie.

Henrie Steward lord Derneleie the eldeſt ſonne to Matthew Steward erle of Leneur, was brought vp in England, a goodlie and beautifull perſonage, being to be married to Marie the queene of Scots, was after his comming into Scotland made earle of Roſſe, in the yere of Chriſt one thouſand fiue hundred threeſcore and fiue by the ſame queene, about the three and twentith yeare of hir reigne: ſhortlie after which he was in the Julie following created duke of Albanie; and on ſaturdaie the eight and twentith day of the ſame moneth before the marriage, proclamed king by the queenes commandement, at the market croſſe of Edenborough, being married to the ſame Marie on the nine and twentith daie of the ſame moneth, in the chapell at Holie rood houſe, at fiue of the clocke in the morning: which honor he did not long

inioie.

inioie. For in the tenth of Februarie, in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred threescore and six (what by the malice of some of the nobilitie, and false persuasion of others, he was led to enter into those actions, which in the end were his owne ouerthrow, and that by such as moued him thereunto) he was miserablie slaine in a house within the towne, nere to Kirke a field.

Amies Steward duke of Leneux.

Amies Steward lord of Obigneie in France, sonne to John Steward brother to Matthew Steward earle of Leneux, being first by James the first of that name made earle of Leneux, was after by the same king made duke of Leneux; who being dead, hath left a yong sonne behind him, a gentleman of great hope, at this date liuing, inioieng the title of his father, and called duke of Leneux. Thus hauing set downe all the dukes which haue béene in Scotland, we wil descend to such Scots as haue inioied that title in a forren nation.

Lodowike Steward duke of Leneux.

That diuers of the Scots haue obteined the title and honor of dukes in forren countries.

As it is honorable to anie man to be aduanced vnto anie title of honour in his owne countrie, either for desert or fauor; whereof yet partialitie maie most commonlie be the furtherer: so is it far more honorable and remoued from all suspicion of vndeserued fauor, to be inuested with anie title of dignitie for anie cause in a forren countrie; because princes (whose hands are mostlie opened to inrich their subiects, in whose faithfull hearts their safetie is principallie inclosed) do not commonlie without singular desert aduance strangers to them by birth in an other nation, & not their native subiects, for that they are people, to whom without an especiall triall anie prince is not to commit anie portion of his kingdome, and much lesse anie part of his person. Wherefore the same being an argument of worthie desert, either for assured fidelitie to the person of such prince, or for the valour of seruice of the aduanced, when anie one is adorned with anie such title of honor, I thinke it not vnfit in this place to obscure the glorie of the Scots (who might impute the same to be maliciouslie done by me) and to omit such of their nation as haue inioied the title of dukes in a forren countrie, especiallie being now in hand with all the dukes of Scotland.

And although the number of such dukes be small, as not exceeding the figure of foure, and therefore in some mens minds might well enough be passed ouer in silence: yet carrieng a contrarie mind, in that I would not anie waie pretermit what they iustlie deserue, I will faithfullie set downe what I find recorded touching the same after this maner.

Archibald Dowglasse duke of Tourraine.

Archibald Dowglasse was created duke of Touraine in France in this sort. In the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred twentie and three as some saie, or one thousand foure hundred and six as other haue (whereof I maie not determine anie thing by reason I cannot reconcile these defaults of numbers which haue happened through the contrarietie of bookes) Charles the seuenth of that name king of France, sending ambassadors into Scotland, to renew the old league betweene the two nations of France and Scotland, and to craue aid against the English, there were ambassadors and other noble men sent likewise into France out of Scotland; with whose comming the French king being greatlie comforted, and hoping of good successe against the English by reason of the Scottish aid, he did vpon the comming of the Scots to the court creat this Archibald Dowglasse (then erle of Wighton) duke of Touraine. But that honor continued not long with him, for in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred twentie and foure, at the battell of Vernoile in Perth the English obteined the victorie, and this new duke with his sonne and heire James Dowglasse earle of Wighton was amongst others most vnfortunatlie slaine.

Archibald Dowglasse duke of Touraine.

Archibald earle Dowglasse was duke of Touraine, as I gather by the words of Lesleus touching this Archibalds sonne, of whom we will speake hereafter, and then set downe the same words of Lesleus to proue Archibald duke of Touraine, who married the earle of Crawfords daughter, by whom he had issue William earle Dowglasse, a child of foureteene yeares old which succéeded him, & one Dauid Dowglasse. After which this Archibald died at Lesselrig in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred thirtie and nine, being about the third yeare of king James the first.

William earle Dowglasse a child of foureteene yeares of age succéeded his father in his inheritances, and was after made duke of Touraine or Tourone, who being now earle Dowglasse, deliuered forth such buds of vertue, as he lent great hope to all men of his worthinesse and good successe, to his further honor and his countries benefit. But in the end their expectations were deceiued after that he was made duke of Touraine: for being puft vp in pride with those great honors, he forgot himselfe, and wrought his owne and his countries harme, whereof we will not now speake; but onelie set downe Lesleus words touching his admittance to the dukedome of Touraine. Gulielmus (which was this earle Dowglasse) Malcolmum Flemingum dominum Cummirnald & Alanū Lowder ad Carolum septimū Francorum regem misit, oratū, vt ducatu Toronensi eius patrimonia & dignitates amplificarentur: æquum enim esse contendit, vt quo ducatu Archibaldus Dowglasius (qui pro libertate Franciæ bello Vernolensi mortem oppetiuit) fruebatur * & pater illius nuper mortuus potiebatur, idem ad se quoque perueniret. Carolus non inuitus concessit, quo dono quantum illi ad honorem dignitatémque cumuli, tantum profectò ad superbiam, insolentiámque materiæ accessit. Thus much Lesle, placing the same to be done as other authors also do, in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred thirtie and nine, being about the third yeare of the reigne of James the first of that name king of Scotland. Which honor he did not long inioie, for in the yeare following being the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred and fortie, and the fourth yeare of the same king James; he was, for that he would neither obeie the gouernment of the gouernor or chancellor, bidden to a banket at Edenburgh castle, whereas when he and his brother Dauid were set at dinner, the meat was suddenlie remoued, and a buls head presented to the erle of Dowglasse, being in those daies a token that he should shortlie be executed. Immediatlie whereupon, the said earle with his brother Dauid, & Malcolme Fleming lord of Cummirnald were beheaded before the castle gate: so that this great honor séemed to those Scots which possessed the same, not much vnlike to the Setane horse, or to the honor of the dukedome of Glocester.

Lesleus. Lib. 8. pag. 292.

This proueth Archibald Dowglasse father to this William to be duke of Touraine.

James earle of Arrane being made gouernor to Marie quéene of Scots, in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred fortie and two (in which being about seuen daies old, she began the first yeare of hir vnfortunate gouernement, which I maie so rightlie terme, because she was after deposed in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred threescore and seuen, in the fiue and twentith yeare of hir reigne) was made

made duke of Chatelerault by the French king in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand fiue hundred fiftie and foure, being the twelfe yeare of the reigne of the ſame quæne Marie, of whom I haue intreated more liberallie in my diſcourſe of the protectors of of Scotland, and therefore meane not to ſpeake anie thing of that here: wherfore leauing theſe dukes, we will returne our pen to other matters done in Scotland.

This yeare there was a practiſe by forren perſons of great ſtate in Europe, to make ſome inuaſion, or at the leaſt ſome diſturbance vpon or amongſt ſuch realmes as profeſſed the goſpell, and were enimies to the Romane religion, by meanes whereof as it was ſuppoſed, manie princes inclining their heads to the popes obedience, embracing his doctrine and reſting at his diſpoſition, expected the performance of ſome actions then to be done by them in the territories of the aduerſe part, and in the realmes of ſuch princes, as not onelie oppoſed themſelues againſt the popes doctrine, but had alſo drawne their necks from the yoke of his ſubiection, in matters both of ciuill gouernement and of religion. Amongſt which princes, being commonlie termed catholiks, the duke of Guiſe a perſon of great account in France, tied nærelie in bloud to the impriſoned quæne, and to the yoong king of Scots, and ſupported with other princes purſſes, purpoſed to haue ſet full foot in Scotland, and to haue obteined the whole diſpoſition and rule of that king and kingdome. But God, in whoſe hands reſteth the ordering of princes harts, not permitting ſuch determinations to ſort to the purpoſed effect, did for that time fruſtrate the execution thereof.

For whereas the duke of Guiſe ſhould with martiall power haue inuaded, entered and poſſeſſed Scotland, there aroſe troubles and turmoiles of warres in his owne countrie of France, about the parts of Picardie and Dalphinæ, which called him from the diſpatch of that his former deuiſe, for the ſtaieng to appeaſe the ſame new inſurrection, employeng all his gathered forces thereunto, and encountring with thoſe perſons: the rigor of the ſame warres ſo weakened his ſtrength, that he was not able (without ſome new ſupplie of men and monie, which could not be had vpon the ſudden) to produce his former intent to anie effect. But yet, leaſt that the ſame intention might not ſeeme altogither to haue quailed, or that he ſhould be noted to haue made ſhew to enterprize a thing which he neither could nor would proſecute to the vttermoſt; there was ſomewhat by his meanes and furtherance attempted in Scotland, which yet in the end fell not forth in all reſpects to anſwer the erected hope of good ſucceſſe therin. For partlie by the policie of the Scots, and partlie by the ſupport of the alies and friends to the king, but altogither by the vnited ſtrength of both ſorts, the Scots rid themſelues of the ſame deuiſe, and ſince remained ſafe from the danger of the Guiſe and of his partakers.

After this the earle of Morton, ſometime regent of Scotland, being condemned to die, and readie to ſuffer that execution which was appointed vnto him, ſome perſons had conference with him about matters of great importance; on the ſame date wherein he was to ſuffer, which perſons ſo conferring with him, were John Durie, and maſter Walter Bancanquell. In which diſcourſe betwéne the earle and them theſe matters in ſubſtance amongſt manie others fell forth, in queſtions propounded by them, and in anſwers made by him in this ſort almoſt word for word, drawne into ſome ſeuerall heads and articles, as they were deliuered vnto me.

The examinations and anſwers of the *earle of Morton before his death, but* after his condemnation.

Firſt he was exhorted by them that he ſhould not be diſcouraged by his ouerthrow, in conſidering the eſtate whervnto he had bæne once called in this world, but rather remembring the glorie to come, he ſhould reioiſe and be of good comfort. Whereunto he anſwered, that as concerning all the glorie which he had in this world, he reſpected it not, becauſe he was perſuaded that all worldlie honor is but vanitie, and the broken rëed of Egypt. And as concerning the eſtate whereunto he was brought, he thanked God for it, and was at that point, that he was rather content to render his life than to liue, becauſe he knew, that as God had appointed the time for his death, ſo had he alſo appointed the manner thereof, ſæing that now was the time, and this was the manner which beſt pleaſed his God to take him in, and therefore was content. And as for his life in this world, he cared not for it, in reſpect of that immortalitie, & the euerlaſting ioy which he looked for, and whereof he was aſſured.

Secondlie, being required what was his part or knowledge in the kings * death or murther: he anſwered with this atteſtation, that as he ſhould anſwer to his Lord God, ſo he would declare all his knowledge therein: the ſum whereof was, that after his returne out of England, whither he was baniſhed for * Dauids ſlaughter, he came out of Whetherbone to Whethingham, where the erle Bothwell was at the ſame time, with whome there was communication about the kings murther, but he would not conſent therto. After which, opening a large diſcourſe thereof, laieng the cauſe, the contriuing, and the execution of the ſame in great perſons now liuing, and confeſſing that they vnderſtood thereof, and durſt not for manie cauſes reueale the ſame, neither to the king nor the kings father the earle of Lenox; he added, how that in the end he was by the law now of late conuicted of knowledge and concealing the kings murther, when as he ſhould anſwer to God he had no part or knowledge in that matter. Furthermore, ſhewing that after the earle of Bothwell was clëered of that murther by aſſiſe, that he and ſundrie of the nobilitie ſubſcribed a bond with the earle of Bothwell, that if anie ſhould laie the kings murther to his charge, he would aſſiſt him to the contrarie, and that therefore he ſubſcribed to the quænes mariage with the earle Bothwell as ſundrie other of the nobilitie did, being charged thereunto by the quænes owne writting and commandement.

* which was Henrie king of Scots, ſlaine in the yeare of Chriſt 1566, beginning the yeare at the annuntiation of the virgin. Dauid Richio the Italian, ſecretarie to the quæne, ſlaine in the yeare 1566.

Then being required in the name of the liuing God, that ſæing this murther of the king was one of the moſt filthieſt acts that euer was done in Scotland, and that the ſecrets thereof hath not hitherto bæne opened, neither who was the chæfe doer therein, or whether the king was then ſtrangled or blowne vp into the aire; that he ſhould declare if he knew anie further ſecret therein: he anſwered, that as he ſhould make anſwer to God, he knew no more ſecrets in that matter than he had alreadie declared and heard, by the depoſitions of ſuch as had alreadie ſuffered for it, which depoſitions are yet extant. Againe, being demanded if he knew anie preſentlie about the king, which were doers of that worke, by whoſe companie the king and commonwealth might be hurt: he anſwered that he knew none, neither would he accuſe anie, &c.

Thirdlie, being examined of the poiſoning of the earle of Athioults, if he had anie act or part therein:

he anſwered with good atteſtation, ſaieng; Let God neuer be mercifull vnto me, if euer I knew anie thing of that matter, or heard of it before it came to my eares by the common brute of the countrie. And being further demanded if he knew that maiſter Iohn Prouandt brought him anie poiſon; he replied that he knew no ſuch thing, and that he knew nothing by maiſter Prouandt but honeſtie, to which he more added theſe ſpæches; Fie, fie, there is ouermuch filthineſſe in Scotland alreadie, God forbid that vile practiſing of poiſoning ſhould enter among vs: I would not for all the earledome of Athuile, haue neither miniſtred poiſon to him, or cauſed it to haue bëne miniſtred, yea if there had bën one hundred on my part, and but he alone, I would not haue ſtirred one heare of his head.

Fourthlie, being demanded if he made anie conſpiracie againſt the earle of Leneux: he anſwered with like atteſtation as before, that he neuer thought in his heart, or once purpoſed anie conſpiracie againſt the earle of Leneux, neither minded to him anie hurt in bodie or otherwiſe. But it grœued him that the earle of Leneux knew not the eſtate of their countrie, nor yet perceiued the danger of the kings perſon. For being thereunto requeſted by others, ſundrie were brought home who were the kings enimies, ouerthrowers of the kingdome, and enimies to religion; whereby there was aparant danger to his perſon and the relme: all which he hoped to haue helped by counſell, when the earle of Leneux familiaritie and his ſhould haue bëne greater.

Fiftlie, being demanded whether he had anie league or dealing with England for the conueieng of the king or otherwiſe, or if he had anie penſion of the quëne of England for that purpoſe, he anſwered in theſe words: As I ſhall anſwer to God vnder paine of condemnation or ſaluation, I neuer had anie dealings with England that waie: there was neuer one in Scotland or England, neither the quëne nor anie in hir name, that euer moued anie ſuch thing to me, ſo indirectlie as to conueie the king into England; it neuer entred into my hart, I would not for all the realme of England haue put him into England, except that it had bëne for his profit and honor, &c. And for the more clëre purgation of my ſelfe in this matter I will ſaie, if euer I meant but directlie his wealth, let God neuer be mercifull vnto me; and I ſhall neuer aſke God mercie for anie thing that entred in my hart againſt the king: yea there was nothing more that I regarded in this life, than that he ſhould be brought vp in vertue and godlineſſe. And I will ſaie more. If I had bëne as carefull to ſerue God & walke in his feare, as I was to ſëke the kings wealth, I had not bëne brought to the point I am at this daie. And where they allege I was the quëne of Englands penſionarie, as I ſhall anſwer to God, I had neuer penſion of the quëne of England in all my life. And although they cauſed the brute to go, that I ſhould haue furniſhed the quëne of Englands ſouldors now laſt vpon the borders, I neuer knew of it. And laſt of all, where they allege that I ſhould haue bene a great dealer with England, I praiſe God I neuer had dealing with them, but for the weale publike of the king, his countrie, and ſubiects, &c.

Sixtlie, being demanded what was his part of the enterpriſe of the caſtell of Sterling, he anſwered, that he knew nothing of it till it was done; but being in Lochleuen, he receiued aduertiſement out of the caſtell of Sterling, and a writting from the king, that he ſhould come thither. And whereas they ſaid, that he minded to këepe the king in captiuitie there, the truth was, that he neuer meant to këepe him in captiuitie there or in anie other place. But he vnderſtood by the kings owne ſpeaking, that he was as frëe at that time as euer he was before, or deſired to be, for the preſent. And if he had knowen that his grace would haue gone to anie other place, where greater libertie had bin, he would gladlie haue gone with him.

Seuenthlie, being laid to his charge, that he was a great hinderance of the matters and authoritie of the biſhops, &c: when he might haue done much good for the furtherance of Gods glorie & aduancement of his goſpell, both in the time of his gouernement, and ſince: his anſwer was, that concerning the religion and doctrine as then it was preached and profeſſed in Scotland, he alwaies meant well in his hart to it, and acknowledged it to be the verie truth of God; inſomuch that rather than anie hurt ſhould haue come vnto the religion, he would haue ſpent his life and goods in the defenſe, like as now he was contented to die in the conſtant profeſſion thereof. But indëed as concerning ſome things in policie of the church, as the ſtate of the biſhops, and ſuch like, which were in queſtion betwëne him and the church, he did therein according to his knowledge, and follow the opinion which he thought to be beſt at that time, in conſideration of the eſtate of all things as they were. Howbeit he would not ſtand in defenſe of thoſe things which he then did, but yet he would make this proteſtation, that as he ſhould anſwer to God, he did nothing in thoſe matters either of contempt, malice, or enuie; but if there were anie things done amiſſe, it was of ignorance, and for lacke of better knowledge; and if he had knowen better, he would haue done otherwiſe, being now purpoſed at the laſt to haue holpen them ſo farre as he might.

Eightlie, he was deſired in the name of God, not to ſtand in his owne innocencie, but plainelie to confeſſe his ſinnes to Gods glorie, and to thinke, that howſoeuer it be that men haue done in this life, yet God had alwaies before him whereof he might be worthie of this and more: whereunto he yëlded this ſpeech; Howſoeuer it be that men haue done, I commit them to God and their owne conſciences. But I acknowledge indëed, that God hath alwaies done iuſtlie to me, and not onlie iuſtlie but mercifullie alſo, becauſe amongſt all the other ſinners I confeſſe my ſelfe to be one of the greateſt and filthieſt abuſers of my bodie in the pleaſures of the fleſh; and alſo to haue giuen my ſelfe ſo ouermuch to the world, to the pleaſures thereof, and to other ſinnes, that God might iuſtlie laie it to my charge, in that I exerciſed not the fruits of my profeſſion in my life and conuerſation as I ought to haue done, for which I beſeech God to be mercifull vnto me. And indëed now I acknowledge the great mercie of God in this, that amongſt all the benefits which he hath beſtowed vpon me, one of the chiefeſt is, that he hath in this my laſt trouble giuen me ſpace and leaſure to repent me of my ſinnes, and to be at a point with God. In which trouble alſo I haue found farre greater comfort than euer I could find before, becauſe I haue thereby concluded thus with my ſelfe, that if God ſhould haue ſpared my life, and deliuered me out of this trouble, I ſhould then haue caſt awaie all the cares of the world, the pleaſures of the fleſh, the delights of earthlie things, and declared my ſelfe to ſerue my God in all kind of quietneſſe and ſimplicitie. And if it ſhall pleaſe God to take me in this trouble, I am concluded alſo to be content therewith, being alwaies aſſured of the mercies of God. And for that cauſe I do now thanke God that I find my ſelfe at this point, that I am rather content to die than to liue, and that I ſhall not ſëe the miſeries to come: for I will aſſure

you that I think this to be the moſt acceptable time that euer God could haue taken me in, becauſe I perceiue and ſée ſuch miſeries and confuſions to inſue, that I thanke God that I ſhall not ſée them. And you who do feare God, and liue after me, when you ſhall ſée theſe things, you will wiſh to be where I ſhall be, that is, with him.

Ninethlie, being demanded what he thought of the forme of iudgement vſed againſt him, what his opinion therof was, whether he thought anie wrong done vnto him or no, &c: he anſwered, I would be verie loth to find fault or blame the noble men which haue taken themſelues vpon their conſciences to condemne me, but I will remit them to God and their owne conſciences; yet I am moued to ſpeake somewhat frælie in this matter which is this. I ſaw ſuch partiall dealing againſt me, that it hath bæne all one to me, if I had bæne as innocent as ſaint Stephan, or that I had bæne as giltie as Iudas was: for I perceiued there was nothing ſought but my life, howſoeuer things had bæne, which appeareth in this, that no exception of anie perſon which was to paſſe vpon my aſſiſe could be admitted: for I required the earle of Argile to purge himſelfe of partiall counſell giuen to the purſuer my accuſer; he purged himſelfe indeed, but I knew the contrarie, that he gaue partiall counſell to him. Likewiſe the lord of Wanthon, the lord of Seiton, and ſuch others, who were knowen to be my enimies, (notwithſtanding lawfull exception) were put vpon my queſt. In conſideration wherof I can not but be perſuaded of one thing, which it behoueth me to communicat vnto you, and it is thus. I perceiue it is not my life that they ſéeke onelie, but they who are authors of my death haue ſome other purpoſe in hand, which they perceiue will not be done, except I and ſuch other which do fauor the good cauſe, were taken out of the waie. Wherefore I can not but ſuſpect that I haue bæne ſo handled, and that ſuch as hereafter ſhall be put therevnto, may haue a more plaine waie to do their turne or intent: and I praie God that they which are to liue behind me ſée not the practiſe thereof, but I feare it ſore. And therefore in reſpect of this apparant danger of the common cauſe, I will giue my counſell to the king my maſter, and wiſh you in the name of God to beare it to him, the ſumme whereof is this. I perceiue that they which haue bæne the kings foes and enimies, are brought into credit & court, and they who haue bæne the maintainers of his crowne & good friends, are diſcredited and miſliked of. And likewiſe ſuch as are knowen to be papiſts, and ſuſpected to be enimies to the religion, are ouer familiar and great in credit with his maieſtie, which ſurelie can not be without great danger to the religion, and hurt to his eſtat. For which cauſe I admoniſh him in the name of God to beware of them, and to ſéeke a remedie thereof. And as he hath bene brought vp in the feare of God, and companie of good men, ſo to continue therein, and not to go backe, or elſe he hath done with it for euer. For I tell you what moueth me to ſpeake thus, which is, that the ſtate of religion in this countrie appeared neuer to be in ſuch danger, and that for this cauſe. I here laie there is a dealing put in practiſe betwéene France and England, and Monſieurs marriage with the quéene is like to be feared; if France and England bind togither, and that marriage go forward, you may eaſilie vnderſtand, that the one of them will perſuade the other to their religion, &c.

Tenthlie, being required to giue his counſell to the earle of Angus, and to ſhew him what was mæteſt to be done, ſeeing preſentlie he was in great trouble, he anſwered: I dare giue him no counſell, and I will tell you whie; to bid him come in, partlie I dare not, all men may ſée in what danger he is although he now come in: and to counſell him to abide forth I dare not, for then he ſhall loſe the kings fauour for euer, himſelfe and his heritage, friends and all; and therefore the beſt counſell that I can giue him in this matter is, that he make all meanes poſſible to purchaſe the kings fauor againe, and to ſée if he may haue anie aſſurance of his life, and that he may ſerue his God and his king trulie, and ſubmit himſelfe, and all that he hath to his maieſties goodwill: he hath done nothing yet, but it may be amended. I ſaie no more, the Lord giue him his ſpirit to follow that which is beſt.

Eleuenthlie being required to declare what was the ſumme of that admonition, which Iohn Knokes gaue him before he accepted the regiment, when he came vnto him a little before his departure, he anſwered: I ſhall tell you as far as I can remember. Firſt, he aſked of me if I knew anie thing of the kings murder, I anſwered in deed I knew nothing of it. Then he ſaid vnto me, Well God hath beautified you with manie benefits which he hath not giuen to euerie man, for he hath giuen to you riches, wiſedome and friends, and now he is to prefer you to the gouernement of this realme: and therefore in the name of God I charge you, to vſe theſe benefits aright, and better in time to come than you haue done in times paſt; firſt to Gods glorie, to the furtherance of the goſpell, to the maintenance of the church of God & of his miniſters, next for the weale of the king, his realme and true ſubiects: which if you ſhall not do, God ſhall ſpoile you of theſe benefits, and your end ſhall be ignominie & ſhame. Then being inquired if he ſaid true or no, he anſwered: I haue found it true, and yet I doubt not but the Lord will be merciſull vnto me.

Twelfelie, being demanded for what cauſe he held ſome of the neighbours of Edenburgh in ward, he anſwered: Surelie I meant no euill to thoſe men, but it was done in this reſpect: we had the matter of Bulzoine then in hand, and I was informed that they were hinderers therof, for which cauſe I thought it beſt at that time to put them in ward for a while vntill the turne had bæne done. And if I did them anie wrong, I craue forgiueneſſe of them as I forgiue all men.

Thirtenthlie, being required to declare if hée knew before hand that he ſhould be accuſed of this matter or no, he anſwered: I was aduertiſed in déed, and might haue eſcaped, but I would not, truſting alwaie vnto mine innocencie, and therefore ſuppoſed that they would not condemne me vpon ſuch a thing. After this, the ſaid earle with the foreſaid Iohn Durie and Walter Balcanquall did togither call to God by earneſt praier, which being ended the earle ſaid vnto vs (meaning the ſaid Durie and Balcanquall who as I gather were the penners of this matter) I thanke you hartilie for your comfort which you haue offered to me, for now in déed is greateſt néed of comfort, and therefore as you haue begun, I praie you to continue with me: for now that I am come to the knowledge of mine owne ſinnes, there reſteth onlie two things which I craue of you, that is firſt that you will ſhew vnto me ſome kind of argument, whereby I maie be comforted againſt naturall death, becauſe the fleſh is fearefull and weake; whoſe deſire we trauelled to ſatiſfie by long conference, which is too long to reherſe in euerie point, yet the ſumme of that was thus. It was ſaid vnto him that there were three things chéefelie which might make him aſſured of the mercie of God in Chriſt: firſt the innumerable and comfortable promiſes of God conteined in his word, whereunto

it behoued him alwaies to leane. Secondlie the example of Gods mercie practised towards his owne seruants, albeit they haue bene great sinners; as appeared in Dauid, Magdalen, Peter, and the theefe, &c. Thirdlie the often experiences of Gods mercies from time to time, which he had found in his owne person, being a light to assure him of his mercie. In the end he answered to this, saieng: I know it to be true, for since I past to Dunbarton I haue read the fiue bookes of Moses, Iosue, the Iudges, and now I am in Samuell, and will tell you what I haue found there. I see that the mercie of God is wonderfull, and alwaies inclined to haue pittie vpon his owne people: for there it appeareth that although he punished them so oft as they sinned, yet as soone as they turned againe to him, he was mercifull vnto them, and when they sinned againe he punished them, and as often as they repented he was mercifull againe, and therefore I am assured, that albeit that I haue offended against my God, yet he will be mercifull vnto me. Also further in this point it was said vnto him, that in case sathan should trauell to discourage him in consideration of the iustice of God on the one part, and of his sinnes on the other part, we exhorted him to the contrarie, to be of good courage, and that in respect of the verie selfe same iustice of God, which will not suffer him twise to take paiment for one thing, as we know in the common dealing of men: for he that is a iust man will not twise demand paiment of that whereof he was alredie paid, for sith Christ died for our sinnes, and paid the vttermost farthing that God could craue, he cannot laie our sinnes vnto our charge being satisfied in Christ, because his iustice will not suffer him twise to take paiment for one thing. Vnto this the earle answered, Truelie it is verie good.

And concerning the naturall feare of death, we exhorted him to be alwaies exercised in the consideration of the glorie, ioie, and felicitie of the life to come, which would be the onlie waie to swallow vp the feare of this naturall death. Wherevnto he answered, I praise God I do so. This being thus done, and he hauing in his hand a prettie treatise of the meditation of death, written by Bradford (which he said that he had gotten from the ladie Dymetton before he went into ward, and for that cause before he came forth of prison againe gaue it to maister Lawson, desiring him to deliuer it to the said ladie againe) he willed maister Walter to read him a peece thereof, which he did, in which reading (hauing sundrie conferences vpon the thing read) both he and we found great comfort, in so much that he said; I protest now that I heare with other eares than I did before. Wherewith being called to breakefast, he earnestlie desired vs to take part with him (as we did) at what time he eat his meat with great cheerefulnesse, as all the companie saw, and as appeared by these his words: I see there is great difference (said he) betweene a man which is troubled with the cares of the world, and him which is free from them, the which I haue found by these two former nights: for before mine accusation, I could not in things find anie rest by reason of cares which I had, because I was to be accused vpon the morrow; and therefore being carefull to answer euerie point that should be laid vnto my charge I could not sleepe: but this night, after that I was condemned, and knew that I should die, I was at a point with my selfe, and had nothing of this world, nor care of this life, but cast my onelie care vpon God, and I praise God I neuer slept better in my life than I did this night. Then he said vnto the steward, Will iam you can beare me record of this; who answered, It is true my lord. Then maister Walter said vnto him, My lord I will drinke to you vpon a condition, vpon this condition my lord, that you and I shall drinke together in the kingdome of heauen, of that immortall drinke which shall neuer suffer vs to thirst againe. Wherevnto the earle answered, Truelie I will pledge you maister Walter on the same condition. After which he said, Iohn Durie, now Iohn I will drinke to you vpon the same condition. This thus ended for that time, and thanks being giuen to God, the earle passed againe to his chamber, at what time maister James Lawson came to him, with whom he considered the substance of all other things againe. After this we departed from him.

Then at afternoone we came to him againe, with sundrie of the brethren of the ministerie, as maister Iames Lawson, maister Robert Poinct, Dauid Fargasone, maister Dauid Hensa, Iohn Brand, maister Iames Garnichiell, and maister Iohn Dauison, whom the earle receiued verie louinglie in his arms, and said to him; Maister Iohn you wrote a little booke indeed, but truelie I meant neuer euill towards you in my mind, forgiue me, and I forgiue you: vpon which words maister Iohn was moued with teares. Then all the brethren being present, the earle reported againe the cheefe substance of all the things whereof before he spake, being demanded thereof point by point, as their testification of this matter subscribed by them at more length will declare. After which the earle was called to his dinner about two of the clocke in the afternoone, who being thus at his dinner, the brethren of the ministerie were informed that there was inuist report made of his profession to the king, & that he should haue confessed much otherwise than he did, whereby the king might haue a worse opinion of him. Wherefore they thought good to send down some before his suffering to informe his maiestie of the truth of his confession: which persons so sent were Dauid Fargasone, Iohn Durie, and Iohn Brand, who before his death did largelie tell the simple truth of his confession (as it was made) vnto the kings maiestie. At their returning the earls keeper required him that he would come forth to the scaffold, wherevnto the earle answered; Sith they haue thus troubled me ouermuch this daie with worldlie things, I supposed that they should haue giuen me one nights leisure to haue aduised my selfe with my God. Then the keeper said, All things are redie now my lord, and I thinke they will not staie. The earle replied, I am redie also I praise God: and so comfortable prater being made, the earle passed downe to the gate, minding to go directlie to the scaffold; but the earle of Arrane staied him, brought him backe againe to the chamber, and willed him to staie vntill his confession should be put in writing & subscribed with his owne hand. Wherevnto the ministers which were present answered, and the earle also answered: Naie my lord, I prate you trouble me no more with these things, for now I haue another thing to muse vpon, which is to prepare me for my God. And sith I am at a point to go to my death, I can not write in the estate wherein I now am; and all these honest men can testifie what I haue spoken in that matter. With which answer the earle of Arrane being satisfied, he said to him, My lord you will be reconciled with me, for I haue done nothing vpon anie particular quarell against you. The earle of Morton replied, It is no time now to remember quarels, I haue no quarell to you nor to anie other, I forgiue you and all others as I would you forgaue me. And so after with a good courage he passed to the scaffold, who being vpon the scaffold, repeated in few words the substance of the things before confessed, & adding some exhortation to the people which he spake not before, in this sort.

Sure

Sure I am the king shall lose a good seruant this daie, and so he exhorted the people, saieng: I testifie before God, that as I professe the gospell which this daie is taught & professed in Scotland: so also now I willinglie laie downe my life in the persecution thereof. And albeit I haue not walked according thereunto as I ought, yet I am assured that God will be mercifull vnto me; and I charge you all in God which are professors of the gospell, that you continue the true professing and mainteining thereof to your power, as I would haue done God willing with my life, lands, and goods as long as I had liued: which if you do, I assure you God shall be mercifull vnto you; but if you do it not, be sure the vengeance of God shall fall vpon you, both in bodie and soule. As concerning all the rest of the words which he had vpon the scaffold, he spake them in effect and more amplie before. When all these speaches were ended vpon the scaffold, a comfortable prater was made by maister John Lawson, during the time of which prater, the erle Morton laie grouelling vpon his face before the place of execution, his bodie making great reboundings with sighes and sobs, being euident signes of the inward and mightie working of the spirit of God, as all they which were present, and knew what it was to be earnestlie moued in prater, might easilie perceiue.

The prater being ended, and sundrie comming to him before his death, he did most louinglie receiue them; who after he had taken vs all by the hand that were about him, & bidden vs farewell in the Lord, he passed both constantlie, patientlie, and humblie (without feare of death) to the place of execution, and laid his necke vnder the axe being vnbound. And there maister Walter putting him alwaies in mind to call vpon God; the earle continuallie cried vntill his head was striken off, Lord Jesus receiue my spirit, Lord Jesus receiue my spirit: which words he spake euen while the axe fell on his necke. Now what soeuer he had béene before, he constantlie died the seruant of God. And howsoeuer it be that his foes alleged, that as he liued proudlie, so he died proudlie; the charitable seruants of God could perceiue nothing in him but all kind of humilitie in his death: insomuch that we are assured, that his soule is receiued into the ioies and glories of the heauens; and we praie God, that they which are behind, maie learne by his example to die in the true feare of God our Lord. ¶ Thus far the confession & death of the earle Morton, penned by such of the presbyterie as were present thereat.

Castral. 423.

1581

In a parlement holden in Edenburgh the eight & twentith of Januarie, in this yeare one thousand fiue hundred fourescore and one, being the fourtéenth of the kings reigne, were matters established, touching the ecclesiasticall gouernement, whereof I meane not fullie to set downe the same, sith my pen & purpose is bent to treat of politicall and not spirituall causes. Wherefore onelie determining but slenderlie, and by the waie to touch that matter, set forth in print at Cambridge, vnder the stampe of Thomas Thomas, printer for that vniuersitie, in this yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred foure score and six, we saie that the same booke, published by the Scots (and intituled, A generall confession of the true christian faith and religion, according to Gods word and our acts of parlement subscribed by the kings maiestie and his household, with diuerse others, &c.) hath further, after the preface thereof this title giuen vnto it. The estates of Scotland with the inhabitants of the same, professing Christ Jesus & his holie Gospell, to their naturall countriemen and to all other realmes & nations, professing the same Jesus Christ with them, wish grace, mercie, and peace from God the father of our Lord Jesus Christ, with the spirit of righteous iudgement of saluation.

A declaration of the Scotish faith, published and confirmed by the king.

After which title and salutation, the substance of the same booke, being declared in the forhead of the chapters following, conteineth these heads: First of God, then of the creation of man, next of originall sinne, fourthlie of the reuelation of the promise of the continuance, increase, and preseruation of the church, of the incarnation of Christ Jesus, why it becommeth the mediator to be verie God and man, of election, of Christes death, passion, and burtall, of his resurrection, of his ascension, of faith in the Holie-ghost, of the cause of good works, what works are reputed good before God, of the perfection of the law and the imperfection of man, of the church, of the immortalitie of soules, of the notes by which the true church is discerned from the false, and who shall be iudge of the doctrine, of the authoritie of the scriptures, of generall councels, of their power, authoritie & cause of their conuention, of the sacraments, of the right administration of the sacraments, to whome sacraments apperteine, of the ciuill magistrat, and of the gifts freelie giuen to the church, &c.

The discourse of all which matters, being in that booke largelie and iudiciallie handled, both for the declaration of the faith of those people, and for the further instruction of others, were shortlie after the agréement thereunto in that parlement confirmed by the king, and commanded to be published and vsed through his realme, as appeareth by this his following precept concerning the same.

The kings maiesties charge to all *commissioners and ministers* within his realme.

SEeing that we and our household haue subscribed & giuen this publike confession of our faith, to the good example of our subiects, we command and charge all commissioners and ministers to craue the same confession of their parishioners, and to procéed against the refusers according to our lawes, and order of the church; deliuering their names and lawfull processe to the ministers of our house, with all hast and diligence, vnder the paine of fortie pounds to be taken from their stipend: that we with the aduise of our councell may take order with such proud contemners of God, and our lawes. Subscribed with our hand at Holier-od house one thousand fiue hundred foure score and one, the second daie of March, the fourtéenth yere of our reigne.

Religion thus setled in Scotland, it fell hereupon that Amies duke of Leneux, to which honor he was not long before aduanced, as is alreadie set downe in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred three score and nineténe, was now in this yeare vpon displeasure, conceiued against him by others of the nobilitie, banished Scotland, and inforced to returne into France, there to passe the rest of his life as he had done before. In whose exile was performed an old prophesie, which I haue heard, that a nag of fiue shillings should beare all the dukes of England and Scotland. For when this duke was out of the Scotish kingdome, there was neither duke in that countrie or England. But as I greatlie fauor not these things, so yet finding manie of them to sort to vnhappie successe; I cannot altogither condemne them, especiallie sith I find two other which concerning the last duke of England, being the duke of Summerset, did prognosticat both the aduancement of religion by him, and that he should

1582

The duke of Leneux banished.

A digression touching the duke of Summerset.

not long keepe his head on his shoulders, after that he began to make his stately buildings. Of which prophetical verses declaring the same, the first was,

[a] Cessabit missa cùm regnat equa marina.

[a] The mare of the sea, which backward is sea-mare.

The other prophesie mentioning his name of honor was in this sort, as also the time of his fall:

[b] Aestatis sedes cùm scandis ad alta per ædes,
Pro certo credes quòd caput perdere debes.

[b] Cummers seat, or Summerset.

And to prove that Summerset was manie yeres past called in Latine Aestatis sedes, I find this matter in Roger Wall, sometime an herald living in the time of Henrie the fift, who named him accordinglie, when the said author excusing himselfe of all eloquence, and complaining of his owne rudenesse, sent his booke to D. John Summerset to correct; which doctor being the kings schoolemaster and physician, a great learned man well séene in the mathematikes, one that had written much therin, and verie eloquent also, was (as this Roger Wall thought) most meet to haue the oversight of his workes: which matter is set downe in the latter end of the same worke of the acts of Henrie the fift.

v. Castrat. 434. 435.

Roger Wall submitteth his worke to the censure of D. John Summerset.

Vecors, inculta, pauper & pannosa pagina, video quia nuditatem, pauperiem, ac ruditatem tuam expauescens patefaci: ad hoc immensæ verecundiæ terrore ducta in lustralibus latebris, & abditis desertis, & inuijs latitare decreuisti, fortassis tamen, si quenquam reperies qui nuditatem tuam operire, pauperiem tuam locupletare, & ruditatem tuam reformare dignaretur, indutura fores animositatis spiritum processura in lucem. Eia igitur consilijs meis adquiescere non deseras: & meis monitis edocta, doctorem glorioſum inuenies, qui* Aestatis sedes glorioſum cognomẽ sortitus est, &c. Supplica igitur pauperrima pagina pauperibus illis, vt tibi Aestatis sedem velint ostendere, &c. After which this Wall setteth downe the supplication, which his booke should dedicat to this doctor (when he hath found him) in these verses, beginning also with the same name of Aestatis sedes, in English Summerseat:

*Summerseat.

v. Castrat. 435.

Fertilis Aestatis florida sedes,
Morum multiplici luce refulgens,
Gloria doctorum gemma scientum,
Eloquij pelagus, lux medicina,
Pectore cœlesti cœlica condens,
Præradians alijs lumine mentis,
Cui patet astrorum candida turba,
Et motus primi mobilis orbis,
Nec latet eiusdem mira rapina,
Quid flammiuomus ignis in orbe,
Aereique sinus abdyta nosti? &c.

v. Castrat. 435

Thus having expressed the words and verses of Roger Wall, which in Latine termed some hundred yeares passed (as you haue heard before) the name of Summerset by the words of Aestatis sedes, I haue trulie béene the willinger to set downe the same by waie of digression (besides the former declared causes which moued me thereunto) for that I would not suffer so worthie a man as that John Summerset was to be buried in oblivion.

v. Castrat. 435.

But leaving our Englishmen, let vs returne to the affaires of Scots and Scotland: intreating first of some thing done by them in the low countries, where one Steward a Scot, having had charge of men in some part of the low countries of Flanders, Zeland, and Holland, vnder William of Nassaw, earle of Aurange, did now fall from the states of that countrie, emploie all his force on the king of Spaines side, and went to assist the prince of Parma (the deputie of king Philip in those parts) because the states did not paie to him and his soldiors their due stipend and wages for the wars. At what time also the garison of Bzurels were for the like cause in an vproze. But some portion of monie being offered vnto them, they were for that time somewhat pacified. All which notwithstanding, one certeine Scot, called Lichfield, & surnamed Semple, being capteine of the garison of Lire, and long vnpaied his sallarie for those warres, did in vaine manie times demand that monie due vnto him. Wherupon, imagining with himselfe how he might deceiue Hietfield the gouernour of the citie, as they had beguiled him in deteining of his due, he deuised with a new stratagem to bring this towne into the subiection of Philip king of Spaine. Wherefore, feining him selfe that he would in the middest of the night with his people go forth to bring home some great bootie for his and the townes benefit, he departed the towne, and late in the night gathered together a great preie of catell, horses, oxen, kine, sheepe, and such like, with some prisoners of the kings part. All which he brought to the towne gate of Lire, and then commanded the gates to be opened vnto him, whereby they with their bootie might enter all at once. But the porter fearing at such time of night to set the gates fall abrode, onelie opened a little wicket or doze, thereby to receiue Semple into the towne. Which thing Semple then perceiuing (& not finding all things to answer his expectation) feined that the enimies were hard at their backs, would kill them all, and recouer their bootie, vnlesse he did speedilie open the great gate, through the same to receiue them into the towne all at once. Then the porter beléeuing all this to be true, forthwith set open the great gates of the citie; which done, the Scot entereth thereat, slue those which kept the watch, possessed the towne, & into the same receiued the kings souldiors, which were not farre behind, but secretlie laie in wait expecting the successe of this deuise. By which meanes the Spaniards and their followers first woone the market place, and the next daie after the kalends of August reduced the whole towne of Lire vnder their owne subiection: the same Lire being a place well fensed, and set in such a conuenient soile, that it would prohibit all passage and carriage to come to Antwerpe, Mechelin and Bzurels.

The Spaniards obteine Lire by a stratagem deuised by the Scots.

v. Castr. 436.

In March was renewed a great & old contention betweene the lord Marwell earle Morton warden of the west marches of Scotland, and the lard of Johnstane; the occasion of which new dissention proceeded of an old enimitie begun in the time of Dowglasse earle Morton beheaded, as before in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred eightie and one, touching the receiuing of the same wardenship. In which hurlie burlie the lard of Johnstane behaued himselfe verie rigorouslie against the lord Marwell, in blowing vp with gunpowder the locks of the castell of Lochmaben. Which dissention secretlie after the death of Dowglasse earle Morton, continuing betweene the lord Marwell and Johnstane, with further increase of malice, they in this yeere sought a fresh reuenge thereof, sith the lard Johnstane had not (before this) either power or meanes to incounter with the lord Marwell. But now the ladie Johnstane (being verie familiar and fauored with and of James Steward earle of Arrane) obteined of the king some succors of men of warre against the lord Marwell earle Morton, hir husband (as was supposed) not being able otherwise to make his part good against the same earle. Wherupon capteine Lamie and capteine Gzanestane were sent with two companies of hackbuts vnto the releefe of the lard of Johnstane. Who being thus furnished, did in the kings name raise the nobilitie and countrie thereabout to assist him with their powers: which being had, he meant and therefore went to haue ioined with the said two capteines Lamie and Gzanestane. But as man purposeth, and God disposeth

1583

A contention betweene the earle Morton and the lard Johnstane.

Ladie Johnstane hath aid of the king.

Surius in cõmen. de reb. in orbe, histor. pa. 1092.

quite

quite contrarie to our determination. So the lard Johnſtane was diſappointed of that meeting; for the earle Morton (whoſe heedfull watch was not idle in learning out the deuiſes of his enimies, a needfull policie for all ſuch as intend to bring great actions to effect) hauing intelligence by ſome of his friends tendering his ſafetie, of this determination and preparation of the lard Johnſtane, and wiſelie (as behoued him) ſeeing what danger might riſe vnto him, if their two forces met, which would riſe to a greater number than he were able to incounter, and iudging it beſt in the beginning to prouide for miſchiefe, and to ſtop their paſſage, did prepare to preuent all their deuiſes, and for that cauſe ſent his baſe brother Robert Marwell capteine of Langholme with ſome horſſemen and footmen vnder the conduct of James Fraiſer brother to the lord of Fulloth, which Robert meeting on Craiford mere with the foreſaid capteins Lamie and Craneſtane, before that they had ioined with the lard Johnſtane gaue the charge vpon them, and that ſo fiercelie as they ouerthrew the whole ſtrength of his enimies, ſlue Lamie, tooke Craneſtane priſoner, and ſo handled the matter that all the reſt were taken or ſlaine except ſome few, who ſought their liues by the benefit of flieng. After which victorie the report thereof came to the lard Johnſtane, who deſirous to be reuenged thereof, vſed the helpe of other meanes when he perceiued that force would not preuaile. And for that cauſe aſſembling ſuch power as he had, he vſed the ſtrength of one element againſt an other, of the higheſt againſt the loweſt, of the heauen againſt the earth, of the fire againſt mettall, and of burning againſt fighting. For with all ſpeed he haſtened to the lands of the earle Morton, which he cruellie ſpoiled, and in the ſame did burne certeine houſes and other places belonging to the earle, as Comers trees, Duncoll, Colwhill, and ſuch like. Whereupon the earle Morton, who in like ſort did not neglect his owne cauſe, but as opportunitie ſerued, ſought the requitall thereof, did with the like furie, but with more hurt, enter the lands of Johnſtane, vtterlie ſpoiled them, and yet not ſo ſatiſfied, committed to the fire both the caſtels of Louchhouſe and Louchwood belonging to Johnſtane, and ſlue ſundrie gentlemen of name, the friends to Johnſtane, being perſons of good ſort, as the two brothers of Lokierbie, a brother of the lord Wanefraie, ſome of the ſons of John of Johnſtane of Holgill, with others. Which done, the earle Morton proceeded vnto further purſute, and determining fullie to reuenge himſelfe vpon Johnſtane, and his followers, forced the lard Johnſtane himſelfe to flie his furie. Wherefore he fled to a ſtrong houſe called the Bonſhaw caſtell belonging to Edward Prwine of the Bonſhaw, whome the earle purſued, and beſieged in the ſame place, at what time he ſo battered the caſtell with artillerie, that the houſe was almoſt gotten. Which being perceiued of thoſe within, not able to make further reſiſtance, they fell to parlée, and ſo to compoſition; whereby in the end the matter was wholie compounded and ended betweéne them, by the mediation and furtherance of the lord Scrope of England, with certeine conditions to be performed as well on the part of the earle as of the lard Johnſtane. But the coles of inward griefe being couered with cold aſhes of outward reconcilliation, did not long lie couered, but in the end began afreſh to ſhew their fire. For the lard Johnſtane falling from the ſaid accord, vpon what occaſion I know not, either for cauſe giuen by the earle Morton, or for an euill diſpoſition in himſelfe, or for both, they burſt forth againe into the like conflicts & part taking, which in the end falling to the worſt,

Robert Marwell baſe brother to earle Morton ſent againſt capteine Lamie.

Capteine Lamie & Craneſtane ouerthrowen.

The caſtels Louchhouſe and Louchwood burnt.

The lard Johnſtane forced to flie.

The lord Scrope compounded the contention betweéne earle Morton and the lard Johnſtane.

for the lard Johnſtane, he was taken betwéen Tinwall and the Warden ditches (where he was laid in ambuſh to haue performed ſome action againſt the ſaid Robert Marwell comming from the towne of Domfreies to Laugham from the earle Morton his brother) by William Carrutheris (baron of Holmence and capteine of the kings caſtell named Traiſe) being by the earle Morton appointed to incounter with the ſaid lard Johnſtane: which this baron was the more willing to do, becauſe he intirelie loued the earle, and had alwaies from the beginning followed the earles faction.

The lard Johnſtane taken.

These things thus performed and the ſucceſſe therof comming to the kings knowledge, he grew ſo heauilie diſpleaſed with the earle Morton, that he was ſcarſe able to ſuſteine the kings diſpleaſure, by reaſon that the earle attempted theſe things againſt the kings mind, when the king had ſupported the lard Johnſtane with men and weapons. But the kings diſpleaſure onlie growing againſt the earle, was partlie for that the earle of Arrane did bitterlie exaſperat the cauſe againſt him, and partlie by the perſuaſion & lamentation of the ladie of Johnſtane, whereof the laſt was enimie to the earle, as of dutie ſhe ought in reſpect of hir huſband, and the firſt (which was the earle of Arrane) became a bitter and heauie enimie beſides all reaſon againſt earle Morton, becauſe that Morton refuſed to exchange the baronies of Poke and Marwell Hewch with Arrane, which moſt inſtantlie required the ſame, in reſpect they adioined neere vnto other lands which Arrane had procured to himſelfe. For although that Arrane would in place of thoſe required lands haue deliuered others of no leſſe value and honor (for he would haue giuen the baronie of Kinneile for the ſame) yet Morton had good cauſe and no leſſe reaſon not to yeeld therevnto: as well for that Marwell Hewch was his ancient inheritance, and the firſt land which his anceſtors had, and whereof they tooke the name of lord Marwell; as for that, that there were manie of the ſurname of the Marwels, who dwelling vpon theſe lands, would not become ſubiect to the earle of Arrane, as they muſt haue beene if he had departed with thoſe lands; amongſt which Marwels ſo refuſing to become tenants to Arrane, were John Marwell lard of Newarke, and William Marwell lard of Poke.

The king diſpleaſed with earle Morton for the cauſe of the lard Johnſtane.

The earle of Arrane would exchange lands with the earle Morton.

The Marwels would not be ſubiect to the earle of Arrane.

This thus handled, the king aſſembled a parlement in Paie, wherein were certeine lawes enacted, which giuing occaſion to ſome of the nobilitie and clergie to miſconceiue thereof, and to depart the realme, did after miniſter cauſe to the king (for the more diſcharge of his honour, the better explaining of the ſaid lawes, and the manifeſting of ſecret practiſes againſt him) to ſet downe this following declaration thereof to the view of the world. Wherin he ſhewed himſelfe of a rare and good diſpoſition, in that he would humble himſelfe beneath the maieſtie of his crowne, publikelie to render a reaſon to his neighbours and to his ſubiects of his dealings, towards ſuch as were vnder his gouernment, ſith he was not bound therevnto, being to diſpoſe of thoſe his ſubiects according to the lawes of his realme and the cuſtomes of thoſe countries. But before I ſet downe that declaration, I thinke it not vnmeet to ſaie ſomewhat of ſuch things as went before, and were the cauſe of ſetting forth of the ſame declaration. There were ſome lawes in the ſame parlement enacted for the reformation of religion, which to the king ſeemed to be growne ouer dangerous, in ſéeking a certeine equalitie of gouernment in the eccleſiaſticall hierarchie. Upon which law eſtabliſhed, the earles of Angus and Mar, with diuers others of the temporaltie and the ſpiritualtie,

as

as Andrew Melvine, and ſuch as profeſſed the purer and reformed religion (as it was termed) were inforced for the vſe of their conſcience and for other cauſes, to baniſh themſelues from their countrie, and to flie into England there to vſe the libertie of their religion, and to prouide for the ſafetie of their perſons, who comming into this realme, made their abode and ſoiourned at Norwich. About which time alſo of their departure out of Scotland, there was a ſuppoſed treaſon diſcouered by Robert Hamilton vnto the king, intended to be practiſed againſt his maieſtie, whereupon ſome were ſummoned vpon ſuſpicion, ſome were apprehended, and ſome were executed for the ſame cauſe. Of the firſt ſort, the lord Blakater and George Dowglaſſe were ſummoned to the court vpon ſuſpicion that they were conſenting and conceling to and of the ſame treaſons. For the ſecond part touching the ſame, the lord of Donthaſell, the lord of Dunkreth, the lord of Baithkict, Robert Hamilton of Inchmachan, and James Sterling, were apprehended at the kings court: beſides which John Hopingell of the Mores was taken at his owne houſe by the capteine of the kings gard, and the lord Keier with the lord Paius and other gentlemen were taken about Sterling; and laſtlie the lord Donthaſell and the lord Paius were executed, with the lord Ruthwine earle of Gowrike, treaſuror of Scotland, who was beheaded in Scotland. Which being thus done, the king as is before ſaid made this following declaration vpon the ſaid acts of parlement, in which he ſheweth reaſon and cauſe why he ought and might both make and execute thoſe lawes, with a further explanation alſo of the ſame lawes deliuered in that declaration with theſe words.

The kings maieſties declaration of his *acts confirmed in parlement.*

FOr as much as there is ſome euill affected men that goeth about ſo farre as in them lieth, to inuent lies and tales to ſlander and impaire the kings maieſties fame and honor, & to raiſe reports as if his maieſtie had declined to papiſtrie, & that he had made manie acts to aboliſh the free paſſage of the goſpell, good order and diſcipline in the church: which brutes are mainteined by rebellious ſubiects, who would gladlie couer their ſeditious enterpriſes vnder pretenſe of religion (albeit there can be no good religion in ſuch as raiſe rebellion to diſquiet the ſtate of their natiue ſouereigne, and periuredlie doth ſtand againſt the oth, band, & obligation of their faith, whereunto they haue ſubſcribed) therfore that his maieſties faithfull ſubiects be not abuſed with ſuch ſlanderous reports, and his highneſſe good affectionat friends in other countries mate vnderſtand the verities of his vpright intention, his highneſſe hath commanded this breefe declaration of certeine of his maieſties acts of parlement holden in Maie one thouſand fiue hundred foure ſcore and foure, to be publiſhed and imprinted, to the effect that the indirect practiſes of ſuch as ſlander his maieſtie and his lawes maie be detected and diſcouered.

In the firſt act his maieſtie ratifieth and approueth the true profeſſion of the goſpell, ſincere preaching of the word and adminiſtration of the ſacraments, preſentlie by the goodneſſe of God eſtabliſhed within this realme, and alloweth of the confeſſion of the faith ſet downe by act of parlement the firſt yere of his maieſties reigne. Likewiſe his highneſſe not onlie profeſſeth the ſame in all ſinceritie, but (praiſed be God) is come to that ripeneſſe of iudgement by reading and hearing the word of God, that his highneſſe is able to conuince and ouerthrow by the doctrine of the prophets and apoſtles the moſt learned of the contrarie ſect. So that (as Plato affirmeth that common wealth to be counted happie wherein a philoſopher reigneth, or he that reigneth is a philoſopher) we maie much more eſteeme this countrie of Scotland to be fortunate, wherein our king is a diuine, and whoſe hart is repleniſhed with the knowledge of the heauenlie philoſophie: for the comfort not onlie of his good ſubiects and friends in other countries but of them that profeſſeth the goſpell euerie where, he being a king of great wiſedome, and by his birth right borne to great poſſeſſions; but much more his highneſſe, vertue, godlineſſe and learning, and dailie increaſe of all heauenlie ſciences, doth promiſe and aſſure him of the mightie protection of God, and fauour of all them that feare his holie name.

In the ſecond act his maieſties totall authoritie ouer all eſtates both ſpirituall and temporall is confirmed: which act ſome of malice, and ſome of ignorance doth traduce, as if his maieſtie pretended to be called the head of the church, a name which his maieſtie acknowledgeth to be proper and peculiar to the ſonne of God the ſauiour of the world, who is the head, and beſtoweth life ſpirituall vpon the members of his myſticall bodie, and he hauing receiued the holie ſpirit in all abundance, maketh euerie one of the faithfull partakers thereof, according to the meaſure of faith beſtowed vpon them, of the which number of the faithfull vnder the head Chriſt, his maieſtie acknowledgeth himſelfe to be a member baptiſed in his name, partaker of the miſterie of the croſſe and holie communion, and attending with the faithfull for the comming of the Lord and the finall reſurrection of Gods elect. And notwithſtanding his maieſtie ſurelie vnderſtandeth by the ſcriptures, that he is the cheefe and principall member appointed by the law of God, to ſee God glorified, vice puniſhed and vertue mainteined within his realme: and the ſouereigne iudgment of a godlie quietneſſe & order in the common wealth, to apperteine to his highneſſe care and ſolicitude. Which power and authoritie of his highneſſe, certeine miniſters being called before his maieſtie for their ſeditious and factious ſermons in ſtirring vp the people to rebellion againſt their natiue king (by the inſtigation of ſundrie vnquiet ſpirits) would in no wiſe acknowledge but diſclaime his maieſties authoritie as an incompetent iudge: and eſpeciallie one called maiſter Andrew Melvin of a ſalt and fierie humor, vſurping the pulpit of Saundois, without anie lawfull calling, and priuie at that time to certeine conſpiracies attempted againſt his maieſtie and crowne, went about in a ſermon vpon a ſundaie, to inflame the harts of the people by odious compariſons of his maieſties progenitors and councell, albeit the dutie of a faithfull preacher of the goſpell be rather to exhort the people to obedience of their natiue king, and not by popular ſermons (which hath beene the euerſion and decaie of great cities and common wealths, and hath greatlie in times paſt bred diſquietneſſe to the ſtate thereby) to trouble and perturbe the countrie. The ſaid maiſter Andrew being called before his highneſſe, preſumptuouſlie anſwered that he would not be iudged by the king and councell, becauſe he had ſpoken the ſame in pulpit, which pulpit in effect he alleged to be exempted from the iudgement and correction of princes, as if that holie place ſanctified to the word of God and to the breaking of the bread of life, might be anie colour to anie ſedition in word or deed againſt the lawfull authoritie, without puniſhment. Alwaies his maieſtie (being of himſelfe a moſt gratious prince) was not willing to haue vſed

ſed anie rigor againſt the ſaid maiſter Andrew, if he had humblie ſubmitted himſelfe, acknowledged his offenſe, and craued pardon: who notwithſtanding afraid of his owne giltineſſe, being priuie to diuers conſpirators before, fled out of the realme, whoſe naughtie & preſumptuous refuſing of his highneſſe iudgement, was the occaſion of the making of this ſecond act: that is, that none ſhould decline from his highneſſe authoritie, in reſpect that the common prouerbe beareth *Ex malis moribus bonæ leges natæ ſunt*, which is, that Of euill maners good lawes proceed. And in verie deed it wanteth not anie right intollerable arrogancie in anie ſubiect called before his prince, profeſſing and authoriſing the ſame truth, to diſclaime his authoritie, neither do the prophets, apoſtles, or others (conducted by the ſpirit of God) miniſter the like example: for it is a great error to affirme (as manie do) that princes and magiſtrats haue onlie power to take order in ciuill affaires, and that eccleſiaſticall matters do onelie belong to the miniſterie.

By which meanes the pope of Rome hath exempted himſelfe and his cleargie from all iudgment of princes, and he made himſelfe to be iudge of iudges, and to be iudged of no man: whereas by the contrarie, not onelie by the example of the godlie gouernors, iudges, and kings of the old teſtament; but alſo by the new teſtament, and the whole hiſtorie of the primitiue church, in which the emperors being iudges ouer the biſhops of Rome, depoſed them from their ſeats, appointed iudges to decide and determine cauſes eccleſiaſticall, and challenge innocent men, as Athanaſius from the determination of the councell holden at Tirus, and by infinit good reaſons which ſhall be ſet downe by the grace of God in an other ſeuerall worke, and ſhall be ſufficientlie proued and verified. But this appéreth at this preſent to be an vntimelie and vnprofitable queſtion, which hath no ground vpon their part, but of the prepoſterous imitation of the pretended iuriſdiction of the pope of Rome. For if there were anie queſtion of this land of hereſie, whereby the profound myſteries of the ſcriptures behoued to be ſearched forth, his maieſtie would vſe the ſame remedie (as moſt expedient) which the moſt godlie emperors haue vſed: and his maieſtie following their example would allow the councell of learned paſtors, that by conference of ſcriptures the veritie might be opened, and hereſie repreſſed.

But God be thanked, we haue no ſuch controuerſies in this land, neither hath anie hereſie taken anie déepe rot in the countrie; but that certeine of the miniſterie, ioining themſelues to rebels haue trauelled to diſquiet the ſtate with ſuch queſtions, that the people might imbrace anie ſiniſter opinion of his maieſties vpright proceedings, and factions might be nouriſhed and interteined in the countrie: neither is it his maieſties meaning nor intention in anie ſort, to take awaie the lawfull and ordinarie iudgement in the church, whereby diſcipline and good order might decaie; but rather to preſerue, increaſe, and mainteine the ſame. And as there is in this realme, iuſtices, conſtables, ſhiriffes, prouoſts, bailiffes, and other iudges in temporall matters: ſo his maieſtie alloweth that all things might be done in order, and a godlie quietnes may be preſerued in the whole eſtate; the ſynodall aſſemblies by the biſhops, or commiſſioners, where the place was vſed to be conuenient, twiſe in the yeare, to haue the ordinarie triall of matters belonging to the miniſterie and their eſtate: alwaies reſeruing to his highneſſe, that if they, or anie of them do amiſſe, neglect their dutie, diſquiet the eſtate, or offend in anie ſuch maner and ſort, that they in no waies pretend anie immunitie, priuilege, and exemption, which onelie was inuented by the popes of Rome, to tread vnder foot the ſcepter of princes, and to eſtabliſh an eccleſiaſticall tyrannie within this countrie, vnder pretenſe of new inuented preſbyters, which neither ſhould anſwer to the king nor biſhop vnder his maieſtie: but ſhould haue ſuch infinit iuriſdiction, as neither the law of God nor man can tollerat; which is onelie his maieſties intention to repreſſe, and not to take awaie anie godlie or due order in the church, as hereafter ſhall appeare.

The third act of his maieſties foreſaid parlement diſchargeth all iudgements eccleſiaſticall, and all aſſemblies which are not allowed by his maieſties parlement. Which act ſpeciallie concerneth the remouing and diſcharging of that forme, inuented in this land, called the preſbyterie: wherein a number of miniſters of certeine precincts and bounds, accounting themſelues to be equall, without anie difference, and gathering vnto them certeine gentlemen and others of his maieſties ſubiects, vſurpe the whole eccleſiaſticall iuriſdiction, & altereth the laws at their owne pleaſure, without the knowledge or approbation of the king, or of the eſtate: a forme of doing without example of anie nation, ſubiect to a chriſtian prince. The perill thereof did ſo increaſe, that in caſe it had not bæne repreſſed in due ſeaſon, & forbidden by his maieſties laws, the ſame had troubled the whole countrie: and being tried by his highneſſe to be the ouerthrow of his maieſties eſtate, the decaie of his crowne, and a readie introduction to Anabaptiſtrie, and popular confuſion in all eſtates; his maieſtie hath giuen commandement againſt the ſame. And that the reader may know the danger thereof by manie inconueniences, which thereby inſueth in this land, I will onelie ſet downe one, whereby they may vnderſtand what perill was in the reſt.

The ambaſſador of France, returning home into his countrie, commanded the prouoſts, bailiffes, and conſtable of Edenburgh to make him a banket, that he might be receiued honorablie according to the amitie of ancient times betwéene the two nations. This commandement was giuen on the ſaturdaie by his highneſſe, and the banket appointed to be on the mondaie. A number of the foreſaid pretended preſbyterie vnderſtanding thereof, aſſembled themſelues on the ſundaie in the morning, and preſumptouſlie determined & agréed, that the miniſters of Edenburgh ſhould proclame a faſting vpon the ſame mondaie; where their ſeuerall miniſters one after another made thrée ſeuerall ſermons, and inuectiues againſt the prouoſts, bailiffes, and councell for the time, and the noble men in the countrie; who repared to the banket at his maieſties command. The foreſaid preſbyterie called and perſuaded them, and ſcarſelie by his maieſties authoritie could be withholden from excommunicating the magiſtrats and noble men, for obeieng onelie his highneſſe lawfull command; which the law of all countries called *Ius gentium*, requires towards ambaſſadors of forren countries. And not onelie in this, but innumerable other things, their commandement was proclamed directlie, vnder the paine of excommunication to the kings maieſtie and his lawes.

Which forme of proceeding ingendered nothing but diſquietneſſe, ſedition, and trouble: as may manifeſtlie appeare, in that the eſpeciall authors of the inuenting, promoting, and affiſting of the foreſaid pretended preſbyterie, hath ioined themſelues with his maieſties rebels; and flieng forth of the realme, in reſpect of their guiltineſſe, hath diſcouered what malicious practiſes was deuiſed amongſt them, if God had not in time prouided remedie.

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The other forme of iudgement, which his maiestie hath discharged, is the generall assemblie of the whole clergie in the realme: vnder pretense whereof a number of ministers from sundrie presbyteries did assemble, with some gentlemen of the countrie; whereof, some for that time (malcontents of the state) sought that colour as fauorers of the ministerie, by the which they haue practised manie enterprises in the realme; where there was no certeine law in ecclesiasticall affaires, but all depended vpon the said generall conuention, where the laws of the church were alterable after the number of voices, which for the most part succéded vnto the most vnlearned of the multitude.

This generall assemblie amongst other things, did appoint and agrée with his maiesties regents in his minoritie, that the *estate of bishops should be maintained and authorised, as is registred in the bookes of councell, and subscribed by the commissioners for the time. Which order was obserued manie yeares, and bishops by their consents appointed to their dioceese, vntill within this late time, in assemblies holden at Dundée, and Glascow, respecting the foresaid ministers and assemblies, take vpon them contrarie to their owne handwriting, to discharge the estate, and to declare the same to be vnlawfull in their pretended manner. And there commanded the bishops of the countrie, to demit and leaue their offices and iurisdictions, and that in no wise they should passe to the kings councell or parlement, without commission obteined from their assemblie: that they should confirme nothing in parlement and councell, but according to their acts and iniunctions. And further, they directed their commissioners to the kings maiestie, commanding him and the councell vnder paine of the censures of the church (whereby they vnderstood excommunication) to appoint no bishop in time to come, because they had concluded that estate to be vnlawfull. And notwithstanding, that which they would haue detected in the bishops, they purposed to erect in themselues, desiring that such commissioners as they should send to parlement and councell, might be authorised in place of the estate: wherby it should haue come to passe, that whereas now his maiestie may select the most godlie, learned, wise, and experimented of the ministerie, to be on his maiesties estate, his highnesse should haue bene by that meanes compelled to accept such as the multitude, by an od consent of the most vnlearned, should haue appointed, which could not tend but to the ouerthrow of the realme.

* which is one of the estates of parlement.

After they had discharged bishops, they agréed to haue superintendents, commissioners, and visitors: but in the end they decerned that there should be no difference amongst the ministers, and imagined that new forme of presbyterie, whereof we haue spoken before. Neither was there anie other apparance that they should haue staied from such dailie alterations in the common-wealth, which could not but continuallie be disquieted, where the law of conscience, which they mainteined by the sword of cursing, was subiect to such mutations, at the arbitrement of a number, whereof the most part had not greatlie tasted of learning. At once the foresaid assemblie was accustomed, not onelie to prescribe the law to the king and estate, but also did at certeine times appoint generall fastings throughout the realme; especiallie, when some factioner in the countrie was to moue anie great enterprise. For at the fast, all the ministers were commanded by the assemblie to sing one song, and to crie out vpon the abuses (as they termed it) of the court and estate for the time: whereby is most certeine great alterations to haue insued in this land; while at the good pleasure of God, and his blessing towards his maiestie, the pretense of the last fast was discouered, and his highnesse deliuered from such attempts, whereby his maiestie hath bene iustlie moued to discharge such conuentions, which might import so preiudiciallie to his estate.

But especiallie his maiestie had no small occasion, whereas the same assemblie being met at Edenburgh, did authorise and auow the fact perpetrate at Ruthwen, in the taking of his highnesse most noble person. The which déed notwithstanding, with the aduise of his estates in parlement accounted to be treason, the said assemblie estéeming their iudgement to be the souereigne iudgement of the realme, hath not onlie approued the same, but also ordeined all them to be excommunicate that would not subscribe and allow the same. So the acts of this assemblie, and the lawes of the estate directed, weied in ciuill matter, with the which the assemblie should not haue medled, it behoued his highnesse either to discharge himselfe of the crowne, or the ministerie of the forme of the assemblie, which in déed of it selfe, without the kings maiesties licence & approbation, could not be lawfull, like as generall councels at no time could assemble, without the commandement of the emperor for the time. And our king hath no lesse power within his owne realme than anie of them had in the empire. Yea the bishop of S. Andrewes had not in time of poperie, power to conuent the bishops and clergie out of their owne dioceese, without licence giuen before by his highnes most noble progenitors of good memorie, and the causes thereof intimate and allowed.

Notwithstanding that his maiesties intention and meaning maie fullie be vnderstood, it is his highnesse will, that the bishop or commissioners of anie dioceese or prouince, or part thereof, shall at their visitation appoint in euerie parish, according to the greatnesse thereof, some honest, vertuous, and discréet men, to aid and assist the minister, and to haue the ouersight and censure of the maners and behauior of the people of that parish. And if there be anie notable offense, worthie of punishment, that the bishop and commissioners be aduertised thereof, who shall haue an officer of armes to be assistant for the punishment of vice and executions to follow therevpon: that they who contemne the godlie and lawfull order of the church, maie find by experience his maiesties displeasure, and be punished according to their deseruings. And further, his maiestie vpon necessarie occasions which shall fall forth, by diuers maners of waies amongst the clergie, vpon humble suplication made to his highnesse, will not refuse to grant them licence to assist the bishops, commissioners, and some of the most vertuous, learned and godlie of their dioceese, where such ecclesiasticall matters, as apperteine to the vniformitie of doctrine and conuersation of a godlie order in the church, maie be intreated and concluded in his maiesties owne presence, or some of his honorable councell, who shall assist for the time: where if necessitie so require, a publike fast throughout the whole realme maie be commanded, and by his maiesties authoritie proclamed, to auoid the imminent displeasure and danger of the wrath of the Lords iudgements, which is the right end of publike humilitie, and not vnder pretense thereof to couer such enterprises, as haue heretofore disquieted and troubled the peace of this common wealth.

The twentith act ratifieth and approueth, and establisheth the estate of the bishops within the realme, to haue the ouersight and iurisdiction, euerie one in their owne dioceese: which forme of gouernement,

and

and rule in eccleſiaſticall affaires, hath not onlie continued in the church from the daies of the apoſtles, by continuall ſucceſſion of time, and manie martyrs in that calling ſhed their bloud for the truth: but alſo ſith this realme imbraced and receiued the chriſtian religion, the ſame eſtate hath bene mainteined, to the welfare of the church, and quietnes of the realme without anie interruption, vntill within theſe few yeares, ſome curious and buſie men haue practiſed to induce into the miniſterie an equalitie in all things, aſwell concerning the preaching of the word, adminiſtration of the ſacraments, as likewiſe in diſcipline, order, and policie. The which confuſion his maieſtie finding by moſt dangerous experience, to haue bene the mother and nurſe of great factions, ſeditions, and troubles within this realme, hath with aduiſe of his highnes eſtates, aduiſedlie concluded, the ſaid pretended partie in diſcipline, orders and policie in the church, to be no longer to be tolerated in his countrie, but the ſolicitude & care of all churches in one dioceſſe to apperteins to the biſhop and commiſſioners therof, who ſhall be anſwerable to God, and his maieſtie, and eſtates, for the right adminiſtration and diſcharge of the office of particular miniſters, within the bounds of his iuriſdiction. For as it becommeth his maieſtie, as Euſebius writeth of Conſtantinus the great, to be a biſhop of biſhops, and vniuerſall biſhop within his realme, in ſo far as his maieſtie ſhould apoint euerie one to diſcharge his duetie: which his highneſſe cannot, his countrie being large and great, take him to euerie miniſter that ſhall offend and tranſgreſſe againſt dutie, or quarell with the whole number of the miniſterie: but it behoueth his maieſtie to haue biſhops & ouerſeers vnder him which maie be anſwerable for ſuch bounds, as the law and order of the countrie hath limited and apointed to euerie one of them. And that they hauing acceſſe to his maieſties parlement and councell, maie intercede for the reſt of the brethren of the miniſterie, propone their greefe vnto his highneſſe and eſtates, and receiue his maieſties fauorable anſwere therein. The which forme doth preſerue a godlie quietneſſe, vnitie, concord and peace in the eſtate, and one vniforme order in the church. As contrariwiſe, the pretended equalitie diuideth the ſame, and vnder the pretenſe of equalitie maketh the ſame of the moſt craftie and ſubtile dealers to be aduanced and inriched: and in pretending of partie, to ſeeke nothing but their owne ambition and aduancement aboue the reſt of the ſimple ſort.

And notwithſtanding that his maieſtie hath reeſtabliſhed the ſaid eſtate, it is not his highneſſe will and intent, that the foreſaid biſhop ſhall haue ſuch full power as to do within his dioceſſe what he pleaſeth. For his maieſtie cannot allow of anie popular confuſion, wherein (as the prouerbe ſaith) Nulla tyrannis æquiparanda eſt tyrannidi multitudinis, that is: No tyrannie can be compared to the tyrannie of a multitude, hauing commandement and power in his hands: ſo on the other part his maieſties will is, that the biſhops authoritie in anie graue matter, be limited to the councell of thirteene of the moſt ancient, wiſe, and godlie perſons of his dioceſſe, ſelected out of the whole ſynodall aſſemblie of the prouince: by whoſe aduiſe, or at the leaſt the moſt part thereof, the weightie affaires of the church maie be gouerned to the glorie of God, and quietnes of the realme. Further it is his highneſſe will and commandement, that their biſhops and commiſſioners twiſe in the yeare, to wit, ten daies after Eaſter, and the firſt of September, hold their ſynodall aſſemblies in euerie dioceſſe, for the keeping of good orders therein: and if anie be ſtubborne, or contemne within their bounds the good order of the church, that it maie be declared vnto his maieſtie, and puniſhed to the example of others, according to their deſeruings. Neither is it his maieſties meaning or intent, that ſuch biſhops or commiſſioners as ſhall be apointed, ſhall receiue their onelie and full commiſſion of his maieſtie without admiſſion ordinarie, by ſuch as are appointed to that effect in the church: but hauing his highneſſe nomination, preſentation, and commendation as lawfull and onlie patrone, they to be tried and examined, that their qualities are ſuch as they are able to diſcharge their cure and office. And if it ſhall happen anie of the ſaid biſhops or commiſſioners, to be negligent in their office, or to be ſlanderous or offenſiue in their behauior, life, and maners, in time to come, it is not his highneſſe will, that they ſhall be exempted from correction, notwithſtanding anie priuilege of his highnes eſtate, councell or parlement: but their labors, trauels, diligence and behauiors, to be tried in the generall aſſemblie, not conſiſting of a confuſed multitude, as it was before; but of ſuch worſhipfull perſons as is heretofore preſcribed in his highneſſe preſence, or his deputies to that effect.

Laſtlie his maieſtie giueth commiſſion to the ſaid biſhops or commiſſioners at their viſitations, to conſider in what part of the countrie, the enterpriſe, or interpretation of the ſcripture, by conference of a certeine number of the miniſterie within thoſe bounds, maie be moſt commodiouſlie once in euerie fifteene daies. For as his maieſtie inhibits all vnlawfull meetings, that maie ingender trouble and contention in the countrie: ſo his maieſtie is well affected to ſee the miniſterie increaſe in knowledge and vnderſtanding, and by all meanes to fortifie and aduance the ſame. Wherein his highneſſe commandement is, that a graue, wiſe, and ſage man ſhall be appointed preſident, who maie haue the ouerſight of theſe bounds, and be anſwerable therefore to the biſhop, his councell and ſynod; and he to be reſpected reaſonablie for his paines, at the modification of ſtipends: that all things maie be orderlie done in the church, peace & quietneſſe mainteined in the realme, and we deliuered from aparant plagues, and the bleſſings of God continued to the comfort of our poſteritie. And in the meane time his highneſſe inhibits & expreſſlie forbids vnder the paines conteined in his maieſties acts of parlement, & all other pains arbitrable at his maieſties ſight & councell, that no miniſter take in hand to aſſemble themſelues for the foreſaid cauſe, without the appointment and order taken by the ſaid biſhops or commiſſioners, whereby his highneſſe maie be certeinlie informed, that the foreſaid miniſters aſſemble not, to meddle with anie ciuill matters, or affaires of eſtate, as was accuſtomed before; but onelie to profit in the knowledge of the word, and to be comforted one by another in the adminiſtration of their ſpirituall office: which his highneſſe wiſheth them faithfullie to diſcharge, and then to call to God, that his maieſtie maie in a proſperous reigne enioie good and long life, and continue and increaſe in the feare of the almightie.

Beſides which, the king at the end of this his intention, did further articulate his intention into ſundrie heads as here followeth.

The kings intention drawne into *certeine articles, and publiſhed* in print.

His maieſties intention is, by the grace of God, to mainteine the true and ſincere profeſſion of the goſpell, and preaching thereof within his realme.

2 His maieſties intention is, to correct and puniſh ſuch as ſeditiouſlie abuſe the truth, and factiouſlie aplie or rather bewraie the text of the ſcripture to the diſquieting of the ſtate and diſturbing of the commonwealth, or imparing of his highneſſe and councels honour.

3 His maieſties intention is, if anie queſtion of faith and doctrine ariſe, to conuocate the moſt learned, godlie, wiſe, and experimented paſtors, that by conference of ſcriptures the veritie may be tried, and all hereſie and ſchiſme by that means expreſſed.

4 His maieſties intention is, that for the keeping of good order in euerie paroch, certeine ouerſeers to the good behauiour of the reſt, be appointed at the viſitation of the biſhop or viſitour, who ſhall haue his maieſties authoritie, and officers of armes concurring for the puniſhment of vice.

5 His maieſties intention is, to mainteine the exerciſe of prophetie for the increaſe and continuing of knowledge amongſt the miniſterie: in which a wiſe and a graue man ſelected by the biſhop or commiſſioner at the ſynodall aſſemblie, ſhall render accompt of the adminiſtration of thoſe bounds, where the exerciſe is holden, for which cauſe ſome reſpect of liuing ſhall be had vnto him, who ſuſteins that burthen.

6 His maieſties intention is, not to derogate from the ordinarie iudgement of matters of the church by the ordinarie biſhops, their councels and ſynods: but if anie of them doo amiſſe, and abuſe their calling, to take order for correcting, amending and puniſhing thereof.

7 His maieſties intention is, not to hinder or ſtaie anie godlie or ſolid order, grounded vpon the word of God, and order of the primitiue church, but that the miniſters of the word meddle themſelues onelie with their owne calling, and iudge not feareſullie of the eſtate.

8 It is his maieſties intention, that the preſbyteries conſiſting of manie miniſters and gentlemen, at Landwar or otherwaies, be not further tollerat in his realme: but the exerciſe of iuriſdiction of all churches to be in the hand of the biſhop or commiſſioner, and their councels and ſynods.

9 It is his maieſties intention, that the biſhops or commiſſioners aſſemble not anie generall aſſemblie out of the whole realme, without his maieſties knowledge and licence obteined therevnto: which vpon ſupplication his highneſſe will not denie, that an vniforme order may be obſerued in the whole realme, and the biſhops and their diligences there tried and examined, and the complaints of euerie particular heard and diſcuſſed.

10 It is his maieſties intention to aſſiſt this aſſemblie himſelfe, or by a noble man of his councell, his highneſſe deputie.

11 It is his maieſties intention, that when anie paroch findeth neceſſitie of anie faſt, they informe the occaſion to the biſhop or commiſſioner and their councell, that they may vnderſtand the cauſe to be lawfull; as likewiſe the biſhop of the dioceſſe finding lawfull occaſion, may within the ſame, with his councell preſcribe anie publike humiliation.

12 It his maieſties intention, that a generall faſt throughout the whole realme, ſhall not be proclamed but by his maieſties commandement, or by a generall councell, wherin his maieſtie or his highneſſe deputie is preſent.

13 It is his highneſſe intention, that the biſhops in the realme in euerie dioceſſe with their councell proceed into the eccleſiaſticall gouernement, but as is ſaid with a councell, that both tyrannie and confuſion may be auoided in the church.

14 It is his maieſties intention, that commiſſioners be directed vniuerſallie throughout the whole realme, to eſtabliſh a godlie order, and that his maieſties commiſſioners take order preſentlie for the tranſlation of ſuch miniſters, whoſe trauels they eſteeme may more conuenientlie and profitablie ſerue in an other place.

These things was the king ſaine to publiſh, to ſtaie the euill report of ſuch as went about to touch him for the breach of the chriſtian order in religion, which being nothing but that which ſeemeth anſwerable to naturall ſenſe & princelie maieſtie, ſhould neither by malice haue moued, nor for colour of religion procured anie beyond the warrant of the word of God, or the duetie of naturall allegiance to reſiſt the kinglie ordinance, or to lift vp their ſword or word againſt him, who being a god in earth, preſenteth the maieſtie of the God of heauen. But leauing the diſcourſe of theſe things to preachers, to whome it belongeth to inſtruct vs in our dutie to God, to our prince, & to our neighbours, we will turne againe to the other following occurrents of Scotland. And yet before we ſpeake anie thing of thoſe matters, ſith I haue in this place as well as in manie other ſpoken of parlements & acts of parlement, I thinke it not amiſſe to ſet downe ſomewhat collected out of authors touching their manner and order of parlement, and that the rather bicauſe the ſame conſiſteth of three eſtates, and the princes confirmation as our parlement doth, from whome it ſeemeth to me that they haue fet their light. Touching which, Leſleus in his Scotiſh hiſtorie lib. 1. pag. 75, vnder the title of Leges Scotorum, writeth in this ſort. Qui verò ſeculi negotijs ſeſe implicantes in eccleſiaſticorum album non referuntur, legibus, quas reges deſcripſerunt, aut regum voce confirmatas, tres regni ordines ſanxerũt, continentur, has partim Latino, partim Scotico ſermone confirmatas, regni municipales leges vocamus: libro qui leges Latinè ſcriptas continet, titulus (regiam maieſtatem) præfigitur, quòd ab illis vocibus libri exordium ducatur. Reliquis legum libris, comitiorũ (quæ populari ſermone parliamenta dicimus) acta inſcribuntur. Quanquam hic aduertendum, nos ita lege municipali teneri, vt ſi cauſa multis controuerſijs implicata (quod ſæpe fit) incidat quæ legibus noſtratibus non poſſit dirimi, ſtatim quicquid ad hanc controuerſiam decidendam neceſſarium cenſetur, ex ciuilibus Romanorum libris promatur. Sed ſi quis legum noſtrarum originem velit conquiſitè inueſtigare, intelligat poteſtatem has ferendi antiquandíque trium ordinum ſuffragijs liberè in publico latis regis aſſenſu confirmatis eſſe poſitam. On which parlements ſo aſſembled, conſiſting of the three eſtates, & the princes confirming voice (in the beginning whereof the king goeth to the place where that aſſemblie is made, to keepe ſuch parlement attired in his regall garments, with the ſword and other ornaments, the enſignes of his kingdome and kinglie authoritie, caried before him, attended on with all his nobilitie and cleargie) thoſe common people will manie times giue ſuch bie names as ſeemeth beſt liking to themſelues, and is moſt anſwerable to the nature & order of that parlement, as we alſo doo heere in England, whereof I could produce manie examples of both nations, which at this time I will forbeare, and onelie ſet downe one proofe (as well of England as Scotland) to confirme the ſame, leaſt in paſſing it ouer without ſome example thereof, I might make a vaine ſhew of knowledge conſiſting in naked words, without anie ſound matter. Wherefore I ſaie, that as in England in the yeare of our redemption one thouſand two hundred fiftie and eight, being the two and fortith yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the third, the parle-

The parlement of Scotland conſiſteth of three eſtats.

Parlements nicknamed.

The made parlement.

ment

ment held at Oxford by the lords againſt the king, was called *Parlamentum inſanum*, becauſe manie things were there intreted which turned to the death of diuerſe noble men. So the Scots in like maner bynamed a parlement, in the yeare of Chriſt 1556, (being the fourteenth yeare of Marie the now impriſoned quéene of Scotland) and called the ſame a running parlement, becauſe there were manie intermiſſions and remœuings during the continuance therof, as appeareth by Leſleus in theſe words.

The running parlement.

Leſleus.

A eſtate ſequenti habita ſunt Edinburgi trium ordinum comitia, in quibus domini Brunſtonius, Grangius, Balnatius, & aly nonnulli, quorum bona à gubernatore publicata fuerunt, ſingulari regis Francia commendatione dignati, fama atque bonis reſtituti ſunt. Hac verò comitia, quod intermiſſa potius quàm omiſſa, quaſi continuarentur, nomen à vulgo acceperunt, vt currentia dicerentur. Thus much being ſaid about their parlements, let vs againe fall with our pen into the other matters of Scotland.

Caſtral. 443.

1585 About this time an ambaſſage was ſent out of England into Scotland, for the concluding of a peace betwéene both nations; the contents whereof, the king (opening vnto the lords and gentlemen aſſembled in parlement, and holden at ſaint Andrews) did vſe vnto them this ſpéech following.

The kings ſpeech to the eſtates, concerning a league in religion with England.

TWo cauſis my lordis and ze all of the eſtatis haue mœued me to ſend for zou at this time to craue zour aduiſes towardis them, quharof ſith the one is generall & the vther particular, I will begin at the generall as the matter of greateſt weight. Amongſt all the benefitis that God doth beſtow vpoun his elect and church, the triall and ſifting of the gud choſin from the bad hipocreitis, is ane of the maſt ſpeciall, quhich he hath vſed in all ages for the ſeparatioun of thame, alſwell for that to lang companie of the wicked doth corrupt the godlie, as alſo that their ſeparatioun is a taken in this earth, of Godis luue towardis them, quhich triall he doth now chéefelie vſe, for that the number of the wicked doth abound in theſe letter daeis, quherin God doth permit the diuell moſt to rage. For quhat greater trtall of the faithfull can there be, than the confederating togidder of all the baſtard chriſtians, I meane the papiſtis in a league quhich they terme holie, albeit moſt vnholie in varie truth, for the ſubuerſioun of the true religioun in all realmes throgh out the quhole varld. This is a matter ſo manifeſt and notorious to zou all, euen by the report of the ſmalleſt merchantis that trauaill, as it doth dilat the ſelfe, thought I were ſilent.

This leagues quhome of I ſpeake, are compoſed of Frenchmen and Hiſpaingnols, aſſiſted with the king of Spaines and the papes monie, ſolemlie ſworne to performe the forſaid enterpriſe before they leaue armes: the performance quhereof we aught to reſiſt for thrée cauſis (to wit) for conſcience, honor, and loue of ſelfis. For gif they maie atteine to their purpoſe (as God forbid) either will they deſtroie or rot out vs, our vifis and childrein, & quhatſoeuer we poſſeſſe, gif we remaine conſtant; either elſe muſt we render Chriſt Jeſus, and ſuffer our ſaulis which is the maſt nableſt part of man to be bund with the bundis of idolatrie, and our bodies to be vſed at their inordinat pleſuris. But ſith the loue of our ſelfis and our honour cannot permit the ane, and that our conſciencis and the reuerence we ow to God, cannot ſuffer the vther: I craue my lordis zour beſt & ſoundeſt opinionis and aduiſis quhat ze thinke meiteſt to be vſed for the remedie hereof. But gif ze deſire to firſt haue my opinioun, it is this in few woardis; that as ſundrie chriſtian princis haue alredie counſelled me, our contraleague ſalbe maid, not anelie in termis, but in effect holie, for the ioining togidder all true chriſtian princis to defend themſelfis, in caſe of vtheris inuaſioun. A thing hurtfull to none, profitable for ſelfis, acceptable to God, and vſe in the ſight of the varld. By this meanes ſall our conſciencis, honors, and lifis be preſeruid, and God and his religioun glorified and aduancid.

And ſith the quéene of England is not anlie a true chriſtian, but alſo nereſt ioinit to vs in nighbourhed, conſanguinitie and gudwill, I thinke it meiteſt in mine opinioun, that it be our league firſt and maiſt adſtrictlie mad with hir; for quhich cauſe I haue maid and ſet downe a forme of act to be ſubſcribit by zou all, quherein ze promis to ratifie and approue in parlement, quhatſoeuer articles I, or anie in my name ſall conclude with the quéene of England, or anie in hir name, for the making and effectualing of the foreſaid league. But for that the act it ſelfe will mare ample informe you, it ſalbe preſentlie read in all your audiencis.

Upon this ſpéech the lords being of diuerſe opinions, ſome willing to imbrace the league with England, and ſome deſirous to leaue it, and to ioine in amitie with France according to the moſt ancienteſt leagues, which haue béene eſtabliſhed betwéene them and the Scots by moſt of their former kings (whereof the firſt was Achaius, who entring league with Charles the great, had a token of confirmation thereof, which was the floure delices added to the arms of Scotland) there was nothing done in that conuention. After which, the baniſhed lords of Scotland remaining in England, entered their countrie: v. Caſtral. 445. and after ſome abode there made, vpon diuerſe méetings & conſultations, at laſt gathered their powers, and on the firſt of November they pitched their tents, placed there as it had béene a new towne, to the great terror of their enimies within Sterling: deliuering for the cauſe of their comming this proclamation following.

The proclamation publiſhed by the nobilitie of Scotland, conteining the cauſes of their repairing towards the towne of Sterling to the kings maieſtie, the ſecond daie of Nouember.

WHeras the kings maieſtie our ſouereignes good, naturall, and vertuous education is now plainelie vnderſtood to haue béene abuſed, and his roiall qualities giuen to him by the almightie God (which cauſed his fame far aboue the capatitie of his yeares to be magnified, and worthilie praiſed, to the great comfort of all his ſubiects) hath béene theſe yeares paſt obſcured by the craft & ſubtiltie of ſome lewd and wicked perſons of no deſert or worthineſſe, and for the moſt part of baſe linage, not borne to one foot breadth of land, yet of marueilous aſpiring wrongs and cruell inclination; who vnder colour of friendſhip and blond créeping in about his maieſtie, and ſéeking onelie their owne particular profit and promotion, ſhaking off (as it were) not onelie all chriſtian and charitable nature: but euen the generall points and offices of humanitie vſed amongſt moſt barbarous people, without feare of God or man, as ſubtill fores and bloudie wolues, by wreſting of lawes and other deceitfull practiſes, hath ſo waſted, torne in péeces, and deuoured the whole bodie of this afflicted commonwealth, that of the whole ancient forme of iuſtice and policie receiued of our anceſtors, remaineth nothing, neither in ſpirituall or temporall eſtate;

ſtate; but the naked ſhadow & counterfeited maſke thereof to our ſouereignes high diſhonor, our opprobrie (who are a part of his nobilitie) and heauie greefe of all good men throughout the realme. It is euidentlie knowne what iuſtice and quietneſſe was in the realme, what heartie loue betwixt his maieſtie and his ſubiects, what beautifull countenance the church of God had, what dailie hope of increaſe, what expectation was of his highneſſe in forren nations, before the arriuall of Obegnie, afterwards called the duke of Leneux, and the entring in credit of Iames Steward, and coronell Steward with their vnhapie companies. But what hath ſucceeded ſince, no true Scotiſh hart can remember without extreame dolour: for there is no part or corner within the land at this time peaceable or quiet, but all repleniſhed with particular enimities, and cruell reuenges without puniſhment.

It is alſo well knowne, that whereas the wiſeſt of his maieſties moſt noble progenitors labored by clemencie, not by crueltie to poſſeſſe the hearts of their ſubiects, & to keepe the ſtrengths of their relms in their owne hands (thereby meaning the better to preſerue themſelues againſt ſuch inconueniences, as manie princes of that land miſgouerned, and led by peruerſe counſell haue béene ſubiect vnto) that the foreſaid abuſors had depriued his maieſtie both of the one and the other ſo far as in them laie. For the cheefe ſtrengths of the realme are in Arrane his hands, who bragging of his pedegree by deſcent from duke Mordacke (one that was beheaded for his treſon againſt his ſouereigne) was not aſhamed to ſaie (meaning of himſelfe) Here ſtands the perſon of king Iames the ſeuenth. And to the end that the hearts of the people might be alienated from his highneſſe, and ſo (as appeareth) his maieſtie made vnable to puniſh them, if at anie time hereafter he ſhould perceiue their falſe and treaſonable doings, what can be added more than theſe ſaid ſeditious hath alreadie done in that behalfe, ſeeing vnder his maieſties name and authoritie, ſuch parcialitie is vſed in all matters, ſuch extortion with crueltie, and incredible diſſimulation throughout the whole land, that were it not of his good ſubiects (vpon the experience of his mild & calme gouernement before theſe lewd men about him) clearelie vnderſtood that the cauſes of all theſe miſorders ought to be imputed vnto them, & not to himſelfe, they had long agone by vniuerſall male-contentment of the people (proceeding from the cauſes aforeſaid) procured a great diſtraction of the kings leeges hearts, and had caſt his maieſties honor, crowne, and eſtate in maruellous danger; whereas now (bleſſed be God) all his true ſubiects are certeinelie perſuaded, that if the ſaid lewd perſons could be ſeparated from his maieſtie, he would returne againe to exerciſe his former clemencie and towardnes in euerie reſpect, which hath béene theſe yeares paſt maruellouſlie eclipſed by the craft of thoſe treaſonable perſons aforeſaid, who not onelie haue ſought & ſeeke for their particular commoditie, the deſtruction of certeine ſeuerall perſons, but euen (as it appeareth) haue conſpired againſt the whole bodie of the realme, in ſo much as there is no eſtate of the land free from their perſecutions.

The worthieſt and moſt ancient of the barons and nobilitie (namelie ſuch as haue giuen beſt proofe of their forwardneſſe in true religion, and fidelitie to their ſouereigne) are by parcialitie, and wreſting of lawes, without mercie either executed, coſened, impriſoned, baniſhed, or at the leaſt debarred his maieſties preſence, againſt the miniſterie, ſchooles, and clergie, acts and proclamations publiſhed, inhibiting their preſbyteries, aſſemblies, and other exerciſes, priuileges, and immunities ratified by parliaments, proceedings, or at the leaſt by laudable cuſtome permitted euer ſince the firſt reformation of religion within this land; and without the which the puritie of doctrine, and right forme of the eccleſiaſticall diſcipline cannot long continue: as being the onelie meanes to trie & examine the liues, maners, and knowledge of euerie perſon, and to reforme the ſame if need require. With this the moſt learned, and of moſt vnſpotted liues of that number, are either compelled for ſafetie of their liues and conſciences to abandon their countrie, or elſe inhibited to preach, or depriued of their ſtipends. Ieſuits, ſeminarie prieſts, and ſuch as be knowne practiſers in diuers nations for the execution of the bloudie counſell of Trent are interteined, and in great eſtimation; yea ſome indurated papiſts in ſeſſion, to occupie the places from the which the moſt godlie & faithfull ſenators haue béene by them deiected. An euident preſage of the ouerthrow of true religion. And concerning the eſtate of burrowes, by intruſion of ſuch magiſtrats to rule aboue them, as neither are comburgeſſes, nor apt to diſcharge them ſelues of ſuch offices, but men elected to applauſe and to conſent to the appetite of the ſeditious aforeſaid, their priuileges & ancient liberties are ſo preiudiced, that without timelie remedie, that eſtate (ſometime a great ornament of the land) muſt needs ſuddenlie decaie. So as theſe three pillers (whereby the king & common wealth ſhould be preſerued & vpholden) being waſted & vndermined in maner aboue written, what can be expected but vniuerſall ruine and ouerthrow of the whole bodie of the eſtate; except God of his mercie preuent the ſame? Beſides all theſe, the foreſaid abuſors not reſting content with the enormities aboue expreſſed, haue practiſed, and dailie do practiſe to turne the happie amitie & loue, which now a good ſpace hath ſtood betwéene the inhabitants of the whole Ile in open hoſtilitie & hatred, without reſpect of neighborhood or kindred, ſtanding betwéene the two princes, or regard had to the benefits that hir maieſtie of England hath beſtowed vpon the king our ſouereigne, and his whole countrie, firſt by planting of true religion within this realme, and next by preſeruing his maieſtie, when as in his minoritie he could not take in hand or enterpriſe for himſelfe.

To this effect they openlie delt with ſuch perſons as by all meanes ſought hir maieſties deſtruction, as by the confeſſion of ſundrie hir maieſties rebels latelie executed in England is made manifeſt. But how ſoone they perceiued open danger to ariſe, by open dealing with hir enimies, then fraudfullie to illude hir maieſtie, they haue pretended theſe months paſt, in great friendſhip and kindneſſe, promiſing largelie in that behalfe, and offering to capitulat a bond offenſiue and defenſiue to ſtand perpetuallie. But in the end, notwithſtanding all theſe liberall promiſes, the effects by experience declare nothing to haue béene in their minds but falſhood & crueltie, as by the late murder of the lord Ruſſell is manifeſt to the whole world, who being a young noble man, for his birth and qualities verie honorable and vertuous, and of great expectation, & for his earneſt zeale to religion, and good affection to the king our ſouereigne, and to all Scotiſh men in generall, one that merited great praiſe, loue and commendation: yet he was murdered in moſt odious and treaſonable maner, euen when as greateſt kindnes and friendſhip was pretended; which cannot but produce maruellous ſuſpicion and ſlander, aſwell againſt the king our ſouereigne, as againſt the whole countrie, to his maieſties great diſhonor, and diſcredit of his innocent ſubiects, if condigne iuſtice be not miniſtred vpon the authors, and the executors of the horrible crime aforeſaid.

Laſt,

Laſt, which is moſt of all, and neceſſarilie craueth preſent reformation, the foreſaid abuſors couer all theſe enormities with his maieſties name and authoritie, thereby thinking to excuſe themſelues, and to laie the burden on him. And therefore, as it cannot be but verie ſlanderous and dangerous to his maieſtie, if ſuch licentious perſons (who hath alreadie made ſhipwracke of all honeſtie) be ſuffered to remaine in his companie: ſo is it ſhamefull to be reported in other nations, that ſuch a few number of beggerlie fellowes repleniſhed with all vice, ſhould extinguiſh the beautie of the nobilitie, haue empire ouer the whole countrie, and keepe his maieſtie thrall to authoriſe by his roiall power their abhominable and execrable facts. For the cauſes aforeſaid, and manie others that might be iuſtlie alleged, we of his maieſties nobilitie here preſent, in the feare of God and our ſouereignes obedience, being through Gods free mercie called to be profeſſors of the bleſſed euangell, and borne councellors to his highneſſe our ſouereigne, bound in dutie not onelie to hazzard, render and renounce our liues, lands, and goods (if need be) for the ſame euangell and true religion, but alſo in conſcience charged to be carefull of his maieſties welfare, honor, and reputation, and to procure to our abilitie, peace and quietneſſe to him and his realme, hauing our lands and heritages for that effect, holden of his maieſties moſt noble progenitors of worthie memorie.

In conſideration of which great enormities and tyrannies, hauing conuened our ſelues togither for redreſſe and reformation of the ſame, ſeeing the ſuffering thereof hath alreadie wounded the eſtate of true religion, diſhonored his maieſtie, diſturbed the whole realme, and had almoſt diſioined aſwell the hearts of the princes as of the ſubiects of the two nations: we thinke it therefore high time, and we are in dutie and conſcience (all doubt and perill ſet apart) to procure the ſeparation and thruſting awaie of the ſaid deſperat and enorme perſons from about his maieſtie, that his highneſſe being reſtored to his former libertie, maie freelie, peaceablie, and wiſelie gouerne his ſubiects and realme, by aduiſe of graue, modeſt, and indifferent councellors; onelie reſpecting his maieſties ſuertie and preſeruation, to the end that the afflicted church within this land maie be comforted, and all acts latelie made in preiudice of the ſame, maie be ſolemnelie cancelled, and for euer annulled, his maieſtie reſtored to his former libertie, the bodie of his commonwealth (by puniſhing of vice cheefelie vpon the authors of theſe late miſorders, and maintenance of vertue) maie be once diſburdened of the heauie oppreſſions and iniuries that they haue with no ſmall greefe ſo long ſuſteined, and the happie amitie with England reeſtabliſhed and conſerued, to the high glorie of God, honor of the king our ſouereigne, and vniuerſall contentment of all good men euerie where. In proſecution whereof, we proteſt before God and his holie angels, we ſhall neither ſpare our liues, lands, nor goods, but frankelie hazzard and expend the ſame as need craueth, vntill the ſaid abuſors be either apprehended or preſented to iuſtice, to ſuffer for their demerits; or elſe (if they cannot be found out) till they be debarred from his maieſties companie, and expelled the realme.

Wherefore we command and charge (in our ſouereigne lords name) all and ſundrie his ſubiects, as well to borrow as to land, to fortifie and aſſiſt this godlie enterpriſe, and to concurre with vs to that effect, as they will giue teſtimonie of their affection to the aduancement of true religion, his maieſties ſuertie and welfare, and the publike quietneſſe of the whole realme; certifieng all and ſundrie that doth attempt anie thing to the contrarie, or will not take one fold and plaine part with vs, we will repute them as partakers of all vice and iniquitie, aſſiſters of the treaſonable conſpirators aforeſaid, and enimies of true religion, to his maieſtie and his authoritie, and to the publike quietneſſe betwixt the two realmes, & will vſe them in bodies and goods accordingly. And that all iuſtices as well lords of ſeſſions as ſhirifs, commiſſioners, and other inferior iudges ſit and adminiſter iuſtice to the furtherance thereof, according to the laws of the realms, as they will anſwer vpon their allegiance and vttermoſt perill, with certification of the diſobeior, as is aforeſaid.

The aſſemblie of the nobilitie and the proclamation thus knowne, diuerſe matters paſſed betwixt the king and the lords, as petitions to and fro made and exhibited, with grants thereunto according: and to conclude, much congratulation was made for returne into their countrie of Scotland. In December there was a parlement called at Lithgo, at what time the earle of Arrane was diſplaced from his earledome, and (if I erre not) office of chancellorſhip: the remembrance whereof hath induced me to record ſome things touching ſome ſuch perſons as haue poſſeſſed that dignitie. v. Caſtrat. 448.

The names and times of certeine *chancellors of Scotland, gathered out* of the hiſtories of that nation.

William Wlod, biſhop of Dunblaine was chancellor to William king of Scots, which began his reigne in the yeare of Chriſt 1185, as ſome haue (but Leſleus, lib. 6. hath 1160, whoſe account herein is falſe) and continued in that office at the time of the death of the ſaid William, which fell in the yeare of Chriſt 1214. After whoſe death he was by Alexander the ſecond confirmed in the ſame place of chancellor. William Wlod.

John Lion chancellor of Scotland (in the time of Robert the ſecond of that name, and the firſt of the houſe of the Stewards which ware the crowne) was chancellor of Scotland, who being in great fauour with the ſaid Robert the ſecond, maried the ladie Eliſabeth daughter vnto the ſaid king, with whom he had in franke mariage diuerſe poſſeſſions called Glames, whereby he was called lord of Glames; of which Lion is that ſurname deſcended, who in memorie of that mariage beare in their armes the lions and lillies, with the treſſe in ſuch forme as the king of Scotland beareth the ſame, except that their lions be placed in a blacke field, as Holinſhed hath noted. Which Lion being chancellor was ſlaine in the yeare of our Lord 1380, being about the tenth yeare of the ſame Robert the ſecond, who after baniſhed the earle of Crawford. John Lion.

Gilbert Greenlaw biſhop of Aberden, being chancellor about the yeare of Chriſt 1411, in the vacancie of the kingdome, vnder duke Murdacke, betweene the death of Robert the ſecond (which fell in the yeare of Chriſt 1406, and the beginning of the reigne of James the firſt, in the yeare of our Lord 1426) was ſent ambaſſador into France with other noble men of Scotland. After which ambaſſage in France this Gilbert liued not verie long: for Henrie Lichton, who came ſhortlie in his place of the biſhoprike, was with other ſent ambaſſador into England, to fetch home James the firſt, and to inueſt him in the crowne of Scotland. Gilbert Greenlaw. v. Caſtrat. 449.

William Creichton knight, whom Leſle termeth the wiſeſt man that euer Scotland ſaw, being chancellor to James the firſt, was (in the yeare 1433, about the ninth yeare of the ſame king James) with the earle of Angus, and Adam Hepborne of Hales, ſent William Creichton.

sent to the castle of Dunbar, with letters signed with the kings hand, directed to the kæpers of the castle to deliuer the same to the bringers thereof: which the kæpers of that castle durst not disobeie, but permitted them to enter accordinglie. After this in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred thirtie fiue, & the eleuenth of the same king, he was sent ambassador into Denmarke, where he concluded a sound peace betwéene the nations of Denmarke and Scotland; which good seruice being well weied, he was after the death of James the first, and in the entrance of James the second into the gouernment of Scotland, in the yeare of our Lord 1436, confirmed in his office of chancellorship, beside which he had the gouernment of the kings person, and of the castle of Edenburgh committed to his charge. Then by reason of contention which fell betwæne sir Alexander Leuingston the gouernour of the realme and this chancellor, they fell to parts taking in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred thirtie and seuen, whereby insued much mischéefe and bloudshed in the realme (as alwaies by my obseruation I haue found to happen during the minoritie and the insufficiencie of kings) at what time the quæne taking part with the gouernor against the chancellor, found means by subtiltie to get the king into hir possession out of the hands of the chancellor, after that she had handsomelie trussed vp the king in a tronke like a fardell full of apparell, whereupon the gouernour besieged the chancellor in the castell of Edenburgh, but in the end they agréed that Creichton should still kæpe the castle of Edenburgh and his office of chancellor.

James the second.

That done, in the yeare one thousand foure hundred thirtie and nine, and the third yeare of James the second, the chancellor obteined to haue the quéen Dowager, and hir husband James Steward lord of Lorne released out of the prison of Sterling, whither they were committed by the gouernor. Which done, the chancellor kæping in mind the deceit of the quæne, in ouerreaching him by getting the king out of his possession, and seeing the gouernor to take the whole authoritie on him at his pleasure, did so worke, that he found meanes that he onelie accompanied with foure & twentie persons, did againe get the king (as he was one morning hunting in Sterling parke) into his possession, whom he carried with him into the castle of Edenburgh, wherwith the gouernor was græuouslie displeased: but not able to remedie the same, there was an agréement made betwæne the chancellor & him, that the king should remaine in the custodie of the chancellor, and the gouernor continue his office in administrating the affaires of the realme. Whereupon in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred and fortie, and the fourth yeare of James the second, the gouernor and the chancellor assemble a councell of the nobilitie at Edenburgh. In the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred fortie and foure, being the eight of the same James the second, both the gouernor and the chancellor (at the persuasion of William earle Dowglas) were remoued from their offices by the king, who being now about foureteen yeres old, had taken the absolute gouernement of the kingdome vpon him: besides which they were also put from the councell, their friends were banished the court, and they were summoned to appeare before the king, which they refused, not as giltie in conscience, but as fearing the crueltie of their enimies, whereupon they were proclamed rebels and put to the horne, which occasioned William Dowglasse the chancellors great enimie to gather a power and spoile the lands of this William Creichton, for requit all whereof, Creichton gathered a like power, entred the land of Dowglasse, and spoiled the same all that he could, which thing adding further heat to the Dowglasse, caused him to procure the king in the yéere of Christ one thousand foure hundred fortie and fiue, being the ninth yéere of the kings reigne, to demand of Creichton the deliuerie of the castles of Edenburgh and of Creichton, which he denieng to do vntill the king came to full age, had all his goods confiscat, hauing therein no iniurie done vnto him, for as saith Lesleus: Primus omnium sanciuerat Creichtonus, vt qui regi castrum aliquod postulanti restiterit, violatæ maiestatis arcessatur, cuius ille legis pœnam primus subijt, as he did which deuised Phalaris bull. But after, when the king had besieged Edenburgh castle nine moneths, Creichton being therein, the same was deliuered with condition, that Creichton should still remaine chancellor, which obteined, he neuer after delt in affairs of the common welth, whereby growing againe into the kings fauour, he was with others in the yéere of Christ one thousand foure hundred fortie & fiue, being the tenth of James the second, sent ambassador to the duke of Gelderland to obteine Marie the dukes daughter to wife for the king, which he brought to passe. All which notwithstanding, in the yeare following he fell againe into the princes disgrace, and was by parlement holden in the yere of Christ one thousand foure hundred fortie and seuen, forfalted, for that his seruants would not deliuer Creichtons house or castle to the king, as before you haue heard. But after as it séemeth, such is the mutabilitie of fortune, he returned into the kings grace, for which in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred and fiftie, he was by the earle Dowglasse (supposing him to be the cause that the king misliked the earle) assaulted one morning as he was comming out of the castle of Edenburgh, from which although wounded, he escaped vnto his castle of Creichton, where in short space after he assembled a power, recouered Edenburgh from the Dowglasse, and had destroied the earle at that present, if he had not shifted awaie more spédilie: who being thus dishonorablie chased from Edenburgh, drew the erle of Crawford and Rosse to ioine with him against Creichton, but he little estæming thereof and requiting good for euill, did in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred fiftie and three, or a thousand foure hundred fiftie and foure as some haue, procure a pardon for the earle of Crawford, græuouslie fallen into the kings displeasure. In which yeare also the king calling a parlement at Edenburgh, the earledome of Murreie was giuen to sir James Creichton, or rather restored to him, from whome it had béene wrongfullie taken by the vniust sentence of William earle of Dowglasse, who had procured it to be assigned to his brother Archibald Dowglasse, although the right remained in the same sir James Creichton. But yet when the same sir James could not kæpe that earledome without the enuie of diuers persons, he surrendred the same into the kings hands. Beside all which at this parlement was George Creichton created earle of Cathnesse, which I thought good to note in this place, because it touched the name of Creichton, whereof I do now intreat by reason of this chancellor.

Lesleus lib. 8. pag. 297.

Andrew Steward lord of Anandale was chancellor of Scotland in the yere of Christ one thousand foure hundred three score and eight, being about the eight yeare of the reigne of king James the third, & was sent with others into Norweie to conclude a mariage with the king of Denmarke, betwæne his daughter Margaret & the king of Scots, which ladie he brought with him into Scotland in Julie, at what time they were married accordinglie. Some yeares after which, that is about the yeare of Christ one

Andrew Steward.

one thouſand foure hundred foure ſcore and two, and the two and twentith of James the third, when Alexander Steward Duke of Albanie with the duke of Glocester were come vnto Kaikaig with the Engliſh power, this man amongſt others, was ſent to the Engliſh campe to treat with the two dukes, with whom in the end an agreement was made. By which the duke of Albanie, before fled out of Scotland, was reſtored home, and had both honors and offices beſtowed on him; who with this chancellor & other noble men had the gouernment of the kingdome for a certeine ſpace: during which time, this duke the chancellor and others, going to viſit the quæne at Sterling, the duke by the quænes perſuaſion without knowledge of the other, went to Edenburgh, and by force reſtored the king to libertie, before taken and kept in hold by ſome of the nobilitie, which being knowne to the chancellor and the other lords at Sterling, they fled to their owne countries.

James Beton archbiſhop of Glaſcow was chancellor in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand five hundred & thirtæne, being the firſt yeare of king James the fift. This man being of great wiſdome, was appointed amongſt others to aſſiſt the quæne in the gouernment of the realme, wherevnto ſhe was for a time aduanced: but the woman not enduring to be directed by others, taking quarell againſt the biſhop, did immediatlie after the mariage, performed the firt of Auguſt, in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand five hundred and fouretæne, betweene hir and Archibald Dowglaſſe earle of Angus (which this biſhop incountred as much as he could) take the great ſeale from the ſaid biſhop of Glaſcow, at ſaint Johns towne, wher vpon the biſhop got him to Edenburgh, and aſſiſted with manie lords, kept the quæne and hir husband out of that towne, whereby great diſſention and part taking was raiſed amongſt the nobilitie of the realme. But as I gather, peace being made betweene them, he was againe made chancellor. After this, in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand five hundred and fiftæne, he commeth with the earle of Arrane, who ſubmitteth himſelfe to the gouernor. Shortlie following, the gouernor gaue to this archbiſhop of Glaſcow the abbeie of Arbroth, aſſigning to the earle of Murreis a large penſion out of the ſame, which biſhop being thus in fauor with the gouernor, was (in the yere of Chriſt one thouſand five hundred and ſeuentæne in Maie, when the gouernor went into France) apointed, amongſt others, to haue the rule of the realme vntill his returne. Two yeares after which, the nobilitie being diuided about the quarell of the earle of Angus & Arrane, this biſhop in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand five hundred and ninetæne, being then alſo chancellor, with other noble men of the realme, kept the towne of Glaſcow; but after that, this chancellor who would not come to Edenburgh, the king of England and of France their ambaſſadors came to Sterling, where a peace was proclamed amongſt the nobilitie.

James Beton.

But what can long continue in one ſtaie, or what peace will be long imbraced amongſt ambitious minds? ſith in the yeare following, being the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand five hundred and twentie, the noble men fell againe to factions: for when diuerſe of the peeres were come to Edenburgh to aid the earle of Angus againſt the earle of Arrane (this chancellor remaining then in the towne) they purſued the earle and chancellor ſo hotlie, that they were both conſtreined to forſake the towne, and to flie through the north Loch, about the thirtith daie of Aprill. But as the euents of quarels be doubtfull, now vp now downe, ſo this archbiſhop not long after this diſgrace, recouered breath, and in Nouember following, did accompanie the regent come out of France to Edenburgh, where was a parlement holden, to ſummon the earle of Angus to appeare; but he refuſing, it was agreed that the earle ſhould paſſe into England there to remaine.

The biſhop thus hauing the better of his enimies, Andrew Forman biſhop of S. Andrews died, in the yeare one thouſand five hundred twentie and two, being about the ninth yeare of James the firſt, by occaſion whereof, this chancellor James Beton biſhop of Glaſcow was aduanced to that ſee, and further made abbat of Dumfermling. Vpon which new honor, in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand five hundred twentie and foure, he was appointed one of the gouernors of the realme by parlement: but he not poſſeſſing this honor anie long time, the earle of Angus (who had gotten the king into his vſurped gouernment, and denied the deliuerie of the king, being ſent for by this biſhop and the other nobilitie) ſent to the chancellor for the great ſeale, which was deliuered to the meſſengers: vpon which, this biſhop not forgetting the ſame, haſtened the ſentence of diuorce ſued before him, betweene the quæne and the earle of Angus. Whereof the earle, to reuenge the ſame, did with the king, in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand five hundred twentie and ſir, ſeeke for the quæne and the biſhop of ſaint Andrews: but becauſe they were kept ſecretlie in their friends houſes (ſo that they could not be heard of) he ſpoiled the abbeie of Dumfermling, and the caſtell of ſaint Andrews, taking awaie all that the archbiſhop had. Notwithſtanding which, the archbiſhop keeping in fauor with the old quæne and the yong king, did in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand five hundred twentie and nine, and the ſirtæenth yeare of James the fift, chriſten James the kings ſonne borne at ſaint Andrews, and not long after, ſurrendered his ſoule to God in the ſaid yeare one thouſand five hundred thirtie and nine: of whome it ſhall not greeue me to ſet downe what Leſleus hath written, which though it be ſomewhat long, yet becauſe it is neceſſarie, I had rather ſet downe the plaine words of the author, than by abridging of them into our our tong, to depriue the author of his due by his owne ſtile: thus therefore he writeth.

Iacobus Betonius archiepiſcopus Santandreapolitanus, qui maximis reipublicæ honoribus ſummáque gloria apud nos quàm diutiſſimè floruerat, ætate iam grandior, naturæ concedebat, ac in æde ſancti Andreæ tumulo honorificè tegebatur. Hic antiſtes quoſdam, quos egregiè charos habuit, viuus conſtituebat, vt in beneficia ſibi mortuo ſufficerẽtur. In epiſcopatum autem Santandreapolitanum, ac in abbathiam Arbrothenſem, vir ſumma prudentia, & animi magnitudine præſtans Dauid Betonius cardinalis, eius ex fratre nepos, in abbathiam verò Dumfirmlingenſem Georgius Dureus, in alia denique alij: quam illius voluntatem rex non impediuit, quo minùs illi, quos archiepiſcopus ante obitum conſtituerat, beneficijs liberè fruerentur: ne cuius viui mentem ſemper laudaret, eius mortui voluntatem malitioſè videretur reſcidiſſe. Hic archiepiſcopus præcipuum illius collegij quod nouum Santandreapoli dicitur, partim ſuo ſumptu excitauit, ac maximam pecuniæ vim qua reliqua pars inchoata perpoliretur, teſtato reliquit: verùm pecunia illa in alios vſus poſtea traducta, collegij ius (ne quid acriùs dicam) perierat. Thus much Leſle, and thus much I, touching this chancellor, ſpoken of alſo in my treatiſe of the archbiſhops of ſant Andrews.

Leſleus lib. 9. pag. 450.

Gawen Dunbar archbiſhop of Glaſcow, and the kings ſchoolemaiſter, was chancellor as appeareth by Leſleus lib. 9. pag. 399. who in in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand five hundred twentie and two, writeth: Non multò poſt Andreas Formannus epiſcopus

copus Santandreapolitanus vitâ ceſſit, huius quàm primũ honore ac titulo inſigniebatur Iacobus Betonus archiepiſcopus Glaſcuenſis, qui quidem archiepiſcopatus omniũ ſumma voluntate ceſſit præſtãtiſſimo cuidam viro Gawino Dunbarro; cui quòd reconditæ eruditionis, ſinceri vitæ conſilijque grauiſſimi laudibus præſtiterit, regis tenella ætas moribus doctrináque informanda credebatur, quem intimis ſenſibus ita dilexit rex, vt ſui intimi concilij ſocium, regníque cancellarium poſtea illum coaptáuerat.

Dauid Beton (the brothers ſonne of James Beton deceaſed archbiſhop of ſaint Andrews) was chancellor of Scotland, who being abbat of Arbroth, was with others ſent ambaſſador into France in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand fiue hundred thirtie and foure, being the one and twentith yeare of the gouernment of James the fift, for to procure the earle of Vandoſmes ſiſter in mariage for the king; but the ſame toke not effect, becauſe the king going in perſon into France liked hir not. About three yeares after, which was in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand fiue hundred thirtie and ſeuen, and the foure and twentith yeare of James the fift, this Dauid was aduanced to the honor of a cardinall, of which title I do not at this time remember, that euer I haue read ante other to haue inioied but Walter Wardlaw, of whome Onuphrius thus writeth:

Two cardinals oneli in Scotland.

Walterus epiſcopus Glaſcuenſis presbyter cardinalis creatus, anno Domini 1383, 10 kalend. Ianua. 6 pontificatus Clemẽtis 7, obijt inter annum 1400, & 1409, whome the Scotiſh hiſtories make cardinall somewhat before in the yeare one thouſand three hundred fourſcore and two, about the eleuenth yeare of Robert the ſecond (at what time with others he was ſent to Charles king of France as ambaſſador to renew the league betweene France & Scotland) by Paul the third, then pope of Rome, to whom alſo the king of France gaue in commendam the biſhoprike of Miropen: of the making of which Beton cardinall, thus the ſame Onuphrius writeth: Dauid de ſancto Andrea Scotus npiſcopus Miropienſis presbyter cardinalis tituli ſancti Stephani in Cælio monte creatus, anno Domini, 1538, 13 kalend. Ianuar. per Paulum tertiũ; anno pontificatus 13. In which words Onuphrius, and Leſleus following him, refer the creation of this cardinall vnto the yeare one thouſand fiue hundred thirtie and eight, though others attribute it to the yeare one thouſand fiue hundred thirtie and ſeuen. In which yeare one thouſand fiue hundred thirtie and eight, he was with others ſent ambaſſador into France after the death of the quéene, to procure Marie of Lorreine widow ducheſſe of Longuile, and daughter to the duke of Guiſe, to be giuen to king James in mariage; which matter he brought to his deſired effect.

The nert yeare after, being the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand fiue hundred thirtie and nine, as you haue heard before, he was by his vncle James Beton archbiſhop of ſainct Andrews, & abbat of Arbroth, appointed to ſuccéd in the ſame biſhops ſée and abbeie, which he inioied accordinglie: who aduanced with theſe dignities, did after the death of James the fift, falling in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand fiue hundred foortie and two, labor by policies and other extraordinarie deuiſes to be gouernor of the realme, during the minoritie of the yong quéene; but he was diſappointed thereof by the nobilitie, who choſe the earle of Arrane to that function; by meanes whereof, there fell continuall diſſentions betweene the nobilitie, which ended not vntill this cardinall was ſlaine as after it ſhall apeare. For shortlie after in the ſaid yeare one thouſand fiue hundred foortie and two, being committed to ward (in the caſtle of Dalketh vnder the cuſtodie of the lord Seton, smallie fauoring the French faction) becauſe he would haue perſuaded the nobilitie to forſake the motion of the K. of England, determining to marie his ſon prince Edward to the yong quéene of Scots. But the cardinall did not long remaine there; for by the gouernors appointment he was remoued to his owne caſtell of S. Andrews, hauing watch and ward about him, to ſee him ſafelie kept, in which place alſo he did not long continue: for corrupting his kæpers he found meanes to eſcape; which done, in the yeare one thouſand fiue hundred foortie and three, he came to the coronation of the yong quéene, and shortlie after perſuaded the earle of Arrane the gouernor to leaue the part of the king of England, and wholie to become French.

Now at the coronation, the cardinall ordered all things, appointing euerie officer, and growing into great credit, did in like ſort at other times diſpoſe of the common-wealth as ſéemed beſt liking vnto him. Whereupon, the earle of Leneur taking part with the Engliſh, oppoſed himſelfe againſt the gouernor and the cardinall, whereby followed sharpe warres, the cardinall ſtill ſupporting and counſelling the gouernor: which troubles being somewhat abated, by reaſon the earle of Leneur was gone into England, the cardinall in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand foure hundred foortie and foure, receiued the patriarch of Jeruſalem arriued in Scotland. In which meane time, there was great contention betwéene the cardinall and the archbiſhop of Glaſcow, for bearing their croſſes in the others iuriſdiction: whereupon they fell from words to ſwords, which the gouernor appeaſed: that done, the patriarch the popes legat comming to Rome, procured the legantine power to be granted to this cardinall, which he long inioied not. For being greatlie enuied by reaſon of theſe honors & some grœuous facts, certeine perſons in the yeare one thouſand fiue hundred foortie and ſix (after that he had burned George Wiſchart a learned man, condemned at ſaint Andrews by an aſſemblie of biſhops) did the thirtéene daie of Maie (when they had ſecretlie in the morning entered the caſtell of ſaint Andrews where the cardinall was) expell the porters of the foreſaid caſtell, the cardinals ſeruants, and ſlue the cardinall naked as he came to méete them, whoſe death ſir James Liermount prouoſt of ſaint Andrews thought to haue ſtaied by aſſembling a power therefore: but after that he ſaw the cardinals dead bodie hanged out ouer the wals, he made no further attempt. The death of which cardinall comming to the gouernors eares, he baniſhed the author thereof, as writeth Leſleus in theſe words: Gubernator, quòd nec cognato ſuo ſanguinis coniunctio, nec cardinali dignitas, nec cancellario maieſtas ac domus propria, ad impiorum inſidias effugendas quicquam profuerit, ægerrimè ferre. Conſilio itaque Huntlei ac Argadij ſuaſu indicto, in cædis auctores capitis proſcriptioniſque ſententia data eſt.

Leſleus lib. 10. pag. 482.

George Gordon earle of Huntleie, ſonne of John Gordon, being chancellor of Scotland, in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand fiue hundred foortie and ſeauen, falling about the fift yeare of the reigne of Marie quéen of Scots, was taken priſoner by the Engliſh at Muſkelborow field, who pitieng the miſerie of diuerſe of his countriemen, wounded and taken at the ſame battell, did vndertake for their ranſome; whereupon they were permitted to depart, and left to ſhift for themſelues as well as they might. In the nert yeare, which was the yeare of Chriſt (as hath Leſleus one thouſand fiue hundred foortie and eight) the protector of Scotland ſent Carnegie knight and senator to the protector of England, to ranſome Huntleie, or at the leaſt to obteine that his wife might

George Gordon.

wiſe might come vnto him. Whereupon the earle was with his keepers permitted to come to Moꝛphet, where expecting his wife, he thought vpon his eſcape, and from thenſe after ſupper, deceiuing his warders, he fled by night into Scotland, through the aid of one Geoꝛge Carre his deere friend, who pꝛouided him ſpeedie hoꝛſes therefoꝛe. The earle being thus come into Scotland, was ioifullie interteined of the queene, the gouernoꝛ, and the other nobilitie; but chiefelie of his wife, whoſe earneſt deſire to ſee him was the occaſion of his eſcape. But as all ioie hath ſome hard hap foꝛ the moſt part attending vpon the ſame; ſo this earle did after feele the foꝛce of like miſfoꝛtune. Foꝛ about ſeuen yeares after, in the yeare of Chꝛiſt one thouſand fiue hundꝛed fiftie and foure, he was againe committed to pꝛiſon as after ſhall appeare. Befoꝛe which, in the yeare of Chꝛiſt one thouſand fiue hundꝛed and fiftie, he with other noble men goeth into France with the queene mother of Scotland; but before that iourney, whileſt he was pꝛeparing foꝛ the ſame, he commanded William Mackintoſch chiefe of the Glenchattins to be executed at Strathbolgie, foꝛ a pꝛiuie conſpiracie made againſt him, being the kings lieutenant in the noꝛth parts. Which thing raiſed a great commotion like to haue ſucceeded to great ſlaughters (in that the earle of Caſſels and manie others fauoꝛed Mackintoſch) if the wiſdome of the queene mother had not appeaſed the ſame.

After that the queene mother had bin in France, ſhe in the ſame yeare of Chꝛiſt one thouſand fiue hundꝛed and fiftie, returned into Scotland through England; but the earle Huntleie warlie fearing to fall into the dangers of the Engliſh (whome he thought would not foꝛget his eſcape from them, returned by ſea into his owne countrie: after which, when he had beene about foure yeares in Scotland, the queene mother regent in the yeare of Chꝛiſt one thouſand fiue hundꝛed fiftie and foure, ſent this earle Huntleie into Heitland to take Iohn Mudꝛad: but returning without him, he was committed to pꝛiſon in Edenburgh the eleuenth of October: at what time the regent changed all the officers, toke awaie the great ſeale from this earle Huntleie the chancelloꝛ, and gaue it to monſieur Rubie a Frenchman, which monſieur Rubie thus made keeper of the great ſeale in the ſaid yeare of Chꝛiſt one thouſand fiue hundꝛed fiftie and foure, and the twelfth yeare of Marie queene of Scots, had the vſe of the ſame ſeale in the place of the earle Huntleie then chancelloꝛ in ward. But the earle of Huntleie after being ſet at libertie, it ſeemeth that he was ſtill chancelloꝛ. Foꝛ beſides that Leſleus ſaith that he was reſtoꝛed to all his dignities (except the earldome of Murreie, whereof he had a gift of inheritance, the earldome of Marre, the farmes of Oꝛkeneie & Heitland, and the queenes land at Straitſdie, all which he gaue foꝛ his libertie) he is alſo by the Scotiſh hiſtoꝛies named ſtill chancelloꝛ, in the yeare of Chꝛiſt one thouſand fiue hundꝛed threeſcoꝛe and one, and the nineténth yeare of queene Marie, being then by the nobilitie amongſt other, choſen to be of the pꝛiuie councell. Of whome befoꝛe this alſo Leſleus wꝛiteth, that in the yeare of Chꝛiſt one thouſand fiue hundꝛed fiftie and nine, the queene hauing receiued a bill of ſupplication from the pꝛoteſtants: Illa hunc protinus libellum ſupplicem per Huntleum regni cancellarium ſynodo exhibendum, vt de illis definiret, reddidit.

Monſieur Rubie keper of the great ſeale.

After this, in the yeare of Chꝛiſt one thouſand fiue hundꝛed threeſcoꝛe and two, in October being the twentith yeare of the ſame queene, he was in the faction betweene him and others (foꝛ diuerſe miſdemeanoꝛs alſo, vpon his comming with an armie to Coꝛnethie in Mar) ſlaine, and Iohn Goꝛdon his ſonne taken pꝛiſoner, bꝛought to Aberdine the nine and twentith of October, and there beheaded. Now foꝛ the other chancelloꝛs which followed in ſucceſſion of time, becauſe they fall yet freſh in memoꝛie, and ſome mention is made of them in this my continuation of theſe annals; I doo not intend to make anie double recitall of them in that place, being a thing ſuperfluous ſo to doo; & therefoꝛe, & becauſe Omne nimium vertitur in vitium (whereto the lawiers agree ſaieng, that Fruſtra fit per plura quod fieri poteſt per pauciora) I will referre thee foꝛ the ſupplement of this title of the chancelloꝛs, to the ſame continuation of my annals, there at thy pleaſure to collect and diſpoſe them, as beſt ſhall ſerue thine owne memoꝛie oꝛ knowledge.

Wherefoꝛe leauing them, and returning to the conſideration of other things, which following time hath begotten and bꝛought foꝛth in Scotland: we ſaie, that as the queene of England had befoꝛe time, after the taking of Sterling, ſent maiſter Knolles into Scotland to vnderſtand the eſtate of theſe times: ſo in like ſoꝛt the Scots with like congratulation, diſpatched a meſſenger vnto the queene of England, by whome ſhe might haue knowledge of ſuch things as were after done. Foꝛ maiſter William Keith one of the chamber to the king, was ſent from the king of Scots to the queene of England in the ſame moneth of December, a little befoꝛe Chꝛiſtmas with letters, who comming to the court then remaining at Greenewich, did there make deliuerie of the ſame letters. During whoſe abode here in England, ſome of thoſe which had befoꝛe aſſiſted the earles of Angus and Marre, againſt ſuch as ſeemed to nouriſh the king in the Romane religion, fell from their foꝛmer opinion, & either foꝛ loue to the ſame Romane religion, oꝛ foꝛ malice to other of the nobilitie, oꝛ foꝛ a deſire to be ſingular to themſelues, imbꝛaced the aboliſhed doctrine of the pope, & ſet vp the ceremonie of Italie. Amongſt whome, one, not of the meaneſt, the loꝛd Marwell, who had maried the earle of Angus his ſiſter, did in Januarie aduance the ſame, and heard maſſe at Lincloudon a mile from Dumfries, contrarie to the publike lawes appointed in Scotland. Wheꝛof intelligence being bꝛought vnto the king, he foꝛthwith diſpatched a meſſenger vnto him, commanding him to ſurceaſe the ſame. But the loꝛd Marwell perſiſting in that his foꝛmer action, was (in the end apꝛehended, and vpon the refuſall of an oth touching the ſame, accoꝛding to the lawes of Scotland) committed to pꝛiſon in Edenburgh, where he long remained.

William Keith ſent into England.

The loꝛd Marweil heareth maſſe.

Theſe things thus done in Scotland, the afoꝛenamed maiſter Keith departed from London towards that countrie, about the foure and twentith of Januarie, with anſwer that hir maieſtie of England would ſhoꝛtlie ſend an ambaſſadoꝛ into Scotland, who ſhould fullie ſatiſfie the king in all things, and farther deliuer vnto him the full of hir maieſties determination. Whereupon Thomas Randolph eſquier, a perſon who had manie times befoꝛe executed that function in thoſe countries, and was well acquainted both with the ſtate & maners of the people, was by the queene of England diſpatched into thoſe parts; who being ſo authoꝛiſed, toke his iourneie from London towards Scotland on the eight date of Febꝛuarie. After which, in Apꝛill following, maiſter Archibald Dowglaſſe (one that had beene ſometime of the ſeſſion oꝛ parlement of Edenburgh) hauing remained ſome yeares here in England, vpon diſpleaſures which the king of Scots conceiued againſt him, did make his returne into his owne countrie, where he behaued himſelfe ſo

Maiſter Randolph goeth into Scotland.

1586

wiſelie, that he obteined great fauor after his returne home. In this yeare, the preſbyterie (as they had manie times done before, but eſpeciallie in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand fiue hundred foureſcore and three, which I thought to note in this place, becauſe I would not often vſe repetition of one thing done at ſeuerall times in ſo manie places) did excommunicat their metropolitan the archbiſhop of S. Andrews, and the reſt of the biſhops alſo, becauſe they would not in all their actions, ſupport and confirme the doctrine which the preſbyterie had eſtabliſhed. Which excommunication the preſbyterie did the more boldlie, becauſe they were ſupported by the aſſiſtance of the maiſter of Lindſeie, a great enimie to this Patrike Adamſon biſhop of ſaint Andrews.

But the king in the beginning did aſſiſt him againſt them, and the archbiſhop did in like ſort thunder an excommunication againſt them. Which diuiſion not being méete to be in the cleargie, who ought to be (as the apoſtles were) of one hart, and of one mind, will in the end as Chriſt ſaith, bring the ſame realme to confuſion: for Omne regnum in ſe diuiſum deſolabitur: which muſt néedes be, where euerie man will be a lord, & that the inferior of the clergie will neither acknowledge nor obeis anie ſuperiors. In which place, ſith I haue mentioned Patrike Adamſon the archbiſhop of ſaint Andrews, becauſe I ſhall not haue occaſion to ſpeake anie more of him, I will here ſet downe a collection of all the archbiſhops of that ſée.

A Cathalog of the archbiſhops of ſaint *Andrews, collected out of the hiſtories* of Scotland.

THe Scots ſéeking meanes to rid themſelues from ſubiection of the biſhop of Yorke, who was the metropolitane of Scotland, did in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand foure hundred threeſcore and foureténe obteine of the pope that they might haue a metropolitane ſée within themſelues, by reaſon of the continuall wars which was betwéene the two nations; during which they could neither vſe apellations to their metropolitane, nor haue other biſhops conſecrated. Whereupon the pope erected the church of S. Andrews into an archbiſhoprike in the time of king James the third, touching which, thus writeth Leſleus, lib. 8. pag. 317. Hoc anno (which was the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand foure hundred threeſcore and fourténe) Patricius Grahamus ſedis Andreapolitanæ eccleſiæ epiſcopus, crebris litteris ac nuntijs a papa efflagitauit, vt metropolitana poteſtas in diui Andreæ ciuitate figeretur: iniquũ eſſe enim contendit, vt Scoti ab Eboracenſi epiſcopo tanquam primate pẽderent, cùm propter crebra bella (quibus ſe Scoti & Angli mutuò laceſſunt) Scotis ad illum non pateretur tutus acceſſus, nec liberum ius, præſertim in appellationibus. Annuit ſummus pontifex, vt Andreapolitano deinceps epiſcopo poteſtas metropolitana incumbat. Dies indulto pontifici promulgandi menſe Septembri dicta eſt, atque maxima populi nobiliúmque lætitia celebrata. Epiſcopi reliqui Grahami odio flagrantes, illius authoritatem repudiant, regiſque animum ingenti pecunia (which was as other authors ſaie, eleuen thouſand marks) occupant, ne Grahami partibus ſtuderet. Interea præſules Romã mittunt qui ſui defenſionem contra Grahamum ſuſcipiunt. But in the end they did not preuaile. Graham was made archbiſhop.

Patrike Graham being biſhop of ſaint Andrews and the firſt archbiſhop of that ſée, was after his aduancement to that title deprriued in this ſort. In the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand foure hundred threé ſcore and seuenténe, pope Sixtus the fourth of that name ſent a legat called Huſman into Scotland, which ſhould diſplace this Patrike the archbiſhop of ſaint Andrews, condemned by the ſentence of the pope and the cardinals for an heretike, ſchiſmatike, ſimoniake, wherupon he was depriued of all eccleſiaſticall dignitie, and commanded to perpetuall priſon; in whoſe place was William Schewes choſen, to whoſe cuſtodie and diſpoſition this Patrike was committed, after which Graham being remoued for his ſafe impriſonment firſt to ſaint Colms Ile, then to Dumfermeling, and laſtlie to Locheleuine, there in the end he died, and was buried in ſaint Sarffis or Seruinianus Ile in Locheleuine after that he had béene three yeares archbiſhop. Leſleus. lib. 8. pag. 318.

William Schewes being created archbiſhop of ſaint Andrews in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand foure hundred threéſcore and eighténe as ſome haue, or one thouſand foure hundred threéſcore and nineténe as others haue, in the Holie rood houſe in Edenburgh, in the preſence of king James and manie of the nobilitie receiued the pall, as the enſigne of his metropolitane power, being declared legat and primat of Scotland, at what time he was not withſtood by anie of the other biſhops, who being eſtranged from ſhewing anie fauor to Graham, did often infringe his authoritie, and in the end expelled the ſame Graham from his archiepiſcopall ſée. After which in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand foure hundred foureſcore & two, this archbiſhop Schewes fled into his owne countrie, and after at the requeſt of the king reſigned his archbiſhoprike, contenting himſelfe with the biſhoprike of Murrie. William Schewes.

Andrew Steward vncle to king James the third was vpon the reſignation of William Schewes made archbiſhop of ſaint Andrews, after which in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand foure hundred foure ſcore and foure the king ſent this archbiſhop ambaſſador to Rome for the obteining of certeine priuileges, which he brought to effect. In the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand foure hundred foureſcore and eleuen, in the time of king James the fourth, about the third yeare of his reigne was great contention betwéene the archbiſhops of ſaint Andrews and Glaſcow, touching both their authorities: which when it had drawen manie of the nobilitie into diuers factions, it was ceaſed by the king for a certeine time, vntill all doubt thereof might be taken awaie, by deciding the ſame by the canon law before eccleſiaſticall iudges. Then in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand fiue hundred and ſeuen, being about the ninetéenth yeare of James the fourth, the biſhop of ſaint Andrews with the earle of Arrane were ſent ambaſſadors into France. Andrew Steward. Leſleus. 1483

Alexander Steward baſtard ſonne to king James the fourth, was made archbiſhop of ſaint Andrews in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand fiue hundred and ten, about the two and twentith of the reigne of the ſame James the fourth: this man hauing long ſtudied with Eraſmus in Germanie, and in the low countries was aduanced to this ſée of the archbiſhoprike when he was yet in Flanders; who hauing intelligence thereof by his frends, came forthwith into Scotland, where he was ioifullie receiued by the king, the nobilitie, & his kindred. He was ſlaine togither with his father king James the fourth at Floden field, in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand fiue hundred and thirténe. After which, John Hepburne prior of ſaint Andrews ſtronglie beſieging the caſtle of ſaint Andrews, forced the ſame to be yéelded vnto him. The cauſe of which beſiege grew, that Hepburne being choſen biſhop of ſaint Andrews by his canons of that church (whereunto the whole nobilitie Alexander Steward. Leſleus. lib. 8. pag. 353.

were

were helpers) was hindered to poſſeſſe that archbiſhoprike, by ſuch ſtipendarie people of Gawine Dowglaſſe as kept the caſtle; wherevpon the quæne and the earle of Angus, after that they vnderſtood how the caſtle was by force come into the hands of Hepburne, did take in euill part that he who was ſo troubleſome vnto them, ſhould aſcend to ſo high a dignitie, and that Gawine Dowglaſſe ſo déerelie to them beloued, and to whom they had giuen that biſhoprike ſhould be helpleſſe of the recouerie therof. Wherevpon the quæne and the duke of Albanie diligentlie labored by ambaſſadors ſent to Rome, that a third perſon (ſith Gawine Dowglaſſe could not obteine it) might be aduanced therevnto, which third man was Andrew Forman biſhop of Murrie: further requiring therewithall that he might be abbat of Dumfermling, & Aberbroth, which in the end with much intreatie they obteined of the pope.

Leſl. pag. 373.

Andrew Forman.

Andrew Forman biſhop of Murrie was at Edenburgh by the popes buls on the eighth kalends of Januarie in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand fiue hundred and fiftéene (being about the ſecond yeare of the reigne of James the fift) declared archbiſhop of S. Andrews, and abbat of Dumfermeling and Aberbroth. Wherevpon the prior of ſaint Andrews before named, ſtill contending that he was archbiſhop, both in reſpect of the election of the couent, and the conſent of the nobilitie, did labor all he could againſt Forman, appealing him to Rome, for which cauſe he with the lord Hales and other his frends came to Edenburgh to defend the matter, at what time the lord Hume chamberlaine of Scotland and ſuch others as openlie aſſiſted Forman, did oppoſe themſelues againſt the prior, which nobilitie (becauſe they were great in the court) did the more moleſt and hinder Hepburne, ſhortlie after by publike edict (and proclamation of the king) baniſhing the prior & his followers. Hepburne being ſtriken with the ſharpnes of that precept, did priuilie depart the towne, and the prior went to Rome, hoping by the popes authoritie to wreſt from Forman the archbiſhoprike, which he could not obteine by violence. But how he ſped at Rome I do not know, for I onelie find this, that in the yeare following, being the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand fiue hundred and ſixtéene, about the third yeare of the ſame James the fift, that the gouernor perceiuing that all theſe contentions, hatreds, and diuiſions of the nobilitie did ariſe by theſe braules, which were betweene Forman and Hepburne for the ſée of ſaint Andrews, deſired to cure this gréeuous wound made in the commonwealth. Wherefore he perſuaded Andrew Forman that he ſhould reſigne all his eccleſiaſticall benefices into his hands in an open aſſemblie at Edenburgh, for by that meanes the gouernour thought that he might pacifie the minds of the nobilitie, and vtterlie root out thoſe breaches of diſſention. Wherevpon there was a daie appointed to the nobilitie to aſſemble: at what time Andrew Forman frælie reſigned to the gouernor the duke of Albanie all his eccleſiaſticall promotion, to be diſpoſed at the dukes pleaſure. In conſideration thereof, the duke beſtowed the archbiſhoprike of ſaint Andrews and the abbeie of Dumfermling vpon the ſame Andrew Forman, and gaue the biſhoprike of Murrie to James Hepburne (greatlie fauored of the earle Bothwell and the competitor of Forman) being therevnto ſubſtitute by John Hepburne prior of ſaint Andrews in place of the ſaid John, to whom moreouer the duke appointed a yerelie penſion of a thouſand marks, to be paied by the ſame Forman out of the abbeie of Dumfermling. After which, about ſix yeares or somewhat leſſe, this Forman departed his life, being in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand fiue hundred twentie and two, and the ninth yeare of king James the fift, to whom ſucceeded James Beton.

James Beton.

James Beton archbiſhop of Glaſcow and chancellor of Scotland, was made archbiſhop of ſaint Andrews (as is before touched) after the death of Andrew Forman, hauing therewith the abbeie of Dumfermling, as his predeceſſor before had poſſeſſed it, of whom ſée more in my diſcourſe of the chancellors of Scotland.

Dauid Beton.

Dauid Beton brother to the ſame James Beton was after the death of the laſt archbiſhop of ſaint Andrews named to that ſée by his brother before his death, which place he poſſeſſed accordinglie, after the death of the ſame James Beton. Of this man being a cardinall I haue ſpoken more liberallie in my diſcourſe of the chancellors of Scotland.

John Hamilton.

John Hamilton (brother to the gouernour) being abbat of Paſlate, was by the ſame gouernour in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand fiue hundred fortie and ſir, being about the fourth yeare of Marie quæne of Scots made archbiſhop of S. Andrews, after that he had returned out of France (where he aplied his ſtudie) in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand fiue hundred fortie & thrée, being the firſt or ſecond of quæne Marie of Scotland. This man comming out of France, paſſed through England, and hauing other learned men in his companie, did viſit the king of England, of whome he was moſt honourablie and courteouſlie receiued. From whenſe going into Scotland he was made treaſuror, which office he kept as long as his brother was gouernour, whome he did further in all good counſels at home, and ſaue & defend in the wars abroad. Then in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand fiue hundred fiftie and nine, being the ſeauentéenth of quæne Marie, he was with the quæne beſieged in Leith. After ſtill following the quænes part, he with others méeteth hir in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand fiue hundred ſirtie and ſir, at Muſkelborow, and ſo attendeth on hir, who not long after in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand fiue hundred ſeuentie & one, being about the fourth yeare of James the firt, was taken in the caſtell of Dunbritaine, and ſent priſoner into Sterling, where being examined by the regent Matthew earle of Leneux, about the murther of Henrie king of Scots, ſonne to the ſaid Matthew, he was there drawne, hanged, and quartered, being the firſt archbiſhop that I haue yet heard of that ſuffered ſo ignominious a death.

Patrike Adamſon.

Patrike Adamſon *alias* Conſtance ſucceéded John Hamilton in the archbiſhoprike of ſaint Andrews, who poſſeſſing this place at this daie, and hauing occaſioned me to ſpeake of him in ſeuerall places in this my continuance of the annales of Scotland, is héere to be ouerpaſſed, and therefore I referre thée to the ſame annales, if thou deſire to know what I haue ſaid of him. ¶ Thus knitting vp the catalog of the archbiſhops of S. Andrews, we ſaie that as you haue heard before, that in Februarie laſt Thomas Randolph eſquier was ſent ambaſſador from the quæne of England into Scotland, ſo he ſtill remaining there a long time in that countrie diſpatcht his ambaſſage to good effect. During whoſe aboade there, there was an aſſemblie holden at Edenborough in Maie, wherein theſe things which follow were concluded vpon for the eſtabliſhing and order of the ſame commonwealth.

The articles concluded in the aſſemblie holden at Edenburgh in Maie.

FIrſt, the whole realme was diuided into 52 preſbyteries, & the number of miniſters and churches appointed to euerie preſbyterie.

2 That there shall be two prouinciall assemblies in the yeare in euerie prouince, the first tuesdaie of October and Aprill.

3 There shall be one generall assemblie in the yeare, the first of October next insuing.

4 All assemblies do consist of these persons, the pastor, doctor, and elders, & all the three to haue votes, as well in the presbyteries prouinciall as generall assemblies: and that all such as haue anie suites in the assemblies may see and here, but giue no vote except they be of the number of the three afore specified.

5 That there was onelie foure offices in the church, the pastor, doctor, elder and deacon, and that the name of bishop was onlie proper to the pastor or minister, and that he had especiall charge and function in the church, but no greater than a common pastor.

6 Item, that visitation in the church was lawfull, and at this time necessarie, in respect of the eldership as yet is not lawfullie planted, and that this visitation did apperteine onelie to a pastor or pastors sent from the assemblie, and not else.

7 That when euer the assemblie maketh mention of a bishop, they meane onelie S. Paules bishop and none other.

8 That the receiuing of presentations, giuing of collations, triall of ministers, deposing them for iust causes, shall be in the power of the most learned and soundest iudgement of two presbyteries, and this to stand vntill the presbyteries be better erected.

9 That a commissioner appointed by the generall assemblie, being a pastor, as pastor shall be tried and censured in life and doctrine by the presbyterie, or prouinciall assemblie, but in respect of his commission, he shall be tried by the generall assemblie, of whome he receiued the same.

10 If he admit or do any thing without consent of his assemblie, it shall be of no effect, and a iust cause of his deposition.

11 The power which he shall receiue shall be Ordinis causa non iurisdictionis.

12 Commission appointed by the prouinciall or generall assemblies to visit, shall visit presbyteries or particular churches, alwaies not preiudging the power of the presbyterie within the bounds of their visitation.

13 The visitors appointed by the generall assemblie for this present to stand for one yeare, and thereafter as the assemblie shall appoint.

14 That no commission giuen by anie in times past before the date of this assemblie shall be vaileable, but such onlie as the said assemblie shall appoint. In which assemblie also it seemeth that the kings maiestie made certeine requests, to haue somewhat established concerning the bishop of saint Andrews, whereupon these things were concluded against him, and he brought to subscribe the same, to the preiudice of his metropolitane iurisdiction ouer the rest of the clergie of his crowne.

The meanes taken in this generall assemblie, *touching the bishop of S. Andrews*, at the desire of the kings maiestie.

IF the bishop by his owne handwriting or personall appearance in the assemblie, will in Gods presence denie, that euer he publikelie professed or meant in anie sort to claime a supremasie, or to be iudge ouer other persons and ministers, or euer auowed the same to haue a ground in Gods word: and that if he had so done, it had beene great error and against his conscience and knowledge.

2 If he will denie, that in the last synodall assemblie he claimed to be iudge thereunto, and that if he had done it, that he erred in it, and in his impious behauiour or contempt of the said synod and his brethren, in that he will remit him to the brethren present, and craue pardon for the ouersight therof, and promise good behauiour in the time to come.

3 If he will promise to claime no further than he iustlie may by God his word, and according to the last conference, and endeuour himselfe in all behauiour to shew himselfe in all time to come a moderat person, and so serue, as that he may proue agreeable for a bishop prescribed by S. Paule, and so submit his life and doctrine to the iudgement and censure of the generall assemblie without anie reclamation, prouocation, or appellation from the same in anie time to insue.

These things being demanded at the archbishops hands, he was contented to yeeld to them by subscribing his name with his owne hand thereunto, which done, the said assemblie at Edenburgh did for their part in like sort publish their dutifull mind & obedience to his maiestie, in annulling the processe of excommunication against the said bishop of saint Andrews, and to continue him in his former estate, as followeth.

The decree of the assemblie at Edenburgh, *concerning the restitution of the* bishop of S. Andrews.

FOr his maiesties satisfaction, and to giue testimonie with what good will we would obeie his heires so farre as we ought, or in conscience we may, and for good hope we haue in his maiesties fauourable concurrence in building vp of the house of God within this realme, and bicause the processe of excommunication was laid, and the sentence pronounced during the time of the conference, whereupon his maiestie hath taken occasion of offense, which for manie good causes were conuenient to be remoued, we will forbeare to examine the said processe, or decide it, whatsoeuer prouocation or appellation, or to call in doubt the legalitie or forme of the said processe, or to condemne the said synod. Yet for the respects afore said, and vpon good and weightie considerations, we hold the said processe and sentence as vnlaied, vndeducted or pronounced, and restore the said bishops in all respects so farre as may concerne the said processe and sentence of excommunication in the former estate he was immediatlie before the same, like as no processe nor sentence had been laid and deducted against him. Prouiding alwaies he obserue what hath beene promised by him in the premisses, & behaue himselfe dutifullie in his vocation in all times comming.

This done the earle of Rutland (hauing a commission directed to him, to William lord Euers, and to the same Thomas Randolph) went to Berwike as hir maiesties ambassadours, to confirme that league betweene the two nations of England and Scotland, which the said Randolph had before concluded. Whereupon the commissioners of England, the earle of Rutland, and the lord Euers, from out of England, and Thomas Randolph from out of Scotland, came to Berwike the place appointed where this league should be fullie stablished. For the meeting of whome at the same place, were commissioners of like number, and equall honor and authoritie, appointed to come to Berwike for Scotland. But some delaie being made of their appearance, and manie excuses therewith to interteine time by messengers vsed, at the length commeth to Berwike Francis earle Bothwell, Robert lord Boid, and

and ſir James Hume of Colden Knowles knight and baron, commiſſioners for the king of Scots, who there meeting with the foreſaid commiſſioners of England, did conclude a league defenſiue and ofenſiue betweene theſe two nations: which done, the earle of Rutland returned home, and maiſter Randolph departed againe into Scotland to take his leaue of the king, whome when he had ſaluted he left, and returning into England came to London about the fifteenth of Auguſt, where I will now leaue him. But before I turne my pen to any of the perſons of Scotland, I determine to ſet downe certeine verſes which Buchanan dedicated vnto him. For although they be matter impertinent to this hiſtorie of Scotland, yet bicauſe they were written to him (here mentioned) by a Scot, and are meet for the inſtructions of the yong Scotiſh king, I will not refuſe to ſet them downe in this ſort as followeth:

Sæpe tibi Randolphe iubes me pingere regem,
Qualem optem, tribuat ſic mihi vota Deus.
Accipe: ſit primùm veræ pietatis amator,
Effigiem ſummi ſe putet eſſe Dei,
Pacem amet: & ſi res poſcat, ſit ad arma paratus,
Exuat in victos arma, odiúmque ſimul,
Nolo nimis parcus, nimiùm ſit nolo benignus,
Vtráque regno æqua eſt exitioſa lues,
Non ſibi ſed populo ſeſe putet eſſe creatum,
Et ſe communem ciuibus eſſe patrem:
Puniat inuitus, cùm res iubet eſſe ſeuerum,
Publica cùm poſcent commoda lenis erit.
Viuat, vt exemplar populo ſit recta ſequendi,
Sit vultus prauis terror, amórque bonis,
Excolat impenſe ingenium, corpúſque modeſtè,
Luxuriem frænet cum ratione pudor:
Iam tacitus tecum, tentas me fallere, tanquam
In tabula noſtram qui mihi pingit heram.

During the time of the abode of this Randolph in Scotland, there was an ambaſſador ſent from the king of France to the king of Scots, which ambaſſador being called monſieur D'annauall had at this time ſmall interteinment in Scotland; where not ſtaieng long after that Randolph was come into England, he alſo came hither out of Scotland, to the end to paſſe through this countrie into France. This ſummer Montgomerie erle of Eglinton, whoſe father died not manie yeares before, hauing married the daughter of the lord Boid was ſlaine in this ſort. The earle being a goodlie yong gentleman, and like to proue a good member of his countrie, as manie of his anceſtors had done before, did for his delight ride forth on hunting (a warlike exerciſe, & much vſed by the Scots) about fiue or ſix miles frõ his owne caſtell, where hauing ſatiſfied his pleaſure, he returned home. But hauing wait laid for him by an ambuſh of his enimies, he was in his iorneie towards his caſtell intercepted by the lord of Glencarns brother, with the lards of Hacket and Robertſlands, and ſome of the ſurnames of the Muirs; at what time he was moſt miſerablie ſlaine by them to their great diſhonor, and his countries diſcommoditie. After which, in September Archibald Dowglaſſe (who as you heard before departing this realme in Aprill laſt, was admitted to come into his owne countrie) was ſent ambaſſador from the king of Scots to the quéene of England; in whoſe companie were attendant on him William Purro one of the kings chamber, and Richard Dowglaſſe nephue vnto the ſame Archibald. Which ambaſſador after his comming into England, had full audience at the court then remaining at Windſore, on the firſt of the ſame moneth of September, with whome remaining ſtill here in England, at the writing hereof, expecting the end of his ambaſſage; I will ſet end to this ſlender diſcourſe. Thus hauing patched vp a Rapſodie of ſome few things done in Scotland ſince the yeare of our Lord one thouſand fiue hundred ſeuentie and one, in which I began my annals of that countrie ſo nakedlie deliuered by me, I determine to knit vp all whatſoeuer is ſet downe before, with a catalog of ſuch writers of Scotland, as either by mine owne ſearch in hiſtories, or by others intelligence by conference haue come vnto my hand. The which I haue bene the willinger to do, becauſe I would obſerue that courſe in Scotland which I haue done in my additions to the hiſtorie of England, firſt written by Raphaell Holinſhed. For hauing there cloſed vp that hiſtorie with a generall catalog of all ſuch as haue written anie thing concerning England, ſo will I wrap vp theſe annals of Scotland, much after that manner, with a generall diſcourſe of the writers of that countrie. In doing whereof I haue not refuſed to follow the order of Leſleus and other hiſtoriographers of Scotland, obſerning the like courſe in the repetition of the names of a few perſons at the end of moſt of their kings.

A generall catalog of the writers of *Scotland, with the times in which they liued*, as well of the yeare of Chriſt, as *of the reigne of Scotiſh kings.*

Before I enter into the diſcourſe thereof (which I ſpeake not by waie of impeaching anie glorie of the Scotiſh nation) I muſt deliuer the opinion which I conceiue of ſome of the Scotiſh writers, ſet downe by manie of their hiſtoriographers, who (ſauing correction) finding manie learned writers to be termed Scots, do tranſferre them to all their owne countrie of Scotland. But in that they ſeeme vnto me (holding the ſame for this preſent vntill I may ſee good authoritie to diſproue it) to be ouer couetous in taking from other that which is their due. For I do verelie ſuppoſe, that manie of thoſe men ſo termed Scots were Iriſhmen borne. For vntill late yeres a little before the conqueſt (if my memorie faile me not) the Iriſhmen were called Scoti or Scots; whereupon it is, that the Scots and Iriſhmen at this daie now knowne by ſeuerall names, do chalenge Duns, Columbanus, and others to be borne amongſt them, ſome calling them Scots, and other naming them Iriſhmen, and rebuking the Scots for chalenging thoſe men vnto them. For although the Scots came out of Ireland, and the Iriſh were called Scots, it is no reaſon to call a Scot borne in Ireland, by the name of a Scot borne in Scotland, as ſome writers do vnder the amphibologicall name of Scot. But I (whoſe determination is not to aduance the one, or derogat from the other) will onlie in this place ſet them downe as I find them, & ſhew the different opinions touching the ſame, ſtill leauing it to the iudgement of others, to thinke thereof as they pleaſe; for I neither may nor will ſit as Honorarius arbiter betweene thoſe two nations. Wherefore thus I enter into the catalog of the writers of Scotland as followeth.

Fergus. Fergus the firſt of that name king of Scots, who died, as hath Geſnerus out of Bale, in the yeere of the world three thouſand ſix hundred ſeuentie and eight, and two hundred ninetie and two before the birth of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, but Leſleus ſaith three hundred and fiue before Chriſt, did write Leges politicas lib. 1. This man the Iriſh make to be there borne amongſt them; for thus writeth Stanihurſt in his writers of Ireland: Fergus ſonne to Fegus dus king of Ireland, the firſt king of Scots, whome ſome affirme to be borne in Denmarke, the more

part ſuppoſe to haue bẽne an Iriſhman, was in the fiue and twentith yeare of his reigne by miſfortune drowned neere a rocke in the north part of Ireland, that of him at this daie is called Caerfergus. Vpon whoſe miſhap theſe verſes following were made:

Icarus Icareis vt nomina fecerat vndis,
Fergusius petræ ſic dedit apta ſuæ.

Iosina. Iosina, the ninth king of Scots, after Fergusius the firſt, who floriſhed in the yeare of the world, as hath Geſnerus, three thouſand eight hundred twentie and ſix, before the birth of Chriſt one hundred thirtie and ſeuen, as the ſame author ſaith, but one hundred three ſcore and one as hath Leſleus lib. 2. pag. 89 did write De viribus herbarum lib. 1.

Ethodius. Ethodius the firſt of that name king of Scots, who (delighting in muſike) was in the yeare of Chriſt one hundred ninetie and foure, and the third yeare of his reigne, as hath Leſleus, but one hundred ninetie and ſix, as hath Geſnerus, ſlaine by a muſician of the Hebrides, did write Ad Pictorum regem plures epiſtolas.

Celius Sedulius. Celius Sedulius a Scot by birth, as hath Geſnerus, which floriſhed about the yeare of Grace foure hundred and thirtie, in the reigns of Fergusius the ſecond, and Eugenius the ſecond, kings of Scots, who being a companion to Hildebert a learned biſhop of the Scots, did after the death of Hildebert for further learning trauell into Spaine, France, Italie, Greece, and Aſia, as hath Leſleus lib. 4. pag. 134. whome the pope Gelaſius wondering at his vertue and writing was wont to call Venerabilem, or worthie reuerence, as our Engliſh Bede is accuſtomed to be termed. This Sedulius did write Carmen paſchale lib. 4. which books are intituled Libri mirabilium diuinorum. Beſides, he penned Annotationes in omnes Pauli epiſtolas, printed at Baſill by Henrie Peter, Hymnum de ſeruatore. Ad Theodoſium Cæſarem lib. 1. In æditionem Donati lib. 1. In Priſciani volumen lib. 1. Exhortatorium ad fideles lib 1. De Chriſto lib. 2. with diuerſe other verſes and epiſtles.

Merlinus Caledonius. Merlinus Caledonius otherwiſe called Merlinus Sylueſtris, or Wlandiſh (a different perſon from him which is called Merlinus Ambroſius Britannus) was borne in the borders of Scotland, and the ſcholer of the Britiſh prophet Teleſinus. This Merline Calidon executed manie prodigies or ſtrange things againſt the Engliſh Saxons, which man floriſhing about the yeare of Chriſt fiue hundred and ſeuentie, did write De vaticinijs lib. 1. in which he intreated of matter belonging to hiſtorie.

Columbanus. Columbanus, whome Geſnerus, Bede, and the Iriſh hiſtories affirme to be an Iriſhman borne in Ulſter, but Sixtus Senenſis in his Bibliotheca ſancta, Leſleus, & the Scotiſh & Engliſhmen name to be of other nations, as of Scotland and England, was a monke & father of manie monaſteries, being Abbas Luxurienſis, as hath Geſnerus, Sixtus Senenſis, and Leſle, being a place in Burgundie, which abbeie he built (by the permiſſion of Theodoricus the king) together with the abbeie of Fountneſſe in France. This man at the firſt held the feaſt of Eaſter contrarie to the weſt church, but in th'end was reduced thereunto. He went into Almanie now Germanie, where he left ſaint Gall, and after paſſed into Italie, where he liued a moſt holie life in the monaſterie of Bobiens, or (as hath Marianus) of Bouiens, which he built for a perpetuall monument of his liberalitie, and died in the ſame on the twentith daie of Nouember. He floriſhed in the time of Conballus king of Scots, about the yeare of our redemption fiue hundred ninetie and eight, and left theſe books to poſteritie, Commentaria in totum pſalterium lib. 1. Epiſtolarum lib. 1. Monaſteriorum methodos lib. 1. Aduerſus Theodoricum regem adulterum lib. 1. De moribus monachorum metricè lib. 1. Collationes ad monachos lib. 1.

Briget. Briget, a moſt holie woman, whome the Iriſh affirme to be borne in Limſter, but Geſnerus and Leſle with the Scots do affirme hir to be borne a Scot, being by Geſner called Brigida Laginenſis, ſhe became religious, and was veiled by the biſhop of Man, as hath Leſleus lib. 4. pag. 149. ſhe floriſhed about the yeare of our Lord fiue hundred three ſcore and eight, as hath Leſleus, in the reigne of Conballus king of Scots; ſome other ſaie ſhe floriſhed in the yeare fiue hundred and ten, Geſnerus in the yeare of Chriſt fiue hundred and eightene, and wrote twelue books of reuelations verie darke and full of myſteries, which books Leſleus will not haue to be written by this Briget a Scotiſh woman, but by Briget called Brigita Suetica that floriſhed manie yeres after this Scotiſh Briget, writing thus: Impetrè tamen hanc noſtram cum Brigita Suetica, cuius nomine reuelationes multæ inſcribuntur, quidam cõfundũt: ſiquidẽ multis ſæculis hanc Brigita noſtra fuiſſe poſteriorem ſatis conſtat. Tanta veneratione Scoti, Picti, Britanni, Angli & Hibernenſes diuam Brigitam ſunt vbique proſecuti, vt plura templa Deo in illius memoriam apud illos omnes erecta videas, quàm in vllius cæterorum diuorum omnium. Illius ſanctum corpus Hibernici, Duni, quo loco ſancti Patricij illorum apoſtoli corpus ſeruatur ſe habere contendunt. Noſtri eandem gloriam ſibi vendicant, qui idipſum in canonicorum collegio Abrenethi rectè ſe colere hactenùs putantur, &c. Touching which I haue read theſe old verſes, by which the Iriſhmen chalenge hir with Columbanus and Patricius to be buried in Ireland, which verſes are thus:

Hi tres in Duno tumulo tumulantur in vno,
Brigita Patricius, atque Columba pius.

Maidulphus or Maidaldus Scotus, as Geſnerus termeth him, did flouriſh in the yeare of our Lord ſix hundred foure ſcore and nine, he writ De Paſchatis obſeruatione, whom I take to be Maidulphus, who was notablie learned in the Greeke and Latine, firſt a ſchoolemaſter, and after abbat of Malmſburie called in the beginning Maidulphi curia, or Maidulphſburie, after the name of this Maidulphus, who as hath Leſleus lib. 4. pag. 137. did flouriſh in the yeare of Chriſt ſeuen hundred and ſirteene. Now it is certeine both by our and the Scotiſh chronicles, that Maidulphus the builder of Malmſburie monaſterie was a Scot.

Kilianus a Scot being a monke, was martyred in Germanie about the yeare of our Lord ſix hundred three ſcore and nine, as hath Geſnerus out of Bale, but Leſleus affirmeth him to liue in the gouernment of Ethſinus, which died in the yeare of our Lord ſeuen hundred three ſcore and two, being the thirtith yere of his reigne. This Kilianus did write Contra peregrinos cultus, lib. 1. Geſner alſo out of Mat. Dreſſerus nameth Lecturã Kiliani ſuper magiſtrũ ſententiarum, which peraduenture might be this Kilianus the Scot.

Ionas Monachus being borne in Scotland, and the diſciple of the abbat Columbanus, flouriſhed in the yeare of Chriſt ſix hundred and thirtie, as hath Geſnerus, he writ Vitam ſancti Columbani lib. 1. Vitam ſancti Euſtacij abbatis lib. 1.

Adamannus Coludius, being a Scot as hath Geſner out of Bale, was a monke of the apoſtolicall order, and moderator, ruler, or abbat of the monaſterie in the Ile of Hua, who flouriſhed in the yeare of Chriſt ſix hundred foure ſcore and nineteene, and writ De locis terræ ſanctæ lib. 1. De ſitu Ieruſalem lib. 1. De paſcheta legitimo lib. 1. Epiſtolas multas. From this mans works Bede affirmeth that he

had

had manie things which he inſerted in his owne bookes. But I much doubt whether this Adamannus were a Scot, in that he is called Adamannus Coludius, that is Adam of Coludi, which Coludi is a place in Yorkeſhire belonging to the biſhoprike of Yorke, and now at this daie is in Engliſh called Calwod.

Florentius (whom Scotland brought forth flouriſhed in the yeare of Chriſt ſix hundred foure ſcore and eight, in which yeare Eugenius the firſt king of Scots began his reigne) was, as hath Leſleus, noblie borne, who trauelling into ſtrange countries, conuerted manie from paganiſme vnto Chriſt, leading a moſt auſtere life in the ſolitarie woods, not far from Bruichius the famous riuer in Alſatia, and built a monaſterie for ſuch religious perſons as came to him out of Scotland, being after the death of Rotharius by the Argentines made their biſhop. He was buried in that monaſterie before named, builded for his Scots. This man I take to be the ſame man of whom thus writeth Geſnerus: Florentius Voluſenus Scotus ſcripſit theologicã orationẽ ſiue cõmendationem piam & eruditam, Griphius excudit Lugduni 1539. Idem de animi trãquillitate carmen ibidem excuſum 1543. & Baſiliæ apud Ioannẽ Oporinum cum pijs aliquot poetis an. 1551, Idem edidit aphoriſmos beatæ vitæ & dialogum de animi tranquillitate, which maie be the booke of that matter before mentioned.

Artuillus. Artuillus, or Artullis a worthie gentleman, the ſonne of a moſt noble perſon borne in Scotland, flouriſhed, as hath Geſnerus out of Bale, in the yeare of Chriſt ſeuen hundred and ten, but Leſleus appointeth him to haue liued in the time of Eugenius the eight of that name king of Scotland, who as he further ſaith, began his reigne in the yeare of Chriſt ſeuen hundred three ſcore and two, this Artuillus writ De rebus mathematicis librũ vnũ, ad Adelmum epiſcopum lib. 1.

Sedulius Iunior. Sedulius Iunior being biſhop of the ſouth Scots did write Statuta concilij Romæ ad ſanctum Petrum habiti, and liued in the yere of Chriſt ſeuen hundred and foureteene.

Bonifacius. Bonifacius, as hath Marianus Scotus by the witneſſe of Leſleus lib. 4. pag. 166, being of the Scotiſh bloud, went to Rome, from whenſe by pope Gregorie the ſecond he was ſent into Germanie to conuert them to the faith, where he was made the firſt archbiſhop of Mentz, being called the Germane apoſtle, after which he was the popes legat and ſent into France: In qua (as ſaith Leſle) Thuringis, Heſſis, & Auſtraſionibus ad rectam religionis viam traductis, meſſem longè copioſiſſimam collegerat; after which he went againe into Germanie, & from thenſe into Friſia, where he was martyred in the yere of Chriſt ſeuen hundred fiftie and fiue, who being a monke of the order of ſaint Benet, did write; Epiſtolarum ad diuerſos lib. 1. Vitam quorundam ſanctorum lib. 1.

Ioannes Mailroſe. Ioannes Mailroſe whom Geſnerus maketh mention to be all one with Ioannes Scotus, being the companion of Alcuinus, in the time of Charles the great: this man being skilfull in all diuine knowledges, liued in the time of Donald the firſt of that name king of Scotland, as ſaith Leſleus biſhop of Roſſe, and alſo floriſhed in the time of Gregorie king of Scots, in the yeare of Chriſt eight hundred foureſcore and twelue. This Ioannes Scotus after many yeares ſpent at Athens in the Greeke letters, was called into France by Lodouike emperor of the Romans, who beſides other monuments of his learning, at the commandement of the ſaid emperor, did turne the Hierarchie of ſaint Denis into Latine, beſides the commentaries of Hugo de ſancto Victore, a moſt notable diuine. Shortlie after which, the ſaid John was ſent by Charles the great into England, to Alured, or Alfred the king thereof, to congratulat ſo worthie a prince for the victories which he had of the Danes: who after that he had ſetled a perfect league betweene the French and the Scots, remained in England continuallie, interteined by Alured, of whoſe children he was admitted to be chiefe ſchoolemaiſter and inſtructor.

But ſhortlie after, profeſſing diuine and humane learning in the monaſterie of Malmeſburie, to all ſuch as would come to his lecture, he was by certeine ſcholers of his (whoſe pride and euill conditions he did ſharpelie rebuke, wounded & killed pitifullie with Pugionibus, as ſaith Leſleus. Which John, the king of England (as I ſuppoſe) by the authoritie of the pope, procured to be numbred amongſt the martyrs of Chriſt, ordeining a notable monument to be erected ouer him in the ſame monaſterie: of whoſe writings and doings thus writeth Geſnerus in theſe words: Ioannes Mailroſius cognomine & natione Scotus, Alcuini ſocius, ſcripſit ſuper canones Aizachelis lib. 1. Ad Carolũ regẽ lib. 1. Verſus diuerſi generis lib. 1. In euangel. Mat. lib. 3. De officijs humanis lib. 8. De officijs diuinis lib. 1. Dialogum de natura lib. 1. De naturæ diuiſione lib. 1. De primo rerũ principio lib. 1. De euchariſtia lib. 1. Commentaria ſcripturarum lib. 1. Homilias eruditas lib. 1. De German. iuxta Irenium lib. 1. Claruit anno 792, Baleus. Idem libros Dionyſij Areopagitæ in Latinam linguam tranſtulit. Carmen eius ad Carolum magnum extat apud M. Dreſſ.

Kennethus king of Scots. Kennethus king of Scots, who died in the yeare of Chriſt eight hundred fiftie & fiue, wrote a booke of godlie lawes which are expreſſed by Leſleus lib. 1. pag. 75. of whome thus writeth Geſnerus: Kenethus Scotorum rex, Alcuini regis filius, ſcripſit Breuiarium antiquarum legum, quibus in foris per Angliam iuriſconſulti vtuntur. But in that Geſner is deceiued; for we neuer read (as far as my memorie ſerueth) that euer the Engliſh borrowed lawes of the Scots; but contrarie, the Scots haue borrowed, & béene inforced to obeie the lawes of England, as receiuing them from the kings of this land, their ſuperior lords: to whome they haue done their homage, although time hath now worne the ſame out of vſe.

Claudius Clemens. Claudius Clemens, by birth a Scot & a monke, being the diſciple of Bede, was companion to Albinus or Alcuinus, as ſaith Sixtus Senenſis in bibliotheca ſancta: he was verie ſtudious in the ſcriptures, & skilfull in other humane knowleges, who liuing in the time of Charlemaine, in the yeare of Chriſt eight hundred, and eight hundred and ten, did in verſe and proſe write manie learned workes, whereof theſe are knowne to be his: In pentateuchum lib. 5. In Ioſua lib. 1. In Iudicum lib. 1. In Ruth lib. 1. In pſalterium. In Matthæum lib. 1. In Paulum ad Galatas. De euangeliſtarum concordia. Contra Bonifacium Anglum, & alia multa.

Beornillus. Beornillus biſhop of the Scots, of whome thus writeth Parker in his booke of the liues of the archbiſhops of Canturburie: Beornillus Scotorum epiſcopus acerrimus verborum & ſententiarum aculeis carmine ſcriptis, monachorum turbam laceſſiuit: which Beornillus was alſo at the councell of Calne in Wiltſhire in England, about the yeare of Chriſt nine hundred three ſcore and ſeuentéene. For Alfritha the quæne procured Alfrith or Alfred earle of Mercia in England, that he ſhould labor to haue this Beornill to be preſent there, which this biſhop Beornill did performe, and behementlie ſpake in defenſe of the ſecular prieſts, againſt the placing of monks in their romes.

Leuinus

Leuinus. Leuinus archbiſhop of the Scots, being martyred, and ſo termed a martyr, is ſuppoſed to haue written certeine homilies; he flouriſhed as hath Geſnerus out of Bale, in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand and ſeuen, vnder the gouernment of Grime and Malcolme (the ſecond) kings of Scots.

Malcolme. Malcolme the ſecond of that name king of Scots, who began his reigne in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand and ten, and reigned thirtie yeares, departing the world in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand and fortie, did write of his countrie lawes, Lib. 1. being at length ſlaine by his owne courtiers.

Marianus Scotus. Marianus Scotus ſo called, becauſe that he was borne in Scotland, was a monke of the order Benedictine, who when he perceiued all the realme of Scotland to be kindeled with continuall and ciuill hatred in the time of the tyrant Mackbeth, beginning his reigne in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand fortie and ſir, he forſooke his countrie, and firſt came vnto the monaſterie of Hulda in Germanie; where for a time he continued vnder Richard the abbat (a Scot, no leſſe famous for his godlineſſe, than for his learning) which at the time of his comming thither, had the gouernment of the ſame abbeie. After which, Marianus went to Mentz, and paſſing ouer a ſolitarie life by the ſpace of thirtie yeares, in an opinion of all men for his vertue, he ſhortlie after died, who (flouriſhing vnder the ſaid tyrant Macketh, & Malcolme the third of that name king of Scots) did leaue behind him theſe works of his: Chronica ab initio mundi vſque ad ſua tempora lib. 3. De concordantia euangeliſtarum lib. 1. De computo lib. 1. Emendationes Dionyſij. Annotationes ſcripturarum. De cyclo paſchali Algorithmum. Breuiarium in Lucam. Epiſtolas hortatorias, obijt Moguntiæ, anno Dom. 1086.

Turgotus. Turgotus by Geſner called deane of Durham, and by our chronicles called prior of that houſe, was a verie vertuous perſon, and after created biſhop of ſaint Andrewes, who being in life in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand foureſcore and ſirteene, in the time of Malcolme the third, ſurnamed Camoir, or with the great head king of Scots, did write De Scotorũ regibus lib. 1. Chronica Dunelmenſia lib. 1. Annales ſui temporis lib. 1. Vitam Malcolmi regis, & vitam Margaretæ Angliæ reginæ. In which Geſner hath miſtaken himſelfe, for there was not anie Margaret quéene of England manie hundred yeres after this Turgotus, vntill the latter time of king Edward the firſt. Wherefore it ſhould rather be the life of ſaint Margaret quéene of Scotland, and the wife of that Malcolme.

David Scotus. David Scotus, of whom Geſner maketh two diſtinct writers one after another, firſt ſetting downe David Scotus, and next David Preſbyter Scotus, this man being borne in Scotland, was firſt ſchoolemaiſter at Wiceburgh, who being after called into the court by Henrie the fift the emperor, of whom Auentinus abbas Vrſpengenſis & manie others do write, was after made biſhop of Bangor in Wales. This man writing the diſcourſe of the iourneie which the emperor Henrie the fift made into Italie after the pacification had betweene him and the pope about the inueſtiture of biſhops, did occaſion William of Malmſburie to ſaie thus much of him in his firſt booke De regibus. At verò Henricus antiquis Cęſaribus in nulla virtute deiectior, poſt pacatum regnum Theutonicum præſumebat animo Italicum; rebellionem vrbium ſubiugaturus, quæſtionémque de inueſtitura ſuo libito reciſſurus; ſed iter illud ad Roman magnis excercitationibus peccatorum magnis angoribus corporũ conſummatũ, Dauid Scotus Banchorẽſis epiſcopus expoſuit, magis in regis gratiam quàm hiſtoricum deceret accliuis. He liued and proſpered about the yeare of our Lord one thouſand one hundred and ten in the times of Edgar and Alexander (the firſt) kings of Scotland, & did write Henrici imperatoris in Italiam expeditionem lib. 1. Magiſtratuum inſignia lib. 1. Apologiam ad Cæſarem de regno Scotiæ lib. 1.

Richardus de ſancto victore. Richardus de ſancto Victore (of whom I do not as yet find anie mention in Geſner, but in Iohn Maior and Leſleus) liued in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand one hundred twentie and foure, vnder Dauid the firſt king of Scotland, who being a religious perſon of the order of ſaint Auguſtine, and not inferior vnto anie diuine of his time, aſwell in ſcholaſticall as other diuinitie, did ſet forth manie works to be read, & was buried in the cloiſter of ſaint Victor in Paris, whoſe monument is yet to be ſeene with this epitaph recited by Iohn Maior in his memoriall:

Moribus, ingenio, doctrina clarus & arte,
Puluereo hic tegeris docte Richarde ſitu:
Quem tellus genuit felici Scotica partu,
Te fouet in gremio Gallica terra ſuo.
Nil tibi parca ferox nocuit, nec ſtamina paruo
Tempore tracta graui rupit acerba manu:
Plurima námque tui ſuperant monumenta laboris,
Quæ tibi perpetuum ſunt paritura decus.
Segnior vt lento ſceleratas mors petit edes,
Sic propero nimis it ſub pia tecta gradu.

Walter the baſtard ſonne of king Dauid the firſt. Walter the baſtard ſonne of Dauid the firſt of that name king of Scots by a widow ſometime the wife of one Walter a Scot, was ſo far eſtranged from the vaine things of this world, that from his youth he was (as ſaith Leſleus lib. 6. pag. 223.) wholie conſecrat to holie exerciſes and offices, being firſt indued with the rich canonrie of ſaint Oſwald, and after with the honorable priorie of Kirkham. But he rightlie conſidering with himſelfe that there was nothing which did more weaken the force of vertue than riches and idleneſſe, did refuſe the archbiſhoprike of ſaint Andrewes, and cloſed himſelfe in a monaſterie, where he remained vntill he was aduanced to be abbat of Melroſſe, wherevnto being ſo preferred, he was the author and occaſion that Malcolme (the fourth of that name king of Scots, ſurnamed the virgin) laied the foundation of manie abbeies. This man made commentaries vpon the booke intituled the Eccleſiaſticall rule, and at length being famous through manie miracles (as that age did ſimplie ſuppoſe) he was inſtalled amongſt the number of the ſaints, and flouriſhed vnder the ſame king Malcolme, which began his reigne in the yeare of our redemption one thouſand one hundred fiftie and three, which Walter I ſuppoſe to be the ſame man of whom Geſnerus writeth in this ſort: Gualterus Albanenſis monachus ſcripſit de libris eccleſiæ lib. 1. claruit anno Domini 1180. Baleus.

Thomas Liermant *alias* Erſilton. Thomas Liermant *alias* Erſilton being borne in Scotland, was had amongſt the common people in great admiration, who not being greatlie learned did by a certeine diuination (as though Apollo had ſpoken from the curteine) foretell things to come, but with what ſpirit we will not iudge, whoſe words obteined the more authoritie and credit, becauſe he had foretold the fatall date of the death of Alexander the third king of Scots, which loſt his life in the yeare one thouſand two hundred foureſcore and three. He wrot Prædictiones rerum Scoticarum rithmicis verſibus, ſpeaking moſt commonlie alſo in rime, and was therefore by the Engliſh ſurnamed Rithmicus, or the Rimer, liuing ſome yeares after the death of Alexander the third, for Geſner maketh him to floriſh in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand two hundred foureſcore and ſir.

Michael

Michaell Medicus. Michaell Medicus, being a learned man in all philoſophie, aſtronomie, and the other mathematiks, whereby he grew in admiration amongſt the people, is twiſe mentioned by Geſner, a fault which I manie times find in his Bibliotheca, firſt pag. 607, by the name Michael Mathematicus cognomine Scotus, who flouriſhed in the time of John Baliol king of Scots, and in the yeare of Chriſt 1290, being an old man, he wrote In gratiã Frederici 2. imperatoris. De ſphera lib. 1. In Ariſtotelis meteora lib. 4. De conſtitutione mundi lib. 4. De anima lib. 1. De cœlo & mundo lib. 2. De ſomno & vigilia lib. 2. De generatione & corruptione lib. 2. De ſubſtãtia orbis lib. 1. De ſenſu & ſenſato lib. 2. De memoria & reminiſcentia lib. 2. Contra Auerroem in meteora lib. 1. Imagines aſtronomicas lib. 2. Aſtrologorum dogmata lib. 1. In ethica Ariſtotelis lib. 10. De ſignis planetarum lib. 1. De chiromantia lib. 1. De phyſiognomia lib. 1. Abbreuiationes Auicennæ lib. 1. De animalibus ad Cæſarem lib. 1. whoſe booke of phyſnomie was printed at Uenice Anno Dom. 1503. by John Baptiſta Sella.

John Duns. John Duns by ſome called Iohannes Scotus, and tearmed the ſubtill doctor, was ſo ſurnamed Duns of the towne of Duns, eight miles from England, who (when he was yet but a boie) was by two frier minors brought into England to Oxford, there to be inſtructed: for at that time nor long after was there not anie vniuerſitie in Scotland. By means of which two friers he was placed in a houſe of their profeſſion, in which this Duns at length toke the habit and order of the Franciſcans, prouing of a moſt ſingular wit, whereby he became a ſharpe and ſubtill diſputer, who departing from Oxford, went to Paris, being called thither by the frier minors, where when he had for ſome ſpace remained, and read vnto them of ſcholaſticall matters, he trauelo to Cullen, and there vntimelie died in his youthfull yeares. He liued in the time of John Baliol king of Scots, which began his reigne in the yeare of Chriſt 1283. of which Duns all they which follow his opinions are (as ſaith Leſleus lib. 7. pag. 250) called Scotiſtæ or Scotiſts as all they of an other faction are ſurnamed Thomiſtæ or the Thomiſts, after Thomas Aquinas. But now in our age it is growne to be a common prouerbe in deriſion, to call ſuch a perſon as is ſenſeleſſe or without learning a Duns, which is as much as a fole: although trulie the ſame cannot ſtand with anie reaſon, this man Duns being ſo famous for his learning as he was, who wrote manie volumes as after ſhall appeare. But before I come to him, I thinke it not vnfit to ſet downe what other haue written touching him, ſith both the Engliſh, the Iriſh, and the Scots, do chalenge him to be their countriman, borne amongſt them. Thus therefore writeth Stanihurſt in his deſcription of Ireland vnder the title of the Iriſh writers. Iohannes Duns Scotus an Iriſhman borne, as in the forefront of this treatiſe I haue declared. Howbeit Iohannes Maior a Scotiſh chronicler lib. 4. cap. 16. would faine prooue him to be a Scot. Leland on the other ſide ſaith, that he was borne in England. So that there ſhall be as great contention riſe of him as in old time there roſe of Homers countrie, for the Colophonians ſaid that Homer was borne in their citie, the Chyians claimed him to be theirs: the Salaminians auouched that he was their countriman. But the Smirnians were ſo ſtiffelie bent in prouing him to be borne in their territorie, as they would at no hand take no naie in the matter, and thereupon they did conſecrate a church to the name of Homer. But what countriman ſo euer this Scotus were, he was doubtleſſe a ſubtill and profound clearke. The onelie fault wherewith he was dulled, was a little ſpice of vainglorie, being giuen to carpe and tawnt his predeceſſor diuines, rather for blemiſhing the fame of his aduerſaries, than for aduanſing the truth of the controuerſies. Thus much Stanihurſt. Now the bookes which he wrote were theſe. Super ſententias lib. 4. Quodlibeta quoque lib. 1. Sermones de ſanctis lib. 4. Sermones de tempore li. 1. De cognitione Dei lib. 1. Cõmentarios Oxonienſes lib. 4. Reportationes Pariſienſes lib. 4. In metaphyſicã quæſtionẽ lib. 12. Quæſtiones vniuerſaliũ li. 2. Quæſtiones prædicamẽtorũ lib. 1. In analytica poſteriora lib. 1. In Ariſtotelis phyſica lib. 8. In Categorias eiuſdem lib. 1. Lecturam in Geneſim lib. 1. De rerum principio lib. 1. Commentaria in euangelia lib. 4. In epiſtolas Pauli. Collectiones Pariſienſes. Tetragrãmatum lib. 1. & alia. Claruit Anno Dom. 1308. Of whoſe workes thus further writeth Geſn. Iohanni Scoto ſententiarum interpreti primæuam ſacratiſſimi Dionyſij tranſlationem aſcribunt, cùm alteri cuidam Iohanni Scoto (before named, and liuing about the yeare of Chriſt eight hundred ninetie & two, about three hundred yeares before this Duns) Qui iſtũ multis ſæculis anteceſſit, & Athænis Græcè didicit, accepta referri debeat. Of the death of this man ſæ Petrus Crinitus lib. 24. cap. 11. De honeſta vita, where he affirmeth that this Duns did turne the hierarchie of S. Denis ont of Græke into Latine.

Thomas Uarreie. Thomas Uarreie or Uarraie flouriſhed at the battell of Otterburne, which was in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand three hundred eighтie and eight, in the time of Robert the ſecond of that name king of Scots, at what time the Engliſh were put to the worſt. This man vpon this victorie did compoſe manie things in Latine rime beginning in this ſort:

Muſa refert fatum fore ſcriptum carmine vatum, &c.

Who being maiſter and ruler of Bethwallie, is not greatlie eſteemed of the Scotiſh hiſtoriographers. Geſnerus referreth the time wherein he liued, to the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand two hundred and ninetie, which is almoſt a hundred yeares before that, in which the hiſtories of Scotland make anie mention of him.

William Elphinſtone. William Elphinſtone being borne in Scotland was a great learned man, but becauſe I do find one hundred and fortie yeares difference touching the time wherein he liued, ſet downe within three or foure lines the one of the other by Geſnerus, I will ſaie nothing of him, but onelie verbatim ſet downe the words of the ſame author in this ſort. Gulielmus Elphinſton natione Scotus, Albonenſis epiſcopus, ſcripſit antiquitates Scotorum, & conciliorum ſtatuta librum vnum. Claruit anno Domini 1480. Laudat hunc valdè Boſtonus Burienſis in magno ſcriptorum catalogo, ob ſingularem eruditionem. Vixit circa annum 1340. Thus much Geſnerus.

James Steward. James Steward the firſt of the name of James, being brought vp in England as a perſon eſtranged from his native ſoile, is by Geſnerus ſaid to haue bẽne by ſome called Robert the third, which can not be ſo; for he that was ſo named was John Steward, and not James. This man in the time whileſt he remained in England, being a kind of baniſhment from his owne countrie, did compoſe one booke of verſes, and manie other ſongs, he being both a learned diuine, philoſopher, and muſician, who was in the end ſlaine of his owne people, in the thirteenth yeare of his reigne, falling in the yeare of our Lord God one thouſand foure hundred thirtie and ſir.

Johannes Maior. Johannes Maior borne in Scotland, whom Sixtus Senenſis in his Bibliotheca ſancta doth (not rightlie) call an Engliſhman, was brought vp in Oxford, where atteining to ſufficient learning, he went into France for the obteining further knowledge

ledge, and applied his studie in Paris, where he followed and professed diuinitie, as appeared by his owne workes. He was borne at Hadington in Scotland, as appeareth by Gesnerus, of whome he is named Iohannes Maior Hadingtonensis, he did write Decisiones sententiarum lib. 4. Sophisticalia Parisiensia, Placita theologica, Commentarios in Matthæum, Historiarum maioris Britanniæ lib. 6. Caxtonum Anglum transtulit lib. 7. He florished at Paris, as hath Gesnerus, in the yeare of Grace one thousand fiue hundred & twentie, vnder James the fift king of Scots, vnto whome he dedicated his storie of Britaine, conteining England and Scotland. There is one John Maior vouched and alledged in Crispasso Ioan. Eccij, which I do take to be this man. And Sixtus Senensis in his Bibliotheca sancta amongst the writers of the bible doth speake of one John Maior in this manner: Iohannes Maior Anglus scripsit in quatuor euangelia scholastica postillam, and liued in the yeare of Christ one thousand and foure hundred, being an hundred and twentie yeares before the time appointed by others, and by Maior himselfe wherein he should liue. Of which Maior Buchanan hath verie scoffinglie set downe these foure verses here vnder written as followeth:

Cùm scateat nugis solo cognomine Maior,
Nec sit in immenso pagina sana libro,
Non mirum titulis quòd se veracibus ornat,
Nec semper mendax fingere Creta solet.

William Gregorie. William Gregorie borne in Scotland, and student in Paris, where he professed diuinitie, did liue, as saith Bibliotheca sancta, in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred and seuentæne, and also, as hath Bibliotheca Gesneri in the yeare of our Lord one thousand fiue hundred twentie and seuen. He left manie bookes behind him which he had carefullie and learnedlie written, whereof these are the titles: De duplici potestate lib. 1. Elucidationes sententiarum lib. 4. Quæstiones vesperales lib. 1. In politica Aristotelis lib. 8. De triplici animæ potentia lib. 1. De regno Christi æterno lib. 1. De triplici principatu lib. 1. De scripturæ sensibus lib. 3. Ad vocabulare theologicũ lib. 1. Collectiones Sorbonicas lib. 1. De disciplina Iuniorum lib. 1. De sacra synaxi lib. 1. In psalterium commentarios lib. 1. Sermones in euangelia & epistolas per circuitum lib. 2.

Hector Boetius. Hector Boetius of Dundée in Scotland, was a learned and an eloquent historiographer, whose stile in manie parts goeth beyond the truth of times, places, and persons in his Scotish historie. He florished in the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred twentie and six, vnder James the fift king of Scots, of whome I will saie no more, but set downe Gesnerus words: Hector Boetius Deidonatus, natione Scotus, scripsit catalogum regum Scotiæ. Descriptiones eiusdem regni lib. 1. Historias Scotorum lib. 17. Aberdonensium pontificum vitas, eius historiæ Scotorum excusæ sunt Parisijs, anno 1556: earundem historiarum à prima gentis origine cum aliarum & rerum & gentium illustratione non vulgari lib. 19. Duo postremi huius historiæ libri nunc primum emittuntur in lucem. Accessit & huic æditioni eiusdem Scotorum historiæ continuatio per Ioannem Ferrerium Pedæmontanum recens & ipsa scripta & edita fol. Parisijs apud Iacobum Dupuys 1580.

Gawine Dowglasse. Gawine Dowglasse, borne of the noble house of the Dowglasses in Scotland, being of a rare wit and learning, was made bishop of Dunkeld; who for contention betweene him and the gouernor of Scotland, forsoke his countrie and fled into England, where he died at London, in the yeere of Christ one thousand fiue hundred twentie and one, in the time of James the fift of that name king of Scots, who in his life time did write Palatium honoris lib. 1. Aureas narrationes lib. 1. Comœdias aliquot lib. 1. De rebus Scoticis lib. 1. Transtulit in patrium sermonem Aeneidos Virgilij lib. 12.

Dauid Lindsete of the mount or hill, otherwise by his office of principall herald of the realme of Scotland, surnamed Lion, was both a knight and a learned person, as may appeare by his workes written in his owne tong in verse, which were Acta sui temporis lib. 1. De mundi miserijs lib. 1. Tragœdia Dauidis Beton lib. 1. Testamentum cardinalis Beton lib. 1. as hath Gesnerus (if that booke and the tragedie of Dauid Beton cardinall be not all one) Testamentum psitaci lib. 1. Dialogus aulici & experientiæ lib. 1. Somnium Dauidis Lindsei lib. 1. Deploratio mortis reginæ Magdalenæ lib. 1. Of most of which his workes Gesnerus maketh no mention, although that he affirme that he florished in the yeare of Grace one thousand fiue hundred and fortie, in the time of James the fift king of Scotland, with whome in his youth this Lindsete was brought vp, and whome he after painfullie serued in the court.

Patrike Hamilton. Patrike Hamilton, borne of the noble familie of the Hamiltons, being the nephue of the earle of Arrane by his brother, was (as saith Lesleus lib. 9. pag. 427) Abbas Fenensis, who hauing applied his time in studie in Germanie, and followed the doctrine of Luther, did returne into Scotland, was after by the bishops condemned for an heretike, and burned in the yeare of our Lord God one thousand fiue hundred twentie and eight, as haue Gesnerus and Bale in the time of James the fift of that name king of Scots. He wrote diuerse bookes, amongst which were these, De lege & euangelio lib. 1. De fide & operibus lib. 1.

Iohannes Altus. Iohannes Altus, so called by Gesner, being a Scot borne, had some contention with one Eusdan Worchet, to whome he did write in verse a sharpe and rebuking apologie which conteined one booke; besides which also he did write another booke Contra Antiscotiton of this Worchet, & Epigrammata lib. 1. He liued in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred and thirtie vnder James the fift.

John Bellendon. John Bellendon or Ballentine, who florished in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred thirtie and six, vnder king James the fift, translated Hector Boetius out of Latine into Scotish and English, and wrote the description of Albanie or Scotland.

John Wouran. John Wouran being a canon regular, hauing applied himselfe to the studie of diuinitie, wherein he much profited, did write in his owne language Catechismum fidei lib. 1. and liued in the yeare of our redemption one thousand fiue hundred fortie and six, and in the fourth yere of the reigne of Marie quæne of Scots.

John Herrison. John Herrison a Scot, liuing in the yere of our saluation one thousand fiue hundred fortie and eight, being the first yeere of Marie quæne of Scots, did applie his time in the studie of diuinitie, and wrote, De amplectanda in christiana religione concordia lib. 1. which was written to Edward Seimor duke of Summerset protector of England.

John Makbeth. John Makbeth called in Latine Ioannes Machabæus, being descended of a noble familie of the Scots, did follow his studie in matters of diuinitie; who florishing in the yeare of our Lord God one thousand fiue hundred and fiftie, being the eight yeare of the reigne of Marie quéne of Scots, did compose, De vera & falsa ecclesia lib. 1.

John Mackebraie. John Mackebraie borne in Scotland, did florish in Germanie in the yere that the word became flesh

flesh one thousand fiue hundred fiftie and eight, being the sixteenth yéere of the reigne of Marie quéene of Scots. This man, whome Gesnerus supposeth might fortune to be the same John Makleth before touched, did write Anglorum ecclesiæ originem & progressum lib. 1. Explicationem suæ fidei lib. 1.

George Buchanan. George Bucchanan an Irish Scot, greatlie learned, but manie times malicioustie affected, and that so vehementlie, as that he would not forbeare in the highest degrée of malice to vpbraid and backebite euerie person and nation which had offended him, as maie appeare by his immodest spéeches, not beséeming a man of his learning, was schoolemaster to James the sixt of that name king of Scotland, of whom liuing in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred three score and nineténe, I will forbeare to saie what I could, least I might offend in that which I mislike in him, & therfore will onlie set down what Gesner hath written of him. Georgius Buchananus Scotus rudimenta grãmatices Latinæ Thomæ Linacri ex Anglico sermone in Latinum vertit: ea Nicol. Brilingerus impressit Basiliæ anno 1542. extant eius & elegantissima poemata: Iephtes tragœdia, Lutetiæ apud Vascosanum. Franciscanus & fratres, quibus accesserunt varia eiusdem & aliorum poemata, Basiliæ apud Guarcinum an. 1568. Eiusdem psalmorum paraphrasis poetica, Geneuæ, Argentinæ, Antuerpiæ impressa in 8. & 16, eiusdem Baptistes siue calumnia tragœdia, in 8. Francof. apud Wechelum. De iure regni apud Scotos editio secunda, Edinburgi 1580. Psalmi Dauidis ab eodem versibus expressi nunc primùm modulis 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, vocum a I. Seruino decantati 4 Lugduni 1580. Rerum Scholasticarũ historia lib. 20. Edinburgi in folio an. 1583.

John Knokes John Knokes borne in Scotland, a great enimie to the Romane religion, was sometime remaining in England as banished from Scotland, after being returned home he preached at the coronation of Charles James, the sixt of that name king of Scotland, and writ manie bookes in the Scotish English, amongst which were Ad Londonienses & alios lib. 1. Ad euangelii professores lib. 2. Qualiter sit orandum lib. 1. Contra missam papisticam lib. 1. Doctrina missalium lib. 1. De fide eucharistiæ epistola 1. Ad ecclesias afflictas epis. 1. Ad Scotiæ reginam Mariam epist. 1. Concilium in his angustiis epist. 1. Buccinæ afflatum primum lib. 1. Appellationem a sentẽtia cleri lib. 1. Ad populares Scotiæ librũ vnum. He liued in the yere of Christ 1569.

John Langeie John Langeie a Scot borne, following his studie in Paris became a Sorbonicall doctor, who liuing in the yere of Christ one thousand fiue hundred three score and ten, did write a booke of the life, doctrine, and death of Martin Luther and John Caluin, and of manie other ministers of the new gospell (as he scornefullie termed it) which bookes were out of French turned into Latine, and latelie into the Germane tong, printed in 4 at Ingelstade in the yere of Christ one thousand fiue hundred foure score and two.

John Durie. Iohannes Duræus or Durie, whom Gesner calleth Bureus, being borne in Dumfermling, and the son before he was abbat of the abbat of Dumfermling brother to the lord of Duries, was brought vp in Paris and Louan, after which he became a priest, and then a Iesuit, who now liuing did in the yere of Christ one thousand fiue hundred foure score and foure, write a booke which was intituled Confutatio responsionis Iohannis Whitakeri, ad rationes decem quibus fretus Edmundus Campianus Anglus Iesuita certamen Anglicanæ ecclesiæ ministris obtulit in causa fidei: which booke was printed at Paris in 8 by Thomas Brunelius, In clauso Brunello sub signo oliuæ.

Patrike Adamson. Patrike Adamson liuing in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred three score and thirténe, did write certeine verses, whereof this was the title and effect, as hath Gesnerus, Patricii Adamsoni gratiarum actio illustriss. & potentiss. principi Elizabethæ Angl. Franc. & Hiberniæ reginæ, propter liberatam ciuili seditione Scotiam, & redactam munitissimam Edenburgi arcem sub fidem regis carmen elegiacum, which man being now liuing, is archbishop of saint Andrews.

Patrike Cockburne. Patrike Cockburne borne in Scotland, and flourishing in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred & fiftie, in the time of Marie quéene of Scots, did write, De vtilitate & excellentia verbi Dei, which was printed at Paris by Michaell Fezandate, and Robert Grauson, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand fiue hundred fiftie and one. He writ also De vulgari sacræ scripturæ phrasi, lib. 2. whereof the first doth intreat of the sinne against the Holie-ghost, which they call irremittable or vnto death: the second booke doth with great diligence and fidelitie vnfold the most hard and most obscure places of both the testaments, hitherto by manie euillie vnderstood, and worse interpreted: which worke was printed at Paris by Robert Wessiline in the yere of our Lord one thousand fiue hundred fiftie and two in 8 chart. 13.

John Lesle. John Lesle sometime officiall of Aberden, and bishop of Rosse, of whom I haue spoken in the continuance of the annals of Scotland, being an obstinate fauorer and furtherer of the Romane religion doth yet liue in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred eightie & sir, in the time of Charles James the first king of Scots, and hath written Pii afflicti animi consolationes diuináque remedia lib 1. Animi tranquilli monumentum lib. 1. De origine, moribus, & rebus gestis Scotorum lib. 10. printed at Rome.

Ninianus Wenzetus. Ninianus Wenzetus, who flourished in the yere of our Lord one thousand fiue hundred three score and one, in the time of Marie quæne of Scots, was a fauorer of the popes doctrine, and enimie to John Knokes, touching whom I will set down the words of two seuerall authors, whereof the one is Lesleus a Scot, and the popes and his friend, and the other is Bibliotheca Gesneri, whereof the first saith: Hæc res (which was a disputation in religion) Niniano Winzeto maximam apud hæreticos inuidiam conflauit, vnde cum audirent illum (Ninian Winzet) iam apud typographum calere in libro excudendo, quo cogitarat cum Knoxio de fide violata ad nobilitatem expostulare, consilium ineunt de opere disturbando, Winzeto capiendo, typographo mulctando. Magistratus cum satellitibus irruit in typographiam, libros quos reperit, aufert, Iohan. Scotũ typographũ bonis mulctatum in carcerem abripit: sed Winzetum, quẽ tantopere cupiebant, præ foribus magistratui occurrentem quòd incognitus elapsus fuerat, dolent hæretici, rident Catholici. On the other side thus writeth Bibliotheca Gesneri: Ninianus Winzetus Renfrous, S. theologiæ doctor, & apud sancti Iacobi apud Scotos Ratisponæ, abbas flagellum sectariorum qui religionis prætextu iam in Cæsarẽ aut in alios orthodoxos principes excitare student, quærentes ineptissimè quidem, Deo ne magis an principibus sit obediendũ. Accessit velitatio in Georg. Bucchan. circa dialogũ, quem scripsit de iure regni apud Scotos 4. Ingolstadii ex officina typographica Dauidis Sartorii, an. 1581.

Adam Blackwood. Adam Blackwood borne in Scotland in Dumfermeling, was brought vp in Paris, where atteining to manie degrées of learning, is now liuing, being aduanced to the place of one of the chiefe counsellors of Poitiers. This man hath learnedlie written manie works, amongst which are his bookes De coniunctione religionis & imperii, Funebres orationes admeralli regni Franciæ, & Iacobi Stuarti primi regentis (after that Charles James the sixt, atteined to the crowne) Scotiæ. Besides which hauing written against the work of Buchanan intituled De iure regni, he is now in hand with a booke which he writeth against the chronicle of the same Buchanan.

Andrew Melvin. Andrew Melvin one of the presbyterie in Scotland

land, and one who came hither into England with the earls of Angus and Mar, about the yeare of our Lord one thouſand fiue hundred fourſcore and foure, hath written manie epigrams, and amongſt the reſt, one inuectiue againſt the quéene mother, to the king of France, which beginneth Vipera cum catulis.

James Tirie. James Tirie did (as hath Leſleus lib.10.pag.587) go to Rome, after which he became a companion of the Jeſuits, who comming to Paris, trauelled by writing with his elder brother being a baron, to forſake the doctrine of Caluin; he flouriſhed in the yeare of our Lord one thouſand fiue hundred threéſcore and one, vnder Marie quéene of Scots, and did write Ad fratrem epiſtola 1. Reſponſio ad Knoxium lib.1.

Charles James. Charles James the firſt of that name king of Scots now liuing, a toward yong prince, and one well furniſhed with the gifts of nature and learning by birth and inſtruction, did in his yongeſt yeares about the age of seuenténe or eighténe, write a booke of verſes in his mother tong, conteining manie matters of ſundrie rare inuentions, and of ſundrie forme of verſes both learned and eloquent, which booke was after publiſhed to the world; whom I haue here placed the laſt in this catalog of Scotiſh writers, to the end that I would cloſe vp the ſame title with no leſſe honorable and rare perſon, than I firſt made entrance thereinto: and therefore beginning with a king, I thought good alſo to knit it vp with a king.

Thus setting end to my trauels touching Scotland (which I haue not performed as the maieſtie of an hiſtorie requireth, but as my ſkill, helps, & intelligences would permit) I deſire the reader to take it in good part, remembring that Vltra poſſe non eſt eſſe, ſith according to our old prouerbe, A man cannot pipe without his vpper lip. For being denied furtherance (as in the beginning I ſaid) both of the Scots & other of mine owne nation, and thereby not hauing anie more ſubiect wherevpon to worke, I can do no more than ſet downe ſuch things as come to my knowledge. And therefore contenting my ſelfe with this, that In magnis voluiſſe ſat eſt; I commit my ſelfe and my labors to thy fauorable iudgement, who meaſuring my meaning with the square of indifferencie, and pardoning all imperfections in theſe my firſt labors, in reſpect of the ſhortneſſe of time to performe the ſame (for I proteſt to thee that both the hiſtorie of England and Scotland were halfe printed before I ſet pen to paper to enter into the augmentation or continuation of anie of them, as by the inſerting of thoſe things which I haue done maie well appeare) thou ſhalt incourage me hereafter vpon more leſure, and better ſtudie, to deliuer to the world rare matters of antiquitie, and ſuch other labors of mine (Abſit verbis philautia) as maie both ſhew the diſcharge of my dutie to God, to my countrie, to my prince, and to my frends. For though I maie ſéeme to be idle, yet I ſaie with Scipio, Nunquàm minùs ſum otioſus quàm cùm ſum otioſus.

Poſt tenebras lucem, ſed nondum hora.

The first table alphabeticall

Conteining an absolute extract of such names and matters as *the description of Britaine and England doth afford, by present* view whereof the reader may iudge what frutefull knowledge *is to be gathered out of the same: collected by* Abraham Fleming.

A.

Abbeie of Bangor now plowed ground, 83,a 30
Abbeie of Fountens famous how seated, 94,b 60
Abbeie of monks Benedictine suppressed, 103,a 60
Abbeie of Oine by whom and whereupon it was begun to be built, 149,a 10
Abbeis in France how manie, 139,b 10
Aber in British is the mouth or fall of euerie riuer, 68,b 20
Abertaw the British name of Berstable. 65,b 60
Abstinence of the north Britons, 166,a 60
Adamant stones, 239,b 20
Adder in the Saxon tong described Atter, 228,a 10. b.60
Admerall, and the reason of the name, 200,b 60
Aduiterie. ¶ See Fornication and whoredome.
Aegypt how manie cities it conteined, now decaied, 193,a 40
Aeuum. ¶ See Age.
Age of thirtie & three score, &c. peares, and what Epaminondas said thereof, 115,b 20
Age in Latine Seculũ or Aeuũ and what that word signifieth, 244,b 10
Aid forren and the hurt thereof, 6,b 10,20,&c.
Aitites stone, 239,b 20
Alabaster white where to be had, 235,a 40
Albania how first called Scotland, 117,b 60. what it conteined as Brute left it, 116,b 20. The portion of Albanactus the youngest son of Brutus, 92,b 60. Diuided by Fergus among his capteins and soldiers, 118,a 10
Albanact the youngest sonne of Brute had Albania giuen him, 116,b 10. He is slaine, & his death reuenged by his brethren, 117,a 20
Albion how long he gouerned Britaine, and by whome he was slaine, 4,a 10. He with a companie of his race proceeding from Cham, 5,b 10. He & Bergion ioined powers against Hercules, 4,a 40. His name died not, though he were slaine in fight, 4,b 10
Albion the name of Britaine, & why so called as some coniecture, 3,b 10. The ancient religiõ vsed therin, 19,a 10. The name thereof how long it remained, 4,b 10. How long it was so called, 4, b 10. The name of it better knowne to the Greeks than that of Britaine, 5, a 10. What sundrie natiõs had dwelt in it, 5,a 50 ¶ See Britaine & England.
Alchymie a mettall worthie to be banished out of England, 238,b 40
Alcluide a famous citie. 88,a 50 Anciẽt & how seated, 191,a 40
Alder growing in England whose barke serueth to die blacke, 213,b 10
Aldermarie church in London why so named. 113,a 60
Alderware a town about Tame and why so named, 113,a 60
Ale diuerslie termed for the strẽgth, 202,a 60. what slights are vsed for the vtterance of it, 170,a 60
Alen the east and west, riuers described, 90,b 30
Alexander ouerthrew and killed a lion, 226,b 10
Alexander Phereus and his dog, 231,b 10
Alfrũ the seuenth abbat of S. Albons, 192,b 20
Alfred first diuided England into shires, 153,a 50. King of Northumbers and the place of his buriall, 93, b 10. His death laid to earle Godwins charge, and how he was slaine, 132,b 10
Alkes and Ares, 226,b 60
Alps, and that sundrie cities & holdes were placed among them, 4,a 60
Alps or hils of Snowdonie, no lesse famous than the transmarine Alps, 80,b 10
Alume: note, 236,b 10
Amber great store to be had in certeine Ilands of Scotland, 43, b 60. Amber a kind of geat stone, 239,a 40
Amber riuer described, 97,b 60
Amcolme & Witham riuers of which goeth a bywork, 100, b 10
Amnete riuer his course. 47, b 40. ¶ See Riuers.
Amphibologie of the word Swords, 78,a 10
Anandale taketh his name of the riuer Anand, 88,a 40
Ancarig or Crowland Ile, why so called, 103,a 10
Ancaster seemeth to haue beene a great thing, 217,b 20
Anchors of wood cõmon to the Gothlanders & others, 3,b 60
Ancres bore great sway in time past in Ancarig, 103,a 10
Andrewsbury, 217,b 10
Andrew Boord writ of fantasticall Englishmen. 172,a 10
Angles one of the six nations that came with the Saxons into Britaine, 5,a 30
Angles lend one of the names of Britaine, 5,a 20
Anglesey why so named, 36,b 10. Cut from wales by working of the sea, 35, b 60. Lost in the conquerors time and recouered againe in William Rufus time, 36, b 10. Fullie as great as the Wight, 36, a 10
Angusian king of Scots beareth king Arthurs sword before him in signe of homage, 120,b 10
Anselme archbishop of Canturburie pretending an vnwillingnesse to be placed in that see, 133,a 60
Anthropophagi of the Irish in Britaine, 6,a 10
Antimome, 236,b 10
Antiquities found in sundrie places of England. 216,b 60 217,218
Antoninus his thorow fares, 249,a 30
Ape an enimie to yong children. 227,a 60
Apparell of clergie men in England, 139,a 10. And of the late people. 171,b 60
Arcadian dogs, 232,a 20
Archbishop of Canturburies title and office at kings coronatiõs, &c. 132,a 10. He crowneth the king, 134,b 60. Bereaued of his pall, 143,a 10.
Archbishop of Yorks authoritie extended thorough out all Scotland, 120,b 10. Fighteth against the king of Scots, 126,b 60. Crowneth ỹ quẽne whole perpetuall chapleine he is, 134,b 60. His chappell called Cawood, and the vse thereof, 95,a 50
Archbishop Cranmer of Canturburie spitefullie abused as being thought an ostler, 152, a 20
Archbishop of London named Fastidius, 27,b 40
Archbishop Richard of Canturburie misliked exemption of clergimen from the court & councell, 135,a 60
Archbishop Robert of Canturburie a Normian. 7,a Ambitious and malicious. 132, a 60. Expelled out of England, 7,a 50
Archbishops authoritie at the first equall, 134,b 60. Three in Britaine in times past, 131,b 30
Archbishops of London their names, 140, b 60. So manie as are extant to be had from the faith first receiued, 147,a 10.
Archbishoprike of Caerleon vtterlie extinguished, 131, b 30. Of London translated to Canturburie, 131, b 30. Of Yorkes restitution, circuit, and valuation. 145,a 60
Archbishoprikes in France how manie. 139,b 10
Archdeacõrie of Canturburies iurisdiction, 140, b 10. Of S. Albons, 141,a 40
Archdeacons vnder bishops & called the bishops eies, their office, 135,b 20. Belonging vnto the bishoprike of London foure, 141,a 20
Archerie. ¶ See Bowes.
Archflamines (like bishops) cõstituted, 117,b 40. Conuerted into bishops, 118,b 50
Armie of able men that England can leauie, 198,a 60
Armour and munition in England, 198,a 10. Differing from that of other nations, and wherin it consisteth, 198,a 60
Armorie of the prince and of the nobilitie, 199,a 20
Arnold sir Nicholas knight hired the best horsses in England, 220,b 60
Arthur the great held a parlement at Chester, 73,b 50. His feast roiall held at Caerleon, whereat were present all the king his subiects, 120,b 10. His bodie higher by two foot than anie mans that came to see it, 10,b 30. His last and fatall conflict, & where fought. 65,a 10
Artificers diet, 167,b 50
Arundell John archbishop of Cãturburie fled to Rome for feare of his head, 134,b 20
Arundell towne and the castell so named of the riuer Arun. 54,a 60
Ash commeth by nature alie of it selfe euerie where in England, 213,a 50
Aspe growing in England, whereof fletchers doo make their arrowes, 213,b 10
Asses none yeeldeth England, 220,b 60
Athelstane K. of Britaine subdued Scotlãd wholie & gaue land therof by deed, 121,b 60
Athelstane cheefe priuileger of Berstable, 65,b 60
Athelstane ouerthroweth thousands of aliens at Seton in Deuonshire, 59,a 20
Athenians, when they began their yeare, 244,a 10
Attein&, 155,b 60 156,a 10
Attornies multiplied how inconuenient, 156,a 10
Atwater the bishops purpose in beginning to cleanse the Fosse dike, 100,b 40

Augustine the mõnke his conuerting of the Saxons from Paganisme, 27, a 20. One and twentie hundred mõnks slaine in his quarell, 35, b 40
Auon riuer, and his course described, 57, a 60
Auon riuer the third by sundrie occasions growne famous, 67, b 10
Auon or Mene riuer giueth Hampton his name, 101, b 60
Ax riuer in Summersetshire described, 58, b 60
Ax riuer the secõd of that name described, 67, a 50

B.

Badgers in Englãd, 225, b 30
Bailiffes office, 155, a 60
Bainards castell, when and by whom builded, 195, b 30
Baldwine archbishop of Canturburie, 226, b 60
Bangor bishoprikes erectiõ, circuit, and valuation, 145, a 30
Bangor monasterie now ploughed ground, 83, a 30
Banke of Chesill & the strange nature thereof, 58, b 10
Baptisme without prests. 41, a 20. Ministred to a great sort at once, 43, b 50
Banneret an order of knights, 162, a 30
Bards and wherupon they had their name, 21, a 30. Degenerate from their first institution, 21, a 40. Name contemptuouslie ascribed to idiots & fooles, 21, a 50
Bardus the fift king of ỹ Celts 21, a 10. A Celtike word and what it signifieth, 21, a 50
Barnacles generation verie strange, 222, b 60. Great plentie in Mona and Ireland, being neither fish nor flesh, 38, a 40. Their generation by diligent inquirie partlie known, 38, a 50
Barnet & Shullomaca all one or not far in sunder, 191, b 10
Baro a word yet in vse, and commonlie pronounced Barnes, 157, b 10
Baron whereof he beareth his name, & his dignitie, 157, a 60. Who is so created, 158, b 10
Baron chefe lord of excheker, 157, b 20
Barons in England how manie, 165, a 20
Barrie Iland went fiftie yeers ago for ten pounds, 75, b 10. And of certeine strange noises to be heard at a rift thereof, 129, b 40
Bath how called in the Romãs time, 190, b 50. And of the antientnes of the same, 215, b 10
Bath and Welles counted but one citie, 189, b 30
Bath bishoprikes erection, circuit, and valuation, 142, a 20
Baths hot, with their number, names, & colour of their water, &c. 216, & a 30. whether natural or artificiall, 215, b 10. 216, a 10
Baths cold in Summersetshire. 214, b 40. ¶ See Welles.
Battell first on the water that euer was fought. 3, b 60
Battell cruell betweene Hercules, Albion, and Bergion, &c. 4, a 50
Battell on Blozeheath. ¶ See Blozeheath, Conflict, and warre.
Beasts sauage in England, 225, & a 40. Venemous. 227, b 60
Beauchampe Henrie crowned king of wight, &c. 31, b 60
Becket Thom. writeth proudlie to king Henrie the second. 133, b 30
Beda a famous preest & where he was brought vp. 91, a 40 b 10. where he was borne and dwelt, 91, a 10. The first doctor that euer was in Cãbridge, 150, b 10
Beere and the maner of brewing thereof, 169, b 30. what water best to make it, 170, a 40. March beere, 167, b 40. ¶ See Ale.
Bees how ingendered, 228, b 40. ¶ See Honie.
Beggers termed idle, who they be, 183, a 30, 60
Belforrest his opinion touching the name Anglia, 5, a 40. He maketh but foure parts of the earth, 1, b 30
Belme & Wzen part the whole empire betwixt them, 117, b 30
Belines gate, 195, b 60
Belus a riuer: note. 187, b 60
Bendishes gentlemen of an ancient and seruiceable house, 106, b 40
Bendish hall cousined from the Bendishes by the mõnks of Feuersham, 106, b 40
Benedict bishop the mõnke, 187, b 40
Benefices in England so small that they will not maintein a scholar much lesse a learned man, 136, b 10. Diuerse wales fleesed, 136, b 20. 137, a 10. Tenths paid out of thẽ pearlie to the prince, 136, b 30. Two by dispensation how they may be held, 136, a 60. A direction for patrons to bestow them well in ỹ vacancie, 151, a 10. ¶ See Ministers.
Bergion reigned ouer the Orchades as supreame lord, 4, a 40. He and Albion slaine by Hercules. 4, a 10. ¶ See Albion.
Beryll in vse of glasse for windowes. 188, a 10
Bernicia otherwise called Northumberland. 120, b 20. ¶ See Brenicia & Northumberiãd.
Berstable towne somtime walled with foure gates: note. 65, b 60
Berwike peelded vp to ỹ king of England without resistance, 127, a 10. Wonne by the Scots but not the castell, 126, b 60
Berwike vpõ Twed by whom builded, 118, a 50
Beston. ¶ See Castell.
Beuer no where to be found in Britaine, but in ỹ riuer Tetsie, 79, a 50. His hinder feet and taile supposed to be fish, 225, b 60
Beuerleie how called in old time, and how it came to the present name, 93, b 20
Beuerleie John the first doctor that euer was in Oxford, 150, b 10. First teacher of diuinitie in Oxford, 93, b 20
Birds: ¶ See Fowles.
Bishop first of the Ile of Man, 38, b 20. But a bishops shadow, and why, 38, b 20. Of the Orchades whose see is at Pomona 42, b 40. Of Shireburne slaine in the battell of Athelstane, 95, a 30. Of winchester perpetuall prelat to the honorable order of the garter, 141, b 10
Bishop and his clerks, certeine dangerous rockes, so named, 78, b 50
Bishops in their ancientie as they sat in parlement An. 5. reg. Elisab. 165, a 60. They preach diligẽtlie, though their predecessors in times past were occupied in temporall affaires, 135, a 60. They are called honorable, 157, b 40. And lords 50. Greatlie esteemed in times past, 158, a 10. Their liuings fleesed, & sundrie actions of theirs against this spitefull age defended, 139, a 30. Italiãs fiue succeeded each other in Worcester see, 142, b 20. Of Durham sometimes earls Palantine, 145, b 40. Of Lichfield for a while called bishops of Chester, 143, a 10. Of London so manie as are extant to be had from the faith first receiued, 147, a 30. Three chefe in Britaine, 24, a 20. Preferred from the pulpit to the keeping of the kings wardrobe, 142, b 50. ¶ See Clergie.
Bishoprike of London why called honorable, 147, b 60. In the Ile of Man and whose donation, 146, a 60
Bishoprikes in England their erections and their seuerall circuits, &c, 140, a 50. Their tenths & to what sums they pearelie amounted, 146, a 30. Under the see of Canturburie twentie one, and Yorke foure, 135, a 10. They beare the names of cities, and why, 192, b 40. Ouerthrowne and now out of name, which in old time were famous, 146, b 20. Bought & sold as other meaner liuings, 137, b 30. Three thorough out all this land, 118, b 60. How manie in England with archbishoprikes, 189, b 20. In Wales their erection, circuit, & valuation, 145, a 10. In France how manie, 139, b 10
Bitumen, 236, b 20
Blacknesse and of what breadth the sea is there, 3, a 20
Blackehouses. ¶ See Castels.
Blozeheath battell betweene Henrie the sixt and the duke of Yorke purposed, but not executed. 69, b 50
Bloud stone. 239, b 20
Bodgers suborned and licenced: note. 202, b 30
Bodinus & whense he deriueth the name Albion. 3, b 10
Bones of dead men of greater stature thã is credible found in Godmancester, 102, b 60 ¶ See Giants.
Bores nature, & how he is to be hunted being wild, 226, b 20. Tame made brawne, 221, b 60
Borsholder, 154, a 20
Botes guided by the ferrimen by a rope without ores, 58, b 20. What number of them & water men are kept and maintained vpon the Thames, 47, a 60. Made of rushes & reeds, 3, b 60
Bowes long of great vse sometimes in Englãd. 198, & a 50, 60 ¶ See Archerie.
Brackleie sometimes a noble towne, now scarse a good village, 102, a 60
Brackwort. 169, b 60
Brawne of the bore, wherein note the termes, 222, & a 40. A meat not vsuallie knowne to straungers, 221, b 60. Eaten in Lent by a papist that take it to be fish, 222, a 10
Bread why it holdeth not out the size, 168, b 10. Of diuerse sorts, 168, b 10. Not looked vnto either for ỹ size or stuffe, 202, & a 40
Brenmicham towne by what artificers chiefle maintained. 97. a 10
Brennicia alias Northumberland a kingdome, 16, b 60. Whereof it sometime took that name. 89, a 20
Brennich riuer whereof Brennicia kingdome took ỹ name 89, a 20
Brereton blockes neuer seene, but against some mischefe to befall to that house. 67, b 20
Bride riuer mouth naturallie placed betweene two hils, fit for a hauen. 58, b 40
Bridge of London a continuall street situate ouer ỹ Thames, 47, a 50. Of Rochester by whome begun and by whome finished, 52, b 60. Of Vske ouerthrowne by the rage of a riuer, 74, a 60
Bricke burning a decaie of wood, 234, b 50
Bristow how called in the Romans time, 190, b 60. Bishoprike thereof, erection, circuit, and valuation, 144, b 50.
Britaine when not cut frõ the maine by Noahs flood, 225, b 30. The first conquest therof, 3, a 60. The gospell preached there and by whome, 23, a all. Diuided by ỹ Romans into fiue prouinces, 17, b 30. The manifold alterations and cõuersions of the estate thereof, since the time of Samothes, 28, a 10. How it lieth from the maine, 2, a 60. Unto what portion of the earth it is referred. 2, a 60. Why called Albion (as seme cõiecture) 3, b 10. Ships wrought of wicker sometime vsed in it, 3, b 60. The kings therof from Samothes to Brute, and so forwards, 17, 18, 19. Of Paules presence there, 23, a 10. It hath need of no nation but of it selfe, 237. a 50. Subdued by Julius Cesar, 118, b 30. Edgar king thereof rowed in a barge by six or seuen kings, 122, b a 60. Inioied by Brute & his posteritie during two and fiftie descents, 118, a 10. Why named the great, 118, b 40. The souereingtie thereof how it remaineth to the princes of the same, 116, b 50 Of the people there, their constitution of bodie, age, &c. 114. a 60. 115, a 10. How first diuided into three portions, 116, a 10. Generallie commended in an ancient monument, 112, a 20. The foure high waies sometime made in it by the princes of the same, 112, & a 40. The aire, soile, and commodities thereof, 108, b 30. Under the Celts three hundred and one and fourtie peares. 3, b 10. The distance of it from the maine, 3, a 20. Called Valentia, 5, a 20. The name of it knowne to some of ỹ Greeks, 5, a 10. The longitude & latitude thereof, 2, b 20. A long while called Samothes, 3, a 60. The ancient names of it, 3, a 50. Promontories thereof, 3, a 10. The forme of it three cornerd, 2, b 60. Variance among

mong writers about the cõpasse therof, 2,b 40. A parcell of it inhabited sometime by the Irish, 6,a 10. Pestered with manie sorts of people, 5, b 30. what sundrie people and nations setled themselues in it, 5,6,7, &c. Called Angles land by an edict, 5,a 20. Hauens to be sæne vpon the coasts of it, 29,b 30. The first prouince that receiued the gospell generallie, 24, b 20. Into how manie kingdoms it hath bin diuided, 14,15,16. What nations came with the Saxons into it, 5, a 30. At the first one entier kingdome, 14,b 50. How sone inhabited after the diuision of the earth, 5, a 10. The differing opinions of men touching the name of it, 4,b 20. whether it were sometime parcell of the maine, 4,b 50. How long it was called Albion, 4, b 10. Deliuered of a tyrant by Hercules, 4,a 60. ¶ See Albion, England, Picts, Romans, & Scots.

Britons diuided this Iland into cantreds, 153,a 50. Their abstinence, 166, a 60. They had some vse of Logike and Rhetorike from the Galles, 20,a 60,b 10. The speach of ỹ ancient sort and of the Celts much alike, 12, b 40. They & the Celtes indifferentlie called Cimbri, 13,a 10. They are driuen into Wales & Cornewall by the Saxons, &c: 6,b 30. Diligent and readie in pedegrees, 13,a 60,b 10. Their industrie in the vse and application of the benefits of their countrie, 111,b 20. Defended against their slanderers, 115, a 10,b 10. Valourous, 114,b 10. The constitution of their bodies, 114,a 60. Their slight building, 187,a 20. ¶ See Weishmen.

Brookes. ¶ See Riuers.

Bruing. ¶ See Beere.

Brute the sonne of Syluius arriueth in Britaine with his ships, 5, b 10. What time he arriued in Britaine, 4, b 10. He surucieth all Britaine, 116,a 10. He diuided all Britaine to his three sonnes, 116, a 50. From whense he learned his religiõ. 22,a 60. His death the maner thereof not certeinlie knowen, 116,a 30. Interred at his new citie, 116,b 30

Bruton John bishop of Hereford keeper of ỹ kings wardrobe, 142,b 50.

Buchanan partlie followeth the error of Goropius about Britaine, 3,b 10

Bucke, & what names he hath before he be so called, 226,a 30

Buckingham & Bedfordshires haue the riuer Clee rising in their seuerie confines, 102,b 20

Buckhurst lord ambassador to the French king in Henrie the seuenths time, 231,a 30

Bubali olim in Anglia, 208,a 10

Building and furniture of houses in England described, 187 a 10. with stone now cõmonlie vsed, 234, b 40. New & curious deuises vsed therein, 212,b 10. Quarries of stone serving thereto, 234,b 20

Buildings in Englãd of what manner, 109,b 10

Buls wild sometimes in England, 225,b 10

Burchier sir Rafe knight his deuise of casting alabaster in moulds, 235,a 60

Burgesses & citisens, 162,b 60. Ancient maner of buriall in Anglesey, 36,b 60

Burials of the kings of Ireland, 40,a 20

Burials of the kings of Scotland, 40,a 20

Burrow, 154,a 20

Burrow kind what kind of custome, 180,b 20

Burrowes how they were walled about with stone walles, 217,b 60. And to what vse the Britons put them, 218,a 10

Butiermen and the cause that butter riseth in the price, 203, b 30

Buxston baths. 214,b 30

C.

Cæsar made a tabber of English pearle, 239,a 60

Caim an English saint and of his effectuall praiers, 68,a 30

Cair Caradoc a strong place of incamping, 195,a 50

Cairmarden how called in the Romans time, 191,a 10

Caius de canibus Anglicis, 229, b 50

Calaminarie stones, 239,b 20

Calcedonie stone, 239,b 20

Calendar of England how it might be the more perfect, 244,a 30,60

Calendar Romane, 242,b 60. Papistically in vse in the arches, 182,a 20. Generallie corrected by the pope, 244,a 50

Calendar of the greatest faires in England, 245,a 10. Of the greatest trauelled thorowfares and townes in England, 247,a 40

Calends of the moneth consecrated to Juno, & the reason of the name, 243,a 10

Calice a towne in Picardie, & how far distant from Rome, 3,a 20

Camelon the principall citie of Picts, ouerthrowne by Julius Cesar, 118,b 30

Camber the second sonne of Brute had Cambria giuen, 116,a 60

Cambria why so called, 68,b 10 A peninsula or byland, now named Wales, 116,a 60

Cambridge how called in the Romans time, 191,a 20. Vniuersitie erected by Sigibert, 144,a 50. Fortie six miles frõ London, 148,b 20. Not long since burned, 148,b 60. Colleges with their founders names, 151. Kings college chappell of what stone it is builded, 234, b 60. ¶ See Vniuersities.

Candels of tallow eaten by of an Irelland gentlewoman, 231,b 50

Candida casa, 146,b 60

Cane stone, 234,b 60

Cantaber a Spaniard begun the vniuersitie of Cãbridge, 148,a 60

Cãting. ¶ See Pedlers Frẽch.

Canturburie how called in the Romans time, 190,a 60. The chiefe citie of the kingdome of Kent, 16,a 50. One of the two onlie prouinces now of England, 131,a 30. Bishoprikes vnder the said see twentie one 135,a 10. Bishop of Rochester crossebearer in times past to the archbishop of the said see, 140, b 30. Archbishoprike when and by whom first erected, & the circuit of the same, &c. 140,a 60. Archbishops of the popish stampe, proud, ambitious, contentious, &c. 132, 133

Canutus lawes for his forrest, 206,b 50. 207,a 10. He was a glutton, 170,b 40. His authorising of the clergie to punish whoredome, 185,a 60

Capons made of gelded cocks a practise brought in by the Romans, 223,a 40

Caradocks a linage of great honor, antiquitie and seruice, 69,a 30

Carcer Aeoli an hole so called in old time, 67,a 50

Cardans fond opinion touching dogs become wolues, and wolues dogs, 232,a 30. His report of Henrie the eight, 196,b 10

Carduus benedictus, 209,a 60

Carleill how called in the Romans time, 190,b 30. Sometimes named Cairdoill, 146,a 20. Standeth betweene two streames or riuers, 88, a 10. The bishoprikes erection, circuit, and valuation, 146,a 10

Carolus Clusius, 210,a 10

Carpenters of England highlie cõmended, 188,a 40. They passe in their new frames the finest of old, 212,a 60

Carpes latelie brought into England and later into the Thames. 46,b 20

Carthamus bastard saffron, 234, a 60

Castell of Bungie & Leicester, &c: when & by whom defaced, 195,a 20. Of Bekons prophesie, 195,a 10. Of Cambridge higher than that of Oxford, 148,b 60

Castels and holds in England, 194,a 40. Manie & by whom sometimes builded, 194,b 10. What and where maintened, 194,b 40. The ruine of manie cities, 194,a 50. The cause of their ruine & decaie, 194,b 30. At Cambridge and Oxford by whom builded, 149,a 10

Cathnesse how far distant from England, 113,b 30

Cattell kept for profit, 219,a 40. Sometimes fed vpon saffron, 232,b 10. In England of diuerse sorts, 110,b 20

Caues wherein are hals, chambers, & all offices of houshold cut out of hard rocke, 130,a 30

Cawood castell belonging to the archbishop of Yorke, 95,a 50

Celts properlie called Galles, 12,b 50. Britaine vnder them three hundred fortie and one yeares, 3,b 10. whether they spake Greeke or no, 12, b 50. They & the Britons indifferentlie called Cimbri, 13,a 10

Chalke in some places sold by the pound, 187,a 60

Cham notwithstanding his lewdnes made a god, 21,b 40. The doctrine of him and his disciples, 21,b 30. What religion his posteritie brought ouer into Britaine, 21, b 50, 60. 22,a all.

Chamberleine. ¶ See Innes.

Chancellor lord of England his dignitie, 164,b 40

Chanons of old Sarum together by the eares: note, 57.a 10

Chapell of the kings college of what stone it is builded, 234, b 60

Chapmen. ¶ See Innes.

Charles the fourth emperour glased church windowes with geat stone, 239,a 40

Chase and parke how they differ, 206,a 10

Chases & what beasts to them properlie belonged, 206,a 20

Chedderhole or Chedderrocke in Summersetshire an Englishwonder, 129,b 20

Chelmesford or Chelmersford so named of the riuer Chelmer, 107,a 50

Cherwort, ¶ See Beere.

Chesill riuer described, being like a narrow banke: note. 58, b 10

Chester how called in the Romans time and when it was an vniuersitie, 190,b 20. How seated, why called Caerleon or Ciuitas legionum, and how stately in old time, 73, b 50. Raced to the ground and not since reedified, 35, b 40. Bishoprikes erection, circuit, and valuation, 145,b 30

Chestershire & Lancastershire diuided by the riuer Tame, 84,a 20

Cheuiot hils twentie miles in length, 109,a 60

Chichester how called in the Romans time, 190, b 60. Bishoprike when first begun, & the circuit therof, &c. 141,a 50

Chimnies now manie, in times past few, 188,b 30

Chipping walden, why so named, 206,b 20

Christians spared from the furie of the sword, 121,b 10

Chronicles of Barnwell, 113,a 40. Of Burton, 23,b 10. Of Coglhall, 12,a 60

Chrysocolla, 236,b 20

Chrystall stone, 239,b 20

Church of England more beneficiall to the princes coffers than the state of the laitie, 137 b 10. The ancient & present estate thereof, 131,a 30. It is become the asse whereon euerie market man is to ride and cast his wallet, 137, a 60. Lands of it and college possessions pried after by dingthrifts, 152, b 20. Whether that which Lucius builded at London stood at Westminster or in Cornehill, 24, a 60. That of S. Martins turned into a barne, 56, b 60. ¶ See Vniuersitie.

Churches in England scowred and cleansed from all reliks of idolatrie, and how beautifull, 138, b 30. Priuileges granted to them and churchyards, 197, b 50. Stone in times past was vsed and dedicated to the building of thẽ, 234, b 30. The old estate of cathedrall churches, 139, b 40 Exercises kept in them, 135, a 50. Why so called, 135, a 10. In part conuerted into markets & shops, & why, 135, a 50. Churches collegiat diuers in England, 151, b 20. Parish churches wherupon they began & were erected, 135, a 40. Exercises vsed ordinarilie in them, 138, a 10. Decaied in Lelands time, 193, b 60. In Lincolne fiftie two in times past, 193, b 40. In France how manie, 139. b 10. ¶ See Clergie and Parishes.

Cicester how called in the Romans time, 190, b 40

Cidmouth hauen wherof so named, 59, a 40

Cinna-

Cinnabarum, 236,b 20
Cities that stood in this land in the Romans time, 190,a 50
when first builded and multiplied, 190, a 20. Greater in times past when husbandmē were also citizens, 190,a 30. That send knights, citizens, burgesses, and barons to the parlemēt, 174,b 40. Southerlie builded were ancient, faire & great, 189,b 40. That stood in this land in the Romans time, 190,a 50 Ancient so decated as that their ruines are no where to be seene, 191,a 30. The names of them in England, 192,b 10. ¶ Sée Towns
Citizens & burgesses, 162,b 50
Claie of diuerse sorts occupied in building, 187,a 50
Clarens duchie whense it had the denomination, 105,b 20
Claudia Rufina a British ladie, 23,a 60
Cle hils in Shropshire, 109,a 60
Clée riuer rising in the verie confines of Buckingham & Bedfordshire, 102,b 20
Clergie of England reuerentlie thought of in forren regions, 158,a 40. Fauourable in punishing whoredome, 185,b 10
Clergie men vsed kings as they listed, 133, 134. Had the best wine in old time, 167,b 30. Immunitie of them greater vnder idolatrie than vnder the gospell, 20, b 40. ¶ Sée Priests.
Clocks, 241,a 60
Cloten inheritor to the whole empire, and why he diuided it, 117,a 60
Cloth carried out to be shorne, &c. 236,a 60
Clothworkers starue and beg, 236,b 10
Cobham lord John begun to build Rochester bridge, 52,b 60
Cobham Thomas bishop of Worcester: note, 142,a 60
Coell traitorouslie slaine in his bed, 117,b 60
Coines forren both of gold and siluer, 219,a 10. Of England in times past & now present, 218,a 50. ¶ Sée Monie and Romans.
Colchester in old time called Camalodunum, 106,a 10. Wan by the Romans, 107,b 10. Whether so named of the riuer Colne or Colonia Romanorum, 106,a 30. How called in the Romans time, 190, b 10. Named a long time Colonia, 217,b 60
Colemines, 236,b 40
Colewort medicinable, 209,b 50
Colonie what it is, 191,b 40
College. ¶ Sée Universitie.
Collet John deane of Paules founder of Paules schole, 147,b 40
Combat betweene Corineus & Gomagot. 8,b 50. ¶ Sée Conflict.
Comes. ¶ Sée Earle.
Commons in England to what vse they serued, and how their vse is peruerted, 112, a 10. Incroched vpon by the erecting of tenements, 112, b 40.
Complaint first tendered out of England to Rome, 7,a 60
Complexions of people according to the climat where they dwell, 114,b 30
Conies so fat, that the grease of one weied six or seuen ounces, 110,b 40
Conflict betwixt churchmē called The holie conflict, 57,a 10 Hot & bloudie betwixt Athelstane and certeine aliens at Seton in Deuonshire, 59,a 20
Conquest of England attempted in Athelstans times, but withstood, 59,a 20. A seuenth of England out of the north prophesied, 8, a 30. Diuerse since duke Williams time, that prospered not, 8,a 10,20
Consigne quéene of Bithunia torne in peeces of a mastife, 231,a 40
Constables high and petie their offices, 155,b 10
Contention greeuous betweene the king of England & Lild bishop of Elie: note, 143,b 10
Coopers, 236,b 20
Copholders oppressed, 189,a 40
Copper, 238,b 20
Corbridge sometimes inhabited by the Romans, 91,a 10
Corineus twelue cubits high, that is, eightéene foot, 8,b 50
Cormorants about the Ile of Elie, 227,b 50
Corne in England and other kinds of graine, 110, a 60. What obseruations are kept in the countrie for the price thereof the yeare following, 203,a 30. What great abuse is suffered therin both for price, &c. 202,b 10,203,a 10
Cornwall called the promontorie of Helenus, and why, 34,b 30. The Britons call it Cernin, 14,a 50. The bredth of it & Deuonshire, 66,a 30
Corrall white, 239,b 30.
Counties. ¶ Sée Shires.
Court of England alwaies kept where the prince lieth, 196,a 50. Punishment of such as smite within the bounds of it forbidden, 197,a 60
Court kept at Kings hill in Rochford after midnight: note. 156,b 10
Courts of some princes beyond sea compared vnto hell, 196,b 60,197,a 10
Courts of chancerie at Yorke & Ludlow, 181,a 40
Courtiers of England the best learned and worst liuers, 196, a 60
Cranmer archbishop of Canturburie supposed to be an ostler: note, 152,a 20
Creekes noted by seafaring men for their benefit vpon ỹ coasts of England, 108,a 10. ¶ Sée Hauens and Riuers.
Crocus (in English Saffron) with the occasion of the name, 232,b 30
Crokers, or saffron mens obseruation, 233,b 40
Crosses of wood found about Hadon, & how they came there, 130,b 60
Crowdon hils reaching to the borders of Scotland, 109,a 50
Crowes carie, 227,b 30. White, 223,b 20. Tame crowes of a tinnainer & a shomaker with strange tales of them, 238, a 20,50
Crowne of gold the first that was euer worne in this nation, 117,b 10
Cubit geometricall, 9,a 40
Cumberland and Westmerland by what riuer bounded, 86,b 20
Custome of Hastlex, 185, b 20. ¶ Sée Law.
Curres. ¶ Sée Dogs.
Cymbri of likelihood came out of Britaine, 13,a 30
Cynike yeare: note, 244,a 20

D.

Date naturall when it beginneth, 241,a 60. Longest in some parts of Britaine, 2,b 40. Of how manie houres it consisteth: note, 241,a 40. Diuerslie accounted by houres, 241,b 10. Artificiall, 241,b 30
Dates of the weeke named after the English, Saxonish, and Scotish maner, 244,b 20. Called Atri among the Romans, why, 243, a 20. Diuerslie accounted and named of diuerse people, 242,a 60
Dales three whereof men doubted whether theeues or true men do most abound in them, 91,a 20
Danes how they came first into Britaine, 6, b 30. Prospered not in their purpose establishing of themselues in Britaine, and why, 6,b 40. Arriue in Scotland & kill king Constantine, 121, a 60. Sometimes lords of Pomona an Ile in Scotland, 42,b 60
Danesfield and why so named, 93,b 10
Dãsers, a kind of dogs, 231,b 60
Darbie towne so named of the riuer Darwent, 96,a 10
Dartford by whome builded, now a palace roiall, 196,a 30
Darwēt riuer described, 92,b 50
Dauid king of Scots earle of Huntington, 123,b 10
Deacons in the church of England but no subdeacons, 136, a 40
Deanes of cathedrall churches not knowne before the conquest, 135,a 10. Of Paules in their succession to the last named Alexander Nowell, 147, b 20
Deceit in saffron, and how to be perceiued, 233,b 60
Der or Dena a noble riuer rising in Merionethshire, 82,a 50. A troublesome streame when ỹ wind is at southwest: note. 83,a 10
Dele an old Saxon word signifieng a bottome or dale, 206, b 20
Demetrius his vaine tales told in his treatises, 128,b 50
Dennie Iland in the middest of the Seuerne, 37,b 40
Demiaticus king of the Swessions held Britaine in subiection, 5,b 20
Deuonshire parted from Cornwall by the intercourse of the riuer Thamar, 61, a 10. The bredth of it and Cornwall, 66,a 30
Dials, 241,a 60
Diamond stones, 239,b 20
Diamond found in a marble quarie at Naples, 235,b 60
Diet of the English, 165, b 30. Of the nobilitie, 166, a 60. Of merchants, 167,a 40 Of artificers, &c. 167.b 50. Of the ancient Gentiles, 170, b 50, 171,a 10
Dinas Bren a castell: note. 227,b 20
Dis one of the sons of Japhet originall beginner of Britaine. 3,a 60
Discipline sent for by Eleutherius from Lucius, 24, b 40. Verie necessarie in ỹ church, 24,b 40. Wished. 213,b 50
Doctrine that Cham & his disciples taught, 21,b 30. That Druius preached to his hearers in Albiõ, 19,b 30,20,a 10
Doctor a word of large signification, 150,b 10
Dodon riuer ỹ bound to Cumberlãd & Westmerlãd, 86,b 20
Dogs of England & their qualities, 229,b 40. That serue ỹ falcon of two sorts called Spanicls, 230, a 60. What sort of all most cruell & tugging, 232, a 10. Of a homelie kind, 230,b 40. Diuided into fiuerall kinds, 230,a 10
Dolphin of France the title of the French kings eldest son, 157,a 10
Domitians follie noted plaieng with flies, 226,a 40
Doue a swift riuer and for his noblenesse notable, 98,b 50
Douer castell whense of likelihood it toke the name, 53,a 60
Drake sir Francis knight his votage, 1581. 237,b 10
Drikeld sometimes a goodlie towne now a small village, 93,a 60,b 10
Drinke vsed in England, 169,a 20. ¶ Sée Beare.
Drinkers great & yet no drunkards, 42,a 60
Dropping well and the wonderfull nature thereof, 129,b 60
Drugs. ¶ Sée Simples.
Druides or Druith priests and their estimation, 20,b 30. Why so called, 19,b 10
Druius and what points of doctrine he preached & taught in Albion, 19,b 30,20,a 10
Duchesse of Lancaster the ladie wake, 143,b 40
Duke in Latine Dux, à ducendo, a name now of honor, 157, a 10. Created of the prince, 158,a 60. In England none, 164, b 60
Duke Humfreie of Glocester builded Greenewich, 196,a 20
Duke of Summersets in king Edward the sixts time, wise answer to tutors for college & church lands, 152,b 20
Duke William of Normandie, &c arrriued in Britain to visit Edward the confessor, 7,a 10. His dead carcase twelue inches longer than anie mans dwelling in ỹ countrie, 10,b 30 ¶ Sée William.
Dunwallon king of Britaine caused foure principall waies to be made in his kingdome, and why, 112,a 10. His lawes, priuileges, & other acts, 117,b 10. He is praised, 177,a 10
Durham what hauens it hath, 108,a 30. The bishoprikes creation, circuit, and valuatiõ, 145,b 40
Durham place conuerted into a palace roiall, 195,b 40

E.

Edmerus abbat of S. Albons, 191,b 60
Ebranke the lineall heire from the bodie of Locrine, 117 a 30
Ebranke now called Yorke, 117, b 40
Ecberts edict to call Britains Angles land, 5,a 20
Edeborough castell why so called, and by whome builded, 117,a 40
Edgar king of Britaine sitting in a barge is rowed vpon the water by six or seuen kings, 122, a 60. His nauie of one thousand six hundred, alias three thousand six hundred saile, 201,b 50
Editha (wife to Robert d'Oilie) superst-

superstitious & credulous: note. 149,a 10
Edward the first did first coine the penie & small pæces round, 218,b 60
Edward the second held a parlement at Salisburie, 57,a 50
Edward the confessor of whome descended, & his lawes, 122,b 50. Son in law to earle Godwine, 7,a 30. Surnamed the saint, 7,b 60. Preferreth the Normans to the greatest offices in ỳ realme, 7,a 10. Visited by duke Willia of Normandie, 7, a 10. He had no issue, 123,a 10
Edward the third deuiser of the order of ỳ garter, 141,b 10. Got the Ile of wight wholie into his handes, 31,b 60. First planted saffron in Walden, 232, b 50
Edward the fourth granted licẽce to transport rams & ewes into Spaine, 221,a 10
Eeles denouring fishes, 224,a 10. How to haue brood of them, 224, a 50. ¶ See Fishes.
Ekts both of land and water, 228,b 30
Egs great store laid by diuerse kinds of fowles in the Ile of Farne, 44,a 60
Egbert the first that began to know the necessitie of a naule, 201,b 40
Egbright king of Northumbers and his palace where seated, 93,b 10
Egles in England: note, 227,b 10
Eldred abbat of saint Albons, 191,b 50
Eleutherius sendeth preachers ouer into Britaine, 24,a 20. Being dealt therein by king Lucius, 23,24,25
Elie a famous Ile seuen miles euerie waie, and not accessible but by three causes, 112,a 10. In the Normans time called the Ile of Wines, 111,a 20. Bishoprikes erection, circuit, and valuation, 143,a 50
Elisabeth quẽne furnisheth England with munition, & wherebyon, 198,a 20
Ella the Saxõ first held the kingdome of Sussex, 16,b 10
Elmes great store in England, 213, a 30. On the southside of Douer court notable, 213,a 40
Eltham by whome builded, 196, a 30
Eneelius opinion of the generation of gold and siluer, 237, a 30
England called Lhoegres, 116,a 50. why called Britaine the great, 118, b 40. Angellandt, or Angles land, 5,a 20. The centre, nauill, or middest of it wherabouts, 48,b 30. How manie cities and townes it hath, 189,b 20. Lesse nẽd of other nations than other nations of it, 235,a 10. Gouerned by three sorts of persons, 164,a 60. Little England or low England, 44,b 30. Miles betwixt the greatest townes for trauell, how manie, 247,a 40. Degrees of people there, 136,b 50. Power people in it of three sorts, 182,b 50. Lawes since the first inhabitatiõ therof, 176,b 50. It and Scotland by what riuers diuided on the east and the west, 107, b 20. Of the ancient and present estate of the church thereof, 131, a 30. Three things growne to be verie grieuous in it, 189,a 30. It will as well yeld wine, as kepe it long, 110,b 60, 111,a 10. When there is like to be plentie and when scarsitie there, 111,b 40. Of the aire, soile, wind, hils, pastures, corne, ground, &c: 108, b 40. Not vnfurnished of hot baths and wels, 214,b 20. How the souereignitie of it remaineth to the princes of the same, 116, b 50. The tax of the whole realme, 137,a 50. Gouernement thereof vpon what three kinds of lawes it dependeth, 179,b 50. Building and furniture of houses in it, 187,a 10. The partition wall betweene the Picts and Scots, 127, b 10. Three things greatlie amended therein, 188,b 30. The partition of it into shires and counties, 153, a 10. The accompt of time and hir parts there, 241, a 40. Of the maruels thereof, 128, b 20. Punishments therein for malefactors, 184,b 60. Of castels and holds in it, 194, a 40. It and Wales in times past full of woods, 211, b 60. Of parkes and warens therin, 204, a 50. Lesse people in it neuer than now, 205, b 10. Foure things wished to be reformed therein, 213, b 50. Of the princes court and the courtiers of England, 196, a 50. Palaces for the prince in England, 195, a 60. How manie parishes and market towns it conteineth, 194, a 10. Able men that it can make out against the enimie, 198, a 60. Of armour and munition in it, 198, a 10. Well furnished with guns and artillerie, 198, b 40. Coines thereof in times past and now present, 218, a 50. Of cattell kept for profit therein, 219, a 40. It and Scotland diuided by the riuer Tweed, 88, b 60. Much euill transported into it out of France, 20, b 10. The number of religious houses therein at their dissolution, 26, b 10. In the south parts of it are three seuerall tongs vsed, 14, b 10. Six times subiect to reproch of conquest, 8, a 10. The cause of the conquest thereof by the Normans, 7, a 10. ¶ See Albion, Britaine, Conquest, Danes, Normans, Saxons, &c.
Englishmẽ noisome to their owne countrie, 153, b 10: Their food and diet, 165, b 30. Best on foot, 163, b 40. Disguised in cuts, iags, &c. 172, a 20. Their miserie vnder the French and Normans, 7, b 30. Their apparell, 171, b 60. Brought in loue with outlandish toies, 235, b 10. 236, a 40
Emerita nẽce vnto Lucius, 24, b 30. Martyred in Rhetia, 25, b 60
Emma the mother of duke Willam of Normandie, 7, a 10
Epaminondas neat saieng touching the age of thirtie, and three score, &c. 115, b 20
Epistle of Eleutherus to Lucius 25, a 10
Equinoctiall. ¶ See Calendar and Yeare.
Equites. 158, b 60
Erasmus Roterodamus was in the vniuersities of England, his report of both, 149, b 20
Erkenwyn king of Esser, 16, b 20
Erle and aldermen by whom first appointed, 153, b 30. Baldwin de Betoun first earle of the Ile of wight, 31, b 50. Of Bullen maried king of Scots daughter, 205, b 50. Geffrete of Esser constable of the towre, 111, a 20. Godwine defaced by the Norman writers, 132, a 40. John of Sumerset, 127, a 50. Hugh of Chester in William Conquerors time, 36, b 10. Hugh of Shrewesburie in William Conquerors time, 36, b 10. Of Kent Godwins father in law to Edward the confessor, 7, b 60. Of Kent Herald sonne to Godwin, 7, b 60. Leofric of Chester, 132, b 30. Richard of warwike, 31, b 60. Of Sarum lord william Montacute, 37, b 50. Siward of Northumberland surnamed Fortis, 132, b 30. Thomas of Lancaster, 126, a 20. Voldosius of Huntington & Northumberland, 123, b 10. A name of office among the Romans, in Latine Comes: note. 157, a 30. Created of the prince, 158, a 60
Erles in England how manie, 164, b 60. How farmers and graziers, 204, b 60. Eight slaine in a conflict of Athelstane against certeine aliens, 59, a 30. Of Darbie commonlie said to be kings of the Ile of Man, 37, b 50
Erne and eagle taken to be all one, 227, b 20
Erne stone, 239, b 20
Erning street one of the foure highwaies principall of Britaine and how it is extended, 113, b 30
Erth diuided into fiue parts, 1, b 30. Vnto what portiõ therof Britaine is referred, 2, a 30. Variance among writers about the diuision of it, 1, b 10. The diuisiõ of it not yet perfectlie knowne, 1, a 30. Diuided into three parts, 1, a 10
Erth worth fiue shilling a lode thirtie yeares ago, 236, b 60
Erths sundrie kinds in Britaine, and which kind most common and best, 111, b 30
Esquire a French word, and who be such. 162, a 40
Esser a kingdome begun vnder Erkenwyn, 16, b 20, In time past hath wholie bẽne forrest ground, 206, a 60. What hauens it hath, 108, a 60. It and Suffolke parted by the riuer Sture, 105, a 40
Estrildis drowned by Guendoline, 68, b 30
Euesham monasterie fell downe by it selfe, 67, b 10
Excester bishoprike when it first began, the circuit of the same, &c. 141, b 60
Exchequer when it openeth, 182, a 10
Excommunicate persons how disabled, 197, b 60

F.

FAculties a great cause of the ruine of the cõmonwealth, 205, a 60. Commodious to the prince and yet exclaimed against, 136, a 60
Faires and markets in England, 202, a 10. When and where kept through out the yeare, 245, all. Paltrie fairs and their abuses, 244, b 60. One or two euerie yeare in the great market townes of England, 204, a 30
Fallow deere by whome first brought into this land, 204, b 20
Famine at hand is first seene in the horsemanger, 168, b 20
Farmers when hardlie pate could their rents, 188, b 60, 189, a 10
Fastidius archbishop of London. 27, b 40
Fawie towne in what kings daies it grew first famous, 62, a 20
Fellon a word derived from the Saxon tong, 184, b 60
Fellons that speake not at their arreignement how punished, 185, b 60
Fellonie how punished, 186, b 50. In what cases the gailor doth commit it, &c. 184, b 20. Compriseth manie grieuous crimes: note. 185, a 10
Fennes in England and with what things indued, 111, b 60 ¶ See Marishes.
Fergus why made king of the Scithians that arriued in Albanie, 117, b 60
Ferrex and Porrex miserablie slaine, 117, a 60
Festiuall daies. ¶ See Holidais
Fire hindred by alume, 236, b 10
Firre growing in Englãd, 213, a 60. In times past in Lancashire, 214, a 40
First fruits. ¶ See Tenths.
Firth streame of some called the Pictish and Scotish sea, 88, b 40. And what riuer or streames it receiueth, 88, b 50
Fishes of sundrie sorts great store in the Thames, 46, b 10. Three kinds in a lake, which fishes haue but one eie, appere, 129, b 50. Fiue sorts, 224, b 40. Afferd to come with in the wind of Olyzate oile, 227, b 50. what sorts vsuallie taken vpon the English coasts, 223, b 60. Of the sea how they come in season, 224, b 20. What kind preserued by prouiso of sharpe lawes, 224, a 10. Without fins in Lomond lake, 88, a 60
Fitzhenries originall and aduancement, 15, b 60
Fitzwaters necke broken as he was taking horsebacke, 106, b 20
Flamines and archflamines in Britaine, 22, b 40. Eight and twentie, 189, b 20
Flax ought to be sowne by law in England, 111, a 60
Flies of a noisome kind, 228, b 30, 229, a 40
Folkmote ordeined by king Arthur, 155, b 20
Fornication ridiculouslie punished, 185, a 50
Forrestes in England & Wales diuerse, 206, a 50
Fotis how they came to be erls of Aumarle, Wight, and Deuonshire, 31, b 60
Fosse dike cleansed by bishop Exwater, 100, b 40
Fosse one of the highwaies of Britaine, and how it is extended, 112, b 60
Fosse streame able to beare a good vessell, 94, b 10
Fouks de warren ỳ red knight, 15, b 40
Fowles wild & tame in England. 222, b 10. Tame of diuerse kinds, 223, a 10. From beyond sea, 223, a 10. Rauenous to be destroied by law, 223, b 10. 227, b 10. Uncleane, 223, b 10
Founteins abbeie famous, how seated, 94, b 60
Fox bishop builder of Corpus Christi

Christi college in Oxford, his opinion, 150,b 40
Foxes in England, 225,b 30
Fraie betweene the duchesse of Lancasters men and the bishop of Elies, 143,b 60. ¶ Sée Quarell.
France how manie archbishoprikes, bishoprikes, & churches it hath, 139,b 10. Much euill transported from thense into England, 20,b 10
Franke chase, 206, a 10. ¶ Sée Parke.
French best on horssebacke, 163 b 40. Exiled out of England, 7, a 50. The first koting of them in Britaine since the time of Ethelbert and Sigebert, 7, a 10. The miserie of the English vnder them, 7, b 20. In reporting their owne affaires not to be trusted, 115, a 60. They deride our new archerie, 198, a 60
Freendship betweene fishes by nature, 224, a 20
Fridaie why called the king of the woorling, 242, a 40
Frith an arme of the sea diuiding Pentland from Fife, 118, b 40
Frobishers voiage for gold, in the yeare of our Lord, 1577. 237, b 10
Frogs commonlie found where adders be, 228, a 60
Furniture. ¶ Sée Houses and Building.

G.

Gagates, 239, a 10, 40
Gaile deliuerie or great assises, 155, b 30
Gailers in what case guiltie of fellonie, 184, b 30
Galatea married to Hercules, 4, a 30
Galles received their religion from the Britons, 20, a 60. What sort of them aduentured into Britaine, 5, b 20
Gallies belonging to the queens maiestie and hir seruice, 201, a 30. In old time of sundrie sorts and seruice, 200, a 60
Gardens and orchards in England, 208, a 60. Of our time peerelesse, 210, b 10. Joining to houses how beautified and furnished with floures, herbs, &c. 209, a 10
Gardens of the Hesperides, 210, b 10
Garget a disease in cattell, 110, a 40
Garnish of pewter vessell how much, 237, b 40
Gauell kind deuised first by the Romans, and why, 180, a 60
Geat stone, 239, a 10. Of fiue kinds, 239, a 50
Gelousie of mastifes, 231, a 40
Gentlemen in England of three sorts, 156, b 60. Gentlemen gouernors of two sorts, 164, b 10. Gentlemen of bloud, 161, a 40. Gentlemen, who to be counted, 162, a 50. Gentlemen Italionats, 162, b 30. Gentlemen of the second degree, 158, b 20. Gentlemen of the greater sort, 156, b 60. Gentlemen rauenners of cõmodities, 240, a 60. Gentlemen shifters, robbers, 186, a 40. Gentlemen dingthrifts thæuish practises, 199, b 50
Gentlemens manours, 188, a 40
Gentlemens diet. ¶ Sée Diet.
Germander, 209, a 60
Giant three of whose teeth weid an hundred ounces, &c. 9, b 30. Bones of one seuenténe or eighténe cubits long, 9, b 60. The bodie of one found in a coffin of stone in Alderneie, 32, b 60. Ones mouth of sixténe foot wideneſſe, 11, b 60. The bones of one whose carcasse was two and twentie foot long, 10, b 50. One of Spaine that died by a fall vpon the Alpes, 8, a 60. One found dead sitting with a staffe in his hãd like the mast of a tall ship, 9, b 50
Giants whether anie were or inhabited Britaine, 8, a 40. Hundrie exãples of prowse to confirme the opinion of them, 10, a 10. The last of the race left in the land of promise, 9, a 30. Proued by scripture to haue beene in former times, 9, a 10. To what purpose God created such men of mightie stature, 12, a 60
Gigas or Nephilim signifieng a giant, 8, a 10. ¶ Sée Giants.
Gilpins preaching effectuall in Ridsdale, Tindale, and Liddesdale, 91, a 20
Gir in the old Saxon speech, signifieth deepe fens and marishes, 101, a 60
Glasing by whome first brought into this land, 187, b 40
Glasse how first found. 187, b 60. Of diuerse sorts, 188, a 20. How it might be made tougher, 238, b 10. Hath beene made in England before the Romans time, 111, b 10
Glasses to drinke in greatlie vsed, 167, a 10. Of the best sort from whense, 167, a 10
Glasses to looke in made of tin, 237, b 60. Of siluer common to euerie dishwasher, 238, a 10
Glocester how called in the Romans time, 191, a 10. Jt and Summersetshire by what riuer parted asunder, 68, a 30. Bishoprike verie ancient, 146, b 30. Erection, circuit, & valuation of it, 142, b 30
Gluttonie of England in Canutus time, 170, b 40
Godmanchester in old time called Gumicester, whilome a towne of great countenance and verie ancient, 102, b 60.
Gods inferior how hatched at the first, 21, b 50, 60, 22, a 10, Men made such and so honored, 22, b 10. Who was properlie said in old time to haue a seat among them, 21, b 50
Gogmagogs hill, a strong place of incamping, 195, a 40
Gold how ingendered in the earth, 237, a 30. Not wanting in England, 237, a 50. From the west Indies, 237, a 60. Graines thereof inclosed in stones, 235, b 60. Drosse in triall: note, 237, b 10
Goldwell bishop of Oxford a Jesuit, 143, a 30
Godwine of Kent earle father in law to Edward the confessor, 7, a 30. Accused of high treason verie slanderouslie, 7, b 10. Defaced by the Norman writers, 132, a 40
Gose dong beneficiall, 223, a 60
Gosehead how he leadeth his geese to the field, 223, a 50
Goropius trifling about the names of places noted, 3, b 10
Gospell preched how effectuall to conuert and amend mens maners, 91, a 20. The successe thereof after the death of Christ, 22, b 60. Had neuer free passage in Britaine till Lucius time, 23, b 30. The propagation thereof in Britaine, 23, b 24, a b 25
Gotes great store in England & Wales, 221, b 30. Their milke medicinable, 221, b 40
Goths deuise for the destruction of their white crowes, 223, b 20, They & Vandals made lawes against learning. 153, a 10
Gothlanders vse wodden anchors, 3, b 60
Grafton Richards tale of the bones of a giant, 10, a 60
Granlings. ¶ Sée Umbers.
Granta a noble and excellent streame described, 103, a 20
Grantabrishire so called of the riuer Granta, 103, a 20
Grashoppers powdered in barrels and eaten, 229, b 20
Grasiers growne verie cunning, 220, b 20
Grasing superfluous how restrained by the Romans, 213, b 60
Grasse verie fine on Doue banke growne in a prouerbe, 98, b 60
Grækes manie trauelled into Britaine in the time of Gurguntius, 20, b 10. They knew Britaine by none other name a long time than Albion, 5, a 10
Grænewich by whome builded & inlarged, 196, a 20
Great outlandish, 234, b 60. ¶ Sée whetstones.
Grethounds, 208, a 20. ¶ Sée Dogs.
Gresham sir Thomas knight his pauing stones for the burse, 235, b 30
Grindstones, 235, b 20
Groues. ¶ Sée woods.
Gun belonging to the Turke drawne with seuentie yoke of oxen, and two thousand men, 199, a 20
Guns good store and of sundrie sorts in England, their names, weight, widnesse at the mouth, and what powder will serue for shot, 198, b 40, 199, a 10
Guendolena the wife of Locrinus gouerned the kingdome of Britaine, hir crueltie, 68, b 30
Gurguntus builder of Cãbridge castell, 149, a 10
Gwinbach towne, and why it was so named, 106, a 40. Jt and Radwinter, the lords whereof were at variance: note, 106, a 60

H.

Habren or Hafren base daughter to Locrinus, 68, b 20. Drowned by Guendolena, 68, b 30
Hadrian the emperour first beginner of the Picts wall, 127, b 30
Haldon hill how it is seated and standeth, 88, b 50
Halifax law, 185, b 20
Halliwell bath, 214, b 30
Hampton beareth the name of Anon or Mene a riuer, 101, b 60
Hampton court by whome builded, 195, b 60
Hanech a citie builded sometime by Cham, 9, a 10
Harald earle of Oxenford sonne to Godwine earle of Kent and after king of Englãd, &c. 7, b 60
Herald a greeuous mall to the Britons in the time of S. Edward, 78, a 60
Haraldston so named of Harald successor to S. Edward, 78, a 60
Hartland called Promontorium Herculis, 4, b 40
Hartlepole towne lieng ouer into the sea in maner of a byland, 91, b 20
Hauen of Southhampton called by Ptolomie Magnus portus described, 53, a 30
Hauen with little cost might be made of Wride riuers mouth placed betwixt two hilles, 58, b 40
Hauens in Britaine that the Romans vsed for their passage to and fro, 3, a 30. ¶ Sée Ports.
Hawkes their seuerall names and kinds, 227, a 10
Hebrides in old time subiect to Jreland, their number and situation, 29, b 60
Hecatompolis defaced, 193, a 30
Hed or heued in old English signifieth cheefe, 105, b 60
Hedningham or Heuedingham why so called, 105, b 60
Hell kettels or the diuels kettle, three litle pooles so named, 130, b 40
Hematite stone, 239, b 20
Hengist and his Saxons arriue in Britaine & purpose a vniuersall conquest, 6, b 20. Began the first kingdome of the seuen in Kent, 16, a 50. Thirsting for the whole kingdome of south he was banished, &c. 120, a 30
Henrie first what kind of beasts he cherished to fight withall & to hunt, 226, b 10
Henrie the second defaced castels & holds in England, 194, b 20
Henrie the fift swift of foot, 226, b 40. Hunted fallow deere on foot: note, 226, b 40
Henrie the first crowned Henrie Beauchampe king of Wight & Jardsele, 31, b 60
Henrie the seuenth what kind of dogs he commanded to be hanged, 231, a 10. His three notable pils: peereſſe within Europe, 149, a 60
Henrie the eight the most prouident prince that euer reigned in England: note, 194, b 50. His seuere executing of idle persons by thousands at once, 186, b 20. Jn building not inferior to Adrian or Justinian, 195, b 10. His answer to certeine tutors for college lands, 152, b 10
Herbs, Fruits, &c. ¶ Sée Gardes.
Hertoch what kind of president, 157, a 40
Hercules passage out of Spaine by the Celts to goo ouer into Jtalie, 4, a 10. He marrieth the daughter of king Lucius, 4, a 30. Whether he came into Britaine after the death of Albion, 4, b 40. He killeth Albion & his brother Bergion, 4, a 10. Sundrie monuments in memorie of him, 4, b 50
Herefoord bishoprikes erection, circuit, and valuation, 142, b 40
Herefoord and Monmouthshires betweene which Monbecke riuer is the march, 73, a 60
Heremits and monks onelie allowed of in Britaine, 26, a 50, 60
Heresie & monasticall like brought into Britaine at one time by Pelagius, 26, a 10
Heretikes how punished, 185, a 40
Hide or Hideland somewhere vsed in England & somewhere not, 30, b 20. What it is, 205, b 40
Highwaies foure made sometimes in Britaine by princes thereof. 112, a 40
Highwaies incroched vpon by the erecting

erecting of tenements, &c. 112, b 40 That are common ill seene vnto, 113, b 60. Greatlie incroched vpō within these twentie yeares, 114, a 40. ¶ Sée Wales, Thorowfares and Townes.
Hils in England great store, 109, a 50. Westward whereon in faire weather one may see the clouds gather together in a certeine thicknesse, &c: 119, b 20. Alps or Snowdonie hils famous as the Alps beyond sea, 80, b 10
Hindes haue béene milked, 226, b 60
Hiues. ¶ Sée Honie.
Holds. ¶ Sée Castels.
Holidaies verie manie vnder y pope reduced now to seuen & twentie in England, 138, b 60. Necessarie to be remoued quite and cleane from the church, 138, b 60
Home of England reputed the best, 229, a 10. The nérer the bottom the better, 229, a 30
Honie soit qui mal y pense. 162, a 20
Hops planting growne to be a great trade in England, 108, b 10. In times past plentifull in this land, 208, b 60
Hora among the Grecians what it signifieth, 242, a 30
Hornets and waspes how ingendered, 228, b 30
Horsse more infortunate than ten of Seians colts, 78, b 50
Horsses in Englād of sundrie sorts, 220, b 60 Outlandish, 220, b 50. ¶ Sée Innes.
Horsslecoursers. ¶ Sée Ostlers.
Horsslemarkets, 220, b 40
Horsslestealers, 186, a 60
Hospitalitie of the clergie bountifullie and thriftilie kept, 139, a 10
Hounds of eight sorts & their names and games, 230, a 10. ¶ Sée Dogs.
Houre, & the originall of the word, 242, a 30. what portion of time, 241, a 60
Houres vnequall or tempozall, 241, b 10. ¶ Sée Time.
Houses. ¶ Sée Building & wood.
Hugh earle of Chester in the Conquerors time, 36, b 10
Hugh earle of Shrewesburie in the Conquerors time, 36, b 10
Hull water a riuer, 92, b 10. Abounding with sturgeon and lampreie, described, 93, a 60
Humber described & what streames run thereinto, 92, b 20. Whereupon it was so named, 92, b 40
Humber K. of Scithia ouerthrowne in Britaine, 68, b 20. Seeking to be monarch of Britaine is drowned in Humber, 92, b 40
Hundred & wapentak all one, 154, a 10
Hundreds in England why so called, 153, b 30
Hunting & which be the best games, 226, a 50. A pastime for ladies and gentlewomen rather than gentlemen, 226, a 60. What kind vsed in old times, 226, a 60. That the princes of Scotland vsed it, 226, b 10
Husbandmen, 163, b 50. Their good lucke, 217, b 20. Sometimes citizens, 190, a 30. Their diet, 167, b 60. ¶ Sée Farmers.
Husbandrie in England well amended, 109, b 20
Huntington earldome giuen to Dauid king of Scots, 123, b 10. Forfeited and neuer after restored to the crowne of Scotland, ibidem b 40, 124, a 10
Hydromel, 170, b 30

I.

IAmes the fourth king of Scots maried the king of Denmarkes daughter, 43, b 60
Ianigenes were the posteritie of Noah in Italie, 4, a 10
Iardsere an Iland of thirtie miles compasse, 32, a 50
Icenes ill placed by Leland in Norfolke and Suffolke, 113, b 50
Ida, king of Northumberland, 16, b 60
Idlenes auoided in the court, specialliе of the ladies, 196, b 20
Idols monstrous proportions, 22, b 50
Idolatrie how hatched at the first, 21, b 50, 60
Ides why so called, 243, b 10. ¶ Sée Moneth.
Iesuit Goldwell bishop of Oxford: note, 143, a 30
Iewell John bishop of Sarisburie commended, 141, b 40
Iewes whē they begin their wéeke, 242, a 50, They and other nations reckon their moneths by the moone. 242, b 30. Did eat brawne, 222, a 10
Ikenild stréet one of the foure principall highwaies of Britaine and how extended, 113, b 50
Ilices aliquando in Britannia nisi intelligatur de quercu, 208, a 20
Ile of man described, 37, a 50. Ile of Pigmeis in Scotland, 41, a 60. Ile of rats, and why so called, 32, b 20. Ile of S. Clement, and why so called, 33, b 20. Ile of Shrews, 40, a 40
Iles eastward to the point of Ramshead, 38, b 60. Iles mouing and remouing by force of the water, 88, a 60. Iles in Scotland, 39, a 10
Iland called a continent, 42, b 60. Iland holie otherwise called Lindesserne, 44, a 40. Iland carried to and fro as the wind bloweth, 129, b 50
Ilands such as are to be séene vpon the coasts of Britaine, 29, b 30. Such as lie in the mouth of the Thames, 30, a 50. Such as lie vpon the west and north shore, 34, b 30. Such as lie betweene the Wight and the maine land, 31, a 20. Three inuironed with salt streames in Maldon water, 44, b 60. Ilands inuironed with the ocean waues, 29, b 40
Ingratitude. ¶ Sée Unthankfulnesse.
Innes and thorowfaires with the maner of vlage, 246, b 10. None worse than in London, 247, a 10. Of great capacitie and well furnished, 247, a 10
Inkéepers what knaues & théeues they haue to their chamberlens, ostelers, tapsters, &c: 246, b 40
Inquests at assises, 155, b 40
Insecta animalcula, 228, b 30
Intercalation. ¶ Sée Calendar and Yeare.
John king of England restreineth all taking of wildfoule, and why, 222, b 40. He ouerthrew and spoiled manie parkes and warrens, 205, b 50. Benefactor to Lichfield bishoprike, 143, a 20. Abused euen by the verie rakehels of the popish clergie, 134, b 20
John of Ludlow alias Mason a sore promoter: note, 181, a 60
Iosephus preached in England & at what time he came ouer, 23, a all,
Ireland in times past called Scotland, 14, b 30
Irish sometime inhabited a parcell of Britaine, 6, a 10. A kind of Scots noted by Jerom, 6, a 10. Yeld to subscribe to receiue no Scots into their dominion, 6, b 10
Irish Scots speake the Irish tong 14, b 20
Iron, 238, a 60
Isis described and what streames run thereinto, 92, b 20
Isurium whense it taketh denomination, 93, a 30
Italie called the paradise of the world, 110, a 10
Italians fiue successiuelie bishops of Worcester, 142, b 20
Iute cup whether it will hold wine or no, 239, b 50
Iulius Cesar subdued all Britaine, 118, b 30. Corrected the calendar, 242, b 60
Iupiter why feigned to throw downe stones vpon Albion and Bergion, 4, a 60
Iustices of peace and coram, otherwise oier and determiner, 156, a 30

K.

KEeper lord priuie seale his dignitie, 164, b 40
Kempe Thomas a poore mans son his fortunat preferméts, 140, b 40
Kensands a forked arme of the sea receiuing diuerse riuers, 86, a 30
Kent what hauens it hath, 108, b 10 A kingdome called Gantwarland and the limits therof, 16, a 50
Kine keeping profitable, 219, b 60, 220, a 10
Kings college at Cambrige of what stone it is builded, 234, b 60
Kings hill in Rochford & of a court kept there after midnight, 156, b 10
Kings Newnam baths, 214, b 60
Kingstone vpon Thames in times past verie famous, 219, b 10
Kisse dangerous & deadlie, 231, a 50
Knewet sir Edmund knight for striking in the princes court should haue lost his hand, 197, b 40
Knight none borne but created, and how, 158, b 60
Knight of the garter how disgraded, 161, b 50. His manor of burriall, 161, b 40
Knight red, Fowkes de Warren, & why so called, 15, b 40
Knights of the Bath, 159, a 40
Knights of the garter: note, 159, a 60, 106, b 40
Knights of the round table, 159, b 10
Knols knight Robert bega to build Rochester bridge, 52, b 60

L.

LAbourers by the daie, &c: the fourth degrée of people in England, 163, b 50
Ladies of the court enimies to idlenesse, 196, b 20
Ladies that made great gaine by selling venison and butter, 204, b 50
Lake. ¶ Sée waters.
Lancashire in times past hath had store of fire, 214, a 40
Lancaster whense it toke the name, 85, b 20. Whereof ladie wake was duchesse, 143, b 40. It hath béene wholie forrest heretofore, 206, b 30
Landesse bishoprikes erection, circuit, and valuation, 145, a 10
Langton bishop of Lichfield beneficiall to his clergie, 143, a 20
Language British with the Greeke hath great affinitie, 12, b 60 Englishmen apt to learne anie forren, 14, a 30. ¶ Sée Tong
Languages spoken in this Ile of Britaine, 12, b 40
Lapidaries outlandish their subtilitie, 239, b 30
Lath, whereof named and what it is, 153, b 30
Law Agraria kicked against, 183, a 60
Law ciuill and canon and their vse 179, b 30
Law common and customarie, 180, a 40
Law of parlement, 179, b 60
Law of Halifax, 185, b 20
Law Ordalian described, 177, b 40, 178, a 20
Law vndoth men: note, 181, a 60
Law for lawfull age and wardship of heires, 122, a 50
Lawes of England for a long time written in French, 13, b 50. Of three sorts, whervpon dependeth the English gouernement, 179, b 50. How passed in parlement, 173, 174. Their great numbers bréed a generall contempt of all good order, 111, a 60. In vse before the conquest, 176, b 50. 177, 178, 179, b 10. Altered and abrogated, 177, b 40. Giuen in sundrie places of the land and why, 177, b 40. Since the comming of the Normans, 179, b 10. Since the first inhabitation thereof, 176, b 50. Manie made, none kept, 213, b 30
Lawes of Canutus made for his forrest, 206, b 50, 207, a 10. Of Edward the confessor, 122, b 50. Of Mulmutius in vse to this daie, 177, b 10
Lawes made against learning, 153, a 10
Lawes penall, 180, a 30
Lawdaies, 155, b 10. Accustomable vsed in the arches, 182, a 10
Lawiers of England not alwaies constant in iudgement, 179, b 40. haue all the wealth of the land: note, 180, b 50. Manie stooped not at small fées, 181, a 20. ¶ Sée Atturnies, 156, a 10
Led, 237, b 20. Blacke and white, 236, b 10
Ledmines in wales, 238, a 10
Léets of our time whereof they beare a shadow, 154, a 10
Legion what it conteined, 190, a 60
Leicester how called in the Romans time, 191, a 20
Lelands notes intricate of set purpose (as may be suspected) 63, b 40
Lep yeare. ¶ Sée Calendar and Yeare.
Lerning how effectuall, 152, b 30. Lawes made against it and what followed, 153, a 10. Choked by the Vandals and Goths: note, 186, a 10
Lestrigo weakened by the slaughter of his brethren, 4, a 60. He and his issue plaie the tyrants, 4, a 10
Lether for shoes ill wrought, 212, b 50, 213, a 10
Leucotion like saffron, 232, b 60
Lhoegres now called England: 116, a 50. And how inlarged, 92, b 60
Licences for priuat profit wished to be lesse granted, 111, b 10
Lichfield called Mortuorum campus, note, 142, a 30. It and Conentrie counted but one citie, 189, b 30. The bishoprikes erection, circuit, and valuation, 142, b 60
Liddesdale without the marches of England, 91, a 20
Lieutenants appointed in shires when and why, 155, a 30
Lild Thomas bishop of Elie at contention with the king of England, 143, b 10
Lilingwon lake in wales of strong nature, 211, a 60
Limendune what it signifieth, 56, a 10
Lincolne how called in the Romans time,

The first table for the description

time,190,b 10. Sometime builded by Lud brother to Cassibelan, 214,a 60. written Nicholl by the Normãs,100,b 30. In times past had two & fiftie parish churches, 193,b 40. Bishoprikes erectiõ,circuit,and valuation, 144,b 60
Lincolneshire what hauens it hath, 108,a 40
Lincolnshire men in times past called Coritani, 100,b 10
Lindeleie so named of ẏ riuer Lindus, 100,b 50
Lindus or Lindor the head citie in Lincolneshire and why so named, 100,b 10
Lion ouerthrowne and killed of Alexander, 226,b 10
Lions in England in times past manie in the north parts,225,b 10
Locrine the eldest sonne of Brute,& what part of Britaine was giuen him,116,a 50. King of Scotland,116,b 30. He seized vpon Albania as excheted vnto himselfe, 117,a 20
Locust and the grashopper whether all one or no, 229,b 10
Lode stone, 239,b 30
Lodging hard in England sometimes, now amended, 188,b 40
Logike and Rhetorike out of Gallia into Britaine, 20,b 10
Lomund lake swelleth outragiously in calme and windie weather, 88,a 60
London called Trenouant erected by Brute,116,a 10. Sometimes called Augusta and why,217,b 10 How called in the Romans time, 190,a 60. Old and ruinous & inhabited onelie by Britons, 191,a 60. No innes worse than there, 247,a 10. Bishoprike by whome erected, and the circuit of the same,&c. 140,b 60
Lopole a riuer why so named, 63,b 60. Full of trout and eeles, 64,a 10
Lords title united to some offices, 157,b 30, A title grudged at as not fit for bishops, 157,b 40
Lords by office publike and priuat, in their dignities: note, 164,b 40. In Englãd how manie,165,a 20
Lone in mastifes, 231,a 40
Lucius K. of Britaine brings true religion to a kind of good forme, 23,b 40,50. Sendeth for a forme of discipline to Rome, 24, b 40. The first christian king of this nation counted,119, b 50. Whether the church that he builded at London stood at Westminster or in Cornehill,24,a 60. The errors of them noted which saie that he renounced his kingdome and became a pope, 25,b 10
Lucius king of Celts,4,a 40. Deliuered from an vsurper, 4,a 60
Lume riuer (giuing the name to Lancaster) described, 85,b 20
Lunarie an hearbe, and the strange effects thereof, 131,a 10
Lycisca a kind of dog, 232,a 10
Lydius lapis, 235,a 60

M.

MAdder a commoditie sometime in England, 111,a 40
Magi and why so called, 19,b 10
Magus the sonne of Samothes & what learning he taught in Albion, 19,a 20
Maine Iland sixténe miles in length,&c: described, 43,a 60
Maidon a towne erected out of the ruines of Ithancester, 106,a 10
Malefactors,184,b 10. ¶ Sée Punishments.
Malice of mankind what mischéefe and reuenge it séeketh, 106,a 10
Malt & the making therof,169,a 40. The best how tried, 169,b 10
Malton and of a prouerbe there vsed, 94,a 60
Man Ile, kings, and petie kings thereof, 38,b 30. ¶ Sée Ile and Mona.
Manifold riuer and why so named, 97,a 30
Manslaughter how in times past and how now punished, 185,b 10
Marble mines,235,a 10. White,store in England,235,a 20. ¶ Sée Metals and Minerals.
Marbodeus commendation of the English geat stone and pearle, 239,a 30,b 10
Marchalites called of the Grecians pyrites: note, 235,b 60
Markets & faires in England,202, a 10. On the sundaie to be redressed, 213,b 50. Abused, 203,b 10. How they would be better serued than they are,204,a 10. Of horsse, 220,b 40. ¶ Sée Faires.
Marishes in Englãd,211,b 60. And fenne bogs,214,a 30. ¶ Sée Fens.
Marle,236,b 60. White (excellent good cõpesting of ground) in England, 109,a 30
Marquesse a name of honor next the duke,157, a 30. Created of the prince,158,a 60. In England but one, 164,b 60
Marterne a beast of chase, 226,a 10
Martia Proba hir lawes in vse to this daie, 177,b 20
Martyrs that suffered for the gospell in Britaine, 25,a 60
Masse hindered by the comming in of waters into the minster of Salisburie, 57,a 50
Massinissa confidence in dogs, 231, a 60
Mast of oke, hogs meat and hens meat, 212,b 50
Mastife whereof named, 231,a 10. ¶ Sée Dogs.
Maximus the first that draue the Scots out of Britaine, 6,a 60
Mead a kind of drinke made in Essex, 170,b 20
Medowes in England great store and why, 110,a 10
Medwaie water in Kent described, 52,a 30
Meliùs inquirendũ: a writ, 137,a 60
Merchants & their dealings,163,a 10. Their attire least altered in England,172,b 60. Their couetous dealing to be redressed, 213, b 50. Their diet: note, 167,a 40. Their follie in carrieng ouer sea English rams & ewes, 221,a 10
Merlin Syluestris where buried, 35,b 40
Merseie riuer of no lesse fame than most in our Iland, 84,a 10,b 40
Merton walter bishop of Rochester and lord chancellor of England, 141,a 60
Mesures diuerse in the markets of Englãd,203,b 30. ¶ Sée Markets.
Mettals, 237,a 10
Metheglin the welshmens Nectar, 170,b 10
Milke of what beast best, 221,b 30
Milites. 158,b 60
Millstones, 235,b 10
Minerals, 236,a 30
Minerall stone, 236,b 20
Minister not to be striken, and how punishable, 197,b 60
Ministers keepe hospitalitie, 139,a 10. How weaponed when they trauell, 199, b 20. Primitiue church how prouided of able ones 139,b 60,140,a 10. They & deons in the church of England,136,a 40. Unlearned how & by whom they swarmed,158,a 50. Why not so manie learned as otherwise would be, 140, a 10. Greuouslie charged with diuers impositions, 137,a b. They haue no such means to ease themselues of taxations as laiemen,137,a 30. Shamefullie abused,137,b 20. In thredbare gownes: note a practise,139,a 50. Learned not maintaineable by diuerse liuings in Englãd,136,b 10
Mints diuerse in England in old time and where kept, 219,a 20
Minute what part of time,241,a 60
Miracle of Doue riuer rising exceedinglie without apparant cause, 98,b 50
Miracles wrought by praiers and other meanes of certeine saints, 68,a 30
Mochoacan, 209,a 60
Mona greater than Angleseie by a third, 37, a 60. Townes, riuers, hils,hauens, & maner of gouernement there, 38,a 10. Wonne from the Scots by the princes of England,37,b 50. It had a king in Henrie the second times, 38,b 30. Once spoiled by the Scots, by whom,and when,37,b 30. Described by the name of Mona Cæsaris, 37,a 50
Mona bishoprike named Episcopatus Sodorensis,in the Ile of Man 146,a 60
Monbecke riuer march betweene Hereford and Monmouthshires, 73,a 60
Moneth diuided into calends, ides, and nones, 243,a 10
Moneths whereof they consist and how reckoned, 241,b 30
Mone purchaseth all things: note, 139,b 20. Of copper current in Britaine before the Romans comming hither, 217,a 40. ¶ Sée Coines.
Mone in what time she maketh hir full reuolution,242,b 50. Ladie of moisture and ripener of wines, 111,a 30
Monkes commended and discommended,193,b 60. They and heremits onelie allowed of in Britaine,26,a 50,60. Slaine 2100 in the quarrell of Augustine,35,b 40 More than 2100 in the college or abbeie of Bangor,26,b 40. Benedictine in the abbeie at Awdeie end,103,a 60. What apparell they ware, 83, a 40. Of Canturburie plagued,27,a 50. Of Feuersham cousening of a gentleman of his lands, 106, b 40. Of Founteins abbeie iustie, 94,b 60
Monmouth & Glamorganshires, & what riuer is march betweene them, 75,a 20
Monuments found at the digging of the ruines of Verolamium,191 b 50.192,a 10. ¶ Sée Antiquities.
Mortimer Roger, 159,b 30
Mothelagh a Saxõ word, 155,b 10
Mount Iland (hauing no inhabitants) described, 33,a 50
Mount of saint Michaell described by Leland, 33,b 10
Mountacute lord William earle of Sarum selleth the Ile of Man & the crowne thereof, 37,b 50
Mountioy lord egregiouslie abused about his minerals, 236,b 10
Municipium what it is, 191,b 30
Munition. ¶ Sée Armour.
Murana a towne neere to Venice situat on the Adriatike sea, 167,a 20
Murther wilfull how punished,184, b 60
Musters of able men for warre taken, An.1574, & 1575. pag. 198, b 20

N.

NAule of Edgar of 1600 alids 3600 saules, 201,b 50
Naule of England of three sorts, 200,b 30. ¶ Sée Ships.
Nauigation mainteined by the Romãs,214,a 10. Either neglected or not knowne how hurtfull, 201,b 10
Nauis how to be vnderstood,200,a 50
Neomagus a citie in England,189, b 60
Nephilim. ¶ Sée Giant.
Neptune god of the sea, and how he obteined to be so reputed, 3,b 40. His three & thirtie sonnes, 4,a 10
Nesse a riuer neuer frosen and well stored with sammon, 88,b 20
Newport a towne of the east Saxons, 103,a 50
Newstria lieth opposit frõ Austria, that is,the east region, 6,b 60
Newton baths or wels medicinable, 215,a 50
Newtons the surnames of the ladie Cobhams ancestrie, 69,a 20
Nichomedes king of Bithinia, 231,a 50
Nidde riuer called Nidor in ẏ booke of statutes, 95,a 10
Niddesdale is so named of the riuer Nide, 88,a 50
Night & the parts thereof, 242,a 10
Nisi prius wherevpon growne to be so manie & so common, 156,a 10
Noah first diuided the earth among his sonnes,1,b 10. His posteritie in Italie, 4,a 10
Noblemẽs diet in Englãd, 166,a 60
Nones foure or six in euerie moneth & why so named, 243,a 60
Normans first comming into Britaine, whense they came, and of what people they consisted,6,b 60. Builded manie towns & villages in England,192,b 60. Why deadlie enimies to ẏ English Saxõs, 7,a 10. Preferred to the best places of authoritie in England,132, a 40. All(saue three or foure) banished out of the land by the king for their vile dealing,133,a 50. Glutonous, 170,b 60
Northampton said to be the middest of England, 48,b 40
Northfolke what hauens it hath, 108,a 50
Northumberlãd a kingdome otherwise called Brennicia vnder Ida 16, b 60. In manner inclosed betweene the Tweed and the Tine, 88,b 60. What hauens it hath,108, a 30
Northumbers kingdome how farre sometimes extended, 88,b 40
Norwich sometimes called Venta Icenorum, 104, a 60. The bishoprikes erection, circuit, and valuation, 144,a 50
Nouiomagus a citie in England, 189,b 50
Numbers fatall to women & men, 28,b 10
Nundina dea, 243,a 60

O.

OEnon a citie builded sometime by Cham, 9,a 10
Offices peculiar to the kings house, 164,b 30. Concerning the whole realme,164,b 30. In the prince of Englands court furnished with bookes. 197,a 30
Oile in vessels that nerest the top is best, 229, a 20. Odoriferous found in a stone, 236,a 10
Oile Robert builder of Oxford castell, 149,a 10
Oisters where continuall eaten, 225,a 20
Oke for what vse it is to be reserued,212,b 40. Honored whereon mistle did grow,&c:20,a 50. Growing in Englãd what sort is the softest,213,a 10. To what vse it was put in times past, 212,a 40. As fine as wainescot, 213,a 20
Oke barke bought by the faddam to tan lether withall, 212,b 50

Okes whose rootes are verie hard stone, 130,a 20
Ozban the Dane a good enginer, maker of ỹ Turks guns,199,a 20
Ozchades which inhabited & which not, 42,b 60. The description of them that belong to the crowne of Scotland, 42,a 40 They & other Ilands when perfectlie united to the crowne of Scotland, 43,b 60. Their number and situation, 30, a 10. First inhabited by the Scithians, 42,a 40
Ozchards and gardens in Englād, 208, a 60. Furnished wt all kinds of fruits,210,a 30 ¶ Sée Gardēs.
Ozdalian law brought in by the Saxons, 177,b 60,178
Ozder of the garter by whome first deuised,141,b 10. The institution and ceremonies thereof: note,159 a 60,b 40,160. Degrées of reproch inhibiting from the same, 161, a 50. ¶ Sée Knight.
Ozder of the golden fléece and saint Michaell, 162,a 10
Ozder of the round table, 159, b 10. ¶ Sée Knights.
Ozders that are good & prouided by law why so eaſilie broke, 111,a 60
Ozdinance. ¶ Sée Guns.
Ozpiment red and yellow, 236,b 10
Ozwell hauen alias Urewell why so called, 105,a 40
Olbert of Warnewell runneth at tilt with a spirit, 129,a 20
Olneie. ¶ Sée Abbeie.
Olpraies where they bréd,227,b 30
Oſtlers knauerie, 220, b 30. ¶ Sée Innes.
Olyzis the grandfather of Lestrigo,4,a 10. Slaine by the sonnes of Neptune and why, 4,a 20
Oth of king Edward the confessor, 132, b 40
Ouze riuer described, 92,b 60. Called the third Ilis and his fall into the sea, 102,a 60
Oxen of England not to be matched in all Europe, 220,a 10
Oxford how to be thought and estéemed the elder vniuersitie,152,a 20 Fiftie miles from London, 148,b 10. The longitude and latitude thereof,148,b 40. Erection of colleges therein the ouerthrow of halles,152, a 30. Colleges there with their founders names, 152, The bishoprikes erection,circuit, and valuation, 143, a 30. ¶ Sée Castell, and Vniuersities.

P.

PAdstow, a corrupted word for Adelstow, 64,b 60
Palace of the prince, and of striking within it how punished, 197,b 10
Palaces belonging to the prince of this land, 195,a 60
Palladius accounted the apostle of the Scots, 27,b 50
Pant and what spring méeteth or ioineth with it, 107, a 10. A water that sometimes hath borne botes: note, 106,a 60
Papist did eat drawne in Lent, 222, a 10
Papists dedicated their citie gates & ports to Botulph & Giles,22,b 10
Parishes how manie in euerie shire of England, 194,a 10
Parkes and warrens in England, 204,a 50. How commoditie inclosed, 204,b 10. More in England thā in all Europe,205,b 60. None left in England at the comming of the Normans, 205, b 30. Tillage and mankind diminished by them, 205,a 10
Parkekéepers ordinarie fée,204,b 40
Parlement held at Werwike, 125,b 20. At Chester,73,b 50. At Salisburie by Edward ỹ secōd, 57,a 50 Number of the congregats therein, 180,a 20
Parlement court, the orders, officers, and authoritie of the same, 173,a 10
Parlement law, 179,b 60
Paſalpine in Scotland and why so named, 121,a 30
Pasture best in what part of England and Wales,109,b 50. It differeth according to the soile, 109, b 50
Patrons directed well to bestow benefices in the vacancie,151,a 10 ¶ Sée Benefices and Ministers.
Paules presence in Britaine, 23, a 10
Peace mainteined within the prince of Englands court: note,197,a 60
Pedegrées wherin the Britons are diligent and readie, 13,a 60,b 10
Pedlers French whereof compact, 183,b 50. ¶ Sée Beggers and Rogers.
Pelagius brought heresie and monasticall life into Britaine at one time, 26,a 10. Attempted to be suppressed, 27,b 30
Pence & small coines when square, and by whome made round, 218,b 60. ¶ Sée Coines and Monie.
People in England of foure sorts, 156,b 60. Lesse neuer than now, 205,b 10. Their decaie by diuerse causes,205,a 10. Their decaie the destructiō of a kingdome, 205,a 30
Perie made of peares, 170,b 10
Periurie how punished, 185,a 40
Perle mother in an Ile of Scotland, 39,b 60
Perles in England,239,a 60. MineralL,236,b 20. Why called Orient, 240, a 20. Whether they be good that are found in muskels or no, 240,a 10
Peterpence first granted in England,and by whom, 121,b 10
Petikoggers. ¶ Sée Lawiers and Promoters.
Peterborow bishoprikes erection, circuit and valuation, 144,b 10
Petriolum, 236,b 20
Pewter how mixed, compounded, & made,237,b 50. The garnish,237, b 40
Pewterers verie cunning,237,b 30. Beyond sea not so cunning as here, 237,b 60
Physicke litle vsed among the Orchades, 42,b 20,50
Physicians partition of the date and night, 241, b 40. Of our time thankworthie, 210,a 10
Pigmeies Ile in Scotlād, 41,a 60
Picts longer planted in Britaine than the Scots, and why so called, 5, b 60. Called Redshanks & Pictons,and when they were setled in Britaine, 6,a 30. whether these be they of whom Cesar speaketh to staine their faces,&c.6,a 50 when they came out of Sarmatia and arriued in Britaine, 6,a 40. From whense they came and arriued in Britain,6,a 30. Their cruelties in slaieng the English, 17, a 10. The first beginner and finisher of their wall, 117, b 30. They sweare to the king of Britaine neuer to erect anie peculiar king of their owne natiō, 118,a 60
Pike a deuouring fish, 224,a 20. Is he ageth so he receiueth diuerse names, 224,b 30
Pirats how punished, 186,a 20
Plentie and scarsitie when there is like to be in England. 111,b 40
Plentie recompensed with penurie, 233,b 10
Plimmouth standeth betweéne two rockes, 61,a 10
Plumbum cinereum, 238,b 40
Poisoning how punished, 185,a 30
Policie of throwing of stones in warres at the enimie, 4,a 50
Polymnestor Milesius a swift runner, 226,b 40
Pomona an Iland called a continent, 42,b 60
Pontium the name of Reading in times past, 45,b 60
Poore peoples increase in England how it is procured,193,a 50. Prouision for them, 183, a 10. Of thése sorts, 182,b 50. ¶ Sée Beggers.
Pope writeth verie vehementlie to the king of England, 144, a 30. His game out of England in time of blindnesse, 146,a 30. His generall correction of the calendar, 244,a 50
Poplar growing in England and serue Turners to make dishes, &c. 213,b 10
Porpasse neuer but once heard to be found in Tuon, 67,b 10
Porphyrie stone, 239,b 20
Ports noted by seafaring men, for their benefit vpon the coasts of England, 108,a 10
Portchester how called in the Romans time, 191,a 10
Portlands commended to be good slingers of stones, 32,a 10
Potato root venereous, 167,a 60
Pouertie preferred, 140,b 40
Praiers of S. Cairn effectuall to worke miracles, 68, a 30
Prebends superfluous additamēts to former excesse, 140,a 30
Prescription a law,179,b 50. What it is, 180,b 30
President lord of the councell his dignitie, 164,b 40
Préests of old in Britaine as archbishops are now, 22,b 40
Préests of the Druides in what estimation, 20 b 40
Préests popish beholdē to their good frends the Gothes, 223, b 30. What honour was done to them of old time in Rome, 21, a 10. Apparelled in colours like peacocks with spreaded tales, 139,a 10
Prétious stones, 239,a 10 How to be tried, 239,b 40
Priapus and of the honor that the Saxonish women did him,27,a 10
Prices of things why become excessiue,203,b 20. ¶ Sée Markets.
Prime. ¶ Sée Calendar & Yeare.
Prince a title properlie belonging to the kings eldest sonne, 157,a 10
Princes palaces, 195,a 60
Priuileges do harme sometimes, 240,b 40. A great cause of ỹ ruine of the commonwelth, 205,a 60
Priuileges of princes palaces, churches and churchyards, 197, a 60
Promontorie of Helenus otherwise called Cornwall,34,b 30. Of Hercules in the west countrie, 4,b 40 Or the byland called Holie head, 36,b 20
Promontories of Britaine, 3,a 10
Prowters seéke matters to set lawiers on worke,181,a 60. ¶ Sée Lawiers.
Prouinces onelie two now in England, 131,a 30
Prophesie of Westō castell,195,a 10
Prophesie or conference vsed in churches of England, 135, b 50. Suppressed, 136,a 20
Prophesies to be doubted frō what spirit they proceéd, 8,a 30
Prouerbe, A bushell of rie and another of malt worth six pence, 94,a 60. Ne musca quidem, 229, a 60. No better féed on Doue banke, 98,b 60. Of plentie and scarsitie like to be in England, when the sand,&c.111, b 40. Young seruingmen old beggers, 164,a 10
Psalter by whome distributed into psalmes and appointed to be read amongst the prebendaries, 147, a 20
Puffins a kind of foules described, 44,b 10
Pulpit in S. Paules churchyard. ¶ Sée Sermon.
Punishments in England for malefactors, 184, b 10. For such as smite within the limits of the princes court prohibited, 197, a 60. In England what greatest, 184,b 30
Purueiours pester most places of England: note, 203,b 10
Pyramides of stone of the Romans placing,&c. 113,b 10
Pyrites found in euerie veine of metall in great plentie; note, 215, b 60

Q.

QUalities of the mind according to the qualities of the bodie, 115,a 40
Quarell in the daies of Edward the confessor, and what mischéefe grew thervpon,7,a 10. Of monks Augustine cost 2100 monks liues 35,b 40
Quarries what they be and their sundrie sorts,234, b 30. Of stone enow in England: note,232,b 60, 233, a 10. In Scotland of sundrie kinds, 109,b 10
Quicksiluer, 236, b 10. It and sulphur father and mother to all metals, 237,a 10

R.

RAdegund a maid drowe crowes to the pound which hurt hir corne whiles she went to masse, 68,a 40
Radwinter, the lord whereof at variance with the lord of Swinbach: note, 106,a 60
Ramhounds, 208,a 30
Rape à Rapiendo, 154,a 60
Rape oile made sometimes within England, 111,a 40
Rat Iland and why so named, 34, a 40
Rauen & Vulture of some thought to be all one, 227,b 10
Rebellion cannot properlie be but of subiects, 118,a 60
Read William bishop of Chichester a famous man, 141,a 60
Reading named of ρεον, that is, to ouerflow, 46, a 10. In times past called Pontium and why, 45,b 60
Redshanks the wild or rough footed Scots, 14,b 20
Religiō that the posteritie of Cham brought ouer into Britaine, 21,b 50, 60, 22, a all. Ancient vsed in Albion, 19,a 10. when it fell in decaie after it was first established in Albion, 21,b 10. From whense Brute did learne his, 22,a 60. Of the Druides and their chéefe schoole held in Britaine, 20,a 60. Houses thereof in England, their reuenues & number at their dissolution, 26,a 50, 60, b 10. Corruptors of it, 19,b 10
Rents inhanced, 189,a 30
Reuther king of Scots slaine, 118, a 60
Rhé or Ré a Saxon word for a water course, 45, b 60. A word in vse in Essex for a riuer, 46,a 10. A common name of all waters that run from their head, 96,b 40
Rhene riuer swalloweth bastards & casteth vp ỹ right begotte, 46,b 10
Richard de la wich bishop of Chichester: note, 240,b 10
Richard earle of warwike, 31,b 60
Richmond by whō builded, 195,b 60

Richmondshire and Westmerland in some places bounded by the riuer Swale. 94,b 10
Riddesdale where it lieth, 91,a 20
Right maintained by might, 117, b 10
Rȳc in the old Scithian tong doth signifie a region or kingdome, 6,b 60
Ripe signifieth the banke of euerie brooke, 240,a 50
Riuer what finest for water in all Scotland, 88,b 30 One by Chester that changeth hir chanell euerie moneth, 129,b 50
Riuers in Anglesete and their courses, 81,b 50. Great plentie in England, 109,a 50. That fall into the Thames, 46,a 20. The lesse mingle their names with the greater, 93,a 30. That fall into the sea betweene the Thames & the Sauerne mouth, 53,a 10. In Denbighshire and Flintshire, 81, b 10. In Deuonshire, 65, a 60. Upon the coast of Northfolke, 103,b 40. That fall & ioine with the sea betweene Humber & the Thames, 100,a 10. That fall into the sea in cõpasse of the Iland betweene the Sauerne & Humber, 72,a 10. That discharge themselues into the Sauerne, 68,b 10. Lieng vpõ the coast of Southwales, 72,a 10. In Summersetshire, 58,b 60. To be found vpon the Scotish shore, 88, a 30. Of strange qualities as authors write, 46,b 10. Two called the two swords, 78, a 10. Three called the three sisters, 68,b 60. Of seuren parts indued with strange properties, 210,b 60
Robert a Norman archbishop of Canturburie, 7,a 10. An ambitious priest and contentious, 132, a 40. ¶ See Archbishop.
Robin whods baie, 92,a 50
Robberies done in England oft, by whom, & in what maner, 186,a 40
Rochester called Durobreuum, 217, b 10. How called in the Romans time, 190, b 60. The bishoprike when, & by whom erected, and the circuit of the same, &c. 140,b 20. A preparatiue to an higher place, 140,b 40. The bridge by whome begun and finished, 52,b 60
Rocke called the Horsse more infortunate than ten of Setans colts, 78,b 50
Rocks called the Checkstones, 60,a 10. Called the cow and calfe beric cruell, 79,a 30. Dangerous lieng on a row vpon the west end of Southwales, called the bishops & his clerks, 78, b 50. Taken for Iles, 33,a 40
Roger a bishop builder of Wies castell, 141,b 60
Roges how punished, 185,a 40. Full of much mischefe: note, 196,b 10. Egyptian, 183,b 50. ¶ See Vagabonds.
Rome a Babylon & sinke of mischef saith the popes owne factor: note, 136,b 60
Romans colonies in what places of this land, 217,b 60. What coins they had, of what mettall, & with what stamps, 217,a 50. Made looking glasses of English tin, 237,b 60. Secure authoritie in this land aparant, 217,a 10. More lõg haire before they receiued barbars into their citie, 102, b 60. Coine found in Godmanchester, 102,b 60. Cõtemptuouslie call their foes, bards, 21, a 50. Diuide all Britaine into fiue prouinces, 17, b 30. What hauens in Britaine they vsed for their passage & repassage to and fro, 3, a 30. Armie consisted of many sorts of people, 5, b 40. Subdue Britaine to their dominion, 5, b 10. Brought in the Latine tong into Britaine, 13, b 20. In what places of Britaine they planted their legions, 5, b 30. Woefull ghests to Britaine and why, 5, b 40. Their senat followed the trade of merchandize, 204, b 60. Decree for the restraint of superfluous grasing, 213, b 60. Brought fallow deere first into this land, 204, b 20. Prescribed limits to euerie mans tenure, 193, b 50. Coine found in the course of the Pictish wall, 128, a 50. Deuised Gauell kind first, & why, 180, a 60. Brought in the gelding of cocks, 223, a 40. Placed certeine pyramides of stones, 113, b 10. Sometime inhabited Cãbridge, 91, a 10. Sojourned at Chester, 73, b 50. Their ancient calendar, 242, b 60 ¶ See Britaine.
Romenete a march betweene Monmouth & Glamorganshire, 75, a 20
Romenete marsh in old time called Romana or Romanorum insula, 3, a 30
Rotes. ¶ See Gardens.
Rose that bare a triple number of leaues to three score vpõ one button, 210, b 30
Rot in sheepe and cattell whense it commeth, 221, b 10
Rother riuer separateth Sussex frõ Kent, 53, b 10
Rouers. ¶ See Pirats.
Round Ile, & why so called, 39, b 40.
Runners on foote verie swift, 226, b 40
Rutters deride our new archerie, 198, a 60

S.

Saint Albans martyrdome found written in an old booke, 191, b 60
S. Albons when most of all it excelled, 191, a 60. How called in the Romans time, 190, b 30. Sometimes Verlamcester, 113, a 20. ¶ See Verolamium.
S. Andrews in Scotland standeth vpon the mouth of the lake Londors, 88, b 40
S. Assaphs bishoprikes erection, circuit, and valuation, 145, a 50
S. Cutberts soules, 44, b 10
S. Dauids bishoprikes erection, circuit and valuation, 145, a 20
S. Dauids land, 78, b 60. 79, a 10
S. James sometimes a nonnerie by whom builded, 195, b 60
S. Magnus bole, 42, b 10
S. Marie ouer Rhe, 45, b 60. 46, a 10
S. Needs. ¶ See Newton.
S. Osmond, why commended and extolled by the papists, 141, b 40
S. Patrikes staffe full of vertue, 68, a 40
S. Vincents bath, 214, b 30
Sabrina a wood compounded of Aber and Ina, &c. 68, b 20
Sacrifices of mankind to idols and yet thought most acceptable, 22, b 10, 20
Saffron in England described and the dressing thereof, 232, a 40. Not commonlie planted here till Richard the seconds time, 234, a 60. English reckoned among spices, 232, a 40. How commonlie priced, 233, a 10. That more deceit is vsed in no trade more, and how to perceiue it, 233, b 60. Hot in the second and drie in the first degree, 233, b 60. When great plentie and whẽ scarsitie, 233, b 10. The vertues thereof, 234, a 10. When the cõmoditie of it was first brought into this Iland, 234, a 60. Where the greatest mart is for it, 234, b 60
Salisburie the old how it fell into vtter decaie, 56, b 60, 57, a 10. The new when begun and hindered by waters, 57, a 30. The bishoprike by whom erected, and of the circuit, and iurisdiction of the same, 141, b 40. ¶ See Sarisburie.
Salsa parilla, 209, a 60
Salt artificiall of sundrie sorts: note, 240, a 40. Baie salt made in England, 241, a 20
Saltpeter, 236, b 60
Salters three hundred in Wich, 240 a 60
Salt springs three in the towne of wich, 240, a 60
Sammons where in season, when out of season else where, 72, a 40. when to be taken, 224, a 10. Of the greatest size in what riuers of Scotland to be found, 88, b 20. Taken in the Thames, 46, b 10
Samothea the name of Britaine a long while called, 3, a 60
Samothes brought a parcell of the linage of Japhet into Britaine, 5, a 60. One of the sonnes of Japhet, 3, a 80. The religion that he published in Albion, 19, a 10 ¶ See Dis.
Sarisburie so named of Saron, 190 a 10
Saron the son of Magus and what teaching he practised in Albion, 19, a 30
Saronides and whereof they were so called, 19, a 30
Sauerne described, & what waters discharge themselues thereinto, 68, b 10. Whense it toke his name, 68, b 20. Wherein comparable to the Thames and wherein inferiour, 68, b 40
Saxons diuided this land into famulies, 153, a 50. Builded manie townes & villages in England, 192, b 60. What natiõs came with them into Britaine, 5, a 30. Left no idoll vnhonored no not filthie Priapus, 27, a 10. Cõuerted from paganisme by Augustine ỹ monke 27, a 20. Became first acquainted with Britaine, 6, b 10. Under Hẽgists armie in Britaine, 6, b 20. What name they gaue the weeke dales, 242, a 60. The Normans why deadlie enimies to the English-Saxons, 7, a 10. Their kings vsed to be crowned at Kings towne vpon Thames, 219, b 10
Schooles of Grammar a great nũber throughout England, 150, b 10. Full of abuses and by what means, 249, b 60
Schooles in the primitiue church vnder the bishops iurisdiction, 139, b 50
Scithians arriue in Albania, made thẽselues Scots, 117, b 60. First inhabited the Orchades, 42, a 40
Scolds how punished, 185, b 60
Scorie Edward builder of the new crosse in the market place of Chichester, 141, b 10
Scorpion, 228, b 20
Scots why so often ouercome of the English, 114, b 20. Wales desirous to shake off the English subiection, haue often made odious attempts so to do, but in vaine, 116, b 50. Enter in league with Charles king of France, & what effect followed, 120, b 60, 121, a 10. Newlie arriue in Albania and crowne a second Fergus king, 118, b 10. Their king feined himselfe a minstrell & harped before him: note dissimulation, 121, b 50. Slender shift alledging that their kings homage to the kings of England was for the earledome of Huntingdon, 123, b 10, 124, a 10. Driuen out of all the bounds of Britaine by Coell, 118, a 60. Their dreame that a stone (now at Westminster) was the same whereon Jacob slept when he fled into Mesopotania, 125, b 20. Three score thousand slaine at Fawkirke, 125, b 60. Destitute of anie heire to the crowne from Alexander their last king, 125, a 10. Palladius accounted their apostle, 27, b 50. Called Scoti because they are an obscure nation in the sight of the world, 6, a 20. Wild called the Redshanks or Roughfooted Scots, & why so called, 14, b 20. Mixed of the Scithian and Spanish blood, 5, b 50. When they arriued in Britaine out of Ireland, 5, b 50. They came stealing into Britaine and are no long continuers, 5, b 50. Neuer made cõquest in England, 8, a 10. Great crakers, braggers, and liers in their histories, 8, a 10. Properlie the Redshanks and Irish, 6, a 10. First driuen out of Britaine by Maximus, 6, a 60. Dwelt sometime in the Ile of Man, 37, b 10. Greatlie giuen to witchcraft and vnto sorcerie, 37, b 60. Vsed to feed on the buttocks of boies and womens paps, 6, a 20. ¶ See Irish, & Picts.
Scotland had sometimes two kingdomes, besides that of the Orchades, 16, a 30. Stored with plentie of quarries of sundrie sorts, 109, b 10. Iles in it, 39, a 10 Hunting that their princes vsed, 226, b 10. Not so fruitfull as Wales, 109, a 10. The souereignte of it all belongeth of right to the kings of England, 117, a 10. A parcell of ground besides the new palace of Westminster why so called, 112, a 40. All the holds thereof taken by Constantine king of Britaine into his owne possession, 120, a 10. How it first toke that denomination, 117, b 60. Deliuered vp of the king by his letters patents, 127, a 10. when the Orchades and other Ilands were united perfectlie to the crowne thereof, 43 b 60. All the land inhabited with Britons, 118, a 60. Giuen to gormandising and bellicheere, 165, b 60. Under the dominiõs of the kings of Britaine, 118, b 60. Conuerted to the faith of Christ, 27, b 10. The first attempt of the bishop of Rome to bring it vnder his obedience, 27, b 30. Three seuerall tongs spoken in it, 14, b 10
Screope William the kings vicechamberlaine bought the Ile of Man and the crowne thereof, 37, b 50
Seas tempestuous about the Orchades and why, 42, b 50
Seculum. ¶ See Aeuum.
Seimors descent supposed to be from Eldulph de Samor a noble man of Britaine, 120, a 40
Semiramis ouercõmeth Staurobates to his losse, 3, b 60
Sermon at Paules crosse and the pulpit when first ordeined, and builded, 140, b 50
Sermons ordinarie in cathedrall churches, 135, a 62
Seruice in the vulgar tong offensiue to the popes, 138, a 60
Seruingmen noted, 164, a 10. Shifters and robbers, 196, a 40
Sessions quarterlie and petie sessions, 156, a 50
Seton in Deuonshire full of aliens that sought the conquest of England, &c: note, 59, a 10
Senerus by birth a Romane but in bloud a Briton, 118, b 60. Finisher of the Picts wall, 127, b 30
Shaftesburie how called in the Romans

mans time, 190,b 60
Shéepe of England passe all other. 221,a 10. Without hozns, 221,a 40 Wild oft hunted but seldome oz neuer eaten, 41, a 40. As big as our fallow déere. 41,a 20
Shilling currant of siluer, when & by whom first coined. 218,b 60
Ship called great Henrie, 200,b 20
Ships well builded how far they will passe in a wéeke, 201,b 60. Of fiue hundzed tun, &c: 201, a 50. Old of what burthen, and how ours & theirs differ, 200, a 50. b 20 Belonging to the quéenes maiestie and hir seruice, 200, b 40. 201 a 10. The nozthernlie regiõs naile not theirs with iron, and why, 3, b 50. The maner of dzessing them in old time, 3, b 50. Wzought of wickers sometime vsed in Wzitaine, 3, b 60. Made of canes, 3, b 60. When first made and pzouided in this Iland, 20, b 20. Made of wicker and couered with bussle hides, 201, b 30
Shires foztie in England, 154, a 60. By whom first made out, 153, a 50 Some lieng in od parcels, 154, b 60, 155, a 10. Diuided into lathes, 153, b 30. In time of néd haue their lieutenants, 155, a 30. The number of their market townes & parishes, 194, a 10. Such as send knights and burgesses to the parlement, 174, b 40. Thirtéene in Wales, 154, a 60
Shires and shares all one, 153, a 60
Shirkes authozitie and office, and the reason of the name, 155, a 40. Their turne, 155, b 10
Shireburne bishopzike diuided into thzée, 142, a 40
Sholts a kind of dogs out of Ile-land, 231, b 40
Shwters hill and the length of the same, 109, a 50
Shzimps in Wtwaie as much estéemed as the westerne smelts, 52, b 10
Shzewes Ile in Scotland, 40, a 40
Sicill king of Wzitons warreth against ỳ Scots, 118, a 60. He & his bzother at ciuill discozd, 118, a 60
Sider made of apples, 170, b 10
Silcester how called in the Romans time, 190, b 50
Sillan Ilands their number & difference in greatnesse, 33, b 40
Siluer not wanting in England, 237, a 50. How pzoducted and ingendzed, 237, a 30
Simonie pzactised to obteine a bishopzike, 137, b 40
Simples thzée hundzed in a litle garden of litle aboue thzée hundzed lot of ground, 210, b 40. ¶ Sée Gardens.
Sisters thzée being thzée riuers, 68, b 60
Sisters seuen being seuen spzings in an hill, 66, a 60
Sitomagus a citie in England, 189, b 50
Skie the greatest Ile about Scotland, 40, b 20. ¶ Sée Ile & Ilãds.
Skipton castell by whome founded and finished, 31, b 50
Slate of sundzie colozs, 235, b 30
Slaues none in England, 163, b 50
Slowozme described, 228, b 10
Smithfield in the east giuen by Canutus to certein knights, 111, a 10
Snake described, 228, a 60
Snowdonie hils verie famous, 80, b 10
Soda salt, 236, b 60
Sonchus somewhat like our saffron, 233, b 10
Southãpton hauē described, 53, a 30
Spaniards set whole woods on fire in the west Indies. 212, a 10. Their wozds at the sight of the small munition in England, 198, a 20. Their wozds at the English plaine building and great fare, 187, a 40
Spaniels, 230, a 10, 60. ¶ Sée Dogs
Sparhawkes nature, 227, a 60
Specular stones, 239, b 20. ¶ Sée Stones.
Spider and the flie, 229, a 40
Spider of Naples, 228, b 20
Spirit that ran at tilt in complet armoz in a mone shine night, 129, a 20
Spzing néere Saffron Walden of a notable vertue, 211, b 50
Spzings seuen in an hill called the seuen sisters, 66, a 60. ¶ Sée Riuers and Waters.
Stafford how called in old time, 191, a 50
Stag accounted the noblest game to hunt, & so others in degrée, 226, a 50
Starre honozing how hatched at the first, 21, b 50, 60, 22, a 10
Staues. ¶ Sée weapons.
Statutes penall not executed, 212, b 60, 213, a 10. ¶ Sée Lawes.
Staurobates his ships of canes wherein he fought against Semiramis, 3, b 60
Stéele, 238, b 40
Stéeples in France how manie, 139, b 10
Stephan king of England licenced his barons to build castels, but with repentance, 194, b 10. Ill dealt withall of his clergie, 133, b 40. 134, a 10
Sterbirie a place where an armie hath lien, 218, a 30
Stockfish is light loding saie the Hollanders oz Hulmen, 235, b 40
Stone that had verie sweet sauouring oile in it, 236, a 10. Regall of Scotland now in westminster abbeie, and called Jacobs stone, 125, b 20. Huge at Pember in Guitherie parish, 130, a 50. Specular vsed before glasse was knowne, 187, b 60. Verie great, how moueable, & how vnmoueable, 130, b 10. Pzetious how to be tried, 239, b 40. Vsed & dedicated in times past to building of churches, 234, b 30. ¶ Sée Quarries.
Stones vpon Salisburie plaine to be wondered at, 129, a 60. Found vpon certeine hils in Glocestershire: note, 239, b 60. Thzowne a defense against the enimie, 4, a 50. Found in the heads of certein fishes, 240, a 10. Pzetious, 239, a 10 Taken out of oisters, toads, muskels, &c: 239, b 60. With verie strãge things found in them, 235, b 50. Including graines of gold, 235, b 60. Fashioned like cockles & mightie oisters, 130, a 10. Of sundzie sozts & not of common kinds where dailie found, 215, b 60
Strangers suffered to vse our pziuileges & commodities in England, &c: which we may not dw in their countrie, 115, b 10
Streames that fall into the sea betwéene the Thames & the mouth of Sauerne, 53, a 10. ¶ Sée Riuers.
Sture riuer whereof Sturbzidge faire hath his name, 103, a 60. Parteth Essex from Suffolke, 105, a 40. By Ptolomie called Edomania, 105, a 50. With his six heads described, 57, a 60. With what kind of fishes it aboundeth, 57, b 40
Sturbzidge faire the most famous mart in England, 103, a 60
Sturgeon great plétie in Midwaie riuer in times past, 52, b 10. Taken in Rochester water & giuen to the quéene, 67, b 10
Sturton baronie whense it taketh the name, 57, b 10. what the lozd giueth in his armes, 57, b 10
Subsidies greater impосed vpõ the clergie than the laitie, 137, a 20
Suffolke what hauens it hath, 108, a 60
Suillomaca. ¶ Sée Barnet.
Sulphur, 236, b 10. It and quicksiluer father and mother to all metals, 237, a 10
Summerset place, 195, b 50. ¶ Sée Duke.
Summersetshire & Glocestershire parted asunder by Swinfozd riuer, 68, a 30. Cold baths there, 214, b 40
Sunne lost his light in the daies of Athelstane, 59, a 40
Sundaie pzophaned, 213, b 50. By paltrie faires, 244, b 60
Superstition of some foolish countrifolks when their cattell die of the garget, 110, a 40
Sussex separated from Kent by the riuer of Rother, 53, b 10, A kingdome vnder Ella the Saxon, 16, b 10. what hauẽs it hath, 108, b 20
Sutherie why so called, 45, b 60
Swale riuer the bound in some places betwéene Richmondshire and westmerland, 94, b 10
Swifts a noisome vermin, 228, b 30
Swine in England, & how diuerslie their flesh is vsed, 221, b 50
Swinefozd riuer parted Summerset and Glocestershires asunder, 68, a 30
Swozds two being two riuers so named, 78, a 10
Syzia Phenices, 187, b 60

T.

TAbaco, 209, a 50
Taberd made of English pearle 239, b 60
Tasse a citie of countenance indued with the sée cathedzall of a bishop, 74, b 20
Tasse a swift riuer and violent in Glamozganshire described, 74, b 20
Tagus riuer pzoldeth clots of gold, 46, b 10
Tale of a Welshman that slept betwixt two swozds with a knife at his hart, 78, a 10
Tame riuer and the course thereof, 96, b 10. Diuideth Chestershire & Lancastershire, 84, a 20
Tanners bme oke by the faddam pearelie in Maie, 212, b 50
Tanster his diuision of the date and the night, 241, b 60
Tapsters. ¶ Sée Innes.
Tarantula oz Neapolitan spider, 228, b 20
Taw the finest riuer foz water that is in all Scotland, 88, b 30
Tax. ¶ Sée Benefices, & Tenths.
Teise a noble riuer, where the beuer is onelie found, 79, a 50
Tench is the pikes leach oz surgeon: note, 224, a 20
Tenths first deuised by the pope & after taken vp by pzescription of the king, 137, a 10. Two granted to the king of England towards the recouerie of Burdeaux, 136, b 40. Yearelie paid to the pzince in times past not annuall but voluntarie, 136, b 30. Of the bishopzikes in Englãd to what summes they yearelie amounted, 146, a 30
Termes quarterlie kept thzough out the yeare, 180, b 40. A rule to know the beginning and ending of them with their returnes, 181, b 50. Their times no hinderance vnto iustice, 181, b 20. When they begin at the ciuill law courts, 182, a 20
Thamar parteth Deuonshire from Cornwall, 61, a 19
Thames ebbeth and floweth twise daie and night, & at what houres, 46, b 50. Whether it came by S. Albons oz no in times past, 192, a 50. The cause why it ouerfloweth hir banks néere to London, 47, a 10. Whense it hath his head oz beginning, 45, b 20, The length of it with the commodities of the same, 46, a 60 Such riuers as fall into the same described, 45. a 30, Choked with sands and shelues, 46, b 30. The number of botes and watermen kept and maintened vpon it, 47, a 60 With what fishes it aboundeth, 46, b 10. Carps latelie bzought into it, 46, b 20 The course thereof, 47, b 10
Thebe (and hir thzée sonnes) conspire the death of hir husband, 231 b 10
Thekt how punished, 185, b 20
Théeues how to be appzehended by law, 186, b 30. Saued by their booke how punished, 185, b 60
Theodosius changeth the name of Wzitaine into Valentia, & why, 5, a 20
Thin knight sir John his statelie house, 46, a 30
Thistle beuet, 209, a 60
Thzowsfares ascribed to Antoninus, 249, a 30. And Innes, 246, b 10. ¶ Sée Townes.
Tigers bastard in Scotlãd, 41, a 50
Tillage and mankind diminished by parkes, 205, a 10. ¶ Sée Husbandmen.
Timber. ¶ Sée Wood.
Time and hir parts how accounted in England, 241, a 40
Tin, 237, b 20. And lead to be found in six of the Orchades, 43, a 10
Tin loking glasses, 237, b 60
Tine nozth notable stozed with sammon, &c: described, 90, a 20
Tine south described, 90, b 20
Tith of wines in Kent, 111, a 10
Tithes paid with great scrupulositie, 43, b 60
Tithingman in Latine Decurio, 154, a 20
Tithings. ¶ Sée Hundzeds.
Tithwhales in Scotland, 41, a 50
Tiuidale where it lieth, 91, a 20
Todes commonlie found where adders be, 228, a 60
Towng Wzitish called Camberace, 13, a 40. Could neuer by anie attempts be extinguished, 13, a 60, Cozrupted by Latine and Saxon, 13, a 40. Cozmish hath some affinitie with the Armozican, 14, a 60. Helpers of our English to be restozed and perfected, 14, a 10. When the English began to recouer and grow in moze estimation than before, 14, a 10. The French bzought into England & in great practise, 13, b 50. When it ceased to be spoken in England generallie, 14, a 10. The Latine bzought into Wzitaine by the Romans, 13, b 20. The Saxon bzought into England whereof some relikes remaine vnabolished, 13, b 50. In the south parts of England are thzée seuerall towngs vsed, 14, b 10.
Touchstone, 235, a 60
Townes and cities in England, how manie, 189, b 20. What called thzowsfares, 246, b 10. Of greatest trauell, 247, a 40. Moze in old time than now, 192, b 80. 193, a 10. How manie market townes in euerie shire, 194, a 10. Decaied by changing of one waie, 56, b 60. ¶ Sée Cities.
Towze of London, sometimes a kings palace, 195, b 50
Trauellers. ¶ Sée Innes.
Trées in England of what sozts, 213, a 10

Trées supposed to haue béene in the ground since Noahs flood, 214, a 50. ¶ Sée Orchards.
Trent riuer described, 96, a 10
Treson in the nobilitie how punished and tried, 184, b 30
Trespasses ¶ Sée Punishments.
Tresuror lord of England his dignitie, 164, b 40
Tribut to Augustus out of Britain of what things raised, 111, b 10
Tribute of woolues skins, 225, a 60
Turkes great gunnes made by one Orban a Dane, 199, a 20. When they begin their warre, 242, a 50
Turkes or Indish peacocks gelded, 223, a 40
Tunstall bishop of Durham baselie borne: note. 130, b 50
Turner doctor of physicke his saieng, 150, b 60. His opinion of the hot baths, 216, a 10
Turne spits a kind of dogs. 231, b 30
Twéede riuer the bound betweene England and Scotland described. 88, b 60
Twelue men in euerie hundred, 154, a 40. ¶ Sée Inquest.
Twilight, 242, a 10. ¶ Sée Night.
Tyrannie of Lestrigo and the sons of Neptune, 4, a 10. ¶ Sée Cruelties.

V.

VAgabonds their seuerall diffor-ders and degrées, 183, b 60. How punishable by law, 184, a 10
Valentia one of the names of Britaine, 5, a 20
Valuasors a name apliable to all degrées of honours, 158, b 40
Vallies in England that are famous, 111, b 50. ¶ Sée Dales.
Vandals where incamped at ỹ entring into this Iland, 129, a 10
Venison in Englād neither bought nor sold: note. 204, b 50. ¶ Sée Hunting and Parks.
Vermilion, 236, b 20
Vermine. ¶ Sée Beasts venemous and Flies.
Verlamcester, 191, b 10
Verolamium now S. Albons, 113, a 20. Whether the Thames came by it or no in times past, 192, a 50. ¶ Sée S. Albons.
Vertex the crowne of the head, and why so called, 10, b 10
Vessell exchanged now in England, 188, b 60
Vgh growing in England, 213, a 60
Vicount a name of dignitie next to the earle, 157, a 50. Is created of the prince, 158, a 60
Vicounts in Englād two, 165, a 10
Vics castell the strongest hold in England in Heurie the first time. 141, b 60.
Villages more in England in old time than now, 192, b 60. 193, a 10. The cause of their increase, 190, a 40.
Vincentius Clemens the popes factor in England, 136, b 40
Viper. ¶ Sée Adder.
Umber a fish onlie in the riuer Wie, 72, a 40
Undershiriffes office and charge, 155, a 60
Vniuersitie in Chester verie famous, 73, b 60. In Arthurs time, 190, b 20. In London, 151, a 40
Vniuersities in England sometimes manie, 148, a 10. Now in England three at this daie, 148, a 30. Of Cambridge and Oxford by diuerse abuses out of order, 149, b 30. How seated and their prouision, 148, b 10. Their orders, schooles, colleges, 149. Exercises, studies, degrées, & dignities, 150. When builded, vncerteine, 147, a 60, Their lands laid wait for and gaped at: note. 152. b 10. Eleuen in France, 139, b 10.
Unthankefulnes punished, 233, b 10
Voltiger sent for the Saxons into Britaine, 6, b 10. His dale, 81, a 10
Uratislaus duke of Bohemia durst not erect seruice in the vulgar tong without the popes consent, 138, b 10
Ure mouth, where is a pit whose bottome is not soundable, 104, a 40
Ure riuer described, 93, a 10
Ures and aikes, 226, b 60
Usurie a trade brought into England by the Iewes: note. 189, a 50
Vulture. ¶ Sée Rauen.

W.

WAd a commoditie sometime in England, 111, a 40
Waggons for warre when vsed in England, 199, b 60
Waie high & of townes decaied by changing of them, 56, b 60. ¶ Sée Highwaies.
Wainescot equalled by some English oke, 213, a 20
Wake, ladie and duchesse of Lancaster against bishop Lid: note. 143, b 40.
Walden in Essex, wherof so named, 206, b 10. Sometimes called waldenburg when first planted with saffron, 232, a 50
Waldes in the Celtike tong signifieth forrests, &c. 206, b 10
Wales a word derived of the Saxons, 116, a 60. Not so fruitfull as England, 109, a 10. So called of the German word Walsh, 68, b 10
Full of lens and bogs, 214, a 30.
Diuided into three kingdomes, 15, a 30
Walsh vsed of the Saxons as we vse the word strange, 116, a 60
Walles that in times past were limits to England and Scotland, 127, b 10. 128, a 10
Wandleburne hils and whie so called, 129, a 10
Wandles in times past called Windles, 195, a 40
Wapentake a word compounded, & how, 154, a 50. ¶ Sée Hundred.
Warens. ¶ Sée Parkes, 204, a 50
Warne riuer runneth almost nine miles from the head within the land, 89, a 60
Warfare in waggons when vsed in this land, 191, b 60
Warners or whapels a kind of dogs, 231, b 20
Warre ciuill turneth to the enimies aduantage, 118, a 60. How God disappointeth as abhorring it, and louing peace, 98, b 50
Warwike how called in the Romās time, and how manie parish churches it had, 190, b 20
Waspes. ¶ Sée Hornets.
Watches. ¶ Sée Night.
Water what best to braue beere withall, 170, a 40. The greatest fresh in England, 86, a 60
Waters in England of what sorts, natures, and qualities, 210, b 50. None hurtfull, 211, a 50. Of speciall vertues to help the wounded and diseased, 214, b 50. 215, a 10
Waters came into ỹ minster of Salisburie at high masse time, 57, a 50 ¶ Sée Riuers.
Watling street (rightlie named Gutheline street, and whie) one of the highwaies of Britaine, and how it is extended, 113, a 10. By whom builded, 112, a 40. ¶ Sée Highwais.
Weake & of how many daies it consisteth: note, 242, a 40. Named after the English, Saxonish, and Scotish maner, 244, b 20
Well in Gnaresborow forrest converting wood, &c: into hard stone, 129, b 60. That ebbeth and floweth as the sea doth, 131, b 10
Wels in sundrie places of diuerse strange qualities. 130, b 10. Two whose water participating of one soile differ in qualitie, 130, b 60. Three neere Conentrie of strange and effectuall vertue, 215, a 10
Wels & baths hot, 214, b 20. ¶ Sée Baths, Riuers, Springs and waters.
Welshmans tale that slept betweene two swords and a knife at his hart, 78, a 10
Welshmen call Englesete the mother of their countrie, 36, a 10. They let in the Saxons, and whie, 6, b 30. The errours of some noted, which will haue them come from the French, &c. 3, b 30. Contentious to go to law, 181, a 50. What shift they make for plastering, 187, a 60
Weapons of what kinds vsed and worne in England, 199, a 60. ¶ Sée Armour.
Were riuer described, whose mouth is eight miles from Durham. 91, b 10
Weremouth monke, and whie so called, 91, b 10
Westburie vnder the plaine neuer without a thef or twaine, 67, b 60
Westmerland and Richmondshire how bounded, 94, b 10. By certeine stones in ỹ edge of Stanes moor, 113, b 10
Whales tithed in Scotland, 41, a 50
Wheat of summer, & wheat of winter, 169, b 10
Whetstones. 235, b 20. ¶ Sée Quarries and Stones.
White bishop of Lincolne his comming to be bishop of winchester: note. 137, b 40
Whitehall, when and by whom erected, 195, b 40
Whiteherne (in Latine Candida casa) whie so called, 146, b 60
Whoredome how punished in Canutus daies, 185, a 60
Wich how it is situated, 240, a 50
Wie riuer described, 97, b 30
Wight wholie gotten into the hands of Edward the third, 31, b 60. Called in Latine Vectis, 31, a 50. The names of the parsonages and vicarages in the same, 31, b 10. First conuerted to the faith though the last that harkened to the word, 31, b 40
Wiland or Welland riuer described, 101, a 50
Wilfride first conuerted the Ile of Wight to the faith, 31, b 40
Wilton hauing sometime twelue parishs churches, how it grew to be but a poore village, 56, b 60
William conqueror so named, not by cõquest but by challenge, 123, a 30
Constituted heire testamentarie to Edward confessor, 123, a 20
Winchester how called in the Romans time, 190, b 40. Bishoprike when first erected, by whom, and the circuit thereof, 141, b 10
Wind sold to mariners vnder certeine knots of thred, &c: 38, a 10. Vehement and strong issuing out of the hilles called the Peake: a wonder, 129, a 60
Windleburie, 195, a 40
Windsor builded by king Arthur or Aruiragus, &c. 196, a 10
Wine wanting in England, and whereto the fault is to be imputed, 110, b 50. Sometime grew in England, 111, a 10. No where more spent than in England, 167, b 10. Whether it will be kept in an ime cup or no, 239, b 50. Naturall and artificiall, 167, b 10. Sometimes tithed in Kent, 111, a 10. The best called Theologicum: note, 167, b 20
Winander riuer maketh the greatest meere or fresh water in England, 86, a 60
Wire a creeke where ships lie oft at rode, 87, a 10
Witchcraft and sorcerie much vsed in the Ile of Man, 37, b 60. How punished, 185, b 20
Witham riuer and what riuers fall into the same, 101, a 10
Wiuer riuer watereth all the west parts of England, 83, b 10
Women of England excessiue and vaine, 172, b 10
Wood decaied by burning of bricke, 234, b 50. Consumed in Wales by melting of lead, 238, a 10. Excedingly wasted with making of pots, glasses, &c: 238, b 10. Sold in some countries of England by the pound, 214, a 20. Whie in some places of England it cannot grow, 212, a 20. What kinds were occupied vsuallie in building in times past, 212, a 40. What will follow of the decaie thereof, if not looked vnto, 213, b 10. One acre of ground of forrie wished for the supplie of it, 213, b 50. Much destroied by making of salt, 240, b 60
Woods euerie where decaied and by what means, 106, a 40. In Englād great store in times past, 211, b 60. Of beech & hazel, 213, a 40. Decaied in the west Indies & how, 212, a 10
Words of a Spaniard that taught queene Elisabeth wit, 198, a 30
Woodstocke by whom builded, 195, b 60
Wooll of English sheepe excellent, & how employed, 221, a 10
Would what it signifieth, 206, b 30
Woolues become dogs, and dogs woolues, 232, a 30. Destroied in England and how, 225, a 60
Wonders or maruels of England, 128, b 20. Of dogs, 229, b 60. Of mastifes, 231, a 40. Found in stones, 235, b 30. 236, a 10
Worcester how called in the Romās time, 190, b 60. In old time called Caer Brangon or Caer Frāgon, 70, b 10. The bishoprikes erection, circuit, and valuatiō, 141, a 60
World diuided into three parts, 1, a 10. ¶ Sée Earth.

Y.

YEare counted after the course of the sunne, 243, b 60. 244, a 20
Beginning therof different among diuerse people, 244, a 10. Cynike: 244, a 10. The beginning thereof not vniforme & certeine. 243, b 60
Yeomen in our law called Homines legales: note, 163, b 10. How intituled and named, 146, b 10
Yorke somtims called Victrix, & why 217, b 10. Placed in Scotland by Leouitius, 190, a 60. Called Brewyc, and whie, 93, a 30. The cheefe citie of the kingdome of Northumberland, 16, b 60. How called in the Romans time, 190, a 60. The archbishoprike curtailed, & whie, 145, a 60. Bishoprikes vnder the said sée foure, 135, a 10
Yorkeshire what hauens it hath, 108, a 30

FINIS *propositi, laus Christo* FINIS.

The second table Alphabeticall, being a complet extract of names and *matters dispersed in the historie of Britaine and England: wherein the reader is aduisedlie to* distinguish of persons and actions in perusing euerie discourse, least by taking one for another *(diuerse persons being of one name) his memorie be confounded, and some error or doubt arise.*

By this table you may obserue how manie archbishops, bishops, earles, dukes, *&c: haue beene in this Iland before the conquest: as also matter of discourse and woorth the marking, wher-* soeuer you see this word (Note) which dooth oftentimes come to hand.

Gathered by *Abraham Fleming.*

A.

ABbie of saint Augustine at Canturburie built, 102,a 60. Of Ripon burnt by K. Edred, 158,a 50
Abbies built by Adelstane, 156,a 40. Founded by Alured, 148,b 50. Building of them thought a full satisfaction for sins, 163,b 20. What their state was in the daies of John of Beuerlie & Beda, 130,b 20
Aborigenes, and the opinion cõcerning them gainsaid, 4,a 60
Aboundance. ¶ See Plentie.
Acca bishop of Hexham, 129,a 40
Achelnotus archbishop of Canturburie, 182,a 20
Ackwold king of Eastangles, 129,a 10
Ada the son of Ida king of Bernitia, 95,b 30
Adeliza the daughter of duke William, whome Harold should haue married, 197,a 40
Adelme rebelling against his king, and pardoned, doth good seruice in the field, 131,a 30
Adelstan king of England crowned & consecrated at Kingston vpon Thames, 154,a 10. Soone too late for exiling his brother, 155,b 10. He goeth out of his waie to see where S. John of Beuerlie was buried, 155,a 40 His victories against diuerse kings conspiring against him, 154,b 60, 155,a 10. His victorie against six kings, all slain with diuerse others, 156,a 10. Described, his death, and what presents were sent him, 156, a 40
Adelstan bishop of Shireburne cõmended, 143,a 40. Of K. Egberts councell, 140,b 20
Adelwold king of Sussex receiueth the Ile of Wight as a gift vpon condition, 119,a 30. He causeth the Essexmen to yeeld vnto him, 150, b 60. He is slaine, 151, a 20
Adelwold K. Edwards brother taketh part with the Danes, 150,b 40
Adelwold bishop of Winchester builder of Elie abbie, 161,b 20
Adraste Worshiped and prated vnto, 44,a 40
Adrian abbat of S. Augustines at Canturburie commended, 120, b 10. He that came with Theodore, and died, 129,a 60
Adrian the emperor passeth into Britaine, 53,a 40 His wall diuiding Britaine and Scotland, 53,a 50
Adrian the pope sendeth legats into England, 134,b 30
Aduancement of a bondman disdained, 46,a 30
Aduiterer maintained by an aduteresse: note, 40,b 40,60
Adwin bishop of Winchester cõmitted to prison, 187,a 60
Aegiptus and his fiftie sonnes, 5,b 20
Aganippus a prince of France married Ceadeilla, 13,a 40
Agathyrsi. ¶ See Picts.
Agilbert bishop of Paris, 115,b 60, 116,a 10
Agnerus and Hubba two Danish capteins brethren, 144,a 30
Aidan bishop, 114,a 60. A Scot commeth into England to preach the gospell, 113,b 40, 60. His coniecture touching Oswin fell out true, 115,b 10. He dieth, 115,b 20
Alban a citizen of Werlamcester martyred vnder Diocletian, 62,a 10
Albania now Scotland, 27,a 30 By whom built. 12,a 20
Albine his treatise against king Charles his articles, 135,a 60. ¶ See Alcwine.
Albion now England why so named as Bodin saith, 3,b 50. Diuerse opinions of the name, 4, a 10, 5,a 20
Albion the giants comming into this Iland, 4,a 10. The sonne of Neptune, subdueth the Celts 3,b 20. He and Bergion slaine with the most part of their armie, 5,a 50
Alchfled daughter of Oswie married to Peda, 116,b 60
Alclud citie destroied by the Danes, 144,b 20. Whether in Scotland or no, 21,a 40
Alcwine a famous clerke an Englishman. 132,a 60
Aldhelme bishop of Shireburne, 129,a 60
Aldinus. ¶ See Ealdbright.
Aldelme archbishop of Canturb. 154,a 10. Bishop of Worcester in fauour with K. Edward the third, 192,a 60, b 10. Archbishop of Yorke, 196, b 20. 152, b 10. Slaine by duke Thorthmond, 137,a 10
Aldroenus king of little Britaine in France, 71,b 20
Aldulfe king of Eastangles departeth this life, 129,a 10
Alectus counted a ringleader of theeues: note, 59,b 20. Killeth Carausius & succeedeth him in rule ouer Britaine, 56,b 50. Vsurped the title and dignitie of king of Britaine, 61,b 10
Alexander pope the second fauored duke Williams conquest of England, 199,a 10
Alfer. ¶ See Elfer.
Alfin bishop of Winchester, 161, a 40
Alfred the daughter of Offa king of Mercia maried to Ethelbert, 136,b 60
Alfred the son of Egelred maketh chalenge to the crowne, 181,b 60. Striueth in vaine to keepe Adelstane from the gouernement, 154,a 10. Taken prisoner, his eies put out, his death, 183, a 10, 184,a 40. Suspected persons for his death examined, 185,a 20. ¶ See Alured.
Alfred the beautifull daughter of duke Horgerius: note, 160,a 60 The wife of king Edgar dieth, and what offense it caused him to do, 160, a 60. Hir wicked purpose to kill hir sonne, 163,a 30
Alfreda the daughter of K. Offa of Mercia maried to Ethelbert, 133,a 60. Greeued at the death of hir husband, becommeth a nun, 133,b 30
Alfride king of Northumbers, 129,a 10. A bastard, 125,b 20
Alfrike archbishop of Yorke, 185, a 20
Alfrike duke of Mercia, banished, 165, a 60. Viceadmerall of king Egelreds nauie a traitor to his countrie, 166,b 20
Alkwald king of Northumbers his death, 135,a 50. His sonnes miserablie slaine by Ethelbert, 136,b 50
Alkwen sister to Elfleda, 152,b 40
Algar the sonne of earle Leofrike hath Harolds lands giuen him 193,a 60. His intended reuishing reuenged, 133, b 60. His eies put out for his fathers treason, 166,b 30
Algar made earle of Chester, exiled, he recouereth it by force, 193,a 60
Algar earle of Oxford, 191, b 30 Banished, 192,b 10
Alliance aduisedlie to be made, 79, a 40, &c. ¶ See Mariage.
Allegiance. ¶ See Loialtie.
Alleluia: note a stratagem, 83,a 30
Allered archbishop of yorke, 188, a 20
Almaricus a traitorous deacon, 170,a 60
Alricke the son of Herbert slaine in fight, 137,a 10. ¶ See Wichtred.
Alstan bishop of Shireburne a warrior, 138,b 10
Alswald. ¶ See Alkwald.
Alswine the brother of king Egfrid slaine, 123,a 60
Altred king of Northumbers, 133,a 20
Alured king of westsaxons and the greatest part of England, 144, b 60, Persecuted by the Danes, 145,a 10. He vanquished them by sea, 145,a 50. By their meanes put to his shifts, 146,a 50. Disguiseth himselfe like a minstrell, 146,b 10. King Ethelwulfes sonne and consecrated king at Rome, 141, a 30. His prouision for the safetie of his land against the Danes, 148,a 20. Learned, and what workes he wrote, 148, b 60. Described and commended, 148, b 10. His court learned 149,a 10. How he diuided the time for his necessarie dies. 149,a 30. His death, 148,a 30. Last will & epitaph, 149,a 40
Alwin. ¶ See Adwin.
Amphibalus instituted S. Alban, 62,a 10. Borne in Caerleon, 19, a 10. Martyred at Redburne, 63,b 10
Amphibalus abbete at Winchester, 76,b 10
Ambition to rule alone, what mischefe it inferreth, 16, a 40. It causeth bloudshed, 5, b 20. And slaughter, 11, b 50. Cause of dissention betweene brethren: note, 14,b 50. Rewarded with shame, 13,b 20
Ambition of nephues for monarchie or sole regiment: note, 14, a 10
Ambition in noblemen, 89,b 60
Ambition of Wallianus: note, 56,a 60. Of Carausius but a mean man seeking to be a king, 54,b 20. Of Hengist the Saxon, 78,b 40. Of Leir two sons in law, 13,a 50. Of Romans, 40, a 60. Of the old emperor Seuerus, 54,b 60, 55,a 10. Of Veramius discouered at his death, 41,a 60. Of Vortigerne, 77,a 10
Ambrie now Salisburie, 82, a 10
Andates the goddesse of victorie worshipped of the Britains, 45,a 20
Andragatius killeth Gratian by treason, 68,b 10
Andredecester a citie in Britaine 86,b 60
Androgeus abandoneth Britaine because the people hated him as a traitor, 32,a 60. Aided Cassibelane against Cesar. 27, a 40. Duke of Tronouant, 31, a 30. ¶ See Earle.
Angell. ¶ See Vision.
Anger what mischeifes it procureth men vnto, 194,a 10
Angles came ouer with the Saxons into Britaine, 78,b 60, 79, a 20
Anglesey inuaded by the Romans and Wone, 41,b 10. Yeelded to Agricola, 48,a 20
Angli quasi Angeli, 99,b 40. Of authoritie in Germanie, 79,a 20
Anglia, why so called, 98,a 40
Anna king of Eastangles slaine by Penda, 16,b 10. His daughters professed nuns, 114,b 60
Antigonus brother of Pandrasus taken prisoner, slain, 8,a 50
Antoninus Pius emperor sendeth Lollius Vrbicus to keepe the Britains in order, 53,a 50
Apostasie. ¶ See Idolatrie, and Sighere.
Arbitrement of eight graue counsellors to end controuersies, 87,b 60, 88,a 10

Arbogastes

Arbogaster a Goth slaieth Flauius victor Nobilissimus, 68,b 50
Archbishop Aldelme of Canturburie,154,a 10 Atheired of Canturburie,150,b 30. Athelnotus of Canturburie,182,a 20,185,a 10. Aldred of Yorke, 152,b 10, 196,b 20. Alfrike of Yorke,185, a 20. Alfered of Yorke,188,a 20. Augustine the monke of the English nation,101,a 30. Bertwald of Canturburie, 129,b 60 Brightwald of Canturburie, 126,b 20,30. Bosa of Yorke,125 b 50. Ceadda of Yorke,119,b 20 Damianus of Cant. 116,b 40. Deusdedit of Cantur.116,b 40. Eaubald of Canturb.137,b 40. Edsinus of Canturburie, 186, b 40. Elnothus of Canturburie,182,b 30. Elphegus of Canturb.murthered by the Danes, 170,b 10,40. Egbert of Yorke: note, 130, a 60. Guetheline of London ambassador for Britains, 71, b 30. Honorius of Canturburie,110,a 30. He receiueth his pall,110,b 10. John of Yorke resigneth, 125, b,50. Lambert of Canturb. 135,a 20 Deprined,132,a 20. Laurence of Canturb. ¶ See Laurence. Nothelmus of Canturb.130,b 50. Odo of Canturb. 136,b 60. Oswald of Yorke, 161, b 20. Pleimond of Canturb. 149, a 20. Paule of Yorke receiueth his pall, 110, b 10. Robert of Canturburie,187,b 20,60. Stricius of Canturb 166,a 60. Stigand of Canturburie an intruder: note,191,a 40. Tackwine of Canturburie,129,b 60. Theodore of Canturburie created vpon condition, 120, a 20. Wilfride the second of Canturburie,129,a 50. Wolkhere,150,a 10. Wolston of Yorke, 156,a 50
Archbishops authoritie exemplified: note, 181,b 30. Three in Britaine, 52, a 30. They flee with their clergie into woods & mountains: note,98,b 20. The see of Canturb. monks refuse, 120,a 10. The see remoued to Lichfield, 132,a 10. Of Canturburie & Yorke with a decree concerning their election, 110, b 20. The see restored to Canturburie,136,a 40. The see of Canturburie void, 135,a 20
Archigellus king of Britaine giuen to dissention, and deprined, 21,a 10
Arduike made king of Northumberland and consecrated,136,b 60. His acts & deeds, 137,a 10
Areani, and their charge: note, 73,b 40
Arelius Ambrose. ¶ See Aurelius.
Arlete duke Robert of Normandies paramour,that bare him duke William the conqueror, and of hir pleasantnesse and dalliance, 201,b 20
Armorica by whom first peopled, 68,a 40. Giuen to Conan Meridoc,& the plot to people it disappointed,67,a 20. The etymon or reason of the name, 69,b 10
Armorica in France where it lieth, 12,a 40
Arnuike. ¶ See Arduike.
Arthur begotten out of wedlock, 90,b 10. And of whom begotten, 88 a 20. He beginneth to reigne, 90, a 40. Of a mightie making,92,a 10. And what is left written of him,93, a 10. He had two wiues,93, b 10. His exploits, 91, a 10. His twelue battels against the Saxons, 90,a 60. He is wounded and dieth,his burial: note, 91,b 50
Aruiragus K. of Britaine,32,a 10 He surueieth this land & repareth the ruines of it,36,b 20,35 b 60. His valiantnesse,36, a 10. In what state Britaine was in his reigne,46, a 50. King of the Iceni,42, a 60. He putteth the Romans to flight, 35,b 40. He is most villanously abused by them,42,a 60. He is buried at Glocester, 37,a 10
Asburga a gentlewoman maried to king Ethelwulfe, 140,a 40
Asclepiodotus. ¶ See Duke.
Athbert protector or gouernor of young king Kenelme bribed, murthereth his lord and maister, 139,b 50
Assaracus interteineth Brute, 7,b 40
Asserius Menenensis bishop of Shirborne, 149,a 10
Asturians, 33,a 10
Athelnotus archbishop of Canturburie, 185,a 10
Atheired archbishop of Canturburie, 150,b 30
Athelstane king of Kent & duke Ealhere banquish the Danes by sea, 141,a 20. ¶ See Adelstane.
Aualon Ile now Alpes Ile, 92, a 30
Augustine ordeined archbishop of the English nation, 101, a 30. His see at Canturburie, 102,a 60. He receiueth the pall,101,b 60. Surnamed the Englishmens apostle, 102,b 60. He requireth three things of the Britains to be obserued, 103,a 20. His miracles, his acts and deeds, 102,a 10
Augustus the emperor is denied his tribute out of Britaine,his acts and deeds: note, 32,b 30
Aulafe K. of Northwcie baptised, 166,b 50. Banded with Danes & others maketh against Adelstane, discomfited,155,b 30. Chased by king Edmund,he returneth into Northumberland, & expelled by the people, 158,a 40 He taketh vpon him the rule of the Northumbers, 156, b 60. Disguised he commeth to view the English campe, 155, b 60. King of the Danes of Northumberland attempteth war against king Edmund, his death, 156,b 60
Aulus Atticus a Romane captein slaine, 50,b 30
Aulus Didius sent into Britaine to supplie the rome of Ostorius, 40,b 10
Aulus Plautius with his armie arriueth in Britaine, 34,a 10
Aurelius Ambrosius & his brother Uter arriue in Britaine with their powers against Wortigerne,84,a 10. He & Uter Pendragon flee into little Britain,77,a 40. He with his Britains encounter the Saxons, 88,a 30. He putteth Saxons out of Britaine,84,b 50. He falleth sicke at Winchester, 85, a 10. ¶ See Uter Pendragon.
Aurelius Conanus made king of Britaine, & described, 94,b 60. He killeth Constantine, 94, a 60. He is noted by Gildas to be a verie bad man, 95,a 10
Authun. ¶ See Berthun.

B.

BAdon hill, 88,a 40
Baldred usurped the kingdome of Kent & departeth into exile, 139,b 30
Baldud. ¶ See Bladud.
Baldwin earle of Flanders commeth into England to visit Edw.3. his brother in law,188, b 10. Earle of Flanders aideth duke William to conquer England, 198,b 30
Banket fatall, 79,a 50
Baptisme of bondmen and bondwomen and making them free, 123, a 60. How gratious being receiued: note,123,a 10. Receiued of the British armie & how beneficiall,83,a 10. At the ministring thereof godfathers were in vse, 114,b 10. Ministred to ten thousand in the riuer of Swale,100,b 60. Egelred defiled the font with his ordure when he was baptised,165,a 20
Bardi, their vsage and profession, 3,a 50
Bardus the son of Dranis,3,a 30
Barreeg, ¶ See Halden.
Bassianus borne of a British woman ruleth Britaine, 54,b 10. He practiseth with physicians to poison his father Seuerus, 55,b 60
Bastards made kings as Alfrike king of Northumberland, 125, b 20. Harold so proclamed and consecrated,181,b 20. Mordred admitted to rule Britain, 20,a 40
Batani,now Hollanders,72,a 30
Bath called Carbadon, 14, b 10. Besieged by the Saxons and Germans,but ouerthrowne & slaine, 90,b 60,91,a 10
Bath ¶ See Caerbran.
Baths hot when first made or repared and by whom, 12,b 40
Battell of Ashdon fought betweene K. Edmund Ironside & Cnute with his Danes, 177,a 10. Of foure houres continuance betweene the English and the Danes, 176,b 40
Beasts wild deuour rulers of Britaine, 11,b 40,50
Beatrice put to death by hir stepsons for poisoning hir husband, 154,b 10
Beautie a snare to intrap: note, 78,b 60. A bait, & also a deadlie baine,160,a 60,b 10. Abused to a shamefull end,191,b 60. It helped not to saue life, 171,a 10
Beautie of Edgiua most excellent.153,a 10. ¶ See Rontr.
Beda dieth,diuerse things noted concerning him, 130,b 10
Beline and Bren made frends, 17,a 60. ¶ See Brennus.
Belinus generall of Cassibelans armie valiant, 27,a 40
Belins gate (now Billingsgate) wherupon the ashes of Belins bodie were kept in a vessell of brasse, 19,a 10
Bell of S Elluius: note,161,a 60
Bels vsed in battell caused terror: note, 27,b 10
Bergion brother to Albion kept Ireland & the Orkneis,4,a 60
Berking, and who built the abbeie there, 122, a 60
Bericus expelled out of Britain, his counsell to Claudius.34,a 10
Berne iudge burned for cruelties, 135,a 30
Berne a noble man about Yorke, the rauishing of whose wife bred much mischeefe, 144,b 20
Berne an earle malicious slaine by his cousin, 188,a 20,60
Berne K. of Estangles. 129,a 10
Bernred by murther vsurpeth the kingdome of Mercia, he is slaine, 128,b 10
Bernulfe of Mercia slaine, 138, b 20. He stomacheth king Egbert, 138,a 50
Bertegils bishop of Eastangles, 116,a 60
Bertha king Cheriberts daughter wife to Ethelbert king of Kent, 99,a 50
Berthfride a valiant Northumber captein, 129,a 20
Berrockshire, now Barkeshire, 143,b 40
Berthun a duke of Sussex slaine 124,b 50
Bertwald archbishop of Canturburie, 129,b 60
Bertwolfe K. of Mercia tributarie to the westsaxons, chased out of his countrie by the Danes, 142,a 20
Birinus a bishop Italian conuerteth the westsaxons to the christian faith, 114,b 10
Biscop a monke builded two abbies, and what artificers he brought into England that were not in it before, 120,b 30
Bisi. ¶ See Bishop.
Bishop Acca of Herham,129,a 40 Adelstan of Shireburne of K. Egberts councell,140,b 20, Adelwold of Winchester,161,b 20 Adwin of Winchester, 187,a 60 Aldhelme bishop of Shireburne,129, a 60. Alfin of Winchester,161,a 40. Alstan a warriour, 138, b 10. Asserius of Shireburne,149,a 10. Bisi of the Eastangles, 121,b 60. Bonifacius of the Estangles,121, b 60. Brightelme of Worcester,161, a 40. Camelgaret taken prisoner of the Danes, & redeemed by K Edward,151,a 60. Cedda of the Eastsaxons, 117,a 60. Coisi in armes on horsbacke destroieth idols,109, b 10. Colman of Northūbers, 119,a 40. Cuthert of Lindesferne,125,a 30. Daniell of Winchester,129, a 60, Diuma first bishop of Mercia, 118, b 20, Dunstane of Worcester and London,160,a 10. Eadhidus of Lindsey, 122, b 60. Eata of Hexam, 125,b 50. Edmund of Shireburne slaine in battell, 144,a 10. Eadulfus of Lichfield adorned with the pall,132,a 20. Egwine of Worcester, 128,a 60. Elutherius of westsaxons, 129,b 10. Elphegus of Winchester,166,b 60,165, b 50. Erkenwald of the Estsaxons, his see at London.122,a 60. Ethelwold of winchester, 160,a 10. Felix. ¶ See Felix. Finan of Northumbers,119,a 40. Gebmound of Rochester, 122, b 60. Jeroman is sent to the Eastsaxons to reduce them to the faith,121,a 10. Lincolne slaine in the battell at Ashdon, 177,a 20. Oiwald of Worcester, 160,a 10. Putta of Rochester a good musician,120,b 10. Of Rochester & king Egelred at strife, 165, a 60. Sexbulfe of Mercies, 122, a 50. Swithune of winchester of king Egberts councell, 140, b 20. Tida of Northumbers,119,b 10. Waldher of London,122,a 60. Werefridus of Worcester,149, a 10. Wilfrid of Northumbers his diligence,119,b 10. William of London banished, 191, a 20. William the pore bishop of Rochester, 122,b 50
Bishop not disgraded and yet liuing a priuat life, 120,a 60. None of westsaxons for the space of seuen yeres, 153,a 50. A kings son & heire a bishop, 141, b 60. One ioineth his power

power to Adelstans armie, is slaine by the enimie, 155,b60
Bishops authoritie exemplified: note,117,b20. Went to war & aid the king,139,a30. Foure of Mercies, 119,a10. Two notable in Ethelwulfs daies: note,140,b20. Two elected in place of one,122,b60 Prosperous conduct British host against the Saxons: note,83, a10. Of Northumbers held their sée at Lindesferne,119,a 50,b10. Two elected & consecrated for one,121,b60. Great archbishops,119,b20. How to be ordered,101,b20. Ordeined for auoiding the popes displesure,153,a60. What maner of men they haue béene, 191,a60 In Britaine twentie eight, 52,a30. What prouinces they gouerned in 731 yeares,129, b60,130,a10. ¶ Sée Synod.
Bishoprike at Donwich, 110,a a40. At Dorcester, 114,b20. Two made of one, 129, a60. Two vnder one bishop, 160, a10
Blasing starre of thrée moneths continuance, 122, b60, what insued: note,123, a60,162,b10 Scéne in England onelie of seuen daies continuance, 197, a60. The yeare before Edward the thirds death: note, 195,b40. Two, one apéering in the morning, the other in the euening, and what insued, 129,b20
Bladud the ninth ruler of Britaine,12,b40. Presuming to flie is paisht in péeces with a fall, 12,b50
Blackwell hall in old time called the temple of peace.15,b30
Blecca gouernor of the citie of Lincolne, 110,a50
Blederike duke of Cornewall, 104,b10
Bloud rained, 14,a60
Bondslaue in honor, 46,a30
Bondmen made truelie free,123, a60
Bonifacius bishop of Eastanglos, 121,b60
Bonifacius B. of Mentz his epistle to Etheibald, 128,b20
Bosa archbishop of Yorke, 125, b50
Boudicia. ¶ Sée Woadicia.
Bren married the duke of Mobrogs daughter, 17, a10. Duke of Mobrogs, 17,a50. He and Beline ioining forces take Rome,17,b10. He & Beline their ioint gouernement intollerable, 16,a30
Brennicia kingdome when it began, 95,a50
Bretamons castell beyond sea built by the Britons,61, b,40
Brethren at strife and banded one against another, 16, a60. Slaine, 14,b60,15,a10
Brigants now Yorkeshire, disdaine to be subiect to a womans gouernment, 40, b60
Brightnod earle of Essex gaue battell to the Danes, slaine, 166,a60
Brightheline bishop of Dorchester, 161,a40
Brightrike K. of westsaxons, 135,a20. His policie to rule quietlie, 135,b30 Marieth Ethelburga K. Offas daughter,132,a50. His death,136,a10
Brightwold chosen to be archbishop of Canturb.229,b20,30
Brinchild a prince of Henaud, his valiantnesse, 12,a30
Britains whether an Iland at the first or no,1,a40. Gouerned by lieutenants & treasurors of Romane emperours, 37,a60. Diuided from Scotland by the emperor Adrian: note,53, a50. Gouerned by British rulers,7,10. First inhabited by the Celts, 3,b50. Rulers & kings thereof bitterlie inueied against by Gyldas 94,a60,95,a10,96,a60,b10. The state of it during Arthurs reigne, 46,a50 Afflicted by the inuasion of barbarous nations,75,a20. Spoild pitifullie by Gurmundus, 98,a30. Kings three of it slaine in one battell at once, 97, a30. The state of it vnder Martus,46,b60. Ruled by women, 11,b30,13,b50. Gouerned by kings of their owne nation, 20,21, &c. Gouerned by fiue kings at once,14, a20. The state of it vnder kings,15,16, 17,&c. In France,67,a10. So called by cómandement of the subduer,11,a10. It receiueth faith: note,37, a30. Diuerse people inhabited diuerse portiõs of it,23,b50. Diuided into realms,21,b40. Vnknowne to the Romans but by report, 24,a20. Whether the kings of it were kings or rulers of the commonwelth or tyrants, &c.23,b40. A part of it called Valentia,73,b30, The succession of the kings thereof orderlie in their yeares to Eliburus,22,a10. Of whom first inhabited,1,a20. Pentarchie, 15, a10, Sometimes called Samothea,2,a60. The subiection of it to the Romans when it was,31,a60. A monarchie how long after Bruts death,31,b40. The state of it touching gouernment when Cesar did conquer it. 31,b30, 60. The state of it vnder rulers,11,12,13,&c. It receiueth the faith,52,a20. It tasted the cruelitie of Diocletian, &c. 61, b60. The state of it vnder British kings, 76,a,10
Britains repine to be gouerned by men of base degree,53,b50. Commonlie called Welshmen, 127, a10. The sauage sort, their visage & attire: note,55,a 40. Outragious cruelitie hauing gotten victorie against the Romans: note, 45, a10. Their lamentable case after ouerthrow by I. Agricola,50, b50. They, the Scots, and Picts in a league, 77, a20. They of Calendarwod assault the Romans vpon aduantage,49,a40. Their miseries manifold: note,41,b60,42 a10. They go to Rome & complaine of Perhennis to Cõmodus the emperor,53,b40. What practiles Agricola vsed to traine them to ciuilitie,48,a 20. Skilfull in swimming,48, a10. Admitted as well women as men to publike gouernment,42, b60. Readie to defend their countrie against Cesar,24,b40. They refuse to paie tribut to Augustus,32,b 30. Their maner of fighting in chariots, 26, a40. Sustetined a sore ouerthrow at the hands of Scapula, 39, b10. Persecuted by the Scots & Picts,70, a50. An armie of them newlie christned,83,a20 They chose a place of aduantage to encounter the Romans,38, b30. The ridiculous voiage of Caligula attempted against them,33,b10 Driuen by Romans out of their wod of refuge,28,a60. Plaged by the Saxons from time to time at appointment of God for their foule sins,96, b30. Made tributarie to the Romans,30,b10. Ill contention among themselues after the death of Lucius, 52,b60. By consent giue rule of all things in the wars to Cassibelane, 28, b40. Pursued by Centwine K. of Westsaxons with fier and sword,123,b50. Defended the christian faith euen with the sheding of their bloud, 63,b10. Their fiercenesse against the Romans,25, a60. Not all vanquished by Cesar,31,a60. They send to Cesar about a treatie of peace 25,b30. Vtterlie disabled by Plautius & his power, 34, b 40. Their maner of fighting in war,29,a30. Remoued into to Wales & Cornwall,98,b10 40 Received into the subiection of the Estangles & British kings,131,b20. Discomfited, leane their countrie a preie to the Saxons, 81, a50. They lost the more part of their ancient seats, 98, b20. They late armor aside, & betake them to the reading of holie scriptures, 130, a50. Seruing in war vnder Cõstantine fortunat, 65, a30. Vnder the conduct of Boadicia giue the Romans a shamefull discõfiture,44,b20. They obteine the field against the Saxons,80,b10. Their miserable state vnder Vortigerne,78,b10. They rebell against Aletus & his Romans 56,b60. Oppressed of Saxons, craue aid of two bishops & preuaile: note,83,a10. Their good zeale to religion in their troubles by Hengist: note,82, b30. Ouerthrowne by the Saxons & slain in gret numbers,89,b10. Their disloialtie to Uter Pendragon, 87,b 60. Their kings séeke to rule in this land,127,a20. It variance among themselues after the death of Lucius, 54,a 60. For lacke of skill gaue place to the Romans, 58,a10 Britannia, why it ought rather to be called Bridania, 123, b 60. ¶ Sée Britaine.
Brithriks proffered seruice hath ill successe, 169,b10
Britons expert in art magike, 2,b10. Why they vsed to paint their faces,9,b40. Suing for aid to the Romans against the Scots & Picts, could get none,71,a20. Welshmen,105, b60. Vtterlie subdued by the Romans but not without much slaughter & bloudshed, 28,b60. In gret miserie spoile one another,70, b60. Where the line and gouernment of their kings ended, 126,b40. ¶ Sée Britains.
Brocmale earle of Chester defender of the monks of Bangor against the Northumbers discomfited, 104,a20
Brocmale. ¶ Sée Brocmale.
Brudeus king of Picts killeth Egfride, 125,a30
Brute, his descent, arriuall in Britaine, killing of his father,&c.7,a10. He & his wife Innogens arriuall in Leogtia,&c.8,b40. He was not the first that inhabited this Ile, 6,b50. Incountered by the giants of the Ile,10,b40 His line ended,15,a10. His letter to king Pandrasus, with certeine martiall exploits of his, 8,a10. His three sonnes, their names, & how vpon his death bed he diuideth all Britaine among them,11,a10 His arriuall in this Ile, 10,b10. He & Corineus tome companies, 9,b10. He with his companie landed in Affrica, 9,a50. His death and burial, 11,a30
Brute Greneshield the sixt ruler of Britaine, 12,a30
Bunduca. ¶ Sée Woadicia.
Burgenild. ¶ Sée Quendred.
Burhred K. of Mercia marieth king Ethelwulfes daughter, 141, a30. Fled against the Danes,143, b20. Flieth his countrie & dieth, 145,a30

C.

CAdor earle of Cornwall,93, a60. Duke of Cornwall killeth Cheldrike, 91,a10
Cadwalline. ¶ Sée Cadwallo.
Cadwallo K. of Britaine rebelleth against Edwin,110,b50. What the British writers report of him, 112, a60. His image of brasse set on a brasen horsse and set vpon Ludgate, 113,a30. Terrible both in nature & countenance, 111,a20, b10,112,a10. Slaine by Oswald at Demsbarne,111,b60
Cadwallader king of Britons, constreind to forsake the land, 124,a30
Cadwan chosen K. of Britaine after 24 yeares space without anie one speciall gouernment, 105,b60. His acts and deeds, 106,a10. K. of Northwales, 104,b10
Caerbardon now called Bath, 14,b10
Caerbran now Bath, when first built, 12,b40
Caerbrank,12,a10. ¶ Sée Yorke.
Caergrant, now Cambridge, 20,b40,21,a10
Caerguent,12,b30. ¶ Sée Winchester.
Caerleir now Leicester when first built, 12,b60
Caerleon by whom erected and built,18,b60,19,a10, 40,a50, 36,a20. ¶ Sée Chester.
Caerlud, now London, 23,a60
Caermalet, 38,a50
Caius Trebonius lieutenant of thrée legions, 29,a40
Caius Volusenus sent ouer into Britaine to view the Ile, 24,a40
Calaterwod in Scotland, 16,b 20. Néere Yorke, 21,a40
Calendarwod, 49,a40
Calis. ¶ Sée Itius portus.
Caligula emperour of Rome purposeth to search the vttermost bounds of Britaine: note,33,b10
Calphurnius Agricola lieutenant of Britaine, 53,a60
Caltrops of iron inuenomed & cast among people, 33,b60
Camaletum, 38,a50
Cambridge by whome builded, 20, b40. The vniuersitie by whom founded,116,a20. Fauoured of king Sigebert and bishop Felix, 21, a10. Pestered with the Danes a whole yeare, 145,a40.

The towne & the vniuersitie when first founded, 19,b 20. Burnt by Danes, 170,a 10. The vniuersitie founded before Oxford 265 yeares, 145, b 60

Camedolon a citie belonging to the Trinobants, 38,a 60

Camelgarct a Welsh bishop taken prisoner of the Danes, & redeemed, 151,a 60

Camelodunum whether Colchester or no, 38,a 30,44,b 10 Supposed of Polyd. Virg to be Doncaster or Pontefret, 38, a 60. (Now Colchester) taken by the Romans, 35,a 20. Peopled with souldiers by Ostorius Scapula, 38,a 10

Cangi inhabitants of Denbighshire, 37,b 50

Canons. ¶ Sée Priests.

Cantaber whether builder of Cambridge or no, 20,b 60

Cantabrians, 33,a 10

Canturburie in old time Kaerkir, by whom first builded, 12, b 30. Of saint Agnes church built there by Eadbald, 107,a 20. The see of archbishop Augustine, 102, a 60. Like to haue been taken by the Danes but for composition, 169,b 30. Taken of the Danes by treason, 170,a 60. Citizens & the earle of Bullongne togither by the eares, 188,b 10. The archbishoprike void, 120,a 10

Caratake renowned in Italie & Rome, 39,a 50. His wife & daughter taken prisoners by the Romans, 39, a 30. His courageous words (being captiue) to Claudius the emperor, 39,a 50. His prowesse against the Romans, 38,b 10

Carausius a Britaine of low birth killed Bassianus in fight, 54,b 20. Of a bondman made king of Britaine, 56,b 10 Slaine, b 50

Careticus made K. of Britaine full of dissention, 97, b 60. His acts and deeds, 98

Carleil by whom builded, 12,a 60, ¶ Sée Caerleil.

Carpwald slaine by Richbert his countrieman, 110,a 10

Cartimandua queene of Brigants betraieth Caratake into the Romans hands, 39,a 30. At square with hir husband Venutius: note, 40,b 40

Cassibelane protector of the Britains, 23, b 20. with what kings he was assisted against Cesar, 27,a 30. He sendeth to foure kings of Kent for aid against Cesar, 30,a 10. He ruled Oxfordshire, Barkeshire, Buckinghamshire, Hamshire Bedfordshire, 28, b 40. Chose chefe gouernor of the British armie, 28, b 40. Vanquished by Cesar, 30, a 40, b 60. His noble acts & stratagems against the Romans, 29,a 60. He opposeth himselfe against Cesar in the behalfe of Britaine, 24, b 10. His sharpe stakes pitcht and set on the Thames banke, 31,a 20. His towne taken by Cesar, 31,a 40 The time of his regiment & banquishment, 31,b 10

Catagrine. ¶ Sée Catigerne.

Cataratacus banquished by the Romans, 34,a 40

Catigerne the brother of Mortimer killeth Horsus, 80,b 10

Catus Decianus taketh flight, 44,b 20

Cead bishop of Mercia his see at Lichfeld, 121,a 40. Ordeined archbishop of Yorke, his diligence, 119,b 20. Why remoued from the see of Yorke, 120,a 60

Ceadwalla king of Westsaxons malicious against Kentishmen, 126,a 20. Driuen out of his countrie, his descent, his exploits, 124,b 20. His vow, 124,b 50. He inuadeth Kent, 124,b 60. His death, 125,a 10. He dieth at Rome, 127 a 20

Cedda bishop of Eastsaxons his deuout deeds to prefer religion, 117,a 60. Had in reuerence of king Edilwald, 117,b 60

Celric king ouer the Westsaxons, 99,a 10

Celtica, 2, a 40

Celts that came first ouer to inhabit this Iland what they were, 3,b 40. Subiect to the giant Albion, 3,b 20

Ceolwulfe king of Northumberland dead, 133,a 10

Centinius ¶ Sée Centwine.

Centwine king of Westsaxons ouercommeth the Britains, 123 b 50. How long he reigned, 124,a 60

Ceolowlph. ¶ Sée Ceowlfe.

Ceolred king of Mercia dieth, 128,a 60

Ceolwulfe souereigne king ouer the Northumbers, 130, a 30, 129,a 30

Ceowlfe king of the Westsaxons, 103,b 20. His acts and deeds in battell, 104,b 60

Cerdic king of the Westsaxons, 87,a 40,89,b 30

Cerdicshore (now Yarmouth in Northfolke) why so called, 87,a 40

Cesar banquisheth Britaine and maketh it tributarie, 30, a 40. He banquished not all Britaine, 31, a 60. He with his Romans at Kingston by on Thames or not far off, 29, a 60. He reparcth his nauie, 28 b 20. His nauie sore beaten & spoiled in tempest, 28, b 10. Vanquished of the Britons, & put to his shifts, 27,a 10. He incampeth neere Canturburie, 30,b 50. He taketh a new occasion to make war against Britaine, 27,b 60. He retureth with shame enough out of Britaine, 27,b 30

Cesius Nasica, his legion banquish the Britans, 41,a 10

Cewulfe made king of Mercia by the Danes, 149,b 30

Chariots to fight in vsed of the Britons, 26,a 40,29,b 20

Charitie of Oswald to the poore: note, 114,a 60. ¶ Sée Hospitalitie.

Chastitie. ¶ Sée Virginitie.

Chelderike K. of Germanie cõmeth in aid of Colgrime, 90,b 30. Ouerthrowne, 90, b 50. Slaine by Cador duke of Cornwall, 91,a 10

Chenwald K. of westsaxons ouercome of Penda, 115, b 40. Admitteth bishops & expelleth them again, 115,b 60, 116,a 10 Vanquished by Wulfhere, 119 a 30

Cheolred K. of Mercia, 127,b 10

Cheribert ¶ Sée Bertha.

Chester a colonie of Romans: note, 40, a 40. Taken by the Danes, 147,b 50. Builded by Marius, as some thinke, 51,a 50. Conquerd by Egbert, 139, a 10. Defaced by the Danes, 152,a 50. Two churches there built by earle Leofrike, 193,a 60. Supposed to haue bẽ begun to be builded by Ostorius, 40,a 30 Repared by Leil, & when first so called, 12,a 60

Cheuling encountereth with Britans & vanquisheth them 97,a 30. K. of Westsaxons endeth his life in exile, 98,b 50 ¶ Sée Kenrike.

Children 50 of Ebranke, 11,b 60

Chorea Gigantum, 88,b 20

Christ Iesus his birth, 32,b 10. Diuerse things that were occupied about him crucified sent to Adelstane for presents 156,a 60

Christians greeuously afflicted after Edwins death, 111,a 30 Persecuted vnder Diocletian, 61,a 60, 62,a 40. Honored & cherished in Constantines time, 64,b 20. In word but not in deed & how Beda thought of them, 117,a 10

Church neglected while the Danes kept such a stirre in England: note, 153, a 50. Inriched by Cnute and his wife Emma, 182,a 10. Gouernement thereof prescribed by Gregorie, 101,a 40. Articles of reformation for it from pope Adrian: note, 134,b 30

Church discipline, 101,b 10

Churches built ruerie where in Northũberland when Aidan preached, 114,a 50. Repared by Aurelius Ambrose, 84, b 50. Destroied, 98,a 60,b 20. How bountifull king Ethelwulfe was to them, 141,a 50,60

Cicero matched by Fronto, 58, b 20

Cinegilsus & his sonne Richelinus reigne iointlie ouer the Westsaxons, 105,a 10

Cinebulfus. ¶ Sée Kinewulfe.

Cingetorix king of Kent taken prisoner of Romans, 30,a 40

Cirencester, now Chicester, taken by Gurmundus, 98,a 10

Cissa sonne to Ella the Saxon, 89,b 10

Cities, townes & monasteries ouerthrowne with wind, 135,a 60. Defaced with fire, 133,a 20

Ciuilis a maintener of iustice, 73,a 30

Claudianus report of Britaine in the decaie of the Romane empire, 74,b 10

Claudiocestria, now Glocester, 36,a 20

Claudius the emperor moueth war against Britaine, & why, 33,b 60. He sendeth legions of soldiers into Ireland, 36,b 10. He giueth his daughter Gennisa in mariage to Aruiragus, 36,a 20. He wone Portchester, 35,b 30, 36,a 10. He setteth Caratake, his wife & kinred at libertie, 39,b 30. He in person commeth into Britaine, 35,a 20

Cleanders hatred against Perhennis, 53,b 60

Clergie fauour Cnute for their oth sake, 175,b 30, 176,a 10

Clodius Albinus lieutenant in Britaine, 54,a 40

Cloten K. of Cornwall, 15,b 10

Cneus Trebellius lieutenant of Britaine, 51,a 40, 53,a 10

Cnute the son of Sweine succeeds his father in England, 173,a 30. Absolute K. of England, 178, a 60. He passeth into Denmarke to subdue the Vandals & Swedeners that annoied his land, 180,b 20, 40. His diuerse acts politike, and memorable saiengs, 181,a 60, b, all. He refuseth combat proffered him by K. Edmund Ironside, 175,b 60. At Gillingham in Dorsetshire he is put to flight, 176,a 10. He is maried to the widow of Egelred, 179, a 60. He sendeth awaie his Danish naule into Denmarke, 179,b 40. His endeuor to establish himselfe in the kingdome, 173,a 60. He would command the sea in his pride, & is taught humilitie, 181,b 10 He renounceth the wearing of a crowne roiall ante more, 40, His children, 60 He taketh vpon him the rule of all England, 179,a 20. He causeth Edrikes throte to be cut, 179,b 50. what countries he passed through, 174, b 60. He returneth into England, 174,a 60. He and K. Edmund Ironside fight a combat, 177, b 40. His lawes, 182,a 20. He is forced to forsake England, 173, b 20. His death, 191,a 30

Coelus gouernement in Britaine, 62,a 40

Cogidunus king of Britaine, 32,a 10. Faithfull to the Romans, 40,a 60

Coifi an hetheniſh bishops zeale to destroie idolatrie, 109,a 60,

Coilus king of Britaine described, 51,b 10

Colchester builded, 51, b 30. walled by Helen, 66, a 10. Whereof Eldad was bishop, 84,b 40

Colman bishop of Northumbers, 119,a 40

Combat betweene Catigerne & Horsus, 80,b 10. Offred by K. Edmund Ironside to Cnute the Dane, 175,b 40. Fought betweene K. Edmund Ironside & Cnute, 177,b 40. Purposed of Edgar against the king of England & Kenneth king of Scots, 161,b 50

Comius of Arras ambassadour from the Romans staid of the Britons as prisoner, 25,b 40.

Commodus the emperor sendeth Ulpius against the Britains, 53,b 10. He enuieth the renowme of Ulpius, 53,b 30

Cõpromise. ¶ Sée Arbitrement.

Conan Meridoc duke of Cornwall, 65,b 40

Conspiracie notablie punished, 155, a 60. Rewarded with murther, 4,b 20. Of Kineard against Kinewulfe, 134,a 50. ¶ Sée Treason.

Constantine brother to Aldroenus K. of Britaine vpõ couenant, 76,a 50. His three sons, & his death by treason, 76, b 10. A Britaine borne, his regiment in this Ile, why surnamed Great, 63,b 50. In assured branch of the British race, 66,a 10. Commended, 65, a 10 His decease, 66,a 30

Constantine cosine to Arthur reigneth ouer Britaine, his exploits, 94,a 40. Noted by Gildas, to be a verie ill man, 94, b 20, 69, b 10. Slaine in battell, 94,a 60

Constantine the emperour & his sonne slaine, 76,b 20

Constantius his reigne ouer Britaine, 62,b 20. A simple K. and slaine by his gard, 77,a 20

Constantius the Romane lieutenant taketh Coels daughter a Britaine to wife, 62,a 40 His notable talke & behauior on his death bed, 63,a 10

Contention about succession to the crowne of England, 161, a 60.

a 60. ¶ Sée Discord.
Controuersies to be ended by arbitrement, 87,b 60, 88,a 10
Copa. ¶ Sée Copa.
Cordeilla gouerneth Britaine & killeth hir selfe,13,b 40. Regan & Gonorilla, the three sole daughters of Leir, 12,b 60
Corineus duke of Cornewall, 11, b 10. He wrestleth with Gogmagog, 10, b 40. He killeth Iumbert, 10, a 10. ¶ Sée Brute.
Cormans preaching among the Northumbers taking small effect, maketh him depart, 113,b 20
Cornishmens seruice against the Romans, 27, b 10. Subdued by Adelstan, 156, a 30
Cornewall why giuen to Corineus, 10,b 60
Corona ciuica, à ciuem redimendo, 37,b 50
Correction done vnnaturall by a mother on hir son, 165,a 30
Couentrie made free of toll and custome, 193,a 40
Couetousnes how dangerous. 18,b 10. Of bishop Adelstan, 143,a 60. Of Harold in dividing spoiles of the Norwegians, 198, a 50. It caused murther, 174,a 40
Counsell in issue vnhappie, 78,a 20. Tending to falsetie, neglected breedeth danger,160,b 30. Pestilent of a wicked wife, 133,b 10. Of young heads pernicious,16,a 40. God giuen of a woman,104,b 50. God neglected, & what insued,125,a 30 For falsetie neglected with losse & ieopardie,151,a 10. Vnaduisedlie taken, hurteth,78,b 50. Euill what mischefe it worketh,187,a 60; Euill falleth out ill to the counseller, 187,b 20. God ill requited,131 a 50. Euill followed procureth hurt, 192,b 10
Crida first K. of Mercia,97,b 20
Crosse borne before them that came to conuert Ethelbert & the English Saxons to the faith,100,b 20. Erected in full hope to be an ensigne or trophe of victorie: note, 111,b 50. Reuerenced by Constantine, 64, b 60
Crosses of bloudie colour fell frō heauen on mens garments, signifieng affliction, 135,b 50
Crossing bringeth sight of the diuels, and crossing driueth them awaie, 157,b 40
Crowne roiall set on a crucifix & renounced of Cnute, 181,b 40. Of England recouered out of the hands of Danes, 179,b 30 Of gold what king did first weare,15,a 30,16,a 10 Controuersie for that of England, 182,b 10
Crowne called Corona ciuica, 37,b 50
Crownes shauen controuersed, 119,a 50
Cruelties of the Britains two outragious,45,a 10. Executed vpon Beatrice K. Edwards daughter, 154, b 10. In gouernment purchase malice & death,151,b 60. In an extreme kind,179,b 60. Of Cnute against the English pledges. 173,b 30. Vnspeakeable vsed against Alfred by his tormentors,183,b 60. Of the Danes in winning of Canturburie: note,170,b 10. Of erle Tostie, 194,b 20. For dieng wherof a bridge was burned, 135,a 30.
Of Penda & Cadwallo, 111, a 30. ¶ Sée Tyrannie.
Cumberland giuen to the king of Scots to hold in homage, 157, a 30. Wasted by the Danes, 167,b 10
Cumbra slaine for speking truth & giuing good counsell,131,a 50
Cunedag sole ruler of Britaine, 14,a 30
Cuneglasus inueighed against by Gildas a leud liuer,69,a 60
Curse of the pope when first thundered out at England: note,153,a 50. Of the Irishmen when thought to take place, 125,a 20,b 40
Custome paid out of Britaine to the Romans, 33,a 30
Custome of Northumberland, to sell their neere kinsfolks for a small price, 99,b 10
Cuthberd bishop of Lindesterne, 25,a 30
Cutha fighteth with the Britans at Bedford, 97,a 30
Cuthred K. of Westsaxons, his exploits, 131,a 10

D.

DAlmatia, now Slauonia, 32,b,50. 33,a,10.
Damianus consecrated archbishop of Canturburie,116,b 40 ¶ Sée Fugatius.
Danes arriue vpon the English coasts, & do much mischefe in K. Egelreds time, 165,a 50. Ouer all England like grashoppers,166,a 60. Wintered at London, 145, a 20. Enuiron K. Edmund in Framingham castell, & pitifullie put him to death,144,a 60. Cause of their comming into Northumberland,144,b 20, That first arriued on the English coasts, & when, 135, b 50. How manie shires they wasted, 170, a 20. Norwegians & they encounter,16,a 60. Sought the destruction of this land,140,a 60 b 10. Joine with the Welsh and are banquished, 139,a 40. Landed & spoiled the abbie of Lindesferne & did much hurt in Northumberland,137,a 50 How long the persecution of them lasted,140, b 20. with a nauie of 35 ships arriue on the English coasts,139,a 20. Entring vpon diuerse parts of England are banquished and slaine,140,b 50. Come to Reading are put to flight,144,a 10 Come within 17 miles of Bristow,145,a 60. Compelled to flée to their ships & shame & losse enough,137,a 60. Forced to pate tribut to the king of Britaine,19,a 40. Slaine by multitudes at Tenet,141,a 40 Lose one of their kings and fiue earles in a discomfiture, 143,b 60. Grow in puissance, 142,b 60. Fauoured of K. Edgar,159,b 50. Truce breakers. 145,a 60, b 60. Their campe viewed by Alured disguised like a minstrell,146,b 10. Besiege Notingham, 143, b 30. Soiorne at London,145,b 60 Went into Northumberland, 145,a 40. Wast all the east part of Kent,142,b 10. Nine earles & one king of them slaine in Ethelreds time,142,b 40. Diuerse meetings & encounters betweene them & K. Edwards forces,151,a 20, &c. Remained at Cambridge a whole yeare, 145,a 40. Besiege Rochester, 147,a 60. Build them a castell in the borders of Wales,148,a 10. With their armies come into Yorkeshire,143,a 10. Diuerse baptised,146,b 60. Wintered in Cirencester,147,a 50. Constreined to eat horsefleth, 147,b 50. Winter in Lindsete, 150,a 10. Meant to inhabit Northumberland, 150, a 10. Arriue in Essex, 147, b 50. Their armie diuided into three parts, 148,a 10. Take preies about Chichester, 147, b 50. Bereued Alured almost of all his kingdome, 148,b 40. Destroie winchester,144,b 10 Assembled in Staffordshire, 151,b 40. Had the whole gouernment of this land frō the Thames northward,145,a 60 Crueltie in the winning of Canturburie citie, 170,a 60,b 10. Ouercome at Brentford, 176,a 60. Inuade the west parts of this Iland,167,a 50. Trucebreakers,168,b 60,169 a 10. Wast this land in all parts after Dunstans death, 166,a 40. First entrie of them cōtrouersed among writers, & all their attempts impeached, 164, a 40. Spoile Sandwich in Edward the thirds time,88,a 30. Deliuer to king Alured hostages & conenants to depart his dominions,146, b 50. Egelreds deuise to murther them all in one daie, 168,b 30. Ouercome by sea & otherwise banquisht, 141,a 20 In great miserie for lacke of victels,151,b 10. Rule & persecution when it ceassed in England, 185, b 60. Kings & earles of their armie slaine, 151,a 40. Tributarie to the Britains,16, b 40. Vtterlie expelled out of England by decrée, 187,a 20
Danegilt, 166. a 60. Ceased in England, 195,a 20
Danaus & his fiftie daughters, 5, b 20. The murthering of their husbands how reuenged and their names, 6,a 50
Daniell bishop of Winchester, 129,a 60
Daughters vnkind to their father, 13,a 60
Dearth in England by means of tempest, 188,a 10
Dearth and mortalitie in Britaine and Ireland, 119,b 10
Death after dearth, 188,a 10
Decima a surname of a Romane legion wherein the eagle was painted, 25,a 40
Deira kingdom when it began, 95, b 10. Now Northumberland, 99, b 50. Deliuered Deira Dei, 99,b 50
Demetia now Southwales,18, b 60,27,a 30
Denbighshire spoiled by Ostorius, 37,b 50
Denonshiremen banquish the Danes, 141,a 20
Deusdedit archbishop of Canturburie, 116,b 40
Didanus the father of Frisiwide, 133,b 60
Dindimus & Verianianus brethren slain in battell by Constans, 69,a 30
Dionethus duke of Cornewall, 67,a 20
Diocletian a tyrant,52,a 50. He & Maximian emperors,61,b 60
Discipline ¶ Sée Church.
Discord bringeth decaie,88,a 40 Of brethren: note, 197, b 30, 194,b 10: note,150,b 40,151,a 10, Ciuill openeth a gap to the

foren enimies, 142,b 60, 143, a 10. Bringeth miseries manifold, 124,a 40
Disdain how dangerous, 18,a 10
Disobedience punished by fier and sword,158,a 50. Punished with wasting and spoiling, 153,a 30
Dissention damnifieth the author,21, a 10. ¶ Sée Discord and warres ciuil.
Dissimulation requited with dissimulation, 187, a 50. Of Edrike brought him vnto a shamefull end, 179, b 50, Of earle Godwin,183, a 10, 184, a all. Of Hengist notable, 81, b 60. Of Herculeus Maximianus,64,a 20. Of queen Alfred 163,a 30. Of Vortigerne notable,77,a 40. Of Edrike,169 a 50. ¶ Sée Edrike.
Diuell waits at the table when Dunstan sat with the king, 157, b 60. He laugheth at Dunstans exile, 159,a 30
Diuision. ¶ Sée Dissention.
Diuma the first bishop of Mercia, 118,b 20
Doctrine confirmed by miracle, 83,b 10
Domitian Nero emperour of Rome,41,a 50. He enuieth Agricola his honor, 51,a 20
Dorcester bishoprike, 114,b 20
Dragons fiue fieng in the aire, 135,b 60
Dreame of Alured comfortable to him,146,a 60. Of Brightwold a monke of Glastenburie,185, b 20. Of Dunstane, 165,b 60. Of Edgiua K. Edwards concubin,153,a 10. Of duke Elstane interpreted by Dunstane,157,b 50. Of archbishop Laurence: note, 106,b 60,107,a 10. Wherebie Rollo was warned, 146,a 30
Drunkennes. ¶ Sée Quaffing.
Druis the son of Sarron,2,b 50
Druides where they made their cheefe abode: &c.2,b 60. Curse the Romans, 41,b 40.
Duke Alfrike of Mercia, 165, a 60 Androgeus of Troinouant,31,a 30. Asclepiodotus of Cornewall his exploits against the Romans, 56, b 60. King of Britaine, 57, a 10. He is slaine,2, a 30. Berthun & Authun of Sussex,124,b 40 Biederike of Cornwall,104,b 10, Chorthmund a murtherer 137,a 10. Conan Meriadec of Cornwall, 65. Corineus of Cornwall. ¶ Sée Corineus. Dionethus of Cornwall,67, a 20. Earduike taken & wounded,136,b 30. Elsing of Norwaie,16,a 50. Gluni of Demetia,36,a 20. Gorolus of Cornwall, 88, a 20. Henninus of Cornwall,13,a 20 Horgenius of Cornwall or Deuonshire, 160,a 60. Haglanus of Albania, 13, a 20. Octauius of the Gewisses,65,a 60. Salomon of Cornwall,66,a 60. Vortigerne of the Gewisses and Cornwall, 76, b 30. ¶ Sée Vortigerne. Wade a conspirator, 137,a 10
Duke william prepareth to inuade England & conquer it, 198,b 20. His proclamation telling the causes of his entrance into England, 174, b 60. His policie to disorder his enimies, 202, a 10. Iolifullie receiueth Harold, 193, b 60, 194, a 10. Sendeth an ambassage to Harold putting him in mind to remember his oth,

oth,196,b 60. Erecteth & buildeth fortresses for his soldiers,199, a 30. He landed in Sussex,198,b 90. Was baselie borne of the bodie of Arlet a burgesses daughter of Falois,201,b 10. The battell betwixt him & K. Harold fought 200,a 10. His comming ouer into England, and returne, 190,b 60. Pretended a title to the crowne of England,196,b 10. His enterprise fauoured of pope Alexander, 199, a 10. Sendeth to K. Harold requiring him to take his daughter to wife, as he promised, 197, a 30. Promiseth Harold his daughter in mariage,194, a 20. His pedegree 201,a 30

Dukes rebell against Oswie, 118,b 60

Dubzight bishop of Caerleon, 90,b 20

Dubzitius bishop of Landaffe his diligence in his profession, 94,a 20

Dulcitius an expert captaine in war,73,a 30. Appointed to put Valentinus to death, 73,b 10

Dune a riuer where Doncaster now standeth, 85,b 60

Dunmailes sonnes eies put out by king Edmund, 157,a 30

Dunstan, & what is reported of him,165,b 10. His prophesies, 165,a 20. His sharpe message sent to K. Ethelred, 165,a 60. He is restored & in estimation with Edgar,159,a 60. Made bishop of Worcester, 160,a 10. In fauour with Edred, 158, b 10. By working miracles he had his will when arguments failed,163,a 10. His hipocrisie, 161,a 10. His vision: note a vaine tale,157,b 40. He is banished, 159,a 20

Dunwich a bishoprike,110,a 40

Duresme citie besieged by Godfrie king Adelstans enimie, 155,a 20

Durham from Yorkeshire how diuided, 88,a 50. The towne and minster builded, 167,a 10

Durmo, or rather Gurmo, Anglicus, why so named, 147,a 40

E.

EAdbald king of Kent, incestuous, irreligious, & taken mad,106,a 40. Baptised, becommeth a christian, and buildeth a church, 107,a 10

Eadbert K. of Northumberland becommeth a monke,132,b 60

Ealdbzight K. of Southsaxons slaine in battell, 127,b 20

Eadhidus bishop of Lindsey, 122,b 60

Eadulfus bishop of Lichfield adorned with the pall,132,a 20

Eardulfe a duke taken & wounded, 136,b 30

Earle. ¶ See Erle.

Eartongatha a kings daughter a professed nun, 114,b 50

Easter. ¶ See Ester.

Eata bishop of Hexam, 125,b 50

Eaubald archbishop of Canturburie, 137,b 40

Eausled king Edwins daughter borne, 107,b 60

Eaufride and Ostrike kings of Northumberland slaine: note 111,a 60,b 10

Ebzanke first inuaded France after Brute,12,a 10. First ruler of Britaine, 11,b 60. He had 21 wiues, 20 sonnes, 30 daughters, to be maried with Trojan bloud,11,b 60,12,a 10

Edusa. ¶ See Occa.

Eclipse of the sunne, 119,b 10. note, 130,a 60. That in the yeare when it appeared died king Ercombert & the archbishop Deusdedit, 119,b 60

Edan K. of Scots warreth against Edelferd of Northumberland, 103,b 50

Edbert. ¶ See Ethelbert.

Edelferd K. of Northumberland his exploits & victories,103,b 50,104,a 10. He entereth Chester, 104, b 10. Associated of the Saxon princes meeteth Cadwan in the field,106,a 10 wounded in fight and put to flight, 104, b 20, 60

Edelhere slaine by Oswie, 116, b 30

Edelwulfe earle of Barkeshire fought at Englefield with the Danes, 143,b 40

Edelwulfe king of Kent chased out of his countrie, 138,b 10

Edenburg castell by whome builded, 12,a 20

Edrus king of Scots, alias Cridiozus, 27,a,30, 60

Edgar K. of England his disposition, & diligent prouision for defense of his realme,159,a 60 b 10. Murthereth Ethelwold & marieth his wife, 160, b 30. His wiues & children, and in what state the land was in his time, 162,a 20. Rowed on ỹ water eight kings driuing his barge, 159. b 40. He preferred monks to bishoprikes, 160,a 10. Put to seuen yeares penance for deflouring Wilfrid, 161,a 20. In loue with duke of Cornewals daughter sendeth to hir about mariage, & is preuented by the messenger,160,a 60,b 10 Described, 161, b 50. Subdueth the Welshmen, his spoiles, his vision and death, 161 a 60

Edgar Edeling why the peeres of England would not make him king, 196,a 60

Edgitha. ¶ See Editha.

Edgina the wife or (as some saie) the concubine of king Edward hir dreame,153,a 10 Mother of K. Edred,158,b 10

Edhirike. ¶ See Edrike.

Edilbald king of Mercia fighteth against Cuthred,131,a 10 30. Put to flight, 131,a 30

Edilred king of Mercia inuadeth Kent,122,b 40. ¶ See Ethelred.

Edilwald king of Deira disposed to deuotion, 117,b 60

Editha the daughter of earle Godwin maried to Edward the third,187,a 40. Put awaie by hir husband king Edward the third: note,189,b 40. A wife & yet a virgin,154,b 20. Base daughter of Edgar made a nun,160,b 60. Abbesse of Wilton, 161,b 10

Edoll earle of Glocester or Chester his valiantnesse against the Saxons with a stake, he taketh Hengist, 82,a 10.

Edmund bishop of Shirburne slaine, 144,a 10

Edmund king Egelreds eldest son marieth the widow of Sigeferd ỹ Dane, 174,a 60. His valiant exploits, 174,b 20,60

Edmund fighteth in cõbat with Cnute, 177, b 40. Distressed by the Danes withdraweth into Glocestershire, 177,a 20. K. Egelerds eldest sonne sent into England,173, a 40. Joineth Northumberland vnto his owne estate, 157,a 20. K. of England by intreatie concludeth peace with Danes of Northumberland,136,b 50 His lawes, 157, a 60. His death & the lamentable maner thereof,157,a 60,b 10. Diuerse and discordant reports of his end,178,b 40. His deth reuenged,179, a 40, his sons banished,50, they are maried, 60

Edmund why surnamed Ironside,175,b 60. Proclamed K. of England,175,b 30. Offereth the combat vnto Cnute the Dane, 175,b 60. He & his English discomfit Cnute and his Danes in a pitcht field, 176,b 30. He sheweth himselfe to his soldiers, partlie beleeuing that he was slaine, 176, a 40. Traitorouslie slaine in Oxfordshire, 178,b 10

Edmund king of Estangles in armes against the Danes, he is cruellie murthered of them 144,a 60

Edmund the martyr gouerned the Eastangles, 133,b 50

Edred K. of England his acts and deeds, 158, a 20. Imprisoneth archbishop Wolstan, 158,b 60. He dieth, 158,b 10

Edrike a Dane ruler of the Estangles,149,b 60. Author of K. Edmunds death, 178,b 10. Commandeth faire Gunthildis to be put to death,171,a 10 A close furtherer of Danes doings, 169, b 30. Taketh part with the Danes against Edmund, 176, b 60, 177,a 10. Put to death after he had reuealed his traitorous hart, 179,b 50

Edrike de Streona his traitors practise against two Danish noble men, 174, a 40. He with a great power flieth to ỹ Danes,174,b 20. Made duke or earle of Mercia, 169, a 50. His treason against ỹ English, 176, a 40. His treason coloured with sicknes, 168,b 50

Edrike king of Kent slaine in warres, 126,a 10

Edsinus archbishop of Canturburie, 186,b 40

Edwine the sonne of king Ella banished out of Northumberland,104,b 30. He displaceth monks and putteth secular priests in their romes, 159, a 40. Prouaileth against the Westsaxons,108,a 10. Vseth the helpe of Pettitus a southsaier, 112, b 50. In a doubt what religion to imbrace,108, 109, His vision: note,108,a 40 He with his people receiueth the christian faith, 109, b 40. King of Northumberland, his regiment inlarged, and his reputation,107,a 60, b 10. A good commonwealth man, 110,a 60. His zeale in setting forth religion, 110,a 10. His two wiues and his children, 109, b 60. King of England, his filthie lust, 159, a 10. He and his two sonnes slaine in battell, 110, b 60. He dieth with greefe, 159,a 50

Edwin king Adelstans brother accused of conspiracie, & how punished, 155,a 60

Edward the elder king of England, and consecrated, 150,b 30. Subdueth the kingdome of Eastangles,152,a 10. Setteth into his hands the cities of London and Oxford, 151,a 40. Sendeth presents to the pope to appease his displeasure, 153,a 60. Builder and reparer of townes, 152,b 50. Put the Danes still to the worst, 151, b 40. His three wiues, his issue by them, and his death, 153,a 10

Edward the secõd king of England after much contention, 162,b 10. Governed by good counsell,163,a 20 Shamefullie murthered by his mothers procurement, 163,a 30. surnamed Martyr, 163,b 30

Edward the third king of England by generall cõsent, crowned,186,a 60,b 40. Promiseth to make duke William heire, 191,a 10. Absteineth from the companie of his wife, 187, a 50. Dealeth stricte with his mother Emma, 60. In person maketh out against Godwin and his complices, 190,a 10. His lawes instituted, 191, b 10. Marieth earle Godwins daughter, 187, a 40. Putteth awaie his wife Editha: note, 189,b 40. Departeth this life, his manners, and mind, 195,a 10. Canonised by the name of Edward Confessor, 195, a 60. His words vpõ his death bed,b 10 Described, b 30

Edward the sonne of Edmund Ironside surnamed the outlaw, his death, 192,b 10

Egbert archbishop of Yorke: note,130,a 60. He hath his pall from Rome,b 50. Departeth this life, 135,a 20

Egbert king of Kent, 119,b 60. Dieth, and what is written of him, 122, a 20

Egbert king of Northumberland,131,b 10. Expelled from his kingdome by his subiects 149,b 60. Received as king of the Westsaxons,137,b 60, His notable exploits & conquests, 138,a 40,139,a 10. His death, burial, his issue, and how he diuided his kingdome among his sonnes, 139,a 50

Egbert one of the bloud roiall banished, 135,b 40

Egelred is sent for home & returneth,173,a 40. K. of England & negligent in gouernement,164,b 50. Maketh himselfe strong against Danes, 173,b 20. Marieth Emma a ladie of Normandie,168,a 10. His deuise to murther all the Danes in one daie, 168, a 30. Diuerse foretokens of euils like to befall in his time,165,a 20. Maried earle Egberts daughter, 165, a 60. Determineth to giue place vnto Swaine, 172, b 10. Hath no remedie against the Danes outrages, 170, a 60. Passeth to Normandie,172,b 20. Had no remedie against cruelties of Danes,196,a 20. Discomfited by them,171,b 60. His oratiõ to his soldiers,172, a 10 Recouered of his sicknesse, assembleth an armie against the Danes, 174, b 40. Compoundeth with the Danes for peace,166,b 50. Dieth and is buried, his qualities, and issue, 175,a 10

Egelfrida one of the wiues of Edgar

Edgars. 161,a 10
Egilbert K. of Eſtangles head chopt off by Kalſhod, 132,a 10
Egfrid king of Nozthumberland,121,a 60. He and Edilred fight in armes, 123,a 60. Banished bishop Wilfred, 122 b 60. His armie wast Ireland 125,a 10. Slaine by Brudeus king of Picts, 125,a 30
Egfrid king of Mercia, his acts and deeds, 132,b 20
Egricus. ¶ Sée Higibert.
Egwine bishop of Wozcester, 128,a 60,129,a 10
Elanius king of Britaine how long he reigned, 20,a 20
Elcuinus king of westlaxons, his acts and deeds, 122,a 10
Elcwold. ¶ Sée Alkwold.
Eldad bishop of Colchester, 84, b 40
Eleutherius. ¶ Sée Elutherius
Elfer duke of Mercia & others immediatlie after Edgars death remoued the monks & restozed the canons, 162, b 10. Departeth this life, 165,a 60. Eaten to death with lice,163, b 30
Elfleda gouernesse of Mercia by K. Edwards assignement, 152,a 30. K. Alureds daughter hir continencie & chastitie, 148,a 60. Hir victozies against the Danes & others, hir deth, buriall, and epitaph, 152,a 50
Elfrida. ¶ Sée Egelfrida.
Elnothus archbishop of Canturburie refuseth to consecrate Harold, 182,b 30
Elphegus bishop of Winchester, 165,b 50,166,b 60
Elphegus archbishop of Canturburie murthered by the Danes, 170,b 10,40
Elie Ile whereof it toke the name and by whome builded, 23,a 10. ¶ Sée S. Auderie.
Eldurus king of Britaine laboureth to haue his brother restozed to the kingdome, 21,a 10. Taken prisoner of his owne brethren, 21,b 30. Deliuered out of prison and crowned king, 21,b 60
Ella the son of Histria first K. of Deira, 95,b 10,30. King of the Southlaxõs his exploits, 89, b 10. He & his three sons enter Britaine, 86, a 20,b 60. He and Osbright king of Nozthumbers are slaine by the Danes, 143,a 20
Ellas crokt in Yozkeshire why so named, 144,b 40
Elling. ¶ Sée Duke.
Elstrida king Alureds daughter maried to Baldwin earle of Flanders, 149,a 60
Elutherius bishop of Rome his aduise to Lucius touching religion, 52,a 10
Elutherius bishop of westlaxons, 129,b 10
Embert a notable man & first husband to Ethelred, 125,a 60
Emma daughter to Richard duke of Nozmãdie maried to K. Egelbzed, 168,a 10. Sent foz out of banishmẽt, 185,a 10. Accused of diuerse crimes purgeth hir selfe by the Ozdalian law, 187,a 60. The widow of Egelred married to Cnute, 179,a 60. Sendeth hir sonnes into Nozmandie, 176, a 60. The praise of hir wisedome, 179,b 30. Harolds cõterfeit letter tending to the destruction of hir & hir sons, 183, a 60, b 10 all, 184, a all. Banished after she had bene spoiled, 184,a 60
Emma K. Edward the thirds mother dieth, 191,a 30.
Empire. ¶ Sée Rome.
Emperoz, a name that no Romane should take vpon him oftener than once in anie bet-age, 35,a 30
England somtimes called Hengistland, 98,a 30. Free from troubles both on sea & land in Edward ỳ thirds daies,191, a 60. Danes vtterlie expelled out by decree, 187,a 20. The foure notable conquests therof set downe in an aduertisement, 202, a 10. Miserable state of it vnder the Danes, 168,a 60. Pestered by Danes as thicke as grasshoppers, 166,a 60. The moze part of it conquered by Swaine, 172,b 10. Subiect to Swaine the Dane, 172,b 60. How manie shires therin ỳ Danes wasted 170, a 20. The cause that it was so afflicted by ỳ Danes in K. Egelreds time,167,b 10 The maiestie and glozie of it fell with the deth of Edmund 178,b 50. Parted betweene K. Edmund and Cnute, 178, a 10, 60. Freshlie inuaded by Swaine,171,a 60. Cõtention about succession to the crowne therof,162,a 60. First accursed by the pope: note,153,a 50 Pestered with wolues & how rid of them,160,a 20. Absolutlie in Cnutes hands,178,a 60 State of things much altered therein by the deth of Cnute, 184,b 60. State of it in king Edgars daies, 162, a 20, Foure especiall destructions thereof, 140, a 60. when the Danes rule & persecutiõ ceased in it,185,b 60. The name of this Ile when changed & made a monarchie, 139, a 10. ¶ Sée Albion and Britaine.
Englishmen of whom they learned their excessiue feeding, 185,b 50. Behaue themselues like beasts, 199, b 50. Their valiantnesse and skilfulnesse in fight against the Nozmãs, 200,a 10. Ozder imbattelled against duke William & his Nozmans,199,b 40. Preuaile against the Danes, 145, b 10. Why they went into France and became monks, 114,b 60. Alflict themselues with ciuill wars, 137, a 20. Practised in wars are commonlie victozs, 150,b 60. Obteine grants beneficiall at the instance of K. Cnute,181,b 10. Their good seruice vnder Cnute against the Vandals, 180,b 30. Flie to the Danes & take part against their owne king, 171,b 60,172,a 10. In a perplexitie, 172,a 60. Hardlie handled by Swaine, 172, b 60. Receiue the faith in Ethelberts time, 100,b 40. Lerne vices of strãgers, 159, b 60. Learned to quaffe of the Danes, 159,b 60 Discõfited by duke Williams Nozmans, 200, a 40. Happie when Theodoze was archbishop of Canturburie, 120,b 20 Discomfited by the Danes, 139, a 30, ¶ Sée Britains, Britons, and Welshmen.
Englishsaxõs. ¶ Sée Saxons.
Enligne bearer of the Romans his valiantnesse, 25,a 40
Enuie an enimie to honoz, 51, a 30. To vertue & honoz, 53,b 30
Enuie at anothers welfare,110, b 50. At an others aduancement, 90,a 60
Enuie of kinsmen conceiued against their vncle breaketh into murther, 117,a 60,b 10
Enuie of Cleander against Pertennius: note, 53, b 60. Of Penda against Oswald foz his good proceedings,115,a 10
Enwulfe earle of Summerset a conspiratoz, 141,a 60
Eopa a Saxon, but disguised Britaine, poisoneth Aurelius, 85,a 20
Erchenwin first king of Eastsaxons, 90,a 30
Ercombert the first of the English kings that destroied all idols in his kingdom,114,b 40
Erkenwald bishop of Eastsaxons, 122,a 50
Ericke a Dane king of Estangles, put to flight, he is murthered of his subiects,151,b 60
Erle Algare of Oxford, 191, b 30. Andzogeus of London: note, 30, b 30. Baldwine. ¶ Sée Baldwine. Brightnod of Essex giueth battell to the Danes, slaine,166,a 60. Brocmale of Chester, 104,a 20. Coell of Colchester,62,a 40. Father to the good empresse Helen, 66,a 10. Edelwulfe of Barkeshire his valiantnesse, 143,b 40. Edol of Glocester oz Chester. ¶ Sée Edoll. Enulfe of Summerset,141,a 60. Of Essex namelesse,162,b 10. Goda of Deuonshire slaine, 166, a 50. Godwin of Kent, 182,b 10. ¶ Sée Godwin. Leofrike of Chester,180,a 40,188,b 60. Monneus,74,a 10. Oddo hath Deuonshire & Summersetshire giuẽ him,189,b 30. Rafe of Herefozd, 188, b 60. Siward of Nozthumberland, 188,b 60. His exploits against the Scots, 192,a 30,60
Ermenredus his two sonnes cruellie slaine, 122,a 30
Erming street. ¶ Sée Highwaies.
Erocus king of the Almens a friend to Constantine, 64,a 10
Escuinus. ¶ Sée Elcuinus.
Esseda,17,a 60. ¶ Sée Chariots.
Esser arriued in by the Danes, 147,b 60. The kingdome therof taketh end, 139,b 40
Essexmen yeelded themselues to Adelwold, 150,b 60
Estangles where planted in Britain,82,a 20. Their kingdome brought into decate and subiect to diuerse,133,b 40. It ceaseth,144,b 10. Conquered by Offa,133, b 30. Subiect vnto the Danes, 149, b 60. Kingdome & when it began, first called Uffines, 87, a 30. They haue Gurthyun a Dane their king,144,b 20,146 b 50. Their kingdome subdued by king Edward,152,a 10 Their vaine hope made them venterous to their cost, 116,a 50. Wholie conuerted to the faith, 110,a 30
Estsaxons when their kingdom began, 90,a 10. Will not receiue Melitus to his see at London,107, a 10. Receiue ỳ faith which they had renounced,117,a 10. Gouerned by a Dane,144,b 20. Notablie cõfirmed in the faith, 121,a 10. Kingdome ceased, 133,b 60
Ester feast to be vnikozmelie kept, 110, b 30. Obseruing wherof ỳ Scots will obserue their owne custome, 119,a 50. About the obseruing wherof there was contention in Augustines time: note,102,b 40, 103,a 20. About the obseruation wherof the Scots varie, 114,a 10
Ethelard king of westsaxons taketh flight out of his land, his death, 129,b 10
Ethelbald K. of Mercia of what puissance he was, 130, a 30. His vertues and vices: note, 128,b 20. His acts, and death in battell,128,b 10. ¶ Sée Ethelbzight.
Ethelbert king of Estangles highlie commended, 133,a 40. Builded saint Andzewes in Rochester, 102,b 10,103,a 50
Ethelbert king of Kent,97,a 20. He imbzaceth the gospell, 99, a 60, 100, all. Subdueth all the Englishsaxons, 99, a 50. Taken prisoner and released in winchcomb church, 136,a 50. His lawes, death, and buriall, 106,a 40
Ethelbert K. of Nozthumbers his cruelties, his ill life, & ill death,136,b 30. ¶ Sée Alrike, and Ethelbzit.
Ethelbzight & Ethelbald diuide their fathers kingdome betweene them, 144,a 60
Ethelbzit,125,b 60. ¶ Sée Lother.
Ethelburga sister to K. Eadbald maried to K. Edwin, 107, b 30. Wife to king Inas hir deuise to persuade hir husband to forsake the world,127,b 60, 128,a 10 Deliuered of a child, 107,b 60. Desired in a letter from the pope to continue in the faith,108,a 40. Returneth into Kent, 111, a 50. An ill woman & proud as the diuell, hir end: note,136,a 10. A nun. ¶ Sée Erkenwald.
Ethelbzida. ¶ Sée Ethelreda.
Ethelgina K. Egelreds wife, 165,a 60. She dieth,168,a 10
Ethelred king of Estangles, 131,b 10
Ethelred king of Mercia becõmeth a monke, 128,a 40
Ethelred K. of westsaxons he fought with the Danes nine times in one yeare, 142, b 10. His death, 144,a 60. ¶ Sée Edilred.
Ethelreda king Egfrides wife a birgine: note, 125,a 50
Ethelswida king Burthreds wife died in Pauia, 149, b 30. ¶ Sée Elstrida.
Ethelwold bishop of Winchester,160,a 10. Put in trust to sue foz king Edgar to spæd him of a wife, deceiueth the king, 160,a 60,b 10
Ethelwulfe K. of westsaxons, a subdeacon, &c: note,140,a 30 Marieth his butlers daughter, 140, a 40. Marieth the French kings daughter,141, b 40. His genelogie as the old Saxõs drawit,141,b 40. His victozies against the Danes, 140, b 20 His last will, how he diuideth his kingdome and dieth, 141,b 20,30
Euelie oz Eweline allied to Andzogeus, 30,b 30
Eumerus a murtherer sent to kill Edwin & why, 107,b 40
Europe by whom first peopled, 1,b 30
Excester besieged by Danes, 147, b 40. Taken by them and spoiled,168,b 40. Fortified by Brian, and besieged by king Edwin, 112, b 50. Besieged

Beſieged of Veſpaſian, 36, b 40. Repared by Adelſtane, 156, a 30
Excommunication for vnlawfull marriage, 117, b 10. Of Vortigerne by biſhop Germane, 84, a 20

F.

Famine in Suſſex for want of raine, 123, a 30. Among the Danes in Cheſter, 147, b 50. warre and it ſignified, 135, b 60. ¶ See Hunger.
Faſt in what maner obſerued in old time, 118, a 10. ¶ See Lent.
Fauſta the daughter of Maximianus & wife to Conſtantine, 64, a 50
Feare effectuateth ſubmiſſion, 172, b 20. Force of feare, 171, a 60
Feaſt. ¶ See Banket.
Felix biſhop of Burgogne preacheth the word to the Eaſtangles, 110, a 30
Felix biſhop of Dunwich a Burgundian, 21, a 20
Ferrex the ninth ruler of Britaine, 14, b 50. Slaine, 14, b 60
Fier defaced ſundrie cities, &c: 133, a 20
Finan biſhop of Northumbers, 119, a 40
Fiſhes caught with nets whoſe deuiſe in Suſſex, 123, a 50
Flamines and Archflamines in Britaine, 52, a 30
Flatterie of Verannius, 41, a 60. Reproued actuallie by Cnute: note, 181, b 50
Flauius Veſpaſianus his valiantneſſe againſt the Britons, 34, b 40. ¶ See Veſpaſian.
Flauius Victor nobiliſsimus, 68, b 10
Flies noiſome and mortall, 14, a 60
Foſſe. ¶ See Highwaies.
Frate in Canturburie betweene the citizens and the earle of Bullongne, 188, b 10
France by whome inuaded after Brute, 12, a 10
Franci or Frankeners people of Germanie, 61, a 60
Frankeners now Frenchmen, 76, b 10
Fratricide, 11, b 50, 14, b 60, 56, a 60
Frea wife to woden, 79, a 10 ¶ See woden.
Freendſhip. ¶ See Loue.
Frenchmen or Normans firſt entred into England, 187, b 60. ¶ See Galles.
Fridate why ſo named, 79, a 10
Friſwide daughter to Didanus hir chaſtitie: note, 133, b 60
Fronto counted Ciceros match 58, b 20
Froſt verie great and long, 133, a 10
Fugatius. ¶ See Joſeph of Arimathia.
Furius Camillus with his Romans ouerthroweth the Galles, 18, b 10
Forſeus a deuout perſon that came out of Ireland, 116, a 60

G.

Galgagus capteine of Britains fighteth againſt Agricola, 49, a 60
Gallia now called France, 9, b 20. Inuaded by Bren and Beline, 17, b 10. Celtica the hither parts of France, 32, b 50
Galles put to flight by Brute and Corineus, 10, b 50. Beaten backe by the Romans, 18, a 10. Enter into Rome, 18, a 10. Their couetouſnes preiudiciall to themſelues, 18, b 10
Gallies an old inuention, 4, a 10 rowed with ores ſtrange to the Britans to ſee, 25, a 30
Gallio Rauenna ſent into Britaine to ſuccor the people, 70, b 10
Gawaines loialtie, fighting againſt his owne brother in his princes quarell, and dieng, is honorablie buried by Arthur, 91, b 10
Gebmound biſhop of Rocheſter, 122, b 60
Geniſſa the daughter of Claudius the emperour giuen in marriage to Aruiragus, 36, a 10. Maketh Aruiragus and Veſpaſian freends, and ſoended their warres, 36, b 50
Gerent king of Britans chaſed and put to flight, 127, b 10
Germanus and Lupus biſhops arriue in Britaine and preuaile againſt the Pelagian hereſie, 82, b 40. He conducteth the Britiſh armie againſt the Saxons, 83, a 10. His miracle of a calfe, 84, a 40. He returneth into little Britaine, 83, b 10. His death and buriall, 83, b 20
Germans aſſiſtants to the Romans, 49, b 50
Geta. ¶ See Baſſianus.
Geuciſſes inhabitants of that part of Britaine which the Weſtſaxons afterwards held, 77, b 30. Why ſo named, 65, a 60, b 10
Giants, and how the word is meant, 4, a 50. How long they continued in this Ile, 5, a 60. whom our chronicles meane by that name, 5, a 30. Encounter Brute, 10, b 40
Gigas. ¶ See Giants.
Gift. ¶ See Preſent.
Gillomanus king of Ireland diſcomfited, 84, b 60. Slaine in battell, 85, a 10
Gipſwich, now Ipſwich, 169, b 60
Githa the wife of earle Godwin diparteth England, 189, a 60
Girth king Harolds brother would not haue him fight in perſon againſt the duke, 199, a 50
Giruy what people, 125, a 60
Glamorgan. ¶ See Glau Morgan.
Glaſſen firſt brought into England, 120, b 30
Glaſtenburie monaſterie builded, 127, b 40
Glouernia now Glocester, 36, a 20
Glani. ¶ See Duke.
Goda erle or Deuonſhire ſlaine, 166, a 50
Goda, ſiſter to king Edward the third, married to Baldwin earle of Flanders, 188, b 10
Godfathers, 117, b 60, 147, b 20, 157, a 10. ¶ See Baptiſme.
Goffarius ſurnamed Pictus, 9, b 20. Sendeth to Brute, 9, b 60
Gogmagog in wreſtling ſlaine, 10, b 50
Gonild the neece to K. Swaine with hir ſonnes auoid out of England, 187, a 20
Godwin carrieth fauour with king Edward the third, and good cauſe why, 186, b 50, 60. Offended with king Edward the third, for fauouring ſtrangers, 188, b 40. well freended, 190, a 60. In fauour with king Edward the third none greater, 187, a 40. Put to his purgation for the death of Alfred, 185, a 60. He and his two ſonnes riſe in armes againſt king Edward the third, they flie, 189, a all. They are proclaimed outlawes, b 30. Received into fauour returneth home, 190, a 30. His qualities, his wiues, his children, with the lewd life and foule end of his mother, 191, b 60. Diſſembling freendſhip to Alfred miſchæfous, 183, a 10, 184, a all. He & his ſons practiſe piracie vpon the Engliſh coaſts, 189, b 60. His ſeruice in Denmarke, 180, b 20. His authoritie in England, 182, b 20. His ſudden death: note, 191, b 10
Gorbodian. ¶ See Gurguſtius.
Gorbodug the eighteenth ruler of Britaine, 14, b 40
Gorbonianus king of Britaine his acts and deeds, 20, b 20
Gorolus duke of Cornewall ſlaine for his wife, 88, a 20
Goſpell, and that Auguſtine the monke is ſent into Britaine to preach it, 99, b 10
Goſſeline archbiſhop of London, 71, b 30
Gothlois diſdainefull againſt Nathaliod his countrieman both Britains: note, 87, b 50
Granchester, 21, a 10
Granta now Cambridge, 20, b 40
Grantham by whome builded, 20, b 40
Gratian, who and what ſent from Rome to rule in Britaine, 67, b 60, 68, a 10. Intrapped by a policie, 68, a 60. His rough regiment cauſeth his owne deſtruction, 70, a 10
Greeke inward bringeth death, 159, a 50
Gregories willingneſſe and deſire to win the Engliſhſaxons to the faith, 100, a 10. Whereby moued to ſend Auguſtine the monke to preach in this Iland, 99, b 10. His ſeuenfold Letanie, 100, a 60. His platforme of eccleſiaſticall gouernment ſent to moke Auguſtine in Britaine, 101, a 40
Griffin king of wales deſtroieth Hereford, 189, b 60. In armes with Algare againſt king Edward the third, 192, b 20. He with his Welſhmen are ſubdued, 188, a 40. Preſent aid alwaies againſt king Edward the third, 193, a 60. His palace burned, b 10. Renounced of all people & as a baniſhed perſon, he is ſlaine, and his head ſent to Harold, 193, b 20
Guanius king of the Hunnes a mercileſſe murtherer, 67, a 30
Gudwins the wife of earle Leofrike rideth naked thorough Couentrie towne, and why, 193, a 50
Guenouer and why ſo named, 93, a 60. Arthurs wife, neere kinſwoman to Cador earle of Cornewall, 91, a 30. Buried with hir huſband Arthur, the treſſes of hir haire: note, 92, a 20
Gutendolena daughter to Corineus duke of Cornewall, 11, b 10. Ruleth Britaine during hir ſonnes minoritie, 11, b 20
Guetheline ¶ See Goſſeline.
Guiderus king of Britaine demeth tribute to the Romans, 33, a 90. Traitorouſlie ſlaine, 35, b 30
Guillomer king of Ireland aiding the Scots is repelled by Arthur, 91, a 20
Guilthdacus K. of Denmarke landed in Northumberland, 16, a 60
Guintoline king of Britaine, his acts and deeds, 19, b 20
Guorongus gouerned Kent vnder Vortigerne, 79, b 10
Guortigerne. ¶ See Vortimer.
Gunthildis the ſiſter of king Swaine murthered, 170, b 60 171, a 10
Gurguint king of Britaine his acts and deeds, 19, a 40
Gurguſtius the foureteenth ruler of Britaine, 14, a 60
Gurmundus K. of Affrica aideth the Saxons againſt the Britains, 98, a 10. Spoileth Britaine in pitifull wiſe, 98, a 30. ¶ See Gurthrun.
Gurthrun a principall man of the Danes is baptiſed, 146, b 50. King of Eaſtangels dieth, 149, b 60
Guthlake a man of great vertue and holineſſe, 133, b 40
Guthmond a Daniſh capteine with his Danes ſpoile Ipſwich, 166, a 60
Guthred king of Northumberland: note, 150, a 10
Guthrun a Dane king of Eaſtangles, 144, b 20
Guy of warwike when he liued 136, b 10
Gyldas words inuective againſt the Britiſh rulers and kings, 94, a 60, 95, a 10, b 60, 95, a 60, b 10

H.

Halden and Baſereg two leaders or kings of the Danes, 143, b 40. A Daniſh king inuadeth Mercia, 145, a 20
Hamo apparelling himſelfe like a Britaine killeth the king thereof, 35, b 30. Slaine by Arutragus, 35, b 40
Hampton why ſo called: note, 35, b 50
Hardiknought. ¶ See Hardicnute.
Hardicnute proclamed & crowned king of England, 185, a 10. His ſudden death, his conditions, 185, b 20
Harold father to one Hirke K. of Northumberland, 158, a 50
Harold the baſe ſonne of Cnute proclamed king and conſecrated, 182, b 20. Degenereteth from his father Cnute, 194, b 10. Why ſurnamed Harefoot, 181, b 60. His counterfeit letter tending to the deſtruction of Emma and hir ſonnes, 183, b 10. His bodie taken vp and throwne into the Thames, 185, a 10
Harold Harfarger king of Norweie is perſuaded by Tolfie to make conqueſt of England 197, b 50, 198, a 10. He is ſlaine, 198, a 30
Harold king of England, wherin note the diuerſe opinions of writers, 196, b 20. Hated & diſdained of the pope and cardinals,

dimils, 199, a 10. Battell betwixt duke William and him, 200, a 10. He and his brother Leofwin inuade the shires of Dorset and Summerset, 189, b 60. They ioine with Godwin in the Ile of Wight, 190, a 10. He goeth ouer into Normandie, 193, b 30. He hath more hautinesse than hardinesse, 199, a 50. Highlie welcommed to duke William, 194 a 10. He had his father Godwins earldome, 191, b 30. His pride, 197, a 10, b 20. His couetousnes, 198, a 40. He seeketh to win the peoples harts, 196, b 50. He promiseth duke William to keepe the realme of England to his vse, 194, a 20. Made generall of king Edward the thirds armie, his exploits against the Welshmen, he fortifieth the citie of Hereford, 192, b 30. His answer to duke Williams ambassadors touching his oth and promise made to the duke, 197, a 10. He inuadeth Griffins dominiõs and burneth his palace. 193, b 10. He is taken prisoner by the earle of Ponthieu, and set at libertie at duke Williams request, 193, b 60. His death diuerslie reported, he is described, his acts and deeds, 200, a 60, b 10

Hasting capteine of the Danes, besieged, he receiueth an oth touching baptisme: euer vntrue of his word, 147, b 20

Hatfield, 110, b 60

Hatred and death for good will, 163, a 30. ¶ See Enuie.

Hector Boetius his fault to adorne the Scots with the honor of the Britons, 23, b 50. His error touching the Silures, Brigants, & Nouants 41, a 20

Helie king of Britaine his acts and deeds, 23, a 10

Helen the daughter of Coell a Britaine married to Constantius a Romane lieutenant, 62, a 60. The religious empresse hir deuout acts and deeds, 64, b 30. Hir loue to London and Colchester, hir death and buriall, 66, a 10

Hengist purposeth at the first to conquer the Britains, 78, b 40. He and Horsus two Saxonish brethren, 78, a 30. His deuise to make Vortigerne in loue with his daughter, 79, b 10. He and Horsus of what linage they came, 78, b 60, 79, a 10. He with his Saxons returne into Britaine, 81, b 40. He deuiseth a new kind of treason against the Britains, 81, b 50. Counted Regulus a litle king. 82, b 10. He worketh all vpon the aduantage, 77, 78, 79. Taken and beheaded, 84, b 40. Contrarietie among writers touching his death, 85, a 60, 86, b 40

Hengistland (now England) & the reason of the name, 98, a 30

Hemmings. ¶ See Duke.

Heptarchie. ¶ See Britaine, & Kings seuen.

Heraclitus lieutenant of Britaine, 54, a 50

Hercules his being in Britaine proued, 5, a 10 why he pursued & slue his cousins Albion and Bergion, 4, b 20

Heresie to veritie as poison to the bodie, 110, b 40 Of Pelagius spred in Britain, 82, b 20

Reuiued in Britaine, 94, a 20

Hericius. ¶ See Hirtius.

Hertford castell built, 151, a 50

Heuenfield, 111, b 60

Hide of land is an hundred acres, 169, b 10

Hegelbald a noble man westsaxons slaine in battell, 127, b 10

Highwaies foure finished by Beline, that his father begun 16, b 50 Priuileged, 17, a 10

Hikneli street ¶ See Highwais.

Hilda an abbesse: note, 118, b 10 Abbesse of whitbie, she dieth, a description of certeine hir actions, 123, b 30

Hildelitha a nun. ¶ See Erkenwald.

Hirtius the sonne of one Harold K. of Northumbers, 158, a 50 they put him awaie, 158, a 60

Hirtius nephue to Cassibelane, 30, b 30

Histories should not sauour of lies, 84, a 60

Honorius commended by Claudianus for deeds don in Britaine, 74, b 10. His drift to recouer the empire that vtterlie fell, 69, a 60

Honorius archbishop of Canturburie, 110, a 30. He dieth, 116, a 60

Hope, baine of Eastangles, 116, a 50

Horgerius duke of Cornwall or Deuonshire and of his faire daughter: note, 160, a 60

Horrestians inhabitants of Angus and Merne, 51, a 10

Horsus. ¶ See Hengist.

Hospitalitie of a herdman to bishop German how rewarded, 84, a 40

Hostages deliuered for assurãce of totaltie, 190, b 20. Demanded by Cesar of the Britans, 25, b 50. Giuen to Cesar by Androgeus, 30, b 50. ¶ See Pledges.

Houres 24 of the daie and night how Alured diuided for his necessarie vses, 149, a 30

Howell king of litle Britaine cõmeth ouer in aid of Arthur against the Saxons, 90, b 40. Besieged by the Scots, 91, a 10

Hugh a Norman conspireth with the Danes, 168, b 50

Humber gulfe or riuer why so named, 11, a 60

Hundreds. ¶ See Tithings.

Hunger. ¶ See Agnerus, Hubba, and Ubba.

Hunger what it forced the Britons to do, 70, b 60. ¶ See Famine.

Hubba a Danish capteine slaine 145, b 20. ¶ See Agnerus.

Hypermnestra hir loue to hir husband commended, 5, b 60

I.

IAmbert. ¶ See Lambert.

Iaphet and his sonnes, &c: first peopled Europe, 1, b 30

Iaroman bishop, sent to the Eastsaxons to reduce them to the faith, 121, a 10

Iceni, Northfolke men, 38, a 60 42, a 60

Ida the first king of Bernicia, 95, a 50. Of Northumberland his acts, deeds, and death, 96, b 60

Idols destroied by king Ercõbert, 114, b 40. Destroied by a heathenish bishop, 109, a 10

Idolatrie erected by Sighere king of Eastsaxons, 120, b 60

Jerusalem when taken by Nabuchodonosor, 14, b 10

Iew. ¶ See Inas.

Igerne. ¶ See Igwarne.

Igwarne the wife of Uter after the slaughter of hir first husband, 81, a 20

Ilands none at the first as some coniecture, 1, a 40

Images proued by a fabulous vision, 128, a 60

Imanuentius slaine by Cassibelane, 29, b 50

Imball king of Armorica slaine 67, a 10

Imbert slaine by Cormeus, 10, a 10

Ine. ¶ See Inas.

Inas king of Westsaxons, his acts and deeds, 127, a 20. Seeketh peace for monie, 126, b 10. Diuideth the Westsaxons prouince into two bishoprikes 129, a 60. How persuaded by his wife to resigne vp his crowne & become a pilgrime, 128, a 10. Went to Rome and there died, 127, b 30

Indians fond adorning themselues with pretious stones, 9, b 50

Indigenæ, 4, a 60

Imogen the wife of Brute, 8, b 40

Intertainement. ¶ See Hospitalitie.

John archbishop of Yorke, 125, b 50

John the archchanter of saint Peters at Rome sent to the synod at Hatfield, and why, 123, b 10

Joseph of Arimathia, 52, a 40. His comming into Britaine, 37, a 20

Ipswich spoiled by the Danes, 116, a 60

Ireland and the Orkneies by whom first gouerned, 4, b 10. when it laie wast and not inhabited, 19, b 10. The peoples cursses against king Egbride preuaile, 125, a 20, b 40. Ciuill discord there when Agricola was lieutenant of Britaine, 49, a 10. Conquest therof pursued by Turgesius, 98, a 10. Inuaded by the Northumbers, 125, a 10. Subdued to Edgar, 162, a 20

Irmenrike the son of Oth the Saxon, 89, a 20

Irmenrike of Kent dies, 97, a 10

Ithamor bishop of Rochester consecrateth archbishops of Canturburie. 116, b 40

Itius portus supposed to be Calis, 24, a 50

Judith the daughter of Charles the Bald married king Ethelwolfe, 141, a 60

Judge Bearne burnt for cruelty, 135, a 30

Judwall, 160, a 20. ¶ See Ludwall.

Iue. ¶ See Inas.

Iugants a people, 40, b 40

Julius Agricola lieutenant of Britaine, 47, b 40. His good gouernment, 48, a 40

Julius Cesars purpose to make a discouerie of Britaine, 24, a 30. Appointed for to conquer Gallia, 24, a 10. With two legions passeth ouer into Britaine, 24, b 30. His ships lie at Calis, 24, a 50

Julius Cassianus at square with Suetonius, 46, a 20

Julius Frontinus lieutenant of Britaine, 46, b 40

Iustine. ¶ See Guthmond.

Iustus archbishop of Canturburie, 107, a 30

Iustus bishop of Rochester, 103 a 40. He and Melitus depart into France, 106, b 50. Both sent for again, & the one restored to his bishoprike, 107, a 10

Iutes called Ibitti a kind of people that came into Britaine with the Saxons, 78, b 60, 79, a 20

K.

KAerkin, 12, b 30. ¶ See Canturburie.

Kenelme murthered by his mother Quẽdred, 136, b 10. King of Mercia shamefullie murthered, 139, b 50

Kenneth king of Scots durst not combat with K. Edgar: note, 161, b 60, 162, a 10

Kenred king of Mercia described, 128, a 50

Kenrie the son of king Cuthred slaine, 131, a 10

Kenrike K. of westsaxons, his acts, deeds, & death, 96, b 40

Kent, when it began to be a kingdome, & how it was extended, 82, a 40. Of whom the kings thereof descended, 95, a 50. Wasted, spoiled, and disquieted, 126, a 20, b 10. Void of a king for the space of seuen yeares, 126, b 10. The foure kings thereof in Cassibelans time, 30, a 30. Noble offspring of the kings thereof deceased, 137, b 10. The kingdome had two kings at once, 126, b 10. Giuen to Hengist in reward, 79, b 10. When it began to be a kingdom, 86, b 10. The kingdome taketh end, 139, b 30

Kentishmen plaie the men against the Westsaxons, 126, a 20. Vanquished in fight of the Danes, 167, a 60. Descended of the Jutes, 79, a 20. Disobeieng K. Edwards cõmandement are surprised by the enimies, 151, a 10. Vnie peace with monie, 127, b 10. Destitute of a king, 126, a 50

Kenulfe king of Mercia his vertues, 136, a 40. His liberalitie toward churchmen, 136, a 50

Kenwalch king of westsaxons dieth, his acts & deeds, 121, b 60

Kimarus king of Britaine his sudden end, 20, a 10

Kimbeline king of Britaine in great fauour with Cesar, 32, b 10, 33, a 10

Kineards conspiracie against Kinewulfe, 134, a 50

King becommeth a pilgrim forsaking a crowne, 128, a 10. In name but not in rule, 77, a 20. A philosopher, 125, b 30. Dispossessed of his kingdome and restored, 13, b 20. Made of a herdman, 84, a 40. Made of a seruant, 149, b 30. Made of one bought and sold, 150, a 10. Becommeth a monke, 129, a 10, 132, b 60. The first that ware a golden crowne, 15, a 30, 16, a 10 Depriued, 79, b 60 ¶ See Crown & Vortigerne.

Kings seuen in Britaine called Reguli, 82, a 60. By vsurpatiõ and not by succession, 126, b 10 Eight of the English & Saxon nation at once, 98, b 10. Eight row king Edgar in a barge vpon the water, 159, b 40. They become monks, 122 a 60, 131, b 20. Their daughters professed nuns, 114, b 60. Fiue ruled this Iland all at once. ¶ See Pentarchie.

They

Chey gouerned Bꝛitaine beꝛoꝛe the Romans subdued it, 31, b 40. Crowned & gouerne Bꝛitaine, 11, 12, 13, &c. The Bꝛitish kings gouernement endeth, 126, b 40

Kingdome of Eastangels when it began, 87, a 20. Of Southsaxons when it began, 86, a 30. Seuen erected by the Saxons: note, 97, b 40

Kingils king of westsaxons becommeth a chꝛistian, 114, 10. ¶ Sée Cinecistus.

Kingstone vpon Thames famous by meanes of kings there crowned, 158, a 30

Kinimacus the seuentéenth ruler of Bꝛitaine, 14, b 20

Kinimarus. ¶ Sée Kinimacus.

Kinwulfe king of westsaxons, his victoꝛies and exploits, he is slaine of his seruants, 134, a 30

Knight of the field in Cesars time, 32, b 10

Knighthod of Kimbeline king of Bꝛitaine giuen him by Cesar, 32, b 20, 33, a 10

Knought. ¶ Sée Cnute.

L.

Labin. ¶ Sée Hercules.

Labienus a Romane tribune slaine, 27, a 50

Lambert archbishop of Canturburie, 135, a 20. Depꝛiued, 132, a 20. Dieth, 137, b 40

Laurence archbishop of Canturburie laboureth to inlarge the church and augment the faith, 105, a 30. Meaning to leaue his sée he is otherwise warned in a dꝛeame, 106, b 60.

Law Dꝛdalian: note, 187, a 60

Lawes of king Alured: note, 148, b 10. Of Cnute, 182, a 20. Of king Edmund, 157, a 60. Of king Edward the third, 191, b 10. Mozall of king Inas, 127, b 30. Of Martia, 19, b 60. Of Mulmutius, 15, b 30

Lawes and decrées how dangerous to be bꝛoken of them that make them, 141, a 60

Lecherie ingendered of slouth, 11, b 50

Legats from the pope into England, 134, b 30

Legions of souldiers sent by Claudius into Ireland, 36, b 10

Leicester, 12, b 60. ¶ Sée Caerleir,

Leill the seuenth ruler of Bꝛitaine, 12, a 60

Leir the tenth ruler of Bꝛitain, 12, b 60. Dꝛiuen to great distresse, 13, a 60. Restoꝛed to his kingdome, 13, b 10

Lent how fasted, 118, a 10. Fiꝛst oꝛdeined to be kept in England, 114, b 50

Leofrike earle of Chester, 180, a 40. Bare great rule in the commonwelth, 182, a 20. A furtherer of Edward third to the crowne, 187, a 10. He dieth and was buried at Couentrie, 193, a 40

Leogitia an Iland wherein Bꝛute arriued, 8, b 50

Leolin king of Southwales an aider to K. Edmund, 157, a 30

Lepoꝛius Agricola a Pelagian, 82, b 20

Lichfield, whereof it toke the name, 62, a 30. The bishop of Mercia his sée, 121, a 40

Licinius chosen fellow with Maximianus in the empire, 64, a 60

Lilla his zelous seruice cost him his life, 107, b 60

Lincolne besieged by Cheldꝛike king of Germanie and the Saxons, 90, b 40

Lindesferne the bishop of Noꝛthumbers sée, 119, a 50, b 10

Lindseie a part of Lincolneshire, 110, a 40

Liuius Gallus slaine by Asclepiodotus, 57, a 10

Locrine the second ruler of Bꝛitaine, 11, a 50. Foꝛsaketh Guendolina his wife & marrieth Estrild, 11, b 10. Hath both a wife and a paramour, 11, b 10. In loue with Estrilda a Scithian kings daughter, 11, b 10. Slaine in battell, 11, b 10

Loialtie of Gawaine. ¶ Sée Gawaine.

Lollius Urbicus lieutenant in Bꝛitaine, 53, a 50

London walled by Helen, 66, a 10. In danger to be spoiled in the time of the Romans, 59, b 30. Recouered out of the hands of the Danes, 147, a 60 In obedience to Cnute, 177, a 60, Not greatlie peopled with Romans in Suetonius his time, 44, b 60. The chéefe citie of the Eastsaxons kingdome, 90, a 10. A great part of it burnt by casuall fier, 165, a 60. Pestered with the Danes, 145, a 20, Besieged by Cnute & his aidants, 176, a 10. Assalted by Swaine the Dane & notablie defended by the Londoners, 171, b 20. Besieged by the Danes and defended by the citizens, 166, b 50. How fiꝛst named, 23, a 60. Called Augusta, 72, b 60, 73, a 40. A great part of it consumed with fier, 135, a 60

Londoners victoꝛs against the Danes, 147, b 60. Merie valiant against Swaine and his Danes, 171, b 20. Submit themselues to Swaine, 172, b 20. Receiue Edmund Ironside verie loiallie, 175, b 60. Slaine by the Danes, 166, b 20

Londoꝛike. ¶ Sée Roderike.

Loꝛd Dane became a woꝛd of contempt, 168, a 60

Losses recompensed, 123, b 10

Loth king of Picts ioineth with the Saxons against Arthur, ouerthꝛowne, 90, b 10

Lothaire the king of Kent, 122, a 10 Durst not meet Edelred in the field, 122, b 40. He dieth of a wound, 125, b 60

Loue put to triall: note, 12, b 60 13, a 10. Betweéne Aidan & Oswin, 115, b 20. Of Amphibalus and Alban, 62, a 10. Of Locrine lewd ill rewarded, 11, b 10. Betweéne bꝛethꝛen long at discoꝛd, 17, a 60. Bꝛotherlie notablie exémplified, 21, a 40. Towards enimies, &c: purchased hatred and death, 117, b 10. Of a wife to hir husband, exemplified, 133, b 30. Like to cost losse of life: note fond Ethelwulfes doing, 141, a 60. Maketh men blind and sottish: note, 79, b 50. In a woman with iust what mischiefe it bꝛed, 40, b 40. Unlawfull of Algar reuenged, 133, b 60. Unlawfull of Kinewulfe: note, 134, a 10. Turned into no loue, 13, a 60. Of ones countrie maketh a man offend against his calling, 158, a 60. ¶ Sée Lust.

Lucius king of Bꝛitaine renowned in wꝛiters, 51, b 20. Built S. Peters at Westminster, 52, a 60

Lud king of Bꝛitaine, his acts and dæds, 23, a 30

Ludgate by whome builded, 23, a 40

Ludhurdibꝛas the eight ruler of Bꝛitaine, 12, b 20

Ludwall paieth a tribute of wolfeskins to Edgar, 160, a 20

Luidhard bishop appointed to instruct quéene Bertha: note, 99, a 50

Lupicinus is sent from Rome to releéue the Bꝛitons against the Scots and Picts, 72, a 30

Lupus. ¶ Sée Germanus.

Lust and what inconueniences it bꝛeedeth in men, 79, a 40. Unlawfull what mischéefe it bꝛed, 144, b 20. Fleshlie to satisfie occasion of deadlie vilanie, 160, b 30, 50. Of Algar in seéking to rauish Frilwid punished with blindnes, 133, b 60, 134, a 10, Unlawfull of king Edwin, 159, a 10. ¶ Sée Loue.

Lynceus pꝛeserued by his wife, 5, b 60, 6, a 30

M.

Mackbeth the dsurper of the crown of Scotland banquished, 192, a 30

Maclogunus his wicked acts and dæds detected by Gyldas, 96, b 10

Madan the third ruler of Bꝛitaine deuoured of wild beasts 11, b 30

Magike taught thꝛoughout all the realme, 12, b 50

Maglanus. ¶ Sée Duke.

Maglannus and Henninus slaine, 13, b 20

Magus the son of Samothes and what parts of the earth he gouerned, 2, b 10

Maides murthered by thousands, 67, a 40

Malchenus. ¶ Sée Marcharus.

Malcolme king of Scots holdeth Cumberland in homage, 157, a 30

Malgo made king of Bꝛitaine, comelie of person but filthie of condition, 96, a 50

Malice and the nature thereof: note, 191, a 10. Causeth murther, 57, a 30. Of wilnot in burning king Egelreds ships, 169, b 10. ¶ Sée Enuie.

Malmesburie and the Wics by whom built, 15, b 30. The abbeie founded, 129, b 10

Mamertinus panegꝛpticall oꝛation in pꝛaise of Diocletian and Maximinian emperoꝛs: note, 57, b 30

Mandubꝛatius in fauour with the Trinouants, and foꝛ whome they sued to Cesar to be their gouernoꝛ, 29, b 40

Manlius slaine of his bꝛother Mempꝛicius, 11, b 50

Marcharus made earle of Noꝛthumberland, 195, a 10

Marcus Papirius indignation and disdaine, 18, a 10

Margadud K. of Southwales, 104, b 10

Mariage made vpon godlie conditions: note, 99, a 50. Unlawfull punished, 117, b 20. Sued foꝛ by messenger not without deceit: note, 160, a 60, b 10 Granted vpon condition of becomming a chꝛistiã, 116, b 60. Without power & consent to a pꝛince, 13, a 40. Made thꝛough mistrust of enimies, 132, a 50. Unlawfull & incestuous, 144, a 60. Void of fleshlie pleasure, 187, a 40. Unpleasurable by meanes of hatred, 189, b 50. Granted vpon religious conditions: note, 107, b 30. Come to by murther, 88, a 20. Of a king to his butlers daughter, 140, a 40. Fatall, 5, b 50, 79, b 10, 133, a 60, b 10, 160, b 10, 168, a 20

Mariages disappointed, 67, a 30. In what degrees thought tolerable, 101, b 10

Martia the wife of Guintoline gouerneth in hir sons ꝛome, 19, b 20

Marij victoria, 47, a 40

Marius king of Bꝛitaine, his acts and dæds, 47, a 10

Maꝛtyꝛs. ¶ Sée Chꝛistians.

Maserfield, 115, a 10

Maurus. ¶ Sée Irutragus.

Maxentius the tyꝛant emperoꝛ of Rome, 64, a 10

Maximianus slaine, 64, a 60. ¶ Sée Maximus,

Maximus successoꝛ to the empire by treason, 68, a 60, b 10. Ruler of the Bꝛitains and Conan Meiridoc at mutuall warre, 66, b 60. His martiall exploits, 67, a 60. Slaine by Theodosius, 68, b 40

Meauldun now Maldon, 151, a 40

Medulfe a Scot founder of Malmesburie abteie, 129, b 10

Meidhamsted now Peterborow, and who built the monasterie there, 112, a 50

Melga king of the Picts a cruell murtherer, 67, a 30

Melitus bishop of London, 103 a 40, 50. Goeth to Rome about church matters of England, 105, b 20. Why he was faine to leaue London, and get him into Kent: note, 106, b 10. Archbishop of Canturburie, 107, a 20. ¶ Sée Iustus.

Mempꝛicius the fourth ruler of Bꝛitaine deuoured of wild beasts. 11, b 40

Menenia, now S. Dauids in wales, 19, a 10

Mercia kingdome when it began, 97, b 20. Under certeine noble men ambitiouslie minded, 89, b 50. Of whome the kings thereof descended, 95, a 50. Tributarie to Rome, 132, a 60, b 10. Aduanced by Offa and how, 132, a 20. It and the welsh confines diuided by Offdich, 132, b 10. How long continued a kingdome, 149, b 50. And when it toke end, 149, b 20

Meridoc and Maximus ruler of Bꝛitaine make mutuall warre, 66, b 60

Merlins birth and pꝛophesies, 84, a 10. His comparison touching Pendꝛagon, 87, b 10

Mesca now Bulgarie, 72, a 30

Mesures & weights by whome fiꝛst oꝛdeined, 16, a 10

Meuricus. ¶ Sée Maunus.

Middleangle people, who, 116, b 40. They become chꝛistians, 117, a 10

Miracle wherewith Adelstane was comfoꝛted, 156, a 10. Of saint

saint Germans, 84, a 40. Confirms the doctrine of German 83, b 10. Confirming that the Scots should & ought to be subiect to the kings of England, 155, a 50
Miracles of Augustine, 102, a 10, b 40. Of Dunstane better than his arguments, 163, a 10. Wrought at Edwards the second his graue, 163, b 10
Of Oswald, 115, a 20
Modwen a virgin in Ireland renowmed, 142, a 30
Mollo brother to king Ceadwalla burnt to death, 126, a 20
Moll. ¶ Sée Edilwold.
Monarchie how safelie to be mainteined, 137, b 10. Of Britaine how long it continued per it became a pentarchie, 15, a 10. ¶ Sée Ambition, Britaine, England, and Kings.
Monasteries how consecrated, 118, a 10. ¶ Sée Abbeies.
Monke of a king, 122, a 60, 128, a 40, 116, a 40. ¶ Sée Kings.
Monke refuseth to be archbishop of Canturburie, 120, a 10
Monke Biscop. ¶ Sée Biscop.
Monks name in France that were Englishmen, 114, b 60. Displaced and secular prests put in their rome, 159, a 40. Remoued and the canons restored, 162, b 30. Esteemed, and secular prests not regarded, 161, b 20. Their order imbraced of kings, 131, b 20. Their cowles in estimation, 131, b 20. A prettie shift of them to disappoint the prests of their liuings, 162, b 60. Of Bangor, their number, maner of liuing, and slaughter in battell, 104, a 20. They must nedes write much in praise of Edgar who had them in such estimation, 160, a 10. Licenced to drinke wine, 133, a 10. Fauoured by king Edgar, 159, a 60
Mont purchaseth peace, 127, b 10. Maketh frends, 126, b 10
Mone appeareth blondie, and how strangle she receiued hir former brightnesse, 131, b 30
Morcad & Sigeferd two Danish noble men slaine, 174, a 40
Mordred vsurpeth the kingdome of Britaine and resisteth Arthurs landing in Britaine, 91, b 10. His sons repine at Constantines aduancement to the crowne, 94, a 40. He is slaine, 91, b 40
Morgan & Cunedag at armes about the rule of this Ile, 14, a 10
Morians what kind of people & where seated, 20, a 60
Morindus king of Britaine, his crueltie, & exploits, he is deuoured of a monster, 20, a 40
Mortmi a people that now inhabit Terwine in France, 27, a 20
Mother killeth hir sonne, 15, a 10. ¶ Sée Fratricide & Murther.
Mulmutius Dunwalion first king of Britaine that wore a golden crowne, 15, a 30. His lawes, 15, b 30
Murther done by the Danes vpon king Edmund de rie lamentable, 144, a 60. Of a king by his seruant, 133, b 20. Of a father reuenged on the son, 163, b 20. Unnaturall procured by Alfrid vpon hir sonne, 163, a 30. Of Kinewulfe notable, 134, a 60. Unnaturall of Osfrida, 128, a 50. Of king Edmund lamentable, 157, a 60, b 10. Done by the Danes vpon a bishop, 170, b 30. Upon maids, 67, a 30. Of a son by his mother, 136, b 10. Most vile of two innocents, 122, a 30. The consent whereto punished, 125, b 60, 126, a 10. Reuenged, 11, a 60. Committed for pittie, 50, b 40. Most villanous: note, 107, b 40. By poison terrible punished, 154, b 10. Recompensed with murther, 4, b 20, 14, b 60, 35, b 40, 56, a 60, 68, b 10, 40, 83, b 30, 131, a 60, 134, b 10, 137, a 10, 158, b 10: note, 179, b 60
Musike taught by a bishop, 122, b 50. ¶ Sée Singing.
Mutinie among souldiers, 54, a 30

N.

Narcissus one that might dow all with Claudius, 36, b 60. Sent to appease the souldiers of Plautius, 34, a 10
Nathaliod a man of no great ancient house, &c: sent against the Sexõs at Aurelius Ambrose his death, 87, b 30
Nazaleod a mightie king of the Britains, 89, a 50. He is slaine, b 10
Nennius wounded of Cesar dieth, 27, a 40
Neptune how he grew to be called the king or god of the seas 4, a 10
Nidred and Suebhare kings of Kent by vsurpation, 126, b 20
Noah monarch of all the world diuideth it among his three sonnes, 1, b 10
Nonneus susteined the first inuasion of the Saxons into great Britaine, 74, a 10
Normandie why so named, 146, a 40. Gouernd by the French king, 185, a 10
Normans first entering into England, 187, b 60. Under duke William, and the maner of their araie, 199, b 40. How they pretended a title to the crowne, 168, a 20. Slaine by the poll, the tenth reserued, 183, a 10. Upper lips and cheekes shauen, and taken for prests, 199, a 40. Banished the realme vpon a malicious reuenge, 191, a 20, 30
Northmercia, 118, b 40
Northumberland a kingdome compounded of two, 95, a 10. Two kingdoms, Deira and Bernicia, 111, a 60. Aduisedlie submit themselues to king Egbert, 138, b 60. The kingdome when it was parted, 95, b 30. Diminished by the Picts, 125, b 40. Inuaded by two kings, 110, b 50. Brought into a miserable case, 111, a 40. Their custome to sell their nere kinsfolke for a small price, 99, b 10. The kingdome gouerned by two partners, 115, a 60. Why it remained long without anie gouernors, 137, a 40. It had no Saxon king by title for manie yeares togither, 79, b 40. Inhabited with Saxons, 79, b 40. In subiection to the kings of Westsaxons, 140, a 20. The kingdome therof fatall: note, 137, a 30
Northumbers inuade Ireland, 125, a 10. Ouerthrow the Picts, 129, a 20. Rebell against their earle Tostie, and whie, 194, a 20. Yeld to Swaine without resistance, 171, b 10. In subiection to the Danes, 149, b 60. Rebell and are subdued by king Edred, 158, a 30. Put to the sword by king Edred, 158, a 50. Inuaded by Penda, 115, a 10. Complained against by Gorman for their neglect of religion, 113, b 20
Nothelmus archbishop of Canturburie, 130, b 50
Nothingham besieged by the Danes, 143, b 30
Norwegians arriue in Humber, do much mischiefe, and are discomfited, 197, b 30, 198, a 10. Slaine by the Britains, 16, b 20
Norwich taken and spoiled by the Danes, 168, b 60
Nouants inhabitants of Cumberland, 41, a 30
Nun cousine to Inas, 127, b 10. Defloured and after married, and againe restored to the nunrie, 150, b 40. Alfred indued with the spirit of prophesie, 133, b 30
Nuns lecherous and murtherous life, 128, b 40. Defile their bodies, 129, a 20. Concubines, 134, b 60. Manie in France that were Englishwomen, 114, b 60

O.

Occa the sonne of Hengist taken and fauourablie dealt withall by Aurelius, 84, b 50. He and Ebusa leaders of the Saxons, 79, b 30. He reigned in Kent foure and twentie yeares, 89, a 10. He threateneth destruction to Uter: note, 87, b 60
Occasion not to be neglected, 42, a 50. Not neglected, 78, b 40. Taken to come to ones purpose, 79, a 40. Watched & vsed, 126, a 10, 165, a 20, 97, b 60
Octauius a British lord gouerned Britaine noblie, he dieth, 65, a 60, b 60
Odo archbishop of Canturburie, 136, b 60
Offa conquereth the Eastangles, 133, b 30. Maketh his realme tributarie to Rome, and dieth, 132, a 60, b 10. Alieth himselfe to other princes for feare of his enimies, 132, a 50. King of Mercia, his acts, deeds, and victories, 131, b 60. King of Eastsaxons, becommeth a monke, 129, a 10
Offchurch in Warwikeshire built, 132, b 20
Offdich or Offas dich, 132, b 20
One of saint Augustine, 102, b 30
Onichelinus. ¶ Sée Richelinus.
Opportunitie. ¶ Sée Occasion.
Oracle that Brute consulted withall, 8, b 60
Oratorie to praie in erected by bishop Cead, 121, a 40. Built by Joseph of Aremathia, 127, b 40
Ordouices old inhabitants of Shropshire, Chelhire, and Lancashire, 38, b 20. In manner destroied, 47, b 50
Osbright king of Northumbers deposed and Ella placed, 143, a 10
Osred K. of Northumberland expelled, 136, b 30. His filthie life and death in battell, 129, a 10
Osrike king of Northumberland, 125, b 50. His counsell to reuenge the death of Kinewulfe, 134, b 10. He renounceth his kingdome and becommeth a monke, 129, a 40. ¶ Sée Eaufrid.
Ostorius Scapula his exploits in Britaine, 37, b 10. Giueth the Britains a sore ouerthrow, 39, b 10. Astonished at the Britons chearefulnesse against his Romans, 38, b 60. His triumph for victories against Caratake, 39, b 40. He dieth, 40, a 20
Osfrida the wife of king Ethelred, cruellie slaine, 128, a 40, 50
Oswulph king of Northumberland slaine by treason, 132, b 60
Oswald a noble man ordeined king of Northumbers, expelled, 136, b 60. Raiseth warre against Etheland, 129, b 10. King of Northumbers, his valiantnes against Cadwallo, 111, b 20. The true storie concerning him, 113, a 50 His zeale to aduance religion, 114, a 50. He breaketh his siluer plate to the poze, 114, a 60. An interpretor to the preacher, 114, a 30. Cruellie slaine by Penda, 115, a 20. Canonised a saint, 115, a 20
Oswald archbishop of Yorke, 161, b 20
Oswald bishop of Worcester, 160, a 10
Oswie king of Northumberland, 118, a 30. His vow that he made if he might haue the victorie, 118, a 40. He sickneth and dieth, 121, a 50
Oswin. ¶ Sée Oswie.
Oth constreined is no oth, 197, a 10. Taken for purgation in a case of murther, 185, a 60
Oth the son of Occa the Saxon, 89, a 20
Oxford burned by the Danes, 169, b 40. The vniuersitie when founded and erected, 148, b 50
Oxfordshiremen resist the Romans, and are slaine, 37, b 20

P.

Painters brought into England, 120, b 30
Palace called the bishops palace by Paules by whome, builded, 23, a 50
Paladour mount now Shaftlburie, 12, b 30
Pall of an archbishop, 101, b 60
Palladius instructeth Scots in the faith, 82, b 60
Pandrasus prepareth an armie to suppresse the Troian offspring, he is taken prisoner, 8, a 40, b 20
Pannonia now Hungarie, 32, b 50
Parricide, 7, b 20. ¶ Sée Murther.
Passentius Mortigerns pongest sonne his exploits, 85, a 10. His practise of treason against Aurelius, 85, a 20
Pauia in Lumbardie, 149, b 30
Paul: preached vnto the Britains,

The second table for the historie

tains, 37,a 50
Paules church first a temple, by whome builded, 23, a 60. By whom builded, doubtfull, 102, b 10, 103, a 50
Pauline bishop of Rochester, 111, a 60. Diligent in his office, 107, b 40, 108, a 10. His preaching and baptising preuaileth much, 109, b 60. He prospereth in the discharge of his function, 110, a 50. He flieth into Kent, 111, a 50
Pauline archbishop of yorke, 110, b 10. He receiueth the pall, 110, b 10. He deceaseth, 115, a 50
Peada. ¶ See Peda & Weada.
Peace concluded vpon conditions betweene king Edmund Ironside and Cnute, 178, a 50, 177, b 40. Concluded to make opener waie for treason, 176, b 10. Purchased with monie, 126, b 10, 127, b 10, 165, a 60, 166, a 60, b 60, 169, a 50
Peda king of Middleangles, maried, baptised, 116, b 50. His opinion and saieng of inpgospellers, 117, a 10
Pelagian errors greatlie preuailed in Britaine, 82, b 10. To be suppressed, 110, b 40
Pelagius where borne, his heresie, 82, b 20
Petitus a Spanish wizzard or soothsaier: note, 112, b 50
Penance that Edgar did for deflouring Wilfrid, 161, a 10. Voluntarie that Robert duke of Normandie vndertooke, 201, b 20
Penda king of Mercia, 110, b 50. His crueltie, 111, a 30. His regiment, his acts and deeds, 112, a 20. He enuieth Oswalds well doing, 115, a 10. Slaine by Oswie, 116, b 30
Penius Posthumus killeth himselfe, 46, a 10
Pentarchie of Britaine, 15, a 10 ¶ See Britaine and Kings.
Perdix his prophesies, 14, a 60
Peredurus ¶ See Vigenius.
Perhennis all in all vnder the emperour Cõmodus, 53, b 40.
Periurie neuer left vnpunished: note, 199, a 50. ¶ See Oth and Promise.
Persecution. ¶ See Christians.
Pertinax lieutenant of Britaine, 54, a 10
Peterburrow, 122. a 50. ¶ See Medhamsted.
Peterpence first paid to Rome, 128, a 30. Paid to Rome in Offas time, 132, b 10. Their grant confirmed by Ethelwulfe, 141, a 50
Petronius Turpilianus an idle lieutenant, 46, a 60
Petus Cerealis his hard escape, 44, b 50
Philosopher made a king, 125, b 30
Picts why so named, 9, b 30. Diuided into two nations, 72, b 40. In no Romane writer mentioned before Mamertinus time, 61, b 50. Inuaded this land, and of what nation descended, 47, a 10. The next after the Romans (of strangers) that inuaded this land, 47, a 40. Cut off one part of the limits of the kingdome of Northumberland, 125, b 40. They and Scots recouer a part of their countrie long possessed of the English, 125, a 40. Why they had the south parts of Scotland giuen them, 56, b 30. Allied with the Saxons, 90, a 60. Ouerthrowne by the Northumbers, 129, a 20. ¶ See Scots.
Pictland or Pichtland, 9, b 60
Pilgrimage of Robert duke of Normandie that he voluntarilie tooke to Jerusalem, 201, b 20. Of K. Inas to Rome, 127, b 30. Of Sweine the son of the earle Godwine, 190, b 30
Pinnesses, 4, a 10. ¶ See Gallies.
Pittie procured murther, 50, b 60. Of Adelstan vpon certeine kings that stood to his mercie, 155, a 10
Pledges giuen vpon securitie, 193, b 20, 40. No sufficient warrant of freedome from danger, 174, b 60. English cruellie handled, 173, b 30. ¶ See Hostages.
Pleimond archbishop of Canturburie, 149, a 20. President of the English prouinciall councell, 153, a 60, b 30
Plentie accompanied with manie outragious sinnes: note, 77, b 60
Plesure which bringeth greefe is to be forborne: note, 148, a 60. Of the flesh to loose of life, 134, a 60. Deerelie bought, 161, a 10, 20, 144, b 20. Granted bringeth preferment, 160, b 60, 161, a 10. ¶ See Loue and Lust.
Poictouins put to flight by Corineus, 10, a 10
Poison, & what sharpe punishment was executed vpon one that poisoned hir husband: 154, b 10
Policie of Iulaie discouered: note, 155, b 40. Of Alured to know the state of the Danes his enimies campe, 146, b 10. Of duke William to disorder the Englishmens armie, 200, a 10. Of Gurmundus to take Cirencester, 98, a 20. Of Hengist, 77, 78, 79
Polycletus great port offensiue, 46, a 40
Pope when he first cursed England: note, 153, a 50. Alexander a fauourer of duke Williams conquest of England, 199, a 10. Vitalianus, 120, a 20
Porchester woone by the Romans, 36, a 10
Porrex. ¶ See Ferrex.
Porth the Saxons arriuall in Britaine, 89, a 40
Portelmouth why so named, 89, a 40
Praier to God by the Britains for aid against the Saxons, 8, a 30. Of Voadicia before hir incounter with the Romans, 44, a 40. For victorie before the battell begun, 111, b 60
Praiers, and what effect they haue, 134, a 10
Praiutagus king of Britaine, 32, a 10, ¶ See Aruiragus.
Prebends giuen to vicars, 161, b 30
Preching, and that such as are called to it should haue the knowledge of tongs, 114, a 20. Of what sort preuaileth and is most effectuall, 113, b 20, 114, a 10, &c.
Preest Wighart well seene in the scriptures, 119, b 60
Preests that serued in Claudius temple, spoilers, and robbers, 42, b 20. Go to warre with euill speed, 104, a 30. Went with Peda to teach and baptise the Middleangels, 116, b 60. In battell with their Alleluia: note, 83, a 30. Not to come to the altar barelegged, and white, 134, b 50. Foure all brethren, 118, a 30. Secular had wiues in monasteries, 162, b 40. Put in the roomes of monks, 159, a 50. Little regarded and monks esteemed, 161, b 20. Receiued into monasteries and monks remoued, 162, b 30
Pren, 136, a 50. ¶ See Ethelbert.
Prerogatiue of king Edgar testified, 159, b 40
Present that earle Godwin gaue Hardicnute to redeeme his fauour, 185, a 60
Presents sent to king Adelstan from diuerse kings: note, 156, a 10
Presumption hath a fall, 12, b 50
Pride of Cnute turned into humilitie, 181, b 10
Priuileges granted to Belins highwaies, 16, b 50. Granted to saint Cutberts shrine, 150, a 60. Granted by Mulmutius, 15, b 40
Profit preferred before honestie, 193, a 50
Prophesie, the spirit whereof was in Alfred, 133, b 30. Of king Edward the third fulfilled, 195, b 30
Promise interchangeablie made and sealed with oth, 194, a 20. Faithfullie kept, 167, a 10. Made with corporall oth bred to the purpose, 196, b 60. ¶ See Vow.
Promises in extremities may be made and yet not of necessitie to be performed, 194, a 60, b 10. And rewards moue mightilie, 139, b 50. Faire what mischeefe they make men do, 77, a 20. Not to be trusted, 136, b 50
Prouerbe, The Britains neither valiant in war nor faithfull in peace, 35, b 20. Seians horsse cast his rider, 137, a 20. In trust is trecherie proued true, 5, b 50
Prouision for ships and armor, and what order for maintetning the name, 169, b 10
Punishment vpon the sonne for the fathers offense, 166, b 30
Putta a good musician made bishop of Rochester, 120, b 10. Teacheth song and musike, 122, b 50. Bishop of Rochester is faine to flee, 122, b 50
Pyrrhus his three sons freends to Brute, 7, b 30

Q.

Quaking excessiue reformed by king Edgar, 159, b 60
Quarell vpon a light cause procured slaughter, 18, a 10. Vpon a light occasion, 188, b 10. Vpon words whereof insued wounds and slaughter, 30, b 30. ¶ See Fraie.
Quene, a name withdrawne from the Westsaxons kings wiues, 136, a 20
Quendred king Offa his wife wise but malicious, 133, b 10. Hir ambitious and enuious mind at hir brothers aduancement, 139, b 50. Murthereth hir sonne Kenelme, 136, b 10
Quinburga the daughter of Ceaflus king of Mercia, 109, b 60
Quintus Atrius ouerseer of the Romane name, 28, a 50
Quintus Laberius Durus a tribune slaine, 28, b 60

R.

Raine in Sussex none for three yeares space, 123, a 30
Raine of bloud, 14, a 60
Ransome of a bishop out of the Danes hands, 151, b 10
Rashnesse of Adelstane discommendable, 155, a 60, b 20
Rauishments inforced by the Romans, 45, b 10. ¶ See Lust.
Rebellion preuented and punished, 73, a 60. Of subiects, 149, b 60. Actuall of people against their prince, 128, b 10. Of the Britains against their lords and gouernors, 70, b 60. Of the midle part of England against king Edwin, 159, a 40. Of Northumbers against Tostie their earle, 194, b 30. Of certeine dukes against Oswie, 118, b 60. ¶ See Disobedience.
Reding where the Danes got the victorie, 143, b 50. Discomfited, 144, a 10
Redwald king of Eastangles interteineth Edwine in exile, 104, b 40. Baptised, he would serue God and the diuell, 110, a 10
Reguli of Britaine seuen, 82, a 60
Religion & christian faith that king Edmund would not renounce to the losse of his life: note, 144, a 60. Feloullie aduanced by king Oswald, 114, a 50. Receiued of the Middleangles, 116, b 60, 117, a 10. And of the Estsaxons, a 20. Greatlie decaied in Britaine, 82, b 10. Restored by Mortimer after the banquishing of the Saxons, 81, a 60. In Britaine in Octauius time, 66, a 50. Embraced for commoditie sake, 123, a 60. Embraced of the Eastsaxons with zeale to die for it, 121, a 10. Greatlie decaied, 98, b 20. Not to be lingered or dallied withall, 108, 109. A cloke to rob and spoile, 42, b 20. Reuolting from it punished by God, 111, a 60. Aduanced by king Edred, 158, b 10. Decaied againe among the Britains, 94, a 20. The professors of it hated of the Eastsaxons, 106, a 60, b 10. Heathenish nothing worth: note, 109, a 60
Repentance too late, 155, b 10. Of Alfred for murthering hir stepson, 163, b 10. Of Elfer too late, 163, b 30
Regiment. ¶ See Monarchie.
Restitutus bishop of London, 66, a 50
Reuenge with slaughter of manie for killing some few, 134, b 10, Sought with euill successe, 8, a 60. That God himselfe tooke for wrong done, 175, a 60. Of an old grudge, 180, b 60. Sought of iniuries receiued, 42, b 60. Without mercie, 45, a 10, b 60. Long thought vpon, 127, a 60. Of the Scots and Picts vpon Mortigerne & the Britains, 78, a 10. Iustlie taken by God against prophane men, 106, b 60, 10. With sore outrage, 126, a 30. Vpon the dead for iniu-
ries

ries receiued, 185, a 10. Reuenge vpon a light occasion, 188, b 10. Of an old wrong, 191, a 10. Of murther by murther: note, 131, a 60, 137, a 10
Rewards moue men to ame attempt, 139, b 50
Rice. ¶ See Griffin.
Richborough. ¶ See Sandwich.
Richelinus. ¶ See Cinegisclus.
Riclag king of Northumbers dieth, 150, a 10
Ricula sister to Ethelbert, 103, a 50
Rimalus the thirteenth ruler of Britaine, 14, a 50
Robert archbishop of Canturburie, 187, b 20, 60. Banished, 191, a 20
Robert duke of Normandie father to duke William, diuerse acts of his, as well wanton as serious, 201, b 20
Roderike king of Picts inuadeth this land, and is slaine, 47, a 10
Rochester besieged by Danes, 147, a 60. Saint Andrewes church there by whome builded, 102, b 10, 103, a 50. The church defaced by Edilred, 122, b 50. The see void, 111, a 50. Bishop Ithamar consecrateth archbishops of Canturburie, 116, b 40
Rollo a Dane with a fresh power entreth into England, 146, a 20. The first duke of Normandie, & how he came to it, 201, a 30
Rome builded, 14, a 60. The empire diuided betweene two, 64 a 60, 63, a 10. Taken by Bren and Belin, 17, b 10
Rome scot. ¶ See Peterpence.
Romans whereof so named, 74, a 60. Land in Britaine without resistance, 28, a 30. Why they warred against Britaine, 24, a 20. Vtterlie subdue the Britons but not without much bloodshed and slaughter, 28, b 60. Take Caratake wife and daughter prisoners, 39, a 30. Plaie the diuels in Britaine vnder Ostorius Scapula, 37, a 10, &c. Proud and ambitious, 40, a 60. In despaire withdraw into the capitol, 17, b 60. Incountering with the Galles ouerthrowne, 17, b 60. Discouer Britaine, 24, a 40. Pursue the Britons and put them to flight, 26, b 60. Outragious rauishers and deflourers of womankind, 45, a 60, b 10. Received a great ouerthrow in Britaine, and put to their hard shifts in Domitians daies, 41, a 50. Put to their shifts by the Britains, 25, a 10. Get to land, but vnable to follow the Britains farre, 25, b 20. Refuse for euerie light occasion to come oder and aid the Britons, 70, b 20. Knew not Britaine but by report, 24, a 20. Natiues why placed in townes subdued, 38, a 10. Their ensigne an eagle, 25, a 40. They relieue the Britans against the Scots and Picts, repining to be alwaies their aidors, 70, b 20. Cursed of the Druides, 41, b 40. Opinions touching the partile conquest of Britaine by them, 35, a 60. Manifold oppressions moueth the Britans to rebellion, 42, all. In all their martiall affaires verie fortunat, 74, a 60. Go to the pot appese by thousands vnder Seuerus his conduct, 55, b 60. Vncouth armour their great hinderance, 29, a 10. Terrified at the strange noise of bells vsed in the British armie, 27, b 10. Villanous and vnnaturall cruelties, 42, a 60. By thousands slaine of the Britains, 45, a 10
Romanus bishop of Rochester drowned as he went to Rome 111, a 60
Ronix a Saxonish ladie and daughter to Hengist arriueth in Britaine, 78, b 60. Taketh Vortigerne with the bait of hir beautie, 79, a 60. Poisoneth Vortimer hir sonne in law, 80, b 40
Rud speaketh, 162, b 60
Rowen. See Ronix.
Rule parted betweene two or more. ¶ See Ambition, Brennus, Ferrex, and Morgan.
Rulers gouerne Britaine, 11, 12, 13, &c.
Rutupium. ¶ See Richborough and Sandwich.

S.

SAbert reigned ouer the Eastsaxons, and receiueth the faith, 103, a 50
Saberts three most lewd sons deseruedlie slaine all togither, 106, b 60
Sabinus his valiantnesse against the Britans, 34, b 40
Sacrifices by whome to be made, 2, b 40. Of prisoners, 41, b 50
Saint Albons bones taken vp and put into a rich shrine, 132, a 10
Saint Audrie of Elie. ¶ See Ethelreda.
Saint Clements Danes without Temple barre, 185, a 20
Saint Cutbert apeered to K. Alured, 146, a 60. His shrine priuileged, 150, a 60
Saint Ellutus bell, 161, a 60
Salassians inhabitants about Italie and Switserland, 33, a 10
Salisburie besieged by the Danes, 176, a 20. ¶ See Ambrie.
Salisburie plaine where the Saxons and Britons met, 81, b 40. And of the stones there at this date remaining. ¶ See Stoneheng.
Salomon king of Britaine Armorike, 112, b 30
Samaritans maner of seruing God, 110, a 10
Samothea the name of Britaine, 2, a 60
Samotheans subdued by Albion, 4, a 40
Samothes what part of the world he had for his portion, 2, a 30
Sandwich or Richborough, 72, b 60. where Uespasian durst not arriue, 36, b 40
Sarron the sonne of Magus, 2. b 30
Sarronides dw neuer sacrifice without a philosopher, 2, b 40
Satisfaction for sinnes, 163, b 20
Saxons described, 96, b 60. Traitorous, 81, b 60. They and the Picts renew their league, 82, b 60. Sue for licence to Vortimer to depart home into Germanie, 90, b 40. Came swarming like bees into Britaine, 81, a 30. Remouing Britains out of their seats still gained ground of them, 97, b 40. First inuasion into great Britaine: note, 73, b 60. Plagued by Arthur of Britaine, 90, a 60. Foure notable battels giuen them by the Britains to their ouerthrowes, 80, b 10. Slaughtered at Badon hill, 88, a 50. Appointed to plague the Britains from time to time for there fowle sinnes, 96, b 30. Pursue the Britains without ceassing, &c. 97, b 60, 98, a 10. Erect an heptarchie or seuen kingdomes, 97, b 40. What parts of Britaine they had in their hands in Vortigers time, 83, b 60. The first fight betwixt them in this Iland, 97, a 20. Ouerthrowne besieging Bath, 90, b 60, 91, a 10. Arrive and dwell in Northumberland, 79, b 40. Well interreined of Vortigerne, 78 a 60. Well nigh wasted by Vortimers warres, 80, b 10. Ioine with the Scots and Picts against the Britains, 81, a 30. Rouers, pirats, and more cruell than all other enimies, 75, a 40. Waged to aid the Britains against the Picts and Scots, 78, a 30. Slaine and not one left to carrie newes into their owne countrie out of Britaine, 74, a 50. Come thicke and threefold into Britaine, 79, b 20. Make miserable destruction in this land, 79, b 50, 80, a 10. Notablie discomfited by the Britains conducted by two holie bishops: note, 83, a 20. Called English what they were, 78, b 10. English subdued by Ethelbert, 99, a 50. The blood or race of them ceassed to reigne in England, 200, b 50. ¶ See Estangels, Southsaxons, and Westsaxons
Schoole erected at Cambridge, by king Sigebert, 21, a 10
Sceua the sonne of Androgeus &c: hostages to Cesar, 30, b 50
Scots had no habitations in Britaine in the time of Honorius the emperour, 71, b 10. They and the Picts trouble this Ile, 72, a 20. Plague the Britains extremelie, 70, a 50, b 40. Not once named in the Romane writers till about Constantius time: note, 41, a 40. First comming out of Spaine into Ireland, 75, b 40 First comming out of Scithia, 75, b 40. Descended of Scithians as some thinke, 47, a 10. Inhabited Ireland, 47, a 10. Forced to submit themselues to Arthur, 91, a 10. Instructed in the faith, 82, b 60. Their king hath Cumberland giuen him and holdeth it by homage, 157, a 30. Varie about the keeping of Easter, 114, a 10 Receiue an oth to be true to king Edred, 158, a 40. Subdued, and their king forced to deliuer his son as hostage to king Adelstan, 155, a 50. Vanquished by the Saxons, 78, a 60. Afflicted by the Saxons, 79, b 30. Inuade the Britains in Vortigerns time, 78, a 10. Made the third nation that inhabited Britaine, 75, b 40. Hampered for comming into Britaine to giue battell, 103, b 60 ¶ See Picts.
Scotland wasted by king Adelstane, 155, a 40
Sebbi king of Eastsaxons a professed monke, 122, a 60
Sebert king of the Eastsaxons conuerted to the faith & baptised, 106, b 10
Sedition, 131, a 10. ¶ See Discord and warres ciuill.
Segburga queene of the Westsaxons hir gouernement, 122, a 10. Wife of Ercombert, 114, b 50
Seginus duke of the Allobrogs, 16, b 20
Setians horsse, 137, a 30
Seired king of Eastsaxons, 129, a 10. Slaine, 133, b 60
Serred. ¶ See Seward.
Seruants louing their masters, 134, a 60
Seuerus arriueth in Britaine, and would be surnamed Britannicus, 55, a 20 Reigned as king, 54, a 60. His seuere and cruell commandement, 56, a 10. Setteth the destruction of Albions, 54, a 40. Slaine by Fulgentius, 54, b 10. His death, 56, a 20. And maner of funerall after the Romane fashion, ibidem 60
Seuerus colonell of the footmen putteth the Saxons in feare, 74, a 10
Sewfred. ¶ See Sigfere.
Sexwulfe bishop of Mercies, 122, a 50
Shaftsburie called mount Paladour, 12, b 30
Ships of Cnute passing for pompe, 173, b 60
Sibert king of Estangles christened, 110, a 20
Sicilius king of Britaine, 19, b 50. ¶ See Silillius.
Sidroc a Danish earle slaine in fight, 143, a 40
Sigbert. ¶ See Sigibert.
Sigebert. ¶ See Sabert and Sibert.
Sigeferd. ¶ See Morcad.
Sighere gouernour of a part of the Eastsaxons with Sebbi, 122, b 10. Confirmed notablie in the faith, 121, a 10. King of Eastsaxons renounceth the faith, and imbraceth idolatrie, 120, b 60
Sighard. ¶ See Sewfred.
Sights strange import an alteration of the state, 196, b 10. Strange in the aire, 135, b 60
Sigibert king of Eastangles loueth learning, buildeth schooles, resigneth his kingdome, & becommeth a monke, he is slaine, 116, a 20
Sigibert king of Westsaxons cruell at home but a coward abrode, 131, a 50
Sigibert the second receiued the faith, 117, a 20. Murthered by two of his owne kinsmen, 117, a 60, b 10
Signes of ill lucke, 133, b 10
Silures inhabited in Southwales or neere vnto the Welsh marches, 38, a 40. Why so whetted & eager against the Romans, 40, a 10
Simon Zelotes. ¶ See Joseph of Arimathia
Simplicitie of king Constantius abused by Vortigerne, 77, a 10
Singing brought into churches, 120, a 60. ¶ See Churches and Musike.
Sinnes abhominable of the Britains

Britains the cause of their scourging by the Saxons, 96,b 30. ¶ See Gyldas.
Siricius archbishop of Canterburie, 166,a 60
Sisillius the fifteenth ruler of Britaine, 14,b 10
Sithrike king of Northumberland, 150,a 60
Siward earle of Northumberland dieth: note, 192,b 60
Slander prevented, 188,b 60
Slouth ingendreth lecherie, 11, b 50
Snow and frost great, 133,a 10. Of aboue two moneths continuance, 188,a 10
Sodomie committed, 11,b 60
Soldiers of Aulus Plautius disordered, 34,a 10. Of Britaine valorous, 69,b 20. Peerlesse, 68,a 60
Soldiers like not lawes to keepe them in order, 54, a 30. Against their capteine, 46,b 10
Southmercia, 118,b 40
Southsaxons kingdome what number of families it contened, 123,a 10. It ceaseth, 127, b 20. ¶ See Sussex.
Sparatinum a towne, 8,a 40, 60
Spie. ¶ See Policie.
Spring tides, 174,a 30
Stanelmere, 47,a 50
Stiermarke ¶ See Valeria.
Stigand archbishop of Canturburie by intrusion, 191, a 40. Made but a iest at K. Edwards prophetical speeches, 195,b 20
Stilico the sonne in law to Honorius, his acts and deeds in Britaine, 74,b 50
Stoneheng on Salisburie plain why so called, 84,b 60. Called Chorea gigantum, 88,b 20
Strangers teach Englishmen diverse vile vices, 159, b 60. Suspected of the Britains, for their multitudes, 79,b 50. Ought not to quarell in forren countries, 188,b 10
Strenwold a valiant man slaine, 166,a 50
Subiection makes kings know themselues, 21, 10, b 20. Of Britaine to the Romans when it was, 31,a 60
Subtiltie of Wortigerne to conceale his treason, 77,a 30
Succession. ¶ See Crowne.
Suebhard. ¶ See Nidred.
Suetonius lieutenant of Britaine inuadeth Anglesea, &c: 41, b 10. Incourageth his bands against Boadicia and hir Britains, 45,b 20. Supplied with fresh forces setteth vpon the Britains, 45, a 50. Thinking vpon safetie withdraweth himselfe and his forces, 44,a 60. By hart grudge thrust at to lose his dignitie, 46,a 30
Suidhelme king of Estsaxons christened, 117,b 60
Sunne eclipsed exceedinglie, 130,a 60
Suspicion sometimes necessarie, 81,b 60
Sussex or Southsex, with the beginning of the Southsaxons kingdoms, 86,a 10, Imbraceth the faith, 123.a 10. Afflicted with famine for lacke of raine, 123, a 30. ¶ See Southsex & Southsaxons.
Swaine arriuing at Sandwich spoileth all the countrie neere the sea side, 169,a 20. Reputed full king of England handleth the people hardlie, 172, b 60. Conquered the greater part of England, 172,b 12. King of Denmarke, taketh Norweie and spoileth it, 168,b 60. Prepareth a fresh armie to inuade England, 171,a 60. Erle Godwins son, banished, his lewd life, 188,a 10, 60. He rebelleth against his father Godwin, his miserable end going on pilgrimage, 190,b 30. His end and death, 178,a 10
Swimming a practise vsed among the Britains, 48,a 10
Swithed. ¶ See Swithred.
Swithred king of Eastsaxons expelled, 133,b 60
Swithune bishop of Winchester of king Egberts councell, 140,b 20
Synod prouinciall to reforme wants in the church, 153,a 60 Holden for the approuing of images, 128,a 60. Held in Augustines time, 102, b 30, 60. Held at Hatfield, 123, b 10. Held at Herford, 121, a 60. Held in Mercia, & what was there done, 135,a 10

T.

TAcwine archbishop of Canturburie, 129,b 60. He dieth, 130,b 50
Tempest on sea, 25,b 60. Wherin Cesar lost 40 ships, 28,b 10
Tenancius assisted Cassibelane against Cesar, 27,a 40. ¶ See Geomantus.
Tenet Ile a refuge for Saxons, 80,b 40
Thamar an Englishman bishop of Rochester, 115,a 60
Thames passable by foord in one place in Cesars time, 31,a 20
Theobaldus the brother of Edelferd slaine, 103,b 60
Theodore made archbishop of Canturburie vpon conditions, 120,a 20. Calleth & holdeth a synod at Herford, 121,a 60. His acts and deeds after his installment, 120,a 50. Worthilie praised, 120, b 10. Reconcileth two kings being at warres, 123, a 60, b 10. Holdeth a synod at Hatfield, 123, b 10. His articles proponed in the synod, 121,a 60. Eightie & eight yeares old, 126,b 20
Theodora maried to Constantius, 62,b 40
Theodosius his acts and deeds in Britaine, 72,73. Preventeth a conspiracie against him and punisheth the offendors, 73,b 10. His praise, 73,b 40
Theomantius K. of Britaine giueth tribut to the Romans, 32,a 60
Theefe murthered king Edmund, 157,b 10
Theefe nor robber but died in Edgars time, 160,a 20
Theft restrained by laws: note, 148,b 20. Punished, 16,a 10
Thomas bishop of the Eastangles after Felix, 116,a 60
Thule of some taken to be Ireland, of other some Scotland, 74,b 50
Thunnir theefe ruler of the land vnder Egbert, 122,a 30 A vile murtherer, 122,a 30
Thuringers a people in Saxonie, 79,a 30
Tida bishop of Northumbers, 119,b 10
Tilebirge now Tilberie, 117, b 60
Tithing prepostorous, nine

slaine, and the tenth reserued, 183,a 10, 184,a 40. Of the people of Canturburie by the Danes prepostorous, 170,b 10
Tithings, & who diuided countries into tithings, and what it meaneth, 148,b 20
Togodumnus a British by the Romans vanquished, 34,a 40 35,a 10
Tokens. ¶ See Sights and wonders.
Tormace. ¶ See Theomantius
Tostie earle of Northumbers his cruelties, 194, b 30. Disquieteth his brother Harold, spoiling his countries, he is repelled, 197,b 30. His cruell dealing procureth a rebellion, 194,b 20. Slaine, 198,a 30
Totnesse, where Uespasian arriued, 36,b 40
Tours whether built by Brute or no, 10, a 20, 60
Towne, or hold, & what so called of the Britains, 29,b 60
Townes erected and repared by Elfleda: note, 152, a 30. By king Edward, 152,b 50
Tower of London built by Beline, and first called Belines tower, 19,a 10
Traherne slaine, 65,b 30
Trebellius Maximus lieutenant of Britaine, 46,a 60
Treason practised by Alfred to keepe Adelstane from the crowne, 154,a 10
Treason of Alfrike in fleeing to the Danes, 166,b 20. Of Alfrike punished in his son Algar, 166,b 30. Of Almaricus in betraieng Canturburie to the Danes, 170,a 60. Of Andragatius in killing of Gratian the emperour, 68, a 60, b 10. Of Androgeus in aiding Cesar against Cassibelane, 30,b 60. What insued vpon it to the author, 32,a 60. Most villanous of Edrike in a fought battell, 176,a 40. Notablie coloured, 169,a 60. Procuring K. Edmunds death, punished with death, 178,b 30 Of Eumerus, 107, b 40. Of Harold by a counterfet letter, 183,b 60, b 10 all, 184,a all. Of Hengist to kill the Britains vnarmed, 81, b 50. Against Ostrida, 128, a 50. Of Pascentius practised by a counterfet monke vpon Aurelius, 85,a 20. Of a Pict in killing king Constantine, 76,b 10. Of the Picts against Ballianus 56,b 30. Of the Scots and Picts killing their king, 77,a 20. Of Wortigerne to atteine the kingdome: note, 77,a 10. Of archbishop Wolstane, 158, a 60. Of cousins, 129, a 20. Perswaded by a wife to hir husband, and practised, 133, b 10. In the nobilitie, 167,b 20, 60. In trust: note, 39,a 30, 40 Coloured with counterfet sickenesse, 168,b 50. Bringeth an euill end: note, 179, b 50, Punished with sudden death, 154,a 10 ¶ See Trust.
Triumph. ¶ See Victorie.
Tribute exacted by the Danes of the English, 170,b 40. Paid to the Danes that late at Greenewich, 174, a 30. By them inhanced, 168,a 10. Raised by king Hardicnute, 185, a 20. Paid to England out of Wales, 193, b 10. Of three thousand pounds paid to the Romans, 31, a 10. Paid by the Britans to the Romans, 30,b 10. Paid by the Danes to the king of Britaine, 19,a 40. Denied to the Romans, & what warres insued, 33,a 60. Of wolfeskins, 160,a 20. Of gold, siluer, neat, hawks, and hounds paid to Adelstan, 156, a 20
Troians accompanie Brute, 9. a 60
Troinouant now London, 23,a 60. Where, when, & by whome builded, 11,a 10
Troinouants what they were & where they inhabited, 20,b 40
Trust treasonable, 81,b 40, 60. 115,b 10. note, 132,a 10. 136,b 50. 139,b 50. 163,a 30. 166,b 20. ¶ See Treason.
Truth told with reproofe purchaseth displeasure, 159,a 20
Turgestus pursueth the conquest of Ireland, 98,a 10
Turketell Mireneheued white he deserued an euerlasting reproch, 169,b 60
Turkillus a Dane ruler in Northfolke & Suffolke, 170, b 40. Retained in seruice with Egelred, 173,b 40. Discloseth the secrets of this land to K. Swaine, 171,a 40. His drift (being sworne to Egelred) to aduance Cnute, 173, b 50, 60
Turketillus a Danish erle subdued, 151,b 20
Turinus the nephue of Brute slaine. 10,b 60
Turonium ¶ See Tours.
Tyrant & a king distinguished, 98,b 60

V.

VAlens Iouinus master of the horsles, 73,b 50
Valentia a part of Britaine, 73, b 30
Valentians, now Romans, 74, a 60
Valentinus banished into Britaine, his wicked practises, 73,a 60. Relieueth & succoreth the distressed Britains, 70,b 10. Put in danger by Maximus, 68,b 30. Slaine, 83,b 30
Valeria adioining to Pannonia, 73. a 60. Now Stiermarke, 73,a 60
Valiantnesse of Edoll with a hedgestake, 82,a 10. Of a Romane ensignebearer, 25, a 40. Of Siward euen at his death, 192,a 30, b 60
Vannes in Armorica, now Britaine in France, 24,a 50
Ubba and Hungar two Danish captens and cruell of nature, 142,b 60
Vellocatus a squire marrieth queene Cartimandua, hir husband Venutius being reiected, 40,b 50
Venedocia now Northwales, 27,a 30
Vengeance. ¶ See Reuenge.
Venutius a skilfull British capteine, reiected of his wife, his acts and deeds, 40, b 30
Verannius his purpose against Britaine preuented by death, 41,a 60
Verolamium a towne of great fame in the daies of Boadicia, 45, a 10
Uespasian sent by Claudius into Britaine & where he arriued, 36,b 30. He is dead, 51,a 20
Uffa a Saxon & his dominion in Britaine, 87,a 10
Victorie wauering and inconstant, 80,a 30. Abused with excessiue cruelties, 45,a 10. Of the Britains

Britains against the legion of Manlius Valens, 40, b 10. Of Marius against the Picts ingrauen vpon a stone in place where it was gotten, 47, a 50. Of Ostorius against Caratake: note, 39, a 50, 60. Of Oswies vow if he might obteine it against the enimie, 118, b 40. Notable against the Saxons, by the conduct of a British armie vnder two bishops, 83, a 20. Vsed by Swaine, 172, b 60
Victius Volanus lieutenant of Britaine, 46, b 20
Vies. 15, b 30. ¶ See Malmesburie.
Vigenius and Peredurus reigne iointlie as kings, 21, b 30
Vikillus gouernour of Northfolke killeth a great manie of the Danes, 169, a 10
Virgine & yet a wife, 125, a 50. Of Friswide hir withstanding of prince Algar, 133, b 60, 134, a 10
Of Ireland called Modwen, renowmed, 142, a 30
Virginitie of the daughter saued by the losse of the maids: note, 160, b 60
Vision of Dunstane, 157, b 40. Telling him of king Edreds death, 158, b 10. Of K. Edgar a litle before his death, 161, a 60. Appearing to Edwin, 108, a 40. Of Egwin bishop of Worcester, 128, a 60. Of Augustine the monke. ¶ See Dreame.
Vitalianus pope, 120, a 20
Vitæ, ¶ See Iutes.
Vlpius Marcellus lieutenant in Britaine verie watchfull: note, 53, b 10
Vlysses in Britaine, 6, b 50
Vnguist king of Picts, 131, b 20
Vniuersitie. ¶ See Cambridge.
Vnkindnesse of Leirs daughters to their father, 13, a 60
Vnthankefulnesse to God punished, 111, a 60
Voadicia the wife of Aruiragus beaten of the Romane souldiers, 42, a 60. Described, with the pithie speech that she made to the Britains against the Romans, 43, all 44. Hir daughters cruelie abused at the Romans hands, 45, a 60. Chosen of the Britans to be their capteine against the Romans, 42, b 60. Hir death doubtfull, 45, b 60
Vortigerns ambition to reigne & rule, 77, a 10. Chosen K. of Britaine, 77, a 60. A meane that Constantius the monke was made king, 76, b 50. Depriued of roialtie by his people, 79, b 60
Forsabeth his wife to marrie Ronix a Saxonish damsell, 79, a 60. Welcommeth the Saxons in Britaine, 78, a 60. Taken prisoner by Hengist & how released, 82, a 10. Put in feare of his vsurped estate, 77, b 50, 78, a 10. Busie in building a castell, 84, a 10. Much giuen to sensuall lust, 79, a 40. Restored to his kingdome, 81, b 10. Incestuous & lewd of life, 84, a 20. Burned to deth within a castell, 84, a 20
Vortimer succeedeth Vortigerne as king of Britaine, 79, b 60. He is made king, 80, a 60
Vortimer restored religion after he had vanquished the Saxons, 81, a 60. Imbattelled against the Saxons, 80, b 10. Noble victories against Saxons, 80, b 10. Poisoned by his mother in law Ronix, 80, b 40
Vortiporus king of Britains, his exploits, & Gildas exclamations against him, 95, b 60
Vow of chastitie inuiolablie kept 125, a 50. Of Ceadwalla if he might get & conquer the Ile of Wight, 124, b 50. Of Ethelwulfe whereof the pope absolued him, 140, a 30. That Oswie & made, if he might haue victorie, performed, 118, a 40, 60
Vsurie by the Romans inforced vpon the Britons, 42, b 10
Uter why surnamed Pendragon 87, b 10 Made K. of Britaine, 87, b 10. Encountereth Pascentius and his aids & killeth them, 85, a 10. Falleth in loue with ladie Igwarne another mans wife, 88, a 20. Goeth into Ireland, and incountreth Gallomanus, 84, b 60. His decease, 88, b 10. ¶ See Aurelius Ambrose, 77, a 40
Utred deliuered pledges vnto Cnute and put to death notwithstanding, 174, b 60
Vulfrea son of Edwin, 111, a 50
Vulfhere king of Mercies his acts & deeds, 119, a 10. A great furtherer of religion, he dieth, 121, a 10

W.

Wade a duke conspirator of Ethelberts deth, 137, a 10
Walbrooke in London whie so called. 57, a 10
Waldhere bishop of London, 122, a 60
Wales destroied and harried by the Englishmen, 193, b 10
Wallus brooke. ¶ See Walbrooke.
Warre is to be begun with praier: example, 111, b 60
Warre & famine signified, 135, a 60
Wars ciuill fiftie yeares in Britaine, 15, a 10. Among the Britains, 97, b 60. Decaied the force of the Britains, 71, a 10. Betweene the British kings, 98, b 40. Betwixt K. Cuthred and one of his earls, 131, a 20. In Edrikes time, 126, a 10. Betweene Ethelard and Oswald, 129, a 10. Betweene Madred & Constantine for succession to the crowne, 94, a 50. Among the Englishmen, 137, a 20. Betweene the kings of Northumberland, 115, a 60. By a womans meanes, 40, b 40. Ceased betweene the Britains and Romans by queene Genissas meanes, 36, b 50
Warwikeshire wasted by the Danes, 174, b 30
Wassail what it signifies, 79, a 60
Watchword of treason. Nempe your sexes, 81, b 50
Watlingstreet. ¶ See Highwaies.
Wednesday why so named, 79, a 10
Weights. ¶ See Measures.
Wellowin, where & great slaughter of Danes did begin 168, a 40
Welshmen obteined victorie against the Englishmen, 192, b 20. Rising in armes, were alwaies subdued, 188, a 40. Whense they tooke their name, 126, b 40. Preuent a slander, 188, b 60. Their kings in the dais of Edgar, 159, b 30. Ioine with the Danes & are banquished, 139, a 40. Rebell against Edgar and are subdued, 161, a 40. Good seruice against the Romans, 27, b 10. Are the verie Britons in deed, 90, a 50. Agree to paie their accustomed tribut to England, 193, b 10. Ouerthrowne in battell, 131, a 20
Werefredus bishop of Worcester, 149, a 10
Werinians. ¶ See Thuringers.
Werlamchester, now saint Albons, 62, a 10
Westmaria, now Westmerland, 47, a 50
Westmerland of whome first named, 47, a 50
Westminster church built, 52, a 60
By whom builded, vncerteine, 102, b 10
Westsaxons conuerted vnto the faith, 114, b 10. Their conquest or victories, 138, b 20. Their kings and of whom descended, 95, a 50. They would not let their wiues be called queenes, 136, a 20. Haue the whole monarchie of the land, 127, a 40. Their progenie ceased in Edward the third, 195, b 50. Their kingdome vnder whome it began, 87, a 40. 89, b 30. Subiect to two, 124, b 10, 105, a 20. Kent & Essex annexed to that kingdome, 139, b 30
Wichtred king of Kent dieth leauing issue three sons, 129, b 40
Wife and yet a virgin, 125, a 50. 154, b 20
Wife forsaken: note, 79, a 60. Not to be forsaken without cause: note danger, 136, b 60. Faithlesse and adulterous exemplified, 40, b 40, Louing to hir husband, 5, b 60. 133, b 30. Loued with dotage, 79, b 50
Wife of Berne a noble man ranished, bred much mischiefe, 144, b 20
Wines twentie and one had Ebranke, 11, b 60
Wighart a priest well seene in the scriptures, 119, b 60. Dieth of the pestilence, 120, a 10
Wight Ile conquered by Ceadwalla, 124, b 50. Subdued to the Romans, 36, b 60. Conquered by Vulfhere, 119, a 30. Receiueth the faith, 124, b 60
Wightam towne in Essex built, 151, a 50
Wilfeketell. ¶ See Vikillus.
Wilfrid the second archbishop of Canturburie, 129, a 50
Wilfrid archbishop of Yorke, 120, a 60. How far his iurisdiction extended, 121, a 30
Wilfrid bishop of Northumbers, 119, b 10
Wilfrid by licence of king Edelwalke preacheth the gospell to them of Sussex, 123, a 10. Taught the Southsaxons to catch fishes with nets, 123, a 50
What part of the Ile of Wight king Ceadwalla gaue him, 124, b 50. Deposed for disobedience, 122, a 50. Banished, 122, b 60. A long time in exile now restored, 125, b 50. A briefe rehearsall of him, 129, a 40
Wilfrid a yong damsell defloured of king Edgar, 160, b 50
William bishop of London banished, 191, a 20
William the poore bishop of Rochester, 122, b 50
William duke of Normandie abideth Edward the third going to take sea into England, 186, b 40. ¶ See Duke.
Wilnot a Sussex gentleman an enimie to king Egelred, 169, b 10
Wilton spoiled by the Danes, 168, b 60
Winchester called Caerguent, 12, b 30. Destroied by the Danes, 144, b 10. The church where the bishops see of all that prouince was then placed, by who builded, 121, b 60, 122, a 10
Wincigi a kind of strange people late at Fulham, 147, a 50
Wind blustering that ouerthrew cities. 135, a 60
Wine forbidden monks and at last granted, 133, a 10
Wini bishop admitted by king Chenwald & expelled againe, 115, b 60
Winnebert a traitorous murtherer of his lord and master, 133, b 20
Wipets field in Kent and when fought, 86, b 30
Withred king of Kent after seuen yeares vacancie, 126, a 10
Woden an ancient prince of the Saxon kings pedegree, 78, b 60, 79, a 10. His three sonnes, & what kings of Britaine descended of them, 95, a 50
Wolfchere archbishop of Northumbers, 150, a 10
Wollian archbishop of Yorke, 156, a 50. Imprisoned by king Edred, 158, a 60
Woman not without a mischeeuous practise, 80, b 40. Wicked counsell, 133, b 10. Good counsell, 104, b 50. Perswasion worketh much, 159, a 20. Deuise to make hir husband forsake the world, 128, a 10. Gouernment ouer the Westsaxons, 122 a 10. Commended, 19, b 60. Wisdome praiseworthie, 179, b 30
Women in a strange maner of habit and attire, 41, b 40. Beare rule in Britaine, 11, b 30, 13, b 50. Restreined of their great and supreme titles, 136, a 20. They as well as men admitted to publike gouernment among the Britains, 42, b 60. Their rule disdained, 40, b 60
Women with child taught a lesson of continence by Eisieds, 148, a 60. To be baptised and purified: note, 101, b 40. What parents should do when they haue a child brought into the world, 107, b 60, 108, a 10
Wonder of crosses that fell from heauen signifieng affliction, 135, b 50
Wonders strange seene import an alteration of the state, 196, b 10 and prophetticall, 42, b 30
Woods cut downe in Angleseie by Suetonius, &c. 41, b 50
Words faire make fooles faine to their smart, 132, a 10. Not lightlie to be trusted, 136, b 50. Breed displeasure, 161, b 50. Ill taken and bred hatred: note, 40, a 10. Breed wounds and slaughter, 30, b 30. The price of life: note, 155, b 20
Wrestling an ancient exercise, 10, b 40

Y.

Yarmouth. ¶ See Cerdicshore.
Yorke called Caerbranke and by whom build[illegible] nd named, 12, a 10. Be[illegible] by Arthur, 90, b 30. V[illegible]t by the Danes, 143, a 30
Yorkeshiremen rebell and the authors punished by Ostorius Scapula, 37, b 60

Z.

Zeale of Edwin in preferring religion, 110, a 10. Of Oswald to aduance the same, 114, a 50

FINIS propositi laus Christo nescia FINIS.

The third table for the deſcription, hiſtorie, *and chronicles of Ireland: gathered by Iohn* Hooker *aliàs* Vowell, gentleman.

The firſt number noteth the page, the ſecond the line.

A.

Aberteiſie, 4,6
Abbeie of Bangor, 54,6
Adam of Herefoꝛd admerall of the Engliſh fleet, diſcomfiteth and ſpoileth the Iriſh fleet, 33,10
Adelike caſtell taken. 62,22
Adrian the pope confirmeth the priuileges of the church and realme of Ireland, 35,17
Adulteric cauſe of warres. 1,40
Affliction maketh men religious, 53,54
Allaine Zouch lord iuſtice ſlaine by the earle of Surrie lord Fitzwarren, 62,55
Allen archbiſhop of Dublin enimie to the Giraldines, was murthered, 92,1
Allen ſir Iohn knight, enimie to the erle of Kildare, 88,67
Allen doctor acquainted with Iames Fitzmoꝛis, 154, 23. Ioineth with him in conſpiracie, ibi. He arriueth into Ireland, ib. 44. He cauſeth the popes banner to be diſplaied. 159,5. He incourageth the traitoꝛs, ib. 30. He is ſlain, ib. 28, 46
Alma daughter to erle Strangbowe, married vnto william Fitzgirald, 35,74
Alman Walter, 41,40. Seneſhall of Wexford, ibid. 43. Coꝛrupt and couetous, ib. 46. A ſecret enimie to Reimond, ib. 58.
Amercedure Fitzſtephans ſonne 45,54
Ambition bꝛeedeth diſſention, 49,70
Ambition cauſe of bloudſhed, 49,70
Antragh: Two late quoth Bois 75,66
Articles concluded at the ſynod of Caſhill, 23,45
Articles foꝛ gouernment, 111,3
Ardeſcoll towne burned, 63,41
Arthur mac Moꝛough diſcomfited by the earle of Oꝛmond, 77,1
Arthur king of England receiueth homage at weſtcheſter foꝛ the realme of Ireland, 49, 60, 36, 10
Arundell of the Strand his reuenues one thouſand fiue hundꝛed pound, 75,22
Arnold ſir Nicholas lord iuſtice, 110,28
Artieles foꝛ marſhall law, 166,6
Archbiſhops appointed in Ireland, 31,20, 59,20
Archbiſhops and their ſuffragens, 31,1
Ardmagh enimie to rats, 31,40
Archbiſhop of Ardmagh chiefeſt primat of all Ireland. 0
Archbiſhop of Caſhill like to be killed, 118,50
Aſhton ſir Richard lord iuſtice, 73,15
Aſketen the earle of Deſmonds houſe, 160, 10. Is beſieged, 161, 30. The warders foꝛſake the caſtle, and by a traine ſet it on fire, ib. 57. It is taken and made a ward, ib. 66. Capteine Barkle late in garriſon there, 172,25
Aſſurance giuen foꝛ loialtie by the lords of Ireland, 76,60
Athelon caſtell builded, 66,15
Athelon bꝛidge builded, 152,71
Auguſtus the emperour, 2, 30
Aumer lord iuſtice of the common pleas, 100, 34. Made cheefe iuſtice of the Kings bench, ib. 41. He is diſcommended to the king, ib. 50. The king hath ſpeeches with him and liketh him well, ib. 60. He is the cauſe whie the lands of all nobles abſenting out of that land are giuen to the king, 101,10
Aire of Ireland. 13,12
Agard Francis ſent to Iames Fitzmoꝛis with his pardon, 153,57. His death, 166,21
Appeſleie a capteine diſtruſteth himſelfe, 157,3. He withdꝛaweth the earle of Deſmond, ib. 10

B.

Bagnoll ſir Nicholas complained againſt by Waltinglaſſe, he beareth the ſwoꝛd, 149, 60. A bill is exhibited againſt him, 150, 1. The matter is examined, ib. 6. He is in the hoſting with ſir William Dꝛurie, 157,30
Balimoꝛe in Leimſter burned, 64,13
Baliol king of Scotland doth homage foꝛ his earldome in Ireland, 63,60
Baltinglas. ¶ See Poer.
Balram lord of Enfoꝛt his reuenues on thouſand and thirtie pounds, 75,15
Balie martyꝛ caſtell taken, 131, 37
Banne and Bagabunne, 10, 5 30, 4, 67, 31
Banne the riuer, 27,60
Banneret, 39,30
Bangoꝛ abbeie, 54.60
Barnabie Fitzpatrike baron of Upperoſſerie taketh Roꝛie Og and killeth him, 149,20. He and the earle of Oꝛmond are reconciled, 162,40
Barnacles, 18, 30. Noꝛ fiſh noꝛ fleſh, 19,40
Barnewell baron of Trimelſton, 38,65. He deliuereth the kings ſwoꝛd to the deputie, 95,10
Barnewels firſt arriuall into Ireland, 38,65
Barnewell of Beere hauen his reuenues one thouſand ſix hundꝛed pounds, 75
Barnewell ſir Chꝛiſtopher, a wiſe and a learned knight, 38, 23. He excepteth againſt the Engliſhmen to be burgeſſes, 120,20. Offended with the ſpeech of an Engliſh gentleman in the parlement, 121,57. Is commanded to ſilence, ib. 65
Barie Robert his valiantneſſe, 5, 51, 53, 56. 11, 41
Barie Philip nephue to Fitzſtephans, 45. 44. Bꝛother to Giral Cambꝛenſis, ib. 50. His iſſue remaineth in Ireland, 46,36
Barrie the vicount, 37,43
Barrie Dauid lord iuſtice tamed Moꝛis Fitzmoꝛis, 60,7 He burneth his owne houſe, 172,68. He is ſet vpon by capteine Raleigh, 173,30
Barie Og ſweareth fealtie, 131, 55
Barow riuer, 46,58
Bartholenus inhabiteth Ireland, 47,12
Barod lord of the gard his reuenues one thouſand and one hundꝛed pounds, 75,26
Bath of Dullerdſtowne executed, 94,12
Baſilia earle Strangbowes daughter married to Reimond, 34,70. Hir dꝛeame, 40,40
Barkeleie Edward arriueth into Ireland, 172,26. He lieth in Aſketen, ib. 31
Batteil at Ardmagh againſt the Scots, 68,70. At Knocktow, 79,55. Againſt the giants, 43,30
Bees how they be ingendꝛed, 19, 24
Benefit of gwd gouernement, 111,13
Bellingham ſir Edward, lord deputie, 109,12. He kæpeth a mint, ib. 12. His carefulneſſe foꝛ his gouernment, ib. 23. His readineſſe to ſerue, ib. 34. He buildeth a foꝛt at Leighlin ib. 44. He taketh the earle of Deſmond napping, ib. 1. carieth him to Dublin, and cauſeth him to be nurtered and inſtructed. ib. 9. The earle alwaies praied foꝛ him, ib. 25. He was neuer chargeable to anie ſubiect, ib. 30. His vprightneſſe and ſincerite, ib. 48. Was verie well beloued, 110, 2. Is reuoked, ib. 12.
Belinus his ſonne claimed Ireland by deſcent, 49,20
Bingham ſir Richard cheefe commiſſioner of Connagh his great victoꝛie vpon the Scots, 182,15
Bingham buried, 17,13
Bignoꝛke archbiſhop of Dublin, 69,25. He doth erect an vniuerſitie in Dublin, ib. 28. He kæpeth termes and commenſements, ib. 34
Birmingham ſir Walter ſlue ſix hundꝛed men, 73,68.
Birmingham Iohn generall of the field againſt the Scots, 68,48. He vanquiſheth them, and killeth Edward Bꝛuſe, 63,9. Made baron of Athenrie, and created erle of Louth, 16,10. Is made lord iuſtice, ib. 55. Is ſlaine, 70,30
Birmingham William a ſcourge to the Scots, 65,13. He was hanged, 70,10
Birmingham Richard ouerthꝛoweth the Iriſh in Connagh, 68,28
Birmingham Meiler fleieth Cathell Ochonner, 74,17
Biſhops and biſhoprikes in Ireland, 31,1, 59,15
Biſhops married were onelie made archbiſhops, 55,4
Biſhops of Limerike committed to ward, 166,44
Bogh oꝛ Pogh what it ſignifieth, 13,30
Burgh oꝛ Bourke earle of Clanricard, 37, 25. Warres betweene him and Mac William Enghter, 112, 61, 118, 46. Submitteth himſelfe to ſir Edward Fitton lord preſident, 131, 63. His ſonnes rebell and wage Scots, 135, 45. He is priſoner in the caſtell of Dublin. ib. 50. He promiſeth vpon enlargement to reclaime his ſonnes, ibid. 55. He perfoꝛmeth nothing, ib. 63 His ſons ſpoile all Connagh, 140, 15. They bꝛeake out againe into rebellion, 141, 14. The erle conſenteth therevnto, ib. 18. They flie. 141. 26. He is committed to cloſe priſon in the caſtell of Dublin. ib. 35. They rebell againe and dꝛeteine Scots, 142, 6. They beſiege Balie Riogh, ib. 13. They pꝛeuaile not, ib. 12
Burgh Richard earle of Ulſter beſiegeth Athlone, in

which is Theobald Verdon, 63,51. Is taken priſoner, 63 35. Is diſſeized of his lands in Connagh, ib. 49. Is diſcharged, ib. He entreth into to Scotland, 64,58

Burke lord William ſlue Okellie and ſlue thouſand Iriſhmen, 79,25. He is lord deputie, 65,32. Peers Gaueſton is recommended vnto him, ib. Is taken priſoner, 63,35. He ſlue ſix hundred Iriſhmen, 67,25

Burke ſir William and his ſons doo follow James Fitzmoris for a preie, 156, 72, They incounter with him, and kill him, 157. 38. Theobald is ſlaine, ibid. 37, Sir William is made baron of Connell: hath an yearelie penſion of one hundred markes, 158,3. ſowndeth for ioie, ib. 6

Burchier George is in commiſſion with ſir John Perot for Mounſter, 134. 60. His parentage, ib. his valiantneſſe and good ſeruice, ib. 26. Is reſtored againe, ib. He arriueth into Ireland with a ſupplie of Deuonſhire ſouldiers, 158. He is dubbed knight, ib. 11, He is ſent to lie in garriſon in Kilmallocke, 159. 17. He is aſſigned to ſerue vnder the earle of Ormond, 164. 18. He maketh a rode into Connell, ib. 68. Is colonell of Mounſter, 169. 55. His ſeruice vpon Deſmond, 163. 23. A mutinie among the ſouldiers, 168. 43.

Bonneuile lord John is ſlaine at Ardſcole, 65. Is buried at Athie, ib.

Bourat caſtle deſtroied in Thomond, 70. 30

Boiſe ſeruant to the earle of Kildare his preie requeſt, 83. 28. His adage: Intragh, Coolate quoth Bois. 95. 70

Bonagh a wicked Iriſh impoſition. 78. 56

Bzabelton vicetreaſuror bringeth ſir Walter dela Hide and his wife to Dublin, 96. 10

Bzendon the abbat, 54. 72

Bzen Obzen in Mounſter diſcomfited, 70. 38

Bzennus king of Bzitain called into Ireland, 49. 10

Bzenham the name of the chiefe Iriſh lawiers, 45. 14. What matters he doth determine, ib. 20. The Bzehans law giuen ouer.

Bzereton ſir William arriueth at the Houth in Ireland with 250. ſoldiers, 94. 72. He ſummoneth the caſtle of Wainoth 95. 25. He ſcaleth and entereth the caſtle and ſetteth vp the kings ſtandard, ibid. 3, He is made cuſtos and keeper of Dublin, 96. 27. He is made lord iuſtice, 102. 10. He inuadeth Oconhors countrie and diſcomfiteth the Iriſh rebels ib. 20. He compelleth them to ſubmiſſion and to put in pledges, ib. He is made lord marſhall of Ireland, ib. 35. He is ſent to fetch in the earle of Deſmond, ib. 39. He dieth by the waie and was buried at Kilkennie ib. 41. He ſkirmiſhed with Fitzgirald, 96, 55.

Bzethzen at diſſention, 45, 68.

Bzian ſir Francis lord iuſtice, 110, 14. He marrieth the counteſſe of Ormond, ib. 22. He died and was buried in Waterford, ib. 110. 26

Bzian mac Cahir Cauenagh breaketh out in wars againſt Wexford men. 135. 40, They follow & purſue him, ib. 60. He ſubmitteth himſelf, 135. 2. His parentage ib. 10. He marrieth the daughter of Hewen mac Schaun, ib. 24. His ſtrength and power ib. He is a follower to ſir Peter Carew, ib. 27. He was a wiſe man, ib. He died, ib. 35

Bzitaine inhabited with the Picts 50. 40. It is halfe bigger than Ireland, 9. 24

Bzitons when they firſt inhabited Ireland, 49, 10

Bzitaine erle of Richmond and lord warden of Scotland commanded to ſuppreſſe the templers, 64. 4

Bzide or Bziged baſe daughter to Dubtactus, 54. 16. She is deliuered to a Pet or a magician to be trained vp, ib. 20. Is inſtructed in chriſtian religion by ſ. Patrike, ib. 25. Hir great iudgement and eſtimation, ib. 28. Hir anſwer to the king, ib. 50. She profeſſeth virginitie, ib. 53. She died and was buried at Down, ib. 58. The concordance of the foure euangeliſtes found amongſt hir monuments. ib. 60

Bzoughton ſir Thomas confederated with Parkin, 79. 55

Bzuſe Edward brother to the king of Scots inuadeth Ireland, 66, 56. Proclameth himſelf king, burneth Dundalke, ib. 68. Spoileth the countrie, ib. Diſcomfiteth the Engliſh men, ib. He and his companie vanquiſhed and ſlaine, 68. 72.

Bzuſe Robert king of Scots landed in Ireland to aid his brother, 67, 3. Beſigeth Cragfergus, ib. 10.

Burkens of Kilkennie rob and ſpoile the countrie, 74. 37. They are diſcomfited, ib. 42.

Burnell of Baligriffen confederated with Kildare, 96. 1. Fleeth into Mounſter ib. Is taken priſoner by the vicount Thurles. ib. Is ſent into England and executed at Tiburne, ib. 4

Burnell Henrie a ſtudent at the lawes. 154. 57. A counſellour and agent againſt the ceſſe, ib. Paſſeth ouer into England vnto the court ib. 64. Is ſent to the fleet, 146. 6. Remoued to the tower, 147, 20. Submitteth himſelfe. ib. 40.

Butler ſir Edmund dubbed knight, 37. 48. Made lord iuſtice 66. 20. He dubbeth 30. knights ib. 50. 37. 50. Diſcomfiteth the Iriſhrie at Triſtledermon, 68. 24. He died ib. 37

Butler ſir Edmond breaketh out into rebellion. 118. 20. He miſliketh the Engliſh burgeſſes, 120. 10. Great complaints againſt him, 129. 68. Refuſeth to come before the commiſſioners, 130. 1. His caſtle of Cloghirinam taken, ib. 27. Bzake out from thenſe, ibid. ſubmitteth himſelfe, 131. 11. He accuſeth the lord depute of hard dealing. ib. 23. Committed to the caſtle of Dublin, ib. 36. Is committed againe, ib. 56. Pardoned, ib.

Butler James lord iuſtice, 37. 70. Dubbed knight, 73. He married the earle of Herefords daughter. ib. Is earle of Tipperarie ib. Pledge for the earle of Deſmond, 71, 21. Created erle of Ormond, 37. 1. He is lord iuſtice, 72, 15, 74. 51. Died, ib. 70

Butler James earle of Ormond, lord lieutenant, 76. 51 He ſummoneth a parlement at Dublin ib. 57. In his gouernment, the ſunne ſtaied his courſe three houres, ib. 72. His notable ſeruices in taming and vanquiſhing the Iriſhrie, ib. 72, 77. 1, 17, 77. 29. He kept by prorogation ſundrie parlements, 77. 27. His ſonne and heire born, 77. 44. Lieutenant to king Henrie the firſt, 77. 37. 48. 57. Godfather to George duke of Clarence, 77. 63

Butler James earle of Ormond his contention with the earle of Kildare, 82. 18. He relieth to the houſe of Lancaſter ib. 28. He is a deepe reaching man, ib. 37. He marcheth to Dublin with a puiſſant armie, ib. 44. He praieth to purge himſelf ib. 6. The citizens of Dublin fall at iarre with him. ib. 25. He is in danger to be killed, ib. 29. He is reſcued by the erle of Kildare, ib. 40. They are reconciled, ib. 50. The deſcription of him, ib. 83, 12

Butler Peers earle of Oſſorie marrieth the ladie Margaret Fitzgirald ſiſter to the earle of Kildare, 83. 70. His baſtard brother James intrudeth vpon the erldome of Ormond, ib. He gaue charge vpon his brother & killeth him, 84. 20. Was lord deputie, ib. 41. The ſword taken from him, ib. 72. He was founder of a free ſchoole in Kilkennie, 23. 28

Butler lord James, lord treſuror, 87. 47.

Butler Thomas prior of Kilmain ſerueth king Henrie the firſt in France. 76. 42

Butler Thomas earle of Ormond his troubles with the earle of Deſmond, 114. 47. His countrie ſpoiled, 130. 50. Submitteth himſelfe to the queenes order, 114. 60. His affection to his brethren, 130. 56. He offereth to ſerue againſt them, ib. 7. He arriueth to Wexford. 131. 2. He repaireth to the lord depute at Limerike and offreth his ſeruice ibid. 10. He yeeldeth and preſenteth his brother ſir Edmund vnto him, ib. He vndertaketh for him and for his apperance at Dublin, ib. 15. His graue behauiour in place of councell, ib. He ſerueth vpon the earle of Thomond and driueth him out of the land, 133. 50. He was gouernour of Mounſter 162. 6. He hath the cuſtodie of the yong lord Girald ſonne to the earle of Deſmond, ib. He and the baron of vpper Oſſorie are reconciled, 163. 40. He is ſent to the earle of Deſmond to perſuade him to ſubmiſſion, 163. 3. He ſubſcribeth to the proclamation againſt the earle of Deſmond, 164. 7. He maketh a iournie into Connilo, 164. 70. He meeteth with the maior of Youghall. ib. 34. He carrieth him to Youghall and hangeth him before his owne doore, ib. 40. He cauſeth the town to be inhabited and new peopled. ib. 52. He beſigeth the caſtle of Strangcaſtle, ib. 64. He taketh their caſtle & putteth a ward in it. 165. 6. His ſeruice vnder the lord iuſtice, 116. He receiueth the ſubmiſſion of Fitzmoris baron of Lixnaw, 167, 20. He is at the ſiege and taking of the caſtle of Cargfoile, 167. 30. He returneth home to Kilkennie, 167. 72

Butler lord Thomas is ſlaine by Gogaghadon, 70. 57.

Butler Theobald, lord Butler fled out of Dublin, 63. 33. Died, ib. He founded the abbie of Wetherham, 61. 64

Caltrops caſt vpon the ground to annoie the Danes, 57, 60

Cantred what it is, 4. 20. 42. 20

Canute alias Knought the Dane is ſlaine, 57. 37

Canon Robert ſecretarie to ſir William Skeuington an enimie to Kildare, 89. 2

Canon Richard the kings iuſtice ſlaine, 68. 4

Canton ſir James and Canton ſir John ſlaine, 68. 55

Canton ſir David beheaded Murcod Ballough. 64. 38

Carew baron of Carew lord iuſtice, 72. 10

Carew marqueſſe of Cozke, his reuenues in Ireland two thouſand two hundred pounds 75. 8

Carew ſir Peter lord of Odzon 46. 30. Sueth for a licence to recouer his lands in Ireland 118. 16. He recouereth ſo much as he had in ſuit, 118. 18. He ſerueth in the Butlers wars, 130. 20, He was in danger to haue bin murthered, ib. 30. He giueth a hot charge vpon the enimie and hath the victorie, ib. 60. His ſeruice in Vlſter, 138. 68. His ſeruice in the Butlers wars, 138. 45. His parentage, 137. 62. His title to great ſeignories in Mounſter, 138. 70, 46. 4. His manie and moſt excellent vertues and qualities, 137. 6. A ſhort diſcourſe of his life, 137. 60. He died at Roſſe and was buried at Waterford, 137. 56. 138. 47

Carew ſir Peter the ponger, his being in Ireland, 137. 38 Is placed in Leighlin, 138. 40. He arriueth at Waterford with a band of Deuon ſouldiers, 158. 55. Is dubbed knight, ib. 10. He receiueth the lord iuſtice at Waterford, 166. 46. Is ſlaine. 170. 10

Carew George his being in Ireland. 137. 38. His ſeruice againſt Rorie Og. 148. 50. His arriuall at Waterford with a band of Deuon ſouldiers, 158. 55. His ſeruice againſt ſir John of Deſmond, 159. 60. He lieth in garriſon at Adare, 161. 62. Is beſieged there. ib. 60. Is ſet on by the Deſmonds and Spaniards, 162. 30. He receiueth ſir William Pelham, lord iuſtice at Waterford, 166. 46. He taketh the view of Cargfoile, 167. 30. He beſiegeth and taketh the caſtle of Balie Lougham, 167 40

Cardinals ſent to king Henrie the ſecond, 24. 38

Caranſius maketh peace betweene the Scots and the Picts, 52. 23

Caraticus king of Bzitaine hated of his people, 55. 40

Carike, 11, 47

Catherlow alias Carlow or Clauill, 47. 8. By whome it was builded, ib. 48. 28. 27. 37

Catalog of Iriſh ſaints. 54. 5. Of learned men, 39. 50. Of noblemen, 33. 10. Of biſhoprikes, 31. 10. Of the biſhops of Kildare, 33. 60

Cathillan archbiſhoprike. o

Cawdocke lord chancellor made bishop of Imilie, 64.25
Cenanus of a warrior was made bishop, 54.70
Cesara neece vnto Noah arriueth into Ireland, 47.20
Cesse demed & trauersed, 144.10
Chyrlkian bishop of Lismore, 59.30
Christes church in Dublin burned, 63.6. Now reedified and restored, ibid. First builded by the Danes, ibid.10
Churches first builded, 53.60. Spoiled, 140 54
Cirus monarch of Persia, 18.5
Cities first builded, 58.53
Chepstow, 4.60
Ciuilitie in Ireland, 10.60
Clanricard. ¶ See Bourgh.
Cogan Miles with others assaulteth Dublin and taketh it, 15.3. Hath the custodie of the citie ibid.20. He is besieged therein by Hasculphus, ibid.65. He taketh him and cutteth off his head, ib.34. He is made lieutenant of the armie and constable of Dublin, 44.73. He and Robert Fitzstephans haue the kingdome of Corke giuen to them, ib.60. He first entreth into Conagh, ibid.6. He is slaine, 45.4
Cogan Miles is taken prisoner, 62,24
Cogan Richard brother to Miles, his good seruice and valiantnesse, 16.4. He commeth to Corke with a companie to supplie his brothers place, 45,40
Clowne deriued of the word Colont, 10,50
Clanricard. ¶ See Bourgh.
Clare Thomas married the daughter of Morris Fitzmorris, 62,43. He slue Obrenroth king of Thomond, ibid. 51. He died, 63.47
Colier capteine his seruice in the Butlers war, his seruice at castle Drogh, 142,41
Clare sir Richard discomfiteth the earle of Ulsters power, 66.4. He slue six hundred gallowglasses. ibid. 9. Giueth hostage to assure his allegiance, 66.60. He leueth an armie against the Scots, 68. 10 He was slaine, 68.33
Cloutars field by Kilmainham, 59.75
Comin archbishop of Dublin, founder of saint Patrikes church, 61.47.22.20. Sute made to king Henrie the second that he should be bishop, ibid.25
Combate, 76.55.60.45. Betweene two Deonhers, 180.70
Counties or shires in Ireland, o
Countesse of Ulster, 71.75
Combination of traitors, 134. 74
Commissioners for examining the matters betweene the earles of Ossorie and Kildare, 84.70
Colton John archbishop of Ardmagh, 4.45
Colme king of Leinster, 54. 20
Contention betweene the archbishops of Ardmagh & Dublin, 65 70. Contention about burgesses, 120.10
Con Oncie beareth the sword before the lord deputie. 84.74. Created earle of Tiron, 112. 20. He kept Alson the wife of Kellete a smith, 113. 10. He had no right to the countrie but for his life, ib.37
Conereth a sauage people in Ireland, 54.72
Connewaie sir John lord president of Ulster, 54.11
Concordance of the foure euangelists found among S. Brides monuments, 54.60
Conhor Obren slaine, 62.12
Constable John sent for Lacie, 47,67
Councell holden at Ardmagh, 15,12. At Cashill, 23.10. At Waterford, 35. 30. At Lateran, 48.13. At Grenocke, 62 58. At Dublin, 44. 50
Conquest implieth three things, 11.20
Countesse of Ulster married to Rafe Ufford lord iustice, 71. 68. She persuadeth hir husband to extremitie, ibid. 70
Cope Allan his wrong iudgement, 14.40
Corke citie the fourth citie of Ireland, 25. 14. An ancient citie builded by the Esterlings 21,71.34.60. The gouernement of it, 22.12. It is euill neighboured. 25. 17.75.71. They match in marriage among themselues. ibid.8. The kingdome of Corke giuen to Fitzstephan and Cogan, 44. 60. The bounds of the countrie, 45. 68. They receiue the lord deputie with all honour, 140.32. The Corkemen and their prince discomfited and their countrie preied, 33. 25
Corbie neuer christened, 74.18
Cormake Olegham riseth against his father to expell him out of his kingdome, 40.2. He is subdued, ibid.15. He is beheaded, ibid. 24
Cormake mac Dermont mac Roirte pursueth Odonell, 62. 40. He banquiseth him, ib.45
Cormake mac Tiege knight, shiriffe of Corke, 168.37. His seruice vpon sir James Desmond, ibid. He taketh him prisoner, ibid. 70. He is well accepted of the queene and of the lord iustice, ibid. 10. He is a younger house vnto mac Artie Righo, ibid. His fidelitie and loialtie, ibid.33. He is dubbed knight, ib.48. He offereth to acknowledge sir Peter Carew to be his lord, 138,28
Cow the name of a ship, 97,47. The prophesie of the Cowes bellie, ibid.51
Cowlcie Robert an aduersarie to the earle of Kildare, 89.7. Baliffe in Dublin. ib. Maister of the rolles, ibid. Died at London, ib.10
Coine and liuerie not to be vsed, 23.6
Coiners in Connagh, 149.8
Cragfergus yelded vnto the Scots, 67.10. It is inclosed with a wall, 152.66
Christening not knowne nor vsed in some places in Ireland, 140.48
Crome primat of Ardmagh lord chancellor, 87.48. His oration, 90.40. His grauitie, 89, 60
Crofts sir Hugh slaine by the Lacies, 68.65.
Crofts sir James lord deputie, 110.37
Curcie John arriueth into Ireland, 40.47.15. In commission or lord iustice with Fitzaldelme, 42.70. Inuadeth Ulster. ib.25. Vanquisheth Odonell, 43. 70. His valiantnes, ib. 20. He marrieth the king of Manus daughter, ib.24. 61.51. The description of him, 43.70.61. 30. Carcles to serue God, ib. 65. He keepeth the whole land in quiet. 60.47. His irreuerend speeches to the king, 60.6. Is accused and proclamed traitor, 60.20. He foiled the lord iustice at Downe, ib. 24. Is taken and committed to perpetuall prison, ib.32. He answereth the French combat, ib.57. The French king requesteth to see him, 61. 10. He is set at libertie, & dieth, 61. He left no lawfull issue, ib. 58.29
Curcie of Kilberton his reuenues, 72.17
Cusake Adam his seruice in Connagh, 62.17
Cusake sir John serueth the Scots, 68.52
Cusake sir Thomas lord iustice, 110.42.

D.

Darcie John lord iustice sent into Ireland, 70.34. Receiued great liuings of the king, ib.44. He subdueth the rebels in Ulster, ib. 70. He inuadeth Scotland, 71. 3. He maketh a great slaughter vpon the Irishrie in Mounster, 70.40. He onely was the first that ventured vpon the Scotish isles, 71. 10. He is made lord iustice for terme of his life, 71. 28. He ceuseth liberties and franchises to be called in, 71.33. He calleth a parlement for the same, ib.40
Darcie Robert lord iustice, 71. 62
Daris an erle in Mounster, 53. 44. He fauored Patrike, and gaue him a dwelling place, called Sorta, ib. 46
Danes or Norwegians arriue into Ireland, 55. 30. 42. They inuade it the second time, 56. 10. They made sundrie inuasions at sundrie times, 57. 7. They besiege Dublin, 57.48. They winne it. ib. 57. 55. They roue the ocean seas for inlarging their conquests. 58. 67. They traffike with the Irishrie. 58. 40. They build towns and castles, ib. 50. They are mingled in blood with the Irish. ib.60. They become lords, ib. 67. Danes Esterlinges Norwegians and Normans are all one nation, 59.4
Daucis Henrie, a gentleman of Deuon, 155.70. His training vp in the wars, ib. 3. His comming into Ireland, ib.10. He is sent to the earle of Desmond, 154.50. He doth persuade the earle to resist the rebels, ib. 60. His counsell is refused, ib. 70. He departeth homewards from the earle, he is murdered in his bed by sir John and sir James Desmond the earls brethren, 155. 50. His state and conditions, ib. 72. His skill in the seruice of that countrie, ib. 13. His loue to his countrie, 155. 20. His notable good vertues, ib. The credit of his word, ib. 40. His credit with the erle of Ormond and with the Butlers. ib.64. His fast friendship to sir John of Desmond, ibid. 156.10.
Dela his sonne a Grecian conquered Ireland, 48.20
Dela Hide sir Walter troubled for conspiracie, 96.10
Dela Hide James a chiefe counseller to Thomas lord Fitzgirald, 89. 31. Sent to Dublin to intreat for a submission, 94.37. Fled into Scotland and died. 97.10.
Dermond king of Corke submitteth himself to king Henrie the second. 21,38.
Dermond mac Arthie prince of Desmond is ouerthrown by Reimond. 35. 20. Is aided & restored by Reimond. 40. 12
Dermond mac Roirie inuadeth Ulster. 62.41
Dermond mac Morough king of Leinster, ib.8. An oppressor of his people, ib.20. He accompanieth Omalaghlins wife, ib.40. He is hated, ib.6. He seeketh to king Henrie the second for aid, ib.35. He sweareth allegiance to the king. ib. 40. Hath the kings letters of protection, ib.43. The etymologie of his name, 2,6. He commeth to Bristow, 3. 23. His acquaintance and composition for a marriage with the Strangbow earle of Chepstow, ib.38. He returneth vnto Ireland, 4.17. He compoundeth with Fitzstephans and Fitzmoris for their aid, 4.5. He is honorable receiued at Fernes by the clergie, ib.24. His inhumanitie and cruell nature, 6.24. He is set vpon by Rothorike of Conagh, 7.30. His stature and conditions, 8.43. He inuadeth Ossorie 6.53. He preuaileth, ib.16. His oration to his souldiers, 9.20. He besiegeth and taketh Dublin, 15. 4 Is threatned by Rorike king of Conagh, 15.30. He inuadeth Meth. ib. 20. He is reconciled with Rothorik of Conagh, 10.30. His eldest sonnes eies are put out, 6. 60. He dieth, 16.18. Buried at Fernes, ibidem.
Desmond the earle. ¶ See Girald Fitzgirald.
Desmond sir John spoileth the earle of Ormonds countries, 114.70. Is sent into England, and offereth to serue against Oneale, 116.8. Committed to the tower, 117. 57. Is committed to the castle of Dublin, 117.57. 144. 60. He putteth awaie his wife, ib.70. He conioineth with James Fitzmoris, 154. 6. He murthereth Henrie Daucis, 155. 55. His brags and vaunts for the said his slaughter, 156.50. He is pardoned by the popes legats for the same, 16.70. He supplieth James Fitzmoris his roome, 157.17. He incampeth at Shulougher, 158. 2. He lieth in ambush at Getenbie castle, ib. 45. He priuilie stealeth awaie at Connell, 158.68. He encountreth with the lord gouernour, 159.68. Hath the worst side and fleeth, ib.12. He giueth the battell to the gouernor, 159.12.10. He fleeth to the vicount Baltinglasse for aid, 169.13. Is in danger to be taken, ibid. He intreateth a peace betweene Barrie and the Senechall, 175.57. He is killed and then hanged. 175.3
Desmond sir James contioneth in the rebellion with James Fitzmoris, 154.6. He is one of the murtherers of Daucis, 155. 55. He is pardoned by the popes legats for the same, ibid.70. Besiegeth the castle at Adare, 161. 60. Raiseth his siege and departeth, 162.4 Taketh a preie and is taken prisoner, 168, 60. Is drawen hanged and quartered, 168.4
Desmond Girald Fitzgirald the earle of Desmonds sonne is deliuered for a pledge, 158. 63
Desmond Girald earle of Desmond

mond his wars with the erle of Dzmond, 112.40.58. He is in England, 114.47. The quarels betweene him and the erle of Dzmond referred vnto the queenes order, ibid 60. He incampeth himselfe, 116.40. Repareth to the lord deputie, ibid. 57. Serueth and offereth to serue against Oneile, 116.2. Is committed to the castell of Dublin, 117.57. Is carried into England and sent to the Towre, 118.5. Breaketh prison at Dublin, 136.45. He submitteth himselfe and yeldeth all his to the lord deputie 140.30. He will not permit the lord president to intermedle within his liberties, 141. 70. Is set vpon by the lord president, 142. Complaineth to the lord deputie against him 142.1. His disagreement with the earle of Thomond, 144.40 Repineth against the cesse, ibi. 50. Commeth to the lord deputie to Kilkennie, 149.50. He and the lord president are reconciled, ibid. 64. Discouereth the treacherie of James Fitzmoris, ibid. 2. He is perforce made to submit himselfe 151. 10. Dischargeth his workemen vpon the arriuall of James Fitzmoris, 154.10 He pretendeth to serue against him, ibid. 8. Refuseth it, ibid. 70. His chiefe men turne to James Fitzmoris, 156. 18. Commeth to the lord iustice at the campe, 157. 50. Is committed and submitteth himselfe, ibid. 60. His sonne is deliuered for a pledge, 158. 60. The gouernor sendeth for him, 159. 28. Dissembleth, ibid. 34. 160. 20. He sheweth himselfe an open rebell, ibid. 39 53. He is perswaded to yeld himselfe and will not, ibid. 52. He fortifieth his castels, ibid. 63. Is sent for to come vnto the lord iustice, 162, 50. The articles demanded of him, 163 10. His treasons ibid. 10. He is proclamed traitor, 164. 10. He is in danger to be taken, ib. 6. Lieth in ambush. 165. 13. His castels at Caregfoile and Isketten taken, 167. 10. Supposed to be dead. 177. 70. Keepeth his Christmas in a wood 178, 3. Is forsaken, 178. 58. Is in danger, 179. 40. He is slaine, 180. 30

Deuereux earle of Esser his honor, vertues, and nobilitie, 143 20. 136. 30. His life & death, 143

Dillon Lucas the queenes atturnete sent to the parlement house, 120. 56. Made baron of the exchecker, 133. 63. Examineth vicount Baltinglasse of complaints, 150. 5

Dirrie and all the vittelles and munitions burned, 115. 48.

Dissention cause of confusion, 49. 68. 52. 6. 55. 57. 72. 7. 55. 8

Dissention betweene Kildare & Dzmond, 82. 24

Donat bishop of Dublin repareth Christs church in Dublin, 62. 10

Donat Obzen murthered by his men, 66. 10

Donegan Odowill taken prisoner at Limerike, 66. 35

Donald prince of Ossoria mortall enimie to Dermon Mac Morogh 6. 57. He putteth out Mac Morroghs sonnes eies, ibid. 60. He and his countrie are pursued, ibid. 67. They are ouerthrowen ibid. 10. Submitteth himselfe ibid. 29, He attendeth Reimond at Limerike, 39. 66

Donald Obzin prince of Limerike his reuolting and rebellion, 36. 70. His citie and himselfe besieged, ibid. 45

Donald Russe king of Desmond slaine, 64. 10

Donald prince of Thomond besiegeth Limerike, 39. 43. He desireth a parlee, ibid. 57. He submitteth himselfe, ibid. 67. Is the kings baron and subiect, 40. 1. Giueth his oth and hostages for the safe keeping of Limerike, 40. 2. He most traitorously setteth the citie on fire, 40. 13

Dondonolke the place of Reimonds arriuall, 12. 30. 48

Dowdall shiriffe of Louth slaine 74. 36

Dowdall primat of Ardmagh, 40. 52

Dowdall capteine arriueth vnto Waterford, 158. 58. He is appointed to lie in garrison in Kilmallocke, 159. 18. Maketh a iornie into Conilo, 164. 70. Attendeth the lord gouernor to Cashill, 164. 34. Serueth at the fort, 170. 27. Maketh spiall vpon the Desmonds, 175. 41. He accompanieng capteine Zouch tooke and killed sir John of Desmond, 175 30. Entereth into Dauid Barries campe and spoileth his people, 176. 10. He assaileth and discomfiteth Fitzmoris, 176. 70. Hath the whole charge of Kerrie, 177. 22. Surpriseth the earle, 179, 10

Downe a citie, 43. 64. Spoiled, 102, 46

Drake John maior of Dublin slue foure thousand Irish outlawes, 74. 24

Drodagh or Drogheda, 25. 26. They enter into Scotland and spoile it, 74. 57

Dreames, 26. 60, 27. 33 32. 22. Of Basilia, 40. 40. Of Paris, 1. 12. Of Griffith, 26. 61

Drunkennes, 16. 50

Drurie sir william arriueth into Ireland, 140. 72. Is lord president of Mounster, 141. 40 His gouernement, ibid. 47. The earle of Desmond repineth at him, ibid 71. Entreth into Kerrie and executeth iustice, 142. 30. The earle resisteth and complaineth of him: ibid 2. The earle and he are reconciled, 149. 65. Is made lord iustice, 150. 50. His gouernment, 153. 27. His iournie into Mounster, 154. 44. 157. 20. His painefull seruice against James Fitzmoris, ibid. Falleth sicke and dieth, 158. 57. 160. 72. His vertues and conditions, 161. 1 His seruices at Bulleine, at the seas and in Deuon, ib. Is dubbed and made generall of the armie for the seruice in Scotland, ibid. 45. Taketh Edenborough, ibid. 60

Dublin an ancient citie, 15. 50. The name of it. 20. 44. Builded by Lucilanus, ibid. 68. The situation of it, ibid. 8. Inhabited by Bristolians, 21. 57 The parish churches in it, 22. 20. The castle builded, 23. 30. Besieged by Fridleic king of Denmarke, 57. 48. Set on fire, ibid. 58. Taken by the Danes, 57. 33. 57. Besieged by Knought the Dane, 58. 2. Builded by Iuorus, ibid. 54. Rebelleth against Mac Morogh, 14 50. It is taken, 15. 16 Besieged by Hasculphus, 16. 40. It is kept, 19. 20. Earle Strangbow yeeldeth it vnto king Henrie the second, 20. 53 It is besieged by Ororke king of Meth, 21. 42. It is burned, 63. 4. Reedified and beautified, 63. 10. Interdicted by the pope, 83. 26. In an vprore against the earle of Dzmond, 82. 44. They do penance. 83. 46. They are discomfited 62. 4. Besieged by Thomas Fitzgirald, 92. 41. They enter in league with him, ibid 20. They breake league, 93. 40. It is besieged by Thomas Fitzgirald, 93. 20. Intreateth for peace, 94. 41. Giueth his pledges, ibid. 30. They haue aid out of England, ibid. 45. Their bridge fell, they haue a maior appointed to be their gouernor, 75, 46. They haue the sword borne before the maior, ibid. The king sendeth them his letters of thanks, 93. 30. 95. 5. They haue a mint, 109. 18. The castell is repared, 152. 60 They inuade Obzens countrie, 73. 27. They inuade Scotland and Wales, 75. 65. They discomfit Fitzgirald, 94. 10 Their children are taken prisoners, 93. 3. They haue a mint, 109. 19

Dubtactus a capteine father to saint Brigget, 54. 16

Duke Adam an heretike burned, 69. 50

Dundalke taken and burned by the Scots, 66. 68

Dunnes and Duncles white so called, 9. 48

E.

Earthquake, 63. 2

Easterlings traffike merchandise in Ireland, 58. 32 They build townes and cities, ibid. 50. What people they are, ibid. 15. 50. ¶ See Danes.

Edward the first king of that name writeth his letters vnto the Irish lords for their seruice into Scotland, 63. 70

Edward the second writeth his letters into Ireland for aid against the Scots. 69. 58, He sendeth thither Peers Gaueston, 65. 32. Sendeth his letters for the apprehending of the Templers, 65. 68

Eleanor ladie Fitzgirald daughter to the earle of Kildare widow to Mac Cartie Reogh, 93. 2. Married to Odonell, ibid, 20, She succoreth and helpeth Girald hir nephne, 98. 22 Conueieth him to France, ibid. Giueth him one hundred and fourtie poztigues, ibid. 28

Emulation hindereth all good seruices, 35. 30

Englishmen reuoked from out of Ireland, 15. 50. Are made bondmen vnto the Irishrie, 15. 31. Are manumised and set at libertie, ibid. They obteine a great victorie, 19. 30.

English lawes current through out Ireland, 181, 50. The noble men submit themselues to it, ibid. 70

English of bloud and English of birth, 71. 35

English pale how far it stretcheth, 10, 30. They repine against the cesse. 144. 4. True to the crowne, 147. 37. They mislike English burgesses, 120. 10. In great prosperitie, Epistle.

Erle of Kildare when he was first created, 37. 10. Serueth honorable at Calis, 71. 74

Eustace sir Rowland treasuror, lord chancellor and lord deputie, 79. 7. Founder of the abbeie besides Kilcollen, ibid.

Eustace sir Rowland vicount Baltinglasse is against the cesse, 149. 53. 145. 48. Complaineth against sir Nicholas Bagnoll, ibid. 60. His complaints be vntrue, 150. 26

Exceter Richard lord iustice of Ireland, 62. 18. Died, 63. 48.

Examples which be euill are soone followed, 47. 48

F.

Fatall destinie vpon the gouernors of Ireland, 110. 56

Faires and markets not to be kept vpon holie daies. 25. 60

Faith not to be kept with traitors, 93. 45

Feare must be tempered with loue, 1. 27

Ferand William a valiant man, 12. 10

Ferns 4. 40. 20. Builded by Madocke bishop thereof, 54. 12. Burned by the Irish, 70. 73

Fidelitie of the English pale, 147, 50

Fingall the fertilest soile in Ireland, 10. 48. White so called, ibi. 53. Inhabited onelie by Englishmen, ibid. Their language English, ibid. Spoiled 91, 65

Finglas Allan chiefe baron tooke the castell of Dublin. 91. 7

Fitton sir Edward president of Connagh, 131. 61. His gouernment, 132. 17

Fitzaldelme William sent into Ireland, 40. 56. Lieutenant to the king, ibid. Taketh all the cities and townes into his gouernment, ibid. 70. Enuieth at Reimond & Fitzstephans, 41. 8. Is greedie and couetous ibid. 20. His hard dealing with Fitzmoris, ibid. 30. 35. Taketh from Reimond his possessions ibid. 60. His description, 42. 27. Is a deepe dissembler, ibid. 34. He was ancestor vnto the Burks in Kent ibid. 57. Is sent for into England, 44. 40.

Fitzgirald Bartholomew seruant to the archbishop of Dublin, 92. 44. His seruices, ibid. 48. 50

Fitzedmunds seneschall of Imokellie. ¶ See Seneschall.

Fitzgeffreie sir John lord iustice, 62, 53

Fitzgirald Girald of Kildare lord iustice three and thirtie yeares, 82. 16. A dissention betweene him and the earle of Dzmond ibid. 26. He appointeth a meeting at saint Patriks, ib. 30. They are reconciled, ibid. 50. The description of him, 83. 15. He is accused to the king ibidem. Returneth from the king, lord deputie. ib. His policies in war. ib. He vanquisheth the Irishrie. ib 15. Is made knight of the garter, ibid. 18. He deceassed, ibid. 20

Fitzgirald Girald sonne to Girald of Kildare is lord deputie of Ireland, 83. 53. He giueth his sister in marriage to the earle of Ossorie. ib. 70. He is accused and sent for into England. 84. 30. Is sworne lord deputie. ib. 74. He is accused for diuerse disorders, 85. 12. Is called before the lords of the councell. ibid. 58.

The cardinall is against him, ibid. He interrupteth his speeches, ibid. 48. He is bailed, 86 40. He is of new accused and committed to the Towre, ibidem. 64. A mandatum to execute him, 87, 1. The king countermanded, ibid. 15. He is deliuered out of troubles, ib. 24. He returneth home and is honourably receiued, ib. 28. He serueth vpon the Otoles, ib. 60. Is made lord deputie, ib. 45. He serueth against Ocarell and is hurt, ib. 68. He is a new accused, 88, 1. He is committed to the Towre, ib. 62. His aduersaries whs they are, ib. 47. He died for thought, 97, 25. His conditions and qualities, 100, 36

Fitzgirald Girald earle of Kildare second sonne, aged, thirteene yeares saued, 97. 40. He is conueied into France, 98. 34. He serueth the Dolphin, ib. 57. The king his ambassadors doo require him, ibid. 60. He commeth to the emperors court, ib. 36. The emperor giueth him a pension of a hundred crownes, ib. 47. Cardinall Poole sendeth for him to Rome, ib. 55. He is brought vp in learning, 99, 3. He serueth against the Turke, ib. 20. He returneth rich and serueth vnder the duke of Mantua and Flozens, ib. 38. He falleth into a perilous pit, and is recouered by means of a dog, ib. 60. Restored to his earldome, 97. 58. Suspected of conspiracie, 172, 64. Committed to ward, ib. 70. Sent to the Towre, ibid. 40. Died, ibidem.

Fitzgirald Girald earle of Desmond, his warres against Ormond. 112. 40. They submit themselues to the queenes order, 114. 60. He is in campe. 116. 40. Suspected to be contoined with Onele, ib. 56. He serueth against Onele, ib. 60. He is committed to the castell of Dublin and sent into England. 117. 58. He breaketh out of prison at Dublin. 136. 45. He commeth to Cozke to the lord deputie, 140. 40. He denieth the queenes officers to intermeddle within his palatine, 141, 70. He resisteth the lord president, 142. 38. He complaineth against the lord president, ib. 29 He is falne out with the earle of Thomond. 144. 40. Denieth to pate cesse. ib. 50. He commeth to Kilkennie and is reconciled to the lord president, 149. 48. 65. He discouereth James Fitzmoris his practises, ib. 2. He pretendeth to serue against him, ib. 20. He refuseth to do it, ib. 70. His cheefest men ioine with James Fitzmoris. 156. 20. He commeth to the campe and is committed, 157. 51. He humbleth himselfe and sweareth fidelitie. ib. 64. His sonne is giuen in pledge, ib. He is sent for and commeth not, 159 30. His deepe dissembling. 160. 20. He is in open rebellion, ib. 39. 56. He will not be perswaded to submission, ib. 23. 54. He is proclaimed traitor, 164. 13. He is in danger to be taken, ib. 10. He lieth in an ambush, 165. 13. He giueth an onset vpon the Englishmen, ib. 50. His proud letters to the lord iustice. 166. 26. He sendeth his wife for peace, 169. 6. Is in danger to be taken, 169. 40

Fitzgirald James of Desmond putteth Irish impositions of Quinio and such like vpon Englishmen, 78, 54

Fitzgirald James killeth Robert Talbot. 84. 56. He is sent to London and executed, 97. 18. 70

Fitzgirald John the first earle of Kildare. 34, 63.

Fitzgirald of Leisip lord iustice, 85. 20

Fitzgirald sir John taketh the archbishop of Dublin, 92. 60 He is carried into England and executed. 97. 10. 20

Fitzgirald Eleanor widow to mac Artie Reogh, 98, 2. Is married to Odonell, ib. 17. Her liberalitie to her nephue Girald, ib. 28

Fitzgirald Margaret espoused to the earle of Ormond, 83, 70. Greeued with the murther of Robert Talbot, 84, 56 She languisheth being with child, 84. 10. She is a woman of great wisedome, ibid. She adorneth her husbands gouernment, 85. 34

Fitzgirald Moris lord iustice of Ireland, 34. 53. The first erle of Kildare ib. 64. A contention betweene the lord Uesie and him, ib. 66. He posteth into England, 35. 22. His speeches to the king, 32, 28. He chalengeth the combat of Uesie, ib. 63. He is rewarded with the gift of Uesies lands, 37. 6. His eldest sonne baron of Ophaly. ib. 32

Fitzgirald Moris promiseth to aid Macmorogh, 4. 5. He and Fitzstephans are promised to haue the gift of the towne of Wexsford, ib. 6. He arriueth at Wexsford, 10. 68. His constancie, 11, 2. He accompaneth Macmorogh to Dublin, 11. 20. He commeth to Waterford 14. 21. He is troubled for the distresse of Fitzstephans, 17. 30. His oration, ib. 47. He discomfiteth Rotherike king of Conaugh, 19. 10. He saueth Hugh de Lacie from murthering, 16. 50. He died and was buried at Wexsford, 41. 25

Fitzgirald Moris lord cheefe iustice of Ireland, 62. 5. He aideth the king against the Welshmen. 62, 32

Fitzgirald Moris of Desmond drowned between Wales and Ireland, 62, 12

Fitzgirald Marie solemneth and keepeth hir brother Girald Fitzgirald, 97, 10

Fitzgirald the archtraitor at the Glinnes, 169. 60. A draught made vpon him, 177. 10. His bad practises, ib. He is hanged, 177. 37

Fitzgirald Oliuer partaker to the murthering of the archbishop of Dublin, 92. 16. He is carried into England and executed to death, 97. 70

Fitzgrifith cheefe of Wales vnder the king. 3. 47. He conspireth against the king, ibid. 64. He and Fitzstephans are cousens germane. ib. 6. 9

Fitzroger William, prior of the Templers taken. 61. 37

Fitzmoris James conspireth against the queene, 130. 5. Besiegeth Kilkennie, 130. 8. He rebelleth 133. 16. He seeketh for peace and craueth pardon, 134. 22. 153. 40. 55. He flieth into France, and offereth all Ireland to the French king, 153, 60. His practises are knowne, 146. 50. He seeketh to king Philip & to the pope, 154. 2. He hath good intertainment, ibid. 16. His acquaintance with Sanders and Allen, ibid. 21. He is furnished with all things necessarie, ib. 28. He arriueth at S. Marie weke alias Smereweke, ib. 40. The Desmonds and the countrie repare vnto him, ib. 3. He persuadeth the Spaniards to patience, 156. 35. He pretendeth a pilgrimage, ib. 44. He taketh a preie and is followed, ib. 65. He persuadeth the Burks to rebellion, 157. 15. He is slaine, ib. 38. His conditions. ib. 50. His head and quarters set vpon the gates and wals of Kilmallocke, ib. 66

Fitzmoris Girald erle of Desmond lord iustice, 72. 64. Slaine by Obren, 73. 10

Fitzmoris Thomas earle of Kildare lord iustice, 78. 35.

Fitzsimons Patrike put in trust with the cariage, 84, 66. He is accused. ib. 71. The lord lieutenant chargeth the maior for him, ib. 2. Fitzsimons cleereth the matter and answereth for himselfe, ibid. 9. The lieutenant asketh him pardon and rewardeth him, ib. 16

Fitzsimons Robert maior of Dublin serueth against the Omores, 84. 55. His answer to the bishop of Meth, 87. 71. He victelleth the castell of Dublin, 92. 35

Fitzsimons Thomas recorder of Dublin his oration, 87. 30

Fitzsimons Walter bishop of Dublin lord chancellor, 41. 30

Fitzstephans Robert constable of Aberteffe, 3. 56. He arriueth into Ireland, 4. 60. He landeth at the Banne, ib. He besiegeth Wexsford, 5. 43. He is the knight bypartite, ib. 46. His oration to his souldiors, 10, 23. He is besieged in the Carike, 17, 25. He is seduced and taken by flatterie. 19, 40. The description of him ibid. He is deliuered to the king, 21. 22. He is handlockt, ibid. 35. He is releaked, ib. 66. They that betraied him are executed to death, ibid. 71. He and Fitzmoris are constables of Dublin, 24. 13. The kingdom of Cozke is giuen them. 44. 60. They diuide it betweene them, 45. 10. He is shut vp in Cozke, ib. 25. His praises, 52, 54

Fitzstephans Rafe is traitorouslie slaine, 0

Fitzthomas Girald dieth, 64. 64

Fitzthomas and Moris his sonne slaine. 62. 69

Fitzthomas Moris erle of Kildare is lord deputie. 63. 60

Fitzthomas Moris erle of Kildare lord iustice by turnes, 72. ib. He hath a yeerelie pension of fiue hundred pounds, ib. 34. Marieth the earle of Millers daughter, 66, 27

Fitzthomas Moris earle of Desmond is lord iustice for terme of life. 72, 70. He is put in prison, 70. 60. He is taken prisoner, 70. 2. Is set at libertie vpon suerties. ib. 20. He putteth in suerties to appeare in England, 72. 4. He died lord iustice, 72, 72

Fitzthomas John lord of Dephalie giueth an ouerthrow to the Scots, 66, 58. Is created earle of Kildare, 67. 20. Is taken prisoner, 63. 34. Is released. 71. 65

Fitzwater Thomas Ratcliffe lord deputie. 110, 63. Is lord lieutenant, ib. 20. His troubles with Onele, ibid. 5

Fitzwater Theobald slaine by Mac Artie of Desmond, 53. 60. 54. 12

Fitzwaren earle of Surrie killed Allen de la Zouche, 62. 54

Fitzwilliams John slaine at Rencles by Obren, 73. 7

Fitzwilliams killeth the gunner which shot to the erle of Surreie, 84. 34

Fitzwilliams sir William lord iustice, 11, 66. Lord deputie, 134. 46. The plot of his gouernment, 135. 10. His distresse and great troubls, 136. 6. He is reuoked. ibid.

Fosterchildren, 44. 58

Fough or pogh, 13. 34

Fridleie king of Denmarke inuadeth Ireland, and by policie taketh Dublin, 57. 48

Froth king of Denmarke, 57. 69

G.

Gallowaie towne in great decaie, 140. 11. Their charter and liberties, 165. 22

Galus archbishop of Ardmagh consenteth to the synod holden at Cashil, 23. 55. Fed with the milke of a white cow which he carried with him, ib. 57

Gallowglasse the best souldior, 45. 42. His weapon and conditions, ibid. 46

Gandius and Genandius the sonnes of Nemodus arriue in to Ireland, 48. 27. They possesse and diuide the same ibid. 37

Garbaneles inuadeth Ireland, 48. 3.

Gathelus the sonne of Nele a Grecian arriueth into Ireland, 49. 57. His skill in languages, ibid. He calleth that land Gathela after his owne name, ib. 68. 9. 29

Gaueston Peers arriueth in Ireland, 65. 24. He hath all roialties assigned vnto him, ib. 40. His buildings and proceedings, ib. 48

Gegathus a noble man serueth king Hugiet, 57. 12

Geneuill lord of Meth, 10. 25. Becommeth to be a frier and is buried at Trim, ibid.

Gentlemen named in Latin Milites, 5, 54

Gentilitie of Ireland, 44. 27

Geffrete earle of Britaine, sonne to king Henrie the second, 47 72. Rebelleth against his father, ibid. 26. 20. He died, 48. 10

George duke of Clarence borne in Dublin, 77. 59. His godfathers, ibid. Is lieutenant of Ireland, 78. 26

Giants the offspring of Nimrod arriue in Ireland, 47. 38. They are fought with, 48. 20. They preuaile vpon the sons of Nemodus, 48. 12. They are destroied, ibid. 30

Girald William lord chancellor, 140. 72

Giraldines their ancientnesse, 33. 10. Maligned and yet aduanced, 62. 5. Fauourers to the house of Yorke, 33, 11, 78. 36

Giraldines throwe and with. 29. 47

Giraldus Cambrensis attendeth king John in Ireland, 52,41. His descent. 52,10. Writeth the historie of Ireland, 52. 4. He is verie inward with king Henrie the second. 54,10
Girald Fitzgirald. ¶ See Fitzgirald.
Gilberd sir Humfreie his arrivall into Ireland, 132,27. He serued in the Butlers wars. 130,20. He is at the taking of Cloghgrinam, ib. He hath the woward of the battell at Kilkennie, ib,57. His noble seruice vpon the enimie, ibid. Is made colonell of Mounster, 131,50. His noble seruice there, ibidem. 70. He maketh the earle of Clannecar to stoope and submit himselfe, 132,9. He is dubbed knight, ibid. 55. His descent and description, ibid.1. His vertues and qualities, ib. His death, 133,34
Glanduill Reginold lord chefe Justice of England attendeth king John, 52,41. Gouernour of Sandwich castell, 29, 20. No God no religion, 114, 20
Glibes, 54,5
Gliines fastnesse, 169,25
Gratefulnesse of the ancient writers, epist.
Greie Leonard lord deputie of Ireland, 96,46. Incountreth with Thomas Fitzgirald, ib.47. He holdeth a parlement 99, 30. He certifieth Owels rebellion, 101.30. His seruice against Onele, 101,64. He is accused, 102,20. He is beheaded, 102,60
Greie lord Arthur his arrivall to Dublin, 169,50. His iournets vpon the Byinnes, 169,4. He maketh a tournie into Mounster, 171, 50. He besiegeth the Spanish fort, 171 11. He taketh it. 171,57. He taketh the erle of Kildare and sendeth him into England, 172,34. He returneth into England, 177,40
Griffith, nephue vnto Mozris Fitzgirald his dreame, 26,60. Forewarneth Hugh de Lacie, ib. He is troubled with his dreame, ib.8. He is watchfull to forese the harmes, ib.8,35. He pearseth through Ozorike with his staffe and killeth him, ib 66
Gurguntus king of Britaine met the Spaniards at seas, 49,50. Placeth them first in Ireland, and taketh feeltie of them, ib.42
Gurmo a heathnish king, 57,57. He marieth Thira king Etheldzeds daughter, ib. 69. His sonnes inuade Ireland, ib.73. His sorow for losse of his sonnes, ib. 58. 10. He dieth for sorrow of them, ib.39
Gurmundus an archpirat, 55, 40. Is sonne to the king of Norwaie, 56,62. He helpeth the Saxons against the Britains, ib.44. He maketh a voiage into Ireland, ib. 50. He buildeth forts and castels, ib. 55. He conquereth the land, 57, 18. He landeth in Wales, ib.20. He sailed into France and dieth, 55,56

H.

Haco a Dane, he arriueth into Ireland, 57,4. He is killed. ibid.21
Hamerton a captaine of 80, souldiers, 94,48. Their valiantnesse, ib. They are all slaine, ib. one of them hurted Thomas Fitzgirald, ib.
Harold, sonne to Gozmo, inuadeth Ireland, 57, 62, 72, Is slaine, 58, 2. His father lamenteth his death, ib, 30.
Harington, sir Henrie taken prisoner, 148,18. Is hurted, ib.40. Deliuered, ib.49. Is made seneshall of the Obirnes. 166,21
Hastings Philip, gouernour of Wexford, 24,17
Hasculphus captaine of Dublin escapeth out of the towne, 15,7. He seeketh to be reuenged, 16, 34. He besegeth Dublin, ib.66. He fleeth, and is taken, for his intemperat speeches is beheaded, ib.37
Haven townes in Ireland, 27, 60
Hauerings dreame, 32,35
Henrie the emperour his euill successe, 3,11
Henrie duke of Bauier, 1,16,3,9
Henrie king the second receiueth Dermon Macmozough to his protection, 1,43. Proclameth libertie to all his subiects to aid him, ib. He taketh his oth for his allegiance, ib.40. He restreineth his licence, 15, 55. He misliketh the earle Strangebowes his successe, 16,10. He is sent for into England, 21,49. He meeteth the king, and is reconciled, ib. 50. A composition betweene them, ib.50. The king ariueth into Ireland at Waterford, 21,20. Fitzstephens is presented vnto him, ib.30. He receiueth submission of all the kings, 21,22. He feasteth them all. 22,50. He commandeth a synod to be kept at Cashill, 23,24. He practiseth to weaken the earle, 24,20. His owne sonnes conspire against him, ib.35. He returneth into England, ib.10. He appointeth gouernours ouer the land, ib. He ariueth into Wales, ib.20. He is reconciled to the pope, 25, 36. A vision appeared vnto him, ib.38. A dissention betweene him and his sonnes, 28,32. He sendeth for his garisons in Ireland, ib.54. His victories, 29. The description of him, ib.54. His excellent gifts and qualities, ib. His lose life with Rosamunda, 31, 38. He sendeth to the popes Alexander and Adrian for confirmation of his priuileges, 35,17. His saieng concerning the conquest of Ireland, 40,20. He giueth the kingdome of Corke betweene Robert Fitzstephen, & Miles Cogan, 44, 58. He giueth north Mounster to Philip de Bruse, ib.66. He sendeth his sonne John into Ireland, 48, 32. His answere to the patriarch of Ierusalem, 49,30. His sonne Richard resisteth against him, 50,25. The variance betweene him and the French king, 51,10
Heraclius patriarch of Ierusalem seeketh aid, 48,30
Herbert Francis of Dublin sent to the king, 92,27. He is dubbed knight, ib. The king giueth him Eustace of Balincolins landes, ib. He returneth with comfortable letters of the kings, 93,27
Hermon killeth his brother Hibozus, 49,70. He nameth the land Ireland, 50,5. He diuideth the land into fiue kingdomes. ib.20
Heruie de monte Moris arriueth into Ireland, 4,75. Is endowed with two cantreds of land, 5,28. He was vncle and spie to the earle, ib.4. His oration, 13, 23. His opinion well liked, 14.36. The description of him, 39,68. He professeth himselfe a monke at Canturburie, 45,58
Heruie George his seruice vpon Onele, 115,3, 16. He returneth by land to Dublin, ib. 60 He passeth in great perils, ib.
Histories must set downe truth, 39, 3e. Vse of histories, the definition of a historie, Epist.
Hoker John the supplier of the Irish historie, Epistola. He translateth Cambrensis, ib. He is a burgesse of the parlement, and his speeches in the same, 120, 33. His perils for the same, 121, 30. He giueth and writeth out the orders of the parlement, 121, 20. He was agent in all sir Peter Carews causes, 118,1
Holland Robert, lord iustice of Chester, 65, 9. He receiueth a writ to apprehend the Templers, ib.
Holland petit capteine to Salisburie, 95,70. He falleth into a pipe of feathers, ib. His valiant seruice, 95,10
Hospitalitie in Dublin, 21,26
Hostages giuen to king Edward the second for his assurance of their loialties, 66,60
Horses in Ireland, first out of Spaine, 20,30. They are of sundrie kinds, ib.13
Howard Thomas ariueth lord lieutenant into Ireland, 84, 35. He is pledge for the earle of Kildare, 86,38. He resisteth the Moores, 84, 53. His good countenance to a poore souldier, ib. 10. Is sent for into England, ib.37. His commendation. ib.40
Hulbie John, seruant to Richard, lord Birmingham, 67, 7. Persuaded by Okellie to leaue his master, ib. 20. His valiantnesse and killing of Okellie, ib. 38. He is dubbed knight, ib.48. His successours barons of Galtrim, ib.50. Is slaine, 76,18

I.

Icke Cade, 77,67. An Irish man borne, ib.
Idlers not to be suffred, epistola.
John of Kekes bishop of Dublin, resisteth Ioice Rowland archbishop of Ardmagh, 65, 70
John the kings sonne arriueth into Ireland, 48,30,5. Is made lord of Ireland, ib. He buildeth castles, 53,50. Killeth his nephue Arthur, 61, 66. He maketh Ireland tributarie to the pope, 61,30. He subdued the welshmen, 61, 18. He is absolued, ib. 26. He dieth, ib.57
John de saint Paule, bishop of Dublin, finished Christes Church, 63,13
Inconueniences of euill gouernment, 44,27
Iniunctions of the pope to the king, 25,65
Impost of wine granted, 120, 27
Ireland, the bignes thereof, 9, 28. The names of it, ib,53,28, 49,70. Inhabited by Spaniards, ib. 1,49,26. By fiue brethren, 10, 60. By Celara niece to Noah, 47, 20. By Bergon son to Neptune, 47, 40. By the offspring of Japheth, ib.48,12. By the Norwegians, 55,34. By the Grecians, ib. 23. By the Scithians, 48, 70. By Brennus and the Britanes, 49,10. By the Picts, 50, 45. Diuided into shires and prouinces, 10, 30, 50, 20. The nature of the soile, 13, 43. The cities and townes in it, 20, 44. The land diuided by lots, 10, 661, 48,4. The diuersities of speeches, 10,65. Waterish and full of flouds, 13,44. The sweet aire, and hath no venem in it, 13,28. Replenished with cattell and bees, 13, 15. Did homage at Westchester to king Arthur, 49, 57. Subiect to England many waies, 55,36, 70. Full of iron mines, 50,4. Ruled by one chiefe monarch ouer the whole, 50, 24. Instructed in christian religion by saint James, 52,40. By Palladius, 52,68. By Patrike, 53,20. Why it cannot be conquered, 53, 34, 54, 30. Euill gouerned, 55, 10. How to be reformed, 16, 20. Number of cities & townes, 20, 43 The nobilitie, 31, 5, 35, 10. The learned men, 39, 55. The reuenues of the land, 52, 25. Ireland is a storehouse of nature, 31, 50. The broken state of Ireland, 12, 2, 8, 118, 36
Irish men were Glibes, 54, 5. They forsake king John, 54, 10. They serue against the Scots, 64, 1. They inuade Scotland, ib. They are in open rebellion, 66, 60, 70, 37
Irish wild Irish English, 66, 68
Irish borne & Ireland borne, 10, 13. Irish borne to beare no offices, 72, 26. Irish saints. Irish maners & dispositions, 44, 13. The meere Irish. ib. Irish prophets, 33, 10. Irish Frankelins, Irish diets, 55, 2. Irish horses, 20, 14. Irish impositions, 78, 56. Irish mariages and christenings, 45, 26. Irish infants, 44, 70. Irish gentries, 44, 27. Irish souldiers and seruitors, 44, 13. Irish weeping, or to weepe Irish, 44, 50. No Irish man borne to beare office, 72, 20. Euerie Irish marcher to dwell vpon his owne house, ib. Irish language, by whom it was first inuented, 12, 50. The difficultie of the tong, 13, 14. No Irish word for a knaue, 12, 44.
Iustice against rebels, epistle.
The nature of an Irish man, 133, 17
Iupiters cat, 168, 28

K.

Karicke castle two miles from Wexford, 11, 15. Builded vpon a roche, ib. 47
Karows a brotherhod of players at cards, 45, 53
Kennerike maior of Dublin, a benefactor, 72, 20
Kernes and Kibernes the rakehels of Ireland, 45, 34
Kettell Alice accused for witchcraft, 69, 1. Is burned at Kilkenne, ib. 17
Keuenaghs tenants to sir Peter Carew, 118, 10. Submit themselues to his deuotion. 132, 28
Knolles sir Francis sent into Ireland, 114, 16
Kozmake Oleghan, ¶ See. Cozmake before.
Kilkennie, why so called, 27, 60
Kilkennie walls builded by Robert

bert Talbot, 76,52,27,20. beſieged by Iames Fitzmoꝛice, 130,8
Knought, ſonne to Gurmo a Dane, ſlaine at the ſiege of Dublin, 57,72
Kerull a capteine of Iriſhmen ſlaine, 5,70
Knight bipartited, 5,45

L.

Lacie walter lord of Meth, 61,17. Dieth, 62,21. His daughters and heires maried, ib.
Lacie Hugh ſent into England, 49,50. He buildeth Leighline and other foꝛts, 46,6. The deſcription of him, 47,1. Had in ſuſpicion, 46,20. Is ſent foꝛ into England, 48,20. Is made lord deputie, ib. He is ſlaine, 49,3; 60,38. His burtall, ib. 46. He receiueth the ſubmiſſion of Rothoꝛike the monarch at the Shenin, 22,23
Lacie Hugh the ꝑonger keepeth the reaime in quietneſſe, 60, 56. Is baniſhed, 61, 71. He trauelleth into France, and is diſguiſed, ib. 2. He is pardoned and reſtoꝛed to his eaꝛledome, ib. 14. His ꝑeaꝛelie reuenues, 2500. li. Dieth and is buried at Cragfergus, 62, 27. His daughter and heire maried to Walter de Burgh, ib. 28.
Lacies do rebell, 68, 63. Reuolt to the Scots, ib. 71. Doꝛoclamed traitoꝛs, ib.
Lacie John arreigned and ſtoned to death, 68,46
Laigria arriueth into Ireland with Cesarea, 47,35
Lambert the counterfeit ſonne to George duke of Clarence, 79,34. Is cꝛowned king at Dublin, 79,4. Is taken and pardoned, 69,15
Laurence archbiſhop of Dublin intreateth foꝛ, and is ꝑeſent at the ſynod at Caſhill, 28,49
Legats from Rome, 44,50,51, 55,83,33
Legues not to be kept with traitoꝛs, 93,4,96,8
Lenſter the fift part of Ireland, 2,3. In a miſerable ſtate, 110,30
Leontes king of Sparta ouercommeth Xerxes the great monaꝛch, 93,40,96,8
Lerned men of Ireland, 39, 50
Letters from the duke of Yoꝛke to the earle of Saliſburie, 78, 12
Letters from Thomas Fitzgiꝛald to the lord Butler, 91,23
Letters from the Lord Butler to Thomas Fitzgiꝛald, ib. 33
Leighlin, 46, 30. Incloſed with a wall, 109,45
Leuruoſe Edmund ſir ſolemaſter to the earle of Kildare, 97, 163. His care of the earle, 98, 134. He is ꝑlaced ꝑ the Engliſh houſe at Rome, 98,68
Liberties called, 71,33,144, 146
Limeꝛike builded by Sattrinus, 58,4,54,2,150,24,70. White ſo named, 24,78,27,44, 73,24,60. The king of Limeꝛike ſubmitteth himſelfe, 21, 45. It was builded by the Eſterlings, 22,50. It is beſieged & taken, 37,36. Beſieged by Donald, 39,40. Recouered, ib. 47. Set on fiꝛe, 40,14
Lionell king Edward the third his ſonne, maꝛieth the daughter and heiꝛe to the earle of Ulſter, 70,58. He aꝛriueth into Ireland, 72,41. Is lord iuſtice, ib. Dubbeth knights, ib. 54. He remoueth the checker to Catherlough, ib. 57
Liſmoꝛe an old ancient towne, 22,25,27,45. The king lieth there, 22,25. A biſhoꝛike, ib. United to Waterfoꝛd, ib. 27. Spoiled, 33,47
Logan John his ſeruice againſt the Scots, 67,17. He taketh ſir Allen Steward ꝑiſoner, ib. 38
Loꝛds of Ireland giue aſſuꝛance foꝛ their loialtie, 66,60. They anſwer foꝛ their followeꝛs, 140,50
Loue muſt be tempered with feaꝛe, 1,27
Louell, lord Louell capteine of the conſpiracie againſt king Henꝛie the ſeuenth, 79,55

M.

Mac Adam Gilmoꝛe a common ſpoiler and buꝛner of churches, 174,18 Is theꝛof called Coꝛbie, ibid. 24
Mac Artie Reogh maꝛried the ladie Eleonoꝛ Fitzgiꝛald 98,3
Mac Artie Moꝛe an ancient Iriſh gentleman, 114,70. He ſuꝛꝛendꝛeth his lands and taketh it anew, 14,9. Sweaꝛeth allegiance, ibid. Is made baron of Valencia and eaꝛle of Clancaꝛ, ibid. 18, 37, 22. Shane Oneile ſcoffeth at him, ibid. 20. His comming to Coꝛke, 140, 40. His ꝛeadineſſe to ſeꝛue againſt foꝛꝛen ꝑower, 154,20. Departeth home, ibid. 37, 46, 10, 45, 7. His ꝑride and inſolencie, 118, 3. Ioineth with the Butlers, 13, 4. Submitteth himſelfe, 132,10, 140,40. Inuadeth the lord Roches lands 118,36
Mac Artie Dermon is in open rebellion, 45,5
Mac Balther burned the caſtle of Kennus and the towne of Courcoulie, 65, 17
Mac Eughter William his countꝛie ſpoiled, 142,30. He is a good ſubiect, ibid.
Mac Eaꝛtie plaieth the diuell in Deſmond, 62,60
Mac Coꝛmake Oconhoꝛ in ꝛebellion, 147,66
Mac Coghlan capteine of the Scotiſh ſhips is taken, 74, 55. Killeth Omalaghlin king of Meth, 63,57. Diſcomfiteth William Burgh, ibid.
Mac Holan Ophaien ꝑince of Oſlaie ſubmitteth himſelfe vnto king Henꝛie the ſecond, 12,17
Mac Goghganie, what he got his poſteꝛitie loſt, 78, 69,63 56
Mac Gillimoꝛe was ſlaine in the church at Cragfergus which before he had burned, 75,38
Mac Moꝛogh. ¶ See Dermon, 39,70. Is taken ꝑiſoner, 76,28
Mac Mahon ꝑoſſeth the countꝛie, 77,23,18
Macworth capteine entreth firſt the Spaniaꝛds foꝛt. 167,1
Mac Moꝛice baron of Kerrie and Lecnaw, 38,24
Mac William the rebell taken & all his companie at Knocktow and ſlaine, 72,57
Madocke a noble man of birth, 54, 5. He died biſhop of Fernes, ibid. 14
Men the Iland, whether Engliſh oꝛ Iriſh, 13,45
Margaret ladie Fitzgiꝛald of Kildare maꝛried to the eaꝛle of Oſſoꝛie, 83, 70. She longeth foꝛ wine, 84, 9. Her ſtoutneſſe, ibid. 22, 56. Her wiſedome and policie in gouernment, 83,33. Her griefe foꝛ the murthering of Talbot, 84,66
Marcus Antonius bewitched with his wife Cleopatra, 2. 63
Marius the noble Roman, 19, 69
Mariages made foꝛ increaſe of loue and amitie, 75,78,34,70 22,60,66,25
Marie Tagh Oconhoꝛ king of Oſſalia & his companie ſlaine by Iozdan Cumin, 64,69
Markets not to be kept vpon holie daies, 15,60
Malachias a noble man boꝛne at Ardmagh, 54,40. Gouꝛnoꝛ of Bangoꝛ, ibid. 60. Biſhop of Ardmagh, 55, 1. His ſtoutneſſe with the ſoldioꝛs, ibid. 17. He died at Clarauell, ibid. 48
Malbie ſir Nicholas ſeꝛueth with ſir Peter Carew in the Butlers waꝛꝛes, 130, 21. His ſeꝛuice at Kilkennie, ibi. 63. He is commended by the queene, 142,70. Is dubbed knight, 143, 8. Swoꝛne one of the ꝑiuie councell, ibidem. Made colonell of Connagh, ibid. He ſeꝛueth in Mounſter vnder ſir William Oꝛuꝛie lord iuſtice, 157,31. Is gouꝛnoꝛ of Mounſter, 158, 38. His ſeꝛuice there, 159,5. He ſendeth to and foꝛ the eꝛle of Deſmond, ibid. 28. He incounteꝛeth with ſir John of Deſmond, 159, 55. Diſcomfiteth him, ibid. 19. He wꝛiteth to the earle of Deſmond foꝛ his ſubmiſſion, 160, 22. He diſſolueth his aꝛmie, ibid. 34. Subſcꝛibeth to the ꝑoclaming of the eꝛle of Deſmond to be a traitoꝛ, 164,10. He meeteth ſir William Pelham lord iuſtice at Limeꝛike, 162,66. Preſenteth him with Sanders letters, ibi.
Malcontents againſt the ceſſe, 144,5
Malchus a moonke at Winchester, 55,50. Is biſhop of Liſmoꝛe, ibid. 54
Manners and diſpoſitions of the Iriſhrie, 44,10
Manꝛeuar Thomas baron of Skrin is taken ꝑiſoner by Oconhoꝛ of Meth. 76,44
Maupas the leader of a thouſand thꝛee hundꝛed twentie and foure men incounteꝛeth with the Scots, 68,55. He is found dead vpon the dead bodie of Bꝛuſe his enimie, 69,2
Maunderill lord of Barnſtoliſe his ꝑeaꝛelie ꝛeuennes one thouſand and two hundꝛed pounds, 75,21
Maunderill ſir John is reconciled to the lord Butler, 66 74. Is ſlaine, 67,59
Maunderill ſir Thomas his good ſeꝛuice at Glenfield, 64, 20. Doth great enteꝛꝑꝛiſes vpon the Scots, 67,53 Is ſlaine, ibid. 10
Maꝛtyꝛs in Ireland, 55
Maſterſon Thomas in great danger, 135,66
Meſſerius nephue to Fitzſtephans 6,41. Is ambitious, ibid. 43. His ſeꝛuice, 11,42. Aꝛriueth at waterfoꝛd, 24, 33. The deſcription of him, 38,25,47,28. His valiantneſs 39,43, 41,1. Hath no iſſue, 44, 37. Leꝛx is giuen vnto him foꝛ Kildare, 47,14
Men eat men foꝛ want of vittels, 68,40
Meinouth ſtꝛonglie waꝛded 95, 14,11. Is beſæged, 11, 21. Summoned ibid. 25, Betraieꝛs, ibid. 50. The betraieꝛ beheaded, 96,8
Meꝛlins ꝑophecies, 14,64 21,5 22,40,24,47,42,20,51,20,53 11
Meth in Latin Media, 48, 55. It is appointed foꝛ the kings diet, 28. It is the fift ꝑt of Ireland, 2,3. It conteineth ſixteene cantreds, ibid. 46. It is inuaded and ſpoiled, 15,23. It is vnder Omalaghlin, 56 25. It is giuen vnto Hugh de Lacie, 24,10
Miles in what ſenſe it is to be taken, 5,54
Miles of ſaint Dauid lieutenant of Limeꝛike, 38,23
Milo Cogan. ¶ See Cogan.
Monaꝛch of Ireland, 59, 25. His authoꝛitie, ibid. 4
Moꝛis alias Omoꝛis vp in rebellion, 84,51. 147, 66. They buꝛne the Maas, 148,8. They buꝛne Leighlin, ibid. 47
Moꝛis a runnagate ꝑieſt made aꝛchbiſhop of Caſhill, 118,50 Like to be killed, ibid.
Moꝛtimer Roger lord of Meth aꝛꝛiued into Ireland, 65, 48 Is diſcomfited by the Scots 60,38. Is lord iuſtice, 68,13. He chaſeth the Lacies out of Connagh, 68,70. Doꝛclameth them traitoꝛs, ibid. Is lord lieutenant, 73,60. Is ſlaine, 73,10
Mutinie in the paꝛlement houſe 120,10

N.

Nas buꝛned by Koꝛie Og, 148,8
Names of all the noble houſes in Ireland, 60,33,13
Nauiculare littus, 47,38
Nele the great oꝛ Nigellus the monaꝛch of all Ireland, 53,30
Nele Donell taken ꝑiſoner, 77, 45
Nele Oneile. ¶ See Oneile.
Nemodus with his foure ſons aꝛꝛiue in Ireland, 48,2
Nero his wicked life and end, 2,52
Nesta the noble ladie mother to the conqueꝛoꝛs of all Ireland 4,72,47,45,48,13
Noble men of Ulſter glad of Oneils death, 117,10
Noble men to attend the king, 63,70. To anſwer foꝛ their men, 140,50. To attend the lord deputie, 141,40
Noꝛwegians inuade Ireland, 55,30. Expelled, 56,58. Beſieged Dublin, 57, 35. They were firſt meꝛchants, 57,55. They build townes, ib.
Nottingham Robert maioꝛ of Dublin taketh and impꝛiſoneth the eaꝛle of Ulſter, 67, 50. Spoileth ſaint Maries abbeie. ib.
Nugent baron of Delain, a malcontent againſt the ceſſe, 145,50. He with others committed to waꝛd, 147,5. He is ſuſpected to be one of the conſpiracie of Deſmonds rebellion, is committed to ꝑiſon, He is ſent into England, and then to the Tower, ibidem,

O.

Obren king of Thomond ſlaine, 64,8

Obren.

Odyen Donat slaine by his owne men, 66.10
Odyen Mozogh baron of Inesteklen, 39. 39. He killeth John Fitziohn, 73.12
Oconher of Ophalia his victories, 64.6
Oconher king of Conagh slaine, 67.4.34.40
Oconher mac Kellie slaine in Conagh, 67.23. His victories, 75.72.76.42
Oconher Cathsolo slaine, 74.17
Oconher of Ulster rebelleth, 102.14. His countrie is inuaded and burned, ib. 25. He submitteth himselfe, ib. 30. Giueth hostages, ib.
Odonell anoieth the kings subiects in Ulster, 62.44. He is vanquished, ib. Restored to his possessions, 116.25
Odempsie discomfiteth Oconher, 64,7. Subdueth Odyen, 65.45
Odyon, 55.58
Okensile in Leinster, 7.37
Omalaghlin king of Meth, 56. 16. In credit with Turgesius, ib. His policies to beguile Turgesius, ib. 40. His persuasion to his countrimen, 56.25. His daughter maried to Ozorike, 1.26. He is slaine, 63,58
Omores rebell, 135.35
Oncle was chased in batteli, 62. 65. He is slaine and 352. men with him, 62. 57. He paieth tribute, ib.45
Oncle Con beareth the swoord before the earle of Kildare, 84. 75. Maketh insurrection against the earle of Ossorie, 86. 46. He inuadeth the English pale, 101.20. The first earle of Tiron, 112. 16. He had two sonnes, ib. His first sonne baron of Dungannon, ib. 24. Oncle and all the North vnquiet, 110.5. He is taken prisoner, 110.25
Oncle Shane by blood and murther prenaileth, 112.8. The proudest man, ib. 8.115,40. 151.74. The causes of his rebellion, ib. 20. He disurpeth the name of Oncle, ibid. 40. He breaketh into rebellion, ib. 50. He praieth the lord deputie to be his godcept, ib. 65. His objections against his elder brother, 113.6. He promiseth to be quiet, 113.3. He is pursued by the earle of Essex, ib. 12. Is become a tyrant ib 20. He is a dronkard, ib.30. He is buried in the ground to recouer his dronkennesse, ib. 38. His force and gard, ib.53. He traineth vp his peasantes in warres, ib.55. He taunteth at the earle of Clancar, 114.17. He besiegeth Dundalke, 115. 32, 116.62. He is discomfited, 16.30. His cowardnesse, 116. 12. His friends forsake him, 116.70. His countrie is preied, 117.10. He is distressed, ib. 26. He is slaine, ib.56. His head set vpon the castle of Dublin, ib. 65. His sonne committed vnto the castle of Dublin, ib.34
Oncle would speake no English, 12.30
Onolan one of the Macmurghes and his companie were set vpon and discomfited, and caried awaie prisoners, 74.36
Ozation of Donald of Ossorie, 39.6
Ozation of Rodorike king of Picts, 57.46
Ozation of Omaleighlin 56.46
Ozation of Rothorike Oconhor. 8.7
Ozation of Mac Mozough. 9.20
Ozation of Fitzstephene, 10.20
Ozation of Reimond, 25.13.6. 17.37.10
Ozation of Heruie, 13.24
Ozation of Mozis Fitzgirald, 17.47
Ozation of Wozllie lord chancellor, 85.6
Ozation of Fitzgirald earle of Kildare, 85. 48. To his sonne, 88.21
Ozation of Thomas Fitzgirald, 89.70.91.34
Ozation of weston lord Chancellor, 119.30
Ozation of Stanihurst, 119. 1
Ozation of sir Henrie Sidneie, 119.56
Ozder of a parlement, 121. 10
Ozeous, 55.58
Ossories there be two, 7.40
Ossorie is ouerrun, 6.56
Ostemen, 34.47

P.

PAlladius archdeacon of Rome arriueth into Ireland, 52. 72. Appointed to preach, ib. 30. He trauelleth into Scotland, ib.20
Pall what it is, 31. 47. 49.24
Pangs of gelousie, 26.10
Parkin warbecke raised vp to be a king, 79. 30. He is taken, 79.40
Parker Nicholas, valiantlie defendeth himselfe, 166.63
Parker John lieutenant to captaine Furse, slaine in the Glinnes, 169.44
Paris Christopher betraieth Mainouth, 95. 50. His promised reward is paied, ib.57. 15. Beheaded. 96.10
Parlement at Dublin, 70. 50. 71.40.75.12.76.59.87.58.74. 16.74.40.119.15.99.30. At Kilkenne, 71 69. 25. 35. At Waldale, 72.73. Parlement order, 121.10. At Trim. 76.70
Patriarch Heraclius commeth to king Henrie the second for aid, 49. 60. Intreateth the king to go into the holie land, ib.56. He threatneth the king for demeng, ib.64
Patrike his life, 53.40. Where he was borne, 53. 33. His purgatorie, 28. 28. 53. 58. Made an archbishop, ib.8. He baptised Ryanus 2041. yeeres old, 48. 45. He conuerteth all Ireland to christianitie, 53.25.
Pellam sir William is dubbed knight, 158.44. Is chosen lord iustice. 162.50. He dubbeth sir William Gerald and sir Thomas Perot knights, ib.70. He maketh a iournie into Mounster, ib 20. He sendeth for the earle of Desmond. ib.50. He sendeth the earle of Ozmond vnto him, 163.2. He proclameth the earle traitor, 164.14. He commeth to Limerike and then to Gallowaie, and is honorablie received, he maketh a second iournie then to Mounster, 166.38. Is verie honorablie receiued at Waterford, ib 60. He sendeth the chancellor of Limerike to ward, and the bishop he commandeth to his owne house, 66.144. He besiegeth & taketh the castle of Caregkoile, 167. 40.10. He taketh Asketten castle, 167. 30. He createth sir William Burcke baron of Connell, 168.20. He deliuereth the swoord to the lord Grete, 170.36
Pert signifieth a Magician, 54. 20
Pet sent for Lacie, 48.68
Peers Gauelton, ¶ See Gauelston.
Perot sir John lord president of Mounster, 133.2. His state & conditions, ib. James Fitzmoris rebelleth at his gouernment, ib.14. His gouernment. 134.434. His seruice against him, ib. 12. The peace of the countrie, ib.40. His assistance, ib. 56. He reformeth Irish maners, ib, 30. 151.4. Admerall of the Queenes ships, 158.1. He is lord deputie, he subdueth the Scots, He maketh the land all shire ground.
Perot sir Thomas is dubbed knight, 158.46
Pestilence in the English pale, 136.20
Philip of worcester sent for Lacie, 48. 40. His gouernement. ib.
Pitie is necessarie in a gouernour, 13.50
Picts arriue into Ireland, 50. 46. Into Scotland, ib.44. They marie with the Irish, ib.68. Inhabite in part of Britain, 51.56. The amitie betweene them & the Scots, ib.67. They fall out and are reconciled, ib.26,70. They be rooted out, ib.50
Pole cardinal sendeth to Rome for Girald Fitzgirald, 98. 55. He carefullie dringeth him vp 99.1. Giueth him a peerelie pension, 98. 47. Increaseth his pension, 99,39
Pope Celestine inuesteth Patrike archbishop of Ardmach, 53.6. He sendeth Palladius into Scotland. 58.20
Pope destroieth the Templers. 64.63
Popes legats assoile king Henrie the second, 25.36. They iniotne him penance, 25.1
Pope Alexander his priuileges to Ireland, 35.25. He demandeth tenths and Peter pence, 64.45.36.55.36.22
Pope Adrians priuileges, 35. 48. He keepeth a synod at Dublin, 44.30. He maketh peace. 42.40
Popes fauour vnto Thomas Stukelie, 149.40. He giueth him titles of honour, ib.47
Pope sendeth aid with James Fitzmoris. 154. 15. Appointeth doctor Sanders to be his legat, ib.31. The fruites of his religion, he sendeth forces aid into Ireland, 154. 30. His banner is displaied, 159.6. Dispenseth with murther, 156.68. His wicked practise, 183.48
Poer Dominik sent to Charles the emperour for aid, 97.70. Presenteth him with hawkes and horses, ib.70.3. He hath the kings pardon, ib.7. He hath the emperours pension, ib.8
Poer Arnold accused of heresie, 69.72. He died, 70 30. He was seneschall of Kilkennie, 69.24. Hee killed the lord Bonneuill, 65.57
Poer Eustace inuadeth Scotland. 94.59
Poer Eustace viscount Baltinglas complaineth against the cesse, 145. 42. His letters to the earle of Ozmond, 149.54. Complaineth against sir Nicholas Bagnall, 150.2. His cõplaints found vntrue, ib.25. He was baron of Kilcolen. 38. 7. Hideth in the Glinnes, 169. 3. Is wearie of his life, 180. 56. He died miserable. ib.70
Poer baron of Cozaghmore, 39. 18
Poer William seneschall of Waterford, 47.36
Poer Roger, his seruice in Ulster, 43.34. His race and progenie, 43.36. Gouernour at Leighlin and in Ossorie, ib. 38.47.34. Slaine in Ossorie. 52.16.54.3
Poer Robert, seneschall of Waterford and Wexford, 44.51. 46.60
Poer Thomas Fitziohn, baron of Donoile, sweareth to serue the king. 156.68
Poets were at the first chronographers, Epistola.
Propheter of Ireland, 53.11
Posts set betweene England and Ireland, 114.5
Propheties, 3. 30.14.60.22.41. 29.30.24.50.42.28.47.50.51. 20.53.10
Prouerbe, Two late quod Boies 95.68
Prendergast Moris arriueth into Ireland at the Banne, 5.4 Borne in Wales, ib.5
Prendergast William slaine. 66. 19
Punishment for sinnes make a quiet common wealth, 141.68
Prerogatiue of a king. 140.4. 145,65,20
Prebendaries made monks, 60. 36

Q.

QUestions cõcerning gouernment, 70.50
Quinio, liuerie, and other Irish impositions, 78.56
Quimerford Fulco spoiled and robbed, 130.18
Queene Elisabeth hir continuall care for Ireland, 111.20
Quicke siluer, the nature of it. 133.57

R.

RAlegh Walter is the first that entred into the Spaniards fort, 171.70 Complaineth for the too much bearing with the traitors, 172.45. His conflict with the seneschall, 173.10. Is commissioner of Mounster, 173.17. His seruice vpon David Warrie, 175.27. He taketh the lord Roch, 174.24. His seruice at Rekell, 170. 63. His pedegree, Epistola. His care to the common wealth, ib. The blasoning of his armes, Epistola.
Ralph Fitzstephans sonne, 26. 73
Randolph captaine and cozonell arriueth into Ireland, 115. 30. He prepareth to fight with the Oncle, ib.2. He is slaine, ib.23. His monument, 63.26
Randon castle destroied, 62.28. Burned, 88.17
Rebellion first attempted in Ireland, 58.65. Of Kildare, 91.60. In the whole land, 112. 30. Of Oncle, 112.50. Of the Butlers, 130.13. Of James Fitzmoris, 133.14.154.40. Of Omore. 135.35. In Connagh, 135.42. Of the Oconhors. 135.67. Of Clanricard, 141.12.142.6. Of Rorke Og, 147.68. Of James of Desmond, 157.15. Of the earle of Desmond. 160.42
Rebellion against gouernours, 484
Reimond le grosse arriueth into Ireland 12.35. He is assailed by the men of waterford, ib.60

He preuenteth against the men of Cozke, ib.10. He is assailed by Mac Artie prince of Desmond & discomfiteth him, 33. 29. He passeth ouer into Wales vpon the death of his father William Fitzgirald, 34.10. He returneth and marrieth Basilia the earles daughter, 34.67. He winneth Weth, 35. 10. Heruie conspireth against him, 35.68. He besiegeth and taketh Limerike, 39.30. His orations and his description, 37.10.60. His coldnesse in religion, 38.51. He is accused by Heruie to the king, 38. 38. The king sendeth for him. 38. 60. He rescueth Limerike, 39. 60. He parleth with the kings of Connagh and Thomond, 39.58. He restoreth Mac Artie of Desmond against his sonne, 39.73. The kings submit themselues vnto him, 39. 70. He meeteth Fitzaldelme at Wexford, 40.63. His destruction is practised, 41,57. His lands taken from him, 41.62

Richard Strangbow arriueth into Ireland, ¶. See Strangbow.

Richard the second K. of England arriueth into Ireland, 73.59. Returneth and passeth the second time and arriueth to Waterford, 73.70. He commeth to Dublin, ib.30. He imprisoneth the duke of Glocesters and the duke of Lancasters sonne at Trim, 73.42. He returneth home by Wales, and is deposed, ib.45

Richard duke of Yorke, his letter to the earle of Salisburie, 78.10

Richard archbishop of Dublin vpon a vision praieth vp his bishoprike, 64.54

Redshankes mixed with Scots and Picts, 52.3

Religious houses in Ireland, 53. 60

Religion reformed, 140.63

Reuda gaineth the countrie of Riddesdale, 51. 57. He is slaine, ib.

Robert Hood and litle John, outlawes, 24.45

Rouks a pirat and a rebell, 92. 46. Besiegeth Dublin. 92.50. He scowreth the seas, and taketh an English barke, 94. 64. He is hanged, 96.7

Rockelie Ralph chicke iustice in Connagh, 133.57. He is sent into England to informe against the earle of Thomond, ib.

Rokesbie sir Thomas lord iustice, 72.10. His interteinment increased, ib.13. His wise saiengs, 62.5

Roch lord of Powle castle, his yeerelie reuenues 10000.75. 30

Roch, lord Roch had in suspicion of disloialtie, 174.6. He is taken in his castle by captaine Ralegh, and caried to Cozke, ib.1. He acquitteth himselfe, 174.40. The good seruice of his sonnes, ib.44

Rodozike a Scithian, king of the Picts, arriueth into Ireland, 50.45. His oration to the king, 50.57. Is sent into Scotland and slaine, ib.42.67

Rozie Og submitteth him selfe, 137. 20. Rebelleth, 147. 65. Burneth the Naas and Leighlin, 148. 4. 44. Is driuen to runne awaie, 148. 2. He traitorously taketh captaine Harrington prisoner 148.15. A draught is made vpon him, ib.30. He burneth Catherlough, ib. 58. He laieth a bait for the lord of vpper Ossorie, 148.70. He is slaine, 149.22

Roscoman castle destroied, 62.23. New reedified, 62,36. Taken by the Irishrie, 62. 56

Rosse towne a hauen towne in Leinster, 25.32. Inclosed with a wall, 25.6. Interdicted by the pope, 26.41. Decaied and impouerished, ib.46. A long controuersie betweene them and the citie of Waterford for liberties, 139.60

Rothorike Oconhor monarch of Ireland, 7.14.8.7. Summoneth a parlement, ib.30. Declareth against Dermond Macmorough, ib.35. Inuadeth Leinster, 7.37. His oration, 8.15. Sueth for peace, 10.25. Is sworne to be true, 10.48. Breaketh with mac Morough, 15.37. He beheadeth Dermonds sonne, 15.48. Besiegeth Dublin, 16. 66. Submitteth himselfe, 22.20. Sweareth allegiance. 22.27

Ruanus baptised by saint Patrike, 48.47. He liued 2041. peres, 48.4

Ruine of the ecclesiasticall state, 140.40

Rutherantius one of the posteritie of Nemrod, 48.28

Ruthurgus arriueth into Ireland, 47.20. His poole, ib.23

Rumor catcheth feathers, 17.10

S.

Sagundus one of the posteritie of Nemrod, 48.28

Salmon leape, 51.12

Sauage sir Robert fortifieth his house and castle, 72.27. His sonnes answere, ib. His liberalitie to his souldiers. ib. 50

Sauage Patrike taken prisoner, paieth his ransome, and is slaine, 75.24

Saint Paule archbishop of Dublin, 72,18,33.6

Saints of Ireland, 53.6

Saint Patrike, ¶ See Patrike.

Saint Patriks church in Dublin, 32.33

Sanford John, archbishop of Dublin, 63.37. is lord iustice, ib.49

Sarcefield maior of Dublin, 24. 44. His hospitalitie, ib.46

Sailing vnknowen before Noahs flood 0

Satanus one of the first finders out of Ireland 0

Salisburie captaine arriueth into Ireland with 200. archers, 94.70. His seruice at the siege of Wainouth, 95.40

Scithians driuen into Ireland, 50.45. A seditious people, ib. 47. ¶ See Picts.

Scorch villen archbishop of Dublin, 61.56. Whie so named, ib.

Scotia the first name of Ireland. 9,52. named also Gathela, 9, 29. It is inuaded by the citizens of Dublin, 74.64. Inuaded by the Irish people, 64.33

Scotus the great scholeman borne at Downe. 9,40

Scots vnder Bruse inuade and spoile Ireland. 66.55. Refuse to be of the Britanes race, ib. 35. Liue in friendship with Picts, 51.60. They fall out, ib.72. They are expelled out of England by the Picts ib. 47. They make title to Ireland, 52. 4. Their king landeth at Caergfergus, 67. 4. They are slaine, ibid. 28. They are banquished, 68.74. They disguise with Oneile and kill him, 717.46. Ouerthrowen in Connagh. 0

Scald brother a theefe, 24.10. His cause, ib. His swiftnesse, His theeuerie & his death, ib.

Scrope lord deputie to Thomas of Lancaster, 73.67. Is exclamed for his extortion, ib. 70. His wife procureth his amendment. 74.10. He inuadeth vpon Macmorough, 74. 32. He returneth into England, ib.50

Selke Will causeth rebellion, 141. 50

Seneschall of Imokellie Fitzedmunds entreth into Youghall 164. 55. A principall with James Fitzmoris, 131. 35. His castle of Balie martyr besieged and taken: ib. He stealeth secretlie awaie by night, ib. He lieth in wait for captain Ralegh, 173.10. His cowardnes, ib. He is challenged to the fight and refuseth, ib. He preiety vpon Lismore, 173. 6. He and the lord Barrie at variance, 175. 30. A spiall made on him by captaine Dowdall, 175.43

Serpents none venemous in Ireland, 13, 28. They die being brought thither, ib. 36. They are killed with the water and earth of that land, 14. 24. Whie there be none there, 14.30

Sentleger sir Anthonie sent into Ireland, 99. 25. His gouernement there and his reuocation, 109.1. Is sent backe lord deputie the second time, 110.30. Is lord deputie the third time, ib.45. Is lord deputie the fourth time, 102.35. He sendeth an armie to Bulleine, 103.55. He sendeth aid to the lord Lenoux, 103.33. A quarell betweene him and the earle of Ormond. 104.34. They are both sent for into England, 104. 64. They are reconciled, 104.75. He returneth lord deputie, 106.10

Sentleger Warham made prouost marshall of Ireland, 162. 13. Is one of the priuie counsell, 181.77

Sheepe in Ireland, 120.3

Shenin riuer, 22.67

Shires or counties in Ireland, 10.45.181

Sinne cause of all ouerthrows, 52. 70. Being neuer so great want no excuse. 50.10

Siward king of Denmarke, 47. 50

Sidneie sir Henrie treasuror at Warres, 110.77.35. Is lord iustice foure times, 110.17. Lord deputie, 110. And knight of the garter, ib.34.151.20. Lord president of Wales, ib. 45. His instructions, ib.50. Is honorable received into Ireland, 111.2. Taketh his oth, ib. 11. His eloquent oration then, ib.15. Is godcept to Oneile, 112.68. His iournie into Vlster, 116.6. He passeth into England, 118.6. His comming to the court ib.8. Returneth into Ireland, 118.28. Summoneth a parlement, 119. 20. His answere to the speakers oration, 119.56. He dubbeth sir Humfrie Gilbert knight, 132.56. Returneth into England and is honorable received, 134.40. Is lord deputie the third time, 136.16. He maketh a iournie into Vlster, and the same wholie com-meth to submission 136.50. He maketh an hosting through the whole land, 137. He is present at the funerals of sir Peter Carew 138.50. The earle of Essex his letters and garter sent vnto him, 144.15. The malecontents of the English pale repine against the cesse 144.5. He deliuereth the sword to sir William Drurie, 150. His saiengs at the entring into his ship, 150. 60. His parentage and education, 150.30.47. Is dubbed knight, ib 60. His ambassads and gouernment, his religion, 151.5. 30.40. He tameth Oneile, placeth presidents, reformeth the courts, and causeth the statutes to be imprinted and ordereth places for the records, 152. 76.35.63.71. 8. He repareth the castle of Dublin, he reduceth the Irish countries into shires, he reparelh sundrie decaied townes, he buildeth the bridge of Athelon, and increaseth the reuenues, 152. 51.61.73.15. His noble vertues, 152.14. His death and burial, 153.70. 14. He renewed Strangbows monument, 62.20. He erecteth capteine Randolphs atchinement, ib.

Silner quicke his nature, 133.57

Silken Thomas, 91.35

Skeuington sir William, lord deputie, 87.22. He is very honorable received, 87.27. His answer to the recorders oration, ib. 31. He recordeth the sword, ib. 56. His falling out with the earle of Kildare, ib. 50. He receiueth the sword to the earle of Kildare, 87. 51. He passeth into England & returneth lord deputie the second time, 17,50.94.73. He besiegeth the castle of Wainouth, 95. His rewarding of Peers the traitor, his death, 97.43

Skirmish at Kilka, 33.26

Sonne stood still for the space of a daie, 74.46.77.72

Souldiers are of three degrees, 5.60. Kept in discipline, 135. 29

Soch ¶ See Zoch.

Speaking stone, 24.60

Spaniards first arriuall into Ireland, 74.49.77.72. Their intents, ib.67. They come to aid James Fitzmoris, 154. 40. They are besieged at Caregfoile, 167.27. Their proud brags, ib.50. They are taken and hanged, 167.13. They keepe their fort at saint Marie Wœke, 170.54. They leaue the fort and flie, ib.57. Their determinations, ib. The lord deputie besiegeth & taketh their fort, 171. 30.

Spanish brags, Epistola.

Stanlie sir William, he lieth at Idar, 161.43. His good seruice, ib.

Stanlie sir Thomas, his good seruice, 77.41

Stanihurst speaker of the parlement, 119.70. His oration, ib. His requests, ib.40

Stanton Philip burneth castels and preieth the countrie, 63.42

Stanton Richard gaoler of Newgate, 95.45. A good saior and his seruice, ib.

Staples bishop of Meth landeth at Dublin, 87.27. His question of the Dublians. ib.67. He was fullie answered, ib.12

Statutes of Kilkennie confirmed, 75.15. They are imprinted, 152.76

Stature of an Irish man, 44.64

Stephan

Stephan de longe Espe lord iustice, 62.57. He killed Uncle, ib, He dieth, ib.
Stephan of Balatomore his reuenues by the yere eight thousand pounds, 57.28
Stozke, 11,68
Strange and wonderfull things in Ireland, 28,30
Strangle Thomas placed in castle Walterogh, 142.15. He is besieged, and his good seruice ib. 20. He is knighted and of the councell, 181.66
Strangbow earle of Chepstow 3.35. Promiseth aid to mac Mozogh, and to marrie his daughter, ib:37. He is sent for into Ireland, 11.20. He with the good leaue of the king arriueth into Waterford, 11.60. 14.97 He marrieth Eua the daughter and heire to mac Mozogh, 14.25. He marcheth to Dublin, and taketh it, 15.6. The king proclameth against him, 15.55. He sendeth Reimond to the king with his submission, 16.6. The description of him, 20.68. He returneth into England, 20.41. He hath peace with the king, 20.45. He returneth into Ireland, 33.8. He dieth 40.47. His sepulcher is in Dublin, 63.20.
Stratagems at Ardah and Lestoile, 176.10.24,
Strife about a dog, 52.1
Stukelie Thomas in great fauour with the pope, 149.40. suspected to come to Ireland, ib. 26. Great preparation against him, ibidem. His titles of honor giuen by the pope, 149.47
Sure the riuer. 22.35

T.

Talbot Thomas is slaine, 73.7
Talbot John lord Furniuall lord deputie, 76.48
Talbot Robert walketh in the suburbs of Kilkennie towne, 76.55. Hatefull to the Giraldines, is slaine, 84.55
Talbot Richard giuen for an hostage to the rebelles, 94.30
Talbot well learned, 43.50
Tale tellers, 45.63
Taragh hill, 30.14
Tenths demanded, 64.55
Thira daughter to king Ethelwod married to Gurmo, 57.60. Hir issue, ibidem. 63, Hir policie, 58.23. Hir lamentation and mourning, ibid.40
Thomas of Lancaster arriueth into Ireland, 74.23. Is lord deputie, 73.70. Putteth the earle of Kildare vnder arrest, 75.22. Is hurt and wounded, ibid. 28. Returneth into England, 75.45
Thorneburie Walter lord chancellor, 66.40. Elected bishop of Dublin, ibid. 15. Drowned ibid.
Timber turned to stones and iron 30.38
Tirell Hugh serueth against the Scots, 67.51. Is put to ransome, ibid.
Trauers sir John capteine of the armie, 103.83
Tripton sir Hugh serueth against the Scots. 68.51
Turgesius 55.58. Vanquisheth Edlumding ibid. 68. Abideth manie troubles 56.10. Buildeth fortresses and castles, ibidem. 18. Mastreth the Irish kings 56.20. Demandeth Omalaghlins daughter to wife, ibid. 26. Is killed, 59,56

V.

Variance betweene the Butlers and the Burghs 69.70
Betweene the earle of Ormond and the earle of Kildare 82.24. 114. 50. Betweene Uessie and Kildare, 63.70.
About a dog. 52.1
Verdon Milo a valiant capteine. 68.51
Verdon Robert maketh a riot, 66.12. Submitteth himselfe, ibid.20
Verdon lord Verdon marrieth Margaret daughter to Lacie. 62.20
Verdon Theobald is besieged in the castell of Athlon, 63.53
Uessie William lord iustice. 63.60. His variance with the earle of Kildare 63.70. The combat demanded betweene them 63. 25. Uessie refuseth it ibid. Flieth into France. 63 27.34.65
Ufford lord iustice arriueth into Ireland 71,66. Marieth the countesse of Ulster, ibid. A heauie friend to the earle of Desmond, 71.37. Great rioting at his death, 37.56
Uniuersitie at Dublin, 69.24
Ulster the fift part of Ireland, 50. 20. 10. 35. Conquered by Curcie, 52. 17. Giuen to Hugh Lacie, 61.60. Spoiled by Scots, 68,36. The townes in the same, 27.30

W.

Wallop sir John ambassador in France, 98.60. He requireth to haue Fitzgirald, and is denied, ib.70. Aduertiseth the king. ib.9
Wallop sir Henrie knight, treasuror at armes, commeth to Ikketten castle, 167.46. His companie left in garison at Ikketten, ib.66. Is made one of the lord iustices, 177.46. His good gouernement, ib. A combat fought before him, 180.70. He pearleth vp the sword to sir John Perot. 181.8. He is one of the councell, 181.57. He late at Limerike, 165.20
Wales inuaded by the Dublians, 74.70
Waterford citie builded by Sitaracus, 24.17.12.55. Is wales faithfull to the crowne of England, 24.56. The conquest of it by Richard Strangbow, 14.10. The description of it, 138.70. Their variance with the earle of Kildare, 139.12. Their riuer & the commoditie of the same, 139,26. Their priuileges, 139.1. An admonition vnto them. ib, 40. Their honorable receiuing of the lord deputie, 138.57. They stand vpon terms with the lord deputie, 131.66
Waterhouse sir Edward knight one of the quænes priuie councell, 181.67. Subscribeth to the proclamation against the earle of Desmond, 164.10
Warres betweene Lacie and Marshall, 61.67
Warres betweene the countries of Meth and Offrill 0
Waters of a strange nature in Ireland, 30.30
Welsh Robert seruant to the earle of Kildare, 98.70. Accompanieth the young earle into France, ib. Returneth into England, 98.70
Welsh John maketh a draught vpon the earle of Desmond, 178.35. His deuise to passe ouer the riuer, ib.53
Weston Robert arriued into Ireland as lord chancellor, 116.36. His vprightnesse, ib. 40. His oration to the parlement, 119.30. Is made lord iustice, 117.60. His death, 134.10. His vertues and conditions ib.15. His exhortation to the councell, ib.30
Werford towne, 26. 64. It is wonne by mac Mozough and by Fitzstephans, 51.30. The chæfest towne in Leimster. 4.16. Is giuen to Fitzstephans and Mozice Fitzgirald, 4. 6. The Werford men by craft do take Fitzstephans, 19. 20. They present Fitzstephans to the king, 21. 20, It is left to the gouernement of Fitzaldelme, 24.18. The marriage betweene Reimond and Basilie is celebrated at Werford, 34.66. At Werford Fitzgirald died and was buried, 41.25. Werford men make warres against Brian mac Kabir, 135.48. They are vanquished, ib.60
White John his good seruice in the rebellion against Fitzgirald, 91,8. Is dubbed knight, ib.11
White Henrie made a broile in Dublin, 87.16. He is pardoned, ib.55
Windsore lord Windsore the first lieutenant in Ireland, 72.67. He kept a parlement in which a subsidie was granted, ib.70
Wingfield Jaques maister of the ordinance is verie carefull for the safetie of his nephues. 170.20. He is sent to the Spaniards fort, 171,46. The capteine submitteth himselfe vnto him, ib.52. He presented him to the lord deputie, ib.
Winter sir william viceadmerall arriueth into Ireland at the Ventrie, 165.58. He distrusting no harme returneth into England, ib. 3. He returneth, and by water besiegeth the fort at Smerewicke, 171.22. The notable good seruice of him & his mariners at that siege, ib. 56. He gaue protection to the Irish rebels, 165.57.
Wonders of Ireland, 28,30
Wright Nicholas his good seruice to his maister capteine Raleigh, 173.50

Y.

Yoghall towne taken and spoiled, 164.36. The maior hanged before his owne doore, 164.50. It is forsaken and the people called home, ib.55

Z.

Zooch aduertiseth sir William Pelham lord iustice of the lord Grete his arriuall, 169.50. He serueth vpon the Spaniards at Smerewicke, 171.58. He is gouernor at Kerrie and Desmond, 172. 10. Is sickenesse fell in his campe at Dingham, 174.48. He is gouernor of Mounster, 175.20. He killeth sir John of Desmond, 175.30. He serueth nobilie vpon Barrie, and receiueth him to protection, 176.20 He maketh a iournetie vpon Fitzmoris of Lexna, and preieth his countrie, 176.50. He receiueth a new supplie of soulders, 177.20. He returneth into England. 177.4

Post mortem vita.

FINIS.

The fourth table seruing for the description

and historie of Scotland; conteining inst directions to memorable
obseruations both of names and matters:
gathered by Abraham Fleming.

The first number noteth the page, the second the line,
a the first columne, b the second.

A.

Abat of Ferne burnt, 316, a 40 Of Kilwinning slaine, 403, a 26. Of Cuinie murthered, 317, b 40
Abbeie of Charterhouse moonks built, 265, a 50
Abbeies founded, 193, b 60, 190 a 40, 182, a 60, 187, b 10, &c. 183, a 10, 198, b 10. Giuen by vnlawfull meanes, 281, a 10. In Englishmens hands, 209 a 40
Aberden towne burned by the English, 236, b 60
Abircorne wall and the manner how built, 86, b 50. Ouerthrowne, 87, a 10, 30
Achaius king of Scotland, maketh the nobles agree, 120, a 10, 20. Deceaseth, 125, a 10, 20
Acho king of Norwaie landed in Albion, 198, b 30, 50. The cause of his comming into Scotland, 199 a 60, b 10. His demands & exhortation to his people, 60. His nephue slaine, 200, a 60. The losse of his ships and mariners, his flight into Orkeneie, b 10, &c. Prepareth to make a new invasion, but dieth before his prouision was readie, 200, b 60
Acon. ¶ See Acres.
Acres besieged, 191, b 30
Ada the daughter of Aurelius and wife to Conranus, 98, b 60
Adelstan entred into Deira, 123, b 50. Pursueth Hungus, his cruell proclamation, doth challenge his enimies, is slaine, 124, a 10, &c. His burial, 124, b 30 ¶ See Athelstane.
Adders without hurt, 192, a 50
Adrian the emperour prepareth to go into Britaine, transported, findeth nothing abrode in the countrie of his enimies, beginneth to make a wall for safegard of the Britons, commeth to London, 62, a 10, &c, b 10, &c. His wall vndermined and ouerthrowne, 88, a 10
Agatha and Chrisitine renounce the world, 178, b 60
Agneda. ¶ See Edenburgh, 35 a 50
Agricola inuadeth Leneux, returneth to Pictland, pursueth his enterprise against the Scots, 56, a 20, &c. His name dredfull to the Scots and Picts, 65, a 10. Maketh a bridge, &c. Passeth with his host, and incampeth neere the foot of the mountein of Granzberie, 58, a 20, 30. Commeth to the succor of his men, 57, a 30. Discomfiteth his enimies, 40. Sendeth forth his naule of ships to discouer the furthest point of Britaine northward, 57, b 60. Subdueth Angus and Wintereth there, certified of the mischance of his nanie, 59, a 30. He is sent for to Rome, 50
Aidan commeth to the kingdome of Scots by surrender, 108, b 10. Appointeth sessions to be kept yearlie in three parts of the realme, in wars against Brudeus. 50 60. Reproued, repenteth, 109, a 10. His diligence to resist his enimies, 110, a 30. Departeth this life, b 50
Aire castell besieged and woone, 198, b 30
Alarike. ¶ See Athaulfe.
Albian a noble man his oration. 121, b 20
Albren the sepulture or graue of Danes, 164
Albions and Saxons incounter, 98, a 60
Ale sold by weight, 192, b 60. Ale and wine by the pound, 268, a 10
Alleluia. ¶ See Germane.
Alexander king of Scotland his valiancie. 200, a 40. With his wife came to London, 202, b 20. Goeth into England, 196 b 60. Commanded of the pope, 196, a 50. Married, 203 a 50. To the daughter of the lord Coucie, 194, a 10. His answer to a legats message, 202, a 20. His wisedome praised, 40. Taken by the Cumins, 198, a 30. Set at libertie, 50. In armes against the Danes and Norwegians, b 30, &c. In battell against king Acho of Norwaie, 199, 20, &c. His manhood, his death and burial, 182, a 10, b 30
Alexander the fierce crowned king: note, 181, b 30
Alexander the second crowned king, 194, a 10. He passeth to London. 40. He is accused, 60 Returneth into his countrie, b 10. In armes against the English, 30, 40, &c. Deceaseth, 197, b 10
Alexander the third crowned, an interview betwixt the king of England and him, 197, b 10, 60. His lawes, 204, a 10, &c. His sudden and strange death 203, a 60
Alexander prince of Scotland maried, 202, b 60. His death, 203, a 10
Alexander of the Iles arrested, 263, a 50. Commeth to the king and asketh pardon, 262.
Alexander Canon a valiant man: note, 182, a 30, 40
Alpine crowned king of Scots, inuadeth Pictland, 126, b 10, 20. Refuseth anie treatie of peace, 127, a 60. The incamping of his armie, b 50. Constrained by the nobles, taketh vpon him to be crowned king, 125, a 50. Unwilling to receiue it, fled. 60. Joifullie receiued of Dongall. 60. His excuse, b 10. Taken by his enimies and after beheaded, 128, a 10. His head stolne and solemnlie buried with the bodie, 128, a 60
Alured sent ambassadours to king Gregorie about a peace, 142, b 10. ¶ See Etheldred.
Ambassadors into Denmarke, 281, a 60, b 10. Into England, 330, b 60, 378, b 40, 376 a 64. 457, a 60, 381, a 40. Out of England, 409, b 30. Into Scotland, 449, a 8. Out of England into Scotland, 410, a 30. Out of France, 410, a 30, 410, a 50. Into England, 443, b 10. Out of England into Scotland, 443, b 53. Into France to consummate the mariage of Marie queene of Scocs to the Dolphin, 372, a 30. From and into France, 305, a 50. Out of France into England, 374, a 50. Out of England to Scotland, 374, a 60. From the king of France, 383, b 40. Out of England, 384, a 10. Out of France, 436, a 40. Out of Scotland into France 436, a 50. Into France, 318, b 50. To the king of Romans 286, b 10. From Spaine, 289, b 60. From Swethen, 380, b 60. Slaine, 164, a 30
Ambition. ¶ See Makbeth.
Ambirkeleth king of Scots turned from vertue to licentiousnesse, gathereth an armie 116, b 30, 50, &c. His death, 117. a 10
Amphibalus, 73, a 60
Analaffus hath Northumberland giuen him, 147, a 10 Fled into Westmerland, tilled the Ile of Man, and got him into Ireland, 147. a 30. ¶ See Norwegians.
Angleseie inuaded by Suetonius, 52, b 60
Angus erle commeth into England 438. Returned into Scotland, 446. Entereth Stirling, 448, a 30. Sent into Scotland, 330, b 30. Committed to ward, 333, b 20. His dissimulation, 345, b 60. Put to flight, 346, a 10. Forfalted and attainted by parlement, 310, b 10. ¶ See Earle.
Angus the thane of Gallowaie raiseth a commotion, discomfited, besieged, pældeth, becommeth a canon, 386, b 20, &c.
Angusianus with vpright dealing purchaseth the more friendship, vanquished, proclamed king, 74, b 10, &c, 60. He, Fethelmacus, and Romacus sons to three seuerall brethren pretend right to the estate, 74, a 60. Sueth for feare, 75, 60. In armes, b 10. Slaine, 20
Annand deliuered vnto the gouernour, 393, a 60. The church vndermined, 344, 30. Blowne vp with powder, 344, a 50
Antoninus in hope to be emperor concludeth a peace with the enimies, 67, b 50
Antwerpe, the Scotish house there builded, 220, a 60
Anwicke castle woone by the English, 179, b 30
Archbishop resigneth, 283, b, 60. Abused, deprined, put in prison, 283, b 10. &c. Sent vnto Rome, 284 b 50.
Archbishop of Glascow dieth, 292 b 10, 30. Of S. Andrews executed 402. b 10, Deceaseth, 308, a 20.
Archbishops strive for preheminence, 288, a 60. Of S. Andrewes their catalog, 455. a 34
Argadus is sent forth to apprehend rebels, 64 a 20. Created lord president of the councell, 10. Chosen to gouerne Scotland, vpright, rebuked, confesseth his faults, permitted to continue in his office, and amendeth his former misgouernment, 63, b 10, &c. Slaine by ambush, 65, b, 60.
Argatheila when first so named, 31. b 50
Argile, for Argathile, 84, b. 20. The earle at dissention with earle Huntlete, 374. a, 10. Infested by the Iland men, 65, b 50. ¶ See Argathelia.
Argentine sir Giles knight slaine in fight: note, 219, b 60

Arrane earle would exchange lands with Morton, 437. b 30. Flieth, 448, a 20. Breaketh his faith, 332, a 60. ¶ Sée Erle.

Arthur the great whose sonne, 99, b 40. Proclamed king of Britaine, 101, b 10. Goeth forth against the Saxons, raiseth a power against the Picts, 20. Returneth to London, 102, a 10. Discomfiteth the Saxons, vseth victorie with gentlenes, 20. Causeth churches to be repared, purposeth to destroie the whole race of the Saxons in Albion, his badge, his exhortation to his people, 103, a 10, 20, &c. Vpon conditions receiueth the Saxons vpon their submission, 103 a 10. His victorious conquests, 105, a 10, 20. His munificence, 104, a 30. He with thirtie thousand Britains slaine, 106, b 10

Arthurs hoste: note, 212, b 60.

Arthur prince deceaseth, 294, a 10

Aruiragus sendeth messengers to Vespasian, 48, a 20. Giueth his cunnies an ouerthrow, 46, a 60. Reuolteth, 47, a 60. Would disherit his owne children which he had by Voada, promised aid to the Britons, 46, b 30, 40, 60. Restored to his former dignitie, 48, a 30. Forsaketh his lawfull wife, 46, a 40

Athaulfe and Warike kings of Goths, 81, a 60

Atholl assigned to the Picts, 83, a 30. The earle made lord chancellor, 421. b 30

Athelstane base sonne to king Edward against the Scots, 146, a 30. Tooke Northumberland, 146, a 50. ¶ Sée Adelstane.

Athirco king of Scots regardeth not his nobles, abuseth a noble mans daughter, 68, a 50, 60. Conspired against, b 10. Killeth himselfe, 30

Augustinus and Mellitus sent into Albion, 110, b 60

Aulus Didius commeth into Britaine, 51, a 10. Dieth at London, 51, b 40

Aulus Victorinus lieutenant of Britaine, 62, b 20

Aurelius Ambrose purposeth warres against the Saxons, 97, b 60. His oration. 98, a 20. Proclaimed king of Britaine, 30. Hasteth forth to London, by whose means he got the victorie as himselfe confesseth b 20. 40. He and Uter, sonnes to king Constantine, 95, b 40. Falleth sicke of a consumption, deceaseth, 99, a 50, b 10

Authoritie. ¶ Sée Magistrates.

B

Bath a capteine, 348, a 30

Bacchanalia, 102, a 40

Badge of king Arthur, 103, a 60

Baldred. ¶ Sée Valdred.

Baledgar castell finished, 181, b 60

Balford sir James submitteth himselfe to the regent, 411, b 50

Baliol his line and title to the crowne, 204, b 50. Crowned, 231, a 40. His resignation to Bruse, 225, a 50. Commeth into England, his promise to the king of England, landeth in Scotland, 230, a 50, 60, b 20. Withdraweth into England, 239, a 50. He hath all the fortresses of Scotland in his hands, foure excepted, 233 b 10. Resigneth his right and title, to Edward king of England, 242, b 60. Promiseth and doth homage to king Edward, 206, b 30, 50. He answereth a sute commenced against him in the parlement of England, as an inferior person, 207, a 20. Resigneth all his right to king Edward 208, b 10. Kept as prisoner in England, 30. His returne into Scotland, renounceth the administration, 40. Goeth to France & dieth, 50

Bannockiborne white so named, 217, b 10

Banquho a vanquisher of the Danes: note, 170, b 30, &c. The father of manie kings, 171, a 10. Slaine, 172, b 50

Barretors taken and put to death, 149, a 30

Bassianus entreth into Westmerland, 72, b 20

Bassinates, 139, b 20

Baston Robert a Carmelite: note, 217, a 40. His verses, 220, a 10

Battell of Deglaston, 110, a 10. Of Falkirke: note, 210, b 20 30. Of Hitton vpon Swale, 222, b 10. Of Blackborne, 238, b 10. Of Poitiers, 243, a 50. Of Shrewesburie, 254, b 50. Of Otterborne, 250, a 60. Of Bauge, 258, b 40. Of Harlow, 357, a 60. Of Pinkerdan, 266, a 50, 60. At Bannockiburne, 287, a 40. Fought against James the fourth: note, 301, a 10, &c. b 40. Of thirtie against thirtie: note, 252, a 50

Battell ground, 285, b 50

Beaumont. ¶ Sée Strife.

Benefices bestowed, 304, b 10

Berblie sir Dauid knight, slaine 242, a 20

Bertha a towne drowned by inundation, 193, a 60

Berwike woone by king Henrie, 194, b 50. Besieged, defended against the English, their policie to win it 207, b 50, 60. Besieged, 222, a 60. Deliuered to the Scots, 279, b 30. Recouered by the Scots, 222, a 10. Woone with shedding of much bloud: note, 208, a 10. 242, b 50. Raced, 50. Repared againe by king Edward, 60. Taken by Scots, and recouered, 246, b 10. Besieged, 232, a 40. Yeelded to king Edward the third, 233, a 60. Assieged by an armie of English, 283, a 30. The castell taken, b 40. ¶ Sée Danes and Gregorie.

Beton Dauid forgeth the kings will, 330, a 30. The protestants espie his iugling, 330, a 40. Committed to ward, 330 b 40. He is murthered, 340, a 10

Beton James archbishop of S. Andrews dieth, 321, b 10.

Bishop of Aberden a builder, 306 a 60. Deceseth, 303, a 10

Bishop Adam of Cathnesse slaine by the people: note, 196, a 40

Bishop of S. Andrews made archbishop, primat and metropolitane, 282, a 20. Taken 448, b 63. Of Baieux earle of Kent 178, a 10. Of Brechine deceased, 383, a 10. Of Dunblane deceased, 381, a 18. Of Durhant in arms against the Scots, 250, b 30, &c. Of Rosse taken in Germanie, 424, a 20. His testimoniall left with the duke of Bauier, 424, a 60. Wardlaw inueigheth against superfluous kare, 264, b 20. Died for greefe, 282 b 60

Bishops first see in Scotland. 73, a 40. Foure erected 183, a 20. Twelue in Scotland, 282, a 30. How manie, 23, b 50. Summoned to a conuocation at Northhampton, 190, a 10. Their death, 337, b 30

Blackneese betraied, 410, a 10

Blacke Agnes of Dunbar a manlie woman, 237, b 60

Bladus king of Orkneie killeth himselfe, 43, a 50

Blasing starre, 278, b 20, 281, b 60. Of fourteene daies appearance, 187, b 30. Seene at neene daies, 203, b 30. With fierie raies, 139, b 40. Verie terrible, 193, b 50. Two verie dreadfull, 132, b 20

Blasphemie punished, 145, a 10.

Boarrinke lands and white so named, 182, a 60

Boclough the lard enterpriseth to take the king from the erle of Angus, 313, b 30. Put to flight, 313, b 60

Bogdale the reson of the name, 84, b 10

Boghan castell surrendred, 393, a 10

Boid lord, beareth all the rule about the king, 280, b 60. Accused, refuseth to be tried by swaie of arraignment flieth into England, passeth to Denmarke, his vaine hope to obtaine pardon, goeth into Italie, is murthered, 281, a 30, 40, &c.

Bonifacius a godlie preacher, 112, a 10

Borthwicke capteine accused of heresie, 321, a 5

Bothwell erle made chancellor, 449, a 20. Conuicted, 317, a 50. Banished the realme, 317, a 50. Flieth, 381, b 10. Escapeth out of prison, 380, a 50. Set at libertie, 343, b 30. He keepeth himselfe in ambush at Haltwell Sweire, 363, b 40. Returned home, 380, a 60. Hurt with a caliuer, 384, a 40 Murthereth the king, 384, b 60. Cleered from the murther of the king, 384, b 20. Taketh the queene by force. 384, b 20. Diuorced from his wife, 384, b 30. Marieth the queen, 384, b 40. Flieth to Dunbar, 387, b 30

Bothwell Adam deceaseth, 292 b 50. ¶ Sée Eris.

Broughtie Crag the castell woone, 343, b 50. Besieged by the gouernor, 344, b 30. The siege raised, 345, a 60

Bowes sir Robert knight, sent into Scotland, 423, b 54. Inuadeth the borders. 328, b 50

Brachara. ¶ Sée Gathelus.

Brechus the first crowned king of Scots in Ireland, 31, b 10.

Bretherens mutuall crueltie, 205, a 10

Brigantia now Compostella, 30, a 40

Brigantines. ¶ Sée Orcadoures

Britons through rest and ease become vnapt for wars, 102, a 60. Aided by the Scots, refuse aid being offered, 44, a 20, 40. Ouerthrowne. 50. Soiorning in winter giue themselues to banketting and voluptuousnes, 102, a 30. Ouerthrowne by the Saxons, 101, a 30. Refuse to receiue either Loth or anie of his sonnes to reigne ouer them, 60. They win London, b 20. Aid against the Scots about to deceiue the Picts, 33, a 10, &c. Rebell, require aid of Carastake, chased, 49, b 10. Kept possession of Cumberland and those other countries lieng by the coast of the west seas, 135 b 30. Request to haue one of their owne nation appointed to succeed king Arthur, 105, a 40. Repent them of the league made with the Scots, 141, b 60. Send ambassadors to the Picts, 32, a 60, b 10. At no hand admit peace, 106, a 40. Discomfited by the Picts and Scots, 38, b 20. Spite shewed vnto the Romans. 65, b 10. Receiue the christian faith, 66, b 10. At the appointment of Victorine make a wall, 83, a 40. Loth to breake peace with the Scots and Picts, their cruelitie, they conspire against their nobles, send into Britaine Armorike for aid, 60, a 10, &c. b 30. The tenor of their letters sent to Etius with the answer, 88 30. b 30. Leaue Pictland & get themselues to the riuer Tine, require aid at the hands of Etius, forsaken of the Romans. 87, a 40, &c. b 10. Dout to ioine with the maine armie of Scots and Picts, their fierse onset, run awaie, slaine, make humble sute for peace, tributarie to the Scots and Picts, 89, a 10, &c, b 10, &c. Their crueltie in slaieng the Saxons, 104, a 10. Come to Adrians wall & pull it downe to let in the Scots, 67, a 10, &c. Rebell and chose one Fulgentius their capteine, 66, b 60. Chased know not whither to go, 92, b 50. Giue themselues to all kind of vice and abhominations, 100, a 40. Receiue a great ouerthrow. 50. Require aid of the Scots and Picts against the Saxons, 96, a 10. Distressed, 94, a 60. Ouerthrowne. 48, a 10. Their great earnestnesse to recouer their libertie, 91, a 30. Rebell, appealed, 54, a 20. Reuolt from their obedience to the Romans and white, 59, b 50. Make themselues strong, assemble at Shrewesburie, & conkederat, 46, b 10. Their desperat hardinesse, 47, a 10. Wered with trauell, 47, a 10. Betraie Romans, yeeld themselues to Carantius, 72, b 40, 50. Send for aid against the Romans to the Scots, 43, b 60

Britons Armorike, 98, a 60. aid king Arthur, 101, b 10. ¶ Sée Englishmen & Picts.

Broughtie Crag woone by the French, 351, b 70. Besieged by the earle of Argile, 348, b 10. The fort builded there by the English, 348, b 20. ¶ Sée Boughtie Crag.

Brudeus king of Picts by deniena to deliuer the Scottish outlawes procureth warres to himselfe and his countrie, 108, b 60. Maketh slaughter of the Scots, 109, b 50. Hurt in the thigh, 109, b 60, 116, a 30

Brudus king of Picts sent to Alpine for renewing league sendeth for aid into England, 127, a 20, 40, 60. Entreth into Angus, b 30. Politike, 40. Deceaseth, 128, a 50

Brunt Iland fortified, 371, a 60

Bruse king in armes against Edward of Carnaruan, 217. a 50, 60, b 10, &c. His wife restored vnto him by exchange, 220, a 10. Treason against

againſt him: note, 220,b40.
Stueth diſcomfitures to rebels, 216, a 22, &c. Recouereth caſtels, 30,60. Inuadeth England, 60. Offended with his brother, 216, b 50. His exhortatiõ to his armie, 218, a 10. His miſerable ſtate in the begining of his reigne, 214, b 20. His wife taken, 40. His brethren put to death, 50. His inuincible hart in trouble, 60. Getteth ouer into the Iles, 215, a 10. Commeth to Glenneſke, 20. Inuadeth England, 223, b 60. Burning and waſting, 224, a 10. With an armie in Scotland, 223, b 40. Inuadeth the north parts of England approching almoſt to Yorke, 224, a 50. His ſecond mariage & iſſue, 221, a 20, 30. Killeth an Engliſhman, 219, a 60. Gouerneth by deputation, 225, a 60. He deceaſeth, 226, b 50. His fame and praiſe amongſt his enimies, 227, a 10. The aduiſe giuen by him to his nobles before his death, b 10. His deſire to haue his hart borne to the holie ſepulchre, 227, a 40. ¶ Sée Antwerpe.
Bruſe Robert the firſt crowned, 214, a 50. Diſcomfited at Wiſken, 60. Maried to Martha daughter to the earle of Caricke, 202, a 60. King of Scotland, b 20. The occaſion of the Scots ouerthrow at Dunbar, 203, a 40. Submitteth himſelfe, 50. His anceſtors, 204, b 40
Bruſe and Comine conſpirators, their end, 213, a 30, 40, 214, a 10, 20
Bruſe Edward proclamed K. of Ireland, 221, a 40. Slain, b 10. ¶ Sée Wallaſe.
Bucchanan hath the gentle checke and reprooſe, 260, b 10, &c.
Buckquhane, the reaſon of the name, 84, b 10
Buriall of Scotiſh princes, an ordinance therefore, 38, b 60. Of ſoldiors ſlaine, 78, a 60. Of one quicke, 51, a 60, 278, b 30
Bute Ile taken, 335, b 40

C.

CAdall of Gallowaie gouernour, ſent with an armie into Ireland, 42, b 20, 60 Rewarded for his good ſeruice, 43, a 10. Deceaſeth, 43, b 10
Cadwall banquiſhed, reſtored to his kingdome, 111, b 10
Caldorus a Britон reioiſeth as well at the ſlaughter of his owne people as his enimies, 65, b 10
Calen his graue counſell taketh place, 136, a 50
Calis beſieged by Edward king of England, 240, a 60
Calphurnius is ſent into Britaine, entreth into the borders of his enimie, returneth to Yorke, 64, b 40, 50, 60. Studieth to reforme the ſtate of Britain, returneth to Rome, 65, a 10
Camelon beſieged by Veſpaſian, ſurrendred, peopled with Romans, 48, a 50, 60. Taken by force, 85, b 60. The citie throwne downe, 132, a 60. The gentilwomen there are preſerued, 131, b 10, Require truce for three dates, b 30
Candida Caſa, 117, b 60, 312, b 40
Cannus a Daniſh capteine landeth at the Red braes, marcheth through Angus, 165, b 50, 60. Incourageth his Danes, he is ſlaine, 166, a 10, 50
Canute brother to Swane generall againſt the Scots, 166 b 60, 167, a 10. His words to Edmund Ironſide, 169, b 30
Captiuitie right happie: note. 256, a 50
Car Thomas, 408, b 50
Car Walter ſent to defend Jedworth, 409, a 5. Joineth with William Ruthwin, 409, a 30
Caratake choſen capteine of the Britons, 46, b 30. Proclaimed king of Scots, borne in Carike, 45, b 20, 40. His anſwer to the Romane ambaſſadors, 47, a 50. Aſſembleth an armie, 49, b 60. The ſtrength of the place where he was incamped, 60. Aſſembleth an armie, 48, b 10. Eſcapeth, flieth vnto Dunſtalage, vtterlie refuſeth to become a ſubiect, 48, a 10, &c, b 30. Exhorteth his to fight, ouerthrowne, betraied by his ſtepmother, ſent to Rome, ſhewed in triumph, dieth, 50, a 10, &c.
Carantius troubleth the eſtate of Britaine, 71, b 60. His wilie practiſe, 72, a 10. Offereth to come to make anſwer vnto ſuch matters as he was charged with, requireth to be aided againſt the Romans, vſurpeth the kingdome of Britaine, hauing gotten the victorie, diuideth the gaine in aſſigning to his confederats their due portions, 72, a 10, &c. b 10, &c. 60.
Caraulius, ¶ Sée Carantius.
Carbarrie hill, 387, a 50
Cardane king of Denmarke, 137, b 60
Cardinall Gualo ſummoneth the Scotiſh clergie, 195, a 10, His auarice, condemned in a ſumme of monie, the Scots ſore offended at him, his practiſe, 30, b 30, 40. Commeth into England furniſhed with the popes authoritie: note, 194, b 10
Cardinall Hugh of ſaint Angelo the popes legat, 189, b 60
Cardinals onlie two in Scotland, 452, a 20
Carlill won by the Scots, 194 b 40, Repared, 184, a 30.
Carmichell lard, 402, b 39.
Carolus Magnus in league with the Scots, 120, b 10
Carron riuer runneth with bloud, 83, a 10
Cartondis queen of Scots, 78, b 60. Lamenteth hir infortunate eſtate, 79, a 10
Cartimandua buried quicke, 51, a 60
Caſſels earle committed vnto ward, 401, b 50. Slaine, 314, b 10
Caſſibelane king of Britaine requireth aid of the Scots againſt the Romans, 43, b 60
Caſtell of Blackeneſſe wonne, 373, a 20. ¶ Sée Blackeneſſe.
Caſtels ſurrendred and taken by force of the Engliſh, 212, a 50, 60. Repared, 90, b 40. In pledge, 189, b 20. ¶ Sée their proper names diſperſed in this table.
Caſtius lieutenant of Britaine 4, b 60. Raiſed an armie, 85, a 10
Cathneſſe the earle paſſeth into Orkenie, 317, a 30. Slaine, 317, a 30
Catus procurator of Britaine fled into France, 52, a 30. Wounded, 52, b 30
Cawmils won by the Engliſh 363, b 10
Celius Nafica entred with an armie into Gallowaie, 51, a 50
Ceoline king of weſt Saxons ſlaine, 110, b 20
Chaire of marble deſcribed, hath a fatall deſtinie, 30, a 60. Conueied into England and placed in weſtminſter, 213, a 10. Remoued from Argile into Gowrie, in the place called Scone, 132, b 50
Challenge made of the lard of Grange, 403, a 50. Made by the lard of Grange, againſt the lord Ewrie, 363, b 60
Chancellor, the office, name, and originall thereof, 421, b 40
Chancellors their catalog, 449, b 10
Charanach king of Picts, 52, a 40
Chatalon in Touraine deliuered to the Scots, 258, b 30
Cheſholme John commeth out of France, 403, a 60.
Chriſt Jeſus his birth, 45, b 10
Chriſtians: ¶ Sée Conſtantius and Diocleſian.
Chriſtmas bankets reſembling the feaſts of Bacchanalia, 102, a 40
Chronicles & other books burned, 212, b 40
Church inriched & the crowne impoueriſhed: note, 183, a 50
Cathedrall of Murrie burnt, 251, b 20
Churches repared, 167, b 30 Indowed by king William, 193, a 60
Churchmen fauoured, 90, b 50. 107, b 10 Their liuings demanded, 378, b 10
Claudius emperor commeth into Britaine, 46, a 10
Claudius temple builded, 48, b 10. At Colcheſter, 212, b 60
Clemencie of James the fourth vnto rebels and murtherers, 287, b 30
Clere ſir John ſlaine in the ile of Orkneie, 364, a 20.
Clergieman ſlaine and what ſeuere execution inſued, 196, a 50. ¶ Sée Churchmen, Feredeth, and Prieſts.
Cneus Trebellius appointed in Agricola his place. 59, a 60
Cobois capteine, 350, a 10
Coilus his ſubtiltie, entred into Scotland with an armie, ſlaine, and his armie diſcomfited, 34, a 30, &c. b 20
Coine imbaſed, 283, a 60
Colcheſter, 48, a 60, b 10
Colgerne a Saxon is ſent for by Occa, 100, a 60. Landeth in Northumberland, b 10, Created duke of Northumberland, 101, a 20. Repreueth Loth, is run through by his aduerſarie, 102, b 40, 60
Colman conuerted the Saxons, 114, b 50. Erected a monaſterie, 115, a 60. Gouernor of Marre, a wiſe counſellor, his oration before king Achaius: note, 120, b 60
Colmekill, 84, b 30
Colmes inch Ile wonne by the Engliſh, 343, b 30
Combat in a caſe of treaſon, 180, b 10. ¶ Sée Iuſts.
Comet. ¶ Sée Blaſing ſtar.
Commiſſioners ſent into England, 401, a 60
Commotion againſt Aruiragus, 46, b 40. Betweene the earls of Murrie and Huntlie, 304, a 20. In Scotland, 156, a 30: note the end, a 30, 40. ¶ Sée Angus, Variance.
Compoſition bawſie, 216, b 50
Compoſtella. ¶ Sée Brigantia.
Conanus choſen king of Scotland, perſecuteth offenders, renounceth the eſtate, 39, b 10, &c. Giuen to exceſſiue gluttonie, conſpired againſt, committed to cloſe keeping, his officers puniſhed, 63, a 10, &c. Dieth, 63, b 60
Conanus Camber counſelleth the Britons to ſeeke peace with the Scots, and ſlaine amongſt them, 87, b 20, &c. 50. Goeth about to perſuade his countrie to breake the peace with the Scots and Picts, 89, b 60
Concubine. ¶ Sée Daliſe.
Concupiſcence, 118, b 20
Confeſſion of a murthering queene: note, 118, a 20
Congall vpon conditions couenanteth to aid the Britons, 96, a 50. Promiſed to aid the Picts, 93, b 20. His exhortation to the Scots, 95, a 50 wounded but yet eſcapeth, 95, b 10. Deceaſeth, 99, a 10
Conranus generall of the Scots, 98, a 40. Maried Ida the daughter of Aurelius, 98, b 60. King of Scots maintaineth good order, preſent at aſſiſes, 99, a 10, &c. Murthered in his bedchamber by treſon, 104, b 30
Conſcience guiltie of a tyrant, 172, b 30. Troubleſome, 70, b 40. A helliſh torment, 158, a 10 &c. Accuſeth a man, 151, a 50.
Conſpiracie of people againſt their king, 40, b 40. Of the Scotiſh lords againſt James the third, 286, b 40. Of lords againſt Robert Bruſe king: note the iſſue, 223, a 10. Of the commons of Britaine againſt their nobles, 90, a 60. Of Scotiſh lords againſt Romacus, 74, b 50. Againſt Cõrane, 104, a 40. Againſt king Ethus, 140, a 20. Againſt king Conſtantine and the ſame executed, 137, b 30, 40. Of Ferquhard: and note the end thereof, 37, a 60. Agreed vpon by indenture, 213, a 40. Diſcouered, 50. The parties examined, 60. Their end: note 214, a 10, 20, &c. It and murther, 62, b 50, 60. ¶ Sée Perſies and Treſon.
Conſpirators of king James the firſt his death, 266, b 10, &c. Search made for them, their execution, 267, b 10, 20, &c. Drowned and otherwiſe reprochfullie executed: note, 167, a 60. But to a moſt horrible death: note, 147, b 10. Diſcouered and pardoned: note, 177, a 20
Conſtancie of the Picts when they were beſieged, 131, b 60
Conſtantine aſpired vnto the crowne, 158, b 60. Crowned by force of freends, 159, a 10. In armes againſt Meilcolme and Kenneth, 159, a 60, b 10

b 10, &c. Assembleth a mightie armie, 138, a 60. Proceedeth against his enimies, b 60. Is slaine, 160, a 10

Constantine crowned king of Scots at Scone, 137, a 30. He would faine recouer his predecessors losses, he deuiseth a reformation of disorders, 40, 50, &c. Conspired against, b 20. And the conspirators executed, 40

Constantine placeth his soldiors and incourageth them, 139, a 30. He is taken & murthered, 60, b 10

Constantine proclamed king of Britaine, 81, a 10. Slaine, 81, b 60

Constantine proclamed heire apparent and prince of Britaine, 105, a 60. Crowned king of Britaine, 107, a 10. Forsaketh his earthlie kingdome in hope of the heauenlie, entereth into religion, 107, a 40. Murthered, 50

Constantine the first, king of Scots, nothing like his vncle in noble conditions, 91, b 30, &c. Slaine by one whose daughter he had rauished, 92, a 10

Constantine the third, king of Scots beginneth his reigne 145, b 20. Becometh a canon, 146, b 10. His decease, 30

Constantius a monke elected of Britaine, 92, a 40. Murthered, 50

Constantius persecuteth the Christians, 73, a 30. ¶ See Diocliesian.

Contention about the inioieng of the see of saint Andrews, 303, a 30. Betweene earles and other states, 306, b 20, 307, a 30. Betweene kinsmen for the crowne, 204, b 30. ¶ See Dissention.

Conuall elected king of Scots, his deuotion to the crosse, 107, a 60. Towards churchmen, b 10. And churches, 20. Deceaseth, 108, a 30

Conuall succeedeth Achaius, and is king of Scots, deceaseth, 125, a 40

Corbreid king of Scots, 50, b 10. His three sonnes, 53, a 30. Deceaseth, 53, a 10. ¶ See Gald.

Cormach bishop of Dublin went to king Gregorie about peace, 144, a 10

Cornelius and his huge armie, 143, b 10. He is sore wounded, 40

Cornewall castell wone, 344, b 60

Corpus Christi feast first instituted, 198, a 60

Cotten capteine of Inskith, 350, b 50

Conetousnesse hath a pretense, 114, a 20. The root of all mischiefe, 175, a 50. Linked with cruelitie, 118, b 30

Councell held at London, 92, b 60. Without the cleargie, 377, b 60. Called by Constantine the third, 146, a 60 ¶ See Parlement.

Counsell graue taketh place, 136, a 50. God of graue men despised, 128, a 30. Guill of a wicked woman followed with destruction: note, 150, a 60, &c. Ill of a woman to reuenge, &c: note, 156, a 60. God of capteins not regarded, 300, b 60

Countesse of Lenox borne, 303, b 60. ¶ See Margaret, and Leneux.

Crab a pirat and a reueller: note, 232, a 10

Craftsmen brought into Scotland to instruct the people, &c. 39, a 10, &c.

Cragmiller provost of Edenburgh, 387, b 50

Cranestane capteine ouerthrowne, 437, a 20

Crathlint chefe conspirator to the murthering of Donald, procureth the nobles to oppresse the seruants of Donald, 70, b 60. Reioiseth to heare that Carantius was alive, resolueth to aid him and so certifieth him, cōmeth to a communication with the king of Scots, 72, a 40, 50, 60. Made king of Scots, his politike gouernment, goeth to hunt, promiseth to obserue the ancient amitie betwixt the Scots and Picts, 71, a 20, &c. Destroieth the temples of God and man, 73, a 30. Dieth, 50. Causeth a commotion, instigated to reuenge, 156, a 60. Taken and executed, b 30, 40

Creichton William a Scot imprisoned in England, 436, a 60

Cressingham Hugh regent of Scotland, 208, b 50

Crosse called the Blacke crosse, 177, b 50

Crosse called the Rotcrosse: note 187, a 40

Crowdan what it signifieth note, 167, b 10

Crowne of Scotland changed, 35, b 60. Intailed, 221, a 10. In act for the succession thereof, 225, a 60, 245, b 40. ¶ See Ingusianus, Contention, Scotland.

Cruelitie of the Scots, 88, a 10, 132, a 50. 131, a 20. Of Summerled, 185, b 50. Of Makbeth, 174, b 40. Of Britons extreme, 107, a 20. In warre, 237, a 30, 40. Of a theefe to a widow, 263, b 60. Barbarous and vnnaturall: note, 278, b 30, &c. Of one brother to another, 205, a 10. Of rebels, 186, b 50. Caused through feare, 174, a 40. ¶ See Britons, Danes, Makbeth, Sweno, Thanes.

Culen crowned king, requireth publike praiers to be had, his oth, 151, a 20, &c. Continued not as his beginning was 152, a 30. His lewd and wicked inclination, 40, &c. He is murthered, 60

Cullen capteine taken, 403, a 20

Cumberland inuaded, 249, a 10 It & westmerland do homage vnto England. 147, a 60

Cumin David. ¶ See Erle of Atholl, Buse.

Cumins kindred when they had their beginning, 182, b 30, 40. Complained of and put to the horne, 198, a 20. Great of power and honor: note, 198, a 30

D

Dacres lord warden of the west marches of England, 309, a 60

Daisie the concubine of James the third, 283, a 60

Daies their names changed, 131, b 10

Danes shot quarels and threw darts, 139, a 60. Their cruelitie in such places where they came, b 40, &c. Prepare to battell, 141, a 10. Their chefe generall, 50. Fled to their camp, 40. Their apparell, weapons, and proportion of bodie, take flight, 138, b 10, 20. The cause that made them arrere warre against England and Scotland, 137, b 10. They vse great cruelitie, 138, a 10. Seeke to reuenge old losses, 154, a 50, 60 Consult to go into England, to saile into Kent, land at Montrosse, come to the riuer of Taie, b 10, &c. Forsake the fields, 155, b 30. Procure war against England, 148, a 30 Breakers of faith and promise, 164, a 20, b 50. Their crueltie, 164, a 10. Their bones seene in diuerse places, 166, b 10. Slaine nere vnto Geminer, b 50. Put to flight, 165, b 10. Slaine at Abirlemnon, 166, a 60. Their crueltie, 165, b 50. Their bones of great bignesse, 167, b 10. Put to flight by the Scots, 148, b 60. To be baptised, 145, a 60 Discomfited b 60. Conceiue hope of good successe, 60. Vanquished and buried in saint Colmes church, 170, b 40. Ouercome with drinke fall a sleepe, 170, a 50. Slaughtered, 170, a 60. They and the Norwegians come to aid the Scots and Picts, 57, b 20. They and the Picts ioine themselues togither, fled into Northumberland, their nobilitie slaine at Berwike, 140, b 60. The order of placing their armie, 139, a 10. They and the Norwegians chased by the Scots, 200, b 10. ¶ See Acho, Englishmen, Scots.

Dansing, 203, b 60. ¶ See wonder.

Darcie sir Anthonie knight, 291, b 20

Darcie sir Arthur knight sent to the borders, 318, b 10

Dardan king of Scots, 53, a 10 Falleth into all kind of vices, beheaded, 53, a 40, 50

David king his liberalitie, inuadeth Northumberland, 240 a 20. The borders of England, 40, 60, with a great armie, b 60. His valiance, taken by John Copland, 241, b 10, 20. Deceaseth after he had repented him of his mariage, 244, a 60, b 60

David king conueied ouer into France, 231, a 50. The north parts of Scotland obete him, 236, b 50. Returneth to Scotland, 239, b 30

David the fierce and the first of that name king of Scotland, 182, b 60. His care for the poore, 60. A builder of abbeies, 183, a 10. Inuadeth Northumberland, 184, a 10. Mortified from the world, his oration to his nobles, testifieng how patientlie he take the death of his sonne: note, 184, a 60, b 10, &c. His exhortation to his nobles, his departure out of this life, 185, a 50, 60

David Fauconer slaine, 316, b 50

David Richio the quenes secretarie slaine, 382, b 50

Deed of gift after the old forme and fashion, 248, a 60

Degliston battell, 110, a 10

Deira wasted by fire and sword, 123, b 60

Denmarke and Scotland in amitie, 266, a 10. Munition for warre sent from thense, 295, a 60. The king thereof commeth into Scotland, restored vnto his kingdome, 291, a 30

Derth great, 198, b 30. Extreme and lamentable: note, 239, a 40. Exceeding, & after that a plentie, 192, b 20

Derth and famine extreme, 216, a 50, And how helped, 209, b 40

Derth and deth, 185, b 30 237, b 60, 238, a 10. By pestilence, 268, b 60

Desire. ¶ See Buse.

Desse monsieur flieth from Jedworth, 350, a 40. Returneth into France, 351, a 10

Deth of kings, 259, b 40, 50. Of noblemen, 276, b 10. Of great personages, 292, b 10, &c.

Deth sudden, 36, a 30

Diana honored of the Scots, the goddesse of hunting, 36 b 10

Diet superfluous and excessiue restreined: note, 137, a 50, 60 Fine cookerie banished, 63, b 60. Delicat spoken against, redressed, and when baked meat began in Scotland, 264 b 20, &c. 60. ¶ See Surfetting.

Dinnune burned, 336, a 30

Diocliesian persecuter of the Christians, 73, a 10

Dionethus reputed for the second person in the realme, 86, a 30. Joineth with the Scots against the Romans, proclamed king of Britaine, escapeth slaughter, 85, a 20, b 60, &c.

Discord amongest a companie harteneth the enimie, 59, a 60. ¶ See Contention and Dissention.

Disloialtie, 223, b 60. ¶ See Disobedience.

Disobedience in the Douglasse, 268, a 50. Punished, 209, b 50

Dispensation from Rome, to marrie with the lord Dernelie, 381, a 50

Dissention betweene the earle Morton and the lard of Johnstone, 436, b 40. Amongest the nobilitie, 423, a 50. Betweene the pope and king John, 193, b 50. In England, 277, b 30. A present destroier, 32, a 50. ¶ See Contention, Nobles.

Dissimulation and deliting in lies, 175, a 60. Craftie & cloked, 40, b 40, 60

Diuorse betweene the quene and the earle of Angus, 313, b 18

Dobegnie lord dieth, 292, b 10

Dogs of Scotland commended 71, a 60

Dolphin of France maintaineth warre against the English, 258, b 20. Marieth Margaret daughter to K. James, 266, a 20

Domitian the emperour enuieth the prosperous successe of Agricola, 59, a 60

Donald Bane vsurper of the crowne, fled into the Iles, restored to the crowne, 180, a 50, &c. b 50. Studious to maintaine his subiects in peace, conuerted to the christian beleefe,

beléese 67, b 60, He dieth, 68, a 30
Donald brother to Findocke king of Scots, 70, a 60 Dieth a 30
Donald Ballocht inuadeth Lochquhaber, 263, b 20 Flieth, his head sent as a present to the K. three hundred of his complices hanged, 263, b 30
Donald discomfited, chased, taken, dieth in prison, 181, a 10 20, &c.
Donald apprehended and put to death with his complices, 118 a 60
Donald of the Iles mainteineth robbers, 118, a 30. Rebelleth, 257, a 10, Flieth, b 10, Submitteth himselfe, 20, 279 a 50, Becommeth mad, 60, Slaine by a minstrell, 260,
Donald of the Iles inuadeth Scotland, 70 a 60 Suddenlie setteth vpon the enimies b 10 Taketh vpon him as king, & is murthered, 40, 60
Donald king of Scots studieth to reduce his subiects to ciuilitie, promiseth to aid Fulgentius, 66, b 50, 60. Offereth to yéeld himselfe vpon certein conditions, but is not receiued, 69 b 60, Deuiseth how to murther king Findocke, 70, a 10. Resisteth Gormond, 145 a 20, His death, b 10
Donald the fourth K. of Scots, of dissolute behauiour, admonished of his nobles, 134, b 20 30: &c. He with the noblemen are sent home againe, 136, b 10. Taken with the nobilitie, 135, a 60. Falleth to his old vices againe, laid in prison 136, b 60, He killeth himselfe, 137, a 10
Donald the fift king of Scots, a good iusticer, and religious, 144, b 60. ¶ Sée Conspiracie.
Dongall made king of Scots, his politike rule, 92, a 30. A seuere punisher of malefactors, raiseth an armie against rebels, 125, a 50, 60, b 10
Dongall his displeasure with the Picts answer, 126, a 40 His good counsell, 91, b 60
Dongard king of Scots, his acts and deeds, his vertues, 90, b 30. Slaine, 91, a 50, b 10
Donwald king of Scots, 113, a 20, Drowned, b 20. His petition for rebels reiected, hée conceiueth hatred against the king, is counselled to kill him, 150, a 40: &c. Committeth the fact, b 10: &c. A verie dissembler, 60. Taketh his flight, 151, a 50. Taken prisoner, executed, b 20, &c.
Dorus writeth vnto certeine Scotish lords to moue them to rebellion, 69 a 20, His fauourers put to death, 30
Dorsadill king of Scots, a louer of peace and delighted in hunting, 36, b 30
Dowager sued vnto by the gouernour, 344, b 10. She promiseth aid out of France, 344, b 20. Saileth to France 352, b 60. She commeth vnto the English court, 354, a 60. She séeketh to be gouernour, 355, b 60. Made gouernour by parlement, 357, a 10 Hir oration to the nobls, 373, b 40. Sée Marie & Quéene.
Dowglasse Anthonie taken prisoner, 254, b 60, Inforturnate in battell, 255, a 10, 20 Gouernour elected, 232, a 60 In armes against Edward the third, 232 b 50. Banished, 317, b 10. Arrested and put in prison, 264, a 40. Inuadeth England, 254, a 50 Prisoner, 243, a 60.
Dowglasse earle James deceaseth, 250, a 30
Dowglasse James, his valiantnesse against the Turks, landeth in Spaine, slaine by the Saracens, how oft he had gotten the victorie, 228, a 40 &c.
Dowglasse Jone conuict of treson, 320, a 50
Dowglasse Margaret hir birth, life, death and buriall, 414, b 40, 415, a 10
Dowglasse William of Liddesdale prisoner, 232, a 20. Ransomed, 235, a 60. Created earle of Dowglasse, 240, b 40. Claimeth the crowne, 245, a 30. Honoured for his prowesse, 248, b 10. Chosen admerall by the lords of Prutzen, he is slaine, 252, a 20
Dowglasse earle sent vnto an abbie, 284, b 30. Goeth into Italie, 273, b 20. And into England without licence of the king of Scots, 60. Sueth for pardon, 274, a 10. Enuieth those that beare rule about the king, 20. His great port, 268, b 50, Made duke of Touraine, 260, a 60. His valiantnesse, 249, a 10, &c. b 40, 50, 60. Deceaseth, 247, b 30
Dowglasse earle marrieth his brothers wife, 275, b 10. His companie shrinketh from him 276, a 20, He withdraweth into England, he is discomfited, 276, a 40. Answereth the K. of Scots ouerthwartlie, and is slaine, 274, b 30
Dowglasses forfalted or attainted at parlement, 275, b 20, 30. Of puissance and authoritie: note, 276, b 40, 50. Whie they beare the bloudie hart, 227, b 50. How they came by the earledome of Murreie, 245, b 10. A name beloued of the people, 274, b 20. They beare all the swinge and swaie, 271, a 30, b 30. Of great aliance: note, 274, b 10. Their rising to honour, 215, a 40, &c b 30
Dowglasdale giuen in spoile vnto the men of Warre, 275, b 50
Downe castell yéelded, 401, a 50
Downgarg besieged, 143, a 60
Downske castell besieged, 115, b 60
Drakan castell yéelded, 392, b 60
Drownelow sands, 170, b 10
Druides and their authoritie, 40, a 50, 60
Drumlanrig lord warden of the march, 393, a 40. Writeth letters, 344, b 70. Scourged by horsemen, 345, a 30. They harrie his countrie, 345, a 30 Pursueth the English, 345, a 50. Put to flight, 345, a 60
Drusken king of the Picts, 128, a 60. Hastilie inuadeth his enimies, 129, a 40. Commeth to rescue his people, 129, b 60. Perswadeth vnto peace, 130, a 10. Imboldeneth his people, 60. Escapeth by slight, 129, b 10. Slaine, 130, b 30
Dublin besieged, 143, b 50
Duchmen arriue in Scotland, 52, a 50
Duffe king of Scots crowned, goeth to the westerne Iles, purgeth them, 149, a 20. He falleth sicke, a 60. His regard to haue iustice executed, b 10. Restored to health, 150, a 10. Rewardeth his friends, b 10. His seruants cut his throte, his buriall, b 30, 40. His bodie taken vp out of the ground, and honourablie buried, 151, b 20, 50
Duke Alexander of Albanie taketh the sea, 280, a 30. Returneth into Scotland, 307, b 10. Visiteth the borders, the second person of the realme, 305, a 10, 20. His arriuall in Scotland, 303, a 60. Received into Edenburgh, 60. Blamed, 284, b 40. Confirmed tutor by parlement, 302, b 20. Flieth to Dunbar, 284, b 10. Commeth into England, 283, a 40. Reconciled and receiued into his countrie, b 30 Warre denounced against him by an English herald, 307, b 60. Returneth into France, 312, a 30. Goeth ouer into France, his request and daine brag, hée returneth into Scotland 309, b 10, 20, &c. Imprisoned 282, b 20 Escapeth, 30
Duke of Chalterault gathereth a power, 400, a 10. He retireth to Glasco, 400, a 30. He besiegeth Glasco, 400, b 10. Forfalted, 403, b 30
Duke of Lancaster commeth with an armie vnto Edenburgh, 247, b 20. His disloialtie, 223, b 60
Duke of Lenox hath the earle Mortons lands, 434, a 10. Banished, 434, b 30. ¶ Sée Lenox.
Duke Murdo and other péeres arrested, 262, b 10. He and his sonnes are beheaded, 262, b 30
Duke of Northfolke and the Scotish lords méete at Yorke 393, b 60
Duke of Rothsaie and the ladie Anne de la Pole maried, 285, b 50. His insolent outrage, 253, b 60. Committed to prison, 254, a 20
Duke of Summerset entreth Scotland, protector of England, 341, a 50, b 60. He burneth a péece of Leith, 343, b 40. He wasteth the Scots, 345, b 40. A digression concerning him, with prophesies touching his rising and falling, 434, b 40, 50
Dukes first created in Scotland, 425, b 50. 252, b 20 Of other countries being Scots their catalog, 428, a 20. None in Scotland nor England, 434, b 30. Their catalog, 426, b 50
Dunbar stronglie situated, 402, a 40. Deliuered after the death of Richard the third, 286, b 10. The castell in the Englishmens hands, 285, a 20. Rendered to king Edward, 208, a 30. Raised, 391, a 40
Dunbar in Angus, and Dunbar in Louthian, 106, b 30
Dunbar familie, 131, a 60
Dunbreton why so named: note, How called before, 136, a 10. Ancientlie called Alcluth, &c. 56, a 20. Burnt, 262, b 20. The castell taken, 303, a 20. Taken by policie, 482, a 10
Duncane king of Scotland, of a soft nature, 168, b 10, 20, &c. Bestirreth himselfe in assembling an armie, 169, b 60. His small skill in warlike affaires, 169, a 10. Fled to the castell of Bercha, 170, a 20. His wife whose daughter, his death inforced, and buriall, 171, a 30, 60
Duncane the base sonne of Malcolme crowned king, lacketh skill in ciuill gouernement, he is slaine, 180, b 20, &c.
Dundée and why so named, 192, a 20. Abandoned of the English, 348, b 20. Fortified by the French men, 348, b 40. The men craue aid of Fife, 409, b 70
Dunkild castell, 108, a 10
Dunkermling church builded, 179, b 10
Dunse burnt, 362, b 50
Dunsman castell builded, 174, a 50
Dunstakage builded, 41, b 40
Durham abbeie spoiled, 241, a 20 The bishopzike burnt by the Scots, 223, b 40. The church by whom built, 179, a 60
Durstus chosen king of Picts, besieged of Romans, brought prisoner to London, 80, b 10, &c.
Durstus king of Scots conspired against, 40, b 30. Besieged and slaine, 41, a 10. His two sonnes slaine, 41, b 60
Durtie rode, 259, b 60
Dusdere set on fire, 346, a 10

E.

ECliple of the sunne terrible, 265 a 40
Edelfred king of Northumberland, 109, a 40. Lost one of his eies, 109, b 60. His displeasure, 110, b 60. He is slaine, 111, b 20
Edenburgh recouered to the gouernour, 332, a 10. The pronost lendeth to the erle of Herefort, 334, b 20. Entred by force, 334, b 50. Burnt, 334, b 60. Deliuered to the lord of Erskine, 357, a 10. Kept by the lard of Grange against the regent, 402, b 20. Edenburgh mils broken, 410, a 10. The castell taken by the regent and the English, 412, a 20. Why called the Maiden castell, 414, a 10. The names and building thereof, 414, a 10. The whole towne in a tumult 308, a 30. The castell, or the castell of Maidens left of the Picts, 132, a 60 Besieged, 310, a 50. Fortified by the earle of Angus, 313, a 10. A session there instituted. 317, b 50. Besieged, 282, b 30. The pronost and the bailiffes thereof deposed, 307, b 20. Jt and Striueling castels wone by the English, 208, a 60. ¶ Sée Agneda touching the name.
Ederus king of Scots burneth his enimies ships, 43, b 30, 50 Deceaseth, 44, b 60
Edgar crowned, 181, a 40. His vision, 20. The first annointed king of Scots, 50. Rather reuerenced than dreaded, his death, 181, b 20

Edgar Etheling ok treason, 180, b 10
Edmund Ironside. ¶ Sée Canute.
Ednam burnt, 363,a 60
Edzington taken pzisoner,363,a 30
Edward of Carnaruan K. of England commeth into Scotland, 216,a 40. Taketh by souldiozs,b 50. Out of what countries he had aid, 60. His pzomise, 217,a 20. Thinketh himselfe sure of victozie, 40. His exhoztation to his armie, 218, b 10. Entreth Scotland, put to flight,221,a 40 50. He is deposed,b 60. Sendeth a naule into Scotland,227,b 40 Escapeth the hands of the Scots: note, 219,b 40
Edward Longshanke meaneth to make some conquest of Scotland, 204,b 10. Dieth,his crueltie, 215,b 50,60
Edward king inuadeth Scotland, 210,a 50. Commeth to Berwike, he hath homage done to him,206 b 10,50. Burdened with crueltie & tyzannie by the Scotish writers,208,b 60. His great pzeparation to inuade the Scots,212, a 30. Maketh peace with the Danes,159,b 40. Sendeth ambassadozs into Scotland about the election of a new pzince, 157, a 10
Edward the third crowned king of England,225,a 10. Inuadeth the Scots by land, 235, b 60 Had two kings pzisoners at once, and how he sat at the table with them,243,b 10. Purposeth to subdue the Scots, 232, a 20 Enuieth the felicitie of the Scots,229,a 20. His purpose to destroie erle Thomas: note,a 40 In armes against the Scots, 225, b 10. Bzeaketh by his campe, 226,b 10
Edward pzince of Scotland deceaseth, 179,b 60
Edwin a right chzistian pzince, 111,b 30 Slaine, 113,a 20
Eganus murthereth his bzother, 125, b 30. Liueth in feare, 40 Strangled of his quéene: note, 50
Egeldzed chased into Nozthumberland, getteth aid from the Scots,162,b 60. The battell betwixt him and Sweno, escapeth by flight, 163,a 10,20,&c.
Egfred king of Nozthumberland, his answer to an ambassage touching restitution, 115, b 10,40 Slaine, 116,a 10,60
Eglenton erle committed to ward, 401,b 50
Elgarine péelded kozts vnto the Danes, 148,a 40. Taken pzisoner,a 60. Dzawne in péeces, b 10
Ella. ¶ Sée Olbert.
Eltham slaine by his bzother, 237, a 40
Emperoz commeth into England, 308,a 40
Emulation. ¶ Sée Strife.
England diuided betwixt Canute & Edmund Ironside, 169, b 40 Frenchmen & Scots banished from thence,308,a 40. Inuaded,& diuerse places burnt & wasted, 224, a 10,&c. The names of the kings thereof mistaken in Scotish writers,147,b 30. An armie of Frenchmen and Scots enter into it, 248, a 10. Diuided into seuen seuerall kingdoms, 109, a 30. ¶ Sée Cumberland. Dissention, and Nozthumberland.
Englishmen and Bzitons ioine their powers with the Picts, 134,b 60. Inuade Nozthumberland,183,b 40. Fled into Scotland,177,b 20. Inuade Louthian, 135, b 10. Many of them dzowned,40. Slandered of the Scots,310,b 60. Thirtie thousand hozsemen ouerthzowne in trenches,219,a 40 Discomfited,221,b 60. Land at Leith,334,b 10. The ozder of their armie,340,a 60. Their fleet,341,b 10. Their captains taken,342,a 20. Their hozsemen beaten backe, 343, a 30 They returne home,343,b 40 Hozsmen ouerthzowne, 347,a 20. Repelled at S. Mannets, 347,b 40. Put to the wozst at a skirmish nére Hadington, 348, a 20. Make a rode into Scotland, 362,b 40. Put the Scots to flight at Haltwel Sweire,363,b 50. Burne the Ile of Arrane, 364, a 60 Desirous to reuenge the iniuries done vnto them, 56 Inclosed in a cellar to kill K. Robert Bzuse,220,b 40. Put to flight by the Danes, 163,a 10. Their miserie vnder the bondage of the Danes, 163,a 50,60,b 10,&c. Their crueltie, 208,a 10. Their armie passe thzough Scotland from the south parts to the nozth, 212, a 40. They & Danes fall out & fight, 147, a 20. Their harts begin to faint, put to flight, 219,b 30. Chased & wse whole countries, 241,b 60. Intrapped, put to flight, taken pzisoners, 242, a 60. Inuade the Scotish bozders, slaine and dzowned, 246,b 20,30. Discomfited in Fife, 247, b 30 Their offer to haue Scots ioine with them in league,265 a 60. Make war vpon the Scots, and whie, 322, b 40 Fetch a bootie out of Scotland, 298, a 10. Their cruell dealing towards the Scots, 259, b 40. Their policie,233,a 10,&c. They lie in wait foz the Scotish fleet,incounter a fleet of Spaniards, 266, a 30, 40 Foiled & slaine by the Scots, 273,a 60. Fetch booties out of Scotland,272,b 40. Inuaded Scotland, 60. Thanke God foz victozie against James the fift, 301, a 30. Inuaded Scotland, discomfited, 311,b 40,50. ¶ Sée Bzitons.
Enuerloch builded, 43,a 50
Enuernesse builded, 43, a 60 ¶ Sée Inuernesse.
Enuie & spite causing murder, 246,b 60 At others honoz,274 a 20. ¶ Sée Hatred.
Epiake citie wonne by the Romans,54,a 20. Taken & burned by Boadicia, 54,b 10
Erle of Angus commeth into England, 312,a 40. His request, 312,b 60. Feareth the sentence of fozfalture, banished,307,b 40 He & the quéene his wife at mutuall hatred, 306,b 20. He and others receiued into fauoz, 304,b 30
Erle of Arrane in the kings displeasure,280,b 40. Lieutenant to James the fourth, 291,a 40. Reuolteth from the gouernoz,304,a 50. He & Angus at dissention, 306, b 60 Stealeth away,304,a 10. Declareth to the gouernour the minds of the lozds, 308, b 40
Erle of Atholl gouernour of the Balliol in Scotland, 234,b 60, Flieth into the mountains, submitteth himselfe, 235,a 60, Slaine, 236,b 10
Erle of Crawfozd vpon submission pardoned, deceaseth, 275, b 10,20. In exile,246,b 60. His pardon begged, 247,a 10
Erle of Cumberland heire apparant to the king of Scots, 146, a 10. Of Herefozd inuadeth Scotland, 338,b 40. Of Huntleie hath lands giuen him,275,a 40. Of Leneux in ward,305,a 30. ¶ Sée Leneux. Of War slaine in his bed, 230, b 50, 60, Of Mentith poisoned,198,a 50. Of Murreie &c,elected gouernoz,235,b 10. Taken pzisoner,236,a 50 Sent into France, 232,a 30 ¶ Sée Murreie. Returneth out of France, 235, a 40. Of Namure commeth into England with an armie,235,b 60 Of Nozthumberland made lozd warden of the whole marches, 309,b 10. Lieutenant of the nozth,241,a 30. Of Dzmont generall of the Scotish armie, 272,b 60. Exhozteth his people,273,a 20. Victozious, 273,b 10. Taken pzisoner and beheaded, 176, a 40,50. Of Rutland generall of the English fozces in Scotland, 351,a 40. ¶ Sée Rutland. Of Salisburie,exchanged foz the erle of Murreie,240, a 10. Of Shzewsburie inuadeth Scotland, 308, a 40. Of Surreie sent into the nozth, 289, b 30 Lieutenant vnto Henrie the eight in Scotland, 299,b 50. Inuadeth Scotland 309,b 60 with an armie of 40000 men, 311,a 60. Made warden generall, 309,b 10. Of Sussex entreth into Scotland,364,a 40. Of Sowtherland. ¶ Sée Sowtherland.
Erle Cochzam of War and others hanged, 283,a 60,b 10. Dauid of Huntington, 189, a 50,191,b 20. Entreth the citie of Acon,50. Taken pzisoner, redéemed,192,a 10. Deceaseth 195,a 40. Dowglasse. ¶ Sée Dowglas. Duncane Steward of Leneux beheaded, 262, b 40. ¶ Sée Leneux. Randall gouernour of Scotland, 228, b 10. Richard of Gloceste, 178,a 10. Thomas the gouernour poisoned, 228,b 20
Erles of Bothwell, 250,a 60. ¶ Sée Bothwell.
Erledome of Rosse, giuen vnto william Rosse, aliàs Lesse, 202,b 40. Transferred to the Stewards, 257,a 40
Ersilton a pzophesier oz rimer, 203,a 60
Erthquake 292,b 40. Terrible, 192,b 60
Erthus the sonne of Ethodus begot Fergus, 81,a 20
Ester, strife about the celebzating of it, 113,b 50
Etauges taken pzisoner, 349,b 10
Ethelbert baptised, 110, b 60
Ethelded with his two sonnes Alured & Edward, 169,b 50
Ethfine king of Scots a peaceable pzince, deceaseth, 118,a 10,&c.
Ethodus king of Scots requireth restitution of his subiects goods, exhozteth the K. of Picts to war against the Romans,64,a 10,&c. Soze wounded, & committed to the cure of surgeons, 78, a 60. Confined into Denmarke, 79,a 60. Bzother to Eugenius interteined in Denmarke, 81,a 10. Ouerthzoweth the Picts,77, b 60. Vsiteth his countrie to see iustice maintened,giueth himself to hunting, murthered by a musician, 66,a 20,&c.
Ethodus the second, king of Scots couetous, slaine of his own seruants,68, a 30. ¶ Sée Eugenius.
Ethus king of Scots saued by flight,139,b 10,&c. Surnamed Lightfoot, 140, a 10. Neglected opzturnitie, conspired against, 20. Arrested with his fauourers, 30
Etius lieutenant of the Romans in Gaule,85, a 60. Refuseth to aid the Romans, 87, b 10
Euan a conspiratoz disquieteth the K. and realme, 137,b 10. Lieutenant of Dunstafage, 20. He is executed, 137,b 40
Euers Rafe knight, inuadeth Scotland,336,b 60. Defaceth the monuments of the Dowglasses,337,a 10. Slaine,337, a 60. His seruice against the Scots, 337,b 10
Eugenius and Ethodus the sonnes of Fincomarke, 74,a 60. Conueied into the Ile of Man, b 40
Eugenius king of Scots, 86,a 40 Dieth, 90,b 20
Eugenius inuested K. of Scots suspected of his predecessozs death. 104,b 40,&c.
Eugenius rewardeth his soldiozs,196,b 10. Inuested K. in arms against the Bzitons 76,a 60,b 10,&c. Discomfited, 77, a 10. Bzeaketh vp his campe,20. Pzepareth an armie to defend his countrie, 60. Comfozteth his people, b 10. Slaine, 78,a 10
Eugenius his humanitie to his people,105,a 10. Agréable to the Picts requests,b 60. A ranisher,107,b 60. Gouerneth his people with clemencie, 107,a 10. Deceaseth, 60
Eugenius the fourth, king of Scots a louer of peace & quietnesse,a sharpe iusticer,111,a 50,60
Eugenius the fift K. of Scots, his commandement, gathereth an armie,115,b 10, &c. 50. Dieth 116,a 60
Eugenius the sixt K. of Scots 116,a 60. Deceaseth, b 10
Eugenius the seuenth king of Scots crowned, suspected of murther, causeth his ancestozs histozies to be written, 117, a 10,&c. Deceaseth, b 10
Eugenius the eighth inuested king of Scots, peruerted with sensuall lust, murthered, 118,a 60,b 10,40. ¶ Sée Myzdzed.
Ewin chosen king of Scots, 41,a 40
Ewin the second, chosen king, 42,b 60. Resigneth the state, his decease, 43,b 10,20
Ewin the third, king of Scots of that name licentious, 44, b 60. Pursued & forsaken of his subiects, condemned to perpetuall pzison, strangled, 45,a 40
Ewin his lawes abzogated oz rather altered, 179,b 10
Excõmunication how to be vsed 390,b 60. Of a king, 114,a 20
Execution with seueritie, 196,a 40. Without respit, 223,a 60: note, 240,b 60

Fable

F.

Fable of a fox, 175, a 40. ¶ Sée Tale.
Factions of Scotland ſeuerallie named, 423, a 50
Fairies. ¶ Sée Prophelie.
Fame oftentimes exceedeth the truth, 217, a 10. ¶ Sée Report.
Familiaritie of a ſubiect with a quéene: note, 280, a 20, &c.
Famine extreame and lamentable, 239, a 40. ¶ Sée Derth.
Faſt caſtell woone, 343, b 50
Fawkirke battell, 424, a 20
Fealtie. ¶ Sée Homage and Sweating.
Fenedocht the thane of Atholl, 126, b 20
Fenella, a malicious woman & reuengefull: note, 158, a 60, b 10
Feare the force thereof euen in nobles, 42, a 20. Of outward enimies cauſeth quietneſſe at home, 186, b 10
Feare & tumult, 95, a 20. ¶ Sée Crueltie.
Feredeth taketh from the clergie their priuileges, 124, b 60. Slaine, 126, b 40. He is buried, 127, a 10
Fergus is ſent to aid the Goths againſt Rome, 80, a 40. Returneth from Italie into Denmarke, 60. Sent vnto the Scots diſperſed, prepareth himſelfe to war, 81, b 10, 20. He with his ſhips arriued in Murreie firth, receiued toukille of the Picts, conueied into Argile and there inueſted king, purpoſeth to aſſaile his enimies in the dawning of the date, 82, a 10, &c: b 60. Married a daughter of Graham, 83, a 60. Inuadeth the confins of Britaine, b 10. Diſſuaded to fight with the Romans, 40. Diuideth the land in parts, 84, a 60. Repareth churches, caſtels, &c: 84, b 30, &c. Exhorteth his people to valiantneſſe, 85, b 10. He & Durſtus ſlaine, 85, b 60. His bodie buried in the abbeie of Colmekill, 86, a 50
Fergus the third created king of Scots, a wicked prince, 118, b 60. Strangled by his wife, 119, a 10
Fergus ſent into Scotland, landed in Albion, made king, 32, b 40, 50, 60. Aſſembleth a great power of Scots againſt Coilus, 34, a 60. Went into Ireland, & is drowned, 35, a 30
Fergthartis choſen K. of Scots, 35, b 20. Inthronized, note the ſolemnitie, 50. Suddenlie dead, 36, a 30
Ferlegus exiled, 36, a 30
Fermiſburſt caſtell woone by the French, 349, b 50
Ferquhard king in Ireland, 32, b 40
Ferquhard king of Scots, 112, a 40. Maintaineth ciuill diſcord, infected with the Pelagian hereſie, taken priſoner, b 10. His deſperat end, 113, a 10
Ferquhard the ſecond king of Scots, firſt couetous, now liberall, 113, b 60. Excommunicated, 114, a 30. Vices wherto he was giuen, 30, &c. He falleth ſicke, 60. Sent for his confeſſor, b 10. Fæideth vp the ghoſt, 30
Ferquhard a Scot verie ſtrong and valiant, aduanced, 202, b 60. ¶ Sée Conſpiracie.
Fethelmacus murthered in his bed, 76, a 20. ¶ Sée Ingulianus.
Fetherſton ſir William knight: note, 247, a 60
Fife ſometimes a part of Pictland now of Scotland, 76, a 40. It with other countries in ſubiection to the Romans, 55, b 50. Put to fire & ſword, 129, b 40
Fiacre giueth himſelfe to liue a ſolitarie life in France, 112, a 50. His prair, b 40
Fincomarke king of Scots, beginneth his reigne, 73, a 50, 60. Raiſeth his power, ioineth battell, b 20, &c. Deceaſeth, 74, a 50. His ſonnes Eugenius and Erhodius, 60
Findocke king of Scots, his vertuous diſpoſition, maketh a iorneie into the Iles to ſubdue rebels, 69, b 20, &c. Slain, 70, a 20
Finmacoll the great hunter, 89, b 50
Finnan biſhop, 114, a 40
Finnanus K. of Scots. 40, a 40
Fire cauſed through wind, 203, b 30
Fiſhes like vnto men in ſhape, 139, b 20
Fiſhing, a law made for it, 358, a 20, 281, b 40
Fleance deflloureth the prince of wales daughter, 171, b 60. Slaine: note, 173, a 10. ¶ Sée Banquho.
Fleming lord eſcapeth, 402, a 20
Fleming ladie honorable intreated, 402, a 50
Fleming Robert, a worthie yong gentleman, 213, b 40. Rewarded for his faithfull ſeruice, 220, a 50
Florence reedified, 123, a 60. The armes thereof, 123, b 60
Forboiſe Arthur ſlaine, 408, a 40. Put to flight, 408, a 50. Alexander his houſe, great beſied wife and his children burnt, 408, a 60. They receiue aid from the king, 408, a 60. They follow ſeuerall leders, 408, b 10. Goeth to Aberden, 408, b 10. Ouerthrowen beſides Aberden, 408, b 20
Forboiſe the maſter beheaded, 320, a 60
Forboiſes the beginning of the name, 212, b 30. Diſagrée, 408, a 10
Ford caſtell woone, 350, a 20
Fort builded at Aberladie, 351, a 20
Forth called the Scotiſh ſea, 136, a 10
Fortune brittle, 135, b 60
Foſter ſir John, 361, a 60
Fothadus the great biſhop of Scotland vndertaketh to cõclude a peace betwixt parties at deadlie variance: note, 160, b 40, 50, &c.
Fraie with bloudſhed about a dog: note, 71, b 10. Among noblemen being on huntung, 108, b 60
France in old time Gallia, 45, b 60
Fratricide, 237 a 40
Frenchmen depart Scotland, 372, b 40. Their gallies compas about Scotland, 347, a 50. They ſeeke to make a peace betwéene the quéene and the lords, 387, b 10. Depart Scotland, 375, a 10. Require a crowne matrimoniall, 365, a 10. In miſerable ſtate in Scotland, 350, a 50. They & the Scots cannot agrée, 248, a 20. They make a rode into England, 350, a 10. Returne home, 352, a 60. Incampe at Muſſelborrow, 347, b 10. Come into Scotland, 346, b 40. Whie they forbare to giue an aſſait, 346, b 60. with them of Edenborrow make a frate, 348, a 50. They giue a cannaſado to Hadington, 348, b 10. Sent into Scotland, 363, a 60. What parts of chriſtendome they poſſeſſed in old time, 122, a 40
French king taken priſoner, 243, a 50. Sent to perſuade the king of Scots to warre, 295, a 20. Requireth aid againſt England, 294, b 50. Sendeth monie into Scotland, 409, b 50
Friers, foure orders of them, & a commandement againſt deuiſing new orders of them, 203, a 20. Blacke, their firſt comming into Scotland, 196, b 10. Carmelits firſt cõming into Scotland, 198, a 60. Minors firſt cõming into Scotland, 196, b 30
Friers deſtroied in Striueling, 367, a 10
Frontinus purpoſeth to purſue the conqueſt of the Silures, requireth to ioine in amitie with the Picts, 54, b 40. Vexed with ſickenes returneth to Rome, 55, a 20
Fulgentius capteine of rebels, 66, b 60. Incourageth them to ſticke to their enterprize, 67, a 40. Put to flight, b 10. Withdraweth into Pictland, 20

G.

Galane king of Picts ſucceedeth the Scots, 92, b 30
Gald king of Scots puniſhed ſuch as diſturbed the peace of the ſtate, 53, a 60, b 10. Laboureth to abrogat wicked laws, b 20. Determineth to fight with the Romans, 50. Promiſeth to ioine in league with the Picts, 56, a 10. The fame of his puiſſance putteth the Romans in feare, b 50. Choſen generall againſt them 60. Setteth vpon one of his enimies in the night, 57, a 10. Commeth into Dundee, conſulteth how to proceed in his wars, b 40. Commeth to aid the Picts, exhorteth the people to fight manfullie, 58, a 40, 50. By reaſon of the multitude thinketh to incloſe his enimies, b 10. Purſueth the Romans, 60, a 20. Studieth to preſerue his ſubiects in good quiet now after the wars ended, 60. b 60. Deceaſeth, 61, a 10
Galgacus. ¶ Sée Gald.
Gallio Rauenna is ſent to Britaine, purſueth the Scots & Picts, cauſeth the wall of Abirroine to be repared, returneth into France, 86, b 30, &c.
Gallowglaſſes, 143, b 20
Gallowaie wherof ſo named, 61, a 10. Inuaded by the Iriſhmen, 142, b 30
Garlieſch the lawes, 403, b 60
Garnard the king of Picts foraſmuch receiueth Gildo, they aſſembled a councell, determined to reſt all the winter & make frontier wars onlie, 57, b 40, 50. Inuadeth Scotland, 116, b 50
Gathelus giuen to will & pleaſure went into Egypt, his doings aduanced, ſo with other countries, repelled from Britaine, landed in Portingale, 29, a 20, &c, b 10, &c. Buildeth the citie of Brachara, 30, a 20. Intituled K. of Scotland, his lawes, 30, a 50, 60
Gawen in ſeruice with K. Arthur, 102, b 10. Slain, 106, b 10
Gemiſſa wife of Arutragus deceaſeth, 47, b 10
Gentlemen reſtored, 359, a 60
Germans cõming to ſerue Romans rebell againſt their capteins & leaders, 57, a 60. A cohort of them reſtored the Romans ſide neere at point to haue had the worſt, 58, b 30
Gift of the pope to a Scotiſh K. 192, b 40. To K. James the fourth, 288, b 30. Of K. William to K. Richard, 192, a 60
Gifts preuaile where as faire words faile, 78, b 20. Giuen to king James by his wiues friends, 261, b 50. Required as a lone, 114, a 10
Gilbert biſhop of Cathneſſe canoniſed a ſaint, 190, a 20
Gilbert of Gallowaie rebelled, he is banquiſhed, 189, b 30, 40
Gilcombe ſpoileth Scotland, maketh himſelfe L. of Gallowaie, ſlaine, 205, a 60, b 10
Gileriſt declareth what he is, 191, a 10. Murtheth his wife vpon ſuſpition of adulterie, 190, a 60. Proclamed a traitor, 60. His miſerable eſtate, deluing of clods & turffes, aſketh pardon of the king in an vnknown habit, 190, b 20, 50, 60. Receiued into the kings fauor & reſtored to his lands, the diſpoſing of them after his death, 191, a 10, 20, 30, &c ¶ Sée Gilbert.
Gildo is kept off from landing, arriueth in Taie water, is receiued, 57, b 20, &c
Gileſpie Roſſe a rebell beheaded, 196, a 30.
Gillequhalme the ſonne of Donald, 119, b 60
Gillo capteine of exiles banquiſhed, 79, b 10
Gilpatrike and others ſpoile Scotland, 205, a 50
Gillus his craftie working, 41, a 60, Created K. for feare goes about to murther Dothans ſonnes, counterfeiteth a zeale to iuſtice, rebelled againſt, departeth ſecretlie to Ireland, purchaſeth aid, 42, a 30, 40, &c. Taken, beheaded, 43, a 10
Glames made lord chancellor, 411, b 20. Conuict of treaſon, 320, a 50
Gleſcotaken, 371, a 30
Glencarne erle his double dealing, 344, b 60
Gluttons neuer ſatisfied, 265, a 10. ¶ Sée Diet.
Gorgedus. ¶ Sée Olaus.
Godwine ſands, 180, a 20
Gordon Adam, 408, a 30. Entreth Angus, 409, b 60
Gordon Alexander hanged, 379, b 70
Gordon John and the lord Dgilnie fight, 379, b 40. He is impriſoned, 379, b 10. He eſcapeth, 379, b 10. Summoned by the quéene, 379, b 10. Accompanied with a great number, 379, b 20. Commanded to Striueling caſtle, 379, b 50. He diſobeied, 379, b 58. Beheaded, 380, b 40
Gordon lord married to the kings baſtard, 295, a 10. Created erle of Huntleie, 381, a 60
Gordon erle of Southerland, forfaited

forkalled, 380,b60
Gordons and Forboises dou fight, 407,b40
Gonorrhea, 152,b50
Gormond arriueth with a naule in Northumberland,145,a10 Ouerthrowne by Alured, 40 He is baptised, 50
Gothred mowueth a rebellion, he is taken & beheaded,193,b30, 40
Goths make an expedition against the empire of Rome, 80,a40
Gouernement giuen by lots,34, b60
Gouernor of Scotland whiles a new king was chosen, 42, b 20. Sendeth to France,344, b20, He resigneth, 356,a10 He agreeth with the Dowager,357,a10 Made duke,357 a20. ¶ See Duke of Albanie, Pardons, Scotland,
Gouernours appointed to the kings person, 305, a60. At disagreement causeth ill disposed persons to wax bold in doing mischefe,280,b60,281 a10. Foure vnder king Ethfine, 118,a20. Of Scotland their catalog, 417,a40
Gowrike erle beheaded,443,a20
Graham lord Montrosse made L.tresuror,443,a30. The antiquitie of that name,443,a30
Graham and his linage,83,a60
Graimes authoritie in ordering the batell, 89,a30. ¶ See Graham.
Graimsdike, 87,b60
Gratian vsurpeth the gouernance of Britaine, 81, b60 Slaine by Maximus,80,a40
Greese taken at hart the losse of life, 256,a60,b10. The cause of death, 282,b60,180,a10
Gregorie chosen king of Scots, 140,a40. Giuen wholie to godlines,neuer maried,sober, his expedition into Fife,b20, &c. His saieng to his soldiors, 141,a20. Suffered the inhabitants of Northumberland to inioie their lands, 60, b10 wintered at Berwike, prepareth an armie against the Britons,his consideration,b 20,&c. Requireth a resignation of Cumberland and Westmerland,142,a40. His deuise, 143,a20. Assaulted the Irish, his mercifull vse of victorie, 50, 60. His wise & godlie answer,144,a20. Receiued into Dublin with procession, 40. Kisseth the crucifix, 50. Entreth the castell, 60. His returne to Scotland,b10. His death,30. Buried in Colmekill, 40
Greie lord desireth to incounter the Scots,341,b40. Entreth Scotland, 372,b10
Greie lord of Scotland taken prisoner, 363,b10
Greies a surname in Scotland, 262,a20
Grime causeth himselfe to be crowned king, his liberalitie, against Malcolme & of greater force than he, 160,a10,20, &c. He and Malcolme reconciled,161,a40,50. His alteration from noble qualities to detestable vices: note, 161,b 10, &c. In armes afresh against Malcolme, discomfited, and miserablie ended his life, 162,a10,&c.60
Guaimor king Arthurs wife, 106,b10,40
Guiderius the Britith king rebelleth against the Romans, 45,b40. Slaine, 60
Guise the first duke his death, 352,a70
Guitellus generall of the Britith armie, 92,a60. Causeth fiue hundred of the enimies to be hanged,b10. Slaine with twentie thousand Britons, 92,b50
Guns made and superscribed: note, 293,b50
Guthred king of Man,201,a40

H.

Hadington besieged,346,b60 Wittelled, 351,b20, Raised & left by the English,351,b50 Siege remoued, 347,a30
Hale an husbandman with his two sonnes their valiantnes: note,155,a60. Refused costlie garments, is made one of the nobilitie, reuenues assigned him, 155,b60. His request, arms or ensignes; 156, a10
Hamilton sir James arrested, 321,b20. Beheaded,321,b34
Hart, 316,a20
Hamilton lord marieth with the kings sister,280,b50. Taketh part with the erle of Argile, 371,a20
Hamilton palace burnt, 400, b 70. The castell besieged,400,b 40. Deliuered to the English, 400, b40. Blowen vp, 400,b60
Hamiltons koureténe slaine, 362,b10. Of whom descended: note,225,b40. Mingled with the kings blond, 60
Harold passeth into Norwaie, drowned in his returne,201,a 60. ¶ See Herald at armes.
Harueit wet a cause of derth, 198,b30
Hastings his challenge to the crowne of Scotland,205,b60
Hatred, 110, b60. Procuring murther: note, 150,a50, &c. Betwéene the quéene and hir husband, and the cause,306,b 20. ¶ See Enuie & Malice.
Heirgust chosen king of Picts, 76,a10. Desireth the vtter destruction of Scots, 78, b10 Killeth himselfe, 80,b10
Heirgust slaine, 98,b10. ¶ See Maximus.
Hemecus K. of Ireland,31,a20
Hengist purposed at the first to make conquest of Britons, his offers misliked of Britith nobles, prolongeth time to giue battell,94,a30,&c.b50 He & Horsus reteined in seruice with Wortigerne,93,a20 ¶ See Yorke.
Henrie the fourth K. of England crowned,253,a20. Inuadeth Scotland, 253,b30
Henrie the fift taketh the prince of Scotland ouer with him into France, 259, b10. Menaceth the Scots, marieth the French kings daughter, 258,a60,b10 Discomfited by the Welshmen, 258,a30. Returneth into England, 280,a 40. By safe conduct commeth into England, 279,a60. Imprisoned, 280,a60
Henrie the seuenth deceaseth, 292,b60
Henrie the eight seeketh to keep the duke of Albanie out of Scotland,306,b 40. Doubteth to haue the duke of Albanie gouernor to the yong king his nephue, 307,b60
Henrie Beaucherke K. of England, 181,a60
Henrie prince of Scotland deceaseth,184,a40 His issue, 50
Henrie inuadeth Scotland,194 b20
Henrie Hotspur, 249,a30. Assaileth the Scots at Homildon, 254,a60
Hepborne James his familiaritie with the Q. of Scots mother to James the third, 280,a20
Hepborns their first aduancement, 250,a60
Heraclianus is sent against Victorine, 84, a10. ¶ See Victorine.
Herald at armes sent into Scotland to denounce war, 307, b 50, 60. Sent to the duke of Northfolke, 371, b60. Sent to the quéne of Scots,372,a 60. Being an Englishman his report of K. Robert Bruses valiancie,227,a10,20,&c.
Herbert king of Britaine sent ambassadors to K. Gregorie, 142,a20
Herdunt threatneth the Scots, 141,a10. Assembleth his men togither,remaineth in campe, 50,60
Hereford. ¶ See Erle.
Heresie Pelagian, 89,b20,98,b 60. In Pictland, 107,b50
Hermophrodite buried quicke: note, 278,b20
Herres lord his lands spoiled, 274,a30. And he hanged, 50
Hessen. ¶ See Rhene.
Hiber returned into Spaine, & succéedeth his father,30,b60 A conqueror, 31,a10
Hibernia of whom so named,30 b30
Hilland mans salutation, and whie so named, 197,b10
Hoddom yelded to the Regent, 392,a40
Holiburton James defendeth the countrie against the English, 345,b30
Holie rood house builded, 183,a 30
Hollanders & the erle of March at wars, 265,b30. Their ships taken, 291,b10
Homage required by summons, 185, b60. Of the Scotish king for certeine eariedoms: note,183,b30. Done by the king of Scots, 184, a30. Done to the king of England,by the king,prelats,and nobles of Scotland, 189, a 60,b10. To king Edward of Carnaruan,215,b60. Of the barons of Scotland to king Edward,208, b30. ¶ See Baliol.
Horses presented to James the fourth, 291,b50. Trapped and presented to James the fourth,292,b40. Affrighted, 246,a40
Horses and mares out of Hungarie into Scotland for breed 265,a60
Horsus, 93,a20. ¶ See Hengist.
Hostages required, 136, a30. Deliuered to king John,193, a30. ¶ See Pledges.
Howard sir Edmund freshlie assaulted, 300,b40
Hubba saued from drowning, 138,b40
Hume Alexander deliuered out of prison, 399,b10
Hume lord chamberleine,301,a 10,20. Submitteth himselfe, 303,b60. Denounced a rebell, 303,b40. Taken,403,a20. He and others conuicted of treason,304,a10. Arrested, committed to ward,beheaded,304 b60. His head taken downe, 307,a60
Hume castell rendred vnto the English,343,b40. Recouered by the Scots, 349,a60
Humber a fatall place for the Britons to be vanquished in, 106,a10
Hungar kept the battell, 139, a 20. His bow, 139,a20
Hungus king of Picts refuseth to conclude league with the French,122,b50. Aided with Scots inuadeth Northumberland,123,b60. He warred without slaughter and burning,60. Repaireth saint Andrews church,124,b40. Falleth in a consumption,125,a40
Hunsdon lord maketh a rode into Scotland, 423,b70
Hunting, lawes made for it: note, 36,b40,66,a30
Huntington lands and Northumberland annexed to the crowne of Scotland,182,b20
Huntleie earle gineth an ouerthrow to the English, 328, b 10. Suspected by the quéne, 379,b60. Taken prisoner,343 a40. Entreth bond for his countrie men,343,a10. He recouered manie lands,358,a 10. Sent for,380,a30. Commeth to Cornethie in War, 383,a60. Fled,382,b10. Commeth to aid the quéne, 392,b 20 Lieutenant of Scotland, 401,a10. He escapeth 401,a30
Husbandmen made honourable: note, 155,b60.

I.

Jacke Straw. ¶ See Rebellion.
James prince of Scotland taken by the English, 255,b20. Staied as prisoner in England,256,a40. His bringing vp: note, the greefe of his father Robert, causing his death, 50,60,b10
James the first ransomed,261,b 40. Married to the earle of Summerset his daughter, gifts giuen him, commeth to Edenburgh,50,60. Crowned keepeth an audit,his solemne oth at a parlement, 262, a10, &c. Desirous to purge his realme of brutile persons, 264,a40. His saieng,183,a60. Murthered by conspirators, 266,b50
James the second crowned K. marrieth the duke of Gelderlands daughter, 268,a20,30. 272,a60. Conueied to Sterling,268,b10. Will rule and reigne himselfe,271,a30. warred against,274,b40. would haue fled, 275,a10. Writings set vp in contempt of him,a60 Inuadeth England,277,b50 Slaine,278,a20. His burtall and lamentation of the people for him, his conditions and issue, 30,40
James the third king of Scots crowned,278a40,b60. Married,280,b20. Raiseth an armie 282,a50. Giueth himselfe to keeping of women and lustfulnesse,286,b10. Sent an ambassage to Edward king of England,283,a10 He prepareth an armie,20. His concubine named Daisie,a60. He is kept vnder arrest, b10. Prisoner, 50. Set at libertie, 60. Signifieth by

by letters his mind touching the articles of Dunbar, 286, a 10. His anſwer & promiſe to an ambaſſage, 286, a 30, 40, 50 Conſpired againſt, 286, b 30, 40. Gathereth an armie, 287, a 10. Put to the worſt, and ſlaine, 50
James the fourth crowned, 287 a 60, Repentant, woze an iron chaine, giuen to deuotion, a great iuſticer, lerned, b 10, 20, went on pilgrimage, 291, b 40 Pzot·coz of the faith, 40. In armes againſt the Engliſh, maketh too much haſt, 298, a 60. Minded to kæpe his ground, 299, b 60. His quarell vnto the earle of Surrie, 300, a 30. His pzactiſe, and tokens of ill lucke to befall him, 60, b 30. Deceiued himſelfe and alighted from his hozſe, his hardineſſe marred all, 60. Commended, 301, b 10, 20, 50. Goeth on pilgrimage, 293, b 50. Perſuadeth to peace, 294, b 50. His baſtard maried, 295, a 10. Reaſoneth with the counterfet duke of Yozke, 290 a 10. Requireth to talke with the biſhop of Durham, purpoſeth to be a ſutoz foz mariage in England, & the ſame compaſſed, 60, b 10. 291, a 10. A wife ſought out foz him, 288, a 40. Goeth in pzogreſſe, b 40, Innadeth Nozthumberland, 289, b 10. Returneth without pzofter of battell, 20. Slaine, 301, a 10
James the fift crowned, and the quæne appointed regent, 302, a 10. Great vnquietneſſe in his minozitie, 60 Sutoz vnto the ducheſſe of Longeuile, 320, b 30. He marrieth Marie de Lozaine, 320, b 60. Hæfaileth to the Iles of Ozkenie, 321, a 10. Aſſiſted the pope 319, a 60. He ſaileth about the Iles, 319, b 10. He goeth the ſecond time into France, 319, b 10. He is ſutoz foz mariage, 319, b 40. Contracted mariage with the ladie Magdalen 319, b 60. Returneth with his quæne into Scotland, 320, a 30. Remoued from place to place, 305, a 60, b 10. Deliuered to the kæping of certeine lozds, 303, b 40
James the ſixt bozne, 383, b 60. His godfathers, 384, a 20. Crowned, 388, a 10. His oth, 390, a 50. Diſpleaſed with earle Mozton, foz the lozd of Johnſtone, 437, b 10. His declaration of his acts confirmed in parlement, 438, a 30. His intention dzawne into certein articles, 441, b 60. His ſpæch to the eſtates, concerning a league in religion with England, 445, a 50. Beſieged at Sterling, 448, a 40. Sendeth to the lozds of the religion, 448, a 50. Granteth the requeſt of the lozds, 448, b 60. His gard remoued, 448, b 50. In cuſtodie of the lozds of the religion, 449, a 10
Jane daughter to the earle of Summerſet maried to king James the ſixt, 261, b 40, 60
Iceni, 49, b 20. 47, b 40
Idleneſſe the bzæder and nouriſher of ſenſuall luſts, 116, b 60. The root of all miſchæfe, 265, a 30
Idolaters of the Saxons burned, 98, b 60
Jedwozth defended from aſſalt, 408, b 40
Jeſus redie to ſlie, 448, b 60
Image of wax. ¶ Sæ Witches.
Images of gold and ſiluer, 124, b 50. Pulled downe, 366, b 20
Inchtuthill. ¶ Sæ Tuline.
Incubus, 97, a 40
Indulph prince of Cumberland, king of Scots prouoked to warre againſt England, 148, a 10. Diligent in his office, b 10 Incountereth the Danes, b 30, 40. Dieth of a wound with a dart, 149, a 10
Inſkith fozтified by the Engliſhmen 350, a 60. Aſſalted by the Frenchmen, 350, b 40. Recouered by the French, 351, a 10. Raced, 391, a 40
Inuerneſſe caſtell giuen vp, 379 b 60. Burned, 263, a 60. ¶ Sæ Enuerneſſe.
John the king dziuen into the caſtell of Fozfaire, 208, a 60
John lozd of the Iles atteinted, 282, a 40. Submitteth himſelfe, 50
John Scot faſted fozтie daies, 317, a 60. ¶ Sæ Scot John.
Johnſtane lard had two houſes taken by the regent, 393, a 70. Himſelfe taken, 437, b 10
Joſina crowned king, interteineth philoſophers, &c. 39, b 40. Deceaſeth, 40, a 30
Ireland doctoz ſent into Scotland, 282, b 40. ¶ Sæ Bzuſe Edward, and Hibernia.
Iriſhmen fetch pzeies to Galloway, 248, b 30. They aſſalt the Scots in two ſeuerall places, fozтie put vnto flight, 50. Come in thzæ battels, run awaie, 143, b 20, 50. Two gather their powers, 142, b 60. Their pzactiſe 143, a 10. Gentile intreated, 30, b 50. Land in Argile, 65, b 60. Hent vpon reuenge, take a pzeie in Ila, & ſeeke peace, 120, a 40, 50, 50. Liue by milke and by hearbes, 30, b 40
Irmirike king of the Engliſhmen, 107, a 60
Iſubria. ¶ Sæ Scots.
Italie. ¶ Sæ Iſubzia.
Judge righteous, 182, b 60
Julius Agricola ſent into Bzitaine, pzepareth againſt the Scots, 55, a 10. Studieth to bzing them to ciuilitie, a 60. Commeth to Sterling, b 10. Buildeth the caſtell and bzidge, b 20
Julius Ceſar his inuaſion of Bzitaine: note, 44, a 50
Julius hoſt, 44, b 30
Julius Frontinus ſent into Bzitaine, 54, b 30
Jurmirike. ¶ Sæ Irmirike.
Juſtice miniſtred without reſpect of perſons, 131, b 40. Sharpelie and ſpædilie executed: note, 263, b 50. Seuerelie executed againſt offenders, 228, b 50, 60. Vpright & tempered with mercie 229, a 10. Neglected, 39, a 60
Juſts and combats betwixt the Scots and Engliſhmen, 252, b 30. Foz life and death vpon London bzidge, 252, b 40

K.

Kranach aſſaileth Sterling bzidge, he is ekſlones chaſed, comfozted by his nobles, 55, b 40, &c. King of Picts ſlaine by miſfozтune of his owne ſubiects, 56, b 10
Katterans a kind of wild Scots 253, a 50
Keith lozd taken pziſoner, 363, a 20. William ſent vnto the quæne of England, 453, a 20
Keiths, a familie aduanced foz good ſeruice in the field, 166, a 60
Kenedie archbiſhop of ſaint Andzews, 276, b 40. His pzactiſe, 50
Kenedie James archbiſhop gouerneth the realme of Scotland, 279, b 50
Kenneth inueſted king of the Scots, 128, a 20. Fozтified the realme, b 10. Calleth his nobles to reuenge his fathers death, 20. A pzetie ſhift of his to perſuade the nobilitie, 40. Entreth into Sterling ſhire, 129, a 40. Getteth into Mernes, b 40. With hozſemen diſozdzeth the Picts arate, 130, b 10. Cauſeth retreat to be ſounded, b 20. His ozation, 50. Sendeth to Camelon commanding them to ýæld, 131, b 20, His extreame vow, 131, b 60. A pzetie craft vſed by him: note, 132, a 20. His lawes and ozdinances, 133 a 20, &c. Deceaſeth, 134, b 10
Kenneth crowned king, bertuous of life, 153, a 10, &c. His ozation, b 10, &c. Gathereth an armie againſt the Danes, 154, b 60. Setteth his men in arraie, exhozteth them to baliantneſſe, 155, a 10, &c. Wozthilie commended foz his iuſtice, poiſoned his couſins Malcolme, not ſuſpected of the fact, 156, b 50, 60. Requeſteth that the crowne might come by inheritance, 157, a 50, 60. He miniſtred iuſtice truelie, his gilte conſcience, confeſſion of his ſinne, repentance and pilgrimage, 158, a 10, &c. Murthered: note, 158, b 30, 50
Kennethus Keir K. of Scots dieth of the cough, 111, a 30
Kentigerne begotten in a raniſhment, 107, b 60
Kernes, 143, b 20
Killios white ſo named: note, 152, a 10
Killegrew Henrie ſent into Scotland, 410, b 30
Kimbaline king of Bzitons, 45, a 50. Deceaſeth, 45, b 40.
King goeth ſecretlie to France, 318, b 60. To the weſt bozders, 329, a 10. Receiueth the ozder of ſaint Michaell, 382, b 10. Perſuaded to ſtaie the parlement, 382, b 40. He entreth into the quænes pziuie chamber, 382, b 50. Perſuaded by the quæne, 383, a 20. Goeth to Meggat land, 384, a 30. As a ſolitarie perſon goeth to Striueling, murdered, 384, a 60
King, and what miſchiefes inſue foz lacke of one, 204, a 50
Kings, the chooſing of them not allowed, 35, b 50. Of Scotland take vpon them to rule the realme (without pzocuratozs) being within age, 41, b 50. ¶ Sæ England, Scotland.
Kinnatill king of Scotland, 108, a 40. His death, ſurrendereth his kingdome on his death bed, 108, a 60
Kinter inuaded, 336, a 50
Kircawdie cauſeth the pziſoners not to returne at the daie appointed, 409, b 10
Kircawdie James entreth Edenburgh caſtell, 412, a 10
Knights fiftie dubbed, 264, a 20 Thirtie and two of one ſurname, 198, a 40
Knights of the Rhods, 182, b 50
Knights of ſaint Michaels ozder, 337, b 60
Knocklergus white ſo named, 35, a 30

L.

Lancaſter towne burnt, 224 a 10
Langton burnt, 362, b 50
Lawes of king Kenneth: note, 133, a 20, &c. Of king Mackbeth, 171, b 60
Lawes filthie, 45, a 10
Lecherie in James the third, 286, b 10
Legat from Rome with the anſwer made to him, 223, b 20 Foz a collection from the pope, 195, a 60. From pope Clement, his demand, 202, a 10, 20
Legue publiſhed by heralds, and the articles thereof, 123, a 10, 20. Betwæne France and Scotland, 306, a 30. Concluded, 122, b 20, 30. Renewed, 194, a 50, 207, a 60. Betwæne Emdene and Scotland, 360, b 10. Betwæne the Scots, Picts, and Bzitons, 96, a 60 98, a 10, b 40
Leirmouth James ambaſſadoz into England, 322, b 50. ¶ Sæ Liermouth.
Leith beſieged, 368, a 50. Burned, 335, a 10. Fozтified, 348, a 20 367, a 40. 403, a 30. Unpzouided of bittell, 373, b 10
Leneux the earle gathered a power, 314, a 10. Slaine, 314, a 30. Goeth into Scotland, 331, b 60. Conferreth with quæne Dowager, 332, a 10. His diſpleaſure, 332, b 30. He renounceth his ſeruice to the French king, 332, b 40. He ſeizeth on the French ſhips, 332, b 60 Commeth to the gouernour, 333, a 10. He fozтified Glaſcow, 333, a 20. He ſendeth vnto the king of England, 331, b 30. He goeth into England, 335, b 10, He marrieth the ladie Margaret Dowgliſſe, 335, b 10 He is heire to the lozd of Obegnie, 335, b 20. Returneth into Scotland, 335 b 20. In danger to be betraied, 335, b 60. Landeth at Dinnune, 336, a 20. He pzocureth thoſe of the Iles to ſerue the king of England, 338, a 50. He entreth into Scotland, 344, b 40. In doubt what to dw, 344, b 60. Diſſembleth with his diſſemblers, 345, a 10. He with the lozd Wharton inuadeth Scotland, 345, b 50. Commeth into Scotland, 381, a 10 Warden of the eaſt marches, 381, b 60. Pardoned, 383, a 40. He returneth into Scotland, 400, a 10 He carieth Engliſhmen into Scotland, 400, a 40. He commeth to Edenburgh, 400, a 40

Made

Made regent,401,a 10. Goeth against the earle of Cassels,401,b 40. Taken in his lodging,403,b 50. Wounded, 403,b 60. His words before his deth, 404,a 10. His deth, 404, b 10

Leneux & Argile at variance, 114,b 60. ¶ See Earle.

Leneux harried, 168,b 60

Leneux countesse. ¶ See Margaret.

Lesle their familie, 425,a 10 ¶ See Erldome,

Letter of Henrie the eight answering the king of Scots, 297, a 10, &c. Of James the fourth to the king of Portingale, 293,a 20. Of the Scotish king to Henrie the eight, 295,b 40. Of Robert king of Scots to his sonne prince James, 255,b 20, &c. Of the prior of S. Andrews to the French king, 368, b 20. Of the French king to the prior of S. Andrews, 367,b 50. Concerning the marriage of his sonne to the quene of Scots,361,20. Of the nobilitie to the regent, 369,b 30

Libels against king James the second, 275,a 60

Liberalitie of king David the first reproued, 183,a 40

Liberties of Scotland defended, 190,a 10

Liermouth James would haue rescued the cardinall,340,a 20

Liermouth capteine defendeth the counterie against the English, 345,b 30

Lion crowned, 123,b 10

London wone by the Britons 101,b 20

Lordane. ¶ See Lurden.

Lords assemble,312,a 10. Exiled come into Scotland,383, a 10. They make their protestation,383,a 10. Flie into England, 383, a 40. ¶ See Conspiracie and Nobles.

Lorges sent into Scotland, 337,b 50

Lorison ¶ See Twinam.

Loth king of Picts, 98, a 40. Married to Aurelius Ambrose his daughter, 98, b 50. Contrarie to his oth of credence, &c: aideth the Saxons 100,a 60. Requireth the kingdome of Britaine, 101, a 50. ¶ See Gouernement.

Lothian, of whome so named, 105,b 10

Louchhouse castell burnt, 437, a 40

Louchquhaber the reason of the name, 84,b 20

Louet lord slaine, 338,b 10

Lucius king of Britaine dieth, 66,b 50

Lucius Antenous lieutenant of Britaine, 61, b 40. He is wounded, 62,a 10

Lugthake king of Scots, his incontinencie and other vile vices, murthered with a number of his men, 61,a 30

Lugtake crowned at Scone, slaine, 176,b 50

Lurden a terme of reproch how it came vp, 163,b 30

M.

Maconell James, 364,a 50

Magdalene the quene dieth, 320,a 40

Magistrats subiect to spite & enuie, 281,a 10,20

Magnus king of Norwaie cōmeth into the westerne Iles, 180,b 60. Sendeth ambassadors to Alexander, 201,a 10. His release of the Scotish Iles, 201,b 40

Maine the marquesse, 352,a 60

Mainus crowned, confirmed the league with the Picts, deuout in religion, 36, a 40, &c.

Maior of yorke slaine,222,b 20

Makbeth a valiant gentleman, 168,b 20. Sent against the rebels,169,a 30. His crueltie, defamed, a 60. Assaileth the campe of the Danes ouercome with drinke and sléepe, 170, a 50. Made thane of Cawder, deuiseth how he might obteine the kingdome, he slaieth king Duncane, & vsurpeth the crowne, his liberalitie, and studie to aduance iustice, 171, all. His lawes, 171,b 60. His counterfet zeale and equitie, his guiltie conscience, his deuise to slea Banquho & his sonne, 172, b 20, &c. His dread, his crueltie caused through feare 174,a 30, His confidence in wizzards, his crueltie, 174,b 10, 40. His trust in prophesie, 175,b 60. He and Makduffe in armes one against another, 176, a 20. He is slaine,176,a 30. His lawes abrogated, 176,b 50

Makdonald proclamed king of the Iles inuadeth Lorne & Cantire, 119,b 10, &c.

Makdonald Rosse a notable robber notablie punished: note, 263,b 60

Makdowald offereth himselfe to be capteine of the rebels, 168,b 60. He discomfiteth the kings power, slaieth himselfe, his wife and children, his head sent to the king,169 a 10, &c.

Makduffe thane of Fife, 174,a 60. His escape into England,b 40. His aduancement: note, 176,b 10. ¶ See Makbeth.

Makferlane Walter, 336,a 60

Makintosch Lanchlane apprehended, 353,a 30

Makintoschs at variance with the Glenchattens,315, a 10. They raise sedition,315,a 60 Their wonderfull faith to their capteine, 315,b 20

Makpender earle of Merns slaieth K. Duncane,180,b 40

Makulzen and Makbein capteins of pirats:note,190,b 40

Malcolme the sonne of Donald the first, he is created heire apparant, 146, a 10. Escapeth hurts, a 60. Admitted king, 147, a 10. He is murthered, b 10. Seeketh frends against Constantine,159,a 40. Goeth with an armie to fight with Constantine,159,a 60. Poisoned by his couline Kenneth, 156, b 50, 60

Malcolme the sonne of king Kenneth prince of Cumberland, 157,b 30. In armes against Grime for the crowne, 160,a 10, 20, &c. Refuseth the crowne but vpon condition, he is made king, his wisedome in ordering officers, 162, b 10, 20. Sendeth ambassadors to the Danes, 164, a 20. Wounded, 164,b 30. His prater,165,a 30. Hasteth forward to fight with Danes, his oration, b 60. Winneth the field against the Danes, 166, a 50. His ordinances & decrées after peare obteined, 167,b 10, 20, &c. He waxeth auaricious, cruell to purchase riches, conspired against and murthered, 167,a 10, &c.

Malcolme recouers the crown 176, a 40. His manlie courage against a conspirator, 177, a 30. Marrieth Margaret, sister to Edgar Ethelling, 177, b 10. In armes against William conquerour, 177,b 60. Giueth himselfe to deuotion, 178,b 40. Restoreth & erecteth bishops sées, 178,b 60. Slaine in battell, 179,b 50. A builder of churches,179,a 60,b 10. His sons 180, a 40

Malcolme the sonne of Henrie proclamed prince of Scotland,185, a 30. Summoned to do homage,185,b 60. Beginneth his reigne, his education,185, b 20. Goeth with king Henrie into France, 185, b 60. Reproued by his nobles, goeth to yorke, sentence against him, besieged, hated of his people, 186,a 10, &c. Meaneth to gouerne in vpright iustice, not persuaded to take a wife, his death. 187,a 20, 60, b 20

Maldwin inuested king of the Scots, a louer of peace and iustice,114,b 60. Went about to punish the authors of a commotion,115,a 10. Buildeth the church of the abbie of Colmekill,30. Strangled in his bed, 60.

Mallerie the viceadmerall of France, 348,a 40

Man Ile spoiled, 148,b 60

Manlius Valens inuadeth the Picts, 51,a 10

Mar earle made regent, 407, a 20. Died, 410,a 60

Mar, for Marthea, 84,b 20

Margaret quene of Norwaie deceaseth, 203,a 10

Margaret Dowglasse countesse of Leneux, some part of hir life,414,b 40, &c. Hir deth, epitaph, statelie descent, &c: note. 415,a 30, &c.

Marie the quene of Scots borne,329,b 10. Seuen daies old when she began hir reigne 330,a 20. A motion made for hir to marrie king Edward the sixt,330,b 10. She is committed to the lord Leuinstone 330,a 20. Hir mariage to king Edward confirmed,331,a 10, The French king misliketh the match,331,a 40. Conueied to Stering, 332, a 20. Crowned, 332,b 10. Order taken for hir custodie, 332, b 10. She goeth to Mentith, 343, b 10. Conueied into France, 347, a 60. Hir diligence,350,b 40. She giueth the gouernment of the realme to the quene mother, 357, a 40. She goeth to Inuernesse, 358,b 60. She goeth on progresse for iustice cause,359, a 30. Hir dowrie in France, 362,a 50. Hir mariage to the Dolphin of France,362,a 60, She requireth a matrimoniall crowne of Scotland to be giuen vnto hir husband,365,a 20. She writeth out of France to the prior of saint Andrews,368,a 40. She dieth,374,a 70. Hir praise, 374, b 10. She goeth into Lorraine 375,a 50. Causes to make hir state in France, 375, a 60. She commeth to Calis,377, a 62. Arriueth at Leith, 377,a 70. Hir coitie iewels and houshold stuffe,377,b 40. She visiteth the townes of Scotland,378,b 10. Maketh hir progresse into the north parts 379,b 10. Maketh a progresse to Atholl,381,a 10. She goeth into Fife,381, a 20. She marrieth the Lord Dernelie, 381,b 10. She sendeth into France for aid,382,a 50, She conferreth with the king,383 a 10. She commeth to Edenburgh,383,a 60. She agreeth the nobilitie, 383,a 10. Taketh hir chamber for to be deliuered of child, 383, b 10. Sendeth vnto the quene of England and to the king of France,383,b 20, Sendeth for the nobilitie against hir deliuerance,383, b 50. She goeth to Allowaie, 384,a 10. Sendeth for godfathers for hir sonne,384, a 20. She goeth into Meggat land, 384,a 30. She burieth hir husband not farre from Dauid Richio 384,b 20. Taken by force by Bothwell,384,b 20. Maried Bothwell,384,b 40. He excuseth the mariage vnto the French king,384,b 50. She gathereth a power,387, a 40. She is taken of the lords, 387, a 40. Imprisoned in Lochleuine,387, b 50. Surrendreth hir title to hir sonne, 388, a 40. Escapeth out of Lochleuine,391,b 60. Gathereth a power,391, b 60. Discomfited,392,b 10. Flieth into England,392,b 40. Committed to sir Rafe Sadler, 443,a 60. Committed to sir Amies Pawlet, 443,50

Marie Magdalens date prosperous for the Englishmen to fight against the Scots, 210,b 40

Mariage of the kings daughter,and his sonne the prince of Scotland, 202,b 60

Mariage repented, 244, a 50, Incestuous. 275,b 10

Marius made king of Britaine 52,b 60. Doubteth rebellion of his subiects,59,b 60. Compelleth the Romans to leaue the north parts, 60, a 10. Slaine, 81,b 60

Marnachus, thane of Buckquhane, 166,b 40

Marquesse Dorset appointed to keepe Berwike, 311,a 60

Martignes a forward capteine but an vntrue prophet, 372,a 30

Martyrs, 138,a 30

Maximian sent ouer into Britaine,85,a 50. Causeth them to joine with him against the Romans 60. Pursueth the victorie,85,b 60. Taketh vpon him the absolute gouernment of Britaine, with the imperiall title, 86,a 30. Granteth peace to Scots, 86,a 60

Maximus his practise to destroie the Scots, 76, a 60. Sendeth to Heirgust king of Picts,b 10. Sendeth an herald to Eugenius, raiseth a mightie power, inuadeth the Scotish regions,40,50, 60. His feigned greefe, 77, a 50. Approcheth towards the Scots,60. His sudden arriuall,b 30. Granteth peace to the Irish, and seeketh by his bountious liberalitie to win

Ruled

the people,79,b 60. Choſen emperoꝛ in Bꝛitaine,80,a 20. Ruled the eſtate ſeuentéene yeeres, 30
Marſwell lord inuadeth England,311,b 60. Heareth maſſe, 453,b 40
Marſwell John deliuered out of pꝛiſon, 399,b 17
Marſwell Robert baſe bꝛother to the earle Moꝛton, 437, a 16
Marſwels would not be ſubiect to the earle of Arraine, 437, b 40
Mentith John capteine of Dunbꝛetton caſtell: note,220 b 20
Mercie notable exemplified, 143, a 60
Merherns were men of goodlie ſtature, 52,b 10
Mernes and Angus cruellie puniſhed, 129,b 50
Meſures an oꝛdinance foꝛ them 264,a 60
Metellan K. of Scots, 45,a 50 becommeth friend to the Romans,45,a 60. Departeth the woꝛld, b 10
Milke caſtell ꝓuided, 344,a 10
Miniſters called home, 448,b 60
Miracle,111,a 20. Of a child healed, 193,a 50
Miracles,220,a 20: note,254,a 20
Mogall admitted king, ſtudieth to redꝛes abuſes,61,a 60. Beloued of his ſubiects, b 10. Requireth a reſtitution of wꝛongs done by the Romans, ꝓpareth to warres, exhoꝛteth his men vnto valiantneſſe,20,30,&c. Thꝛough pꝛide abuſeth himſelfe in ſundꝛie kinds of vices, conſpired againſt,flieth out of his owne houſe,murthered,62,b 50, 60
Molocke a ꝓeacher, 112,a 20
Monaſteries of Scotiſhmen in Germanie, 123,b 30
Monie,and a deuiſe to get it foꝛ king James the fourth,291,a 50
Monſieur de la Marenne ſent out of France to aid the part of Margaret quéene of England, 279,b 60
Monſieur de Bauter ſlaine by the lord of Woodburne, 306,a 10
Monſter boꝛne,59, a 50. Of a ſtrange foꝛme and of no leſſe ſtrange qualities: note,288,a 10,&c.
Monſters,268,a 10. Strange: note, 146,b 40
Montgomerie earle of Eglinton ſlaine, 457,a 40
Mone new woꝛſhipped,36,b 20
Monke poiſoneth the gouernour of Scotland,and is burned, 229,a 60, b 10,&c.
Monks were ꝓeachers, 112,a 30. Called the white monks, 182,b 50
Moꝛauians helpe to appꝛehend théeues and offenders, 53,b 10. All ſlaine, 52,b 60
Moꝛdacke king of Scots a louer of peace, deceaſeth: note, 117,b 10,&c.
Moꝛdacke the kings lieutenant beareth with offenders,118,a 40. Put to death, b 10
Moꝛdacke obteineth the earledome of Roſſe, 433,b 50
Moꝛdo. ¶ Sée duke.
Moꝛdꝛed, the opinion which men conceiued of him foꝛ his wit and toWardlineſſe, deſirous to be reuenged,103,a 50 b 60. Complaineth to king Arthur,foꝛ that Conſtantine was created heire apparent, 105,b 10. Succéedeth Loth in the kingdome of Pictland, 105,b 10. He and Eugenius perſuaded to peace,106, a 20. Is ſlaine, 106,a 60. His lignage quite extinct,107,a 20. ¶ Sée Gawen.
Moꝛton earle made regent,410 b 20. Put to the woꝛſt,402, b 60. Surrendꝛeth his regentſhip,416,b 10. His examination,429,b 10. He is beheaded, 433,a 60
Moſes capteine generall vnder Pharo, his doings not followed, he fled, called out of Madian into Egypt, not regarded,29,a 30,40,&c.b 10,&c.
Mowbꝛaie ſir Philip knight, valiant: note,216,b 20. ¶ Sée Beaumont.
Mudiard appꝛehended, 357,a 60. Yéeldeth to the quéene,358, b 40
Murkettus (an inuadoꝛ) with manie moꝛe hanged,44, b 50, 60
Muredac. ¶ Sée Mudiard.
Murreie Andꝛew fellow gouernour with the earle of March, 231, b 50. Taken pꝛiſoner,a 60. Commeth out of the mountains, his waſt, &c: 237,a 60. His victoꝛies, 237,b 10. Deceaſeth,238,a 40
Murreie William departeth from the kings faction, 391, a 60
Murreie earle a ſutoꝛ vnto the quéene, 381,a 40. Earle regent ſlaine, 397,b 20
Murreis rebell,diſcomfited and ouerthꝛowne, 186,b 50. Deſtroied, 187,a 10
Murreieland, 53,a 10
Murret monſieur, 352,a 50
Murther deteſtable, 42, a 60 Moſt cruell, 40,b 60, Of one foꝛ another,117,a 30. Sulpected & tried by the racke: note, 118,a 20. Whereafter inſued open war,274,b 40. By miſfoꝛtune: note,56,b 10. Moſt ſhamefull of K. Duffe: note, 150,b 10,&c. How puniſhed, 151,b 20. Of a king done by his owne hands on himſelfe, 43,a 50. ¶ Sée Conſpiracie.
Murtherer murthered,70,b 50, 60: note, 125,b 60
Murtherers boꝛne in peeces with wild hoꝛſſes: note, 147, b 20
Mulgraue Thomas, capteine of Werwike,pꝛiſoner, 246,a 50
Mutinie among ſouldioꝛs, 59,a 60. Among the people of Louchquhaber, 168,b 40

N

Narne caſtell beſieged, 164,a 10, yéeloed by compoſition, b 50
Nathalocus choſen king, pꝛoclaimed, 68, b 60. Goeth to Dunſtafage to be inthꝛoniſed,69,a 10. Sæketh loue of his nobles by bꝛibes, putteth ſuch to death as he ſuſpecteth, 60. Murthered, b 10
Nectanus king of Picts bꝛother to another Nectanus dieth of hurts receiued in field, 75,b 60. Warreth vpon the Scots,75,a 20. Deſirous of reuenge, 40. Inuadeth the Scotiſh confines, 60. Refuſeth all offers of peace, b 10. Slaine, 30
Nobles created,275,b 40. Conſpire againſt Thereus, 39,a 60. Haue the gouernment giuen them by lots, 34, b 60 Slaine in battell, 210, b 30 Their pꝛeſumptuous demeanoꝛ,283,a 50. Diuided, 175,b 50. Sweare to ſtand to the king of Englands oꝛder,206, b 40. Swoꝛne to king Edward,213,a 10. Baniſhed into England,230,a 30. Dꝛaw their ſwoꝛds at a parlement, and whie: note, 222, b 60 Conſpire, and are committed to ward,223,b 10,20,&c. Diſcontented with the kings doings,149,a 40, They murmur,and whie,50. Set Witches on woꝛke to bewitch their king, 150,a 10. Goto wꝛacke,146,a 50. Slaine and taken pꝛiſoners, 241, b 40 Slaine at Duplin, 231,a 10 Raiſe an armie againſt king James the fourth, ouerthꝛowne,287,b 20. Summoned,284,b 20. Thꝛough feare conſent to creat Gillus king, 42,a 20. Committed to cuſtodie,448,b 40. ¶ Sée Diſſention.
Noꝛman of paſſing ſtrength ouerthꝛowne by a Scot, 202,b 30
Noꝛthumberland, when it firſt began to be ſo called, 95,b 60 A poꝛtion thereof reſtoꝛed to the Scots,188,a 30. Taketh part with king Malcolme, 177,b 60. Vnder the Engliſhmen, 189,a 50. Allotted vnto England,147,a 60. Inuaded, 249,a 10. ¶ Sée Inalaſſus.
Noꝛwaie, the king therof reſigneth his title to the out Iles, 280,b 30
Noꝛwegians come to the eid of Inalaſſus, 148,a 40. Put to flight, 200,a 60. Their fleet ſunke by vehement winds, 170,b 10. ¶ Sée Echo.
Nothatus crowned king and murthered, 37,a 30

O

Obeliſks, 38,b 60,166,a 60
Occa returneth out of Germanie with a new power,101,b 60. Flieth by ſea into Kent,96,b 30. He and Paſcentius returne into Bꝛitaine,99,a 60. Conſtreined to flie,103,a 10. King ſlaine,100, 60
Octauius obteineth the rule of Bꝛitaine,73,b 60. Coueteth to inlarge his dominion,74,a 10. Entreth amitie with the Engliſh king, becommeth tributarie to the Romane emperoꝛ,40,50. Vanquiſhed flieth into Scotland, 73,a 10
Odonell the great of Ireland ꝓffered fréendſhip vnto James the fourth, 295,b 10
Offenders put in feare,118,b 10 Thꝛée thouſand within two yeares ſpace put to death, 263,b 50. ¶ Sée Pardon.
Officers created,411,b 60. New made,380,b 60. Changed,357, b 60. Of king Edward chaſed out of Scotland, 211,b 40
Olaus and Godꝛedus diuide the kingdome of the Iles betweene them, 201,a 60
Oliuer a Scot in ſeruice with the Saracens to their loſſe and hinderance, 191,b 30
Onetus a Daniſh captein ſlain, 165,a 60
Oꝛation of Colman in the hearing of king Achaius: note, 120,b 60. Of Albian a noble man,121,b 20. Of king Dauid to his nobles at the death of his ſonne, 184, a 60, b 10, &c. Of the Scotiſh ambaſſadoꝛs to the French king, to excuſe the mariage of Bothwell,384,b 60. Of an ambaſſadoꝛ to Acho K. of Noꝛwaie, 198, b 60. Of Leſle againſt the earle of Murrie, 376,b 20 Of the Q. Dowager at hir deth to the nobilitie,373, b 44 Of a biſhop ainſt the Romiſh clergie,185,b 10,&c. Of Kenneth king of Scots, 130,b 50 Of Thomas Randolph ſent into Scotland, 397,b 50
Oꝛdonices miſtaken by the Scots, 53,b 40
Oꝛgan an accuſer, &c. Slaine within liſts: note, 180,b 10
Oꝛgans bꝛought to Scotland, 264,b 10
Oꝛkneie Whie called Pictland, 37,b 60
Oꝛkneie Iles and Shetland ingaged, 281,b 20,50
Oſbert put to flight, 133,a 10 His pꝛouiſion by water taken,20. He and Ella kings of Noꝛthumberland, 134, b 60 He and Ella ſlaine, 139,b 50
Oſtrike an infidell, 113,a 50
Oſtoꝛius Scapula ſent into Bꝛitaine, 49,a 40. Incouꝛageth his Romans to fight,50, a 20
Oth of king James the firſt at a parlement, 262, a 60. Of knights in Noꝛwaie to reuenge the death of their fréends, 170, b 20. ¶ Sée Fealtie, Loth.
Outlawes. ¶ Sée Bꝛudeus, Conrane.
Oxfoꝛdſhire aſſaulted, 49,b 20

P

Paladius ſent into Scotland, 89,b 20. Their apoſtle, 30
Palmer: ¶ Sée Pilgrime.
Pardon none to offenders foꝛ the ſpace of ſeuen yeares,286, a 60. Generall to rebels: note, 287,b 30,277,a 30. Granted by the gouernoꝛ are void,263, b 40
Paris. ¶ Sée Uniuerſitie.
Parlement ſummoned, 403,b 10. Holden,375,a 20,382,b 60 359,a 70. At ſaint Andꝛews, 444,a 40. At Edenburgh,391 a 10. 402,b 10. 380,b 60. 361,b 30. 365,a 10. 358,b 10. 410,b 60 411,a 20. 455,b 60. 456, a 10. 456,b 30. At Stꝛiueling,381, a 20.
Parlement of the thꝛée eſtates, 286,a 60
Parlement called the Blacks parlement, 223,a 40
Parlements after what oꝛder held in Scotland, 442,b 20. Nicknamed,442,b 60. Running parlement, 443,a 10
Paſcentius. ¶ Sée Occa.
Paſſeie taken,401,b 10. Beſieged by the regent, 401, b 10 Surrendered to the regent, 401,b 20
Patilocke called Le petit roy de Gaſcoigne, 261,a 60
Patꝛike Dunbar banquiſheth théeues, made erle of March, his armes, 177,a 10
Paris. ¶ Sée Paris.
Peace intreated,352,a 10. Concluded,318,b 50,456,b 60,352, a 10,358,a 10

Peace betweene England and Scotland, 290, b 30. 360, b 30
Articles thereof, 374, b 40. At Notingham, 284, b 60. Concluded for three yeares, 285, a 10. 319, a 10. Concluded betwixt the Danes and Scots, 170, b 40. Betweene king John and king William of Scotland, 193, a 10. Concluded betweene the lords of the religion and the queene, 367. Betweene England and France, 302, b 60. In Scotland, 291, b 60. Concluded for want of power to maintaine battell, 167, a 50. Exhorted vnto after wars, 34, b 30, 40
Pelagian heresie, 89, b 20. ¶ See Heresie.
Penda king of Mercia, 114, b 50
Perkin Warbecke, 288, b 50. Marrieth the earle of Huntlies daughter, 289, b 10. In article for him, 290, a 10. Went into Ireland to come into Flanders, 30
Persecution. ¶ See Christians.
Persie earle of Northumberland, 246, a 30. ¶ See Henrie Hotspur.
Persies Rafe and Henrie prisoners, 250, a 10
Persies with others conspire against Henrie the fourth, 254, b 40
Persies, their name and originall, 179, b 60
Perth a towne builded and priuileged, 193, b 20. Otherwise called saint Johns towne, 216, a 60. Besieged, 238, b 30, 366, b 60. Surrendred, 239, a 10
Pertinax sent as lieutenant to Britaine, dryueth backe the Scots and Picts, chosen emperor, 65, b 30, 40
Pestilence, the first cõming of it into Scotland, 203, b 50. The second that was heard of in Scotland, 242, a 10. The third time in Scotland, 246, b 10
Pestilence and derth great, 115, a 40
Petilius Cerealis a Romane capteine sent into Britaine, 53, b 30. His men slaine, & he returneth, 52, a 30. Dieth, 54, b 30
Philosophers thorough shipwracke arriue in Scotland: note, 39, b 50
Physicians & surgeans, a law for them, 39, a 20
Picts and Scots ioine their powers, and enter into their enimies lands, 61, b 30. Ouerthrowne by the Romans, 53, b 40. Vanquished, 129, a 60. Sue for peace, b 30. Desire aid of the Scots against Romans, 61, b 10. Their cruell dealing, 78, b 50. Punished for their vntruth, 82, a 50. ¶ See Victorine. Become tributarie, put to base seruices, cõmanded to dwell beyond the water of Forth, diuided from the Britons by a wall, 80, b 10, &c: 50, 60. Are forbidden to creat a king, 80, b 10. Offended with Maximus, 79, a 10. Their king vanquished, 93, a 60. Stand in feare of the king of Britaine, 91, b 60. Their king refuseth to be in league with the Romans, 54, b 60. Burne the citie of Tuline, 57, a 60. Send for aid to K. Gald, 55, b 60. Brought to agreement among themselues, 56, b 30. Mone warre against the Romans, ouerthrow their forragers, 50, b 30 40. Ioine with Scots and Britons against the Romans, 64, b 60. Send to the Scots for aid, 51, a 30. Chose Feredeth to be their king, 126, a 10. Their hope deceiued, 136, b 40. Went into Denmarke and Norwaie, 50. Miserable slaine without regard of person, their whole nation destroied, 132, a 40, 60. Remaining after a great slaughter dispersed, 132, b 60. Giue God thanks for victorie, 128, a 20. Fall at variance among themselues, 40. Purpose to be reuenged on the Britons by open warre, 105, b 60. Beginne the battell rashlie, 127, b 60. Exiled require aid of the Englishmen, 134, b 50. Came into Scotland out of Germanie, 31, b 60. Came first to Orkeneie, &c: make strong holds, require women of the Scots, good husbandmen, become enimies vnto the Scots, 32, a 10, &c: b 10, &c. Admonished by their wiues to peace, moued to pitie, 33, b 40, 50. ¶ See Constancie and Policie.
Pictland parted vnto diuerse men, 131, a 30. ¶ See Orkneie.
Pilgrime with letters of conspiracie in a staffe: note, 223, a 20
Pirat. ¶ See Crab.
Pirats put to death on the wheele, 190, b 50
Placidus lieutenant of Britaine, his exploits, seeketh to haue peace, 84, a 20, &c. Dieth, b 50
Planctius sent forth with an armie against Caratake, setteth vpon the Scotish campe, 48, b 10, 20, &c. Left a gouernour, prepareth to meet the Scots, failleth sicke, dieth, 49, a 10, 20, &c.
Pledges sent into England, 370, a 10. Executed, 346, b 20. ¶ See Hostages.
Poison giuen but preuented, 284 b 10. To the gouernour practised, 229, a 60. Of Malcolme brought into suspicion, 156, b 60. ¶ See Vter.
Policie, 239, a 60, 142, b 10. Subtill, 243, a 60. Craftie, 106, a 50 wonderfull, 127, b 40, 60. To affright horses, 246, a 40. Of king Edward to win Berwike, 207. b 60. Of a queene, 268, a 60. Of the English to vanquish the Scots, 188, b 20 Of the Picts to escape danger, 95, b 20. Of the Scots, 95, a 10. To relieue in the time of dearth, 209, b 40
Pomonia now Kirkwale, 46, a 20
Powre pittied, 185, b 10. Cared for, 182, b 60
Pope and king John at dissention, 193, b 50. Hath a thousand marks sent hym out of Scotland, 202, a 40. Sent to intreat for peace, 284, b 60. His present to K. William of Scotland: note, 192, b 40. Sendeth a rose and a sceptre to the king of Scotland, 288, b 30. His buls published, 303, a 30. His ambassadors not regarded, 233, b 20. His authoritie abolished, 391, a 20
Prater of Faere, 112, b 40. Of king Malcolme, 165, a 30
Prayers publike made for deliuerance from the Danes, 167, b 20
Preachers, 112, a 10, 20
Preaching despised, 159, a 30
Prests to be tried before secular iudges, 122, b 60. Liuings prouided for them, 36, b 20. which should oneie attend their vocation, 137, a 50
Present of horsses and hounds, 71, a 60. ¶ See Horsses.
Presumption, 283, a 50
Printing first inuented, 277, b 60
Prior of S. Andrewes. ¶ See Letter.
Prises of Englishmen foureteene taken, 295, a 30
Prisoner. ¶ See Captiuitie.
Prisoners breaking promise how disgraced, 250, b 10. Taken on the king and queenes part, 410, a 10
Priuilege for all the Scotish kings to be anointed, 181, a 50
Priuileges granted to Makduffes linage, 176, b 10. Granted to the towne of Dundee, 192, a 40. Granted to the vniuersitie of saint Andrewes, 264, b 10
Procession in signe of reioising, 292, a 30
Processions solemne for victorie gotten, 170, b 20
Proclamation published by the nobilitie, 446, a 50
Promise breakers how disgraced. ¶ See Prisoners.
Prophesie, 114, a 60. Of saint Colme, 111, a 50. Of Kinnatill, 108, a 50. Of a tempest, 203, a 60. Of a witch, 267, b 40. Of three women supposed to be fairies, 170, b 60
Prophesies, 32, b 10, Moue men to vnlawfull attempts, 171, a 50. Of the dukes of England and Scotland, 434, b 40. Trusted, 175, b 60
Prosperitie changeth conditions, 63, b 10
Protectors of Scotland their catalog, 417, a 40
Prouerbe, Man purposeth, but God disposeth, verified, 200, b 60
Pronost. ¶ See Edenburgh.
Pursuants sent into England and France, 295, a 50

Q.

Quarell. ¶ See Fraie.
Quaterage kept by the Scots for defense of their liberties, 361, b 10
Quene of England desirous to speake with the queene of Scots, 379, a 40. Disuadeth the marriage of the lord Darnelie with the Scotish queene, 381, a 30. Sendeth to the queene of Scots, 382, a 60. Hir answer to the queene of Scots, 383, b 30
Quene Annabell deceaseth, 253, b 60
Quene Dowager fled with hir sonnes into Ireland, 104, b 60
Quene Jane of Scots deliuered of two sonnes at one birth, 264, a 20. Deceaseth, 197, a 10
Quene Margaret dieth for greefe, 180, a 10. Hir bones translated, 197, b 50
Quene Mand deceaseth, 183, b 10
Quene mother maried, 302, b 60. In armes, 313, a 64, Deceaseth, 280, a 20. ¶ See Marie.
Quene Regent of Scotland, 302, a 10
Quene of Scots doubted of hir owne people: note, 305, b 10. Taketh the gouernement into hir hands, 312, a 50. Hir faction ouercome, 409, a 60
Quene, a murtherer, hir confession: note, 119, a 20. Giueth hir owne sentence, and executeth hir selfe: note, 50 60
Quene slaine in sted of hir husband, 117, a 30
Quene of Scots. ¶ See Marie.
Quenes, their meeting appointed betweene them, 379, a 50

R.

Racke. ¶ See Suspicion.
Ramsete Alexander so renowmed, that euerie noble man was glad to haue his sonne and kinsman serue vnder him, 239, b 40. Imprisoned, 60
Randolph Thomas ambassador, 397, b 50. Sent ambassador into Scotland, 433, b 10 453, b 50
Ransome gentle and tollerable, 143, b 10. Of king James, 261, b 40
Rasin cheefe generall of the Danes in England, 141, a 50
Raushment, 107, b 60. Reuenged, 92, a 10. ¶ See Fleance.
Rebell. ¶ See Gilespie.
Rebels cruell, 186, b 50. Seuerelie punished: note, 192, b 20. Pursued by the king, apprehended and executed, 150, a 30. Kill a sargent at armes, 168, b 50. Sharpelie punished, 229, a 10. In armes against James the third, & kill him, 287, a 10, 20, &c
Rebellion in Cornewall, 289, b 30. In England of Jacke Straw, 247, a 20. In Wales, 258, a 20. In Kent, 77, a 30. In Galloway, 178, a 50, And Murrete, 60. Of commons that beheaded their king, 53, a 60. Moued by Donald of the Iles, 257, a 20. Of Gothred forteth to an euill end, 193, b 30. Moued by the Murreis, 186, b 50. Practised: note, 149, b 10, 20. To how euill an end it forteth: note, 279, a 40, 50, 60. With ill successe, 189, b 20, &c. ¶ See Commotion, Treason.
Regents of Scotland their catalog, 417, a 40
Regicides. 104, b 50
Reingraue returneth into France, 349, b 10
Religion Scotish reprooued, 40, a 10. Disputed of, 366, b 10 375, a 20. Certeine burnt therefore, 321, a 60. Established, 377, b 60
Religious houses ouerthrowen in Edenburgh, 367, a 10
Report. ¶ See Fame.
Request of Hate: note, 156, a 10
Reutha king of Scots, 38, b 30
Resigneth the state roiall to his cousine Thereus, 39, a 60
Reuther crowned king, conspired against, fled, pursued, pardoned of life, 37, a 50, &c. b 30. Escapeth danger, passeth into Ireland, is sent for, his death,

death, 38,a 40,&c.b 10,&c.
Reutherdale whie ſo named, 38,b 30
Rhene and Heſſen now called Hochrug,&c: note, 57,b 10
Richard king of England inuadeth Scotland, 248,a 40. Depoſed, iudged to perpetuall priſon, eſcapeth, deceaſeth, 253,a 10
Richard the third would not deliuer the caſtell of Dunbar, ouerthrowne by the earle of Richmond, 286,a 20
Richard de ſancto victore, 182, b 50
Richmondſhire redeemed from ſpoile with a ſumme of monie, 223,b 50
Right miniſtreth hope of good ſucceſſe, 85,b 10
Riot. ¶ Sée Scotland.
Riotouſnes the mother of ſickenneſſes, 115,a 50
Robbers puniſhed, 142,b 20
Robert the ſonne of William conqueror, 178,a 20
Robert duke of Normandie whie he was not king of Jeruſalem, 181,a 60
Robin hood and little John his companion, 202,a 10
Roges puniſhed,154,a 20.¶ Sée Vagabonds.
Rome ſacked, 81,a 40
Romacus ſéeketh meanes to deſtroie his couſins, receiued for king, gouerneth tyrannicallie, apprehended and put to death, 74,b 10,&c.
Romans following too forward ſlie the chaſe receiue damage, 77,a 60. Prouaile againſt the Scots,b 60. Withdraw into Cantire,&c: 60,a 20. Thorough policie vanquiſh the Scots,49,a 20. Paſſe thorough Calidon wood ouer the riuer of Tmond, 57, a 50. Their ſhips through want of pilots loſt in Pictland frith 58,a 20. Withdraw to their campe and the Scots to the mountains,58,b 40. In purſuing vnaduiſedlie diſtreſſed, 59, a 10. Their fléet ſaileth round about the north point of Albion,59,a 40. Determined againe to fight with the Scots, fierſlie aſſault them, put to flight, require a communication, ſubmit themſelues as vanquiſhed, depart out of Gallowaie, giue vp all their holds and fortreſſes,60, a 10,&c: b 10,&c. Diſcomfited, 59, b 10. Withdraw to Tuline, ſend vnto Marius king of Britaine for aid,b 60. Giue battell to the Britons, fortune fauoureth them, 47,a 20 b 60. The people of Gallowaie dow ſubmit themſelues vnto them, 48,b 40. Trained forth into ambuſhes and ſo diſtreſſed,50,b 40. Slaine,52, a 50. Put to flight and ouerthrowne,52,b 20. Thrée ſcore and ten thouſand ſlaine, 20. Ouerthrow the Scots and Picts,52,b 60. Put to flight, 62,a 10. Inuade Scotiſh borders, 61,b 10. Their campe aſſailed in the night by Voadicia,54,a 60. Vanquiſhed, 51,a 10. Slaine,72,b 50. Flée, and ſlaine, 73,b 40,50.¶ Sée Picts and Scots.
Romera Iulianus diſtreſſed, 351,b 30
Roſe caſtell taken, 374,a 20
Rothſaie a tranſporter of the Scots,&c. 31,b 20
Rowland in fauour with the king of England made lord of Gallowaie, 205, b 20, 30. Conſtable of Scotland, 40.
Roxburgh in old time called Marken,183, b 60. The caſtell taken & broken downe, 278,b 60
Ruſſell ſir Francis knight ſlaine,444,a 30. His epitaphs 444,b 10
Ruthwen lord repenteth, 383, b 30. Commeth to Hawike, 409,a 60
Ruthwen william cõmeth with a power to Dtiburge, 409, a 10
Rutland earle goeth into Scotland, 456,b 50. ¶ Sée Erle.

S.

SAcrabell king of Scots ſéeketh to deſtroie ſuch as were in fauour with his predeceſſors, conſpired againſt, ſtrangled by his owne ſeruants, 66,b 10,&c.
Sadler ſir Rafe ſent to Scotland, 330,b 50
Saint Andrews quondam called ſaint Reule,134,a 60. His croſſe,124,a 60. The Scottiſh mens patrone, b 10, 30. The caſtell beſieged by the French 340, b 60. Yelded, 340, a 10.
Saint Colme indued with the ſpirit of ſecret knowledge,deceaſeth,110,b 10,40. His prophecie of Engenius,111,a 50. He commeth ouer forth of Ireland into Scotland, 107, b 30. Returneth into Ireland, 108,a 10
Saint Cutberts banner, 181, a 20
Saint Germane preacheth to the campe, 99, b 60. Leadeth their fore ward, beareth the kings ſtandard, 100,a 10
Saint Johns towne beſieged, 231, a 60. Fortified, b 10. Wone,20. ¶ Sée Picts.
Saint Phillane, 217,b 60
Saint Reule commeth into Fife,76, a 40. ¶ Sée Saint Andrews.
Saluation of an Hillandman, 197,b 10
Sanctuaries, 90,b 60
Saracens loſe the citie of Acon, 191,b 60
Saturdaie after none to be kept holie, 192,b 40
Saxons incounter with the Scots,96,b 20, Vanquiſhed, expelled out of Kent, flie out of Britaine,30,&c. Placed in Kent,95,b 50. Engliſh breakers of promiſe,121,b 30. Reſiſted by the Scots & Picts: note, 100,b 20,&c. Miraculouſlie diſcomfited, 100, a 10. Chaſed, made their race towards Yorke,&c,101,b 50. In hope of good ſucceſſe begin the wars againſt the Scots with bloud,93,a 40 Receiued vpon their ſubmiſſion,103,a 10. Diſcomfit & diſcomfited, 103, b 10,&c: 104,a 10 Their hatred towards the Britiſh prieſts,110,b 60. Conuerted by biſhop Colman, 114, b 40. Put to flight,102,b 60. Vanquiſhed,and diuerſe idolaters of them burned, 98, b 10, &c: 60. Vanquiſhed by the Britons become their tributaries,101,b 10. In danger of an ouerthrow,95,a 60. Firſt inhabited in Lindſeie,againſt the Scots and Picts, 94,b 20,40 A new power cõmeth ouer into Britaine, 94,b 10. Their women praiſed and the Britons noted of cowardice,93,a 60. Returne into England and driue the Britons into Wales, 107, a 30. ¶ Sée Feare.
Scone abbeie repared, 182,a 50. The abbeie burnt, 366,b 60
Scorpions two found in Scotland, 294,a 10
Scota daughter to Pharo, 29, b 10
Scot Adam of Tuſhlaw named king of theeues, 317,a 40
Scot John an Engliſhman, he taught king Alured, killed of his owne ſcholers, 144, b 50, 60
Scot Thomas, 408,b 50
Scots plagued for their beaſtlie crueltie,78,b 30. They and Picts purſue the Britons, 94, a 20. Aſſembled againſt the Romans, 85,b 10. Inuade the Britons, 86, b 10. Their carters furious rage, 78,a 20. Their king doth fealtie to the king of England for Scotland, 189, a 60, Slaine by the Romans, 77, b 60. Their battell ouerthrowne,78,a 10. Indamage the Picts, 77, a 40. Repaire into Ireland,79,b 10. Ioine with the Iriſh, both encounter the Picts, and are ouerthrowne,30.40,&c. All not of one mind, 53, b 60. Agrée to fight with the Romans. 54,a 10. Diſcomfited, 20. Durſt not fight with the Romans, ſubmit themſelues, 54, a 10, &c: b 60. Deceiued with a counterfet troope of horſſemen, fled, 128, a 10. Honorable receiued of Carolus the French king, 123, a 10. Raiſe the wall of Abircorne, 87,b 60. They and Picts put in feare of the Saxons valiancie,100, b 20, &c. Put to flight,101,a 10. Liue in quiet, 133,a 10. They and Danes ioine battell,138,b 10. Their immoderate iote for victorie making them fall out, b 50. Conſult to elect them a new king,35,a 50. They & Picts twentie thouſand ſlaine, 10, b 60. Giuen to hunting and hawking,32,a 60. Sée the new feats,30,b 20. Arriue in Ireland,40. When they received the chriſtian faith, 68, a 10. How they came to be ſo called,29,b 10. Slanderouſlie writ againſt the Engliſh: note, 310,a 60. They and French retire ouer the water, they burne Glendale, enter into England, 311,a 60, b 10,40. Baniſhed out of England, 308,a 40. A great diſorder in their campe,135, a 30. Suddenlie inuaded,50. Twentie thouſand ſlaine, 60. That went with Lewis the king of France into Aegypt,197,a 60. They and Picts inuade the Britains,34, a 40. Reuenge iniuries done them, 32, b 30. Send for aid into Ireland,40. Slaine,343,a 60. Aſſure themſelues vnto the Engliſh,344,a 60. They deliuer pledges,345,b 20. Aſſured and yet reuolt, 346, a 30. Put to flight,346,a 60. Their crueltie,349,b 60. They gain by ſpoile,350,a 30. They inuade England,360,b 60. Reſiſted by the erle of Weſtmerland,361,a 10. Breake vp their armie, 361,a 30. Diſcomfited by the earle of Northumberland,361,a 60. They aſſaile the Engliſh at Swinton,362 b 60. Their horſſemen flie, 363,a 10. Footmen ſlaine,363, a 10. Put to flight at Gordon, 363,a 50 Vanquiſhed, 368,a 50. Repell their enimies at Bonuill,412, a 60. Denie their furtherance to the writing of the annals of Scotland,414, b 10. Put to flight beſides Brege,414,b 30. Obteine victories in the low countries,422,b 30.435,b 60. Inhabit the Ile of Rothſaie, and the maine land of Scotland, make lawes and ordinances,liue in peace,31,b 20,&c. Diſcomfited and diſcomfit, 75, b 30,50. Their firſt annointed king,181,a 50. Their ancient ſparenеſſe of diet,179,a 20. Rob the Pictiſh borders,diſcomfited,71, b 20, 30. The line of their kings, 172,b 60. They and Picts fight for a greihound,71,b 10. Determine to warre onelie with incurſions, 127, a 10. They and Danes one afraid of another,165, a 20. Made ſober and able to abide hardneſſe, their vnquiet nature, 137,b 10. Shot arrowes and darts as thicke as haile, they are put to flight,139,a 60. Eegerlie inuade their enimies, 141, a 10. Peace concluded with them,and lands ſurrendered vnto them,b 40. Ouerthrow the Britons,142,a 10. Their policie to haue taken Yorke,142,b 10. Their ſpiced cups for the Danes, 170,a 40. Grant to aid the Britons againſt the Romans,44,a 10. Ouerthrowne, deuoure one another,38,a 10,20,&c. Proſperous ſucceſſe,86,b 10. They and Picts kill the Romans, 52,a 20. Their vſage to burne dead bodies,49,a 50. Their contribution for a iourne into the holie land,203 a 30. Shew themſelues too malicious in moſt things which they writ in defamation of K. Edward, 204,b 10,20. Ill vſed at the French kings hands, 306,a 60. Reuiled of their owne people,301,a 60. Inuade the borders of England, raiſe their ſiege, 289,b 40,50. Inuade England,272, b 50. A great ſlaughter of them, 230, b 60. An armie of them ſent into France,258,a 60, b 20. Certaine noble families in Italie and Iſubria ſprong from them,284, a 50. Put to flight, ſlaine and taken priſoners, 233,a 30. Their writers ſlander Edward the third verie maliciouſlie, 229,a 40, Set vpon the Romans, 59, a 10. Giue the Romans notable diſcomfitures,59,b 30,40. Aſſalt the Romans at aduantage,59,a 60. They and Picts breake vp their campe, 59, a 10. Determine to giue battell to the Romans, 58,a 40. Diſaduantaged by reaſon of their vnfit weapons, b 20. Vexe the Romans in certaine garriſons, 56, a 20. Aſſemble,56,a 60. Summoned by the Iriſh,b 60. Their negligence

ligence, 230, b 30. Forced downe a hill, discomfited and slaine, 254, b 10. Releeued at point to be ouercome, 249, b 40. Wild called Caterans, 252 a 50. Their maner to carrie a horne about their necks in battell, and whe, 251, a 10, 20. To the number of thirtie thousand inuade England, 248, a 50. Inuade Northumberland, 247, b 40. Redie to helpe the French and hinder the English, 240, b 10. Preparation against them both by sea and land, 247, b 10. Discomfited at Falkirke, 210, b 20. Euer false to the Englishmen, 145, b 60. They and the Danes confedered, 146, a 10. Ouerthrowne, 146, a 40. Keepe off the Danes from landing, 165, b 30. Their request to their king for licence to fight, 167, a 20. They win the name of victorie, rather than victorie it selfe, 167, a 30. Through feare are astonished, 164, a 40. Disorderlie rush out to battell, and put to flight by the Danes, 164, b 20 30. Discomfited by the English, 329, a 40. Goin procession for iote, 147, a 40. Staid from running awaie: note, 155, a 60, b 10. Enter further into England than they were accustomed, 222, a 40. Inuade England, b 40. Whie they vse saint Andrews crosse in warfare, 124, b 20. Receiue peace, 136, a 60. Their writers burthen king Edward of England with tyrannie, 208, b 60. That were learned commanded to be resident in Oxford, 212, b 50. Slaine to the number of foure thousand 219, b 60. Write maliciouslie of king Edward, and whie, 206, a 50. Slaine like dogs, 208, a 20. Deceiued and intrapped, 208, a 10. Withdraw to their holds, 212, a 40. With king Richard in the holie land, 191, b 30. Restored to their countries, 82, a 60. When they got certeine seats in the Ile of Britaine, b 10. Make rodes into England, 183, b 40. Hated of the Picts to the death: note, 78, b 10. They and Picts would agree vpon no reasonable conditions of peace, prepare against the Picts, their maner of entring into the lands of the Britains, 88, b 40, &c. Foure thousand slaine, 92, b 60. Renew the warre against the Romans, 65, a 40. They are set vpon spoile and waste, 60. Made prouision of victels afore hand, 143, a 10. ¶ See Bruse, Cruelitie, Heirgust, Religion, Romans, Seruilitie, Spaniards, Sweno.

Scotish king. ¶ See King.

Scotsgilmore, 123, b 20

Scotland the whole realme discomfited, 135, a 60. Subiect to diuers gouernours, 68, a 30. The bounds of the kingdome, 134, b 10. When it toke the name, 29, b 10. Inuaded, 308, a 40. Instructed in crafts and occupations, 39, a 10. Inuaded, 309, b 60. Parted into portions, 34, b 50. Riot and superfluous chere brought thither, 179, a 10. The armes thereof, 123, a 30. Was free of the pestilence and plague, 115, a 50. without a king and gouernour, 204, a 50. Interdicted, 194, b 60. Inuaded, 284, b 10. In great disquietnesse during the minoritie of king James the fift, 302, a 50. Organs brought thither, 264, b 10. Vse of baked meats when it began, b 60. Hamfoldie plaged: note, 268, b 60. Gouerned by two rulers, 230, a 10. In peace and quietnesse, 291, b 60. ¶ See Horsses and Mares. Men of occupation brought thither to instruct the Scots therein, 265, a 20. Inuaded both by sea & land, 234, b 50. The north parts sore disquieted by two clans, 252, a 40. Inuaded by king Richard, 248, a 40. The line of the kings thereof, 172, b 60. A new act for the succession of the crowne, 157, b 40. Entred into by the kings of Denmarke and Norweie, 148, b 20. Inuaded by the Danes, 163, b 60. Ruled by seuen gouernours, 279, a 10. Twelue gouernours elected to rule it, 209, a 10. King Edward his officers chased from thence, 211, b 40. Six gouernours chosen to haue the rule thereof, 204, a 60. At ciuill warres, 156, a 30. More indamaged by domesticall theeues than by forren enimies, 188, a 10. Described: note the contents of the fifteene chapters, 5, all. ¶ See Bishops, Crown, Gilpatrike, Liberties, Nobles, Sweno, Warres.

Scrope lord, ambassador into Scotland, 265, a 50. Ended the controuersie betwixt earle Murton and Johnstone, 437 a 60

Selbie sir Walter knight beheaded by the Scots, 240, b 60

Semple lord taken, 400, b 50

Sencler Oliuer goeth with the king, 329, a 20. Enuied of the lords, 329, a 30

Sencler bishop of saint Andrews goeth into France, 381, a 10

Septimus Seuerus, 66, a 60

Seruice well thought of, and sought for yong gentlemen, 239, b 40

Seruilitie most impudent intruded, &c: note, 90, a 40

Sesekord the lard slaine, 313, b 60

Sessions to be kept yearlie, 108, b 40

Seton Alexander capteine of Berwike, 232, a 50. His wifes manlie stomach, 232, b 20. His sonnes executed, 40. Slaine, 230, b 10

Seuerus setteth forth toward his enimies, commeth vnto Yorke, incountred by his enimies, 67, a 50, 60. Wintereth at Yorke, b 10. Sicketh, 40. dieth, 50

Shipwracke, 43, a 10. 235, b 50. 281, b 60

Shooting, a decree for the same to be vsed, 281, b 40

Sicknesse called stope gallant, 294, a 10. ¶ See Diet and Riotousnesse.

Signes. ¶ See Tokens.

Silures mistaken for Scotishmen. 54, b 30

Siward earle of Northumberland, 171, a 30. 175, b 60

Skirmish at Halidowne hill, 363, b 20

Skirmishes about Edenburgh 407, b 10. 411, b 10

Skirmigeour a surname: note, 182, a 40

Societie, and that without it no estate can stand, 90, b 60

Soldan inuadeth the christians, 203, a 30

Soldior baliant aduanced for seruice. ¶ See Haie.

Soldiors rewarded, 106, b 60. ¶ See Britons, Burial, Keiths, Spoile, 199, b 60

Solitarinesse, ¶ See Fiacre.

Solusthins admitted king of Scotland, an impotent man, 119, b 10, &c. Deceaseth, 120, a 10

Somerleid thane of Argile goeth about to make himselfe king, 185, b 30. His crueltie and flight into Ireland, b 60. Returneth into Scotland, vanquished, hanged, 187, a 10. 20. Rebelleth, his humble submission. 197, a 30, 40

Sow a kind of engine so called, 237, b 66

Sowtherland John heire apparant to the crown, his deth, 243, b 60

Spaniards and Scots become one people, 31, a 10

Spirits, illusions of them, 97, a 40

Spoile diuided among soldiors, 78, a 50. 110, b 30. 155, b 50. 166 b 10. Of the Britons campe diuided, 106, b 20. Of Dowglasdale giuen to soldiors, 275 b 50

Spoile, the hope thereof incourageth men of warre, 199, b 60. Redeemed with monie, 223, b 50

Stanlie sir Edward knight, his valiantnes against the Scots 301, a 10

Starre bright appearing in the skie, 291, b 20. ¶ See Blasing starre.

Stephan the king an vsurper, 183, b 20. His repentance, 183, b 60. Passeth into Roxburgh, returneth into Kent, 184, a 10 30

Stepmothers loue, 50 a 30

Sterling castell builded, 55, b 20 besieged, 448, a 40

Steward Henrie created erle of Methwen, 316, b 20. Lord Derneie cõmeth into Scotland, 381, a 20. Made earle of Rosse, 381, a 30. Made duke of Albanie, 381, b 10. Proclamed king, 381, b 10. Marieth the quæne, 381, b 10. Buchanans verses of him, 434, a 10

Steward James surnamed the blacke knight banished, 272, a 30

Steward James made earle of Murreir, 379, a 30. Created erle of Arrane, 433, b 10. His mariage, 449, a 30

Steward John admitted to the crowne, 251, b 60. Prisoner, put to death, 282, b 50

Steward Mordo gouernour of Scotland, repugnant vices in him, 259, b 60. 260, a 10, &c.

Steward Robert created erle of Leneux, 422, b 20. Made erle of Mar, 425, b 30

Steward Robert disherited of the crown, 243, b 60. Ordeind againe heire apparent, 244, a 10. Crowned king, 245, a 50

Steward walter put in prison, 262, a 60

Steward erle of Atholl sent into the north parts, 358, b 30

Steward lord of Obegnie made erle of Leneux, 425, b 20

Stewards their descent, 168, b 40. First comming to the crowne of Scotland, 245, a 60. Kings of Scotland neuer of full age when they came to the crowne, 390, a 60

Stonie hill in Scotland & why so named, 196, a 50

Stope gallant, 294, a 10

Strife for the leading of a vantgard, 210, a 60. Betwixt Mowbraie and Beaumont, 233, b 40. Godlie & commendable, 178, b 50. ¶ See Contention.

Strieueling burned, 274, b 50 ¶ See Sterling.

Submission of gentlemen, 178, b 30

Suetonius inuadeth Ingleseie, 51, b 60

Summerset. ¶ See Duke.

Superintendents & ministers how to be elected, 376, a 10

Surkeiting the cause of strange diseases, 39, b 40. ¶ See Riot.

Surrender made to a vse, 193, a 30

Suspicion caused by great power, 276, b 60. For murther, and the parties racked, 119, a 20

Sussex and Essex receiue the christian faith, 110, b 60. ¶ See Erle.

Sweno king of Denmarke landed in England, conuerted to the christian faith, 162, b 50, 60. His cruell imagination, vnder what conditions he licenced the English to liue in their owne countrie, 163, a 40, &c. Prepareth to inuade the Scots, b 60. Prepareth the third time to inuade Scotland, 166, b 60 Landed in Fife, 169, a 60 His crueltie, 169, b 60. His commandement to spare fire and sword, 170, a 10. Vanquisheth the Scots, 170, a 10 Besieged king Duncane, 170 a 30. He with ten others escaped, 170, a 60

Swearing of fealtie first begun, 41, a 40

T.

Tale of quæne Guainors graue, 106, b 40. Of spirits, 97, a 40, &c.

Tantallon castell besieged, 316, b 40

Tax pearelie to be leuied, 359, b 10. Not granted, 359, b 10

Tempest great, 94, a 10. Prophesied, 203, a 60

Tenths giuen to the clergie, 124, b 50,

Thanes changed into earles 176, a 60

Tharan king of Picts is slain, 48

Thebes giuen vnto Gathelus, 29, b 10

Theefe that vsed to kill yong persons and to eat them, executed: note, 278, b 30. Burnt to death, 317, b 20

Thelargus king of Picts an aged man desirous of peace, 71, b 50

Thereus king of Scots fled to the Britons, 39, a 60, b 10

Thermes monsieur succeedeth Dessee, 351, a 10

Theeues banded and banquished, 176, b 60, 177, a 10. Laws deuised against them, 191, a 50. Their cruelitie, 181, b 40

Punished

Punished: note, 228, b 50
Notable notable executed: note, 263, b 60. 264, a 10
Tholouse besieged, 186, a 10
Thongcastell, 94, b 10
Throckmorton sir Nicholas knight sent into Scotland, 381, a 30
Thunder terrible and mortall, 180, a 30
Tokens. ¶ See Warning.
Traherus inuadeth Westmerland, 73, b 10. Resisted by Fincomarke, 40. Returneth into Britaine, banquisheth Octauius, 74, a 10. By conspiracie murthered, 30
Traitors that murthered king James the first, most terrible executed: note, 267, b 60. An article for them, 285, a 50
Trebellius lieutenant of Britaine, giuen to couetousnesse, hated of the Britons, fighteth against his enimies, forsaken of his owne men, chased out of the field, writeth for aid to Rome, 65, a 10, &c: b 10, &c. Certifieth the emperour of the state of Britaine, 67, a 30
Treson of conspirators to haue slaine king Alexander, 181, b 60. Tried by combat: note, 180, b 10. Of the thane of Cawder for the which he is condemned, 171, a 20. Of Mortigerne, 92, a 50. Pretended, 76, a 10. Against king Bruse of Scotland, & what issue it had, 220, b 40, 50, &c. Seuerelie executed vpon a woman, 51, a 60. ¶ See Conspiracie, Euan, and Rebellion.
Tribute released, 235, a 30
Truce betweene England and Scotland, 303, a 50. 304, a 40. For certeine yeares, 289, b 60. For one yeare betweene England and Scotland, 312, a 60. For three moneths betweene England and Scotland, 183, b 60. For foureteene yeares betweene England & Scotland, 243, b 40. For three yeares, 228, b 20, 273, b 20. For fifteene yeares betweene the kings of England and Scotland, 279, b 49. Renewed, 313, a 30. ¶ See League and Peace.
Trumbils with others taken by king James the fourth, 294, a 30
Tuidale recouered out of the Englishmens hands, 238, a 10
Tuline citie now called Inchtuthill, 57, a 60
Turkes. ¶ See Dowglasse James.
Twang castell, 94, b 10
Twinam Lorison his historie: note, 230, a 20
Tyrannie importable, 53, a 50, 60

V.

Vagabonds an ordinance for them, 228, b 60. Compelled to learne an occupation, 149, a 30. Judged to die: note, 154, a 40. ¶ See Roges.
Valdred doctor of the Picts, 111, a 10
Variance, 114, b 60. Betweene king Robert and the erle of March, 253, a 30. ¶ See Strife.
Venusius the husband of Cartimandua, he reuolteth, 51, a 50, 60
Verannius lieutenant of Britaine, dieth, 51, b 50, 60
Vespasian commeth into Britaine, assaileth the Britons in their campe, 47, b 20, 50. Appeaseth the rebels, returneth to Rome, 49, a 10
Vice. ¶ See Welth.
Vices following delicat fare, 264, b 50. Repugnant in one man, 259, b 60, 260, a 10, &c.
Victorie doubtfull, 257, a 60. Assured before the battell fought. 217, a 40. Jn name not in deed gotten by the Scots, 167, a 30. Wodestile vsed, 96, b 60. Vsed with mercie, 143, a 50, 60. Vsed with gentlenesse, 102, a 20. with triumphant top, 109, b 20. with crueltie, 132, a 50, 60, 133, b 30
Victories ascribed to Arthur, 105, a 10, 20. ¶ See Procession
Victorine his answer to Ethodius request, 64, a 50. Sendeth letters to Rome, is sent for to returne, 20, 30. Prepareth an armie against the Scots, seeketh to perswade the Picts from talking with the Scots, incampeth neere Camelon with 50000 men, 82, b 60. Inuadeth Gallowaie, accused vnto Honorius, taketh vpon him the name & authoritie of emperor in Britaine, 83, b 30, &c. Deliuered into Heraclianus his hands, 84, a 10
Villegagnon departed from Leith, 347, a 40
Vision: note, 128, b 60, 129, a 20, Of Edgar, 181, a 20
Visions. ¶ See Wonders.
Vniuersitie of saint Andrewes when first begun: note, 257, b 20. Of Glascow founded, 276, b 10. Of Paris and Pauia, 123, b 40. ¶ See Priuileges.
Voada queene desireth aid of hir brother Corbreid, she killeth hir selfe, 52, a 40, b 60. Assembled an armie against the Romans, 52, b 40. Imprisoned, 46, a 50. Released, conueied into Wales, 60
Voadicia reneweth wars with the Romans, 54, a 60. Slain, 54, b 20
Vortigerns treason, 92, a 50. Doubting the hatred of his people would haue fled out of his realme, 92, b 60. Counselled to send for aid into Germanie, 93, a 10. Doth honor to Hengist, 94, a 60. Deposed by his subiects, 99, a 10. Marrieth Hengists daughter, 95, b 60. Burned, 97, a 30
Vortimer generall of the Britons, 94, b 40. Chosen to gouerne the Britons, 96, a 10. Vseth the victorie modestlie, 96, b 60
Vow kept and performed, 192, a 30. Of Hungar and his soldiors, 139, a 20. Of king Malcolme if he might obteine victorie, 178, b 10. ¶ See Kenneth.
Vsipites what kind of people, 57, b 10
Vsurpation. ¶ See Makbeth, Somerled, and Stephan.
Uter begat Arthur the great, 99, b 40. Poisoned, 101, a 10. ¶ See Aurelius.

W.

Wall Roger his words of the duke of Summerset, 435, a 10
Wallase William beginneth to wax famous, 209, a 20. Winneth castels, &c: 209, a 60. His policie to relieue the people in the time of derth, b 40. Inuadeth Northumberland, 50. His answer to the king of Englands message, 60. Entred England with an armie of 30000 men, 210, a 20. He is enuied, 40. Raiseth a power to resist the king of England, 50. Conference betweene him and Bruse, b 40. Refuseth the offers of king Edward, 212, a 50. Eschewеth to agree with the Englishmen, 213, a 20. Is taken, brought to London and put to death: note, 214, a 10, 20
Walter the son of Fleance high steward of Scotland, 178, a 60
Wanthop archbishop of Armacham, 355, a 50
Warke castell besieged, 361, a 10
Waited, 311, a 50, 60. Wone, 279, a 10
Warre without slaughter and burning, 123, b 60. Continuall in Scotland what calamitie it caused, 237, b 10. Ciuill and what mischeefes insue, 162, a 10. The frutes thereof, 160, b 50. ¶ See Battell, Commotion, and Victorie.
Warning of a yong babe to his mother: note, 137, a 10. Of some great mischance, 300, a 60
Welshmen rebelling against the Romans brought to their former obedience, 64, b 60. Subdued by Henrie the fift, 258, a 40
Welth superfluous occasion of vice, 90, b 10
West doctor ambassador into Scotland, 295, a 60
Westmerland why so named, 52, b 60, 53, a 10. Assigned to the Scotishmen, 73, b 60. Jt and Cumberland recouered, 146, a 60. Jt and Kendall by the Scots & Picts spoild, 65, a 60
Wharton Henrie, 345, b 60
Whitherne a place of sanctuarie, 186, b 40. ¶ See Candida casa.
Wight Ile rebelleth, 49, a 10
Willes two in a monster & both contrarie, 146, b 50
Wilford sir James taken, 349, b 20
William Conqueror thzeteneth king Malcolme, 177, b 50. He proclaimed open warres, 60
William Rufus in armes against the Scots, 179, b 30
William surnamed the Lion crowned K. required to do homage, his request, goeth ouer with K. Henrie into France, 187, b 50, 60. His zeale of iustice, he receiueth a peece of Northumberland, with his right saued to the residue, he inuadeth Cumberland, 188, a 10, &c. Yeeldeth himselfe prisoner, conueid into Normandie b 50, 60. Ransomed, 189, b 10, His gift vnto king Richard, 192, a 60. Did homage to king John, 192, b 50. Surrendzeth to king John the lands of Cumberland, &c. 193, a 30. Deceaseth, 193, b 50
William lieutenant of Tuscane 123, a 60. Maketh Christ his heire, 123, b 20
Willoughbie sir Hugh, 352, a 10
Wind. ¶ See Fire.
Wine sold by weight, 268, a 10. ¶ See Measure and Ale.
Winter long, 139, b 30.
Wiscart George burnt, 339, b 10
Witches consulted withall, and what happened by giuing credit to their words, 69, a 60. Jn Fozes inquirie made for them, found out, their practise against king Duffe, examined, 149, b 30, &c. Confesse and are burnt, 150, a 10, Burnt, &c. 282, b 50, 60. ¶ See Prophesie.
Woodburne lord indicted, 306, a 30
Woldosius earle of Northumberland and Huntington, 182 b 10
Woman abused with a spirit, 97, a 40. Of vnnaturall crueltie 278, b 40. Of a stout stomach, being a queene, 278, b 60. Hir manlie stomach: note, 232, b 20. Manlie, See Blacke Agnes. Of manlike force and stature, 236, a 40
Women as redie to the battell as men, 62, a 40. Abrogance to the Picts, 130, a 60. Desirous of high estate, 171, a 60. They and children are kept harmelesse, 143, a 60. Set vpon mischiefe. ¶ See Counsell and Fenella. Waile their friends, 58, b 60. Placed in order of battell, 50, a 10. Come with the queene in armour, 52 b 10
Wonder of a yong babe giuing warning to his mother, 137, a 10. Strange of a voice, 158, a 10, 20. Of adders, 192, a 50.
Wonders strange: note, 180, a 10: note, 152, a 10. 151, b 60. 170, b 60. 171, a 10. 245, a 10, 20. Jn dansing: note, 203, b 60 And strange sights, 167, a 60. 59, a 40. 268, a 10. 203, b 20. 50, a 60. Maruellous & vncouth, 137, a 10. 106, b 60. 89, b 40. Rare and notorious, 139, b 20. And visions, 116, b 10. 128, b 60. Terrible, 79, a 40. Most dreadfull, 159, a 20. And prodigious chances, 300, a 60 Scene in the aire, 193, b 50, 60 317, b 40. 190, a 30. 132, b 20. Appearing to the Scotish armie, 53, b 50. Import a meaning, 146, b 60. Interpreted, 137, a 10, &c. 132, b 40
Wrestling betweene a Norman and a Scot, 202, b 30
Writers of Scotland their catalog, 457, b 20. ¶ See Scots and Scotland.

Y.

Yorke peelded to Octauius, 73, b 50. Besieged, 101, b 50. ¶ See Scots.
Yorke in possession of Hengist, 96, a 10
Yorkeswold wasted by the Scots, 224, a 60
Youth trained vp in hardnesse, 137, a 60, Should eate but one meale a daie, 59

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Finiſhed in Ianuarie 1587, and the 29 of the Queenes Maieſties reigne, with the full continuation of the former yeares, at the expenſes of Iohn Hariſon, George Biſhop, Rafe Newberie, Henrie Denham, and Thomas Woodcocke.

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